areas; these are 3: Savonnet, 4: Mersadier, 7: Crowder, 8: Mercier, 10: Thoré, 13: Diagne, 14: Duchemin, 18: Savonnet and 23: Aujas. 9: Cantrelle discusses endogamy in the Senegalese Fouta, 12: Holas, discusses methods used to promote dreaming, 15: Mauny describes the practice of burying griots (members of an 'unclean' class) in baobab trees, 16: Faur discusses the uses of various grains and grasses, 19: Pehaut discusses the groundnut (peanut) in Senegal, and 21: Verriere analyzes Senegalese demography. This file should be used primarily as background data for the MS30 Wolof. It can be used for some comparative purposes, particularly for urban studies, but is not suitable for all types. The file was processed between 1962 and 1964.]

GUIDE TO THE MS37 SENEGAL FILE

[This file contains general and specific data on the modern Republic of Senegal and its inhabitants which cannot be assigned to one of its constituent ethnic groups. It is designed to complement the MS30 Wolof file and should be used in conjunction with it in order to help understand how the Wolof are being integrated into urban and national life. A former French Overseas Territory, Senegal became a autonomous state in 1958, and after federating itself for a short time with Mali in [illegible] and 1960 withdrew in favor of remaining an independent state. About 70 percent of its population of a little over 4,000,000 is engaged in agriculture and stock raising, with peanuts being the mainstay of the economy. Phosphates are an important export, along with peanut oil. Developing industries include food processing, chemicals and cement. French is the official language, but most of the population speak tribal languages like Wolof and Serer. Four-fifths of the population is Moslem. (Data based on the World Almanac, 1975 edition)

There are 23 sources in the Senegal file, six of them being in English (sources 5, 6, 7, 8, 22 and 23), and the remainder being translations from the French. The basic orientating sources in the file are 5: Crowder, which is mainly concerned with the political organization of Senegal both as a French colony and as an independent state, and 22: Winterbotham, et al., which gives detailed information on the geography and history of Senegal, ports and towns, transportation, administration, trade and finance. 1: Marty and 2: Bourlon deal with the development and present status of Muridism, a sect of Islam, in Senegal and among the Wolof. Three sources (11: Lequès, 17: Mercier and 20: Seck) deal with the capital city of Dakar. A number of sources deal with other towns and urban

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[395]

CHAPTER VIII

SENEGAL AND THE DISTRICT OF DAKAR

1. GENERAL

Senegal. Area: 77,220 square miles. Population (1937): 1,666,374. Density per square mile: 21·58. Capital: St. Louis. 161 [131]

District of Dakar. Area: 66 square miles. Population (1937): 126,929. Density per square mile: 1,923·16. Headquarters: Dakar. [162] [633]

ALTHOUGH it has fewer inhabitants than most of the other colonies and a lower density of population than Dahomey or the Ivory Coast, Senegal is the most important of all the members of the Federation. Much of the colony is semi-desert, but the remainder is closely settled by some of the most vigorous and progressive peoples of French West Africa. Most of the native citizens are Senegalese, and the fame of the tirailleurs is known in every land. The colony contains some of the earliest French settlements, and its honourable position is attested by the fact that it alone in the Federation sends a direct representative to the Chamber of Deputies at Paris. [101] 162 648

The full title of the District of Dakar is the *Circonscription de Dakar et Dépendences*. Besides the town of Dakar it includes Goree, Rufisque, the territory round them, and a few small enclaves inside Senegal. One of these enclaves is at Sebikotane, where is situated the William Ponty School. The District has been a separate political entity since 1924, and its Administrator is not responsible to the Governor of Senegal. 633

The British colony of the Gambia has all its land frontiers with Senegal. 131

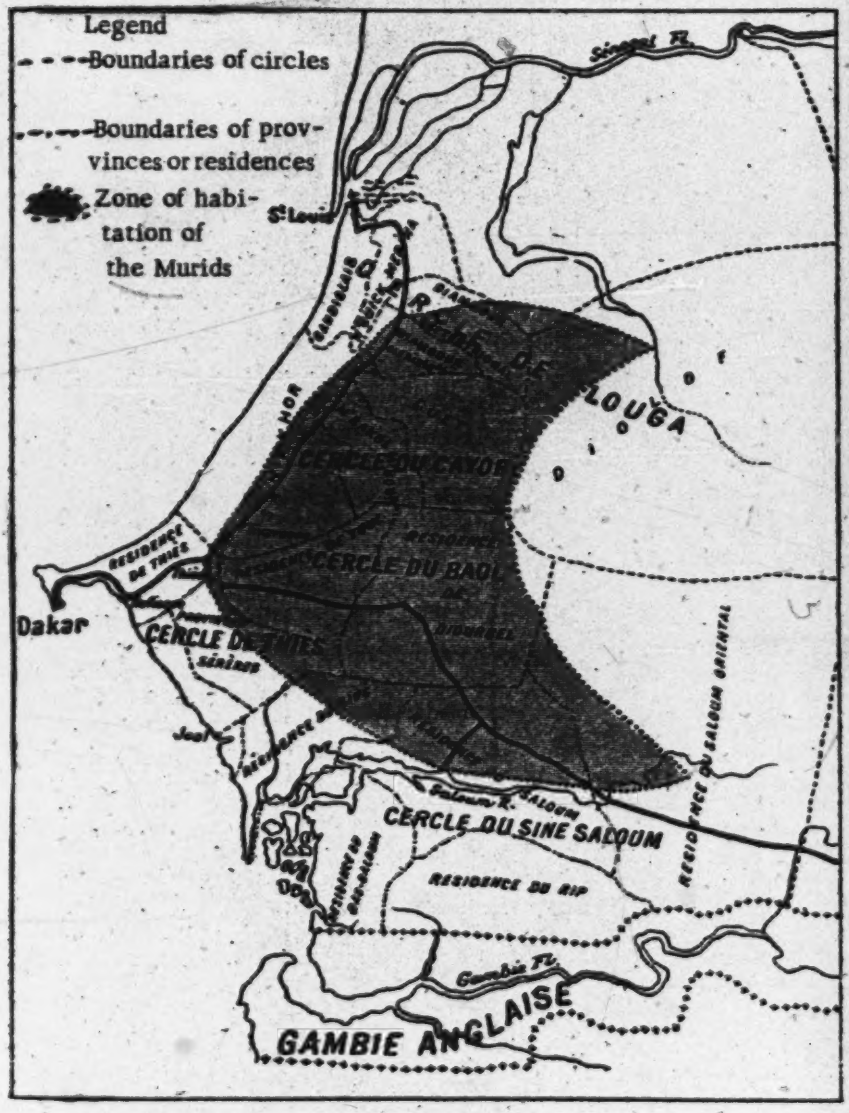
The greatest distance from north to south in Senegal is 249 miles, and the greatest from west to east is 365 miles. The colony extends from 12° 19′ N. to 16° 42′ N. and from 17° 20′ W. to 11° 20′ W. The extreme west of the Cape Verde peninsula is 17° 32′ W.

Boundaries. The Atlantic Ocean forms the main western boundary. The only exceptions to this are the frontier with the Gambia and the boundary between Senegal and Dakar. The latter leaves the coast at 14° 49′ N. and runs roughly south-south-east until it is 2 miles from Goree bay. There it turns east and afterwards south to strike the bay 1 mile east of Rufisque.

1: Marty--123 G-4,5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

Appendix No. 1

WS 102 795 S 631



Geographical schema of the Murid confession.

/ 373 cont. /

S
SR
W
102
131
361
S
491
496
712

/372/

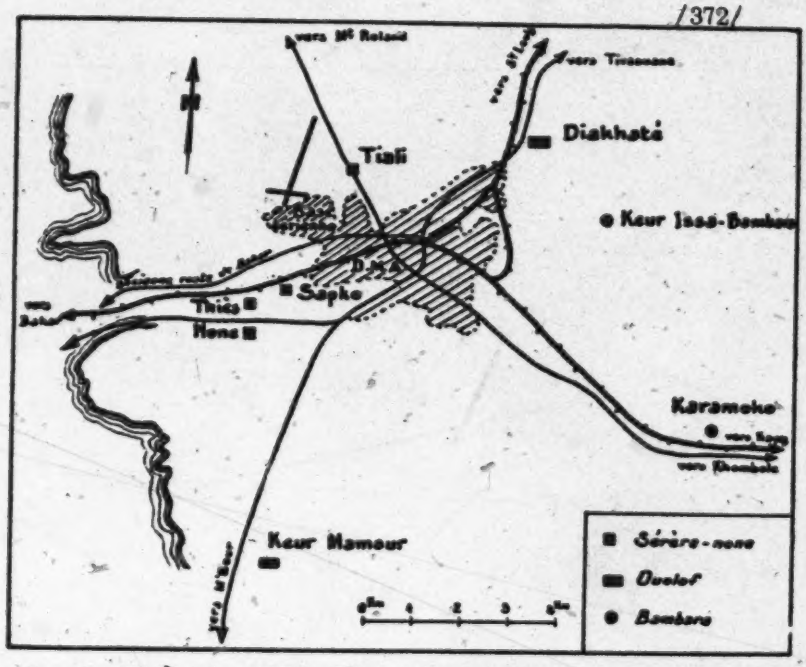


Fig. 1. Thiès, location of the villages mentioned in this study.

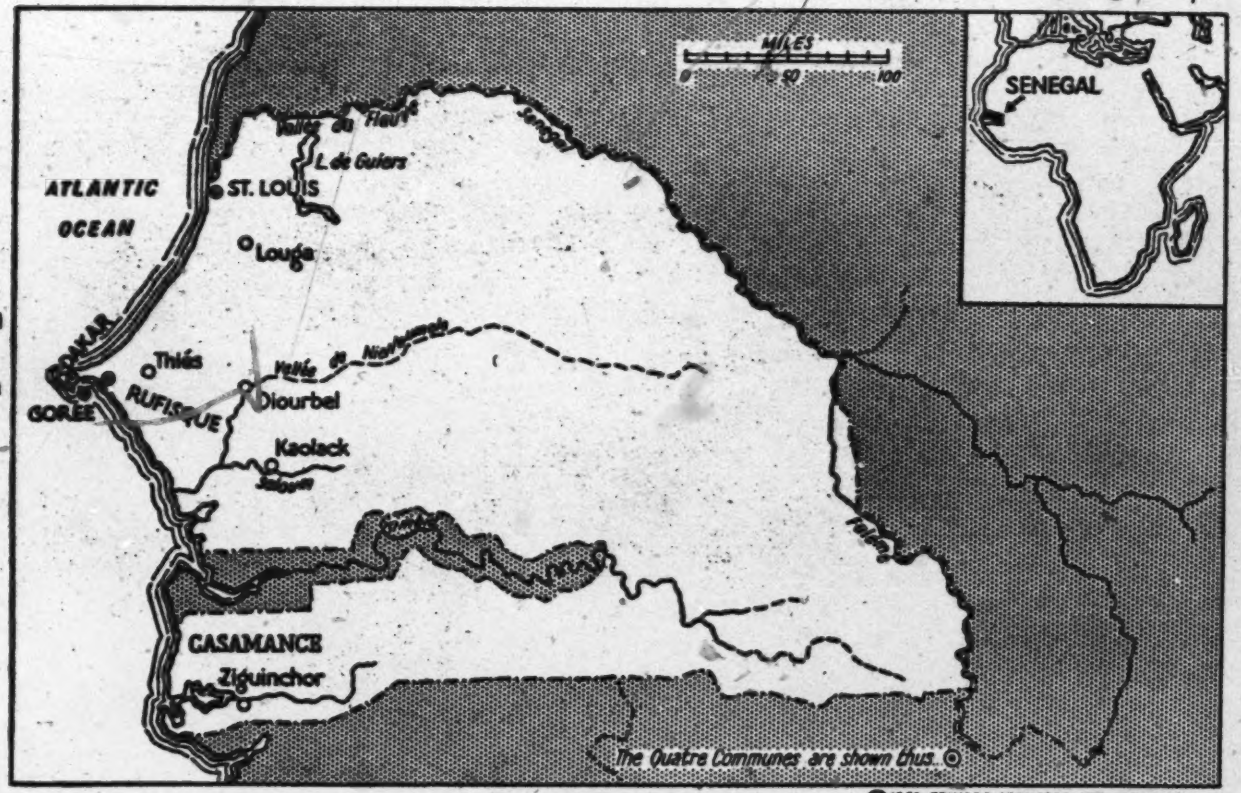
S
361 /373 cont. / by its internal plan (it is dispersed in a loose arrangement), but by the arbored countryside that surrounds it.

Karamoko, on the other hand, resembles a Wolof village: few or no trees except around the huts, a monotonous and open countryside.

S
369 The founding and the rapid growth of Thiès seems to have entailed perturbations in the life of the neighboring villages, especially at the end of the last century.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

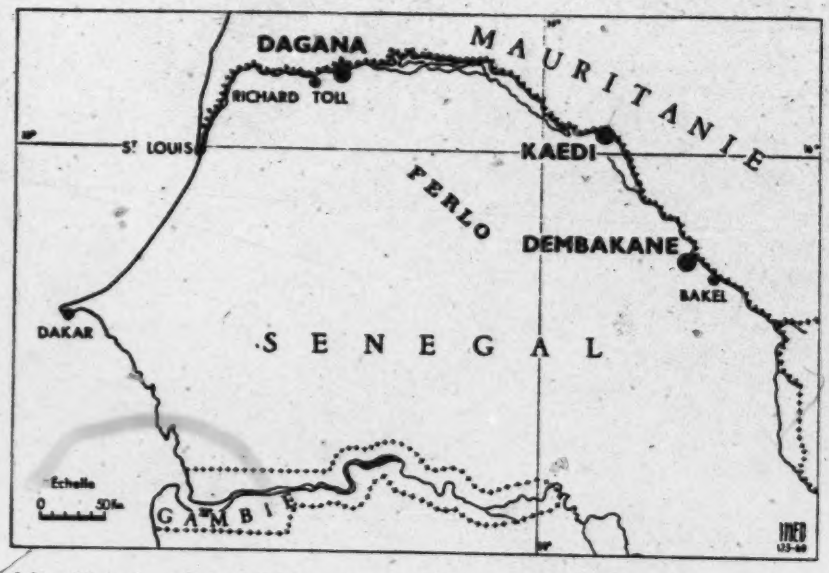
100
361
133



SENEGAL

[f.x]

102
103
131
133



Map No. 1. /Mauritanie = Mauritania; Gambie = Gambia; eschelle = scale./

128 and variation of these facts with regard to dates and regions, thanks to
143 various registers which have existed for several generations (Sutter and Tabah [4] and [5], Sutter [6]).

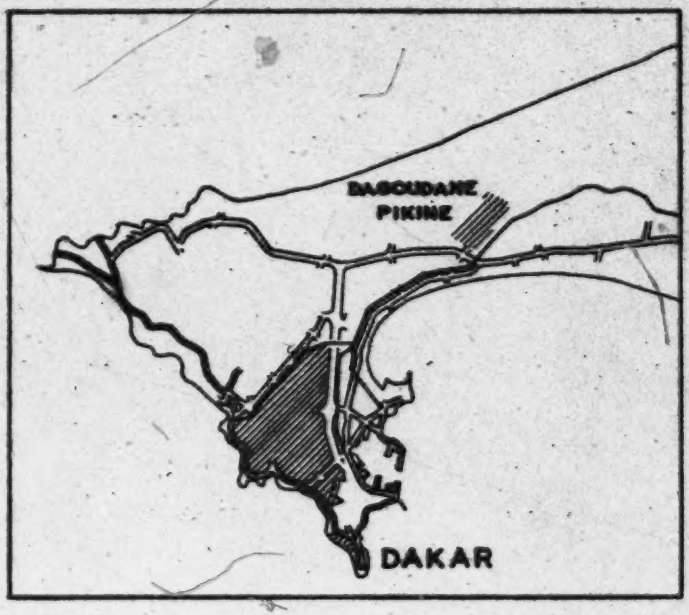
114 In the western part of Africa it is difficult to gather this kind of
143 information, which the administrative censuses do not normally give. The first quantitative study of endogamy by M. de Lestrange in Guinea among the Coniagui [7] has permitted an evaluation of the size of the isolate, one woman /667/ being able to choose her partner from among 400 to 500 men, but does not specify the frequency of consanguineous unions. It deals with a closed population limited to 8,000 persons.

143 The population of the valley of the Senegal itself is much
125 more extensive and, in principle, not closed. In this case a demographic inquiry by sampling, taking one out of ten, has been resorted to, which made it possible to establish, in 1957, not only its classic characteristics of structure (sex, age, ethnic affiliation, place of birth, etc.) and of natural change (fertility, mortality), but also elements permitting precise determination of its degree of endogamy,

/156 cont./

36 oneself once one has grasped the principle of the cutting up of the city into four sections by the three axes of roads, just as it is easy to align the principal landmarks on each of the two extreme axes: on the west road the Chavanel house opposite the first market, then the commissariat, the mosque,

102
131
491
361



36 and on the left, halfway, the / map appears here/ big market with, at the end, the block that houses the cinema El-Karim and a business; on the east road, at the right, the business of the Syrian, then, after the turns, the district /cité/ named after the ICOTAF because it is adjacent to the lands occupied by the factory, a long space as yet unoccupied, and finally, on the left, first the cinema El-Hilal, and, some 200 meters beyond, the second district named after the Pépinière. On the center road, by contrast, there is no notable building, but simply, towards the middle, two large empty spaces on both sides of the road, with a sports field on the right. But if one

17: Mercier--50 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

102
361
x 369

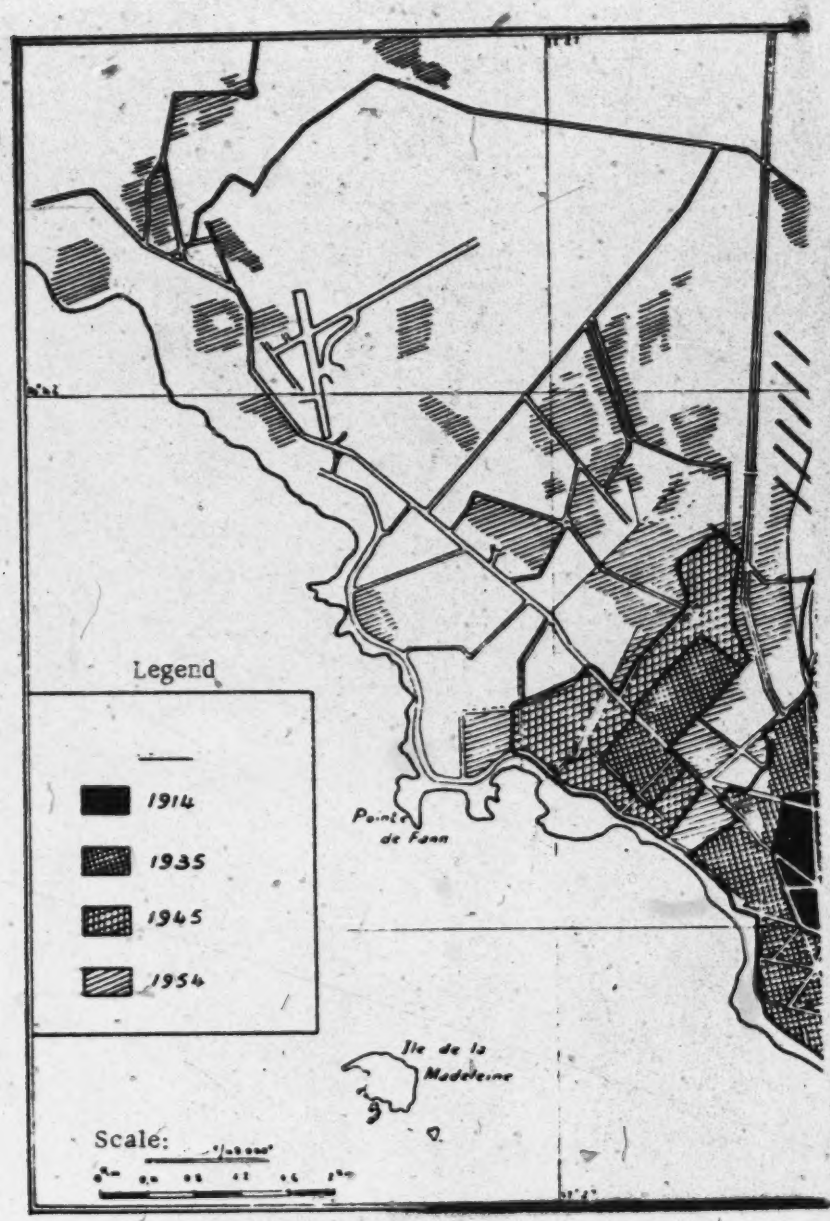


Fig. 1. Stages of the development of Dakar.
/left side of map/

17: Mercier--51 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

902
361
x369

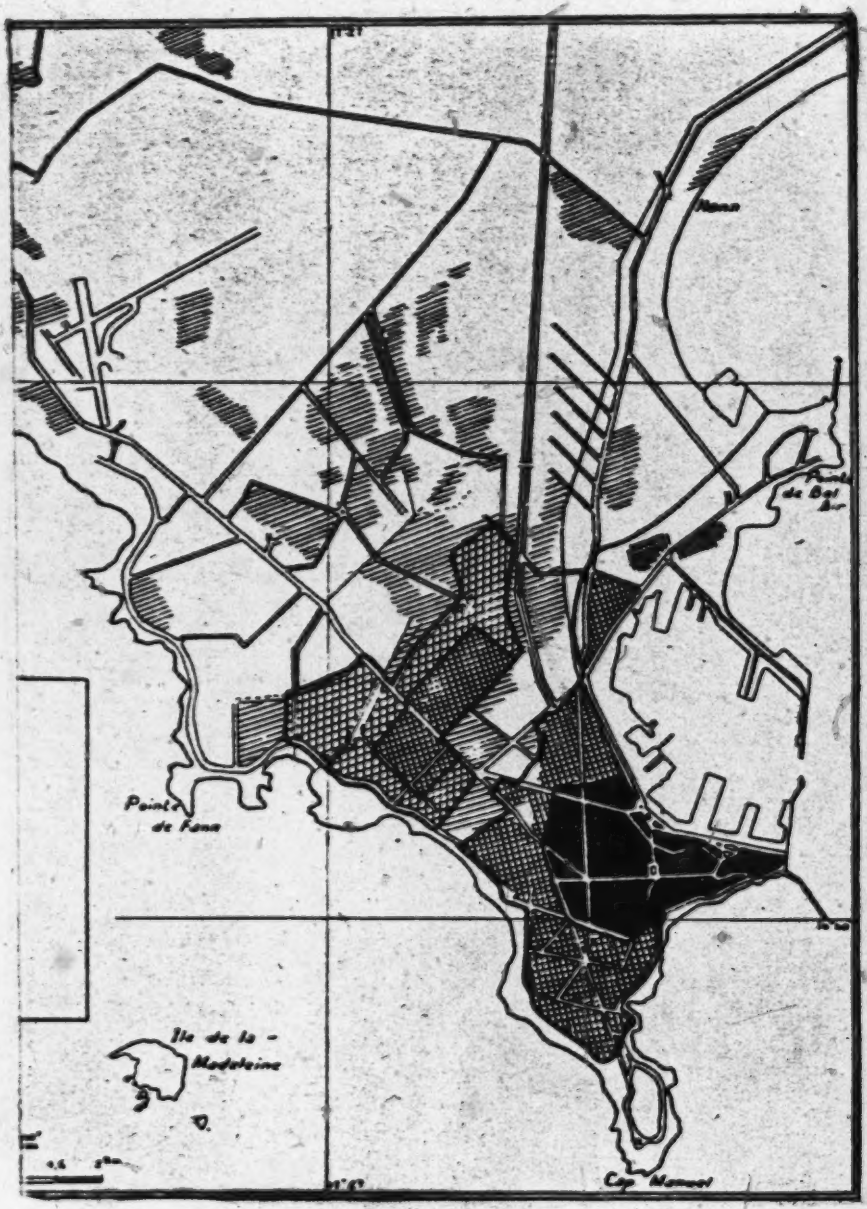


Fig. 1. Stages of the development of Dakar.
/right side of map/

17: Mercier--52 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

102
361
x 369
712

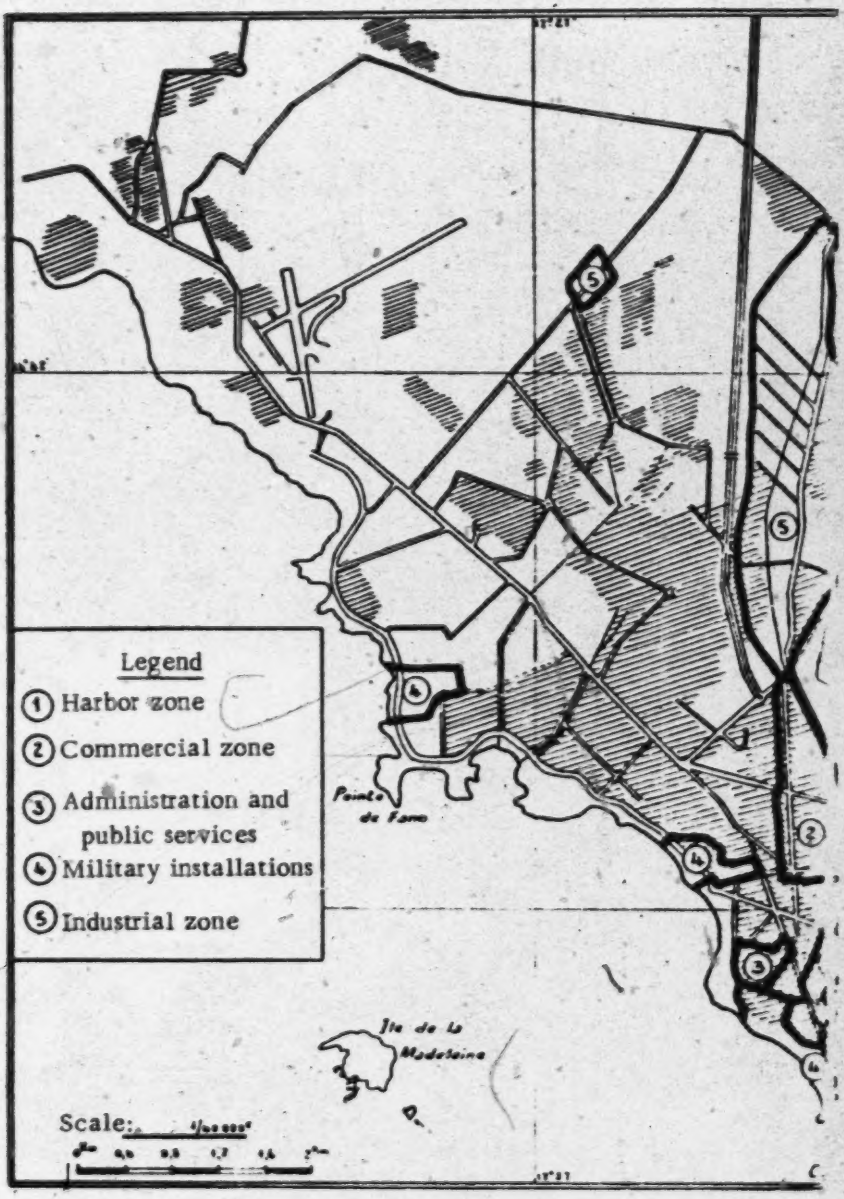


Fig. 2. Functional zones in the agglomeration of Dakar /left side of map/

17: Mercier--53 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

102
361
712
x369

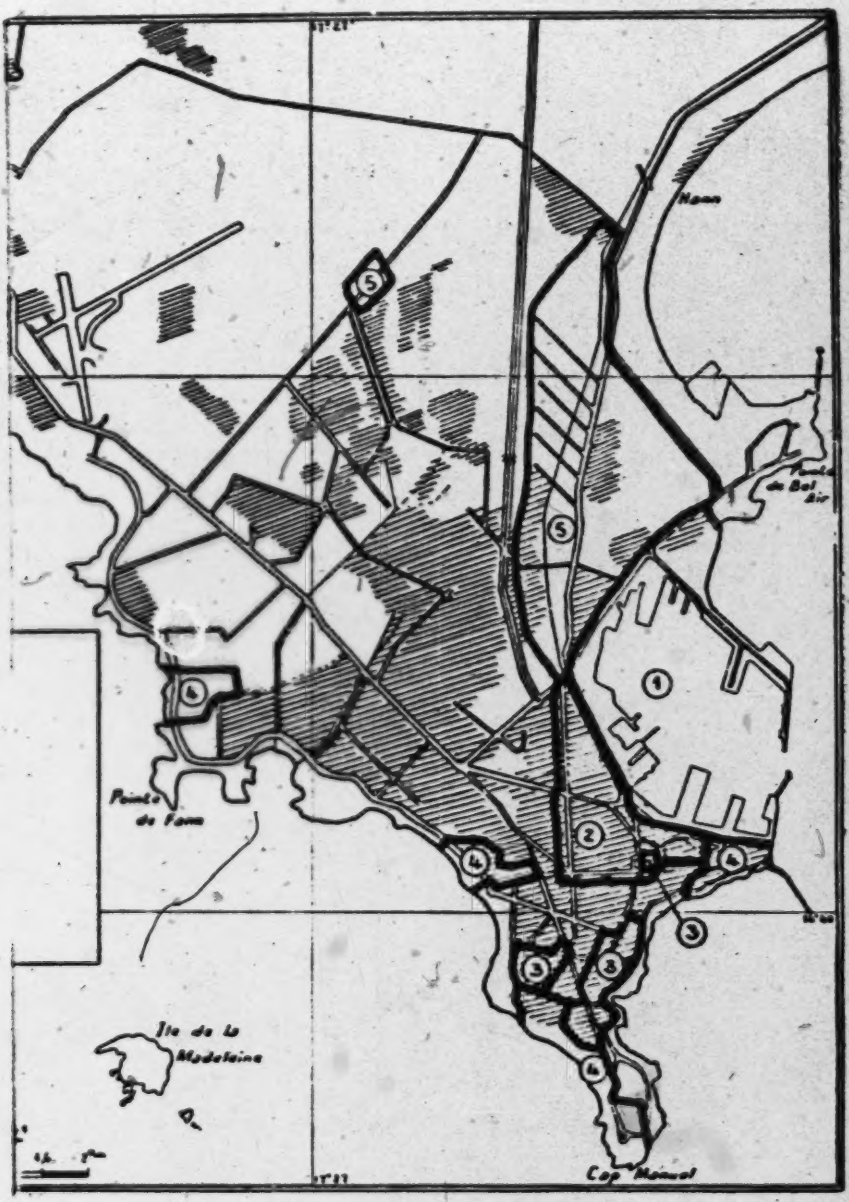


Fig. 2. Functional zones in the agglomeration of Dakar.
/right side of map/

17: Mercier--54 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

●102
361
x 369
563

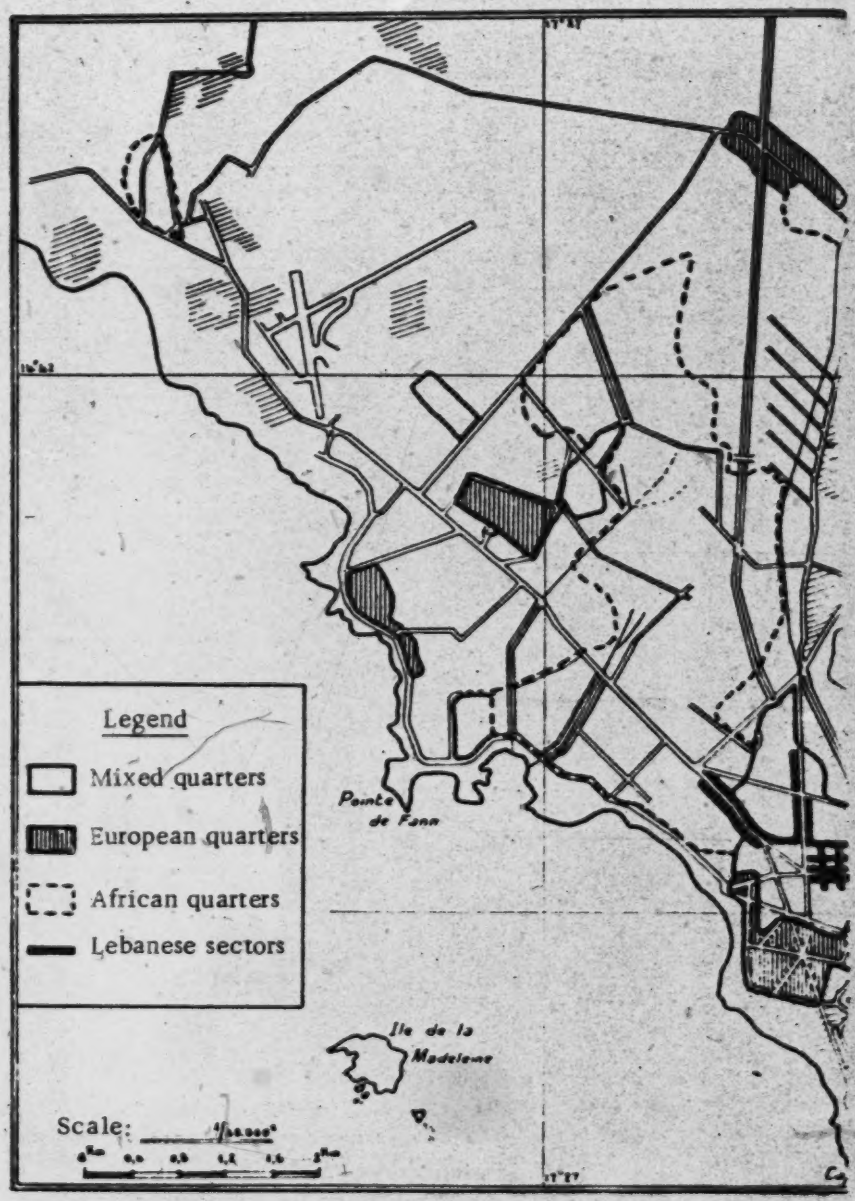


Fig. 3. Divisions of the Dakar habitat.
/left side of map/

17: Mercier--55 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

102
361
563
x 369

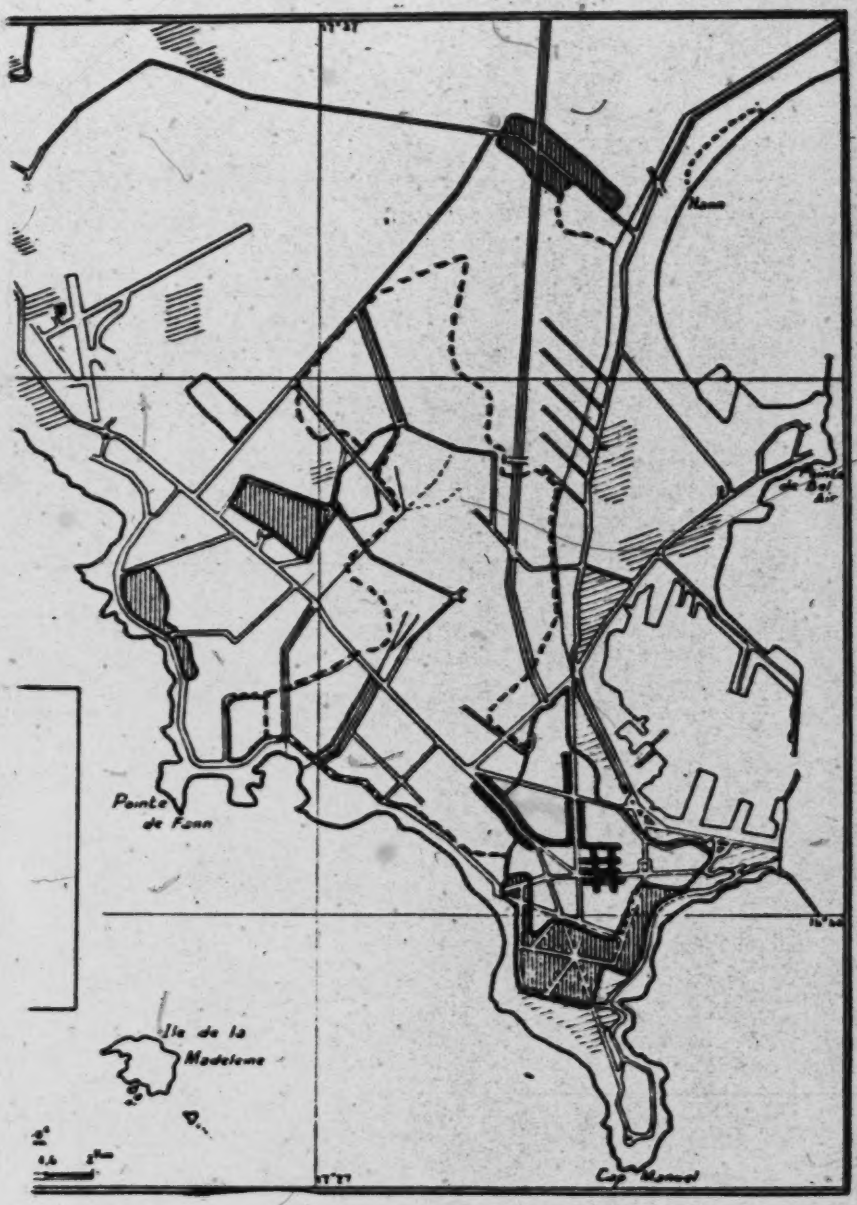


Fig. 3. Divisions of the Dakar habitat.
/right side of map/

/73 cont./

102
131
133
491
496

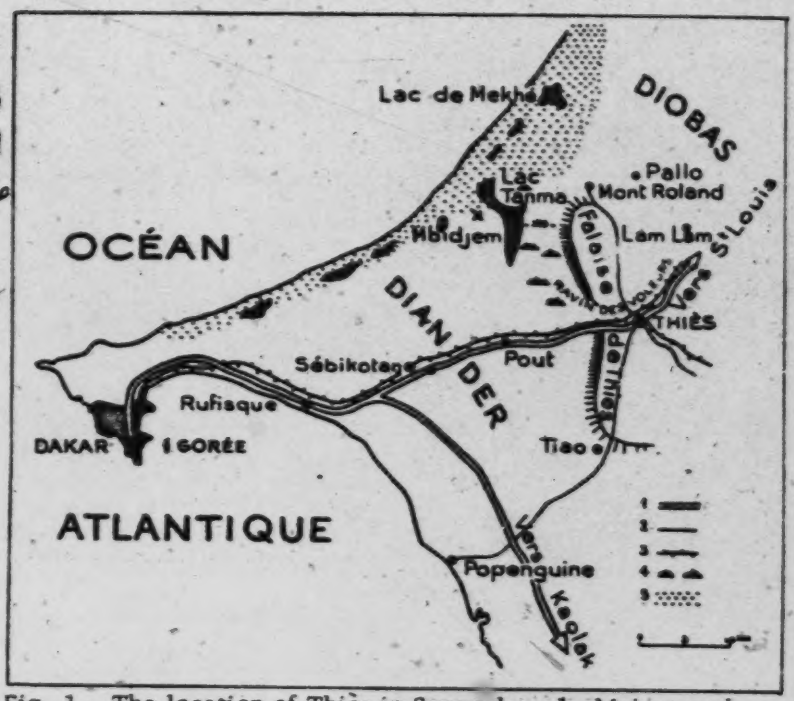


Fig. 1. The location of Thiès in Senegal. 1. Main paved road; 2. secondary road; 3. railroad; 4. swamps; 5. sand.

175 Verde Peninsula. As long ago as this epoch Thiès seems to
369 have been a strategic point and support point of primary im-
361 portance.

As early as 1880 the provinces of Diander and Diobas were pacified. The military posts lost their importance and were abandoned one after the other, for example, Nguiguis (near Tivaouane) and Mbidjem. Only the one at Thiès, because of its exceptional location, survived and developed.

175 2. The commercial escale (1880-1923).
369 The years of the decade 1880-1890 correspond to the
499 period of the development of groundnut cultivation in Senegal
244 and to the construction of the Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad.

/75 cont./

102
361
491
496

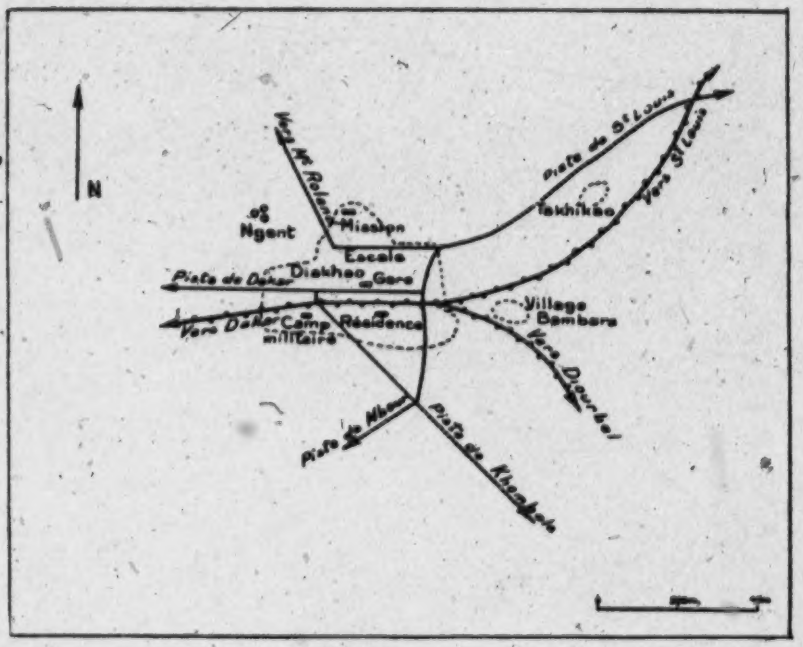


Fig. 2. Thiès in 1910.

369 acquired during the period of hostilities, their knowledge of the
441 language, and their great aptitude for adapting themselves to
563 the customs of the country and for living under very curtailed conditions /76/ made these newcomers serious competitors whom French commerce tried, but in vain, to eliminate. All the concessions of the northern escale were now occupied (5); the

5. There was no question of extending the first lots farther to the north; the concession ceded to the Mission prevented such an extension.

newcomers -- chiefly Syrians -- set up their factorerie (6) in the

[443]

6. Factorerie: shop where everything is sold and where at the same time

/78 cont./

102
361
491
496

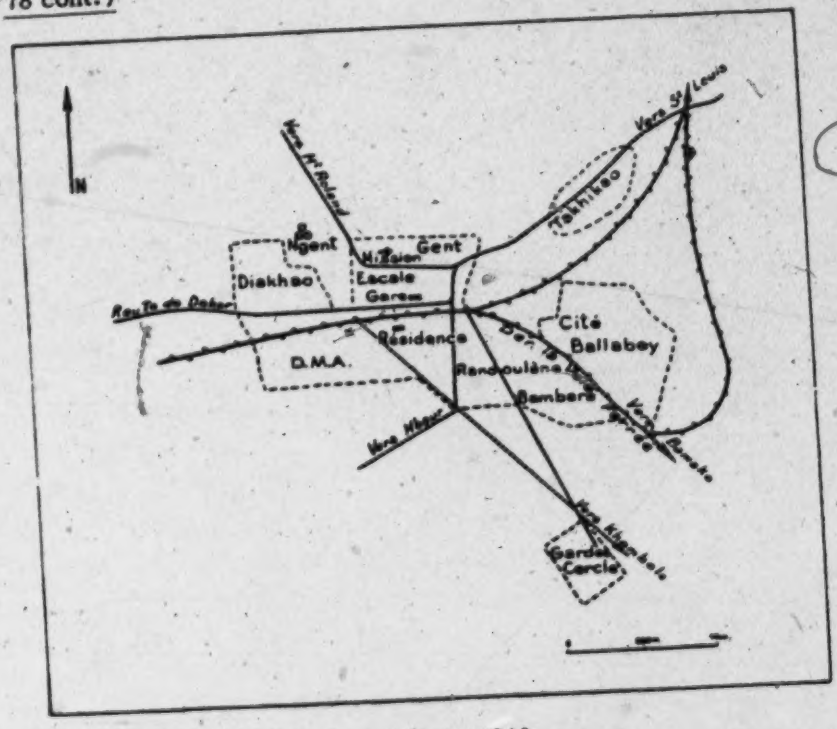


Fig. 3. Thiès in 1940.

351 buildings pierced here and there by a portal which gives access to the courtyards, always littered, of the shop or workshop. /79/ /Fig. 3 appears here./

361 [341] One now sees a modification of this oldish architecture and attempts at renovation. This quarter, built essentially for commercial purposes, did not leave any space free for expansion; no plaza, no small garden offers a pleasant spot in this assemblage dedicated essentially to trade.

The quarter of the Residence is quieter, and also cooler. The arrangement of the settlement pattern is looser; the houses are spread out, and each is separated from its neighbor by a [351] kitchen garden, a courtyard, or a small pleasure garden. Near the administrative buildings care has even been taken to reserve and arrange some public squares in the shade of immense Gambia

18: Savonnet--19 E-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS37 Senegal

/82/
36
102
491
496
712

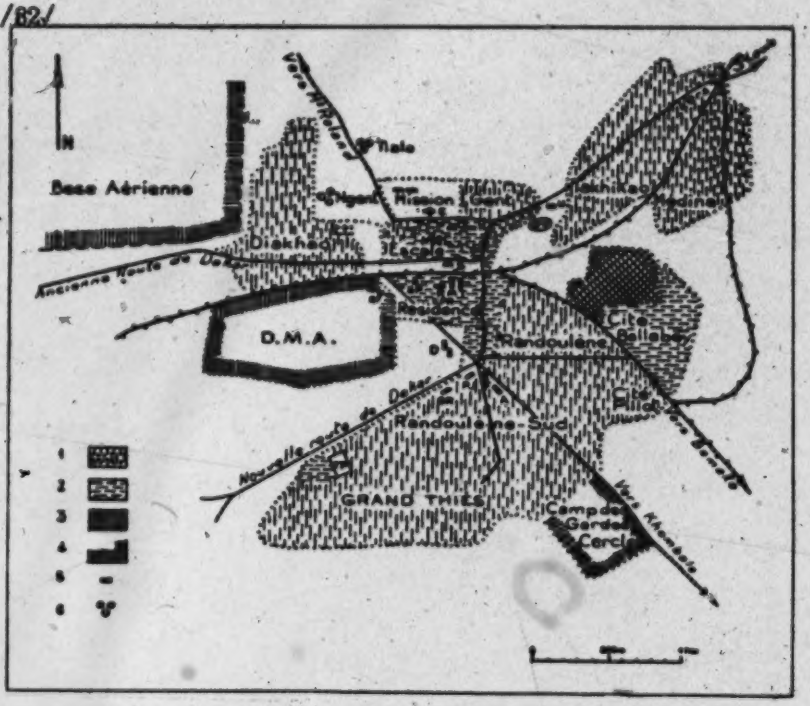


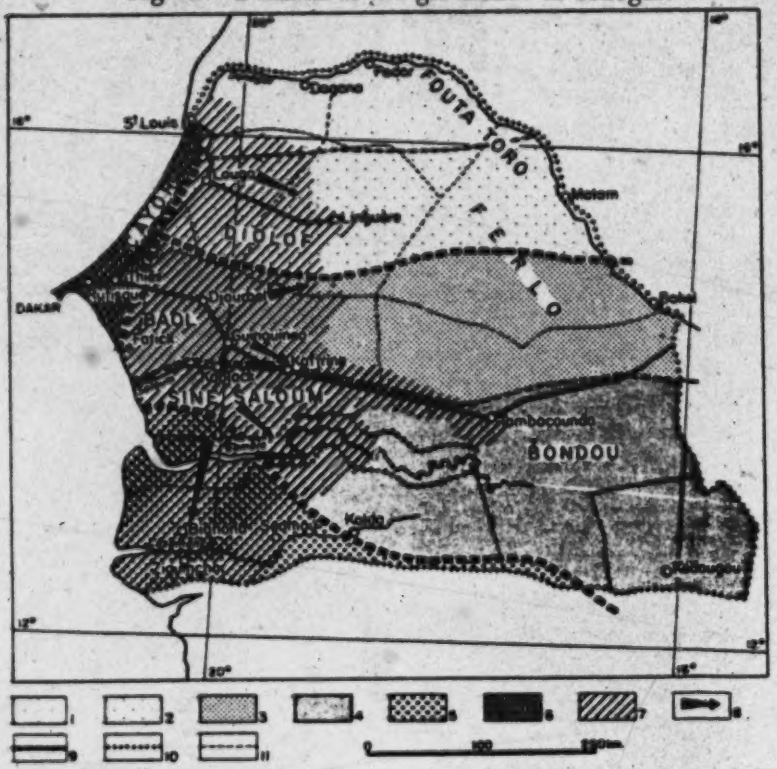
Fig. 4. Thies in 1954.

1. Residential zone of Africans; 2. Residential zone of Europeans; 3. Industrial zone; 4. Military bases;5. Administrative and religious buildings; 5. Village. E-- Catholic church; U-- Mosque; V-- Posts; C-- College; L-- Police; S-- Station; N-- Gendarmery; P-- Primary school; RF-- Faidherbe Redoubt; SP-- Société de Prévoyance /Welfare Society/; M-- Town Hall. T-- Treasury; R-- Residence of the Commander of the Circle; Pr-- Prison; D-- Dispensary; TP-- Public Works; PJ-- Palace of Justice; GR-- Bus station; P-- Collector's office. A-- Firemen.

/8 cont./

Fig. 1. Domain of the groundnut in Senegal.

102
103
131
244
311
496


FOUTA TORO
FERLO
DIOLOF
BADI
SIN-SALOUM
BONDOU
St Louis
DAKAR
Matam
Bakel
Kaolack
Tambacounda
Dagana
Podor
Louga
Mbour
Diourbel
Fatick
Kaffrine
Koungheul
Kolda
Ziguinchor
Sedhiou
Bignona
Oussouye
Goudomp
Vélingara
Bounkiling
Bignona
Bambey
Mékhé
Tivaouane
Thiès
Mbacké
Gossas
Nioro
Foundiougne
Guinguinéo
Nioro
Koungheul
Tambacounda
Kaffrine
Kolda
Vélingara
Bakel
Matam
Podor
Dagana
Louga
Mbour
Diourbel
Fatick
Kaolack
Bignona
Oussouye
Goudomp

/375 cont./

102
133

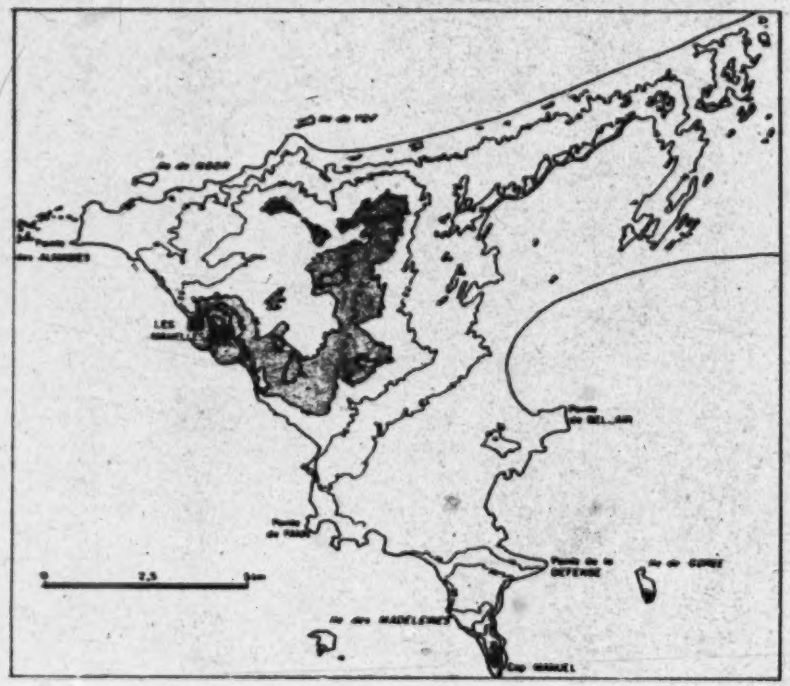


Fig. 1 The site of Dakar.

175
369

of making it a kind of colony (Pl. XXI A).

But at the same time, with slavery abolished, Europe was instituting new forms of relations with the underdeveloped countries, imposing itself on the populations for the establishment of a new order less cruel than slavery and better suited for profitable improvements that were more diversified, more systematic, and more in accord with the requirements of the European societies which the technical and industrial revolution was more and more transforming. From this perspective, Dakar could become an incomparable point of support: its site was favorable for the establishment of a city: its coves could harbor a military port and a commercial port.

[712] Thus, on 25 May 1857, Dakar was officially occupied in the

[See category 116, P. 15--Analyst]

/379 cont./

●102
496
508
504
491
361

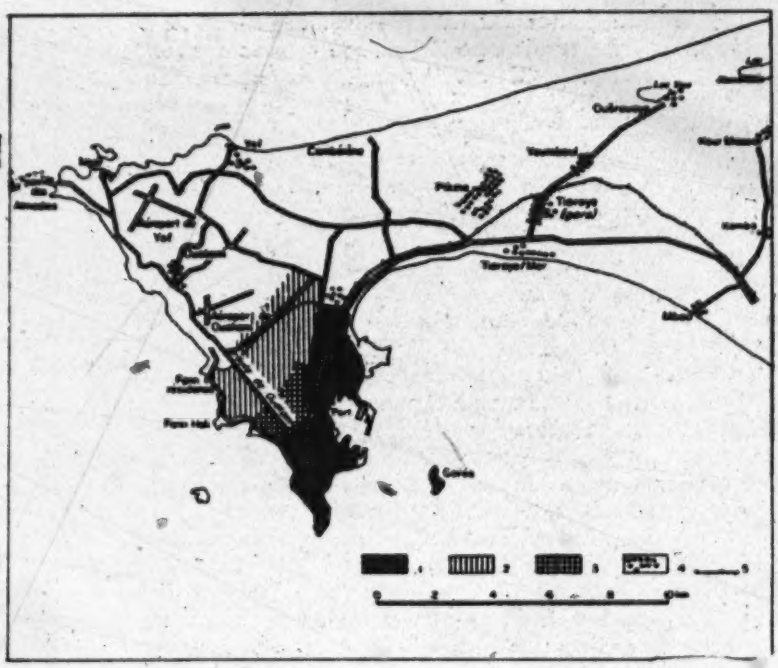


Fig. 2. The quarters of Dakar. --1. Dakar-ville and the industrial zone; 2. Greater Dakar; 3. Médina; 4. villages of the suburbs; 5. railroads.

369 groundnuts at Rufisque, nearer to the centers of production in
505 Cayor. Therefore Rufisque soon became the groundnut capital.
439 As early as 1862, 27 European or Gorêan merchants were estab-
[441] lished there (and 12 at Bargny, located three kilometers farther to the east). Three years later, this figure climbed to 35 (14).

14. Note 1 in Fondation de Dakar, op. cit., p. 328.

369
633 The activity at Rufisque was so great and the launching of Dakar so

/Between pp. 382-383/

36
102
491
496
504
712
743

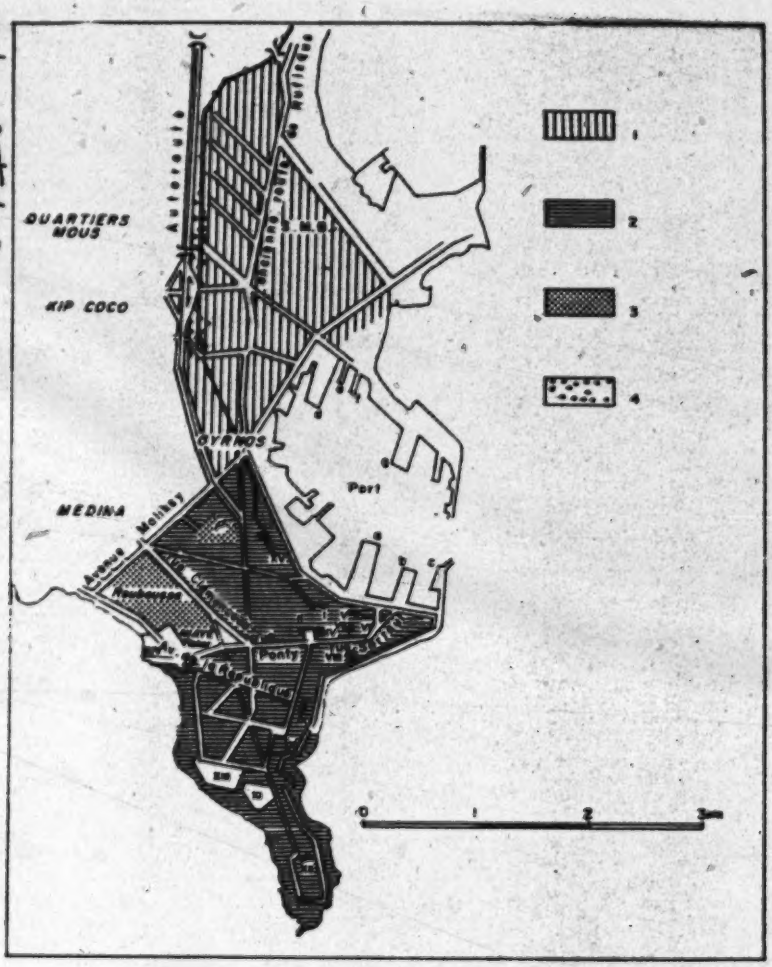


Fig. 3. Dakar. The port and the industrial zone. -- 1. The industrial zone; 2. the very urbanized sections; 3. low quarters; 4. irregular quarters.

(Caption Continued on following page.)

/Fig. 3 Caption cont./

36
102
491
496
504
712
743

a-g. The piers. -- I. Town Hall. -- II. Chambre de Commerce. -- III. Sandaga Market (Ponty-Clemenceau cross-roads). -- IV. Former Palace of Justice. -- V. General Postoffice. -- VI. Treasury. -- VII. Kermel Market. -- VIII. Military Circle. -- IX. Residence of the President of the Republic. -- X. Military Hospital. -- XI. African Hospital. -- XII. Palace of Justice. -- XIII. Camp Bornis. -- XIV. Camp Galliéni. -- XV. Station.

369
563
162

/383 cont./ one another in Dakar are Lébou, Ouolof /Wolof/, Toucouleur /Tukolor/, Sérère /Serer/, Sarakolé, Diola, Socé, etc., who are Senegalese, but there are also Mauritanians, Sudanese, Voltaics, Guineans, Ivorians /persons from the Ivory Coast/, Dahomeans, Cape Verdeans, Lebano-Syrians, French, etc. The Lébou, who are the original population of Dakar, today represent scarcely one-tenth of the population, exceeded in number by the Oulof, the Toucouleur (20), and even by the 30,000 non-Africans,

[113]

20. A. Diop, "L'immigration toucouleur à Dakar (enquête /investigation/ 1958-1959)," I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 1. The author, citing an investigation by the M.I.S.O.E.S., gives the figure of 31,000 Toucouleur in 1959.

among whom the French constitute a great majority of close to 23,000 persons in residence. This character of Dakar as a [166] region of call is illustrated first by the fact that only a little more than one-third of the population was born there. /384/ and then by the quite obvious inequality between the number of men and that of women. Before the war, among the Europeans, there were 65% men as against 25% women and 10% [744] children (21). Today the systematic destruction of the

21. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar," op. cit., p. 630.

/386/

102
491
361
363
496

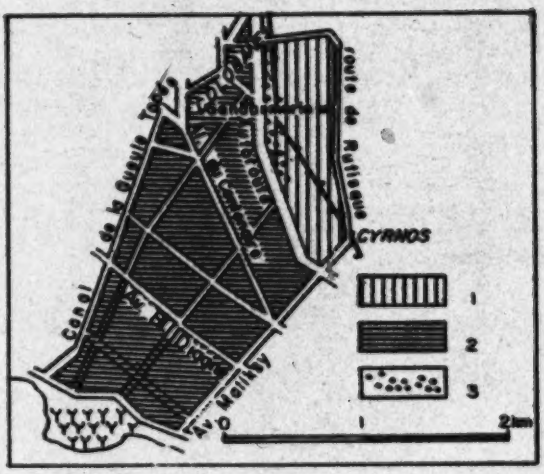


Fig. 4. Médina. -- 1. Industrial zone;
2. quarters more or less urbanized;
3. irregular quarters.

369 which progressively transformed the Dakar agglomeration.
563 There was first the creation of the S. T. A. G. D. (Service temporaire de l'aménagement du Grand-Dakar /Temporary
[361] Office for the Arrangement of Greater Dakar/) for a systematic urbanization of the city. Then there was the decision to promote a policy of lodgings for African officials, while a society for a mixed economy, the Société Immobilière du Cap-Vert (S. I. C. A. P.) /Building Society of Cape Verde/
[362] studied and made up forms for cheap dwellings for mere renting or for rent-sale. At the same time there was the law called "Lamine Gueye," which equalized upward several
[465] elements of the African and non-African wages at the time when "l'africanisation des cadres" /Africanization of the
[647] staffs/ was promoted, which led to a mixture of Africans and Europeans in the administrative lodgings and in the new quarters for officials. Finally, first the staff-law and then autonomy

/389/

102
361
363
873
712

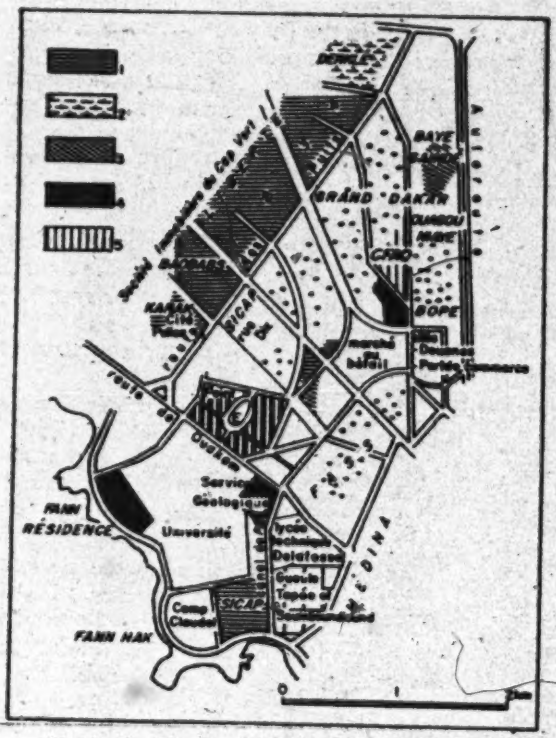


Fig. 5. Greater Dakar. -- 1. Officials' quarter; 2. Derklé; 3. H. L. M.; 4. houses of officials; 5. loan grouping.

/390 cont./

361
369

4. The suburbs. The suburbs of Dakar are composed of 13 villages, of which those closest to Dakar, Ouakam, N'Gor, Yoff, Hann, Thiaroye, and M'Bao resemble Colobane. The others remain typical traditional villages. Only Dagoudane-Pikime escapes either category. Created ex nihilo less than ten years ago to serve as an outlet for the irregulars of Dakar who were to be found there, driven back as urbanism progressed, [162] it already has the appearance of a little city with its 10,000 inhabitants.

/391 cont./

107
491
496
487
433

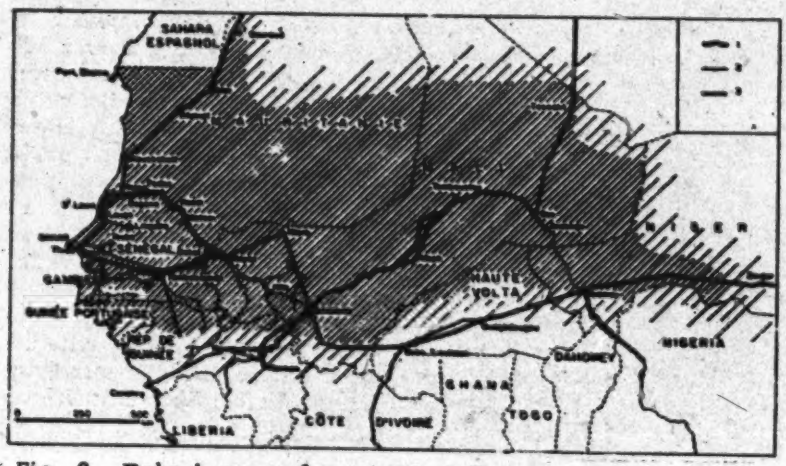


Fig. 6. Dakar's zone of economic influence.
1. Navigable course; 2. railroad;
3. road.

369 Sudanese interior, but also for the whole of former French West
433 Africa through the role of management that the administrative
439 offices, the banks, and the great commercial agencies play from Dakar.

In truth, however, this pre-eminence of Dakar which rests only on its role as a relay-station, a "service station," which receives for redistribution, carries with it grave weaknesses. And first of all it is necessary to note that the influence of Dakar, which extends supremely over a regional assemblage larger than France, is actually /392/ nothing less than a sign of the underdevelopment of the regions thus dominated. It in fact signifies for them an economy of trade, without local conversion of the products, with few urban centers playing an important role in regional management. Now, precisely this influence, while maintaining the economy of trade, prevents any new orientation of the economy in a national sense. Because of this, the ties uniting Dakar with its zone of influence appear to be of the same nature as those that tie the colonies to their mother countries, or, more accurately, they are only shackles; the nationalism of the new states will confuse them in a similar

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Gambia FC1

S
G
102
103
131
133
361
491
S
496

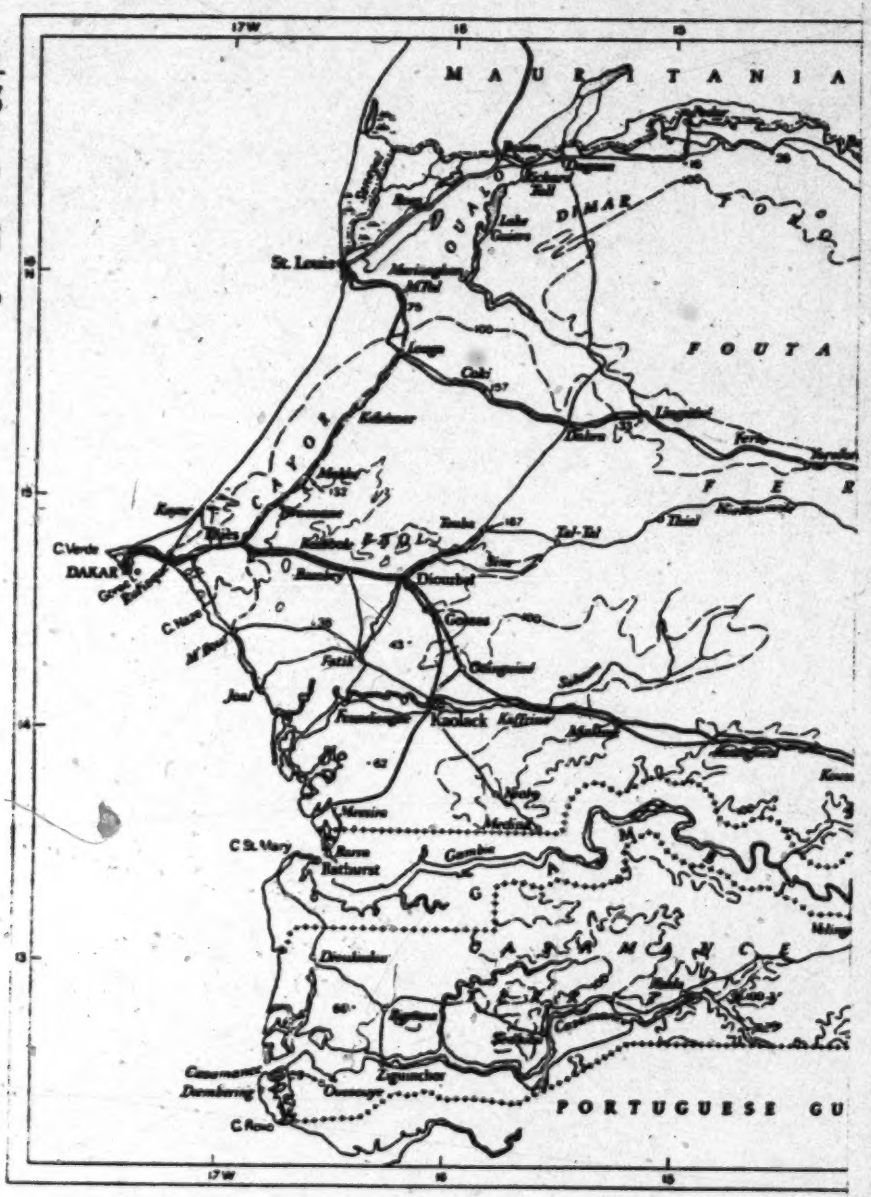


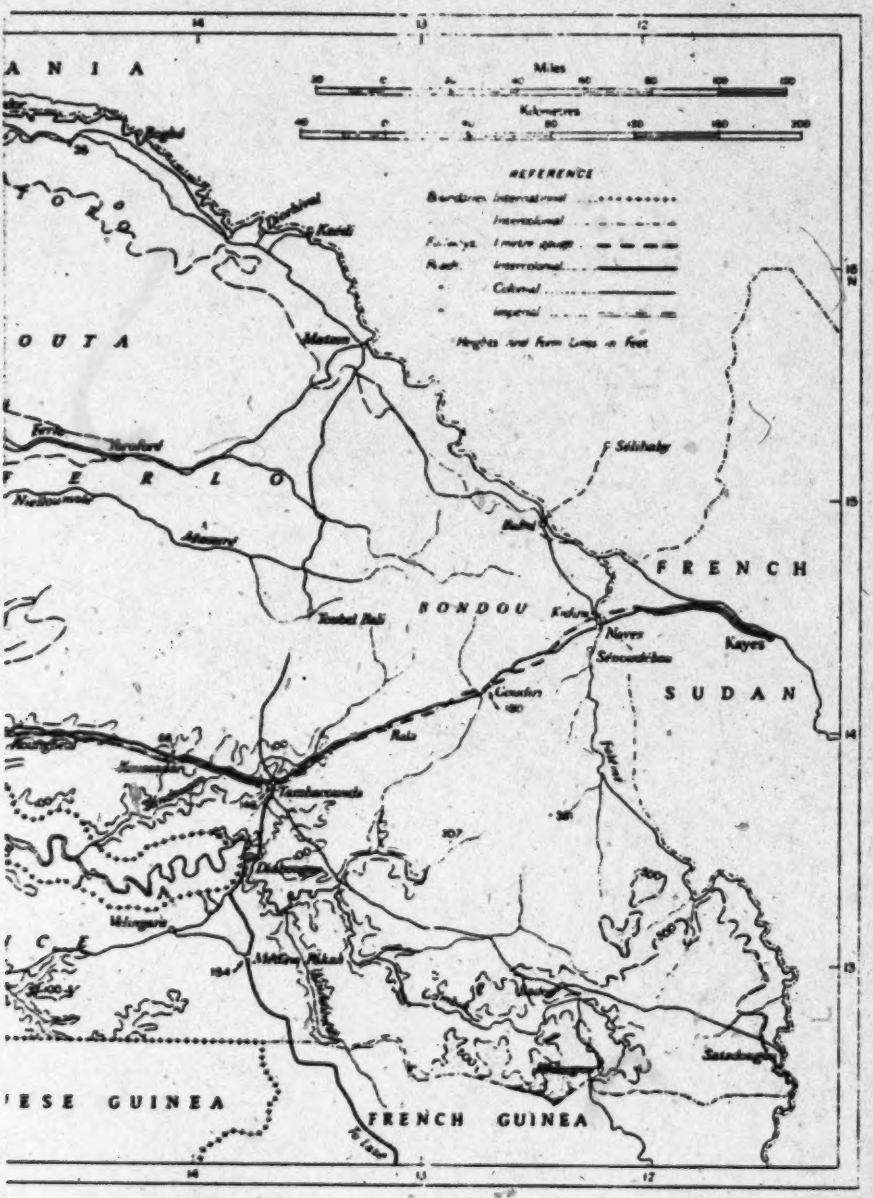
FIG. 47. Senegal

[Facing P. 395 (A)]

[Pp i-xvi and pp. 1-394 not processed]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 39
Gambia FC1

S
G
102
103
131
133
361
491
S
496


Miles
Kilometres
REFERENCE
Boundaries International
Provincial
Railways Metre gauge
Roads International
Colonial
Imperial
Heights and form lines in feet
FRENCH
SUDAN
BONDOU
Kayes
Mamou
Kindia
Kankan
Siguiri
Bamako
Dakar
Ferlo
Nioro
Tambacounda
Bakel
Matam
Kaedi
Podor
Saint-Louis
Ziguinchor
Bissau
Bissau
Bolama
Boke
Conakry
Labe
Mamou
Dinguiraye
Mali
Niger
Volta
Senegal
Gambia
FRENCH GUINEA
GUINEA
Niger
Senegal
Gambia
Volta
Niger
Senegal
Gambia
Volta
Niger
Senegal
Gambia
Volta

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M837 Senegal MS 37

133 1½ miles off shore from Dakar, is the historic island of Goree (p. 449).
[504] The bay is protected by the Cape Verde peninsula and affords good anchorage at a depth of 11 fathoms, and its beaches provide numerous landing-points for ships' boats.

[361] The village of Hann, in the middle of the shore of Hann bay, is a

102
491
133
361
103

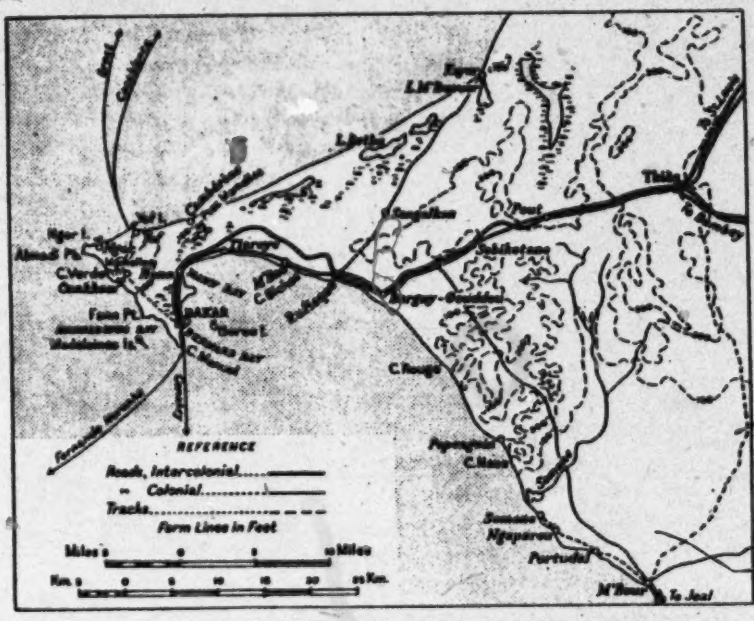


FIG. 48. *The Cape Verde Peninsula*

133
[361] seaside resort for the inhabitants of Dakar. There is also a botanical
[367] garden. The intercolonial road and the railway run near the sea and
[491] are never far from it until they pass Bargny-Gouddou. North-east of
[496] Hann there is a narrow lagoon between the sea and the road, and the coast bears away north-east, east, and east-south-east for the 11 miles to Rufisque (p. 449). There is much marshland, and the sole feature
[361] of note is Cape Biches, a low promontory 2 miles before the town. Bargny-Gouddou is 3 miles east-south-east of Rufisque, and beyond it the coast is cut up by creeks and lagoons, which have small seasonal rivers running into them. Behind them are scattered sandhills which rise eastwards to hills of 200 and 300 feet. Cape Rouge, which barely projects into the sea, has red cliffs intersected by wooded ravines.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[p 402]
102
103
133
491
361

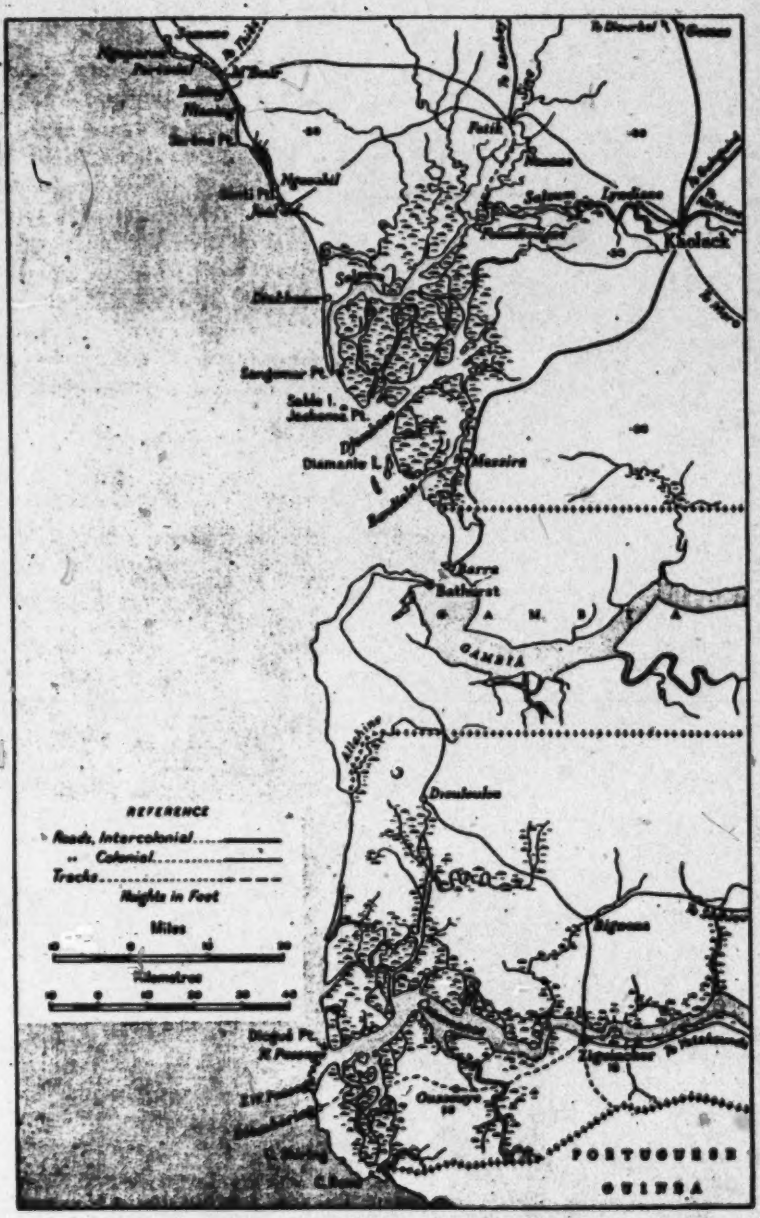


FIG. 49. *Senegal: the Coast from Ngaparou to Cape Roxo*

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

president, but the Governor has the right of addressing it and of deputing high officials to speak to it of the work of their own departments. It appoints a Standing Committee, which can meet to trans- 646 [643]

102 103 635 634

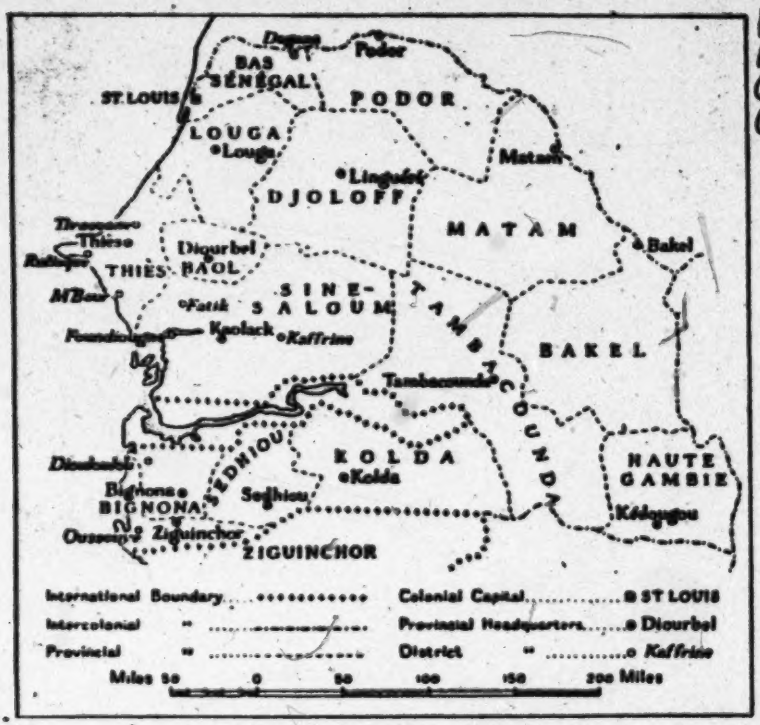


FIG. 52. *Senegal: Administrative Divisions*

act business when the full Council is not in session. It is bound, however, to report to its parent body. 646

The Council's powers are wide. It must be consulted on a proposal to create new communes, and it may advise on any matter put before it by the Governor. It may legislate on eight stated topics, which are chiefly concerned with the management of state property and with the colony's financial contributions to the public works of the Federation. This legislation comes into force within two months, unless previously vetoed by the Governor-General. The Council also has the right to deliberate the assessment and collection of [643] [652] [648] [652]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

36
102
491
504
712
133

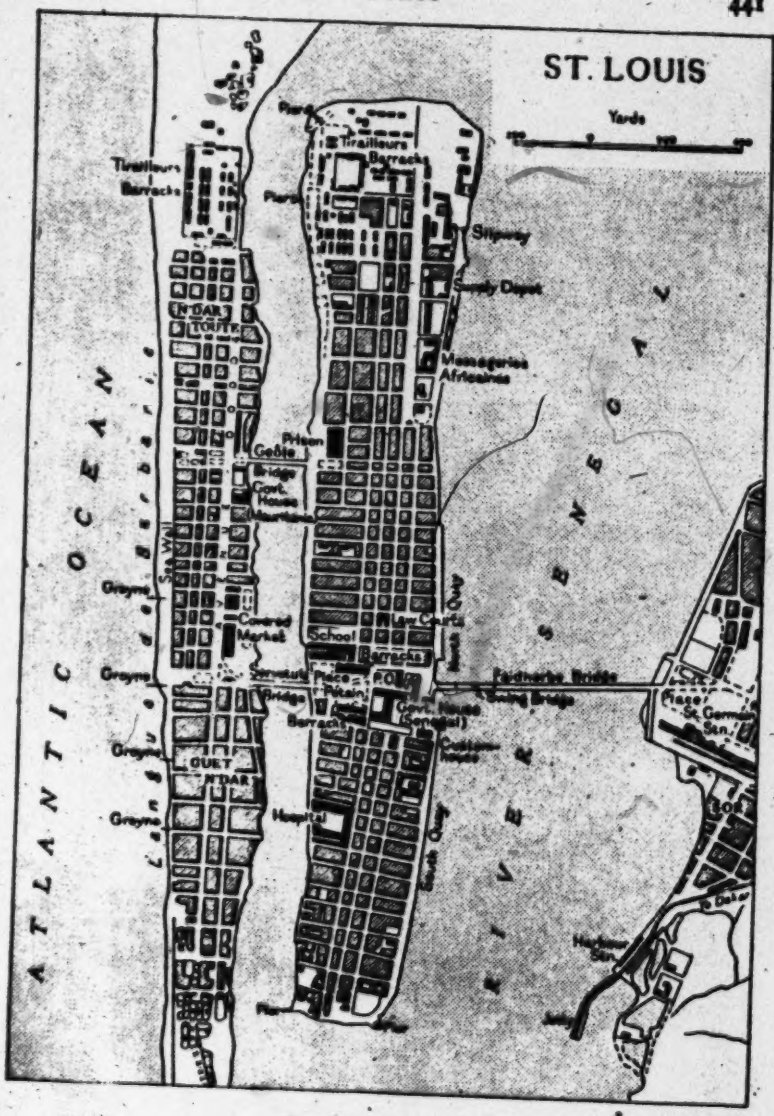


FIG. 53. *St. Louis*

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[p 445]

36
504
764
206
502
102
743
712
498
133

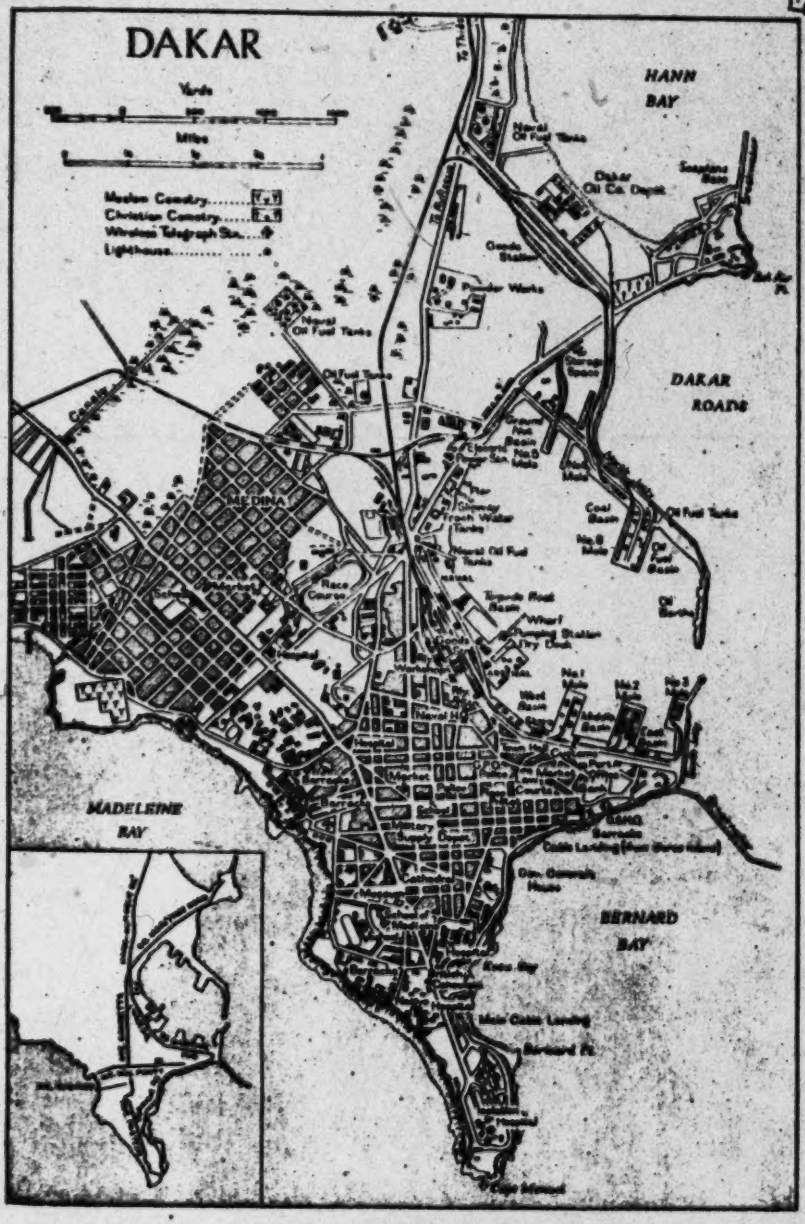
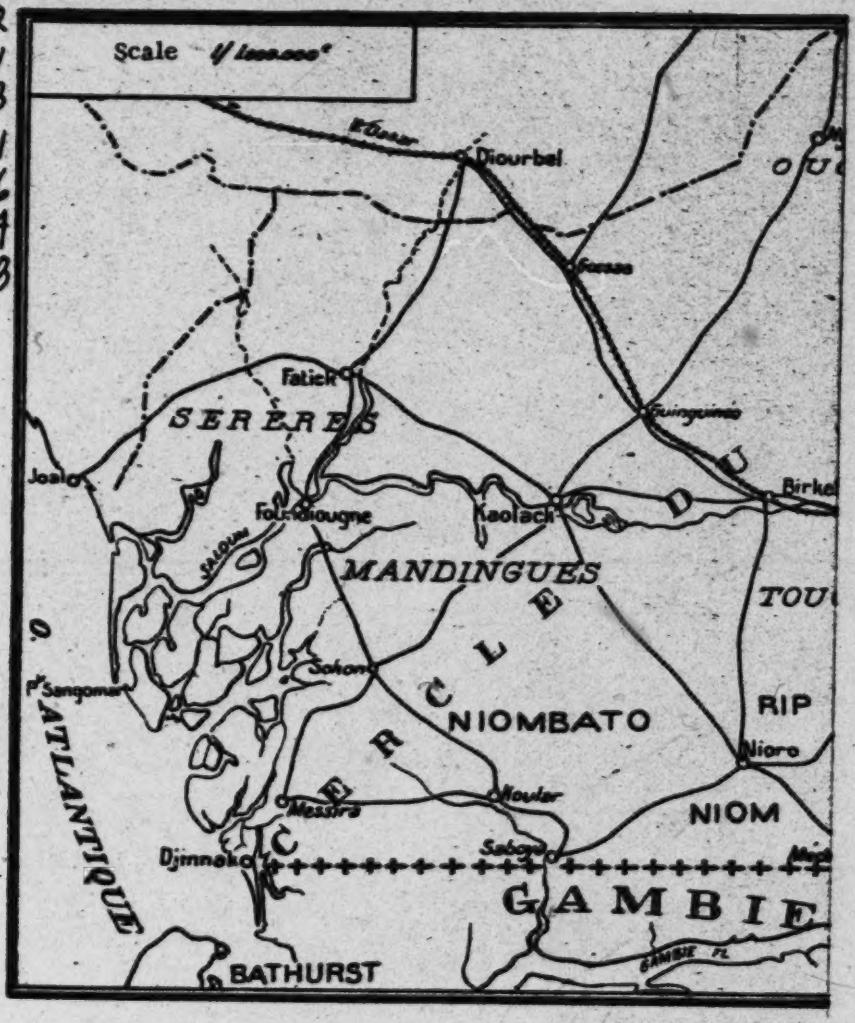


FIG. 54. *Dakar*

/Between 100 and 101/

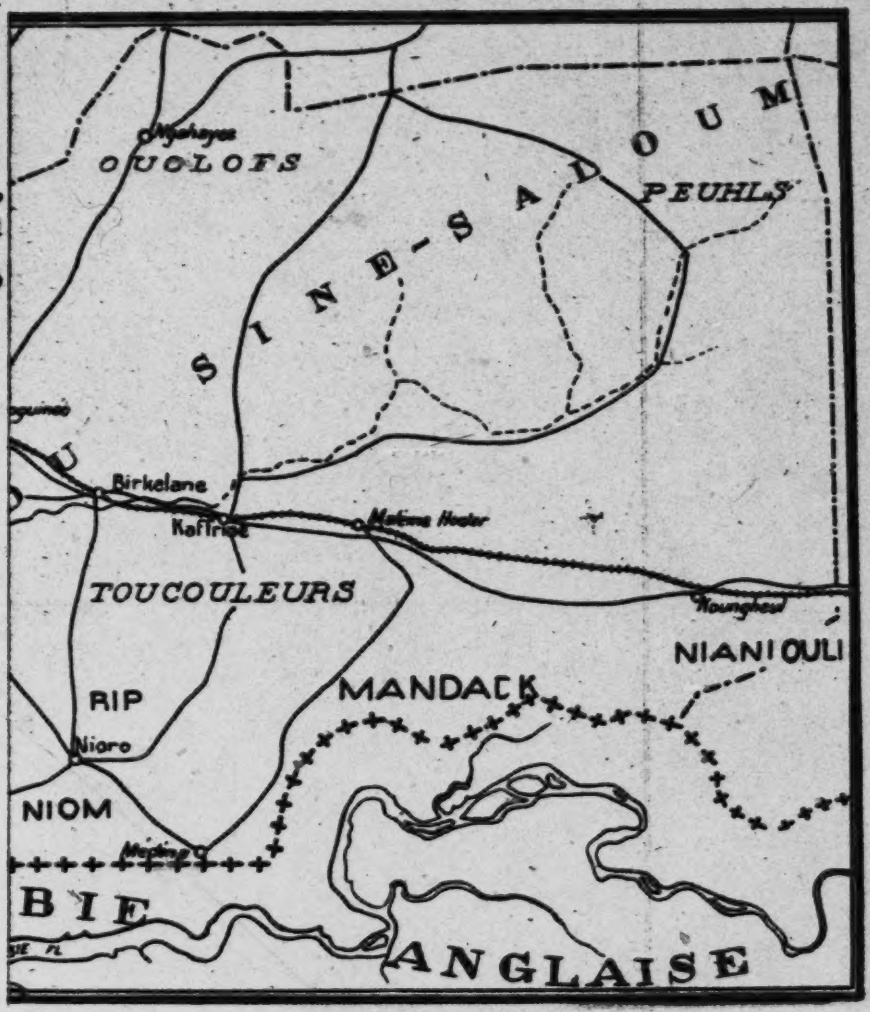
102
131
133
491
496
634
563



Circle of Sine Saloum

/left side of map/

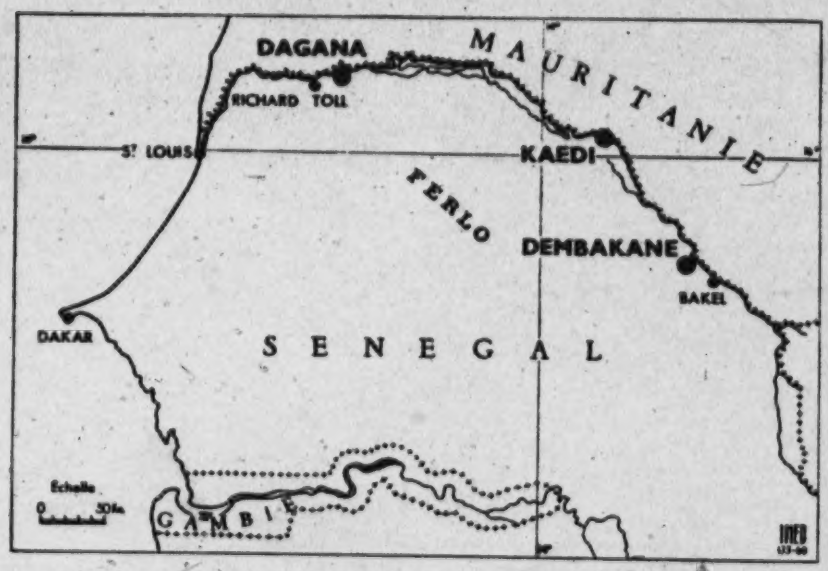
102
131
133
491
496
634
563



Circle of Sine Saloum

/right side of map/

102
103
131
133



Map No. 1. /Mauritanie = Mauritania; Gambie = Gambia; eschelle = scale./

128 and variation of these facts with regard to dates and regions, thanks to
143 various registers which have existed for several generations (Sutter and Tabah [4] and [5], Sutter [6]).

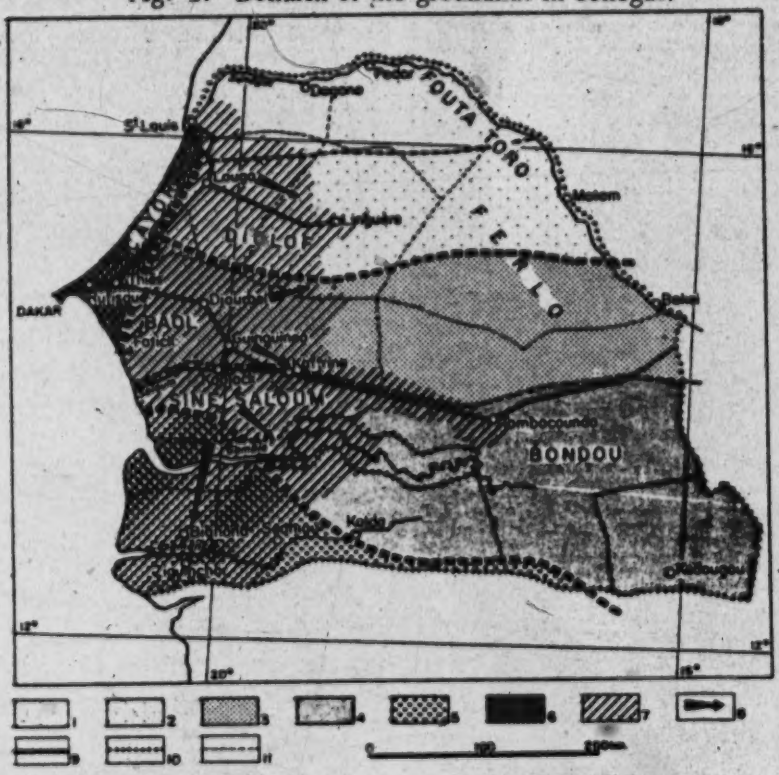
114 In the western part of Africa it is difficult to gather this kind of
143 information, which the administrative censuses do not normally give. The first quantitative study of endogamy by M. de Lestrange in Guinea among the Coniagui [7] has permitted an evaluation of the size of the isolate, one woman /667/ being able to choose her partner from among 400 to 500 men, but does not specify the frequency of consanguineous unions. It deals with a closed population limited to 8,000 persons.

143 The population of the valley of the Senegal itself is much
125 more extensive and, in principle, not closed. In this case a demographic inquiry by sampling, taking one out of ten, has been resorted to, which made it possible to establish, in 1957, not only its classic characteristics of structure (sex, age, ethnic affiliation, place of birth, etc.) and of natural change (fertility, mortality), but also elements permitting precise determination of its degree of endogamy,

/8 cont./

102
103
131
244
311
496

Fig. 1. Domain of the groundnut in Senegal.



1. Sahelo-Saharan zone;
2. Sahelo-Sudanese zone;
3. Sudano-Sahelian zone .
4. Sudano-Guinea zone.
5. Guinea zone.
6. Coastal zone with relics of the Guinea woodland.
7. Groundnuts.
8. Progression of the domain of the groundnut.
9. Railroad.
10. Boundaries of the states.
11. Boundaries of the circles.

369
175
[113]

/373 cont./

presqu'île du Cap-Vert,"
op. cit., p. 274

square kilometer nevertheless satisfied a double /374/ /Fig. 1 appears here / concern of the Hollanders, security and commerce: security first for the ships, which could find an excellent anchorage in the bay on the northeast of the island, immediately so appreciated that its excellence -- Goede reede, "the good roadstead" in Dutch -- served to designate the establishment under the name of Gorée (8) in distinguishing

[103]

8. Nora and Ch. Toupet,
"L'origine du nom de Gorée,"
in Notes Africaines, January 1959,
pp. 17-20, I.F.A.N., Dakar.

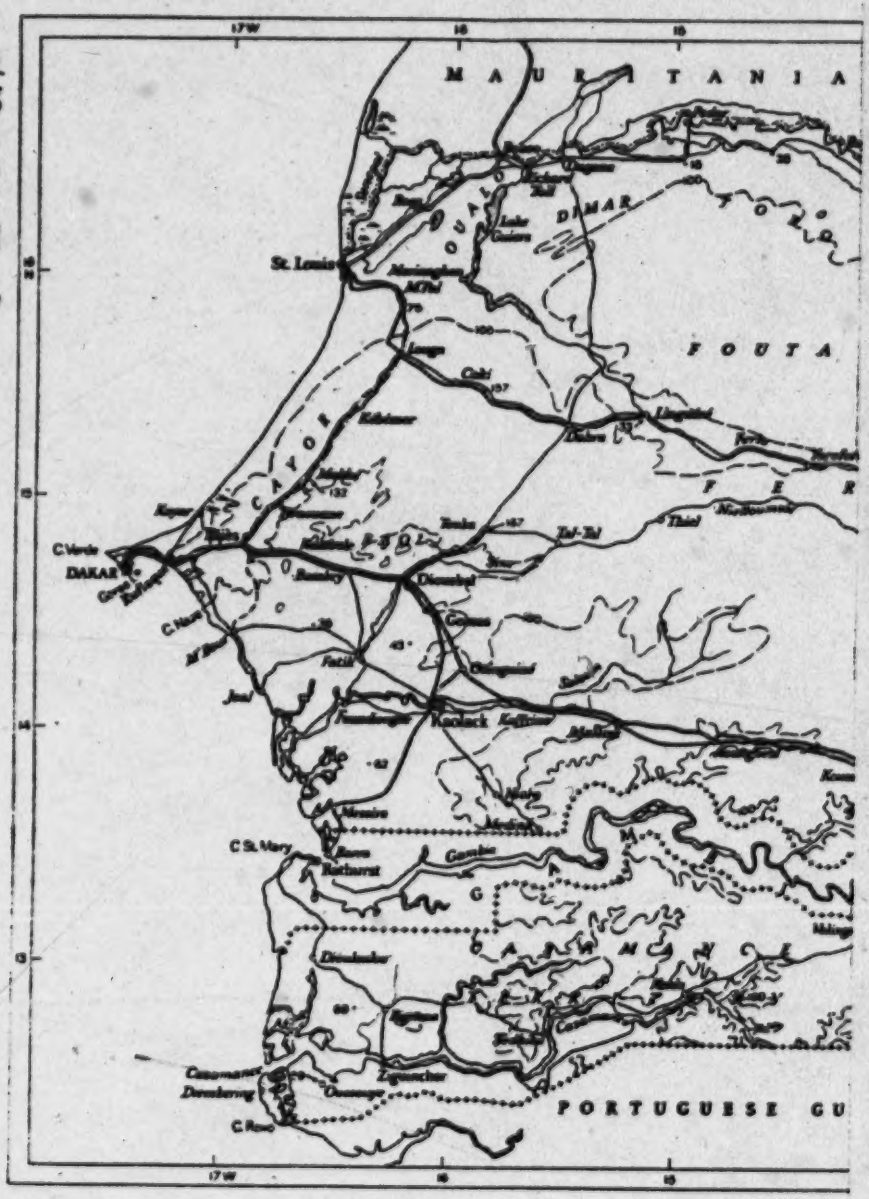
[113]

it from the other islands of the peninsula; and then, security for the occupants. From this point of view, the insularity would have been a great advantage for the site of Dakar. Finally, with regard to commerce, the island of Gorée, although minuscule, sufficed for barter with the natives of the coast and could well fill its role as a warehouse for products and slaves. As soon as these views were confirmed by the facts, Gorée became the object of competition among the Hollanders, French, and British, finally coming to the French. In spite of this changing of hands, the establishment of Gorée, thanks to the slave trade, /375/ prospered, and around 1845 it harbored more than 5,000 persons. The abolition of the trade, and then that of slavery, around the middle of the century dealt it a mortal blow, bringing about a crisis from which Gorée did not recover. There was indeed an attempt at adaptation to the new conditions, the Goréans trying to make the island a place for commerce with the continent, where the cultivation of the groundnut had already developed, but on this point Gorée could not rival the peninsula. The inhabitants understood it; there were those who encouraged the occupation of Dakar with the idea

[439]
[162]
[567]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Gambia FC1

S
G
102
103
131
133
361
491
S
496



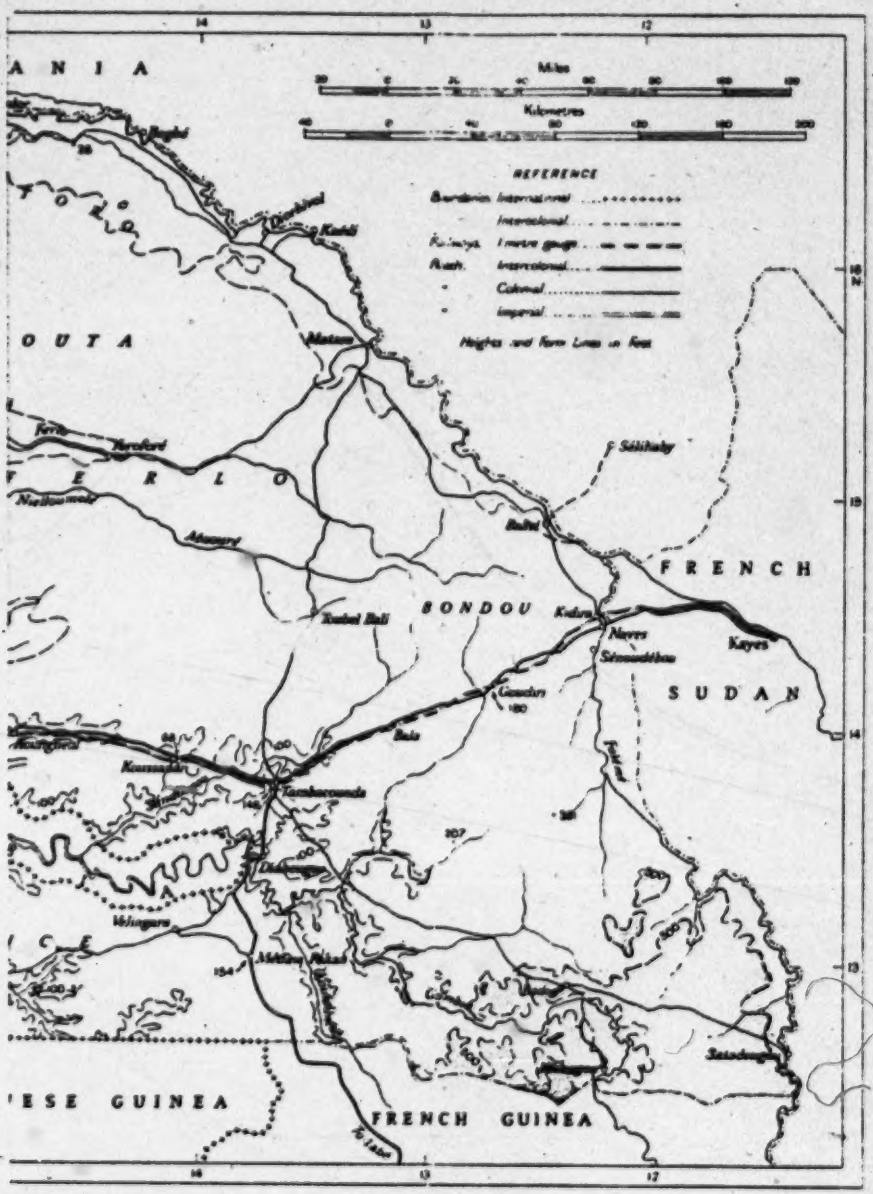
[Facing P. 395 (A)]

FIG. 47. Senegal

[Pp i-xvi and pp. 1-394 not processed]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 39
Gambia FC1

S
G
102
103
131
133
361
491
S
496


Miles
Kilometres
REFERENCE
Boundaries International
Railways Metre gauge
Roads International
Colonial
Imperial
Heights and Form Lines in Feet
FRENCH
SUDAN
BONDOU
Kayes
Nioro
Bakel
Kaolack
Tambacounda
Kédougou
Bafata
Bissau
FRENCH GUINEA
Sandaroungo
Mamou
Kouroussa
Mamou
Kindia
Boke
Conakry
Kissidougou
Bissau
Bafata
Sandaroungo
Kédougou
Tambacounda
Kaolack
Bakel
Kayes
Nioro
Kindia
Mamou
Kouroussa

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

river is a sandy bar which sometimes prevents entry by ships for several weeks on end. After this the coast stretches south-south-westwards in a gentle curve of sandy beach. There are dunes along the shore, and, inland from them, the marshy depression already described on p. 397. There are very few villages and, indeed, very few landmarks of any kind. Seventy-four miles from the mouth of the Senegal the village of Kayar is perceptible from the sea. It is connected to Rufisque (17 miles) by a colonial road, and immediately south of it is Lake M'Baouar, which is seldom or never without water. After Kayar the coast trends more definitely south-west. Lake Retba, whose north-eastern end is 6½ miles from Kayar, is a permanent salt lake fed by the sea. There are other lakes and swamps behind the littoral dunes. On the coast itself stands another village, Cambérène, which is 22½ miles from Kayar and behind which rise the Petites Mamelles. These are three grey, isolated, sandy knolls, and they mark the beginning of the Cape Verde peninsula (Fig. 48).

133 [361] [491] [361]

The Cape Verde Peninsula and Goree Bay

Yof island (Plate 108), 3¼ miles west of Cambérène, stands off the village (Plate 109) of the same name. The beach on the mainland is accessible to surf-boats in all weathers. Just west of the village is a cable hut, where cables are landed, and a tarmac road runs southwards to Ouakam and Dakar. The coast is now more indented, and, 2½ miles south-west of Yof, is a ledge of rocks which joins the shore to Ngor island and behind which is the village of Ngor. Three-quarters of a mile farther west the coast turns almost due south to reach Almadi point (Plate 110), the extreme west of the mainland of Africa. There is a lighthouse on a rock three-quarters of a mile out to sea. Cape Verde itself is 2 miles to the south-east of Almadi point, and behind it are two conical hills called the Mamelles. It was the stunted brushwood on these hills that gave the cape its name. From here to Cape Manuel the coast continues its south-easterly direction, being formed of red cliffs and small sandy beaches. Fann point, 3¾ miles from Cape Verde, marks the north-western end of Madeleines bay, which washes the south-western side of Dakar (p. 444). Some 2 miles south-west are the four Madeleines islands, all of which are rocky and three of which are inaccessible. At Cape Manuel, which is 131 feet high, the coast turns sharply north to form Bernard bay. North of Dakar is Hann bay, and both of these small bays are on the western side of Goree bay. This is generally considered to stretch from Cape Manuel to Cape Rouge, and in it,

[361] [206] [491] [361] [502] [137] [103] [504]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

133 1½ miles off shore from Dakar, is the historic island of Goree (p. 449).
[504] The bay is protected by the Cape Verde peninsula and affords good anchorage at a depth of 11 fathoms, and its beaches provide numerous landing-points for ships' boats.

[361] The village of Hann, in the middle of the shore of Hann bay, is a

102
491
133
361
903

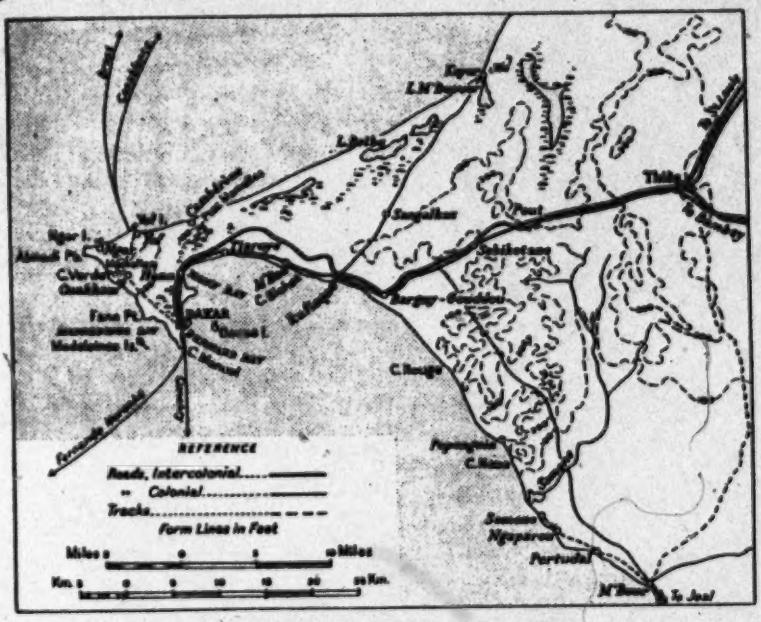


FIG. 48. *The Cape Verde Peninsula*

133
[361] seaside resort for the inhabitants of Dakar. There is also a botanical
[367] garden. The intercolonial road and the railway run near the sea and
[491] are never far from it until they pass Bargny-Gouddou. North-east of
[496] Hann there is a narrow lagoon between the sea and the road, and the coast bears away north-east, east, and east-south-east for the 11 miles to Rufisque (p. 449). There is much marshland, and the sole feature
[361] of note is Cape Biches, a low promontory 2 miles before the town. Bargny-Gouddou is 3 miles east-south-east of Rufisque, and beyond it the coast is cut up by creeks and lagoons, which have small seasonal rivers running into them. Behind them are scattered sandhills which rise eastwards to hills of 200 and 300 feet. Cape Rouge, which barely projects into the sea, has red cliffs intersected by wooded ravines.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[p 402]
102
103
133
491
361

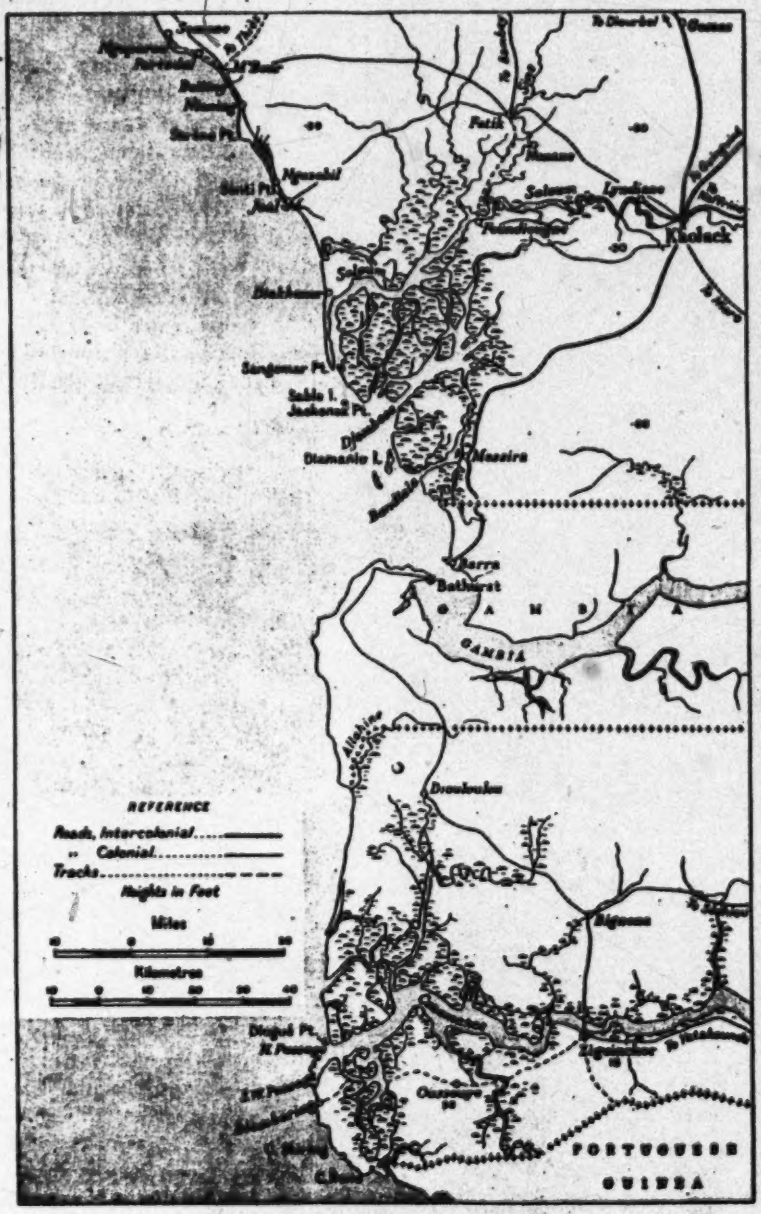


FIG. 49. *Senegal: the Coast from Ngaparou to Cape Roxo*

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

president, but the Governor has the right of addressing it and of deputing high officials to speak to it of the work of their own departments. It appoints a Standing Committee, which can meet to trans- 646 [643]

102 103 635 634

FIG. 52. *Senegal: Administrative Divisions*

act business when the full Council is not in session. It is bound, however, to report to its parent body. 646

The Council's powers are wide. It must be consulted on a proposal to create new communes, and it may advise on any matter put before it by the Governor. It may legislate on eight stated topics, which are chiefly concerned with the management of state property and with the colony's financial contributions to the public works of the Federation. This legislation comes into force within two months, unless previously vetoed by the Governor-General. The Council also has the right to deliberate the assessment and collection of [643] [652] [648] [652]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
ST. LOUIS

361 The oldest part of St. Louis (Fig. 53) stands on an island in the estuary of the Senegal. This island is some 2,400 yards long and averages 350 yards in width, and its southern extremity is 13½ miles from the mouth of the river. It has three main suburbs, N'Dar Toute and Guet N'Dar on the Langue de Barbarie, and Sor on the mainland.

History

361 175 [487] [103] Early navigators in search of the gold of Bambouk used the Senegal as a means of entry to the interior, and in 1658 a settlement was founded. This was the first French post in West Africa, and it was named after the patron saint of King Louis XIV. Its story has largely been told elsewhere, since, from the first, it played a prominent part in the general history of French West Africa as a whole and of Senegal in particular. The main events in the past were its capture by the British in 1759, its recapture in 1779, its second capture in 1809, [648] and its final restoration to the French in 1817. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it steadily grew in size and wealth, but in recent years it has been forced, both commercially and politically, to yield to Dakar.

The Town

361 The original island is now almost completely covered with buildings. These include Government House (Senegal), the Law Courts, the principal barracks, the power station, and the Roman Catholic church in the centre; the prison, two mosques, and another barracks to the north; and the hospital and another mosque to the south. N'Dar Toute has Government House (Mauritania) (Plate 92), the market, and yet another barracks, and Sor has the railway stations [1064] and the cemeteries. Guet N'Dar is inhabited almost entirely by natives.

491 361 The western arm of the river is crossed by two bridges. The Geôle Bridge, 150 yards long, connects the main town to N'Dar Toute, and it takes its name from the prison near its eastern end. Five hundred and sixty yards south of it is the Servotuis Bridge, the western end of which marks the dividing line between N'Dar Toute and Guet N'Dar. At the other end of it is an open space at present called Place Pétain. In a line with the Servotuis Bridge is the Faidherbe Bridge across the main stream. Built in 1900, this bridge is 570 yards long and has six fixed spans and a roadway 37 feet wide. Near its western end is a swing bridge with two openings each of 30 yards.

Senegal MS37

/356 cont./

W 125 648

Yamnone Boy and some persons from Woul who had followed him, that the first contact between Europeans and Blacks of the Lower Senegal took place. They would have remained face to face for two hours without daring to approach one another, but the White, being of more lively spirit than the Blacks, ended by extending his hand to them. This gesture was interpreted as a gesture of peace, and little by little the Blacks drew nearer. The White gave some presents to the montaubé; he gave him brandy, sugar, biscuits, sail rope, and other small articles. In exchange, the montaubé gave him eggs, chickens, milk, and manglier fruits (2). Rawane

2. It seems that Rawane Boy means "mango."

W [366]

Boy indicates N'Dâ as the first market of the region; we can probably understand "place of exchange between Whites and natives." Indeed, it seems that the Whites afterwards came to this place to provision themselves with fresh food.

When the Whites set out again, they saw a small /357/ dugout and seemed surprised. The montaubé said to them, "Sano gâl," in Ouoloff, "it is our dugout" (1).

W S 103

1. Rawane Boy thus gives a new etymology of the name of Senegal. Sane or sun = our, and gâl = dugout, small boat. The French to whom the dugout was shown would have seen the river and understood that the expression "sano gal" accompanying the gesture designated it.

Sabatié, Le Sénégal, sa conquête et son organisation /Senegal, Its Conquest and Its Organization/, Note 1 of p. 3, reports this etymology. We agree with him in thinking that, in spite of the facility of transposing vowels in Ouoloff, one cannot translate sèn as "our"; the

Senegal MS37

/357 cont./

form in which he gives this etymology would therefore be more acceptable than that of Rawane Boy.

W 175 648 S W [103]

In contrast, Rawane, not without a selfish purpose, insists on the fact that these friendly feelings of the Blacks for the Whites were restricted to the French, that they have always been preferred to the English and to the Portuguese. He gives, not without variations, an explanation for this. According to him, one of the successors of Yamnone, and also called Yamnone or Yam Boy, was killed by strangers (2). These

2. Which he sometimes calls Spaniards, sometimes Portuguese, and he gives the date of this murder as 1446.

strangers were busy making bricks and building a dwelling near Beur Thiacka (3) (or Beurt) near the island of Safal. An argu-

3. See above, Appendix No. 1 of the preceding chapter, pages 24, 25 and 26.

ment arose between them and the Whites stabbed him, and then they left. The people of N'Dâ buried the corpse on the island of Sor.

W [631]

From 1626 (4) the French commenced having friendly

4. And yet on Lambert's first voyage, which took place at about this time, there was a skirmish with the Blacks (Jeannequin, op. cit.).

relations with the chiefs of the country, the montel of Leybar, the diagne of Sor, and Yam Seck of Sor. Since then there have never been any difficulties between them. At that time they found the two new villages established on the island of Sor.

W [361]

/390 cont./

125 artisans it was necessary, aside from their family accounts, to
434 consider those of their occupational activity; with regard to the cultivators, it is certainly /391/ among them that the greatest percentage of error is found. We have taken into account the proceeds from the sale of their harvest, often underestimated by the one concerned, the portion for home consumption, and the income obtained by supplementary activities practiced in the dry season, in order to arrive at an income figure that could be compared to that for salaried workers.

125 But, nearly all of the women, almost all of whom declare
434 themselves to be "without occupation," have minor sources of
462 income that permit them to balance a budget, or at least partially to make up a deficit. It is often a matter of small-scale
[536] commerce, sometimes domestic work, and sometimes the talents
[565] of an actress which attract sympathy and gifts, as we verified for a family of the griot /singer, storyteller/ caste. It was therefore necessary to look closely at each case before setting an exact figure. We nevertheless believe that we have been mistaken in two or three cases, which will reveal themselves below.

125 Of course, there were often cases where in a family, or
434 rather let us say in the same "unit of consumption," since this
592 is the term that we shall use most often (1), several persons

[104] 1. Each time that we speak of "family,"
[594] it is actually the unit of consumption that is involved. To designate the familial grouping in the Western sense of the word, we shall use the term "restricted family."

received income. The entire income retained is not always the sum of these incomes. We have studied the budgets of groups and not the budgets of individuals. Now, these groups, these "units of consumption," only rarely correspond to the restricted family of Western type. They often contain individuals who, whether or not they have a kin tie with a member of the restricted family, on the one hand participate in the economic

/394 cont./

*511 592 the units of consumption with high incomes, for example, in families 31, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41. But its financial consequences will be more oppressive in the others /395/

/Table I appears here./

*511 434 /396/ Table II[1] lists, along with the ethnic group and the occupation of the head of the unit of consumption, the incomes in increasing order and the routine expenses verified during the month of the investigation. The small incomes, up to 10,000 francs, are essentially those of the laborers, orderlies, and two very petty artisans, a mattress-maker and a baker. We also find (No. 11) an auxiliary (1) worker of the

[104] [463]

1. The name "auxiliary" D.N. serves here to designate unskilled workers. It was borrowed from administrative terminology (used by the Dakar-Niger, "D.N.").

Dakar-Niger, whose low income is explained by the fact that he is just starting in his occupation.

The cultivator whose income we have estimated at 8,150 francs actually cultivates very few fields. His family lives by means of very small-scale commerce practiced separately by the head of the family, his two wives, and his two sisters, all very old.

The incomes from 10,000 to 15,000 francs per month are those of the office employees and the unskilled workers (in the case of the laborer No. 15 there are actually two incomes which are combined). Two cultivators open the series starting at 15,000 and then we find successively the workers and skilled employees, a large-scale cultivator, and, in the category of large incomes, besides a truck-gardener and a jeweler, a representative of the liberal professions, our teachers and our doctor, the managerial workers and employees. No.

1 [see cat 116 pp 13+14 - ANALYST]

originaire - a person born in one of the quatre communes, thus having the status of a French citizen (citoyen).

sujet - a person who does not enjoy the rights of a French citizen.

Quatre Communes - Four Towns: Dakar, Gorée, St. Louis and Rufisque.

Conseil-Général - General Council

/22 cont./ 369x
itself, its variable importance depending on religions, ethnic [595]
groups, socio-occupational categories.

B. -- The numerical importance of the groups of rela- 369x
tives making up a single household is very variable. We have 592
defined the household /maisonnée/: the assemblage of persons [104]
living in a single house or a single group of houses, and putting
together at least a part of their resources.

1. Some remarks are necessary here in order to place conveniently the data gathered.

/23/ Certain households are composed of groups of persons having no ties of kinship between them -- in extreme cases, not even of ethnic relationship. In particular this is the [589]
case for groups of bachelors who rent a room with common funds, a case that is quite frequent among the seasonal workers, but this is a category that has only briefly been studied up to now. The investigation by questionnaires is practically limited [125]
to the permanent population. The elements relating to the composition of the household thus concern kinship groups almost exclusively. We obtain an approximation adequate for our purpose.

There are some facts which we shall be able to take into account only in the statement of qualitative data. On the one hand, a certain number of households are tied by kinship or by marriage with immediately neighboring households. Even though there is no life in common for the whole of the family group, its different parts continue to have constant relations. This aspect will be brought out in the last part of our work. On the other hand, the restricted polygamous family, in a certain [595]
number of cases, is not assembled in one and the same place; each wife, with her children, forms the nucleus of a household, which other members of the kinship group eventually come to join; the head of the family passes from one household to another (1)

1. This fact is less marked, however, than in a town like Saint-Louis.

/71 cont./

361 reaches the summit of the plateau.

[133] [137] The landscape which one then discovers seems more open: few trees or none at all; only a shrubby vegetation in the form of brush from which some baobab tops emerge. In the background there gradually appears the light color of the first houses of Thiès. The contrast between the green foliage of the city and the surrounding countryside, bare and yellow, blinding with light, is striking, especially in the dry season.

The aerial photograph, or better still the flight, makes this contrast appear even sharper. The city, with roughly triangular outlines and divided into large patches of geometrical squares flecked with innumerable dark spots of green foliage, stands out particularly sharply against the grey and deserted bush of the surroundings. The presence of an urban center on this almost unpopulated plateau seems strange, and one might wonder what reasons caused this not very hospitable site to be retained for the establishment of a relatively important city?

1. The History of Thiès

361 133 [104] [443] 1. The site.

The plateau on which the escale (1) has been built

1. "Escale" here means a place where caravans rested after the halt of the day's journey and where small-scale trade was carried on; by extension, a village or city-market generally located on a railway.

slopes slightly toward the east, while its western face forms a steep slope. Plateau and slope belong to geological formations of the same date as those of the Cape Verde Peninsula and consist principally of limestone from the end of the Secondary/Mesozoic/ subsequently overlaid by a ferruginous shell. It is probable that the eastern section rose up and the western one sank in the Tertiary.

135

1: Marty, E. Les Mourides d'Amadou Bamba [The Murids of Amadou Bamba]. Revue du Monde Musulman, Vol. 25, pp. 3-164. Paris: La Mission Scientifique du Maroc, 1913.

Yale: Bj2R.R32.24-25 [HRAF Ms: pp. 1-146]

/Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Ariane Brunel./

/This source discusses the development of Muridism, a sect of Islam, among the Wolof. Part I deals with Amadou Bamba, the leader and founder of the sect; the spread of Muridism and its leaders in each cercle; and the body of doctrine and religious practices. Part II is concerned with the influence of Muridism and Islam. This influence has been greatest in the economic and political realm. The institutions of customary law and practices of social life have been little affected. The author, however, gives a concise discussion of Wolof civil and criminal law, legal procedure, customs and traditions of social and domestic life; and points out

1: Marty, E.

Moslem practices that have not been adopted. Part III concludes with general statements on the sect and suggestions to the French administration for controlling the movement. There are 19 appendices, including a bibliography and one map. --Analyst. /

Field date: ca. 1913
Analyst: Joan Steffens

Evaluation: Government Official -4, 5
Processed in 1963

2: Bourlon, Abel. Actualité des Mourides et du Mouridisme [Actuality of the Murids and of Muridism]. L'Afrique et l'Asie, Vol. 46, pp. 10-30. Paris: Centre de Hautes Etudes Administratives sur l'Afrique et l'Asie Modernes, 1959.

Yale: Dtl. A37.1959 [HRAF MS: pp. 1-27]

[Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Jean H. Winchell.]

[This source supplements 1: Marty by reporting recent observations on the Murid sect. It discusses the current leaders, their influence and their relations with each other and the Administration; and the influence of Muridism on the economic, social, and political life of Senegal. Approximately half the source describes the yearly pilgrimage (Magal) to the holy city of Touba, its mosque and shrines. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Joan Steffens

Evaluation: Unknown-5
Processed in 1964

3: Savonnet, G. Les Villages de la Banlieue Thiessoise [The Villages of the Suburbs of Thiès]. Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, vol. 17, pp. 371-387. Dakar, 1955.

[HRAF Ms. pp. 1-22]

Yale: A19 In5F 17

[Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Grace W. Moore.]

/This source is primarily a study of the effects of urbanization (the city of Thiès) upon rural modes of life in Senegal. Seven villages containing populations that belong to the principal ethnic groups of the region (Serer FA32, Wolof MS30, and Bambara FA8) and located at different proximities to the city were chosen. The author first discusses the physical environment, lay-out and appearance of each village as these vary with each ethnic group. He then shows how these villages

3: Savonnet, G.

have been influenced by the growth and development of Thiès, i.e., changes in settlement pattern, dwelling construction, employment, composition of population, social and economic organization, etc. --Analyst/

Field date: no date
Analyst: Millicent Kim

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1963

4: Mersadier, Yvon. Sructure de Budgets Familiaux à Thiès [The Structure of Familial Budgets in Thiès]. Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, Series B, vol. 17, pp. 388-432. Dakar, 1955.

[HRAF Ms. pp. 1-74.]

Yale: A19. In5F.17

[Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Grace W. Moore.]

/This source contains the results of a statistical study on the incomes and expenditures of 43 families in the city of Thiès. These sample families represent a range in income, ethnic grouping (Bambara FA8, Fulani MS11, Soninke MS21, Serer FA32, Tukolor MS27, Wolof MS30), occupation and number of people in the household. Source of income, surpluses, deficits and, in particular, regular expenses are discussed. The proportional amount of the specific expenses (kinds

4: Mersadier, Yvon.

of foods, condiments, drinks, taxes, rent, religious assessments, furniture, clothing, etc.) to each family income is covered in detail and illustrated by means of numerous tables. -- Analyst]

Field date: 1954
Analyst: Millicent Kim

Evaluation: Unknown - 5
Processed in 1963

5: Crowder, Michael. Senegal: A Study in French Assimilation Policy. London, New York, Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1962.

Pp. x, 105; 1 map; tables.

Yale: DT549.5.C76

/This source is mainly concerned with the political organization of Senegal both as a French colony and an independent state. The French policy of assimilation, the African reaction against it, and developments leading to independence are given special attention. Also included is information on social organization: the French community, inter-ethnic relations, and rural-urban differences. -- Analyst/

Field date: 1955-1961
Analyst: Joan Steffens

Evaluation: Journalist - 5
Processed in 1963

6: Mercier, P. Evolution of Senegalese Elites. International Social Science Bulletin, Vol. 8, pp. 441-452. Paris: UNESCO, 1956.

Yale: N10.In77.8

/This article traces the development of a new intellectual elite and discusses its relation to other "elites" (e.g. "colonial elite") and the masses. Data are included on rural-urban differences. --Analyst/

Field date: no date
Analyst: Joan Steffens

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1963

7: Crowder, Michael. Pagans and Politicians. London: Hutchinson and Co. Ltd., 1959.

Only Chapter 2, "The Revolution," pp. 44-74 and 4 plates have been processed for this file.

Yale: DT471.C76

/This book is a popular account of a six-month journey in West Africa. The section processed provides insight into the urban life of Senegal--mainly Dakar, but also Gorée and St. Louis. The author includes short sketches of the political and intellectual leaders he encountered.

The treatment of the material is similar to that in "Africa Dances" by Geoffrey Gorer (see MS30 Wolof, 11: Gorer) which was written in 1935. --Analyst/

Field date: 1955-1958
Analyst: Joan Steffens

Evaluation: Journalist - 5
Processed in 1963

8: Mercier, Paul. Political Life in the Urban Centers of Senegal: A Study of a Period of Transition. PROD Translations, Vol. 3, No. 10, pp. 3-20. Princeton: Institute of Political Science of Princeton, New Jersey, 1960.

Yale: 0a10. P15. 3

/This source traces the developments in urban political life in Senegal--especially since 1953. The roles of party organizations and labor unions are discussed.

Pages of the original article printed in two columns with footnotes at the bottom have been repaginated by HRAF in three parts: for example, page 4 of the original is paginated as 4A, 4B, and 4C, the last containing footnotes and marked for the appropriate categories. --Analyst/

Field date: ca. 1955
Analyst: Joan Steffens

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1963

9: Cantrelle, Pierre. L'Endogamie des Populations du Fouta Sénégalais [The Endogamy of the Populations of the Senegalese Fouta]. Population, Vol. 15, pp. 665-676. Paris: L'Institut National D'Études Démographiques, 1960.

Yale: Nbn. P2le. 15 [HRAF Ms. pp. 1-16]

[Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Frieda Schütze.]

/This study of endogamy in the Fouta District of Senegal is based on a sampling of the total population. Endogamy is measured on the basis of the frequency of consanguineous marriages and the mean coefficient of consanguinity. This source, aside from giving information on marriage preferences and breeding isolates, also describes the caste or class system. Material on the principal ethnic group in the district, the Tukolor, has also been marked for file MS27. --Analyst/

Field date: 1957
Analyst: Joan Steffens

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1963

10: Thoré, L. Dagoudane-Pikine. Étude Démographique et Sociologique [Dagoudane-Pikine, a Demographic and Sociological Study]. Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, Série B, Vol. 24, pp. 155-198. Dakar: Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, 1962.

Yale: Al9.In5F.24. [HRAF Ms. pp. 1-63]

[Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Frieda Schütze.]

/This source is a study of a city in the vicinity of Dakar. After describing the physical aspects of Pikine, the author presents information on the population: age, ethnic groups, sex ratio, place of origin and date of arrival, occupation, place of work, unemployment, education, religion, housing, standard of living and family and household size. Some of this information is given by ethnic group -- Wolof, Serer, Peul (Fulani) and Tukolor. There are 28 tables which summarize the data. (These appear to contain some discrepancies and should be carefully studied in order to evaluate the conclusions.) -- Analyst/

Field date: 1960
Analyst: Joan Steffens

Evaluation: Social Scientist - 5
Processed in 1964

111 MS37 Senegal

11: Lèques, R. La Mode Actuelle chez les Dakaroises (Étude de Psychologie Sociale) [Current Fashion among the Women of Dakar (Study in Social Psychology)]. Bulletin de L'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, Série B, Sciences Humaines, vol. 19, nos. 3-4, pp. 431-445. Dakar, 1957.

Yale: A19 In5F 19 [HRAF Ms. pp. 1-20]

[Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Frieda Schutze.]

[This source is an attempt to study, according to the author, "...the adaptation of the African to European fashion." The material is primarily a description of the testing methods used resulting in a statistical presentation of color choices and types of clothing. The ethnic group sampling proved to be too small to draw any serious conclusions. --Analyst]

Field date: 1956
Analyst: Millicent Kim

Evaluation: Psychologist-5
Processed in 1964

12: Holas, Bohumil. Quelques Recettes Employées au Senegal pour Provoquer les Reves [Some Methods Used in Senegal to Evoke Dreams]. Notes Africaines, No. 32, pp. 8-9. Dakar: Institut Francais d'Afrique Noire, 1946.

Chicago Natural History Museum: QH71.84.1 15n 29-40 [HRAF Ms.: pp. 1-2]

[Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Grace W. Moore.]

/This source discusses methods used to promote dreaming and shows the influence of Moslem beliefs. --Analyst/

Field date: no date
Analyst: Joan Steffens

Evaluation: Unknown - 5
Processed in 1963

111: MS37 Senegal

13: Diagne, Oumar Syr. Les Frais du Mariage Saint-Louisien -- Origines -- Principaux Aspects et Consequences [The Expenses of a Saint-Louis Marriage -- Origins -- Principal Aspects and Consequences]. Notes Africaines, No. 34, pp. 8-13. Dakar: Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, 1947.

Chicago Natural History Museum: QH71. 84.115n. 29-40
[HRAF MS: pp. 1-11]

/Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Grace W. Moore. /

[This source discusses certain changes that have taken place in marriage customs in the large cities in Senegal (especially in Saint-Louis, the "center of good taste"). The author details the gifts and other expenses necessary at each phase of marriage. The effect of these changes of custom on the status of women is noted. -- Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Joan Steffens

Evaluation: Educator-5
Processed in 1963

111 MS37 Senegal

14: Duchemin, G. J. Urbanisme Rural--le Village du Cambérène [Rural Urbanism--the Village of Cambérène]. Notes Africaines, No. 39, pp. 17-18. Dakar: Institut Francais d'Afrique Noire, 1948.

Chicago Natural History Museum: QH71.84.1 15n 29-40 [HRAF Ms: pp. 1-2]

[Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Grace W. Moore.]

/This source describes the settlement pattern of the village of Cambérène. It is of interest because the headman was influenced in his planning by that of Dakar. -- Analyst./

Field date: no date
Analyst: Joan Steffens

Evaluation: Unknown - 5
Processed in 1963

111 MS37 Senegal

15: Mauny, Raymond. Baobabs - Cimetieres a Griots. /Baobab Cemeteries for Griots/. Notes Africaines, No. 67, pp. 72-76. Dakar: Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, 1955.

Chicago Natural History Museum: QH71. 84. 1. 15n. 61-75. /HRAF MS:pp. 1-9/

Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Jean Winchell.

[This source discusses the practice of burying griots (members of an "unclean" class) in the hollow trunk of a baobab tree, and describes the excavation of such a tree near Dakar. --Analyst]

Field date: 1955
Analyst: Joan Steffens

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1964

111 MS37 Senegal

16: Faur, J. B. Sur les principales Graminées du Sénégal et leur utilisation /On the Principal Gramineae of Senegal and Their Utilization/. Notes Africaines, No. 74, pp. 37-38. Dakar: Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, 1957.

Chicago Natural History Museum: QH71. 84. 1. 15n. 61-75. /HRAF MS:pp. 1-4/

Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Jean Winchell.

/The uses of the principal gramineae (grains, grasses, etc.) of Senegal are discussed here: i. e. food, medicine, building materials, animal fodder, etc. -- Analyst/

Field date: no date
Analyst: Joan Steffens

Evaluation: Unknown-5
Processed in 1964

111 MS37 Senegal

17: Mercier, P. Aspects de la société africaine dans l'agglomeration dakaroise: groupes familiaux et unités de voisinage /Aspects of African Society in the Agglomeration of Dakar: Family Groups and Neighborhood Units/. Études Sénégalaises, No. 5, pp. 11-40. Saint-Louis du Sénégal: Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, 1954.

American Geographical Society: 935 (?) /HRAF MS: pp. 1-57/

Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Carl Hille.

/This study investigates the importance of kinship, ethnic, and neighborhood factors in determining social relationships and groups in a sample of the permanent population of Dakar. Differences between socio-occupational categories are also discussed. -- Analyst/

Field date: 1953-1954
Analyst: Joan Steffens

Evaluation: Social Scientist-5
Processed in 1964

18: Savonnet, Georges. Une Ville Neuve du Sénégal: Thiès [A New City of Senegal: Thiès]. Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, vol. 9, no. 33, pp. 70-93. Bordeaux, 1956.

Yale: E10 B65C 9 [HRAF Ms. pp. 1-34]

[Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Frieda Schütze.]

[This source contains information on the growth and development of Thiès, its location, topography, history, growth of commerce and industry, the advent of the railroad workshops, etc. Of particular interest is the author's discussion of the ethnic groups in Thiès, their inter- and intra-relations, and the various "quarters" within the city, their origins, distinctive characteristics, and relationships to the ethnic or occupational group in residence. --Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1955
Analyst: Millicent Kim

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1964

19: Pehaut, Yves. L'Arachide au Sénégal [The Groundnut in Senegal]. Les Cahiers d' Outre-Mer, Vol. 14, pp. 5-25. Bordeaux: L'Institut de Géographie de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux avec le Concours de L'Institut de la France d'Outre-Mer de Bordeaux de la Société de Géographie de Bordeaux et du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1961.

4 photographs; 1 map

Yale: E10. B65C. 14. [HRAF MS: pp. 1-31]

[Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Grace W. Moore.]

[In his discussion of the groundnut in Senegal, the author first describes the types of cultivation and the government's attempts to improve techniques. Then he considers the "trade" in groundnuts, including material on traders, transactions and government regulation of trade and prices. In conclusion he

19: Pehaut, Yves.

relates groundnut production and trade to the total economy. The last two sections have much information on domestic and foreign trade. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Joan Steffens

Evaluation: Geographer-4
Processed in 1963

20: Seck, Assane. Dakar [Dakar]. Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, Vol. 14, pp. 372-392. Bordeaux: L'Institut de Géographie de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux avec le Concours de L'Institut de la France d'Outre-Mer de Bordeaux de la Société de Géographie de Bordeaux et du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1961.

8 photographs; 6 maps.

Yale: E10. B65C. 14. [HRAF MS: pp. 1-35]

[Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Grace W. Moore.

[This discussion of the city of Dakar includes a history of the city's beginnings, its development as a port and regional trade center, immigration and the composition of the population, the settlement plan and urban ecology. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Joan Steffens

Evaluation: Unknown-5
Processed in 1963

21: Verriere, Louis. La Population du Senegal [The Population of Senegal]. Ou en Est, Ou Va la Population du Senegal, pp. 1-30. Dakar: Institut de Science Economique Appliquée, 1963.

HRAF copy [HRAF MS:pp. 1-6]

Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by G. W. Moore.

[This source gives the results of a demographic investigation by sampling undertaken in Senegal in 1960 and 1961. Only the section on "geographic distribution" (pp. 1-5) has been processed for the file. Information includes the population by region, ethnic groups and their distribution by area, and the urban population. --Analyst]

Field date: 1960-1961
Analyst: Joan Steffens

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1963

22: Winterbotham, H. S. L. et al. French West Africa, Vol. II, The Colonies. No place [London?]: Great Britain, Admiralty, Naval Intelligence Division, 1944.

Pp. xvi, 596; 59 text figures; 131 plates. [Only pp. 395-476, figures 47-54 and plates 107-125 have been processed for this file.]

HRAF copy.

[This source gives much detailed information on the geography and history of Senegal; the ports and inland towns and their urban facilities; transportation, administration, trade and finance. --Analyst.]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Joan Steffens

Evaluation: Geographer-4
Processed in 1964

23: Aujas, L. La Région du Sine-Saloum. Le Port de Kaolack [The Region of Sine-Saloum. The Port of Kaolack]. Bulletin du Comité d'Etudes Historiques et Scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, vol. 12, nos. 1-2, pp. 92-132. Paris: Gouvernement Général de l'Afrique Occidentale Française by Librairie Larose, 1929.

Yale: Bk19 5 12 [HRAF Ms. pp. 1-46]

[Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files in connection with the Human Relations Area Files Field Project.]

[This source contains specific information on the history, economic development, agricultural resources and water supply policies of the cercle of Sine-Saloum. In relation to this, information on the growth of Kaolack, an important import and export center within the cercle, is given. The author also discusses the history and accomplishments of cercle's agriculture cooperative, the Société de Prevoyance. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Millicent Kim

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1964

/389 cont./

162
463

11.6%	in the primary sector,	
	of whom: agriculturalists	10.9%
44.5%	in the secondary sector,	
	of whom: unskilled workers	0.7%
	skilled workers in construction	10%
	skilled modern workers	14.6%
	staffs and supervisors	1.1%
41.9%	in the tertiary sector,	
	of whom: domestics	2.7%
	commerce, transport and repair	11.4%
	sweepers, orderlies, porters	1.6%
	unskilled office employees	3.3%
	skilled office employees	1.8%
	highly skilled office employees and administrative staffs	1.1%
	public force	16.4% (1)

[113]

1. This information is taken from the publication drawn up by the Service de la statistique générale du Haut Commissariat de l'A.O.F., "Commune mixte de Thiès.

/389 cont./

162
463
[113]

Recensement 1953 /The mixed commune of Thiès. 1953 Census/," Dakar, 1954. We have only converted into percentages the figures given on pp. 25 ff. of this pamphlet.

121
114

By its very diversity, this population thus constitutes an excellent field of study and experiment for the sociologist and the economist.

A socio-demographic inquiry by questionnaire was made previously, in November and December 1953. The sample chosen contained 900 heads of families questioned (2). We

2. The results of this inquiry, which was supervised by Dr. Massé, will be published in the next issue of this Bulletin.

wished to complete it partially by studying some family budgets in a very limited number, 46, three of which proved to be useless.

114

Under no pretext should any general value be given to the results that are going to be presented. The trends shown will have to be confirmed by other, more extensive inquiries, in conformity with the resolution adopted in 1926 by the Third Conference of the Statisticiens du travail, which specified: "it is better to give up certain details which the inquiry might reveal than to reduce the number of families studied."

/390/ We have almost systematically taken a course opposite to this recommendation, because the information now available on the daily life of the Africans in the cities of Senegal (and in French West Africa in its totality) is still too insufficient for one to be able to undertake broader inquiries. On the other hand, and this was a major obstacle, we did not have at our disposal sufficient means to study a larger number of families. This has saved us from the temptation of looking too far; daily African life is at this point complex, particularly in its economic aspect, so that in certain respects the work accomplished and the documents

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

113 Afrique Occidentale Francaise, Gouvernement-General, *Dakar et dépendances*, Dakar, 1931.

Angrand, Armand-Pierre, *Les Lébous de la presqu'île du Cap-Vert*, Dakar, 1947.

Black Orpheus, Irregular publication, Ibadan, Nigeria.

Buell, Raymond Leslie, *The Native Problem in Africa*, 2 vols, New York, 1928.*

Brasseur, G., *L'A.O.F.*, Senegal, 1957.

Brunschwig, Henri, *Mythes et realtids de l'impérialisme colonial français 1871-1914*, Paris, 1960.

Cartier, Raymond, *En France noire*, Paris-Match, 11 and 18, August 1956.*

Césaire, Aimé, *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal*, Présence Africaine, (1939) 1956.

Crowder, Michael, *Pagans and Politicians*, London, 1959.

Delafosse, Maurice, *Haut-Sénégal-Niger*, 3 volumes, Paris, 1911.

Delavignette, Robert, *Freedom and Authority in French West Africa*, London, 1950.*

Dia, Mamadou, *Réflexions sur l'économie de l'Afrique noire*, Paris, 1961.

— *Nations africaines et solidarite mondiale*, Paris, 1960.*

Diop, Abdoulaye, *L'immigration toucouleur à Dakar* (enquête, 1958 1959), cyclostyled, I.F.A.N., Dakar, 1960.*

Diop, Cheick Anta, *L'unité culturelle de l'Afrique noire*, Paris, 1959.

— 'Nations Nègres et Culture', *Présence Africaine*, Paris, 1955.*

— *Systémes politiques et sociaux de l'Europe et de l'Afrique*, Paris.*

Diop, David, *Coups de Pilon*, Paris.

Diop, Majhemout, 'L'unique issue: l'indépendance totale', *Les étudiants noires parlent*, Paris, 1953.

— *Contribution à l'étude des problèmes politiques en Afrique noire*, Paris, 1960.

Diop, Ousmane Socé, *Karim*, Paris, 1935, 2nd edition, 1948.

Etudes Sénégalaises, Senegal, 1949.

Europe-France-Outremer, Special Number, 'Une décolonisation réussie, Sénégal', no. 376, March, 1961.*

Fall, Kader, 'Problème de l'élite en Afrique noire,' *Les étudiants noirs parlent*, Paris, 1953.

[7102]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

113

Gamble, David P., *The Wolof of Senegambia*, London, 1957.
Garnier, Christine, *La fête des sacrifices*, Paris, 1959.
Government of Senegal, *Trois siècles d'histoire*, Senegal, 1959.*
Gorer, Geoffrey, *Africa Dances*, London, 1935.
Gouilly, A., *L'Islam dans l'A.O.F.*, Paris, 1952.
Graurand, Rev. Père, P., *Les Sérères*, Cahiers de la Fraternité Saint Dominique, Dakar, 1961.
Guèye, Lamine, *Etages et perspectives de l'union française*, Paris, 1955.
Guid 'A.O.F., Yearly.
Gunther, John, *Inside Africa*, London, 1955.
Hailey, Lord, *An African Survey*, London, 1939.*
— *An African Survey*, Revised 1956, London, 1957.*
Hauser, A., Masse, L., and Mercier, P., *L'agglomération dakaroise*, Senegal, 1954.*
Hodgkin, Thomas, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa*, London, 1958.*
— *African Political Parties*, London, 1961.
Ly, Abdoulaye, *L'état et la production paysanne*, Paris, 1958.
— *Les masses africaines et l'actuelle condition humaine*, Paris.
— *Mercenaires Noires*, Paris, 1957.
Mackenzie, W. J. M., and Robinson, Kenneth E., *Five Elections in Africa*, London, 1960.
Mauny, R., *Guide de Gorée*, 2nd edition, Senegal, 1954.
Mercier, P., Evolution of Senegalese Elites, *International Social Science Bulletin*, vol. viii, p. 443, 1956.*
— Le groupement européen de Dakar, *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, vol. XIX, pp. 130–146, 1955.*
— 'An Experimental Investigation into Occupational and Social Categories in Dakar,' *Social Implications of Industrialisation and Urbanisation in Africa South of Sahara*, UNESCO, 1956.
Mersadier, Y., *Budgets familiaux africains*, Senegal, 1957.*
Mille, Pierre, 'The Black Vote in Senegal', *Journal of the African Society*, vol. 1, pp. 64–79, 1961.*
Ministère de l'Information, de la Presse et de la Radio Diffusion, Senegal, *Livre blanc sur le coup d'état manqué du 19 au 20 août 1960 et de la proclamation de l'indépendence du Sénégal*, Dakar, 1960.
N'Diaye, Massata, *Aspects sociaux africains*, Paris, 1960.
Ousmane, Sembene, *Les bouts de bois de Dieu*, Paris, 1960.
Présence Africaine, 'Le 1er congrès international des écrivains et artistes noirs, Paris, 1957.*
Présence Africaine, 'Le 2ème congrès des écrivains et artistes noirs,' Paris, 1960.*

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

113 *Présence Africaine*, Paris, bi-monthly since 1947.
Présence Africaine 1947–1958 (A short history), Paris, 1958.
Richard-Molard, Jacques, *Afrique occidentale française*, Paris, 1952.*
Robinson, Kenneth, 'Political Development in French West Africa,' *Africa in the Modern World*, Chicago, 1955.*
Senghor, Léopold Sédar, *Chants d'ombre*, Paris, 1945.*
— *Ethiopiques*, Paris, 1956.
— *Nation et voie du socialisme*, Paris, 1961.*
Séré de Rivières, Edmond, *Sénégal-Dakar*, Paris, 1953.
Thomas, L. V.,* *Acculturation et déplacements de populations en afrique de l'ouest*. Cyclostyled, University of Dakar, 1960.*
Thomas, L. V., *Les Diola*, 2 volumes, Dakar, 1959.
Thompson, Virginia & Adloff, Richard, *French West Africa*, London, 1958.*
Thiam, Doudou, 'De l'avenir des institutions contumières en Afrique noire.' *Présence Africaine*, No. 6, 1949.
Villard, A., *Histoire du Sénégal*, Dakar, 1943.*
Wade, Abdoulaye, 'Afrique noire et union française,' *Les étudiants noirs parlent*, Paris, 1953.
West Africa, Weekly.

6: Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

178
571

The reason is not to be sought solely in the increase in numbers of this intellectual elite though that was quite substantial. Trained in Europe and remaining in touch with the world outside, it was the first section of the population to become consciously aware of the 'colonial situation',[1] and it immediately made an attempt to build up ideological systems which soon acquired crucial influence. Next, the changed pattern in the relations between Europeans and Africans speeded up the development of situations in which conflicts became inevitable, and encouraged the maintenance of close contact between the new and the colonial elites. I shall revert to this point later. True, tension existed, especially between generations, the older strata of the colonial elite having sometimes to defend the positions they had won.[2] But the younger people tended to identify themselves with the new elite, to accept its guidance and to share, more or less confusedly, in the same awakening to the colonial situation. Thus, the intellectual elite, in the broadest sense of the term, embarked in a new direction, and the political consequences of this change are now beginning to be seen. The problem of relations with the workers' elite which has emerged in the past few years is more complex; I shall come back to it in connexion with trade union activity.

[578]

In the typical pre-war situation, the African elite had little chance of competing with the European managing class, which was much less numerous that it is now.[3] It was trained to be what might be called an auxiliary elite. The new elite, on the contrary—notwithstanding the administrative and economic expansion of the past 10 years—will inevitably find itself in competition with Europeans in the managing and supervisory grades in an ever growing number of specific cases. Though still few in numbers, it has difficulty in finding a place in the territory's administrative and technological machine. It is a paradox that in a country immensely in need of responsible personnel, both managers and technicians, demand seems somewhat to exceed supply. In French West Africa, and particularly in Senegal, the government officially recognizes the existence of an 'employment problem for holders of diplomas'. One of the causes of this situation is no doubt the total absence of planning in the training of elites.[4] But the real explanation must be found in political circumstances and race relations.[5] The effort to 'Africanize' the upper grades encounters firm resistance, and so the rise of the elites is apparently seriously checked by the growing number of situations in which Africans and Europeans compete and which the two groups explain in diametrically opposite ways.[8] It is a significant fact that several Senegalese who have completed their studies in France have remained there, because they would be unable to find jobs for which they could apply at home. The problem is obviously even more acute in the private sector than in the administration.[7] Also, the European population has considerably increased in the past 10 years:[8] it has more than doubled in Senegal, tripled at Dakar—where it now represents about 10 per cent of the population.

[464]

[167]
[563]

[113]

[113]

1. Cf. the studies of G. Balandier, and in particular: *Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique Noire* (Present sociology of Negro Africa), Paris, 1955.
2. Especially in the administration.
3. Cf. P. Mercier, 'Le Groupement Européen de Dakar: Orientations d'une Enquête' (The European group at Dakar: Suggested lines for a survey), *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, XIX, 1955.
4. An effort is now being made in this direction.
5. Cf. P. Mercier, 'Le Groupement Européen de Dakar . . .', op. cit.
6. Patterns of thought based on the pre-war situation play a fundamental role here.
7. Where the trend, as yet timid, towards 'Africanization' of the upper grades can be discerned.
8. A general phenomenon in French West Africa which involves important changes in relations between Africans and Europeans.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

p 450

178 571 masses, it found in the 'colonial elite' the go-between it needed for the resumption of contact to which it aspired.

The activity of this new elite is beginning to be discernible in its political and trade union work, and its basic aspirations can be defined. As has already been said, a Western-type political life was introduced fairly early in one part of Senegal. Political parties were formed; after 1946, their influence extended throughout the territory. In a recent paper[1] we stated that they had become, in the 'four communes', an almost traditional part of the social system. Once they reached the whole of Senegal, they acquired an enormous body of followers, the divisions among whom reflected successively—or simultaneously, according to the district—a number of historical, social, ethnic and family rifts. Thus, the antagonism between the Socialist party and the Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais, which has been a salient factor over recent years, did but reproduce according to time and place, the antagonism between former 'citizens' and former 'subjects', Ouolof and non-Ouolof, Moslems and Catholics, one Moslem sect and another, etc. On the whole, the 'colonial elite' has assumed the leadership of these parties.[2] But recent surveys have shown that, in the urban centres at any rate, membership in a political party might be commoner among the illiterate elements than among the 'educated'. This is a clear indication of the gap between the political parties and the present ambitions of the elites. A strongly held local position or the prestige of certain leaders is the reason why the traditional parties, though ill adapted to the present situation, have succeeded in keeping afloat. However, the waning influence of the Socialist party (the oldest organized party) was the sign after 1950 of the start of a new phase. The young elite from the liberal professions, followed by numerous young members of the 'colonial elite', remained markedly aloof from these movements, which seemed to efford no opportunity for the political action in which they intended to engage. Their sympathies went to a movement of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain type, although they were unable to impose it because of the strong positions held by the traditional parties. Yet some of the more influential members of this young elite finally decided to join the Senegalese party which seemed to have the strongest hold over the popular masses, the Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais.[3] There, they will doubtless play an important role. The point has been reached at which the new elite is seeking to take over the torch from the 'colonial elite', but with political ambitions of a much more radical nature; I shall consider later the ideological aspects of the problem. In the case of the trade unions, the position is slightly different. Their activity,[4] of recent origin, soon acquired deeper significance. The more energetic elements of the 'administrative bourgeoisie', in alliance with the still small working-class elite, embarked in the trade unions on a course of action which was more directly effective than that of the political parties.[5] The climate of thought, directly or indirectly influenced by theories of Marxist origin, favoured the growth of an awareness of the 'colonial situation'. In this respect, however, the new intellectual elite played

665 178 571

[369]

460 178 571

[13]

1. Cf. P. Mercier, *An Experimental Investigation conducted by means of Questionnaires in the town of Dakar*, report presented to the Conference on the Social Impact of Industrialization and Urban Problems, organized by Unesco at Abidjan, 1954.
2. As have, needless to say, certain members of an elite formed from the liberal professions, which had already emerged before the war.
3. In which they represent the 'left' wing.
4. Most of the unions are affiliated to the trade union federations in France.
5. And more resolutely modernist in its outlook.

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

369
13

[P 3 D]

[1] An instrumental distinction whose meaning is explained below. For an examination of some criteria making possible the definition of different types of colonial cities, *cf.* P. Mercier, "Aspects de la société africaine dans l'agglomération dakaroise: groupes familiaux et unités de voisinage," in *L'agglomération dakaroise. Quelques aspects sociologiques et démographiques*, I.F.A.N., Dakar, 1954.

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[P. 4C]
[Footnote 4 continued on P5C-Analysis]

[2] Their territory, at least in the case of the oldest cities, was often the object of a "concession" by local authorities, and was therefore withdrawn from their direct control.

[3] This is the case, for example, of Lagos; regarding Dakar, where the authorities of the "Republic of Lebou" had their seat, *cf.* C. Michel, "L'organisation coutumière (sociale et politique) de la communauté Laboue de Dakar," *Bull. du Comité d'Et. hist. et sci. de l'A.O.F.*, March 17, 1934; and C. Faure, *Histoire de la presqu'île du Cap-Vert et des origines de Dakar*, Paris, 1914.

[4] G. Balandier, in *Sociologie des Brazzavilles noires* (Paris, 1955) shows clearly the occurrence there of "a transfer onto an urban milieu of leadership agencies already existing in a rural milieu: the

369
633
[113]
642

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[P.5C]

hierarchy of administrator-mayor, administrator-deputy mayor, and ward leader corresponds to the hierarchy of regional leader, district leader, and cantonal leader" (p. 169). The contradictions that he points out in the administrative organization of Brazzaville were sharper still at Dakar: the institution of appointed ward leaders coexisted with that of an elected city government, whose relations with the colonial administration did not differ in principle from those of French city governments with prefectoral authority.

[5] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Evolution des élites sénégalaises," *Bull. intl. des Sci. soc.*, VIII (#4, '56).

Groupement européen de Dakar: orientations d'une enquête," *Cahiers intl. de Soc.* XIX, 1955.

[6] *Cf. Infra.*, and the Summary Notes Given in P. Mercier, "Aspects de la Société Africaine" and "Le

[7] *Cf.* B. G. M. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, London, 1948; and G. Balandier, *Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique noire*, Paris, 1955.

[113] 6433369

/12 cont./

present, limited to the Dakar agglomeration proper; the suburbs more or less completely tied to the town have been provisionally left aside (Ouakam, Hann, the recent subdivision of Dagoudane-Pikine, etc.). 121 361

I

Dakar has known enormous development between the two wars, and especially since 1946. Demographic development, economic development (3). 369x

3. Cf., for example, the accounts of an American geographer after two voyages to Dakar, one before the war (1935-36), the other in 1947: D. Whittlesey, "Dakar and the Other Cape Verde Settlements," The Geographical Review, Oct. 1941, pp. 609-638; "Dakar Revisited," The Geographical Review, Oct. 1948, pp. 626-632. And the changes have accelerated even more. [113]

At the same time, the characteristics of Dakar society, it being well understood that it is broken up into several partial societies, linked organically, but each of which have their particular problems, have undergone important changes. To account for them would exceed the limits of this work; we shall content ourselves with recalling some essential features.

A. -- The towns born of colonization have been established [361]

17: Mercier
369

MS37 Senegal MS37

/For a study of aspects of African society in the agglomeration of Dakar: family groups and neighborhood units, see category 116, pp. 2-57./

17: Mercier--7 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37 ●
Dakar
Wolof MS30
Lebu

/14 cont./

(occupational structure, class structure, etc.). It seems that there are certain numerical thresholds beyond which important qualitative changes make themselves felt, for example, in the area of race relations. We shall return to this.

S
369x
563

B. -- Dakar is one of the most complex cases. It has some aspects of an old colonial town, and in fact it is one of the oldest in West Africa (2). But this one has been

2. Counting only the colonial towns; the pre-European towns, with specific characteristics, are excluded here.

covered in a way by a town of the second type (3). The

3. Cf. above, I, A, 1, b.

mixture of the social characteristics of the one town and of the other permits one to understand certain features of evolution of Dakar. On the other hand, the dominant original ethnic group, the Lebou group, has progressively lost its importance. Finally, a last phase of the development of the town makes it seem like a center of European population, still unstable.

S
369x
563
W
369
563

1. Considering only the African population, one ascertains that the elements that are old and stabilized -- unequally and under diverse conditions -- (Goréean "old families," Lebou community) have been submerged by a heterogeneous mass. It is nevertheless necessary to specify:

a) The Lebou, despite the contributions received from the nearby suburb which is their traditional habitat zone (4), undoubtedly represent hardly more than 10% of

S
W
[162]
[113] ●

4. Cf. G. Balandier and P. Mercier, "Particularisme et évolution: les pêcheurs

17: Mercier--8 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30
Lebu

/14 cont./

Lebou /Particularism and evolution: the Lebou Fishermen/," Etudes Sénégalaises, No. 3, 1952. Result of investigations made in 1946.

S 369^1
W 369
S W 563
[113]
[162]

the population. (5). Their /15/ customary organization,

5. The estimates, furnished by the way with every reservation by the Dakar Délégation, give 15% Lebou, but for the whole of the commune (suburban villages included); in the town itself the proportion is not as high. We consider only this one, without forgetting, however, that many Lebou living in the villages, and even Rufisque, work in Dakar. In the investigation by questionnaires conducted in Dakar, which gives, if not a true ethnic representation, at least some valuable indications, we encountered a little less than 10% Lebou.

S
W
[484]

moreover, continues to exist (1), but becomes more and

1. On this subject, cf. C. Michel, "L'organisation coutumière (sociale et politique) de la collectivité Leboue de Dakar /The customary organization (social and political) of the Lebou community of Dakar/," Bull. du Comité d'Etudes Historiques et Scientifiques de l'A.O.F., XXII,

S
W
[113]

17: Mercier--9 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS90
Lebu

/15 cont./

3, 1934; G.-J. Duchemin, "La République Lebou et le peuplement actuel /The Lebou republic and the present pupulation/," in "La presqu'île du Cap-Vert /The Cape Verde peninsula/," Etudes Sénégalaises, No. 1, 1949.

S
369x
W
369
S
W
563
[113]

more formal, and its efficacy is reduced besides by the new political cleavages (2). Their role as holders of the landed

2. This goes as far as a splitting up of the traditional functions and those of the heads of quarters between the supporters of the two large present-day parties (SFIO and BDS).

property has progressively shrunk and remains important only in the suburbs (3). Finally, the Lebou particularism (4)

3. On this subject cf. the indications furnished by J. Dresch, op. cit., pp. 219-220.

4. Cf. G. Balandier and P. Mercier, op. cit., passim.

is tending to be obliterated, and the boundaries between Lebou and Wolof become more blurred (5).

5. In the figures furnished by the Dakar Délégation, one sees accounting for 11% a category

S
W
[162]

/17 cont./

369x 563 162 [167]

-- persons originally from French Guinea: Malinké (3%), Peul, Soussou, Kissi;

-- persons from the Ivory Coast: Agni, Appollonien, Attié, Baoulé /Baule/, Bété /Betie/, Dida, Krou, Wobé;

-- persons originally from the Togo-Dahomey zone: Aizo, Ewe, Fon, Goun /Gun/, Nago, Popo, Mina;

-- persons originally from the Upper Volta-Niger zone: Mossi, Sonray;

-- miscellaneous: Moors (3%), Cape Verdeans (2%), Yoruba, Boulama, Congolese, etc.

Those for whom we have indicated no percentage are for the most part of little importance numerically in relation to the total population. Their situation, however, is very variable: the consequences of uprooting, the degree of cohesion which preserves small groups very far from their region of origin, the degree of integration in the urban society, vary according to the level at which they are located in the new social stratification which takes shape in the towns.

369x 565

3. Indeed, another feature of the sociology of colonial towns -- and which is, as we mentioned above, very conspicuous in the "old towns" -- is the progressive differentiation into strata definable by socio-occupational criteria. It assumes, as the investigation on Dakar showed, a /18/ greater and greater importance in the stabilized population; there, the domains where behavior continues to be determined by the ethnic, religious, etc. situation are limited. We posed the problem in this manner in a recent article, to which we allow ourselves to refer (1): "It appears ... that our categories only

1. P. Mercier, "Un essai d'enquête par questionnaires dans la ville de Dakar /An attempt at investigation by questionnaires in the town of Dakar/" (Paper given at the conference on the Consequences of Industrialization [113]

/18 cont./

and Urbanization in Africa,. Abidjan, 1954). 369x 565 [113]

tendentially have the character of social classes. They are distinguished by the living standard and way of life and by a certain number of specific behaviors, but the characteristics of colonial society, on the one hand, and, on the other, the persistence of traditional values do not permit them to assume the character of clear-cut classes." We shall return to this account, where we noted the absence of close correlations [182] between socio-occupational category, ethnic group, and religion, but, on the other hand, the existence of very clear correlations between the socio-occupational categories and facts such as level of French studies, the importance of intermarriages between different ethnic groups, that of the role played by the groupings and associations of a new type (political parties, syndicates, etc.). Also the ethnic affiliation plays a role of variable importance, although it is very rarely obliterated completely.

4. The new structures which characterize the towns 369x give a large place to grouping of a political, syndical, cultural, sportive, etc. order. We shall not discuss this problem here. It must be noted, however, that in Dakar the importance of some of them is considerably reinforced by the function that Dakar performs as the federal capital; it is valid for the syndicates and to a lesser degree for the political parties.

5. Finally, an important fact in every colonial town, 369x but particularly in Dakar is the juxtaposition of racially and culturally different groups. For Dakar, the European population undoubtedly represents 10% of the total population (2), and

2. In the census of the non-autochthonous population of 1951, close to 22,000.

/5/

244 433 Since the "campaign" of 1959-60, the commercial production of groundnuts in Senegal has reached 720,000 metric tons of groundnuts in the shell. In 1957-58, there was a record year with 830,000 metric tons. Since for these recent years the total production of food products can be estimated at about 550,000 metric tons, the proportion of 1,800 kilograms of groundnuts harvested per metric ton of food products, advanced in 1951 by M. Portères, is very close to the Senegalese economic reality (1).

[113]

1. For this information we have consulted: Barbier, J., "L'économie de l'arachide au Sénégal, Contribution à l'Étude du marché français des huiles alimentaires /The economy of the groundnut in Senegal, Contribution to the study of the French marketing of food oils/," typewritten thesis for the doctorate in law, Lille, 20 May 1960, 475 pp.

A.O.F. 57: Tableaux économiques /French West Africa 57: Economic Tables/. Haut-Commissariat de la République en A.O.F. Direction des Services économiques et du plan, 412 pp.

Outre-Mer 58: Service statistique d'Outre-Mer /Oversea 58: Oversea Statistical Service/, P.U.F. 1960.

177 244 The groundnut is originally from America; Jean de Léry, a French clergyman, described this plant around 1855, under the name of "manoki," as a crop of the region of Rio. In the seventeenth century Père Plumier noted it for the Antilles. The Portuguese slave-dealers seem to have imported it to Africa around the middle of the sixteenth century. The natives of Senegambia were soon cultivating it around their huts, and as

S 244 /7/ generally at the end of October or the beginning of November. Harvesting is done by cutting the stalks with the hilaire four or five centimeters under the ground. They are collected into little piles, sometimes protected by a shelter of plant material for drying, and then heaped into stacks to await the detachment S [462] of the shells several weeks later by threshing or by hand. This last operation is entrusted to the women and children. All of these tasks require great effort, and the more so since during the S [243] same brief period one must busy himself with the food crops, millet, niébés /Vigna/, etc.

S 241 244 W 244 The ways in which the groundnut is associated with the food crops are quite variable and put their mark on the agrarian landscape.

1) The lougan of the Ouoloff peasant. The Ouoloff peasant of Cayor or of Siné-Saloum represents the most traditional type of cultivator of groundnuts. He still practices shifting cultivation on his lougan /cultivated field/ cleared by fire in the open bush. Although he does practice a millet-groundnut rotation, often with very little strictness, he does not know the virtues of fertilization. He cultivates the soil until it is exhausted and then abandons it for 15 or 20 years, which allows it to go back to bush. Today, however, demographic pressure does not always permit him to dispose of the vast areas of land required for this long rest. S W The soil is rapidly being exhausted; the yields are diminishing. [433] In Cayor the latter have fallen off at least 700 kilograms per hectare. The cultivation of the groundnut is very obviously regressing.

S SR 241 2) The organized ground of the Sérère /Serer/ peasantry (2). The Sérère are a group of Sudanese origin, driven back

S [113] 2. Pelissier, P. "Les paysans sérère, essai sur la formation d'un terroir au Sénégal /The Serer peasants, an essay on the formation of a ground in Senegal/." Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, Vol. VI, 1953, No. 22, pp. 105-127.

S
SR
241
[244]

/7 cont./

by the Mandingue and settled in Siné-Saloum. They are above all millet farmers; on the average they cultivate a hectare of this cereal to 70 acres of groundnuts. The groundnut, having entered the agricultural cycle quite recently, has contributed to the formation of a ground of specialized sectors. Around the village, surrounding it, are located the fields of small millet, cotton, and manioc. Beyond this pombod, under the Faidherbia, the ground is divided into three areas /soles/ corresponding to a system of triennial rotation, small millet, groundnuts, and fallowing, where, after cultivation, the animals graze and manure the soil for the next cultivation. Each family has its shares in each /8/ /Fig. 1 appears here/ area.

SR
[423]

The separation between these three large sectors of the ground is maintained by living hedges or barriers of cut thorns. In Sérère country a permanent ground is delineated, and land ownership stands out. The peasant takes care of managing the land and only wants a little money for the groundnuts, a secondary crop.

S
244

3) "Speculative" or "extractive" cultivation. In contrast to the Sérère example, this is a type of cultivation where the cultivator, often occasional, is attracted solely by the immediate profit that groundnuts may bring. It is practiced by the group of Murids on the one hand, and, on the other, by the navétanes /seasonal workers/.

S
795

/9/ Muridism (3) is a Moslem movement founded by Sheik

S
[113]

3. Pelissier, P. "L'arachide au Sénégal, rationalisation et modernisation de la culture," Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, Vol. IV, 1951, No. 13, pp. 80-85.

Amadou Bamba, who died in 1927. The brotherhood has many adepts, especially in Siné-Saloum near the Ouoloff. For the Murids, Islam is a religion based on renouncement. Agricultural work becomes a holy thing if it is done for the benefit of the pious man who prays. The adepts of Muridism, or talibés, thus

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.7--ANALYST]

/9 cont./

795 have a moral obligation to deliver the products of their labor to the marabouts. With a remarkable ardor for clearing, these
244 Murids have improved new lands and have thus made a "groundnut front" progressing toward the east, especially on both sides
311 of the Dakar-Niger railroad. This cultivation, however, pre-
795 sents grave dangers, because the Murids essentially concern themselves with groundnuts at the expense of millet; they use the cleared lands in the average proportion of 60% of the area for groundnuts and only 40% for millet. Crop rotation and fallowing are all too rarely respected, and the lands put under cultivation are all the more unstable since the groundnut front now abuts on the zone of the lateritic cuirasses of the east, ushering in the Sudan.

244 The navétanes (4) are the seasonal workers who come
427
[464]
[167]
[113]

4. Fouquet, J., La traite des arachides dans le pays de Kaolack et ses conséquences économiques, sociales et juridiques /The trade of groundnuts in the region of Kaolack and its economic, social, and legal consequences/. Law thesis, Montpellier, 1951, 262 pp.

from the Sudan in particular and, up to 1958, from the north of Guinea. They cultivate the groundnut for the benefit of
[466] the employer, or diatigui, according to the clauses of a ver-
[465] bal contract. The employer furnishes the cleared ground, the seed, lodgings, and food. The navétane prepares the land, sows, weeds, and gathers the harvest. Actually, he devotes scarcely three to four half-days per week in work for the benefit of the diatigui. He utilizes the rest of his time for clearing and cultivating for himself. This labor is very costly for the employer, who is often obliged to borrow at prohibitive rates in order to feed the navétane. Moreover, this system presents grave dangers, because the temporary immigrant, clearing and cultivating land for which he feels no attachment,

/24 cont./

439
433

framework of their commercial activities. Moreover, they are especially great consumers of margarine. Belgium /25/ is concerned about protecting its daily herds and, up to now, the products of the Congo. Finally, Italy gives priority to olive oil. In fact the coincidence of the French shortage of oleaginous materials and the largely excess production of Senegal can lead, within the spirit of the treaty and without contradiction, from the common policy anticipated for certain agricultural products (Art. 39) to the definition of the groundnut as a basic French oleaginous commodity, with the formation of a support fund maintained essentially by France. M. Adler concludes: "On the one side there is sought a product that on the other side no one wants" (5).

[113]

5. Adler, J., "Le Mali et l'archide /Mali and the groundnut/," Marches tropicaux, No. 745, 20 February 1960, pp. 497-498.

On the other hand it seems that in the case of union Senegal could anticipate, through the increasing competition between the local products of the six member countries, an appreciable lowering of the price of articles imported from Europe, from which there is a possibility of an increase in the purchasing power of the groundnut producer, in any case assured of getting a stable income from his harvest, except in the case of very serious natural calamities.

In conclusion it seems, as M. Barbier emphasizes, that for Senegal in the present circumstances the policy of bigamy is preferable to that of divorce.

Yves Pehaut.

/372/

369 "Dakar is the only city, in the European (or Western)
[361] sense, in all of West Africa," wrote D. Wittlesey in 1941 (1).

1. Derwint Wittlesey, "Dakar and
[113] other Cap Verde Settlements,"
The Geographical Review, 1941, p. 609.

Things have changed since then; Conakry, Bamako, Abidjan, and other centers have become true cities. It is incontestable
[162] that the 230,000 inhabitants counted in the census in 1955, of whom more than 30,000 were non-Africans, make Dakar the
[563] most important city in all of the Black Africa of French expression. In 1957 its port had more traffic than all the other ports
[505] of former French West Africa; in 1960, 8,000 vessels, with a capacity of 21,000,000 tons (2), put it among the most frequented

2. The official figures are 7,948
vessels and 20,992,111 tons.

[162] ports of Africa. But 50 years ago Dakar did not have 25,000 inhabitants. The rhythm of its growth is thus on a level with that of certain mushrooming cities in the United States of America. Dakar does not owe this extraordinarily rapid development solely to favorable natural conditions, as is often said, but also and especially to a complex interaction of historical, economic, and political factors. It is a crossroads born out of the effective integration of the African world and South America in the European economic system, an integration linked with the search for raw materials and markets, made possible and necessary by the great technical progress realized since the middle of the nineteenth century. City-crossroads, all of its vitality depends on the state of its relations.

[133] 1. Birth of Dakar. The head of the peninsula of Cape Verde, on which Dakar was established, is an assemblage of

/372 cont./

369 plateaus made up of two volcanic systems of different ages,
133 separated by a small, low plain, the whole tilting toward the east-northeast. This head of the peninsula is savagely attacked by oceanic floods which create on these coasts many capes and little bays, as well as some little detached islands not very far away. It is in one of these little bays, the bay called Dakar,
361 the most extensive and the best protected, that the great modern
369 port is located, between Pointe de la Défense and Pointe de Bel-Air (Fig. 1).[1] Incontestably, this head of the peninsula makes a favorable site for a port city, a site whose equal would be sought in vain in West Africa (Fig. 2).[2]

131 /373/ But even more than the site, it is the location of
361 this forward cape of Africa that constitutes a trump of the first
369 order in the cards of Dakar. Crossed by the north parallel 14° 40' and located at the center of curvature of the great western
487 bulge of the African continent, almost halfway between the 30th degree north where the desert begins and the regions of the Bénin, former slave-dealers, the peninsula occupied an interesting position in the former navigational system of the central and southern Atlantic, for both the ships coming from the north and those coming from the south. It was in fact chosen as the first place of easy reprovisioning for the sailors who had traveled for several days along a desert-like coast from south of Morocco, while, for the ships coming from the Gulf of Guinea, it was the last place for provisioning available before the Canaries. Moreover, the tip of the peninsula is the most westerly of all the headlands of the Old World. Cape Dunemore in Ireland, which is the most westerly in Europe, does not go beyond 11° west of Greenwich, whereas the peninsula of Cape Verde goes beyond 17° west, even reaching 17° 32' 16" at Cape Almadies. Dakar is thus more than 500 kilometers west of Casablanca (3); it is

[113]

3. Marcel M. Chartier, "Dakar, Port aérien /Dakar, aerial port/," in Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 1948, p. 87.

[1] [See category 116, p. 5--Analyst]
[2] [See category 116, p. 11--Analyst]

/373/

369 therefore one of the Old World's closest points to South America
36 (4). Dakar and Natal are about 3,000 kilometers apart.
[131
[487]

4. Cape Roxo and the region of Freetown are closer from Cape St. Roque by 250 kilometers (cf. J. Richard Molard, in "La presqu'île du Cap-Vert /The peninsula of Cape Verde/," I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 10).
[113]

These advantages of site and location, however, should not make one forget that the tip of the peninsula of Cape Verde did not have easy access. On the one hand, the shallow depths
[133] which border it on its north front caused many shipwrecks, the
369 pillage of which in part supported the riparian populations, and,
175 on the other hand, it did not offer any security for the possible
[579] establishment of a settlement because of the very independent character of the Lébou, who were tightly organized in a geronto-theocratic republic under the authority of the "Great Serigne" (5),

5. Great Marabout.

after being freed from the bondage of the Damel (6) around 1809.

6. King of Cayor.

Thus, one should not be surprised that the actual occupation of the peninsula by France was very late. For a long time the island of Gorée better satisfied the needs of the early navigators. Discovered by the Portuguese at the same time as Cape Verde, in 1444, the island, located off the southeastern cape of the peninsula, was still uninhabited when the Hollanders appeared at Cape Verde in 1588. In 1617 the latter bought it from the chiefs of the coast "for iron and some nails" (7). This island of less than a

[113] 7. Dr. Cariou, note on Gorée in "La

369
175
[113]

/373 cont./

presqu'île du Cap-Vert,"
op. cit., p. 274

square kilometer nevertheless satisfied a double /374/ /Fig. 1 appears here / concern of the Hollanders, security and commerce: security first for the ships, which could find an excellent anchorage in the bay on the northeast of the island, immediately so appreciated that its excellence -- Goede reede, "the good roadstead" in Dutch -- served to designate the establishment under the name of Gorée (8) in distinguishing

[103]

8. Nora and Ch. Toupet,
"L'origine du nom de Gorée,"
in Notes Africaines, January 1959,
pp. 17-20, I.F.A.N., Dakar.

[113]

it from the other islands of the peninsula; and then, security for the occupants. From this point of view, the insularity would have been a great advantage for the site of Dakar. Finally, with regard to commerce, the island of Gorée, although minuscule, sufficed for barter with the natives of the coast and could well fill its role as a warehouse for products and slaves. As soon as these views were confirmed by the facts, Gorée became the object of competition among the Hollanders, French, and British, finally coming to the French. In spite of this changing of hands, the establishment of Gorée, thanks to the slave trade, /375/ prospered, and around 1845 it harbored more than 5,000 persons. The abolition of the trade, and then that of slavery, around the middle of the century dealt it a mortal blow, bringing about a crisis from which Gorée did not recover. There was indeed an attempt at adaptation to the new conditions, the Goréans trying to make the island a place for commerce with the continent, where the cultivation of the groundnut had already developed, but on this point Gorée could not rival the peninsula. The inhabitants understood it; there were those who encouraged the occupation of Dakar with the idea

[439]
[162]
[567]

/376 cont./

504 369 712 the support point for the whole military organization of the West African coast, was constructed between 1899 and 1902. Some of these accomplishments, such as the north jetty, the extension of the south jetty, and the dry dock, also concerned the commercial port, the construction of which began immediately afterwards and continued from 1903 to 1910. Two new piers were added to the first one, delimiting three docks between the south jetty and the military port, while the outfitting of the platforms was vigorously carried on (9).

9. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar", Annales de Géographie, 1936, pp. 607-671.

[113]

369 648 This phase of the construction of the port was accompanied by a very important act which was to serve as support for the development of Dakar: the transfer in 1902 of the office of the Government-general of West Africa from Saint-Louis to Dakar, which led to the establishment of high administrative offices in this city (Contrôle Financier, Treasury, Public Works, etc.) (10), although the Governor-general, awaiting

10. Morazé, Ch., op. cit., p. 620.

the construction of his palace, was installed at Gorée, where he remained until 1907, an event adding considerably to the accomplishments on the port and which marked the beginning of the prodigious vigor of Dakar (Fig. 3). 7/1

369 As early as 1911 the port registered a tonnage of more than four million tons; it exceeded 5.6 millions in 1913. [505] During the course of the First World War it played a role that greatly surpassed anything that the founders could have hoped for: in 1917, a tonnage of 10.5 million tons. To be sure, the end of the war led to a sharp decrease in the arrivals and departures, [504] but the recovery that followed the war was such that new works for the port soon became necessary. They were done between

7/1 [See Category 116, P. 19 -- Analyst]

/376 cont. /

369
504

1927 and 1933 in the northern zone, where laying out a platform intended for groundnuts was undertaken with the construction of three new piers, one of which was intended for traffic in combustibles. Finally, a maritime wet-dock was installed in the southern zone (11).

11. Coursin (L.) op. cit., p. 278.

Moreover, these new works did not end the construction of the port. Outfitting and new arrangements continued up to the eve of the Second World War and were taken up again immediately afterwards, making the port the complex organ that it is today: /377/ 6,904 meters of quays, of which 2,794 have depths of 20 meters and more, 2,103 meters with depths of 8 to 9 meters, 580 meters with depths of 6.50 to 7.50 meters, and, finally, 1,427 meters reserved for small boats, the total providing quay posts for 31 ships at a time; a water surface of 210 hectares; 682,000 square meters of platforms, of which 53,940 square meters are covered; and, finally, 240,000 square meters of storage space for hydrocarbides (12). These

[113]

12. Synthèse de la situation économique de l'ex-A.O.F. durant la période 1948 à 1958, Vol. IV, p. 712. Publication of the Chambre de Commerce, d'Agriculture et d'Industrie de Dakar.

are the essential elements of the infrastructure of the port of Dakar, which has become a very effective instrument, fully valorizing a favorable location at the crossroads of the heavily traveled maritime routes. Dakar thus receives ships from practically all of the countries possessing a merchant marine; only the flags of Saudi Arabia, Iran, China, and Russia do not wave in the port of Dakar.

[439]

This great frequentation comes about first from the fact

/377 cont./

369 that Dakar is designated above all as a port d'escale, "a service
439 station," of the tropical Atlantic, provisioning the ships with
504 water and, above all, combustibles; the latter, represented in former times by coal in particular, are now almost entirely made up of hydrocarbides, the export and import traffic of which sometimes represents more than double that of merchandise: 211.1% in 1954, 233.6% in 1955, 186% in 1959.

369 But, beyond this role as a port d'escale, Dakar thrust ahead
439 as a metropolis, governing a large region. In fact it is via Dakar
487 that food products (rice, flour, sugar, etc.), cloth and thread, industrial products, etc. come in, principally destined for Senegal, Mauritania, and the Sudan, which, in return, send groundnuts, gum, hides wax, etc. to it for export. This situation is the result of struggles in the recent past between Dakar and the old mari-
[505] time or river ports which shared the light traffic of former times. The construction of the port and modern means of communication with the interior permitted Dakar to eliminate its rivals very quickly.

369 The establishment of Gorée, caught in a crisis since the
[505] abolition of slavery, despite the resistance, at first active and then passive, of its municipality (13), has been practically

[113] 13. In the work by J. Charpy (La Fondation de Dakar /The Founding of Dakar/, Larose, Paris, 1958), there is a series of documents on the various aspects of this resistance.

eliminated from the economic circuit since the accomplishment of the great work of the commercial port. Business then emigrated
[162] to the continent, while the city went to sleep, losing more and more of its population; from 3,200 inhabitants in 1872, it went to 2,068 in 1891, 1,249 in 1910, 998 in 1921, so that the com-
[633] mune was abolished and attached to Dakar in 1929, and then the entire island was classified as a historical monument in 1944.

/381 cont./

369 larger than that of Paris. In Dakar, this function as a metrop-
648 olis, which has been confirmed since the construction of the
633 commercial port, preceded and conditioned the development of the city.

369 3. The City. The commercial affairs which thus make
166 African products and products from the outside converge toward
167 the Dakar crossroads could not fail to bring with them a great
[487] number of people. First, there are the Goréans, finally resigned to their fate, who accompany or follow the commercial or administrative establishments being transferred to Dakar; then, non-Africans, administrators, technicians, merchants, etc., usually arriving from Europe by the same route as that of the imported manufactured products. But above all there are the masses who arrive by road and by rail, by these paths of a money economy which have greatly disturbed the villagers' traditional institutions and thus communicated to the people a mobility formerly unknown in the rural world. Willingly or unwillingly, the rural people of Senegal, of the Sudan, of Upper Guinea, and of the Upper Volta take to the road and rails to cast themselves into an /382/ /Fig. 3 appears here/ /383/ adventurous existence which will lead many of them to Dakar and to settle there. Finally, Africans from Guinea, the Ivory Coast, and Dahomey, students at the large educational institutions and officials who come in connection with the functions of the federal capital, also arrive by sea.

369 This human convergence, which since the last decade of
162 the century has continued to grow, has caused a vertiginous increase in the population. To be sure, for the period before 1955
[633] there were only estimations, all the less certain because the boundaries of the commune have often changed, but the official figures (18), even though they should be corrected here or

[113] 18. Synthèse de la situation économique de l'ex-A.O.F. durant la période 1948 à

/383 cont./

369
162
[113]

1958. op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 35: 1910, 24.000; 1921, 32,000; 1931, 54,000; 1945, 132,000; 1955-56, 231,000.

[633] there, nevertheless give an acceptable idea of the direction of the development of the population of Dakar. The first 20 years that followed the construction of the port were characterized by a not very spectacular progression, the population merely having doubled, going from 24,900 in 1910 to 54,000 in 1931. This relative slowness of growth should undoubedly be attributed to some check due to the First World War, but it is basically explained by the then very imcomplete [496] character of the modern paths of penetration, the railroads from Thiès to Kayes and from Louga to Linguère not having been finished until after the war. By contrast, the progression has been particularly rapid in the 20 years that followed, and, in spite of the checks that would seemingly have been put into operation by the Second World War, the population has more than quadrupled between 1931 and 1955, reaching 230,000 inhabitants at the latter date (19).

[113]

19. Recensement démographique de Dakar 1955. Résultats définitifs, 1er fascicule /Demographic census of Dakar for 1955. Final Results, No. 1/. Publication of the Service de la statistique de l'ex-A.O.F., July 1958. The following figures given for the population of Dakar have been taken from this number or have been calculated from the figures that it gives.

369
563
162

This Dakar population, very diverse in its make-up, is an almost complete sampling of the ethnic groups of Senegal, to which are added elements from the other territories of former French West Africa and also some non-Africans. Thus, jostling

[Text continues on P. 20--Analyst]

/Fig. 3 Caption cont./

36
102
491
496
504
712
743

a-g. The piers. -- I. Town Hall. -- II. Chambre de Commerce. -- III. Sandaga Market (Ponty-Clemenceau cross-roads). -- IV. Former Palace of Justice. -- V. General Postoffice. -- VI. Treasury. -- VII. Kermel Market. -- VIII. Military Circle. -- IX. Residence of the President of the Republic. -- X. Military Hospital. -- XI. African Hospital. -- XII. Palace of Justice. -- XIII. Camp Bornis. -- XIV. Camp Galliéni. -- XV. Station.

369
563
162

/383 cont./ one another in Dakar are Lébou, Ouolof /Wolof/, Toucouleur /Tukolor/, Sérère /Serer/, Sarakolé, Diola, Socé, etc., who are Senegalese, but there are also Mauritanians, Sudanese, Voltaics, Guineans, Ivorians /persons from the Ivory Coast/, Dahomeans, Cape Verdeans, Lebano-Syrians, French, etc. The Lébou, who are the original population of Dakar, today represent scarcely one-tenth of the population, exceeded in number by the Oulof, the Toucouleur (20), and even by the 30,000 non-Africans,

[113]

20. A. Diop, "L'immigration toucouleur à Dakar (enquête /investigation/ 1958-1959)," I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 1. The author, citing an investigation by the M.I.S.O.E.S., gives the figure of 31,000 Toucouleur in 1959.

among whom the French constitute a great majority of close to 23,000 persons in residence. This character of Dakar as a [166] region of call is illustrated first by the fact that only a little more than one-third of the population was born there /384/ and then by the quite obvious inequality between the number of men and that of women. Before the war, among the Europeans, there were 65% men as against 25% women and 10% [744] children (21). Today the systematic destruction of the

21. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar," op. cit., p. 630.

/384 cont./

369 in the city at the home of a relative, at the home of a friend
563 or the friend or relative of a friend, or at the home of a resi-
166 dent originally from the same village or merely from the same
162 region -- all of this ultimately makes up the factors that are
464 more decisive than the salary. Because of this, while among the resident non-Africans the number of persons employed amounts to 43 % of the total and 64% of the economically active, among the resident Africans, the proportion of workers is no more than 27% of the total and 42% /385/ of the economically active. If one adds to that the salaries, on the average
369 much higher among the first than among the second, one finds
571 in Dakar some of the contrasts characteristic of West African
563 cities: on the one hand, among the non-Africans, a high standard of living which is often shown in the appearance of their quarters, and, on the other hand, the mass of the African population whose settling in the city is tied neither to a correlative augmentation of the normal opportunities for lodgings nor to a higher living standard in relation to the bush, which gives to the African city, or at least to some of its quarters, an appearance more wretched than that of the villages of the interior.

369 This situation, formerly very clear, put Dakar in the
563 normal category of West African cities, where a white city and
[361] a black city stand in contrast (22), a contrast that was the result

[113] 22. Dresh, J., "Villes d'Afrique occidentale /Cities of West Africa/," Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 1950.

of a de facto segregation imposed, not by law, but by the norms of urbanism and of hygiene, to which it was impossible for the bulk of the natives to subject themselves, and also by the high
[465] price of rent -- the non-Africans being nearly always lodged by their employers. In 1936 Charles Morazé wrote: "Formerly Europeans and natives lived mixed. Innumerable families lived

/385 cont./

369 in small apartments, true caravansaries contained within the
563 European city. This promiscuity was deplorable. Europeans and natives were not in fact subject to the same epidemics;
[164] yellow fever, for example, fatal for the white, is benign to the black. The danger of a mixed population was that the epidemics would spread without being stamped out in time.
[361] Finally, the system lacked style; therefore as early as 1916 the creation of the native village of Médina was decided upon" (23).

23. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar," op. cit., p. 630.

There it was, in a way, the theory of the urbanism of the West African cities ! Nevertheless the problems of land were so complicated at Dakar (24) between the two world wars

[113] 24. See the work by A. Angrand, Les Lébou de la presqu'île du Cap-Vert (Essai sur leur histoire et leurs coutumes) /The Lébou of the peninsula of Cape Verde (essay on their history and their customs)/. "La Maison du Livre," Dakar.

[167] that, with the Lebano-Syrian immigration and the Crédit
[452] Foncier /Mortgage-loan Society/ helping, there was created, in contact with the European city and the Médina, a collection
[361] of quarters more mixed in their contents and in their appearance. Up to the end of the Second World War Dakar preserved this appearance of a threefold city. But after the war a series of new factors caused a rapid and brutal evolution in Dakar. The return to normal economic activities after the slack period following the war, the awakening and amplification of political and syndical life, the creation of the Fonds d'Investissement Economique et Social (F.I.D.E.S.), and, finally, the ever greater influx of rural people into Dakar led the federal authorities to take a series of fortunate initiatives, /386//Fig. 4 appears here/

/392 cont./

369 condemnation.

433 Consequently it is necessary to emphasize the same

439 instability of this role of Dakar as a relay-station. Already

[505] strongly rivaled in its function of provisioning ships by such ports as Las Palmas and Santa Cruz of Tenerife (25), better

[113]

25. Nicolas, J. -P., "Les hydrocarbures de soute à Dakar; 2e rapport. Eléments d'information sur la position concurrentielle des îles Canaries, 15 Nov. 1960 /The hydrocarbides stored at Dakar; 2nd report. Data on the competitive position of the Canary Islands, 15 Nov. 1960/," I.F.A.N., Dakar.

located on the direct route between Europe and South America, Dakar is no longer an imperative stop in the tropical Atlantic because of the greater autonomy of the ships in the matter of provisioning. On the other hand, the recent political evolution which has led to the "Balkanization" of former French West Africa has not only broken all the administrative and political ties which were among the most notable elements of the power of Dakar, but it has also permitted at Conakry, Abidjan, and Cotonou other possible relay-stations for the interior regions to become rivals, more and more limiting the zone of influence of Dakar. The recent breakup of the Federation of Mali, completely and at a single stroke turning the traffic between Senegal and the Sudan toward Abidjan in particular and to a lesser extent toward Conakry, is a particularly striking example of the instability of the position of Dakar. In the present state of affairs, nothing remains for Dakar but the Senegalese interior and Mauritania, and this latter country, which is building its own port at Port-Etienne, is seeking to free itself (Fig. 6).

Thus, grave threats weigh on the metropolis of Dakar. In any case, even in the eventuality of a recovery in the

/10/

*795 793 The brotherhood of the Murids was instituted in Senegal at the end of the last century by a Toucouleur /Tukolor/ marabout named Amadou Bamba M'Backé. He did it, Murid tradition reports, following a vision during which the Angel Gabriel revealed to him his vocation as apostle-restorer of Islam in that country.

Amadou Bamba had studied the Koran thoroughly under Cheikh /Sheik/ Sidi Sidiya, and because of this he had received the wird. He therefore was of Quadria obedience. Nevertheless, by creating his own brotherhood and founding Muridism, he produced a completely original work, and he knew particularly well how to adapt his preaching to the mentality of the Ouolof /Wolof/, among whom it spread rapidly and became firmly established.

The essential trait of the Murid is his blind and fanatical attachment to his marabout and to the Murid doctrine; the primordial characteristic of Muridism is to have made manual [461] labor (generally scorned in Black Africa and in Islam) the equivalent of prayer and, as such, capable of ensuring the eternal salvation of the disciple (talibé).

*795 114 The history of the vocation and the preachings of Amadou Bamba, as well as the circumstances of the birth and first development of the brotherhood are known; Captain Marty in L'Islam au Sénégal /Islam in Senegal/ and A. Gouilly in L'Islam en A. O. F. /Islam in French West Africa/ have spoken about it with authority.

Our purpose, therefore, will not be to repeat what has already been written about the Murids and their brotherhood, but to report some recent observations about them made by the author in the course of a stay at Diourbel during which he was able to approach the current leaders of the brotherhood frequently and to attend several times the pilgrimage that they organize annually in their "capital," Touba, under the name of Magal.

128 We shall call to mind, therefore, successively:

— Touba, the holy city of the Murids, its mosque, its Magal;

/389 cont./

162 463 [113]

Recensement 1953 /The mixed commune of Thiès. 1953 Census/." Dakar, 1954. We have only converted into percentages the figures given on pp. 25 ff. of this pamphlet.

121 114

By its very diversity, this population thus constitutes an excellent field of study and experiment for the sociologist and the economist.

A socio-demographic inquiry by questionnaire was made previously, in November and December 1953. The sample chosen contained 900 heads of families questioned (2). We

2. The results of this inquiry, which was supervised by Dr. Massé, will be published in the next issue of this Bulletin.

wished to complete it partially by studying some family budgets in a very limited number, 46, three of which proved to be useless.

●114 Under no pretext should any general value be given to the results that are going to be presented. The trends shown will have to be confirmed by other, more extensive inquiries, in conformity with the resolution adopted in 1926 by the Third Conference of the Statisticiens du travail, which specified: "it is better to give up certain details which the inquiry might reveal than to reduce the number of families studied."

/390/ We have almost systematically taken a course opposite to this recommendation, because the information now available on the daily life of the Africans in the cities of Senegal (and in French West Africa in its totality) is still too insufficient for one to be able to undertake broader inquiries. On the other hand, and this was a major obstacle, we did not have at our disposal sufficient means to study a larger number of families. This has saved us from the temptation of looking too far; daily African life is at this point complex, particularly in its economic aspect, so that in certain respects the work accomplished and the documents

/390 cont./

114 collected seemed to us later to lack precision.

125 The method that we have used is simple. For the seven African investigators (each concerning himself with six or seven families) and for the director of the investigation, it was primarily a matter of being present as often as possible and as long as possible with each family and of noting in a notebook devised for this use all of the financial activities of the family each day during a month of 31 days (1)

1. For detailed information on the method followed for this investigation, cf. Y. Mersadier, "Un essai d'enquête sur le niveau de vie d'une population urbaine /An attempt to investigate the living standard of an urban population/" [communication at the conference of experts on the social consequences of industrialization and the urban problems in Africa, Abidjan, September 1954].

[511] (the month of March 1954). We obtained quite accurate data on the "routine" expenses of the month, principally food, fuel, illumination, and maintenance, and basic elements for the calculation of other categories of expenses, clothing, material, equipment, various familial expenses, religious expenses, etc., which we wanted to estimate for the period of a year. But here we had to rely in part on the statements of the persons investigated. Nevertheless the almost continual presence of the investigator with the families for a month permitted him, in several questionings and by rechecking, to arrive at figures which we believe are quite close to reality.

125 434 The real income was often quite difficult to estimate. In principle there should have been no difficulties in the case of salaried workers, who willingly show their pay receipt. For the

/400 cont./

*511 452 debts in full. The latter pay for the others, and, if they know it, they are not surprised. It is a deep-rooted survival of the traditional, essentially collective funds in a system based on an institution of individualistic character, being salaried. Likewise, [166] the salaried person who is one day obliged to pay back more debts [602] than he can meet will be able to send his family to spend a few months among relatives whom he has kept in the natal village, [592] and they will see nothing abnormal in it. He himself will live as a "parasite" in a more favored unit of consumption, and no one will be surprised by it (1).

[114]

1. The problems of credit, complex and not very well known, the elements of which are often imperceptible, have not been followed systematically in the course of this investigation. We hope to make them the subject of a series of investigations which will be devoted especially to them.

*511 592 Is it a sign of evolution that, out of the five units of consumption that have not admitted into their midst any element foreign to the restricted family, two are among the youngest, thus capable of being more strongly influenced by ideas of [452] emancipation? Among these two, we have likewise found a lower percentage of purchases on credit. A broader investigation would perhaps confirm this tendency.

*511 Let us return to the 43 families to ascertain that the first balanced budget appears with the first income of 15,000 francs. The next three again have a deficit, but a smaller one. Taking account of the possible margin of error, one can infer, not a deficit, but a certain difficulty in "making ends meet."

This experiment, however, is too limited for one to be able to conclude with certainty that 15,000 francs is the indispensable minimum monthly income.

All of the budgets following No. 27 clearly have a surplus. We previously noted that the "hole" of No. 34 is due to the cost

/431 cont./

*511 not been able to take this income into account, but he is certainly erroneously placed in our list; this is No. 23. The 15,000 francs shown indeed correspond to his way of life, but he should certainly be higher.

Finally, many do not know where the money goes... and would be very surprised to learn that they should normally have a surplus at the end of each month. It is very probable [426] that they loan /432/ much of it, which is never returned to them and which they do not think of asking for; they are the ones who permit the system to remain in equilibrium.

*511 114 Many points have remained obscure in the course of this study, and many others require some explanation. We have strictly limited ourselves to a report of the verifications that we have made concerning the budgets of our families, not wishing to go still further and speak of the "standard of living." These are thus raw results which need to be worked over, put back in their framework, and illuminated in the light of their context: all the elements that make up African daily life.

But other studies of the same order are under way. One was recently made in Dakar itself; another will soon begin in Saint-Louis. By combining the results we will then be able to confirm certain of the tendencies shown and, finally, perhaps to draw some valid conclusions.

*511 The provisional conclusions would be: the apparent impossibility, or in any case the difficulty, of balancing a budget when the income is less than 15,000 francs, at least by changing the food habits (by consuming more millet, for example) and above all the social context. But on this last point the traditions are still the strongest. On the other hand, as we have just said, it is because of them that the system remains in equilibrium. [369] But from this struggle between two forces, the traditions of the rural life and the necessities of life in the city, there is the danger that disequilibrium will arise. In any case this is what often happens on the level of the familial groups that we studied.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

PREFACE

114 THIS short study of Senegal with particular reference to France's policy of assimilation of her colonial peoples is the result of a number of visits made to Senegal since 1955. However, most of the material was gathered in the months of January, February and March of 1961 while I was in Senegal participating in a major research project sponsored by the Institute of Race Relations and directed by Mr. Guy Hunter, which has resulted in his recently published *The New Societies of Tropical Africa*. I am particularly grateful 121 to Mr. Hunter for indirectly giving me the opportunity to collect material for this book, for there is a great dearth of material in English on the French-speaking states of Africa. I must also thank Mr. Philip Mason who first suggested the idea of writing such a book, which I hope will help to give some idea of the special character of the African country that was most heavily subjected to France's policy of assimilation. I also hope it will clear away some of the current misconceptions about French assimilation and its effects on Africans.

Many people have helped, often unwittingly, in the creation of this book. I have acknowledged written sources in a detailed bibliography at the end of the book and I have marked with an asterisk those on which I have drawn particularly heavily. Much of my material was obtained in conversation and I am afraid it would be impossible to thank all those who have helped me in this respect. I am, however, particularly indebted to the following: M. Raymond Mauny, M. Ly Abdoulaye, M. André Hauser, M. Yves Mersadier and M. Diop Abdoulaye of the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire at the University of Dakar; M. Galou Fall, M. Guy Etsebeverry, and M. Alain Kocher of the Ministry of Information; of the British Embassy, H. E. Mr. Adam Watson and Mr. Tim Brierley who lent

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[P. 3 A]
[P. 2 contains no textual material]

Political Life in the Urban Centers of Senegal: A Study of a Period of Transition

Senegal and Sudan presently comprise the Mali Federation, which is in the process of achieving sovereignty within the French Community. Senegal itself is one of the most urbanized West African regions, and its cities have been characterized by a gradual growth of modern political life. The author presents some major findings on its urban political activity, based on extensive interviews made in the mid-1950's. The oldest urban elite, almost entirely assimilated into the French way of life, has been only partially successful in developing party organizations that satisfy the interests of the newer urban residents. As a consequence, the most active and radical post-war political activity has been centered in "non-political" bodies, notably labor unions. Also, urban political activity has been increasingly challenged by rural political developments, which have drawn their framework from urban politics. African specialists will note that Senegalese political development has much in common with such development elsewhere in Africa; it also has a number of distinctive features.

The article originally appeared in CAHIERS INTERNATIONAL DE SOCIOLOGIE, *XXVII (July-December, 1959), pp. 55-84, under the title,* "La vie politique dans les centres urbains du Sénégal." *It was translated by T. H. Stevenson.*

369
668
[114]
[665]
[467]
[101]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 portant part of the urban population has
668 considerable mobility, and thus maintains solid ties and frequent communication with the regions of its origins.[8] Moreover, lesser members of the modern urban
[571] elites, *e.g.*, workers and petty officials, have been settled in rural centers, thus extending urban influence still further. By these means a double network of individuals more or less shaped by the conditions of urban life is established. Contacts and relations between urban centers and rural districts can vary markedly, however. The area affected by the prestige of political leaders thus may be more or less extensive. The forms of activity and organization created in the city generally can be transplanted to rural sectors only in their rudimentary forms.

In Senegal, historical factors account for the sharp division between city and countryside. In the old coastal cities, a separatistic history and a particular juridical status have contributed to their marginal position in Senegalese life. The consequences of the separation between the former "citizens" of "the four communes" and the former "subjects" of the interior[9] have not been entirely wiped out, even in recent years.

From the foregoing points of view, Senegalese urban political life can be oriented in summary fashion to the general problems of urban political life. A series of particular traits in the Senegalese situation are first interpreted against the historical background. The subsequent section summarizes the results of investigations conducted in certain Senegalese
• [114] centers in 1953-1955, during a period of transition between two major phases in the development of political life.[10]

[P.6A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 ally to express themselves in opposition
665 to the old cities. The legislative elections
of 1951 were typical in this respect. The
369 enlarged rural electorate had numerical
666 control and held the key to success in
the elections; a substantial part of the urban masses shared in an effort to drive a breach in the old system of urban domination. In this period the ideological aspects of the political parties were still unimportant. The elections of 1951 were a victorious revolt of the new citizens, urban and rural, against the old citizens of the "four communes."[25] The two candidates of the B.D.S. won. Significantly, one of them represented directly, through the unions, the new forces. The division between the whole of the territory and the cities was thus repeated *within* the cities. A new phase had commenced, one in which politics became more complicated. But the forms that can be termed "traditional" for political life were too deeply embedded within the patterns of urban life to give way at once.

Senegalese Political Life in Transition, 1953-1956

668 It was under such conditions that re-
665 searches were conducted on the forms of
[114] political expression in several Senegalese urban centers, chiefly at Dakar-Gorée and at St. Louis — that is, three of the four communes — and also at Thiès, a newer city in the interior close to and under the influence of the Dakar-Gorée-Rufisque aggregate. This last study provided certain comparative materials. This essay discusses only some of the findings of these researches. Three essential facts must be remembered:

(1) The importance retained by certain long-standing patterns. A party de-

[p. 10A]

114 /665/ The study of demography in the countries of Black Africa has made great progress in recent years. Nevertheless, it has often had to be limited to monographs because of the diversity of the ethnic groups and the lack of census statistics.

Among the questions to be studied is that of consanguinity, often in these regions and sometimes responsible for demographic stagnation and an unhealthy condition. It is in this direction that the activity of Dr. Cantrelle of the Institut français d'Afrique noire /French Institute of Black Africa/ is oriented. The high degree of endogamy among the populations that he has studied is given particular attention. The results presented here deal with the Senegalese Fouta and are to be followed by more complete data pertaining to the Fouta Djallon.

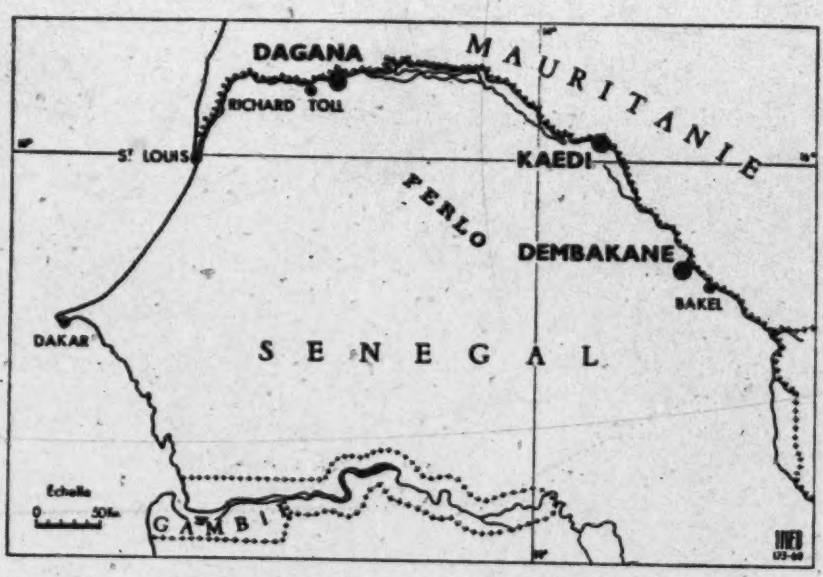
Introduction

133 The Senegal River separates the republic of Senegal from that of Mauritania. Its central valley, running from east to west, between Dembakané upstream and Dagana downstream, constitutes a region defined by history and geography, the Fouta Toro. This is a long alluvial strip more than 400 kilometers long by ten kilometers wide on the average, hemmed in by two semi-arid regions, the Mauritanian Sahara on the north and the Ferlo of Senegal on the south (Map No. 1). In contrast
161 to these two regions, in which lives a population of nomadic shepherds, very low in density, the fertile valley has a concentration of farmers, fishermen, and livestock-raisers, with a relatively great density of about 20 inhabitants per square kilometer downstream, 35 near the center, and reaching 50 upstream.

143 Like most of the large valleys, it is a zone of passage which in the course of previous centuries has mixed together populations of varied origin, and one can assume that this region of homogeneous appearance, and where Islam is the sole religion, has created conditions favorable to panmixia (1).

1. Panmixia: assemblage of hypotheses

102
103
131
133



Map No. 1. /Mauritanie = Mauritania; Gambie = Gambia; eschelle = scale./

128 and variation of these facts with regard to dates and regions, thanks to
143 various registers which have existed for several generations (Sutter and Tabah [4] and [5], Sutter [6]).

114 In the western part of Africa it is difficult to gather this kind of
143 information, which the administrative censuses do not normally give. The first quantitative study of endogamy by M. de Lestrange in Guinea among the Coniagui [7] has permitted an evaluation of the size of the isolate, one woman /667/ being able to choose her partner from among 400 to 500 men, but does not specify the frequency of consanguineous unions. It deals with a closed population limited to 8,000 persons.

143 The population of the valley of the Senegal itself is much
125 more extensive and, in principle, not closed. In this case a demographic inquiry by sampling, taking one out of ten, has been resorted to, which made it possible to establish, in 1957, not only its classic characteristics of structure (sex, age, ethnic affiliation, place of birth, etc.) and of natural change (fertility, mortality), but also elements permitting precise determination of its degree of endogamy,

S /673 cont./

582
143
565

Table IV. Absolute numbers of consanguineous marriages and their percentage in the principal Toucouleur castes. Value of the mean coefficient of consanguinity

Caste	Number of couples interrogated	Consanguineous Marriages 4th D Nos.	5th D Nos.	6th D Nos.	Total Nos.	%	Coefficient of cansanguinity F X 10^3
Torobé	101	15	6	14	35	35.6	10.9
Fishermen	56	8	4	6	18	32.2	8.2
Artisans	27	7	1	4	12	44.4	13.6
Captives	93	6	0	4	10	10.7	4.2

S
582
143

the mother's brother (19) or the father's brother (15), rather than the daughter of the mother's sister (8) or of the father's sister (4). These consanguineous marriages represent the most strict form of endogamy. The others reflect the same tendency, but are practiced in a larger framework, lineage, clan, the extent of which we have not been able to evaluate. There are also traditional unions between two or more families, which perpetuate themselves from generation to generation.

Actual endogamy. The results observed in the valley of the Senegal cannot be extended to the Sahelo-Sudan region and still less to the western part of Africa. From analogous studies now in progress, we shall soon know whether the situation is comparable in the other regions of the Senegal and the Sudan.

In the valley the frequency of marriages of the fourth to the sixth degree inclusive ranks among the highest yet observed anywhere in the world. Freire-Maia in 1957 [10] collected data on this point, followed by Serra and Soini in 1959 [11] in this same journal. The measure which gives the best

S
114
128

S /432 cont. /

162 The 609 individuals who derive a profit from the
463 fashion trades are divided ethnically as follows:

[294]

Cape Verde group	243
Wolof group	157
Diola group	48
Lebou group	31
Sérèr group	29
Others	101

W
[294]

S
W
[386]

The majority of the 142 dyers are Toucouleur /Tukolar/ (77) and Wolof (36).

W
[463]

Out of 1,455 Wolof women practicing a trade, for their own benefit or salaried, 598 are tradeswomen, 157 in sewing, 110 business employees.

The Lébou women likewise prefer to carry on a business (150 out of 340 counted as workers).

S
125

II. Experimental Research on the Aesthetic Sense of Dakar Women in the Matter of Clothing

For this study, which is only in its beginnings, two methods are used:

--direct observation of clothing worn for display by a certain number of women,

-- the result of tests conducted among some of them.

/Table I appears here on an unnumbered page. /

/433/

A. Direct Observation.

1. Circumstances.

S
[114]

a) The investigation was conducted in the Médina of Dakar, in the quarters Sapeurs-pompiers /Firemen/ and Champ de courses /Race course/ -- between 9 and 19 November 1956, at the end of an election.

/72/

On March 15, 1955, the I.F.A.N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noire/ was informed by the administration of the Collège Technique d'Industrie at Fann of the discovery, by students of this establishment, of human skeletons inside a baobab located between this school and the Mandel rest home, at the edge of the Médina of Dakar (1). The next day we went 114 172

1. Discovery announced in the Paris-Dakar of March 22, 1955. February 19 was given erroneously.

to the spot and returned from there on March 19.

This baobab, called "Bok," rises in the middle of a former garden. It is of fine size: 15 meters high, 18.50 meters in circumference, or nearly six meters in diameter (Fig. 1). The trunk is hollow and forms a nearly circular chamber, 3.50 meters in diameter by six meters high, connected to the outside by three orifices: one on the east at ground level, 60 centimeters high by 45 wide, through which there is access to the interior; a sort of dormer window, 0.35 by 0.25 of a meter, on the north face, /73/ 75 centimeters above the ground; and, in the ceiling of the interior cavity, a slit one meter long by about 0.30 of a meter wide (Fig. 2). 137 172 766

Inside, the ground is composed of brownish earth mixed with sand and many human bones. The upper layer had already been excavated by students desirous of procuring skulls for themselves. The first time, we took away the bones found on the surface, not having the means to make excavations. When we came back two days later with the necessary equipment, we noticed that meanwhile new borings and samplings had been made by the students; thus this time it was wise to remove /Fig. 1 appears here/ all the osteological material possible, without being able to proceed with methodical excavations. 126 172 766

We therefore rescued all that we could; the skeletons were tangled up in the most extraordinary fashion without any attempt at orientation. The bodies had, obviously been thrown down 172 766

/1/

125 During the years 1960 and 1961, a demographic investigation by sampling was undertaken over the whole territory, the first one in the history of Senegal. (Administrative counts, city censuses, and an investigation in the central valley of the river /Senegal River/ had been made previously, but never a demographic inquiry covering the whole territory.)

[369] The country has been divided into two large parts: the urban
[162] zone, composed of the whole region of Cape Verde and the cities of Thiès, Saint-Louis, Ziguinchor, Diourbel, and Louga; and the rural zone, which includes the rest of the territory. The sampling fraction was 1/50 in the rural zone and 1/20 in the urban zone. Subsequently a sampling to the twentieth was obtained by dividing into two a certain number of maps of the rural zone.

It will be seen merely from the method utilized that it renders illusory the study of small groups /groupes à effectif réduit/. It should be acknowledged from the first that the numbers below 500 (that is, 25 in the sample) are not significant.

II - The Structures:

III - The geographic distribution:

•114 The operations in the field begun in the month of April 1960 were terminated in the month of August 1961 (April-June '60 for the rural zone, July '60 to August '61 /2/ for the urban
162 zone). It should be acknowledged that on the whole the numbers indicated below correspond to the situation on the date of 1 July 1960. (Table 1 on following page)

This table shows, on the one hand, the low average density and, on the other hand, its great variability.

[563] The non-African population is made up essentially of French and Lebano-Syrians. It is heavily concentrated in the urban zone and particularly in Cape Verde; 74% of the non-Africans of Senegal
161 are actually in residence there. Moreover, this concentration has
648 become accentuated in recent years for several reasons: the departure of the Senegalese and Mauritanian governments from Saint-Louis; the closing of a number of agencies in the interior following the change in the commercial circuits.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

me his house and made useful comments on the manuscript, as well as many other members of the Embassy who offered me hospitality and gave me much valuable advice. I should also like to thank Mr. David Pearson, the former British Consul in Dakar, who first introduced me to Senegal. and finally my many Senegalese friends who offered me much hospitality and kindness during my stay. I should particularly like to thank my driver, M. Seck Bassirou, who acted as guide and interpreter in addition to the work for which he was engaged.

Above all I should like to thank Mr. William Foltz of the Department of Political Studies, Yale University, who was in Dakar making a study of the Mali Federation and who not only read this book for publication and made many helpful criticisms, but also gave me much valuable material when we met in Senegal; and finally M. Léopold Wade of the Senegalese Embassy in Lagos, and Mr. Akin Mabogunje of the University College, Ibudan who read the manuscript and offered me much useful advice.

[3]

Part I

The Organization of the Murid Confession

793 Murid [Mourid] is an Arabic word which means "candidate, postulant." In mystical parlance, a murid is a disciple who wishes first to become united with God, and then to attain the rank of spiritual sheik. It is used most frequently in ordinary discourse to designate "student, disciple." The Murids [Mourides] are thus synonymous in this case with the tolba or talibés.

*795 In Senegal, for about a quarter of a century, this form (and also the forms "Mourites" and "Morites") has come to designate in particular the complete assemblage of the adepts of this new Islamic brotherhood, which the Sérigne [one followed by disciples, the talibés] Amadou Bamba directs.

Muridism is thus the body of religious doctrines, moral precepts, and cult practices [4] to which the Murids are bound. This is the division adopted below for studying the organization of this new sect or confession.

128 Chapter One. The persons. The Murids.

Chapter Two. The body of doctrines and religious practices. Muridism.

Chapter I

The Persons (the Murids)

1. Amadou Bamba

793 *795 The Murid sect rests wholly upon its founder and master, Amadou Bamba. It is because they are attracted by his holiness, by his wisdom, by the belief that he is in direct and permanent contact with the deity and is in some way his personification here on earth, that the multitudes have flocked to him and

[4]
[793] have chosen him as their pastor and supreme head. It is thus
*[795] fitting to begin this study of the Murids with him.

a. His origins. The fourth ancestor of Amadou Bamba was a Toucouleur [Tukolor] and originally from Fouta. It was he who first settled in Ouolof [Wolof] country, married a local woman, and adopted the mores and customs of his new country. Since that time, permanently settled in Ouolof country and marrying women of this race, his descendants have become naturalized Ouolof. Mballa Mbaké, the grandfather of Amadou Bamba (cf. Appendix No. 3), [5] in the first half of the nine-
[175] teenth century founded the village of Mbaké [M'Backé] in the province of Baol, canton of La, and settled there as schoolmaster. It was there that his son Momar Antasali was born.

The latter at first engaged in his studies with his father. He later completed them under a marabout scholar named
[553] "Amadou Bamba." It was in honor of this venerated teacher that Momar Antasali gave this name to his second son.

[175] During the invasions of the almany [chief] of Salom [Saloum], Ma Ba, the great agitator of Senegambia, the Baol region was devastated, Mballa Mbaké was killed, and Momar Antasali, his son, was deported to Porokhane in Saloum. In order to make a living, he opened a course of Koranic studies which soon gained a large following, and he gave a complete education to all of his children. He became the tutor of Ma Ba's children. It was thus that the young Amadou Bamba (ca. 1865) became acquainted with the political leaders with whom he was to establish an alliance and whose example no doubt inspired his youthful ambitions. He had as a disciple the son of Ma Ba, Saër Matti. The damel [chief], Lat Dior, who had fled to Saloum for refuge, had his sister, Thioro Diop, married to Momar Antasali there.

[175] The submission of Lat Dior and changes in the political situation enabled the former damel to be reinstated in the government of Cayor (1871). Momar Antsali and his family followed him there. After a stay of several years at Potar (Cayor), Momar

[5 cont.]
793 settled in the province of Guet, canton of Sagata, and there
[175] founded a village to which the family name was given for the second time. It became Mbaké-Cayor. He was settled there around 1880, the year of his death. His family continued to reside there.

668 b. Curriculum vitae of Amadou Bamba. Amadou Bamba
*795 Abiboulaye (from his Islamic name Ahmed, and [6] sometimes
793 Mohammed ben Mohammed ben Habib Allah) first appears on the political scene about 1886 at Mbaké (Cayor). He was a member of the retinue of the perennial insurgent Lat Dior and within this milieu had acquired considerable renown for wisdom and piety. The damel, Semba Laobé, and then his uncle, Lat Dior, who had set himself up anew as a pretender, were vanquished and killed within an interval of a few days (October 1886). The division of Cayor which followed caused Amadou Bamba to abandon any hope of playing a political or religious role. Leaving his disciples and friends, he went to settle at Mbaké (Baol), his grandfather's village, and he himself founded
[175] a village called Touba not far from Mbaké.

It was not without reason that Amadou Bamba settled in Baol. This province was then in the throes of anarchy as a result of the weakness of its chief, Thiéacine Fal. The Sérigne undoubtedly hoped that with the support of the Moslem part of
[662] the population he would be able to depose Thiéacine and either have himself named chief or have one of his own men put there in his stead. In any case, this was just what happened. Some time later, Tanor Goye, a devoted friend of Amadou Bamba, became tègne [chief] of Baol and during his term of office (1887-1895) was completely devoted to his ally and protector.

The Mbaké-Touba (Baol) grouping now developed rapidly. Disciples flocked in from all sides, and donations poured in. The Sheik taught, and he consecrated marabouts; his fame grew rapidly; he maintained excellent relations with Saër Matti, who was always in dissidence in British Gambia, and served as an intermediary between this old foe of our power and the tègne of Baol.

[6 cont.]

668 *795 793 It was about then that for the first time the administration began to be concerned about this incipient movement (late 1888). The establishment of the Sérigne in [7] the bush of the lower Ferlo, between Diolof, Cayor, and Baol, at an equal distance from the Senegal and Gambia rivers, was noted. This geometric point could very easily become the center of a grouping hostile to our influence, and the need was felt to keep Amadou Bamba under surveillance. In any case, charges were being raised against him: families wanted their children back; the native chiefs were complaining. Governor Clément Thomas tried in turn a policy of conciliation and one of strength (1889). He asked the Sheik to send the students back to their homes and to preach calm to his adepts, and he presented holy books to him as a sign of friendship. Going down to his territory, he tried to make him understand that the Moslem religion was discredited by the doctrinal errors of his disciples.

These palavers had no effect, and when the bour [chief] of Diambour pointed out that his territory was the scene of growing disorders, the Governor, "like Noah dismissing Ham," ordered the expulsion from Guet of the Murids, preachers of the holy war who were already assembled under the leadership of Ibra Sar.

As for Amadou Bamba, he adopted the attitude that he has maintained to this day; he wrote the Governor at the beginning of July, 1889, that he "had no need of anything in this futile and perishable inferior world." These first incidents, which at the time (1889-1891) disturbed Diambour, Cayor, and Baol, having been put down once and for all (1891) by the dispersion of the Murids, Amadou Bamba completed his submission and proved his loyalty by a visit to the Governor at Saint-Louis, during which he revealed without hesitation the names of his disciples who had been most involved.

The chastened Sérigne disappeared anew for four years (1891-1895) and did not leave Baol. All was calm again; Diambour especially, to which the bour had formally interdicted access for the Murids, enjoyed the greatest tranquillity.

[8]

668 *795 793 Political circumstances on the one hand, however (the death of the tègne of Baol in 1895, the division of this province, and increasingly direct intervention by the French administration), and, on the other hand, the desire of Amadou Bamba not to remain inactive caused him to leave Touba (Baol) and to fix his choice on the province of Diolof, where the situation was analogous to that in Baol in 1887. The bourba [chief] of Diolof, Semba Laobé Penda, weak, ill, and in disrepute, seemed to be an easy prey for the scheming Sérigne; his succession was virtually open.

Amadou Bamba thus came and settled with 500 talibés [175] in the canton of Bakkal (Diolof) between Thiéamine and Melekh and there founded a village to which he again gave the name of Touba (March 1895). At Touba (Diolof) all of his old friends, the warriors of the damel Lat Dior and of the bourba Ali Bouri, deserters, dismissed chiefs, and fanaticized Peul, all soldiers of fortune in search of adventure or ambitious schemers, soon responded to his call. Impressed by this strength and without any loyalty to France, the bourba of Diolof himself, Semba Laobé, came to render homage to the Sérigne in May, 1895, and to ask to be included in the brotherhood.

Again unrest began immediately: disorders in the villages, extortions by the talibés, insults to the native chiefs, refusals to pay taxes. The intervention of the French authorities became imperative, all the more so since Amadou Bamba was said at the time to be making important purchases of weapons and ammunition, gathering people around him, and able to call together more than 5,000 talibés.

It was also learned that the Sérigne, up to that time a Qadri and spiritual son of Sheik Sidia, was also a member of the order of the Tidiania, reputedly hostile to the Christians in West Africa.

Finally, the appearance at Ganado (Diolof) of a false [792] prophet, [9] who claimed to have come back to life three days after his death, threw this whole region into great agitation.

[9 cont.]

668
*795
793

The arrest of these two marabouts was decided upon. It was effected without difficulties (August 10, 1895); Amadou Bamba, condemned to political imprisonment by a ruling of September 5, 1895, was immediately put on a ship for Gabon.

He remained there for seven years (1895-1902). It would seem that he should never have returned. During this time, although Muridism did not disappear at least the remoteness of its leader brought perfect calm to the region.

On the pledge of Sheik Sidia, who guaranteed Amadou Bamba's political discretion, the ruling of 1895 was revoked, and the Sérigne was authorized to return to Senegal. He landed there in November 1902. Three months had barely elapsed before unrest began again: the talibés flocked to him; huge donations poured in. It was said that the Sérigne had gone to Gabon voluntarily after praying to God to be put to a great test, and that he had returned of his own free will, outside the administrative channels and with the intervention of the delegate from Senegal. He had first considered returning through the air, with the wings that the Prophet wanted to give him, but out of modesty he had given it up. His reputation was growing; the faithful glorified him; the unrest became general.

Asked on several occasions in May 1903 to come to Saint-Louis, Amadou Bamba dodged every command. "I would have you know," he wrote to the local administrator, "that I am the captive of God and acknowledge no authority but His." To the Governor General, he replied first by begging him not to give heed to slanderers, but to believe in his good faith; then, as the orders to appear were repeated, he feigned illness and claimed that it was impossible for him to go anywhere.

His arrest having been decided upon, the successful arrangements made by Administrator Allys and the efficient assistance [10] of Bour Sine and Cheikhouna, son-in-law of Sheik Sidia, led to Amadou Bamba's imprisonment on 13 June 1903. It should be noted here that at the last moment he was completely forsaken by the people of his village and by his family. When the police force approached Mbaké, his older brother Momar

[10 cont.]
668 came to him in the name of the group and asked him to per-
*795 form the patent miracle that would drive the French away.
793 Amadou Bamba refused to do so. Momar immediately established contact with the head of the column and announced general submission.

Nothing better was thought of at the moment, in order to be rid of the Sérigne, than to entrust him to his spiritual father and protector, Sheik Sidia, who was enjoined to keep him in one of his zaouïa. This is why he was sent to Mauritania, with obligatory residence at Souet-el-Ma (19 June 1903).

This place was too close to Senegal; pilgrims flocked to the Sérigne, and the Governor General briefly considered transferring him to a point farther from the river, such as Fort-Coppolani. Nevertheless, nothing was done about it.

In April 1907, the Commissioner of the Government-general in Mauritania, after noting the good behavior of the Sérigne for four years and his irreproachable conduct during the Trarza and Tagont affairs, asked for and obtained Amadou Bamba's return to Senegal.

He was required to reside at Thiéène (circle [cercle, an administrative district] of Louga) between Louga (65 kilometers) and Yan-Yan (35 kilometers). This spot seemed to be sufficiently secluded and difficult of access to prevent Amadou Bamba's isolation and his personal meditations from being disturbed. A plot four kilometers square was granted to him for his establishment, that of his family, and their crops (April 1907).

[11] Need it be said that the flocking of pilgrims in large caravans, the exaggerated donations which ruined whole families, the frequency of seditious speech, and the gathering together of exalted fanatics again aroused agitation in the area? Amadou Bamba, who in 1907 at Coki had promised not to receive any visitors who did not bear an administrative permit, paid no heed to his promise. An attempt to demand presentation of a tax receipt from all those who came from Thiéène caused nothing but trouble, since the pilgrims never brought this paper with them and, believing themselves to be the

[11 cont.]

668 victims of persecution, protested with all their might.

*795 It finally became clear that Thiéène, although not very
793 isolated as far as Amadou Bamba and his visitors were concerned, was completely so for the administration and the native chiefs, who could not exercise the necessary surveillance over the Sérigne's group. It seemed that the best way of suppressing this source of unrest was to remove Amadou Bamba from Thiéène and bring him closer to Baol. This was what he himself had requested on several occasions since 1908. He was thus granted permission to settle at Diourbel.

The journey was made without incident (13-15 January 1912), thanks to the unusual vigor of Amadou Bamba, who, startled to learn that the people of Mbaké were arriving en masse to meet him, crying out "Our Allah returns," refused to see them and cursed all those who should leave their homes.

Upon his arrival at Diourbel (16 January 1912), he wrote to the Lieutenant Governor of Senegal to thank him for the move. He asked but one thing: that, "as at Thiéène, he should have no scarcity of land for his dwellings and his crops; all he needed in this inferior world were extensive grounds on which to live with his family, set up his place of worship, and tend to his crops."

[12] The Sérigne Amadou Bamba remains to this day in obligatory residence at Diourbel.

793 c. Personality of Amadou Bamba. His teachings. His private life. Amadou Bamba is held in general esteem by all Moslems, even those who do not share his beliefs, such as the Moroccans, Moors, and Toucouleur, or the Tidiana. All join in regarding him as a holy man, pious, charitable, of high moral character, and sincere in his belief that he has been invested with the mission of Islamic reform.

My own opinion is more complex. In the religious sphere, I, too, believe that Amadou Bamba is "sincere." Raised in a family environment where learning was a tradition, he is well versed in Moslem letters and sciences. These studies, similar

[12 cont.]

793 in a way to the teachings of the universities of our Middle Ages, all have a religious basis and led to a strengthening of his faith by furnishing him with proofs of the truth of Islam.

In any case, Amadou Bamba believes, evidently because it was granted him to believe, and because this matter of faith, arising most often from personal feeling and natural predisposition, eludes all analysis and explanation.

Finally, there is no doubt whatever that Amadou Bamba is very charitable. Perhaps even, considering his bountiful alms, one might say that he has no personal interest, if one could be sure that this largesse is not deliberate, in order to acquire even greater gifts. If this were the case, it would be the deed of a clever politician and a skilled marabout.

*795 793 668 182 Yet, even though he is a true believer and sincere, even though he now seems to limit himself to the religious sphere and to seek no glory other than that of a saint of Islam, [13] this has not always been the case. There was an auspicious time, after 1886, when the disappearance of the former political chiefs of Senegal -- damel, bour, bourba, tègne -- left the field vacant for new men, when the prestige of local royalty and aristocracy, which succumbed under the blows of French might, was eclipsed by the strength and truth of an expanding Islam, by the virtue and sanctity of the marabouts who represented it.

*795 793 668 Amadou Bamba believed at that time -- and was long convinced of it -- that he was called to restore local authority for his own benefit. He gathered around himself the families of Lat Dior, Semba Laobé, Ali Bouri, and Ma Ba, and united them with his and with those of his disciples through numerous alliances. All the soldiers of fortune of the old order, all the debris of the courts of the chiefs, flocked to him and to this day live by his subsidies alone.

Amadou Bamba, however -- unfortunately for him -- came too late. He collided repeatedly with the French expansion, which was then at its height. The role of a Hadj Omar, a Ma Ba, an Amadou Cheikhou, a Mamadou Amine, a Samory, was

[13 cont.]

*1795 still possible until 1890, but not since that time. Sérigne Bamba,
1793 although reluctantly, had to admit the fact.
668 One may thus conclude that today Amadou Bamba is limited once and for all to his role as leader of an Islamic brotherhood and propagator and reformer of the faith.

1793 He was once quite subversive in his writings: "All bodies and all hearts are tamed by me. The Whites and the Blacks are subject to me..." "Place all Christians under my authority and protect me against them ... By the virtue of the sura of Roum, make them subject to me as captives ..." His oral teachings, like his writings, now merely aim at proving to the multitudes [14] that he is a prophet and an apostle. He refers to himself as: "He who knows his Lord, who is concerned only with Him, who in his heart withdraws from the goods of this world, the supporter of those who will be saved," and farther on, "Master of the Murids, servant of the Elect (Mohammed), whose Sunna he has brought back to life."

His latest works, as well as those that he is composing, are mere doctrinal works. A survey of these works is given in the next chapter which deals with Muridism.

Finally, it should be noted that great as Amadou Bamba's virtue may be, it does not shelter him from the suggestions of the "Evil One." The flesh is weak, and the practice of asceticism often difficult. He acknowledges this in his writings in the following way: "Grant me, O King of Kings, to master myself, to conquer my passions, without having to devote myself to the ascetic life." -- "By the virtue of the sura of women, lead to me the women whom I have chosen in this world and in the next." -- "By the virtue of the sura of divorce, give me the women I desire, O thee who doest what thou willst." It must be added that the private life of the Sérigne is entirely proper from the Moslem standpoint, and that, not following in this regard the Prophet's example or even that of most of his brothers and disciples, he abides by the canonical number of four wives.

[14 cont.]

W
*795
162
S
795
162

2. Circle of Baol (Diourbel)

The circle of Baol is at the present time the area par excellence of Muridism, the area where, owing to favorable circumstances, it has developed widely since 1887. It includes today 33,000 persons affiliated with the sect (cf. Appendix No. 5), that is to say, two-fifths of the Moslems [15] and one-fifth of the total population of the circle. The adepts are not distributed evenly throughout the circle. Nearly all of them being of the Ouolof race, they are found especially in the region to the north of the Thiès-Kayes railroad. They also travel in small groups along the railroad. The cantons with the most Murids are those of Guéoul, Thièpe, Diette-Salao, and La.

W
*795

Special note will be made of the centers of 1) Diourbel, 2) Moaké-Darou-Touba, 3) Gaouane, 4) Bambey and environs.

W
793

Diourbel. Of very special interest at the present day as far as the Muridism of Amadou Bamba is concerned, owing to the presence of the Grand Master of the confession in this railroad stop.

The Sérigne -- about 60 years old -- lives in a compound in the same town. His establishment, to this day, is quite curtailed. This state of affairs, which he has prolonged, was evidently a clear indication of his intention to show everyone that his stay there was only temporary.

At the moment things seem to be changing. Since his last promises to the local administration, he has had erected, under the direction of his disciple Ibra Fal, a large and spacious house on a large plot of ground next to the town. He wishes to prove by this gesture, as he has pointed out, that his submission to French authority is unqualified and that his settlement at Diourbel is to be regarded by all as permanent. For the same purpose he has had two of his four wives, who up to now lived at Touba with the rest of his family, come to Diourbel.

Amadou Bamba teaches about 50 pupils at Diourbel itself.

[15 cont.]
793 He is assisted in this task by:

[16] Amadou Diop, Bachir Cissé, and temporarily by the highly educated sheik, Issa Diène, originally from Ndaude.

His principal disciples, those who remain attached to him and who serve him as "missi dominici" are:

Mokhtar Benda,
Abdallah Diao,
Sheik Diop,
Abdallah Diop,
Amadou N'diaye Diap.

*[795] [788] Aside from these devoted followers who are always with him, there are constantly about a hundred visitors and pilgrims of various sorts at Diourbel.

*795 162 The most important and most interesting center of Muridism is made up of the grouping of the three villages of Mbaké (36 kilometers northeast of Diourbel), Darou (5 kilometers farther), and Touba (5 kilometers farther).

These three villages, according to the census records, have a total population of 2,225 inhabitants; Mbaké and Darou appear to be slightly superior in number. They are entirely populated by disciples of Amadou Bamba and are closely united under his spiritual leadership and, in particular, in each village, under the material authority of his representative.

*795 [361] [873] Touba is truly, except for the buildings, a Moslem zaouïa. It is: 1) a center of religious and secular learning, a sort of minuscule university where some 50 students from 10 to 25 years of age drink deep from the springs of Moslem humanities: theology, Koranic studies, law, grammar, logic, rhetoric, and prosody.

[792] 2) A kind of monastery where the talibés work and pray in common under the direction of spiritual leaders. Even at night, in shifts, the disciples gather together and [17] sing matins and lauds with invocations to God and the recitation of odes in honor of the Prophet.

[16 cont.]

*795 [788] 3) A center of pilgrimage which is much visited and would be even more if the soul of the zaouïa were not absent; I mean the Master, Sérigne Bamba.

[793] Pending a return to Touba, which would seem to be his supreme goal and his most ardent wish, Amadou Bamba has stabilized the organization of his zaouïa in minute detail. Even now, although still without foundation stones, it functions in orderly fashion.

[346] A small private place of worship, meant for him, rises a few hundred meters from the central cluster. The latter consists of a large mosque, a large sandy area surrounded by a double row of wattle fencing, and three principal, adjacent compounds, the compounds of the two elder sons of Amadou Bamba, Mohammed Mostafa and Mohammed Fadel, and that of Masemba, his youngest brother. These three persons are the teaching personnel of the [793] zaouïa and are true scholars. The sheik Mbaké Bousso, Doctor of Islamic Letters, who enjoys the full confidence of Amadou Bamba, often comes from his village of Darou to supervise the studies at Touba.

793. Authority at Touba resides in the trinity made up of Masemba, Mohammed Mostafad, and Amadou Fadiama in a balance which remains stable by virtue of the strength of familial and religious discipline.

Masemba, the last son of Momar Antasali and Issa Dièye, is a half brother of Amadou Bamba. He is a young man of 30, tall, strong, and attractive, who expresses himself with ease in literary Arabic. He looks much more like an energetic man than like an unctuous marabout. His status as the last born naturally [554] relegates him to the lowest rung, and he seems to suffer from it; he is searching for his path.

Mohammed Mostafa is the oldest son of Amadou Bamba. He [18] is a teacher at Touba, like his uncle, Masemba. He is a young man of 22, intelligent, attractive, and deserving of notice. He is still at an age when receptivity is great, and everything leads one to believe that it would be possible to exercise on this young mind an influence which can no longer be exerted on Amadou Bamba.

[18 cont.]

793 Amadou Fadiama is the nephew of Amadou Bamba and his confidant at Touba. He seems to be in charge of temporal matters and is often absent on missions, even outside Baol. He enjoys great influence in Sine-Saloum.

[162] Darou, about five kilometers from Touba in the direction of Diourbel, is a village of 700 to 800 inhabitants. It is under [795] the spiritual and material authority of the sheik Mbaké Bousso, brother-in-law of Amadou Bamba (cf. Appendix No. 4). He is the present head of the Bousso family, which is of Toucouleur origin, like that of the Mbaké, and which has been allied with it throughout time.

Mbaké Bousso is a man of 50, very erudite, with quiet manners. He is married to Kadia (Khadidja), full sister of sheik Thioro and half sister of Amadou Bamba. He has a large Arabic library at Darou and writes on occasion himself. He dispenses Koranic teachings to about 60 students, and he often [871] goes to Touba to supervise the studies and even at times to teach there.

*795 Mbaké (Baol), a village five kilometers from Darou, has [162] a population of 800 to 1,000 inhabitants in separate hamlets. It [361] includes a small mud-wall mosque, large and spacious dwelling [871] units, and a school where some 20 pupils receive Koranic teaching. The village chief is Momar Diara, a full older brother of Amadou Bamba, an old man of about 70 with little education and mediocre [19] intelligence. Mbaké has artisans: ironsmith, [463] tailor, carpenter. There is also a trader's shop [boutique de traitant].

The three villages of Mbaké -- Darou -- Touba at the present time constitute the very center of Amadou Bamba's brotherhood. All the inhabitants are affiliated with the sect and work for the Master. A burst of renewed activity has occurred here; much deforestation, even too much, has been done at [241] Mbaké. Plots of manioc, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, and onions surround the villages, and fields of millet and peanuts stretch as far as can be seen.

[19 cont.]

793 [162] Gaouane (canton of Thièpe) is an agglomeration of about a thousand persons and is of interest in particular because of the presence of its chief, Sheik Anta, half brother of Amadou Bamba.

Sheik Anta (his Islamic name is El-Mokhtar ben Mohammed) is a man of about 40, very energetic, and has some education in Arabic, but a scant understanding of French. He caps his reputation as a scholar with a library as well stocked as it is disorderly.

He has never enjoyed a good reputation among the administrators who have known him. Beginning in 1903, Mr. Allys calls him in a report "the evil spirit of Amadou Bamba." At the present time, he is generally regarded as the "cashier of the movement." Even now, the commanders of the circle unanimously regard him as a schemer.

There is no doubt that Sheik Anta has become the most troublesome of the brothers and disciples of the Sérigne through his unending intrigues. His last appearance before the tribunal at Dakar may be cited as proof.

The case in itself has no great importance, but it shows the immoral devotion of the Murids for their Sheik, for everyone knows that Sheik [20] Anta was not born at Rufisque, and also that, in spite of his skillfulness, Sheik Anta is the prey of the lawyers to whom he entrusts himself.

662 793 *795 He has established various relationships with the politicians, businessmen, and traders of Senegal. Well supplied with money, he knows its power. Through these relationships, he influences Amadou Bamba, who, personally obliged by his holiness to avoid all contact with Europeans, feels quite ignorant in these diplomatic matters and willingly relies on his brother -- and on Ibra Fal as well -- to manage relations with the Europeans.

793 It cannot be denied that this "Minister of Foreign Affairs" of the Murids, as he has been called, has acquired through this contact with the Whites a certain practical knack for setting forth and settling problems. In any case, he is not held back by any scruples about impeding the religious mission of his brother. It is easy to see that Sheik Anta has long since ceased to believe in it. Muridism for him is an excellent source of personal exploitation.

[20 cont.]

793 In the world of the natives Sheik Anta has the reputation of a libertine. He will go to any expense to obtain black women -- and even partly white ones, it is said -- who arouse his desire. On this score he has been, and still is, the object of legal complaints before various native courts.

Following some difficulties that he had in Baol, Sheik Anta deemed it useful to set up a second domicile in Cayor and [361] very wisely chose for this establishment the center of Niakhène, 25 kilometers north of Gaouane (canton of Mbakol-Cayor). This village is located roughly at the center of the triangle formed by Gaouane, Mbaké-Baol, and Mbaké-Cayor. The dwellings are [491] completed, and a wide road which connects Gaouane and Niakhène was cleared in a few weeks by the labor of several hundred Murids; [21] it is marked out by the wells of Tiakamy, [312] Kalou N'diané, and Thielle.

Koranic teaching is dispensed at Gaouane to some 50 [871] pupils. The other talibés work in the fields for the Sheik.

Balla Mbaké (also called Balla Thioro), half brother of Amadou Bamba and full brother of Sheik Thioro, lives alternately at Gaouane and in his own village of Diakhal. He resided several years in the Trarza, near Amadou Bamba, when the latter was confined to Souet-el-Ma. He seems peaceful; he has no children.

Finally, it is at Bambey and environs, Guéoul, Thièpe, * [795] and Lambaye, that the last of the more important Murid agglomerations should be pointed out. Several very influential sheiks are there:

[871] Sheik Hafsa, half brother of Amadou Bamba, who teaches some 30 pupils at Diorel.

Gora Bakhouma, a disciple of Sheik Anta, at Tiakhamy.

Amadou Digol, at Keur Amadou Digol.

At Lambaye, two former cadis, Mamadou Silla and Meltoufa Khari, as well as an influential sérigne, Sheik Alioun Diouf, who maintains intimate contact with Sheik Anta and the head of the canton of Joal-Nyië (circle of Thiès, residence of the Petite Côte), the oldest son of Lat Dior.

[21 cont.]

The following are attached:

Appendix No. 3. Circle of Baol:

Genealogy of the Mbaké family (Amadou Bamba).

Appendix No. 4. Circle of Baol:

Genealogy of the Bousso family.

[22] Appendix No. 5. Circle of Baol:

Enumeration by canton of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Appendix No. 6. Cirlcle of Baol:

List of the principal Murid marabouts, their origin, their residence, and the number of their talibés.

3. Circle of Sine-Saloum (Kaolack)

*795 [791] The Murid confession, and along with it Islam, seems to be losing ground in the provinces of Sine and Saloum.

The statistics of the census of 1912 show 200 Murids less than in 1911. In addition, the administrators and the native chiefs are clearly unanimous on this point. Some of the Murids themselves declare that they have left the sect, which they had joined only through ignorance. Finally, other indications seem to confirm this conclusion: the natives who were formerly Murids have removed the obvious symbols of the sect which they wore on their clothing, necklaces of leather and charms hanging on the stomach; the poles of the compounds have been cleared away; pilgrimages are no longer made to Mbaké-Darou-Touba; gifts are no longer sent to the Sérigne.

[22 cont.]

*795 Clearly the reasons for this regression are to be sought as much
[798] in the very pronounced hostility of the native chiefs as in the very active prosecution of the marabouts in the circle, fomenters of unrest, and in the harsh sentences which were given to repress the in-
[793] fractions of which they were guilty. The sérignes Assane Touré, cidentally publicly disowned by Amadou Bamba (cf. Appendix No. 9), Ali Penda Lo from Kaffrine, [23] and Makhoudia Dieng and Ousman Roudia Lo from Foundiougne are either in prison or have fled to alien territory. Deprived of its local leaders, the movement has been checked.

In any case, Muridism in this circle* has a special form. One
[621] does not find, as in Baol, entire villages or hamlets intimately united and living in spiritual and material obedience to the sheik. Here one encounters, widely scattered and only in certain Islamized cantons, a few personnages who claim to be scholars and most often have only a few talibés, sometimes none at all. They seem to have no influence on the populations, who, largely fetish-
[791] istic offer more than passive resistance to the infiltrations of Islam in general and of its Murid form in particular.

793 Amadou Bamba has never carried out a personal apostolate in Saloum, his place of origin. He entrusted the task to a few lieutenants, particularly Amadou Fadiama. It is to the latter, now the Sérigne's representative at Touba (Baol), that most of the sheiks in Sine-Saloum are subject, and it is he who organized the collection of dues in the circle.

The family of Ma Ba, the almany of the Saloum of old, still has congenial relations with the Sérigne. Saër Matti, Ma Ba's son, died about 1910, but his cousin, Ma Ba Aoua, is still alive. He lives in Niomrip, where he has great influence, and regards himself as a disciple of the Marabout of Touba.

It will be useful to comment briefly on the current situation in each residence of the circle.

Residence of Saloum (Kaolack). This residence includes 14 sérignes, all of the Ouolof race, except for two of Sérère [Serer] origin, who were converted directly to Murid Islam. They have

* [i.e., Circle of Sine-Saloum -- Analyst]

[23 cont.]
793 a following of 54 talibés. Of these 14 sérignes, [24] four are directly attached to Amadou Bamba, and the others are connected through intermediaries: three through Ibra Fati, half brother of Amadou Bamba, who resides at Mbaké (Cayor); two through Sheik Anta; two through Amadou Fadiama, confidant of the Sérigne at Touba; and the last three, of whom two are Sérèr, through local marabouts.

Residence of Sine (Fatick). The residence of Sine includes 21 sérignes with a following of 120 talibés. Of these 21 marabouts, 18 are Ouolof and three are Peul. It should be noted that this [166] large number is due less to local conversions than to a flow of immigration from Baol. It is actually toward Gossas in particular, a railroad stop after Diourbel in the direction of Sine and the capital of the canton of Maroutti, that the economic develop- [433] ment of the people of Mbaké-Touba has been directed. These sérignes are attached to Amadou Bamba either directly, eight, or through the mediation of his brothers three, or of his disciples, ten.

Residence of Lower Saloum [Bas-Saloum] (Foundiougne). The single canton of Djilor once contained eight Murid sérignes, all of the Ouolof race, of whom seven were directly attached to Amadou Bamba and the last to Amadou Fadiama. They had no *[795] talibés at all. These people now claim to have abandoned Muridism.

Residence of Rip (Nioro). The remoteness of the province of Rip has sheltered it from the preachings of the Murids. Only five sérignes are found there, all of Ouolof origin, with a following of 21 talibés. Four of them are attached directly to Amadou Bamba, the fifth to Amadou Fadiama.

*795 Residence of East [Saloum oriental] (Kaffrine). On the territory of East Saloum, Muridism, according to the testimony [25] of its leader, is on the wane. The sentences inflicted on Ali

[25 cont.]

*W 795 Penda Lo and his disciples for practicing charlatanism, swindles, breach of trust, and various disturbances have cooled the zealots to a considerable extent. In this residence at the present time W [793] there are said to be six marabouts followed by 40 talibés. Of these six marabouts, two are attached directly to Amadou Bamba, one is connected to him through his brother, Amadou Mbaké, and the others through his lieutenants.

W [793] The number of sérignes and talibés in the circle of Sine-Saloum is 281. Counting three or four women and children per man, one S obtains a total figure of about a thousand persons affiliated with [795] the sect of Amadou Bamba, which would represent 1.3 per cent [162] of the Moslems and 0.5 per cent of the total population of the circle.

ooo The following are attached:

Appendix No. 7. Circle of Sine-Saloum:

Enumeration by residence and canton of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Appendix No. 8. Circle of Sine-Saloum:

List by residence and canton of the principal Murid marabouts, their origin, their residence, their spiritual father, and the number of their talibés.

Appendix No. 9.

Letter from Amadou Bamba, dated 9 February 1913, disowning the marabout-agitator, Assane Touré.

4. Circle of Thies

*W 795 The Murid confession, which since 1910 has very sharply drawn to Thiés not only the attention of the local administration, but even that of the European traders in the railroad stops, [26] seems today to be on the wane in this circle.

[26 cont.]

*795 The reasons seem to be attributable, first of all, to the be-
793 havior of the sheik Ibra Fal, the principal lieutenant of Amadou Bamba in the circle, who has shaken the fervor of the Murids with his licentious private life and the scandal of a life devoted more to commercial operations than to religious practices; secondly, to the presence in the area of other marabouts, such as Sheik Bou Kouanta from Keur Bou Kouanta, six kilometers from Tivouane, who attract to them large numbers of Qadria adepts and create the most dangerous competition for the Muridism of Amadou Bamba.

*795 Residence of the Petite Côte (Nianing). Of the three residences which make up the circle of Thiès, that of the Petite Côte (Nianing) contains only a few members, some 50 at Thiombologe in the canton of Nianing and about 200 in the canton of Joal-Ngoë. Here is a living example of the intimate relations that exist between Amadou Bamba and Lat Dior's family. The head of this canton of Joal-Ngo [sic], Bakhane Diop, is the eldest son of the former damel. He denies being a Murid personally, but all his sympathies are with the members of the sect. He was host in 1911 to the missus dominicus of Amadou Bamba, Baba Diakhoumpa, the dismissed cadi of Cayor-Baol, whom the native authorities had expelled from the Sérère provinces for his swindles and his improper propaganda. As head of the family, he has married off his sisters and female cousins to Murid sheiks:

His sister Senne Coumba Mandakhe, born in Saloum shortly after the conversion of the damel to Islam, to Momar Coumba Gissé, now at Diourbel in the Sérigne's retinue;

His sister Coumba Sakhé to Sheik Cissé Touré, who lives at Maha (Cayor),

[27] His sister Coumba Tiélémane to Sheik Ibra Fal at Thiès. Ibra Fal has already established her in his compound at Diourbel.

His cousin Lala Fal to Sheik Ibra Fal as well.

[162] Residence of the Sérère Provinces (Fissel). This residence is by far the one most affected by Muridism, and this solely in

[27 cont.]
*795 the canton of Diobas which adjoins Baol. It should be noted,
162 however, that the adepts in large part are immigrant or native Ouolof and that there are very few Muridized Sérère. Of a figure of 4,300 Murids, the number of Ouolof may be set at 4,100 and that of the Sérère at 200. They are distributed chiefly in the two villages of Khabane and Tassette.

793 One should note especially: at Khabane, the three scholarly and influential sheiks, Amadou Ndoumbé Baké, a cousin of Amadou Bamba, who resides in the village of Keur Amadou, has assembled a large number of talibés and is the representative of the Sérigne in the area and an ardent missionary of Muridism;

Abdoulaye Diao, who has a group of 80 talibés at Keur Sérigne Abdoulaye or Dialakh;

Issa Diène, a native of Ndaude, who founded in this residence a village named Touba, and who now preaches at Diourbel itself, alongside the Sérigne Bamba;

At Tasette, the sheik Ma Diop, who resides at Keur Madiop, where he has some 30 talibés.

In the canton of Sassal, there is said to be only one marabout, Amadou Lamine Mbaye, with about 30 talibés.

Residence of Thiès. The residence of Thiès is of great interest in the matter of the Muridism of Amadou Bamba, not so much because of the number of members as because of the presence of Sheik Ibra Fal.

This sheik is the principal lieutenant of the Sérigne at Thiès. [28] He is a man between 45 and 50 years of age, with little education, whose ancestors were originally from Kébémer, where he himself was born. It was Kébémer that he left, some 25 years ago, for Mbaké-Cayor where Amadou Bamba was at the time, and he became his disciple. Since that time, Ibra Fal has lived several years at Saint-Louis and six years at Ndaude. He has been at Thiès for four years, drawn, he says, by the agricultural wealth of the land.

[158] Ibra Fal has an unattractive appearance which does not work in his favor. With his tics, his nervous laugh, and a kind of

[28 cont.]

793 delirium tremens that makes him shake, he might be taken for a
[158] "simple-minded" man. It must be taken into account, however, that he was one of the first disciples of Amadou Bamba, when no one had any inkling as yet of the Sérigne's nascent fortune, which shows some perspicacity. Since that time he has always attended, with as much intelligence as persistence, to the increase of his wealth. He might be called the "Minister of Economic Affairs" of the Murid confession. He owns houses in Saint-Louis and Dakar and land grants at Thiès, Diourbel, Ndaude, and Kébémer. He has set up trading posts in several railroad-stops and has them
*795 managed by his disciples and his wives.
793 The supervision of his commercial activities is not his only concern. He has the adepts, under the surveillance of one of his disciples, cultivate enormous fields of peanuts, millet, and various grains, and he cleverly attends to the sale of the produce.

793 He has set up a large garden of fruit trees in his village of Darou Baïré near Thiès and has had planted there mango, banana, guava, papaw, lemon, and orange trees, which he procured from the tree nursery in Saint-Louis. He insists that one visit it and not forget to relay the fact to the higher authorities.

All this activity unquestionably shows a keen sense of business and much opportunism.

[29] These qualities, being exercised in a very human realm, are most detrimental to the religious development of the confession. The large number of commercial lawsuits which the sheik is compelled to engage in for the sake of his business affairs does little to enhance his prestige as a marabout.

[361] The residence of Ibra Fal, Darou Baïré or Keur Ibra Fal, located about one kilometer from Thiès in the fork of the Dakar -- Saint-Louis and Thiès-Kayes railroads, is the only Murid center that merits mention. In this village 500 persons live closely
[162] united in a dozen hamlets containing about 100 huts.
[871] Three teachers, all Ouolof,
Mokhtar N'diaye,
Amadou Tcham, and

W 793 871 [29 cont.]

Amadou Khodja Guèye, mediocre scholars, offer Koranic teaching and some elements of grammar to about 75 young talibés from 6 to 15 years old. After this age, Ibra Fal no doubt believes that professional apprenticeship is much more beneficial to them, and out of this commendable sentiment he sends them into commerce or to work in the fields.

These students are lodged in a dozen huts, with 4 to 12 in each one. They have the most diverse arrangements for sleeping: European beds, sofas, mattresses, pallets, mats, or low beds [bas-flancs] of reeds or poles.

W 361 [346] W [782]

Darou Bafre, in its central quarter, also contains two mosques, that is to say, two reed enclosures with small central pavillons, one of which is roofed with corrugated iron. One of these mosques is for daily prayers, the other for prayers on Fridays and feast days.

[30] Directly alongside are found the sheik's living quarters, a hut made of planks and adorned with furnishings of various sorts, then a few fruit trees, and finally a small hut serving as his private place of worship.

The main entrance to the quarter is blocked by the well-stocked store, made of planks, of a disciple-trader. This compels one to walk through the store in order to enter the village of the sheik. This grocer's entrance has symbolic value.

W 793

The influence of Sheik Ibra Fal is felt outside the circle of Thiès at all the stops of the railroad from Cayor to Louga.

S Sr 795 W *795

One matter which is particularly deserving of note is the possible spread of Muridism into the territory of the Sérène race, less as Amadou Bamba's particular sect than as an Islamic confession. Heretofore the Sérère have resisted any radiation of Islam into their territory because of their attachment to their traditional beliefs. The Murid sheik, however, knows how to work himself in; he knows how to adapt Islamic doctrine to the needs of the moment. He permits the neophyte to preserve in full his own way of life, particularly his drunkenness, provided that he make the Murid act of faith. Once enrolled, the

S
Sr [30 cont.]
795 new "brother" finally succumbs to the influences around him and,
W after entrusting to the sheik his immortal interests, finally places
*795 into his hands the direction of his material life as well. This is the first breach made by Islam in the fetishistic block.

Let us hasten to add that it is very small because, as has already been mentioned, of the two residences of Thiès established in Sérère territory, one, that of the Petite Côte, has only a handful of Murids, while the other, that of Fissel, contains a strong Murid group only in the canton of Diobas. [31] This group consists almost entirely of a vanguard of Ouolof immigrants from Baol. There are only 200 Muridized Sérère, among whom there is but one important personnage.

W
*795 The total number of Murids in the circle[1] seems to be 5,080,
S which represents one-fifth of the number of Moslems and one-
162 seventeenth of the total population of the circle.
795

ooo The following are attached:

Appendix No. 10. Circle of Thiès:
Genealogy of the Fal family (Sheik Ibra Fal).

Appendix No. 11. Circle of Thiès:
Enumeration by residence and canton of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Appendix No. 12. Circle of Thiès:
List by residence of the principal Murid marabouts, their origin, their residence, their spiritual father, and the number of their talibés.

5. Circle of Cayor (Tivaouane)

W
*795 The circle of Cayor (Tivaouane) constitutes, along with Baol (Diourbel) and the canton of Diobas (Thiès, Residence of Fissel), the center par excellence of the Muridism of Amadou Bamba.

At the present time, the circle is very nearly Islamized in its entirety. This Islamization was effected some 50 years ago

1 [i.e., Circle of Thies --Analyst]

W [31 cont.]
*795 through the preachings of marabouts who came from Toucouleur
W territory via Diambour. These persons, whose names still live
[793] in the memories of scholars, [32] are: Mokhtar Doumbé, teacher of Momar Antasali (the latter being the father and teacher of Amadou Bamba);

Mamaka Kane, from his village of Sine Lèye Kane, and Semba Cor, from Tivaouane, spread Islam in Saniakhor;

Aboulaye Si, apostle of the Mboul.

It was especially the influence of Ma Ba, elimane of Saloum, that was decisive, however. His fiery preaching and his calls to holy war drew many natives to him. The triumph was complete on the day when the damel Lat Dior sought the support of Islam for the sake of his cause. His conversion was followed by that of his subjects, whom he commanded, like all Black rulers, to embrace his religion.

W At the present day the circle is divided between Tidiania and
[798] Qadria, and the adepts of these two Moslem religious orders regard each other more as mutual heretics than as co-religionists
W belonging to two orthodox brotherhoods.
793 The Tidiania are subject to Si El-Hadj Malik, a marabout well disposed towards our influence.

The Qadria, in small numbers, are attached to Sheik Sidia (brotherhood of the Qadria-Lessidia), to Sheik Saad Bouh (brotherhood of Qadria-Fadelia), to a very influential local marabout, Sheik Bou Kounta, who resides at Keur Bou Kounta, six kilometers from Tivaouane, but in major part especially to the Qadri Muridism of Amadou Bamba.

W The circle of Cayor seems to merit special attention as far as
*795 Islam is concerned, first of all, because of the number of Moslems,
S 134,000 out of 140,000 inhabitants, or 27/28ths of the total popu-
795 lation, but especially because of the budding efflorescence of
[162] Muridisms which await only a favorable occasion in order to develop to the same extent as that of Amadou Bamba, and also because of the nature of the religious sentiments of these newly
W Islamized people. It [33] would seem that in this Cayor area,
[668] which was the center of the stubborn resistance of the Ouolof race

[33 cont.]

W *795 668 S 795 to our domination, the natives became converted to Islam merely in order to find a basis for passive resistance on different grounds. The most loyal among them, the Tidiania of El-Hadj Mali or the Qadria of Sheik Bou Kounta, remain neutral; the indomitable ones hasten to join the Muridism of Amadou Bamba, because this religious leader, friend and marabout of the former damels and obviously aspiring to succeed them, has been set up as a kind of representative of the sentiment for the former independence.

S 795 W *795 The approaching loss of Sheik Bou Kounta will raise the problem of spiritual succession and a declassing of members. It would be well to watch this brotherhood from now on and to have a very clear political course. It seemingly would not be advantageous if the Qadria Murids of Bou Kounta, upon his death, were to augment the number of the Qadria Murids of Amadou Bamba.

S [162] The number of the Bamba Murids in the circle[1] is about 28,000 out of 134,000 Moslems and 140,000 inhabitants, which represents one-fifth of the total population, and obviously one-fifth of the Islamized population.

W *795 793 Province of Saniakhor. The principal Murid villages are: Maummou, near Piré; Ngouï and Médina in the canton of Mbar. Médina is under the spiritual leadership of an aged and influential marabout: Mabèye Bèye. This sheik, the son of a sérigne who was formerly influential himself, Ibra Bèye, and of a Lebbou mother, joined the Bamba brotherhood some six years ago. He had formerly met Amadou Bamba in the entourage of Lat Dior and Semba Laobé, where he was a marabout. He is a rich farmer who has brought together 200 or 300 disciples and followers in the Mekhé area. A friend of Ibra Fal, he maintains close relations with this sheik.

[34] Keur Momar Ovarka, the village of the sérigne Momar Ouarka Khan. The latter gathers about 60 talibés around him, half of whom follow his Koranic teachings.

[1] [i.e., circle of Cayor -- Analyst]

[34 cont.]

*795 All the stops on the line, Pirê, Goureye, Ngaye, Mekhê, Kelle
[793] Ndaude, Kêbêmer, Goumbo, and Guéoul, are in part under the spiritual and especially the economic sway of Sheik Ibra Fal, who is a native of Kêbêmer. This sérigne sends his disciples from Thiès there for visits and inspections.

Province of Mboul-Mbakol. Important Murid groupings may be noted in this province:

793 At Afla, a village under the spiritual leadership of the sheiks Momar Mbaye and Madonne Samba. The former dispenses
[871] Koranic teachings to some 28 pupils and is surrounded by a hundred disciples.

At Darou Tendin, a village established by the sheik Ngagné Tendimé of Moorish origins.

At Ndiob Botol, where the sheik Ndiaga Diop has about 40 talibés.

*795 Province of Guet. The province of Guet is most interesting as far as the Muridism of Amadou Bamba is concerned, for this is where it originated. It was actually at Mbaké (Cayor), a village founded by his father, Momar Antasali, that the Sérigne took refuge in late 1886 when the downfall and death of Semba Laobé
[175] and of Lat Dior scattered the last partisans of the territory's independence. The following year he penetrated deeper into the interior and settled at Mbaké-Touba in Baol, but Mbaké in Cayor was never neglected. He often returned there and saw to it that the village at all times maintained its reputation as an intellectual center.

Today it is still a very prosperous agglomeration of 700 in-
[162] habitants (306 huts -- 16 compounds), where [35] under the
[793] leadership of Sheik Ibra, half brother of Amadou Bamba, and of
[871] several teachers, Ibrahim Sal, Momar Dème, Saer Diané, some 30 pupils study the Koran and grammar. The village inhabitants are all Bamba and work in the fields for the Master, thus providing him with considerable wealth.

[35 cont.]

793 Ibra Fati was born at Porokhane in Saloum at the time when Momar Antasali was confined there by the elimame-almany, Ma Ba. He is about 45 years old, is the father of six children, and is Amadou Bamba's representative at Mbaké (Cayor). He is very learned and has always been the close confidant of the Sérigne. *[795] It was to him that in 1903, when he left for Mauritania, he referred those of his disciples who wanted either to be taught or be taught and to work in the fields at the same time. As for those who wished merely to work in the fields, they were referred to Sheik Anta. Nowadays, of all of his brothers and disciples, he is undoubtedly the one whose behavior is most like that of the Master. The multitudes realize this, and it has long been said that Ibra Fati was the appointed successor of Amadou Bamba.

With regard to French authority, he is very reserved, never passes judgment on its actions, and is very deferent to the orders of the local administration. It must be added, too, that he never makes any overtures. He stays within his role of religious sheik and teacher, which does not prevent him from directing the temporal matters at Mbaké-Cayor with great skill.

In the canton of Sagata (Guet), the former cadi Baba Diakhoumpa now lives in the village of Mbaro. This personnage, like all of the former agents of the administration who surround Amadou Bamba, is obviously a Murid only in name. He is sometimes employed as a political missionary by Amadou Bamba, and these services provide him with his means of subsistence.

ooo [36] The following are attached:

Appendix No. 13. Circle of Cayor:
Enumeration of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Appendix No. 14. Circle of Cayor:
List by province of the principal Murid marabouts, their origin, their residence, their spiritual father, and the number of their talibés.

[36 cont.]

6. Circle of Louga

W *795 S 795 [162] The circle of Louga is now completely Islamized. Four peoples, Ouolof, Peul, Toucouleur, and Moors, share its territory. Each of these peoples, in conformity with sociological laws, understands the doctrine and prescriptions of the Prophet according to the peculiar spirit of its race, and adapts them to its traditional institutions, but all claim to be Moslems in the religious realm.

Up to the end of 1911, the circle, or more specifically the province of Diolof, was an ardent seat of Muridism. The reason for this, however, was factitious. It was simply the presence of Amadou Bamba at Thiéène which provoked this unusual unrest.

When the Master left (January 1912), the disciples followed him. No more pilgrims were seen, and it can be stated that the influence acquired over the local populations was practically null. W [793] Today in the entire circle one could hardly point out 300 Murid sérignes and talibés, who represent a thousand persons affiliated with the brotherhood of Amadou Bamba. If it is noted that the circle contains 106,000 inhabitants, or [37] 106,000 S [162] Moslems (cf. Appendix No. 15), it will be seen that the proportion of the Murids is 1/106 of the Moslem and total population of the circle.

W 793 Only a few of the marabouts merit special mention in each of the five provinces which comprise the circle.

Province of Diolof. The province of Diolof is headed by a remarkably intelligent and energetic chief, Bouna N'diaye, who understands perfectly how to obtain the allegiance of all his subjects, no matter what their Islamic confession may be. The most important sérigne in this province is Khali N'diaye of Ouolof origin, who has a hundred talibés-workers at N'diayène W [871] and dispenses Koranic teaching to a dozen students.

Province of North Diambour [Diambour septentrional]. North Diambour is no longer of much interest. There are about

[37 cont.]

793 130 talibés there, grouped under the leadership of some 15 sérignes. Sheik Ibra Sar, who has brought together about 40 disciples, is the most important of these sérignes. His reputation extends beyond Diambour, and he enjoys a certain renown for wisdom and piety within the sect. Following Amadou Bamba's *[795] confinement in Gabon, Sheik Ibra Sar withdrew to the circle of Thiès, where unfortunate quarrels with the natives brought convictions for several of his disciples. He teaches nowadays at Thiarème and maintains a proper attitude toward the authorities. As a reminder, Amadou Gaye from Nidiagne, who married a daughter of Amadou Bamba, might also be mentioned.

[361] This village of N'diagne merits attention in any case: located on the border of the two Diambours, it is the homeland [871] of four or five sérignes and the center of several Koranic schools; it seems to be an Islamic seat of some importance.

[38] The state of affairs in the province, which is competently headed by its chief, Socé So, is quite satisfactory as far as the Murides are concerned.

Province of South Diambour [Diambour méridional]. Some 50 sérignes and talibés, such is the balance sheet of Muridism in South Diambour. Only two names are to be noted, more for their wealth and the esteem they enjoy than for their religious influence: Assan N'diao at Durou, who is fairly well educated; Ibra Kebi, a retired trader with little education, at Louga itself.

Special mention should be made here of a half brother of Amadou Bamba, Sheik Thioro, whose official residence is at Louga. Sheik Thioro, named thus after the name of his mother, Thioro Diop, a daughter of Lat Dior, is an intelligent and educated man, but licentious and devoid of all scruples. He exploits his brother, Amadou Bamba, and the Murid confession with as much mastery as he "devoured" those amenable to him when he was cadi at Louga -- this was why he was dismissed. He has a multitude of wives, legitimate or otherwise, at Saint-Louis, at Louga, in Cayor, and in Baol; and their number, not at all canonical, scandalizes Murid believers. This prodigal

W [38 cont.]
793 brother is a source of worry to Amadou Bamba, who nevertheless shows him great partiality and gives him large sums of money, which are soon spent. This Murid of fancy, however, this Sheik Thioro, is still not content. He puts on airs, flirts with the businessmen and traders of Senegal, and offers his services to the administration. All this bustling in a vacuum is quite harmless, for no one takes Sheik Thioro seriously.

W
*795 Provinces of N'guick-Mérina and Gandiolais. As one draws away from the Murid crescent which borders the Ferlo on the west, southwest, and south, [39] Amadou Bamba's influence vanishes. Thus, the provinces of N'guick-Mérina and Gandiolais are almost
W
[793] free of it. There is said to be a total of 80 sérignes and talibés in these two provinces, which represents a maximum of 250 persons under the spiritual authority of Amadou Bamba. No personality merits special mention.

000 The appendices attached are:

Appendix No. 15. Circle of Louga:
Enumeration by province of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Appendix No. 16. Circle of Louga:
List by province of the principal Murid marabouts, their origin, their residence, their spiritual father, and the number of their talibés.

7. Dakar and Saint-Louis

W
*795 For the sake of completeness, the small number of Murids
369 living in Dakar and Saint-Louis should be pointed out. There
S
795 are about 140 in Dakar and 130 in Saint-Louis.
369
These Murids are not even inhabitants of the city, but im-
[162] migrants from Baol, Cayor, and Diambour; Dakar, indeed, is too
[166]

1: Marty--33 G-4,5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS30

W *795 369 S 795 369 [166] W [463] S W [166] W 793

[39 cont.]

busy a city to lend itself to religious propaganda, and Saint-Louis is too enlightened a Moslem center to accept the doctrinal fancies of the Murids.

They are there as laborers, usually without their families, sent by their sheik to earn money. They work as porters on the quays and especially as makers and sellers of mats for the use of the natives. [40] In Dakar, they also work as water vendors in the Black quarters, and in Saint-Louis as vendors of firewood or of fodder for the many cows fed in the city.

When winter draws near, most of these talibés return to their country of origin to engage in the tasks of preparing the land and of sowing.

In general they are under the spiritual authority of Sheik Ibra Fal. He himself goes to Dakar. He is represented in Saint-Louis by Amadou Guèye.

Sheik Ibra Fal owns several compounds and various buildings in both Dakar and Saint-Louis.

Sheik Anta owns a handsome house in Dakar, in the Rue Raffenel, purchased for 28,000 francs from a native and now rented to a Moroccan trader named Madani El-Qtiri.

Conclusion

In this study of the cadres and the faithful of the Murid order, there ought to be included, aside from Amadou Bamba and the principal lieutenants already mentioned, a large number of local marabouts who have not all been taught by Amadou Bamba, but who, some of them possibly out of personal conviction, others out of self-interest and in order to keep their believers who were drawn to the new movement, have joined the order of the Sérigne and have become his vicars. To these should be added the chiefs of villages or factions, notables in quest of authority or prestige, clever traders who skillfully manage their commercial affairs and their spiritual interests.

W 793 W *795 S 162 W [871] W *795

[40 cont.]

The sheiks and sérignes who have some influence were given in special listings by circles. (Cf. Appendices No. 6, 8, 12, 14, 16.)

To summarize, the number of persons affiliated [41] with the order of Amadou Bamba may be set at 68,350. (Cf. Appendix No. 2: General enumeration of the Murids by circle.)

If one deducts from this number the wives, children, and old people who are Murids because the head of the family is Murid, there remain some 10,000 adepts, mature men who are voluntarily attached to the Sérigne or to his lieutenants.

As for the number of students of all ages who are actually receiving some sort of instruction, it does not seem to exceed a thousand.

The Murids, except for some who, as has been said, are gathered in Dakar and Saint-Louis, are concentrated in a zone of habitation that is shaped like a crescent. (Cf. Appendix No. 1: Geographic schema of the Murid confession of Amadou Bamba.) This Murid crescent follows the Ferlo on the west and south, with its lower point in East Saloum, and its thickest part formed by the circles of Cayor (Tivaouane) and Baol (Diourbel) and a fraction of the circle of Thiès. The inner curve follows the line of demarcation between the steppes of the Ferlo and the cultivated areas; the outer curve follows roughly the Dakar -- Saint-Louis and Thiès-Kayes railroads and overlaps only slightly to the west and south of these lines.

In conclusion it should be added that this word Murids, as used to designate the talibés of Amadou Bamba, is not liked very much by the Sérigne. He himself likes to call them the "Bakïïn," meaning both the people of M'baké (his zaouïa) and the disciples of M'baki (himself). In French we would say "Bakïïtes."

[42]

Chapter II

The Body of Doctrines and Religious Practices

(Muridism)

*1795
178 Muridism, to designate by one word the body of religious doctrines and practices of the Murids, must be regarded as a kind of new religion born out of Islam. Its founder, Amadou Bamba, is obviously a learned Moslem who can borrow at will from canonical writings the sound doctrines of orthodox Islam. But he is also a visionary. Under his contemplative's pen and in his traditionless teachings, this doctrine is transformed into a vague mysticism, where the religious principles of Islam are not given in their true sense nor expounded with the rigor of Eastern scholastic. Once Amadou Bamba had laid his foundations, his immediate disciples, the sheiks consecrated by him, developed them with the zeal of illiterates and the extravagance of neophytes; the Black mentality did the rest.

Although Muridism may thus be regarded first and foremost as a religious brotherhood affiliated with the Qadria, one must hasten to add that this movement goes far beyond the religious orders, proper associations where pious Moslems seek through supererogatory prayer and the merits of the communion of saints a greater certainty of reaching Paradise. It is also more than one of those heresies, so rife in Islam as in all religions, where the rationalism of some and the mysticism of others distort the original doctrine and give rise to sister confessions, independent leaderships, [43] and an innovating spirit, but nevertheless follow a path parallel to the original teachings.

Here, we have Islam completely vagrant. This will be easily shown by a detailed study of 1) the dogma, 2) the moral precepts, 3) the ritual practices, and 4) the religious order of the Murids.

[43 cont.]

1. The Dogma

r795 178 Orthodox Islam is not a philosophical religion established through proper demonstrations and the evidence of reason. It is an intuitive religion to which one clings with all his might through an act of faith coming from the heart. This simplicity has had various consequences depending upon the region involved. In the East, when philosophy seizes upon religious doctrines and studies them in the light of reason, it gives rise almost immediately to heretic sects. Here, in the extreme western part of Africa, this simple Islam propagated among the Black peoples, whose mentality is essentially different from that of the Semitic races, is adopted without difficulty, but is transformed, or rather distorted, as soon as it is adopted. This is what happened in the case of the Muridism of Amadou Bamba, which might be defined as "Islam for the use of the Quolof." Nothing is easier than to make an act of faith, and even to make it with sincerity, but when all of the religious action is limited to this, and all of the former social life and even religious life continues to hold sway over a people, it is obvious that the original orthodoxy suffers, and that the practical result is the rise of truly new confessions on a foundation of Islam.

[779] The dogmatic bases of Moslem law may be reduced to three: the oneness of God, prophecy, and the future life.

*795 776 [44] God. For Amadou Bamba and the more learned of the Murid sheiks, the concept of God is quite similar to that of the Moslems: "God is a high spirit, one, endowed with every perfection, absolute master of all things, creator of all that exists: heaven, earth, animate and inanimate beings." This soon leads, however, to the kind of pantheism characteristic of the beliefs of the Blacks: God is all; all is God. All phenomena, tangible or otherwise, are manifestations of the Deity. Amadou Bamba is the Elect, the visible representative of God on earth. Thus all guidance must come from him, the necessary intermediary between the deity and man. The uneducated masses carry this

[44 cont.]

*795 distortion even further. There is but one supreme Master in the
776 universe: Amadou Bamba. They worship this God who deigned to become man and to dwell among us; it is a true divine incarnation. What a gap, and what is there in common, between these crude beliefs and the dogma, so full of light in the mind of the Prophet, of the Oneness and of the divine spirituality!

*795 Prophecy. The concept of the Prophet Mohammed is over-
[792] laid by an equally thick veil. Aside from the sheiks who understand fairly accurately the mission of the Envoy and believe in it as good Moslems, the people are completely ignorant of the existence of the Prophet. There are no envoys other than those to whom the Master, Amadou Bamba, has transferred his baraka and conferred the power to cast it upon the faithful. The sacred
[788] formula of Islam is not unknown: "There is no god but God, and
[198] Mohammed is his prophet." It is recited blindly by these Ouolof, however, in an incomprehensible and uncomprehended Arabic, like a verbal and mysterious charm. Amadou Bamba is "the greatest, and Sheik Ibra Fal is his Prophet," a Murid told me in Cayor. No one could better [45] borrow the tenets of Islam and, once emptied of their contents, fill them with local beliefs.

775 The future life. Since the concepts of the deity and of the
*795 Prophet are so obscure among these pseudo-Moslems, one can easily understand the heresies they commit in their eschatological beliefs. Mohammed believed in a final resurrection, in a last and universal judgment, in the full immortality of the human being, restored body and soul, in a future life where the righteous would find, along with admittedly quite material pleasures, a certain joy in the beatific vision of God, and where the wicked would be punished for their offenses in the infernal circles located underneath the world.

With the exception of three or four learned men who, having read these teachings in the Koran and its commentators, have adopted them without much accuracy, the mass of the

[45 cont.]

795 Murid people have no conception of their ultimate Islamic desti-
*795 nation. Many adepts seemed surprised that one should think of the other world and confessed that this was unknown to them. Others imagine the future life as a continuation of life on earth with its material pleasures and revelries, which unfortunately one cannot indulge in every day in this inferior world. Finally, the remainder -- those of simple faith who do not think -- merely leave it to Amadou Bamba without further comment.

*795 The Mahdi. One final point must be elucidated before closing
792 this study of Murid dogma. What conception do the adepts have of the Mahdi, this Messiah, more unorthodox than Koranic, in whom belief is so widespread in the Moslem world and who is expected to come one day to convert and subject the entire world to Islam? Again, this query is met with universal ignorance. [46] Some hear the name for the first time; others ask for an explanation and, when they get it, exclaim respectfully: "But that is exactly the description of Sérigne Bamba!" It is thus evident -- and this conclusion also follows from several conversations with Amadou Bamba -- that this Sérigne neither believes himself to be nor pretends to be the Mahdi.

2. Moral Precepts

*795 While Islamic dogma is very hazy in the minds of the Murids of Amadou Bamba, the prescriptions of religious morality are even more rudimentary.

The Prophet's moral precepts, however liberal, have been subjected to precise regulations, both in the Koran and in the oral teachings handed down by the Tradition (Sunna). They are based on prayer, fasting, alms, pilgrimage, and the holy apostolic war. Good Moslems follow these prescriptions very faithfully and apply them in their most exalted sense.

Now, Amadou Bamba also has splendid moral exhortations in his writings. One of his works, la Clef qui ouvre le paradis

[46 cont.]

*795 et ferme l'Enfer [The Key that Opens Paradise and Closes Hell], even reaches great heights:

"Learn to pray in order to please God, do not learn to pray in order to do so with ostentation.

"Be polite, say your prayers, give to those who ask, do not be wicked. He who keeps all his goods to himself and does not give to the poor will suffer before his death...

"Do not touch women, do not go to them...

"Now, my friends, we must wage holy war on souls; ...

"Ask God's forgiveness for your sins ..."

795 [47] Aside from these very elevated teachings, however,
793 there is a practical morality for Mourid khouan which consists of surrendering oneself completely, body and soul, to his marabout, through which one is released from all moral obligations, from all religious observances. No more prayers, no more fasting, no more continence; everything is permitted provided that one remains faithful to the sheik and through him to the supreme Sérigne. The latter's holiness is so great, his redeeming baraka so effective, that, like evangelical charity, "it covers a multitude of sins."

With such moral doctrines, one might fear the worst private debauchery. Nevertheless, this is not the case. The marabouts maintain strict surveillance over the members, the excesses of the masses are soon suppressed, and in any case, since all goods, all sums of money, are remitted or forwarded to the local sheik or to the Sérigne, it is difficult to imagine with what means the adepts could devote themselves to even the most inexpensive pleasures. The most powerful curb, however, is undoubtedly the harsh obligation to work like animals, which the sheiks impose upon the Murids and which the latter accept with a curious readiness. Here, the spirit of Amadou Bamba's doctrine agrees with the teachings of the most ancient moralists: "Always keep the spirit and the body occupied."

It is, of course, the surest way, perhaps, of attaining Murid holiness, but also of not having disreputable debaucheries committed, and surely of filling the marabouts' coffers.

[47 cont.]

*1795 It is thus impossible to conclude that Murid morality is a practical adaptation of Islamic morality for use by the Blacks; this would be an injustice to Islamic morality. If, indeed, there is such a thing as Murid morality, it may be summarized in the saying attributed to the founder of a modern Christian confession: Pecca fortiter, crede fortius (Sin strongly, but believe even more strongly).

[48] 3. The Cult

*1795 782 The Islamic cult, private as well as public, is quite rudimentary: five daily prayers preceded by ablutions; on Fridays, noontime prayer in the mosque; many recitations of the chaplet; on feast days, a few sacrifices which are rather crude and which in no way evoke the awesome sense of immolation as it was understood in antiquity and as it is understood by Christianity. That is all.

Now -- the fact is symptomatic -- it is in the matter of cult, and furthermore in its most external aspects, that the Murids, and certainly the other Blacks, are most Islamized. This cult is quite well organized at Touba. The muezzin gives the call to prayer at the canonical hours, and everyone stops his work in order to meditate. People even gather once a day at the mosque, usually in the evening. This mosque, the sanctuary [346] par excellence of Muridism, is a mere enclosure of reeds, diaka; it has neither minaret, or pseudo-minaret, nor a pulpit (minbar), neither a panel for the imam (mihrab) nor an ablution basin. Elsewhere, life is not organized in such monastic fashion. The faithful are much less devout and merely pray at dawn and dusk. Furthermore, these prayers are not "intimate and familiar conversations with God," but the recitation of two or three Arabic formulas which are not understood and which are not liturgical.

Finally, as far as the masses are concerned, there are no regular prayers. From time to time, especially on Fridays, the faithful go to stand behind their marabout and, with their eyes on him, awkwardly copy his every gesture, every position of his

[48 cont.]

*795 782 body, rising when he rises, [49] bowing when he bows and, naturally, reciting absolutely nothing. This is what is called "to salaam." It is this wholly external salaam that leads those who see it into the error of believing that these natives are orthodox Moslems. Aside from the will to believe, which they evidently possess, and this superficial gesture, one might ask in what way these newly Islamized are the sons of the Prophet.

*795 [346] The mosques usually consist of a sandy square, surrounded or not by a wattle of reeds or boughs (diaka), sometimes by a straw hut, and very rarely by a small hut made of planks (diouma). None of the accessories, however rudimentary, of ordinary mosques are found there. There is no muezzin to give the call to prayer at the holy hours, no imam to preach and to lead the [793] prayers. It is either the Murid sheik or a neighboring marabout who comes here out of piety, and all gather behind him.

[562] Women are admitted neither to the mosque nor to public prayers. The reason given to me was that "Women are un- [783] clean. Let them pray at home if they want to!" Men generally [782] believe that women have no need to pray, obviously not because their sanctity makes it unnecessary, but because they are inferior beings, and that prayer is not required of such humble creatures.

*795 796 The two great religious feasts of Islam are known: "The feast of the sheep" (Aïd el-Kebir), which is called Tabaski; the feast of the breaking of the fast (Aïd Sér'ir), which is called Kori. A few learned men are not unfamiliar with the Achoura (tenth day of the month of Muharram, feast of the new year), here called Tankharet, and the Mouloud, the birthday of the Prophet. They celebrate them with a repast more copious than the usual one.

*795 871 Religious instruction is given in the Murid world, as among all Islamized peoples, in so-called [50] maraboutic or Koranic schools. These schools are quite numerous and are found nearly everywhere. As is known, the school is one of the principal means of the diffusion of Islam, and every Moslem of some learning who settles in a populated center immediately sets up his place of

[50 cont.]

*795 871 worship and adds a small school to it, and, in view of the prestige of knowledge in the eyes of the Blacks, he is certain to have pupils immediately. The Murid sheiks skillfully utilize this means of propagation for their sect. They have Koranic schools opened in every center where there is a gleam of some hope of success and install there a pseudo-scholar who can hardly read Arabic, who is totally unable to interpret any author whatever, and who limits himself to enumerating, as he was taught, the mysterious suras of the "Book."

*795 194 [871] These teachers in the marabout schools are all Ouolof who speak and understand only their mother tongue and pronounce the Arabic language with the greatest difficulty, owing to lack of practice. Some letters, such as the H' (ح), the A (ع), the Kh' (خ), the Ch (ش), cannot be pronounced by them. It is for this reason that Europeans, even Arabists, and sometimes [104] the Moors, eventually adopted a special system of transcription for Black names of Arabic origin.

Ahmed (Ahmadou)	becomes	Amadou
Mohammed	"	Mamadou
Ma'mar	"	Momar
Sheik [Cheikh]	"	Sek

*795 871 The pupils are usually children from 8 to 15 years old. In the large schools of Mbaké -- Darou -- Touba (Baol), Chabane (Thiès), and Mbaké (Cayor), one finds young men from 15 to 25 years old. They have finished their study of the Koran, that is to say, they know it by heart without understanding it, and are taking courses in grammar, law, Koranic exegesis, and even logic and prosody. They come from every part of the Ouolof country.

[51] The time of the pupils -- large or small -- is not devoted wholly to studying. The marabouts put them to the most varied tasks and make them earn their living. They go into the fields, work the land, fish, and gather firewood and straw. They

[51 cont.]
*795 study regularly only in the evening, at nightfall, by the light of
871 small fires fed by the supply of fuel gathered that very day.

During the winter season and during the harvest, courses are suspended, and everyone works in the fields.

4. The Bamba Order

*795 It is in the realm of religious organization that the Sérigne Bamba has shown the greatest originality, and it is indeed the sole realm in which he could do so, if he wanted to remain, in the eyes of the world, on the path of Moslem orthodoxy.

Doctrine of the Bamba way. While affiliated with both the Qadria and Tidiania orders, Amadou Bamba has founded a third religious order. It is particularly the Qadria way that seems to have inspired the Bamba moral doctrine. These precepts can be summarized as follows: contemplation by the soul and applying all of its contemplative powers to the majesty of God, ending in
[786] religious ecstacy; an intimate fusion of the person in the deity. This annihilation in God is actually a copy of the ecstatic mysticism dear to Sidi Abd El-Qader, but in this case there is none of the restraint which the renowned saint of Baghdad included in his teachings. The usual exaggeration of the Blacks impinges on
[181] everything.

For Sidi Abd El-Qader, "happiness consists in being oblivious to existence." Amadou Bamba also preaches this disinterestedness, this renouncement of the things here below. [52] He claims it for himself in all of his correspondence; he preaches it in his sermons and in his writings. "Be like the little donkey laden with millet, who does not eat of the burden he carries."

*795 He goes further and extols the virtues of deprivation, and
785 especially of attachment to the spiritual sheik. "Bear hunger
793 patiently; do not wear handsome garments; follow your marabout with the persistence of a lion following his prey, with the speed

[52 cont.]

*795 of a vulture diving upon the carcass it has discovered in the bush.
785 Follow him as the dog follows his master, like a sly cat." He
793 unceasingly recommends, and in the most varied ways, which, as can be seen, do not lack poetry, that one never follow his impulses, but blindly obey his sheik, without thought, without argument. His goal is clear: to break the disciple's will, to tame his spirit. It is no longer the monastic vow of obedience; it is the total annihilation of all the faculties, of all the voices of conscience, into the will of the spiritual Master.

The brothers and lieutenants of the Sérigne naturally go even further and in practice draw the ultimate conclusions from the leader's doctrine: Murids should detach themselves from the goods of this world by surrendering them to the Saint, and to themselves, his official intermediaries. This is the best way to resist temptation.

*795 As far as ecstatic union is concerned, some of them perhaps,
786 more refined and gifted with special mystical faculties, may attain this dream state, "these flowered gardens" where man completely loses his individuality, and -- like Pythia on her tripod -- feels himself overwhelmed by the divine power: "The God, here is the God."

For the masses of the Murid, however, there is no stimulation of the noble faculties of the soul. The mere sight of Amadou Bamba praying or dispensing blessings, the spurt of his saliva on [53] the bowed faithful, throw some into hysterical fits in which all want to participate. They roll about at the feet of the Saint, kiss his shoes and the hem of his boubou [robe], stretch out their hands to him. With compunction he lets a spurt of saliva fall into these open palms, which are closed, clasped together, and tremblingly rubbed on the face and body of the believer. Then there are the shudders, swoons, and epileptic convulsions, followed by extraordinary contortions and leaps, all accompanied by horrendous howls. Madness finally seizes everyone. In the midst of this cacophony, one hears the most terrible curses and the most ardent calls of love. God is abused; the

[53 cont.]

*795 786 Prophet and the Saints are dragged through the mud; Paradise is reviled and Hell glorified; no one any longer knows what he is saying. Fusion with the Most High is so complete that the sounds emitted by the human mouth lose all significance. The coldest temperaments, those most averse to general ecstasy, are no less ardent in these manifestations. They indulge in all these hysterico-religious fantasies with all the more enthusiasm because they are less affected by them.

In short, these scenes which recur on certain days and in various places are in no way mystical, either in their causes or in their effects. The Black mentality is totally incapable of [181] producing the metaphysical concepts of the Eastern Semites and the ecstatic divagations of the Sufi. These scenes are nothing but a communal act of prayer and worship, soon followed by dances, jigs, choreographic fantasies, and bamboulas dear to the Blacks, under a pious pretext.

*795 793 The spiritual chain. With greater modesty than many leaders of religious orders, Amadou Bamba does not claim to be related to the Prophet through an actual genealogical chain. He [54] does not claim any nobleness as a sherif, but, through his mystical chain, he is connected with Sidi Abd El-Qader El-Djilani and, through this saint, to the Prophet, to the archangel Gabriel, and to God.

*795 178 The rise of the "Way" of Sidi Abd El-Qader (Qadria) in the twelfth century is well known. This order, now the most widespread one of Islam, seems to have undergone the same fate as Moslem civilization: a rapid and continuous expansion, and constant branching off. From the twelfth to the fourteenth century, it was propagated as far east as China and west to Morocco. Almost immediately, the local zaouïa, without breaking off completely with the metropolitan at Baghdad, but preserving only the spiritual chain and part of the ritual of the original order and modifying at will the doctrines of the saintly founder, became regional and independent sub-brotherhoods.

[54 cont.]

*795 178 Thus, in the sixteenth century, an offshoot, the Qadria of Azaouad, under the influence of the sheik Omar El-Bekkaï, gradually became a new order, the Bekkaïa (also called Azaouadia or Mokhtaria, or even by their ethnic name, the Kounta). The Bakkaï order spread across the western Saharan territories to the ocean. In Mauritania at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it in turn gave rise to independent branches: Fadelia (Sidi Mohammed El-Fadel, then Ma El-Aïnin); Lessidia (Sheik Sidia El-Kebir, grandfather of the present Sheik Sidia). This reproductive process seems to be nearly finished for these two brotherhoods, which appear to be in full flower today.

At the end of the nineteenth century, however, through the initiative of Amadou Bamba, the Lessidia brotherhood gave birth in its turn to a Senegalese and Black branch: that of the Bamba Murids. It is this religious phenomenon which is now unfolding before us. The Bamba Murids are thus a branch of the Lessidia, as [55] the latter were of the Bekkaïa, and as these are themselves derived from the original Qadria. They may be said to be Qadria -- and they themselves claim this honor -- if this term is given the meaning used in the twentieth century and not understood as a religious province dependent on the mother zaouïa in Baghdad.

*795 793 178 Thus, in the spiritual chain which joins Amadou Bamba to God one will find all the founders of the branches which have been enumerated:

The present Sheik Sidia, through whom the Sérigne has his affiliation (he pretends not to regard as valid a somewhat strained affiliation granted him by a marabout, El-Hadj Kamara, around 1890 in Saint-Louis).

Sheik Mohammed, father of Sheik Sidia.

Sheik Sidia El-Kebir, father of Sheik Mohammed and founder of the Lessidia.

Sheik Mokhtar El-Kounti.

Sheik Omar El-Bekkaï, founder of the Bekkaïa.

And, finally, Sidi Abd El-Qader El-Djilani, founder of the Qadri order.

[55 cont.]

*795
178

It is on these grounds that he bestows both the original Qadri order, regarding himself as a spiritual heir of Sidi Abd El-Qader, and his own order, regarding himself as the founder of a new "Way."

But this is not all. It would seem, although the founder of the Murids denies it, that he also belongs to the order of the Tidiania and is thus joined through another mystical chain to Sidi Ahmed Et-Tidjani. It is obvious that Amadou Bamba is acquainted with the suspicion that is felt in West Africa toward the Tidiania, among whom our policies have encountered more foes than friends, and he hastens to say that he has nothing in common with them. Yet, public rumor has him endowed with the Tidiani ouerd, and, furthermore, his disciples are all quite familiar with the ritual of this order.

[56] Moreover, Amadou Bamba seems to draw inspiration from the same processes of religious expansion as Sidi Ahmed Tidjani. It is known that this saint was long affiliated with the Qadri, Khelouati, and Taïbi orders, and that he himself bestowed the ouerd of these "Ways." Following some revelations he abandoned them all, and, claiming to be an apostle of the Prophet, he propagated only his one way, superior to all and leading without any possibility of error to Paradise (1781).

Similarly, Amadou Bamba, of Qadria and perhaps Tidiania affiliation, and who formerly bestowed the ouerds of these orders, now limits himself almost solely to leading the members along his own path.

In any case, it cannot be said that Amadou Bamba sought in Tidianism an element of hostility against the Christians. He certainly had no goal other than to increase his prestige through affiliation to an order which is quite widespread here, and which, being extremely exclusive, is never bestowed on the adepts of any other path. Amadou Bamba is an eclectic; he makes his bouquet out of all the flowers that perfume his path.

*795
188

Ritual. There do not seem to be any special and mysterious initiation ceremonies in Amadou Bamba's brotherhood. When

[56 cont.]
*795 a Murid has shown by his qualities and his devotion that he is
788 worthy of belonging to the order, Amadou Bamba or one of his lieutenants bestows the ouerd upon him, that is, the permission to utter, following the prayers at dawn and dusk, the special formula of the order (dikr) in spiritual communion with all the brothers.

This dikr, a kind of litany, is quite similar to that of the Qadria as far as the text is concerned. Only the number of invocations differs considerably.

"I seek forgiveness from the God of Majesty." (300 times.)

"May God be glorified." (300 times.)

[57] "There is no god but God." (300 times.)

"O my God, pour out your blessings on our Lord Mohammed, on his family, on his companions. Grant them salvation!" (Cf. Appendix No. 18.)

As the disciple advances along the path of sanctity, the sheik permits him to double the number of these litanies; he must thus repeat them 600 times. A few additional genuflections and professions are also imposed.

There is no solemn dikr (Dikr el-hadra or djellala) recited
[796] by the assembly of the faithful on Fridays and feast days.

Hierarchy. The hierarchy of the Murid religious order is
793 simple: at the top, Amadou Bamba, founder and supreme leader of the brotherhood, pivot of Islam, representative or personification of God on earth; below him and far removed, the sheiks, both those gathered at Diourbel and those scattered in the zaouïas and work villages, who are the priors of the order; on the lowest level, the multitude of members, the masses of the Murids, the students and laborers first, the women and children second.

Amadou Bamba is the sole master, and it is upon him that the entire structure of the order rests. It should be noted, however, that he is not always fully obeyed, especially by his brothers, who are far from having complete faith in his divine mission. Since, however, it is their union with the Sérigne that brings them power and profit, they are careful not to carry things too far.

[57 cont.]

793 The sheiks (the mokaddam of other brotherhoods) are the Master's lieutenant and either assist him in his functions as teacher and religious leader or direct groups of talibés. They can bestow the murid ouerd, but cannot consecrate sheiks on their own level.

793 *795 [58] As for the multitude of adepts, they are recruited from all ranks and in all milieus. I have already stated that the Murids are almost solely of Ouolof origin. Some of them are peasants who come to the Sérigne out of a religious need and a natural indolence, out of the need to have themselves enrolled in a mystical organization and united with the brothers in Allah; the others -- incidentally, those who become agitators -- are adventurers, deserters, discharged officials, former chiefs who were overthrown, dismissed servants, etc. They merely seek in Muridism the means to live as comfortably as possible.

*795 Conclusion. Such, in their totality, are the doctrines and practices of Muridism, an Islamic brotherhood in appearance but actually a new sect, born out of Islam and through its stimulus, and flourishing today chiefly within its province and to its detriment. If a comparison is permitted -- and comparisons are always defective -- Muridism might be put vis à vis orthodox Islam in the same position as those extraordinary sects of America, which are Protestant in name only, vis à vis Christianity as a whole.

Muridism has retained a certain number of the articles of faith of Islam, and especially many of its external practices and sacred formulas. This is what sometimes gives it an orthodox 798 appearance, but good Moslems are not deceived, and their in- *795 dignation runs high in the face of such heresies. Since these good Moslems, however, are either sheiks of Mauritanian zaouïas or Moroccan traders in ports and railroad stops, and since the Murids are invariably generous believers for the former and important customers for the latter, this indignation is not expressed too strongly, and a useful contact is maintained with these "ignorant and innovating, but sincere and well intentioned" neophytes.

[58 cont.]

*795 798 [59] Other Moslem Blacks are in the best position to appraise at their just value the religious doctrines of Muridism. The quotations that follow will bring to a fitting close the first part of this study by showing the general feeling of the Senegalese Moslems concerning the Murids of Amadou Bamba.

"They are prejudicial to the Moslem religion, which, without observing its rules, they don as wolves would don the skins of sheep." (Letter from Tivaquane to the Lieutenant-Governor of Senegal, 25 February 1905.)

"Under the cover of religion, the sectaries (followers) of Amadou Bamba live exactly like the Damels and Bours of old." (Amadou N'diaye, head of the province of East Saniakhor.)

And from the same person: "I wonder where Amadou Bamba, or rather his sheiks, found in the religion a text permitting the formation of this army which calls itself Moslem and which actually consists only of the wreckage of the former tiédos [members of an upper class], who can no longer live, thanks to France, at the expense of the badolos [common people]."

[60]

Part II

The Influence of Muridism and Islam

771 777 The Islamic religion in general and its Murid form in particular have had a noticeable influence on the life of the Ouolof natives. Nevertheless, this influence is not as strong as might be expected from a religion as absorptive as Islam, which is as much a body of juridical and social doctrines as an assemblage of divine commandments concerning the supernatural life of the soul. There are matters, especially those concerning the institutions of customary law and the practices of social life, where this influence is very slight. In the economic realm, on the other hand, and from a political and administrative standpoint as well, the Muridism of Amadou Bamba has led to very strange

[60 cont.]
771 consequences which are well worth notice.
177 Let us, then, examine successively the influence of Islam and of Bamba Muridism:

1. on the juridical institutions of the natives;
2. on the social conditions of the natives;
3. in the economic realm;
4. from the political and administrative standpoint.

[61] Chapter I

Muridism and the Juridical Institutions of the Natives

671 It would be an enormous task beyond the scope of this study to give here all of the Ouolof juridical customs; it is among this people alone that the Murids are recruited. With the help of notes gathered in the five circles mentioned earlier, only the general customs in this enormous mosaic of "customs, usages, and styles" of all the provinces will be extracted. In any case, the differences are less numerous than they might seem at first sight; they are mainly in matters of detail, or they are due to the more or less pronounced Islamization of a group or a family, but it is easy to confirm that a true unity of conception has presided over the formation of the institutions of customary law among the Ouolof and that -- which was the goal pursued -- this conception is peculiar to the race and has little in common with the spirit of Moslem law.

1. Civil Institutions

611 A. The family. The family is now undergoing change. The
177 old conception (which still exists integrally among the Sérère tiedos, where the bond of kinship, vinculum juris, is established through the maternal line [tige]) and [62] the patriarchal conception of Islam and of European civilizations are both in force

[62 cont.]

611 among the Ouolof. Descendants in the paternal line bear the name
[177] of guényo; those in the maternal line the name of mène.

The family based on the paternal line seems to be the social unit among the people (badolos), but the members of the female line are nevertheless united among themselves by certain bonds and especially by magico-religious prohibitions (mbagne).

611 Among the nobles, both types of family exist -- or at least
565 used to exist -- simultaneously. In some cases, it was through
[428] the maternal line that authority and political rights, prohibitions, and the property of the family were transmitted; in other cases, it was through paternal filiation; in other instances -- and this was the case in general -- it was through a combination of both
[177] filiations (1). On this point, our ignorance about native traditions

1. For further details, cf. Légendes et coutumes sénégalaises [Senegalese legends and customs], by Henri Gaden (in Revue d'ethnographie et de sociologie, 1912).

causes more of these old customs to fall into desuetude every day, and they are, of course, replaced by the prescriptions of Moslem law.

595 It would seem, therefore, that the head of the family is the
596 father, but the authority of the maternal uncle is considerable
[604] and sometimes offsets that of the father. Then, too, the "reduced family," father, mothers, and children, does not live in isolation. The family is "whole," that is to say, it is made up of an assemblage of two or three generations descended from the same ancestor and living together in compounds.

581 Marriage is also a legal bond, and the parents-in-law,
682 children-in-law, brothers-in-law, and sisters-in-law are
[428] indisputedly part of the family, but this bond does not entail any right of inheritance.

595 Within the compound, the husband has his own hut where he lives alone and where each of his wives comes in turn. Each

[62 cont.]
595 wife [63] is also provided with a hut, which belongs to her and where she lives with her children.

[593] The wife must follow her husband, but this obligation is limited; a woman cannot be compelled to follow her husband to lands too far away where she would elude the surveillance and care of the family.

B. Marriage. While polyandry is totally unknown, polygamy is common. According to the data gathered, the proportion of polygamists among ten married men is as follows:

Four have only one wife;
Three have two wives;
Two have three wives;
One has more than three wives.

A young man does not marry several women at once; he remains monogamous for about two or three years. It is only after this period of time that he looks for a second spouse.

The wife seems to be quite jealous and is always reluctant to agree to be associated with co-spouses. In any case, they want to be consulted about choosing them. Since the acquisition [556] of a wife is always an expensive matter, it is usually the wealthiest and oldest men who are polygamous.

584 Betrothal merges somewhat with the preliminaries to marriage. As a simple promise of union on both sides, it has no legal validity, and its rupture does not entail any legal consequences.

581 The conditions required for marriage are: on the man's part, to be of age and to possess goods sufficient to acquire and support 582 a wife. Men seldom marry before they are 22, 24, or even 25 years old. In wealthy families, however, younger children are [584] married. The woman must be of age and must have her relatives' consent. Young girls are married at about the age of 14.

595 [64] Impediments to marriage spring almost solely from kinship. A man can marry his sister-in-law, his wife's sister, but only if this sister is younger than his wife; sisters older than his wife are barred to him. A man can marry his sister-in-law, the [587] wife of his deceased brother, but only if this brother was older than he;

[64 cont.]
595 the wives of his younger brothers are barred to him. If the
[587] marriage is licit, the widow, especially if she has children, is prepared to marry the brother of her deceased husband, both in order ~~not to~~ be separated from her children and so that they will not be taken away from their father's family. A man may
582 not marry his aunts, the sisters of his father or his mother, or an aunt by marriage, the repudiated wife or widow of his father's brother. Nothing prevents him from marrying his aunt by marriage if she is the repudiated wife or widow of his mother's brother, but this would be regarded by his relatives as very bad.

Impediments to marriage -- whether they emanate from the relationship by marriage or from lack of the consent of the girl's relatives -- are not invalidating. When the possession of the state and a certain lapse of time have consecrated these ill-regarded unions, they are eventually accepted and have the same consequences as legitimate unions.

Differences of race or religion do not constitute an impediment to marriage. But while pious Moslems do not like to give their daughters to the tiedos, the latter, who seem to entertain a veritable hostility against Islam, are even more averse to giving their daughters to Moslems.

584 The young man who wants a young girl first talks to her and then, once certain of the situation, he sends his father or his mother to make the official request to the girl's parents. Meanwhile, he sends one or several of his friends to the said parents in order to sing his praises in warm terms and to try to judge the probable answer according to their attitude.

[65] In the case of a favorable answer -- and this answer is given by common consent by the father, by the mother, and
[583] by the maternal uncle -- a set amount of 21 francs and 25 centimes in cash is paid by the suitor. This amount, called tak, is the girl's property. It is often provided by the sisters of the bridegroom. It constitutes the first bond, the pledge of marriage. From this moment on, the girl is definitely betrothed, which does not mean that the consummation of the

[65 cont.]

584 marriage is possible, but that the vinculum juris exists between her and her family, on the one hand, and the suitor on the other hand.

583 Discussion of the marriage portion follows: its amount, which varies between 250 and 5,000 francs, is determined in friendly fashion between the relatives. Only a part of this sum, however, often a very small part, is paid at this time. The rest remains due, in principle to be paid after the consummation of the marriage, but in practice at the husband's death or in case of unjustified repudiation.

This marriage portion must be paid before witnesses. It is the property of both the girl and her relatives: of the girl who is surrendering herself to a master, of the relatives who are entitled to fair remuneration for the expenses and costs of all kinds incurred for the girl's training. In most instances, one or several oxen have to be presented to the girl's relatives, so that here, too, there is justification for the name that Homer gave to the young virgins of Greece, αλφεσιβοαι, "those who bring in oxen to their relatives."

[231]

In addition, the suitor, according to his means, makes gifts of friendship to the girl: jewelry, clothing, cattle, kola, money.

585 In the marriage ceremonies, no distinction is made between religious ceremonies and civil ceremonies. Noisy drumming one day announces the hour of the gathering to friends and acquaintances, who were previously notified. The relatives of the young people and they themselves have [66] purchased kola nuts which are distributed to those present. There is dancing and eating in turn, and then everyone goes home, the newly married couple like the others. In pious families, a religious ceremony is added to this simple gathering. The procession proceeds to the place of worship, a sandy area sometimes surrounded by wattling. A neighboring marabout, a friend of the family, is asked to come and recite some verses from the Koran, for example, the Fatiha, three times, which, of course, no one understands. Then everyone returns to the festivities. Neither of the two spouses is there. They are represented by their relatives.

684 [66 cont.]
837 While the duties of mutual aid and support are enjoined upon the spouses, that of conjugal fidelity does not exist. The woman
[593] alone owes complete fidelity to her husband. Adultery on her part is frequent, however. It is regarded as a transgression, thus a misdemeanor, by her and her accomplice. The latter must be punished by imprisonment and by a fine, which are determined by the gravity of the circumstances surrounding the offense. The adulterous woman is punished with a minimum fine of 250 francs.

The husband, not subject to any obligation of fidelity toward his wife, cannot commit adultery. The natives often say: "If
[586] the woman does not like her husband's escapades, she should refund the marriage portion and leave." This question of adultery, so delicate in other Islamized territories, is not taken too seriously here. Most husbands, either because they are fond of their wives or because they fear the difficulties that result from separation, will keep an unfaithful wife. A flogging with stick or a reprimand by blows with a rope restores their injured pride. Those who are
[586] punctilious send her back and keep her property until she has returned the 21 francs and 25 centimes, the marriage portion, and the gifts.

586 C. Divorce. It is well-known how important a place [67]
795 divorce has in Moslem law, and how strongly the Prophet's disciples remain attached to this institution as it was established by orthodoxy. Among the Murid Ouolof, divorce is found, but it is a genuine customary institution which has nothing in common with Moslem divorce.

586 Here the two spouses have absolute equality. The right of each to repudiate the other spouse is identical; the same applies to their duties. There can thus be distinguished:

The repudiation of the wife by the husband;
The repudiation of the husband by the wife;
Divorce by mutual consent.

When the husband repudiates his wife, he need not give her any reason; he announces his intention to her, pays her the outstanding part of her marriage portion, and sends her away. The

[67 cont]

586 procedure is the same for the repudiation of the husband by the wife; she returns everything she has received from him, leaves the conjugal hut, and withdraws among relatives or friends.

In the case of litigation over money, the case is taken be-
[692] fore the village tribunal of conciliation and, if agreement is not reached there, before the subdivision tribunal; the latter decides this question of a material nature, but is not in any way concerned with the dissolution of the marital knot. The break was achieved by one of the two spouses notifying his wedded partner of his wishes and by the material separation.

In the case of divorce by mutual consent, the spouses themselves, before they separate, settle the pertinent financial problems.

The most common causes of divorce are: on the woman's part, her disobedience and her bad character, sometimes adultery; and on the man's part, his jealousy or failure to support his wife.

Divorce is very frequent; one hardly [68] ever meets a man who has lived all his life with only one woman (monogamy and indissolubility of marriage); one more often meets polygamous men who have always lived with one of their wives, usually the first.

Children belong in principle to the father, but the ma-
[604] ternal uncle always has the right of supervision over them. Since
[862] children are nursed for two years, boys remain with their mother at least until they are two years old, and the girls at least until they are six. It is only at this age that the father can take them back. This is a strict rule. Young children do not leave their mother, even if the dissolution of the marriage is due to her bad conduct. Moreover, the mother subsequently has the right to see them as often as she wishes.

587 In case of divorce, as in the case of widowhood, respectable women submit to a period of waiting for a few weeks. Nothing compels them to do so, and in reality many women spend just enough time in their father's home to contract a new marriage. A few of the more religious fathers of families impose on their

[68 cont.]
587 daughters a delay of three months in case of divorce and a delay of four months and ten days in case of widowhood.

It should be noted that in this matter of the dissolution
675 of marriage, as well as in the formation of the union itself, there
177 is no official intervention of the two honorable witnesses (adoul) as
586 prescribed by Koranic law any more than there is any drawing up of the marriage contract or act of repudiation by the minister of
[693] the cadi. The role of this magistrate, and even his name, are familiar only to a learned elite.

851 D. Filiation. The Ouolof differentiate quite clearly be-
848 tween legitimate and natural filiation. Moreover, the latter is
[835] known only as simple natural filiation; [69] incest does not exist, and in case of adultery, the old rule applies: Is pater est quem justae nuptiae demonstrant [the father is presumed to be the mother's legal husband.]

593 The child is under the authority, first, of his father and,
604 secondly, of his maternal uncle. There is no cause that could entail the forfeiture of this paternal or avuncular authority. The pledging of the child to put him in servitude, even temporarily, is strictly forbidden.

848 The child is a form of wealth that has no equal. If he is a
684 natural child, he belongs to the mother; this is a right accorded
[858] to her by custom. It is not an obligation. Custom does not consider the possibility that a child might be abandoned by its parents; it only considers the possibility that the two of them might fight over it and grants it to the mother as a favor. It is thus necessary to conclude that if the mother is unable to attend to its needs and if by a very slight chance the father does not furnish the necessary provisions, she can have recourse to the court to constrain him to do so. There is obviously no question of an a priori legal investigation of natural paternity. The child, if he is abandoned by the father -- a very rare occurrence -- simply becomes attached, according to the old custom, to the family of the mother. The latter, whose only wish is to keep him and who finds the father's sentence for a food allowance sufficient, does not try to obtain a reckoning which would deprive

[69 cont.]

848 684 her of the child. Nevertheless, nothing in the spirit of the customary law would prevent the child from proceeding further on this course and having the bond of filiation that ties him to his natural father legally affirmed. That this is not done is no proof that such legal action is impossible. It is merely a right that these wholesome peoples have never wished to use and probably never had occasion to use.

It is thus improbable that the full enforcement of the law of 16 November 1912 should cause any difficulties in [70] Ouolof territory. The right of investigation granted to the child will be exercised in practice only in the case of Europeans already subject to French law. And in reality, as long as the spirit of the old custom prevails, this right will never be used, especially if the natural father takes all the measures practicable to ensure the maintenance of his natural child.

By virtue of the same reasoning, the legal acknowledgment of natural paternity does not exist in practice. The parents keep and raise the natural child; this is the best way of acknowledging him in the eyes of everyone, and possession of him entails his legitimation. The old French saying is perfectly applicable here:

To drink, to eat, to sleep together,
Is marriage, it seems to me.

597 Adoption is unknown as a formal contract. It sometimes happens that a man without offspring takes under his care and raises as his own child one of his nephews or nieces. In such cases there may arise a sort of psychological paternity, which, of course, may have repercussions in the testamentary dispositions of the adoptive father, but custom does not grant any positive rights to the adopted child.

631 429 E. Incapacity. In customary law, incapacity arises for two reasons:

Minority;

Insanity.

[177] Bankruptcy and insolvency, wastefulness, weak-mindedness,

[70 cont.]

671 and certain legal infractions which are treated at length by
429 Moslem law are not regarded here as sufficient causes for inter-
177 diction.

The minor, that is to say, the child who has not reached
429 the age of puberty, is under the care of a guardian. Majority
[884] and puberty are synonymous. Puberty is recognized by physical
[881] signs: for [71] boys, the awakening of sexual desire and his first campaigns on the road to love; for girls, the definite appearance of the first menses.

This guardianship devolves by right on the surviving parent,
[604] and, lacking them, to the mother's brother. It should be noted that in the first case the latter plays a very active supervisory role. If there is no maternal uncle, the closest ancestor or relative is entrusted with the guardianship. If, in a quite rare case,
[622] the child had no relatives at all, the village chief, after consulting with the notables, would entrust the guardianship to a friend of the deceased father. It is permitted for the father or mother on the deathbed to entrust the child more particularly to one devoted individual. This kind of testamentary guardianship, which is more a moral matter, is usually respected, but it does not necessarily entail the customary guardian's renouncement of his rights.

The minor under a guardian becomes the child of the guardian and is entitled to the same care as his own children. He has the duty, when he grows up, of working for his guardian.

The latter has special obligations vis-à-vis the property
[177] of the minor. The presence of French authority and the care with which it provides for the protection of orphans have little by little brought some order into the matter. When the guardian takes charge, a record of the deceased's property must be made in the presence of witnesses and of the delegate of the president of the tribunal. The child's share is carefully established by the inventory. The guardian manages this property as he wishes; he will give an exact account of it when the child comes of age.
[692] He is responsible for the management of it. If a problem arises

[71 cont.]
429 when the accounts are rendered, the litigation is taken before
692 the subdivision tribunal.

It is not a matter of emancipation as a consequence of
884 the identity of the states of majority and puberty; majority occurs automatically as soon as the child reaches the age of puberty.

429 [72] Interdiction due to insanity is now governed by the
734 new custom based on the prescriptions of French authority.
[177] Formerly, in cases of clear-cut insanity, the natural guardian took over the management of the insane person's property, in
[622] co-operation with his children who had come of age. The village chief supervised this management. Nowadays, the
[692] subdivision tribunal is immediately notified, and it takes the necessary measures after having communicated the facts to the administrator. The rules for the guardianship of minors apply in general for the guardianship of insane persons.

In both cases of incapacity, the president of the sub-
[692] division tribunal supervises the guardian's management. The
[622] village chief also has a duty of administrative supervision.

421 G. Property. The natives very clearly differentiate im-
177 movable property from movable property, but the concept of immovable property in Ouolof customary law differs completely from the concept of this kind of property in Moslem law. The right of private ownership of immovable property does not exist.

With the French occupation, the establishment of regis-
[369] tration procedures, and the founding of European centers, some idea of urban property is beginning to spread; happily, personal interest complements custom on this point. Rural property, however, remains as before.

423 The land in the areas inhabited by the Ouolof since time
642 immemorial belonged to the great chiefs of the country (that is to say, to the sovereign authority) by virtue of their right of sovereignty. "The lands belong to the Bour," is still commonly heard. The meaning of this right, however, should

[72 cont.]

423 [642] not be misunderstood. It is not the property right in the precise sense that the Romans (dominium), our Civil Code (Art. [73] 544) and Moslem law (melk) give it. It is a right of general administration, control, and policing, which must be exercised strictly according to custom. The bour possessed the lands of his territories, just as the king of France possessed the crown lands, but this never meant that the right of private property was unknown under absolute monarchy. The fact remains that the true owner is none other than the total assemblage of descendants of the one who first improved the land, that is to say, the present family. As for the French state, successor of the bours, it inherited the rights of sovereignty that the latter had held.

In the regions where the Ouolof settled by force, the land continues to belong to the former masters: the laman of Socé origin. They were the first in former times to improve the land, and the boundaries of the fields were established by the lines where the fires, lighted in the bush by the family heads, met. The occupation of the country by the Ouolof was strictly political; the Socé were not divested of their rights, and even today in each hamlet, living side by side in friendly fashion, there are: the diaraf, the representative of authority and the mayor of the grouping; and the laman, master of the cultivated lands. The laman, who are becoming more and more rare, do not cultivate the fields. They have left them to the more industrious Ouolof. The occupants thus have only a use right, and even this right is not a personal one of the individual who cultivates the field. This right belongs to the whole family, and in this matter its head is merely its representative. This, then, is the only immovable property known here, and rural lands are subject to this customary institution.

[427] Of the other real rights, some, long leases, ground rent, are unknown, because they are impossible; others, usufruct in its various forms, use and habitation, [74] servitudes, and, in certain cases, the right of retention, are known and used.

The establishment of usufruct has an essentially temporary

[73 cont.]
423 character: it lasts only through the current year.

The servitudes are: either customary, such as the right to pick the fruit from his trees on the neighbor's land after inviting the latter to do so, the right of passage to an enclosed piece of land, the right to dig wells, the obligation to receive the water from higher ground; or established by particular circumstances. On this point, the natives claim that there is no limitation to the voluntary establishment of servitudes, as long as the consent of those involved has been obtained.

[425] The right of retention is granted in certain cases to the seller or buyer of movable property as a guarantee of the sale price or the delivery of the property. Divided [divise] property is unknown. The mode of land use is always in undivided [indivise] form. From this comes the very important conse-
[177] quence that the withdrawal from joint ownership and rights of pre-emption (chefaa) of Moslem law are unknown.

The modes of acquiring property are thus quite different from those provided for by Moslem law.

The sale of immovable property is absolutely forbidden.
[425] The land, property or possession of the family, can in no way be alienated by an individual, not even by the head of the family. Nemo dat quod non habet [you cannot give what you do not have].

[427] The renting of real property is unknown. It is true that one can lend his louggan to a third party, who will cultivate it during the year and return it to the disposal of the lender after the harvest. This third party can obviously do no less than to offer a gift to the family, but this is a voluntary act, and nothing compels him to do it.

423
621 Aside from the collective lands of the family, there are the collective lands of the village. The use of these "communal lands" belongs to all the inhabitants of the [75] village; everyone conforms in this respect to local usage. These collective lands in principle are not to be developed in the form of louggans.
[311] They form the center's reserve of pasture lands and forests.

[75 cont.]

423 609 622 Human capital is always welcome; the stranger who comes to settle in a village meets with the best of welcomes. The village chief assembles his notables, communicates to them the stranger's request, and, after discussing the case, he is assigned either fallow land or the louggan that is not being cultivated by a family and is offered by it. It is understood that the stranger thereby acquires a right of usufruct for the year, while the family retains all its rights. The only way of acquiring immovable property thus seems to be by inheritance, for lands 423 425 already under cultivation. For uncultivated land, on which no positive right seem to have been established or claimed, private ownership may be established by authorization of the sovereign. This authorization emanates, not from his right of ownership, but from his right of sovereignty. It may be manifested explicitly by a land grant, or it may be implicit, that is to say, the sovereign may tolerate without interference the occupation and development of the land.

422 425 As far as movable property is concerned, agreement between the parties, gifts between living persons and testamentary gifts, accession, and adjudication are further modes of acquisition provided for by custom.

421 423 The concept of public domain, while not clearly expressed in the customary law, is nevertheless understood by all, with its dual character of inalienability and imprescriptibility. That of the private domain of the state is not clear at the present time, when the Ouolof do not constitute a national body. The concept [621] of the private domain of the village, however, is quite clear: it consists of the collective property of the village as it has been explained above. There is great similarity between these collective lands [76] of the Ouolof grouping and the property owned by the French commune. One might apply to them the definition of "communal lands" issued by the Conseil d'Etat [Council of State] (16 March 1838) and say that they, too, in some ways, "constitute the indivisible property of the body of the commune."

[76 cont.]

421 177 To conclude, it is hardly necessary to point out what a profound difference separates this concept of immovable property from the analogous theory in Moslem law. Where would one find here the distinction between the territory of Islam and the territory of the infidels, the rights of the Islamic community, the representation of the caliph, in short, all the immovable organization, so highly developed and so minute, in the Moslem juridical authors?

428 177 H. Inheritance. A Prophetic tradition proclaims that "the law of inheritance is half of wisdom." This indicates the importance of the inheritance decrees of Moslem law. Now, on this point, as on others, one can barely distinguish here and there a vague imprint of this law on native custom.

The foundations of inheritance rights are: kinship and marriage; the in-law relationship gives no inheritance rights.

Custom does not recognize either persons for whom shares are reserved, (fardh), universal successors or agnates (aceb), or cognates (doui el-arham). It is the character of the various goods involved that determines the order of the heirs.

428 The following are distinguished:

The immovables, that is, the louggans;

Huts;

Movable property.

428 596 Immovable property, being a family possession, cannot be part of the heritable property. Indeed, the family endures despite the loss of its head. Upon his death, the authority of the pater familias passes [77] immediately to the member designated by custom. It is the latter who, becoming the head and representative of the family at the instant of the death, becomes the manager of its property; it is an inheritance of power. The order established by custom is the system of patriarchal inheritance, the same as is used in Moslem states for the inheritance of sovereign power and the practice of which is found among a great number of peoples of the Sudan (Delafosse, Haut-Sénégal-Niger, Vol. III). [171]

[77 cont.]

428 596 Vol. III). It is the brother who succeeds his older brother, and so forth, until all the brothers are dead, after which it is the turn of the eldest son of the eldest brother.

The huts: As far as the paternal hut is concerned, the same order of inheritance is followed: it passes to the younger brother, because he is the family head. It is only in the case where the younger brother died first that his hut goes to his oldest son. Each of the other huts are given to the wife who occupies it. At the mother's death, her hut goes to her oldest [591] daughter; the younger daughters continue to live with their older sister. When the latter marries (and a fortiori if she is already married), she leaves the hut to go to live in the compound of her husband, who has built her a new hut. The hut of the deceased woman then becomes the property of the younger daughter, and so forth until all are deceased. If there is only one daughter, at the time of her marriage she would take her hut with her to her husband's compound.

428 177 Concerning the ordinary movable goods, livestock, grain, money, one finds an order of inheritance that approaches Moslem law. Once the estate has been determined, and the payment of debts, including the remainder of the marriage portion of the wives, has been made, these goods are divided among all of the children of the deceased. Custom provides that the boy's share must be superior to that of the girl, from which has come [562] the established practice for pious or learned men to decide in principle, in accordance with Moslem law, that the boy's share is to be double that of the girl.

428 [78] Most of the time, especially if the deceased were monogamous, the distribution is not actually made. Joint possession continues, under the authority of the elder son and the mother of the family. That is to say, she herself takes from the inheritance the food allowance to which she is entitled. In addition, custom grants to each wife in the succession a gift to be granted informally, which bears the name "the husband's share." It is understood, of course, that the wearing apparel

[78 cont.]
428 and other personal property of the wife are not part of the inheritance. They remain her private property.

[431] I. Testamentary gifts and gifts between living persons. Custom very strictly regulates, aside from the prescriptions of Moslem law, testamentary gifts and gifts between living persons.

It is strictly forbidden for anyone to give away family property by testament. Such disposal, if it were made, would be meaningless. On the other hand, one has absolute freedom to dispose of his goods by testament. Only one condition -- and it is a formal one -- is imposed. The testator must be in perfect health. In case of illness, even if it is not the one that brought death, any testamentary disposition is meaningless.

431 [596] In the matter of gifts between living persons, the freedom of the family head is unlimited. It must be noted, however, that if he gives away any fraction of the family patrimony, he does not do so in his own name, but in the name of all. In such cases, he must have general agreement or risk internal arguments.

[428] It is hardly necessary to add that the form of gift-giving, between living persons or testamentary, is purely verbal; only the presence of witnesses is required.

675 J. Contracts. This matter of contracts, so minutely regulated in Moslem law, is less so in [79] customary law. The most common contracts are sales, exchanges, loans, warrants [mandat], and deposits.

432 At the present time, sales are known and practiced everywhere. The Ouolof themselves mention merely as a curiosity 437 some of the bartering operations which they engage in with certain nomads of the Ferlo, where money is replaced by tobacco, [439] sugar, or cotton cloth.

426 Loans are widely used: they are either gratuitous because given as a favor to a friend, or extremely usurious because parting

[79 cont.]
426 with the thing loaned (money, grain, livestock...) entails considerable inconvenience for the lender. Agreements between parties dictate the terms, but it is common practice that a sum of money or a quantity of grain loaned during the year should be returned in a double amount at harvest time.

675 Warrants and deposits are common practices.

427 The rental of services or dwellings is not known everywhere,
476 but is becoming more widespread. When work in the fields is
[464] heavy, friends and neighbors help one another; strangers are seldom hired. As for the huts, they have too little value to be the objects of rental contracts. In any case, the spirit of hospitality among the Blacks is such that they give or lend their extra huts without proviso to those who have none. The rental
427 of transportation, on the other hand, is a common practice; a
492 saddle horse is rented for so much a day, a pack animal for so
[675] much per amount of grain transported. The forfeit contract or a fixed price per journey is not used, but obviously nothing stands in the way of their use.

427 In Saloum there is a special contract for an agricultural partnership. The owner of the field gives a louggan to a laborer, usually a stranger who has come for the season. This man must work for the owner in the morning, while in the evening he works on his louggan. He is entitled to a hut, food, and certain days of rest. The owner gives him advances of grain, reimbursable at harvest time.

426 [80] Pledges are commonly used, but the pledging of immovable property (rahn), that is to say, the assignment of a piece of property as security for a debt through the transfer of either the ownership (rahnia) or the property (tsenia), is neither used nor known.

425 K. Prescription. In customary law, prescription does not exist, either in its acquisitive form, or usucapion, or in its extinctive or liberatory form. The recovery of an acknowledged
[426] or proved debt is always possible. Usually, however, long-standing debts gave rise to compromises. On the other hand, the

[80 cont.]

425 mere passage of time can never turn the holder of movable property or the occupant of immovable property into its legitimate owner.

It must be added that the decree of 16 August 1912 partially [177] regulates for the natives this civil matter of prescription: "Prescription in civil and commercial matters is of five years" (Art. 46).

Stray property is taken by the finder to the village chief, [622] who keeps it and returns it to the owner. If it is not claimed within a month, it is handed over to the finder, who may keep it and use it, under the condition that he must turn it over to the owner should the latter make himself known.

As for lost or stray animals, they are led to the chief of [632] the canton, who keeps them for three days and has the necessary notices posted in his canton. When the three days are over, the fact is communicated to the administrator, who takes care of the matter.

2. Penal Institutions

671 Penal institutions, that is to say, the body of customs that regulate the exercise of penal repression [81] by local authorities, in Ouolof country, as in all primitive cultures, are far behind civil institutions. They have not developed nearly as richly and have not been the object of the often minute prescriptions of civil custom. On the other hand, penal repression, related as it is to public order, is of greater interest to French political authority. [648] The latter often makes its influence felt by interventions of all kinds. Its supervision is exercised in this matter in a much more intimate fashion than in the sphere of civil customs, where the natives are practically free.

In short, the penal sciences are unknown in the customary law. There is no concern with a study of the causes of the crime or of the penalty. The crime is regarded merely as a fact which, since it disturbs public order, deserves repression. The

[81 cont.]

671 penalty is an act of vengeance and an act of social defense: an act of vengeance, because the victim, himself unable to obtain satisfaction upon the person or the property of the criminal for his loss, deprivation, or suffering, is entitled to obtain this satisfaction through the local authority; an act of social defense, because, public life being ordered by custom, the criminal disturbs this public life and causes some suffering for everyone. It is then up to the chief to take in hand the defense of general tranquillity and social order, and to chastise the criminal so that neither he nor his like may be tempted to commit the repressed act: ne peccetur [to avoid sin].

673 A. The infraction. Under these conditions it is easy to define an infraction: an external act that disturbs the public order. The two elements which make up the infraction are as follows: First, an external act, from which it follows that internal or moral acts, that is, intentions, are not punishable. Second, a social disturbance, which implies, lato sensu [in a broad sense], not only a disorder from which everyone suffers, [82] but also a personal injury. Without establishing strictly defined categories of infractions, the Ouolof nevertheless differentiate to some extent among them, both from the standpoint of their gravity and from the standpoint of their morality.

From the standpoint of their gravity, they differentiate between: the petty infractions that merely merit reprobation, a light punishment, and which are punished by public disapproval; the medium infractions, which definitely must be repressed because their repetition would make communal life impossible; and finally, the crimes that disturb the very essence of social order.

From the standpoint of their morality, custom, in inflicting the penalty, differentiates very clearly between intentional infractions and non-intentional infractions.

[628] [648] Penal custom is territorial: it applies to all individuals, regardless of their origin, who are guilty of an infraction in the territory of the province. In case of flight, extradition from one

[82 cont.]

673 province to another within Ouolof territory, and even extradition
[628] from Ouolof country to foreign countries was not unknown, but the
[648] perpetual relations of hostility hardly permitted the use of this institution.

Attempted infractions, whether manifested by merely preparatory acts, if criminal intent is established, or by an act of execution, are always punished. Custom allows that they are not to be punished in the same manner as the deed itself.

672 The responsibility of the individual for his actions is, in customary law, the very basis of the idea of repression; this responsibility is both civil and criminal. Collective responsibility is known and practiced, but only under certain conditions. Custom allows for family responsibility in case of murder or wounds. "Family" here means all of the relatives and those related by
[602] marriage on both the paternal and maternal sides. Among the tiedos, on the other hand, [83] only the relatives in the maternal line are responsible. In other instances, theft, arson, ..., it is not allowed. The author of the crime is personally responsible for his actions.

There are instances of criminal irresponsibility for the delinquent: childhood, insanity, and intoxication. In such cases, civil redress is fully required. If the delinquent is a child, his
[602] paternal and maternal relatives are responsible. Neither rage nor coercion are cases of irresponsibility.

677 Legitimate defense is a justificative fact, but the act
682 perpetrated in such a case must not overstep the bounds of legitimate defense, for example, an individual cannot react with a bullet to minor blows with a stick or fist and kill his aggressor, when his own life was definitely not endangered. In such a case, the killer is prosecuted, but is punished merely with a brief imprisonment and a fine. The victim's family is not entitled to compensation.

692 B. The penalty. As was said above, punishment is based on an idea of vengeance and an idea of social defense. This

[83 cont.]

697 vengeance, in normal times, that is to say, when the territory is subject to a strong and respected authority, is not personal. It is the duty of the sovereign authority, or of its local representative, to obtain for the victim the compensation to which he is entitled, or the satisfaction of seeing the one who wronged him punished.

681 As in all primitive societies, however, the victim may
692 give up his right of vengeance for its equivalent in money. This is the system of pecuniary compensation, the Germanic wehrgeld [wergild]. The sovereign authority then usually acknowledges, and especially with the aid of gifts, that the public order has not been injured, since, the criminal having [84] indemnified his victim, matters have been redressed. It gives up prosecution, if it deems it practicable.

681 The penalties provided for by custom may be classified as: corporal, deprivative or restrictive of freedom, pecuniary, and of moral order.

The corporal punishments were formerly death, flogging with ropes, and torture; the latter merely had an anticipatory
[695] character as a means of obtaining the confession of the accused. Nowadays, only the death penalty remains, torture and flogging having been suppressed as "contrary to the principles of civilization."

Only one penalty deprivative of freedom exists: shackling
[695] in irons (dieng); it, too, had only an anticipatory character, awaiting the close of the investigation. Banishment was the sole penalty restrictive of freedom that was applied. Nowadays, these penalties have been replaced by that of imprisonment,
[697] with the reservation that it cannot exceed 20 years, and by that of interdiction of residence, which the jurisdictions can pronounce for a maximum period of 20 years.

Pecuniary penalties provided for by custom were fines and confiscation; both are in force.

Penalties of moral order consisted of suitable amends or public humiliation by exhibition in the stocks or a march through the villages; they were not universally applied. These penalties

/84 cont./

681 are now abolished, if not in principle, at least in practice. Since the aim sought, however, was public humiliation, nothing prevents one from finding it in the publicity given to the penal sentence that is provided for by our Penal Code and can be regarded here as a modified application of the old custom.

672 Custom formally allows for aggravating or extenuating
695 circumstances. It views them as facts /85/ which augment
681 or diminish the guilt of the accused, and which therefore must modify the severity of the penalty. Since, with few exceptions, there is no catalogue of penalties, or, in other words, no legal penalty for each infraction, the judge has almost unlimited freedom in inflicting the penalty, and it is clear that aggravating or extenuating circumstances play the most important role in determining the severity of the penalty.

696 The principle of the substitution of penalties was every-
681 where recognized, but it is more a matter of the applicable penalty than of the applied penalty. By indemnifying the plaintiff or victim, one obtained from him a withdrawal of the complaint; the matter was settled, and the charges were dropped automatically. The criminal sentenced to a flogging with ropes could obtain the substitution of a fine for this corporal punishment.

673 Complicity was regarded in general as an infraction as serious as the offense itself, because "it made it possible," states custom. The accomplice was thus punished with the same penalty as the principal author.

Recidivism entails a more severe penalty. In certain cases, such as theft, rape, arson, assault, . . . , the incorrigible recidivist was formerly put to death.

Custom does not acknowledge prescription in criminal matters. In principle, the malefactor is always liable for prosecution. The decree of 16 August 1912 retains the native usages on this point.

695 With a few exceptions mentioned below, custom does
681 not provide a nomenclature for the legal penalties applicable

/85 cont./

695 681 for various infractions. In principle, any penalty is applicable for any infraction. The judge has complete freedom of judgment in basing his decision on the circumstances which surrounded the unlawful act and on the consideration of time, place, and opportunity.

682 [184] A murderer is punished by the penalty of the talion. Nevertheless /86/(in Sine-Saloum), if he flees, after a year abroad he has the right to return to the country without being punished. This penal prescription applies specifically to murder; it does not preclude the fair indemnification due the victim's family.

684 682 [184] The killing of an adulterous wife and her accomplice by the husband is not actionable. In the provinces of Sine and Saloum, the bour even called the husband to his court after the murder and publicly gave him bullets and gunpowder, obviously less to calm down the gallants, who henceforth would not be very eager to renew their exploits with the other wives of such a touchy husband, than to approve strongly and to sanction publicly the punishment of the culprits. Nowadays, 684 562 the killer-husband is punished merely with a fine. As for the wife, the victim of her husband's adultery, she has the right to beat and to wound his accomplice, but she does not have the right to kill her. The husband remains inviolable and sacred.

683 Insults are punished with a fine or imprisonment. The penalty applied is the more severe the greater the eminence of the person to whom the insults were addressed. The saying known in the Saloum is: "By insulting the bour, one insults everyone." It follows that insults addressed to the French or [648] native representatives of authority deserve more severe repression.

/ 3. Procedure /

692 There is nothing to be said about the judicial organization of the Murid circle, which, as for all of the territories of French West Africa, has been regulated by the decrees of

/86 cont./
692 10 November 1903 and 16 August 1912.

In civil, matters the tribunal of common law is now /87/ the subdivision tribunal, with the circle tribunal as the court of appeals.

In criminal matters, the subdivision tribunal handles infractions of medium importance, similar to the misdemeanors of our criminal law; the circle tribunal is the court of appeals in such cases, and the tribunal of common law deals with crimes.

692 177 These tribunals, successors of the former jurisdictions of the native chiefs, are acknowledged by all and function with great regularity. As for the judicial organization of Moslem territories, it is completely unknown here: Charâ, mahkama, cadi, adoul, ..., these institutions, and often [693] their very names, are literally dead for the natives. If the name of cadi still lives in their memories, it is in remembrance of the former cadis whom the French authorities formerly appointed on their own.

692 In customary law, the competent tribunal was, in principle: in civil matters, the defendant's tribunal; in criminal matters, the tribunal of the locality where the infraction took place. In cases where, for various reasons, there was a conflict of civil jurisdiction, it was the tribunal under whose jurisdiction the litigation had arisen that was competent. Nevertheless, nothing prevented the parties, for reasons convenient to both, from applying to another tribunal by common agreement.

Arbitrations and compromises were--and have remained--very popular.

695 In the procedure proper, three points deserve special attention: the proof, the role of the fetish, and the execution of the sentence.

In accordance with the old French saying and known in Moslem law, proof devolves on the party who asserts a fact. Onus incumbit ei qui dicit /the burden of proof is on the one who made the statement/; in most cases, this is the plaintiff,

/87 cont./

695 actor; in exceptional cases, it is the defendant, because here, too: Reus in exceptione fit actor /in some cases, the culprit turns plaintiff/.

/88/ Evidence is almost entirely oral; since education has become more widespread, however, writings and private contracts are appearing. The value of male and
562 female testimony is unequal; except in certain special
695 cases where the woman is by the force of circumstances better informed than the man, female testimony is regarded as very inferior to male testimony. It is commonly said, "Proof is obtained through the testimony of two honorable men, or through that of one man and nine women." In practice, however, the testimony of a woman is more valuable.

695 Admission of guilt is fully conclusive. It is the probatio probatissima /the most conclusive proof/. It must entail conviction.

Accusation by oath is a common practice. The parties can reciprocally tender it if the judge is present. The judge can also tender it to one of the parties, usually the defendant or accused. The use so widespread in Moslem
[177] territories of co-swearers, persons who attest to the moral character of a defendant or of a witness, is unknown here; the oath bears merely on the materiality of the facts.

Although fetishistic practices have now been banned from the regular procedure, the old traditions still exist in
691 this sphere. The victim of a theft often appeals to a sor-
685 cerer-diviner to recover the lost object. These steps often meet with success, either because the thief, affected by the misfortune which might befall him, hastens to return the stolen object, or because the sorcerer-diviner, well acquainted with local schemes and events, serves as an obliging intermediary between the parties, like certain marabouts of North Africa, whose universally acknowledged holiness allows the overt practice of the béchara.

/88 cont./

696 The compulsory execution of the judgment was ordered by the tribunal that pronounced it. If the losing party refuses to carry out the judgment voluntarily, /89/ the winning party has a period of reprieve set for the losing party by the tribunal. Upon the expiration of this reprieve, his goods, if he has any, are seized and sold. If he does not have anything, arrest for debt is inflicted until the payment is made in full.

696 423 422 By virtue of the common-law theory regarding landed property, the goods seized can only be movable property. The seizing of immovables does not exist, at least when it is a rural matter. Natural fruits can be seized, but only if they are detached or cut. As long as they are standing or are on branches, the creditor must spare them, but he makes sure that the harvest is not removed surreptitiously.

696 [632] The seizure is carried out by the canton chief with the aid of his assistants. The objects seized are carried or led to the tribunal, which sells them on a day when it is in session.

The proceeds are distributed among the suing creditors without any preferential treatment. There is no established order for the payment of the various debts. If some of them are favored, the matter is decided by the circumstances and not by pre-established juridical principles.

The decree of 16 August 1912 (Ch. V) regulated with a light touch and without any marked modification the execution of the judgments.

Conclusion

177 671 Following this brief examination of the customary legal institutions of the Ouolof natives, it is easy to see how weak their Islamization is in the juridical realm.

By following the customary law and the corresponding prescriptions of Koranic law step by step, one continually

/89 cont./

177 671 comes across dissimilarities. Most of the time, there are no points in common, and one feels that the customary law, produced by a primitive people of the Black race, was conceived in a /90/ completely different spirit from that of Moslem law, Eastern and Semitic.

In civil matters, what is there in common, especially with regard to the structure of the family, marriage, the position of women, the dissolution of marriage, the concepts of property, inheritance, testaments, agreements and contracts, as they are understood by custom and as they are regulated by Koranic law? The habous (or ouaqfs), religious [421] properties in mortmain, inalienable and imprescriptible, which are found throughout the Moslem world and which constitutes one of the basic institutions of Islamic religious law, are absolutely unknown here.

In criminal and procedural matters, French authority makes its intervention felt more directly, and justly so, since customary law is often informal and barbarous in this sphere. But should one seek in Sidi Khalil the enlightenment that is lacking in the local institutions? In the most Islamized territories, the sovereign has regulated and codified penal matters, and it has been a long time since the prescriptions of Koranic criminal law, and of the authors who studied it, have been applied. Is it to be in French territory and for Blacks who are hardly Islamized that these texts are to be strictly enforced?

This, however, is what has happened: all the native tribunals (circles and subdivisions) have common and even exclusive recourse to Sidi Khalil in the Seignette translation. Why? For the following reasons, which are not at all judicial:

1. Because Sidi Khalil is an author who was fortunate enough to be translated into French by Seignette and published--text and translation-- for the modest sum of 25 francs. At that price, anyone can afford the Law and the Prophets.

/90 cont./

177
67

2. Because it is easier to find in Sidi Khalil, with the aid of the table of contents, sufficient grounds /91/ for passing a sentence than to search painfully through the thicket of customs for those applicable to the case before the court. This observation is not a criticism; in general the presidents of the native courts do not have the legal education needed for such research; and, on the other hand, the native assessors, if they come from two different villages, do not always agree on their customs.

[693]

3. Because the Chamber of Homologation, in accordance with a formerly constant jurisprudence, deemed that for the Moslem Ouolof, or those claiming to be such, the provisions of Moslem law should be integrally applied. For several years, as proved by its latest decrees, it has referred to "Moslem custom" and no longer to the articles of the Koran or its commentators; but the native courts, which are not always familiar with the latest state of jurisprudence, do not always follow suit. In any case, the wholesome influence of the Chamber is rarely felt in civil matters.

True customary jurisprudence might have arisen in the tribunals of the interior through the influence of the native members, but it must not be forgotten that when they are Moslems, they are usually learned, pious men, the intellectual elite of the country, and consequently highly Islamized individuals doctrinally, who, out of wisdom, conscientiousness, and piety, cite the relevant texts of Moslem law while not unaware (although sometimes they may be unaware) that customary law governs the case at hand and should be applied.

Furthermore, the Chamber of Homologation, which demanded, and justly so, that the statute of the accused should be represented in the native tribunal, lost its vigor and allowed that "this rule should be disregarded when it could not be observed rigorously in areas where /92/ the Moslem element was predominant and where the panel of assessors did not include fetishistic notables." The decree

1: Marty--80 G-4.5 (ca.1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal
Wolof MS30

/92 cont./

177 671 of 1912 (Art. 7), in prescribing that the statute of the party or of the accused should always be represented and in enjoining the lieutenant-governors and the commissioners-general to name, if necessary, one or several assessors ad hoc, put matters straight.

One example will illustrate these observations.

As a happy result of the rule for the registration of landed property, the idea of private ownership is beginning to spread, and the natives are acquiring urban lots in trade or having them given to them by the administration. Now, this property is true private property which cannot become part of the family property, because it is acquired by an individual with his own money and not inherited from his ancestors. Is it logical to endow this private property, a French creation, in accordance with the Moslem juridical system? Would it be advisable, for example, to apply to it, as is done, the measures of alienation and the inheritance and testamentary dispositions of Koranic law? Why this interposition of an alien law between us, our spirit, and our influence, on the one hand, and the natives and their institutions, on the other hand?

[421] [423] [369]

Thus, in short, in opposition to the spirit and the letter of the legislation in force in French Western Africa, which preserves for the natives the benefits of their customary institutions, the dispositions of Moslem law are often applied to them, in spite of them. And not even those of a living and modern Moslem law, like that of the countries of the East (Egyptian Code, Turkish Code) or of Algeria (Morand Codification Project), but those of a medieval author (Sidi Khalil is from the fourteenth century) who, although excellent, has an overrated reputation.

/93/ It should be added, for the sake of completeness, that Sidi Khalil is known and studied in the marabout schools of Senegal and Mauritania, where Moslem law is studied, but that he is regarded as a second-rate author, more or less on a level with Ibn Acem. The juridical work in highest repute there in learned Arabist circles is the

1: Marty--81 G-4,5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal
Wolof MS30

/93 cont./

177 671 Risala of Ibn Abi Zaïd.

It is to be feared that the application of this jurisdiction by the French tribunals, if it becomes widespread, would contribute greatly to the Islamization of the natives. It is thus fitting that the attention of all interested parties should be drawn to these facts. A much better distribution of native justice would certainly be secured if the presidents of the circle and subdivision tribunals were requested not to look for juridical enlightenment in authors concerned with a dilapidated Moslem law practically unknown here.

Chapter II

Muridism and the Social Conditions of the Natives

177 774 Islam tends to make its influence felt throughout the social life of its believers. The Koran contains as many prescriptions and minute precepts concerning the everyday life of the Arabs as dogmatic teachings and religious doctrines. Now, as has been demonstrated for all peoples who are not of Semitic origin (African Berbers, natives of the British, Malaysian, and Dutch Indies), the prescriptions of Moslem orthodoxy in social affairs undergo continuous adulteration as they come into contact with the happenings and various circumstances of native life. /94/ It is easy to verify in a brief investigation that the Senegalese Ouolof are no exception to this rule: now Islamized for half a century, they have preserved intact most of their social practices, traditions, and customs. Traditionalists first and foremost, they accept what for one reason or another is imposed upon them, but they give up their past as little as possible. In this connection, Islamization has been practically null, and at the present one can see the Murids, [775] reacting in a way against Koranic law, returning to certain ancestral customs which the influence of Islam or the presence of French authority had tended to abolish.

/94 cont./

000 This will be made clear in this social monograph, conceived somewhat on the model of the economic monographs recommended by Le Play.

844 When a mother feels the pangs of labor, the family notifies the old women of the village, who hasten to come and offer their help to the patient. There are no professionsal midwives. The delivery, in general, does not take place in the hut; at the opportune moment, the woman takes refuge under a tree, at the foot of a bush, or near a haystack; it is there that the delivery takes place. The reason for not staying inside the hut, the natives say, is both for purposes of cleanli-
[776] ness and to keep the spirits from seizing the blood and liquid scattered about and injurying both the child and the mother.

The newborn child is washed with cold or lukewarm water and taken to its mother who has returned to the hut. It
846 remains there for seven days without being taken out. This period of time, according to custom, is necessary for the mother's recovery, but it pertains chiefly to the child, who must be protected against the dangers that lie in wait for it.
[776] It as yet has no name, but it has hair; both facts make it an easy prey for the evil spirits. This is why it is carefully hidden.

/95/ From the first day, or the second at the latest, the
846 child is equipped with his first grigris. All the local religious
789 authorities participate in this: the marabout of the sheik pre-
751 pares an amulet in which he encloses a few words from the
[754] Koran and mysterious formulas. The sorcerer-diviner delivers
[791] a magic talisman: a small horn, a tooth, hair, a special stone, a leather necklace, over which he has uttered incantations. These grigris are fastened to the child's body.

846 After the elapse of the seventh day, the child is summon-
[851] ed to enter life officially: its head is carefully shaved. The
[302] mother gets up for the first time, and the child is placed on her back; the neighboring women come to assist at this ceremony.
[553] This is the time when the child is given a name. For a boy, this name is usually the name of the grandfather, uncle, or

/95 cont./

846 553 great-uncle; sometimes, especially when there are several women in the house, he is given the mother's surname. If it is a girl, she is usually given the name of her aunt or grandmother.

846 782 The father, who has purchased a sheep or a goat, offers it in sacrifice on this day. It may indiscriminately be marabout, the sheik, or the sorcerer-diviner who takes care of slaughtering it with the appropriate ritual. Pieces of the animal are offered to friends and visitors. This is a sacrifice which is supposed to exercise a very favorable influence on the child's fate.

846 431 The neighbors, in turn, bring the mother small gifts of friendship and congratulations: a little millet, sugar, flour, or salt; a piece of meat, a kola nut. All these provisions are gathered together, and the festivities are concluded by a communal meal in honor of the newborn. "Let us rejoice, for a man is born on earth."

846 Following this, the mother takes up her usual tasks; she may go out with the child and walk about, but she cannot start working from the very first day. /96/ When she gets up again, [783] she does not go through a personal ceremony of purification.

853 It is, of course, the mother who nurses her child; if she has no milk or if it is insufficient, she uses goat's milk. The milk of cows or ewes is regarded as hard to digest and less suitable. If the mother is living and has milk, however, the child is never handed out to a wet nurse. A mixture of milks must be scrupulously avoided. The child is given to a wet nurse only if the mother died in childbirth, or if, ill and without milk, she has never nursed her child.

862 856 751 Weaning takes place at the age of two; for boys, one sometimes waits three to six months longer. At the time when the teeth are coming, it is proper to put a protective grigri on the child.

591 Children as a rule live in their mother's hut. Up to the age of ten, their father sometimes allows the best behaved ones to sleep in his hut. After this age, "since they understand what

/96 cont./

591 they see," as the natives say, they are left once and for all in their mother's hut or in neighboring huts.

304 The piercing of the girl's ears is not done at a specific time. Sometimes this operation takes place during the first seven days, but more often sometime during the first two or three years. A small bead is immediately placed in the child's ear. At the time of this ceremony, [789] [751] custom requires the addition of a special grigri and a decrease in the child's feeding.

Boys are circumcised between the ages of eight and 15. This practice is very old and antedates the Islamiza- [177] tion of the Oulof. It takes place in the morning, before sunrise, and does not occasion any festivities. Girls do not undergo excision.

858 Girls and boys are not treated differently in early childhood; /97/ they receive the same care and they play together. Girls are never secluded. They retain full freedom, and it is by associating with youths and men that they 582 find their husbands. Girls who are pretty or from good families are married early, at about the age of 14; average girls marry a little later. The sole physical prerequisite is their 581 nubility, and this nubility is manifested by the onset of the menses.

584 It would seem that the majority of marriages, at least among young people, arises from the mutual choice of the spouses. The consent of the relatives is needed, but usually it is interposed only in order to sanction the lovers' wishes. [177] On this point, custom differs considerably from the prescription of Moslem law and is much closer to the usages of our civilization.

585 There is no need to return to the ceremonies that ac- 177 company marriage, but it should be noted that the festivities are carried out within the framework of local mores, and one does not find the official procession, the veiling

/97 cont./

585 177 of the bride, or the applications of henna and other ceremonies so common in Moslem territory. The role of religion is almost null, and the intervention of its offices is merely accessory. Here, more than anywhere else, the definition of marriage given by Martin Hartmann can be applied: "The civic regulation of the sexual instinct."

177 Islamization is more marked in the funerary rites.
763 When the sick person is at the point of death, relatives, neighbors and friends gather and begin their lamentations. It is proper that the dying person should leave for the other
764 world surrounded by universal regret. As soon as he is dead, he is dressed and inhumed without delay. The corpse is carefully washed and wrapped in a white boubou /robe/; the feet and hands are bound, and it is carried to the cemetery. /98/ If the village contains a diaka (place of worship [778] surrounded by boughs), the body is taken to the entrance and put down before the opening. The sheik reads the prayer of the dead; the body is immediately carried away and laid out directly on the sand inside the grave, the feet toward the north, the head toward the south, lying on one side, facing the east. This custom is spreading even among non-Moslem Ouolof. The body is covered directly with sand; others prefer to lay out poles horizontally, put twists of straw on top, and cover the whole with sand. There are no public prayers on the [782] grave; each person prays inwardly if he deems it beneficial.

Inhumation takes place immediately after death; the only delay is the time required for the funeral preparations. If the deceased's relatives are not there, however, one notifies them and waits for their arrival. Similarly, if death occurs during the night, one waits until morning.

[968] Upon returning to the compound, the son and brother of the deceased immediately divide up his grigris.

Sacrifices usually accompany a death. Among well-
[782] to-do Sérèr /Serer/, the sacrifices are veritable hecatombs,

/98 cont./

764 giving rise to great rejoicing. The Ouolof are more reserv-
782 ed; an ox or a goat is killed, cut into small pieces, and distributed among all inhabitants of the village. This is not an act of charity, since all present, even the wealthiest, get a share.

764 Spouses are sometimes buried side by side, but in two
[766] separate graves; a woman who dies in childbirth is buried with the child.

The use of cemeteries is only partially known. Inhumation is often done out in the country in an isolated place. The grave is marked with a little heap of sand and sometimes, when jackals and hyennas abound, with a few branches. There are no tombstones, testifications, or in-
769 scriptions. Women /99/ do not go to the cemetery or to the place of inhumation, after the touching practice dear to the Moslems, in order to pray on the grave and to offer small sacrifices. There are no festivities on fixed dates to commemorate the anniversary or the memory of the deceased. It would seem that the conclusion drawn by a canton chief in Baol is correct: "Among us, when one is dead, he is forgotten."

800 The Sérère have better preserved the cult of the dead. They put the body in a hut, and, before covering the hut with sand, they inclose with it a knife which may be useful for self-defense if the need arises, and some snuff and a living rooster with a loud voice to awaken it in the morning.

177 Islamic beliefs about the first moments following
775 death seem to have penetrated more deeply, at least in the minds of learned men. As soon as the time has come, an angel rushes to the moribund person and removes his soul. He keeps it until the time of burial. When this operation is finished, the last of those present has scarcely withdrawn seven steps from the grave before the angel returns the soul
[776] to the corpse. Good and bad angels, benevolent and malev-olent spirits flock in and accost the deceased, each demanding his due. If at the end of the arguments it is established

/99 cont./

that the man was good, the first angel takes his soul to Heaven, where "it rests" -- this is indeed local color. Otherwise, it is led to the infernal regions. In either case, it awaits the day of the Last Judgment, presided over by God, who alone makes the ultimate decision.

The beliefs of the masses of the faithful are usually less precise; the native claims to be in total ignorance as to his ultimate destiny, and to rely wholly on his sheik for his happiness in the other world.

Illness. In general, in the minds of the Ouolof, illness /100/ is less a malady arising from a natural cause than the result of an evil spell cast by a malevolent being. If a long-standing or chronic ailment is involved, it is easy to treat oneself, and one resorts to herbs in a medication taken either internally or externally. If someone is afflicted with a serious ailment with which he is unfamiliar, it is announced in the village, along with all its symptoms, and the inhabitants hasten to him. Among their number there is always someone who, having experienced something similar, can suggest the necessary remedy. In any case, one usually has in his hut or on him a sufficient number of grigris so as to be able to find one that is suitable for the wound, sore, or fever from which he suffers.

The great expedient, however, is to call on the witch doctor (bilodi). Since it is understood that the illness is caused by an evil spell cast by a sorcerer (dème), one appeals to the witch doctor, whose beneficial powers may offset the bad influence of the sorcerer. The witch doctor comes to the hut of the patient or has him brought to him. He exorcises him, utters incantations, compels him to talk, protects him against the dangers which he believes will beset him if he discloses his torturer. In former days, as soon as the patient had uttered a name, the malevolent one was immediately arrested; he was beaten until the patient regained his health; and, if he

/100 cont./

755 died, the sorcerer was put to death. Nowadays, the remedy is less brutal: once the cause of the illness (the socerer) is known, one looks for--and, of course, finds--the reasons which led him to be malevolent, and these are combated with reliable ad hoc grigris. Or else, he is sought out and pacified with a gift.

771 Fetishistic practices. Every aspect of the social and domestic life of the natives is impregnated with /101/ fetishistic practices, so that it is very difficult to differentiate between those acts whose aim is purely of a material order and those that operate beyond that, between those that may be the recipes of empirical knowledge and those that are magical rites.

121 In any case, all the systems that have endeavored to explain the origins of the religious life, Orphism, magic and totemism, astrolatry, and even animism, are at the present day the subject of too much controversy to be of use here. It is better simply to note the facts.

778 Among the beliefs of the Ouolof of the preceding gen-
784 eration, that of mbagne, which seems to correspond to the
[171] tana of the Mandingues /Mandingo/ (Delafosse, Haut-Sénégal-Niger), was the most interesting. The mbagne is an object or a force of nature, with regard to which a person, a family, or a village, as the result of a close relationship, is subject to certain obligations, in general prohibitive, but sometimes positive. For some, the mbagne is the fruit of the baobab, or some fruit, some plant, some bird, which they must never eat under penalty of illness; for others, it is the east wind, the clap of thunder, etc., which must never
[782] take them by surprise out-of-doors. Anyone guilty of com-
[783] mitting a wrong against the mbagne may redeem himself through offerings and purification ceremonies.

[177] These beliefs, in contact with the French and through the Islamization of the people, seem to be on the wane today.

/101 cont./

978 Most individuals questioned are puzzled. "Our parents be-
[177] lieve in the mbagne, that was proper. We ourselves be-
[193] lieve in it, to be sure, but we believe in the marabout, which is also good. The marabout protects us against evil influences and malevolent spirits."

Fetishistic practices, which of course, are most in evidence in the course of an illness, in a latent state dominate everyday life. Thus, it is absolutely necessary to aban-
731 don the compound that catches fire two or three times in /102/ succession. It is obvious that this compound lies in the path
[176] of evil spirits and that it inconveniences them in their rounds.

One can vividly perceive the Black's perpetual feeling
771 of his inferiority, of his weakness, before the forces of the beyond. He uses objects with caution, for fear of antagonizing hidden powers with right superior to his. He is ready to give way to them when they give clear proof of their wishes to take back what is theirs or not to be inconvenienced by his presence. He has never dared to reach a full conception of the right of private immovable property and of the alienation of land; he always regards himself to some extent as a mere occupant of the soil, acknowledging the rights of the Master through offerings and sacrifices and always ready to share with strangers who come asking for a portion.

*195 The Murids have thus preserved to a large extent their
171 fetishistic beliefs and practices; their social life is thoroughly impregnated with them, and their Ouolof brothers in other Tidiania and Qadria orders are in the same position.

*195 Dwellings. The Ouolof live in the well-known straw hut.
342 The Murids have some personal practices in this respect. In general they like to live grouped together in the same compound or in adjacent compounds. The "brothers" alone are permitted to come inside the compound or village. These dwellings are usually very clean. It is rather curious to note
[356] that in many ways the sheiks advise and demand regular cleanings. Some Murids like to differentiate themselves by an

/102 cont./

*795 external sign: they stick two poles into the ground at the
[342] opening of the compound, but this is not a general practice.

[352] The sheiks have European furnishings of various sorts
[177] and in dubious taste in their huts or houses.

/103/ Clothing. In various places, the Murids endeavor to differentiate themselves from other Blacks by wearing a special sign: a white napkin over the chest in Cayor; in Sine-Saloum, enormous grigris which hang
[301] down on the stomach: nearly everywhere, a stiff necklace of black leather.

[291] In general their clothing does not differ from that of other Ouolof. Along the Thiès-Louga railroad, however, the disciples of Ibra Fal often wear trousers of blue cotton edged with white braiding.

The sheiks dress more richly. Some of them, to dis-
[292] tinguish themselves from the crowd, wear those blue silk djellabas so common in Morocco: this falsely gives them the appearance of Moroccan coastal traders or of sherif
[291] civil servants. The others simply wear the national costume: white or blue loincloths and boubous /robes/.

Pleasures and festivities. In principle, there is no
[276] prohibition against smoking, snuffing, or using opium, but a sheik may sometimes personally make this interdiction for
[273] his talibés. The use of wine is permitted only with the special permission of the marabout.

Theatrical productions, dancing, music, and bam-
[517] boulas of all kinds are permitted, but the sheik's personal austerity sometimes leads him to disallow them in his group.

Disturbances in the social order. So far, the peculiarities pointed out in the life of the Murids are of interest

/103 cont./

*795 solely from a sociological standpoint and merit only scientific interest. There is, however, a more serious matter to the discredit of the sheiks; it is the disturbance that they sometimes make in the social order by /104/ attracting young men with golden promises and taking them away from their families.

[691] Several parents have lodged complaints, and it is in these complaints that one can find the proselytizing methods of the Murid sheik.

"He has excited my son; he has led him astray from his duties by making him renounce the fetishistic religion which is that of his ancestors."

"I tried to call my son back home; he would not listen to me. My son is the only tiédo who has renounced his beliefs to come under the spell of Makoudia." (Circle of Sine-Saloum, Decisions of the tribunal of the province of Kalone, 4 June 1912; of the tribunal of the province of East Saloum, 27 June 1912.)

"They lead the young man to believe that his father and mother are merely the beings in which God kept him until the day of his birth, while the sheik is a support that will insure his future in this world and his salvation in the other."

"They tell the young girl that she must avoid the touch of a profane person in order to dedicate herself to God in the person of the sheik, for this will bring her much honor."

The allurements of the sheiks does not always captivate the youths, to whom they promise the glory of becoming a learned and esteemed sérigne, or the girls, to whom they sing of the honor and prestige of being a marabout's wife... and the benefits of having been one. Sometimes they are satisfied by having the children loot their paternal home and thus enrich themselves with the spoils from people who do not dare lodge a complaint for fear that their children will be condemned along with the instigating marabout.

/104 cont./

*795 Temptations are also addressed to the parents; they are told of the esteem that will be theirs by having a child in the entourage of the great Marabout, Amadou Bamba. They give gifts to them: an ox, a /105/ loincloth, a small sum of money. They kill a goat in their honor. The Black, who is susceptible to such demonstrations, is tempted to surrender his son to the sheik.

*795 182 It is in this way that the influence of the Murids is quite pernicious; it has produced a certain amount of disorganization among some families by inciting young men to disobedience, to insults, and ill treatment toward their parents, to theft in the paternal home, to flight to unknown places. It has caused some parents, aged and infirm, to [737] be without resources and to be forced to live on public charity.

*795 The reasons given by the sheiks accused of instigating such acts do not excuse them. "My talibés did for me what I did for my Sérigne."

*795 837 587 Morality does not always gain, either, by the relations of the Murid sheiks with the wives of their congeners. For certain sérignes, such as Ibra Fal, Sheik Anta, and Sheik Thioro, no woman to whom they take a fancy can resist the considerable sums of money that they are ready to disburse to them or to their relatives. Once their desire has been satisfied, they simply repudiate them. It should be added that these women have nothing to lose, because the prestige of being the ex-wife of a marabout enhances their value. The husband who has had his wife removed in so brutal a fashion is not always satisfied, however, and voices his complaints.

To be fair, it should be added that these practices are not peculiar to the Murids, but appear to be customary among all the Ouolof. The Murid sheiks are guilty of carrying things too far.

1: Marty--93 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal
Wolof MS30

/106/

Chapter III

Muridism in the Economic Realm

*795
494

In preaching to its adepts complete surrender to the marabout's will, Murid doctrine leads to strange consequences in economic matters.

The adepts whose faith is strong enough to surrender body and soul to their spiritual leader go further than this. For them, the material life is only an accessory, and all their wealth in labor and agricultural produce is brought and delivered to the sérigne, unconditionally.

The cultivator becomes a mere productive unit within the great Murid family. If he has no land, he is assigned a lot to cultivate; he is given the necessary seed; the needed animals or tools are made available to him; he must help his brothers or be helped by them at time of need. During the harvest, the sheik acquires possession of all the produce and sees to its regular and profitable disposal. Does not all this seem like a vast agricultural co-operative with confessional foundations, with religious feeling here taking the place of the democratic education and conscious will of the worker?

This collectivistic spirit even entails the corollary institutions of assistance and reciprocity. The sheik, depositary of the goods of the union of the brothers, comes to the aid of unfortunate adepts with help of various kinds and in the most diverse forms.

Finally, this trust in the sheik must be acknowledged [627] as a guarantee of social peace. The arbitration of a religious leader, /107/accepted by all the brothers and imposed if it is not sought, puts an end to many petty local conflicts and avoids legal action, suits, and internal dissent.

This communistic spirit among the Murids is not peculiar to the cultivators. It extends to the artisans and to all the occupations, including trade.

[443] In most of the stops along the two railroad lines and

/107 cont./

*795 474 [443] in many of the villages, one finds Murids managing trading posts for the sheik, who advances the funds, supervises the trader's management, and demands very precise accounts. Sheik Ibra Fal especially , a true Black potin /blusterer, scandalmonger/, is a past master of the art of setting up trading branches. Other Murids are employed in European homes, sell kola in railroad stations and public squares, or work as traveling salesmen.

Artisans and petty tradesmen furnish a good contingent of members to the confession of Amadou Bamba. The [463] Khouan are tailors, butchers, shoemakers, street porters, shepherds; mattress makers in Dakar; fishermen in Rufisque and Saint-Louis; longshoremen along the river. Those of Balla Mbaké are more specifically colliers. The women are embroiderers, seamstresses, and dyers in the stops along the railroad.

There are even a few civil servants, policemen, and soldiers who are connected with Muridism.

For occupations that require a little capital or special equipment, the sheik advances the funds or purchases the materials (fiber, boat, sewing machine, bench, tools). The person involved is entitled to a certain portion of the profits when accounts are rendered. It is, in short, a new mode of co-operation, a work contract with shared benefits.

/108/ As for other laborers, journeymen, diggers, street porters, they go off with the blessing of the sérigne and, when the season is over, they bring to him the returns from their labor.

*795 This new ardor that the Murid has imbibed in his membership in the Bamba order is expressed by an upsurge of activity and has had the most fortunate effects for the development of certain areas. Thus, the sheiks have cleverly perceived the advantages of the extension of the Thiès-Kayes railroad through Baol and East Saloum, and

/108 cont./

*n95 they have placed their Murid compounds in the railroad stops; Khombole, Bambey, Diourbel, Gossas, Guinguinéo, Kaffrine, and Malème, not to mention the small villages between them, have become the centers of brotherhood agglomerations. The sheik requests land grants from the [425] administrative authorities or purchases urban lots as they become available; he aims at setting up a living, compact nucleus within the railroad stop. Beyond this he puts occupants on all the land that seems to be vacant and without owners, sometimes without further ado, sometimes requesting the permission of the native chief; and there is certainly no lack of such land nowadays. In any case, most of the time the native chiefs welcome the human resources that come to help develop the territory and do not begin to show hostility until the Murid monopolist emerges from beneath the laborer's cloak.

The Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad itself has been the object of considerable economic occupancy by the Murids. First of all, there are on both sides of the line, but especially on the eastern side, the cultivators who work under their local sheiks and who, under their leadership, develop fields of millet and peanuts. It is especially 443 through his traders, however, that Sheik Ibra Fal, from *n95 his zaouia in Thiès, at the crossing of the lines, has skillfully directed /109/ the conquest of the petty trading in Cayor. Thiès, Tivaouane, Piré, Gourèye, Kelle, Ndande, Kébémer, Guéoul, all the stops along the railroad line, all the little hamlets between them, have one or several traders, to whose shops the brothers come to lay in supplies.

*n95 Now, since this Cayor area is very Islamized, since 477 the Murids of Sheik Bou Kounta and Sheik El-Hadj Malik are as numerous as those of Amadou Bamba, since French [443] trading, on the other hand, is highly developed there, and since all these vested interests, these acquired positions, suffer from the growing competition, it is from this

/10 g cont. /

*795 side that the loudest complaints are heard. These com-
477 plaints however, to be fair, belong in the religious realm in some cases, and in the economic realm in others. To raise the specter of a dangerous political Mouridism in order to incite the administrative authorities to persecute and destroy it is an act of ignorance or of bad faith which serves as a screen for a single aim: to have troublesome colleagues removed or to oust more successful business competitors.

It is not without reason, of course--from their point of view--that European and even native traders lodge complaints. The Mourids, who, divest themselves of their income for the benefit of their sheik, can no longer put the same expenditures on clothes, knickknacks, sweets, and tobacco, on which, in their lack of concern about tomorrow, they used to devote all their resources. Hence, a decrease in retail trade. As for the well-to-do sheiks, their personal consumption is limited. The proceeds of donations and alms are spent on costly and often ridiculous fancies. Some of them have the tempting catalogues from the weapons factory of Saint-Étienne; others have those of the great Paris stores, and under the urging of the trader representing these houses, they put in extraordinary orders for useless tools and machines and white layettes /110/ worth several hundred francs. Ibra Fal bought an ice-making machine; Sheik Anta furnishes his home with mirrors and imitation gold and uses only paper and envelopes bearing his arms; Mbakè Bousso is looking for a portable sundial; Amadou Bamba has his writings published. All these men are abundantly provided with cases of champagne, lemonade, grenadine, and liquors of various sorts. Finally and above all, sums that are fantastic for this area are spent on the acquisition of young women. Sheik Anta is said to have recently paid
[583] a net marriage portion of 10,000 francs in order to marry a woman whom he obviously had determined to acquire at any cost.

*795 477 /110 cont./
any cost.

These are the facts that justify the complaints of the traders and explain the minor crisis that their business may be suffering; it is useless to invent political wrong-doing, such as the sending of sums of money to Morocco. [648] The Senegalese Blacks--Murids as well as the others--have no relations with Morocco and know nothing about that country. On the contrary, it is from Morocco that money seems to be coming to the Murid sheiks, and the Collector of Tivaouane pointed out to the circle administrator that he had paid to them a number of money orders /mandats/ from the Senegalese infantrymen who walk the Moroccan highways.

In short, there does not seem to be any deplorable losses in the import and export business with France. There are merely conflicts of private interests: changes in the tastes of purchasers, changes in the stores patronized, displacements of wealth. All these fluctuations are quite natural and are the very essence of trade; it is up to the traders involved to acquire, or retain, through greater ingenuity, skill, and sometimes honesty, the customers they seem to be losing.

685 *795 /111/ The complaints of the traders are more justified when they point to the acts of certain employees who do not hesitate to commit theft, breach of trust, or embezzlement, in order to have the honor of taking a large sum to their sheik. It is not always easy to repress the unlawful acts. The thief vanishes and is found no more. If by chance he can be identified, the trader is only too happy to recoup his losses through threats of prosecution. He lodges no complaint, but he laments his frozen assets and regrets the "lack of profits." Such occurrences--it should hastily be said--are rare.

*795 The only thing truly to be deplored in Muridism, from an economic standpoint, is the exploitation of the natives. Donations pour in to the sérignes: hard cash in hundreds and thousands of francs; livestock, such as camels, horses, oxen, goats, chickens and eggs; bags of rice, millet, peanuts, and

/111 cont./

*795 beans, on camels or whole caravans; loads of manioc cuttings, sankhand (crushed millet), and bark; bales of kola, etc. ... The local authorities try to stop this flow by persuasion, but the Murids are like Sganarelle's wife: they want to be plundered just as she wanted to be flogged. Laborers who are almost reduced to slavery, and free from all worry, live quite happily in their way, such as the young man who, sent by Ali Penda from Sine-Saloum to Amadou Fadiana (Mbaké-Baol) to accompany a herd, had not returned a year later. Amadou Fadiana had acknowledged his outstanding skill as a shepherd by keeping him and putting him in charge of his herds. He intended to keep him as long as possible. The family was compelled [691] to prosecute legally those sérignes who had thus reduced the child to serfdom. As for him, he was quite contented. Thus, the intervention of the administration and the law are hardly possible most of /112/ the time, except on the parents' complaint.

In short, the holy war, the apostolate martial and [177] religious conquest, all the faculties for the expansion of Islam, are transformed by Ouolof Muridism. They become: the monopolizing of available land, the intensive development of fields, the conquest of the markets in the railroad stops, and the usurpation of all branches of local production. It is all to the good, it would seem, that this communistic [474] organization of the Murids is assuming the character of an agricultural and commercial syndicate and operates in the economic realm.

The administration, which is equally indifferent to the Murids of Amadou Bamba, the Tidiania Murids, and all other confessions in the religious field, should only be concerned, it seems, with watching this commercial and agricultural expansion, and making sure that the ardor of the Bamba does not lead them to encroach upon the rights of others and in particular to provoke agrarian conflicts by their offhandedness.

1: Marty--99 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal
Wolof MS30

/112 cont./

Chapter IV

The Consequences of Muridism from a Political and Administrative Standpoint

*795 798 It is interesting to note in the circles involved and elsewhere the diversity of opinions about the Murids. Some see in Muridism a vast and dangerous secret organization whose aim is to gather together all the Moslem believers in West Africa and /113/ toss the Europeans into the sea. It is even rumored that the Pan-Islamic schemes of the East are not alien to this movement. It is also said with more conviction that, while awaiting this great day of triumph for Islam, Amadou Bamba is sending most of his alms to Morocco to aid the natives' resistance in the good struggle of the Holy War. Others, on the other hand, see in Muridism an insignificant religious brotherhood, through which an ordinary marabout, the inventor of superior grigris and preacher of the most flexible of moralities, exploits as much as he can the credulous natives who deprive themselves for his benefit.

*795 648 The truth seems to lie between these two extremes. It is first necessary to refute the accusations of Pan-Islamism, even of incitement of foreign powers, which are sometimes brought against Muridism. One should take into account the tremendous difficulties of communication which divide Senegal from the East, both by land and by sea. One can count the Ouolof who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and there are none among the Bamba Murids. As for agents who preach and instigate riots, the East does not send any here, and the few Moroccans who live in the railroad stops are known to all and may be regarded--there is no question about this--as peaceful traders who wish to make some money and then return to their families in Fez.

Thus, when the Turkish press (article of 31 January 1913) declaims on the defeats of the Ottoman armies: "The blood of Islam was boiling. Four hundred million

/113 cont./

*795 648 Moslems were mourning for the dishonored faith, and curses rose to the heavens." this should be regarded merely as rhetorical exaggeration. The Islamized Ouolof have never felt dishonored by the victories of the Balkan allies; their geographical knowledge does not extend that far, not even as far (except for /114/ a dozen learned men) as Turkey's existence.

On the other hand, it may be stated that there is no relationship between the Bamba Murids and the Moroccan tribes who are fighting for their independence and the bands of El-Hiba who support the aims of this ambitious marabout. If this pretender does receive various subsidies, this could only be through the agency of his uncle, Saad Bouh, local sheik of the Qadria-Fadelia branch in southern Mauritania and Senegal. And even this would have to be proved. The financial situation of Saad Bouh does not seem to be bright, and he, more than anyone else, needs the alms that he receives with growing difficulty. The Murids of Amadou Bamba acknowledge no master but their Sérigne. The latter, if he sends large sums to Mauritania--and this seems to be unquestionable--sends them to his protector, teacher, and spiritual father, Sheik Sidia, leader of the Qadria-Lessidia brotherhood. Now, one knows both the bonds of friendship which unite Sheik Sidia to the French authorities and the open hostility that separates him in every way from the path of the Qadria-Fadelia, be it the southern branch with Sheik Saad Bouh or the northern branch with Mohammed El-Hiba. One can thus be assured that his subsidies will not go to these hostile colleagues.

In any case, there should be proof with some accurate facts, or at least some initial proof, of these relationships of the Ouolof Murids with the blue bands or the Berber tribes. Now, in view of the distance between the respective habitats of these peoples, the absence of all communication, the differences of language, customs, and interests, such relationships have never existed. It is

/114 cont./

*795 [648] yet to be proved that they have arisen recently.

This is why one may conclude that the worries expressed by the colonial commission of the General Council (session of 15 March 1909) and more recently by /115/ the Committee on Commerce and Industry (undated report) are quite exaggerated, and that the acts of giving generous alms to one's sheik, of surrendering one's will to him, of leading a special kind of life, and even of transgressing orthodox Moslem law do not constitute offenses meriting prosecution, or even, in all justice, truly serious grounds for guilt.

Thus, it must be seen that in Muridism there are: the action on a people of a very skillful and very influential marabout, and the reaction of this people and all its customs and traditions on encroaching Islam.

This movement, obviously, has its dangers.

First of all, there is a possible danger: this is the grouping under one leader of several thousand men who seem to be wholly subject to their sheik and to the Supreme Sérigne, and who, at one word from this leader, might disturb very seriously the general peace. This is the threat of mystical or religious anarchism, leading to public anarchy. But this threat is not peculiar to the Murids of Amadou Bamba; it is common to all the budding or blooming Muridisms in Senegal and elsewhere. It should also be noted that the preachings of Amadou Bamba have never ventured openly into the political realm. If his attitude had been openly hostile, he could not have, despite his vicissitudes, continued in the role of agitator for 25 years. Nowadays, with age and experience, a settled position, and the assurance of considerable revenue, he is a conservative, and whatever his designs for politico-religious domination may have been, he seems to have given up all ambitions that are not spiritual or financial.

[798] In any case, his believers are widely scattered. Within the zone of the Murid crescent, there live many adepts of

/115 cont./

*795 [798] other brotherhoods who have sworn real animosity toward Amadou Bamba and /116/his followers and would be only too glad to interfere with their schemes. Finally one must take into account the latent, but very strong jealousy which divides his brothers and lieutenants.

All these reasons should indeed mitigate any fear of a Murid uprising, and as long as new factors do not intervene, one may be calm on this subject.

It is mostly through isolated incidents caused by fanatics, schemers, or blundering sheiks that the Murids of Amadou Bamba may be dangererous, or, more often, 578 troublesome. Aside from various crimes (Kaolack, Rufisque) *795 blamed on them, but in which they were not involved, there are still various incidents for which they are responsible:

In the circle of Louga, at Ndiagne (Diambour), where they caused disturbances in the village and wounded the chief and the notables, who refused to follow the path of Amadou Bamba (1912);

In the circles of Cayor, Baol, and Sine-Saloum, where they led astray women and children, took them to their villages, and made veritable slaves of them (1910-1913);

In the circles of Thiès and Sine-Saloum, where their untimely preaching has often caused disturbances in Moslem or fetishistic villages (1910-1913);

Almost everywhere, where by threats, pernicious advice, and charlatanic practices which amount to veritable swindles, they have plundered or caused to be plundered the credulous natives and over-trusting tradesmen;

Along the railroad line, where their monopoly of land has sometimes given rise to violent protests by the previous occupants (1910-1913);

And even in a company of Senegalese infantrymen in Thiès, among whom a schemer preached desertion to the Sérère recruits (May 1911).

/117/ These are regrettable incidents which

/117 cont./

*795 578 unpleasantly disturb public peace, and severe repression may intervene without fear in such cases; it would have the general approval of the natives. The malefactors and adventurers of all sorts who surround the Murid sheiks and live at their expense often have an important role in all these deeds, and it might be useful to determine their responsibility and act upon it.

*795 578 632 In administrative matters the most sensitive point among these consequences of Muridism is the tension that exists in certain cantons between the sheiks, the disciples of Amadou Bamba, and the native chiefs who represent our authority.

The Murids who obey the French commanders without ado readily become rebellious and insolent vis-à-vis the native chiefs. They pretend not to acknowledge them, claiming to be subject only to their spiritual sheik. When the chief transmits an order from the administrator to them, they demand confirmation by their sérigne. This passive, and sometimes clearly harmful resistance is exasperating to the native chiefs and may provoke local conflicts. Here, too, the remedy is easy. All these attempts at a substitution of authority, which the Murid sheiks desire only for their own profit, should be stopped, and the authority of the regular chief in his district should be affirmed in all its force.

*795 651 Two important points might serve as touchstones for the attitude of the Murids vis-à-vis the orders of the French authorities:

Taxes;

Military service.

Now, in none of the circles involved did I hear a single criticism on this score from the circle commanders. The men requested have been supplied without complaint. /118/ The taxes have been paid with the greatest regularity.

[700] The Mbaké-Darou-Touba (Baol) grouping, an active seat of Muridism, had settled its personal taxes completely by 20 January 1913. From this particular standpoint, the tax

1: Marty--104 G-4,5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal
Wolof MS30

/118 cont./

*795 651 collectors undoubtedly regret that all the taxpayers are not Murids.

/119/ Part III

Conclusions

121 After having studied the organization of the Murids and their beliefs, after having followed step by step the influence of these doctrines in all aspects of native life, it is necessary to summarize in an over-all judgment the spirit and the scope of the Muridism of Amadou Bamba and to draw practical conclusions. Otherwise, this work would be merely scholarship, which, no matter how interesting, would provide no efficacious help for out political action.

Chapter I

Over-all Judgement

*795 178 This vast grouping of human beings, who, numbering about 70,000 have massed behind the religious banner of one of their own people, is a truly new confession for which Islam is merely a façade. It marks a stage in the transformation of the Ouolof people. In it, /120/ one perceives all the tendencies of the natives toward anthropomorphism and its practical result: anthropolatry. These Blacks, touched by Mohammedism, are returning to their ancient beliefs, to the worship of a man, the human fetish, to the cult of the saints. The religious wave of Islam has gone by, and behind it, one again sees all the individuals of one race grouping around a local religious focus; all their spiritual, social, and legal powers are turning instinctively in the direction of the ancestral beliefs and practices; all of their economic faculties are

/120 cont./

*795 178 concentrated around persons who, through a mysterious foresight or a remarkable practical sense, have set themselves up as the representatives of these vague yearnings.

In this vast political play, the principal actor is not Amadou Bamba. It is the chorus which plays the primary role.

*795 179 Islam has remained powerless before the institutions of customary law, without influence upon the customs and traditions of social and domestic life. On the contrary, it is the spirit of the native race that took hold of the Islamic doctrine that tried to supplant its religious beliefs; it adopted it and then cast it in the mold of its own personal concepts, and it is in this fashion that these souls, ever troubled by religious needs, satisfied themselves.

Like the lower castes of India which are becoming Islamized today, the Murids have been attracted by the prestige of Islam, which seems to raise them in the social scale. They th[illegible] admitted it into their temple, but the place of honor that they have given it is not the principal place. They have retained from Islam only that gesture which they found pleasing. "It is good to salaam." Everything else, the principal part, doctrine, ethics, cult practices, is unknown or transformed by contact with the ancient practices and beliefs. Thus, to some extent, this is a reaction of the Ouolof soul to Islam, /121/ the revenge of custom and of the ancestors on the imported religion.

All the borrowings from the law of the Prophet are surface borrowings: positions and formulas in religious matters; external practices in social matters; formal procedure in legal matters.

*795 178 Islam, a spiritualistic religion, was not understood. Like the Quirites of early Rome, the natives continue to make their little ritual contracts with the superior forces of nature and the spirits. Sanctity, to them, is to some extent the science of grigris. The holiest man is the cleverest one, [792] the one who had the perspicacity to discover the best talismans. The day when the rumor spread that the supreme

1: Marty--106 G-4,5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal
Wolof MS30

/121 cont./

*795 178 grigri had been discovered, the living fetish, the one who took it upon himself to protect against all dangers, to deliver from all worries, to satisfy all needs, everyone gathered behind him, and he was elected the representative of the divinity.

And today the Murids, without worldly or celestial worries, use all their forces in the frantic labor that the spiritual leaders of the movement thrust upon them for their great profit.

When slavery was abolished, they felt and appreciated the benefits of freedom. Nevertheless, a few years later, they came of their own volition to live in servitude under the rod of a marabout, and the authorities are still disarmed in the face of this new kind of slavery, voluntary and religious in form.

*795 179 The history of Senegalese politics since 1850 corroborates these conclusions. Everyone knows--especially the natives--that it was Faidherbe who, inaugurating a new policy shortly after 1850, based it on /122/ the prestige of Islam and the services of all sorts which could be obtained from the more gifted and more intelligent Moslems.

The Ouolof, who had undergone a first Islamization before the fifteenth century, had since shaken off these alien doctrines to return to the totality of their traditions. In the first half of the nineteenth century, custom was intact and religious beliefs had hardly been changed. It was from 1850 on that Islam gradually implanted itself through the propaganda of its missionary marabouts; through the esteem that the authorities seemed to grant to its adepts by readily utilizing their services and by hardly utilizing any but theirs, and also--it must be said--through the simplicity of the act of faith that it requires, through the ease of its morality and the ornamental solemnity of its

/122 cont./

*795 177 cult.

Later on, and in the same spirit, the Moslem magistracy of the cadis was created in its entirety.

Thus, the Ouolof areas were Islamized by means of the French peace and under the cover of a domination that certainly viewed without concern this religious unification, the prelude to an easier political expansion and a simpler administrative unification.

The reaction is being felt at the present day: first and foremost, an internal reaction on the part of the natives themselves, who distort the Islamic faith that was only very superficially instilled into them; secondly, a reaction of [198] the local administrative authorities, who, as keepers of the public order, often have a kind of phobia about Islam, which has generated disturbances and which for some time now has taken on suspicious appearances of nationalism or universal domination.

*795 178 This movement of reaction is thus neither isolated nor without cause. It would be manifested in another form among the /123/ Ouolof if one were to embark on the stupid enterprise--which no one is considering--of trying to combat it in the religious realm. It would be manifested (or rather, it is undoubtedly manifested) in phenomena which are latent among the other races or Islamized Black peoples, but it does not always appear so clearly. The garment of Islam, simple and comfortable as it may be, was not tailored for the Blacks: they recut it to fit them and adorn it to their taste.

Are there not groupings of Murids of the same kind in the Qadria of Sheik Bou Kounta in Cayor, the Tidiania of El-Hadj Malik throughtout Senegal, and the Limamou of Sheik Limamou Laye at Yof and its environs?

The latter is barely surviving; it lacked favorable circumstances to develop with the profusion of Bambism.

l: Marty--108 G-4,5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal
Wolof MS30

/123 cont/

*795 178 The first two however, are in full flower and undoubtedly are as important as Bamba Muridism. Nevertheless, the deferential and loyalist attitude of their sheiks, as well as their more reasonable, less exaggerated teachings, have not drawn unfavorable attention to them.

*795 178 Finally, it must be said that this fermentation of the native soul is not peculiar to Senegal.

171 While in Mauritania a strong proportion of Semitic blood and identical conditions of physical milieu and socio-economic life have, through unbroken traditions of Arabic faith and culture, preserved an Islam very close to that of the East, the situation has not been the same among other peoples.

The farther and to the degree that Islam is removed from its cradle, eastward as well as westward, as the peoples and the conditions change, it is more and more distorted; and the Islamic confessions, whether Malay or Chinese, Berber or Nigritian, are but crude /124/ counterfeits of the religion and state of civilization of the "sublime Koran."

And what interesting comparisons can be made between the beliefs of the Berbers and those of the Blacks! Many vestiges permit one to suspect that beyond Islam and in days long past there were multiple exchanges. But the Maraboutism of the Berbers remains moderate. However great the holiness and influence of Sidi Bou Choiaib, Azemmour, or Sidi Bel-Abbès, of Marrakech, temples were built to them only after their death; the Maraboutism of the Blacks leads without transition to anthropolatry, even during the Saint's lifetime.

As far as Black Africa is concerned, the most eminent Orientalists, like the explorers and missionaries, like the career administrators, are unanimous in their opinion.

From Professor Edward Browne, of Cambridge: "Provided that one states that there is no God but God and that Mohammed is the apostle of God, and that one conforms

/124 cont./

*1795 178 171 outwardly to Moslem law, one may interpret the words "God" and "apostle" very nearly as he wishes. This is why one sees so many heterodox sects born of Islam, among which one can find anything he wishes in the matter of dogma and discipline, from the most absolute monotheism, or from the crudest anthropomorphism, to the most refined pantheism, and from the most rigid austerity to the most complaisant hedonism." (Questions dipl. et col. 15 May 1901.)

From Mr. C. Janssen, Honorary Governor of the State of the Congo. "In Africa, the Islamism now practiced by a number of Negroes has a simplicity that is quite primitive, and the Blacks who have entered the Islamic movement hardly know what it is. They mechanically imitate the rites of men from /125/ Zanzibar and the Sudan, believing that they are thus raising themselves to their level." (Debate at the Institut Solway.)

Captain Meynier and Mr. Delafosse reach the same conclusions for the Moslem states of the eastern Sudan (A travers l'Afrique /Crossing Africa/) and for the Islamized peoples of the French Sudan (Haut-Sénégal-Niger).

It is thus along this path that the Islamized black peoples seem to be traveling, and for them Muridism seems to be the necessary form of the religion and perhaps a vague [186] expression of patriotism. They tend to reorganize themselves in autonomous groupings under the leadership of an omnipotent marabout, and they adapt Islam, formerly welcomed more or less willingly, to their mentality and traditions.

There is in this a latent feeling of patriotism, that is to say, not, as for us, the expression of our national consciousness and of our historic past, but a hereditary attachment to their ancestors, their customs, their social state, and a gathering of all their energies around a local religious center. This birth travail will lead to the formation of a series of various Islamic confessions, in which the soul of

/125 cont./

*795 178 171 each people will be reflected and which will have very little in common.

This is why there seems to be no reason for taking matters too seriously. What will be the harm when in half a century the Islamized peoples of Senegal are divided into five or six different sects, quite distinct from one another, all the more distinct because each sect will be a local product, and these religious rivalries will be added to the animosities of race? Mr. Delafosse, whose knowledge in this matter is universally recognized, does not fully accept these conclusions for the Sudan. Speaking of the consequences which might be brought about by this distortion of Islam, he states that "such results could only be lamentable." Unfortunately, he does not say why.

*795 798 /126/ Even today, the Murids of Amadou Bamba and the Murids of other directions entertain less than cordial relations. They accuse each other of heresy, which they all incontestably deserve if their beliefs are compared to the orthodoxy of the Prophet. These rivalries are not limited to the religious realm. Some villages, affiliated with other brotherhoods, do not want to admit the Murids. Thus, the people of Gabou, who are Tidiania, along the road from Diourbel to Mbaké (Baol), will not permit Murids to cross their territory. In return, the Murids will not tolerate the presence of Tidiania in their compounds.

The Toucouleur who work in the railroad stops of Sine-Saloum and Thiès-Kaffrine, after accumulating some savings, go back to their homeland by way of the Touba-Yan [491] Yan highway. With their variegated boxes on their heads, they pass by the three Murid centers of Mbaké, Darou, and Touba, but they are careful not to stop there. Their desire to avoid the Murids equals the Murids' desire not to receive them.

This hostility does not degenerate into fights in the open country; the administrative authorities keep a strict watch. In the cities, however, where politics blooms like a

/126 cont./

*795 798 tropical flower and permeates everything, it readily turns into newspaper polemics and intrigues of all sorts.

*795 It is difficult to foresee the fate of the Muridism of Amadou Bamba. It is kept alive today, without progressing much, by the presence and the virtues of its founder. But Amadou Bamba is 60 years old; his /127/ natural or violent death might occur at any time. His brothers and lieutenants are too jealous of one another to accept the ascendency of one of them upon his death. Since each is now the acknowledged chief of his village and of his talibés, it is quite probable that the death of Amadou Bamba will result in the splitting up of his Muridism and its fragmentation into as many branches as there are influential sheiks.

Later on, the same causes arising from a need for unification will no doubt bring about a new assemblage around the holiest or most skillful among them, unless a new Prophet rises in Israel and draws Panurge's flock to him.

Chapter II
Political Action

648 The circulars of 22 September 1909 and 26 December 1911 clearly state the directions of our native policy in French West Africa. As far as the attitude of French authority vis-à-vis the local civilizations is concerned, it is summarized in one sentence:

"Absolute and equal respect for all the peoples, our subjects, with regard to their religious faith, their freedom of worship, and their customs and traditions, insofar as they are not contrary to the principles of our civilization."

*795 648 In the light of this program, and now that the field of action is known, it is easy to conclude:

1. The Ouolof Murids have the absolute right to follow the path of Amadou Bamba and to welcome into their

/127 cont./

*795 648 midst the adepts who come to them;

/128/ 2. They do not have the right to practice among the peoples who surround them (Peul, Lebbou, and especially Sérères, and who remain attached to their customary institutions, an Islamic proselytism which arouses general hatred against them and may provoke disturbances.

While we owe our subjects equal neutrality and equal interest, they owe one another the same mutual respect. There is thus reason to avoid deliberately any levelling out under the yoke of Islam. Aside from these conditions, our political actions should bear, it would seem, on the following points:

I. In the circles: (a)Strict surveillance on the part of each circle commander over the Murids of his territory. In practice this surveillance is exercised by the canton chiefs and by political agents. It is easy; the masses are completely in the hands of the sheiks and will do nothing without their orders or advice. It is thus their role and attitude which must be watched closely. Their conversations, their journeys, their receptions, their visits, and their undertakings are of the greatest interest. These sheiks, as has been seen in this report, are widely scattered throughout the Muridized circles; the task of surveillance which falls on each administrator is not a heavy one, except perhaps in Baol, because of the presence of the Sérigne, his entourage, his zaouias, and most of his brothers.

The Qadria of other observances, and especially the Tidiania, may be useful agents for information, but one must [798] never uncritically accept their reports, because it is they who, on many counts, either driven by hatred for the believers of Amadou Bamba or with an aim of blackmail, have given the Murids an unsavory and not always justified reputation. The greatest discretion is required, and it is not difficult to believe that the intelligence /129/ service of the Bamba sheiks is at least as well organized as our own.

lt Marty--113 G-4,5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal
Wolof MS30

/129 cont./

*795 648 Basically, all this surveillance is primarily a matter of political groundwork and intelligence service.

It is often easy, by using the proper forms to induce the marabouts to behave openly. They will easily understand, if it is explained to them with some tactfulness, that it is to their own interest, in order to avoid any misinterpretation on the part of their enemies, never to travel without presenting to the local administrator their respects upon departure and their greetings upon arrival. This is a means of remaining in continuous contact with them and of remaining informed about their projects. And it is easier and more diplomatic to obtain these results from them than to try to impose traveling permits on the masses of pilgrims or the curious.

(b) A policy of isolation of the Murids, both to protect them against all external influences and to prevent them from spreading untimely preachings.

177 *795 Muridism, if left to itself, has a good chance of evolving harmlessly toward the sect of Islam. The natural sympathies of the Black toward the European are such that he attaches no importance to the calls to the holy war of the Book and of the Moslem scholars. It is wholly unnecessary for alien preachings to instill into the Murid Ouolof the spirit of pride and reprobation of the infidel that they do not have. This is why it would be fitting, it seems, to forbid all visits by foreign marabouts, black or white, Qadri or Tidiani. Strictly religious preaching and calls for alms are usually embellished with commentaries on the power of the Moslem states, on the unbelief, error, or tyranny of the Whites, on conscription and native taxes. The marabouts draw from /130/ these facts a philosophy of history which is far from being to our advantage.

*795 648 This moral barrier should also prevent the Murid sheiks from leaving their territory and spreading an out-of-place

/130 cont./

*795 648 propaganda and untimely preachings among the neighboring peoples. The Sérère merit special mention in this connection. In permanent contact to the north and south of the Thiès-Kayes /railroad/ with the Muridized Ouolof (circles of Thiés, Baol, Sine-Saloum), they are totally impervious to their inducements, and all Islamic religious activity, especially Murid, provokes conflicts among these fetishistic peoples who are very attached to their customary institutions. It is to be feared that such hostility will some day degenerate into armed fights and bloody battles. The Murid sheiks should thus be requested to cease all religious propaganda among the neighboring peoples, while native chiefs would be ordered to expel, according to custom, any individual who, by his remarks, attacks the local institutions and disturbs public tranquility. On this point we may draw practical conclusions from the example of the brotherhood of the Senusi in Tripolitania. In less than half a century, the Senusi missionaries, with their freedom of movement, have Islamized three quarters of the Tripolitanian Berbers, who had withstood all encroachment for fourteen centuries. The Italians can testify today to the difficulties created for them by the cement of this Islamization.

*795 [674] (c) A repressive action, immediate and vigorous, for all infractions of the common law committed by fanatics or troublemakers. These infractions are ordinarily: the abductions of young men and young girls, followed by a new kind of bondage; instances of harmful disobedience vis-à-vis the native chiefs; swindles or charlatanic practices; /131/ untimely, irreverent, or dangerous preaching; and fights with blows and injuries. The native tribunals (of the circles or subdivisions) are sufficiently armed to repress any offenses of this kind, and the Moslem governments themselves (Ottoman, Egyptian, and the sherif governments of Mecca and Morocco) give us daily proof of just severity with regard to politico-religious wrongdoers.

/131 cont./

*795 798 It is well, however, to avoid carefully any legal prosecutions which might be misconstrued as religious persecution. Heretic innovations and distortions of Koranic law do not in themselves constitute a punishable infraction, as certain native tribunals have believed, at the present time, no matter how numerous and precise the relevant Moslem legal texts may be.

*795 [497] (d) An immediate study of the native land system in the circles mentioned, and especially in those crossed by the Thiès-Kayes railroad: the circles of Thiès, Baol, Sine-Saloum, Niani-Ouli, and Bakel. The Murids travel along the line and incessantly establish new colonies. This movement is interesting and testifies to a real understanding of the situation on the part of the sheiks. It aims directly at the utilization of the natural resources, now made possible by the presence of the railroad. Finally, in certain aspects it enters into the views of the circular of 5 March 1913 on the subject of our agrarian policies with regard to the natives. In other aspects, however, it may give rise to local conflicts. The Murids, indeed, do not stand on ceremony in occupying the lands they covet, to which prior claims incontestably exist, even though it is true, they are more or less well-founded. The local customs concerning land should be studied so that the nature of these rights over immovable property would be definitely established and /132/ a set of regulations, or, if necessary, several sets of regulations, could be instituted for these colonizing groupings. The modes of occupation or acquisition of the lands would be anticipated, the rights of the first owners safeguarded, and the contracts determined. It would also be well to see that these efforts at colonization do not result in the concentration of numerous and large domains in the hands of a few sheiks, or in the creation of collective and impersonal latifundia.

These conclusions follow naturally from the general directives so clearly and so justly enunciated in the circular

1:Marty --116 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal
Wolof MS30

/132 cont./

*1195 cited above. There should be a detailed work for each circle, corresponding to these general instructions. The rights of the natives, the first occupants, will truly be safeguarded only if we can first, before any conflict, extract them from the tangle of local custom.

This economic development of the region will then proceed in the easiest possible way, both for the Murids and for the other native colonists, it will facilitate the appearance of family communities and of individual property; and there will not rise, as there has been reason to fear in certain places, an irritating agrarian problem. This matter seems to merit an immediate solution.

II. To the Government of Senegal

000 The Lieutenant-Governor of Senegal should undertake a program of centralization and co-ordination of information. It is of the greatest importance that this administrator should always be kept informed of every act and gesture of the Murid sheiks. Certain information that a circle commander is sometimes tempted not to /133/ transmit because it seems insignificant to him may, on the contrary, through its recurrence in other circles, draw the attention of the head of political services and enable him to act at the opportune time. If the natives have a force of mystery and often of duplicity superior to us, we are superior to them in the sense of co-ordination of efforts and the superiority of admirable administrative discipline.. Such advantages should not be wasted.

It is this soundness and accuracy of information that will permit the Lieutenant-Governor of Senegal to follow attentively the Murid movement as a whole and to give useful directives methodically and with full knowledge of the facts.

Various means are at his disposal: his direct intervention may be used at times to advantage in dealing with re-
*1195 calcitrant sheiks. The Murid chiefs, beginning with Amadou Bamba, are not very confident about the situation at the present time. They feel that the exploits of several of them

/133 cont./

*795 have given them a bad reputation. Administrative pressure on the part of a personage as respected as the head of the colony, and clear, but discreet threats concerning their persons or their property might in certain cases have the most felicitous results.

Furthermore, there are differences prevailing between the sons and lieutenants of Amadou Bamba that may be usefully exploited. Sheik Anta, Mbaké Bousso, Ibra Fal, and Ibra Fati are at the present time the most obvious pretenders, whose ambitions are least concealed, to the spiritual succession of Amadou Bamba. Others, such as Amadou Ndoumbé, Masemba, and Ibra Sar, are in the second rank, with less assurance perhaps, but just as much desire. It would thus be politically clever to maintain an even balance among them and to use their rivalries in order to subdue them.

/134/ All these sheiks have reached an age where the character is formed and not very malleable and does not readily yield to subjection. Why should not the eldest son of Amadou Bamba, Mohammed Mostafa, follow the same course? He is a young man of 23 or 24, educated, intelligent, and rather shy. He is at an age where receptivity is still considerable, and he will be more manageable with regard to our undertaking. He is aware of the fact that if he wants to become someone, he can do so only through us. His father, who tries to maintain a balance among all possible candidates to his succession, could only approve this solution; it would be another reason for him to draw closer to us. This, it seems, is the real solution of the Murid problem in the future, and even in a way at present.

Amadou Bamba and his son seem delighted with this arrangement, of which they have had a glimpse. The Administrator of Baol recently introduced Mohammed Mostafa in Saint-Louis. This introduction had the most desirable results in the Sérigne's entourage; it may mark the beginning of a new and discreet political plan of action, in which we are sure to have Amadou Bamba on our side, harassed as he undoubtedly is with the problems of a father and of the head of an order.

1: Marty--118 G-4, 5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal
Wolof MS30

/134 cont./

III. In Native Teaching

*795
871

The Sérigne Amadou Bamba has of late made several pledges to the Administrator of Baol:

He has promised in substance:

1. That a certain number of the children who attend his schools will be taught the French language;

2. That later, some of them will be sent to the Médersa in Saint-Louis to become teachers;

/135/ 3. That he would have several cultivators from among his disciples take the agricultural courses that will be given at the future Baol station.

He has confirmed these promises in a recent letter to the Lieutenant-General of Senegal.

These are practical results whose immediate value and future import are evident, and which are already on the road to realization.

The Médersa in Saint-Louis had among its pupils of last year a Murid student, a relative of Amadou Bamba, who is capable of becoming an excellent teacher. The Sérigne sent him to Mbaké (Baol) to stay with his brother, Momar Diara. He will give French lessons in the school of that village, at Amadou Bamba's expense, to the young pupils in the Koranic courses.

On the other hand, the reorganization of the Diourbel school, anticipated for this coming October 1st by the Supervisor of Instruction of French West Africa, will enable the young Murids, boys and girls, in the Sérigne's entourage to attend these classes at specific hours.

As for the other promises, it will be easy to request their fulfillment from Amadou Bamba when circumstances permit. He might very well, for instance, send two of his young disciples to the Médersa in Saint-Louis when classes reconvene.

/135 cont./

IV. Amadou Bamba

*795 This Sérigne is now on the way to settling down once
793 and for all at Diourbel. At least this is what he claims to counter the attacks which he feels are being made upon him by his enemies, and to show his spirit of obedience to the administration which has designated this settlement as his obligatory residence. He still has one final step to /136/ make in order to realize his plan, which carried him from Souet-el-Ma to Thiéène and from Thiéène to Diourbel. He wants to enter Touba in triumph and to settle there as the grand master of the order of the Murids and as a powerful religious leader. In that rather remote spot, beyond the immediate surveillance of the French authorities, he will organize in complete independence his life, that of his zaouïa, and that of his order; he will lead active Murid propaganda in complete freedom.

These are projects which for a long time must have been the subject of his prayers to the Almighty. Similar causes produce similar effects: if he were to return to Touba, Amadou Bamba would be overwhelmed by the enthusiasm of his disciples and by the disparagement and calumnies of his enemies. The experiences of the past should be profitable. Amadou Bamba is well located at Diourbel under the immediate surveillance of an administrator. He feels very confined there mentally, and his hands are practically tied, but since outwardly he has freedom of movement, it is difficult for him to don a martyr's crown. This is the very best of solutions. The slight disturbance which might result from his schemes and the political interventions to which he may have given or may yet give rise are preferable to the serious difficulties of all kinds which his return to Touba would cause.

His material establishment at Diourbel was quite primitive until last month. It might be retorted that it was up to him to improve upon it; funds are not lacking. In any case, since he is responding to the policy of conciliation which has

/136 cont./

*795
793

always been practiced toward him, the mental situation seems to have improved and trust has revived. Once he is established on the Diourbel plateau, he will be quite comfortable there and will enjoy, as he puts it, "all that he wishes in this inferior and perishable world." He will have to remain there, it seems, as long as the present state of affairs continues. At best, as an experiment, he may be permitted /137/ in two or three years, when the now somewhat acute problem of the Murids has abated, to make a few short visits and inspection tours to his zaouia in Touba, if he promises that the greatest tranquility will prevail.

Amadou Bamba knows that negotiations were undertaken a few months ago by Ibra Fal and Sheik Anta with certain persons, political and otherwise, in Senegal. Their intervention was requested either with the Governor-General or even with the government in Paris. It was undoubtedly the Sérigne who pressed his brothers and lieutenants to do this, remembering that his return from Gabon in 1902 had been due in large part to such intervention.

Nowadays, Amadou Bamba seems to have regained a sounder view of things and to have put away what has jokingly been referred to, election style, as "The Manual of the Efficient Corrupter."

When I left Diourbel, he told me that a little later he would give me clear proof of his good intentions and total submission. An open avowal no doubt would have been embarrassing to him, and he wanted to avoid any requests for additional explanations. Two days later at Kaolack, I was visited by one of his emissaries who announced, in his name, in precise terms: "I have given a formal order to Ibra Fal and Sheik Anta to stop all proceedings and all payments of money to persons with a warrant /mandat/in Dakar and Saint-Louis." This statement, if it is accurate, when taken together with the other facts mentioned above, perhaps permits hope of a change of attitude on the part of Amadou Bamba.

1: Marty--121 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal
Wolof MS30

/138/

V. In the Realm of Native Law

000 Koranic law was a real improvement over the pre-Islamic customs of the Arabs. It is not such an improvement, on the whole, over the customs of the natives.

562 The latter, although their culture is inferior, are neither savages nor primitives. The position of women--the touchstone of a civilization--is quite high among the Ouolof and approaches in large part the position of the European woman. Owing to our presence--and without exceptions--the Islamized religious customs are simple and gentle; they do not demand excessive and distant pilgrimages, they do not preach holy war or even an exaggerated apostolate. Their religious ethics are not inferior to Islamic ethics, which are very weak here in all the matters where they might have a beneficial influence. Custom authorizes the use of wine, the reproduction of beings, the origin of the arts, and the needs of science. It shows much respect and no hostility toward the Whites, their civilization, their religion, and their arts; it acknowledges their superiority in all things and admits as a matter of course their political supremacy. Custom is modifiable in contact with us; it shows this day by day as it undergoes transformations and is completed by borrowings from our customs and our laws. Moslem law is difficult to change. The modifications that infidels such as we introduce into it are always ill-regarded and judged as arbitrary acts by the true believers.

779 [788] [777] 177 779

000 Thus, what would the fetishistic Blacks gain by being Islamized, or those who are Islamized by becoming perfect Moslems? And for our part, would it be advisable to add to the problems of the /139/ political occupation of the country the dangers of a social revolution? Should the evolution of the natives be hastened toward an alien civilization while we do not dare--and do not wish--to push them toward our own civilization?

It is desirable that from the top to the bottom of the judiciary ladder, all the jurisdictions, without being entrapped

1: Marty--122 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal
Wolof MS30

/139 cont./

000 by the Moslem act of faith, whose real import was explained above, apply in earnest the whole of native custom, first of all, because the texts governing the matter make it a clear duty, and secondly because they will be convinced that this solution is the best for the interests of the Blacks, as well as for those of France and those of civilization.

It is thus that, by means of an enlightened, utilitarian policy, there is reason to hope that the present situation, and up to a point the immediate future of this Murid question, will lead merely to local and quickly resolved difficulties, and that all threats of public disorders will be resolutely dispelled.

/Page 140 is blank/

/141/

Appendices

Attached to the Report to the Governor General
on the Murids of Amadou Bamba

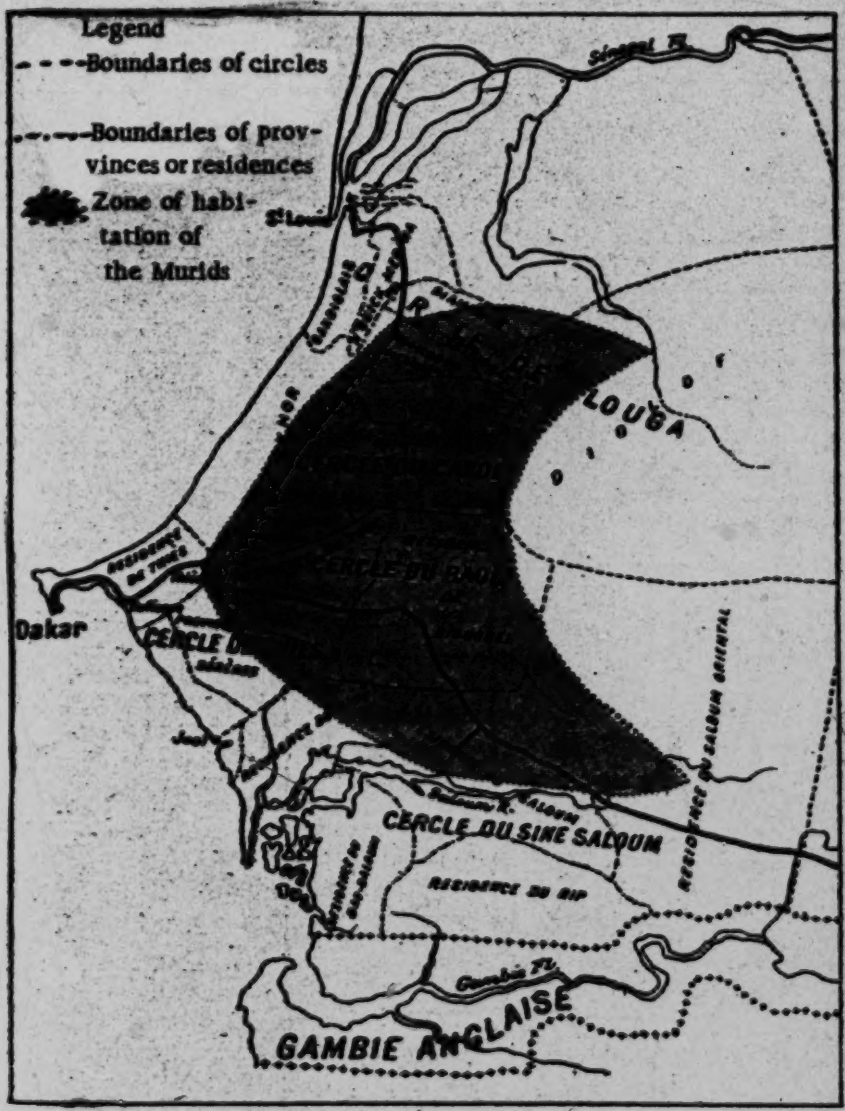
/Page 142 is blank/

1: Marty--123 G-4, 5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

W
S
102
795
S
631

/143/

Appendix No. 1



Geographical schema of the Murid confession.

1: Marty--124 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

/144/

S
W
795
S
162

Appendix No. 2

General enumeration by circles of all the Murids of Amadou Bamba.

Circle of Baol	33,000
Circle of Sine Saloum	1,000
Circle of Thiès	5,080
Circle of Cayor	28,000
Circle of Louga	1,000
Dakar	140
Saint-Louis	150
Total	68,350

W
601
793

Appendix No. 3

Genealogy of the M'baké family.

Mballa.	Diara Bousso.	Momar Diara.	Mohammed.
			Amadou Bousso.
			Sheik Abd El-Qader
			Mohammed Lamine.
		Amadou Bamba.	Mohammed Mostafa.
			Mohammed Fadel.
			Mohammed Lamine.
			Mohammed Bachir.
	Momar.	Ibra Fati	Ibrahim.
	Fatia Diop		Mohammed El-Habib.
Mbaké.	Antasali.	Sheik Anta.	Mohammed Mostafa.
			Ibrahim.
			Sérigne.
	Anta N'Diaye.	Amadou Mbaké.	
		Niang.	Amadou.
	Thioro Diop.	Sheik Tioro.	Mohammed.
		Mballa Mbaké	Mohammed.
		[redacted]	
	Hafsa Diahhaté.	Sheik Hafsa.	Fati Benta (daughter)
	Issa Dièye.	Masemba.	Mohammed.
	Ibra Mbaké.	Amor M'baké.	

1: Marty--125 G-4,5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

W
601
793

/145/

Appendix No. 4
Genealogy of the Bousso Family.

Sérigne Mohammed Bousso.

- M'baké Bousso (Wife: Kadia, half sister of Amadou Bamba).
  - Amadou.
  - Alioune.
- (Wife: Sheik El-Hadj Bousso Rokiata, full sister of Amadou Bamba.)
  - Momar Bousso.
  - Bou Baker.

Appendix No. 5
Circle of Baol (Diourbel.)
Enumeration by cantons of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

S
162
795
W
795

Names or cantons	Number of Murids	Number of Islamized	Number of Total Population	Races that Inhabit the Canton
Diack	785		15,980	Sérère.
Fandène	1,513		11,117	Ouolof
Guéoul	9,528		16,441	--
Dondolle	378		13,492	Sérère
Pègué	1,768		12,918	Ouolof
Thiépe	4,097		14,929	---
Ndadène	861		9,551	Sérère
Kontor	809		3,438	Peul
Diette Salao	6,142		12,185	Ouolof
Ngoye	760		13,507	Sérère
La	5,645		16,221	Ouolof and Peul
Mbayar-Bidiar	633		26,051	Sérère
Total	32,919	86,000	161,830	

1: Marty--126 G-4, 5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS30

/146/

Appendix No. 6
Circle of Baol (Diourbel)
List of the principal Murid marabouts, their origins, and their residences.

SW 793

Names	Origins	Residences	Observations
Amadou Bamba	Ouolof	Diourbel	
Mokhtar Penda	"	"	
Houna Fal	"	"	
Abd Allah Diao	"	"	
Sheik Diop	"	"	
Abd Allah Diop	"	"	
Momar Khari	"	"	
Amadou N'Doaye Diop	"	"	nephew of A. Bamba.
Amadou N'Doumbé	"	"	
Bachir Cissé	"	"	
Issa Diène	"	"	
Mohammed Mostafa	"	Touba	son of A. Bamba.
Mohammed Bachir	"	"	id.
Masemba	"	"	brother of A. Bamba.
Amadou Fadiame	"	"	
Abderrahman Ould Mohammed	"	"	
Momar Mbaké Ould Said	"	"	nephew of A. Bamba.
Sheik Mbaké Bousso	"	Darou	brother-in-law of A. B.
Sheik El-Hadj Bousso	"	"	id.
Abd El-Qader Ould Moulay Nacer	"	"	nephew of A. Bamba.
Alioune Ould Moulay Nacer	"	"	id.
Momar Diara	"	Mbaké	brother of A. Bamba.
Sheik Anta	"	Gaouane	id.
Balla Mbaké	"	"	id.
Youssef Babou	"	"	
Amadou Guèye	"	"	
Moudoune Kassé	"	"	

1: Marty--127 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS30

/147/
Appendix No. 6 cont.

SW 793

Names	Origins	Residences	Observations
Sérigne Mbaye	Ouolof	Gaouane	
Amadou Dieng Babou	"	"	
Momar Fati	"	"	nephew of Sh. Anta.
Amadou Bator	"	"	
Gora Bakhoume	"	Toakhamé	
Bira Bigué Dieng	"	Thièpe	
Masemba Fal	"	"	
Matari Mbaké	"	"	
Amadou Digol	"	K. Amadou Digol	
Manel Fal	"	Thiapi (near Bambey)	former head of canton.
Momar Fal	"	Garam-Guéoul	
Mostafa Silla	"	Lambaye	former cadi.
Sérigne Alioun Diouf	"	"	
Meltoufa Khari	"	"	
Amadou Mbaye	"	Palène Khombole	former cadi.

1: Marty--128 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS30

/148/

S
162
795
W
795

Appendix No. 7
Circle of Sine-Saloum
Enumeration by residences and canton of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

		Murids Sérignes[1]	Murids Talibés[2]	Islamized	Total population
Residence of Saloum. Cantons of:	Kaolack				
	Laghem	4	36		
	Kahone	4	9		
	Nguer	1	4		
	Diokoul				
	Goudiaye	5	5		
	Total	14	54	18,193	42,668
Residence of Sine Cantons of:	Diakhao	2	18		
	Dioine	6	0		
	Diouroup Djilas	0	0		
	Songhaï	0	0		
	Maroutte	11	91		
	Gayokèime	2	11		
	Total	21	120	12,697	86,616
Residence of Lower Saloum		0	0		
	Nimbato				
	Djilor	0	0		
	Total			15,419	19,508
Residence of Rip	Oualo-Kayemor	2	0		
	Saback-Rip	1	5		
	Niom-Rip	2	16		
	Total	5	21	19,301	20,850

[1] [i.e., one followed by disciples--Analyst]
[2] [i.e., disciples--Analyst]

l: Marty--129 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS39
Wolof MS30

/148 cont./

(Appendix No. 7 cont.)

S
162
795
795

		Murids Sérignes	Murids Talibés	Islamilized	Total population
Residence of East Saloum	Ndoukoumane-Pakalla	4	18		
	Koungheul	2	22		
	Total	6	40	10,742	13,284
General Total		281		76,352	182,926

/149/

S
W
793

Appendix No. 8

Circle of Sine-Saloum

List by residences and cantons of the principal Murid marabouts, their origins, their residences, their spiritual fathers, and the number of their talibés. 1

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	No. of Talibés
Residence of Saloum (Kaolack).				
Canton of Kaolack-Laghem.				
Tamsir Moussa Paté	Ouolof.	Pakatia.	Amadou Bamba.	11
Omar Diouf	"	Mbadiou.	Tamsir Moussa.	
Babakar N'Diaye	"	Mbouma.	Amadou Bamba.	4
Massakho Sakho	"	Tahoua.	Ibra Fati.	21
Canton of Kahone.				
Amadou Cissé.	"	Bill.	Amadou Fadiame.	7

1 [i.e. disciples --Analyst]

k: Marty--130 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S
W
793

/149 cont./

(Appendix No. 8 cont.)

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	No. of Talibés
Ndéné Kabou.	Ouolof.	Gagneck.	Ibra Fati.	
Abdoulaye.				
N'Diaye.	"	"	Sheik Anta.	2
Momar N'Dao.	"	Tiakala.	Amadou Fadiame.	
Canton of Nguer.				
Tioumba Kadji.	"	Maouel.	Sheik Anta.	4
Canton of Diokoul Ganâiaye.				
Makhoudia Dieng.	"	Diokhoul.	Amadou Bamba.	2
Matar Sakho.	Sérère	"	Mamadou Cissé.	1
Baba N'Diaye.	"	Ngodj.	Makhoudia Dieng.	
Biramou Sène.	Ouolof	Soukhoupe.	Amadou Bamba.	
Mamadou Sek.	"	Keur Galoup	Ibra Fati.	2
/150/				
Residence of Sine (Fatick).				
Circle of Diakhao.				
Alioune Sek.	Ouolof	Soupa.	Amadou Niang.	4
Sérigne Ma Fal Niang.	"	Darou. Salam.	Moussa N'Doye.	14
Canton of Dioîne.				
Sérigne Touré.	Ouolof	Mbedap.	Amadou Bamba.	
Mandiaye Sèye.	"	Mbelo Khoute.	Moussa N'Doye.	
Madiop N'Diaye.	"	Gadiagne.	Ibra Fati.	
Aliou Diop.	"	"	Alioune Diouf.	
Ibrahima N'Gom.	"	"	"	
Abdou Kane.	"	Mbetite.	Amadou Bamba.	

1: Marty--131 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

/150 cont./

(Appendix No. 8 cont.)

SW 793

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	No. of Talibés
Canton of Maroutte.				
Momar Sek.	Ouolof.	Gossas.	Amadou Bamba	7
Amadou Diao.	"	"	" "	12
Ousmane Lo.	Peul.	Patar.	Alioune Ka.	5
Amadou Khari Mbaké.	Ouolof.	Gossas.	Amadou Bamba	24
Alioune Touré.	"	"	" "	9
Momar Thiam.	"	"	" "	8
Babakar Lao.	"	"	" "	2
Abdou Khadir.	Peul.	Patar.	Sheik Ousman.	9
Momar Thian.	Ouolof.	Gossas.	His father Momar	8
Khar Khan	"	"	Banda Kane.	4
Amadou Ba.	Peul.	"	His father Diam Doura.	3
Canton of Gayokhème.				
Matar Niang.	Ouolof.	N'galagne Koé.	Amadou Bamba.	
Modi Toubé.	"	Ngadiagne.	" "	/151/
Residence of Rip (Nioro) Circle of Oualo-Kayemor.				
Abdoulaye N'Diaye	Ouolof.	Ndienguène.	Amadou Bamba.	
Demba Dioba.	"	Ndioufène.	" "	
Canton of Niom Rip.				
Tamsir Ma Ba.	Ouolof.	Touba.	" "	10
Katim Koumba.	"	Djina Katim.	" "	6

1: Marty--132 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 39
Wolof MS30

S
W
793

/151 cont./

(Appendix No. 8 cont.)

Names	Origins	Resi= dences	Spiritual Fathers	No. of Talibés
Canton of Saback Rip.				
Tamsir Khodia.	Ouolof.	K. Tamsir. Khodia.	Amadou Fadiama.	5
Residence of East Saloum				
C. of Ndoukoumane - Pakalla				
Aliou Sek.	Ouolof.	Bamba Moussa.	Amadou Bamba.	10
Moussa Sèye.	"	Diolkosse.	Amadou Fadiama.	3
Omar Mèye.	"	Kaffate.	Amadou Bamba.	3
Segni Sar.	"	Dramé.	Amadou Fadiama.	2
Canton of Kougheul.				
Momar Khari Si.	Ouolof.	Sine Matar.	Amadou Mbaké.	12
Mahadame Tiougoun.	"	Diaye Coumda.	Ali Penda Lo.	10

/152/

Appendix No. 9

9 February 1913

Notice

W
795

To those who know that the author of these lines is a believer, a Moslem, a man who behaves in accordance with the Koran, tradition, and the unanimity of the scholars.

Whoever claims to trace his filiation from the said author and does not behave according to the Koran, tradition, and the unanimity of the scholars is not from him and is not connected with him. No, he is in no way from him.

1: Marty--133 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal
Wolof MS30

/152 cont./

795 Monsieur Marty, Minister in charge of Moslem Affairs, I beg you to be convinced yourself, and to inform the French authorities, that the man called Assan Touré has no connection with us, for those who are truly connected with us in all truth, do not oppose the representatives of the Government, but, on the contrary, urge the people to be submissive to them. As it is written in the book, coming from God the Almighty, "Obey God, then obey the Prophet, and the leaders of the times in which you live."

Mohammed ben Mohammed ben
Habiballah (Amadou Bamba)

Appendix No. 10
Circle of Thiès
Genealogy of the Fal Family.

601
793

- Amor Fal
  - Amadou Fal
    - Sheik Ibra Fal
      - Mamadou Falilou (23 years old).
      - Mamadou Mostafa.
      - Amadou Bachir.
      - Momar Fal.
      - Alioun.
      - Four daughters.
    - Sheik Salihou Fal.
      - Amadou Salihou.
      - Mamadou Anta Fal.
      - Ibrahima Fal.
      - Two daughters.
    - Rokia Fal.
      - N'Diaye Rokaïa.

1: Marty--134 G-4,5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS30

/153/

Appendix No. 11

Circle of Thiès

Enumeration by residences and cantons of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

S
167
795
W
795

Residences and Cantons	Number of Murids	Number of Islamized	Total of the General Population	Observations
Residence of Thiès:				
Canton of Thiès	490	3,120	5,400	K. Ibra Fal.
" of Thor-Diander.	10	5,230	10,030	Darou.
Residence of the Sérère provinces:				
Canton of M'Badane Sadsal	30	540	12,120	Sassal.
Canton of Sandoc Diaganiao	"	920	8,540	
Canton of Sao Dimack	"	410	9,260	
Canton of the Diebas	4,300	5,580	13,850	Khaban Tassette.
Residence of the Petite Côte				
Canton of Nianing	50	4,410	7,200	Thiombologe.
Canton of Joal-N'Gohé	200	2,200	5,350	Thiadiaye.
		3,900	11,300	
Totals	5,080	26,400	83,050	

1: Marty--135 G-4, 5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

/154/

Appendix No. 12
Circle of Thiès
List by residences and cantons of the principal Murid marabouts, their origins, their residences, and the number of their talibés

SW 793

Names	Origins	Residences	Number of Talibés	Observations
Residence of Thiès.				
Sheik Ibra Fal.	Ouolof.	Thiès: Darou Bafré.	200	
Abdallah Diop, son of Lat Dior.	"	"		ex-head of Mbakol (Cayor).
Amadou Lo	"	"		originally from Gandiole.
N'Diaye Rokia.	"	"		nephew of Sheik Ibra Fal.
Laba Dioum.	"	"		
Masemba N'Diaye.	"	"		
Amadou N'Doaye	"	"		
Residence of the Sérère Provinces (Fissel).				
Amadou Ndoumbé Baké.	Ouolof	Khabane.	100	at Keur Sérigne Amadou.
Abdoulaye Diao.	"	"	80	at Keur Abdoulaye Diao.
Momar Diagne.	"	"	20	at Dialakh.
Issa Diène.	"	"	50	at Touba.
Maïb N'Diaye.	"	"	20	
Amadou Lamine M'Baye.	"	Sassal.	20	

1: Marty--136 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS30

S
W
793

/154 cont./

(Appendix No. 12 cont.)

Names	Origins	Residences	Number of Talibés	Observations
Manik Diop.	Ouolof.	Malamsone.		
Momar Touré.	"	Tassette.	20	at Touré.
Abdou N'Doye.	"	"	20	at N'Doyène.
Sheik Madiop.	"	"	30	at Keur Madiop.
Sérigne Momar Senne	"	Pout.	10	
Laman Malik. Residence of the Petite Côte (Nianing).	Sérère.	Pognom.		newly converted.
Alioune Sal.	Ouolof.	Guélor.	50	imprisoned in 1910 for disturbances.

/155/

Appendix No. 13
Circle of Cayor
Enumeration by provinces of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

S
167
[795]
W
[795]

Provinces	Number of Murids	Number of Islamized	Total Population
Saniakhor.	6,000		
Mbakhol-Mboul.	10,000		
Guet.	12,000		
Total	28,000	133,400	139,150

Note. - The circle of Cayor contains 5,750 inhabitants who are not Islamized.

This number is made up of: about 5,000 Sérère, scattered in the cantons of N'Doute and M'Bar in the province of Saniakhor; 500 Laobé, scattered in the province of Guet; 200 Akou, in the railroad stops; and 50 Mandiago, distributed throughout the circle.

1: Marty-137 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS30

/156/

Appendix No. 14
Circle of Cayor

List by provinces and cantons of the principal Murid marabouts, their origins, their residences, their spiritual fathers, and the number of their talibés.

SW 793

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibes
Province of Saniakhor				
Salihou Dieng.	Ouolof	Maka.	Momar Dieng.	10
Makhouria Khandji.	"	Salh.	Assane Gaye.	7
Balla Goye.	"	Kabh.	Ditialao Gaye.	4
Mamour Thiam.	"	"	Alassane Faye.	4
Samba Tacine Ka.	"	Sioual.	Samba Tacine	3
Ndioukou Diagne.	"	Mborine.	Solimane Niang	2
Matar Fal.	"	Ndiaye Diamba-gname.	Masemba Manne	2
Macoumba Guéye.	"	Badar Guèye.	Matar Guèye.	7
Momar Guèye.	"	Taoua.	Ousmane Guèye.	5
Ousmane Guèye	"	"	Samba Khari	5
Balla Guaye.	"	Tiékao.	Birama Guèye	20
Assan Fal.	"	Gouye Mbaye	Amadou Bamba.	10
Mabèye Bèye	"	Médina.	Ibra Fal.	17
Marouba Guèye	"	Gandiaye near Piré.	Amadou Bamba	30

1: Marty--138 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS30

/156 cont./
(Appendix No. 14 cont.)

SW 793

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Momar Ouarka Khan	Ouolof.	Kour Momar Ouarka.	Amadou Bamba	20
Sheik Amadou Baké Sar.	"	Keur Moussa Mbaké.	"	20
Mousa Diaye.	"	Fassel.	"	20
Baba Ngom Khaliomba.	"	Khandane.	"	20
Mamadou Senne.	"	"	"	20
/157/ Sheik Mangoné Sek.	Ouolof.	Ndoyène-Piré.	Amadou Bamba	20
Mdiabélé Ndour.	"	Keur Bakar.	"	20
Stop of Tivouane				
Abdoulaye Thiam.	"	Tivaouane.	Marouba Guèye.	5
Matala Mbaye.	"	Tivaouane. (former griot).	Ibra Fal.	8
Alassane Senne.	"	Tivaouane.	Sheik Anta.	7
Ibrahima Diagne	"	"	"	4
Yali Niang.	"	"	Amadou Bamba	
Malik Ndiagne.	"	Tivaouane.	Sheik Anta.	6
		(K. Masemba		6
Amadou Nar Diop.	"	Tivaouane (former cadi).	Amadou Bamba	
Amadou Guèye Maro	"	Tivaouane.	Ibra Fal.	15
Balla Diop.	"	Tivaouane. (assessor).	Amadou Bamba	
Amadou Diop.	"	Tivaouane.	"	

1: Marty--139 G-4,5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS30

/157 cont./
(Appendix No. 14 cont.)

SW 793

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Ibrahima Soghe	Ouolof	Tivaouane (Thiendane).	Ibra Fal..	
Province of Mbakol-Mboul.				
Momar Guèye.	"	Messéré.	Amadou Bamba	10
Momar Gaye.	"	Guembé	"	12
Macodou Diop.	"	Nehlhedje.	"	17
Masemba Diop.	"	Mérina.	"	24
Maouedji Thiam.	"	Thiamène.	"	9
Momar Lahma.	"	Gnagame.	"	11
Abdoulaye Fadiaga.	"	Ndiam Nal.	"	12
Momar Sèye.	"	Ndia Hadé.	"	13
Ndari Kane.	"	Kane.	"	18
Amadou Dié Mbaké.	"	Ndiayéne Péri.	"	11
Adama Sal.	"	Darou Salam.	"	35
Sheik Malamine Ndiaye.	"	Kelcom.	"	28
/158/				
Yéri Diakhaté.	Ouolof	Kelcom	Amadou Bamba	15
Madiara Gnane.	"	Mékbé.	"	5
Ma Hafsa Tiao.	"	Thiamène.	"	11
Ibra Dior.	"	N'Dande (Narbé)	"	21
Mamao Silla.	"	Nakhal-Mamiao	"	24
Mokhtar Marienna.	"	Tiapoura.	"	7
Mostafa Silla.	"	Darou Salam.	"	11
Amor Fal.	"	Niakhal-Boë.	"	8
Momar Silla.	"	Yohma.	"	11
Mokhtar Ougnane.	"	Ndeme.	"	7

1: Marty--140 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

/158 cont./
(Appendix No. 14 cont.)

SW 793

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Momar Mbaye.	Ouolof	Afia.	Amadou Bamba	21
Medoume Samba.	"	"	"	6
Diambar Diakhaté.	"	Méoumdou.	"	8
Saër Silla.	"	Fille Dramane	"	15
Ibra Silla.	"	"	"	20
Amadou Binta.	"	"	"	8
Mayacine Ballé.	"	Gouyard.	"	10
Mayacine Dieng.	"	" (Orig. from Maka).	"	20
Amadou Dié.	"	Darou Salam.	"	17
Amor Diakhaté.	"	"	"	15
Masilla Silla.	"	Masilla.	"	30
Alioun Touré.	"	Piré (now at Gossas).	"	50
Mostafa Ndiaye.	"	Diémoul.	"	8
Abdoulaye Dieng.	"	Gouyard.	"	18
Mousa Daro.	"	N'dèye.	"	13
Omar Silla.	"	Ouadia.	"	15
Ali Mané.	"	Meur Madiop.	"	9
Anta Sek.	"	Ndiol.	"	9
Ngagne Tendimé.	Moor	Darou Tendimé.	"	17
Ndiaga Diop.	Ouolof	Ndiob Botol.	"	
Moumar Comba.	"	Mbol	"	
Mbar Dior Siga.	"	Ndiouki (brother of Samba Laobé).	"	50
Anbar Fa.	"	id.	"	
/159/				
Issa Diène.	Ouolof.	Ndande.	Amadou Bamba	50

1: Marty--141 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

/159 cont./
(Appendix No. 14 cont.)

SW 793

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Province of Guet				
Ibra Fati.	Ouolof	Mbaké.	Amadou Bamba	100
Aramine Mbaké.	"	" (professor).	"	
Matar Binta.	"	Mbaké. (professor).	"	
Thiamba Sèye.	"	Mérine.	"	3
Medieng Dieng.	"	Ndiguène Bamé.	"	8
Momar Diop.	"	Guaéoul.	"	25
Mafari N'Diaye.	"	Baranrang.	"	10
Diéri Sougoufara.	Moor	Ouadane Guet.	"	
Mokhtar Sougoufara.	"	Mosseladje.	"	3
Abdou Kane.	Ouolof	Khébéré Guet.	"	20
Momar Ngoné Fal.	"	Ndiah Guéoul.	"	20
Ndiouga Fal.	"	Keur Amadou Yella.	"	2
Amadou Gaye.	"	Ngaye.	"	2
Aboudalaye Deme.	"	Toumba.	"	2
Medoune Dème.	"	"	"	4
Barra Ndiaye.	"	Tiamène.	"	3
Birahima Kodou Maram.	"	Tilmakha.	"	
Amadou Makhouria.	"	"	"	
Abdou Abbas.	"	Tilmakha (cousin of Lat Dior).	"	
Mokhtar Diop.	"	id.	"	

1: Marty--142 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

/160/

S
162
795
W
795

Appendix No. 15
Circle of Louga
Enumeration of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Provinces	Total Number of Murids	Moslems	General Total	Observations
Djolof.	300	36,895	36,895	
North Diambour	300	32,800	32,800	
South Diambour	150	14,678	14,678	
N'Guick Merina	150	14,582	14,582	
Gandiolais.	100	7,073	7,073	
	1,000	106,028	106,028	

/161/

S
W
793

Appendix No. 16
Circle of Louga
List by provinces of the principal Murid marabouts, their origins, their residence, their spiritual fathers, and the number of their talibés.

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Province of Diolof:				
Abdou Kamara.	Ouolof.	Kamara.	Amadou Bamba	2
Alioun M'Baye.	"	Nboundiane.	"	2
Modo Sankhe.	"	Tiankhé.	"	2
Khali N'Diaye.	"	N'Diayène.	"	110
Diadé N'Dao.	"	Iagne Sagata.	"	8
Baba Fati M'Baye.	"	MbaTène.	"	6
Alle Khari.	"	"	"	5

l: Marty--143 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS30

S
W
793

/161 cont./
(Appendix No. 16 cont.)

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Province of North Diambour				
Ibra Guèye.	Ouolof	Keur Ali Sali.	Amadou Bamba	6
Momar Sikéna	"	Lamdou.	"	10
Code Lo.	"	Niomré-Diama.	"	8
Matar Binta Lo.	"	Niomré.	"	18
Medoune Dioumbé.	"	Coki.	"	4
Mansour Diao.	"	Thialène.	"	
Momar Diao.	"	Garki.	"	5
Amadou Anta.	"	Keur Medoune. Mbaye	"	8
Ali N'Dak.	"	Coki.	"	6
Amadou Gaye.	"	Ndiagne.	"	6
Sheik Ibra Sar.	"	Thiarème.	"	40
Marouba Thioune.	"	Ndiagne.	"	3
Ndiao Fal.	"	Ouarak.	"	3
Medoune Samba.	"	Fadane.	"	3
Amadou Lo.	"	Keur Medoune Mbaye	"	4
Amadou Fal.	"	Ndiagne.	"	
Province of South Dianbour.				
Assane N'Diao.	Ouolof.	Darou.	Amadou Bamba	20/162/
Ballo Sek.	"	Thiène.	"	
Ma Diakhaté Lo.	"	Ndam.	"	2
Amadou Mokhtar Diakaté (ex-cadi).	"	"	"	

1: Marty--144 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

SW 793

/162 cont./
(Appendix No. 16 cont.)

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Macoumba Dia.	Ouolof.	Kaï Dio	Amadou Bamba.	2
Medieke Sek.	"	Thièkème.	"	
Momar Lo.	"	Keur Souley.	"	2
Omar Guèye.	"	Ngondiouro Diop	"	1
Amadou Sar.	"	"	"	7
Momar Sey.	"	Keur Mor Abdou	"	7
Mousa Fal.	"	Khiraoua.	"	
Amor Dia.	"	Keur Matar.	"	
Amor Samba.	"	Ndiamb.	"	
Stop of Louga.				
Ibra Kébi.	"	Louga.	"	10
Sheik Sandiaye Baye	"	"	"	4
Meklou Diao.	"	"	"	
Amadou Sarer (assessor at the tribunal, very favorable).	"	"	"	
Province of Nguick-Merina.				
Amadou Diop.	"	Tendé Biti.	Amadou Anta.	4
N'Diaou N'Diaye.	"	Bigaye.	Ibra Fal.	
Malik Sar.	"	Nguick.	Amadou Bamba.	5
Ibra Fal.	"	Ndabé.	Ibra Fal.	32
Amadou Khari Diaye.	Ouolof.	Roye.	Amadou Bamba.	2
Sidi Sar.	"	Ndiapal Sar.	Ibra Fal.	
Moulay Sar.	"	Keur Paté Siné	Amadou Bamba	10
Amadou Fal.	"	Nguick.	"	7
Amandou Sar.	"	Dabaye.	"	
Gandiolais. None.				

L. Marty--145 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal
Wolof MS30

/163/

795

Appendix No. 17
List of Some of Amadou Bamba's Writings

مقدمات الامداح في مزايا المفتاح — Premises of Praise, on the Privileges of the Key.

Religious poem. Printed pamphlet without a publisher's name.

منهج قضاء الحاج — The Way of Accomplishing the Necessities.

Ethical and educational work.

مغالق النيران ومفاتح الجنان — The Keys that Close Hell and Open Paradise.

Moralistic work. A very faulty translation, without the name of the author, is in the Archives.

كتاب كنز المهتدين في صلاة على خير المرسلين — The Book of the Treasure of Controlled Goods, on the Prayer to be Said about the Best of Prophets.

Philosophical, ethical, and pious work. Printed in Beirut in 1319 H. (1902 A.D.) under the care of Mahammed Rachid and Mostafa El-Halouani, of Beirut.

A few excerpts, from an excellent translation by M. Salenc, director of the Médersa of Saint-Louis, are in the Archives.

سعادة الطلاب وراحة لطالب الاعراب — The Joy of the Student and the Peace of the Pupil in Syntax.

Grammatical work.

And finally, a large number of short poems (qacida قصيدة) in honor of the Prophet, of friendly marabouts, such as Sheik Sidia, and of sympathetic Europeans.

1: Marty--146 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal
Wolof MS30

795
788

Appendix No. 18
Special Litanies (dikr) of the Religious Order of the Bamba Murids

استغفر الله العظيم (ثلاثمائة مرة)	I seek forgiveness from the God of Majesty (300 times).
سبحان الله (ثلاثمائة مرة)	May God be glorified (300 times).
لا اله الا الله (ثلاثمائة مرة)	There is no deity but God (300 times).
اللهم صلى على سيدنا محمد وعلى اله وصحبه وسلم تسليما	O my God, pour out your blessings on our Lord Mohammed, on his family, on his companions. Grant them salvation !

113

Appendix No. 19
Bibliography

Archives du Gouvernement Général.
Archives du Gouvernement du Sénégal.

Information furnished by Administrator Gaden, head of the Political Office of Senegal.
-- -- by Administrator Théveniaut (Diourbel).
-- -- by Administrator Brocard (Kaolak).
-- -- by Administrator Dreyfus (Thiès).
-- -- -- -- of Sainte-Marie (Tivaouane).
-- -- -- -- Valzi (Louga).

Delafosse, Haut Sénégal-Niger.
Service géographique de l'A.O.F. /Geographical Service of French West Africa/ (Captain Harranger).

1: Marty

MS37 Senegal
Wolof MS30

795

[For a discussion of Muridism, a sect of Islam, its beliefs and influence see category 116 in the MS37 Senegal File, pp. 1-50 and pp. 89-120.]

1: Marty Senegal MS37

795

[For a discussion of Muridism, a sect of Islam, its beliefs and influence see category 116, pp. 1-146.]

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

REVUE DU MONDE MUSULMAN

Publiée par

LA MISSION SCIENTIFIQUE DU MAROC

TOME VINGT-CINQUIÈME

1913

PARIS
ERNEST LEROUX, ÉDITEUR
28, RUE BONAPARTE

[Title Page]

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

[#1]

Revue du Monde Musulman

7e Année. DÉCEMBRE Volume XXV.

LES MOURIDES DU SÉNÉGAL

AVANT-PROPOS

M. Ponty, gouverneur général de l'Afrique Occidentale française, a bien voulu mettre la Revue du Monde Musulman *à même de publier, sur les Mourides du Sénégal, un important rapport de M. E. Marty, chargé à Dakar du service des affaires musulmanes. Les lecteurs de la Revue s'en féliciteront tout particulièrement.*

Peut-être trouveront-ils dans ce remarquable travail des développements qui leur sont déjà familiers; peut-être aussi s'étonneront-ils d'y rencontrer des considérations localisées de politique indigène. Ils voudront bien observer qu'il s'agit d'un rapport administratif, adressé à l'autorité coloniale sur l'état actuel du Mouridisme, *sur ses origines et sa constitution, comme sur ses aspirations et ses tendances, en vue de rechercher la meilleure méthode pour concilier ce mouvement confessionnel avec le maintien de la paix politique, sociale et religieuse dans les pays intéressés. Il était, par suite, nécessaire que M. Marty s'étendît sur des sujets qui, bien connus des spécialistes de l'Islamologie, peuvent l'être un peu moins de fonctionnaires spécialisés dans d'autres attributions.*

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

De même, il y avait lieu de considérer la question, non pas seulement au point de vue purement islamique, mais surtout au point de vue de la politique indigène de la France au Sénégal. On ne manquera pas, en le notant, d'apprécier vivement le libéralisme d'idées du gouvernement général de l'Afrique occidentale qui ne se borne pas à témoigner d'une sollicitude éclairée pour les intérêts de ses sujets musulmans, mais se montre également désireux de favoriser le développement des études islamiques dans l'administration locale.

A tous ces points de vue le rapport de M. Marty constitue un document de premier ordre. La Revue du Monde Musulman *n'a donc pas hésité à le donner en entier, persuadée de l'intérêt général qui s'en dégage, indépendamment du grand intérêt spécial qu'offre la masse des faits nouveaux, signalés par M. Marty.*

Sur un point technique, la manière de voir dominante de la Revue *s'écarte un peu de celle qui prévaut dans l'Afrique occidentale. A plusieurs reprises, M. Marty envisage les* Mourides *comme sortis de l'Islam. Cela n'est pas douteux si on s'en tient à la doctrine. Mais la pratique des déviations journalières du Mahométisme, dans le monde musulman de l'Orient Iranien et Hindou, conduit à une classification plus élastique que celle de l'Islam des pays occidentaux. La* Revue *rangerait donc seulement les Mourides dans la classe des mystiques asiatiques, qui confinent à l'extrême frontière de l'Islam, sans en sortir socialement. Cette réserve ne porte que sur un détail de classification. Elle ne modifie en rien le sentiment de la* Revue *sur l'intérêt et l'importance qui s'attachent au rapport de M. Marty comme caractéristique de l'état des études musulmanes dans l'Afrique Occidentale Française.*

R. M. M.

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

[p 3]

LES MOURIDES D'AMADOU BAMBA

RAPPORT

A M. LE GOUVERNEUR GÉNÉRAL DE L'AFRIQUE OCCIDENTALE

Par E. MARTY.

TITRE PREMIER

L'ORGANISATION DE LA CONFESSION MOURIDE

Mourid est un vocable arabe qui signifie « aspirant, postulant ». Dans le langage mystique le mouride est le disciple qui désire être uni à Dieu d'abord, obtenir ensuite la qualité de cheikh spirituel. On l'emploie plus souvent dans le langage ordinaire pour désigner « l'étudiant, le disciple ». Les Mourides sont donc synonymes dans ce cas des *tolba* ou *talibés*.

Au Sénégal, depuis un quart de siècle environ, on a fini sous cette forme (et aussi sous la forme « Mourites » et « Morites ») par désigner spécialement l'ensemble des adeptes de cette confrérie islamique nouvelle, que dirige le Sérigne Amadou Bamba.

Le Mouridisme devient alors le corps des doctrines religieuses, des prescriptions morales, des pratiques cultuelles

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

auxquelles sont attachés les Mourides. C'est cette division qui est adoptée ci-dessous pour étudier l'organisation de cette secte ou confession nouvelle :

CHAPITRE PREMIER. — *Les personnes. Les Mourides.*

CHAPITRE II. — *Le corps de doctrines et pratiques religieuses. Le Mouridisme.*

CHAPITRE PREMIER

LES PERSONNES (*Les Mourides*).

I. — *Amadou Bamba.*

La secte mouride repose tout entière sur son fondateur et maître Amadou Bamba. C'est parce qu'elles sont attirées par sa sainteté, par sa science, par la croyance qu'il est en communication directe et permanente avec la divinité et en quelque sorte sa personnification sur la terre, que les foules se sont précipitées sur ses traces et l'ont élu pour pasteur et chef suprême. C'est donc par lui qu'il convient de commencer cette étude des Mourides.

a) *Ses origines.* — Le quatrième ascendant d'Amadou Bamba était Toucouleur et originaire de Fouta. C'est lui qui le premier vient s'établir en pays ouolof, s'y maria avec une femme du pays et adopta les mœurs et usages de sa nouvelle patrie. Depuis ce temps, fixés définitivement en terre ouolofe et s'unissant à des femmes de cette race, ses descendants se sont naturalisés ouolofs, Mbalia Mbaké, grand-père d'Amadou Bamba (Cf. *Annexe n° 3*), fonda dans

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

la première moitié du dix-neuvième siècle, le village de Mbaké, dans la province du Baol, canton de La, et s'y établit comme maître d'école. C'est là que naquit son fils Momar Antasali.

Celui-ci fit d'abord ses études avec son père. Il les compléta plus tard auprès d'un savant marabout du nom de « Amadou Bamba ». C'est en l'honneur de ce professeur vénéré que Momar Antasali donna ce nom à son deuxième fils.

Au cours des invasions de l'almamy du Salom : Ma Ba, le grand agitateur de Sénégambie, la région du Baol fut dévastée, Mballa Mbaké tué et Momar Antasali, son fils, déporté dans le Saloum, à Porokhane. Il y ouvrit, pour vivre, des cours d'enseignement coranique qui furent bientôt très suivis et donna une instruction complète à tous ses enfants. Il devint le précepteur des enfants de Ma Ba. C'est là que le jeune Amadou Bamba (vers 1865) fit la connaissance des chefs politiques avec lesquels il devait se lier et dont l'exemple dut certainement inspirer ses jeunes ambitions. Il eut comme disciples le fils de Ma Ba ; Saër Matti. Le damel Lat Dior en fuite, étant venu se réfugier dans le Saloum, y maria sa sœur Thioro Diop avec Momar Antasali.

La soumission de Lat Dior et les changements de la politique valurent à l'ex-damel d'être réintégré dans le commandement du Cayor (1871). Momar Antasali et sa famille l'y suivirent. Après un séjour de plusieurs années à Potar (Cayor), Momar vint s'établir dans la province du Guet, canton de Sagata, et y fonda un village à qui fut donné pour la deuxième fois le nom de la famille. Ce fut Mbaké-Cayor. Il y était établi vers 1880, année où il mourut. Sa famille continua à y résider.

b) *Curriculum vitæ d'Amadou Bamba.* — Amadou Bamba Abiboulaye (de son nom islamique Ahmed, et

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

quelquefois Mohammed) ben Mohammed ben Habib Allah) apparaît pour la première fois sur la scène politique vers 1886, à Mbaké (Cayor). Il faisait partie de l'entourage de l'éternel insurgé Lat Dior et avait acquis dans ce milieu un grand renom de science et de piété. Le damel Semba Laobé, puis son oncle, Lat Dior, qui se posait à nouveau en prétendant, sont, à quelques jours d'intervalle vaincus et tués (octobre 1886). Le démembrement du Cayor qui suivit fit perdre à Amadou Bamba tout espoir de jouer un rôle politique ou religieux. Abandonnant ses disciples et amis, il vint s'installer à Mbaké (Baol), village de son grand-père et fonda lui-même, non loin de Mbaké, un village appelé Touba.

Ce n'était pas sans raison qu'Amadou Bamba s'installait dans le Baol. Cette province était alors livrée à l'anarchie par suite de la faiblesse de son chef Thiéacine Fal. Le Sérigne espérait sans doute qu'avec l'appui de la fraction musulmane de la population, il pourrait déposer Thiéacine et, soit se faire nommer chef, soit faire mettre en place une de ses créatures. C'est ce qui devait d'ailleurs arriver. Quelque temps après, Tanor Goye, ami tout dévoué d'Amadou Bamba, devint tègne du Baol, et fut pendant la période de son commandement (1887-1895), tout à la dévotion de son allié-protecteur,

Le groupement Mbaké-Touba (Baol) se développa donc rapidement. De toutes parts, les disciples accouraient, les dons affluaient. Le Cheikh enseignait, consacrait des marabouts ; sa renommée grandissait rapidement ; il entretenait les meilleures relations avec Saër Matti, toujours en dissidence dans la Gambie anglaise et servait d'intermédiaire entre ce vieil ennemi de notre puissance et le tègne du Baol.

C'est vers ce moment que pour la première fois l'administration commence à s'inquiéter de ce mouvement naissant (fin 1888). On remarque l'installation du Sérigne dans

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

la brousse du bas Ferlo, entre Diolof, Cayor et Baol, à distance égale des fleuves Sénégal et Gambie. Ce point géométrique pouvait devenir très facilement le centre d'un groupement hostile à notre influence, et l'on sent la nécessité de faire surveiller Amadou Bamba. D'ailleurs les réclamations surgissent contre lui : les familles réclament leurs enfants ; les chefs indigènes se plaignent. Le gouverneur Clément Thomas essaie tour à tour une politique de conciliation et de fermeté (1889). Il demande au cheikh de renvoyer les étudiants chez eux, de prêcher le calme à ses adeptes, et lui offre des livres saints en signe d'amitié. Descendant sur son terrain, il essaie de lui faire comprendre que la religion musulmane est outragée par les erreurs doctrinales de ses disciples.

Ces palabres restant sans effet, et le Bour du Diambour ayant signalé que sa province était l'objet de désordres croissants, le Gouverneur, « tel Noë chassant Cham », fit expulser du Guet, les Mourides, prédicateurs de guerre sainte, déjà groupés sous la direction d'Ibra Sar.

Quant à Amadou Bamba, adoptant l'attitude qu'il a conservée jusqu'à ce jour, il écrivait au Gouverneur au commencement de juillet 1889, qu'il « n'avait besoin de rien en ce bas monde futile et périssable ». Ces premiers incidents, qui troublèrent à cette date, 1889-1891, le Diambour, le Cayor et le Baol, ayant été définitivement clos (1891) par la dispersion des Mourides, Amadou Bamba acheva sa soumission et donna des preuves de sa loyauté par une visite au Gouverneur à Saint-Louis, au cours de laquelle il livra sans hésiter les noms de ses disciples les plus compromis.

Le Sérigne assagi disparaît à nouveau pour quatre ans (1891-1895) et ne quitte plus le Baol. Tout rentra dans le calme : le Diambour notamment, dont le Bour avait formellement interdit l'accès aux Mourides, jouit de la plus grande tranquillité.

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

Cependant les circonstances politiques d'une part (mort du tègne du Baol, 1895 ; démembrement de cette province, intervention de plus en plus directe de l'administration française), et d'autre part le désir d'Amadou Bamba de ne pas rester inactif lui firent abandonner Touba (Baol) et jeter son dévolu sur la province du Diolof : il y retrouvait une situation analogue à celle où était le Baol en 1887. Le Bourba du Diolof : Semba Laobé Penda, faible, malade, déconsidéré, semblait être une proie facile pour l'intrigant Sérigne : sa succession était virtuellement ouverte.

Amadou Bamba vint donc s'établir avec cinq cents talibés dans le canton de Bakkal (Diolof) entre Thiéamine et Melekh, et y fonda un village auquel il donna encore le nom de Touba (mars 1895). A Touba (Diolof) répondirent aussitôt à son appel tous ses anciens amis, les guerriers du damel Lat Dior et du Bourba Ali Bouri, des déserteurs, des chefs révoqués, des Peuls fanatisés, tous condottieri en quête d'aventures ou intrigants en mal d'ambition. Influencé par cette force, et sans aucun attachement pour la France, le Bourba du Diolof lui-même, Semba Laobé, vint rendre hommage au Sérigne en mai 1895 et demander son affiliation à la confrérie.

L'agitation recommença aussitôt ; désordres dans les villages, exactions des talibés, insultes aux chefs indigènes, refus de payer l'impôt. L'intervention de l'autorité française s'imposait, d'autant plus qu'Amadou Bamba était représenté à ce moment comme faisant de grands achats d'armes et de munitions, réunissant du monde et pouvant grouper plus de cinq mille talibés.

On apprit alors également que le Sérigne jusque-là Qadri et fils spirituel de Cheikh Sidia, faisait aussi partie de l'ordre des Tidiania réputés hostiles aux Chrétiens en Afrique Occidentale.

Enfin l'apparition à Ganado (Diolof) d'un faux prophète

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

qui se disait ressuscité trois jours après sa mort, jetait toute cette région dans une agitation extrême.

L'arrestation de ces deux marabouts fut décidée : elle fut opérée sans difficultés (10 août 1895), Amadou Bamba condamné à l'internement politique par décision du 5 septembre 1895, fut aussitôt embarqué pour le Gabon.

Il y resta sept ans (1895-1902). Il semble bien qu'il n'aurait dû jamais en revenir. Si pendant cette période, le Mouridisme ne disparaît pas, tout au moins l'éloignement de son chef fait-il bénéficier la région d'une parfaite tranquillité.

Sur la caution de Cheikh Sidia qui se portait garant de la sagesse politique d'Amadou Bamba, la décision de 1895 fut rapportée et le Sérigne autorisé à revenir au Sénégal. Il y débarquait en novembre 1902. Trois mois ne s'étaient pas écoulés que l'agitation recommençait : les talibés accouraient autour de lui, des dons énormes lui étaient versés. On disait que le Sérigne était allé volontairement au Gabon, après avoir prié Dieu de lui faire subir une grande épreuve, et qu'il en était revenu de son plein gré, en dehors de l'administration et sur l'intervention du député du Sénégal. Il avait d'abord pensé revenir par les airs, avec les ailes que le prophète voulait lui donner ; mais par modestie il s'y était refusé. Cette réputation croissait ; les fidèles s'exaltaient ; l'inquiétude devenait générale.

Invité à plusieurs reprises en mai 1903 à se représenter à Saint-Louis, Amadou Bamba éluda tous les ordres. « Je vous fais savoir, écrivait-il à l'autorité locale, que je suis le captif de Dieu, et ne reconnais pas d'autre autorité que Lui. » Au Gouverneur Général, il répondait d'abord en le priant de ne pas écouter les calomniateurs, de croire à sa bonne foi ; puis comme les ordres d'appel étaient réitérés, il prétextait la maladie et l'impossibilité de tout déplacement.

Son arrestation ayant été décidée, les heureuses dispositions prises par l'administrateur Allys et le concours effi-

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

cace du Bour Sine et de Cheikhouna, gendre de Cheikh Sidia, amenèrent Amadou Bamba à se constituer prisonnier, le 13 juin 1903. Il y a lieu de remarquer ici qu'au dernier moment, il fut complètement abandonné par les gens de son village et par sa famille. Quand les forces de police furent proches de Mbaké, son frère aîné Momar vint le trouver au nom du groupement et lui demanda d'accomplir le miracle patent qui devait éloigner les Français. Amadou Bamba s'y refusa : Momar entra aussitôt en relations avec le chef de la colonne et apporta la soumission générale.

On ne crut pas mieux faire à ce moment pour se débarrasser du Sérigne que de le confier à son père spirituel et protecteur Cheikh Sidia, avec mission de le garder dans une de ses Zaouïa. C'est pourquoi il fut envoyé en Mauritanie avec résidence obligatoire à Souet-el-Ma (19 juin 1903).

Ce point était trop rapproché du Sénégal : les pèlerins affluèrent, auprès du Sérigne, et le Gouverneur Général envisagea un moment son transfert en un point plus éloigné du fleuve, tel que Fort-Coppolani. Il n'en fut rien cependant.

En avril 1907, le commissaire du Gouvernement Général en Mauritanie, ayant fait remarquer l'attitude correcte du Sérigne depuis quatre ans, et sa conduite irréprochable lors des événements du Trarza et du Tagont, demanda et obtint le retour au Sénégal d'Amadou Bamba.

La résidence de Thiène (cercle de Louga) entre Louga 65 kilomètres) et Yan-Yan (25 kilomètres), lui était assignée. Ce point avait paru assez écarté et d'accès insuffisamment difficile pour que l'isolement d'Amadou Bamba et son recueillement personnel ne fussent pas troublés. Un domaine de quatre kilomètres carrés lui était concédé pour son installation, celle de sa famille et leurs cultures (avril 1907).

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

Faut-il dire que l'afflux des pèlerins par caravanes nombreuses, l'exagération des dons qui ruinaient des familles entières, la fréquence des propos séditieux, le groupement des fanatiques exaltés provoquèrent à nouveau l'agitation dans la contrée ? Amadou Bamba, qui en 1907 avait pris l'engagement à Coki de ne pas recevoir les visiteurs non munis d'une autorisation administrative, ne tenait aucun compte de sa promesse. La présentation de la quittance d'impôt qu'on voulut alors exiger de toute personne venant de Thiéène ne fit que provoquer des troubles, car les pèlerins n'apportaient jamais cette pièce avec eux, et se croyant victimes de persécutions, protestaient de toutes leurs forces.

On s'aperçut enfin que Thiéène, si peu isolé pour Amadou Bamba et ses visiteurs, l'étaient complètement pour l'administration et les chefs indigènes qui ne pouvaient pas exercer sur le groupement du Sérigne la surveillance nécessaire. Il parut que la meilleure façon de supprimer ce foyer d'agitation était de déplacer Amadou Bamba de Thiéène et de le rapprocher du Baol. C'est ce qu'il avait lui-même demandé à maintes reprises dès 1908. Il reçut donc l'autorisation de s'établir à Diourbel.

Le voyage s'effectua sans incident (13-15 janvier 1912), grâce à l'énergie insolite d'Amadou Bamba, qui apprenant avec effroi que les gens de Mbaké arrivaient en foule à sa rencontre en clamant : « Notre Allah revient », refusa de les voir et maudit tous ceux qui quitteraient leurs demeures.

Dès son arrivée à Diourbel (16 janvier 1912), il écrivait au Lieutenant-Gouverneur du Sénégal pour le remercier de son déplacement. Il ne demandait qu'une chose : que « comme à Thiéène, on ne lui ménageât pas les terrains pour son habitation et ses cultures : il n'avait pas « besoin en ce bas monde que de larges emplacements « pour y habiter avec sa famille, y installer son oratoire et « y faire ses cultures. »

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

Le Sérigne Amadou Bamba est toujours, à l'heure actuelle, en résidence obligatoire à Diourbel.

c) *Caractère d'Amadou Bamba. Son enseignement. Sa vie privée.* — Amadou Bamba jouit auprès de tous les Musulmans, même de ceux qui ne partagent pas ses croyances, tels les Marocains, Maures ou Toucouleurs, tels les Tidiana, d'une estime générale. Tous s'accordent à le considérer comme un saint homme, pieux, charitable, de mœurs très pures, convaincu de la mission de réformation islamique dont il était investi.

Mon jugement sera plus complexe. Dans le domaine religieux, je crois aussi qu'Amadou Bamba est un « convaincu ». Élevé dans un milieu familial où la culture était de tradition, il est très versé dans les lettres et scienees musulmanes. Ces études, semblables sur ce point à l'enseignement des Universités de notre moyen âge, ont toutes une base religieuse, et ont eu pour résultat de l'affermir dans sa foi, en le nourrissant des preuves de la vérité de l'Islam.

Enfin Amadou Bamba croit, vraisemblablement parce qu'il lui a été donné de croire, et parce que cette question de foi, naissant le plus souvent du sentiment personnel et de dispositions naturelles, échappe complètement à l'analyse et aux explications.

Il est hors de doute enfin qu'Amadou Bamba est très charitable. Peut-être même, vu l'abondance de ses aumônes, pourrait-on dire qu'il est personnellement désintéressé, si on était assuré que ces libéralités ne sont pas faites à dessein, et pour attirer de plus forts cadeaux. Ce serait alors le fait d'un adroit politique et d'un habile marabout.

Mais s'il est un vrai croyant et un convaincu, si aujourd'hui il paraît se cantonner dans le domaine religieux et ne chercher d'autre gloire que celle d'un saint de l'Islam,

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

il n'en a pas toujours été ainsi. Il fut un temps favorable, après 1886, où la disparition des chefs politiques du Sénégal d'antan — damel, bour, bourba, tègne — laissait la place libre à des hommes nouveaux, où le prestige des royautés et aristocraties locales qui succombaient sous les coups de la puissance française, était éclipsé par la force et la vérité de l'Islam croissant, par la vertu et la sainteté des marabouts ses représentants.

Amadou Bamba a cru, ce jour-là — et il en est resté longtemps persuadé — qu'il était appelé à restaurer à son profit l'autorité locale. Il a groupé autour de lui des familles des Lat Dior, Semba, Laobé, Ali Bouri, Ma Ba et les a unies à la sienne et à celles de ses disciples par maintes alliances. Tous les condottieri de l'ancien régime, tous les débris des cours des chefs ont accouru à lui et ne vivent encore aujourd'hui que de ses subsides.

Mais Amadou Bamba — malheureusement pour lui — est arrivé trop tard. Il s'est constamment heurté à l'expansion française alors en pleine vigueur. Le rôle des Hadj Omar, des Ma Ba, des Amadou Cheikhou, des Mamadou Amine, des Samory, encore possible jusqu'en 1890, ne l'est plus depuis cette époque ; et il a bien fallu — et non sans peine — que Sérigne Bamba s'en rendît compte.

On peut donc conclure qu'aujourd'hui Amadou Bamba est définitivement confiné dans son rôle de chef de confrérie islamique et de propagateur et réformateur de la foi.

Il était jadis assez subversif dans ses publications : « Tous « les corps, tous les cœurs sont domptés par moi. Les Blancs « et les Noirs me sont soumis... » « Mets sous mon autorité « tous les Chrétiens, et protège-moi contre eux... Par la « vertu de la sourate des Roum, fais qu'ils me soient sou- « mis en captifs... » Son enseignement oral, comme ses écrits, ne tend plus actuellement qu'à démontrer à la foule

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

qu'il est un Prophète et un apôtre. Il se désigne lui-même : « Celui qui connaît son Seigneur, qui ne s'occupe que de « Lui, qui s'éloigne en son cœur des biens de ce monde, « soutien de ceux qui seront sauvés, » : et plus loin, « Maître « des Mourides, serviteur de l'Elu (Mahomet) dont il a res- « suscité la Sounna. »

Ses derniers ouvrages, ainsi que ceux en cours de composition, ne sont plus que des ouvrages de doctrine. Il en est donné un aperçu dans le chapitre suivant qui concerne le Mouridisme.

Il est à remarquer enfin que si grande que soit la vertu d'Amadou Bamba, elle ne le met pas à l'abri des suggestions du « Malin ». La chair est faible, et la pratique de l'ascèse parfois pénible. Il le reconnaît dans ses écrits sous cette forme : « Accorde-moi, ô Roi des Rois, « de me mal- « triser, de vaincre mes passions, sans qu'il soit néces- « saire que je m'adonne à la vie ascétique. » — « Par la « vertu de la sourate des femmes, conduis vers moi les « femmes que j'ai choisies dans ce monde et dans l'autre. » — « Par la vertu de la sourate du divorce, donne-moi les « femmes que je désire, ô toi qui fais ce que tu veux. » — Il faut ajouter que la vie privée du Sérigne est tout à fait correcte au point de vue musulman, et que ne suivant pas sur ce point l'exemple du Prophète, ni même celui de la plupart de ses frères et disciples, il s'en tient au nombre canonique de quatre épouses.

2. — *Cercle du Baol* (*Diourbel*).

Le cercle du Baol est, à l'heure actuelle, la région par excellence du Mouridisme, celle où par la force de circonstances favorables il s'est développé avec ampleur depuis 1887. Il comprend aujourd'hui 33.000 personnes affiliées à la secte (Cf. *Annexe n° 5*), soit les 2/5 au nombre des isla-

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

misés, et le 1/5 de la population totale du cercle. Les adeptes ne sont pas répartis également sur la surface du cercle. A peu près tous de race ouolofe, ils occupent surtout la région sise au Nord de la voie ferrée Thiès-Kayes. Ils cheminent aussi par petits groupes le long du rail. Les cantons les plus mouridisés sont ceux de Guéoul, Thièpe, Diette-Salao et La.

Il convient de donner une mention particulière aux centres de: 1° Diourbel, 2° Moaké-Darou-Touba, 3° Gaouane, 4° Bambey et environs.

Diourbel. — Présente aujourd'hui un intérêt tout particulier dans cette question du Mouridisme d'Amadou Bamba par la présence dans cette escale du Grand-Maître de la confession.

Le Sérigne — âgé d'environ 60 ans — habite un carré dans la ville même. Son installation y fut jusqu'à ce jour plus que sommaire. Cette situation qu'il faisait durer était évidemment un signe très net de sa volonté de montrer à tous qu'il n'était là qu'en résidence provisoire.

Présentement les choses paraissent changer. Depuis ses dernières promesses à l'administration locale, il fait procéder sous la direction de son disciple Ibra Fal à l'élévation d'une grande et spacieuse maison, dans une vaste pièce de terrain attenant à la ville. Il veut prouver par ce geste, ainsi qu'il l'a fait remarquer que sa soumission aux autorités françaises est sans arrière-pensée et que son établissement à Diourbel doit être considéré par tous comme définitif. C'est également dans cette intention qu'il vient de faire venir à Diourbel deux de ses quatre femmes, qui étaient jusqu'ici domiciliées à Touba avec toute sa famille.

Amadou Bamba donne l'enseignement à Diourbel même à une cinquantaine d'élèves environ. Il est assisté dans cette tâche par:

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

Amadou Diop, Bachir Cissé, et provisoirement par le Cheikh très lettré Issa Diène, originaire de Ndaude.

Ses principaux disciples, ceux qui restent attachés à sa personne et lui servent de « missi dominici », sont :

Mokhtar Benda,
Abdallah Diao,
Cheikh Diop,
Abdallah Diop,
Amadou N'diaye Diap.

Outre ces fidèles qui l'entourent constamment, il y a en permanence à Diourbel une centaine de visiteurs et pèlerins divers.

Le centre le plus important et le plus intéressant du Mouridisme est constitué par l'agglomération des trois villages de *Mbaké* (36 kil. N. E. de Diourbel) *Darou*, (5 kil. plus loin), *Touba* (5 kil. plus loin).

Ces trois villages, d'après les registres de recensement, ont une population totale de 2.225 habitants, Mbaké et Darou paraissant légèrement supérieurs en nombre. Ils sont entièrement peuplés de disciples d'Amadou Bamba, étroitement unis sous sa direction spirituelle, et plus spécialement dans chaque village sous l'autorité matérielle de son représentant.

Touba est véritablement, aux constructions près, la zaouïa islamique. C'est : 1° un centre d'études religieuses et profanes, sorte d'Université minuscule où une cinquantaine d'étudiants de 10 à 25 ans s'abreuvent aux sources des belles-lettres musulmanes : théologie, exégèse coranique, droit, grammaire, logique, rhétorique, prosodie.

2° Une manière de couvent où les talibés travaillent et prient en commun, sous la direction des chefs spirituels. La nuit même, par fraction, les disciples se réunissent et

I: Marty MS37 Senegal

chantent matines et laudes par des invocations à Dieu et la récitation d'odes en l'honneur du Prophète.

3° Un centre de pèlerinage très fréquenté et qui le deviendrait encore plus si l'âme de la zaouïa n'en était absente, je veux dire le Maître : Sérigne Bamba.

En attendant ce retour à Touba qui semble bien être son but suprême et son plus ardent désir, Amadou Bamba a minutieusement assuré l'organisation de sa zaouïa. Dès maintenant, quoique encore sans assises de pierres, elle fonctionne régulièrement.

Un petit oratoire privé, qui lui est destiné, s'élève à quelques centaines de mètres de l'agglomération centrale. Celle-ci se compose d'une grande mosquée, vaste aire sablonneuse entourée d'une double enceinte de clayonnages, et de trois carrés principaux et juxtaposés : les carrés des deux fils aînés d'Amadou Bamba : Mohammed Mostafa et Mohammed Fadel, et celui de Masemba, son plus jeune frère. Ces trois personnages constituent le personnel enseignant de la zaouïa et sont de véritables lettrés. Le cheikh Mbaké Bousso, docteur ès lettres islamiques, et qui jouit de toute la confiance d'Amadou Bamba, vient souvent de son village de Darou surveiller les études à Touba.

L'autorité à Touba réside par un équilibre qui demeure stable, grâce à la force de la discipline familiale et religieuse dans la trinité Masemba, Mohammed Mostafad et Amadou Fadiama.

Masemba, dernier fils de Momar Antasali et de Issa Dièye, est le frère consanguin d'Amadou Bamba. C'est un jeune homme de 30 ans, grand, vigoureux, sympathique, s'exprimant facilement en arabe littéraire. Il se présente beaucoup plus comme un homme énergique que comme un marabout onctueux. Sa qualité de dernier né le relègue évidemment au dernier rang, et il paraît en souffrir : il cherche sa voie.

Mohammed Mostafa est le fils aîné d'Amadou Bamba. Il

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

est professeur à Touba comme son oncle Masemba. C'est un jeune homme de 22 ans, intelligent, sympathique et qui mérite d'attirer l'attention. Il est encore à un âge où la réceptivité est grande, et tout porte à croire qu'on pourrait exercer sur ce jeune caractère une emprise qu'il n'est plus permis d'escompter sur Amadou Bamba.

Amadou Fadiama est le neveu d'Amadou Bamba et son homme de confiance à Touba. Il semble chargé de la direction du temporel, et s'absente souvent pour aller en mission, même en dehors du Baol. Il jouit d'une grande influence dans le Sine-Saloum.

Darou, à 5 kilomètres environ de Touba en venant sur Diourbel, est un village de 7 à 800 habitants. Il est sous l'autorité spirituelle et matérielle du Cheikh Mbaké Bousso, beau-frère d'Amadou Bamba. (Cf. *Annexe n° 4*) Il est le chef actuel de la famille des Bousso, d'origine toucouleure, comme celle des Mbaké et qui de tout temps s'est alliée avec elle.

Mbaké Bousso est un homme de 50 ans, très lettré, d'allures pacifiques. Il a épousé Kadia (Khadidja), sœur germaine de Cheikh Thioro, sœur consanguine d'Amadou Bamba. Il possède à Darou une abondante bibliothèque arabe et compose lui-même à ses heures. Il distribue l'enseignement coranique à 60 élèves environ, et se rend souvent à Touba pour y surveiller les études, et même à l'occasion pour y professer.

Mbaké (*Baol*), village à 5 kilomètres de Darou, groupe en hameaux séparés une population de 800 à 1.000 habitants. Il comprend une petite mosquée en pisé, de grandes et spacieuses cases d'habitation, et une école où une vingtaine d'élèves reçoivent l'enseignement coranique. Il a pour chef Momar Diara, frère aîné et germain d'Amadou Bamba, vieillard de 70 ans environ, peu lettré et médiocrement

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

intelligent. Mbaké est pourvu d'ouvriers d'art : forgeron, tailleur, menuisier. On y remarque une boutique de traitant.

Les trois villages de Mbaké — Darou — Touba constituent à l'heure actuelle le centre même de la confrérie d'Amadou Bamba. Tous les habitants sont affiliés à la secte et travaillent pour le Maître. Une recrudescence d'activité s'est fait sentir ici : on a fortement déboisé, trop même, à Mbaké. Des jardins de manioc, de patates, de tomates et d'oignons entourent les villages ; et les champs de mil et d'arachides s'étendent à perte de vue.

Gaouane (canton de Thièpe) est une agglomération d'un millier de personnes environ, surtout intéressante par la présence de son chef : Cheikh Anta, frère consanguin d'Amadou Bamba.

Cheikh Anta, (de son nom islamique El-Mokhtar ben Mohammed) est un homme de 40 ans environ, très vigoureux, quelque peu lettré en arabe, comprenant avec peine le français. Il complète sa réputation de savant par une bibliothèque aussi abondante que désordonnée.

Il n'a jamais joui d'une bonne réputation auprès des administrateurs qui l'ont connu. Dès 1903, M. Allys l'appelle dans un rapport « le mauvais génie d'Amadou Bamba ». A ce moment on s'accorde à le considérer comme le « caissier du mouvement ». Aujourd'hui encore les commandants de cercle sont unanimes à voir en lui un intrigant.

Il est certain que Cheikh Anta s'est rendu le plus gênant des frères et disciples du Sérigne par ses perpétuelles intrigues. On peut donner comme preuve sa dernière instance devant le tribunal de Dakar.

La chose a peu d'importance en elle-même ; mais elle démontre avec quel attachement immoral les Mourides sont dévoués à leur Cheikh, personne n'ignorant que Cheikh

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

Anta n'est pas né à Rufisque, et d'autre part que malgré son habileté, Cheikh Anta est la proie des hommes de loi auxquels il se confie.

Il a noué des relations diverses avec des hommes politiques, des agents d'affaires et des commerçants du Sénégal. Abondamment pourvu d'argent, il en connaît la puissance. Par ces relations, il influence Amadou Bamba qui, personnellement obligé de par sa sainteté d'éviter tout contact avec les Européens, se sent très ignorant dans cette diplomatie et s'en remet volontiers à son frère — ainsi d'ailleurs qu'à Ibra Fal — de la conduite des relations avec les Européens.

On ne peut nier que ce « Ministre des affaires extérieures » des Mourides, comme on l'a appelé, n'ait acquis à ce contact des Blancs une certaine façon toute pratique d'exposer et de liquider les situations. Ce n'est pas en tout cas le scrupule d'entraver la mission religieuse de son frère qui l'arrête. Cheikh Anta, il est aisé de le voir, n'y croit plus depuis longtemps. Le Mouridisme est pour lui une excellente exploitation personnelle.

Cheikh Anta jouit dans le monde indigène d'une réputation de débauché. Il ne recule devant aucune dépense pour obtenir les femmes noires — et même demi-blanches, dit-on — qui excitent ses désirs. Il a été sur ce point et est encore l'objet de plaintes judiciaires devant divers tribunaux indigènes.

A la suite des difficultés qu'il a éprouvées dans le Baol, Cheikh Anta a jugé utile de se créer un second domicile dans le Cayor, et a fort judicieusement choisi pour cette installation le centre de Niakhène, à 25 kilomètres nord de Gaouane (canton de Mbakol-Cayor). Ce village se trouve à peu près au centre du triangle Gaouane, Mbaké-Baol, Mbaké-Cayor. Les cases sont achevées, une large route qui relie Gaouane à Niakhène a été débroussaillée en quelques semaines par les soins de plusieurs centaines de Mourides:

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

elle est jalonnée par les puits de Tiakamy, Kalou N'diané et Thielle.

L'enseignement coranique est distribué à Gaouane à une cinquantaine d'élèves environ. Les autres talibés travaillent aux champs pour le Cheikh.

Balla Mbaké (dit aussi Balla Thioro), frère consanguin d'Amadou Bamba, et germain de Cheikh Thioro, habite tantôt à Gaouane, tantôt dans son propre village de Diakhal. Il a séjourné dans le Trarza pendant plusieurs années, auprès d'Amadou Bamba, quand celui-ci était interné à Souet-el-Ma. Il paraît tranquille ; il est sans enfants.

C'est enfin à *Bambey et environs*, Guéoul, Thièpe, Lambaye, qu'on doit signaler la dernière des plus importantes agglomérations Mourides. Il y a là plusieurs cheikhs très influents :

Cheikh Hafsa, frère consanguin d'Amadou Bamba, qui instruit une trentaine d'élèves à Diorel.

Gora Bakhouma, disciple de Cheikh Anta, à Tiakhamy.

Amadou Digol, à Keur Amadou Digol.

A Lambaye, deux anciens cadis : Mamadou Silla, et Meltoufa Khari ; ainsi qu'un Sérigne influent : Cheikh Alioun Diouf, en relations étroites avec Cheikh Anta et le chef du canton de Joal-Nyiè (cercle de Thiès, résidence de la Petite Côte), fils aîné de Lat Dior.

Sont jointes :

Annexe n° 3. — Cercle du Baol :

Généalogie de la famille Mbaké (Amadou Bamba).

Annexe n° 4. — Cercle du Baol :

Généalogie de la famille Bousso.

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

Annexe n° 5. — Cercle du Baol :

Dénombrement par cantons des Mourides, des islamisés et de la population totale.

Annexe n° 6. — Cercle du Baol :

État des principaux marabouts mourides, de leur origine, de leur résidence et du nombre de leurs talibés.

3. — *Cercle du Sine-Saloum (Kaolack).*

La confession mouride, et avec elle l'Islam, semble perdre du terrain dans les provinces du Sine et du Saloum.

Les statistiques du recensement de 1912 accusent 200 Mourides de moins qu'en 1911. D'autre part, les administrateurs et chefs indigènes formulent nettement sur ce point une impression unanime. Un certain nombre de Mourides proclament eux-mêmes avoir abandonné une secte où ils n'étaient entrés que par ignorance. Certains indices enfin peuvent paraître confirmer cette conclusion : les indigènes, jadis Mourides, ont supprimé les signes apparents de la secte qu'ils portaient sur leurs vêtements : colliers de cuirs et grigris descendant sur le ventre ; on a enlevé les perches des carrés ; on ne se rend plus en pèlerinage à Mbaké-Darou-Touba ; on n'envoie plus de cadeau au Sérigne.

Il faut évidemment chercher les causes de cette régression tant dans l'hostilité très marquée des chefs indigènes, que dans les poursuites très actives dont les marabouts, fauteurs de troubles, ont été l'objet dans le cercle et dans les sévères condamnations qui sont venues réprimer les infractions dont ils se rendaient coupables. Les Sérignes Assane Touré, d'ailleurs désavoués publiquement par Amadou Bamba (cf. *Annexe n° 9*) ; Ali Penda Lo de Kaffrine ;

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

Makhoudia Dieng, Ousman Roudia Lo, de Foundiougne, sont ou incarcérés ou en fuite sur le territoire étranger. Privé des chefs de file, le mouvement s'arrête.

Le Mouridisme affecte d'ailleurs dans ce cercle une forme spéciale. On n'y trouve pas, comme dans le Baol, des villages ou hameaux entiers, étroitement groupés entre eux et vivant dans l'obéissance spirituelle et matérielle du Cheikh. Ici on rencontre, fort disséminés, et dans certains cantons islamisés seulement, quelques personnages qui se déclarent lettrés, et le plus souvent n'ont que peu de talibés, quelquefois n'en ont pas du tout. Ils paraissent sans influence sur les populations qui d'ailleurs surtout fétichistes offrent une résistance plus que passive aux infiltrations de l'Islam en général, et de sa forme mouride en particulier.

Amadou Bamba n'a jamais effectué d'apostolat personnel dans le Saloum d'où il est originaire. Il en a confié le soin à quelques lieutenants, et notamment à Amadou Fadiama. C'est de ce dernier, actuellement représentant du Sérigne à Touba (Baol), que relève la plupart des cheikhs du Sine-Saloum, et c'est lui qui a organisé dans le cercle la perception des redevances.

La famille de Ma Ba, l'almamy du Saloum d'antan, est toujours en relations de sympathie avec le Sérigne. Saër Matti, le fils de Ma Ba, est mort vers 1910, mais son cousin Ma Ba Aoua vit toujours. Il habite le Niomrip, y possède une grande influence, et se considère comme le disciple du marabout de Touba.

Il sera utile de noter d'un mot l'état actuel de la situation dans chaque résidence du cercle.

Résidence du Saloum (*Kaolack*). — Cette résidence comprend quatorze Sérignes, tous de race ouolofe, sauf deux d'origine sérère, qui se sont convertis directement à l'Islam mouride. Ils sont suivis de 54 talibés. De ces 14 Sérignes,

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

4 se rattachent directement à Amadou Bamba ; les autres s'y rattachent par l'intermédiaire : 3, d'Ibra Fati, frère consanguin d'Amadou Bamba ; résidant à Mbaké (Cayor), 2, de Cheikh Anta ; 2 d'Amadou Fadiama, homme de confiance du Sérigne à Touba ; les 3 derniers enfin, dont les 2 Sérères, à des marabouts locaux.

Résidence du Sine (*Fatick*). — La résidence du Sine comprend 21 Sérignes suivis de 120 talibés. Sur ces 21 marabouts, 18 sont Ouolofs, 3 sont Peuls. Il est à remarquer que ce nombre important est dû moins à des conversions locales qu'à un mouvement d'immigration venu du Baol. C'est en effet vers Gossas en particulier, station de la voie ferrée après Diourbel vers le Sine, et chef-lieu du canton de Maroutti, que se dirige l'essor économique des gens de Mbaké-Touba. Ces Sérignes se rattachent à Amadou Bamba, soit directement : 8 ; soit par l'intermédiaire de ses frères : 3 ; ou de ses disciples : 10.

Résidence du Bas-Saloum (*Foundiougne*). — Le seul canton de Djilor comprenait autrefois huit Sérignes Mourides, tous de race ouolofe, dont sept se rattachaient directement à Amadou Bamba et le dernier à Amadou Fadiama. Ils n'avaient point de talibés. Ces gens déclarent aujourd'hui avoir abandonné le Mouridisme.

Résidence du Rip (*Nioro*). — L'éloignement de la province du Rip l'a mise à l'abri des prédications des Mourides. On y rencontre 5 Sérignes seulement, tous d'origine ouolofe, suivis de 21 talibés. Quatre d'entre eux se rattachent à Amadou Bamba directement, le cinquième à Amadou Fadiama.

Résidence du Saloum oriental (*Kaffrine*). — Sur le territoire du Saloum oriental, le Mouridisme, de l'attesta-

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

tion de son chef, est en décroissance. Les condamnations infligées à Ali Penda Lo et à ses disciples pour pratiques de charlatanisme, escroquerie, abus de confiance, troubles divers, ont fortement refroidi les zélateurs. On signale aujourd'hui dans cette résidence, 6 marabouts suivis de 40 talibés. Sur ces six marabouts, deux se rattachent directement à Amadou Bamba, un s'y rattache par Amadou Mbaké son frère; les autres par ses lieutenants.

Le nombre des Sérignes et Talibés dans le cercle du Sine-Saloum est de 281. En comptant 3 ou 4 femmes et enfants par homme, on obtient un chiffre total d'un millier de personnes environ, affiliées à la secte d'Amadou Bamba, ce qui représente le 1,3 p. 100 des Musulmans, et le 0,5 p. 100 de la population globale du cercle.

Sont jointes.

Annexe n° 7. — Cercle du Sine-Saloum :

Dénombrement par résidences et cantons, des Mourides, des islamisés et de la population totale.

Annexe n° 8. — Cercle du Sine-Saloum :

État par résidences et cantons des principaux marabouts mourides, de leur origine, de leur résidence, de leur père spirituel et du nombre de leurs talibés.

Annexe n° 9.

Lettre d'Amadou Bamba, en date du 9 février 1913, désavouant le marabout agitateur Assane Touré.

4. — *Cercle de Thiès.*

La confession mouride qui avait, dès 1910, très vivement attiré l'attention à Thiès, non seulement de l'administration locale, mais même des commerçants européens des escales,

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

semble aujourd'hui en voie de décroissance dans ce cercle.

Il apparaît qu'il faut en attribuer les causes, d'abord à la conduite du Cheikh Ibra Fal, principal lieutenant d'Amadou Bamba dans le cercle, et qui par la licence de ses mœurs privées et par le scandale d'une vie consacrée beaucoup plus à des opérations commerciales qu'à des pratiques religieuses, ébranle la ferveur des Mourides ; ensuite à la présence dans la région d'autres marabouts qui, tels que Cheikh Bou Kouanta, de Keur Bou Kouanta, à 6 kilomètres de Tivouane attirent à eux un grand nombre d'adeptes qadria et font la plus dangereuse concurrence au Mouridisme d Amadou Bamba.

Résidence de la petite côte (*Nianing*). — Des trois résidences qui forment le cercle de Thiés, celle de la petite côte (Nianing) ne comprend que quelques affiliés, une cinquantaine à Thiombologe, dans le canton de Nianing et deux cents environ dans le canton de Joal-Ngoë. On saisit ici sur le vif les relations intimes qui existent entre Amadou Bamba et la famille de Lat Dior. Le chef de ce canton de Joal-Ngo, Bakhane Diop, est le fils aîné de l'ancien damel. Il se défend d'être personnellement Mouride, mais il accorde toutes ses sympathies aux affiliés de la secte. Il donnait l'hospitalité en 1911 au *missus dominicus* d'Amadou Bamba : Baba Diakhoumpa, cadi révoqué du Cayor-Baol, que l'autorité indigène avait chassé des Provinces Sérères pour ses escroqueries et sa propagande déplacée. Comme chef de famille, il a marié ses sœurs et cousines à des cheikhs mourides :

Sa sœur Senne Coumba Mandakhe, née au Saloum peu de temps après la conversion du damel à l'Islam, à Momar Coumba Gissé, actuellement à Diourbel dans l'entourage du Sérigne ;

Sa sœur Coumba Sakhé au Cheikh Cissé Touré, qui réside à Maha (Cayor).

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

Sa sœur Coumba Tiélémane au Cheikh Ibra Fal, à Thiés. Ibra Fal l'a déjà installée dans son carré à Diourbel;

Sa cousine Lala Fal au Cheikh Ibra Fal aussi.

Résidence des Provinces Sérères (Fissel). — Cette résidence est de beaucoup la plus touchée par le Mouridisme, et elle l'est uniquement dans le canton des Diobas qui avoisine le Baol. Il faut remarquer pourtant que les adeptes sont en très grande partie des Ouolofs immigrés ou indigènes et qu'il y a fort peu de Sérères mouridisés. Sur un chiffre de 4.300 Mourides, on peut fixer le chiffre des Ouolofs à 4.100, et celui des Sérères à 200. Ils sont surtout répartis dans les deux villages de Khabane et de Tassette.

Il convient de signaler notamment : à Khabane, les trois cheikhs lettrés et influents : Amadou Ndoumbé Baké, cousin d'Amadou Bamba, qui habite le village de Keur Amadou, réunit un grand nombre de talibés et est dans la région le représentant du Sérigne et l'ardent missionnaire du Mouridisme ;

Abdoulaye Diao qui groupe 80 talibés à Keur Sérigne Abdoulaye ou Dialakh ;

Issa Diène, originaire de Ndaude, qui a fondé dans cette résidence un village du nom de Touba, et qui professe à l'heure actuelle, à Diourbel même, aux côtés du Sérigne Bamba ;

A Tasette, le Cheikh Ma Diop, demeurant au Keur Madiop, où il a une trentaine de talibés.

Dans le canton de Sasssal, on ne signale qu'un marabout, Amadou Lamine Mbaye, avec une trentaine de talibés.

Résidence de Thiès. — La résidence de Thiès présente un grand intérêt dans la question du Mouridisme d'Amadou Bamba, moins à cause du nombre des affiliés que par la présence du Cheikh Ibra Fal.

Ce Cheikh est le principal lieutenant du Sérigne à Thiès.

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

C'est un homme de 45 à 50 ans, peu lettré, dont les ancêtres sont originaires de Kébemer où lui-même il est né. C'est de Kébemer qu'il partit, il y a quelque vingt-cinq ans, pour Mbaké-Cayor où était alors Amadou Bamba, et qu'il se déclara son disciple. Depuis ce temps, Ibra Fal a séjourné plusieurs années à Saint-Louis, et six ans à Ndaude. Il est depuis quatre ans à Thiès, attiré, dit-il, par la valeur agricole des terrains.

Ibra Fal a un physique peu sympathique et qui ne prévient pas en sa faveur. Avec ses tics, ses ricanements nerveux, une sorte de *delirium tremens* qui l'agite, on serait tenté de le prendre pour un « simple ». Il faut pourtant considérer qu'il fut un des premiers disciples d'Amadou Bamba, alors que personne ne soupçonnait encore la fortune naissante du Sérigne, ce qui dénote un certain flair. Depuis il a toujours poursuivi, avec autant d'intelligence que de ténacité, l'accroissement de ses biens. On pourrait l'appeler le « Ministre des affaires économiques » de la confession mouride. Il possède des maisons à Saint-Louis et à Dakar, des concessions à Thiès, à Diourbel, à Ndaude, à Kébemer. Il a installé des maisons de commerce dans plusieurs escales et les fait gérer par ses disciples et ses femmes.

La surveillance de son commerce ne l'occupe pas tout entier. Il fait cultiver par les adeptes et sous la surveillance d'un de ses disciples, d'immenses champs d'arachides, de mil, de graines diverses, et s'occupe avec habileté de leur vente.

Il a créé un grand jardin d'arbres fruitiers à son village de Darou Baïré, près de Thiès, et y a fait planter des manguiers, bananiers, goyaviers, papayers, citronniers, orangers, qu'il a obtenus à la pépinière de Saint-Louis. Il insiste pour qu'on le visite et qu'on n'oublie pas de signaler le fait à l'autorité supérieure.

Toute cette activité dénote, sans conteste, un sens averti des affaires et beaucoup d'opportunisme.

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

Ces qualités qui s'exercent dans un champ tout humain font le plus grand tort au développement religieux de la confession. Le nombre considérable de procès commerciaux que le cheikh est obligé de soutenir pour ses affaires n'est pas fait non plus pour rehausser son prestige maraboutique.

La résidence d'Ibra Fal, Darou Baïré, ou Keur Ibra Fal, sise à un kilomètre environ de Thiès, dans la bifurcation des deux voies ferrées Dakar-Saint-Louis et Thiès-Kayes, est le seul centre mouride qui mérite d'être mentionné. Dans ce village vivent étroitement unies cinq cents personnes, en une dizaine de hameaux, comprenant cent cases environ.

Trois professeurs, tous Ouolofs :

Mokhtar N'diaye ;

Amadou Tcham ;

Amadou Khodja Guèye, lettrés médiocres, y distribuent l'enseignement coranique et quelques éléments de grammaire à environ 75 jeunes talibés de 6 à 15 ans. A partir de cet âge, Ibra Fal juge sans doute que l'enseignement professionnel leur est beaucoup plus profitable ; et dans cette louable intention il les envoie faire du commerce ou travailler aux champs.

Ces étudiants sont logés dans une douzaine de cases qu'ils occupent par nombre de 4 à 12. On leur fait aménager les moyens de couchage les plus divers : lits européens, canapés, matelas, paillasses, nattes, bas-flancs de roseaux ou de perches.

Darou Baïré dans son quartier central comprend en outre deux mosquées, c'est-à-dire deux enceintes de roseaux avec petit pavillon central dont l'un est recouvert de tôle ondulée. L'une de ces mosquées est celle où l'on fait la prière journalière, l'autre, celle des vendredis et jours de fête.

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

Tout à côté, se trouvent les appartements du Cheikh, baraque en planches, garnie d'ameublements divers, puis quelques arbres fruitiers, et enfin une petite case lui servant d'oratoire privé.

La principale entrée du quartier est obstruée par la boutique en planches fort bien achalandée d'un traitant disciple. On est donc contraint de passer à travers la boutique pour pénétrer dans le village du Cheikh : cette entrée d'épicier a la valeur d'un symbole.

L'influence de Cheikh Ibra Fal se fait sentir en dehors du cercle de Thiès sur toutes les escales de la voie ferrée du Cayor jusqu'à Louga.

Un point qui mérite d'attirer particulièrement l'attention, c'est la diffusion possible du Mouridisme dans les pays de race sérère, non pas tant comme secte particulière d'Amadou Bamba, mais comme confession islamique. Les Sérères ont résisté jusqu'à maintenant à tout rayonnement de l'Islam dans leur pays, par suite de leur attachement à leurs croyances traditionnelles. Mais le Cheikh mouride se fait insinuant : il sait adapter la doctrine islamique aux nécessités de la situation. Il permet au néophyte de conserver intégralement son genre de vie propre, et notamment son ivrognerie, pourvu qu'il prononce l'acte de foi mouride. Une fois embrigadé, le nouveau « frère » finit par subir l'ambiance génerale et, s'en remettant d'abord au Cheikh de ses intérêts éternels, finit par abandonner entre ses mains la direction de sa vie matérielle. C'est la première brèche de l'Islam dans le bloc fétichiste.

Il faut se hâter de dire qu'elle est très minime, puisque comme il a été dit, des deux résidences de Thiès établies en pays Sérère, l'une, celle de la Petit Côte, n'a qu'une poussière de Mourides ; l'autre, celle de Fissel, comprend dans le seul canton de Diobas, un fort groupement mou-

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

ride. Ce groupement est à peu près uniquement composé d'Ouolofs d'avant-garde, immigrés du Baol. On n'y relève que deux cents Sérères mouridisés, dont un seul personnage important.

Le nombre total des Mourides dans le cercle paraît être de 5.080, ce qui représente le cinquième du nombre des Musulmans, et le dix-septième du chiffre de la population globale du cercle.

Sont jointes :

Annexe n° 10. — Cercle de Thiès.

Généalogie de la famille Fal (Cheikh Ibra Fal).

Annexe n° 11. — Cercle de Thiès :

Dénombrement par résidences et cantons des Mourides, des islamisés et de la population totale.

Annexe n° 12. — Cercle de Thiès :

État par résidences des principaux marabouts mourides, de leur origine, de leur résidence, de leur père spirituel et du nombre de leurs talibés.)

5. — *Cercle du Cayor. (Tivaouane).*

Le cercle de Cayor (Tivaouane) constitue avec le Baol (Diourbel) et le canton de Diobas (Thiès, Résidence de Fissel) le centre par excellence du Mouridisme d'Amadou Bamba.

Aujourd'hui le cercle est à peu près islamisé dans son ensemble. Cette islamisation s'est effectuée, il y a un demi-siècle environ par les prédications de marabouts, venus du pays toucouleur par le Diambour. Ces personnages dont les noms sont encore vivants dans la mémoire des lettrés

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

sont : Mokhtar Doumbé, maître de Momar Antasali (celui-ci père et maître d'Amadou Bamba).

Mamaka Kane, qui de son village de Sine Lèye Kane ; et Semba Cor, qui de Tivaouane, répandirent l'Islam dans le Saniakhor.

Aboulaye Si, apôtre du Mboul.

Mais ce fut surtout l'influence de Ma Ba, l'Elimane du Saloum, qui fut décisive. Ses prédications enflammées et ses appels à la guerre sainte attirèrent à lui beaucoup d'indigènes. Le triomphe fut complet le jour où le damel Lat Dior, pour les besoins de sa cause, chercha un appui dans l'Islam. Sa conversion fut suivie de celle de ses sujets à qui, comme tout prince noir, il ordonna d'embrasser sa religion.

Aujourd'hui le cercle est partagé entre Tidiania et Qadria ; et les adeptes de ces deux ordres religieux musulmans se considèrent beaucoup plus en hérétiques réciproques qu'en frères de religion suivant deux confréries orthodoxes.

Les Tidiania relèvent de Si El-Hadj Malik, marabout favorable à notre influence.

Les Qadria se rattachent en petit nombre à Cheikh Sidia (confrérie des Qadria-Lessidia) ; *à Cheikh Saad Bouh* (confrérie des Qadria-Fadelia) ; à un marabout local très influent, Cheikh Bou Kounta, domicilié à Keur Bou Kounta, à 6 kilomètres de Tivaouane, et surtout en majeure partie au Mouridisme qadri d'Amadou Bamba.

Le cercle du Cayor paraît mériter une attention toute particulière au point de vue islamique, d'abord sans doute par le nombre des Musulmans qui est de 134.000 sur 140.000 habitants, soit les 27/28es de la population totale ; mais surtout par l'efflorescence de Mouridismes en germe qui n'attendent qu'une occasion favorable pour se développer à l'égal de celui d'Amadou Bamba, et aussi par la nature des sentiments religieux de ces néo-islamisés. Il

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

semble que dans ce Cayor qui fut le centre de la résistance, acharnée de la race ouolofe à notre domination les indigènes ne se sont convertis à l'Islamisme que pour retrouver sur un autre terrain une base de résistance passive. Les plus loyalistes, les Tidiana d'El-Hadj Malik ou les Qadria de Cheikh Bou Kounta restent dans la neutralité ; les irréductibles courent s'affilier au Mouridisme d'Amadou Bamba, parce que ce chef religieux, ami et marabout des anciens damels et aspirant visiblement à leur succession, a été erigé en quelque sorte en représentant du sentiment de l'ancienne indépendance.

La disparition prochaine de Cheikh Bou Kounta amènera une question de succession spirituelle et un déclassement d'affiliés. Il serait bon dès maintenant de surveiller cette confrérie et d'avoir une ligne politique très nette. Il ne paraît pas utile que les Mourides qadria de Bou Kounta aillent à sa mort, grossir le nombre des Mourides qadria d'Amadou Bamba.

Le nombre des Mourides bamba du cercle est de 28.000 environ sur 134.000 Musulmans et 140.000 habitants, ce qui représente le cinquième de la population totale, et sensiblement le cinquième de la population islamisée.

Province de Saniakhor. — Les principaux villages mourides sont : Maummou, près de Pire ; Ngouï et Médina dans le canton de Mbar. Médina est sous la dépendance spirituelle d'un marabout âgé et influent : Mabèye Bèye. Ce Cheikh, fils d'un Sérigne jadis influent lui-même, Ibra Bèye, et d'une mère lebboue, s'est affilié à la confrérie bamba, il y a six ans environ. Il avait jadis connu Amadou Bamba dans l'entourage de Lat Dior et de Semba Laobé, dont il faisait partie comme marabout. C'est un riche cultivateur qui groupe deux ou trois cents disciples et partisans dans la région de Mekhé. Ami d'Ibra Fal, il entretient d'étroites relations avec ce Cheikh.

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

Keur Momar Ovarka, village du Sérigne Momar Ouarka Khan. Celui-ci groupe autour de lui soixante talibés environ, dont la moitié suit son enseignement coranique.

Toutes les escales de la ligne: Pire, Goureye, Ngaye, Mekhé, Kelle Ndaude, Kébemer, Goumbo, Guéoul sont partiellement sous la dépendance spirituelle et surtout économique de Cheikh Ibra Fal, dont Kébemer est le lieu d'origine. Ce Sérigne y envoie en inspection et visite ses talibés de Thiès.

Province de Mboul-Mbakol. — On peut signaler dans cette province des groupements mourides importants:

A Afla, village sous la direction spirituelle des Cheikhs Momar Mbaye et Madonne Samba. Le premier distribue l'enseignement coranique à 28 élèves environ, il groupe autour de lui une centaine de disciples;

A Darou Tendin, village créé par le Cheikh Ngagné Tendimé, d'origine maure.

A Ndiob Botol, où le Cheikh Ndiaga Diop groupe 40 talibés environ.

Province de Guet. — La province de Guet est tout à fait intéressante au point de vue du Mouridisme d'Amadou Bamba, car elle est le berceau de ses origines. C'est en effet à Mbaké (Cayor), village fondé par son père Momar Antasali, que le Sérigne se réfugia à la fin de 1886 quand la chute et la mort de Semba Laobé et de Lat Dior dispersèrent les derniers partisans de l'indépendance du pays. L'année suivante il s'enfonça plus avant dans l'intérieur et alla se fixer à Mbaké-Touba, du Baol, mais Mbaké du Cayor ne fut jamais négligé. Il y revint souvent et veilla à ce que le village conservât toujours sa réputation de centre intellectuel.

Aujourd'hui encore c'est une agglomération très prospère de sept cents habitants (306 cases — 16 carrés) où

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

sous la direction du Cheikh Ibra, frère consanguin d'Amadou Bamba, et de plusieurs professeurs: Ibrahim Sal, Momar Dème, Saer Diané, une trentaine d'élèves apprennent le Coran et la grammaire. Les habitants du village sont tous bamba et travaillent aux champs pour le Maître, ce qui lui procure de grosses ressources.

Ibra Fati est né à Porokhane, dans le Saloum, au moment où Momar Antasali y fut interné par l'Elimame-Almamy Ma Ba. Il a 45 ans, environ, est père de six enfants, et est à Mbaké (Cayor) le représentant d'Amadou Bamba. Il est fort instruit et a été de tout temps le confident intime du Sérigne. C'est à lui qu'en 1903, au moment de son départ pour la Mauritanie, il adressait ceux de ses disciples qui voudraient soit s'instruire, soit à la fois s'instruire et travailler aux champs. Quant à ceux qui désiraient simplement travailler aux champs, ils étaient renvoyés à Cheikh Anta. Aujourd'hui, c'est certainement de tous ses frères et disciples celui dont la conduite est le plus conforme à celle du Maître. La foule d'ailleurs ne s'y trompe pas, et on a longtemps dit qu'Ibra Fati était le successeur désigné d'Amadou Bamba.

Il se tient vis-à-vis de l'autorité française sur une très grande réserve, ne jugeant jamais ses actes et se montrant très déférent aux ordres de l'administration locale. Il faut avouer d'ailleurs qu'il ne lui fait aucune avance. Il reste confiné dans son rôle de Cheikh religieux et de professeur, ce qui ne l'empêche pas de mener avec beaucoup d'habileté la direction du temporel à Mbaké-Cayor.

Dans le canton de Sagata (Guet), réside à l'heure actuelle au village de Mbaro l'ex-cadi Baba Diakhoumpa. Ce personnage, comme tous les ex-agents de l'administration qui entourent Amadou Bamba, n'a évidemment de Mouride que l'étiquette. Il est quelquefois employé comme missionnaire politique par Amadou Bamba, et c'est dans ces services qu'il trouve ses moyens de subsistance.

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

Sont jointes :

Annexe n° 13. — Cercle du Cayor :

Dénombrement des Mourides, des islamisés et de la population totale.

Annexe n° 14. — Cercle du Cayor :

État par province des principaux marabouts mourides de leur origine, de leur résidence, de leur père spirituel, du nombre de leurs talibés.

6. — *Cercle de Louga.*

Le cercle de Louga est aujourd'hui entièrement islamisé. Quatre peuples : Ouolofs, Peuls, Toucouleurs, Maures, s'en partagent le territoire. Chacun de ses peuples conformément aux lois sociologiques, conçoit suivant le génie propre de sa race la doctrine et les prescriptions du Prophète et les adapte à ses institutions traditionnelles ; mais tous dans le domaine religieux se réclament de l'Islam.

Jusqu'à la fin de 1911, le cercle ou plus spécialement la province du Diolof, fut un ardent foyer de Mouridisme. Mais la cause en était factice. C'était la seule présence d'Amadou Bamba à Thiéène qui provoquait cette agitation inaccoutumée.

Le Maître partant (janvier 1912), les disciples le suivirent. On ne revit plus de pèlerins et l'on put constater que l'influence acquise sur les populations locales était à peu près nulle. C'est à peine si aujourd'hui on peut signaler pour tout le cercle un chiffre de trois cents Sérignes et talibés Mourides, ce qui représente un millier de personnes affiliées à la confrérie d'Amadou Bamba, Si l'on considère que le cercle contient 106.000 habitants, c'est-à-dire

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

106.000 Musulmans (cf. *Annexe n° 15*), on verra que la proportion des Mourides est de 1/106 par rapport à la population musulmane et totale du cercle.

Quelques marabouts méritent seuls une mention particulière dans chacune des cinq provinces qui forment le cercle.

Province du Diolof. — La province du Diolof est commandée par un chef remarquablement intelligent et énergique, Bouna N'diaye, qui sait parfaitement obtenir obéissance de tous ses administrés, quelle que soit leur confession islamique. Le Sérigne le plus important de cette province est Khali N'diaye, d'origine ouolofe, qui groupe à N'diayène une centaine de talibés-travailleurs, et distribue l'enseignement coranique à une dizaine d'élèves.

Province du Diambour septentrional. — Le Diambour septentrional ne présente guère plus d'intérêt. On y trouve environ 130 talibés, groupés sous la direction d'une quinzaine de Sérignes. Cheikh Ibra Sar, qui réunit une quarantaine de disciples, est le plus important de ces Sérignes. Sa réputation dépasse d'ailleurs le Diambour et il jouit dans la secte d'un certain prestige de science et de piété. A la suite de l'internement au Gabon d'Amadou Bamba, Cheikh Ibra Sar s'était retiré dans le cercle de Thiès, où de malencontreuses querelles avec les indigènes valurent des condamnations à plusieurs de ses disciples. Il professe aujourd'hui à Thiarème et garde une attitude correcte vis-à-vis de l'autorité. On peut encore signaler pour mémoire Amadou Gaye, de Nidiagne, qui a épousé une fille d'Amadou Bamba.

Ce village de N'diagne mérite d'ailleurs d'attirer l'attention : sis à la limite des deux Diambour, c'est la patrie de quatre ou cinq Sérignes et le centre de plusieurs écoles coraniques : il paraît être un foyer islamique de quelque importance.

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

La situation de la province, bien dirigée par son chef Socé So, est au point de vue des mourides tout à fait satisfaisante.

Province du Diambour méridional. — Une cinquantaine de Sérignes et de talibés, tel est le bilan du Mouridisme dans le Diambour méridional. Deux noms seulement sont à signaler, plus pour leur richesse et la considération dont ils jouissent, que pour leur influence religieuse : Assan N'diao à Durou, celui-ci assez instruit; Ibra Kebi, commerçant retiré des affaires et peu lettré, à Louga même.

Il faut donner ici une mention particulière à un frère consanguin d'Amadou Bamba : Cheikh Thioro, domicilié en principe à Louga. Cheikh Thioro, ainsi appelé du nom de sa mère Thioro Diop, fille de Lat Dior, est un homme intelligent et instruit, mais débauché et dénué de tous scrupules. Il exploite son frère Amadou Bamba et la confession mouride, avec autant de maëstria qu'il « mangeait » ses justiciables quand il était cadi à Louga, — ce pourquoi il fut révoqué. Il a essaimé ses femmes, légitimes ou non, à Saint-Louis, à Louga, dans le Cayor, dans le Baol ; et leur nombre qui n'a rien de canonique, scandalise les Mourides convaincus. Ce frère prodigue cause des soucis à Amadou Bamba. qui se montre pourtant d'une grande faiblesse à son égard et lui verse de grosses sommes d'argent, vite dissipées. Mais le Mouride de fantaisie qu'est Cheikh Thioro n'en reste pas plus tranquille. Il fait l'important, coquette avec les hommes d'affaires et commerçants du Sénégal, offre ses services à l'administration. Cette agitation dans le vide ne présente aucun danger, Cheikh Thioro n'étant pris au sérieux par personne.

Provinces du N'guick-Mérina et du Gandiolais. — Au fur et à mesure qu'on s'éloigne du croissant mouride qui borde le Ferlo sur les côtés ouest, sud-ouest et sud,

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

l'influence d'Amadou Bamba disparaît. C'est ainsi que les provinces du N'guick-Mérina et du Gandiolais en sont à peu près exemptes. On signale pour ces deux provinces réunies un total de 80 Sérigues et talibés, ce qui représente un maximum de 250 personnes relevant de l'autorité spirituelle d'Amadou Bamba. On ne relève aucune personnalité méritant une mention particulière.

Sont jointes les Annexes :

Annexe n° 15. — Cercle de Louga :

Dénombrement par provinces des Mourides, des islamisés et de la population totale.

Annexe n° 16. — Cercle de Louga :

État par provinces des principaux marabouts mourides, de leur origine, de leur résidence, de leur père spirituel et du nombre de leurs talibés.

7. — *Dakar et Saint-Louis.*

Il convient pour être complet de signaler le petit nombre de Mourides, installés à Dakar et à Saint-Louis. On peut en fixer le chiffre à 140 environ pour Dakar, et à 130 pour Saint-Louis.

Ces Mourides ne sont pas des habitants même de la ville, mais des immigrés du Baol, du Cayor et du Diambour; Dakar est en effet une cité trop industrieuse pour se prêter à un travail de propagande religieuse; et Saint-Louis un centre musulman trop éclairé pour qu'on y accepte les fantaisies doctrinales des Mourides.

Ils sont là en travailleurs, en général sans leur famille, envoyés par leur cheikh pour gagner de l'argent. Ils exercent les métiers de portefaix sur les quais et surtout de fabricants et vendeurs de paillasses à l'usage des indigènes.

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

A Dakar, ils sont en outre vendeurs d'eau dans la ville noire, et à Saint-Louis, vendeurs de bois, ou vendeurs d'herbages pour les nombreuses vaches nourries en ville.

Au moment de l'hivernage, la plupart de ces talibés reviennent à leur pays d'origine pour être employés aux travaux de préparation de la terre et aux semailles.

Ils sont en général sous l'autorité spirituelle de Cheikh Ibra Fal. Lui-même vient à Dakar. Il est représenté à Saint-Louis par Amadou Guèye.

Cheikh Ibra Fal possède plusieurs carrés et constructions diverses, tant à Dakar qu'à Saint-Louis.

Cheikh Anta est propriétaire à Dakar, dans la rue Raffenel, d'une belle maison achetée 28.000 francs à un indigène, et louée actuellement à un commerçant marocain, nommé Madani El-Qtiri.

CONCLUSION

Dans cette étude des cadres et fidèles de l'ordre Mouride, il y a lieu de comprendre, outre Amadou Bamba et les principaux lieutenants déjà cités, un grand nombre de marabouts locaux, qui n'ont pas toujours reçu les enseignements d'Amadou Bamba, mais qui, les uns par conviction intime peut-être, les autres par intérêt et pour retenir leurs fidèles que le mouvement nouveau emportait, ont embrassé l'ordre du Sérigne, et sont devenus ses vicaires. Il faut y joindre des chefs de villages ou de fractions, des notables en quête d'autorité ou de prestige, des traitants matois qui conduisent habilement leurs affaires commerciales et leurs intérêts spirituels. Les Cheikhs et Sérignes qui ont quelque influence ont fait l'objet d'états spéciaux par cercles. (Cf. *Annexes* n° 6, 8, 12, 14, 16.)

En résumé, on peut fixer le nombre des personnes affi-

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

liées à l'ordre d'Amadou Bamba, à 68.350. (Cf. *Annexe* n° 2 : Dénombrement général par cercles des Mourides.)

Si l'on défalque de ce nombre les femmes, les enfants, les vieillards qui sont Mourides parce que le chef de famille est Mouride, il reste environ une dizaine de milliers d'adeptes, hommes faits, volontairement attachés au Sérigne ou à ses lieutenants.

Quant au nombre d'étudiants de tout âge qui reçoivent effectivement quelque instruction, il ne semble pas dépasser un millier.

Les Mourides, si l'on en excepte, ainsi qu'il a été dit, quelques unités à Dakar et à Saint-Louis, sont concentrés dans une zone d'habitat qui affecte la forme régulière d'un croissant. (Cf. *Annexe* n° 1 : Schéma géographique de la confession mouride d'Amadou Bamba.) Ce croissant mouride enroule le Ferlo à l'Ouest et au Sud, la pointe inférieure dans le Saloum Oriental, le renflement étant formé par les Cercles du Cayor (Tivaouane), et du Baol (Diourbel) et par une fraction du cercle de Thiès. La courbe intérieure suit la ligne de démarcation des steppes du Ferlo et des régions cultivées; la courbe intérieure suit sensiblement les voies ferrées Dakar-Saint-Louis, et Thiès-Kayes, et ne déborde que légèrement à l'ouest et au sud de ces lignes.

Il convient d'ajouter pour terminer, que ce vocable de Mourides, employés pour désigner les talibés d'Amadou Bamba, ne plaît guère au Sérigne. Il aime les appeler lui-même les « Bakiin », c'est-à-dire à la fois les gens de M'baké (sa zaouïa) et les disciples du M'baki (lui-même). Nous dirions en français les Bakiites.

l: Marty M537 Senegal

CHAPITRE II

LE CORPS DES DOCTRINES ET PRATIQUES RELIGIEUSES
(*Le Mouridisme.*)

Le Mouridisme, pour désigner par un mot le corps des doctrines et pratiques religieuses auquel sont attachés les Mourides, doit être considéré comme une sorte de religion nouvelle née de l'Islam. Son fondateur, Amadou Bamba, est évidemment un Musulman instruit qui puise à volonté dans les livres canoniques les saines doctrines de l'Islam orthodoxe. Mais c'est aussi un illuminé. Sous sa plume de contemplatif, et dans son enseignement sans traditions, cette doctrine est transformée en un mysticisme vague, où les principes religieux de l'Islam ne sont pas pris dans leur véritable sens, ni exposés avec la rigueur de la scolastique orientale. Amadou Bamba ayant posé les bases, ses disciples immédiats, les cheikhs consacrés par lui, les ont développées avec l'ardeur d'illettrés et l'extravagance de néophytes; la mentalité noire a fait le reste.

Si on peut donc tout d'abord considérer le Mouridisme comme une confrérie religieuse, filiale des Qadria, il faut se hâter d'ajouter que ce mouvement dépasse de beaucoup la portée des ordres religieux, associations régulières où les pieux Musulmans cherchent par des prières surérogatoires et les mérites de la communion des Saints, à gagner plus sûrement le Paradis. Il est même plus qu'une de ces hérésies si nombreuses dans l'Islam, comme dans toute religion, où le rationalisme des uns, le mysticisme des autres, déforment la doctrine première et donnent naissance à des confessions sœurs, de direction indépendante,

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

d'esprit novateur, mais suivant malgré tout une voie parallèle à l'enseignement initial.

Ici, nous sommes en plein vagabondage islamique. L'étude détaillée : 1, du dogme; 2, de la morale; 3, des pratiques cultuelles; 4, de l'ordre religieux des Mourides, l'établira sans peine.

1. — *Dogme.*

L'Islam orthodoxe n'est pas une religion philosophique qui s'établit par des démonstrations régulières et des preuves de raison. C'est une religion intuitive à laquelle dans un acte de foi venu du cœur on adhère de toutes ses forces. Ce caractère de simplicité a produit des conséquences diverses suivant les pays. En Orient, quand la philosophie s'empare des doctrines religieuses et les étudie à la lumière de la raison, elle aboutit presque aussitôt à la constitution de sectes hérétiques. Ici dans l'Extrême-Occident de l'Afrique, cet Islam si simple, propagé parmi des peuples noirs dont la mentalité diffère essentiellement de celle des races sémites, est adopté sans difficulté, mais transformé, déformé plutôt, aussitôt qu'adopté. C'est ce qui s'est produit pour le Mouridisme d'Amadou Bamba, qu'on peut définir « de l'Islam à l'usage des Ouolofs ». Rien n'est plus facile que de faire un acte de foi et de le faire même sincèrement; mais quand tout le fait religieux se borne là, et que toute la vie sociale, et même religieuse de jadis, continue à diriger un peuple, on comprend que l'orthodoxie primitive en souffre, et que le résultat pratique soit la naissance sur une base d'Islam de véritables confessions nouvelles.

On peut ramener les fondements dogmatiques de la loi musulmane à trois : l'Unité de Dieu, la Prophétie, la vie future.

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

Dieu. — Pour Amadou Bamba et les plus instruits des cheikhs Mourides, l'idée de Dieu est assez semblable à celle que s'en font les Musulmans : « Dieu est un esprit supérieur, un, doué de toutes les perfections, maître absolu de toutes choses, créateur de tout ce qui existe : le ciel, la terre, les êtres vivants et inanimés. » Mais on arrive vite à cette sorte de panthéisme qui caractérise les croyances des Noirs : Dieu est tout ; tout est Dieu. Tous les phénomènes, sensibles ou non, sont des manifestations de la Divinité. Amadou Bamba est l'Élu, le représentant visible de Dieu sur la terre. Toute direction doit donc venir de lui, l'intermédiaire obligé entre la divinité et l'homme. La foule grossière pousse encore plus loin cette déformation. Il n'y qu'un Maître suprême dans l'Univers : c'est Amadou Bamba ; elle adore ce Dieu qui a bien voulu se faire homme et habiter parmi nous : c'est une véritable incarnation divine. Quelle distance et qu'y a-t-il de commun entre ces croyances grossières et le dogme, si lumineux dans l'esprit du Prophète, de l'Unité et de la spiritualité divines !

La Prophétie. — La notion du Prophète Mahomet est couverte d'un voile aussi épais. A part les Cheikhs qui comprennent à peu près nettement la mission de l'Envoyé et y croient en bons musulmans, le peuple ignore complètement l'existence du Prophète. Il n'y a d'autres envoyés que ceux à qui le Maître Amadou Bamba a transmis sa baraka et conféré le pouvoir de la déverser sur les fidèles. La formule sacrée de l'Islam n'est pas d'ailleurs sans être connue : « Il n'y a pas d'autre divinité que Dieu et Mahomet est son Prophète. » Mais elle est récitée aveuglément par ces Ouolofs, en un arabe incompréhensible et incompris, comme un talisman verbal et mystérieux. Amadou Bamba est le « plus grand, et Cheikh Ibra Fa, est son Prophète » me disait un Mouride du Cayor. On ne saurait mieux

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

emprunter à l'Islam ses articles de foi, et une fois vidés de leur contenu, les remplir des croyances locales.

La vie future. — Quand les notions de la divinité et du Prophète sont obscurcies à un tel point chez ces pseudo-Musulmans, on peut comprendre facilement quelles hérésies ils commettront dans leurs croyances eschatologiques. Mahomet a cru à la résurrection finale, au jugement dernier et universel, à l'immortalité pleine et entière de l'être humain, reconstitué corps et âme, à une vie future où les bons trouveront avec des plaisirs, très matériels il est vrai, une certaine jouissance dans la vision béatifique de Dieu, où les méchants connaîtront dans les cercles infernaux, situés sous le monde, le châtiment de leurs fautes.

Si l'on en excepte trois ou quatre lettrés qui ayant lu ces renseignements dans le Coran et ses commentateurs, les ont adoptés sans trop de précisions, la masse du peuple mouride ne se fait aucune idée de ses fins dernières islamiques. Plusieurs adeptes ont paru surpris qu'on pût penser à l'autre monde et ont avoué que c'était chose inconnue pour eux. D'autres se représentent la vie future comme la continuation de la vie terrestre avec des satisfactions matérielles et des ripailles qu'on ne peut malheureusement pas s'offrir tous les jours en ce bas monde. Les derniers enfin — ceux qui ont la foi du charbonnier avant que de penser — s'en remettent purement et simplement à Amadou Bamba sans autre spécification.

Le Mahdi. — Un dernier point était à éclaircir avant de clore cette étude de la dogmatique mouride. Quelle est la conception que les adeptes se font du Mahdi, ce Messie plus hétérodoxe que coranique, dont la croyance est si répandue dans le monde musulman et qui doit venir un jour convertir et soumettre le monde entier à l'Islam ? C'est encore à l'ignorance générale qu'on se heurte sur ce

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

point. Les uns entendent ce nom pour la première fois ; les autres demandent une explication et quand elle leur est donnée, s'exclament avec admiration : « Mais c'est justement là le portrait de Sérigne Bamba. » Il est donc hors de doute — et cette conclusion ressort en outre de plusieurs conversations avec Amadou Bamba — que ce Sérigne ne se prend ni ne se donne pour le Mahdi.

2. — *Morale.*

Si le dogme islamique est fort vague dans l'esprit des Mourides d'Amadou Bamba, les prescriptions de la morale religieuse y sont encore plus rudimentaires.

La morale du Prophète, si large qu'elle soit, a été l'objet de réglementations précises, soit dans le Coran, soit dans des renseignements oraux que nous a transmis la Tradition (Sounna). Elle est basée sur la prière, le jeûne, l'aumône, le pèlerinage et la guerre sainte-apostolat. Les bons Musulmans suivent très fidèlement ces prescriptions et les appliquent dans leur sens le plus élevé.

Or Amadou Bamba a lui aussi dans ses écrits de magnifiques exhortations morales. Un de ses ouvrages *la Clef qui ouvre le paradis et ferme l'Enfer*, est même d'une grande élévation de vues :

« Apprends à prier pour plaire à Dieu, n'apprends pas à « prier pour le faire avec ostentation.

« Sois poli, fais ta prière, donne à ceux qui demandent, « ne sois pas méchant. Celui qui garde pour lui seul tous « ses biens et ne fait pas la charité aux pauvres, celui-là « sera malheureux avant sa mort.....

« Ne touche pas les femmes, ne les fréquente pas.....

« Maintenant, mes amis, il faut faire la guerre sainte aux âmes ;.....

« Demande à Dieu pardon de tes péchés....»

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

Mais à côté de ces enseignements très élevés, il y a une morale pratique à l'usage des Khouan mourides qui consiste à s'abandonner complètement, corps et âme, à son marabout, moyennant quoi on est délié de toute obligation morale, de toute pratique religieuse. Plus de prière, plus de jeûne, plus de continence; tout est permis pourvu qu'on reste fidèlement attaché au Cheikh et par lui au Sérigne Suprême. La Sainteté de celui-ci est si grande, sa baraka rédemptrice si efficace, que, comme la charité évangélique, « elle couvre la multitude des péchés ».

Avec de telles doctrines morales on pourrait craindre les pires désordres privés. Il n'en est rien cependant. La surveillance des marabouts est grande vis-à-vis des affiliés; les scandales de la foule vite réprimés; et d'ailleurs tous biens, toutes sommes d'argent étant remis ou envoyés au Cheikh local ou au Sérigne, on ne voit pas avec quels moyens les adeptes pourraient s'adonner aux plaisirs même les moins dispendieux. Mais le frein le plus puissant est sans contredit cette dure obligation à un travail de bête de somme que les Cheikhs imposent aux Mourides et que ceux-ci acceptent avec une étrange facilité. Ici l'esprit de la doctrine d'Amadou Bamba se rencontre avec les enseignements des plus anciens moralistes : « Avoir l'esprit et le corps toujours occupés. »

C'est évidemment le moyen le plus sûr, peut-être, d'arriver à la sainteté mouride, mais aussi de ne pas commettre de désordres compromettants, et sûrement de remplir les coffres de marabouts.

Il n'est donc pas possible de conclure que la morale mouride est une adaptation pratique à l'usage des Noirs de la morale islamique : ce serait faire injure à celle-ci. Si tant est que la morale mouride existe, on peut la résumer en cette parole attribuée au fondateur d'une moderne confession chrétienne : *Pecca fortiter, crede fortius* (Pèche fortement, mais crois plus fortement encore).

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

3. — *Culte.*

Le culte islamique tant privé que public est tout à fait rudimentaire : cinq prières journalières précédées d'ablutions; le vendredi la prière de midi faite à la mosquée; la récitation copieuse du chapelet; les jours de fête, quelques sacrifices assez grossiers d'ailleurs et ne rappelant en rien le sens auguste de l'immolation, tel qu'il fut compris dans l'antiquité ou que le comprend le Christianisme. C'est tout.

Or — le fait est symptomatique — c'est en matière de culte, et encore dans ce qu'il y a de plus extérieur, que les Mourides, et certainement les autres Noirs, sont le plus islamisés. Ce culte est assez bien organisé à Touba. Le muezzin fait l'appel à la prière aux heures canoniques, et chacun cesse ses occupations pour se recueillir. On se réunit même souvent, une fois par jour, ordinairement le soir, à la mosquée. Cette mosquée, le sanctuaire par excellence du Mouridisme, est une simple enceinte de roseaux, *diaka;* elle ne possède ni minaret, ou simili-minaret, ni chaire (*minbar*), ni panneau pour l'imam (*mihrab*), ni bassin d'ablutions. Ailleurs la vie n'est pas organisée aussi monastiquement. Les fidèles sont beaucoup moins dévots et font simplement la prière de l'aurore et du couchant. Encore ne faut-il pas voir dans cette prière « un entretien intime et familier avec Dieu », mais la récitation de deux ou trois formules arabes incomprises et qui n'ont rien de cultuel.

Pour la masse enfin, il n'est plus question de prières régulières. De temps en temps, le vendredi notamment, les fidèles vont se placer derrière leur marabout, et les yeux fixés sur lui, copient gauchement tous ses gestes, toutes les attitudes de son corps, se levant quand il se lève,

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

se prosternant quand il se prosterne et naturellement ne récitant absolument rien. C'est ce qu'on appelle « faire salam ». C'est ce salam tout extérieur, qui, induisant en erreur ceux qui le voient, leur font prendre ces indigènes pour des Musulmans orthodoxes. A part la volonté de foi qu'ils ont évidemment et ce geste de façade, on peut se demander en quoi ces néo-islamisés sont fils du Prophète.

Les mosquées sont constituées en général par un carré sablonneux, entouré ou non d'un clayonnage de roseaux ou de branchages (*diaka*), quelquefois par une case de paille, très rarement par une petite baraque de planches (*diouma*). On n'y trouve aucun des accessoires pourtant si rudimentaires des mosquées ordinaires. Il n'y a pas de muezzin qui annonce la prière à l'heure sainte, pas d'imam qui fasse le prône et dirige les prières. C'est soit le cheikh mouride, soit un marabout voisin qui vient là, conduit par sa piété, et tous se groupent derrière lui.

Les femmes ne sont admises ni à la mosquée, ni aux prières publiques. On m'en a donné comme raison : « Les femmes ne sont pas propres. Qu'elles prient chez elles si elles veulent ! » Les hommes croient généralement qu'elles n'ont pas besoin de prier, non pas évidemment que leur état de sainteté les en dispense, mais parce que ce sont des êtres inférieurs, et que la prière n'est pas demandée à des créatures aussi humbles.

Les deux grandes fêtes religieuses de l'Islam sont connues : « La fête du mouton » (*Aïd el-Kebir*), qui est appelée *Tabaski ;* la fête de la rupture du jeûne (*Aïd Sér'ir*, qui est appelée *Kori*. Quelques lettrés n'ignorent pas l'*Achoura* (dixième jour du mois de Moharrem, fête de l'année nouvelle), dite ici *Tankharet ;* et le *Mouloud*, jour de la naissance du Prophète. Ils les célèbrent par un repas plus abondant qu'à l'ordinaire.

L'instruction religieuse est donnée dans le monde mouride comme chez tout peuple islamisé, dans les écoles dites

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

maraboutiques ou coraniques. Ces écoles sont assez nombreuses et répandues un peu partout. On sait que l'école est un des principaux moyens de diffusion de l'Islam et que tout Musulman quelque peu lettré qui s'établit dans un centre, y installe aussitôt son oratoire, y annexe une petite école, et que, vu le prestige de la science aux yeux des Noirs, il est assuré d'avoir tout de suite des élèves. Les Cheikhs mourides utilisent avec art cette voie de propation de leur secte. Ils font ouvrir des écoles coraniques dans tout centre où brille quelque espoir de réussite et y installent un pseudo-lettré sachant à peine lire l'arabe, tout à fait incapable d'expliquer un auteur quelconque et se bornant à faire annoncer, comme on le lui apprit, les sourates mystérieuses du « Livre ».

Ces maîtres d'école-marabouts sont tous des Ouolofs, ne parlant et n'entendant que leur langue maternelle, et articulant avec la plus grande difficulté, faute d'habitude, la langue arabe. Certaines lettres, telles que le H' (ح), le A' (ع), le Kh' (خ), le Ch (ش), ne peuvent pas être prononcées par eux. C'est d'ailleurs pour cela que les Européens, même arabisants, et quelquefois les Maures ont fini par adopter un système de transcription spéciale pour les noms noirs, d'origine arabe.

Ahmed (Ahmadou) devient Amadou
Mohammed. . . — Mamadou.
Ma'mar . . . . — Momar.
Cheikh . . . . — Sek.

Les élèves sont en général des enfants de 8 à 15 ans. Dans les grandes écoles de Mbaké — Darou — Touba (Baol); Chabane (Thiès); Mbaké (Cayor) on trouve des jeunes gens de 15 à 25 ans. Ceux-là ont achevé l'étude du Coran, c'est-à-dire qu'ils le savent par cœur sans le comprendre, et suivent des cours de grammaire, de droit, d'exégèse coranique, même de logique et de prosodie. Ils viennent de tous les points du pays ouolof.

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

Le temps des élèves — grands ou petits — n'est pas consacré uniquement aux études. Les marabouts les emploient aux besognes les plus diverses et leur font gagner leur vie. Ils vont aux champs, travaillent la terre, pêchent, ramassent du bois et de la paille. Ils ne travaillent guère d'une façon régulière, que le soir, à la nuit tombante, à la lueur des petits feux, alimentés par la provision de combustible, ramassée le jour même.

Pendant l'hivernage et au moment de la récole, les cours sont suspendus, et tout le monde part aux champs.

4. — *Ordre Bamba.*

C'est sur ce terrain de l'association religieuse que le Sérigne Bamba s'est montré le plus original, et c'est d'ailleurs le seul qui lui fut permis, s'il voulait rester aux yeux de tous dans le sentier de l'orthodoxie musulmane.

Doctrine de la voie bamba. Affilié à la fois aux ordres qadri et tidiani, Amadou Bamba a fondé un troisième ordre religieux. C'est surtout la voie qadria qui paraît avoir inspiré la doctrine morale bamba. Ses préceptes se résument en ceci : recueillement de l'âme et application de toutes ses forces contemplatives vers la grandeur de Dieu aboutissant à l'extase religieuse; fusion intime de la créature dans la divinité. Cet anéantissement en Dieu n'est en somme que la reproduction du mysticisme extatique cher à Sidi Abd El-Qader, mais ici on ne découvre pas la réserve que l'illustre saint de Bagdad apportait dans son enseignement. L'exagération coutumière des noirs broche sur le tout.

Pour Sidi Abd El-Qader, « le bonheur consiste dans l'oubli de l'existence ». C'est aussi ce désintéressement, ce renoncement aux choses d'ici-bas que prêche Amadou

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

Bamba. Il le revendique pour lui-même dans toute sa correspondance; il le proclame dans ses sermons et dans ses écrits. « Sois comme le petit âne, chargé de mil, qui ne mangera pas la charge qu'il porte. »

Il ne s'en tient pas là et exalte les vertus de privation, et surtout d'attachement au Cheikh spirituel. Supporte la « faim avec patience; ne porte pas de beaux boubous; suis « ton marabout avec l'acharnement que met le lion à « suivre sa proie, avec la rapidité avec laquelle le charognard « fonce sur le cadavre qu'il a découvert dans la brousse. « Suis-le comme le chien suit son maître, comme un chat « malicieux. » Il recommande sans cesse, et sous les formes les plus diverses qui, comme on le voit, ne manquent pas de poésie, de ne jamais suivre ses impulsions, et d'obéir aveuglément sans réflexion, sans discussion, à son Cheikh. On voit son but : briser la volonté du disciple, dompter son caractère. Ce n'est plus le vœu monastique d'obéissance ; c'est l'anéantissement complet de toutes les facultés, de toutes les voix de la conscience, dans la volonté du Maître spirituel.

Les frères et lieutenants de Sérigne vont naturellement plus loin et tirent pratiquement les dernières conséquences de la doctrine du chef ; ils convient les Mourides à se détacher des biens de ce monde en les abandonnant au Saint, et à eux-mêmes, ses intermédiaires attitrés. C'est la meilleure façon de ne pas succomber aux tentations.

Dans le domaine de l'union extatique, quelques-uns d'entre eux, plus affinés et doués d'autre part de facultés mystiques spéciales, arrivent peut-être à cet état de rêve, « à ces jardins fleuris » où l'homme perd complètement sa personnalité, et — tel la Pythie sur son trépied — se sent envahir par la force divine : « Le Dieu, voici le Dieu. »

Mais pour la foule des Mourides, il n'y a aucune excitation des facultés nobles de l'âme. La simple vue d'Amadou Bamba en prières ou bénissant, le jet de sa salive sur

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

les fidèles prosternés, plongent certains dans des crises hystériques où tous veulent participer. On se roule aux pieds du Saint, on baise ses babouches, le bas de son boubou, on lui tend les mains. Avec componction il laisse tomber un jet de salive sur ces paumes ouvertes, qui se referment, s'étreignent et se répandent en frictions frémissantes sur le visage et le corps du fidèle. Ce sont alors des frissonnements, des pamoisons, des convulsions épileptiques, suivis de contorsions et bonds extraordinaires, le tout accompagné de hurlements épouvantables. La folie finit par gagner tout le monde. Dans cette cacophonie, on entend les imprécations les plus terribles ou les appels d'amour les plus ardents. Dieu est injurié ; le Prophète, les Saints traînés dans la boue, le Paradis méprisé, l'Enfer exalté ; personne ne sait plus ce qu'il dit. La fusion avec le Très-Haut est si complète que les sons proférés par une bouche humaine n'ont plus d'importance. Les tempéraments les plus froids, ceux qui sont le plus rebelles à l'extase générale ne sont pas les moins ardents dans ces manifestations. Ils se livrent à toutes ces fantaisies hystéricoreligieuses avec d'autant plus d'ardeur qu'ils y sont moins sensibles.

En résumé, ces scènes qui se renouvellent à certains jours et dans des lieux divers, n'ont rien de mystique ni dans leurs causes ni dans leurs effets. La mentalité noire est parfaitement incapable d'enfanter les conceptions métaphysiques des Sémites d'Orient et les divagations extatiques des Soufis. Ces scènes ne sont pas autre chose qu'un acte commun de prière et d'adoration, bientôt suivi des danses, gigues, fantaisies chorégraphiques et bamboulas chères aux Noirs, avec une intention pieuse à la clef.

Chaîne spirituelle. — Plus modeste que beaucoup de chefs d'ordres religieux, Amadou Bamba ne prétend pas se relier au Prophète par une chaîne généalogique réelle. Il

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

ne se réclame d'aucune noblesse chérifienne; mais par sa chaîne mystique il se rattache à Sidi Abd El-Qader El-Djilani, et par ce Saint, au Prophète, à l'ange Gabriel et à Dieu.

La naissance de la « Voie » de Sidi Abd El-Qader (*Qadria*) au douzième siècle est connue. Cet ordre actuellement le plus répandu de l'Islam semble avoir subi les mêmes destinées que la civilisation musulmane: extension rapide et continue et désagrégation perpétuelle. Du douzième au quatorzième siècle il s'est propagé vers l'est jusqu'à la Chine, vers l'ouest jusqu'au Maroc. Presque aussitôt, les zaouïas locales, sans rompre complètement en visières avec la métropolitaine de Bagdad, mais ne gardant de l'ordre primitif que la chaîne spirituelle et une partie du rituel, et modifiant à leur goût les doctrines du saint fondateur, se transformèrent en sous-confréries régionales et indépendantes.

C'est ainsi qu'on voit au seizième siècle, la filiale Qadria de l'Azaouad se transformer peu à peu sous l'influence du Cheikh Omar El-Bekkaï en un ordre nouveau : les *Bekkaïa* (dits aussi *Azaouadia* et *Mokhtaria*, et même de leur nom ethnique, les *Kounta*). L'ordre bakkaï se répand à travers les territoires sahariens de l'Ouest jusqu'à l'Océan. Il essaime à son tour en Mauritanie dans le commencement du dix-neuvième siècle en sous-filiales indépendantes : *Fadelia* (Sidi Mohammed El-Fadel, puis Ma El-Aïnin); *Lessidia* (Cheikh Sidia El-Kebir, grand-père du Cheikh Sidia actuel). Ce travail d'enfantement semble à peu près fini pour ces deux confréries qui apparaissent aujourd'hui en pleine efflorescence.

Mais la confrérie des Lessidia va donner naissance à son tour à la fin du dix-neuvième siècle, par l'initiative d'Amadou Bamba, à une filiale sénégalaise et noire : celle des Mourides bamba. C'est ce phénomène religieux qui se déroule à l'heure actuelle sous nos yeux: Les Mourides bamba sont donc une ramification des Lessidia, comme

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

ceux-ci l'étaient des Bekkaïa, comme ceux-ci sont dérivés eux-mêmes des Qadria primitifs. On peut les déclarer Qadria — et eux-mêmes revendiquent cet honneur — à condition d'entendre ce terme dans l'acception où il est employé au vingtième siècle, et de ne pas y voir une province religieuse dépendant de la zaouïa-mère de Bagdad.

C'est ainsi qu'on remarquera dans la chaîne spirituelle qui relie Amadou Bamba à Dieu, tous les fondateurs des filiales qui ont été énumérés :

Cheikh Sidia actuel, de qui le Sérigne tient son affiliation (il affecte de ne pas tenir pour valable une affiliation un peu contrainte qu'un marabout, El-Hadj Kamara, lui donna vers 1890 à Saint-Louis.)

Cheikh Mohammed, père de Cheikh Sidia.

Cheikh Sidia El-Kebir, père de Cheikh Mohammed, et fondateur des Lessidia.

Cheikh Mokhtar El-Kounti.

Cheikh Omar El-Bekkaï, fondateur des Bekkaïa.

Et enfin Sidi Abd El-Qader El-Djilani, fondateur de l'ordre Qadri.

C'est à ce titre qu'il confère à la fois l'ordre qadri primitif se considérant comme fils spirituel de Sidi Abd El-Qader, et son ordre propre, se considérant comme fondateur d'une « Voie » nouvelle.

Mais ce n'est pas tout. Il semble bien, quoique le père des mourides s'en défende, qu'il appartient aussi à l'ordre des *Tidiania* et se relie ainsi par une nouvelle chaîne mystique à Sidi Ahmed Et-Tidjani. Il est facile de voir qu'Amadou Bamba est au courant de cette sorte de suspicion qu'on a en Afrique Occidentale pour les Tidiania, en qui notre politique a rencontré plus souvent des ennemis que des amis, et il se hâte de dire qu'il n'a rien de commun avec eux. Pourtant la rumeur publique le prétend pourvu de l'ouerd tidiani, et d'autre part ses disciples sont tous très au courant du rituel de cet ordre.

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

Amadou Bamba paraît d'ailleurs s'inspirer des mêmes procédés d'expansion religieuse que Sidi Ahmed Tidjani. On sait que ce saint fut longtemps affilié aux ordres Qadri, Khelouati, et Taïbi, et conféra lui-même l'ouerd de ces « Voies ». A la suite de révélations il les abondonna toutes et, se proclamant apôtre du Prophète, il ne répandit plus que sa seule voie, supérieure à toutes et conduisant sans erreur possible au Paradis (1781).

De même Amadou Bamba, d'affiliation qadria et peut-être tidiania, et qui conférait jadis les ouerds de ces ordres s'en tient à peu près uniquement aujourd'hui à la conduite des affiliés dans sa propre voie.

On ne saurait dire, quoi qu'il en soit, qu'Amadou Bamba est allé chercher, dans le Tidianisme un élément d'hostilité contre les Chrétiens. Il n'a certainement pas eu d'autre but que d'augmenter son prestige par l'affiliation à un ordre très répandu ici et qui, d'un particularisme extrême, n'est jamais accordé aux adeptes d'une autre voie. Amadou Bamba est un éclectique : il compose son bouquet de toutes les fleurs qui parfument son chemin.

Rituel. — Il ne semble pas qu'il y ait dans la confrérie d'Amadou Bamba des cérémonies particulières et mystérieuses d'initiation. Quand un Mouride a par ses qualités et son dévouement montré qu'il était digne d'appartenir à l'ordre, Amadou Bamba ou un de ses lieutenants lui confère l'ouerd, c'est-à-dire la licence de prononcer après les prières de l'aurore et du Couchant la formule spéciale de l'ordre (*dikr*) en communion d'esprit avec tous les frères.

Ce dikr, sorte de litanie est sensiblement le même que celui des Qadria, comme texte. Le nombre des invocations seul diffère considérablement.

« Je cherche mon pardon auprès du Dieu de Majesté. » (300 fois.)

« Dieu soit glorifié » (300 fois.)

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

« Il n'y a pas d'autre divinité que Dieu. » (300 fois.)

« O mon Dieu, répandez vos bénédictions sur notre seigneur Mohammed, sur sa famille, sur ses compagnons. « Accordez-leur le salut ! » (Cf. *Annexe*, n° 18).

Quand le disciple progresse de plus dans les voies de la sainteté, le cheikh l'autorise à doubler le chiffre de ces litanies : c'est donc 600 fois qu'il devra les répéter. Quelques génuflexions et protestations supplémentaires sont en outre imposées.

Il n'y a pas de dikr solennel (*Dikr el-hadra* ou *djellala*) récité par l'assemblée des fidèles, les vendredis et jours de fêtes.

Hiérarchie. — La hiérarchie de l'ordre religieux mouride est simple : Au sommet Amadou Bamba, fondateur et chef suprême de la confrérie, pôle de l'Islam, représentant ou personnification de Dieu sur la terre ; au-dessous de lui et très loin, les Cheikhs, soit groupés à Diourbel, soit dispersés dans les zaouïas et villages de travail et qui sont les prieurs de l'ordre ; au dernier plan, la foule des affiliés, la masse des Mourides, étudiants et travailleurs d'abord, femmes et enfants ensuite.

Amadou Bamba est le seul maître et celui sur lequel repose tout l'édifice de l'ordre. Il faut dire pourtant qu'il n'est pas toujours très bien obéi surtout par ses frères qui sont loin d'avoir tous la foi en sa mission divine. Comme toutefois c'est l'union avec le Sérigne qui constitue leur force et leur profit, ils se gardent bien de pousser les choses trop loin.

Les Cheikhs (les moqaddems des autres confréries) sont les lieutenants du Maître, soit qu'ils l'assistent dans ses fonctions de professeur ou de chef religieux, soit qu'ils dirigent des groupements de talibés. Ils peuvent conférer l'ouerd mouride, mais ne peuvent pas consacrer des Cheikhs semblables à eux-mêmes.

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

Quant à la foule des adeptes, elle se recrute dans tous les rangs et dans tous les milieux. J'ai déjà dit que les Mourides sont à peu près uniquement d'origine ouolofe. Les uns sont des paysans venus au Sérigne par besoin religieux et par paresse naturelle, par la nécessité de se sentir encadré dans une organisation mystique et uni à des frères en Allah ; les autres, — ceux qui s'agitent d'ailleurs — sont des aventuriers, déserteurs, fonctionnaires révoqués, anciens chefs mis à pied, serviteurs renvoyés, etc... Ceux-là ne cherchent dans le Mouridisme que les moyens de vivre le plus commodément possible.

Conclusion. — Telles sont, dans leur ensemble, les doctrines et pratiques du Mouridisme, confrérie islamique en apparence, mais en réalité secte nouvelle, née de l'Islam et par son ferment, et s'épanouissant aujourd'hui plus spécialement dans son domaine et à son détriment. S'il était permis d'user d'une comparaison — et les comparaisons sont toujours défectueuses — on pourrait situer le Mouridisme vis-à-vis de l'Islam orthodoxe, dans la position de ces extraordinaires sectes d'Amérique, qui n'ont plus de protestant que le nom, vis-à-vis du Christianisme intégral.

Le Mouridisme a gardé un certain nombre d'articles de foi de l'Islam et surtout beaucoup de ses pratiques extérieures et formules sacrées. C'est ce qui peut lui donner une apparence d'orthodoxie, mais les bons Musulmans ne s'y trompent pas et leur indignation est grande à la vue de pareilles hérésies. Comme toutefois ces bons Musulmans sont, ou les Cheikhs de zaouïas de Mauritanie, ou les commerçants marocains des ports et des escales, et que les Mourides sont toujours de généreux fidèles pour les uns, et des clients sérieux pour les autres, on ne manifeste pas trop son indignation et on sait conserver un contact utile avec ces néophytes « ignorants et novateurs, mais sincères et bien intentionnés ».

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

Les autres noirs musulmans sont le mieux placés pour apprécier à leur juste valeur les doctrines religieuses du Mouridisme. Les citations qui suivent pourront clore utilement la première partie de cette étude en donnant le sentiment général des Musulmans Sénégalais sur les Mourides d'Amadou Bamba.

« Ils portent préjudice à la religion musulmane dont « sans observer les règles ils se revêtissent comme des « loups de la peau des brebis. » (Lettre de Tivaouane au Lieutenant-Gouverneur du Sénégal, 25 février 1905.)

« Sous le couvert de la religion les sectaires (sectateurs) « d'Amadou Bamba vivent absolument comme les anciens « Damels et les Bours. » (Amadou N'diaye, chef de la province du Saniakhor oriental.)

Et du même: « Je me demande où Amadou Bamba ou « plutôt ses Cheikhs ont trouvé dans la religion un texte « permettant la formation de cette armée qui se dit musul- « mane et qui réellement ne se compose que des débris des « anciens tiédos, désormais incapables de vivre, grâce à la « France, aux dépens des badolos. »

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

TITRE II

L'INFLUENCE DU MOURIDISME ET DE L'ISLAM

La religion islamique d'une façon générale, et sa forme mouride plus spécialement, ont eu une influence sensible dans la vie des indigènes ouolofs. Pourtant cette influence n'est pas aussi forte qu'on pourrait l'attendre d'une religion aussi absorbante que l'Islam, qui est aussi bien un corps de doctrines juridiques et sociales, qu'un ensemble de commandements divins, touchant la vie surnaturelle des âmes. Il est des matières, notamment en ce qui concerne les institutions coutumières de droit et les usages de la vie sociale, où cette influence se réduit à fort peu de chose. Dans le domaine économique au contraire, ainsi qu'au point de vue politique et administratif, le Mouridisme d'Amadou Bamba a produit des conséquences fort curieuses et tout à fait dignes de retenir l'attention.

Il y a donc lieu d'examiner successivement l'influence de l'Islam et du Mouridisme bamba :

1°) Dans les institutions juridiques des indigènes ;
2°) Dans l'état social des indigènes ;
3°) Dans le domaine économique ;
4°) Au point de vue politique et administratif.

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

CHAPITRE PREMIER

LE MOURIDISME ET LES INSTITUTIONS JURIDIQUES DES INDIGÈNES

La tâche serait vaste et dépasserait les limites de cette étude, d'entreprendre ici la rédaction de toutes les coutumes juridiques ouolofes ; puisque c'est dans ce seul peuple que se recrutent les Mourides. Il s'agit simplement, à l'aide des notes recueillies dans les cinq cercles précités, de dégager la coutume générale dans cette immense mosaïque de « coustumes, usages et stiles » de toutes les provinces. Les divergences sont d'ailleurs moins nombreuses qu'elles ne le paraissent au premier abord : elles portent surtout sur des points de détail, ou sont dues à l'islamisation plus ou moins accentuée d'un groupement ou d'une famille, mais il est facile de constater qu'une réelle unité de conception a présidé à la formation des institutions coutumières de droit des Ouolofs et que — c'est là le but poursuivi — cette conception est très personnelle à la race, et n'a que fort peu de points de commun avec l'esprit du droit musulman.

1. — *Institutions civiles.*

A) *La famille.* — La famille est actuellement en voie de transformation. L'ancienne conception (qui subsiste encore intégralement chez les Sérères tiedos où le lien de parenté, *vinculum juris*, s'établit par la tige maternelle), et

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

la conception patriarcale de l'Islam et des civilisations européennes sont toutes deux en vigueur chez les Ouolofs. Les descendants par la tige paternelle portent le nom de *guényo*; ceux de la ligne maternelle le nom de *mène*.

La famille à tige paternelle paraît être la cellule sociale dans le peuple (*badolos*); mais les membres de la tige féminine sont néanmoins unis entre eux par certains liens et notamment par des interdictions magico-religieuses (*mbagne*).

Chez les nobles, les deux familles existent — ou du moins existaient — simultanément. Ici, c'était par la tige maternelle que se transmettaient l'autorité et les droits politiques, les interdictions et les biens de famille; là, c'était par la filiation paternelle; ailleurs — et c'était le cas général — c'était par un mélange des deux filiations (1). Sur ce point, notre ignorance des traditions des indigènes fait tomber chaque jour en désuétude ces anciennes coutumes, et ce sont naturellement les prescriptions du droit musulman qui viennent les remplacer.

Il apparaît donc que le chef de famille est le père, mais l'autorité de l'oncle maternel est considérable et contrebalance quelquefois celle du père. Aussi la « famille réduite »; père, mères et enfants, ne vit-elle pas isolée. La famille est « globale », c'est-à-dire se compose de l'ensemble de deux ou trois générations, issues d'un même ascendant et vivant groupées en carrés.

L'alliance est aussi un lien de droit et les beaux-parents, beaux-enfants, beaux-frères et belles-sœurs font partie sans conteste de la famille; mais ce lien n'entraîne aucun droit successoral.

Dans le carré, le mari a sa case spéciale où il vit seul et où chacune de ses femmes passe tour à tour. Chaque femme

(1) Cf. pour plus de détails *Légendes et coutumes sénégalaises*, par Henri Gaden (in *Revue d'ethnographie et de sociologie*, 1912).

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

est pourvue aussi d'une case, qui lui appartient en propre et où elle vit avec ses enfants.

La femme doit suivre son mari, mais son obligation est restreinte; on ne peut contraindre la femme à suivre son mari dans des pays trop éloignés où elle échapperait à la surveillance et aux soins de la famille.

B) *Le mariage.* — Si la polyandrie est absolument inconnue, la polygamie est courante. D'après les renseignements recueillis, on peut établir ainsi la proportion des polygames sur dix hommes mariés :

Quatre n'ont qu'une femme ;
Trois ont deux femmes ;
Deux ont trois femmes ;
Un a plus de trois femmes.

Le jeune homme n'épouse pas plusieurs femmes à la fois : il reste monogame environ deux ou trois ans. Ce n'est qu'après ce laps de temps qu'il se cherche une seconde compagne.

La femme paraît assez jalouse et admet toujours avec peine de se voir associer des co-épouses. Elle veut en tout cas être consultée sur leur choix. Comme l'acquisition d'une femme est toujours chose coûteuse, ce sont en général les hommes les plus riches et les plus âgés qui sont polygames.

Les fiançailles se confondent un peu avec les préliminaires du mariage. En tant que simple promesse d'union de part et d'autre, elles n'ont pas de valeur juridique, et leur rupture n'entraîne aucune conséquence judiciaire.

Les conditions requises pour le mariage sont : de la part de l'homme : la majorité, et la possession de biens suffisants pour acquérir et entretenir sa femme. L'homme ne se marie guère avant 22, 24 et même 25 ans. Toutefois, dans les familles riches, on marie les enfants avant cet âge. La femme doit être majeure et pourvue du consentement de ses parents. Les jeunes filles se marient vers 14 ans.

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

Les empêchements à mariage naissent à peu près uniquement de la parenté. Un homme peut épouser sa belle-sœur : la sœur de sa femme, mais à condition que cette sœur soit plus jeune que sa femme ; les sœurs plus âgées que sa femme lui sont interdites. Un homme peut épouser sa belle-sœur : la femme de son frère défunt, mais à condition que ce frère fût son aîné : les femmes de ses frères cadets lui sont interdites. Au cas où le mariage est licite, la veuve, surtout si elle a des enfants, tient elle-même à épouser le frère de son mari défunt, autant pour ne pas se séparer de ses enfants que pour ne pas les enlever à la famille de leur père. Un homme ne peut épouser ses tantes : sœurs de son père ou de sa mère, non plus que sa tante par alliance : femme répudiée ou veuve du frère de son père. Rien n'empêche qu'il épouse sa tante par alliance : femme répudiée ou veuve du frère de sa mère ; mais la chose serait très mal vue parmi les siens.

Les empêchements à mariage — qu'ils émanent de l'alliance, ou du défaut de consentement des parents de la jeune fille — n'ont rien de dirimant. Quand la possession d'état et un certain laps de temps ont consacré ces unions mal considérées, elles finissent par être admises, et produisent les mêmes effets que les unions légitimes.

La différence de race ou de religion ne constitue pas un empêchement à mariage. Mais si les pieux Musulmans n'aiment guère donner leurs filles aux tiedos, ceux-ci, qui paraissent nourrir une véritable animosité contre l'Islam, sont bien plus rebelles encore à unir leurs filles à des Musulmans.

Le jeune homme qui désire une jeune fille entame directement avec elle ses confidences puis, sûr de son fait, il envoie son père ou sa mère faire la demande officielle aux parents de la jeune fille. Entre temps il expédie un ou plusieurs de ses amis auprès des dits parents pour faire son éloge en termes chaleureux, et voir d'après leur attitude la réponse possible.

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

En cas de réponse favorable — et cette réponse est donnée d'un commun accord par le père, par la mère et par l'oncle maternel — une somme fixe de 21 fr. 25 en espèces est versée par le prétendant. Cette somme, dite *tak*, est la propriété de la fille. Elle est souvent versée par les sœurs du jeune marié. Elle constitue le premier lien, la promesse de mariage. A partir de ce moment la jeune fille est définitivement engagée, ce qui ne veut pas dire que la consommation du mariage soit possible, mais le *vinculum juris* existe entre elle et sa famille d'une part, le prétendant de l'autre.

On procède à la discussion de la dot : son chiffre, qui varie entre 250 et 5.000 francs, est fixé à l'amiable entre les parents. Mais une partie de cette somme, souvent très faible, sera seule versée à ce moment. Le reliquat reste dû pour être payé en principe après la consommation du mariage et, pratiquement, à la mort du mari ou en cas de répudiation injustifiée.

Cette dot doit être versée devant témoins. Elle est la propriété à la fois de la jeune fille et des parents : de la jeune fille qui se donne à un maître, des parents qui ont droit à une juste rémunération des dépenses et frais de toute sorte, occasionnés par l'éducation de leur fille. La plupart du temps, il doit être fait cadeau d'un ou de plusieurs bœufs aux parents de la jeune fille, de sorte qu'ici aussi se justifierait l'appellation qu'Homère donne aux jeunes vierges de la Grèce, αλφεσιβοιαι « celles qui rapportent des bœufs à leurs parents ».

Le prétendant fait de plus, comme il convient, des cadeaux d'amitié à la jeune fille : bijoux, vêtements, bétail, kola, argent.

On ne distingue pas dans les formalités du mariage entre les formalités religieuses et les formalités civiles. Un bruyant tam-tam annonce, un jour, aux amis et connaissances, déjà prévenus d'ailleurs, quelle est l'heure de la réunion. Les parents des jeunes gens et eux-mêmes ont fait

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

acheter des noix de kola; on en distribue aux assistants. On danse et mange tour à tour, puis chacun se retire chez soi, les nouveaux époux comme les autres. Dans les familles pieuses une cérémonie religieuse vient s'ajouter à la simplicité de cette union. Le cortège se rend au lieu de prière, aire sablonneuse, quelquefois entourée d'un clayonnage. Un marabout voisin, ami de la famille, est prié de venir réciter quelques versets du Coran, trois fois la Fatiha par exemple, que personne ne comprend naturellement. Puis on s'en retourne à la fête. Aucun des deux époux n'est là. Ils sont représentés par les parents.

Si les devoirs d'aide et de soutien réciproques sont recommandés aux époux, celui de fidélité conjugale n'existe pas. La femme seule doit fidélité complète à son mari. Mais l'adultère de sa part est fréquent. Il constitue une faute, partant un délit, pour elle et son complice. Celui-ci doit être puni d'une peine d'emprisonnement, et d'une amende qui seront déterminées par le degré de gravité des circonstances qui ont entouré le délit. La femme adultère sera punie d'une amende minima de 250 francs.

Le mari, n'étant soumis à aucun devoir de fidélité envers sa femme, ne peut commettre l'adultère. Les indigènes disent couramment : « Si la femme n'est pas contente des fugues de son mari, qu'elle lui rembourse la dot et qu'elle s'en aille. » Cette question d'adultère, si délicate dans les autres pays islamisés, n'est pas prise ici au tragique. La plupart des maris, pour peu qu'ils tiennent à leurs femmes, ou qu'ils aient peur des ennuis qui suivent une séparation, gardent leur épouse infidèle. Une bastonnade ou une correction à coups de corde vient remettre à neuf leur honneur outragé. Ceux qui sont scrupuleux la renvoient et gardent ses propres effets, jusqu'à ce qu'elle ait rendu les 21 fr. 25, la dot et les cadeaux.

C) *Le divorce.* — On sait quelle place importante le

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

divorce tient dans le droit musulman et avec quelle force les disciples du Prophète restent attachés à cette institution, telle qu'elle a été fixée par l'orthodoxie. Chez les Ouolofs Mourides, on retrouve le divorce, mais c'est une véritable institution coutumière n'ayant rien de commun avec le divorce musulman.

Ici les deux époux sont mis sur le pied d'une parfaite égalité. Le droit de chacun à la répudiation de l'autre conjoint est identique; il en est de même pour leurs devoirs. On distingue donc:

La répudiation de la femme par le mari;

La répudiation du mari par la femme;

Le divorce par consentement mutuel.

Quand le mari répudie sa femme, il n'a pas de raison à lui fournir; il lui annonce ses intentions, lui paie le complément de sa dot et la renvoie. Même procédure pour la répudiation du mari par la femme; elle lui rend tout ce qu'elle a reçu de lui, quitte la case conjugale et se retire chez ses parents ou amis.

Dans le cas de contestation pécuniaire, on porte le différend devant le tribunal de conciliation du village, et à défaut d'entente, devant le tribunal de subdivision : celui-ci tranche cette question d'ordre matériel, mais ne s'occupe en aucune façon de la dissolution du nœud matrimonial. La rupture a été consommée par la signification de la volonté de l'un des deux époux à son conjoint et par la séparation matérielle.

Dans le cas de divorce par consentement mutuel, les époux tranchent eux-mêmes avant de se séparer les questions pécuniaires qui intéressent le ménage.

Les causes les plus ordinaires du divorce sont: de la part de la femme: sa désobéissance et son mauvais caractère, quelquefois l'adultère; de la part de l'homme: sa jalousie ou le défaut d'entretien de sa femme.

Les divorces sont extrêmement fréquents; on ne ren-

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

contre presque jamais un homme ayant vécu toute sa vie avec une seule femme (monogamie et indissolubilité du mariage); plus souvent on rencontre des hommes polygames ayant toujours vécu avec une de leurs femmes, généralement la première.

Les enfants appartiennent en principe au père, mais l'oncle maternel aura toujours un droit de surveillance sur eux. La durée de l'allaitement étant de deux ans, les garçons restent avec leur mère au moins jusqu'à l'âge de deux ans révolus, les fillettes au moins jusqu'à l'âge de six ans. C'est à cet âge seulement que le père peut les reprendre. Cette règle est formelle. Les enfants en bas âge ne quittent pas leur mère, même si la dissolution du mariage est due à sa mauvaise conduite. Par la suite, la mère a d'ailleurs le droit de les voir comme elle veut.

En cas de divorce, comme en cas de veuvage d'ailleurs, la femme honnête se soumettra à une période d'attente de quelques semaines. Rien ne l'y oblige d'ailleurs et pratiquement beaucoup de femmes ne passent par le domicile paternel que juste le temps nécessaire pour contracter un nouveau mariage. Quelques pères de famille plus religieux imposent à leurs filles le délai de divorce de trois mois, et le délai de viduité de quatre mois et dix jours.

On remarquera que dans cette question de la dissolution du mariage aussi bien d'ailleurs que dans la formation de l'union elle-même, il n'est nullement question de l'intervention officielle des deux témoins honorables (*adoul*) prescrits par la loi coranique, pas plus que de l'établissement du contrat de mariage ou de l'acte de répudiation par le ministère du cadi. Le rôle de ce magistrat et jusqu'à son nom ne sont connus que d'une élite de lettrés.

D) *Filiation.* — Les Ouolofs font très bien la distinction entre la filiation légitime et la filiation naturelle. Celle-ci n'est connue d'ailleurs que comme filiation naturelle

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

simple ; l'inceste n'existe pas ; et en cas d'adultère, c'est la vieille règle : *Is pater est quem justæ nuptiæ demonstrant*, qui s'appliquera.

L'autorité du père d'abord, et au second plan, celle de l'oncle maternel, s'exercent sur l'enfant. Il n'est aucune cause qui puisse entraîner la déchéance de cette autorité paternelle ou avunculaire. La dation de l'enfant en gage, sa mise en servitude, même provisoire, sont formellement interdites.

L'enfant est une richesse que rien n'égale. Quand il s'agit d'un enfant naturel, il appartient à la mère : c'est un *droit* que lui accorde la coutume. Ce n'est pas un devoir. La coutume n'a prévu que l'enfant pouvait être abandonné par ses parents : elle ne prévoit que le cas où tous les deux se le disputeront, et par faveur elle l'accorde à la mère. Il faut donc conclure que si la mère est dans l'impossibilité de subvenir à ses besoins, et que si par un très grand hasard le père ne fournissait pas les provisions nécessaires, elle peut recourir au tribunal pour le contraindre à ce faire. Il n'est pas question évidemment a priori de recherche judiciaire de paternité naturelle. L'enfant, s'il est abandonné par le père — fait très rare — se rattache tout simplement, suivant la vieille coutume, à la famille de la mère. Celle-ci, qui ne demande qu'à le garder et qui trouve suffisante la condamnation du père à une pension alimentaire, ne cherche pas à obtenir une reconnaissance qui la priverait de l'enfant. Mais rien dans l'esprit de la coutume n'interdirait à l'enfant d'aller lui-même plus loin dans cette voie et de faire déclarer judiciairement le lien de filiation qui le rattache à son père naturel. Si on ne le fait pas, ce n'est pas une preuve que cette action judiciaire est impossible. C'est que c'est un droit dont ces peuples sains n'ont jamais voulu user, ni probablement eu l'occasion d'user.

On ne voit donc pas que l'application intégrale de la loi du 16 novembre 1912 doive soulever des difficultés en

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

pays ouolof. Le droit de recherche accordé à l'enfant ne sera exercé pratiquement qu'à l'encontre des Européens déjà soumis à la loi française. Et en réalité, tant que subsistera l'esprit de la vieille coutume, ce droit ne sera jamais mis en action, surtout si le père naturel a soin de prendre toutes mesures utiles pour assurer l'entretien de son enfant naturel.

En vertu du même raisonnement, la reconnaissance judiciaire de la paternité naturelle n'existe pas pratiquement. Les parents gardent et élèvent leur enfant naturel ; c'est la meilleure façon de le reconnaître aux yeux de tous ; et la possession d'état entraîne sa légitimation. Le vieux dicton français est parfaitement applicable ici :

> Boire, manger, coucher ensemble,
> Est mariage, ce me semble.

L'adoption n'est pas connue en tant que contrat formel. Il arrive quelquefois qu'un homme sans postérité prenne à sa charge et élève comme son enfant un de ses neveux ou nièces. Il peut s'établir alors une sorte de paternité sentimentale qui aura évidemment sa répercussion dans les dispositions testamentaires de l'adoptant, mais la coutume ne reconnaît aucun droit positif à l'adopté.

E) *Incapacité.* — En droit coutumier, l'incapacité provient de deux causes :

La minorité ;

L'aliénation mentale.

La faillite et l'insolvabilité, la prodigalité, la faiblesse d'esprit, certaines condamnations pénales qu'étudie longuement le droit musulman ne sont pas considérées ici comme causes suffisantes d'interdiction.

Le mineur, c'est-à-dire l'enfant qui n'a pas atteint l'âge de puberté, est en tutelle. Majorité et puberté sont synonymes. La puberté se reconnaît à un signe physique ; pour

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

les garçons, c'est la naissance du désir sexuel et ses premières armes dans la voie amoureuse ; pour les filles c'est l'apparition bien établie des premières règles.

Cette tutelle est dévolue de plein droit au survivant des père et mère ; et à leur défaut, au frère de la mère. Il est à remarquer que dans le premier cas, celui-ci joue un rôle très actif de surveillance. A défaut d'oncle maternel, c'est l'ascendant ou le parent le plus proche qui sera chargé de la tutelle. Si par un cas assez rare, l'enfant était absolument sans famille, le chef de village, après avoir pris conseil des notables, confierait la tutelle à un ami du père défunt. On admet que le père ou la mère, sur le lit de mort, confie plus spécialement leur enfant à une personne dévouée. Cette sorte de tutelle testamentaire, plutôt morale, est respectée en général, mais elle n'entraîne pas forcément pour le tuteur coutumier l'abandon de ses droits.

Le mineur en tutelle devient l'enfant de son tuteur et a droit aux mêmes soins que ses propres enfants. Il a le devoir en grandissant de travailler pour son tuteur.

Celui-ci a des obligations spéciales vis-à-vis des biens du mineur. La présence de l'autorité française et le soin qu'elle apporte à la protection des orphelins ont provoqué peu à peu une sorte de réglementation en la matière. A la prise en charge de la tutelle, il doit être fait un recensement des biens du de cujus en présence de témoins et du délégué du président du tribunal. La part du pupille est soigneusement établie par inventaire. Le tuteur gère ces biens comme il l'entend ; il en rendra un compte exact à la majorité de l'enfant. Il est responsable de sa gestion. En cas de difficultés lors de la reddition des comptes, le litige est porté devant le tribunal de subdivision.

Il ne saurait être question d'émancipation par suite de l'identité des états de majorité et de puberté ; la majorité se produit automatiquement dès que l'enfant est arrivé à l'âge de puberté.

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

L'interdiction pour cause d'aliénation mentale est réglée aujourd'hui par la coutume nouvelle, basée sur les prescriptions de l'autorité française. Jadis en cas de folie nettement déclarée, le tuteur naturel prenait en mains la gestion des biens du dément, de concert avec ses enfants majeurs. Le chef du village surveillait cette gestion. Aujourd'hui on saisit immédiatement le tribunal de subdivision qui prend les mesures nécessaires après avoir rendu compte du fait à l'administrateur. Les règles de la tutelle pour minorité s'appliquent d'une façon générale à la tutelle du dément.

Le contrôle de la gestion du tuteur dans ces deux cas d'incapacité appartient au président du tribunal de subdivision. Le chef du village a aussi un devoir de surveillance administrative.

G) *La propriété.* — Les indigènes distinguent très nettement la propriété immobilière de la propriété mobilière ; mais la conception de la propriété immobilière dans la coutume ouolofe diffère complètement de la conception de cette propriété dans le droit musulman. Le droit de propriété privée en matière immobilière n'existe pas.

Avec l'occupation française, l'instauration du régime de l'immatriculation et la création de centres européens, une certaine notion de la propriété urbaine tend à se répandre : l'intérêt personnel vient sur ce point compléter heureusement la coutume. Mais la propriété rurale en est toujours au même point.

La terre, dans les régions habitées de tout temps par les Ouolofs, appartenait aux grands chefs du pays, (c'est-à-dire l'autorité souveraine) en vertu même de leur droit de souveraineté : « La terre appartient au Bour », dit-on encore communément. Mais il ne faut pas se méprendre sur la valeur de ce droit. Ce n'est point le droit de propriété au sens précis où les Romains (*dominium*), notre Code Civil

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

(art. 544) et le droit musulman (*melk*), l'entendent à la fois. C'est un droit d'administration générale, de contrôle et de police qui doit s'exercer strictement dans le sens des coutumes. Le Bour possédait les terres de ses États, comme le roi de France possédait le domaine de la couronne, ce qui n'a jamais voulu dire que le droit de propriété privée était inconnu sous la monarchie absolue. Il reste donc que le vrai propriétaire n'est autre que l'ensemble des descendants de celui qui, le premier a mis le champ en valeur, c'est-à-dire la famille actuelle. Quant à l'État français, successeur des Bours, il a hérité des droits de souveraineté que ceux-ci détenaient.

Dans les régions où les Ouolofs se sont implantés par la force, la terre continue à appartenir aux anciens maîtres : les *laman* d'origine socé. Ceux-ci avaient jadis, les premiers, mis les terrains en valeur, et les limites des champs avaient été établies par les lignes de rencontre des feux, allumés dans la brousse par les chefs de famille. L'occupation du pays par les Ouolofs fut purement politique ; les Socés ne furent pas dépouillés de leurs droits ; et aujourd'hui encore dans chaque hameau, vivent côte à côte en bonne intelligence: le *diaraf* représentant de l'autorité et maire du groupement, et le *laman* maître des terrains de culture. Les *laman* de plus en plus rares, ne cultivent pas les champs. Ils les ont abandonnés aux Ouolofs plus industrieux. Les occupants n'ont donc qu'un droit de jouissance, et encore ce droit n'est-il pas personnel à l'individu qui met le champ en valeur. Ce droit appartient à toute la famille, et son chef n'est en cette matière que son représentant. C'est donc la seule possession immobilière qui est connue ici et c'est à cette institution coutumière que sont soumises les terres rurales.

Les autres droits réels, certains : l'emphythéose, les rentes foncières, sont ignorées, parce qu'ils sont impossibles. D'autres : l'usufruit avec ses formes, l'usage et l'ha-

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

bitation, les servitudes, et dans certains cas, le droit de rétention, sont connus et employés.

La constitution d'usufruit a un caractère essentiellement temporaire : elle ne doit durer que l'année en cours.

Les servitudes sont : soit coutumières, telles que le droit de ramasser le fruit de ses arbres sur le terrain du voisin après avoir toutefois invité celui-ci à le faire : le droit de passage vers une enclave; le droit de creuser des puits ; l'obligation de recevoir les eaux du fonds supérieur, soit établis par le fait de l'homme. Sur ce point les indigènes déclarent qu'il n'y a aucune limitation à l'établissement volontaire de servitudes, quand le consentement des intéressés est acquis.

Le droit de rétention est accordé dans certains cas au vendeur ou à l'acquéreur d'un meuble, comme garantie du prix de vente ou de la livraison d'un meuble. La propriété divise n'est pas connue. Le mode de jouissance de la terre est toujours à forme indivise. D'où découle cette conséquence très importante que les retraits d'indivision et droits de préemption (*chefaa*) du droit musulman sont ignorés.

Les modes d'acquisition de la propriété sont donc très différents de ceux que prévoit le droit musulman.

La vente d'un immeuble est absolument interdite. Le terrain, propriété ou possession de la famille, ne peut en aucune façon être aliéné par une individualité, fût-elle le chef de famille. *Nemo dat quod non habet.*

La location immobilière elle-même n'est pas connue. On peut prêter, il est vrai, son louggan à un tiers, qui le cultivera l'année durant, et le remettra à la disposition du prêteur, après la récolte. Ce tiers ne peut évidemment moins faire que d'offrir un cadeau à la famille ; mais c'est un acte qui émane de sa volonté, et rien ne l'y oblige.

A côté de ces terrains collectifs de la famille, il y a les terrains collectifs du village. La jouissance de ces « communaux » appartient à tous les habitants du vil-

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

lage ; chacun se conforme sur ce point aux usages locaux. Ces terrains collectifs ne doivent pas en principe être mis en valeur sous forme de louggans. Ils constituent la réserve de pâturages et de forêts du centre.

Le capital humain est toujours le bienvenu : l'étranger qui vient s'installer dans un village rencontre le meilleur accueil. Le chef du village réunit ses notables, leur fait part de la demande de l'étranger, et après discussion, on assigne à celui-ci soit des champs restés en friche, soit le louggan resté inculte d'une famille et offert par elle. Il reste entendu que l'étranger acquiert ainsi un droit d'usufruit pour l'année, la famille conservant tous ses droits. La seule manière d'acquérir en matière immobilière paraît donc être la succession, pour les terrains déjà défrichés. Pour les terrains incultes, sur lesquels aucun droit positif ne paraît établi ou n'est revendiqué, la propriété privée peut être constituée par l'autorisation du souverain. Cette autorisation émane, non de son droit de propriété, mais de son droit de souveraineté. Elle peut se manifester positivement par l'octroi d'une concession, ou être tacite, c'est-à-dire que le souverain tolère, sans intervenir, l'occupation et la vivification.

Pour les meubles, la convention entre parties, la donation entre vifs et testamentaire, l'accession, l'adjudication constituent *en outre* des modes d'acquérir prévus par la coutume.

La notion du domaine public, sans être clairement exprimée dans le droit coutumier, est pourtant comprise par tous avec son double caractère d'inaliénabilité et d'imprescriptibilité. Celle du domaine privé de l'État est peu claire à l'heure actuelle où les Ouolofs ne constituent pas un corps de nation. Mais la conception du domaine privé du village est très nette : il est constitué par les biens collectifs du village tels qu'ils ont été exposés plus haut. Il y a une très grande ressemblance entre ces terrains collectifs

1: Marty MS 37 Senegal

du groupement ouolof et les biens que possède la commune française. On pourrait leur appliquer la définition des « communaux » donnée par le Conseil d'État (16 mars 1838) et dire qu'eux aussi en quelque sorte « constituent la propriété indivisible du corps de commune ».

Pour terminer, il est à peine besoin de signaler quelle différence profonde sépare cette conception de la propriété immobilière de la théorie analogue en droit musulman. Où trouverait-on ici la distinction entre le territoire de l'Islam et le territoire des infidèles, les droits de la communauté islamique, la représentation du Khalife, en un mot toute cette organisation immobilière si développée et si minutieuse dans les auteurs juridiques musulmans ?

H) *Successions.* — Une tradition prophétique proclame que « la loi des successions est la moitié de la science ». C'est dire l'importance du statut successoral du droit musulman. Or sur ce point, comme ailleurs, c'est à peine si on distingue de temps en temps une vague empreinte de ce droit sur la coutume indigène.

Les bases de la vocation héréditaire sont : la parenté et le mariage ; l'alliance ne donne aucun droit dans une succession.

La coutume ne connaît ni réservataires (*fardh*), ni universels ou agnats (*âceb*), ni cognats (*doui el-arham*). C'est la nature des divers biens en cause qui détermine les ordres d'héritiers.

On distingue :

Les immeubles, c'est-à-dire, les *louggans* ;

Les cases ;

Les meubles.

L'immeuble, étant possession de la famille, ne saurait entrer dans la masse successorale. La famille en effet subsiste malgré la disparition de son chef. Par le fait même de sa disparition, l'autorité du *pater familias* passe instan-

1: Marty MS 37 Senegal

tanément sur la tête du membre désigné par la coutume. C'est donc lui que, à l'instant même du décès, devenant le chef et le représentant de la famille, devient le gérant de ses biens ; c'est une succession de pouvoirs. L'ordre établi par la coutume est le système de succession patriarcale, celui-là même qui est employé dans les États musulmans pour l'hérédité du pouvoir souverain et dont l'usage se retrouve chez un grand nombre de peuples du Soudan (DELAFOSSE, *Haut-Sénégal-Niger*, tome III). C'est le frère qui succède à son frère aîné, et ainsi de suite jusqu'à extinction des frères, après quoi on revient à l'aîné des fils du frère aîné.

Les cases : Pour la case paternelle on suit le même ordre, de succession : elle revient au frère cadet, parce qu'il est le chef de famille. Il n'y a qu'au cas où c'est le frère cadet qui décède le premier que sa case passe à son fils aîné. Les autres cases sont dévolues, chacune à l'épouse qui l'habite. A la mort de la mère, la case appartient à sa fille aînée ; les cadettes continuent à habiter avec leur sœur aînée. Quand celle-ci se marie (et a fortiori si elle est déjà mariée) elle quitte la case pour aller habiter dans le carré de son mari qui lui a construit une nouvelle case. La case de la de cujus devient alors la propriété des cadettes, et ainsi de suite jusqu'à extinction. S'il n'y avait qu'une fille elle emporterait, lors de son mariage, sa case avec elle dans le carré de son mari.

Avec les biens meubles ordinaires : animaux, grains, argent... on retrouve un ordre de succession qui se rapproche du droit musulman. La masse successorale étant établie, et le paiement des dettes, y compris le reliquat des dots des femmes, étant effectué, on partage ces biens entre tous les enfants du de cujus. La coutume admet que la part du garçon doit être supérieure à celle de la fille ; d'où l'usage s'est établi pour les personnages pieux ou lettrés de poser en principe, conformément au droit musulman, que la part du garçon sera double de celle de la fille.

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

. La plupart du temps, surtout si le de cujus était monogame, le partage n'est pas effectué réellement. On continue à vivre dans l'indivision, sous l'autorité du fils aîné et de la mère de famille. C'est dire qu'elle prend elle-même dans la succession la pension alimentaire à laquelle elle a droit. La coutume accorde en outre à chaque femme dans la succession un cadeau à prélever à l'amiable et qui porte le nom de « part du mari ». Il est bien entendu que les hardes, et tous autres biens personnels de la femme n'entrent pas dans la masse successorale. Ils restent sa propriété privée.

I) *Donation entre vifs et testamentaires.* — La coutume règle très rigoureusement, en dehors des prescriptions du droit musulman, les donations entre vifs et testamentaires.

Il est absolument interdit à toute personne de donner par testament les biens de famille. Cette disposition, si elle était faite, n'aurait aucune valeur. En revanche, on a la liberté absolue de disposer de ses biens par testament. Une seule condition — et formelle — est imposée. Il faut que le testateur soit en parfaite santé. En cas de maladie, même si ce n'est pas celle qui a entraîné la mort, toute disposition testamentaire est sans valeur.

En matière de donation entre vifs, la liberté du chef de famille est sans limites. Il faut toutefois remarquer que s'il fait don d'une fraction du patrimoine familial, ce n'est pas en son nom qu'il agit, mais au nom de tous. Il doit alors avoir l'assentiment général sous peine de soulever des discussions intestines.

Il est à peine utile d'ajouter que la forme des donations entre vifs ou des testaments est purement verbale : la présence seule de témoins est exigée.

J) *Contrats.* — Cette matière des contrats, si minutieusement réglementée en droit musulman, ne l'est guère en

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

droit coutumier. Les contrats les plus fréquents sont la vente, l'échange, le prêt, le mandat, le dépôt.

La vente est, à l'heure actuelle, connue et pratiquée partout. Les Ouolofs ne signalent eux-mêmes que par curiosité quelques opérations de troc qu'ils font avec certains nomades du Ferlo, où la monnaie est remplacée par du tabac, du sucre ou des guinées.

Le prêt est très employé : il est ou gratuit parce qu'il est fait pour obliger un ami, ou très usuraire parce que la privation de la chose prêtée (argent, grains, animaux...) entraîne une gêne sensible pour le prêteur. Les conventions entre parties font la loi, mais on admet couramment qu'une somme d'argent ou une quantité de grains, prêtée au cours de l'année, devra être rendue au double, à la récolte.

Le mandat et le dépôt sont pratiqués couramment.

Le louage de services ou de case n'est pas connu partout, mais tend à se répandre. Quand il y a presse de travail dans les champs, on s'aide mutuellement entre amis et voisins : on ne loue guère de bras étrangers. Quant à la case, elle a trop peu de valeur pour faire l'objet d'un contrat de location. D'ailleurs l'esprit d'hospitalité des Noirs fait qu'ils donnent ou prêtent sans condition leurs cases supplémentaires aux personnes qui en sont dépourvues. Le louage de transports au contraire est d'un usage courant : on loue un cheval de selle à tant par jour, une bête de somme à tant par quantité de grains transportée. Le forfait ou le prix fixe par voyage ne sont pas employés : mais rien ne s'oppose évidemment à leur emploi.

Dans le Saloum existe un contrat spécial d'association agricole. Le maître de champs donne un louggan à un travailleur ordinairement étranger et venu là pour la saison. Cet homme devra travailler le matin chez le maître ; le soir, il travaillera sur son louggan. Il a droit à une case, à la nourriture et à certains jours de repos. Le maître lui fait des avances de graines, remboursables à la récolte.

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

Le gage est d'un emploi courant, mais le nantissement immobilier (*rahn*), c'est-à-dire l'affectation d'un bien à la sûreté d'une dette par le transfert soit de la possession (*rahnia*) soit de la propriété (*tsenia*) n'est ni employé, ni connu.

K) *Prescription.* — Dans la coutume, la prescription n'existe pas, pas plus sous sa forme acquisitoire ou usucapion que sous sa forme extinctive ou libératoire. Le recouvrement d'une dette reconnue ou prouvée est toujours possible. Ordinairement toutefois les dettes trop anciennes donnaient lieu à des transactions. D'autre part, le simple écoulement du temps ne peut jamais rendre légitime propriétaire le détenteur d'un meuble ou l'occupant d'un immeuble,

Il faut ajouter que le décret du 16 août 1912 règle partiellement pour les indigènes cette matière civile de la prescription : « La prescription en matière civile et commerciale est de cinq ans. » (Art. 46.)

Les épaves sont déposées par l'inventeur chez le chef de village qui les garde et les remet au propriétaire. Si elles n'ont pas été réclamées dans le délai d'un mois, elles sont livrées à l'inventeur qui peut les garder et en user définitivement, à charge pour lui de les remettre au propriétaire s'il se fait connaître.

Pour les animaux perdus ou errants, ils sont conduits chez le chef de canton qui les garde pendant trois jours et fait faire les publications nécessaires dans son canton. A l'expiration du délai, on rend compte du fait à l'administrateur, qui avise.

2. — *Institutions pénales.*

Les institutions pénales, c'est-à-dire l'ensemble des coutumes qui réglementent l'exercice de la répression pénale

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

par l'autorité locale, sont en pays ouolof comme dans toute civilisation primitive, très en retard sur les institutions civiles. Elles sont loin d'avoir pris un développement aussi abondant et n'ont pas été l'objet des prescriptions souvent minutieuses de la coutume civile. D'autre part, la répression pénale, touchant l'ordre public, intéresse de plus près l'autorité politique française. Celle-ci y fait souvent sentir son influence par des interventions de toute nature. Sa surveillance s'exerce en cette matière d'une façon beaucoup plus étroite que dans le champ des coutumes civiles où les indigènes sont à peu près libres.

C'est dire que les sciences pénales sont inconnues dans la coutume. On ne s'embarrasse pas dans une étude des causes du crime et de la peine. On ne voit dans le crime qu'un fait qui, venant troubler l'ordre public, mérite une répression La peine est un acte de vengeance et un acte de défense sociale : acte de vengeance, puisque la victime, ne pouvant satisfaire elle-même sur la personne ou les biens du criminel sa perte, sa privation ou sa souffrance, a droit à ce que cette satisfaction lui soit donnée par l'autorité locale; acte de défense sociale, parce que la vie publique étant organisée par la coutume, le criminel vient troubler cette vie publique et causer quelque souffrance à tout le monde. Il appartient alors au chef de prendre en main la défense de la tranquillité générale et de l'ordre social, et de châtier le criminel pour que ni lui, ni ses semblables ne soient tentés de commettre l'acte réprimé : *ne peccetur*.

A) L'infraction. — Dans ces conditions il est facile de définir l'infraction : un acte extérieur qui trouble l'ordre public. Tels sont les deux éléments constitutifs de l'infraction. Un acte extérieur d'abord ; d'où il suit que les actes intérieurs ou moraux, les intentions, ne sont pas punissables. Un trouble social ensuite, ce qui implique, *lato sensu*, non seulement un désordre dont souffre tout le

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

monde, mais aussi un dommage individuel. Sans établir un classement nettement défini des infractions, les Ouolofs effectuent pourtant entre elles une certaine distinction, tantôt au point de vue de leur gravité, tantôt au point de vue de leur moralité.

Au point de vue de leur gravité, ils distinguent les petites infractions qui ne méritent qu'un blâme, une peine légère et qui sont punies par la critique générale ; les infractions moyennes qu'il faut absolument réprimer parce que leur répétition rend impossible la vie commune ; les crimes enfin qui troublent dans son essence l'ordre social.

Au point de vue de leur moralité, la coutume distingue très bien dans l'application de la peine entre les infractions intentionnelles et les infractions non-intentionnelles.

La coutume pénale est territoriale : elle s'applique à tous les individus, quelle que soit leur origine, qui se sont rendus coupables d'une infraction sur le territoire de la province. En cas de fuite, l'extradition de province à province dans l'intérieur du pays ouolof, et même l'extradition de pays ouolof à pays étranger n'était pas inconnue ; mais les perpétuelles relations d'hostilité ne permettaient guère l'usage de cette institution.

La tentative, qu'elle se manifeste par des actes simplement préparatoires, si l'intention criminelle est établie, ou par un acte d'exécution, est toujours punie. La coutume admet qu'elle ne doit pas être punie comme le fait lui-même.

La responsabilité de ses actes pour l'individu est, dans la coutume, le fondement même de l'idée de répression : cette responsabilité est à la fois civile et criminelle. La responsabilité collective est connue et pratiquée, mais sous certaines conditions. La coutume admet la responsabilité de la famille en cas de meurtre ou de blessures. Par famille on entend ici l'ensemble des parents et alliés tant du côté paternel que du côté maternel. Chez les tiedos au contraire,

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

les seuls parents de la ligne maternelle sont responsables. Pour les autres cas : vol, incendie..., elle ne l'admet pas. L'auteur du crime est personnellement responsable de ses actes.

Il y a pour le délinquant des cas d'irresponsabilité criminelle : ce sont l'enfance, la folie, l'ivresse. Dans ce cas les réparations civiles sont dues pleines et entières. Si le délinquant est un enfant, ce sont ses parents paternels et maternels qui sont responsables. Ni la fureur, ni la contrainte ne sont des cas d'irresponsabilité.

La légitime défense constitue un fait justificatif : il ne faut pas toutefois que l'acte perpétré dans ce cas dépasse le but qu'une légitime défense pouvait permettre, par exemple qu'un individu riposte par un coup de feu à des coups peu graves de bâton ou de poing, et tue son agresseur, alors que sa propre vie n'était certainement pas en jeu. Dans un cas semblable, le meurtrier sera poursuivi, mais ne sera puni toutefois que d'une peine légère d'emprisonnement et d'amende. La famille de la victime n'a pas droit à des dommages-intérêts.

B) La peine. — Comme il a été dit plus haut, à la base de la peine se trouve une idée de vengeance et une idée de défense sociale. Cette vengeance, en temps normal, c'est-à-dire quand le pays est soumis à une autorité forte et respectée, ne doit pas être personnelle. Il appartient à l'autorité souveraine, ou à son représentant local, de procurer à la victime le dédomagement auquel elle a droit, ou le plaisir de voir châtier celui qui lui a fait du mal.

Mais comme dans toutes les sociétés primitives, la victime peut faire abandon de son droit de vengeance pour un équivalent d'argent. C'est le système des compensations pécuniaires, le wehrgeld germanique. L'autorité souveraine apprécie alors en général, et surtout après cadeaux, que l'ordre public n'a pas souffert, puisque le criminel ayant

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

indemnisé la victime, les choses ont été remises en l'état. Elle renonce, si elle le juge utile, aux poursuites.

Les peines prévues par la coutume se classifient en : corporelles, privatives ou restrictives de liberté, pécuniaires et d'ordre moral.

Les peines corporelles étaient autrefois la mort, la correction à coups de corde et la torture ; celle-ci n'avait d'ailleurs qu'un caractère préventif qui était d'obtenir les aveux du prévenu. Aujourd'hui il ne reste plus que la peine de mort ; la torture et les coups de corde ayant été supprimés en tant que « contraires aux principes de la civilisation ».

Une seule peine privative de liberté existait : la mise aux fers (*dieng*) ; elle n'avait aussi qu'un caractère préventif ; attendre la fin de l'enquête. Le bannissement était la seule peine restrictive de liberté qui fut appliquée. Aujourd'hui ces peines sont remplacées par celle de l'emprisonnement sous la réserve qu'elle ne pourra excéder une durée de vingt ans, et par celle de l'interdiction de séjour que les juridictions peuvent prononcer pour une durée maxima de vingt ans.

Les peines pécuniaires prévues par la coutume étaient l'amende et la confiscation : elles subsistent toutes deux.

Les peines d'ordre moral consistaient en une amende honorable, ou en une humiliation publique par l'exposition au pilori ou la promenade à travers les villages : elles n'étaient d'ailleurs pas appliquées partout. Ces peines sont aujourd'hui supprimées, sinon dans leur principe au moins dans ces manifestations. Mais le but cherché étant une humiliation publique, rien n'empêche de la trouver dans la publicité de la condamnation pénale qui est prévue par notre Code pénal et peut être considérée ici comme une application mitigée de l'ancienne coutume.

La coutume admet formellement les circonstances aggravantes ou atténuantes. Elle les envisage comme des faits

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

qui viennent augmenter ou diminuer la culpabilité de l'inculpé, partant, doivent modifier la quotité de la peine. Comme il n'y a pas, sauf exception, de tableau des peines, ou, si l'on veut, de peine légale pour chaque infraction, le juge a à peu près toute latitude dans l'application de la peine et l'on comprend que les circonstances aggravantes ou atténuantes jouent le plus grand rôle dans la fixation de la quotité de cette peine.

Le principe de la substitution des peines était partout admis, mais il s'agit plutôt de la peine applicable que de la peine appliquée. En indemnisant le plaignant ou la victime, on obtenait d'elle le retrait de sa plainte : l'affaire était arrangée et les poursuites tombaient d'elles-mêmes. Le criminel condamné à une correction de coups de corde pouvait obtenir la substitution d'une amende à ce châtiment corporel.

La complicité était considérée en général comme une infraction aussi grave que le délit lui-même, parce qu'« elle rend celui-ci possible », dit la coutume. Le complice était donc puni des mêmes peines que l'auteur principal.

La récidive entraîne une aggravation de peine. Dans certains cas ; vol, viol, incendie, aggression... le récidiviste incorrigible était autrefois mis à mort.

La coutume ne connaît pas la prescription en matière criminelle. Le malfaiteur en principe est toujours susceptible de poursuites. Le décret du 16 août 1912 maintient sur ce point les usages indigènes.

La coutume, sauf quelques exceptions citées plus bas, n'a pas prévu une nomenclature de peines légales s'appliquant aux diverses infractions. Toute peine en principe s'applique à toute infraction. Le juge a une liberté entière d'appréciation en se basant sur les circonstances qui ont entouré le fait délictueux, et aussi sur les considérations de temps, de lieu, d'opportunité.

Le meurtrier est puni de la peine du talion. Toutefois

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

(en Sine-Saloum) s'il a pris la fuite, après un an passé à l'étranger, il a le droit de revenir au pays sans qu'on puisse le punir. Cette prescription pénale est particulière au meurtre; elle n'empêche pas d'ailleurs la juste indemnisation due à la famille de la victime.

Le meurtre de la femme adultère et de son complice par le mari n'est pas poursuivable. Dans les provinces du Sine et du Saloum, le Bour faisait même appeler à sa cour, après le meurtre, le mari justicier et lui donnait publiquement de la poudre et des balles, moins évidemment pour calmer les galants, peu soucieux désormais de recommencer ces exploits auprès des autres femmes d'un mari aussi susceptible, que pour approuver hautement et sanctionner, aux yeux de tous, le châtiment des coupables. Aujourd'hui, le mari meurtrier est puni simplement d'une amende. Quant à la femme, victime de l'adultère de son mari, elle a le droit de battre et de blesser la complice; elle n'a pas le droit de la tuer. Pour le mari, il reste inviolable et sacré.

Les injures sont punies d'amende ou d'emprisonnement. La peine appliquée est d'autant plus forte que les injures sont adressées à une personne plus considérable. On connaît le dicton du Saloum : « En insultant le Bour, on insulte tout le monde. » Il suit que les injures adressées aux représentants français ou indigènes de l'autorité méritent une répression plus sévère.

3. — *Procédure.*

Il n'y a rien à dire sur l'organisation judiciaire des cercles mourides, qui comme pour l'ensemble des territoires de l'A. O. F. a été réglementée par les décrets du 10 novembre 1903 et 16 août 1912.

En matière civile, le tribunal de droit commun est au-

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

jourd'hui le tribunal de subdivision, avec le tribunal de cercle comme juridiction d'appel.

En matière pénale c'est le tribunal de subdivision pour les infractions de moyenne importance, en quelque sorte les délits de notre droit criminel; le tribunal de cercle est juridiction d'appel dans ce cas, et tribunal de droit commun pour les crimes.

Ces tribunaux, successeurs des anciennes juridictions des chefs indigènes, sont acceptés par tous et fonctionnent avec une grande régularité. Quant à l'organisation judiciaire des pays musulmans, elle est absolument inconnue ici; Charâ, mahkama, cadi, adoul,... institutions, et très souvent noms, sont lettre morte pour les indigènes. Si le nom de cadi subsiste encore dans leur mémoire, c'est en souvenir des anciens cadis que l'autorité française institua jadis de toutes pièces.

Dans la coutume, le tribunal compétent était en principe : en matière civile, le tribunal du défendeur; en matière pénale le tribunal du lieu de l'infraction. Dans le cas où, pour des circonstances diverses, il y avait conflit de juridiction civile, c'était le tribunal dans le ressort duquel avait pris naissance le litige qui était compétent. Rien n'empêchait toutefois les parties, pour une raison d'utilité commune, de s'adresser d'un commun accord à un autre tribunal.

Les arbitrages et transactions étaient — et sont restés — très en faveur.

Dans la procédure proprement dite, trois points méritent une attention particulière : la preuve, la participation du fétiche, l'exécution des jugements.

Conformément au vieil adage français et connu dans le droit musulman, la preuve incombe à celui qui avance un fait. *Onus incumbit ei qui dicit;* dans l'instance principale, c'est le demandeur, *actor;* dans l'exception, c'est le défendeur, parce qu'ici aussi : *Reus in exceptione fit actor*.

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

La preuve est à peu près uniquement testimoniale; pourtant depuis que l'instruction commence à se répandre, on voit apparaître les écrits et sous-seings privés. La valeur des témoignages masculins et féminins est inégale, sauf dans certains cas spéciaux où la femme est forcément plus documentée que l'homme, le témoignage féminin est considéré comme très inférieur au témoignage de l'homme. On dit couramment : « La preuve est obtenue par le témoignage de deux hommes honorables ou par celui d'un homme ou de neuf femmes. » Pratiquement pourtant, le témoignage de la femme a plus de valeur.

L'aveu a toute force probante. C'est la *probatio probatissima*. Il doit emporter condamnation.

La délation du serment est d'un usage courant. Les parties peuvent se le déférer réciproquement sous la réserve que le juge est présent. Celui-ci peut aussi le déférer à l'une des parties, ordinairement le défendeur ou prévenu. L'usage, si répandu en pays musulman, des co-jureurs, personnes qui viennent attester la moralité d'un défendeur ou d'un témoin, n'est pas connu ici; le serment ne porte que sur la matérialité des faits.

Quoique les pratiques fétichistes soient désormais bannies de la procédure régulière, les vieilles traditions subsistent encore sur ce point. La victime d'un vol a souvent recours au sorcier-devin, pour retrouver l'objet disparu. Ces démarches sont souvent couronnées de succès, soit que le voleur, impressionné par le mal qui pourrait lui arriver, se hâte de rendre l'objet volé, soit que le sorcier-devin, très au courant des intrigues et faits locaux, ne serve d'intermédiaire obligeant entre les parties, à l'instar de certains marabouts de l'Afrique du Nord, à qui leur sainteté reconnue par tous, permet la pratique ouverte de la béchara.

L'exécution forcée des jugements était ordonnée par le tribunal qui l'avait prononcée. Quand la partie succombante refuse d'exécuter volontairement le jugement, le

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

gagnant lui fait fixer un délai par le tribunal. A l'expiration du délai, ses biens, si elle en a, sont saisis et vendus. Si elle ne possède rien, on applique la contrainte par corps jusqu'à complet paiement.

En vertu de la théorie coutumière sur la propriété foncière, les biens saisis ne peuvent être que des meubles. La saisie immobilière n'existe pas, tout au moins quand il s'agit de fonds ruraux. Les fruits naturels peuvent être saisis, mais après seulement qu'ils sont détachés ou coupés. Tant qu'ils sont sur pied ou sur branches, le créancier doit les respecter, mais il fait bonne garde pour que la récolte ne soit pas enlevée subrepticement.

La saisie est opérée par le chef de canton, assisté de ses auxiliaires. Les objets saisis sont portés ou conduits au Tribunal qui fait procéder à la vente, un jour d'audience.

Le produit en est distribué aux créanciers poursuivants sans aucun privilège spécial. Il n'y a pas d'ordre coutumier pour le paiement des différentes créances. Si quelques-unes peuvent être privilégiées, la chose sera décidée par les circonstances de fait et de moment et non par des principes juridiques pré-établis.

Le décret du 16 août 1912 (ch. v) a réglementé d'une touche légère et sans modification sensible l'exécution des jugements.

CONCLUSION

Après ce rapide examen des institutions coutumières de droit des indigènes ouolofs, il est facile de voir combien faible est leur islamisation dans le domaine juridique.

En suivant pas à pas la coutume et la prescription correspondante du droit coranique, on se heurte à des dissemblances continuelles. La plupart du temps même, il n'y a aucun point de commun et l'on sent que la coutume, produit d'un peuple primitif de race noire, est conçue dans un

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

esprit tout à fait différent de celui du droit musulman, oriental et sémite.

En matière civile, qu'y a-t-il de commun notamment entre la constitution de la famille, le mariage, la situation de la femme, la rupture du mariage, les conceptions de la propriété, les successions, les testaments, les conventions et contrats, tels que les comprend la coutume et tels que les régit la loi coranique. Les habous (ou ouaqfs) biens de main-morte religieuse, inaliénables et imprescriptibles, qu'on retrouve dans toute l'étendue du monde musulman et qui constituent une des institutions fondamentales du droit religieux islamique, sont absolument inconnus ici.

En matière pénale et procédurière, l'autorité française fait sentir plus directement son intervention ; et, c'est à juste titre, la coutume étant souvent informe et barbare sur ce point. Mais convient-il d'aller chercher dans Sidi Khalil les lumières qui font défaut dans l'institution locale? Dans les états les plus islamisés, le souverain a réglementé et codifié la matière pénale ; et il y a longtemps qu'on applique plus les prescriptions du droit criminel coranique, et des auteurs qui l'ont étudié. Sera-ce sur le territoire français et pour des Noirs à peine islamisés que ces textes seront maintenus en vigueur?

C'est pourtant ce qui se produit : tous les tribunaux indigènes (cercles et subdivisions) usent couramment, exclusivement même, du Sidi Khalil dans la traduction Seignette. Pourquoi? Pour les raisons suivantes, qui n'ont rien de judiciaire.

1° Parce que Sidi Khalil est un auteur qui a eu l'heureuse fortune d'être traduit en français par Seignette et édité — texte et traduction — pour la modique somme de 25 francs. A ce prix-là tout le monde peut s'offrir la Loi et les Prophètes.

2° Parce qu'il est plus facile de trouver dans Sidi Khalil, à l'aide de la table des matières, quelques considérants suf-

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

fisants pour étayer un jugement que de rechercher péniblement, dans le fouillis des coutumes, celles qui doivent s'appliquer dans le cas que le Tribunal doit trancher. Cette observation n'est pas une critique ; les présidents des tribunaux indigènes n'ont pas en général l'éducation juridique nécessaire pour effectuer ces recherches ; et d'autre part les assesseurs indigènes, s'ils sont de deux villages différents, n'arrivent pas toujours à se mettre d'accord sur leur coutume.

3° Parce que la Chambre d'homologation, dans une jurisprudence jadis constante, estimait qu'à des Ouolofs musulmans, ou se disant tels, il fallait appliquer intégralement les dispositions du droit musulman. Depuis plusieurs années, ainsi qu'en font foi ses derniers arrêts, c'est à la « coutume musulmane » qu'elle se réfère, et non plus aux articles du Coran ou des auteurs; mais les tribunaux indigènes qui ne sont pas toujours au courant du dernier état de la jurisprudence, ne suivent pas tous le mouvement. D'ailleurs l'heureuse influence de la Chambre ne peut se faire sentir que rarement en matière civile.

La vraie jurisprudence coutumière aurait pu naître dans les tribunaux de l'intérieur, par l'influence des membres indigènes; mais il ne faut pas oublier que lorsque ceux-ci sont des Musulmans, ce sont pour la plupart du temps des lettrés, de pieux personnages, l'élite intellectuelle du pays ; par conséquent des individus doctrinalement très islamisés, et qui par science, par conscience et par piété, citent les textes utiles du droit musulman alors qu'ils n'ignorent pas (peut-être l'ignorent-ils quelquefois) que la coutume régit le cas d'espèce et devrait être appliquée.

En outre la Chambre d'homologation qui exigeait, à juste titre, que le statut de l'inculpé devait être représenté dans le Tribunal indigène, avait perdu de son énergie et admettait que « cette règle devait fléchir lorsqu'elle ne pouvait être rigoureusement observée dans les régions où

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

l'élément musulman domine et où la liste des assesseurs ne comprend pas de notables fétichistes ». Le décret de 1912 (art. 7) en prescrivant que le statut de la partie ou du prévenu doit toujours être représenté et en enjoignant aux lieutenants-gouverneurs et commissaires généraux de désigner, s'il le faut, un ou plusieurs assesseurs *ad hoc*, a remis les choses au point.

Un exemple viendra illustrer, comme il convient, ces considérations.

Par un heureux résultat dû au régime de l'immatriculation foncière, la notion de la propriété privée tend à se répandre, et les indigènes acquièrent dans le commerce ou se font donner par l'administration des lots urbains. Or cette propriété est une véritable propriété privée qui ne peut faire partie du bien de famille, puisqu'elle est acquise par un individu sur ses deniers personnels et non héritée des ancêtres. Cette propriété privée, création française, est-il logique de la doter du régime juridique musulman? Convient-il par exemple de lui appliquer, comme on le fait, les voies d'aliénation et les dispositions successorales et testamentaires de la loi coranique? Pourquoi cette interposition d'un droit étranger, entre nous, notre génie, notre influence d'une part, et les indigènes et leurs institutions d'autre part?

Ainsi donc en résumé, contrairement à l'esprit et à la lettre de la législation en vigueur en A. O. F. qui maintient aux indigènes le bénéfice de leurs institutions coutumières, on leur fait souvent, malgré eux, application des dispositions du droit musulman. Et non pas même celles d'un droit musulman, vivant et moderne, comme celui des pays d'Orient (Code égyptien, Code ottoman) ou d'Algérie (Projet de codification Morand) mais celles d'un auteur moyen-âgeux (Sidi Khalil est du quatorzième siècle), qui, pour être excellent, n'en jouit pas moins d'une réputation surfaite.

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

Il faut ajouter, pour être complet, que Sidi Khalil est connu et étudié dans les écoles maraboutiques du Sénégal et de la Mauritanie, où on fait quelques études de droit musulman, mais qu'on le considère comme un auteur de second plan, à peu près sur le même pied que Ibn Acem. L'ouvrage juridique le plus en vogue ici, dans les milieux lettrés arabisants, est la *Risala* d'Ibn Abi Zaïd.

Il est à craindre que l'application de cette juridiction des tribunaux français, si elle se généralisait, ne contribuât fortement à l'islamisation des indigènes. Il convient donc que l'attention de tous les intéressés soit attirée sur ces faits. Une bien meilleure distribution de la justice indigène serait certainement assurée, si les présidents des tribunaux de cercle et de subdivision étaient invités à ne jamais chercher leurs lumières juridiques dans les auteurs d'un droit musulman caduc, et pratiquement inconnu ici.

CHAPITRE II

LE MOURIDISME ET L'ÉTAT SOCIAL DES INDIGÈNES

L'Islam tend à faire sentir son influence dans toute la vie sociale de ses fidèles. Le Coran contient autant de prescriptions et de menus préceptes concernant la vie ordinaire des Arabes que d'enseignements dogmatiques et de doctrines religieuses. Or, ainsi qu'on l'a démontré pour tous les peuples qui ne sont pas d'origine sémite (Berbères africains, indigènes des Indes anglaises, malaises, néerlandaises), les prescriptions de l'orthodoxie musulmane en matière sociale subissent une adultération perpétuelle au contact des incidents et faits divers de la vie des indigènes.

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

Il est facile de constater dans une rapide enquête que les Ouolofs sénégalais n'échappent pas à cette règle : islamisés aujourd'hui depuis un demi-siècle, ils ont conservé intacts la plupart de leurs usages, traditions et coutumes sociales. Surtout traditionnalistes, ils reçoivent bien ce qui pour une cause ou une autre s'impose à eux, mais ils abandonnent le moins possible de leur passé. L'Islamisation sur ce point a été à peu près nulle, et l'on voit aujourd'hui les Mourides, réagissant en quelque sorte centre la loi coranique, revenir à certaines coutumes ancestrales que l'influence de l'Islam ou la présence de l'autorité française tendaient à faire abolir.

C'est ce qui apparaîtra dans cette monographie sociale conçue quelque peu sur le modèle des monographies écomiques que recommandait Le Play.

Lorsque la mère sent les douleurs de couches prochaines, la famille prévient les vieilles femmes du village qui accourent aussitôt et prêtent à la malade leurs bons offices. Il n'y a pas d'accoucheuses de profession. L'accouchement ne se fait pas en général dans la case ; au moment opportun, la femme se réfugie sous un arbre, au pied d'une broussaille, près d'une meule ; et c'est là qu'a lieu la délivrance. Si elle ne reste pas dans la case, disent les indigènes, c'est autant par propreté que pour éviter que les génies s'emparent du sang et du liquide répandus et ne nuisent aussi bien à l'enfant qu'à la mère.

Le nouveau-né est lavé avec de l'eau froide ou tiède, et on l'apporte auprès de sa mère rentrée dans la case. Il restera là sept jours sans bouger. Cette période de temps est, suivant la coutume, nécessaire au rétablissement de la mère, mais elle concerne surtout l'enfant qui doit être protégé contre les dangers qui le guettent. Il n'a pas encore de nom, il a des cheveux : toutes choses qui font de lui une proie facile pour les génies malfaisants. C'est pourquoi on le cache soigneusement.

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

Dès le premier jour, le deuxième au plus tard, l'enfant est pourvu de ses premiers grigris. Toutes les autorités religieuses du pays y participent : le marabout ou le cheikh confectionne une amulette dans laquelle il enferme quelques paroles du Coran et des formules mystérieuses. Le sorcier-devin livre un talisman magique : petite corne, dent, poils, pierre spéciale, collier de cuir, sur lequel il a prononcé des incantations. Ces grigris sont attachés au corps de l'enfant.

Le septième jour écoulé, l'enfant est appelé à entrer officiellement dans la vie : on lui rase délicatement la tête. La mère se lève pour la première fois et on pose l'enfant sur son dos : c'est une cérémonie à laquelle viennent assister les commères voisines. C'est à ce moment là qu'on donne son nom à l'enfant : ce nom sera ordinairement pour un garçon le nom du grand-père, de l'oncle ou du grand-oncle ; quelquefois, surtout quand il y a plusieurs femmes dans la maison, on lui donne le surnom de sa mère. Si c'est une fille, on lui donne ordinairement le nom de sa tante ou de sa grand-mère.

Le père qui a acheté un mouton ou une chèvre, l'offre en sacrifice ce jour-là. C'est indifféremment au marabout, au cheikh, au sorcier-devin qui revient le soin de l'égorger dans les rites voulus. On en offre des quartiers aux amis et visiteurs. C'est là un sacrifice qui doit exercer une très heureuse influence sur les destinées de l'enfant.

Les voisins apportent à leur tour à la mère de menus cadeaux d'amitié et de félicitations : un peu de mil, de sucre, de farine, de sel ; une tranche de viande, une noix de kola. Toutes ces denrées sont rassemblées et on clôt la fête par un repas général en l'honneur du nouveau-né. « Réjouissons-nous : un homme est né sur la terre. »

Par la suite, la mère reprend le cours de ses occupations ordinaires : elle peut sortir avec l'enfant, se promener, mais ne doit pas se mettre dès le premier jour à travailler.

1: Marty M537 Senegal

Elle ne procède pas sur sa personne, à l'occasion de ses relevailles, à une cérémonie spéciale de purification.

C'est naturellement la mère qui allaite son enfant; quand elle n'a pas de lait ou qu'elle en a insuffisamment, elle s'aide avec du lait de chèvre. Le lait de vache ou de brebis est considéré comme peu digestif et moins convenable. Mais, la mère vivant et allaitant, on ne donne jamais l'enfant à une nourrice. Il faut éviter très scrupuleusement le mélange des laits. On ne confiera l'enfant à une nourrice que si la mère est morte en couches; ou si, malade et sans lait, elle n'a jamais donné le sein à son enfant.

Le sevrage a lieu à deux ans; pour les garçons, on le retarde quelquefois de trois à six mois. Au moment de la poussée des dents, il est bon de mettre à l'enfant un grigri de protection.

Les enfants habitent en principe la case de leur mère. Jusqu'à dix ans, le père consent quelquefois à laisser dormir les plus sages dans sa case. A partir de cet âge, « comme ils comprennent ce qu'ils voient », disent les indigènes, on les laisse définitivement dans la case de la mère ou dans les cases annexes.

Le percement des oreilles de la fillette ne se fait pas à une date déterminée. Quelquefois cette opération a lieu pendant les sept premiers jours; plus souvent dans le cours des deux ou trois premières années. On met aussitôt une petite perle à l'oreille de l'enfant. La coutume recommande, lors de cette cérémonie, l'addition d'un grigri spécial et une diminution dans l'alimentation de l'enfant.

La circoncision est pratiquée sur les jeunes garçons entre l'âge de huit ans et celui de quinze ans. Cette opération est très ancienne et antérieure à l'islamisation des Ouolofs. Elle a lieu, le matin, avant le lever du soleil, et ne donne lieu à aucune fête. Les filles ne subissent pas l'excision.

On ne traite pas différemment dans leur jeune âge les

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

filles et les garçons; les soins qui leur sont donnés sont identiques et leurs jeux communs. La jeune fille n'est jamais recluse. Elle garde toute sa liberté ; et c'est en fréquentant les jeunes gens et les hommes qu'elle trouve son époux. Les jeunes filles jolies ou de bonne famille se marient de bonne heure : à l'âge de 14 ans environ ; la moyenne se marie un peu plus tard. La seule condition physique nécessaire est leur nubilité ; et cette nubilité est manifestée par l'apparition des règles.

Il semble bien que la majeure partie des unions, du moins entre jeunes gens provient du choix mutuel des époux. Le consentement des parents est nécessaire, mais n'intervient que pour sanctionner ordinairement la volonté des amoureux. La coutume diffère donc sensiblement sur ce point de la prescription du droit musulman et se rapproche beaucoup plus des usages de notre civilisation.

Il n'y a pas lieu de revenir sur les cérémonies qui accompagnent le mariage ; mais il faut constater que la fête se déroule dans le cadre des mœurs locales, et qu'on n'y trouve ni le cortège officiel, ni le voilage de la jeune fille, ni les applications de henné et autres cérémonies si usitées dans le pays musulman. Le rôle de la religion y est à peu près nul ; et l'intervention de son ministère n'y est qu'accessoire. Ici, plus que partout ailleurs, peut s'appliquer la définition du mariage, telle que la donne Martin Hartmann : « La régularisation civique de l'instinct sexuel. »

L'Islamisation est plus sensible dans les rites funéraires. Quand le malade est à l'agonie, les parents, voisins et amis se réunissent et commencent à se lamenter. Il est bon que le mourant s'en aille dans l'autre monde entouré des regrets de tous. Dès qu'il est mort, on procède sans tarder à sa toilette et à l'inhumation. Le cadavre est soigneusement lavé et enveloppé dans un boubou blanc ; on lui attache les pieds et les mains et on l'emporte au cimetière.

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

Quand le village renferme une *diaka* (lieu de prières, entouré de branchages) on se rend à la porte et on dépose le cadavre devant l'ouverture. Le Cheikh lit la prière des morts; on emporte aussitôt le cadavre et on l'étend à même le sable dans la tombe, les pieds vers le Nord, la tête vers le sud, couché sur le côté, face vers l'est. Cette coutume tend à se répandre même chez les Ouolofs non musulmans. On recouvre directement de sable le cadavre; d'autres préfèrent allonger horizontalement des perches, déposer au-dessus des torchis de paille et recouvrir le tout de sable. Il n'y a aucune prière publique sur la tombe: chacun prie intérieurement, s'il le juge utile.

L'inhumation a lieu aussitôt après le décès: on n'attend que le temps nécessaire aux préparatifs funèbres. Toutefois, si les parents du défunt ne sont pas là, on les prévient et on attend leur arrivée. De même, si le décès est survenu pendant la nuit, on attend le matin.

Rentrés au carré, le fils et le frère du défunt se partagent immédiatement ses grigris.

Des sacrifices accompagnent ordinairement un décès. Chez les Sérères fortunés, les sacrifices sont de véritables hécatombes, donnant lieu à de multiples réjouissances. Les Ouolofs sont plus discrets, un bœuf, ou une chèvre, est égorgé et découpé en petits quartiers, distribués à tous les habitants du village. Ce n'est pasun acte de charité, puisque tout le monde, même les plus riches, en ont leur part.

Les époux sont quelquefois enterrés l'un à côté de l'autre, mais dans deux tombes différentes; la femme morte en couches est enterrée avec son enfant.

L'usage des cimetières n'est que partiellement connu. L'inhumation se fait souvent dans la campagne, en un point isolé. On marque la tombe par un léger exhaussement de sable; quelquefois quand les chacals et hyènes sont abondants, par quelques branchages. Il n'y a ni pierres tombales, ni témoins, ni inscriptions. Les femmes

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

ne se rendent pas au cimetière, ou au lieu d'inhumation, suivant le touchant usage cher aux Musulmans, pour prier sur la tombe et offrir de petits sacrifices. Il n'existe pas de fêtes pour célébrer, à dates fixes, l'anniversaire ou la mémoire du défunt. Il semble que la conclusion, tirée par un chef de canton du Baol, soit exacte : « Chez nous, quand on est mort, on est oublié. »

Les Sérères ont mieux conservé le culte des morts. Ils déposent le cadavre dans une case, et avant de la recouvrir de sable, ils enferment avec lui un couteau qui lui sera utile, le cas échéant, pour se défendre ; du tabac à priser, et un coq vivant, à la voix éclatante, pour l'éveiller le matin.

Les croyances islamiques touchant les premiers instants qui suivent la mort, semblent avoir pénétré plus profondément, au moins dans l'esprit des lettrés. Dès que l'heure est venue, un ange se précipite sur le moribond et lui enlève son âme. Il la garde jusqu'au moment de l'ensevelissement. Quand cette opération est finie, à peine le dernier des assistants s'est-il retiré de sept pas de la tombe que l'ange rend son âme au cadavre. Les bons et mauvais anges, les génies bienfaisants et malfaisants accourent en foule et interpellent le patient, chacun réclamant son dû. Si la conclusion des débats établit que c'est un honnête homme, le premier ange emporte à nouveau son âme au Ciel, où « elle se repose » — ce qui est bien couleur locale. Sinon elle est conduite dans les lieux infernaux. Dans les deux cas, elle attend le jour du jugement dernier, présidé par Dieu, à qui seul appartient la décision définirive.

Les croyances de la masse des fidèles sont en général moins précises ; l'indigène déclare ignorer complètement ses fins dernières et s'en remettre précisément à son Cheikh de son bonheur dans l'autre monde.

Maladies. — La maladie est en général dans l'esprit des

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

Ouolofs moins une affection provenant d'une cause naturelle que le résultat d'un mauvais sort jeté par un être malfaisant. Quand il s'agit d'une maladie ancienne ou chronique, il est facile de se soigner personnellement, et c'est aux simples, dans une médication tant interne qu'externe, qu'on fait appel. Quand on souffre d'une maladie grave et qu'on ne se connaissait pas, on la fait annoncer dans le village avec tous ses symptômes et les habitants accourent. Dans le nombre, il y a toujours quelqu'un qui, ayant éprouvé quelque chose d'analogue, sait conseiller le remède nécessaire. D'ailleurs on a en général dans sa case ou sur soi un nombre suffisant de grigris, où l'on peut chercher celui qui est idoine pour la plaie, la blessure ou la fièvre dont on souffre.

Mais la grande ressource est l'appel au médecin de sorcier (*bilodi*). Comme il est entendu que la maladie provient d'un sort fâcheux jeté par le sorcier (*dème*), on s'adresse au médecin de sorcier dont le pouvoir bienfaisant peut contrebalancer l'influence néfaste du sorcier. Le médecin de sorcier vient donc à la case du malade ou se le fait apporter. Il l'exorcise, prononce des incantations, le force à parler, le défend contre les menaces dont celui-ci se croit enveloppé s'il dénonce son bourreau. Autrefois quand le malade avait prononcé un nom, on arrêtait immédiatement l'être malfaisant; on le frappait jusqu'à ce que le malade revînt à la santé; et s'il mourrait, on mettait à mort le sorcier. Aujourd'hui le remède est moins brutal : la cause de la maladie (le sorcier) étant connue, on cherche — et on trouve naturellement — les raisons qui l'ont conduit à se montrer malfaisant, et on les combat par de solides grigris ad hoc. Ou bien encore on va le trouver et on l'apaise par quelque cadeau.

Pratiques fétichistes. — Toutes les phases de la vie sociale et domestique des indigènes sont imprégnées de

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

pratiques fétichistes, de sorte qu'il est très difficile de faire le départ entre les faits dont le but est d'ordre purement matériel et ceux qui sont fonction de l'au-delà ; entre ceux qui sont peut-être des recettes d'une science empirique et ceux qui sont des rites magiques.

D'ailleurs tous les systèmes qui ont entrepris d'expliquer les origines de la vie religieuse : orphisme, magie et totémisme, astrolâtrie et même animisme, font à l'heure actuelle l'objet de trop de controverses pour pouvoir être utilisés ici. Il est plus exact de constater simplement des faits.

Parmi les croyances des Ouolofs de la génération précédente, celle du *mbagne*, qui semble correspondre au *tana* des Mandingues (Delafosse ; *Haut-Sénégal-Niger*) était la plus intéressante. Le Mbagne est un objet ou une force de la nature, vis-à-vis duquel une personne, une famille, un village, est soumis, par suite de relations intimes, à certaines obligations, en général prohibitives, quelquefois positives. Pour les uns, le mbagne, c'est le fruit du baobab, tel fruit, telle plante, tel oiseau qu'il ne devra jamais manger sous peine de tomber malade ; pour les autres, c'est le vent de l'est, le bruit de la foudre, etc... qui ne devront jamais les surprendre dehors. Le coupable peut se racheter des fautes commises envers le mbagne par des offrandes et des cérémonies purificatoires.

Ces croyances, au contact des Français et par l'islamisation du peuple, paraissent s'affaiblir aujourd'hui. La plupart des individus interrogés restent perplexes. « Nos parents croyaient au mbagne, ce qui était juste. Nous-mêmes y croyons sans doute, mais nous croyons au marabout, ce qui est bien aussi. Le marabout nous protège contre les mauvaises influences et les génies malfaisants. »

Les pratiques fétichistes qui apparaissent naturellement avec le plus de force au cours d'une maladie, dominent à l'état latent la vie quotidienne. C'est ainsi qu'il faut absolument évacuer le carré qui prend feu deux ou trois fois de

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

suite. Il est évident que ce carré se trouve sur le passage des mauvais génies et qu'il les gêne dans leur marche.

On saisit sur le vif le sentiment perpétuel qu'a le Noir de son infériorité, de sa faiblesse devant les forces de l'au-delà. Il n'use des objets qu'avec précaution, de peur de contrarier les puissances cachées qui ont des droits supérieurs aux siens. Il est prêt à leur céder la place quand elles témoignent clairement la volonté de reprendre leur bien, ou de n'être pas gênées par sa présence. Il n'a jamais osé arriver à la conception parfaite du droit de propriété immobilière privée et de l'aliénation de la terre : il se considère toujours un peu comme un simple occupant du sol, reconnaissant le droit du Maître par des offrandes et des sacrifices, et toujours prêt à partager avec les étrangers qui viennent solliciter une part.

Les Mourides ont donc conservé en grande partie leurs croyances et pratiques fétichistes : leur vie sociale en est tout entière imprégnée; et leurs frères ouolof tidiana et qadria d'autre direction, en sont au même point.

Habitations. — Les Ouolofs habitent la case-paillotte bien connue. Les Mourides apportent sur ce terrain quelques pratiques personnelles. Ils aiment vivre en général groupés entre eux dans le même carré ou dans des carrés juxtaposés. Les « frères » sont seuls admis à pénétrer dans l'intérieur du carré ou du village. Ces habitations sont ordinairement très propres. Il est assez curieux de constater que sur beaucoup de points les Cheikhs recommandent et exigent des nettoyages réguliers. Quelques Mourides aiment se singulariser par un signe extérieur : Ils fichent en terre deux perches à l'ouverture du carré; mais cet usage n'est pas général.

Les Cheikhs ont dans leurs cases ou leurs maisons, des ameublements européens, variés et d'un goût plus que douteux.

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

Vêtements. — En plusieurs endroits, les Mourides affectent de se distinguer des autres Noirs par le port d'un signe spécial : une serviette blanche sur la poitrine dans le Cayor ; dans le Sine-Saloum des grigris monumentaux qui descendent jusque sur le ventre; un peu partout un collier rigide de cuir noir.

Leurs vêtements ne diffèrent pas en général de ceux des autres Ouolofs. Sur la ligne de Thiès-Louga pourtant, les disciples d'Ibra Fal sont souvent vêtus d'un pantalon de cotonnade bleue, bordé de galon blanc.

Les Cheikhs s'habillent de plus riche façon. Quelques-uns, pour se distinguer de la foule, se vêtissent de ces djellabas bleues de drap de soie, si en usage au Maroc ; ce qui leur donne de faux airs de commerçants de la côte marocaine, ou de fonctionnaires chérifiens. Les autres gardent plus simplement le costume national : boubous et pagnes blancs et bleus.

Plaisirs, fêtes. — Il n'est pas interdit en principe de fumer, de priser, d'user d'opium, mais le Cheikh peut quelquefois faire cette défense personnellement à ses talibés. L'usage du vin n'est permis que sur autorisation spéciale du marabout.

Les représentations théâtrales, les danses, la musique, les bamboulas de toute nature sont licites, mais l'austérité personnelle du Cheikh fait quelquefois qu'il ne les tolère pas dans son groupement.

Troubles dans l'ordre social. — Jusqu'ici les seules particularités relevées dans la vie des mourides sont uniquement remarquables au point de vue sociologique et ne mériteraient qu'un intérêt scientifique. Mais il y a quelque chose de plus grave à reprocher aux Cheikhs : c'est le trouble qu'ils jettent parfois dans l'ordre social en sédui-

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

sant les jeunes gens par leurs promesses dorées et en les enlevant à leurs familles.

Plusieurs parents ont déposé des plaintes; et c'est dans ces réclamations qu'on peut trouver les procédés du prosélytisme du Cheikh mouride.

« Il a monté la tête à mon fils; il l'a détourné de ses « devoirs, en lui faisant renoncer à la religion fétichiste « qui est celle de ses ancêtres. »

« J'ai essayé de rappeler mon fils à la maison; il n'a « jamais voulu m'écouter. Mon fils est le seul tiédo qui ait « renoncé à ses croyances pour se faire ensorceler par « Makoudia. » (Cercle du Sine-Saloum. Jugements du tribunal de province de Kalone : 4 juin 1912; du tribunal de province du Saloum oriental : 27 juin 1912.)

« Ils font croire au jeune homme que les père et mère ne « sont que des êtres dans lesquels Dieu l'avait conservé « jusqu'au jour de la naissance, tandis que le Cheikh est un « appui qui assurera l'avenir dans ce monde et le salut « dans l'autre. »

« Ils disent à la jeune fille qu'elle doit éviter le contact « d'un profane pour se consacrer à Dieu dans la personne « du Cheikh, ce qui lui vaudra de grands honneurs. »

Les séductions des Cheikhs ne captivent pas toujours les jeunes gens à qui ils promettent la gloire d'être un Sérigne lettré et considéré, ou les jeunes filles à qui ils vantent l'honneur d'être la femme d'un marabout et le prestige..... et le profit de l'avoir été. Ils se contentent quelquefois de faire piller la maison paternelle par les enfants, et s'enrichissent ainsi des dépouilles de gens qui n'oseront pas réclamer de peur de faire condamner leur enfant avec le marabout instigateur.

Les tentations s'adressent aussi aux parents : ils leur font miroiter la considération qui s'attachera à leur personne d'avoir un enfant dans l'entourage du grand marabout Amadou Bamba. Ils leur font des cadeaux : un bœuf, un

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

pagne, une petite somme d'argent. Ils tueront une chèvre en leur honneur. Le Noir, qui est sensible à ces manifestations, est bien près d'abandonner son fils au Cheikh.

C'est ainsi que l'influence des Mourides est sur ce point assez pernicieuse : elle a produit une certaine désorganisation dans quelques familles en provoquant des jeunes gens à la désobéissance, aux injures et aux mauvais traitements envers leurs parents; au vol à la maison paternelle; à la fuite vers des lieux inconnus. Elle fait que certains parents, âgés et infirmes, restent sans ressources et doivent vivre de la charité publique.

Les raisons que donnent les Cheikhs accusés d'être les instigateurs de ces faits ne sauraient évidemment les excuser. « Mes talibés faisaient pour moi, ce que je faisais pour mon Sérigne. »

La morale ne trouve pas toujours son compte non plus dans les relations des Cheikhs mourides avec les femmes de leurs congénères. Pour certains Sérignes, tels qu'Ibra Fal, Cheikh Anta, Cheikh Thioro, il n'est pas de femme dont ils n'aient le caprice qui puisse résister aux sommes d'argent considérables qu'ils sont prêts à verser, à elle ou à la famille. Leur désir satisfait, ils les répudient simplement. Il faut ajouter que ces femmes n'y perdent rien, car le prestige d'ex-femme de marabout est plutôt fait pour leur donner de la valeur. Mais le mari, qui s'est vu enlever sa femme d'aussi brutale façon, n'est pas toujours content, et fait entendre des protestations.

Pour être juste, il convient d'ajouter que ces mœurs ne sont pas spéciales aux Mourides, mais semblent très usitées chez tous les Ouolofs. Les Cheikhs mourides ont le tort d'exagérer.

P. Marty MS37 Senegal

CHAPITRE III

LE MOURIDISME DANS LE DOMAINE ÉCONOMIQUE

En prêchant à ses adeptes l'abandon complet à la volonté du marabout, la doctrine mouride aboutit à des conséquences remarquables en matière économique.

Les adeptes dont la foi est assez vive pour s'abandonner corps et âme à leur chef spirituel ne s'en tiennent pas là. La vie matérielle n'est plus alors pour eux qu'un accessoire, et toutes ses richesses : travail, produits récoltes, sont apportées et livrées au Sérigne sans aucune condition.

Le cultivateur devient une simple unité productive dans la grande famille mouride. S'il n'a pas de terres, on lui assigne la parcelle qu'il cultivera; on lui donne la quantité de semences nécessaire; on met à sa disposition les animaux ou instruments voulus: il doit aider ses frères ou en être aidé dans les moments de presse. Lors de la récolte, le Cheikh entre en possession de tous les produits et leur assurera un écoulement régulier et rémunérateur. Ne croirait-on pas voir en tout ceci comme une vaste association de coopération agricole à base confessionnelle; le sentiment religieux remplaçant ici l'éducation démocratique et la volonté consciente du travailleur ?

Il n'est pas jusqu'aux institutions annexes d'assistance et de mutualité que cet esprit de collectivisme n'entraîne avec lui. Le Cheikh, dépositaire des biens de l'union des frères, vient en aide par des secours divers et sous les formes les plus variées aux adeptes malheureux.

Il faut enfin reconnaître dans cette confiance dans le Cheikh un gage de paix sociale. L'arbitrage d'un chef reli-

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

gieux, accepté par tous les frères, et s'imposant quand il n'est pas recherché, met fin à beaucoup de petits conflits locaux et évite des actions judiciaires, des procès, des discussions intestines.

Cet esprit de communisme chez les Mourides n'est pas spécial aux cultivateurs. Il s'étend aux ouvriers d'art et à tous les corps de métiers, ainsi qu'au commerce.

Dans la plupart des escales des deux voies ferrées et dans beaucoup de villages, on trouve des mourides tenant des maisons de traite, au compte du Cheikh qui fait les avances de fonds, surveille la gestion du traitant, et se fait rendre des comptes très exacts. Cheikh Ibra Fal notamment, véritable Potin noir, est passé maître dans l'art de créer des succursales de commerce. D'autres Mourides sont employés dans les maisons européennes, vendent du kola dans les gares et sur les places publiques, ou voyagent comme colporteurs.

La petite industrie et les corps de métiers fournissent un bon contingent d'affiliés à la confession d'Amadou Bamba. Les Khouan sont tailleurs, bouchers, cordonniers, portefaix, bergers; à Dakar : fabricants de matelas; à Rufisque et à Saint-Louis, pêcheurs; sur le fleuve, laptots. Ceux de Balla Mbaké sont plus spécialement charbonniers. Les femmes sont brodeuses, couturières, teinturières dans les escales.

On signale même quelques employés de l'administration, agents de police et soldats qui sont attachés au Mouridisme.

Pour les métiers qui exigent un petit capital ou des instruments, c'est le Cheikh qui fait les avances de fonds ou achète le matériel (filet, barque, machine à coudre, établi, outils). L'intéressé aura droit, lors de la reddition des comptes, à une certaine part de gain. C'est en somme un nouveau mode de coopération : contrat de travail avec participation aux bénéfices.

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

Pour les autres ouvriers : journaliers, terrassiers, portefaix, ils partent en campagne avec la bénédiction du Sérigne ; et, la saison finie, lui rapportent le produit de leur travail.

Cette ardeur nouvelle que puise le Mouride dans son affiliation à l'ordre bamba se traduit par une recrudescence d'activité et a les plus heureux effets pour la mise en valeur de certaines régions. C'est ainsi que les Cheikhs ont discerné avec intelligence tout l'intérêt que présentait l'avancée de la voie du Thiès-Kayes à travers le Baol et le Saloum oriental ; et ils ont jalonné de leurs carrés mourides les escales de la ligne : Khombole, Bambey, Diourbel, Gossas, Guinguinéo, Kaffrine, Malème, sans compter les petits villages intermédiaires, sont devenus le centre d'agglomération de frères. Le Cheikh demande des concessions à l'autorité administrative, ou achète les lots urbains qui deviennent disponibles ; il vise à former un noyau vivant et compact dans l'escale. A l'extérieur, il fait occuper quelquefois de plain-pied, quelquefois en sollicitant l'autorisation auprès du chef indigène, tous les terrains paraissant vacants et sans maître ; et il est certain que ces terrains ne manquent pas aujourd'hui. D'ailleurs les chefs indigènes accueillent la plupart du temps avec bienveillance la richesse humaine qui vient aider à la mise en valeur du pays, et ne commencent à se montrer hostiles que lorsque le Mouride accapareur perce sous le travailleur.

La ligne du Dakar — Saint-Louis elle-même a été l'objet par les Mourides d'une forte occupation économique. Il y a d'abord des deux côtés de la voie, mais surtout du côté oriental, les cultivateurs qui relèvent de leurs Cheikhs locaux, et mettent en valeur sous leur direction et à leur profit les champs de mil et d'arachides. Mais c'est surtout par ses traitants que Cheikh Ibra Fal, de sa zaouïa de Thiès, au croisement des lignes, a supérieurement dirigé

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

la conquête du petit commerce du Cayor. Thiès, Tivaouane, Pire, Gourèye, Kelle, Ndande, Kébemer, Guéoul, toutes les escales de la voie, tous les petits hameaux intermédiaires sont pourvus d'un ou plusieurs traitants chez lesquels les frères viennent s'approvisionner.

Or, comme cette région du Cayor est très islamisée, que les Mourides de Cheikh Bou Kounta et de Cheikh El-Hadj Malik sont aussi nombreux que ceux d'Amadou Bamba, que le commerce français d'autre part y est très développé, et que tous ces intérêts établis, ces situations acquises, souffrent de cette concurrence grandissante, c'est aussi de ce côté qu'on entend les plaintes les plus vives. Mais ces plaintes, pour être justes, ne doivent pas sortir du domaine religieux pour les uns, économique pour les autres. Agiter le spectre d'un Mouridisme politique plein de dangers, pour inciter l'autorité administrative à le persécuter et à le détruire, est un acte d'ignorance ou de mauvaise foi, qui ne cache qu'un but : faire disparaître des confrères gênants ou évincer des concurrents commerciaux plus heureux.

Ce n'est pas sans raison évidemment — à leur point de vue — que les commerçants européens, et même indigènes, profèrent des plaintes. Les Mourides qui se dépouillent de leurs revenus au profit de leur Cheikh ne peuvent plus faire les mêmes dépenses de vêtements, bimbeloterie, friandise, tabac, auxquelles dans leur insouciance du lendemain ils consacraient jadis toutes leurs ressources. De là, une diminution dans le commerce de détail. Quant aux Cheikhs bien pourvus d'argent, leur consommation personnelle est limitée. C'est à des fantaisies coûteuses et souvent ridicules que va le produit des dons et aumônes. Les uns sont pourvus des catalogues tentateurs de la Manufacture d'armes de Saint-Étienne; les autres possèdent ceux des grands magasins de Paris, et sous l'inspiration du traitant représentant de ces maisons, ils font des commandes extraordinaires, instruments et machines inutiles, layettes de

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

blanc de plusieurs centaines de francs. Ibra Fal achète une machine à glace; Cheikh Anta se meuble en glaces et faux or et n'use que de papier et d'enveloppes à ses armes; Mbaké Bousso cherche un cadran solaire mobile, Amadou Bamba fait imprimer ses œuvres. Tout ce monde est abondamment pourvu de caisses de champagne, limonade, grenadine, et liqueurs les plus diverses. Enfin et surtout on consacre à l'acquisition de jeunes femmes des sommes fantastiques pour le pays. Cheikh Anta aurait versé dernièrement une dot nette de 10.000 francs pour pouvoir épouser une femme, dont évidemment il s'était promis, coûte que coûte, la conquête.

Ce sont là des faits qui justifient les plaintes des commerçants, et qui expliquent la légère crise que peut-être subissent leurs affaires: il est inutile d'imaginer des dessous politiques, tel que l'envoi de sommes d'argent au Maroc. Les Noirs sénégalais — les Mourides comme les autres — n'ont aucune relation avec le Maroc et ignorent tout de ce pays. Bien au contraire, c'est du Maroc que l'argent semble venir aux Cheikhs Mourides, et M. le Receveur de Tivaouane signalait à M. l'Administrateur du Cercle qu'il avait payé à ceux-ci un certain nombre de mandats émanant des tirailleurs sénégalais qui courent les grands chemins du Maroc.

En résumé, il ne paraît pas qu'il y ait des pertes à déplorer tant pour le commerce d'importation et d'exportation avec la France. Il n'y a là que des conflits d'intérêts privés: variations de goût chez les acquéreurs, changements de maison de traite, déplacements de richesses. Toutes ces fluctuations sont très naturelles et constituent la vie même du commerce; et c'est aux négociants intéressés qu'il appartient de conquérir, ou de garder, par plus d'ingéniosité, d'habileté, et quelquefois d'honnêteté, une clientèle qui paraît leur échapper.

Les plaintes des commerçants sont plus justifiées, quand

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

elles signalent les agissements de certains employés qui n'hésitent pas à commettre des vols, abus de confiance et détournements pour avoir l'honneur de rapporter une forte somme à leur Cheikh. Il n'est d'ailleurs pas toujours facile de réprimer les actes délictueux. Le voleur disparaît et on ne le retrouve plus. Si par hasard on peut reconstituer son identité, le commerçant est trop heureux de pouvoir par la menace de poursuites rentrer dans ses fonds. Il ne dépose donc pas plainte, mais il déplore son capital immobilisé et regrette le « manque à gagner ». Ces faits, — il faut se hâter de le dire — sont rares.

La seule chose qui soit vraiment à déplorer dans le Mouridisme, vu du côté économique, c'est l'exploitation des indigènes. Les dons affluent chez les Sérignes; espèces sonnantes par centaines et milliers de francs; animaux: chameaux, chevaux, bœufs, chèvres, poules, œufs; sacs de riz, de mil, d'arachides, de haricots par chameaux et caravanes entières, charges de boutures de manioc, de sankhand (mil pilé), d'écorces; ballots de kola, etc... Les autorités locales essaient bien d'arrêter ce mouvement par la persuasion, mais les Mourides sont comme la femme de Sganarelle: ils veulent être dépouillés comme elle voulait être battue. Les travailleurs quasi réduits en esclavage, et dénués de tout souci, vivent très heureux de leur sort, tel ce jeune homme qui, envoyé par Ali Penda, du Sine-Saloum, à Amadou Fadiana (Mbaké-Baol), pour conduire un troupeau, n'était pas encore revenu, un an après. Amadou Fadiana avait rendu hommage à ses qualités remarquables de berger en le gardant chez lui et en le mettant à la tête de ses troupeaux. Il comptait bien ne le renvoyer que le plus tard possible. La famille fut obligée de poursuivre judiciairement les Sérignes qui réduisaient ainsi l'enfant en servitude spéciale. Pour lui, il s'estimait fort heureux. C'est ainsi que les interventions de l'administration et de la justice ne sont guère possibles, la plu-

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

part du temps, que sur des plaintes des parents intéressés.

En résumé, la guerre sainte, l'apostolat, la conquête guerrière et religieuse, toutes les vertus d'expansion de l'Islam sont transformées par le Mouridisme ouolof. Elles deviennent : l'accaparement des terres disponibles, la mise en valeur plus intense des champs, la conquête des marchés des escales, l'envahissement de toutes les branches de la production locale. Il n'y a donc qu'à se louer, semble-t-il, de voir cette association communiste des Mourides affecter des allures de syndicat agricole et commercial et exercer son activité dans le domaine économique.

L'administration, aux yeux de qui Mourides d'Amadou Bamba, Mourides tidiania, et toutes autres confessions sont sur le terrain religieux également indifférents n'a pas d'autre souci à avoir, semble-t-il, que d'exercer sa surveillance sur cette expansion commerciale et agricole, et veiller à ce que l'ardeur des Bamba ne les emporte pas à léser les droits des tiers, et notamment à provoquer par leur sans-gêne des conflits agraires.

CHAPITRE IV

CONSÉQUENCES DU MOURIDISME AU POINT DE VUE POLITIQUE ET ADMINISTRATIF

Il est curieux de constater dans les cercles intéressés, et ailleurs, la diversité d'opinions dont les Mourides sont l'objet. Les uns voient dans le Mouridisme une vaste et dangereuse association secrète dont le but est de grouper tous les fidèles Musulmans de l'Afrique occidentale et de

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

jeter les Européens à la mer. On insinue même que les menées panislamiques d'Orient ne sont pas étrangères à ce mouvement. On avance, avec plus de fermeté, qu'en attendant ce grand jour de triomphe de l'Islam, Amadou Bamba envoie la plus grande partie de ses aumônes au Maroc pour aider à la résistance des indigènes au bon combat de la guerre Sainte. D'autres, au contraire, affectent de voir dans le Mouridisme une insignifiante confrérie religieuse, où un vulgaire marabout, inventeur de grigris supérieurs et prédicateur de la plus élastique des morales, exploite, tant que la chose pourra durer, les crédules indigènes qui se dépouillent à son profit.

La vérité paraît être entre ces deux opinions extrêmes.

Il faut d'abord faire justice des accusations de Panislanisme, voire d'excitations de puissances étrangères, qu'on porte quelquefois contre le Mouridisme. Il conviendrait de se rendre compte des énormes difficultés de communications qui séparent le Sénégal de l'Orient tant par terre que par mer. On compte les Ouolofs qui ont fait le pèlerinage de la Mecque, et il ne s'en trouve pas parmi les Mourides bamba. Quant aux agents prédicateurs et provocateurs l'Orient n'en envoie point ici; et les quelques Marocains qui séjournent dans les escales, sont connus de tous, et peuvent être considérés — la chose est hors de doute — comme de paisibles commerçants, désireux de faire fortune, et de retourner auprès de leur famille à Fez.

Lors donc que la presse turque (compte-rendu du 31 janvier 1913) déclame sur les défaites des armées ottomanes: « Le sang de l'Islam était en ébullition. Quatre cent millions de Musulmans portaient le deuil de la foi déshonorée; et des malédictions montaient vers les cieux, » il n'y faut voir qu'une amplification de rhétorique. Les Ouolofs islamisés ne se sont jamais cru déshonorés par les victoires des alliés balkaniques: leurs connaissances géographiques ne s'étendent pas jusqu'à eux, pas plus d'ailleurs (sauf pour

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

une douzaine de lettrés) qu'à l'existence de la Turquie.

D'autre part, on peut affirmer qu'il n'existe aucune relation entre les Mourides bamba et les tribus marocaines qui luttent pour leur indépendance et les bandes d'El-Hiba qui soutiennent les desseins de cet ambitieux marabout. Si ce prétendant reçoit des subsides divers, ce ne peut être que par l'intermédiaire de son oncle Saad Bouh, Cheikh local de la branche des Qadria-Fadelia, dans le Sud mauritanien et au Sénégal. Et encore la chose serait-elle à prouver. La situation financière de Saad Bouh ne paraît pas brillante, et il a besoin, plus que tout autre, des aumônes qu'il recueille de plus en plus péniblement. Les Mourides d'Amadou Bamba ne reconnaissent pas d'autre maître que leur Sérigne. Celui-ci, s'il envoie de fortes sommes en Mauritanie — et la chose paraît hors de doute — les envoie à son protecteur, maître et père spirituel, Cheikh Sidia, chef de la confrérie des Qadria-Lessidia. Or, on connaît à la fois et les attaches si sympathiques qui unissent Cheikh Sidia à l'autorité française et la franche hostilité qui le sépare, à tous points de vue, de la voie des Qadria-Fadelia, que ce soit la branche du Sud avec Cheikh Saad Bouh, ou la branche du Nord avec Mohammed El-Hiba. On peut donc être assuré que ce n'est pas à ces confrères ennemis qu'iront ses subsides.

D'ailleurs, il conviendrait de démontrer par quelques faits précis, ou des commencements de preuve tout au moins, ces relations des Mourides ouolofs avec les bandes bleues ou les tribus berbères. Or, vu l'éloignement des zones d'habitat réciproques de ces peuples, l'absence de toute communication, la différence de langues, des mœurs et des intérêts, ces relations n'ont jamais existé. Il reste à prouver qu'elles ont pris naissance ces temps derniers.

C'est pourquoi on peut conclure que les inquiétudes manifestées par la commission coloniale du Conseil Général (séance du 15 mars 1909) et plus récemment par

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

le Comité du Commerce et de l'Industrie (rapport non daté) sont très exagérées ; et que le fait de verser d'abondantes aumônes à son Cheikh, de remettre sa volonté entre ses mains, de mener un genre de vie spécial et même de transgresser la loi musulmane orthodoxe, ne sauraient constituer des griefs suffisants à poursuites, ni même en toute justice des motifs vraiment sérieux de culpabilité.

Il faut donc voir dans le Mouridisme ce qu'il y a : action sur un peuple d'un marabout très adroit et très influent, et réaction de ce peuple et de toutes ces coutumes et traditions sur l'Islam envahisseur.

Ce mouvement n'est évidemment pas sans danger.

Il y a un danger *éventuel* d'abord : c'est le groupement dans une seule main de plusieurs milliers d'hommes qui paraissent entièrement soumis à leur Cheikh et au Sérigne Suprême, et qui, sur un mot d'ordre de ce chef, pourraient troubler très gravement la tranquillité générale. C'est le péril de l'anarchisme mystique ou religieux, aboutissant à l'anarchie publique. Mais le danger n'est pas spécial aux Mourides d'Amadou Bamba : il est commun à tous les Mouridismes en germe ou épanouis que l'on rencontre au Sénégal et ailleurs. On peut faire remarquer encore que les prédications d'Amadou Bamba ne se sont jamais aventurées ouvertement dans le domaine politique. Si son attitude avait été franchement hostile, il n'aurait pas, malgré ses vicissitudes, subsisté vingt-cinq ans dans ce rôle d'agitateur. Aujourd'hui avec l'âge et l'expérience, une situation acquise, des revenus considérables assurés, c'est un conservateur ; et quels qu'aient pu être ses desseins de domination politico-religieuse, il paraît bien avoir abandonné toute ambition qui ne serait pas spirituelle et financière.

D'ailleurs ses fidèles sont très dispersés. Dans la zone du croissant mouride vivent de nombreux adeptes de confréries étrangères qui ont voué à Amadou Bamba et aux

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

siens une réelle animosité et seraient trop heureux de se mettre en travers de leurs projets. Il faut tenir compte enfin de la jalousie latente, mais très forte, qui sépare entre eux ses frères et lieutenants.

Toutes ces causes atténuent donc bien la crainte d'un soulèvement mouride, et tant que de nouveaux facteurs n'interviendront pas, on peut être tranquille à ce sujet.

C'est surtout dans des incidents isolés de fanatiques, d'intrigants, ou de Cheikhs maladroits que les Mourides d'Amadou Bamba peuvent se montrer dangereux, et plus souvent encombrants. En éliminant divers attentats (Kaolack, Rufisque) qu'on leur a reprochés et où ils ne sont pour rien, il reste encore à leur passif divers incidents :

Dans le cercle de Louga, à Ndiagne (Diambour) où ils ont causé du désordre dans le village, et frappé le chef et les notables qui refusaient d'embrasser la voie d'Amadou Bamba (1912) ;

Dans les cercles du Cayor, du Baol et du Sine-Saloum, où ils ont séduit des femmes et des enfants, les ont emmenés dans leurs villages et en ont fait de véritables esclaves (1910-1913) ;

Dans les cercles de Thiès et du Sine-Saloum, où leurs prédications intempestives ont souvent jeté le trouble dans les villages musulmans ou fétichistes (1910-1913) ;

Un peu partout, où par leurs menaces, leurs conseils pernicieux, et des pratiques de charlatanisme qui constituent de véritables actes d'escroquerie, ils ont dépouillé ou fait dépouiller les indigènes crédules ou les commerçants trop confiants ;

Le long de la voie ferrée où leurs accaparements de terrains ont quelquefois soulevé de violentes protestations des occupants antérieurs (1910-1913) ;

Et jusque dans une compagnie de tirailleurs sénégalais, à Thiès, ou un intrigant prêchait la désertion à des recrues sérères (mai 1911).

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

Ce sont là des incidents regrettables qui viennent fâcheusement troubler la tranquillité publique, et une sévère répression peut sans crainte intervenir sur ce point : elle aura l'approbation générale des indigènes. Les malfaiteurs et aventuriers de tout poil qui entourent les Cheikhs mourides et vivent à leurs crochets ont souvent d'ailleurs leur bonne part dans tous ces faits ; et leur responsabilité pourrait être utilement recherchée et mise en jeu.

Le point le plus sensible dans ces conséquences du Mouridisme en matière administrative, est dans la tension des relations qui existent dans certains cantons entre les Cheikhs, les disciples d'Amadou Bamba, et les chefs indigènes qui représentent notre autorité.

Les Mourides qui obéissent sans peine aux chefs français deviennent facilement rebelles et insolents vis-à-vis des chefs indigènes. Ils affectent de ne pas les connaître, ne relevant, disent-ils, que de leur Cheikh spirituel. Quand le chef leur transmet un ordre de l'administrateur, ils en demandent confirmation par leur Sérigne. Cette résistance passive, et quelquefois franchement injurieuse, a le don d'exaspérer les chefs indigènes et peut provoquer des conflits locaux. Sur ce point encore, le remède est facile. Il convient d'arrêter net toutes ces tentatives de substitution d'autorité que les Cheikhs mourides ne demanderaient qu'à opérer à leur profit, et d'affermir dans toute sa force le pouvoir du chef régulier dans son district.

Deux points importants pouvaient servir de pierre de touche à l'attitude des Mourides vis-à-vis des ordres de l'autorité française :

Les impôts ;

Le service militaire.

Or, dans aucun des cercles intéressés, je n'ai entendu de la part des Commandants de cercle une critique à ce sujet. Les hommes demandés ont été fournis sans récrimination.

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

Les impôts ont été versés avec la plus grande régularité.

Le groupement Moaké-Daron-Touba (Baol), foyer actif du Mouridisme, s'était acquitté complètement de son impôt personnel, au 20 janvier 1913. A ce point de vue spécial, les percepteurs du trésor regretteront sans doute que tous les contribuables ne soient pas Mourides.

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

[p119]

TITRE III

CONCLUSIONS

Après avoir étudié l'organisation des Mourides et leurs croyances, après avoir suivi pas à pas l'influence de ces doctrines dans toutes les manifestations de la vie des indigènes, il est nécessaire de résumer en un jugement d'ensemble l'esprit et la portée du Mouridisme d'Amadou Bamba et de tirer des conclusions pratiques. Sinon, c'est avoir fait œuvre de simple érudition, qui, pour quelque intéressante qu'elle soit, n'apporterait à notre action politique aucun secours efficace.

CHAPITRE PREMIER

JUGEMENT D'ENSEMBLE

Ce vaste groupement d'êtres humains qui, au nombre de 70.000 environ, se sont massés derrière la bannière religieuse d'un des leurs, constitue une véritable confession nouvelle dont l'Islam n'est que la façade. Il marque une étape dans la transformation du peuple ouolof. On y

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

voit percer toutes les tendances des indigènes vers l'anthropomorphisme et vers sa conséquence pratique : l'anthropolâtrie. Ces Noirs, teintés de mahométisme, retournent à leurs antiques croyances, à l'adoration d'un homme, l'homme fétiche, au culte des Saints. La vague religieuse de l'Islam a passé, et derrière elle, à nouveau on voit tous les individus d'une même race se grouper autour d'un foyer religieux local ; toutes leurs forces morales, sociales, juridiques, se rendre instinctivement dans le sens des croyances et pratiques ancestrales; toutes leurs facultés économiques se concentrer autour des personnages qui, par une divination mystérieuse ou par un sens pratique remarquable, ont su se poser en représentants de ces aspirations confuses.

Dans cette vaste pièce politique, le principal acteur n'est pas Amadou Bamba. C'est le chœur qui joue le premier grand rôle.

L'Islam est resté sans force devant les institutions coutumières de droit, sans influence dans les usages et traditions de la vie sociale et domestique. C'est au contraire le génie de la race indigène qui s'est attaché à cette doctrine islamique qui travaillait à supplanter ses croyances religieuses : il l'a adoptée, puis coulée dans le moule de ses concepts personnels : c'est ainsi que se rassasient ces âmes, toujours agitées du besoin religieux.

Comme les castes inférieures de l'Inde qui s'islamisent aujourd'hui, les Mourides ont été attirés par le prestige de l'Islam qui leur paraît les hausser dans le niveau social. Ils l'ont donc admis dans leur temple, mais la place d'honneur qu'ils lui donnent n'est pas la place principale. Ils n'ont gardé de l'Islam que le geste qui a plu. « Il sied bien de faire salam. » Tout le reste, le principal : doctrine, morale, pratiques cultuelles est inconnu, ou transformé par le contact des usages et croyances antiques. C'est donc en quelque sorte la réaction de l'âme ouolofe sur l'Islam,

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

la revanche de la coutume et des ancêtres sur la religion d'importation.

Tous ces emprunts faits à la loi du Prophète sont des emprunts de façade : attitudes et formules en matière religieuse ; pratiques extérieures en matière sociale, formes de procédure en matière de droit.

L'Islamisme, religion spiritualiste, est resté incompris. Tels les Quirites de la Rome naissante, les indigènes continuent à appliquer, avec les forces supérieures de la nature et des génies, leurs petits contrats rituels. La Sainteté est un peu pour eux la science des grigris. Le plus saint est le plus fin, celui qui a eu la perspicacité de découvrir les meilleurs talismans. Le jour où s'est répandu le bruit qu'on avait découvert le grigri supérieur, le fétiche vivant, celui qui se chargeait de prémunir contre tous les dangers, de délivrer de tous les soucis, de satisfaire à tous les besoins, on s'est groupé derrière lui, et il a été élu le représentant de la divinité.

Et aujourd'hui les Mourides, sans inquiétudes terrestres et célestes, usent toutes leurs forces dans le labeur forcené où les poussent pour leur grand profit les directeurs spirituels du mouvement.

Quand l'esclavage a été supprimé, ils ont senti et apprécié le bienfait de la liberté. Il n'empêche que, quelques années plus tard, ils viennent eux-mêmes se placer en servitude sous la férule d'un marabout ; et l'autorité reste désarmée devant cet esclavage d'un nouveau genre : volontaire et à forme religieuse.

∴

L'histoire de la politique sénégalaise depuis 1850 vient confirmer ces conclusions. Tout le monde sait — les indigènes notamment — que c'est Faidherbe qui, inaugurant, peu après 1850, une politique nouvelle, l'établit sur les

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

bases du prestige de l'Islam et des services de toute sorte qu'on pouvait obtenir des Musulmans plus affinés et plus intelligents.

Les Ouolofs, qui avaient subi une première islamisation avant le quinzième siècle, s'étaient jadis dégagés de ces doctrines étrangères pour revenir à l'intégralité de leurs traditions. Dans la première moitié du dix-neuvième siècle la coutume est intacte et les croyances religieuses n'ont guère subi d'altération. C'est à partir de 1850 que l'Islam s'implanta peu à peu par la propagande de ses marabouts missionnaires; par la faveur que l'autorité semblait accorder à ses adeptes, en utilisant couramment leurs services et en n'utilisant guère que ceux-là; et aussi — il faut le dire — par la simplicité de l'acte de foi qu'il demande, par la facilité de sa morale et par la gravité décorative de son culte.

Par la suite, et dans le même esprit, sera créée de toutes pièces la magistrature musulmane des cadis.

C'est ainsi que se sont islamisées les régions ouolofes à la faveur de la paix française et sous le couvert d'une domination qui voyait certainement sans peine cette unification religieuse, prélude d'une expansion politique plus facile et d'une unification administrative plus simple.

La réaction survient à l'heure actuelle: réaction interne d'abord de la part des indigènes eux-mêmes travestissant la foi islamique qui ne leur fut infusée que très superficiellement; réaction ensuite des autorités administratives locales, qui, gardiennes de l'ordre public, ont souvent une certaine phobie de l'Islam, générateur de troubles, ou affectant depuis quelque temps des allures suspectes de nationalisme ou de domination universelle.

***

Ce mouvement de réaction n'est donc pas isolé et sans causes. Il se reproduirait sous une autre forme chez les

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

Ouolofs, si on se lançait dans l'entreprise maladroite — et à laquelle personne ne songe — de vouloir le combattre dans le domaine religieux. Il se reproduirait (ou plutôt il se reproduit sans doute) par des phénomènes latents chez les autres races ou peuples noirs islamisés, mais il n'apparaît pas toujours aussi clairement. Le vêtement de l'Islam, si simple et si confortable soit-il, n'a pas été taillé pour les Noirs : ils le recoupent à leur mesure et l'ornent à leur goût.

Ne sont-ce pas des groupements de Mourides du même genre, que les Qadria de Cheikh Bou Kounta dans le Cayor, les Tidiania d'El-Hadj Malik dans tout le Sénégal, ou les Limamou de Cheikh Limamou Laye à Yof et dans ses environs ?

Ce dernier végète misérablement : il a manqué des circonstances favorables pour se développer avec l'ampleur du Bambisme ; mais les deux premiers sont en pleine efflorescence et sans doute aussi importants que le Mouridisme bamba. Toutefois l'attitude déférente et loyaliste de leurs Cheikhs et aussi leurs enseignements plus raisonnables, moins poussés à l'extrême, n'ont pas fâcheusement attiré l'attention sur eux.

Il faut dire enfin que cette fermentation de l'âme indigène n'est pas spéciale au Sénégal.

Si en Mauritanie une forte proportion de sang sémite et des conditions identiques de milieu physique et de vie sociale et économique ont pu, par des traditions ininterrompues de foi et de culture arabe, conserver un Islam très proche de celui de l'Orient, il n'en a pas été de même chez les autres peuples.

Au fur et à mesure que l'Islam s'éloigne de son berceau, vers l'est comme vers l'ouest, quand les races et les conditions changent, il se déforme de plus en plus ; et les confessions islamiques, qu'elles soient malaises ou chinoises, berbères ou nigritiennes, ne sont plus que de grossières

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

contrefaçons de la religion et de l'état de civilisation du « Coran sublime ».

Et quels curieux rapprochements à faire entre les croyances des Berbères et celles des Noirs! De nombreux vestiges permettent de soupçonner par delà l'Islam et dans la nuit des temps de multiples compénétrations. Mais le maraboutisme des Berbères garde une certaine mesure. Si grande que furent la sainteté et l'influence de Sidi Bou Choaïb, d'Azemmour, ou de Sidi Bel-Abbès, de Marrakech, on ne leur a bâti des temples qu'à leur mort; le maraboutisme des Noirs arrive sans transition à l'anthropolâtrie, du vivant même du Saint.

Pour s'en tenir à l'Afrique noire, les orientalistes les plus éminents comme les explorateurs et missionnaires, comme les administrateurs de carrière, sont unanimes dans leur opinion.

Du professeur Edward Browne, de Cambridge : « Pourvu « qu'on déclare qu'il n'y a pas de Dieu excepté Dieu, et « que Mahomet est l'apôtre de Dieu, et qu'on se conforme « extérieurement à la loi musulmane, on peut entendre « les mots « Dieu » et « apôtre » à peu près comme on veut. « Voilà pourquoi on voit naître dans le sein de l'Islamisme « tant de sectes hétérodoxes, parmi lesquelles on peut « trouver tout ce qu'on veut, en matière de dogme et « de discipline, du monothéisme le plus absolu, ou, de « l'anthropomorphisme le plus cru au panthéisme le plus « raffiné, et de l'austérité la plus rigide à l'hédonisme « le plus complaisant. » (*Questions dipl. et col.*, 15 mai « 1901).

De M. C. Janssen, gouverneur honoraire de l'État du Congo. « En Afrique, l'Islamisme pratiqué actuellement « par un certain nombre de nègres est d'une simplicité « tout à fait primitive; et les Noirs qui sont entrés dans le « mouvement islamique ne savent guère ce que c'est. Ils « imitent machinalement les rites des hommes venus de

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

« Zanzibar et du Soudan, croyant ainsi s'élever à leur hau-« teur. » (*Discussion à l'Institut Solway*).

Le capitaine Meynier et M. Delafosse aboutissent aux mêmes conclusions que pour les États Musulmans du Soudan Oriental (*A travers l'Afrique*) ou pour les peuples islamisés du Soudan français (*Haut-Sénégal-Niger*).

C'est donc dans cette voie que semblent se diriger les peuples noirs islamisés et le Mouridisme paraît être pour eux la forme nécessaire de la religion et peut-être l'expression confuse du patriotisme. Ils tendent à se reconstituer eux-mêmes en groupements autonomes, sous la direction d'un marabout omnipotent, et adaptent l'Islamisme, jadis accueilli plus ou moins volontairement, à leur mentalité et à leurs traditions.

Il y a là un sentiment latent de patriotisme, c'est-à-dire, non pas comme pour nous la manifestation de notre conscience nationale et de notre passé historique, mais un attachement héréditaire à leurs ancêtres, à leurs coutumes, à leur état social, et un groupement de toutes leurs énergies autour d'un centre religieux local. Ce travail d'enfantement conduira à la formation d'une série de confessions islamiques diverses, où se reflétera l'âme de chaque peuple et qui n'auront entre elles que fort peu de chose de commun.

C'est pourquoi il n'y a pas lieu, semble-t-il, de prendre les choses au tragique. Où sera le mal quand dans un demi-siècle les islamisés du Sénégal seront partagés en cinq ou six sectes différentes, très divisées entre elles, d'autant plus divisées que chaque secte sera un produit national, et que ces rivalités religieuses viendront se greffer sur des animosités de race. M. Delafosse, dont l'autorité en la matière est reconnue de tous, n'admet qu'à demi ces conclusions pour le Soudan. Parlant des conséquences que pourrait amener cette déformation de l'Islam, il déclare que « ces résultats ne pourraient être que déplorables ». Il ne dit malheureusement pas pourquoi.

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

*
* *

Dès aujourd'hui, Mourides d'Amadou Bamba, et Mourides d'autres directions entretiennent des relations rien moins que cordiales. Ils se jettent réciproquement à la face l'accusation d'hérétiques, qu'ils méritent tous sans conteste si on compare leurs croyances, à l'orthodoxie du Prophète. Ces rivalités ne restent pas cantonnées dans le domaine religieux. Certains villages, affiliés à d'autres confréries, ne veulent pas admettre chez eux les Mourides. C'est ainsi que les gens de Gabou, qui sont Tidiania, sur la route de Diourbel à Mbaké (Baol), n'admettent pas que les Mourides passent sur leur territoire. En revanche les Mourides ne toléreront pas la présence de Tidiania dans leurs carrés.

Les Toucouleurs qui travaillent dans les escales du Sine-Saloum et du Thiès-Kaffrine, regagnent, après pécule amassé, leur patrie du Fouta par la grand'route de Touba-Yan Yan. Ils passent, leur coffret bariolé sur la tête, devant les trois centres mourides Mbaké, Darou, Touba, mais se gardent bien de s'y arrêter. Leur désir de ne pas voir les Mourides est égal au désir des Mourides de ne pas les recevoir.

Cette hostilité ne dégénère pas en rixes en rase campagne, les autorités administratives y veillant fermement; mais, à la ville, où la politique s'épanouit comme une fleur tropicale et s'empare de toutes les questions, elle tourne facilement en polémiques de presse et en intrigues de toute nature.

*
* *

Il est difficile de prévoir quelles sont les destinées du Mouridisme d'Amadou Bamba. Il subsiste aujourd'hui, sans guère progresser, par la présence et les vertus de son fondateur. Mais Amadou Bamba a 60 ans : sa disparition

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

naturelle ou violente peut se produire d'un jour à l'autre. Ses frères et lieutenants se jalousent trop pour admettre, à sa mort, la suprématie de l'un d'entre eux. Comme chacun est actuellement chef reconnu de son village et de ses talibés, il est fort probable que la disparition d'Amadou Bamba amènera la désagrégation de son Mouridisme et son morcellement en autant de ramifications qu'il y a de Cheikhs influents.

Par la suite, les mêmes causes de besoin d'unification ramèneront sans doute un rassemblement nouveau autour du plus saint ou du plus habile d'entre eux, à moins qu'un nouveau Prophète ne se lève en Israël et n'attire à lui le troupeau de Panurge.

CHAPITRE II

L'ACTION POLITIQUE

Les circulaires du 22 septembre 1909 et du 26 décembre 1911 énoncent clairement les directions de notre politique indigène en A. O. F. En ce qui concerne l'attitude de l'autorité française vis-à-vis des civilisations locales, elle se résume en une phrase :

« Respect *absolu* et *égal* pour tous les peuples, nos sujets, de leur foi religieuse, de leur liberté de culte et de leurs coutumes et traditions, en tant qu'elles n'ont rien de contraire aux principes de notre civilisation. »

A la lumière de ce programme et le champ d'action intéressé étant maintenant connu, il est facile de conclure :

1° Les Mourides Ouolofs ont le droit absolu de suivre la voie d'Amadou Bamba et d'accueillir dans leur sein les adeptes qui viennent à eux ;

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

2° Ils n'ont pas le droit de faire chez les peuples qui les entourent (Peul, Lebbous, et surtout Sérères) et qui restent attachés à leurs institutions coutumières, un prosélytisme islamique qui soulève contre eux la haine générale et peut provoquer des troubles.

Si nous devons à nos sujets une même neutralité et un même intérêt, ils se doivent entre eux un même respect réciproque. Il y a donc lieu d'écarter délibérément tout nivellement sous le joug de l'Islam. Sans ces conditions, notre action politique devrait, semble-t-il, porter sur les points suivants.

1. *Dans les cercles :* a) *Surveillance* étroite par chaque commandant de cercle des Mourides de son territoire. Pratiquement cette surveillance s'exerce par les chefs de canton et par des agents politiques. Elle est facile : la foule est entièrement dans les mains des Cheikhs et ne fera rien sans leur ordre ou conseil. C'est donc le rôle et l'attitude de ceux-ci qu'il importe de ne jamais perdre de vue. Leurs conversations, leurs voyages, leurs réceptions, leurs visites, leurs projets présentent le plus grand intérêt. Ces Cheikhs, comme on l'a vu dans le présent rapport, sont très dispersés à travers les cercles mouridisés : la tâche de surveillance qui revient à chaque administrateur n'est pas bien lourde, sauf peut-être dans le Baol, à cause de la présence du Sérigne, de son entourage, de ses zaouïas et de la plupart de ses frères.

Les Qadria d'autres observances, et surtout les Tidiania, peuvent être d'utiles agents de renseignements : encore faut-il ne jamais accepter sans critique leurs informations ; car ce sont eux qui sur beaucoup de points, soit poussés par leur haine des fidèles d'Amadou Bamba, soit dans un but de chantage, ont fait aux Mourides une réputation détestable et non toujours justifiée. La plus grande discrétion est de rigueur, et l'on croira sans peine que le service

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

d'informations des Cheikhs bamba est au moins aussi bien organisé que le nôtre.

Au fond, toute cette surveillance est surtout une question de fonds politiques et de service de renseignements.

Il est d'ailleurs souvent facile, en y employant les formes voulues, d'inciter les marabouts à pratiquer une conduite des mains ouvertes. Ils comprendront sans peine, si on le leur explique avec quelque diplomatie, qu'il est de leur intérêt, pour éviter toute interprétation fâcheuse de la part de leurs ennemis, de ne jamais se déplacer, sans présenter à l'administrateur local, leurs devoirs au départ, leurs salutations à l'arrivée. C'est un moyen de rester toujours en contact avec eux et de se tenir au courant de leurs projets. Et il est plus facile et plus politique d'obtenir d'eux ces résultats que de vouloir imposer des permis de circulation à la masse des pèlerins ou des curieux.

b) *Une action d'isolement* des Mourides, aussi bien pour les protéger contre toute influence extérieure que pour les empêcher de se répandre en prédications intempestives.

Le Mouridisme, livré à lui-même, a bien des chances d'évoluer vers la secte d'Islam sans danger. Les sympathies naturelles du Noir pour l'Européen font qu'il n'attache aucune importance aux appels à la guerre sainte du Livre et des docteurs musulmans. Il est tout à fait inutile que des prédications étrangères viennent infuser aux Ouolofs Mourides l'esprit d'orgueil et de réprobation de l'infidèle qu'ils n'ont pas. C'est pourquoi il y aurait lieu, semble-t-il, d'interdire toute visite de marabout étranger, noir ou blanc, qadri ou tidiani. Les prédications purement religieuses ou les appels d'aumônes sont agrémentés en général de commentaires sur la puissance des États musulmans, sur l'incrédulité, l'erreur ou la tyrannie des Blancs, sur la conscription et les impôts indigènes. Les marabouts tirent de

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

ces faits une philosophie de l'histoire qui est loin d'être exposée à notre avantage.

Cette barrière morale doit empêcher aussi les Cheikhs mourides de sortir de leur domaine et de faire une propagande déplacée et des prédications intempestives chez les peuples voisins. Les Sérères méritent à ce point de vue une mention toute particulière. En contact permanent au nord et au sud du Thiès-Kayes avec les Ouolofs mouridisés (Cercles de Thiés, du Baol, du Sine-Saloum), ils sont absolument rebelles à leurs invites, et toute action religieuse islamique et surtout mouride, provoque des conflits chez ces peuples fétichistes, très attachés à leurs institutions coutumières. Il est à craindre que ces haines ne dégénèrent un jour en des rixes à main armée et en de sanglantes batailles. Les Cheikhs mourides pourraient donc être invités à cesser toute propagande religieuse chez les peuples voisins, cependant que les chefs indigènes recevraient l'ordre d'expulser, conformément à la coutume, tout individu qui par ses propos attaque les institutions locales et trouble la tranquillité publique. Sur ce point nous pouvons tirer des conclusions pratiques de l'exemple de la confrérie des Senoussia en Tripolitaine. En moins d'un demi-siècle les missionnaires senoussites, libres de leurs mouvements, ont aux trois quarts islamisé les Berbères tripolitains que quatorze siècles n'avaient pu entamer. Les Italiens pourraient témoigner aujourd'hui des difficultés que leur crée le ciment de cette islamisation.

c) *Une action répressive*, immédiate et vigoureuse, pour toutes les infractions de droit commun dont les exaltés ou les fauteurs de troubles se rendraient coupables. Ces infractions sont ordinairement des enlèvements de jeunes gens et de jeunes filles suivis d'un asservissement d'un nouveau genre; des faits de désobéissance injurieuse vis-à-vis des chefs indigènes; des pratiques d'escroquerie ou de charla-

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

tanisme; ou des prédications intempestives, irrévérencieuses ou dangereuses; des rixes avec coups et blessures. Les tribunaux indigènes (de cercle ou de subdivision sont suffisamment armés pour réprimer tout délit de ce genre, et les gouvernements musulmans eux-mêmes (ottoman, égyptien, chérifien de la Mecque ou du Maroc) nous donnent la preuve quotidienne d'une juste sévérité à l'égard des malfaiteurs politico-religieux.

Il convient toutefois d'éviter soigneusement les poursuites judiciaires qui peuvent laisser croire à une persécution religieuse. Les innovations hérétiques et déformations de la loi coranique ne constituent pas en elles-mêmes, comme l'ont cru certains tribunaux indigènes, une infraction punissable à l'heure actuelle, quelque nombreux et précis que soient les textes de droit musulman qui régissent la matière.

d) *Une étude immédiate du régime foncier indigène* dans les cercles susvisés, et notamment dans ceux que traverse la voie ferrée Thiés-Kayes : cercles de Thiès, du Baol, du Sine-Saloum, du Niani-Ouli et de Bakel. Les Mourides cheminent avec le rail et fondent sans cesse des colonies nouvelles. Ce mouvement est intéressant et témoigne chez les Cheikhs d'une réelle intelligence de la situation. Il tend directement à l'utilisation des richesses naturelles, rendue désormais possible par le passage de la voie ferrée. Il entre enfin tout à fait, par certains côtés, dans les vues de la circulaire du 5 mars 1913, au sujet de notre politique agraire à l'égard des indigènes. Mais par ailleurs, il peut donner lieu à des conflits locaux. Les Mourides en effet ne se gênent pas pour occuper les terrains qu'ils convoitent et sur lesquels existent sans conteste des droits antérieurs, plus ou moins bien déterminés il est vrai. Il conviendrait que la coutume foncière locale soit étudiée de très près, que la nature de ces droits immobiliers soit bien établie et

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

qu'un régime, plusieurs régimes le cas échéant, soit institué pour ces groupements de colonisation. Les modes d'occupation ou d'acquisition des terres y seraient prévus; les droits des premiers maîtres sauvegardés; les contrats déterminés. Il y aurait lieu de veiller en outre à ce que cet effort colonisateur n'aboutisse pas à la concentration de multiples et vastes domaines dans les mains de quelques cheikhs non plus qu'à la création de latifundia collectifs et impersonnels.

Ces conclusions découlent naturellement des directives générales si clairement et si justement énoncées dans la circulaire précitée. A ces intructions d'ensemble doit correspondre pour chaque cercle un travail de détail. Les droits des indigènes, premiers occupants, ne seront réellement sauvegardés que si nous avons su les dégager, au préalable et avant tout conflit, du fouillis de la coutume locale.

Cet essor économique de la région progressera alors le plus simplement du monde, aussi bien pour les Mourides que pour les autres colons indigènes ; il facilitera l'éclosion des communautés de famille et des propriétés individuelles ; et l'on ne verra pas surgir, comme en certains lieux on a pu le craindre, une irritante question agraire. Ce point paraît mériter une solution immédiate.

II. — *Au Gouvernement du Sénégal.*

Une action de centralisation et de coordination des renseignements appartient au Lieutenant-Gouverneur du Sénégal. Il importe grandement que ce fonctionnaire soit tenu perpétuellement au courant de tous les faits et gestes des Cheikhs mourides. Certaines informations qu'un Commandant de cercle est quelquefois tenté de ne pas trans-

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

mettre, parce qu'elles lui paraissent insignifiantes, peuvent au contraire par leur reproduction dans d'autres cercles attirer l'attention du chef des services politiques et lui permettre d'agir en temps opportun. Si les indigènes ont sur nous la force du mystère et souvent de la duplicité, nous avons sur eux le sens de la coordination des efforts et la supériorité d'une admirable discipline administrative. Il ne faut pas laisser perdre ces avantages.

C'est cette sûreté et cette précision de renseignements qui permettront au Lieutenant-Gouverneur du Sénégal de suivre d'un œil attentif l'ensemble du mouvement mouride et de donner avec méthode et en toute connaissance de cause les directives utiles.

Divers moyens sont à sa disposition : son intervention directe peut se faire parfois utilement sentir vis-à-vis des Cheikhs récalcitrants. Les Chefs mourides, à commencer par Amadou Bamba, ne sont pas très rassurés sur la situation à l'heure actuelle. Ils sentent que les exploits de plusieurs d'entre eux leur ont donné une fâcheuse notoriété. Une pression administrative de la part d'une personnalité aussi considérée que le Chef de la Colonie et des menaces claires, quoique discrètes, touchant leurs personnes ou leurs biens, pourraient avoir en certains cas les plus heureuses conséquences.

Il y a en outre les divisions qui règnent entre les fils et lieutenants d'Amadou Bamba qui peuvent être utilement exploitées. Cheikh Anta, Mbaké Bousso, Ibra Fal, Ibra Fati sont actuellement les concurrents les plus en vue et dont les ambitions sont le moins dissimulées, à la succession spirituelle d'Amadou Bamba. D'autres, tels Amadou Ndoumbé, Masemba, Ibra Sar, arrivent en seconde ligne, avec moins d'assurance peut-être, mais autant de désir. Il est donc d'une habile politique de tenir entre eux une balance égale et de se servir de leurs rivalités pour les asservir.

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

Tous ces Cheikhs sont arrivés à un âge où le caractère est formé et peu malléable et se prête difficilement à une certaine sujétion. Pourquoi le fils aîné d'Amadou Bamba, Mohammed Mostafa, ne serait-il pas l'outsider de la course? C'est un jeune homme de 23 à 24 ans, instruit, intelligent, plutôt timide. Il est à un âge où la réceptivité est encore grande et sera plus docile à notre entreprise. Il se rend compte que s'il veut être quelque chose plus tard, ce ne peut être que grâce à nous. Son père, qui vise à tenir l'équilibre entre tous les candidats éventuels à sa succession, ne peut qu'approuver cette solution : ce lui sera un motif de plus de se rapprocher de nous. C'est là, semble-t-il, la vraie solution future, et même en quelque sorte présente, du problème mouride.

Amadou Bamba et son fils paraissent enchantés de cette combinaison qu'ils ont entrevue. M. l'Administrateur du Baol a présenté, ces temps derniers, Mohammed Mostafa à Saint-Louis. Cette présentation a produit le meilleur effet dans les milieux du Sérigne : elle peut être le commencement d'une nouvelle et discrète action politique, où nous sommes sûrs d'avoir avec nous Amadou Bamba, que de justes préoccupations de père et de chef d'ordre ne sont certainement pas sans tourmenter.

III. — *Dans l'enseignement indigène.*

Le Sérigne Amadou Bamba a pris divers engagements, ces temps derniers, envers M. l'Administrateur du Baol.

Il a promis en substance :

1° Qu'un certain nombre des enfants qui fréquentent ses écoles serait instruit dans la langue française ;

2° Que plus tard quelques-uns d'entre eux seraient envoyés à la Médersa de Saint-Louis à l'effet d'y être nommés instituteurs ;

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

3° Qu'il ferait suivre par plusieurs cultivateurs de ses disciples les cours de l'enseignement agricole qui seront donnés à la future station du Baol.

Il a confirmé ces promesses dans une lettre récente à M. le Lieutenant-Gouverneur du Sénégal.

Ce sont là des résultats pratiques dont on sent la valeur immédiate et la portée future et qui sont déjà entrés dans la voie des réalisations.

La Médersa de Saint-Louis comptait parmi ses élèves de dernière année un étudiant mouride, parent d'Amadou Bamba, et susceptible de faire un excellent instituteur. Le Sérigne l'a placé à Mbaké (Baol) auprès de son frère Momar Diara. Il donnera dans l'école de ce village et aux frais d'Amadou Bamba, des leçons de français aux jeunes élèves des cours coraniques.

D'autre part, la réorganisation de l'école de Diourbel, prévue pour le 1er octobre prochain par M. l'Inspecteur de l'Enseignement de l'A. O. F., permettra aux jeunes Mourides, garçons et filles, de l'entourage du Sérigne, de fréquenter ces classes à certaines heures.

Quant aux autres promesses, il sera facile d'en demander la réalisation à Amadou Bamba, lorsque les circonstances le permettront. Il pourrait fort bien notamment présenter deux de ses jeunes disciples à la Médersa de Saint-Louis, à la prochaine rentrée des classes.

IV. — *Amadou Bamba.*

Ce Sérigne est actuellement à Diourbel en voie d'installation définitive. C'est du moins ce qu'il déclare lui-même pour couper court aux attaques dont il se sent l'objet de la part de ses ennemis, et pour montrer son esprit d'obéissance à l'administration qui lui a fixé ce centre comme résidence obligatoire. Il lui reste une dernière étape à

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

franchir pour réaliser son plan qui de Souet-el-Ma l'amena à Thiéène et de Thiéène à Diourbel. Il veut entrer en triomphateur à Touba, s'y installer en grand-maître de l'ordre des Mourides et en puissant chef religieux. En ce point un peu excentrique et hors de la surveillance immédiate de l'autorité française, il organisera en toute indépendance sa vie, celle de sa zaouïa et celle de son ordre : il dirigera en toute liberté l'active propagande mouride.

Ce sont là des projets qui pour longtemps encore doivent rester l'objet de ses prières au Tout-Puissant. Les mêmes causes produisent les mêmes effets : rentré à Touba, Amadou Bamba sera débordé par l'enthousiasme de ses disciples comme par les dénigrations et calomnies de ses ennemis. L'expérience du passé doit être profitable en l'occurrence. Amadou Bamba est très bien à Diourbel sous la surveillance immédiate d'un administrateur. Il s'y sent fort gêné moralement, et les mains à peu près liées; mais comme extérieurement il est libre de ses mouvements, il lui est difficile de se parer de l'auréole du martyre. C'est précisément là la meilleure des solutions. Mieux vaut donc le léger malaise que peuvent provoquer ses intrigues et les interventions politiques qu'il a pu ou pourra faire naître, que les graves difficultés de toute nature que soulèverait son retour à Touba.

Son installation matérielle à Diourbel était très rudimentaire jusqu'au mois dernier. On pourrait répondre qu'il ne tenait qu'à lui de l'améliorer : ce ne sont pas les fonds qui lui manquent. Toutefois depuis qu'il répond à la politique de conciliation qu'on n'a jamais cessé de pratiquer avec lui, la situation morale paraît s'améliorer et la confiance renaître. Quand son installation sur le plateau de Diourbel sera achevée, il y sera parfaitement bien et jouira là, comme il dit, « de tout ce qu'il désire en ce bas monde périssable. » Il y devra rester, semble-t-il, tant que les choses seront en l'état. Tout au plus pourra-t-on lui per-

Marty MS37 Senegal

mettre à titre d'expérience, dans deux ou trois ans, quand cette question actuellement un peu aiguë des Mourides se sera apaisée, d'aller faire quelques visites et inspections de courte durée à sa zaouïa de Touba, sous promesse que le plus grand calme ne cessera de régner.

Amadou Bamba n'ignore pas que des négociations avaient été entreprises, il y a quelques mois, par Ibra Fal et Cheikh Anta auprès de certaines personnalités politiques et autres du Sénégal. On sollicitait leur intervention soit auprès de M. le Gouverneur Général, soit même auprès du Gouvernement à Paris. C'est certainement le Sérigne qui avait poussé ses frères et lieutenants dans cette voie, se souvenant que c'est en grande partie à une pareille intervention qu'en 1902 il dut son retour du Gabon.

Aujourd'hui Amadou Bamba paraît être revenu à une plus saine appréciation des choses et avoir remisé ce qu'on a appelé plaisamment en style électoral « Le Manuel du Parfait Corrupteur ».

A mon départ de Diourbel, il m'a déclaré qu'il me donnerait un peu plus tard une preuve manifeste de ses bons sentiments et de sa soumission intégrale. La confidence ouverte le gênait sans doute, et il voulait éviter des demandes d'explications complémentaires. Deux jours après, à Kaolack, je recevais la visite d'un de ses émissaires m'annonçant en son nom en termes précis : « J'ai donné « l'ordre formel à Ibra Fal et à Cheikh Anta de cesser toutes « démarches et tous versements d'argent aux personnes « revêtues d'un mandat à Dakar et à Saint-Louis. » Cette déclaration, si son contenu est exact, rapprochée des autres faits précités, permet peut-être d'espérer un changement d'attitude de la part d'Amadou Bamba.

L. Marty MS37 Senegal

V. — *Dans le domaine de la justice indigène.*

La loi coranique constituait un réel progrès sur les coutumes préislamiques des Arabes. Elle n'en constitue pas dans son ensemble sur les coutumes des indigènes.

Pour être d'une culture inférieure, ceux-ci ne sont ni des sauvages, ni des primitifs. La situation de la femme — pierre de touche d'une civilisation — est très supérieure chez les Ouolofs et se rapproche grandement de la situation de la femme européenne. Par notre présence — et sauf exception — la coutume religieuse islamisée est simple et douce ; elle n'exige pas des pèlerinages lointains et excessifs, elle ne prêche pas de guerre sainte, ni même d'apostolat exagéré. Sa morale n'est pas inférieure à la morale islamique, qui a ici toutes les faiblesses dans les matières où elle pourrait faire sentir une heureuse influence. La coutume autorise l'usage du vin, la reproduction des êtres, origine des arts et nécessités des sciences. Elle est pleine de respect et sans aucune hostilité pour les Blancs, pour leur civilisation, leur religion et leurs arts ; elle reconnaît leur supériorité en toute matière et admet le plus facilement du monde leur suprématie politique. La coutume est modifiable à notre contact : elle le montre tous les jours, se transformant d'elle-même et se complétant par des emprunts à nos usages et à nos lois. Le droit musulman est difficilement transformable. Les modifications, que les infidèles que nous sommes y apportons, sont toujours mal vues et jugées comme des actes d'arbitraire par les vrais croyants.

Que gagneront donc les Noirs fétichistes à s'islamiser ? Les islamisés à devenir de parfaits Musulmans ? Et pour nous-mêmes, convient-il d'ajouter aux difficultés de l'occu-

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

pation politique du pays les dangers d'une révolution sociale ? Hâtera-t-on l'évolution des indigènes vers une civilisation étrangère alors que nous n'osons pas — et ne voulons pas — les pousser vers notre propre civilisation ?

Il est souhaitable que du sommet au bas de l'échelle judiciaire, toutes les juridictions, sans se laisser surprendre par l'acte de foi musulman dont la réelle portée a été établie plus haut, appliquent d'un esprit convaincu l'intégralité des coutumes indigènes, d'abord parce que les textes qui régissent la matière en font un devoir précis, ensuite parce qu'elles seront persuadées que cette solution est la meilleure pour les intérêts des Noirs, comme pour ceux de la France, comme pour ceux de la civilisation.

Et c'est ainsi que par une politique, utilitaire avec discernement, il est permis d'espérer que la situation présente, et jusqu'à un certain point l'avenir prochain de cette question des Mourides, ne soulèveront que des difficultés locales et vite solutionnées, et que toute crainte de désordre public peut être délibérément écartée.

[p 141]
[p 140 is blank]

ANNEXES

JOINTES AU RAPPORT A M. LE GOUVERNEUR GÉNÉRAL
SUR LES MOURIDES D'AMADOU BAMBA

[#143]
[#142 is blank]

ANNEXE N° 1

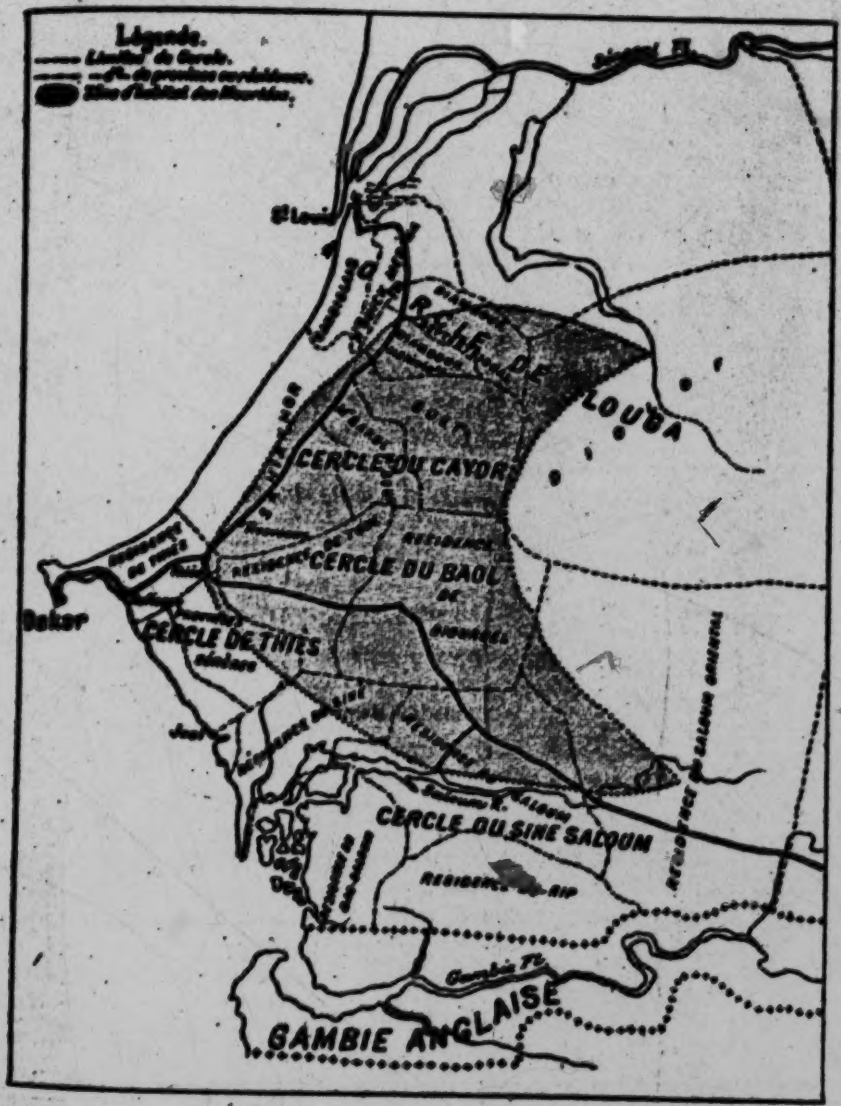


Schéma géographique de la confession mouride.

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

ANNEXE N° 2

Dénombrement général par cercles de l'ensemble des Mourides d'Amadou Bamba.

Cercle du Baol	33.000
Cercle du Sine Saloum	1.000
Cercle de Thiès	5.000
Cercle du Cayor	28.000
Cercle de Louga	1.000
Dakar	140
Saint-Louis	150
TOTAL	68.350

ANNEXE N° 1

Généalogie de la famille M'baké.

Mbaila.	Diara Bousso.	Momar Diara.	Mohammed.
			Amadou Bousso.
			Cheikh Abd El-Qader.
		Amadou Bamba.	Mohammed Lamine.
			Mohammed Moustafa.
			Mohammed Fadel.
			Mohammed Lamine.
			Mohammed Bachir.
	Momar.	Ibra Fati.	Ibrahim.
	Fatia Diop.		Mohammed El-Habib.
			Mohammed Moustafa.
Mbaké.	Antasali.	Cheikh Anta.	Ibrahim.
			Sérigne.
	Anta N'Diaye.	Amadou Mbaké Niang.	Amadou.
	Thioro Diop.	Cheikh Tioro.	Mohammed.
			Mohammed.
		Mbaila Mbaké.	
	Hafsa Diahhaté.	Cheikh Hafsa.	Fati Bousso (fille).
	Issa Diaye.	Massamba.	Mohammed.
	Ibra Mbaké.	Amor M'baké.	

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

ANNEXE N° 4

Généalogie de la famille Bousso

Sérigne Mohammed Bousso.

- M'baké Bousso (Epouse : Kadia, sœur consanguine d'Amadou Bamba).
  - Amadou.
  - Alioune.
- Cheikh El-Hadj Bousso (Epouse : Rokiata, sœur germaine d'Amadou Bamba.)
  - Momar Bousso.
  - Bou Baker.

ANNEXE N° 5

CERCLE DU BAOL (*Diourbel*).

Dénombrement par cantons des Mourides, des islamisés et de la population totale.

NOMS des Cantons	NOMBRE des Mourides	NOMBRE des islamisés	NOMBRE de la population totale	RACES qui habitent le canton
Diack	785		15.980	Sérères.
Fandène . . .	1.513		11.117	Ouolofs.
Guéoul . . .	9.528		16.441	—
Dondolle. . .	378		13.492	Sérères.
Pègue. . . .	1.768		12.918	Ouolofs.
Thièpe. . . .	4.097		14.929	—
Ndaédène. . .	861		9.551	Sérères.
Koaar . . .	809		3.438	Peuls.
Diette Salao. .	6.142		12.185	Ouolofs.
Ngoye . . .	760		13.507	Sérères.
La	5.645		16.221	Ouolofs et Peuls.
Mbayar-Bidiar.	683		26.051	Sérères.
Total. . .	32.919	86.000	161.830	

l: Marty M537 Senegal

ANNEXE N° 6

Cercle du Baol (*Diourbél*)

État des principaux marabouts mourides, de leurs origines, de leurs résidences.

NOMS	ORIGINES	RÉSIDENCES	OBSERVATIONS
Amadou Bamba. . . .	Ouolof	Diourbel	
Mokhtar Penda	»	»	
Houna Fal.	»	»	
Abd Allah Diao. . . .	»	»	
Cheikh Diop	»	»	
Abd Allah Diop	»	»	
Momar Khari.	»	»	
Amadou N'Doaye Diop .	»	»	neveu d'A. Bamba.
Amadou N'Doumbé . . .	»	»	
Bachir Cissé	»	»	
Issa Diène	»	»	
Mohammed Mostafa . .	»	Touba	fils d'A. Bamba
Mohammed Bachir. . .	»	»	id.
Masemba	»	»	frère d'A. Bamba.
Amadou Fadiame . . .	»	»	
Abderrahman Ould Mohammed.	»	»	
Momar Mbaké Ould Said.	»	»	neveu d'A. Bamba.
Cheikh Mbaké Bousso. .	»	Daroc	beau-frère d'A. B.
Cheikh El-Hadj Bousso .	»	»	id.
Abd El-Qader Ould Moulay Nacer	»	»	neveu d'A. Bamba.
Alioune Ould Moulay Nacer.	»	»	id.
Momar Diara.	»	Mbaké	frère d'A. Bamba.
Cheikh Anta	»	Gaouane	id.
Balla Mbaké	»	»	id.
Youssef Babou	»	»	
Amadou Guèye	»	»	
Moudoune Kasté	»	»	

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

NOMS	ORIGINES	RÉSIDENCES	OBSERVATIONS
Sérigne Mbaye	Ouolof	Gaouane	
Amadou Dieng Babou .	»	»	
Momar Fati	»	»	neveu de Ch. Anta.
Amadou Bator	»	»	
Gora Bakhoume. . . .	»	Toakhamé	
Bira Bigué Dieng . . .	»	Thiépe	
Masemba Fal.	»	»	
Matari Mbaké	»	»	
Amadou Digol	»	K. Amadou Digol	
Manel Fal	»	Thiapi (près Bambey)	ancien chef de canton.
Momar Fal.	»	Garam-Guéoul	
Mostafa Silla	»	Lambaye	ancien cadi.
Sérigne Alioun Diouf . .	»	»	
Mehoufa Khari	»	»	
Amadou Mbaye	»	Palène-Khombole	ancien cadi.

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

ANNEXE N° 7

Cercle du Sine-Saloum

Dénombrement par résidences et canton des Mourides, des islamisés et de la population totale.

		MOURIDES		ISLAMISÉS	POPULATION TOTALE
		Hommes	Femmes		
Résidence du Saloum. Cantons de :	Kaolack Laghem	4	36		
	Kahone	4	9		
	Nguer	1	4		
	Diokoul Goudiaye	5	5		
	Total	14	54	18.193	42.666
Résidence du Sine. Cantons de :	Diakhao	2	18		
	Dioine	6	0		
	Diouroup Djilas	0	0		
	Songhal	6	0		
	Maroutte	11	91		
	Gayokéime	2	11		
	Total	21	120	12.697	86.616
Résidence du Bas-Saloum.	Nimbato	0	0		
	Djilor	0	0		
	Total			15.419	19.508
Résidence du Rip.	Oualo-Kayemor	2	0		
	Sebeck-Rip	1	5		
	Niom-Rip	2	16		
	Total	5	21	19.801	20.850
Résidence du Saloum Oriental.	Ndoukoumane-Pakalla	4	18		
	Koungheul	2	22		
	Total	6	40	10.742	13.284
	Total général	281		76.352	182.924

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

ANNEXE N° 8

CERCLE DU SINE-SALOUM

État par résidences et cantons des principaux marabouts mourides, de leurs origines, de leurs résidences, de leurs pères spirituels et du nombre de leurs talibés.

NOMS	ORIGINES	RÉSIDENCES	PÈRES SPIRITUELS	NOMBRE de Talibés
Résidence du Saloum (Kaolack). Canton de Kaolack-Laghem.				
Tamsir Moussa Paté	Ouolof.	Pakatia.	Amadou Bamba.	11
Omar Diouf . . .	»	Mbadiou.	Tamsir Moussa.	
Babakar N'Diaye .	»	Mbouma.	Amadou Bamba.	4
Massakho Sakho .	»	Tahoua.	Ibra Fati.	21
Canton de Kahone.				
Amadou Cissé . .	»	Bill.	Amadou Fadiame.	7
Ndéné Kabou . .	»	Gagneck.	Ibra Fati.	
Abdoulaye N'Diaye.	»	»	Cheikh Anta.	2
Momar N'Dao . .	»	Tiakala.	Amadou Fadiame.	
Canton de Nguer.				
Tioumba Kaadji .	»	Macuel.	Cheikh Anta.	4
Canton de Diokoul Gandiaye.				
Makhoudia Dieng .	»	Diokhoul.	Amadou Bamba.	2
Matar Sakho. . .	Sérère.	»	Mamadou Cissé.	1
Baba N'Diaye . .	»	Ngodj.	Makhoudia Dieng.	
Biramou Séne . .	Ouolof.	Soukhoupe.	Amadou Bamba.	
Mamadou Sek . .	»	Keur Galoup	Ibra Fati.	1

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

NOMS	ORIGINES	RÉSIDENCES	PÈRES SPIRITUELS	NOMBRE de Talibés
Résidence du Sine (Fatick).				
Cercle de Diakhao.				
Alioune Sek . . .	Ouolof.	Soupa.	Amadou Njang.	4
Sérigne Ma Pal Niang	»	Darou Salam	Mousa N'Doye.	14
Canton de Diofior.				
Sérigne Touré . .	Ouolof.	Mbedap.	Amadou Bamba.	
Mandiaye Sèye . .	»	Mbelo Khoute.	Mousa N'Doye.	
Madiop N'Diaye. .	»	Gadiagne.	Ibra Fati.	
Aliou Diop . . .	»	»	Alioune Diouf.	
Ibrahima N'Gom .	»	»	»	
Abdou Kane. . .	»	Mbetite.	Amadou Bamba.	
Canton de Maroutte.				
Momar Sek . . .	Ouolof.	Gossas.	Amadou Bamba.	7
Amadou Diao . .	»	»	»	12
Ousmane Lo. . .	Peul.	Patar.	Alioune Ka.	5
Amadou Khari Mbaké	Ouolof.	Gossas.	Amadou Bamba.	24
Alioune Touré . .	»	»	»	9
Momar Thiam . .	»	»	»	8
Babakar Lao. . .	»	»	»	2
Abdou Khadir . .	Peul.	Patar.	Cheikh Ousman.	9
Momar Thian . .	Ouolof.	Gossas.	Son père Momar.	8
Khar Khan . . .	»	»	Bamba Kane.	4
Amadou Ba . . .	Peul.	»	Son père Diam Doura.	3
Canton de Gayokhème.				
Matar Niang. . .	Ouolof.	N'galagne Kôé.	Amadou Bamba.	
Modi Toubé . . .	»	Ngadiagne.	»	

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

NOMS	ORIGINES	RÉSIDENCES	PÈRES SPIRITUELS	NOMBRE de Talibés
Résidence du Rip (Nioro). *Cercle de Oualo-Kayemor.*				
Abdoulaye N'Diaye	Ouolof.	Ndienguène.	Amadou Bamba.	
Demba Diôba . .	»	Ndioufène.	»	
Canton de Niom Rip.				
Tamsir Ma Ba . . .	Ouolof.	Touba.	»	10
Katim Koumba. .	»	Djina Katim.	»	6.
Canton de Saback Rip.				
Tamsir Khodia . .	Ouolof.	K. Tamsir Khodia.	Amadou Fadiama.	5
Résidence du Saloum Orient. C. de Ndoukoumane-Pakella				
Aliou Sek. . . .	Ouolof.	Bamba Moussa.	Amadou Bamba.	10
Moussa Sèye. . .	»	Diolkosse.	Amadou Fadiama.	3
Omar Mèye. . . .	»	Kaffate.	Amadou Bamba.	3
Segni Sar.	»	Dramé.	Amadou Fadiama.	2
Canton de Kougheul.				
Momar Khari Si .	Ouolof.	Sine Matar.	Amadou Mbaké.	12
Mahadame Tiongoun.	»	Diaye Coumda.	Ali Penda Lo.	10

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

ANNEXE N° 9

9 février 1913.

AVIS

A ceux qui savent que l'auteur de ces lignes est un croyant, un musulman, un homme qui dirige sa conduite d'après le Coran, la tradition, et l'unanimité des docteurs.

Quiconque prétend tirer sa filiation du dit auteur et ne se dirige pas d'après le Coran, la tradition, et l'unanimité des docteurs n'est pas de lui et ne se rattache pas à lui. Non, il n'est aucunement de lui.

Monsieur Marty, chargé des affaires musulmanes, je vous prie d'être convaincu vous-même, et d'informer les autorités françaises, que ledit *Assan Touré* ne se rattache nullement à nous, car celui qui se rattache vraiment à nous, en toute vérité, ne se met pas en opposition avec les représentants du Gouvernement, mais il engage au contraire les gens à leur être soumis. Selon qu'il est écrit dans le livre, venant de Dieu le Très Haut : « Obéissez à Dieu, puis obéissez au Prophète, et aux maîtres du temps où vous vivez. »

MOHAMMED BEN MOHAMMED BEN HABIBALLAH.
(AMADOU BAMBA.)

ANNEXE N° 10.

CERCLE DE THIÈS

Généalogie de la famille Fal.

- Amor Fal
  - Amadou Fal
    - Cheikh Ibra Fal
      - Mamadou Fallou (23 ans).
      - Mamadou Mostafa.
      - Amadou Bachir.
      - Momar Fal.
      - Alioun.
      - Quatre filles.
    - Cheikh Salihou Fal.
      - Amadou Salihou.
      - Mamadou Anta Fal.
      - Ibrahima Fal.
      - Deux filles.
    - Rokia Fal.
      - N'Diaye Rokia.

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

ANNEXE N° 11

Cercle de Thiès

Dénombrement par résidences et cantons des Mourides, des islamisés et du total de la population.

RÉSIDENCES et CANTONS	NOMBRE des Mourides	NOMBRE des Islamisés	TOTAL général de la population	OBSERVATIONS
Résidence de Thiès :				
Canton de Thiès. . . .	490	3.130	5.400	K. Ibra Fal.
— du Thor-Diander.	10	5.230	10.030	Darou.
Résidence des provinces sérères :				
Cᵃ du M'Badane Sadsal .	30	540	12.120	Sassal.
— Sandoc Diaganiao . .	»	920	8.540	
— Sao Dimack	»	410	9.260	
— des Diebas	4.300	5.580	13.850	Khaban Tassette.
Résidence de la Petite Côte				
Cᵃ de Nianing	50	4.410	7.200	Thiombologe.
— de Joal-N' Gohé. . .	200	2.200	5.350	Thiadiaye.
		3.900	11.300	
Totaux . .	5.080	26.400	83.050	

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

ANNEXE N° 12

Cercle de Thiès

État par résidences et cantons des principaux marabouts mourides, de leurs origines, de leurs résidences, et du nombre de leurs talibés.

NOMS	ORIGINES	RÉSIDENCES	NOMBRE de talibés	OBSERVATIONS
Résidence de Thiès.				
Cheikh Ibra Fal . .	Ouolof.	Thiès : Darou Balré.	200	
Abdallah Diop fils de Lat Dior	»	»		ex-chef de Mbakol (Cayor).
Amadou Lo . . .	»	»		originaire de Gandiole.
N'Diaye Rokia. . .	»	»		neveu de Cheikh Ibra Fal.
Laba Dioum . . .	»	»		
Masemba N'Diaye. .	»	»		
Amadou N'Doaye .	»	»		
Résidence des Provinces Sérères (Fissel).				
Amadou Ndoumbé Baké	Ouolof.	Khabane.	100	à Keur Sérigne Amadou.
Abdoulaye Diao . .	»	»	80	à Keur Abdoulaye Diao.
Momar Diagne. . .	»	»	20.	à Dialakh.
Issa Diène	»	»	50	à Touba.
Malb N'Diaye . . .	»	»	20	
Amadou Lamine M'Baye	»	Sassal.	20	
Manik Diop. . . .	»	Malamsone.		
Momar Touré. . .	»	Tassette.	20	à Touré.
Abdou N'Doye. . .	»	»	20	à N'Doyène.
Cheikh Madiop . .	»	»	30	à Keur Madiop.
Sérigne Momar Senne	»	Pout.	10	
Laman Malik . . .	Sérère.	Pognoua.		nouvellement converti.
Résidence de la Petite Côte (Nianing).				
Alioune Sal. . . .	Ouolof.	Guélor.	50	incarcéré en 1910 pour troubles.

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

ANNEXE N° 13

Cercle du Cayor

Dénombrement par provinces des Mourides, des islamisés et de la population totale.

PROVINCES	NOMBRE des Mourides	NOMBRE des Islamisés	POPULATION TOTALE
Saniakhor	6.000		
Mbakhol-Mboul	10.000		
Guet	12.000		
TOTAL	28.000	133.400	139.150

Note. — Le Cercle du Cayor comprend 5.750 habitants qui ne sont pas islamisés.

Ce nombre se décompose en : 5.000 Sérères environ, disséminés dans les cantons de N'Doute et M'Bar de la province du Saniakhor ; 500 Laobés, disséminés dans la province du Guet ; 200 Akous, dans les escales, et 50 Mandiagos, répartis dans tout le cercle.

1: Marty - MS37 Senegal

ANNEXE N° 14

Cercle du Cayor

État par provinces et cantons des principaux marabouts mourides, de leurs origines, de leurs résidences, de leurs pères spirituels et du nombre de leurs talibés.

NOMS	ORIGINES	RÉSIDENCES	PÈRES SPIRITUELS	NOMBRE de Talibés
Province de Saniakhor				
Salihou Dieng. . .	Ouolof	Maka.	Momar Dieng.	10
Makhouria Khandji.	»	Sakh.	Assane Gaye.	7
Balla Goye	»	Kabh.	Ditialao Gaye.	4
Mamour Thiam . .	»	»	Alassane Faye.	4
Samba Tacine Ka.	»	Sioual.	Samba Tacine.	3
Ndioukou Diagne. .	»	Mborine.	Solimane Niang	2
Matar Fal	»	Ndiaye Diambagnane.	Masemba Manne	2
Macoumba Guèye. .	»	Badar Guèye.	Matar Guèye.	7
Momar Guèye. . .	»	Taoua.	Ousmane Guèye	5
Ousmane Guèye . .	»	»	Samba Khari.	5
Balla Guaye. . . .	»	Tlékao.	Birama Guèye.	20
Assan Fal	»	Gouye Mbaye.	Amadou Bamba	10
Mabèye Bèye . . .	»	Médina.	Ibra Fal.	17
Marouba Guèye . .	»	Gandiaye près Pire.	Amadou Bamba	30
Momar Ouarka Khan	»	Kour Momar Ouarka.	»	20
Cheikh Amadou Baké Sar.	»	Keur Moussa Mbaké.	»	20
Mousa Diaye . . .	»	Fassel.	»	20
Baba Ngom Khaliomba.	»	Khandane.	»	20
Mamadou Senne . .	»	»	»	20

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

NOMS	ORIGINES	RÉSIDENCES	PÈRES SPIRITUELS	NOMBRE de Talibés
Cheikh Mangoné Sek.	Ouolof	Ndoyène-Pire.	Amadou Bamba	20
Madiabélé Ndour. .	»	Keur Bakar.	»	20
Escale de Tivouane				
Abdoulaye Thiam .	»	Tivaouane.	Marouba Guèye.	5
Matala Mbaye. . .	»	Tivaouane. (ancien griot).	Ibra Fal.	8
Alassane Senne . .	»	Tivaouane.	Cheikh Anta.	7
Ibrahima Diagne . .	»	»	»	4
Yali Niang	»	»	Amadou Bamba	
Malik Ndiagne. . .	»	Tivaouane (K. Masemba).	Cheikh Anta.	6
Amadou Nar Diop .	»	Tivaouane (ancien cadi).	Amadou Bamba	
Amadou Guèye Maro.	»	Tivaouane.	Ibra Fal.	15
Balla Diop	»	Tivaouane (assesseur).	Amadou Bamba	
Amadou Diop. . .	»	Tivaouane.	»	
Ibrahima Soghe . .	»	Tivaouane (Thiendane).	Ibra Fal.	
Province de Mbakol-Mboul.				
Momar Guèye . . .	»	Messéré.	Amadou Bamba	10
Momar Gaye	»	Guembé.	»	12
Macodou Diop. . .	»	Nehihedje.	»	17
Masemba Diop. . .	»	Mérina.	»	24
Macouedji Thiam . .	»	Thiamène.	»	9
Momar Lahma. . .	»	Gnagame.	»	11
Abdoulaye Fadiaga .	»	Ndiam Nal.	»	12
Momar Séye . . .	»	Ndia Hadé.	»	13
Ndari Kane. . . .	»	Kane.	»	18
Amadou Dié Mbaké.	»	Ndiayène Péri.	»	11
Adama Sal	»	Darou Salam.	»	35
Cheikh Malamine Ndiaye.	»	Kelcom.	»	28

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

NOMS	ORIGINES	RÉSIDENCES	PÈRES SPIRITUELS	NOMBRE de Talibés
Yéri Diakhaté . . .	Ouolof	Keicom	Amadou Bamba	15
Madiara Gnane . .	»	Mékhé.	»	5
Ma Hafsa Tiao. . .	»	Thiamène.	»	11
Ibra Dior.	»	N'Dande (Narbé)	»	21
Mamao Silla . . .	»	Nakhal-Mamiao	»	34
Mokhtar Marienna .	»	Tiapoura.	»	7
Mostafa Silla . . .	»	Darou Salam.	»	11
Amor Fal	»	Niakhal-Boé.	»	8
Momar Silla . . .	»	Yohma.	»	11
Mokhtar Ougnane .	»	Ndème.	»	7
Momar Mbaye. . .	»	Afia.	»	21
Medoume Samba. .	»	»	»	6
Diambar Diakhaté . .	»	Méoumdou.	»	8
Saër Silla	»	Fille Dramane.	»	15
Ibra Silla	»	»	»	20
Amadou Binta. . . .	»	»	»	8
Mayacine Ballé . . .	»	Gouyard.	»	10
Mayacine Dieng . . .	»	Gouyard (Orig. de Maka).	»	20
Amadou Dié	»	Darou Salam.	»	17
Amor Diakhaté . . .	»	»	»	15
Masilla Silla	»	Masilla.	»	30
Alioun Touré	»	Pire (auj. à Gossas).	»	50
Mostafa Ndiaye . . .	»	Diémoul.	»	8
Abdoulaye Dieng. . .	»	Gouyard.	»	18
Mousa Daro	»	N'déye.	»	13
Omar Silla.	»	Ouadia.	»	15
Ali Mané.	»	Meur Madiop.	»	9
Anta Sek	»	Ndiol.	»	9
Ngagne Tendimé. . .	Maure	Darou Tendimé.	»	17
Ndiaga Diop . . .	Ouolof	Ndiob Botol.	»	
Mounar Comba . . .	»	Mbol.	»	
Mbar Dior Siga . . .	»	Ndiouki (frère de Samba Laobé).	»	50
Anbar Fa	»	Id.	»	

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

NOMS	ORIGINES	RÉSIDENCES	PÈRES SPIRITUELS	NOMBRE de Talibés
Issa Diène	Ouolof	Ndande.	Amadou Bamba	50
Province de Guet				
Ibra Fati.	»	Mbaké.	Amadou Bamba	100
Aramine Mbaké . . .	»	Mbaké (professeur).	»	
Matar Binta.	»	Mbaké (professeur).	»	
Thiamba Sèye. . .	»	Mérine.	»	3
Medieng Dieng . .	»	Ndiguène Bamé.	»	8
Momar Diop . . .	»	Guaéoul.	»	25
Mafari N'Diaye . . .	»	Baranrang.	»	10
Diéri Sougoufara. .	Maure	Ouadane Guet.	»	
Mokhtar Sougoufara.	»	Mosseladje.	»	3
Abdou Kane	Ouolof	Khébéré Guet.	»	20
Momar Ngoné Fal .	»	Ndiah Guéoul.	»	20
Ndiouga Fal	»	Keur Amadou Yella.	»	2
Amadou Gaye. . .	»	Ngaye.	»	2
Aboudalaye Dème .	»	Toumba.	»	2
Medoune Dème . .	»	»	»	4
Barra Ndiaye . . .	»	Tiamène.	»	3
Birahima Kodou Maram.	»	Tilmakha.	»	
Amadou Makhouria.	»	»	»	
Abdou Abbas . . .	»	Tilmakha (cousin de Lat Dior).	»	
Mokhtar Diop . . .	»	id.	»	

I: Marty M537 Senegal

ANNEXE N° 13

Cercle de Louga

Dénombrement des Mourides, des islamisés et de la population totale.

PROVINCES	NOMBRE total des Mourides	ISLAMIS	TOTAL général	OBSERVATIONS
Djolof.	300	36.895	36.895	
Diambour septentrional. . . .	300	32.800	32.800	
Diambour méridional. . . .	150	14.678	14.678	
N'Guick Merina. .	150	14.582	14.582	
Gandiolais. . . .	100	7.073	7.073	
	1.000	106.028	106.028	

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

ANNEXE N° 16

Cercle de Louga

État par provinces des principaux marabouts mourides, de leurs origines, de leur résidence, de leurs pères spirituels et du nombre de leurs talibés.

NOMS	ORIGINES	RÉSIDENCES	PÈRES SPIRITUELS	NOMBRE de Talibés
Province du Diolof :				
Abdou Kamara . .	Ouolof.	Kamara.	Amadou Bamba	2
Alioun M'Baye. . .	»	Nboundiane.	»	2
Modo Sankhe . . .	»	Tiankhé.	»	2
Khali N'Diaye . . .	»	N'Diayène.	»	110
Diadé N'Dao . . .	»	Iagne Sagata.	»	8
Baba Fati M'Baye .	»	Mbaïène.	»	6
Alle Khari	»	»	»	5
Province du Diambour septentrional.				
Ibra Guèye	Ouolof.	Keur Ali Sali.	Amadou Bamba	6
Momar Sikéna. . .	»	Lamdou.	»	10
Code Lo.	»	Niomré-Diama.	»	8
Matar Binta Lo . .	»	Niomré.	»	18
Medoune Dioumbé .	»	Coki.	»	4
Mansour Diao. . .	»	Thialène.	»	
Momar Diao . . .	»	Garki.	»	5
Amadou Anta. . .	»	Keur Medoune Mbaye	»	8
Ali N'Dak	»	Coki.	»	6
Amadou Gaye. . .	»	Ndiagne.	»	6
Cheikh Ibra Sar . .	»	Thiarème.	»	40
Marouba Thioune .	»	Ndiagne.	»	3
Ndiao Fal	»	Ouarak.	»	3
Medoune Samba . .	»	Fadane.	»	3
Amadou Lo . . .	»	Keur Medoune Mbaye	»	4
Amadou Fal . . .	»	Ndiagne.	»	
Province de Diambour méridional.				
Assane N'Diao. . .	Ouolof.	Darou.	Amadou Bamda	20

1: Marty MS37 Senegal

NOMS	ORIGINES	RÉSIDENCES	PÈRES SPIRITUELS	NOMBRE de Talibés
Ballo Sek	Ouolof.	Thiène.	Amadou Bamba	
Ma Diakhaté Lo . .	»	Ndam.	»	2
Amadou Mokhtar Diakaté (ex-cadi) .	»	»	»	
Macoumba Dia . .	»	Kal Dio	»	2
Medieke Sek . . .	»	Thiètkhème.	»	
Momar Lo	»	Keur Souley.	»	2
Omar Guèye . . .	»	Ngoudiouro Diop	»	1
Amadou Sar . . .	»	»	»	7
Momar Sey	»	Keur Mor Abdou	»	7
Mousa Fal	»	Khiraoua.	»	
Amor Dia	»	Keur Matar.	»	
Amor Samba . . .	»	Ndiamb.	»	
Escale de Louga.				
Ibra Kébi	»	Louga.	»	10
Cheikh Sandiaye Baye	»	»	»	4
Meklou Diao . . .	»	»	»	
Amadou Sarer (assesseur au tribunal, très favorable) . .	»	»	»	
Province du Nguick-Merina.				
Amadou Diop . . .	»	Tendé Biti.	Amadou Anta	4
N'Diaou N'Diaye . .	»	Bigaye.	Ibra Fal.	
Malik Sar	»	Nguick.	Amadou Bamba	3
Ibra Fal	»	Ndabé.	Ibra Fal.	30
Amadou Khari Diaye	Ouolof.	Roye.	Amadou Bamba	2
Sidi Sar	»	Ndiapal Sar.	Ibra Fal	
Moulay Sar	»	Keur Paté Siné.	Amadou Bamba	10
Amadou Fal . . .	»	Nguick.	»	7
Amandou Sar . . .	»	Dabaye.	»	
Gandiolais.				
Néant.				

Li Marty MS37 Senegal

ANNEXE N° 17

Liste de quelques ouvrages d'Amadou Bamba.

مقدمات الامداح في مزايا المفتاح — *Prémisses des louanges, sur les priviléges de la clef.*

Poème religieux. — Brochure imprimée sans nom d'éditeur.

نهج قضاء الحاج — *Voie d'exécution des nécessités.*

Ouvrage d'éthique et d'éducation.

مفاتيح النيران ومفاتيح الجنان — *Les Clefs qui ferment l'enfer et ouvrent le Paradis.*

Ouvrage de morale. — Une traduction très défectueuse, sans nom d'auteur, en existe aux Archives.

كتاب كنز المهتدين في صلاة على خير المرسلين — *Le Livre du trésor des biens dirigés, sur la prière à dire sur le meilleur des Prophètes.*

Ouvrage de philosophie, d'éthique et de piété. — Imprimé à Beyrout en 1319 H. (1902 J.-C.) par les soins de Mohammed Rachid et Mostafa El-Halouani, de Beyrout.

Quelques extraits, d'une excellente traduction par M. Salenc, directeur de la Médersa de Saint-Louis, en existent aux Archives.

سعادة الطلاب وراحة لطالب الاعراب — *Le bonheur des étudiants et le repos de l'élève en syntaxe.*

Ouvrage de grammaire.

Et enfin un grand nombre de petits poèmes (*qacida* قصيدة) en l'honneur du Prophète, des marabouts amis, tels que Cheikh Sidia, et des Européens sympathiques.

l: Marty MS37 Senegal

ANNEXE N° 18

Litanies spéciales (Dikr) de l'ordre religieux des Mourides Bamba.

استغفر الله العظيم (ثلاثمائة مرة)	Je cherche mon pardon auprès du Dieu de Majesté (300 fois).
سبحان الله (ثلاثمائة مرة)	Dieu soit glorifié (300 fois).
لا اله الا الله (ثلاثماية مرة)	Il n'y a pas d'autre divinité que Dieu (300 fois).
اللهم صلى على سيدنا محمد وعلى اله وصحبه وسلم تسليما	O mon Dieu, répandez vos bénédictions sur notre Seigneur Mahomet, sur sa famille, sur ses compagnons. Accordez-leur le salut !

ANNEXE N° 19.

Bibliographie.

Archives du Gouvernement Général.
Archives du Gouvernement du Sénégal.
Renseignements fournis par M. l'administrateur Gaden, chef du bureau politique du Sénégal.
— — par M. l'administrateur Thévenieut (Diourbel).
— — par M. l'administrateur Brocard (Kaolak).
— — par M. l'administrateur Dreyfus (Thiès).
— — — — de Ste-Marie (Tivaouane)
— — — — Valzi (Louga).
Delafosse, *Haut Sénégal-Niger.*
Service géographique de l'A. O. F. (M. le capitaine Harrandeau).

2:Bourlon U-5 (no date) 1959 MS37 Senegal MS37

Actuality of the Murids and of Muridism
/Actualité des Mourides et du Mouridisme//

by Abel Bourlon

Paris: 1959
L'Afrique et l'Asie
Vol. 46, pp. 10-30

Translated from the French by Jean H. Winchell

Human Relations Area Files
1963

/Title page/

/10/

*795 793 The brotherhood of the Murids was instituted in Senegal at the end of the last century by a Toucouleur /Tukolor/ marabout named Amadou Bamba M'Backé. He did it, Murid tradition reports, following a vision during which the Angel Gabriel revealed to him his vocation as apostle-restorer of Islam in that country.

Amadou Bamba had studied the Koran thoroughly under Cheikh /Sheik/ Sidi Sidiya, and because of this he had received the wird. He therefore was of Quadria obedience. Nevertheless, by creating his own brotherhood and founding Muridism, he produced a completely original work, and he knew particularly well how to adapt his preaching to the mentality of the Ouolof /Wolof/, among whom it spread rapidly and became firmly established.

The essential trait of the Murid is his blind and fanatical attachment to his marabout and to the Murid doctrine; the primordial characteristic of Muridism is to have made manual [461] labor (generally scorned in Black Africa and in Islam) the equivalent of prayer and, as such, capable of ensuring the eternal salvation of the disciple (talibé).

*795 114 The history of the vocation and the preachings of Amadou Bamba, as well as the circumstances of the birth and first development of the brotherhood are known; Captain Marty in L'Islam au Sénégal /Islam in Senegal/ and A. Gouilly in L'Islam en A. O. F. /Islam in French West Africa/ have spoken about it with authority.

Our purpose, therefore, will not be to repeat what has already been written about the Murids and their brotherhood, but to report some recent observations about them made by the author in the course of a stay at Diourbel during which he was able to approach the current leaders of the brotherhood frequently and to attend several times the pilgrimage that they organize annually in their "capital," Touba, under the name of Magal.

128 We shall call to mind, therefore, successively:

— Touba, the holy city of the Murids, its mosque, its Magal;

/10 cont./

128 — the great leaders of Muridism, their present situation, their influence on the movement, their reciprocal rivalries, their relations with the Administration;

— the importance of Muridism and its influence on the economic, social, and political life of Senegal.

/11/ Then we shall try, in conclusion, to envisage the prospects for the future which present themselves to Muridism today.

*795 778 [361] Touba is therefore the center of the Murid brotherhood. Amadou Bamba founded it in 1886, a few kilometers from the village of M'Backé (itself created by his grandfather, M'Balla M'Backé) and about 60 kilometers east of Diourbel, at the edge of Baol and the Ferlo desert, in a vast plain with bleak horizons and a sparse population.

The Murids attribute a holy and miraculous origin to the city, the Angel Gabriel himself having revealed the site to Amadou Bamba after conducting him there in a mysterious and supernatural fashion.

Amadou Bamba's difficulties with the Administration did not permit him to reside in this remote and isolated place where his activities were hard to control, but his body has reposed there since his death in 1927.

The agglomeration Touba-M'Backé-Darou forms the heart of the Murid country, and Touba is the ideal capital; indeed, it is now, for the disciples of Amadou Bamba:

— the headquarters of the brotherhood,

— a center of Koranic studies,

— a sort of monastery,

— a place of pilgrimage.

*795 793 It is at Touba that the Caliph-general resides. All of his collateral relatives and descendants, as well as all of the great Murid marabouts, have residences there, although they do not live there continually. It is there that the administrative council of the brotherhood meets to make important decisions concerning the Murid community.

/11 cont./

*795 It is to Touba that the young Murids come to learn the
[793] Koran; each marabout there has his own school which forms his young talibés.

It is in Touba also that, grouped around their marabout (or his residence), the faithful dwell, those who wish to live a holier life in permanent contact with their religious leader and working each day for them and with them.

It is to Touba, finally, that every good Murid must go once
[788] a year in order to pray at the tomb of the founding saint of the
[778] brotherhood, at that of the khalife /caliph/, first successor, and especially in order to pay a visit to the present Caliph-general and to give him the offerings intended in particular for the continuation of the work on the mosque; this is the Magal of which we shall speak again below.

361 /12/ The city appears like a great "escale" /commercial
*795 center/ of the bush. Wide avenues separate the vast carrés /compounds/ of the various marabouts from one another. A plan for division into lots was drawn up, but it has not yet been applied, Falilou M'Backé, the Caliph-general, having feared, at the last moment, the far-reaching consequences.

Touba is thus a great center. Its development and the considerable number of persons who come there for the Magal have
[312] necessitated special arrangements. Drillings have been made in order to ensure the water supply of the holy city, which is, more-
[496] over, linked to M'Backé and Diourbel by a railroad. On the other hand, no commercial establishment has settled in Touba, and the trading center has been fixed at M'Backé.

346 Touba's center of attraction is its mosque, an Islamic
*795 monument unique in Senegal.

It was Amadou Bamba himself who decided to have it constructed, and in 1926 he asked his faithful to bring the first stones for it to Touba, but it was Amadou Mustapha, his son and first successor, who began the first work on it, after receiving by lease from the Administration a piece of ground of 400 hectares on which he could build it.

/12 cont./

*1795 346 The Murid talibés, faithfully carrying out the wish of their founder, continued to participate actively in the construction of the mosque, whether by working on it, by carrying stones to it, or by making to the Caliph-general gifts intended for the carrying on of the work; this goes on more or less rapidly according to the size of the funds which the caliph has at his disposal for carrying it out. It was very actively pushed between 1953 and 1957.

346 Thus, the edifice is now well along, the bulk of the work is finished, and its mass dominates the huts of Touba; from ten to 15 kilometers roundabout one sees its minarets, which signal to the fervent pilgrim as well as to the cruious traveler that they are approaching the holy city.

It is an important building of generous dimensions, with two minarets 30 meters high flanking the western façade; the great prayer room is surmounted by a cupola; small domes and lantern-lights contribute alike to the ornamentation of the roof.

Access is by a flight of steps located on the west façade. The latter is pierced by doors which open on a patio surrounded by a gallery opening on the courtyard by means of a colonnade with extended arches. The east side of the patio is not closed off and opens directly into the prayer room; this last is entirely /13/ covered, and the roof, as well as the cupola which surmounts it, is supported by rows of columns and extended arches of the purest Arab style, the appearance of which calls to mind the most famous mosques, such as the one of Córdoba, for example.

The mihrab is formed by a little chapel built into the east wall of the mosque at the back of the prayer room.

The building is of reinforced concrete. Even though the greatest part of the work is ended, much still remains to be done before it is finished. In 1956 the plastering had not yet been done, and then it will be necessary to paint and decorate the walls and columns, as has already been done for the lanterns which surmount the minarets and which are ornamented with symbolic decorations or arabesques.

/13 cont./

346 These minarets have been finished since 1956, and one can climb to their summits, from where one discovers the panorama of Touba and the surrounding plain.

346 778 From the mosque there is direct access to the tomb of Amadou Bamba, which is in a mausoleum built into the north-east corner of the building beside the great prayer room. The tomb proper (covered by velvet hangings embroidered with Koranic sayings stitched into arabesques) is in the middle of the mausoleum; it is surrounded by wrought-iron grillwork which keeps visitors at a distance, while at the same time allowing many of them to contemplate the saint's tomb. The ground all around the tomb is covered with fine, sifted sand, replaced continually to keep it clean.

The tomb of the first caliph, Amadou Moustapha, is located outside the mosque on the east façade several meters from the wall. The mausoleum resembles a little bungalow; one enters it directly from the outside, without going through the mosque. Here, too, the tomb is hidden behind embroidered hangings.

[782] These places are redolent of an atmosphere of contemplation. The air is heavy with the perfume of the incense burned constantly before the tombs.

*795 796 At Touba, the great Moslem religious celebrations are particularly prominent. Thus the faithful come from quite far away (when they can) in order to celebrate at Touba rather than elsewhere the Corytée, the Tabaski, or the Gamou (1).

1. These three celebrations correspond respectively to the Aid el Fitr, the Aid el Kebir, and the Mouloud of Islamic tradition.

[788] But the great celebration of Touba, the specifically Murid solemnity /14/ which every good talibé tries to attend every year if possible, is the Magal.

/14 cont./

*795 The first Magal took place October 19, 1928, at the
796 initiative of Amadou Moustapha and on the occasion of the
788 anniversary of the death of Amadou Bamba.

Since Falilou M'Backé, the second caliph, took over the leadership of the brotherhood, the Magal has changed in date and meaning. It now commemorates Amadou Bamba's return from exile, his prophetic vision, and his permanent establishment at Diourbel. Thus the second caliph linked his action directly to that of the Founder by giving back to the Magal its original meaning, desired as early as 1912 by Amadou Bamba himself when he instituted, with an identical signification, what was then called the second Tabaski.

Since 1928 this manifestation has not ceased to grow in importance, and today more than 200,000 pilgrims go to Touba each year on this occasion.

The pilgrimage lasts three days, although some fanatics often remain for five days, sometimes eight.

The high point is the second day; the last is called the "official day," because then the caliph speaks in public to the pilgrims, before the representatives of authority whom he has invited.

A week before this "official day," the first pilgrims begin
[484] to arrive at Touba; their number increases rapidly and progressively as the opening date for the pilgrimage proper approaches.

484 During these days the pilgrims arrive in the holy city by
494 every means: on foot or by cart for the nearest ones; by train,
788 truck, and taxi for those farther away. Whatever vehicle is used, it is always overloaded: eight or ten ride in a sightseeing car; 90 (and even a few more) in a truck which should carry only 50 persons (this is a matter of four- to five-ton trucks, not covered, on which the travelers crowd together, standing up and pressed against one another between the railings, like canned fish). The trains, too, are jammed, and there are as many
[497] pilgrims on the roofs and bumpers of the cars as inside.

Traffic is thick, but in spite of the conditions, there are few accidents, at least serious accidents, considering the great

/14 cont./

484 number of persons transported. There are sometimes spectacular
494 ones, but cases involving fatalities are fortunately very rare.
788 The transportation of the pilgrims is closely watched by
[497] the /15/ Administration. The Office of Railroads organizes special trains. The subdivision heads grant to the owners of the trucks special transportation authorizations. The circle /cercle, an administrative district/ of Diourbel, aided by the Senegal government, strengthens the security forces and highway police.

788 But that is not the only problem which the organization
*795 and unfolding of the Magal presents for the Caliph-general and the Administration.

Sheltering all these people for three days and more is
[485] another. The provisioning of the pilgrims in water and food must be organized; sanitary and medical service must be ensured; finally, it is necessary to ensure order and discipline in
[625] the city of Touba itself, as is done on the roads, and the commander of the circle of Diourbel can only accomplish this with sizable police reinforcements, set apart in advance almost everywhere (as far as Dakar and Kaolack), which are put at his disposal for this purpose.

At the opening of the pilgrimage, three days before the Official Day, the crowd has reached its maximum size. Touba then experiences extraordinary activity. The road between
[494] Touba and M'Backé is continually furrowed in both directions by files of trucks which run without respite between the two agglomerations. The station platforms disappear under the flood of pilgrims who disembark innumerably from the last trains. The wide avenues of the city are filled with the crowd
[438] of pilgrims who carry out their religious duties or stroll in front
[443] of the little flat baskets where, as in all pilgrimages in the world, the most diverse objects are sold, from articles of clothing, such as babouches or samaras, to perfumes and jewelry, including the most varied articles of piety: prayers or verses from the Koran printed in Arabic, photographs of the Caliph-general or of Amadou Bamba, or even pictures in Oriental

/15 cont./

[788] style, violently colored like our Épinal pictures and representing
[*795] the holy places of Islam or personages of Koranic tradition.

[438] Finally, to complete this immense and noisy fair over which
[443] floats an impalpable dust, there, in a corner of the city not far from the mosque, are the keepers of the cook-shops: they cook
[265] in the open the appetizing dishes which they will offer at modest prices to the famished pilgrims.

Evening does not slow down these activities; on the contrary, the pilgrims regroup at the homes of the various marabouts, and sessions of religious songs are organized there. They will
[533] last far into the night, which will resound until dawn with these litanies amplified by numerous loud-speakers.

/16/ In the course of this pilgrimage, the believers have several obligations to fulfill:

1) to call on the Caliph-general,

2) to go to meditate at the tomb of Amadou Bamba and that of Amadou Moustapha,

3) to visit the mosque,

4) to go to see their own marabout,

5) to visit at the cemetery the Sacred Tree and the graves
[778] of certain deceased notables of the brotherhood.

At the entrance to the carré of the Caliph, the faithful, in a long line, patiently await their turn to go into the residence of their supreme spiritual leader.

After passing through several walls (at the gate of which are talibé-cashiers who claim their offerings from them), they arrive at the hut in which the Caliph receives.

The circle guards maintaining order have them enter one by one into the straw hut where Falilou awaits them, assisted by his secretary and some of his close collaborators. Each pilgrim kneels before the Caliph while presenting to him his offering (hadia), which the sérigne will immediately have passed on to one of his followers. The pilgrim then rises and goes out in order to give his place to another.

His visit to the Caliph ended, he goes to the sacred tombs
[778] of Amadou Bamba and Amadou Moustapha.

/16 cont./

788 *795 778 At the tomb of the Master there is always a pious crowd whose meditation, even though sincere, allows the joy at being in so famous and holy a place to show through. If they can, the pilgrims walk around the tomb three times while reciting the consecrated formula: "In the name of God the Clement, the Merciful. May God bless our Lord Mohammed, the Envoy of God, and save him." Then each of them puts down his mite [789] and takes a handful of the sand surrounding the base of the tomb, which is regarded as a powerful talisman capable of extricating the one who possesses it from every difficult situation.

On the tomb of Amadou Moustapha the pilgrim meditates and leaves a small offering, but does not pick up any sand.

One does not leave these holy places without spending a moment in the mosque.

The latter, during the whole pilgrimage, never empties; people come and go, chat there, and rest there. It is no longer a place of prayer and meditation; for the moment it is a work-yard which one visits, rather than a sacred monument where one meditates, but, the visit ended, one returns from there proud of knowing the greatest mosque in Senegal, proud of having climbed to the top of its minarets.

/17/ Upon leaving there, the pilgrims go, in groups or alone, to the home of the marabout to whom they are directly attached, and they also take an offering to him.

The last trip of the pilgrimage is the visit to the cemetery. This is laid out around the Sacred Baobab (Goui Tékhé), at the foot of which Amadou Bamba had the supernatural vision "of the fish which supports the world," indicating to him that he had indeed arrived at the place where he was to build Touba. A little enclosure marks the site where he had that vision. The most educated and the most pious pilgrims meditate and pray there; the others, and especially the women, content themselves with visiting the graves, particularly those of Aminata Lo, wife of the Founder and mother of Amadou Moustapha, of Babacar M'Backé, son of the Sérigne Bamba, dead at an early

/17 cont./

788 age, of Massamba and M'Bara M'Backé, half brothers /on the
*795 father's side/ of the same Sérigne. They will go also to the
778 graves of the first marabouts of the brotherhood and of the first disciples of the Master, Ali Touré, Ibrahima Sarr, Assana N'Diaye, and they will stop longer at that of the beloved disciple, Ibra Fall, at the entrance of which is planted the hir, the historic stake with which was marked the site of the tomb of Amadou Bamba after the miraculous vision which we mentioned above.

There, too, in front of each grave, talibé-cashiers do not stop soliciting the generosity of the pilgrims.

788 When these ritual visits are over, the talibé is purified and
*795 sanctified. If he has any time left, it is possible for him to go back to the city and mingle with the crowd of pilgrims. He can also collaborate in the construction of the mosque by breaking pieces of laterite (huge piles of which are to be found near the mosque and are used in the making of the concrete) ...
[785] unless he lingers to watch some fanatic of the Murid branch of the M'Baye Fall devote himself to flagellation exercises ... with a millet pestle.

At sundown he will participate with all the pilgrims in the
[782] salam du Maghreb (evening prayer); this is the only moment in the day when the 200,000 pilgrims assemble in front of the mosque for a common prayer.

The last day of the pilgrimage is thus the "Official Day." It is called this because the Caliph invites to it all the personalities and all the authorities of the circle of Diourbel, of Senegal, of the Government-general, of the official as well as of the private milieus. All accept this invitation, and those who cannot attend send representatives.

This day essentially requires an official ceremony which takes place in the middle of the morning. The Caliph, escorted /18/ by his most notable guests and followed by the crowd of the others, makes his way to a platform sheltered by canopies and erected in the plaza of the mosque, on which everyone

/18 cont./

788 settles himself. Speeches are then made by the representatives
*795 of the authorities and by the Caliph. The latter in his response exalts in general the friendship of France for Islam, assures our country of his faithfulness and affection, and invites his faithful to conduct themselves like good Moslems, like pious disciples of Amadou Bamba, and like loyal and good citizens, thus emphasizing the good understanding which now prevails between the brotherhood and the French administration.

After this ceremony the Magal is ended; while, on the stroke of noon, the Caliph-general is offering an abundant and sumptuous repast to his guests, the first departures of the pilgrims take place. All during the afternoon a large number of faithful arrive home. But those who can do not leave immediately, so that for two to three more days the jammed trains and the overloaded trucks will take back to their villages talibés who are indeed tired, but happy about their pilgrimage and singing the praises of God, the Prophet, and Amadou Bamba.

The Magal is therefore a big affair. When his guests have departed, when the pilgrims have gone home, in the city rid of its cloud of dust, in the silence finally found again with the taking down of the many loud-speakers which broadcast the religious songs and the prayers in the compounds of the priests and around the mosque, Falilou M'Backé can draw up the balance-sheet of this manifestation.

The Magal allows the brotherhood to measure its strength
[793] and cohesion; it permits its members to approach the Caliph-general, who, for them, is a saint whose only goal is to realize down here the wishes of Amadou Bamba. Finally, it permits their supreme leader to measure their faithfulness to his person and their attachment to the brotherhood. The one and the other are still very solid and strong nowadays, since the amount of the gifts collected at the last few Magal is on the order of 150,000,000 CFA francs.

A manifestation of the vitality of Muridism, the Magal is also a Senegalese event; many people who are not Murids go

/18 cont./

788 to it out of curiosity, but do not fail to be touched by the strength
*795 and cohesion of Muridism, and sometimes some of them become disciples of Amadou Bamba.

Besides, the repercussions of the pilgrimage go beyond the bounds of Touba and the brotherhood. The local press, the
[204] official information services, and Radio-Dakar attend and par-
[207] ticipate in it. Radio reporting, newspapers, and films spread sonorous echoes and vivid images of the Magal, not only throughout the Territory, /19/ but throughout the Federation, and this contributes no little toward increasing the glory and prestige of the brotherhood and its leaders in Senegal.

793 If the Magal has assured this character and this importance,
*795 it is thanks to the present head of the brotherhood, Falilou M'Backé, and, reciprocally, the aspect thus assumed by this pilgrimage has been one of the elements which have established the second Caliph at the head of the brotherhood.

Actually, at the time of his nomination as Caliph-general, he had to overcome the opposition of his nephew, Cheikh M'Backé, son of Moustapha (who aspired to succeed the latter as he had succeeded his father, Amadou Bamba), whom the council of the Murids had removed from the succession for his benefit.

By directly tying again the tradition of the Magal to the first intentions of Amadou Bamba, he brought about the unity of the Murids around himself.

He has also devoted himself to the building of the mosque, to which he applies all his attention. Not only does he collect for this purpose considerable sums at the time of the Magal, but he also seizes every opportunity to make collections or to have collections made for the benefit of this work. In particular he
[533] has his representatives organize throughout the territory night sessions of religious singing in the course of which funds for the mosque are collected.

Thus he has appeared, in the eyes of the Murids, less as the successor to Amadou Moustapha than as the direct continuater

/19 cont./

793
*795

of Amadou Bamba. He has thus surmounted the difficulties of the beginning of his caliphate and has become and remained the venerated and uncontested leader of the brotherhood, even for those of the Murids who are in the direct obedience of Cheikh M'Backé.

Falilou M'Backé resides permanently in Touba very near the mosque, which is therefore, along with the general leadership of the brotherhood, his principal concern. He seldom leaves the holy city, where he lives in a very large carré, with installations, with multiple huts, and the tapades (walls) of which, in a complicated design, jealously hide the life of the occupants. Most of these huts are made of clay and roofed with thatch; some larger ones, roofed with metal, well-built, and comfortably furnished, are used for putting up guests of note. According to a custom common among the Murid marabouts, he had a kind of office made for himself (where he receives his important visitors) in a plank hut built by those of his talibés who are carpenters and woodworkers.

[342]

/20/ Of medium height, robust, active in spite of his age, the second caliph has the bearing of a rural head of a family; in addition, he has the shrewdness, wisdom, and tenacity of the peasant. His conversation, like his whole person, is stamped with moderation, gentleness, and goodness. His cares are often of a material order (construction of the mosque, good management of the brotherhood, yield of his plantations, etc....), but preoccupations of an intellectual, moral, and spiritual order are not foreign to him. Simple images and a certain Oriental emphasis give an individual and personal style to his conversations.

As far as the Administration is concerned, he is a level-headed and calm leader whose loyalty it can count on. He is an element of order and thoughtfulness who will be hostile toward untried ventures and dangerous innovations. Besides, he knows that the Administration widely supported and favored his candidacy for the caliphate. He therefore has no reason to create difficulties for it.

/20 cont./

793 *795 The Caliph-general seldom leaves Touba. He sends representatives to the chief town or to the circles to visit his talibés or to deal with administrative questions in the offices. If he goes away, he rarely goes far; in general, he goes as far as his groundnut plantations located a few kilometers from Touba. There he calls on the talibés, who, according to Murid doctrine, work for him while he himself prays for them and in their place. These plantations give him the millet necessary for feeding the people who live with him in Touba, and groundnuts whose sale will assure him of sizable personal revenues.

Immediately after Falilou M'Backé at the head of the brotherhood come his brother, Bassirou M'Backé, and his nephew, Cheikh M'Backé, about whom we have already said a few words just above. Since 1947 these two Sérignes have been, respectively, Vice-President and Secretary of the Murid Administrative Council which Falilou created to manage the funds intended for the construction of the mosque, and of which he is President.

Bassirou is regarded in principle as the "dauphin" of the brotherhood, the designated and legitimate successor to Falilou. He is very different from his brother. Tall, thin, with a long face and regular features, Bassirou has a great deal of presence and fine bearing. He studied at Boutilimit during the lifetime of Cheikh Sidiya Baba. Very cultivated and well-read, his conversation is as interesting as it is agreeable.

In spite of the important position that he occupies at the head of the brotherhood, he does not appear to maintain either excellent relations or very frequent contacts with his brother.

In 1953 he came to settle in Diourbel after definitely leaving /21/ Boulel in the subdivision of Kaffrine, where he had been making tests of mechanical and motorized cultivation in the Bloc Expérimental de l'Arachide /Experimental Bloc
[654] for Groundnuts/ in co-operation with the Service de l'Agriculture and thanks to the manpower of his talibés.

He is now imam of the Diourbel mosque, whose restoration
[346] he would like to undertake. It is actually a very beautiful

/21 cont./

793 building which does not have the importance of the Mosque of
*795 Touba, but which surpasses in elegance the other mosques of
[346] Senegal, and which, because of this, would merit having made on it the necessary and urgent repairs which certain parts that are very damaged and in very bad condition require at present.

But Bassirou does not have only this architectural interest; he is also concerned with crops. His experience with the Service de l'Agriculture not having given him satisfaction, he works in a more classical and traditional fashion near the village of Tip, located in the canton of Kaël some 30 kilometers to the south of Touba. This installation did not fail to provoke some protests on the part of the Peul stockbreeders of the canton, but these difficulties seem to have been settled amicably later on.

The third person in the brotherhood in the order of precedence is, as we have said, Cheikh M'Backé, eldest son of Amadou Moustapha and nephew of the two preceding men. Much younger than his uncles, he also has a very different demeanor. A tall, well-built, handsome, clean-shaven man, he has the bearing and the activities of a modern businessman. In fact, he is ambitious; he wants to succeed; he needs a great deal of money in order to realize his ambitions, and his very functions as a Murid marabout provide it for him.

We have seen that he had solicited, as the direct descendant of the founder, the post of caliph, but that he had been ousted in favor of his uncle. Since then he has always remained in more or less violent opposition to Falilou M'Backé. Nevertheless, he has not succeeded in detaching from the latter even a small fraction of the Murids. His opposition has sometimes been the cause of regrettable acts. In 1952, among others at
666 the time of the elections to the Territorial Assembly, Cheikh
793 M'Backé had made himself the champion of the S.F.I.O. when
*795 Falilou was supporting the B. D. S. (and undoubtedly because he was supporting it). This opposition provoked rather violent incidents in Touba during the electoral campaign, some talibés

/21 cont./

[793] of Cheikh, supporting the S. F. I. O., having gone so far as
*[795] to throw stones into the "carré" of the Caliph-general. Cheikh
[666] had to restrain the socialist ardor of his talibés, who had gone too far. Such actions risk alienating from him the brotherhood /22/ and even the Administration, but he needs both in order to continue to carry on his policy.

His residence in Touba is located near the mosque, but on the opposite side from that of the Caliph-general. On the day of the Magal he tries to assemble there the greatest possible number of talibés in order to show his influence.

The cultivation of groundnuts is for him, too, an important source of revenue. His principal plantations are located at Taïf in the subdivision of Gossas, not far from the limits of that of M'Backé.

The other members of the M'Backé family have less influence on the life of the brotherhood. Nevertheless, they hold positions on the Murid Administrative Council, and they are settled around Touba and M'Backé.

[801] M'Backé Bousso heads an important Koranic school at Darou-Salam, just beside M'Backé. Abdoulaye M'Backé has settled at Boulel-Mody, at the extremity of the former valley of the
[312] Sine where, thanks to the permanent waterholes that exist at
[241] certain places in this dried-up thalweg, he has created rice-fields and orchards which complement his groundnut plantations, in the midst of which he lives. Modest and self-effacing in appearance, this M'Backé is in reality very rich and very influential, for he has as talibés principally salaried workers and city employees who send him a tithe from their salaries or their income.

Following the example of the direct descendants and collateral relatives of Amadou Bamba, his distant relatives, his allies, the descendants of his first collaborators have made themselves "Great Murid Marabouts." Spiritual and temporal leaders at the same time, instructing their disciples in the doctrine of the founder, and above all having them till the soil for them, these Sérignes have created in Baol and in adjacent

/22 cont./

793 regions veritable villages of which they are practically the
*795 chiefs and the imams.

One of the most remarkable of these men, settled thus in the subdivision of Diourbel, is Mamadou Khabane M'Backé, a big producer of groundnuts and a big businessman. Sérigne Tacko and Sérigne Mamadou Mahmoune, son of Cheikh Anta, and Sérigne Awa M'Balla M'Backé live in about the same fashion. All of these marabouts have a direct influence on a variable number of talibés, for whom they are, in a way, "guides of conscience" and who are attached through them to the Caliph-general. Finally, let us mention the marabout of Darou-Kafour, settled in a little village on the road from Diourbel to M'Backé, who lives modestly in a small establishment. He does not raise crops on a large scale; he devotes himself in particular to directing his Koranic school, /23/ and
[734] he has made a specialty of caring for the insane. By his gentleness and patience he succeeds in curing the ones whom the Service de Santé /Health Service/ has given up keeping and treating.

793 The Murid brotherhood is thus thoroughly staffed and
*795 directed by all these marabouts who truly have their talibés
775 in hand and who hold them all the better because they bring them a simple and practical solution to the problem, distressing for every man: "What will become of me after death?" .... Every Murid knows that if he has worked for his marabout and has given him a tithe from his goods and income, he will go directly to Paradise, for his marabout, in exchange for his work and gifts, prays for him and will save him without his having to concern himself about his salvation, even if he has gravely sinned.

*795 It is this complete hold that the Murid marabouts have
793 over their disciples which originally caused the brotherhood to be regarded as dangerous and which, joined to the ambitions of Amadou Bamba, provoked difficulties and collisions with the Administration. By now this mistrust and opposition have given

/23 cont./

793 way to a frank and full collaboration between the representatives
*795 of authority and the Murid leaders of all ranks.

*795 The effective and efficient discipline which prevails in the
631 brotherhood permits exercising over those under its jurisdiction
793 a kind of indirect administration, always easier to achieve than direct administration. This formula was used especially from 1940 to 1946 when it was a question of producing the utmost quantities of groundnuts. This collaboration between the Murid marabouts and the Governors did away with many reticences and prejudices and had the result of increasing the prestige and influence of the former, not only within the brotherhood, but also in all of Senegal.

793 Today this collaboration perhaps has a few more nuances,
*795 but it remains important. Relations between the heads of ad-
652 ministrative divisions and the Murid marabouts are always very
631 polite and very close; the marabouts receive sizable economic and financial aid from the Administration. The Sociétés de
[654] Prévoyance /Welfare Societies/ advance them large tonnages of groundnut seed. Then again, short-term and long-term agricultural credits are granted to them, either for putting into good condition each of the agricultural fields (wintering credits) or to allow them to modernize or mechanize their cultivation; finally, administrative subsidies are also given for the construction of the Mosque of Touba. On the other hand, the marabouts preach to their talibés respect for established authority /24/ and call upon them to do their duty vis-à-vis Administration, notably in whatever concerns the payment of taxes and the reimbursements for the seed to the Sociétés de Prévoyance.

*795 The Murids thus have an important place in the life of
162 Senegal. Their number is estimated at 400,000, which represents a quarter of the Islamized population of the territory. One quarter of the brotherhood is established in the circle of Diourbel and two other quarters are distributed in the regions adjacent to the circles of Kaolack, Thiés, Louga, and Linguère, that is to say, the Murids have remained closely grouped around
[793] their land of origin, Baol. They live there for the most part in

/24 cont./

* 795 793 [162] farming villages (dara) which the marabouts have established in the bush, sometimes at the expense of non-Murid native villages. The tonnages of groundnuts which they produce there can bring their marabout more than a million CFA francs a year, provided that each one has about a hundred talibés (which is not out of the ordinary) to work for him. If one remembers that the talibés who do not work directly for the marabout pay him a tithe from their salaries and their income, one can easily realize the financial facilities which a Murid religious leader can enjoy.

The faithful do not object at all to thus feeding the treasury of their Sérigne ... on the contary!

Here is a little anecdote which will prove that even the poorest do it readily and willingly:

One day, a "Great Marabout" crossing Diourbel in his Chrysler stopped in an avenue of the city to greet the subdivision head whom he had just passed and to exchange a few words with him. Just beside them, at the foot of a mango tree on the edge of the avenue, an old woman was settled, selling fruit on a wretched basket. As soon as the "commander" had left, this old woman approached the car, whose occupant she had recognized, and at the same time as she paid her respects to him gave him the money that she had with her, perhaps all of her meager receipts for the morning.

This explains why it is that the representatives of the marabouts who go from city to city collecting from the disciples who do not till the soil for the benefit of their patrons never come back empty-handed, and that the Murid officials would never go to the Magal without bringing to their marabouts substantial gifts, in money or in kind, to allow them to organize the receptions they give on this occasion in their Touba residences.

As a consequence of this, one will not be surprised at the lavishness of the way of life that at least some, if not all, of the Murid "Great Marabouts" can lead. They live in /25/ modern, in truth luxurious establishments, a permanent house,

/25 cont./

*795 refrigerator, radio, power plant, powerful American cars, etc
793 .... Certain ones even own real estate in Dakar which they rent for a good price, increasing their revenues by that much more.

If this standard of living is the result of the attachment and the fanatical work of the talibés, reciprocally this luxury increases their prestige in the eyes of these same talibés. These simple people see in this exterior wealth a sign of the greatness, power, and glory of their marabout. They are proud to see him rich and influential, as if they themselves participated in this wealth and influence.

Still another anecdote will underline, it seems, this blind admiration of the faithful for their religious leaders in spite of (and perhaps because of) the exterior signs of their wealth.

The domestic servant of a European official had accompanied his employer to Touba, to the home of Fallou M'Backé. Thus he could enter the carré of "his" marabout (for he was a Murid). Upon returning, he said to his employer in a tone of sincere admiration and without a critical afterthought: "My
[352] marabout is a great marabout; his carré has many bedrooms and in each bedroom there is a good bed." When one knows
[513] that the majority of the Blacks usually sleep on wretched pallets or even on mats, and that to possess a good bed is one of the first objectives of the African who advances, one will appreciate the full value of this remark...

793 After that no one will be surprised that some people have
*795 labeled as "servitude" the situation which the Murid marabouts
244 reserve for the talibés who work on their plantations. They are,
555 in fact, grouped in teams of ten to 20, and each team has a piece of land to cultivate. Of course the teams compete zealously to bring to the marabout the handsomest harvest. The zeal of the teams is all the greater because each member can hope, if the marabout notices his own zeal, to be initiated at the end of several years to the Murid dikr and to have in his turn a Murid village to superintend. He can even hope to have assigned to him a new area to be attached to the brotherhood

/25 cont./

793 and to receive the title of Cheikh, with the advantages which
* 795 that confers. While waiting, he works at hoeing and clearing
244 land without counting or measuring all the lands capable of pro-
[555] ducing the groundnuts which make up the fortune of his mara-
bout.

It is this way of colonizing the lands, and more particularly the new lands, which has made the brotherhood play an important role in the economy of Senegal in recent years. The Murid marabouts have been and remain clearers /26/ of land and large-
[433] scale producers of groundnuts. It can be estimated that they alone produce a little more than half of the total harvest of the Territory.

793 This brilliant picture is nevertheless not without shadows.
*795 Even though the influence of the Murid leaders is not dangerous
578 on the political level as a consequence of the good understanding which exists between them and the Administration, even though there is no reason to fear that they may incite the members of the brotherhood to insubordination, their presence in the villages does pose problems. There are problems when they have settled in villages whose chiefs are not Murids (if not, sometimes, anti-Murid). In these cases it often happens that there are collisions
[627] between the customary chiefs and the Murid marabouts, principally since the reforms of 1945 which diminished considerably the powers of the chiefs and their prestige in the eyes of the people at a time when the influence and glory of the marabouts were increasing. Many times the Murids of a canton want to obey
[632] only their religious leader and willfully ignore the canton chief. In addition, in the face of the invading agricultural activity of the Murids, the non-Murid populations stiffen themselves more and more and try to resist their agrarian encroachments. That sometimes creates quarrels; indeed it even provokes violent disorders which have to be arbitrated or stopped.

793 On the other hand, the recent political evolution which is
*795 resulting in giving the right to vote to all Senegalese men and
666 all Senegalese women has prompted the politicians to seek the collaboration and friendship of the Murid leaders... so that they

/26 cont./

793 will have their talibés vote in favor of their parties. When one
*795 knows what the influence of the marabouts and the discipline
666 of the brotherhood are, one can easily imagine what a formidable ace such an alliance can be for a party. But to be allied with one party is necessarily to be the adversary of the other (or others). If Murid fanaticism (and organization) is thrown into the electoral struggles, it can be the cause of serious troubles. Certainly these troubles would not compromise the loyalty of the brotherhood vis-à-vis the mother country, but they would create serious difficulties for the local administration and the government of the territory.

793 In other respects, deeper reasons can provoke lively op-
*795 position or even struggles between the great Murid leaders and
[665] certain politicians (or certain parties). Thus some Senegalese political personalities are beginning to criticize the way the marabouts act against their talibés. One of them has gone so far as to utter the words "servitude" and "feudalism" in speaking of Muridism /27/ to a high European official. It is certain that a virulent campaign could be made on this theme against the Murid leaders and especially against those whose ostentatious luxury can excite jealousy.

For their part, the Murid marabouts try to maintain their authority and their influence over their disciples and, in that way, over the whole country. They will be opposed to any social or political innovation which will give more power to the masses, and which, by so doing, will risk compromising their authority, counterbalancing it, or even combatting it. They were thus hostile in 1953 to the transformation of the
[654] Société de Prévoyance of Baol into the Société Mutuelle de Production Rurale, on the one hand, because they thought that authority should not be entrusted to the people, and, on the other hand, because they feared that a S. M. P. R. presided over by an African (as was happening already at the time in the circle of Thiès) might be less favorable toward them than the traditional S. P. completely in the hands of the Administration.

/27 cont./

*795 These political rivalries which are being outlined are in part caused by the social consequences of Muridism.

It has often been reproached (in the Senegalese world) for turning the young people, not only against traditional cults and brotherhoods, but also against their families and, in a general way, against their customary framework. As a matter of fact, all of the talibés who work on behalf of the Murid marabouts are young men who have, properly speaking, deserted their villages and their families in order to be Murids and only Murids. If they later return to their natal villages, it is to act as a kind of militant, missionaries, who wish absolutely to convert these villages to the Murid faith.

If one adds to this that the way in which the talibés are treated and trained is not very educative, if one notes that the organization of the work of the plantations and of its productivity is effectively very close to pure and simple exploitation of the Murid workers, one will admit that the social organization of Muridism is not exempt from all criticism.

*795 249 241 One might think that, even if Murid fanaticism has drawbacks from the social point of view, it gives, at least on the economic level, some remarkable results. It has given a taste for agricultural work to a large part of the Senegalese population, and it has opened great areas, previously uncultivated, for the cultivation of the groundnut. Unfortunately, a more thorough study of /28/ this question makes us fear that the way in which the Murids exploit their groundnut planting nowadays may be a danger for the economic future of the country.

An important report of an agricultural mission devoted to this problem an entire chapter which shows all the drawbacks of this extensive and destructive single-crop cultivation aimed solely toward an immediate material profit, and which it does not hesitate to call "pillage economy." Indeed, in his desire to harvest groundnuts for the profit of his marabout, the talibé, who is not a peasant, spoils the land. He clears land without any consideration at all; he destroys the trees and especially the caddes, so precious for the land of Senegal. He exhausts

/28 cont./

*795 the soil, since he practices neither rotation nor fallowing, since
244 he does not utilize either animal fertilizers (he is not at all a
241 stock-breeder), chemical fertilizers, or green fertilizer... and each time that he abandons lands which he has completely (and for a long time to come) exhausted, in order to bring new lands into this devastating cycle, the desert advances behind him. All this is all the more serious because the cultivation undertaken by the Murid talibés has a yield 30 per cent lower than that of the cultivation done by the Black true peasants, and notably the Sérère /Serer/ peasants.

In short, this report regards the Murid as "a ravager of forests and land, and a squanderer of the riches of the territory."

*795 The author of the report does not stop, however, at these violent criticisms and pessimistic conclusions. According to him (and he is right), the Murid fact does exist and will exist for a long time to come, even if the brotherhood were to split up for reasons of personal and internal rivalries. The different fragments would retain the same spirit and the same methods; one would not see the end of Muridism, but its continuation in different and rival sects.

So he proposes channeling the Murid fanaticism, reforming it, and improving its methods of work and production by acting upon the great Murid leaders themselves and by making them understand the necessity of these reforms and improvements. He adds that Falilou M'Backé is an "intelligent man" who willingly recognizes that many improvements could be made in the present agricultural technique of the Murids and who even thinks that this modernization could only strengthen the vitality of the brotherhood.

Besides, there is every reason to believe that the other leaders of Muridism and most of the "Great Marabouts" will follow the example of the Caliph-general and will understand very quickly (if it can be demonstrated to them) the necessity of avoiding thoughtless clearing /29/ and of replanting caddes where they have been cut down, of using green and chemical fertilizers, indeed of taking an interest in stock-raising and

/29 cont./

*795 using animal fertilizers. The very solidity of the Murid hierarchy would make instructions and directives in this direction very effective if the leaders and the great marabouts were willing to give them to their talibés.

But this evolution should not be limited solely to the economic sphere.

To meet the criticisms of the politicians and the more advanced people, it is to be hoped, in the interest of the brotherhood itself, that the Murid leaders will orient themselves toward a new conception of their moral and social doctrine.

Making men work for almost nothing, while in exchange being content to assure them of eternal life and happiness after their death, can look like a swindle to any advanced man. It would be very difficult to put in the wrong those who might violently attack the brotherhood by standing on this argument.

It does not seem that such attacks can be unleashed at present with effectiveness; the time has not yet come, it seems, when political leaders will thus stand up against the Murid leaders and Muridism. Not only are the brotherhood and its leaders still very powerful, but, above all, they represent, better, they are, Islam; now every Senegalese, whatever his political ideas may be, is first of all Moslem, and he clings to his marabouts. It would be difficult to make him accept seeing venerated religious leaders attacked in the public square.

But evolution goes quickly and a day will come when men brought up on the political, syndical, and social struggles of the mother country will not hesitate to batter down the abuses of Muridism before a population to whom the development of education will have given more critical sense and a greater desire for social justice. But it is not desirable that such a struggle be instituted in Senegal.

Certainly the spell over the talibé by his marabout is
[934] criticizable. Nevertheless that must not make us forget that
[935] the Koran recommends charity and that the Murid marabouts are not wanting in respect for this precept; any sick person,

/29 cont./

*795 [734] [735] any poor person can go to them to ask for alms and hospitality; he will be taken care of for a long time, and for nothing, and thus part of the funds collected by the marabouts is redistributed to their faithful in misfortune.

One must especially not lose sight of the fact that Muridism is /30/ an integral part of Islam, even though it does not completely conform to orthodox Islam, even though it has abuses and faults. It is primarily a spiritual force, and it is necessary that political and social evolution, indispensable to the young country of Senegal, does not take place against Muridism, against Islam, against all spirituality.

*795 666 648 It is known that the Senegalese marabouts in general and the Murid leaders in particular, on the occasion of the Referendum of September 28, were definitely in favor of the Franco-African Community. This attitude can not be explained solely, as some might insinuate, by their desire to preserve certain relations with France, whose pro-Islamic policy has always been favorable and profitable for them. The true reason for this choice is that, on the one hand, the marabouts well know the present state of the intellectual and political development of their compatriots, and, on the other hand, they want to defend their religion and its spiritual values.

They know that at the present time the advanced wing of the political and syndicalist world groups together advanced young people who are quite far from any religious practice and thought and very violently pro-Marxist, if not pure Marxists.

They probably feared that, by means of an independence as premature as absolute, the present leaders, moderate on the whole, would be very quickly left behind by the extremists and that these would then institute in Senegal a materialistic and atheistic regime to which true and good Moslems would not be able to rally, and from which, probably, the whole of the population would rapidly suffer.

*795 But the development of this prospect would carry us too far. Let us content ourselves, in conclusion, to bring it up and to

/30 cont./

*795 suggest at the same time that a comprehensive collaboration is possible between Moslems and Christians (and, in a general way, all Occidental spiritualists) for instituting or defending a society where spiritual values will have first place.

There is nothing surprising about that. Is not Allah, the God of the Koran, the God of Abraham, the Yaweh of the Jews, who is also the God of the Christians? Is it not the same Being whom Moslems and Christians worship under different names, the same Being that they both pray to as their Divine Creator, Powerful and Merciful. If they have thus issued from a same Father, how could they not eventually respect each other, understand each other, and love each other?

Abel Bourlon.

2: Bourlon

MS37 Senegal
Wolof MS30

795

[For a discussion of Muridism, its leaders and influence see category 116, pp. 1-27.]

2: Bourlon
795

MS37 Senegal MS37

[For a discussion of Muridism, its leaders and influence see category 116, pp. 1-27.]

Z: Bourlon MS37 Senegal

46

L'Afrique et l'Asie

NASSÉRISME CONTRE COMMUNISME

L'ISLAM AU SENEGAL

MUNICIPALITÉS ET PACIFICATION EN ALGERIE

PUTSCH MANQUÉ EN IRAQ

[Title page]

Revue Politique Sociale et Economique

et

Bulletin des Anciens du C.H.E.A.M.

Z: Bourlon MS37 Senegal

ACTUALITÉ DES MOURIDES ET DU MOURIDISME

La confrérie des Mourides a été instituée, au Sénégal, à la fin du siècle dernier, par un marabout Toucouleur nommé Amadou Bamba M'Backé. Il l'aurait fait, rapporte la tradition Mouride, à la suite d'une apparition au cours de laquelle l'Ange Gabriel lui aurait révélé sa vocation d'apôtre rénovateur de l'Islam dans ce pays.

Amadou Bamba avait fait des études coraniques complètes auprès de Cheikh Sidi Sidiya, et il en avait reçu le *wird*. Il était donc d'obédience Quadria. Cependant, en créant sa propre confrérie, et en lançant le Mouridisme, il fit une œuvre tout à fait originale et il sut particulièrement bien adapter sa prédication à la mentalité des Ouolofs chez qui elle s'est rapidement répandue et profondément ancrée.

Le trait essentiel du Mouride est son attachement aveugle et fanatique à son marabout et à la doctrine Mouride; le caractère primordial du Mouridisme est d'avoir donné le travail manuel (généralement méprisé en Afrique Noire et dans l'Islam) comme équivalent de la prière et, comme tel, susceptible d'assurer le salut éternel du disciple (*talibé*).

L'histoire de la vocation et des prédications d'Amadou Bamba, ainsi que les circonstances de la naissance et du premier développement de la Confrérie sont connus : le Capitaine Marty dans *L'Islam au Sénégal* et A. Gouilly dans *L'Islam en A. O. F.* en ont parlé avec autorité.

Notre but ne sera donc pas de reprendre ce qui a déjà été écrit sur les Mourides et leur confrérie, mais de rapporter quelques observations récentes faites par l'auteur à leur sujet, au cours d'un séjour à Diourbel pendant lequel il a pu approcher fréquemment les dirigeants actuels de la confrérie et assister à plusieurs reprises au pèlerinage que ceux-ci organisent annuellement dans leur « capitale », Touba, sous le nom de *Magal*.

Nous évoquerons donc successivement :

— Touba, la ville sainte des Mourides, sa mosquée, son *Magal;*

— les grands chefs du Mouridisme, leur situation présente, leur influence sur le mouvement, leurs rivalités réciproques, leurs relations avec l'Administration;

— l'importance du Mouridisme et son influence sur la vie économique, sociale et politique du Sénégal.

2: Bourlon MS37 Senegal

Nous tenterons ensuite, pour conclure, d'envisager les perspectives d'avenir qui s'offrent actuellement au Mouridisme.

⁂

Touba est donc le centre de la confrérie Mouride.

Amadou Bamba l'a fondée en 1886, à quelques kilomètres du village de M'Backé (créé lui-même par son grand-père M'Balla M'Backé) et à environ 60 kilomètres à l'Est de Diourbel, aux confins du Baol et du désert du Ferlo, dans une vaste plaine, aux horizons mornes et à la population clairsemée.

Les Mourides attribuent à la ville une origine sainte et miraculeuse, l'Ange Gabriel en ayant, lui-même, révélé l'emplacement à Amadou Bamba après l'y avoir conduit d'une façon mystérieuse et surnaturelle.

Les difficultés d'Amadou Bamba avec l'Administration ne lui ont pas permis de résider dans ce lieu excentrique et isolé où ses activités étaient difficilement contrôlables, mais, depuis sa mort, en 1927, son corps y repose.

L'agglomération Touba-M'Backé-Darou forme le cœur du pays Mouride et Touba en est le Haut-Lieu par excellence : c'est en effet, maintenant, pour les disciples d'Amadou Bamba :

— le siège de la confrérie,
— un centre d'études coraniques,
— une sorte de couvent,
— un lieu de pélerinage.

C'est à Touba que réside le *Khalife Général*. Tous ses parents collatéraux et descendants, ainsi que tous les grands marabouts Mourides y possèdent une résidence, bien qu'ils n'y habitent pas continuellement. C'est là que le conseil d'administration de la confrérie se réunit pour prendre les décisions importantes concernant la communauté des Mourides.

C'est à Touba que les jeunes Mourides viennent apprendre le Koran; chaque marabout y a son école qui forme ses jeunes *talibés*.

C'est à Touba aussi qu'habitent, groupés autour de leur marabout (ou de sa résidence) les fidèles qui désirent vivre une vie plus sainte, en contact permanent avec leur chef religieux et en travaillant chaque jour, pour eux et avec eux.

C'est à Touba enfin que tout bon Mouride doit se rendre une fois par an pour prier sur la tombe du saint fondateur de la confrérie, sur celle du *khalife*, premier successeur, et surtout pour rendre visite à l'actuel Khalife Général et lui remettre les offrandes destinées, en particulier, à la continuation des travaux de la mosquée; c'est le *Magal* dont nous reparlerons plus loin.

2: Bourlon MS37 Senegal

La ville se présente comme une grande « escale » de brousse. De larges avenues séparent les uns des autres les vastes *carrés* des divers marabouts. Un plan de lotissement en a été établi mais il n'a pas encore été appliqué, Falilou M'Backé, le Khalife Général, en ayant redouté, au dernier moment, les conséquences foncières.

Touba est ainsi un grand centre. Son développement et le nombre considérable de personnes qui y viennent pour le *Magal* ont nécessité des aménagements spéciaux. Des forages ont été faits pour assurer l'alimentation en eau de la cité sainte qui est, par ailleurs reliée à M'Backé et Diourbel par une voie ferrée. Par contre aucune maison de commerce n'est installée à Touba, et le point de traite a été fixé à M'Backé.

⁂

Le centre d'attraction de Touba est sa mosquée, monument islamique unique au Sénégal.

C'est Amadou Bamba, lui-même, qui en avait décidé la construction et, en 1926, il avait demandé à ses fidèles d'en apporter les premières pierres à Touba; mais, ce fut Amadou Mustapha, son fils et premier successeur, qui en commença les premiers travaux, après avoir reçu à bail de l'administration un terrain de 400 hectares sur lequel il pouvait l'édifier.

Les *talibés* mourides, exécutant fidèlement le vœu de leur fondateur, ont continué à participer activement à la construction de la mosquée, soit en y travaillant, soit en y portant des pierres, soit en versant au Khalife Général des dons destinés à la poursuite des travaux; ceux-ci marchent, plus ou moins vite, selon l'importance des fonds dont dispose le khalife pour les mener à bien. Entre 1953 et 1957, ils ont été très activement poussés.

Aussi l'édifice est-il maintenant fort avancé, le gros œuvre est terminé et domine de sa masse les cases de Touba; de 10 à 15 kilomètres à la ronde on en aperçoit les minarets qui signalent au pèlerin fervent, comme au voyage curieux, qu'ils approchent de la ville sainte.

C'est un important bâtiment aux larges dimensions, deux minarets de 30 mètres de haut en flanquent la façade Ouest; la grande salle de prière est surmontée d'une coupole; de petits dômes et des petits lanternons concourrent également à l'ornementation du toit.

L'accès se fait par un perron situé sur la façade Ouest. Celle-ci est percée de portes qui donnent sur un patio entouré d'une galerie ouvrant sur la cour par une colonnade aux arcs outrepassés. Le côté Est du patio n'est pas cloisonné et ouvre directement dans la salle de prière; cette dernière est entièrement

2: Bourlon MS37 Senegal

couverte et le toit en est soutenu, ainsi que la coupole qui la surmonte, par des alignements de colonnes et d'arcs ontrepassés, du plus pur style arabe, et dont la perspective évoque les mosquées les plus célèbres, comme celle de Cordoue, par exemple.

Le *mihrab* est constitué par une petite chapelle incluse dans le mur Est de la Mosquée au fond de la salle de prière.

La construction est en béton armé. Si le plus gros du travail est terminé, il reste encore beaucoup à faire pour que ce soit fini. En 1956, les enduits n'étaient pas encore faits et il faudra ensuite peindre et décorer les murs et les colonnes, comme cela a déjà été fait pour les lanternes qui surmontent les minarets et qui sont ornées de décorations symboliques ou d'arabesques.

Depuis 1956 ces minarets sont achevés et l'on peut monter jusqu'à leurs sommets d'où l'on découvre le panorama de Touba et de la plaine environnante.

De la mosquée on accède directement au tombeau d'Amadou Bamba qui se trouve dans un mausolée édifié dans l'angle Nord-Est du bâtiment, à côté de la grande salle de prière. Le tombeau proprement dit (recouvert de tentures en velours, brodées de formules coraniques piquées en arabesques) se trouve au centre du mausolée; il est entouré d'une grille en fer forgé qui maintient à distance les visiteurs, tout en leur permettant d'être nombreux à contempler, en même temps, le tombeau du saint. Le sol, tout autour du tombeau, est recouvert de sable fin tamisé et toujours renouvelé afin de maintenir sa propreté.

Le tombeau du premier khalife, Amadou Moustapha, est situé à l'extérieur de la mosquée sur la façade Est et à quelques mètres du mur. Le mausolée ressemble à un petit bungalow; on y pénètre de l'extérieur directement, sans passer par la mosquée. Le tombeau est, ici aussi, dissimulé derrière des tentures brodées.

Il se dégage de ces lieux une grande atmosphère de recueillement. L'air y est chargé du parfum de l'encens brûlé continuellement devant les tombeaux.

A Touba, les grandes fêtes religieuses musulmanes prennent un relief tout particulier. Aussi les fidèles viennent-ils d'assez loin (quand ils le peuvent) pour fêter à Touba, plutôt qu'ailleurs, la *Corytée*, la *Tabaski* ou le *Gamou* (1).

Mais la grande fête de Touba, la solennité spécifiquement

(1) Ces trois fêtes correspondent respectivement à l'Aïd el Fitr, à l'Aïd el Kebir et au Mouloud de la tradition islamique.

2: Bourlon MS37 Senegal

Mouride à laquelle tout bon talibé s'efforce d'assister, tous les ans si possible, c'est le *Magal*.

Le premier *Magal* eut lieu le 19 octobre 1928, sur l'initiative d'Amadou Moustapha, et à l'occasion de l'anniversaire de la mort d'Amadou Bamba.

Depuis que Falilou M'Backé, deuxième khalife, a pris la direction de la confrérie, le *Magal* a changé de date et de signification. Il commémore maintenant le retour d'exil d'Amadou Bamba, sa vision prophétique et son installation définitive à Diourbel. Ainsi le deuxième khalife a-t-il relié directement son action à celle du Fondateur, en redonnant au *Magal* son sens primitif, voulu, dès 1912, par Amadou Bamba lui-même, quand ce dernier avait institué, avec une signification identique, ce que l'on appelait alors la *seconde Tabaski*.

Depuis 1928 cette manifestation n'a cessé d'augmenter d'importance, et actuellement, c'est plus de deux cent mille pélerins qui se rendent chaque année à Touba à cette occasion.

Bien que certains fanatiques restent souvent cinq jours, quelquefois huit, la durée du pèlerinage est de trois jours.

Le point culminant est la deuxième journée; la dernière est appelée « journée officielle » parce que le khalife y parle en public aux pélerins, devant les représentants de l'autorité qu'il a invités.

Huit jours avant cette « journée officielle », les premiers pélerins commencent à arriver à Touba; leur nombre augmente rapidement et progressivement au fur et à mesure que se rapproche la date d'ouverture du pèlerinage proprement dit.

Durant ces journées, les pélerins arrivent à la ville sainte par tous les moyens : à pied, en charrette pour les plus rapprochés; en train, camion et taxi, pour les plus éloignés. Quel que soit le véhicule employé, il est toujours surchargé : on monte à huit ou dix dans une voiture de tourisme; à 90 (et même un peu plus) dans un camion qui ne devrait contenir que 50 personnes (il s'agit de camions de 4 à 5 tonnes, non bâchés, sur lesquels les voyageurs s'entassent debout et serrés les uns contre les autres, entre les ridelles, comme des poissons dans une boite de conserve). Les trains, eux aussi, sont bondés et il y a autant de pélerins sur les toits et les tampons des wagons qu'à l'intérieur.

La circulation est intense et malgré les conditions dans lesquelles elle s'effectue, il y a peu d'accidents, tout au moins d'accidents graves, eu égard au grand nombre de personnes transportées. Il en est quelquefois de spectaculaires, mais les cas mortels sont, par bonheur, très rares.

Le transport des pélerins est suivi de très près par l'admi-

2: Bourlon MS37 Senegal

nistration. La Régie des Chemins de Fer organise des trains spéciaux. Les chefs de subdivision délivrent aux propriétaires des camions des autorisations spéciales de transport. Le cercle de Diourbel, aidé du Gouvernement du Sénégal, renforce les services de sécurité et de police de la route.

Mais ce n'est pas là le seul problème que l'organisation et le déroulement du *Magal* pose au Khalife Général et à l'Administration.

Héberger tout ce monde pendant trois jours, et plus, en est un autre. Il faut organiser le ravitaillement des pèlerins en eau et en vivres; il faut assurer un service sanitaire et médical; il faut enfin assurer l'ordre et la discipline dans la ville même de Touba comme on le fait sur la route, et le commandant de cercle de Diourbel ne peut y arriver que grâce à des renforts de police importants, prélevés un peu partout (jusqu'à Dakar et Kaolack) qui sont mis à sa disposition à cet effet.

A l'ouverture du pèlerinage, trois jours avant la Journée Officielle, la foule a atteint son maximum d'importance. Touba connaît alors une activité extraordinaire. La route entre Touba et M'Backé est continuellement sillonnée, dans les deux sens, par des files de camions qui circulent sans cesse entre les deux agglomérations. Les quais de la gare disparaissent sous le flot des pèlerins qui débarquent, innombrables, des derniers trains. Les larges avenues de la ville sont remplies par la foule des pèlerins qui accomplissent leurs devoirs religieux ou flânent devant les petits éventaires où se vendent, comme dans tous les pèlerinages du monde, des objets les plus divers, depuis les objets d'habillement, comme les babouches ou les *samara*, jusqu'aux parfums et aux bijoux, en passant par les articles de piété les plus variés : prières ou versets du Koran imprimés en arabe, photos du Khalife Général ou d'Amadou Bamba, ou bien encore des images de style oriental, violemment colorées comme nos images d'Epinal, et représentant les Lieux Saints de l'Islam ou des personnages de la tradition coranique.

Enfin, pour compléter cette immense et bruyante foire sur laquelle flotte une impalpable poussière, voilà, dans un coin de la ville, non loin de la mosquée, les gargotiers : ils cuisinent en plein air des plats appétissants qu'ils offriront pour des sommes modiques aux pèlerins affamés.

Le soir ne ralentit pas ces activités; au contraire, les pèlerins se regroupent chez les divers marabouts et là, des séances de chants religieux s'organisent. Elles se prolongeront fort avant dans la nuit qui retentira jusqu'à l'aube de ces litanies amplifiées par de nombreux hauts-parleurs.

2: Bourlon MS37 Senegal

Au cours de ce pèlerinage, les Croyants ont plusieurs obligations à remplir :

1) rendre visite au Khalife Général,

2) aller se recueillir sur le tombeau d'Amadou Bamba et celui d'Amadou Moustapha,

3) visiter la mosquée,

4) aller voir leur propre marabout,

5) visiter au cimetière l'Arbre Sacré et les tombes de certains notables de la confrérie défunts.

A l'entrée du *carré* du Khalife, en une longue théorie, les fidèles attendent patiemment leur tour pour pénétrer dans la résidence de leur chef spirituel suprême.

Après avoir franchi plusieurs enceintes (à la porte desquelles se tiennent des *talibés-caissiers* qui leur réclament leurs offrandes), ils arrivent à la case dans laquelle le Khalife reçoit.

Les gardes-cercle du service d'ordre les font entrer un par un dans la paillotte où Falilou les attend, assisté de son secrétaire et de quelques-uns de ses collaborateurs directs. Chaque pèlerin s'agenouille devant le Khalife en lui remettant son offrande (*hadia*) que le *sérigne* fera aussitôt passer à l'un de ses suivants. Le pèlerin se relève alors et sort pour laisser sa place à un autre.

Sa visite au Khalife terminée, il se rend sur les tombeaux sacrés d'Amadou Bamba et d'Amadou Moustapha.

Au tombeau du Maître, il y a toujours une foule pieuse dont le recueillement sincère laisse quand même transparaître sa joie d'être dans un lieu aussi célèbre et aussi saint. S'ils le peuvent, les pèlerins font trois fois le tour du tombeau en récitant la formule consacrée : « Au nom de Dieu le Clément, le Miséricordieux. Que Dieu bénisse notre Seigneur Mohamed, l'Envoyé de Dieu, et le sauve ». Puis, chacun d'eux dépose son obole et prend une poignée du sable, entourant la base du tombeau, qui est considéré comme un talisman puissant susceptible de tirer celui qui le possède de toutes les situations difficiles.

Sur le tombeau d'Amadou Moustapha le pèlerin se recueille, laisse une obole, mais ne ramasse pas de sable.

On ne quitte pas ces lieux saints sans passer un moment dans la Mosquée.

Celle-ci, durant tout le pèlerinage, ne désemplit pas : on y va, on y vient, on y bavarde et on s'y repose... Ce n'est pas encore un lieu de prière et de méditation : elle est, pour l'instant, plus un chantier que l'on visite, qu'un monument sacré où l'on se recueille mais, la visite terminée, on s'en retourne fier de connaître la plus grande Mosquée du Sénégal, fier d'être monté au haut de ses minarets.

2: Bourlon MS37 Senegal

En sortant de là, les pèlerins se rendent, par groupes ou individuellement, chez le marabout auquel ils sont directement rattachés et ils lui apportent, à lui aussi, une offrande.

La dernière démarche du pèlerinage est la visite au cimetière. Ce dernier est établi autour du Baobab Sacré (*Goui Tékhé*) au pied duquel Amadou Bamba eut la vision surnaturelle « du-poisson-qui-soutient-le-monde », lui indiquant qu'il était bien arrivé à l'endroit où il devait construire Touba. Un petit enclos marque l'emplacement où il eut cette vision. Les plus instruits et les plus pieux pèlerins s'y recueillent et y prient; les autres, et notamment les femmes, se contentent de visiter les tombes, particulièrement celles d'Aminata Lo, épouse du Fondateur et mère d'Amadou Moustapha, de Babacar M'Backé, fils du *Sérigne* Bamba, mort en bas-âge, de Massamba et M'Bara M'Backé, frères consanguins du même *Sérigne*. Ils iront aussi sur les tombes des premiers Marabouts de la Confrérie et des premiers disciples du Maître : Ali Touré, Ibrahima Sarr, Assana N'Diaye, et ils s'arrêteront plus longuement sur celle du disciple bien aimé Ibra Fall à l'entrée de laquelle est planté le *hir*, le pieu historique avec lequel fut marqué l'emplacement du tombeau d'Amadou Bamba, après la vision miraculeuse dont nous avons parlé plus haut.

Là aussi, devant chacune des tombes, des *talibés-caissiers* ne cessent de solliciter la générosité des pèlerins.

Ces visites rituelles terminées, le *talibé* est purifié et sanctifié. Il lui est possible, s'il lui reste du temps, de retourner en ville et de se mêler à la foule des pèlerins. Il peut aussi collaborer à la construction de la Mosquée en cassant des morceaux de latérite (dont de gros tas se trouvent à proximité de la Mosquée et qui serviront à la confection du béton)... à moins qu'il ne s'attarde à regarder quelque fanatique de la branche Mouride des M'Baye Fall se livrer à des exercices de flagellation... avec un pilon à mil.

Au coucher du soleil, il participera avec tous les pèlerins au *salam du Maghreb* (la prière du soir) : c'est le seul moment de la journée où les deux cent mille pèlerins se rassemblent devant la Mosquée pour une prière commune.

Le dernier jour du pèlerinage est donc la « Journée Officielle ». On l'appelle ainsi parce que le Khalife y invite toutes les personnalités et toutes les autorités du cercle de Diourbel, du Sénégal, du Gouvernement Général, des milieux officiels comme des milieux privés. Tous répondent à cette invitation et ceux qui ne peuvent y assister s'y font représenter.

Cette journée comporte essentiellement une cérémonie officielle qui a lieu dans le milieu de la matinée. Le Khalife, escorté

2: Bourlon MS37 Senegal

de ses invités les plus notables, et suivi de la foule des autres, se rend à une estrade, abritée de bâches, dressées sur la place de la mosquée, et sur laquelle tout le monde s'installe. Des discours sont alors prononcés par les représentants des autorités et par le Khalife. Celui-ci dans sa réponse, exalte en général l'amitié de la France pour l'Islam, assure notre Pays de sa fidélité et de son attachement et invite ses fidèles à se conduire en bons musulmans, en pieux disciples d'Amadou Bamba et en loyaux et honnêtes citoyens. Ainsi se marque la bonne entente qui règne maintenant entre la confrérie et l'administration française.

Après cette cérémonie, le *Magal* est terminé; pendant que, sur le coup de midi, le Khalife Général offre à ses invités un repas copieux et somptueux, les premiers départs de pèlerins ont lieu. Durant toute l'après-midi un grand nombre de fidèles regagnent leurs foyers. Mais ceux qui le peuvent ne repartent pas tout de suite, de sorte que pendant deux à trois jours encore, les trains bondés et les camions surchargés ramèneront dans leurs villages des *talibés* fatigués certes, mais heureux de leur pèlerinage et chantant les louanges de Dieu, du Prophète et d'Amadou Bamba.

Le *Magal* est donc une grande affaire. Ses invités repartis, les pèlerins rentrés chez eux, dans la ville débarrassée de son nuage de poussière, dans le silence enfin retrouvé avec le démontage des nombreux hauts-parleurs qui diffusaient les chants religieux et les prières dans les carrés des marabouts et aux alentours de la mosquée, Falilou M'Backé peut faire le bilan de cette manifestation.

Le *Magal* permet à la confrérie de mesurer se force et sa cohésion; il permet à ses membres d'approcher le Khalife Général qui est, pour eux, un saint dont le seul but est de réaliser ici-bas les volontés d'Amadou Bamba. Il permet enfin à leur chef suprême de mesurer leur fidélité à sa personne et leur attachement à la confrérie. L'un et l'autre sont encore actuellement très solides et très fortes puisque le montant de dons recueillis aux derniers *Magal* est de l'ordre de 150.000.000 de francs CFA.

Manifestation de la vitalité du Mouridisme, le *Magal* est aussi un événement sénégalais; beaucoup de gens y vont par curiosité, qui ne sont pas Mourides mais qui ne manquent pas d'être touchés par la force et la cohésion du Mouridisme, et parfois certains d'entre eux se font disciples d'Amadou Bamba.

D'ailleurs le retentissement du pèlerinage dépasse le cadre de Touba et de la confrérie. La presse locale, les services officiels d'information, Radio-Dakar y assistent et y participent. Les radio-reportages, les journaux, les films diffusent des échos sonores et des images vivantes du *Magal*, non seulement dans tout le Ter-

2: Bourlon MS37 Senegal

ritoire mais dans toute la Fédération, et ceci ne contribue pas peu à augmenter le rayonnement et le prestige, au Sénégal, de la Confrérie et de ses Chefs.

⁂

Si le *Magal* a pris ces caractères et cette importance, c'est grâce au chef actuel de la confrérie, Falilou M'Backé, et, réciproquement, l'aspect pris ainsi par ce pèlerinage a été un des éléments qui ont affermi le deuxième Khalife à la tête de la confrérie.

En effet, au moment de sa nomination comme Khalife Général, il eut à vaincre l'opposition de son neveu, Cheikh M'Backé, fils de Moustapha (qui prétendait succéder à celui-ci, comme lui-même avait succédé à son père, Amadou Bamba) et que le conseil des Mourides avait écarté de la succession à son profit.

En renouant directement la tradition du *Magal* aux intentions premières d'Amadou Bamba, il fit autour de lui l'unité des Mourides.

Il s'est également consacré à l'édification de la mosquée à laquelle il apporte tous ses soins. Non seulement, il récolte dans ce but des sommes considérables lors du *Magal*, mais encore il saisit toutes les occasions de quêter ou de faire quêter au profit de cette œuvre. Il fait notamment organiser, dans tout le territoire, par ses représentants, des séances nocturnes de chants religieux au cours desquelles sont recueillis des fonds pour la Mosquée.

Aussi est- il apparu, aux yeux des Mourides, moins comme le successeur d'Amadou Moustapha que comme le continuateur direct d'Amadou Bamba. C'est ainsi qu'il a surmonté les difficultés du début de son khalifat et qu'il est devenu et resté le chef vénéré et incontesté de la confrérie, même pour ceux des Mourides qui sont dans l'obédience directe de Cheikh M'Backé.

Falilou M'Backé réside en permanence à Touba tout près de la Mosquée qui est donc, avec la direction générale de la confrérie, sa préoccupation principale. Il quitte peu la ville sainte, où il habite dans un très grand *carré*, aux installations, aux cases multiples, et dont les *tapades* (clôtures) au plan compliqué cachent jalousement la vie des occupants. La plupart de ces cases sont en pisé et couvertes en chaume; quelques-unes, plus vastes, couvertes en tôles, bien installées et confortablement meublées, servent à héberger les hôtes de marque. Selon une habitude, fréquente chez les marabouts Mourides, il s'est fait une sorte de bureau (où il reçoit ses visiteurs importants) dans une case en planches, construite par ceux de ses *talibés* qui sont charpentiers et menuisiers.

2: Bourlon MS37 Senegal

De taille moyenne, robuste, actif, malgré son âge, le deuxième khalife a l'allure d'un chef de famille rural; il a d'ailleurs du paysan, la finesse, la sagesse et la ténacité. Sa conversation, comme toute sa personne, est empreinte de modération, de douceur et de bonté. Ses soucis sont souvent d'ordre matériel (construction de la Mosquée, bonne marche de la confrérie, rendement de ses plantations, etc...) mais les préoccupations d'ordre intellectuel, moral et spirituel ne lui sont pas étrangères. Des images simples et une certaine emphase orientale donnent à ses entretiens un style particulier et personnel.

Pour l'Administration, c'est un chef pondéré et calme sur le loyalisme duquel elle peut compter. C'est un élément d'ordre et de réflexion qui sera hostile aux aventures et aux innovations dangereuses. Il sait, d'ailleurs, que l'Administration a largement appuyé et favorisé sa candidature au khalifat. Il n'a donc aucune raison de lui créer des difficultés.

Le Khalife Général quitte peu souvent Touba. Ce sont des représentants qu'il envoie au chef-lieu ou dans les cercles pour visiter ses *talibés* ou traiter dans les bureaux des questions administratives. S'il s'éloigne, il va rarement bien loin; en général, il va jusqu'à ses plantations d'arachides, situées à quelques kilomètres de Touba. C'est là qu'il rend visite aux *talibés* qui, selon la doctrine Mouride, travaillent pour lui pendant que lui-même prie pour eux et à leur place. Ces plantations lui donnent le mil nécessaire à la nourriture des gens qui vivent avec lui à Touba et des arachides, dont la vente lui assurera des revenus personnels importants.

Immédiatement après Falilou M'Backé, viennent à la tête de la confrérie, son frère, Bassirou M'Backé, et son neveu, Cheikh M'Backé, dont nous avons déjà dit quelques mots tout à l'heure. Depuis 1947, ces deux *Sérignes* sont respectivement Vice-Président et Secrétaire du Conseil d'Administration Mouride que Falilou a créé pour gérer les fonds destinés à la construction de la Mosquée et dont il est le Président.

Bassirou est, en principe, considéré comme le « dauphin » de la confrérie, le successeur désigné et légitime de Falilou. Il est très différent de son frère. Grand, mince, le visage allongé aux traits réguliers, Bassirou a beaucoup d'allure et de prestance. Il a étudié à Boutilimit du vivant de Cheikh Sidiya Baba. Très cultivé et fin lettré, sa conversation est aussi intéressante qu'agréable.

Malgré la place importante qu'il occupe à la tête de la confrérie, il ne paraît entretenir avec son frère, ni d'excellentes relations, ni des rapports très fréquents.

En 1953, il est venu s'installer à Diourbel, après avoir quitté

2: Bourlon MS37 Senegal

définitivement Boulel, dans la subdivision de Kaffrine, où il faisait, au Bloc Expérimental de l'Arachide, en accord avec le Service de l'Agriculture, et grâce à la main-d'œuvre de ses *talibés*, des essais de culture mécanique et motorisée.

Il est maintenant l'*imam* de la mosquée de Diourbel, dont il voudrait entreprendre la restauration. C'est, en effet, une très belle construction qui n'a pas l'importance de la Mosquée de Touba, mais qui surpasse en élégance les autres mosquées du Sénégal et qui mériterait, de ce fait, qu'on y fasse les réparations nécessaires et urgentes que demandent actuellement certaines de ses parties très abimées et en très mauvais état.

Mais Bassirou n'a pas que cette préoccupation architecturale : il s'occupe aussi de cultures. Son expérience avec le Service de l'Agriculture ne lui ayant pas donné satisfaction, il travaille de façon plus classique et plus traditionnelle près du village de Tip, situé dans le canton Kaël à quelque 30 kilomètres au Sud de Touba. Cette installation n'avait pas été sans provoquer quelques protestations de la part des éleveurs Peul du Canton, mais ces difficultés semblent bien s'être réglées à l'amiable par la suite.

Le troisième personnage de la confrérie, dans l'ordre des préséances est, nous l'avons dit, Cheikh M'Backé, fils aîné d'Amadou Moustapha et neveu des deux précédents. Beaucoup plus jeune que ses oncles, il a aussi un comportement très différent. Grand, bien bâti, bel homme au visage rasé, il a l'allure et les activités d'un homme d'affaires moderne. En fait, il est ambitieux; il veut réussir; pour réaliser ses ambitions, il lui faut beaucoup d'argent et ce sont ses fonctions mêmes de marabout Mouride, qui le lui fournissent.

On a vu qu'il avait brigué, comme descendant direct du fondateur, la charge de khalife mais qu'il en avait été évincé au profit de son oncle. Depuis, il est toujours resté en opposition plus ou moins violente avec Falilou M'Backé. Il n'est pourtant pas parvenu à détacher de ce dernier une fraction, même faible, des Mourides. Son opposition a été quelquefois à l'origine d'actes regrettables. En 1952, entre autres lors des élections à l'Assemblée Territoriale, Cheikh M'Backé s'était fait le champion de la S. F. I. O., alors que Falilou soutenait le B. D. S. (et sans doute, parce qu'il le soutenait). Cette opposition provoqua des incidents assez violents à Touba, au cours de la campagne électorale, des *talibés* de Cheikh, soutenant la S. F. I. O., étant allés jusqu'à lancer des pierres dans le « carré » du Khalife Général. Cheikh dut freiner l'ardeur socialiste de ses *talibés* qui y étaient allés trop fort. De tels agissements risquent de lui aliéner la Confrérie

2: Bourlon .MS37 Senegal

et même l'Administration; or, il a besoin de l'une et de l'autre pour continuer à mener sa politique.

Sa résidence à Touba est située à proximité de la Mosquée, mais à l'opposé de celle du Khalife Général, il s'efforce d'y rassembler, pour bien marquer son influence, le plus grand nombre possible de *talibés* le jour du *Magal*.

La culture de l'arachide est, pour lui aussi, une source importante de revenus. Ses plantations principales sont situées à Taïf, dans la subdivision de Gossas, non loin de la limite de celle de M'Backé.

Les autres membres de la famille M'Backé ont une influence moins importante sur la vie de la Confrérie. Ils tiennent cependant leur place dans le Conseil d'Administration Mouride, et ils sont installés autour de Touba et de M'Backé.

M'Backé Bousso dirige une école coranique importante à Darou-Salam, juste à côté de M'Backé. Abdoulaye M'Backé s'est installé à Boulel-Mody, à l'extrémité de l'ancienne vallée du Sine où, grâce aux points d'eau permanents qui subsistent à certains endroits de ce thalweg asséché, il a créé des rizières et des vergers, qui complètent ses plantations d'arachides, et au milieu desquels il vit. D'apparence modeste et effacée, ce M'Backé est en réalité très riche et très influent, car il a principalement comme *talibés* des salariés et des employés des villes qui, chaque mois, lui envoient la dîme de leurs salaires ou de leurs gains.

A l'exemple des descendants directs et des collatéraux d'Amadou Bamba, ses parents éloignés, ses alliés, les descendants de ses premiers collaborateurs se sont faits « Grands Marabouts Mourides ». A la fois chefs spirituels et temporels, instruisant leurs disciples dans la doctrine du fondateur et, surtout, leur faisant cultiver pour eux, ces *Sérignes* ont créé dans le Baol, et dans les régions limitrophes, de véritables villages dont ils sont pratiquement les chefs et les imams.

L'un des plus remarquables, ainsi installé dans la subdivision de Diourbel est Mamadou Khabane M'Backé, gros producteur d'arachides et gros brasseur d'affaires. Sérigne Tacko et Sérigne Mamadou Mahmoune, fils de Cheikh Anta, Sérigne Awa M'Balla M'Backé vivent de la même façon, à peu de chose près. Tous ces marabouts ont une influence directe sur un nombre variable de *talibés* dont ils sont, en quelque sorte, « les directeurs de conscience » et qui sont rattachés, à travers eux, au Khalife Général. Evoquons, pour terminer, le marabout de Darou-Kafour, installé dans un petit village sur la route de Diourbel à M'Backé, qui vit modestement dans une petite installation. Il ne fait pas de grandes cultures; il s'adonne surtout à la direction de son école coranique

2: Bourlon MS37 Senegal

et il s'est fait une spécialité de soigner les fous. Par sa douceur et sa patience, il arrive à guérir ceux que le Service de Santé a renoncé à garder et à traiter.

⁂

La confrérie des Mourides est donc solidement encadrée et dirigée par tous ces marabouts qui ont vraiment leurs *talibés* en mains et qui les tiennent d'autant mieux qu'ils leur apportent une solution simple et pratique de ce problème, angoissant pour tout homme : « Que deviendrai-je après ma mort? »... Tout Mouride sait que s'il a travaillé pour son marabout et lui a donné la dîme de ses biens et revenus, il ira directement au Paradis, car son marabout, en échange de son travail et de ses dons, prie pour lui et le sauvera sans que lui-même ait à s'occuper de son salut, même s'il a gravement péché.

C'est cette emprise totale que les marabouts Mourides exercent sur leurs disciples qui a fait considérer, à l'origine, la confrérie comme dangereuse et qui, jointe aux ambitions d'Amadou Bamba, a provoqué les difficultés et les heurts avec l'Administration. Actuellement, cette méfiance et cette opposition ont cédé la place à une franche et pleine collaboration, entre les représentants de l'autorité et les chefs Mourides de tous rangs.

La discipline effective et efficace qui règne dans la confrérie permet d'exercer sur ses ressortissants une sorte d'administration indirecte, toujours plus facile à réaliser qu'une administration directe. Cette formule a surtout été utilisée de 1940 à 1946 quand il s'agissait de produire des arachides à outrance. Cette collaboration entre les marabouts Mourides et les Gouverneurs a fait tomber bien des réticences et des préventions et a eu pour résultat d'augmenter le prestige et l'influence des premiers, non seulement dans la confrérie, mais encore dans tout le Sénégal.

Aujourd'hui, cette collaboration est peut-être un peu plus nuancée, mais elle demeure importante. Les relations entre les chefs de circonscriptions administratives et les marabouts Mourides sont toujours très courtoises et très suivies; les marabouts reçoivent de l'administration une aide économique et financière notable. Les Sociétés de Prévoyance leur avancent de gros tonnages de semences d'arachides. Des crédits agricoles à court terme et à long terme leur sont d'autre part, accordés, soit pour mener à bien chaque campagne agricole (crédits d'hivernage), soit pour leur permettre de moderniser ou de mécaniser leurs cultures; enfin, des subventions administratives sont également données pour la construction de la Mosquée de Touba. En revanche, les marabouts prêchent à leurs *talibés* le respect du pouvoir établi,

2: Bourlon MS37 Senegal

les invitent à s'acquitter de leurs devoirs vis-à-vis de l'administration, notamment en ce qui concerne le paiement de l'impôt et les remboursements des semences aux Sociétés de Prévoyance.

Les Mourides tiennent donc une grande place dans la vie du Sénégal. On évalue leur nombre à 400.000, ce qui représente le quart de la population islamisée du territoire. Le quart de la Confrérie est établi dans le cercle de Diourbel et deux autres quarts se répartissent dans les régions limitrophes des cercles de Kaolack, Thiés, Louga et Linguère, c'est dire que les Mourides sont restés très groupés autour de leur pays d'origine, le Baol. Ils vivent là, pour la plupart, dans les villages de cultures (*dara*) que les marabouts ont installés en brousse, quelquefois aux dépens des villages autochtones non Mourides. Les tonnages d'arachides qu'ils y produisent peuvent rapporter à leur marabout plus d'un million de francs CFA par an pourvu qu'ils aient (ce qui n'est pas extraordinaire) chacun une centaine de *talibés* à faire travailler pour lui. Si on se rappelle que les *talibés* qui ne travaillent pas directement pour le marabout lui versent la dîme de leurs salaires et de leurs gains, on se rendra aisément compte des facilités financières dont peut jouir un chef religieux Mouride.

Les fidèles ne font aucune difficulté pour alimenter ainsi le trésor de leur *Sérigne*.. au contraire!

Voici une petite anecdote qui prouvera que même les plus pauvres le font facilement et volontairement :

Un jour, un « Grand Marabout », traversant Diourbel dans sa Chrysler, s'arrêta dans une avenue de la ville pour saluer le chef de subdivision qu'il venait de croiser et pour échanger quelques paroles avec lui. Juste à côté d'eux, au pied d'un manguier, sur le bord de l'avenue, une vieille femme était installée, qui vendait quelques fruits sur un méchant éventaire. Aussitôt le « commandant » parti, cette vieille femme s'approcha de la voiture dont elle avait reconnu l'occupant, et tout en lui rendant ses devoirs, lui remit de l'argent qu'elle avait sur elle, peut-être toute sa maigre recette de la matinée.

Ceci explique que les représentants des marabouts qui vont, de ville en ville, quêter auprès des *talibés* non cultivateurs au profit de leurs patrons ne rentrent jamais bredouilles et que les fonctionnaires Mourides ne se rendraient pas au *Magal* sans apporter à leurs marabouts des cadeaux substantiels, en espèces ou en nature, pour leur permettre d'organiser les réceptions qu'ils donnent à cette occasion dans leur résidence de Touba.

On ne s'étonnera pas, en conséquence, de l'importance du train de vie que peuvent mener, sinon tous, du moins certains « Grands Marabouts » Mourides. Ceux-là vivent dans des installa-

2: Bourlon MS37 Senegal

tions modernes, voire luxueuses : maison en dur, frigidaire, radio, groupe électrogène, puissantes voitures américaines, etc... Certains possèdent même des immeubles à Dakar qu'ils louent à de bons prix augmentant d'autant leurs revenus.

Si ce standing est le résultat de l'attachement et du travail fanatiques des *talibés*, réciproquement, ce luxe augmente leur prestige auprès de ces mêmes *talibés*. Ces gens simples voient dans cette richesse extérieure le signe de la grandeur, de la puissance et du rayonnement de leur marabout. Ils sont fiers de le voir riche et influent, comme s'ils participaient eux-mêmes à cette richesse et à cette influence.

Une anecdote encore soulignera, semble-t-il, cette admiration aveugle des fidèles pour leurs chefs religieux malgré (et peut-être, à cause) des signes extérieurs de leurs richesses.

Le domestique d'un fonctionnaire européen avait accompagné son patron à Touba, chez Failou M'Backé. Il put ainsi pénétrer dans le *carré* de « son » marabout (car il était Mouride). Au retour, il dit à son patron, sur un ton de sincère admiration, et sans arrière-pensée critique : « Mon marabout est un grand marabout; son *carré* comprend beaucoup de chambres et dans chaque chambre il y a un bon lit ». Quand on sait que la plupart des Noirs couchent couramment sur de mauvais grabats ou même sur des nattes, et que posséder un bon lit est un des premiers objectifs de l'Africain qui évolue, on appréciera toute la valeur de cette réflexion...

Personne ne sera étonné après cela de ce que certains aient pu qualifier de « servage » la situation que réservent les marabouts Mourides aux *talibés* qui travaillent sur leurs plantations. Ils sont en effet groupés en équipes de 10 à 20 et chaque équipe a une parcelle de terrain à cultiver. Bien entendu, les équipes rivalisent de zèle pour rapporter au marabout la plus belle récolte. Le zèle des équipes est d'autant plus grand que chacun des équipiers peut espérer, si le marabout remarque son propre zèle, être initié au bout de quelques années au *dikr* Mouride et avoir à son tour un village Mouride à diriger. Il peut même espérer se voir attribuer une zone nouvelle à rattacher à la Confrérie et recevoir le titre de Cheikh, avec les avantages que cela comporte. En attendant, il travaille d'arrache-pied et débrousse sans compter et sans mesure toutes les terres susceptibles de produire les arachides qui font la fortune de son marabout.

C'est cette façon de coloniser les terres, et plus particulièrement les terres neuves, qui a fait jouer à la Confrérie, ces dernières années, un grand rôle dans l'économie du Sénégal. Les marabouts Mourides ont été et demeurent des défricheurs de

2: Bourlon MS37 Senegal

terres et des grands producteurs d'arachides. On peut estimer qu'ils produisent à eux seuls un peu plus de la moitié de la récolte totale du Territoire.

Ce brillant tableau n'est pourtant pas sans comporter des ombres. Si l'influence des chefs Mourides n'est pas dangereuse sur le plan politique, par suite de la bonne entente qui existe entre eux et l'administration, s'il n'y a pas lieu de redouter qu'ils incitent les membres de la Confrérie à l'insubordination, la présence de ceux-ci dans les villages n'est pas sans poser des problèmes. Il s'en pose quand ils sont installés dans des villages dont le chef n'est pas Mouride (quand il n'est pas, parfois, antimouride). Il arrive souvent dans ces cas-là qu'il y ait des heurts entre les chefs coutumiers et les marabouts Mourides; principalement depuis les réformes de 1945 qui ont considérablement diminué les pouvoirs des chefs et leur prestige auprès des populations, alors que l'influence et le rayonnement des marabouts allaient en augmentant. Bien des fois les Mourides d'un canton ne veulent obéir qu'à leur chef religieux et ignorent volontairement le chef de canton. De plus, devant l'activité agricole envahissante des Mourides, les populations non Mourides se raidissent de plus en plus et tentent de résister à leurs empiètements agraires. Cela crée quelquefois des querelles, voire même provoque des bagarres qu'il faut arbitrer ou arrêter.

D'autre part, l'évolution politique récente qui aboutit à donner le droit de vote à tous les Sénégalais et toutes les Sénégalaises, a incité les hommes politiques à rechercher la collaboration et l'amitié des chefs Mourides... pour qu'ils fassent voter leurs *talibés* en faveur de leurs partis. Quand on sait ce qu'est l'influence des marabouts et la discipline de la Confrérie, on imagine facilement quel formidable atout peut être pour un parti une telle alliance. Mais, s'allier à un parti, c'est forcément être l'adversaire de l'autre (ou des autres). Si le fanatisme (et l'organisation) mouride se jette dans les luttes électorales, il peut être à l'origine de troubles graves. Certes ces troubles ne compromettraient pas le loyalisme de la Confrérie vis-à-vis de la Métropole, mais ils créeraient à l'administration locale et au gouvernement du territoire de sérieuses difficultés.

Par ailleurs, des raisons plus profondes peuvent provoquer des oppositions vives, voire des luttes entre les grands chefs Mourides et certains hommes politiques (ou certains partis). C'est ainsi que quelques personnalités politiques sénégalaises commencent à critiquer la façon d'agir des marabouts à l'encontre de leurs *talibés*. L'une d'entre elles a été jusqu'à prononcer les mots de « servage » et de « féodalité », en parlant du Mouridisme

2: Bourlon MS37 Senegal

à un haut fonctionnaire européen. Il est certain qu'on pourrait faire sur ce thème une virulente campagne contre les chefs Mourides et surtout contre ceux dont le luxe ostentatoire peut exciter la jalousie.

De leur côté, les marabouts Mourides tendent à maintenir leur autorité et leur influence sur leurs disciples et, par delà, sur l'ensemble du pays. Ils s'opposeront à toute innovation sociale ou politique qui donnera plus de pouvoir à la masse et qui, par là, risquera de compromettre leur autorité, voire de la contrebalancer, ou même de la combattre. C'est ainsi qu'ils étaient hostiles en 1953 à la transformation de la Société de Prévoyance du Baol en Société Mutuelle de Production Rurale; d'une part, parce qu'ils estimaient que le commandement ne doit pas être confié au peuple; d'autre part, parce qu'ils redoutaient qu'une S. M. P. R. présidée par un Africain (comme cela existait déjà à l'époque dans le cercle de Thiès) leur fût moins favorable que les traditionnelles S. P., toutes entières dans les mains de l'Administration.

Ces rivalités politiques, qui s'ébauchent, ont en partie pour cause les conséquences sociales du Mouridisme.

On lui a souvent reproché (dans le monde sénégalais) de détourner les jeunes, non seulement des cultes et des confréries traditionnels, mais aussi de leurs familles et, d'une façon générale, de leurs cadres coutumiers. En effet, tous les *talibés* qui travaillent pour le compte des marabouts Mourides sont des jeunes qui ont, à proprement parler, déserté leurs villages et leurs familles pour être Mourides et n'être plus que des Mourides. S'ils reviennent, plus tard, dans leurs villages natals, c'est pour y agir comme des sortes de militants, de missionnaires, qui veulent absolument convertir ces villages à la foi Mouride.

Si on ajoute à cela que la façon dont les *talibés* sont traités et formés est peu éducative, si on constate qu'effectivement l'organisation du travail des plantations et de sa productivité est bien proche d'une exploitation pure et simple des travailleurs Mourides, on admettra que l'organisation sociale du Mouridisme n'est pas exempte de toute critique.

On pourrait penser que, si le fanatisme Mouride a des inconvénients au point de vue social, il donne, du moins, sur le plan économique, des résultats remarquables. Il a donné le goût du travail agricole à une grande partie de la population sénégalaise et il a ouvert des grandes régions, jusque là incultes, à la culture de l'arachide. Malheureusement, une étude plus approfondie de

2: Bourlon MS37 Senegal

cette question nous fait craindre que la façon dont les Mourides exploitent actuellement leur plantation d'arachide, soit un danger pour l'avenir économique du pays.

Un important rapport d'une mission agricole a consacré à ce problème un chapitre entier qui montre tous les inconvénients de cette monoculture extensive et destructrice, uniquement tendue vers un bénéfice matériel immédiat et qu'il n'hésite pas à qualifier d' « économie de rapine ». En effet, dans son désir de récolter des arachides pour le bénéfice de son marabout, le *talibé*, qui n'est pas un paysan, massacre la terre. Il déboise, sans considération aucune, il détruit les arbres et notamment les *caddes*, pourtant si précieux pour la terre du Sénégal. Il épuise les sols, pusqu'il ne pratique ni les assolements, ni la jachère, qu'il n'utilise ni les engrais animaux (il n'est pas du tout éleveur), ni les engrais chimiques, ni les engrais verts... et, chaque fois qu'il abandonne les terres qu'il a définitivement (et pour longtemps) épuisées, pour faire rentrer dans ce cycle dévastateur de nouvelles terres, c'est le désert qui avance derrière lui. Tout ceci est d'autant plus grave que les cultures entreprises par les *talibés* Mourides ont un rendement inférieur de 30 % à celui des cultures faites par les véritables paysans noirs et, notamment, les paysans Sérères.

Bref, ce rapport estime que le Mouride est « un ravageur de forêts et de terre, et dilapideur des richesses du territoire ».

L'auteur du rapport ne s'arrête pourtant pas à ces critiques violentes et à ces conclusions pessimistes. Selon lui (et il a raison) le fait Mouride existe et existera encore longtemps, même, si pour des questions de rivalités personnelles et intérieures, la Confrérie venait à se scinder. Les différents tronçons garderaient le même esprit et les mêmes méthodes; on ne verrait pas la fin du Mouridisme, mais sa continuation en sectes différentes et rivales.

Aussi propose-t-il de canaliser le fanatisme Mouride, de le réformer et d'améliorer ses méthodes de travail et de production en agissant sur les grands chefs Mourides eux-mêmes et en leur faisant comprendre la nécessité de ces réformes et de ces améliorations. Il ajoute que Falilou M'Backé est un « homme compréhensif » qui reconnait volontiers que beaucoup de perfectionnements pourraient être apportés à la technique agricole actuelle des Mourides et qui pense même que cette modernisation ne pourrait que renforcer la vitalité de la Confrérie.

Il y a tout lieu de croire d'ailleurs que les autres chefs du Mouridisme, et la plupart des « Grands Marabouts » suivront l'exemple du Khalife Général et comprendront très vite (si on sait le leur démontrer) la nécessité d'éviter le déboisement incon-

2: Bourlon MS37 Senegal

sidéré et de replanter des *caddes* là où ils ont été coupés, d'utiliser les engrais verts et les engrais chimiques, voire de s'intéresser à l'élevage et d'utiliser les engrais animaux. La solidité même de la hiérarchie Mouride rendrait très efficaces les instructions et directives dans ce sens si les chefs et les grands marabouts voulaient les donner à leurs *talibés*.

Mais cette évolution ne devrait pas se borner au seul plan économique.

Pour faire face aux critiques des politiciens et des évolués, il est souhaitable que, dans l'intérêt même de la Confrérie, les chefs Mourides s'orientent vers une nouvelle conception de leur doctrine morale et sociale.

Faire travailler, presque pour rien, des hommes en se contentant de leur assurer, en échange, la vie et le bonheur éternels après leur mort peut paraître à tout homme évolué une escroquerie. Il serait bien difficile de donner tort à ceux qui attaqueraient violemment la Confrérie en se basant sur cet argument.

Il ne semble pas que de pareilles attaques puissent actuellement se déclancher avec efficacité; le temps n'est pas encore venu, semble-t-il, où des chefs politiques se dresseront ainsi contre les chefs Mourides et le Mouridisme. Non seulement la Confrérie et ses dirigeants sont encore très puissants, mais, avant tout, ils représentent, mieux, ils sont l'Islam; or, tout Sénégalais, quelles que soient ses idées politiques est, avant tout, musulman et il tient à ses marabouts. Il admettrait difficilement de voir attaquer sur la place publique des chefs religieux vénérés.

Mais l'évolution va vite et un jour viendra où des hommes formés aux luttes politiques, syndicales et sociales de la Métropole, n'hésiteront pas à battre en brèche les abus du Mouridisme devant une population à qui le développement de l'enseignement aura donné plus de sens critique et un plus grand désir de justice sociale. Mais il n'est pas désirable qu'une telle lutte s'instaure au Sénégal.

Certes, l'envoûtement du *talibé* par son marabout est critiquable. Cela ne doit pourtant pas nous faire oublier que le Koran recommande la charité et que les marabouts Mourides ne manquent pas à ce précepte; tout malade, tout pauvre, peut aller leur demander l'aumône et l'hospitalité; il sera longuement reçu, et pour rien, et ainsi une partie des fonds recueillis par les marabouts est redistribuée à leurs fidèles dans le malheur.

Il ne faut surtout pas perdre de vue que le Mouridisme est

2: Bourlon MS37 Senegal

partie intégrante de l'Islam, même s'il n'est pas tout à fait conforme à l'Islam orthodoxe, même s'il présente des abus ou des défauts. C'est avant tout une force spirituelle et il est nécessaire que l'évolution politique et sociale, indispensable au jeune Etat Sénégalais ne se fasse pas contre le Mouridisme, contre l'Islam, contre toute spiritualité.

On sait que les marabouts sénégalais, en général, et les chefs Mourides, en particulier, ont pris nettement position, à l'occasion du Referendum du 28 septembre, pour la Communauté Franco-Africaine. Cette attitude ne s'explique pas seulement, comme quelques-uns pourraient l'insinuer, par leur désir de conserver des relations certaines avec la France dont la politique pro-islamique leur a toujours été favorable et profitable. La véritable raison de ce choix c'est que d'une part, les marabouts connaissent bien l'état actuel de l'évolution intellectuelle et politique de leurs compatriotes et que, d'autre part, ils désirent défendre leur religion et ses valeurs spirituelles.

Ils savent qu'actuellement l'aile avancée du monde politique et syndicaliste groupe des jeunes évolués assez éloignés de toute pratique et de toute pensée religieuse et très violemment marxisants, sinon marxistes purs.

Ils ont probablement redouté qu'à la faveur d'une indépendance aussi prématurée qu'absolue, les dirigeants actuels, modérés dans leur ensemble, ne soient très vite dépassés par les extrêmes et que ceux-ci n'instaurent alors au Sénégal un régime matérialiste et athée auquel de vrais et de bons musulmans ne sauraient se rallier et dont, probablement, l'ensemble de la population aurait rapidement à souffrir.

Mais le développement de cette perspective nous emmènerait trop loin. Contentons-nous, pour conclure, de l'évoquer et de suggérer en même temps qu'une collaboration compréhensive est possible entre musulmans et chrétiens (et, d'une façon générale, tous spiritualistes occidentaux) pour instaurer ou défendre une société où les valeurs spirituelles auront la première place.

Il n'y a rien d'étonnant à cela. Allah, le Dieu du Coran n'est-il pas le Dieu d'Abraham, le Yaweh des Juifs, qui est aussi le Dieu des Chrétiens? N'est-ce pas le même Etre que Musulmans et Chrétiens adorent sous des vocables différents, le même Etre qu'ils prient, les uns et les autres, comme leur Divin créateur, Puissant et Miséricordieux. S'ils sont ainsi issus d'un même Père comment ne pourraient-ils pas arriver à se respecter, se comprendre et s'aimer?

Abel Bourlon.

/371/

121
369

To complement an urban geographical study of Thiès (1),

1. "La ville de Thiès /The City of Thiès/," to appear soon in Études Sénégalaises.

a city located about 60 kilometers as the crow flies from Dakar, we have made an investigation in the villages of its suburbs.

[175
496] The sole object of this investigation was to learn to what extent the presence of a city founded entirely by Europeans as early as 1885 (date of the running of the Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad) may have effects on the neighboring rural groupings.

Consequently, this study will deal only with the relations that may exist between the city and the neighboring villages; agricultural problems will be dealt with only to the extent that they help to clarify certain aspects of the question.

[563] Seven villages were chosen. These agglomerations contain populations that belong to the principal ethnic groups of the region: Sérère-none /Serer/ at Tiali, Thiès-none, and Sapko; Wolof at Diakhaté and Keur-Mamour; Bambara and Wassoulonké at Karamoko and at Keur-Issa-Bambara (see the sketch below). All of these localities are located within a radius of less than ten kilometers around the city.

The presence of a city in a given region may have disturbed rural life in very different ways, depending on the distance from the village to the city and depending on its ethnic composition.

It may have acted on the choice of the site for the village, on its arrangement, on the creation of new rural groupings.

It may have caused modifications in the type of the traditional settlement, in its interior comforts, in its modes and methods of cultivation.

/372/ Finally, and above all, it may have led to more or less profound perturbations in the social and economic organization of the village.

Before developing these three points it seems necessary to

S /372 cont. /
121 delineate in broad strokes the natural milieu in which these
369 rural agglomerations were established. /Fig. 1 appears here. /

As could be assumed, the environment of each of them differs according to the ethnic group that occupies it.

S The None /Serer/ village is generally divided into sever-
SR al hamlets of varying importance, but definitely separated
361 from one another. They conceal themselves from sight under dense foliage in the heart of an arbored countryside. In the rainy season it is possible to pass near one of them without sus-
SR [412] pecting its existence. Only the noise of the pestle in the millet mortars reveals its presence to us.

SR The fields extend around in a wooded landscape. The
[137] palmyra, with the shape of the leaves reminding one of an
[273] enormous /373/ fan, predominates over the other species. The harvesting of palm wine practiced by the Sérère-none seems to be the primary reason for their impressive number. The "kad" (1)

1. "kad" in Wolof = Faidherbia albida (A. Chev.).

SR
[137] is rarer than in Sine-Saloum; the baobab (with its trunk stripped
[283] for the making of cord) is preserved solely in the village itself.
[241] On the immediate outskirts, the millet fields are numerous; those of the groundnut seem to be less extensive. No plot of ground, except for some ferruginous crusts, seems to have been spared from cultivation.

S The framework of the Wolof village is entirely different.
361 The surrounding countryside is bare. A few rare trees put their
W dark blots on this monotonous countryside. The agglomeration
[361] is easily marked by the darker foliage that surrounds it.

The Bambara villages are sometimes located in a wooded countryside, like Keur-Issa-Bambara, and sometimes in a denuded landscape, like Karamoko. It would seem that this group has patterned its method of cultivation on that practiced in the neighborhood.

Keur-Issa-Bambara reminds one of the None village, not

Serer FA32
Wolof MS30

/373 cont./

S
SR
W
102
131
361
S
491
496
712

/372/

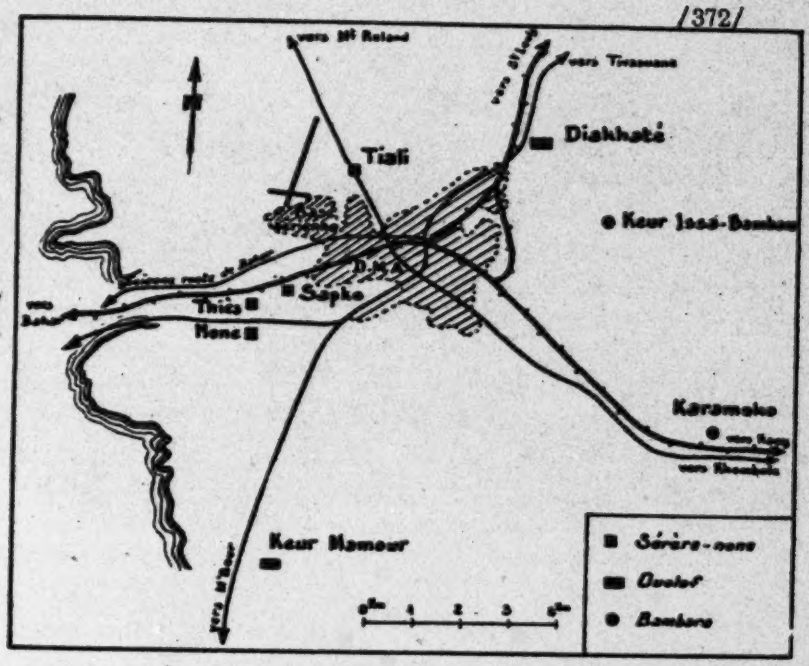


Fig. 1. Thiès, location of the villages mentioned in this study.

S
361 /373 cont./ by its internal plan (it is dispersed in a loose arrangement), but by the arbored countryside that surrounds it.

Karamoko, on the other hand, resembles a Wolof village: few or no trees except around the huts, a monotonous and open countryside.

S
369 The founding and the rapid growth of Thiès seems to have entailed perturbations in the life of the neighboring villages, especially at the end of the last century.

/373 cont./

S
SR
W
175
648

Before the arrival of the French garrison in 1865, the Sérère-none ruled supreme over the region. He was established as the traditional enemy of the Wolof, and from time to time he suffered from the incursions of his "tiédos" (2).

W
[624]

2. Tiédos: name given to the Wolof war chiefs of Cayor.

After the definitive installation of our troops at Thiès and especially after the running of the Dakar-Saint-Louis railroad in 1885, many Wolof came to settle near our fortified post; at the same time they benefited from our pacificatory presence by being able to create farm villages in the heart of None country. Diakhaté was established about 1875-1880 (some of its founders worked on the construction of the railroad line in 1884); Keur-Mamour was created at about the same time.

W
[464]

The Bambara villages are more recent: 1890-1895. These were the /374/ terrible years when Samory sacked the southern Sudan and the region of the Wassoulou (east of Beyla in Upper Guinea). Through the authorities, it seems, some of the Bambara and Wassoulonké freed by our troops were sent to Senegal where the policy of groundnut cultivation was in full development. Keur-Issa-Bambara and Karamoko were founded at this time.

S
[369]

The city of Thiès was not very important at that time; it had hardly more than a thousand inhabitants. Nevertheless, it began to play a primary role; its presence imposed peace in the region formerly so disturbed by the None brigandage or the incursions of Wolof warriors. Its presence facilitated the founding of villages, the number of which would cease to grow in the subsequent period; all of the land capable of supporting crops was utilized at the beginning of the century.

S
369
[311]
[438]

In the years preceding the Great War, the escale (1)

1. Escale: by extension signifies a stopping place, a commercial agglomeration.

/374 cont./

369 [438] became a relatively flourishing commercial center; each year more than 20,000 metric tons of groundnuts were handled by the traders of the place and sent by railroad to the ports of Rufisque or Dakar. As early as 1907 the first work on the Thiès-[496] Kayes railroad was begun. All of this new economic activity [464] required the employment of many laborers, who were in part recruited on the spot, but also in the neighboring villages.

369 During the dry season, work in the fields is reduced. A 122 number of rural people in the vicinity come to offer their serv- [464] ices as workers in the factoreries (2) or in the newly opened

[443] 2. Factorerie: shop where everything is sold.

[461] yards /chantiers, dockyards, woodyards, etc./. Some of these villagers feel that this kind of work is less arduous and more remunerative than that of agriculture. They become definitively attached to urban life and come to swell the population of the native quarters previously established.

[484] Others return every evening to the village. During the [22] rainy season they leave their urban job and devote all their activity to work in the fields.

During this whole period prior to the Great War the suburban village seems to have played the role of intermediary or rather of relay-station between the hamlet in the bush and the city. The call for non-specialized labor had echos not [464] only in the outskirts /375/ of the city itself, but also in the more distant villages. Curiosity about new things, the opportunity to escape familial tutelage, and especially the promise of relatively high earnings stimulated some immigration movement toward the escales.

[574] By means of the great hospitality that he knows will be shown him by relatives or friends who live in Diakhaté or Keur-Issa-Bambara, the rural person settles in these agglomerations.

/375 cont./

369 He works the lougan (1) of his host; after a few months he
166
[574]
[425]
[622]

1. Lougan; a Wolof term signifying a cultivated field.

obtains a little grant of land from the head of the village; he builds a hut, and often his family joins him and comes to share his life. Diakhaté and Keur-Issa-Bambara grow. The new settler takes advantage of the inactivity that the dry season imposes on him by offering his services temporarily to the urban establishments. Each year he divides his activities, which become half-urban, half-rural. If stable employment is offered to him in the city, he leaves the care of his lougan to his family and devotes himself entirely to his new activity. For a few months he will accept this daily [484] travel, but he has no deep attachment in the village that welcomed him earlier; tired of his long daily journeys, perhaps also pushed by a kind of pride in becoming a city dweller, he will finally, he and his family, leave the rural life and settle in the huts of the native quarters of Thiés.

369 Perhaps he retained a little lougan in the village?
241 His family will come to maintain it each year.. Perhaps he exchanged it for a field located in the vicinity of his new establishment? In general, because of a kind of peasant atavism, he always keeps a little bit of ground near his quarter. The harvest will give some protection against possi- [451] ble shortages; the sale of the products of the soil will be a considerable balance when enforced idleness or lack of money occurs.

369 The period of the maximum development of Keur-
621 Issa-Bambara is set by the old people in the decade 1910-1920. This swelling of the population often required splitting the village in two. For reasons of familial misunderstandings or the necessity of being nearer to fields too far away, this disassociation was brought about in several hamlets (at

/375 cont./

369 Diakhaté, for example).

621 Sometimes the discord between religious heads be-
[798] longing to different sects provoked the separation in fact of the two opposite camps (Keur-Mamour).

Up to here the presence of the city acted only indirectly in stimulating /376/ the swelling or the splitting up of the village and the temporary or definitive emigration of some elements. It may also have more direct effects on the agglomerations.

369 During the last three decades, through the establish-
[798] ment of the great repair workshops /ateliers de réparation/ of the Dakar-Niger, Thiès has been in the process of becoming
[712] an industrial city; in a parallel way the military bases are becoming larger at the expense of the neighboring rural territories.

369 Even before this last war, the None village of Tiali,
423 located one kilometer from the city, was the first to be de-
[712] prived of about a third of its land by the establishment of the camp of military aviation. In 1947 plans to extend this same base brought about the complete evacuation of Thiès-none which was established south of the railroad, in the vicinity of Sapko. Almost all of these fields were relinquished to the military authorities. Finally, in 1953, execution of the plan for the urbanization of the city obliged the inhabitants of Wango to rebuild their huts in the quarter of Greater Thiès. Part of these lands have been relinquished to the municipality.

369 The land shrinks, the population grows; in order to subsist, a part of the rural population is obliged to go to work in the city.

But before studying this question of the changing of the
[361] rural worker into an urban worker, we shall see whether the presence of the city has an influence on the plan of the village and especially on the settlement pattern.

Serer FA32
Wolof MS30
Bambara FA8

S 369 361 SR [361] W [361] [351]

/376 cont./

The appearance of the village itself varies according to the ethnic groups. Among the None, it is tightly grouped around a little central plaza, in the middle of which grows a majestic baobab. The Wolof disperses his compounds of huts, each delimited by a tapade (1) made of plaited millet-stalks.

1. Tapade: a kind of walling made of straw, bamboo, branches, which separates the space between two familial compounds.

This dispersion is also found at Karamoko and at Keur-Issa-Bambara.

Apparently the city seems not to have had an influence on the arrangement proper of the village. It has very nearly preserved its old plan.

S 342 SR [342] [343]

Even today the traditional mode of construction of the hut appears different according to the ethnic group. The None erect strong mud dwellings on a square base with a floor of stamped earth; the whole is covered by a roof of thatch. The kitchen, on the other hand, is made of some posts fastened to the ground itself and supporting a roof of palmyra leaves.

W [342] B [342]

/377/ The Wolof prefers straw or plaited millet stalks as material. The house rests merely on the sandy ground, without any floor of stamped earth. The Bambara willingly lives in a hut of straw, but he is careful to fill in the interstices with mud. The floor is of stamped earth; a wide pent roof generally protects the entrance. Sometimes two huts are connected by a kind of veranda where he spends the evening; mud is frequently utilized in this group. /Fig. 2 appears here./

S SR 342 369

The proximity of the city has to a certain extent improved the traditional modes of construction. The plan and the material used have been improved.

The hut with a single room and a square base has been replaced by a cottage with a rectangular base and often containing two rooms with the narrow window closed by a solid shutter.

Serer FA32
Wolof MS30

/377 cont./

S SR 342 369 Although the walls are still constructed of mud, they have been strengthened by a plastering of cement which prevents their rapid "dissolution" under the action of the rain. In general the thatched roof has been replaced by a covering of corrugated metal. What the dwelling gains in strength, it loses in comfort: the absence of the ceiling, the thinness

S SR [361]

Fig. 2. Thiès-none, a village little urbanized, with mud huts and thatched roofs.

/378/ of the metal, and the lack of ventilation give the interior of the rooms a suffocating atmosphere in the warm season and a cold one in winter.

These improvements may have numerous variations: hut with square base, plastered with cement, with a thatched roof; hut made entirely from retrieved planks. /Fig. 3 appears here./

These modernized dwellings are numerous, particularly in the None villages; 22 out of 204 (including kitchens) are made of mud with cement plastering and roofing other than thatch. They

W [342] are rarer in the Bambara agglomerations. /379/ absent at Keur-Mamour

[text continues on p.11]

3: Savonnet--10 E-5 (no date) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37
Serer FA32

/328/

S
SR
361
137

Fig. 3. Tiali, entrance of the village: in the foreground, the harvest of millet in stacks; in the background, some permanent houses with a corrugated-metal roof.

S SR /379 cont./
369 and at Diakhaté where the hut of straw or purely of mud
[342] prevails. Could it be that the occupation of mason to which
W some None seem to devote themselves is a factor in this
[342] modernization of their settlements?

SR A certain "coquetry" absent in the bush villages leads
[463] some autochthones to lay out a little flower garden near their
S hut (Tiali, Keur-Issa-Bambara)..
[351]

The presence of the city is also reflected in the equip-
S ment used by the rural people. The furniture is always sum-
369 mary, but more and more the iron bed is replacing the lat-
352 tice of wood or the mat put on the ground itself. A mattress,
[513] a military blanket, and commonly a mosquito net of a very light fabric complete this relative comfort. Often a little table of unpainted wood, a chair made of old boxes, a bit
S of mirror hung on the wall, and sometimes an impressive
[353] number of photographs, or, lacking them, pages cut out of an illustrated magazine pasted to the walls, give a special stamp to this interior, which is no longer typically rural. Sometimes one even has the surprise of encountering in these modest interiors a wardrobe and a little buffet, which adorn, the more since they are not utilized, the room of a privileged native. But this comfort is an exception.

S The calabash, which is the very foundation of the
369 kitchen utensils, is still commonly utilized for household
415 tasks and for the common meals. Nevertheless the cast-iron or aluminum saucepan is no longer a luxury; the glass and above all the bottle are in common use.

S The clothing, too, has been modified. The loincloth
369 in bright colors, laboriously woven by the Toucouleur
291 /Tukolor/ weaver, durable but expensive, has become a
177 luxury. Imported printed cloth of moderate price has supplanted it everywhere. The white robe with embroidery has
S become the festive garment par excellence; the shorts, the
[292] trousers, and the jacket, often furnished by the European, are now the clothes utilized for work.

/379 cont./

S 369 [262] Only food seems to have undergone only slight improvement: the couscous of millet or rice (a little fish or meat during periods of abundance) are basic in their diet. Bread, rarely eaten during the meal, is reserved for children; S [271] it takes the place of cake. Water remains the essential drink of the Moslem; water, palm wine (during the harvest), [273] and grape wine (on feast days) are consumed by the non-SR [273] Islamized None.

The frugal housewife profits from the proximity of the S 369 241 438 escale for /380/ the daily sale in the market of the products of her personal garden. She cultivates tomatoes, beans, pumpkins, and okra. At Keur-Issa-Bambara she has tried, with greater or lesser success, to cultivate potatoes and salad greens; the gathering of mangoes also procures a little profit S [372] for her. When the harvest from the garden is exhausted, the collection of dead wood which she will take to sell in the market in the form of little bundles will yield a few coins for her.

In parallel fashion, the husband-cultivator harvests on a plot of his lougan products that are easy to sell on the Thiès market; at Keur-Issa-Bambara he lays out flooded rice-fields and cultivates the sweet potato and manioc, part of which is S SR 369 438 offered to the clientele of the escale.

During the dry season the None principally works at gathering palmyra leaves; they will be sold, as bundles of [314] thatch, for making roofs for the huts of the urban quarters; [342] after the harvest he carries dried groundnut leaves to the city [231] for fodder for the little horses harnessed to the taxicabs.

S SR 369 234 438 Despite the ready sale that can be made with cattle, they are not very numerous. When the epizootic diseases have spared them, they give an appreciable profit to their owner through the sale of milk. At Tiali, the only herd in the village, which contains about 30 animals, belongs to a S SR F single breeder. It is guarded by Peul shepherds who lead it [239] to graze in the neighboring woodlands. The morning milk [465] and the calves belong to the owner; the evening milk goes

S SR 369 438 /380 cont./

to the shepherd as compensation for services rendered. Although lactation is very poor (one to two liters per day per head), this sale practiced in the city at a relatively high price (30 francs per liter) is a source of not inconsiderable profit. [234] [233] [465]

F [233] [465] The Sérère, despite the poor food resources he commands, practices for the benefit of Europeans the raising of pigs in the narrow and miry enclosures formed by stakes driven deeply into the ground and close together. SR [231] [417]

The mode of settlement and the economy of these suburban villages, although they have not had profound modifications, nevertheless are in the process of continual reorganization and adaptation. S [361]

These very modest contributions of the urban economy thin out very rapidly as one goes farther from the city. Karamoko and Keur-Mamour, located six and seven kilometers from the escale, and even Diakhaté, which is nearer, give the appearance of wholly rural villages. The women who each morning leave in Indian file /381/ to sell their products in the city make up the single element that enters into the circuit of the new economy offered to them.

S 121 369 Has the social and economic organization, on the other hand, been more profoundly modified? An examination of the ethnic and functional composition of the groups of the villages will permit an understanding of the data on this problem.

For this study we have grouped the villages under three rubrics:

1. The assemblage of Tiali, Thiès-None, and Sapko; near the escale, but having undergone perturbations in their economy by the loss of part of their land.

2. Keur-Mamour and Karamoko form the group farthest from the city.

3. Diakhaté and Keur-Issa-Bambara are the two villages near the escale which have not suffered any loss of territory. S

SR 369 162 The first assemblage musters a total population of 405

S
SR /381 cont./
369 inhabitants. These three villages are located less than two
[162] kilometers from the first urban quarters, consequently a favorable location for the daily departure of workers for the escale.

S The ethnic composition of these agglomerations, despite
SR the urban proximity (favorable for the mixing of peoples), has
369 remained homogeneous. At Sapko there is no foreign element;
162 at Tiali two Wolof and one Sérère-Sine were working there
[563] temporarily at the time of the time of the inquiry; by contrast, nearly a tenth of the population of Thiès-None is made up of individuals belonging to non-Sérère ethnic groups (Wolof, Toucouleur, Peul). A parallel must be drawn between this
S quite relative heterogeneity and the almost total Islamiza-
SR tion of the locality. Nearly four-fifths of the population of
[771] Thiès-None has embraced this religion; Sapko and Tiali, by contrast, remain essentially Catholic or fetishistic, the Moslems living there generally being transient elements.

S A kind of self-defense by the Catholic group that lives
SR in a region largely Islamized seems to be one of the primary
582 reasons for this ethnic integrity. Under the influence of the
794 fathers, who possess, it seems, a profound authority over every
[563] Christian agglomeration, marriages occur from None village to None village and between Catholics (1).

S
SR 1. The woman seems to be the element through which the transition from the
[177] Catholic religion to the Moslem religion occurs. The young Christian who marries a Moslem no longer practices and quickly abjures her first religion; her children and the whole line will become Islamized under the paternal influence.

S
SR /382/ An examination of the male and economically
162 active population of these three agglomerations gives the
369 result that 38% of its elements have remained essentially

S /382 cont./
SR agricultural, 27% work wholly at Thiès, and 31% divide
162 their activity between the city and the country, depending
369 on the season and the labor market.

S Thus, the decrease in the cultivable area has brought
SR about a decrease in the number of cultivators. But the None
241 is above all a man of the soil, a peasant. Even as a laborer, he will not give up his bit of land which will give him a harvest. Each evening upon his return from work, he will take up his iler (1) and go to cultivate his lougan of millet

S
SR
[412]

1. Hilaire or iler: implement par excellence of the Senegalese cultivator, made up of a metal blade in the shape of a heart fixed to a long handle.

S or groundnuts. And if he has an occupation that suits him in
SR the city and in addition personally owns good land? He will
241 hire the services of a navétane (2) to whom he will relinquish
369
427

2. Seasonal agricultural worker.

a portion of his land and to whom he will grant some free time for his personal crops. This navétane will work his fields, and, through this procedure, he will be able to sell or amass a considerable harvest at the end of the year.

S An examination of the occupation of temporary or
SR permanent workers shows an important number of laborers,
162 19, of masons, 12, and a more modest number of boys
463 /domestic workers/ and shopkeepers, 8, out of a total of 71 workers. These results corroborate those given in the human study of the escale of Thiès.

S In spite of a relatively close urban neighborhood, the
SR number of inhabitants understanding French is very modest:
162 only 33 understand our language; 15 children out of a hundred
191 go to the nearby French school. These results may appear
[871] deceptive if one considers that all the conditions of the milieu seem favorable for closer contact with the European element.

/382 cont./

S 162 An examination of the suburban villages farthest from Thiès will give even lower figures.

S 162 563 Karamoko, located seven kilometers from the city, musters 106 inhabitants. Its ethnic composition is clearly different from that of the above None villages. Very great heterogeneity prevails there; it is made up of 30% Bambara, 30% Wassoulonké, and 25% Peul-Toucouleur. The Bambara and Wassoulonké form the ethnic base of the village, of which they were the creators. The other elements through the play of marriages have superimposed themselves on these groups.

W [563] /383/ Keur-Mamour, by contrast, has remained Wolof; only a few Peul shepherds have infiltrated into the village.

S 162 369 463 The distance from the urban center has considerably reduced the relations with Thiès. They have both remained rural: less than 10% of the economically active male population have non-agricultural work; more than 60% have remained wholly faithful to the land.

S W 369 463 317 At Keur-Mamour, although some elements were formerly employed in the escale itself, at the time of the inquiry only one-tenth were employed as laborers at the Péchiney phosphate quarries located in the vicinity of their village. (We have here an indirect effect of the urban presence: the opening of extra-urban yards offering extra-rural work to the neighboring villages.) As a consequence no worker was employed in the city itself.

S 369 Karamoko and Keur-Mamour thus present limited characteristics of the urban suburbs.

Keur-Issa-Bambara and Diakhaté, located in the vicinity of the escale (about one kilometer from the first outskirts), would have to form the type proper of the suburb.

S 369 563 162 W [563] The ethnic composition is essentially Wolof at Diakhaté, composite at Keur-Issa-Bambara. In this latter agglomeration the Bambara, the Peul, and the Toucouleur respectively account for 30% in the composition of the group. The remainder is made up of Wassoulonké, Wolof, Malinké, and Sarakolé. Consequently the heterogeneity seems to be greater there than

/383 cont./

369 563 162 at Karamoko. This leads to the supposition that there is great instability on the part of the families who, coming from the Sudan, for example, momentarily settle in the village before being integrated into the urban population of Thiès.

An examination of the table below[1] will permit a comparison of the structure of the four non-None villages (the None villages are homogeneous, as we have seen above).

/384/ In the predominately rural villages, the number 369 563 162 166 of individuals born in the village almost balances the number of those born outside: Karamoko, 34 as against 35; Keur-Mamour, 28 as against 22. It should be emphasized that at Keur-Mamour most of the men were born in the village itself, 21 as against 3, but by contrast most of the women are of outside origin, 19 as against 7. At Karamoko, on the other hand, an equal number of men and women leave their village of birth to settle elsewhere.

In the predominately urban agglomerations, the individuals who come from the outside are clearly in the majority. At Diakhaté, 31 are natives of the village as against 48 from the outside. At Keur-Issa-Bambara, only 23 are natives of the village as against 51 from the outside. Let us note that the number of men and the number of women born outside of the village are nearly identical: 22 men as against 29 women at Keur-Issa-Bambara, 23 as against 25 at Diakhaté.

These comparative figures emphasize a greater ethnic mixture in the villages whose economy is marked by the presence of the city.

The villages of Sudanese origin in particular require complementary data concerning the place of origin of the emigration. 563 162 166 To what extent do these villages maintain relations with their country of origin? Does the emigration movement toward Senegal, primed at the end of the last century, continue with as much strength in our day?

An examination of the place of birth of individuals belonging to the over-40 age group (early emigration) and the individuals not having reached this age (recent emigration) will illuminate

[1] [see cat 116, p 18 - ANALYST]

3: Savonnet--18 E-5 (no date) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S
W
162
166

/383/

Persons Over 15 Years of Age	Karamoko = 106 persons (Bambara)			K. I. Bambara = 116 persons (Bambara)			K. Mamour = 86 persons (Wolof)			Diakhaté = 121 persons (Wolof)		
	M	W	Total	M	W	Total	M	W	Total	M	W	Total
Born in the village	15	19	34	18	5	23	21	7	28	18	13	31
Born outside of the village	16	19	35	22	29	51	3	19	22	23	25	48

/384 cont./

S 563 162 166 this problem.

At Keur-Issa-Bambara, out of 37 individuals born in the Sudan, 20 are over 40 years of age. At Karamoko, 28 are natives of the Sudan, but 18 have reached 40 years of age. Out of 65 individuals of Sudanese origin, only 27 are young elements. Over half of those classed under the rubric "emigrant" were aged persons, some of whom perhaps assisted in the creation of the village in Senegal.

These few figures are an index of the mediocrity of the present immigration of the Sudanese to the region of Thiès. The unions and the displacements of families or of familial elements seem to occur now between relatively close villages.

S 162 463 369 An examination of the division of activities at Diakhaté and at Keur-Issa-Bambara will permit to some extent "gauging" their index of urbanization.

W [162] [463] [369] At Diakhaté, 20% of the economically active male population work /385/ at Thiès, 60% have remained agriculturalists, and the remainder, 20%, is composed of workers of mixed activities, half-rural, half-urban. Keur-Issa-Bambara shows only a very low percentage of workers in mixed activities: 60% are rural; more than 30% work in the city (one sees that this latter figure is slightly higher than that for the None villages, 27%).

S [498] The workshops of the Dakar-Niger employ a considerable number of permanent or temporary workers from these two villages. These two localities in fact furnish 19 permanent city workers, 15 of whom are employed on the Dakar-Niger; among the four temporary workers from Keur-Issa-Bambara, three have worked in this enterprise. In addition, Diakhaté furnishes temporarily for the city: four tailors, one mason, and one carpenter.

W [463]

S 162 [191] [871] Let us add that a minority of natives, despite the contacts that they can have with Europeans, understand our language, a little less than 5%. The number of children who go to the European school is almost null, scarcely 1%.

S 369 After this quick study of some types of villages in the vicinity

369 /385 cont./
of Thiès, it clearly appears that the characteristics of the suburbs of the African cities noticeably differ from those of the cities of the mother country. Can one use the term suburb /banlieue/ for these types of suburban villages? Sapko, Thiès-none, Tiali, and Keur-Issa-Bambara, on the one hand, can be regarded as suburb villages; in fact they possess the essential characteristics: proximity to the city, relatively high percentage of workers traveling daily to the enterprises of Thiès, a considerable number of mixed workers, sale of truck-gardening products in the city, relatively high percentage of improved dwellings...

Keur-Mamour and Karamoko already appear to be outside of the economy of the city and cannot be regarded as suburb villages. Diakhaté would be a marginal type; despite its proximity to the first urban quarters, its economy seems to be little influenced by that of the city (only a fifth of the economically active population works in the city).

On the mother-country plan, a city such as Thiès would
[498] have an important industrial suburb. Let us not forget that the workshops of the Dakar-Niger engage nearly 2,500 native workers.

369 The agrarian economy plays an essential role in these
241 villages, but it has remained traditional. The introduction of new crops and the extension of the zones of gardening and orchards are very slight. The woman has perhaps extended by a few square meters the /386/ area of her vegetable garden for the cultivation of vegetables intended for sale at the market, but no serious systematic arrangement has been made. Traditional cultivation, with its archaic methods, prevails everywhere. If
369 the need for money stimulates the rural person to offer his services
464 in the city, he seems to choose the place of work nearest to his
166 home. Is it truly out of liking that the Wolof of Diakhaté hire themselves out to the workshops of the Dakar-Niger? Is it out of liking that the Nono near the mercantile quarters hire themselves out as laborers or boys? The proximity of the place of work seems to enter considerably into the choice of urban occupation.

The suburban village, as we have noted several times, has

/386 cont./

369 two important roles in the economy of the escale: it is a re-
464 serve of workers who can be employed temporarily; it is also
166 the position of withdrawal when enforced idleness and strikes interdict work in the city.

[463] A functional examination of the different human groups has in fact revealed that an important proportion of the male elements has a hybrid occupation: half-agricultural, half-laborer. These workers fluctuating between two activities seem like a shock troop of laborers who are employed on the occasion of great undertakings: embankments for the laying of the road from Dakar to Thiès, putting through and establishing new streets, the installation of the military camps, the extraction of phosphate in the Péchiney quarries... The yard closed, they temporarily return to the land.

These villages are also withdrawal points in case of prolonged work stoppages. If the worker is discharged from his establishment, if he suffers from enforced idleness in his occupation, is he totally deprived of money? He knows that he will [574] be able to wait for better times thanks to the hospitality that he will find in the neighboring agglomeration. Settled near the escale, it will be possible for him to look for work every day.

369 Reserve of manpower, reserve of food products intended principally for the native, these are the two points that justify the term suburb given to these few villages.

Their external appearance and their internal organization as we have described it scarcely correspond to our Western view of the suburban phenomenon. But we should place this problem in its African milieu where the conceptions of the city, animal breeding, agriculture... profoundly differ from ours.

How long will this type of suburb of the African cities preserve this rural appearance? Evolution in the modes /387/ of settlement, in interior comfort, in the extension of new crops..., already primed in some villages, will progressively continue in the neighboring agglomerations.

In spite of appearances, modifications occur rapidly

/387 cont./

369 (especially since the end of the last World War). It is probable that at such a rate in a few decades these suburban villages will have lost their rural appearance and will look like extensions of urban quarters. It seems difficult to foretell, however, to what extent and in what direction the Africa of tomorrow will be able to sustain its present efforts at evolution.

3: Savonnet MS37 Senegal

BULLETIN
DE
L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'AFRIQUE NOIRE

ANNÉE 1955
TOME DIX-SEPTIÈME

SÉRIE B, SCIENCES HUMAINES

[Title page]

DAKAR, IFAN

3: Savonnet MS37 Senegal

Bulletin de l'I. F. A. N.
T. XVII, sér. B, nos 3-4, 1955.

Les villages de la banlieue thiessoise

par G. SAVONNET.

Comme complément à une étude de géographie urbaine sur Thiès [1], ville située à une soixantaine de kilomètres à vol d'oiseau de Dakar, nous avons poursuivi une enquête dans ses villages de banlieue.

Cette enquête a eu pour objet unique de connaître dans quelle mesure la présence d'une ville fondée de toute pièce par les Européens, dès 1885 (date du passage du chemin de fer Dakar-Saint-Louis) peut avoir des incidences sur les groupements ruraux voisins.

Cette étude, par conséquent, ne traitera que des rapports qui peuvent exister entre la ville et les villages voisins ; les problèmes agricoles ne seront retenus que dans la mesure où ils permettront d'éclairer certains aspects de la question.

Le choix a porté sur sept villages. Ces agglomérations rassemblent des populations qui appartiennent aux principaux groupes ethniques de la région : Sérère-none à Tiali, Thiès-none, Sapko ; Wolof à Diakhaté, Keur-Mamour ; Bambara et Wassoulonké à Karamoko et à Keur-Issa-Bambara (voir plan ci-contre). Toutes ces localités sont situées dans un rayon inférieur à 10 km. autour de la ville.

La présence d'une ville peut dans une région donnée avoir perturbé la vie rurale d'une façon très différente selon l'éloignement du village à la cité, selon sa composition ethnique.

Elle peut avoir agi sur le choix de l'emplacement du village : sur son dispositif, sur la création de nouveaux groupements ruraux.

Elle peut avoir apporté des modifications dans le type d'habitat traditionnel, dans son confort intérieur, dans ses modes et méthodes de culture.

(1) « La ville de Thiès » à paraître prochainement dans les *Études Sénégalaises*.

[p. 371]

3: Savonnet MS37 Senegal

Enfin et surtout, elle a pu amener des perturbations plus ou moins profondes dans l'organisation sociale et économique du village.

Avant de développer ces trois points, il paraît nécessaire de situer, à grands traits, le milieu naturel dans lequel se sont installées ces agglomérations rurales.

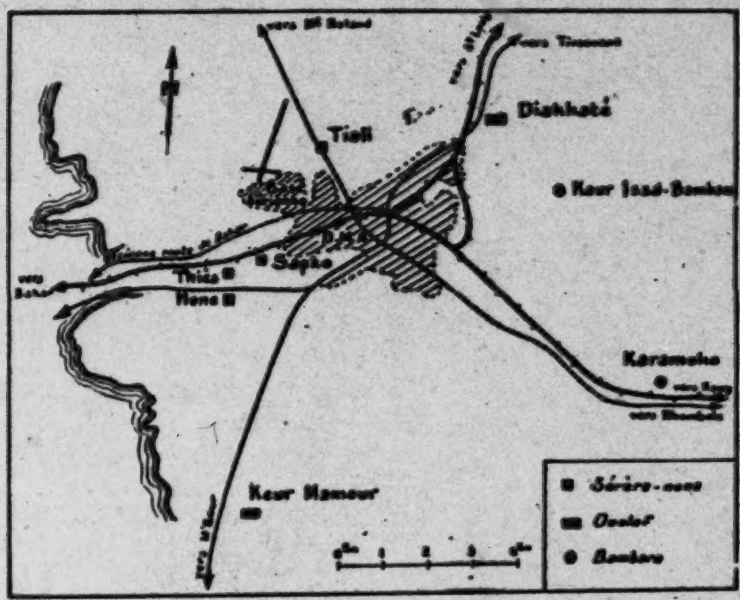


Fig. 1. — Thiès, situation des villages cités dans cette étude.

Comme nous pouvons le supposer, l'environnement de chacune d'elles diffère selon le groupe ethnique qui l'occupe.

Le village none se divise généralement en plusieurs hameaux d'importance différente, mais nettement séparés les uns des autres. Ils se cachent du regard sous des frondaisons serrées au sein d'une campagne arborée. En saison des pluies, il est possible de passer à proximité de l'un d'eux sans que l'œil en soupçonne l'existence. Seul le bruit du pilon dans les mortiers à mil nous en révèle la présence.

Les champs s'étendent aux alentours dans un paysage de bocage. Le palmier-rônier aux feuilles rappelant par la forme d'immenses

3: Savonnet MS37 Senegal

éventails, prédomine sur les autres essences. La récolte du vin de palme pratiquée par le Sérère-none paraît être la raison première de leur nombre imposant. Le « *kad* » (1) est plus rare que dans le Sine-Saloum, le baobab (au tronc écorcé pour la fabrication des cordes) est conservé seulement dans le village même. Aux abords immédiats, les champs de mil sont nombreux, ceux d'arachide paraissent être moins vastes. Aucune parcelle du sol, en dehors de quelques croûtes ferrugineuses, ne semble avoir été épargnée par la culture.

Tout différent est le cadre du village wolof. La campagne environnante est nue. Quelques arbres rares mettent leurs taches sombres dans ce paysage monotone. L'agglomération se repère facilement par les frondaisons plus sombres qui l'entourent.

Les villages bambara se situent tantôt dans un paysage de bocage : Keur-Issa-Bambara, tantôt dans un paysage dénudé : Karamoko. Il semblerait que ce groupe a calqué sa méthode de culture sur celle pratiquée dans le voisinage.

Keur-Issa-Bambara rappelle le village none, non par son plan interne (il est dispersé en ordre lâche) mais par le paysage arboré qui l'environne.

Karamoko, par contre, ressemble à un village wolof : peu ou pas d'arbres excepté autour des cases, paysage monotone et découvert.

L'installation et la croissance rapide de Thiès semblent avoir entraîné des perturbations dans la vie des villages voisins, principalement à la fin du siècle dernier.

Avant l'arrivée de la garnison française, en 1865, le Sérère-none règne en maître sur la région. Il s'avère l'ennemi traditionnel du Wolof et il subit de temps à autre les incursions de ses « *tiédos* » (2).

Après l'installation définitive de nos troupes à Thiès et surtout après le passage de la voie ferrée Dakar-Saint-Louis, en 1885, les Wolof viennent nombreux s'installer près de notre poste fortifié ; en même temps ils profitent de notre présence pacificatrice pour créer, au cœur du pays none, des villages de culture. Diakhaté s'installe aux environs de 1875-1880 (certains de ses fondateurs auraient travaillé à la construction de la ligne de chemin de fer en 1884) ; Keur-Mamour est créé à une époque contemporaine.

Les villages bambara sont plus récents : 1890-1895. Ce sont les

(1) « *kad* » en wolof — *Fadherbia albida* (A. Cunv.).
(2) *Tiédos* : nom donné aux chefs guerriers wolof du Cayor.

3: Savonnet MS37 Senegal

années terribles où SAMORY met à sac le Soudan méridional et la région du Wassoulou (E. de Beyla en Haute Guinée). Par voie d'autorité, semble-t-il, une partie des Bambara et des Wassoulonké libérés par nos troupes sont dirigés sur le Sénégal où la politique de la culture de l'arachide est dans son plein développement. Keur-Issa-Bambara et Karamoko auraient été fondés à cette époque.

A ce moment, la ville de Thiès est peu importante : elle compte un peu plus d'un millier d'habitants. Cependant, elle commence à jouer un rôle de premier plan : sa présence impose la paix dans la région autrefois si troublée par les brigandages none ou les incursions des guerriers wolof. Sa présence facilite l'installation des villages dont le nombre cessera de s'accroître dans la période postérieure : toutes les terres capables de supporter des cultures sont utilisées au début de ce siècle.

Dans les années qui précèdent la Grande Guerre, l'escale (1) est devenue un centre commercial relativement florissant : chaque année plus de 20.000 tonnes d'arachides sont manutentionnées chez les traitants de la place et expédiées par voie de fer sur les port de Rufisque ou Dakar. Dès 1907 les premiers travaux de chemin de fer Thiès-Kayes sont commencés. Toute cette activité économique nouvelle exige l'emploi de nombreux manœuvres qui sont en partie recrutés sur place mais aussi dans les villages voisins.

Pendant la saison sèche les travaux des champs sont réduits. Un certain nombre de ruraux du voisinage viennent offrir leurs services comme manœuvres dans les factoreries (2) ou sur les chantiers nouvellement ouverts. Une partie de ces villageois estiment que ce genre de travail est moins pénible et plus rémunérateur que celui de la culture. Ils s'attachent définitivement à la vie urbaine et viennent grossir la population des quartiers indigènes déjà établis.

D'autres reviennent chaque soir au village. Pendant la saison des pluies ils quittent leur emploi urbain et consacrent toute leur activité aux travaux des champs.

Pendant toute cette période antérieure à la Grande Guerre, le village suburbain paraît jouer le rôle d'intermédiaire ou plutôt de relais entre le hameau de brousse et la ville. L'appel de main-d'œuvre non spécialisée a eu des échos, non seulement aux abords

(1) Escale : par extension signifie lieu d'étape, agglomération commerciale.
(2) Factorerie : boutique où l'on vend de tout.

3: Savonnet MS37 Senegal

de la ville même, mais aussi dans les bourgs plus éloignés. La curiosité du nouveau, l'occasion de s'évader de la tutelle familiale et surtout les promesses de gains relativement élevés provoquent un certain mouvement d'immigration vers les escales.

Par le jeu de l'hospitalité très large qu'il sait recevoir du parent ou de l'ami qui vit à Diakhaté ou à Keur-Issa-Bambara, le rural s'installe dans ces agglomérations. Il travail le *lougan* (1) de son hôte ; après quelques mois il obtient du chef du village une petite concession ; il se construit une case, souvent sa famille le rejoint et vient partager sa vie. Diakhaté, Keur-Issa-Bambara s'agrandissent. Le nouvel installé met à profit l'inactivité que lui impose la saison sèche pour offrir ses services temporaires aux établissements urbains. Chaque année il partage son activité qui devient mi-urbaine, mi-rurale. Un emploi stable lui est-il offert à la ville, il abandonne les soins de son *lougan* à sa famille et se consacre entièrement à son activité nouvelle. Pendant quelques mois, il acceptera ce déplacement journalier, mais il n'a aucune attache profonde dans le village qui l'accueillit autrefois ; fatigué de ses longues marches journalières, poussé peut-être aussi par une sorte d'orgueil à devenir citadin, il quittera définitivement, lui et sa famille, la vie rurale et s'installera dans les cases des quartiers indigènes thiessois.

Peut-être aura-t-il conservé un petit *lougan* au village ? Sa famille viendra l'entretenir chaque année ; peut-être l'aura-t-il échangé contre un champ situé à proximité de son nouvel établissement ? En général, par une sorte d'atavisme paysan, il conserve toujours à proximité de son quartier un petit lopin de terre La récolte permettra de parer aux disettes possibles, la vente des produits du sol sera un appoint non négligeable, lorsque le chômage ou le manque d'argent se produira.

La période du développement maximum de Keur-Issa-Bambara se situe aux dires des anciens, dans la décade 1910-1920. Ce gonflement de la population exige souvent un dédoublement du village. Des raisons de mésentente familiale, les nécessités de se rapprocher du champ trop éloigné, provoquent cette dissociation en plusieurs hameaux (à Diakhaté par exemple).

Parfois le désaccord entre chefs religieux appartenant à des sectes différentes provoque l'éloignement de fait des deux camps adverses (Keur-Mamour).

Jusqu'ici, la présence de la cité n'agit qu'indirectement en pro-

(1) *Lougan* : terme wolof signifiant champ de culture.

3: Savonnet MS37 Senegal

voquant le gonflement, le dédoublement du village et l'émigration temporaire ou définitive de quelques éléments. Elle peut avoir aussi des incidences plus directes sur les agglomérations.

Pendant les trois dernières décades, par l'installation des vastes ateliers de réparation du Dakar-Niger, Thiès est en passe de devenir une ville industrielle ; parallèlement les bases militaires s'élargissent aux dépens des territoires ruraux voisins.

Dès avant cette dernière guerre, le village none de Tiali, situé à 1 km. de la ville, est le premier à être amputé d'un tiers environ de son terroir par l'emprise du camp d'aviation militaire. En 1947 des projets d'extension de cette même base provoquent l'évacuation complète de Thiès-none qui s'établit au S. de la voie ferrée, au voisinage de Sapko. La presque totalité de ces champs sont abandonnés aux autorités militaires. Enfin, la mise à exécution du plan d'urbanisme de la ville oblige, en 1953, les habitants de Wango à reconstruire leurs cases dans le quartier de Grand-Thiès. Une partie de ces terres ont été abandonnées à la Municipalité.

Le terroir se rétrécit, la population s'accroît ; pour subsister, une partie des ruraux sont obligés de venir travailler en ville.

Mais avant d'étudier cette question des mutations du travailleur rural en travailleur urbain, nous examinerons si la présence de la ville a une influence sur le plan du village et surtout sur l'habitat.

L'aspect du village lui-même varie selon les groupes ethniques. Il est groupé chez les None, serré autour d'une petite place centrale au milieu de laquelle croît un majestueux baobab. Le Wolof disperse ses carrés de cases, chacun est délimité par une tapade (1) faite de tiges de mil tressés. Cette dispersion se retrouve aussi à Karamoko et à Keur-Issa-Bambara.

Apparemment, la ville ne semble pas avoir eu une influence sur le dispositif même du village. A peu de chose près, il a conservé son plan ancien.

Aujourd'hui encore le mode de construction traditionnel de la case apparaît différent selon le groupe ethnique. Le None établit des habitations solides en banco à base carrée avec un plancher fait de terre battue, le tout est recouvert par un toit de chaume. La cuisine, par contre, est constituée par quelques pieux fichés à même le sol et supportant un toit de feuilles de rôniers.

(1) Tapade : sorte de clôture faite en paille, bambou, branchage qui sépare l'aire de deux carrés familiaux.

3: Savonnet MS37 Senegal

Le Wolof préfère la paille ou la tige de mil tressée comme matériau. La case repose à même le sol de sable sans plancher de terre battue. Le Bambara habite volontiers une cabane en paille, mais il aura eu soin de colmater les interstices par des placages de boue. Le sol est de terre battue, un vaste auvent protège généralement la porte d'entrée. Parfois deux cases sont reliées entre elles par une sorte de véranda où il se tient le soir ; le banco est fréquemment utilisé dans ce groupe.

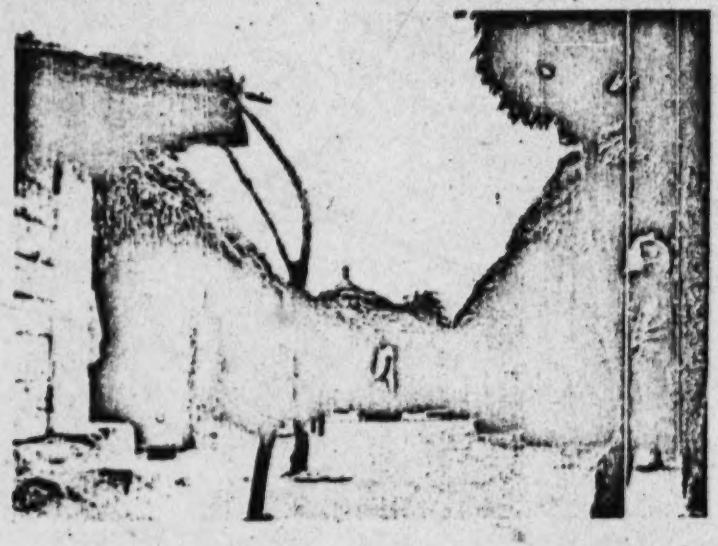


Fig. 2. — Thiès-Nord : village peu urbanisé avec des cases en banco et des toits de chaume.

La proximité de la ville a dans une certaine mesure, amélioré les modes de construction traditionnelle. Le plan, le matériau employé ont été améliorés.

La case à chambre unique et à base carrée est remplacée par une maisonnette à base rectangulaire comprenant souvent deux chambres avec fenêtre étroite close par un volet plein. Si les murs sont toujours construits en banco, ils ont été consolidés par un crépissage de ciment qui évite leur « dissolution » rapide sous l'action de la pluie. Le toit de chaume est en général remplacé par une couverture de tôle ondulée. Ce que l'habitation gagne en solidité, elle le perd en confort : l'absence de plafond, la faible épais-

3: Savonnet MS37 Senegal

seur de la tôle, le manque de ventilation donnent à l'intérieur de la pièce une atmosphère étouffante en saison chaude, froide en hiver.

Ces améliorations peuvent être l'objet de variantes nombreuses : case à base carrée crépie de ciment avec toit de chaume, case fabriquée totalement à partir de planches de récupération.

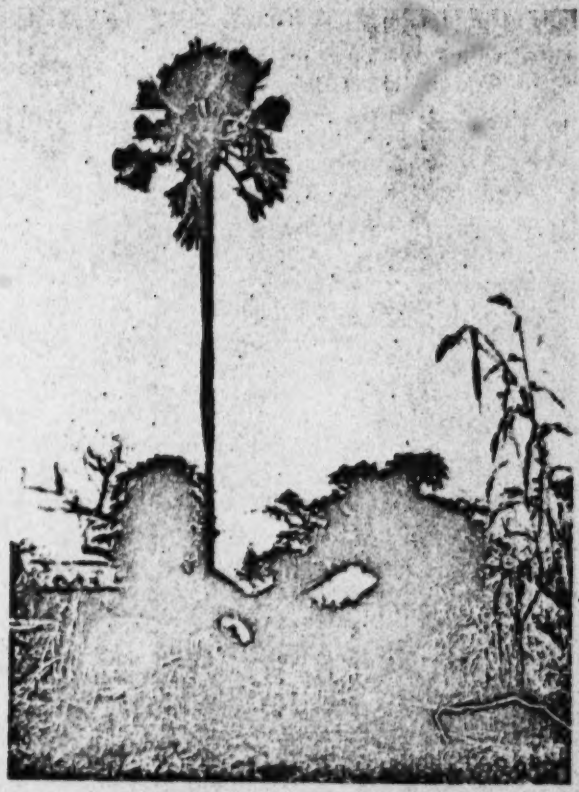


FIG. 3. — TIALI : entrée du village au 1er plan la récolte de mil en meules, au 2e plan quelques maisons en dur avec toit de tôle ondulée.

Ces habitations modernisées sont nombreuses, particulièrement dans les villages none ; 22 sur 204 (cuisines comprises) sont construites en banco, avec crépissage de ciment, et toiture autre que de chaume. Elles sont plus rares dans les agglomérations bambara,

3: Savonnet MS37 Senegal

absentes à Keur-Mamour et à Diakhaté où règne la case en paille ou en pur banco. Peut-être le métier de maçon auquel semblent se consacrer quelques None est-il un facteur de cette modernisation dans leur habitat ?

Une certaine « coquetterie » absente des villages de brousse, incitent quelques autochtones à aménager auprès de leur case un jardinet de fleurs (Tiali, Keur-Issa-Bambara).

La présence de la ville se reflète aussi dans le matériel employé par le rural. Le mobilier est toujours sommaire, mais de plus en plus le lit de fer se substitue à la claie de bois ou à la natte posée à même le sol. Un matelas, une couverture militaire, et fréquemment une moustiquaire en tissu très léger, complètent ce confort relatif. Souvent une petite table de bois blanc, une chaise confectionnée dans de vieilles caisses, un morceau de miroir accroché au mur et parfois un nombre impressionnant de photographies ou, à défaut, de pages découpées dans un illustré collées aux parois, donnent un cachet particulier à cet intérieur qui n'est plus typiquement rural. On a même parfois la surprise de rencontrer dans ces intérieurs modestes une armoire à glace, un petit buffet qui ornent, plus qu'ils ne sont utilisés, une chambre d'indigène privilégié. Mais ce confort est l'exception.

La calebasse qui est à la base même des ustensiles de cuisine est encore très utilisée pour les travaux ménagers et pour les repas en commun. Cependant la casserole en fer battu ou en aluminium n'est plus un luxe ; le verre, et surtout la bouteille sont d'usage courant.

Le vêtement a, lui aussi, été modifié. Le pagne aux couleurs vives, tissé laborieusement par le tisserand toucouleur, solide mais coûteux, devient un luxe. Le tissu imprimé, d'importation, d'un prix modique, l'a supplanté partout. Le boubou blanc avec broderie est devenu l'habit de fête par excellence ; le short, le pantalon, la veste, donnés souvent par l'Européen, sont maintenant les tenues de travail utilisées.

Seule l'alimentation paraît n'avoir subi que de faibles améliorations : le couscous de mil ou de riz (un peu de poisson ou de viande pendant les périodes d'abondance) sont à la base de leur nourriture. Le pain, rarement consommé pendant les repas, est réservé aux enfants : il tient lieu de gâteau. L'eau demeure la boisson essentielle du musulman ; l'eau, le vin de palme (pendant la récolte), le vin de vigne (aux jours de fête) sont consommés par les None non islamisés.

La ménagère a su tirer profit de la proximité de l'escale pour la

3: Savonnet 14537 Senegal

mise en vente journalière au marché des produits de son jardin personnel. Elle cultive tomate, haricot, courge, gombo. A Keur-Issa-Bambara, elle a essayé, avec plus ou moins de succès la culture de la pomme de terre et de la salade ; la cueillette des mangues lui procure aussi de petits bénéfices. Lorsque la récolte du jardin est épuisée, le ramassage du bois mort qu'elle ira vendre au marché sous forme de petit fagot, lui rapportera quelques pièces de monnaie.

Parallèlement, le mari cultivateur récolte sur une parcelle de son *lougan* des produits faciles à écouler sur le marché thiessois : à Keur-Issa-Bambara, il a su aménager des rizières inondées, cultiver la patate douce, le manioc, dont une partie est offerte à la clientèle de l'escale.

Pendant la saison sèche, le None, principalement, procède à la cueillette des feuilles de palmier-rônier ; elles seront vendues, ainsi que les bottes de chaumes, pour la confection des toitures de cases des quartiers urbains ; après la récolte il apporte à la ville des fanes d'arachide séchées pour la nourriture des petits chevaux attelés aux voitures-taxi.

Malgré l'écoulement facile dont il pourrait être l'objet, le cheptel est peu nombreux. Lorsque les épizooties l'ont épargné, il offre par la vente du lait un bénéfice appréciable à son propriétaire. A Tiali, le seul troupeau du village, qui comprend une trentaine de bêtes, appartient à un unique cultivateur. Il est gardé par des bergers peul qui le mènent paître dans la forêt voisine. Le lait du matin et les veaux appartiennent au propriétaire, le lait du soir revient au berger comme rétribution du service rendu. Bien que la lactation soit très faible (un à deux litres par jour et par tête), cette vente, pratiquée en ville à un prix relativement élevé (30 fr. le litre), est source d'un profit non négligeable.

Le Sérère, malgré les faibles ressources alimentaires dont il dispose, pratique pour le compte d'Européens l'élevage du porc dans des enceintes étroites et boueuses formés par des pieux serrés les uns contre les autres et fichés profondément dans le sol.

Le mode d'habitat, l'économie de ces villages suburbains, s'ils n'ont pas reçu de modifications profondes, sont cependant en voie de réorganisation et d'adaptation continuelles.

Ces apports bien modestes de l'économie urbaine s'amenuisent très rapidement au fur et à mesure que l'on s'éloigne de la ville. Karamoko, Keur-Mamour situés à 6 et 7 km. de l'escale et même Diakhaté plus proche, apparaissent sous l'aspect de villages totalement ruraux. Les femmes qui, chaque matin, partent en file

3: Savonnet MS37 Senegal

indienne vendre leurs produits à la ville, forment le seul élément à entrer dans le circuit de l'économie nouvelle qui leur est offerte.

L'organisation sociale et économique s'est-elle par contre modifiée plus profondément ? L'examen de la composition ethnique et fonctionnelle des groupes de villages permettra de saisir les données de ce problème.

Pour cette étude, nous avons groupé les villages sous trois rubriques :

1° L'ensemble Tiali, Thiès-None, Sapko ; proches de l'escale, mais ayant subi des perturbations dans leur économie par l'amputation d'une partie de leur terroir.

2° Keur-Mamour, Karamoko forment le groupe le plus éloigné de la ville.

3° Diakhaté et Keur-Issa-Bambara sont les deux villages proches de l'escale qui n'ont subi aucune perte de territoire.

Le premier ensemble réunit une population globale de 405 habitants. Ces trois villages sont situés à moins de 2 km. des premiers quartiers urbains, situation par conséquent privilégiée pour un départ journalier d'ouvriers vers l'escale.

La composition ethnique de ces agglomérations, malgré la proximité urbaine (favorable aubrassage humain) est demeuré homogène. A Sapko, il n'existe aucun élément étranger ; à Tiali, deux Wolof et un Sérère-Sine y travaillaient temporairement au moment de l'enquête ; par contre, près d'un dixième de la population de Thiès-None est formée d'individus appartenant à des groupes ethniques non sérère (Wolof, Toucouleur, Peul). Cette hétérogénéité toute relative doit être mise en parallèle avec l'islamisation presque totale de la localité. Près de 4/5 de la population de Thiès-None a embrassé cette religion : Sapko et Tiali par contre, demeurent essentiellement catholiques ou fétichistes ; les musulmans qui y vivent sont en général des éléments de passage.

Une sorte d'auto-défense du groupe catholique qui vit dans une région en grande partie islamisée, apparaît comme une des raisons premières de cette intégrité ethnique. Sous l'influence des Pères qui possèdent, semble-t-il, une profonde autorité sur chaque agglomération chrétienne, les mariages se produisent de village none à village none et entre catholiques (1).

(1) La femme apparaît comme l'élément par lequel se produit le passage de la religion catholique à la religion musulmane. La jeune chrétienne qui épouse un musulman ne pratique plus et abjure rapidement sa première religion ; ses enfants et toute la lignée seront islamisés sous l'influence paternelle.

3: Savonnet MS37 Senegal

L'examen de la population masculine et active de ces trois agglomérations fait ressortir que 38 % de ses éléments sont demeurés essentiellement agricoles, 27 % travaillent totalement à Thiès et 31 % partagent leur activité entre la ville et la campagne, selon la saison et le marché du travail.

Ainsi, la diminution des surfaces cultivables a provoqué une diminution du nombre des cultivateurs. Or, le None est avant tout un homme de la terre, un paysan. Même ouvrier, il n'abandonnera pas son lopin de terre qui lui fournira sa récolte. Chaque soir à la rentrée du travail, il prendra son *iler* (1) et ira cultiver son *lougan* de mil ou d'arachide. A-t-il un métier convenable à la ville et par surcroît, possède-t-il personnellement de bonnes terres ? Il louera les services d'un *navétane* (2) auquel il abandonnera une portion de son terroir et auquel il octroiera certains moments de liberté pour ses cultures personnelles. Ce *navétane* entretiendra ses champs et, par ce procédé, il pourra à la fin de l'année vendre ou amasser une récolte importante.

L'examen de la profession des ouvriers temporaires ou définitifs fait ressortir un nombre important de manœuvres : 19, de maçons : 12, un nombre plus modeste de boys et de boutiquiers : 8 sur un total de 71 ouvriers. Ces résultats corroborent ceux présentés dans l'étude humaine de l'escale de Thiès.

En dépit d'un voisinage urbain relativement proche, le nombre des habitants comprenant le français est très modeste : 33 seulement entendent notre langue, 15 enfants sur une centaine fréquentent l'école française voisine. Ces résultats peuvent apparaître décevants si l'on considère que toutes les conditions du milieu apparaissent favorables à des contacts plus étroits avec l'élément européen.

L'examen des villages suburbains les plus éloignés de Thiès offriront des chiffres encore plus faibles.

Karamoko, situé à 7 km. de la ville, groupe 106 habitants. Sa formation ethnique est nettement différente de celle des précédents villages none. Une hétérogénéité très grande y règne : il est formé de 30 % de Bambara, 30 % de Wassoulonké et 25 % de Peul-Toucouleur. Bambara et Wassoulonké forment le fond ethnique du village dont ils furent les créateurs. Les autres éléments par le jeu des mariages sont venus se superposer à ces groupes.

---

(1) *Hilaire* ou *iler* ; instrument par excellence du cultivateur sénégalais constitué par une lame de métal en forme de cœur fixé à un long manche.

(2) Ouvrier agricole saisonnier.

3: Savonnet MS37 Senegal

Keur-Mamour, par contre, est demeuré wolof, seuls quelques bergers peul se sont infiltrés dans le village.

L'éloignement du centre urbain a considérablement réduit les relations avec Thiès. Ils sont demeurés tous deux ruraux : moins de 10 % de la population masculine active ont un travail non agricole ; plus de 60 % sont demeurés totalement fidèles à la terre.

A Keur-Mamour, si quelques éléments ont été employés autrefois dans l'escale même, au moment de l'enquête 1/10e seulement étaient employés comme manœuvres aux carrières des phosphates Péchiney, situées à proximité de leur village. (Nous assistons ici à une incidence indirecte de la présence urbaine : ouverture de chantiers extra-urbains offrant des travaux extra-ruraux aux villages voisins.) Aucun travailleur par conséquent n'était employé dans la ville elle-même.

Karamoko et Keur-Mamour présentent donc des caractères limites de banlieue urbaine.

Keur-Issa-Bambara et Diakhaté, situés à proximité de l'escale (à 1 km. environ des premiers faubours), devraient former le type même de banlieue.

La composition ethnique est essentiellement wolof à Diakhaté, composite à Keur-Issa-Bambara. Dans cette dernière agglomération ; les Bambara, les Peul, les Toucouleur entrent respectivement pour 30 % dans la composition du groupe. Le reste est constitué par des Wassoulonké, Wolof, Malinké, Sarakolé. L'hétérogénéité y apparaît par conséquent plus importante qu'à Karamoko. Elle peut faire supposer une instabilité très grande de la part de familles qui, venues du Soudan par exemple, s'établiraient momentanément dans le village avant de s'intégrer dans la population urbaine thiessoise.

L'examen du tableau ci-dessous permettra de comparer la structure des quatre villages non none (les villages none sont homogènes comme nous l'avons vu plus haut).

PERS. AGÉES DE PLUS DE 15 ANS	KARAMOKO = 106 H. (Bambara)			K. I. BAMBARA = 116 H. (Bambara)			K. MAMOUR = 86 H. (Wolof)			DIAKHATÉ = 121 H. (Wolof)		
	H	F	total	H	F	total	H	F	total	H	F	total
Nées au village	15	19	34	18	5	23	21	7	28	18	13	31
Nées hors du village.	16	19	35	22	29	51	3	19	22	23	25	48

3: Savonnet MS37 Senegal

Dans les villages à prédominance rurale, le nombre d'individus nés au village équilibre à peu près le nombre de ceux nés au dehors : Karamoko : 34 contre 35 ; à Keur-Mamour : 28 contre 22. Il faut souligner qu'à Keur-Mamour la majeure partie des hommes sont nés dans le village même : 21 contre 3, par contre, la majeure partie des femmes sont d'origine extérieure : 19 contre 7. A Karamoko, par contre, un nombre égal d'hommes et de femmes quittent le village natal pour s'établir ailleurs.

Dans les agglomérations à prédominance urbaine, les individus venus de l'extérieur sont en nette supériorité. A Diakhaté, 31 sont natifs du village contre 48 venus de l'extérieur. A Keur-Issa-Bambara, 23 seulement sont natifs du village contre 51 de l'extérieur. Notons ici que le nombre des hommes et des femmes nés hors du village est à peu de chose près identique : 22 hommes contre 29 femmes à Keur-Issa-Bambara, 23 contre 25 à Diakhaté.

Ces chiffres comparatifs soulignent un brassage ethnique plus important dans les villages à économie marquée par la présence de la ville.

Les villages d'origine soudanaise, particulièrement, demandent un complément de précisions quant au lieu d'origine de l'émigration. Dans quelle mesure ces villages sont-ils toujours en relation avec leur pays d'origine ? Le mouvement d'émigration vers le Sénégal, amorcé à la fin du siècle dernier, se poursuit-il avec autant de force de nos jours ?

L'examen du lieu de naissance des individus appartenant au groupe d'âge supérieur à 40 ans (ancienne émigration) et les individus n'ayant pas atteint cet âge (émigration récente) éclairera ce problème.

A Keur-Issa-Bambara, sur 37 individus nés au Soudan, 20 sont âgés de plus de 40 ans. A Karamoko, 28 sont natifs du Soudan, mais 18 ont atteint 40 ans. Sur 65 individus d'origine soudanaise, 27 seulement sont des éléments jeunes. Plus de la moitié, classée sous la rubrique « émigrant », est formée de gens âgés, certains d'entre eux ont peut-être assisté à la création du village au Sénégal.

Ces quelques chiffres sont l'indice de la médiocrité de l'immigration actuelle des Soudanais vers la région de Thiès. Les unions, les déplacements de famille ou d'éléments familiaux, semblent se produire maintenant entre villages relativement voisins.

L'examen de la répartition des activités à Diakhaté et à Keur-Issa-Bambara permettra dans une certaine mesure de « jauger » leur indice d'urbanisation.

A Diakhaté, 20 % de la population masculine active travaillent

3: Savonnet MS37 Senegal

à Thiès, 60 % sont demeurés agriculteurs ; le reste, soit 20 %, est composé de travailleurs à activité mixte : mi-ruraux, mi-urbains. Keur-Issa-Bambara n'offre qu'une très faible poucentage de travailleurs à activité mixte : 60 % sont des ruraux, plus de 30 % travaillent en ville (on voit que ce dernier chiffre est légèrement supérieur à celui rencontré dans les villages none : 27 %).

Les ateliers du Dakar-Niger emploient un nombre important de travailleurs fixes ou temporaires de ces deux villages. Ces deux localités fournissent, en effet, 19 ouvriers permanents à la ville, dont 15 d'entre eux sont employés au Dakar-Niger ; parmi les 4 travailleurs temporaires de Keur-Issa-Bambara, 3 ont travaillé dans cette entreprise. En outre, Diakhaté fournit temporairement à la ville, 4 couturiers, 1 maçon et 1 menuisier.

Ajoutons qu'une minorité d'indigènes, malgré les contacts qu'ils peuvent avoir avec les Européens, entendent notre langue : un peu moins de 5 %. Le nombre des enfants qui fréquentent l'école européenne est à peu près nul : à peine 1 %.

Après cette rapide étude de quelques types de villages des environs de Thiès, il apparaît nettement que les caractères de la banlieue des villes africaines diffèrent sensiblement de ceux des villes métropolitaines. Peut-on employer le terme de banlieue pour ces types de villages suburbains ? Sapko, Thiès-none, Tiali, Keur-Issa-Bambara d'une part, peuvent être considérés comme villages de banlieue ; ils en possèdent, en effet, les caractères essentiels : proximité de la ville, pourcentage relativement élevé d'ouvriers se déplaçant quotidiennement vers les entreprises thiessoises, nombre important de travailleurs mixtes, vente de produits maraîchers dans la ville, pourcentage relativement élevé d'habitations améliorées...

Keur-Mamour et Karamoko apparaissent déjà en dehors de l'économie de la ville et ne peuvent être considérés comme villages de banlieue. Diakhaté serait un type marginal : malgré sa proximité des premiers quartiers urbains, son économie semble médiocrement influencée par celle de la ville (un cinquième de la population active seulement travaille en ville).

Sur le plan métropolitain, une ville telle que Thiès posséderait une banlieue industrielle importante. N'oublions pas que les ateliers du Dakar-Niger occupent près de 2.500 ouvriers autochtones.

L'économie agraire joue un rôle essentiel dans ces villages, mais elle est demeurée traditionnelle. L'introduction de nouvelles cultures, l'extension des zones de jardinage et des vergers, est très faible. La femme a étendu peut-être de quelques mètres carrés la

3: Savonnet MS37 Senegal

superficie de son potager pour la culture des légumes destinés à la vente au marché ; mais aucun aménagement systématique sérieux n'a été fait. La culture traditionnelle, avec ses moyens archaïques, l'emporte partout. Si le besoin d'argent incite le rural à offrir ses services à la ville, il paraît choisir le lieu de travail le plus proche de chez lui. Est-ce vraiment par goût que le wolof de Diakhaté se fait embaucher aux ateliers du Dakar-Niger ? Est-ce par goût que le None proche des quartiers commerçants s'est fait manœuvre ou boy ? La proximité du lieu de travail semble entrer pour une bonne part dans le choix du métier urbain.

Le village suburbain tient, comme nous l'avons remarqué à plusieurs reprises, deux rôles importants dans l'économie de l'escale : il est une réserve de travailleurs que l'on peut employer temporairement ; il est aussi la position de repli lorsque le chômage, les grèves interdisent le travail en ville.

L'examen fonctionnel des différents groupes humains a, en effet, révélé qu'une proportion importante d'éléments masculins possède un métier hybride : mi-agricole, mi-ouvrier. Ces travailleurs flottant entre deux activités apparaissent comme groupe de choc de manœuvres qui seront employés à l'occasion des gros travaux : terrassements pour l'établissement de la route de Dakar à Thiès, le percement et l'établissement des nouvelles rues, l'installation des Camps militaires, l'extraction du phosphate dans les carrières Péchiney... Le chantier fermé, ils reviennent à la terre temporairement.

Ces villages sont aussi les points de repli en cas d'arrêt de travail prolongé. L'ouvrier est-il remercié de son établissement, le chômage sévit-il dans son corps de métier, est-il totalement démuni d'argent ? Il sait qu'il pourra attendre des jours meilleurs grâce à l'hospitalité qu'il trouvera dans l'agglomération voisine. Installé à proximité de l'escale, il lui sera possible chaque jour de rechercher du travail.

Réserve de main-d'œuvre, réserve de produits de consommation destinés principalement à l'indigène, tels sont les deux points qui justifient l'appellation de banlieue donnée à ces quelques villages.

Leur aspect extérieur, leur organisation interne tels que nous les avons décrits, ne correspondent guère à notre optique occidentale du phénomène suburbain. Mais nous devrons placer ce problème dans son milieu africain où les conceptions de la ville, de l'élevage, de l'agriculture... diffèrent profondément des nôtres.

Pendant combien de temps ce type de banlieue des villes africaines conservera-t-il cet aspect rural ? L'évolution dans les modes

3: Savonnet MS37 Senegal

d'habitat, dans le confort intérieur, dans l'extension des cultures nouvelles... amorcée déjà dans quelques villages se poursuivra progressivement dans les agglomérations voisines.

Malgré les apparences, des modifications se produisent rapidement (principalement depuis la fin de la dernière guerre mondiale). Il est probable qu'à un tel rythme, dans quelques décades, ces villages suburbains auront abandonné leur aspect rural et apparaîtront comme des prolongements de quartiers urbains. Mais il paraît difficile de prévoir dans quelle mesure et dans quel sens l'Afrique, demain, saura soutenir son effort actuel d'évolution.

4: Mersadier U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

000

The Structure of Familial Budgets in Thiès
/Sructure de budgets familiaux à Thiès/

by Yvon Mersadier

Dakar: 1955
Bulletin de L'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire
Vol. 17, Series B, pp. 388-432

Translated from the French by Grace W. Moore

Human Relations Area Files
1963

/Title page/

/388/

369 The city of Thiès, 60 kilometers east of Dakar, contains
433 36,000 inhabitants, according to a recent census. All of its
[162] activity seems to be centered around four principal poles: commercial, industrial, administrative, and military.

Its commercial activity is due to its position at the cross-
[487] roads of important paths of communication: railroad lines from Dakar to Saint-Louis, from Dakar to Bamako, and from Thiès to Kaolack, and roads from Dakar to Saint-Louis and from Dakar to Diourbel, Tambacounda, and the Sudan and Guinea.

It also owes the essential part of its industrial activity to
[498] this implantation at an important rail crossroads; the repair
[464] shops of the Dakar-Niger rail system, where nearly 1,000 workers of all grades are employed, have been set up there.

Apart from the workshops of the Dakar-Niger, it must not
[497] be forgotten that Thiès is also where the management of this
[634] system resides. And it is also the principal administrative point of a circle /cercle, an administrative district/. We will thus find, besides the workers, a rather large proportion of office employees, managers, and executives.

[712] Finally, the military function of Thiès is due to the presence of two important camps: the "DMA" (Détachement Motorisé Autonome), and an air base.

Besides these four centers of activities which give this city a modern character (economically speaking, at least), a fifth one intervenes in a not inconsiderable proportion. A rather large
[166] population of cultivators, who in winter cultivate groundnuts and
[241] millet in nearby fields, has settled on the periphery of Thiès. And the city is the point to which, at the time of the groundnut trade, all of the agricultural activity of the circle comes to assert itself. Its commercial importance is thereby further increased.

162 /389/ Here is some numerical information concerning
463 the occupational distribution of the population of Thiès.

Out of an economically active population of 11,040 inhabitants at the date of the census, there were counted:

/389 cont./

162
463

11.6%	in the primary sector,		
	of whom:	agriculturalists	10.9%
44.5%	in the secondary sector,		
	of whom:	unskilled workers	0.7%
		skilled workers in construction	10%
		skilled modern workers	14.6%
		staffs and supervisors	1.1%
41.9%	in the tertiary sector,		
	of whom:	domestics	2.7%
		commerce, transport and repair	11.4%
		sweepers, orderlies, porters	1.6%
		unskilled office employees	3.3%
		skilled office employees	1.8%
		highly skilled office employees and administrative staffs	1.1%
		public force	16.4% (1)

[113]

1. This information is taken from the publication drawn up by the Service de la statistique générale du Haut Commissariat de l'A.O.F., "Commune mixte de Thiès.

/389 cont./

162 463 [113]

Recensement 1953 /The mixed commune of Thiès. 1953 Census/." Dakar, 1954. We have only converted into percentages the figures given on pp. 25 ff. of this pamphlet.

121 114 By its very diversity, this population thus constitutes an excellent field of study and experiment for the sociologist and the economist.

A socio-demographic inquiry by questionnaire was made previously, in November and December 1953. The sample chosen contained 900 heads of families questioned (2). We

2. The results of this inquiry, which was supervised by Dr. Massé, will be published in the next issue of this Bulletin.

wished to complete it partially by studying some family budgets in a very limited number, 46, three of which proved to be useless.

114 Under no pretext should any general value be given to the results that are going to be presented. The trends shown will have to be confirmed by other, more extensive inquiries, in conformity with the resolution adopted in 1926 by the Third Conference of the Statisticiens du travail, which specified: "it is better to give up certain details which the inquiry might reveal than to reduce the number of families studied."

/390/ We have almost systematically taken a course opposite to this recommendation, because the information now available on the daily life of the Africans in the cities of Senegal (and in French West Africa in its totality) is still too insufficient for one to be able to undertake broader inquiries. On the other hand, and this was a major obstacle, we did not have at our disposal sufficient means to study a larger number of families. This has saved us from the temptation of looking too far; daily African life is at this point complex, particularly in its economic aspect, so that in certain respects the work accomplished and the documents

/390 cont./

114 collected seemed to us later to lack precision.

125 The method that we have used is simple. For the seven African investigators (each concerning himself with six or seven families) and for the director of the investigation, it was primarily a matter of being present as often as possible and as long as possible with each family and of noting in a notebook devised for this use all of the financial activities of the family each day during a month of 31 days (1)

1. For detailed information on the method followed for this investigation, cf. Y. Mersadier, "Un essai d'enquête sur le niveau de vie d'une population urbaine /An attempt to investigate the living standard of an urban population/" [communication at the conference of experts on the social consequences of industrialization and the urban problems in Africa, Abidjan, September 1954].

[511] (the month of March 1954). We obtained quite accurate data on the "routine" expenses of the month, principally food, fuel, illumination, and maintenance, and basic elements for the calculation of other categories of expenses, clothing, material, equipment, various familial expenses, religious expenses, etc., which we wanted to estimate for the period of a year. But here we had to rely in part on the statements of the persons investigated. Nevertheless the almost continual presence of the investigator with the families for a month permitted him, in several questionings and by rechecking, to arrive at figures which we believe are quite close to reality.

125 434 The real income was often quite difficult to estimate. In principle there should have been no difficulties in the case of salaried workers, who willingly show their pay receipt. For the

/390 cont./

125 artisans it was necessary, aside from their family accounts, to
434 consider those of their occupational activity; with regard to the cultivators, it is certainly /391/ among them that the greatest percentage of error is found. We have taken into account the proceeds from the sale of their harvest, often underestimated by the one concerned, the portion for home consumption, and the income obtained by supplementary activities practiced in the dry season, in order to arrive at an income figure that could be compared to that for salaried workers.

125 But, nearly all of the women, almost all of whom declare
434 themselves to be "without occupation," have minor sources of
462 income that permit them to balance a budget, or at least partially to make up a deficit. It is often a matter of small-scale
[536] commerce, sometimes domestic work, and sometimes the talents
[565] of an actress which attract sympathy and gifts, as we verified for a family of the griot /singer, storyteller/ caste. It was therefore necessary to look closely at each case before setting an exact figure. We nevertheless believe that we have been mistaken in two or three cases, which will reveal themselves below.

125 Of course, there were often cases where in a family, or
434 rather let us say in the same "unit of consumption," since this
592 is the term that we shall use most often (1), several persons

[104] 1. Each time that we speak of "family,"
[594] it is actually the unit of consumption that is involved. To designate the familial grouping in the Western sense of the word, we shall use the term "restricted family."

received income. The entire income retained is not always the sum of these incomes. We have studied the budgets of groups and not the budgets of individuals. Now, these groups, these "units of consumption," only rarely correspond to the restricted family of Western type. They often contain individuals who, whether or not they have a kin tie with a member of the restricted family, on the one hand participate in the economic

/391 cont./

125 life of the unit of consumption and, on the other hand, part
434 company with it for other activities.
592 The clearest case is that of the boarder who takes his
[437] meals in the unit of consumption and pays the cost of these meals. Though simple, it is exceptional, as is the extreme case where all the incomes are put together. Between the two, there are many possible situations. For each unit of consumption we have therefore set apart, from among all the incomes received by its members, that which is available to the head of the family to support his restricted family and to fulfill his obligations with regard to the other members of the unit of consumption who are not part of the restricted family.

125 /392/ However limited our sample may be, we have
*511 tried all the same to make it representative of the structure of the population of Thiès, as much from the standpoint of the ethnic group of the unit of consumption as from those of occupational group, income, and number of persons. Therefore, the selection of 45 families (the figure initially anticipated) suitable for us and agreeing to submit to the investigation was diffcult (1). The 43 units of consumption which are of concern

1. In this selection of families, our task was greatly facilitated by the syndical organization , the religious authorities, and the heads of quarters.

125 here are distributed as follows.
592 From the standpoint of income:
434 13 between 5,000 and 10,000 francs per month,
*511 9 between 10,000 and 15,000 francs per month,
5 between 15,000 and 20,000 francs per month,
8 between 20,000 and 30,000 francs per month,
8 above 30,000 francs per month, with one of 81,000 francs.

/392 cont./

125 From the standpoint of occupational distribution:
463
*511
5 cultivators.
8 laborers (one specialist).
3 orderlies.
3 "unskilled" office employees.
2 "skilled office employees.
1 "highly skilled" office employee.
6 "unskilled" workers.
4 "skilled" workers.
2 workers having functions of authority.
1 police sergeant.
4 artisans.
1 truck-gardener.
1 private accountant.
1 teacher.
1 African doctor.

125 /393/ From the standpoint of ethnic group (1):
162
*511

1. According to the census of 1953, the distribution of the population of Thiès by principal ethnic groups is as follows:

Wolof	65.5%	Peul	3%
Toucouleur	9.3%	Sarakolé	1.8%
Bambara	6.8%	Moors	2.4%
Sérère	5.1%	Others	6.1%

26 Wolof.
4 Bambara.
3 Sarakolé.
3 Peul.
3 Toucouleur /Tukolor/.
2 Sérère /Serer/.
2 Moors.

/393 cont./

125 Finally, according to the number of persons making up
592 the unit of consumption:
*511

5 of less than 5 persons,
18 of 5 to 9 persons,
12 of 10 to 14 persons,
5 of 15 to 19 persons,
3 of 20 persons and more.

[434] On all of these points the distribution is nearly normal. Only the group with incomes of 15,000 to 20,000 francs is somewhat scantily represented, the average of the lower group being perhaps, on the contrary, somewhat too high.

125 But this apparent balance presents a problem; every
*511 family, or nearly every one, has its own characteristics, and there are no two that are strictly comparable. This is why, in order to facilitate an understanding of certain points concerning the consumption of food commodities, we have had recourse to a device that is a little risky; from the standards utilized for the calculation of theoretical food requirements by the Institut National d'Hygiène de Paris, we have used for men, for women, and for children, according to their age category, a coefficient:

1 for men
0.8 for the women,
0.5 for children from 2 to 6 years old,
0.7 for children from 7 to 12 years old,
0.8 for children from 13 to 20 years old.

/394/ By addition, we have obtained a theoretical composition of the unit of consumption in men alone. We can then calculate the consumption of this theoretical man. Nursing children have been included in the category of 2 to 5 years old, but we have allowed the coefficient of 0.8 for nursing women. This compensates for that.

*511 Table I[1] gives the composition of the unit of consumption
592 in men, women, and children, and in the last column its com-
594 position in "man units." The column preceding the one for the

[1] [see cat. 116, pp 11-12. - ANALYST]

/394 cont./

*511 592 594 unit of consumption (U. C.) contains a figure indicating how many persons make up the restricted family constituting the nucleus of each unit of consumption.

There is absolute correspondence in only 5 cases: Nos. 6, 9, 26, 34, and 42.

[595] Family No. 6 contains, besides the head of the family, a mattress-maker, and his two wives, two daughters that he had by his first wife, one by his second wife, and one by a third, deceased wife.

The baker, head of family No. 9, has only one wife. But she previously had two children before this marriage, a girl and a boy. Both of them live with the head of the family. The daughter, previously married, then divorced, has with her a child six years old. Finally, there is a child of the two spouses.

With No. 26 we truly find a family of Western type: a man, his wife, and their only child. The head of the family is 28 years old, just like that of family No. 34, which likewise includes a man, his wife, and two children. It is true that this young clerk of the P. T. T. has married a second wife, who lives in Dakar.

[595] Finally, in family No. 42, the head of the family, who has two wives, lives alone with them and their eight children, of whom one is already grown-up.

Aside from these four families, all of the units of consumption contain one or several external elements with or without kin ties with the familial nucleus.

*511 592 This almost general "parasitism" (1) is more important in

1. The word is customary. We put it between quotation marks in order to indicate to what degree it is inadequate. It is wrong primarily because of being pejorative, since it designates a traditional phenomenon.

/394 cont./

*511 592 the units of consumption with high incomes, for example, in families 31, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41. But its financial consequences will be more oppressive in the others /395/

/Table I appears here./

*511 434 /396/ Table II[1] lists, along with the ethnic group and the occupation of the head of the unit of consumption, the incomes in increasing order and the routine expenses verified during the month of the investigation. The small incomes, up to 10,000 francs, are essentially those of the laborers, orderlies, and two very petty artisans, a mattress-maker and a baker. We also find (No. 11) an auxiliary (1) worker of the

[104 463]

1. The name "auxiliary" D. N. serves here to designate unskilled workers. It was borrowed from administrative terminology (used by the Dakar-Niger, "D. N.").

Dakar-Niger, whose low income is explained by the fact that he is just starting in his occupation.

The cultivator whose income we have estimated at 8,150 francs actually cultivates very few fields. His family lives by means of very small-scale commerce practiced separately by the head of the family, his two wives, and his two sisters, all very old.

The incomes from 10,000 to 15,000 francs per month are those of the office employees and the unskilled workers (in the case of the laborer No. 15 there are actually two incomes which are combined). Two cultivators open the series starting at 15,000 and then we find successively the workers and skilled employees, a large-scale cultivator, and, in the category of large incomes, besides a truck-gardener and a jeweler, a representative of the liberal professions, our teachers and our doctor, the managerial workers and employees. No.

1 [see cat 116 pp13+14 - ANALYST]

/395/

Table I

*511
592
594

No.	Income	Restricted Family	U.C.	M	W	2-6	7-12	13-20	Theor. U.C.
1	5,800	7	13	3	3	3	1	3	10
2	6,100	5	10	1	1	3	2	1	5.5
3	6,500	3	4	1	2	0	0	0	2.8
4	6,700	4	7	1	3	2	1	0	5.10
5	6,745	5	7	2	2	1	1	1	5.6
6	7,000	7	7	1	2	3	1	0	4.8
7	7,000	2	5	1	2	1	1	0	3.8
8	7,410	2	5	2	3	0	0	0	4.4
9	7,500	6	6	1	2	0	2	1	4.4
10	8,150	8	12	2	6	1	1	2	9.6
11	8,950	3	6	1	2	1	2	0	4.5
12	9,000	4	8	3	2	2	1	0	6.3
13	9,800	3	5	2	2	0	0	1	4.4
14	10,000	10	10	3	3	1	2	2	8.9
15	10,000	6	7	2	2	1	2	0	5.5
16	10,675	3	4	1	1	0	2	0	3.2
17	10,800	5	9	1	3	1	2	2	6.9
18	11,000	3	4	2	2	0	0	0	3.6
19	11,950	5	9	4	2	3	0	0	7.1
20	12,000	6	10	3	3	3	1	0	7.6
21	13,000	5	5	1	2	1	1	0	3.8
22	14,000	8	12	2	5	2	3	0	9.1
23	15,000	14	18	4	4	6	0	4	13.4
24	15,000	17	21	2	5	8	4	2	14.4
25	15,630	7	15	4	5	3	0	3	11.9
26	15,800	4	4	1	1	1	0	0	2.3
27	16,200	10	12	2	3	2	3	2	9.1
28	22,000	16	18	4	4	1	2	7	14.7
29	22,000	4	11	4	3	3	1	0	8.6
30	24,000	5	7	1	3	2	1	0	5.1
31	25,000	10	18	2	3	1	1	11	14.4

/395 Table I cont./

*511
592
594

No.	Income	Restricted Family	U. C.	M	W	2-6	7-12	13-20	Theor. U. C.
32	25,000	5	6	2	1	1	1	1	4.8
33	25,000	4	7	1	2	2	1	1	5.1
34	25,900	4	4	2	1	1	0	0	3.3
35	27,000	5	6	1	2	1	1	1	4.6
36	34,000	3	15	4	7	1	0	3	12.5
37	36,000	11	24	7	10	2	2	3	19.8
38	50,000	5	13	5	5	3	0	0	10.5
39	51,000	6	11	1	3	2	4	1	8.0
40	55,000	15	24	4	9	7	4	0	17.5
41	55,000	8	14	2	6	3	3	0	10.4
42	56,000	11	11	2	2	1	3	3	8.6
43	81,000	4	5	2	1	1	1	0	4.0

/396 cont./

*511
[434]

43 also has two incomes (the same as No. 25).

A comparison of the incomes and expenses, up until about the middle of the table, shows an excess of expenses, sometimes not very important, but nevertheless exceeding 1,000 francs in two cases (Nos, 4 and 20). One might view this as the result of an error of estimation, either in the incomes or in the expenses. But it must not be forgotten that only routine expenses are still being dealt with, that is to say, for the small incomes that concern us now, the outlays made for food. It is therefore necessary to add to this figure all of the other expenses which we have calculated for a period of a year (divided by 12, of course). Table III,[1] where we have shown the monthly deficit in absolute value and in percentage of income, shows us what our budgets then become: the highest deficit is 45.2%, the lowest /397/ /Table II appears here/ /398/ 6.4% (1). (This last, strangely enough, is found in the case of one of families having the smallest income.)

1. We are not counting here the

1[See cat 116, pp 17-18 - ANALYST]

4: Mersadier--13 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

Thiès
Wolof MS30
Serer FA32
Tukolor MS27
Fulani MS11
Soninke MS21
Bambara FA8

/397/

Table II

W
SR
T
F
So
B
511
434
463
S
*511
434

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Expenses
1	Sarakolé	Laborer	5,800	5,839
2	Peul	Orderly	6,100	6,726
3	Wolof	Laborer	6,500	5,383
4	Sérère	Laborer	6,700	8,251
5	Toucouleur	Orderly D. N.	6,745	6,772
6	Wolof	Mattress-maker	7,000	7,471
7	Wolof	Laborer	7,000	7,231
8	Wolof	Orderly	7,410	7,234
9	Wolof	Baker	7,500	7,842
10	Wolof	Cultivator	8,150	8,133
11	Moor	Auxiliary D. N.	8,940	9,067
12	Peul	Laborer	9,000	8,952
13	Wolof	Laborer	9,800	9,981
14	Wolof	Cultivator	10,000	8,092
15	Bambara	Laborer	10,000	8,501
16	Bambara	Auxiliary	10,675	10,013
17	Moor	Auxiliary	10,800	10,892
18	Peul	Spec. laborer	11,000	9,816
19	Toucouleur	Accountant	11,950	10,860
20	Bambara	Auxiliary D. N.	12,000	13,557
21	Wolof	Clerk	13,000	13,799
22	Wolof	Auxiliary	14,000	14,405
23	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	9,182
24	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	13,809
25	Wolof	Auxiliary D. N.	15,630	13,801
26	Wolof	Employee P. T. T.	15,800	10,238
27	Wolof	Shoemaker	16,200	10,600
28	Wolof	Worker D. N.	22,000	18,641
29	Toucouleur	Police sergeant	22,000	18,730
30	Wolof	Weigher D. N.	24,000	14,305
31	Wolof	Carpenter	25,000	21,571
32	Wolof	Cultivator	25,000	7,850

Thiès
Serer FA32
Wolof MS30
SONINKE MS21
BAMBARA FA8

/397 cont./ Table II (cont.)

W
9R
90
B
511
434
463
S
*511
434

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Expenses
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25,000	15,706
34	Wolof	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	14,715
35	Wolof	Staff employee D.N.	27,000	16,654
36	Wolof	Private accountant	34,000	19,829
37	Wolof	Truck-gardener	36,000	23,680
38	Wolof	Jeweler	50,000	27,397
39	Sarakolé	Teacher	51,000	21,240
40	Wolof	Staffworker D.N.	55,000	31,004
41	Sarakolé	Head employee D.N.	55,500	21,105
42	Bambara	Chief worker, C.D.N.	56,000	24,548
43	Wolof	Doctor	81,000	34,612

S
*511
/398 cont./

deficits of Nos. 24, 25, and 26, which are less significant. The slenderness of the deficit of No. 3 can be explained by the limited number of persons that the unit of consumption contains.

S
125
*511
in the care of one of the families having the smallest income.)

This deficit is, of course, theoretical. Not having followed these families closely for an entire year, we cannot pretend to present an exact balance-sheet of their budget. It is possible that our percentages would be reduced in the course of a year, or a longer period, either by a reduction in expenses (reduction of consumption, or reduction of the unit of consumption itself) or by the creation of another source of income. The fact remains, however, that they do exist and that they are important.

S
426
*511
It will be easy for us to show where they come from. It is almost impossible to explain rationally their persistence and their

/398 cont./

426 near generality. A continual deficit of 20% of the monthly
*511 income soon creates, for an individual or a group of individuals, an enormous liability inconceivable in a society economically organized according to Western standards. To be loaded with debts is a disgrace in Europe. The non-payment of purchases on credit is sanctioned. Most of the heads of families that we investigated did not hide the sums that they owed, whether because of purchases on credit among the merchants or directly as a consequence of borrowing money. To the extent that they remembered them. And, when a debt is paid, it is often because a sum perhaps larger was borrowed a few moments before.

*511 Only the importance of the practice of selling and buying
452 on credit permits the system to endure. About 80% of the Africans of the cities, in Senegal at least, buy what they need on credit. Little more than the daily marketing for the household (vegetables, condiments, fish and meat) is done with cash. Of course, the costs of buying on credit are overly high: 5, 10, 15% depending on the products, up to 50% sometimes (for cloth, for example). And the merchants who consent to
[443] these practices are for the most part resellers at second or third hand; the cash price itself is higher. But they sell sugar by lumps and matches by the unit...

*511 The African salaried worker, when he receives his salary,
426 in practice pays his debts for the month, and begins to go into
452 debt until the end of the following month. In many cases, as is proved by the debts shown, /399/ /Table III appears here/ /400/ the total of this salary is quite inferior to the sums to
[166] be reimbursed. If then a merchant does not consent to any more credit (in general they are patient), it is always possible to go to another one by changing quarter.

*511 The merchant himself does not lose anything; his prices
452 are sufficiently high so that, even though not paid in full, the sums received permit him to make his own purchases. And he always has some customers with higher incomes who pay their

/400 cont./

*511 452 debts in full. The latter pay for the others, and, if they know it, they are not surprised. It is a deep-rooted survival of the traditional, essentially collective funds in a system based on an institution of individualistic character, being salaried. Likewise, [166] the salaried person who is one day obliged to pay back more debts [602] than he can meet will be able to send his family to spend a few [592] months among relatives whom he has kept in the natal village, and they will see nothing abnormal in it. He himself will live as a "parasite" in a more favored unit of consumption, and no one will be surprised by it (1).

[114] 1. The problems of credit, complex and not very well known, the elements of which are often imperceptible, have not been followed systematically in the course of this investigation. We hope to make them the subject of a series of investigations which will be devoted especially to them.

*511 592 Is it a sign of evolution that, out of the five units of consumption that have not admitted into their midst any element foreign to the restricted family, two are among the youngest, thus capable of being more strongly influenced by ideas of [452] emancipation? Among these two, we have likewise found a lower percentage of purchases on credit. A broader investigation would perhaps confirm this tendency.

*511 Let us return to the 43 families to ascertain that the first balanced budget appears with the first income of 15,000 francs. The next three again have a deficit, but a smaller one. Taking account of the possible margin of error, one can infer, not a deficit, but a certain difficulty in "making ends meet."

This experiment, however, is too limited for one to be able to conclude with certainty that 15,000 francs is the indispensable minimum monthly income.

All of the budgets following No. 27 clearly have a surplus. We previously noted that the "hole" of No. 34 is due to the cost

4: Mersadier--17 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

Thies
SONINKE MS21
FULANI MS11
Wolof MS30
SERER FA32
TUKOLOR MS27
BAMBARA FA8

/399/

Table III

So
F
W
SR
T
B
426
511
S
426
511*

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Monthly Surplus or Deficit	% in Relation to Income
1	Sarakolé	Laborer	5,800	- 1,555	26.8
2	Peul	Orderly	6,100	- 1,642	26.9
3	Wolof	Laborer	6,500	- 416	6.4
4	Sérère	Laborer	6,700	- 3,034	45.2
5	Toucouleur	Orderly D. N.	6,745	- 1,237	18.3
6	Wolof	Mattress-maker	7,000	- 1,471	21.0
7	Wolof	Laborer	7,000	- 2,231	31.8
8	Wolofo	Orderly	7,410	- 1,124	15.1
9	Wolof	Baker	7,500	- 2,967	39.5
10	Wolof	Cultivator	8,150	- 1,641	20.1
11	Moor	Auxiliary D. N.	8,940	- 2,168	29.2
12	Peul	Laborer	9,000	- 1,593	17.5
13	Wolof	Laborer	9,800	- 1,614	16.4
14	Wolof	Cultivator	10,000	- 1,354	13.5
15	Bambara	Laborer	10,000	- 1,621	16.2
16	Bambara	Auxiliary	10,675	- 2,206	20.6
17	Moor	Auxiliary	10,800	- 2,306	21.3
18	Peul	Spec. laborer	11,000	- 1,758	15.9
19	Toucouleur	Accountant	11,950	- 2,418	20.2
20	Bambara	Auxiliary D. N.	12,000	- 2,582	21.5
21	Wolof	Clerk	13,000	- 3,579	27.5
22	Wolof	Auxiliary	14,000	- 1,488	10.6
23	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	+ 452	3.0
24	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	- 426	2.5
25	Wolof	Auxiliary	15,630	- 837	5.3
26	Wolof	Employee P. T. T.	15,800	- 529	3.3
27	Wolof	Shoemaker	16,200	+ 1,567	9.2
28	Wolof	Worker D. N.	22,000	+ 259	1.1
29	Toucouleur	Police sergeant	22,000	+ 286	1.3
30	Wolof	Weigher D. N.	24,000	+ 2,004	8.3
31	Wolof	Carpenter	25,000	+ 1,079	4.3

Thiès
Wolof MS30
Serer FA32
SONINKE MS21
BAMBARA FA8

/399/ Table III (cont.)

W
SR
So
B

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Monthly Surplus or Deficit	% in Relation to Income
32	Wolof	Cultivator	25,000	+ 1,442	5.7
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25,000	+ 1,128	4.5
34	Wolof	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	+ 977	3.7
35	Wolof	Staff employee D.N.	27,000	+ 2,117	7.8
36	Wolof	Private accountant	34,000	+ 751	2.2
37	Wolof	Truck-gardener	36,000	+ 1,237	3.4
38	Wolof	Jeweler	50,000	+ 2,555	5.1
39	Sarakolé	Teacher	51,000	+12,894	25.2
40	Wolof	Staff worker	55,000	+ 2,494	4.5
41	Sarakolé	Head employee D.N.	55,500	+ 5,599	10.0
42	Bambara	Chief worker C.D.N.	56,000	+ 4,726	8.4
43	Wolof	Doctor	81,000	+ 847	1.0

426
511
S
426
511*

S
*511 /400 cont./ of supporting a second wife in another city on an income that is not very high. Nos. 36 and 43 have a lower percentage of surplus, but here we were able to get quite precise information on the utilization of the /401/ surplus and were able to include these sums in the total expenses.

S
178
*262
[369]
[264]

It has become banal to state that the diet of Africans lacks variety. The food habits remain the most deep-rooted, and although one sees imported food products appear more and more among the African families of the cities, it is striking to verify that almost all are merely superimposed on the old ones. The food base, the meals at noon and in the evening, rarely evolves, no matter what the ethnic group, the income, or the

/401 cont./

178 occupation may be. Imported products appear only at breakfast:
*262 bread, sweetened condensed milk, lumps of sugar. The other
[264] two meals are still always composed of four products, rice,
[439] millet, fish, and meat, which may be combined in different ways, and a fifth that is always present, oil. The single element of diversity comes from the more or less great variety and the more or less great quantity of vegetables and manioc that are incorporated into the traditional dishes, and, of course, the skillful proportion of condiments of all sorts.

*511 With a few exceptions (1), the study of the expenses of
*262
[177]

1. The more important exceptions are Nos. 39 and 43. These two units of consumption have entirely adopted European food habits, and are otherwise not comparable with the others. This is why we neglect them a little on this point.

our families for food is very nearly limited, aside from bread, milk, and sugar, to a description of the variations ascertained in the consumption of these few essential products.

One can state that in general all of our families consume rice by liking and millet by necessity. Rice is the food of choice, millet entering in only when the financial situation of the family demands it, or in order all the same to provide a little variety.

243 Rice is 30 to 35% more expensive than millet. It is culti-
311 vated on a small scale in a few wet zones in the countryside
[435] around Thiès, whereas millet grows nearly everywhere. The
*[511] truly productive rice zones closest to Thiès are the Casamance to the south and the lower course of the Senegal to the north. On the east it appears only with the upper course of this river and in the region /402/ drained by the Niger and its tributaries,
*262 in Guinea, and in the Sudan. In reality, it is an imported
177 product. The traditional diet of this region was primarily based on millet.

/402 cont./

*262 Table IV[1] shows, in percentages in proportion to the total
*511 income, the portion for rice and that for millet. We have shown in the last column the proportion, always in relation to 100, of the quantity of millet to the quantity of rice consumed, in order to eliminate the price differences and to make certain facts more obvious.

Let us state first that all of the families without exception consume rice, although four of them never have millet; these are Nos. 18, 26, 36, and, finally, No. 43. For this last one, we have explained the reason for this. Among the other three, one is a Peul family originally from central Guinea, rice country
[167] par excellence, which has simply retained its habits even though its settling in Thiès goes back to the previous generation. The other is a family reduced to three persons who can simply permit themselves such a luxury. The only one that makes itself stand out is thus No. 36, for which one can give no other reason than a concern about originality, which is also manifested, as we shall see below, by the fact that the rice eaten exclusively is never accompanied by meat, but always by fish.

Only 15 families consume a larger quantity of millet than of rice. In order to discover the reasons, let us compare Table IV with Table V.[2] The latter gives us, for rice and millet, the total quantities consumed and the consumption of one of our "theoretical men" for each unit of consumption. It also gives the number of persons which this unit of consumption contains and its theoretical composition in men.

In the case of No. 1, there is an excess of 39.5% in weight of millet over the weight of rice, the purchase of these two commodities utilizing 42.9% of the income. If all of the millet were replaced by rice, on the basis of 32 francs per kilogram, we would reach 57.6%. But the unit of consumption is 13 persons (equivalent to 10 men). Group No. 2 consumes the same quantity of rice, for 10 persons equivalent to 5.5 men; it may be satisfied with 30 kilograms of millet instead of 60, entirely by putting itself on a higher food standard: in one case 4.3 kilograms of rice and 6 kilograms of millet per man per month; in the other 7.9 and 5.4

1 [see cat 116, pp 22-24 - ANALYST]
2 [see cat 116, pp 25-27 - ANALYST]

/402 cont./

262* kilograms, respectively.

511* The number of consumers, in conjunction with the lowness of the incomes, seems to be determinant here. It always is in the category of the high incomes: No. 37, excess of millet 25%, unit of consumption 24; No. 41, excess of millet 50%, unit of consumption 14. /403/ /Table IV appears here./ /404/ Table V appears here./ /405/ And for a stronger reason in the case of families 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, and 27, composed respectively of 10, 12, 18, 21, and 15 persons, the incomes of which are still very average.

There is another obvious reason for this greater consumption of millet: it is the case of the cultivators, who, producing millet, consume it almost entirely. Nos. 6, 12, 14, 20, 23,
[243] and 32 consume millet that they have cultivated themselves; all are not cultivators, but own a few fields in the vicinity of Thiès. Cultivator No. 10, whom we mentioned above, preferred to sell his millet immediately after the harvest.

As for the harvest of No. 24, it is not sufficient to feed 21 persons; it is sometimes necessary to buy a few kilograms to supplement it.

262* These few statements prove what we said above: it is in
511* large part by necessity that the Thiès people eat millet instead of rice. If they do not do it, it will almost always be to the detriment of balancing their budget. Consuming two times less rice as against two times more millet, families 2 and 4 save sums equivalent to 4.5 % and 4.1% of their incomes.

The portion of the income devoted to the purchase of rice is by far, on the whole, the greatest for the small incomes. For incomes lower than 10,000 francs, it is exceeded in three cases by the portion for meat (1) (in six cases for the incomes

1. In two cases by that for bread.

higher than 15,000 francs).

The quantities consumed, however, are low, even very low. A man of family 6 consumes 14.6 kilograms of rice and 11.6

[Text continues on p.28]

/403/ 262* 511* 1

Table IV

No.	Group	Occupation	Income	% of Income Spent on Rice	% of Income Spent on Millet	% Weight of Millet to Weight of Rice
1	Sarakolé	Laborer	5,800	24.33	18.6	139.5
2	Peul	Orderly	6,100	24.9	10.3	69.7
3	Wolof	Laborer	6,500	14.4	5.2	61.5
4	Sérère	Laborer	6,700	22.9	9.7	73.0
5	Toucouleur	Orderly D. N.	6,745	13.3	12.4	140.0
6	Wolof	Mattress-maker	7,000	15.2	--	166.6
7	Wolof	Laborer	7,000	11.1	7.5	125.0
8	Wolof	Orderly	7,410	14.1	8.3	108.0
9	Wolof	Baker	7,500	11.1	7.4	81.5
10	Wolof	Cultivator	8,150	5.1	8.3	250.0
11	Moor	Auxiliary D. N.	8,940	16.7	8.9	90.4
12	Peul	Laborer	9,000	51.0	--	12.9
13	Wolof	Laborer	9,800	17.4	10.0	98.0
14	Wolof	Cultivator	10,000	18.4	--	80.7
15	Bambara	Laborer	10,000	12.4	5.1	68.6
16	Bambara	Auxiliary	10,675	17.1	2.8	30.0

1 [this shows the proportion, always in relation to 100, of the quantity of millet to the quantity of rice consumed. - ANALYST]

/403 cont./

262*
51*

Table IV (cont.)

No.	Group	Occupation	Income	% of Income Spent on Rice	% of Income Spent on Millet	% Weight of Millet to Weight of Rice
17	Moor	Auxiliary	10,800	24.6	7.7	48.3
18	Peul	Spec. laborer	11,000	26.8	--	--
19	Toucouleur	Accountant	11,950	12.6	0.8	10.0
20	Bambara	Auxiliary D. N.	12,000	25.4	--	169.8
21	Wolof	Clerk	13.000	12.6	3.8	44.4
22	Wolof	Auxiliary	14,000	18.0	10.2	100.0
23	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	15.7	--	128.3
24	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	11.3	0.4	195.9
25	Wolof	Auxiliary D. N.	15,630	11.5	13.2	163.3
26	Wolof	Employee P. T. T.	15,800	7.1	--	--
27	Wolof	Shoemaker	16,200	5.0	5.9	204.0
28	Wolof	Worker D. N.	22,000	15.2	8.9	97.8
29	Toucouleur	Police sergeant	22,000	9.8	5.4	88.5
30	Wolof	Weigher D. N.	24,000	7.5	4.9	93.3
31	Wolof	Carpenter	25,000	17.2	1.1	10.8

4: Mersadier--24 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

/403 cont./

262*
511*

Table IV (cont.)

No.	Group	Occupation	Income	% of Income Spent on Rice	% of Income Spent on Millet	% Weight of Millet to Weight of Rice
32	Wolof	Cultivator	25,000	4.1	--	344.0
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25,000	5.7	3.3	88.8
34	Wolof	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	4.8	6.3	8.9
35	Wolof	Staff employee D.N.	27,000	6.6	1.9	50.0
36	Wolof	Private accountant	34,000	6.5	--	--
37	Wolof	Truck-gardener	36,000	11.6	2.0	125.0
38	Wolof	Jeweler	40,000	5.9	1.2	37.1
39	Sarakolé	Teacher	51,000	2.2	0.6	35.8
40	Wolof	Staffworker D.N.	55,000	8.1	3.8	80.6
41	Sarakolé	Head employee	55,500	6.4	5.1	150.0
42	Bambara	Chief worker D.N.	56,000	8.0	3.7	79.3
43	Wolof	Doctor	81,000	0.9	--	--

4: Mersadier--25 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

1404/
262*
511*

Table V

No.	Income	U. C.	Theor. Comp.	Rice Qt. (kg.)	Rice I. M. (kg.)	Millet Qt. (kg.)	Millet I. M. (kg.)	Bread Qt. (kg.)	Bread I. M. (kg.)
1	5,800	13	10	43.5	4.3	60.0	6.0	17	1.7
2	6,100	10	5.5	43.5	7.9	30.0	5.4	10.8	1.9
3	6.500	4	2.8	26.0	9.2	16.7	5.9	5.3	1.8
4	6.700	7	5.1	42.5	8.3	31.5	6.1	6.0	1.1
5	6,745	7	5.6	30.0	5.3	42.5	7.5	10.2	1.9
6	7,000	7	4.8	29.5	6.2	42.0	10.4	20.0	4.1
7	7,000	5	3.8	20.0	5.2	50.0	6.7	19.0	5.0
8	7,410	5	4.4	30.0	6.8	25.3	7.5	14.0	3.1
9	7,500	6	4.4	27.7	6.3	32.5	5.5	25.0	5.6
10	8,150	12	9.6	13.0	1.3	22.4	3.3	20.7	2.2
11	8,940	6	4.5	52.5	11.7	32.5	10.6	3.0	0.6
12	9,000	8	6.3	135.2	21.5	47.5	2.8	9.2	1.5
13	9,800	5	4.4	50.0	11.3	17.5	11.1	12.0	2.7
14	10,000	10	8.9	52.5	5.9	49.0	4.7	28.5	3.2
15	10,000	7	5.5	34.7	6.3	23.9	4.3	19.7	3.5
16	10,675	4	3.2	55.0	17.1	16.5	5.3	17.0	9.4

262*
511*

/404 cont./

Table V (cont.)

No.	Income	U. C.	Theor. Comp.	Rice Qt. (kg.)	Rice I. M. (kg.)	Millet Qt. (kg.)	Millet I. M. (kg.)	Bread Qt. (kg.)	Bread I. M. (kg.)
17	10,800	9	5.9	83.5	12.1	40.0	5.0	10.2	1.4
18	11,000	4	3.6	91.0	25.2	--	--	9.2	2.5
19	11,950	9	7.1	48.5	6.9	5.0	0.7	18.2	2.6
20	12,000	10	7.6	53.0	6.9	90.0	11.8	38.7	5.1
21	13,000	5	3.8	54.0	14.2	24.0	7.5	24.0	6.3
22	14,000	12	9.1	70.0	7.6	70.0	7.5	27.6	3.0
23	15,000	18	13.4	74.0	5.5	95.0	7.0	36.5	2.7
24	15,000	21	14.4	49.2	3.4	96.2	6.7	31.0	2.1
25	15,630	15	11.9	60.0	5.5	98.5	8.3	9.0	0.7
26	15,800	4	2.3	31.5	13.9	--	--	6.0	2.6
27	16,200	12	9.1	25.7	2.8	50.9	5.6	17.2	1.9
28	22,000	18	14.7	93.0	6.3	91.0	6.1	30.0	2.0
29	22,000	11	8.6	67.0	7.7	60.0	6.9	60.0	6.9
30	24,000	7	5.1	60.0	11.7	56.0	10.9	31.5	6.2
31	25,000	18	14.4	120.0	8.3	13.0	0.9	19.2	1.3
32	25,000	6	4.8	29.0	6.2	100.0	2.0	26.6	5.6
33	25,000	7	5.1	45.0	8.8	40.0	7.8	24.2	4.7

/404 cont./

*262
*511

Table C (cont.)

No.	Income	U. C.	Theor. Comp.	Rice Qt. (kg.)	Rice I. M. (kg.)	Millet Qt. (kg.)	Millet I. M. (kg.)	Bread Qt. (kg.)	Bread I. M. (kg.)
34	25,900	4	3.3	39.0	10.8	3.5	5.4	24.7	7.5
35	27,000	6	4.6	50.0	11.8	25.0	1.2	23.7	5.2
36	34,000	15	12.5	93.4	7.4	--	--	16.5	1.3
37	36,000	24	19.8	120.0	6.0	150.0	7.5	32.5	1.6
38	50,000	13	10.5	78.2	7.4	29.0	2.7	47.0	4.4
39	51,000	11	8.0	31.2	3.8	11.2	1.3	37.0	4.6
40	55,000	24	17.5	124.0	7.0	100.0	5.7	34.0	1.9
41	55,500	14	10.4	100.0	9.6	150.0	14.4	40.0	3.8
42	56,000	11	8.6	126.0	14.6	100.0	11.6	54.5	6.4
43	81,000	5	4	16.8	4.2	--	--	39.5	10.0

/405 cont./

517 *kilograms of millet. This is a good deal, but not excessive.
262 *The following greatest consumption is that of No. 9, a Peul who purchases the rice that he eats in large quantity by liking and by tradition, but also consumes the little millet that he cultivates. 21.5 and 2.8 kilograms, respectively. This is nearly normal for a Peul from Fouta Djalon. And the very low figures of consumption are in the majority. We give them as information, leaving the task of judging them to the specialists (2).

> 2. The average consumption of rice for all the families is 8.2 kilograms. The average consumption of millet is 5.8 kilograms.

We have put alongside our quantities of rice and millet those of bread. Let us state on this subject that, except for the baker, all consumption higher than four kilograms per man per month is /406/ found among the workers and employees (with the exception of No. 6 and No. 38, the latter having a more varied diet in other respects). All of our families habitually
[264] eat bread, and all except three only for breakfast.

The portion of the income devoted to bread (Table X)[1] is far from being negligible and sometimes exceeds 10%. Bread
[435] is regarded as a luxury product; it is even more expensive than
[264] rice! And it is certainly because of its utility (it requires no preparation before being consumed) that it is utilized, but only for the first meal of the day. The average consumption of our families is in any case quite low: 3.5 kilograms per man per month, or 113 grams per day. At the time of rationing in France, the average ration amounted to 300 grams.

Eighteen families in all exceed this average of 113 grams per day per month. This greater consumption was noted, logically, among the largest incomes (11 out of 18) where its purchase rarely requires more than 5% of the income. This percentage reaches 6.9 for family 29, and, for the lower incomes exceeding

1 [see cat 116 pp 51-53 - ANALYST]

/406 cont./

*511 the average of 3.5 kilograms, it is, in increasing order, 6.2%,
*262 6.9%, 7.9%, 10.1%, 10.2%, 10.3%, and 11.8%.

Fish and meat constitute the second group of essential foods for the Africans of the cities of Senegal.

[438] Thiès, near a coast very rich in fish, is abundantly pro-
[435] vided with fish. In the month of March 1954, there was a profusion of them in all the markets at the nearly constant price of 40 francs a kilogram.

Meat is much more expensive. The price most commonly
[435] verified at this time was 80 francs, double that of fish. There was no significant variation in the price during the period of the investigation. Uniform quality is to be understood. Now, with four exceptions (1), our families only bought meat at 80

1. Nos. 38, 39, 42, and 43.

francs a kilogram. To make all of the families comparable, we have divided the prices actually paid by 80 and obtained quantities of meat of a single quality.

The information that we received concerning meat and fish is assembled in Tables VI and VII[1] presented in the same manner as that relating to rice and millet. The last /407/ column of Table VI shows the families who on the whole consume more meat than fish. (Only quantities are involved here.)

There are ten of them, plus one just at the limit, including No. 43 which we eliminated.

Among the ten others, six have already appeared before us as consuming more millet than rice; they are Nos. 1, 7, 10, 24, 32, and 41. This fact cannot be explained here by either the size of the group of consumers or by the financial possibilities, since meat is twice as expensive as fish. It is probably that for these six families the greater consumption of meat is a direct consequence of the greater consumption of millet. Among our four basic products, the most common associations are in fact that of rice with fish and that of millet with meat. The two

1 [see cat 116, pp 31-36 - ANALYST]

/407 cont./

*511 inverse combinations are encountered, but they are much less
*262 common and much less liked. But, although it is generally the
[592] head of the family who buys rice and millet, large expenses coming together at the beginning of the month, it is the housewife who chooses between fish and meat at the market; already having in stock a large quantity of millet, she primarily buys meat, which normally accompanies it. Economic calculation is not her strong point, and it is probably that, if her husband left her entirely free for the other purchases, she would choose rice before millet, which would not be in order to avoid the work of pounding.

Four other families eat more meat than fish: No. 9; No. 14, a cultivator actually used to millet, but who has exhausted his harvest; and Nos. 15 and 42, two Bambara.

But there is not necessarily any agreement between these qualitative statements and the quantities actually consumed by an individual. The monthly consumption of the 43 families was established at 2.5 kilograms for meat and 4.7 kilograms for fish. Among the ten families whose total consumption of meat exceeds that of fish, there are only three where the individual consumption of meat reaches or exceeds this average (Nos. 7, 9, 32), whereas it is among 17 families in all that it is reached, as against 20 for the average for fish. In relation to the central income (No. 22, 14,000 francs), these families are grouped as follows:

For fish: 9 above, 12 below.

For meat: 6 above, 11 below.

There are four families above who reach the average in both cases. There are eight of them below. /408/ /Table VI appears here./ /409/ /Table VII appears here./

/410/ Before leaving these four basic products, we might make some comparisons on the distribution of the families who reach, for each, the average for individual consumption:

--For millet, 22 families reach the average: 12 above the central income, 10 below.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p.37]

4: Meradier--31 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

*511 /408/
*262

Table VI

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	U. C.	% of Income Spent on Fish	% of Income Spent on Meat	% Weight of Meat to Weight of Fish
1	Sarakolé	Laborer	13	2.8	14.2	251.0
2	Peul	Orderly	10	7.2	2.6	18.1
3	Wolof	Laborer	4	3.6	1.2	16.6
4	Sérère	Laborer	7	15.7	9.1	28.7
5	Toucouleur	Orderly D. N.	7	8.9	12.4	69.5
6	Wolof	Mattress-maker	7	5.0	7.1	71.2
7	Wolof	Laborer	5	6.3	12.4	98.1
8	Wolof	Orderly	5	9.8	5.6	28.8
9	Wolof	Baker	6	5.8	12.9	110.0
10	Wolof	Cultivator	12	2.6	12.0	232.0
11	Moor	Auxiliary D. N.	6	13.0	14.0	51.9
12	Peul	Laborer	8	15.0	1.3	4.3
13	Wolof	Laborer	5	14.4	8.5	41.5
14	Wolof	Cultivator	10	3.3	10.5	148.0
15	Bambara	Laborer	7	3.5	8.4	119.0
16	Bambara	Auxiliary	4	11.1	8.4	28.2
17	Moor	Auxiliary	9	12	14.8	61.5

/408 cont./

*511
*262

Table VI (cont.)

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	U. C.	% of Income Spent on Fish	% of Income Spent on Meat	% Weight of Meat to Weight of Fish
18	Peul	Spec. laborer	4	11.1	2.5	11.0
19	Toucouleur	Accountant	9	5.4	8.8	81.4
20	Bambara	Auxiliary D. N.	10	11.9	7.6	32.1
21	Wolof	Clerk	5	8	10.1	63.2
22	Wolof	Auxiliary	12	9.3	10.4	55.4
23	Wolof	Cultivator	18	4.5	7.9	86.6
24	Wolof	Cultivator	21	3.3	10.2	152.0
25	Wolof	Auxiliary	15	12.5	12.7	50.9
26	Wolof	Employee P. T. T.	4	5.6	7.7	67.5
27	Wolof	Shoemaker	12	4.5	4.5	49.2
28	Wolof	Worker D. N.	18	13.0	11.1	42.9
29	Toucouleur	Police sergeant	11	8.2	5.8	33.3
30	Wolof	Weigher D. N.	7	5.5	5.8	56.7
31	Wolof	Carpenter	18	11.4	12.0	52.3
32	Wolof	Cultivator	6	1.5	4.2	133.0

/408 cont./

*511
*262

Table VI (cont.)

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	U. C.	% of Income Spent on Fish	% of Income Spent on Meat	% Weight of Meat to Weight of Fish
33	Sérere	Chauffeur	7	6.0	7.9	65.7
34	Wolof	Employee P. T. T.	4	4.1	3.7	45.1
35	Wolof	Staff employee	6	6.4	7.2	56.0
36	Wolof	Private accountant	15	11.5	--	--
37	Wolof	Truck-gardener	24	8.4	11.5	68.7
38	Wolof	Jeweler	13	4.6	5.4	60.0
39	Sarakolé	Teacher	11	1.8	6.7	61.1
40	Wolof	Staffworker D. N.	24	8.1	7.3	45.2
41	Sarakolé	Head employee	14	1.6	3.4	105.0
42	Bambara	Chief worker	11	1.7	7.5	212.0
43	Wolof	Doctor	5	0.9	5.0	255.0

4: Mersadier--34 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

/409/
*511
*262

Table VII

No.	Income	U. C.	Theor. Comp.	Fish Qt. (kg.)	Fish I. M. (kg)	Meat Qt. (kg.)	Meat I. M. (kg.)	Oil Qt. (l.)	Oil I. M. (l.)
1	[illegible]800	13	10	4.1	0.4	10.3	1.0	5	0.5
2	6,100	10	5.5	11.0	2.0	5.0	0.3	8.5	1.5
3	6,500	4	2.8	6.0	2.1	1.0	0.3	6.0	2.1
4	6,700	7	5.1	26.4	5.1	7.0	1.4	15.0	2.8
5	6,745	7	5.6	16.1	2.6	10.5	1.8	6.0	1.0
6	7,000	7	4.8	8.7	1.8	6.2	1.2	6.5	1.3
7	7,000	5	3.8	11.1	2.9	10.9	2.8	10.5	2.7
8	7,410	5	4.4	18.0	4.0	5.2	1.1	6.5	1.4
9	7,500	6	4.4	11.0	2.5	12.1	2.7	11.0	5.1
10	8,150	12	9.6	5.3	0.5	12.3	1.2	4.5	0.4
11	8,940	6	4.5	30.8	6.8	16.0	3.5	12.0	2.6
12	9,000	8	6.3	34.6	5.4	1.5	0.2	14.0	2.2
13	9,800	5	4.4	35.3	8.0	10.5	2.3	24.0	5.4
14	10,000	10	8.9	8.8	1.0	13.1	1.4	14.0	1.5
15	1[illegible],000	7	5.5	8.8	1.6	10.5	2.0	16.0	2.9
16	10,675	4	3.2	29.6	9.2	11.2	3.5	6.5	2.0
17	10,800	9	6.9	32.5	4.7	20.0	2.8	12.0	1.7

*511
*362

/409 cont./

Table VII (cont.)

No.	Income	U.C.	Theor. Comp.	Fish Qt. (kg.)	Fish I.M. (kg.)	Meat Qt. (kg.)	Meat I.M. (kg.)	Oil Qt. (l.)	Oil I.M. (l.)
18	11,000	4	3.6	30.7	8.5	3.4	0.9	25.0	6.9
19	11,950	9	7.1	16.2	2.2	13.2	1.8	8.0	0.1
20	12,000	10	7.6	35.8	4.7	11.5	1.5	13.0	1.7
21	13,000	5	3.8	26.1	6.8	16.5	3.3	11.0	2.8
22	14,000	12	9.1	32.8	3.6	18.2	2.0	17.0	1.8
23	15,000	18	13.4	17.2	1.2	14.9	1.1	17.0	1.2
24	15,000	21	14.4	12.6	0.8	19.2	1.3	12.0	0.8
25	15,630	15	11.9	48.9	4.1	24.9	2.0	10.0	0.8
26	15,800	4	2.3	22.5	9.7	15.2	6.6	16.0	6.9
27	16,200	12	9.1	20.3	2.2	10.0	1.0	5.9	0.6
28	22,000	18	11.7	71.5	4.8	30.7	2.0	31.0	2.1
29	22,000	11	8.6	45.3	5.2	15.1	1.7	29.0	3.3
30	24,000	7	5.1	31.0	6.0	17.6	3.4	20.0	3.9
31	25,000	18	14.4	71.7	4.9	37.5	2.7	24.0	1.6
32	25,000	6	4.8	10.0	2.0	13.3	2.7	11.0	2.2
33	25,000	7	5.1	37.7	7.3	24.8	4.8	26.0	5.0

*511
*262

/409 cont./

Table VII (cont.)

No.	Income	U.C.	Theor. Comp.	Fish Qt. (kg.)	Fish I.M. (kg.)	Meat Qt. (kg.)	Meat I.M. (kg.)	Oil Qt. (l.)	Oil I.M. (l.)
34	25.900	4	3.3	26.6	8.0	12.0	3.6	25.0	7.5
35	27.000	6	4.6	43.7	10.7	24.5	5.3	16.0	3.4
36	34.000	15	12.5	97.7	7.8	--	--	47.0	3.7
37	36.000	24	19.8	75.6	3.8	52.0	2.6	47.0	2.3
38	50.000	13	10.5	57.0	5.6	34.2	3.2	36.5	3.4
39	51.000	11	8.0	23.7	2.9	14.5	1.8	10.0	1.2
40	55.000	24	17.5	112.0	6.4	50.7	2.8	38.0	2.1
41	55.500	14	10.4	22.5	21.1	23.7	2.2	30.0	2.8
42	56.000	11	8.6	25.0	2.9	43.0	6.1	20.0	2.3
43	81.000	5	4	20.0	5.0	51.1	12.7	14.0	3.5

/410 cont./

*511 --For rice, out of 17 families, 11, with 8 above and 9
*262 below /11 en a 8 au-dessus et 9 au-dessous/.

Only three families reach the average for the four products; these are Nos. 11, 21, and 30.

Among the ten families who reach the average for three products, there are six for the combination rice, meat, fish, three for the combination millet, rice, fish, and only one for the combination millet, rice, meat.

By contrast, among the families with two averages represented, we find only two "millet-fish," as against three "millet-meat." Two bring together meat and fish, two rice and fish, two millet and rice. There were none for the combination meat-fish.

Finally, seven families reach the average for only millet, two for only meat, and one, No. 36, who never consumes meat, for only fish.

In conclusion, six families never reach the average: Nos. 2, 10, 14, 15, 19, and 27, with five above the central income, and one below (1).

1. We prefer to use the central income rather than the average income. The latter, which at 19,000 francs (not including No. 43) would fall between Nos. 27 and 28, is a little too swollen by the size of the very large incomes.

Africans have a reputation for absorbing a very great quantity of fatty substances, which, one supposes, would be indispensable in the face of this continual consumption of rice and millet.

Now, for the 43 families studied, we find an average of two and a half liters per person per month (Table VII). This

/410 cont./

*511 is a high average, but does not seem excessive to us. Still,
*262 one must consider the six families where more of it is consumed: from 5 to 7.5 liters per person per month. This is indeed a great deal. With these families eliminated, the average falls to 1.9 liters, and it is reached or exceeded by 25 families. Only two figures for consumption are low: those for Nos. 1 (0.5 and 19 (0.1).

[435] But oil is expensive, 100 francs a liter on the average, and its consumption /411/ is therefore limited; thus, No. 4 in our series, with the purchase of 15 liters monthly, 2.8 per man, devotes 21.1% of his income to it (Table VIII).[1] An individual of No. 2, who consumes 1 1/2 liters of it each month, uses 12.6% of his income for it. And what would become of the budget of No. 1 if all the members of the unit of consumption picked up the notion of consuming the average two and a half liters; the purchase of the 25 liters required would take 42.8% of the family income.

Moreover, it is significant to see that the quantities of oil consumed do not increase with the incomes. Among the last nine families there is no figure higher than four liters per man per month.

*511 We have grouped under the rubric "Condiments" (Table
*262 VIII) commodities that in fact are quite dissimilar. Their
263 caloric value is of little importance. Nevertheless the height of misery for the Africans would be to be unable to relieve their diets, first, with condiments properly speaking, pepper, salt, vinegar, pimentos, then with small quantities of vegetables, properly qualifying as condiments because they are bought in only very small quantities, and finally with dried fish, whose flavor is infinitely superior to that of fresh fish; it often replaces the latter in the rice with fish, if not in quantity, at least in quality.

The percentages given in this column of Table VIII thus refer to a whole group of minor products, from the crushed baobab leaf to the slices of dried fish: parsley, onions, garlic, bits of sugar beets and cabbage, ground tomatoes, various

[1] [See cut 116, pp 40-42 - ANALYST]

*511 /411 cont./
*262 products of gathering. All, let us repeat, in very small daily
263 quantities. Moreover, these are the products[1] that are the
443 objects involved in the small-scale commerce of the women;
434 quite often buying two or three times more than they need,
*511 they set up a little flat basket before the door of their con-
438 cession and suggest to the passers-by that they spare them-
selves the fatigue of going all the way to the market. They
can make very small profits in this way, from five to ten francs
a day.

*511 Nevertheless, with one thing added to another, the costs
*262 of these various condiments end up by absorbing another rela-
263 tively important part of the familial income (1).

1. The portion for dried fish is generally very close to 1/5 of the figures given.

The size of this income thus acts as a check on their consumption, but ultimately only the taste and the habits of each are truly determinative. /412/ /Table VIII appears here./
/413/ /Table IX appears here./

/414/ We mentioned under the rubric "Vegetables" only the truly important purchases. It is the housewife herself who calls them either vegetables or condiments, according to the importance that they will have in the meal that she is going to prepare; a greater quantity of vegetables will permit reducing the quantity of rice or millet. If the latter does not change, they are condiments. The nuance is understandable. Our investigators themselves made it, and it was subsequently difficult for us not to take it into account.

*511 The quantities given in Table IX[2] are not actual quantities.
*262 We have again in this case eliminated the factor of quality,
the differences in quality being replaced by differences in
quantity. The "standard vegetable" chosen was the cabbage,
[435] which in March 1953 was worth 20 francs a kilogram. This

1 [i.e. - various condiments - ANALYST]
2 [see cat 116, pp 43-45 - ANALYST]

[Text continues on p. 46]

4: Meradier--40 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

/412/

*511
*262
263

Table VIII

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	% of Income for Condiments	% of Income for Vegetables	% of Income for Manioc	% of Income for Oil
1	Sarakolé	Laborer	5,800	1.9	2.3	0.2	6.8
2	Peul	Orderly	6,100	3.1	5.8	--	12.6
3	Wolof	Laborer	6,500	2.0	3.4	0.6	8.1
4	Sérère	Laborer	6,700	4.5	8.1	2.1	21.1
5	Toucouleur	Orderly	6,745	8.5	5.0	1.3	7.7
6	Wolof	Mattress-maker	7,000	6.5	3.1	1.9	8.2
7	Wolof	Laborer	7,000	8.2	2.7	3.5	13.2
8	Wolof	Orderly	7,410	3.5	6.3	1.4	8.7
9	Wolof	Baker	7,500	7.7	2.7	1.5	12.6
10	Wolof	Cultivator	8,150	4.0	1.7	--	5.7
11	Moor	Auxiliary	8,950	5.4	7.4	1.0	12.0
12	Peul	Laborer	9,000	4.1	1.0	1.3	14.0
13	Wolof	Laborer	9,800	2.6	5.3	1.3	20.4
14	Wolof	Cultivator	10,000	6.2	1.9	2.9	9.9
15	Bambara	Laborer	10,000	6.5	2.0	2.6	14.3

4: Mersadier--41 U-5 (1954) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

*511
*262
263

/412 cont./

Table VIII (cont.)

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	% of Income for Condiments	% of Income for Vegetables	% of Income for Manioc	% of Income for Oil
16	Bambara	Auxiliary	10,675	9.0	13.5	2.0	5.2
17	Moor	Auxiliary	10,800	3.2	5.6	0.8	9.7
18	Peul	Spec. laborer	11,000	4.6	5.2	1.3	18.1
19	Toucouleur	Accountant	11,950	3.8	3.8	1.0	5.6
20	Bambara	Auxiliary	12,000	7.7	8.3	2.2	9.3
21	Wolof	Clerk	13,000	7.6	9.4	1.0	7.6
22	Wolof	Auxiliary	14,000	5.9	9.2	0.9	10.7
23	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	4.5	1.6	2.2	7.3
24	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	2.4	1.4	2.2	8.9
25	Wolof	Auxiliary	15,630	3.9	5.7	0.7	5.7
26	Wolof	Employee P. T. T.	15,800	7.7	8.7	--	8.9
27	Wolof	Shoemaker	16,200	2.7	1.3	1.0	2.8
28	Wolof	Worker	22,000	3.7	6.0	1.1	12.4
29	Toucouleur	Police sergeant	22,000	2.0	2.9	--	11.8
30	Wolof	Weigher	24,000	3.1	5.9	0.4	7.6
31	Wolof	Carpenter	25,000	2.0	--	1.3	9.6

/412 cont./

* 511
* 262
263

Table VIII (cont.)

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	% of Income for Condiments	% of Income for Vegetables	% of Income for Manioc	% of Income for Oil
32	Wolof	Cultivator	25,000	2.2	0.8	1.1	3.9
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25,000	1.7	2.6	0.6	9.1
34	Wolof	Employee P. T. T.	25,900	1.8	3.0	--	6.7
35	Wolof	Managerial Employee	27,000	5.7	8.9	2.5	5.6
36	Wolof	Private accountant	34,000	2.6	7.7	0.1	13.3
37	Wolof	Truck gardener	36,000	1.5	5.2	1.0	3.3
38	Wolof	Jeweler	50,000	3.8	5.1	0.1	6.5
39	Sarakolé	Teacher	51,000	0.8	2.6	--	1.7
40	Wolof	Chief worker	55,000	0.7	3.0	0.5	6.5
41	Sarakolé	Head employee	55,500	1.0	2.3	--	2.0
42	Bambara	Chief worker	56,000	2.3	1.8	0.2	2.4
43	Wolof	Doctor	81,000	1.7	1.9	--	0.3

4: Mersadier--48 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

/413/ E11 *762

Table IX

No.	Income	U. C.	Theor. Comp.	Vegetables Qt. (kg.) (kg.)	Vegetables I. M. (kg.)	Manioc Qt. (kg.)	Manioc I. M. (kg.)
1	5,800	13	10	6.9	0.7	1.0	0.1
2	6,100	10	5.5	17,7	3.2	2.0	--
3	6,500	4	2.8	11.3	4.0	2.0	0.7
4	6,700	7	5.10	27.4	5.3	12.0	2.3
5	6,745	7	5.6	16.9	3.0	5.1	0.9
6	7,000	7	4.8	10.8	2.2	8.0	1.6
7	7,000	5	3.8	9.5	2.5	14.7	3.8
8	7,410	5	4.4	23.3	5.2	6.2	1.4
9	7,500	6	4.4	10.1	2.2	15.0	3.4
10	8,150	12	9.6	7.0	0.7	--	0.3
11	8,950	6	4.5	33.4	7.4	5.5	1.2
12	9,000	8	6.3	4.9	0.7	6.9	1.1
13	9,800	5	4.4	26.1	5.9	7.7	1.7
14	10,000	10	8.9	9.8	1.1	17.3	1.9
15	10,000	7	5.5	10.0	1.8	15.7	2.8
16	10,675	4	3.2	71.3	22.0	12.2	3.8

*511
*262

/413 cont./

Table IX (cont.)

No.	Income	U. C.	Theor. Comp.	Vegetables Qt. (kg.) (kg.)	Vegetables I. M. (kg.)	Manioc Qt. (kg.)	Manioc I. M. (kg.)
17	10,800	9	6.9	30.6	4.4	5.2	0.7
18	11,000	4	3.6	29.1	9.5	8.6	2.3
19	11,950	9	7.1	23.1	3.2	1.0	0.1
20	12,000	10	7.6	50.6	6.6	15.5	2.0
21	13,000	5	3.8	61.6	16.2	7.7	2.0
22	14,000	12	9.1	65.1	6.0	6.8	0.7
23	15,000	18	13.4	12.6	0.9	7.6	0.5
24	15,000	21	14.4	10.6	0.7	7.6	0.5
25	15,630	15	11.9	44.6	3.7	6.4	0.5
26	15,800	4	2.3	69.5	30.0	--	--
27	16,200	12	9.1	11.1	1.2	10.0	1.0
28	22,000	18	14.7	67.5	4.5	15.3	1.0
29	22,000	11	8.6	32.5	3.7	0.3	1.0
30	24,000	7	5.1	71.8	14.0	6.9	1.3
31	25,000	18	14.4	114.0	10.0	19.0	1.3
32	25,000	6	4.8	10.3	2.1	17.0	3.5
33	25,000	7	5.1	32.5	6.3	9.6	1.8

*511
*262
263

/413 cont./

Table IX (cont.)

No.	Income	U. C.	Theor. Comp.	Vegetables Qt. (kg.) (kg.)	Vegetables I. M. (kg.)	Manioc Qt. (kg.)	Manioc I. M. (kg.)
34	25,900	4	3.3	39.0	11.0	1.0	0.3
35	27,000	6	4.6	121.1	26.0	8.2	1.7
36	34,000	15	12.6	132.4	10.5	3.1	0.2
37	36,000	24	19.8	94.6	5.0	21.0	1.0
38	50,000	13	10.5	129.7	12.8	4.7	0.5
39	51,000	11	8.0	66.5	8.3	--	--
40	55,000	24	17.5	84.7	4.8	15.8	9.3
41	55,500	14	10.0	65.0	6.2	12.0	1.2
42	56,000	11	8.6	53.2	6.1	7.3	0.9
43	81,000	5	4.0	79.3	19.7	--	--

/414 cont./

*511 procedure, certainly less valuable for a nutritionist, offers
*262 another advantage for us: the costs for vegetables noted during the investigation are among the most precise, whereas the quantities, merely estimated, were sometimes very fantastic. The operation was thus worth the trouble of doing it.

The portion of the income devoted to vegetables is relatively not very important; it exceeded 10% in only one case (No. 16). It is sometimes less than that devoted to condiments. On the other hand, we prove that it does not decrease very noticeably as one approaches the high incomes. The consumption of vegetables seems to vary precisely as the incomes do, increasing with them in almost parallel fashion.

This is the first product that we have encountered where this parallelism begins to be revealed.

The average consumption of vegetables for the 43 families is seven kilograms per man per month. With two exceptions, Nos. 11 and 16, one begins to find it frequently beginning with No. 20, whose income is 12,000 francs. From No. 24 on, most of the consumption is higher than 10 kilograms.

Pushing the investigation further, one sees that No. 11, which is an exception among the small incomes, is a unit of consumption composed of only six persons (4.5 men). Family No. 16, 22 kilograms of vegetables, contains four persons (3.2 men). And then:

No. 21: 16.2 kilograms, 5 persons (3.8)
No. 26: 30.0 kilograms, 3 persons (2.8)
No. 30: 14.0 kilograms, 7 persons (5.1)
No. 34: 11.0 kilograms, 4 persons (3.3)
No. 35: 26.0 kilograms, 6 persons (4.6)
No. 43: 19.7 kilograms, 5 persons (4)

[244] /415/ Nos. 31, 36, and 38 remain. No. 31 has large gardens and does not buy vegetables. Its greater consumption is thus explicable (1).

1. Moreover, for this family this is only an estimation; we

/415 cont./

*511
*262

have no purchase price from which we could have obtained a valid weight in "cabbage unit."

No. 36, which consumes neither meat nor millet, normally makes up for this with vegetables. With No. 38 we are in the category of higher incomes where no restriction is envisaged by reason of size of family. It is undoubtedly with this family that we reach the upper limit of the consumption of vegetables.

Let us recall once more that though the costs are the actual costs, the quantities are fictive. Hence, it is not 19.7 kilograms of cabbage that an individual of family 36 consumes each month. For the latter in particular (the only one where we saw the housewife shell peas) it is the highness of the quality, hence of the price, that has led us to a figure likewise high. The observation is valid for the other families that we shall cite; the reduction of the composition of the unit of consumption permits improvement not only in the quantity but also in the quality of the products consumed.

Beside the columns "Vegetables" we have put the information received concerning manioc. Cheap food (from 14 to 17 [435] francs a kilogram), it is not greatly liked by the Africans. But it has spread widely; its cultivation requires almost no care, and the yields are high.

It is therefore used especially as a food to tide one over; it is to be noted that, with one exception, the families consuming the most are never those who uniformly consume more than ten kilograms of vegetables per individual. In only one case was more than 3% of the income devoted to it.

We shall have finished the study of the principal food commodities after having mentioned sugar and milk (Tables X and XI).[1]

*511
263

The average consumption of sugar per individual is 1.7 kilograms for one month. But we find only a few figures that are very far below this average. The highest figure is 2.7.

[1] [see out 116, pp 51-56 - ANALYST]

/415 cont./

*511 263 Most of them are very close to the average. There is thus a kind of uniformity in the consumption of sugar, and it is probably that here, too, we are in the presence of an upper limit.

/416/ The portion of the income devoted to sugar is thus going to vary according to the size of the income and the composition of the unit of consumption. The maximum noted is 10% for No. 4, the minimum 0.3 for No. 43 (1.2 for No. 42).

*511 272 [177] The same uniformity does not exist for sweetened condensed milk. Its use is spreading more and more, but all the same there are ten families who do not consume it at all.

The average consumption was established, for one man, at 589 grams per month for the 43 families, at 767 if one eliminates those that do not consume any.

Fourteen families out of 33 are above this average, only four of whom are in the top of the table. And, as in the case of vegetables, these 24 families are precisely the least numerous. The largest theoretical composition of the unit of consumption among these 24 families is that of No. 38, 10.5. But this is for an income of 50,000 francs per month. The next maximum is 8.6 for No. 29. Here, too, the size of the unit of consumption is essential.

Twenty-seven families utilize fresh milk besides or to supplement the condensed milk. Only two did not consume either one. But this consumption of fresh milk is quite limited; the average, solely for the utilizers, is 1.1 liters. It is habitual in only one case, No. 42, where a liter is bought every day. Moreover there is no periodicity anywhere. Fresh milk is therefore not used systematically for only breakfast. It is preferably [264] utilized for the rice mush that many families like to eat in the [855] afternoon. It is then reserved for women and children. This is the only point where we found a special diet for children, except from time to time when a mango or guava is bought solely for them.

[435] Fresh milk costs more proportionally than condensed milk: 40 francs a liter as against 40 francs for a case of 400 grams of Nestlé milk.

/416 cont./

*511 Above all it is infinitely less practical, keeping less
272 long. Besides, condensed milk has the advantage in that it
[452] can be purchased in quantity at the beginning of the month and on credit.

Nevertheless it is in the group of small incomes that one finds the most regularity in its consumption; in the group of 5,000 to 8,000 francs in income, only two families have a consumption per man lower than one liter per month. From No. 12 to No. 24, up to incomes higher than 15,000 francs, it is always below one liter. In the group of incomes higher than 15,000 francs, out of seven represented, in six it is higher than one liter.

There are thus few points of comparison between these two categories /417/ of milk. Their use is different, and they do not seem to be complementary.

We cannot speak of milk without saying a word about its breakfast complement, coffee. Its consumption is extremely variable. A product of the country, the quinquéliba, practically free, often substitutes for it, no matter what the income or occupational group. Coffee is perhaps a little more common in the group of incomes higher than 15,000 francs. The percentage, in proportion to the income, of the sums which are devoted to it is in general higher. Consumption thus increases in great proportions. Unfortunately it is impossible here to
[435] speak of quantities; coffee is sold ground, by pinches, and at variable prices. We therefore only have elements for judging the outlays made for this product. Be that as it may, milk and coffee are important fixtures in the budget of African families; often 8 to 14% of the income is devoted to them (1).

1. Nos. 11 and 17 are Moors and thus traditionally drink tea. No. 11 devotes 1.3% of his income to it; No. 17, 4.4%. No. 39 takes cacao at breakfast; 0.7% of the income.

/417 cont./

*511
[272]

We likewise noted the purchase of cacao in the cases of No. 6 (1.2%) and No. 20 (0.7%).

We have thus surveyed the principal food expenses of our families. Is there truly nothing else?

There is, of course, a quantity of products that are incidentally represented in running over the questionnaires. They are sometimes of some importance in the units of consumption with high incomes.

*511
*262
[264]

The groundnut is most often represented. This is not surprising; we are in Senegal. But the groundnut is a product that is sold more than it is consumed. Some are bought in amounts worth a five-franc bill in order to satisfy hunger while awaiting mealtime. In the form of a paste, it is put into certain dishes. In extreme cases the housewife buys the groundnut if she truly does not have enough money to do suitable marketing for other products. But though one often sees the groundnut in the shell between the hands of the women, it is only when she is shelling it, before roasting it, to sell it then at a very slight profit. /418/ /Table X appears here./ /419/ /Table XI appears here./

[252]
[438]

/420/ Here are the percentages of the income that have been devoted to it:

No. 2: 1.8	No. 17: 0.6	No. 29: 0.4
No. 4: 1.2	No. 18: 1.5	No. 31: 0.3
No. 5: 2.4	No. 19: 2.0	No. 33: 0.4
No. 6: 0.6	No. 20: 3.8	No. 37: 0.2
No. 8: 2.8	No. 21: 0.2	No. 38: 0.4
No. 13:: 1.0	No. 22: 0.8	No. 39: 0.2
No. 16:: 0.6	No. 25: 0.6	No. 40: 1.2

This last percentage expresses the greatest quantity; the cook has simply made a specialty of a dish based on groundnuts.

4: Mersadier--51 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

/418/ *511 *262 263 272

Table X

No.	Occupation	Income	U.C. Theor. Comp.	% of Income for Condensed Milk	% of Income for Fresh Milk	% of Income for Coffee	% of Income for Sugar	% of Income for Bread
1	Laborer	5,800	10	3.4	0	--	5.6	11.0
2	Orderly	6,100	5.5	--	2.3	0.2	7.0	6.2
3	Laborer	6,500	2.8	0.6	3.9	0.3	5.5	2.7
4	Laborer	6,700	5.10	4.1	1.4	3.5	10.0	2.6
5	Orderly	6,745	5.6	4.1	4.5	3.2	3.5	5.9
6	Mattress-maker	7,000	4.8	9.5	9.5	3.0	9.5	7.9
7	Laborer	7,000	3.8	--	3.1	--	6.1	10.1
8	Orderly	7,410	4.4	6.1	3.0	1.3	4.7	7.9
9	Baker	7,500	4.4	--	2.7	--	4.3	11.8
10	Cultivator	8,150	9.6	1.4	6.0	2.2	6.2	6.6
11	Auxiliary	8,950	4.5	--	--	--	1.5	1.1
12	Laborer	9,000	6.3	0.1	2.0	--	3.8	3.3
13	Laborer	9,800	4.4	0.8	1.1	1.0	5.2	4.1
14	Cultivator	10,000	8.9	--	1.9	--	5.5	10.3
15	Laborer	10,000	5.5	--	1.3	--	3.8	6.9
16	Auxiliary	10,675	1.8	1.1	0.7	2.5	2.0	6.0

*511
*262
263
272

/418 cont./

Table X (cont.)

No.	Occupation	Income	U. C. Theor. Comp.	% of Income for Condensed Milk	% of Income for Fresh Milk	% of Income for Coffee	% of Income for Sugar	% of Income for Bread
17	Auxiliary	10,800	6.9	--	0.7	--	5.1	3.1
18	Spec. laborer	11,000	3.6	0.7	0.3	0.2	2.5	3.3
19	Accountant	11,950	7.1	6.1	--	2.5	2.8	5.1
20	Auxiliary	12,000	7.6	3.0	0.4	1.2	5.5	10.2
21	Clerk	13,000	3.8	9.4	1.8	1.9	4.8	6.2
22	Auxiliary	14,000	9.2	0.9	1.0	--	3.0	7.7
23	Cultivator	15,000	13.4	--	1.7	--	9.8	9.9
24	Cultivator	15,000	14.4	0.1	0.9	2.0	4.0	6.6
25	Auxiliary	15,630	11.9	0.7	3.2	2.7	2.2	2.0
26	Employee P.T.T.	15,800	2.3	3.1	--	3.4	2.8	2.4
27	Shoemaker	16,200	9.1	0.1	2.2	0.9	2.6	3.4
28	Worker	22,000	14.7	--	--	1.3	9.0	4.8
29	Police sergeant	22,000	8.6	6.0	3.0	2.5	3.8	9.7
30	Weigher	24,000	5.1	2.3	--	1.3	3.4	4.5

*511
*262
263
272

/418 cont./

Table X (cont.)

No.	Occupation	Income	U. C. Theor. Comp.	% of Income for Condensed Milk	% of Income for Fresh Milk	% of Income for Coffee	% of Income for Sugar	% of Income for Bread
31	Carpenter	25,000	14.4	3.8	--	4.6	2.5	3.2
32	Cultivator	25,000	4.8	--	1.7	--	2.2	3.9
33	Chauffeur	25,000	5.1	0.8	--	3.9	2.2	3.2
34	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	3.3	1.1	0.7	1.0	11.9	3.3
35	Managerial employee	27,000	4.6	1.6	0.9	1.2	2.2	3.0
36	Private accountant	34,000	12.5	0.9	0.6	1.0	1.3	1.9
37	Truck-gardener	36,000	19.8	3.1	--	6.7	2.5	3.3
38	Jeweler	50,000	10.5	2.3	00	1.1	1.7	3.3
39	Teacher	51,000	8	1.7	--	--	2.5	2.5
40	Chief worker	55,000	17.5	1.6	--	2.9	2.2	2.0
41	Head employee	55,500	10.4	2.5	--	--	2.0	2.5
42	Chief worker	56,000	8.6	1.2	2.4	--	1.2	3.5
43	Doctor	81,000	4	0.5	--	1.2	0.3	1.7

4: Mersadier--54 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

* 511/263/272 1419/

Table XI

No.	Income	Ethnic Group	Sugar Qt. (kg.)	Sugar I. M. (kg.)	Condensed Milk Qt. (gr.)	Condensed Milk I. M. (gr.)	Fresh Milk Qt. (l.)	Fresh Milk I. M. (L.)
1	5,800	Sarakolé	6.2	0.6	2,000	200	--	--
2	6,100	Peul	7.2	1.3	--	--	3.4	0.6
3	6,500	Wolof	7.4	2.6	400	142	6.3	2.2
4	6,700	Sérère	11.7	2.3	2,800	549	2.2	0.4
5	6,745	Toucouleur	4.0	0.7	2,800	500	7.4	1.3
6	7,000	Wolof	12.4	2.6	6,650	1,380	16.6	3.4
7	7,000	Wolof	9.7	1.2	--	--	5.5	1.4
8	7,410	Wolof	6.0	1.3	4,550	1,034	5.5	1.2
9	7,500	Wolof	5.0	1.1	--	--	5.1	1.1
10	8,150	Wolof	10.0	1.1	1,200	125	14.2	1.4
11	8,940	Moor	2.5	0.6	--	--	--	--
12	9,000	Peul	6.3	1.0	150	238	4.6	0.7
13	9,800	Wolof	7.5	1.8	600	136	2.5	0.5
14	10,000	Wolof	11.5	1.3	--	--	4.6	0.5
15	10,000	Bambara	8.0	1.5	--	--	3.3	0.6
16	10,675	Bambara	4.0	1.2	1,200	370	1.8	0.5

/419 cont./

*511
263
272

Table XI (cont.)

No.	Income	Ethnic Group	Sugar Qt. (kg.)	Sugar I. M. (kg.)	Condensed Milk Qt. (gr.)	Condensed Milk I. M. (gr.)	Fresh Milk Qt. (l.)	Fresh Milk I. M. (l.)
17	10,800	Moor	7.7	1.1	--	--	1.8	0.2
18	11,000	Peul	2.0	0.5	800	222	--	--
19	11,950	Toucouleur	4.5	0.7	7,400	1,098	--	--
20	12,000	Bambara	10.2	1.4	3,600	470	1.2	0.1
21	13,000	Wolof	10.0	2.6	12,370	3,255	6.1	1.6
22	14,000	Wolof	7.0	0.7	1,350	148	3.2	0.3
23	15,000	Wolof	12.6	0.9	--	--	6.4	0.4
24	15,000	Wolof	12.0	0.8	200	138	3.5	0.2
25	15,630	Wolof	6.0	0.5	1,140	95	12.6	1.0
26	15,800	Wolof	4.0	1.7	5,000	2,173	--	--
27	16,200	Wolof	8.7	1.0	300	329	9.1	1.0
28	22,000	Wolof	8.0	0.5	--	--	--	--
29	22,000	Toucouleur	15.0	1.7	15,000	1,744	16.7	1.9
30	24,000	Wolof	15.0	2.9	5,600	1,100	--	--
31	25,000	Wolof	11.0	0.7	9,660	670	--	--
32	25,000	Wolof	11.6	2.5	--	--	11.1	2.3

*511
263
272

/419 cont./

Table XI (cont.)

No.	Income	Ethnic Group	Sugar Qt. (kg.)	Sugar I.M. (kg.)	Condensed Milk Qt. (gr.)	Condensed Milk I.M. (gr.)	Fresh Milk Qt. (l.)	Fresh Milk I.M. (l.)
33	25,000	Sérère	8.5	1.7	2,000	400	--	--
34	25,900	Wolof	9.0	2.7	3,000	910	4.9	1.4
35	27,000	Wolof	10.5	2.3	4,400	950	0.5	--
36	34,000	Wolof	8.6	0.7	3,150	252	5.5	0.4
37	36,000	Wolof	6.2	0.3	11,400	575	--	--
38	50,000	Wolof	14.7	1.4	11,500	1,100	--	--
39	51,000	Sarakolé	20.0	2.5	8,400	1,050	--	--
40	55,000	Wolof	20.0	1.1	8,800	500	--	--
41	55,500	Sarakolé	20.0	1.9	14,400	1,380	--	--
42	56,000	Bambara	13.5	1.6	6,900	802	34.7	4.0
43	81,000	Wolof	5.0	1.2	4,200	1,300	--	--

/420 cont./

*511 *262 We sometimes found butter, but only once in an important amount, again in the case of No. 40, who devotes 2.5% of his income to it. The same No. 40 devotes another 2% of his 55,000 francs monthly for cheese. Two others copy him on this point: No. 34, 0.9%; No. 38, 0.3%.

Eggs appeared in five cases, all among the incomes over 15,000 francs and in small quantities, except fot No. 41 (2.8%). Likewise we sometimes found very small quantities of flour, sometimes potatoes: 0.8% of the income for No. 16; 1.7% for No. 21; 2.2% for No. 26; 1.9% for No. 35; and "traces" for a few others. Macaroni in two cases: No. 35, 0.5% of the income; No. 38, 0.1%. Fruits in two cases; No. 34, 3.1%; No. 39, 1.1%.

There are also quantities of little fancy articles that our families provide for themselves: a can of sardines, a bottle of mineral water, a package of bonbons, etc., always in too negligible a quantity for us to consider them seriously in this study of budgets.

*511 276 The only product that is quite generally consumed but that we hesitate to put in the category of "food" is the kola nut, which is chewed by habit, a habit which is difficult to break, like tobacco among others. In the case of some it can absorb an important part of the income (see Table XI).[1] Our five cultivators have a large consumption of it. Others say that this is because in the dry season they have nothing else to do. Let us note that for No. 10, who moreover has the lowest food standard, 5% of the total income is devoted to it.

Incidentally we can compare these figures with those obtained for tobacco (five cases).

/421/

No. 11:	3.9% of the income		(worker)
No. 16:	5.7%	--	(worker)
No. 17:	0.1%	--	(worker
No. 19:	6.7%	--	(accountant)
No. 36:	4.2%	--	(accountant)

For No. 11 we have 1.3% for kola; for No. 19, 0.6%.

[435] All the same, kola is less expensive than tobacco. And, it is

[1] [apparently Table XII is meant, see cat 116, pp 59-60 - ANALYST.]

/421 cont./

*511 said, it is the best stimulant to counteract the effects of
[276] undernourishment.

There are three categories of "routine" expenses, those that we noted from day to day, which we still have to mention. They hold our attention less, because in a way they are obligatory. They are those relating to fuel, illumination, and the upkeep of clothing, laundry (Table XII).

[372] The most important one, in terms of the sums that it is necessary to devote to it, is fuel: wood and charcoal. It ordinarily represents 6 to 7% of the small incomes, then becomes smaller, decreasing as the income increases.

[354] By contrast, the percentage of the expenses devoted to illumination, much less important, does not show any great variation from one income to another, because there are various means of illumination, from the candle to the oil and electric lamps, not forgetting the battery lamp. The more modern the illumination is, the more onerous it becomes. It is modern to the degree that the incomes increase, just as a more comfortable dwelling, where there is a greater number of rooms to illuminate, corresponds to the increase in incomes.

As for the expenses devoted to the laundry of the family linen, they are proportional to the number of persons making up this family. Sometimes the portage expenses for the water,
[271] which is also used in the kitchen, are added to them. Otherwise it would not be necessary to include the column "Water" in Table XII.

This concludes the survey of the principal routine expenses of our 43 families. For nearly half of them, totaling the percentages in proportion to the incomes obtained, we reach or exceed the figure 100. Nevertheless it is not enough to be fed and to have one's linen washed. Other expenses will have to figure, little or much, in the budget of these families. This is when the deficits are going to increase in very great proportions.

/422/

*511
276

Table XII

No.	Income	In Proportion to Income				
		Fuel	Illumination	Maintenance	Water	Kola
1	5,800	0.2	1.2	5.6	0.9	--
2	6,100	1.9	0.5	4.5	--	1.6
3	6,500	3.8	0.5	1.0	1.3	0.8
4	6,700	7.3	0.5	1.4	--	0.1
5	6,745	6.3	0.9	4.0	--	0.3
6	7 000	7.5	1.1	1.5	--	2.0
7	7,000	3.7	2.2	2.5	--	3.7
8	7,410	3.5	0.6	1.6	--	0.2
9	7,500	4.3	0.5	1.6	1.0	4.7
10	8,150	6.5	2.3	2.2	0.6	5.0
11	9,940	7.8	0.2	1.9	--	1.3
12	9,000	4.6	0.7	1.1	2.2	0.1
13	9,800	7.1	0.7	5.8	--	--
14	10,000	2.9	2.5	1.2	0.4	2.9
15	10,000	2.9	2.1	0.6	--	3.1
16	10,675	7.2	0.3	5.1	--	--
17	10,800	6.0	1.0	4.4	--	--
18	11,000	5.1	0.9	1.4	--	--
19	11,950	2.9	1.8	2.0	--	0.6
20	12,000	11.4	1.8	4.7	--	--
21	13,000	5.3	1.3	2.3	1.6	0.9
22	14,000	8.1	1.1	3.9	0.3	0.2
23	15,000	2.0	1.7	2.0	0.3	2.6
24	15,000	4.0	0.7	1.0	3.2	1.5
25	15,630	6.6	0.9	1.8	--	0.2
26	15,800	3.1	1.6	4.0	--	--
27	16,200	2.5	0.7	2.2	0.9	0.7
28	22,000	3.9	1.7	2.7	--	0.1
29	22,000	1.3	1.6	1.3	--	--
30	24,000	3.7	0.7	1.0	--	0.1
31	25,000	3.2	0.3	0.6	--	0.4

/422 cont./ Table XII (cont.)

*511
276

No.	Income	In Proportion to Income				
		Fuel	Illumination	Maintenance	Water	Kola
32	25,000	1.2	0.8	1.0	--	1.3
33	25,000	3.2	0.8	1.0	--	--
34	25,900	1.5	0.4	1.1	--	0.2
35	27,000	2.8	0.2	1.5	--	--
36	34,000	2.0	0.9	1.6	--	--
37	36,000	3.5	0.7	1.1	--	0.1
38	50,000	0.8	0.5	1.4	--	--
39	51,000	1.3	2.5	0.5	1.1	--
40	55,000	3.6	1.2	1.5	--	0.1
41	55,500	2.5	0.5	1.0	--	1.3
42	56,000	1.6	0.5	1.1	--	--
43	81,000	0.4	--	0.6	--	--

/423/

*511 Let us begin with the most obligatory of all, those from which it is most difficult to escape: taxes and the rent of the dwelling (Table XIII).[1]

*511 651 Two of our families do not pay taxes. Nearly all of the others devote at least 1% of their income to them. The tax paid would normally be proportional to the number of adults that the restricted family contains. It is quite often lower; [659] one may succeed in escaping the fiscal census. It is sometimes [602] higher: specifically, in three cases where the salaried worker in the city pays the taxes for his relatives who remained in the village.

*511 427 Only 13 families pay rent for the dwelling. Two are given free lodgings by the owner; three are lodged by their [466] employer. The others are "owners." This ownership is often [423] limited to a straw hut, or better a plank hut, constructed on an [342] administrative concession. The most favored build a true house of mud; up to now only one of our family heads has undertaken a "permanent" building.

[1] [see cat 116, pp 62-63. ANALYST]

/423 cont. /

*511 362 427 It would be beyond our purpose to go into the problem of living conditions, since only budgets are in question here and not the standard of living in general. Let us state only that the desire to be the owner of one's home is legitimate if one examines the high cost of rent, and above all the portion of the income that its payment requires: 12% for No. 1, whose income is 5,800 francs (two rooms in a plank hut with a metal roof, where 13 persons are crowded together); 12.6% for No. 2; 14% for No. 16, etc.... The percentages noted after No. 26 are more normal, and the dwellings are more comfortable. But the incomes are from four to ten times higher.

*511 467 We have shown on the same table the percentages calculated for the syndical assessment, the cost of which is the same for everyone in the same syndicate (300 or 350 francs, depending on the syndicate), in order to show the cost, low on the whole, that they represent: one goes down in decreasing order from 0.4%, which is not negligible, to 0.09%, which is significant. No. 43 is a member of the syndicate of doctors, for which the assessment is higher.

*511 After rice, the clothing heading is the most important among many families. Some will be surprised at this, if they are not familiar with the cities of Senegal. Others would be expecting this result.

Table XIV[4] gives us the details for this heading, family by /424/ /Table XIII appears here/ /425/ family. The first verification shown is that the number of families exceeding 10% of the income is larger at the top of the table, where a deficit exists, than at the bottom. Should one conclude from this that they have decided to satisfy their reputed liking for clothing at any price?

The percentages are misleading; it is better for us to give some information on the absolute values.

From No. 1 to No. 10, none of these families devoted more than 10,000 francs to clothing in one year. No. 29 spent

[4] [see cat 116, pp 66-67. ANALYST]

4: Mersadier--62 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

/424/

Table XIII

*511
427
651
467

No.	Occupation	Income	In % in proportion to income: Taxes	Rent	Syndical Assessment
1	Laborer	5,800	--	12	0.4
2	Orderly	6,100	4.0	--	0.4
3	Laborer	6,500	2.0	--	--
4	Laborer	6,700	--	12.6	0.3
5	Orderly	6,745	4.0	--	0.3
6	Mattress-maker	7,000	1.0	--	--
7	Laborer	7,000	1.7	11.4	0.4
8	Orderly	7,410	2.0	--	0.5
9	Baker	7,500	1.1	--	--
10	Cultivator	8,150	1.2	--	--
11	Auxiliary D. N.	8,940	2.6	--	0.2
12	Laborer	9,000	3.4	--	0.2
13	Laborer	9,800	1.7	--	0.2
14	Cultivator	10,000	1.8	--	--
15	Laborer	10,000	3.1	7.5	--
16	Auxiliary	10,675	0.9	14	0.2
17	Auxiliary	10,800	2.1	--	0.2
18	Spec. laborer	11,000	1.1	--	0.2
19	Accountant	11,950	2.0	4.1	0.3
20	Auxiliary	12,000	1.3	--	0.2
21	Clerk	13,000	3.2	--	0.1
22	Auxiliary	14,000	1.3	--	0.1
23	Cultivator	15,000	5.0	--	--
24	Cultivator	15,000	1.6	--	--
25	Auxiliary D. N.	15,630	1.6	--	0.1
26	Employee P. T. T.	15,800	1.7	9.5	0.1
27	Shoemaker	16,200	3.4	--	--
28	Worker D. N.	22,000	4.5	--	0.1
29	Police sargeant	22,000	1.4	1.3	--

/424 cont./ Table XIII (cont.)

*511
427
65
467

No.	Occupation	Income	In % in proportion to income: Taxes	Rent	Syndidal Assessment
30	Weigher	24,000	1.6	--	0.1
31	Carpenter	25,000	1.3	--	0.1
32	Cultivator	25,000	0.7	--	--
33	Chauffeur	25,000	2.5	4	0.1
34	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	1.4	6	0.09
35	Staff employee D.N.	27,000	1.6	3.7	0.09
36	Private accountant	34,000	1.4	--	--
37	Truck-gardener	36,000	1.4	--	--
38	Jeweler	50,000	0.4	4	--
39	Teacher	51,000	1.1	--	--
40	Staffworker D.N.	55,000	1.1	--	0.09
41	Head employee D.N.	55,500	1.4	1.8	--
42	Chief worker	56,000	0.9	--	--
43	Doctor	81,000	3.2	--	0.2

*511 /425 cont./ 9,300 francs; No. 1, 8,000 francs. From No. 11 to No. 23, we exceed 15,000 francs only once (19).

These two groups nearly correspond, on the one hand, to the group of monthly incomes from 5,000 to 10,000 francs and, on the other hand, to the group from 10,000 to 15,000 francs. For the latter, the maximum to be devoted to clothing would thus be equal to a month's income. The figure may seem reasonable, but the proportion is very great for budgets systematically having a deficit. It is true that many do not

[291]
[292]
[796]

/425 cont./

*511 291 [292] [796] reach it, by ignoring the tradition that one should have new clothing for the celebration of Tabaski. Some expenses seem slightly exaggerated. The head of family No. 11, who dresses very modestly himself, each year presents a sumptuous new gown to his wife, who moreover demands it, although she can rarely wear it. The 8,000 francs for No. 1, on the contrary, are justified by the size of his restricted family: seven persons.

[183] Nevertheless it is surely possible to reduce these expenses. But opinion requires that one have new clothing to show at times, and it is difficult to pass unnoticed in an African city of average size.

*511 After this threshold of 15,000 francs of monthly income, we encounter figures for impressive expenses. No. 27 devotes as much as 48,000 francs to his clothing. No. 30, 65,000 francs, the same as No. 36. From No. 34 on, all exceed 40,000 francs per year. For some, that may be justified by the size of the family; No. 36 has 15 persons under his care, for whom practically all of this is necessary. The restricted family alone of No. 40 contains 15 persons; that of No. 42, 11. For the others we could only verify the facts, leaving to the psychologists and sociologists the task of explaining them; No. 34 earns 25,000 francs per month and devotes 65,000 francs to the clothing of four persons, 22.5% of his income. This budget nevertheless has a surplus, but only of 3.7%, in the midst of a series where they are much greater. We now have the explanation for it.

/426/ We have grouped under the rubric "Equipment" (Table XIV) dissimilar elements which have the common character of being of some utility and, if not purchased once and for all, at least not needing to be renewed for a rather long period, for example, furniture, kitchen equipment, bedding, etc. ... The sums that are devoted to them are generally of little importance. The purchase of a Madagascar stove or of some glasses, however, is a heavy burden on an income below 10,000 francs. These things are generally not purchased on [452] credit.

[352] The piece of furniture that we found most often in our

/426 cont./

*511 352 lists is the bed (1). In nearly all of the African lodgings we

1. The 13.3% of the cultivator, No. 32, arose from the purchase of a cart and a horse.

find at least a bed, but there is rarely one for everyone. And [369] to sleep in a bed has become the best proof that one can give of his acclimatization to the city.

If the income is higher, one may be able to buy more important pieces of furniture. Then, in the order of their urgency, the armchairs, the rugs, and then the tables and wardrobes appear.

*511 Then we come to the rubric "Exceptional Expenses," those for which no absolute necessity is felt. Moreover they are rarer at the top of the table, only three, and then they multiply (Table XIV).

[405] The first thing that we find here is the watch or the alarm [301] clock, closely followed by the jewelry of the wife or wives. [493] There follow, but only in the highest incomes, the bicycle, [207] or, depending on the possibilities, the bicycle with a motor [301] on it or the motorcycle, then the battery radio. There is nothing very original in all this, and, except perhaps for the importance given to the jewelry of the women, we would find similar pretensions among European families having equivalent incomes.

*511 794 [771] In the last table (Table XV)[1] we have grouped a series of expenses that have a common origin, the religion of the families investigated, all Moslems except one. Two Moslem holidays are involved, Tabaski and Korité, religious assessments, /427/ /Table XIV appears here/ /428/ offerings to the marabouts, and, finally, expenses arising from sending children to the Koranic school.

*511 796 For Tabaski, each family slaughters a sheep. There

1 [See cat 116, pp 69-71. ANALYST]

*511 /427/

Table XIV

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Clothing	Equipment	Exceptional Expenses
1	Sarakolé	Laborer	5,800	11.4	--	--
2	Peul	Orderly	6,100	4.0	2.2	--
3	Wolof	Laborer	6,500	9.6	2.0	--
4	Sérère	Laborer	6,700	6.2	0.6	--
5	Toucouleur	Orderly	6,745	3.3	0.6	--
6	Wolof	Mattress-maker	7,000	4.7	0.9	--
7	Wolof	Laborer	7,000	8.0	--	--
8	Wolof	Orderly	7,410	6.7	0.8	1.6
9	Wolof	Baker	7,500	10.3	1.1	--
10	Wolof	Cultivator	8,150	4.6	6.7	1.5
11	Moor	Auxiliary	8,940	13.9	0.9	--
12	Peul	Laborer	9,000	11.1	0.2	--
13	Wolof	Laborer	9,800	8.9	0.1	--
14	Wolof	Cultivator	10,000	10.8	0.1	--
15	Bambara	Laborer	10,000	10.0	0.6	--
16	Bambara	Auxiliary	10,675	6.2	1.9	--
17	Moor	Auxiliary	10,800	11.5	0.3	2.3
18	Peul	Spec. laborer	11,000	4.5	--	--
19	Toucouleur	Accountant	11,950	11.5	--	--
20	Bambara	Auxiliary	12,000	4.0	--	--
21	Wolof	Clerk	13,000	7.5	--	--
22	Wolof	Auxiliary	14,000	7.4	2.3	--
23	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	8.0	2.2	--
24	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	9.4	5.7	--
25	Wolof	Auxiliary	15,630	8.5	0.6	6.0
26	Wolof	Employee P.T.T.	15,800	6.3	1.5	2.6
27	Wolof	Shoemaker	16,200	24.6	0.3	1.8
28	Wolof	Worker	22,000	5.6	--	0.7
29	Toucouleur	Police sargeant	22,000	4.5	0.2	3.0

/427 cont./

*511

Table XIV (cont.)

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Clothing	Equipment	Exceptional Expenses
30	Wolof	Weigher	24,000	22.5	1.0	--
31	Wolof	Carpenter	25,000	5.0	1.0	--
32	Wolof	Cultivator	25,000	2.6	13.3	--
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25,000	9.3	5.0	--
34	Wolof	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	16.0	8.7	0.6
35	Wolof	Managerial employee	27,000	9.2	3.7	2.6
36	Wolof	Private accountant	34,000	15.9	0.4	1.9
37	Wolof	Truck-gardener	36,000	9.2	1.3	3.4
38	Wolof	Jeweler	50,000	9.5	4.1	4.2
39	Sarakolé	Teacher	51,000	11.4	2.0	--
40	Wolof	Chief worker	55,000	12.1	2.2	--
41	Sarakolé	Head employee	55,500	9.0	5.2	--
42	Bambara	Chief worker	56,000	13.2	8.1	15.0
43	Wolof	Doctor	81,000	6.1	1.0	3.0

/428 cont./

*511 would have to be truly exceptional circumstances for this rule
796 to be derogated. A sheep is worth 1,500 to 3,000 francs. And,
[435] of course, it is not interdicted to kill several of them. The
[262] mutton must be accompanied by various dishes, also as copious
[426] as possible.[1] All of this adds up to large outlays and often indebtedness for several months. The percentages in proportion to the monthly incomes are low, but it is in one month that all these expenses occur, and also many devoted to clothing. It is difficult not to go into debt.

[1] [for the Moslem holiday - Tabaski - ANALYST]

/428 cont./

*511 For Korité, although meals more copious than usual
796 are often provided, nevertheless the essential thing is the alms
[262] in millet or money that one gives to the poor through the
marabout.
[735] For these two celebrations, the percentages stated are not noticeably higher at the top of the table than in the lower part. If, for the first incomes, the family heads are often obliged to do more than their means allow, each seems to adapt himself subsequently to his possibilities (1).

1. For No. 43, the information given concerns the celebrations for Christmas and the first of January.

*511 The religious assessments are less numerous than the
794 syndical assessments, but harder to bear. They exist in only three cases above No. 20, but represent 2% of the incomes, and 0.8%. They again noticeably increase in the lower part of the table. As for the gifts to the marabouts, they are perhaps more frequent than we have shown. Many families must have wanted to conceal them. Added to the payment for the
[875] teacher at the Koranic school (10 francs per week), these religious obligations end up by noticeably increasing the deficits that already existed at the start.

*511 Just as certain products are encountered in only a few
871 families in the case of the routine expenses, we are also going to find here some of another order, but often more important.

There is first the cost of sending the children to school; 13 families send their children to school, public or private, and the outlays made for this can be evaluated as follows:

/429/ /Table XV appears here/ /430/

No. 8: 0.8%	No. 17: 1.8%
No. 10: 0.5%	No. 20: 0.5%
No. 16: 0.5%	No. 28: 0.4%

[Text continues on p.72]

4: Mersadier--69 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

*511 794 796 /429/

Table XV

		% in proportion to income							
No.	Annual Income	1 Ta-baski	2 Ko rité	3 Asses.	4 Offer-ings	5 Koran School	Total 1 and 2	Total 3-4-5	General Total
1	69,600	1.4	0.8	--	--	--	2.2	--	2.2
2	73,200	3.1	0.4	2	--	--	3.5	2	5.5
3	78,000	4.1	1.0	--	--	--	5.1	--	5.1
4	80,000	1.8	0.3	--	--	--	2.1	--	2.1
5	80,940	5.6	0.8	--	--	0.5	6.4	0.5	6.9
6	84,000	1.1	0.6	--	2.3	1.1	1.7	3.4	5.1
7	84,000	2.9	2.1	--	3.3	--	5.0	3.3	8.3
8	88,200	3.9	0.7	--	--	--	4.6	--	4.6
9	90,000	3.6	2.0	--	5.0	--	5.6	5.0	10.6
10	97,000	2.1	1.5	--	3.0	0.4	3.6	3.4	7.0
11	107,280	1.8	0.4	0.8	0.9	--	2.2	1.7	3.9
12	108,000	2.0	0.9	--	--	0.4	2.0	0.4	3.3
13	117,000	3.4	0.1	--	--	--	3.5	--	3.5
14	120,000	2.5	0.5	--	1.2	--	3.0	1.2	4.2
15	120,000	3.1	2.0	--	--	--	5.1	--	5.1
16	128,000	2.3	--	--	--	--	2.3	--	2.3

4: Mersadier--70 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

*511 794 796

/429 cont./

Table XV (cont.)

No.	Annual Income	% in proportion to income: 1 Tabaski	2 Koritê	3 Asses.	4 Offerings	5 Koran School	Total 1 and 2	Total 3 - 4 - 5	General Total
17	129,000	2.3	0.6	--	--	--	2.9	--	2.9
18	132,000	3.0	0.7	--	--	--	3.7	--	3.7
19	143,000	2.0	0.5	2.0	3.4	--	2.5	5.4	7.9
20	144,000	1.7	0.6	--	--	--	2.3	--	2.3
21	156,000	2.8	1.5	0.1	0.2	1.9	4.3	3.2	7.5
22	168,000	1.8	0.4	0.7	--	--	2.2	0.7	2.9
23	180,000	4.1	2.3	0.5	2.7	1.7	6.4	4.9	11.3
24	180,000	1.6	1.3	--	--	1.3	2.9	1.3	3.2
25	187,560	1.7	0.5	0.3	--	--	2.2	0.3	2.5
26	189,600	2.1	0.6	0.7	1.3	--	2.7	3.8	8.5
27	194,000	2.3	1.0	--	--	0.4	3.3	0.4	3.7
28	264,000	1.3	0.3	0.9	--	--	1.6	0.9	2.5
29	264,000	1.5	--	0.9	--	--	1.5	0.9	2.4
30	288,000	1.7	0.9	--	--	0.3	2.6	0.3	2.9
31	300,000	1.0	0.3	0.3	--	--	1.9	0.4	1.7
32	300,000	1.5	0.5	1.2	1.6	0.1	2.0	2.9	4.9

4:Mersadier --71 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

*511 794 796

/429 cont./

Table XV (cont.)

		% in proportion to income							
No.	Annual Income	1 Ta-baski	2 Ko-rité	3 Asses.	4 Offer-ings	5 Koran School	Total 1 and 2	Total 3-4-5	General Total
33	300,000	1.6	0.4	-	-	-	2.0	-	2.0
34	310,000	5.1	0.4	1.1	-	-	5.5	1.1	6.6
35	324,000	5.5	0.4	-	-	-	5.9	-	5.3
36	408,000	2.9	0.7	0.8	0.9	-	3.6	1.7	5.3
37	432,000	3.2	0.5	0.8	0.9	-	3.7	1.7	5.4
38	600,000	3.3	0.5	0.6	-	0.2	3.8	0.8	4.6
39	612,000	1.6	0.8	-	-	-	2.4	-	2.4
40	660,000	1.5	0.4	1.0	0.6	1.0	1.9	2.6	4.5
41	666,000	1.5	0.4	0.6	-	-	1.9	0.6	2.5
42	678,000	2.2	0.5	-	1.4	1.0	2.7	2.4	5.1
43	972,000	1.6	-	-	-	-	1.6	-	1.6

/430 cont./

*511 871

No. 31: 0.5%	No. 41: 4.4%
No. 38: 0.5%	No. 42: 0.5%
No. 39: 0.6%	No. 43: 5.6%
No. 40: 2.4%	

These percentages do not decrease. The explanation is to be seen in the fact that only families with high incomes send all of their children to school, and that, on the other hand, they often prefer, even Moslems, to send them to Catholic school.

*511 794 In three cases the family heads pointed out to us that in one year they were faced with the expenses occasioned by a baptism (which also requires a sheep). For No. 19 the cost represented 11.5% of the income, but only 6.3% and 3.4% for Nos. 26 and 31.

*511 593 602 But the heaviest familial obligation for many is the necessity of sending sums of money to their relatives who are in difficulties. For example, No. 3 sent to a brother a sum representing 2.5% of his income; No. 11, at two times, 4.4%; No. 24, 0.9%. Finally, No. 43 sends 8.2% of his income each month to his family and to that of his wife.

*511 595 Another familial obligation, this one desired: Nos. 18, 35, 38, 40, and 41 actually have two or three households, because they preferred not having all of their wives live together, a whim that comes to, respectively, 18.1%, 6.1%, 10%, 10.6% of their incomes. (The budget of No. 18 has a deficit of 15%.)

*511 357 Thirteen families employ one or several domestic workers. Moreover, all of them are located below the central income. Here is the portion of their budget that is devoted to this:

No. 24: 6.6%	No. 35: 3.7%
No. 26: 2.2%	No. 37: 3.8%
No. 27: 6.1%	No. 38: 2%
No. 28: 1.5%	No. 40: 3%
No. 30: 4.1%	No. 42: 1.7
No. 31: 4%	No. 43: 11.1%
No. 34: 4.3%	

/430 cont./

*511 Finally, eight families more or less regularly devote
517 a part of their incomes to the heading "Diversions"; ex-
[541 cluding No. 36 /431/ (he attends the horse races), all go to
[546 the cinema or send their children there. They are the
numbers:

No. 16:	1%	No. 36:	1%
No. 22:	3.5%	No. 39:	0.6%
No. 26:	0.9%	No. 40:	0.2%
No. 33:	0.6%	No. 43:	0.6%

[204 There must be added to that five families who read
and buy newspapers:

No. 34:	Employee...	0.3%	of the income
No. 36:	Accountant..	0.7%	--
No. 39:	Teacher.....	1.6%	--
No. 41:	Employee...	0.4%	--
No. 43:	Doctor.....	2.5%	--

*511 A final question presents itself. How, when there is
423 any, are the surpluses utilized.

We have been able to get precise data in only two cases: No. 36 built a house to which he devoted in one year, from March 1952 to March 1953, 80,000 francs. On the
[427 other hand, No. 43 has taken in rent-sale a villa in Dakar,
and for that he pays 12,300 francs per month.

Moreover, the ambition of many, as we have said, is
[554 to become the owner of their dwelling. Some look further
and want some gardens besides. Several already possess one or the other and are only trying to improve or enlarge them. One of them claimed that he had had a well dug, but he was unable or did not want to remember the sums put into this undertaking.

*511 One of the family heads succeeded in starting a trans-
[472 portation business after having purchased two carts and a horse.
[494 Some hoard. We believed that a cultivator had a good-sized
[454 bank account and loaned the money at usurious rates. We have
[426

/431 cont./

(*511 not been able to take this income into account, but he is certainly erroneously placed in our list; this is No. 23. The 15,000 francs shown indeed correspond to his way of life, but he should certainly be higher.

Finally, many do not know where the money goes... and would be very surprised to learn that they should normally have a surplus at the end of each month. It is very probable [426] that they loan /432/ much of it, which is never returned to them and which they do not think of asking for; they are the ones who permit the system to remain in equilibrium.

*511 114 Many points have remained obscure in the course of this study, and many others require some explanation. We have strictly limited ourselves to a report of the verifications that we have made concerning the budgets of our families, not wishing to go still further and speak of the "standard of living." These are thus raw results which need to be worked over, put back in their framework, and illuminated in the light of their context: all the elements that make up African daily life.

But other studies of the same order are under way. One was recently made in Dakar itself; another will soon begin in Saint-Louis. By combining the results we will then be able to confirm certain of the tendencies shown and, finally, perhaps to draw some valid conclusions.

*511 The provisional conclusions would be: the apparent impossibility, or in any case the difficulty, of balancing a budget when the income is less than 15,000 francs, at least by changing the food habits (by consuming more millet, for example) and above all the social context. But on this last point the traditions are still the strongest. On the other hand, as we have just said, it is because of them that the system remains in equilibrium. [369] But from this struggle between two forces, the traditions of the rural life and the necessities of life in the city, there is the danger that disequilibrium will arise. In any case this is what often happens on the level of the familial groups that we studied.

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

BULLETIN
DE
L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'AFRIQUE NOIRE

ANNÉE 1955
TOME DIX-SEPTIÈME

SÉRIE B, SCIENCES HUMAINES

[Title page]

DAKAR, IFAN

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

Bulletin de l'I. F. A. N.
T. XVII, sér. B, nos 3-4, 1955.

Structure de budgets familiaux à Thiès

par Yvon MERSADIER.

A 60 km. à l'Est de Dakar, la ville de Thiès compte, d'après un récent recensement, 36.000 habitants. Toute son activité paraît centrée autour de quatre pôles principaux : commercial, industriel, administratif et militaire.

Son activité commerciale est due à sa situation au carrefour de voies de communication importantes : lignes de chemin de fer de Dakar à Saint-Louis, de Dakar à Bamako, de Thiès à Kaolack, routes de Dakar à Saint-Louis, de Dakar à Diourbel, Tambacounda, puis le Soudan et la Guinée.

C'est aussi à cette implantation à un carrefour ferroviaire important qu'elle doit l'essentiel de son activité industrielle : c'est là qu'ont été installés les ateliers de réparation du réseau Dakar-Niger, où travaillent près de 1.000 ouvriers de tous grades.

A côté des ateliers du Dakar-Niger, il ne faut pas oublier que c'est aussi à Thiès que réside la direction de ce réseau. Et c'est aussi le chef lieu administratif d'un cercle. Nous trouverons donc à côté des ouvriers une assez forte proportion d'employés de bureaux, subalternes et supérieurs.

La fonction militaire de Thiès, enfin, est due à la présence de deux camps importants : le « DMA » (Détachement Motorisé Autonome) et une base aérienne.

Cependant à côté de ces quatre centres d'activités qui donnent à cette ville un caractère moderne (économiquement parlant, tout au moins) un cinquième intervient dans une proportion non négligeable. A la périphérie de Thiès est installée une population assez importante de cultivateurs qui en hivernage cultivent arachide et mil sur des champs tout proches. Et la ville est le point où vient s'affirmer, à l'époque de la traite de l'arachide, toute l'activité agricole du cercle. Son importance commerciale s'en trouve encore accrue.

[p. 388]

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

Voici d'ailleurs quelques indications chiffrées concernant la répartition professionnelle de la population de Thiès.

Sur une population active de 11.040 habitants à la date du recensement on comptait :

11,6 % dans le secteur primaire,		
dont :	agriculteurs	10,9 %
44,5 % dans le secteur secondaire,		
dont :	ouvriers non qualifiés	0,7 %
	ouvriers qualifiés du bâtiment	10 %
	ouvriers qualifiés modernes	14,6 %
	cadres et maitrise	1,1 %
41,9 % dans le secteur tertiaire,		
dont :	domestiques	2,7 %
	commerce transport et restauration	11,4 %
	balayeurs, plantons, concierges	1,6 %
	employés de bureau non qualifiés	3,3 %
	employés de bureau qualifiés	1,8 %
	employés de bureau hautement qualifiés et cadres administratifs	1,1 %
	Force publique	16,4 %(1)

Par sa diversité même, cette population constitue donc un excellent champ d'études et d'expériences pour le sociologue et pour l'économiste.

Une enquête socio-démographique par questionnaire avait déjà eu lieu en novembre et décembre 1953. L'échantillon choisi comprenait 900 chefs de familles interrogés (2). Nous avons voulu la compléter partiellement en étudiant quelques budgets de familles, en nombre très limité : 46, dont 3 se sont révélés inexploitables.

Il ne faudrait donc sous aucun prétexte vouloir donner une valeur générale aux résultats qui vont être présentés. Les tendances constatées devront être confirmées par d'autres enquêtes, plus étendues, conformes à la résolution adoptée en 1926 par la troisième conférence des Statisticiens du travail qui précisait « il vaut mieux renoncer à certains détails sur lesquels pourrait porter l'enquête que de réduire le nombre de familles étudiées ».

(1) Ces indications sont extraites de la publication effectuée par le service de la statistique générale du Haut Commissariat de l'A. O. F. « Commune mixte de Thiès. Recensement 1953 », *Dakar*, 1954. Nous avons seulement converti en pourcentages les chiffres figurant aux pages 25 et suivantes de cette brochure.

(2) Les résultats de cette enquête, qui était dirigée par le Dr Massé, seront publiés dans le prochain numéro de ce *Bulletin*.

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

Nous avons pris presque systématiquement le contre pied de cette recommandation, car les connaissances que l'on a actuellement sur la vie quotidienne des Africains dans les villes du Sénégal (et de l'Ouest africain français dans son ensemble) sont encore bien trop insuffisantes pour que l'on puisse entreprendre des enquêtes plus vastes. D'autre part, et c'était un empêchement majeur, nous ne disposions pas de moyens suffisants pour étudier un plus grand nombre de familles. Ceci nous a préservé de la tentation de voir trop grand : cette vie quotidienne africaine est à ce point complexe, particulièrement dans son aspect économique, qu'à certains égards le travail accompli et les documents recueillis nous ont paru après coup manquer de précision.

***

La méthode que nous avons employée est simple. Il s'agissait surtout pour les 7 enquêteurs africains (chacun s'occupait de 6 à 7 familles) et pour le directeur de l'enquête d'être présents le plus souvent possible et le plus longtemps possible dans chaque famille, et de noter sur un cahier conçu pour cet usage, chaque jour, toutes les activités financières de la famille. Ceci pendant un mois de 31 jours [1] (Le mois de mars 1954). Nous avons obtenu des renseignements assez précis sur les dépenses « courantes » du mois : principalement alimentation, combustible, éclairage, entretien. Et des éléments de base pour le calcul des autres catégories de dépenses : habillement, matériel, équipement, charges familiales diverses, charges religieuses, etc... que nous désirions évaluer pour une période d'un an. Mais nous avons dû ici nous fier en partie aux déclarations des personnes enquêtées. Cependant la présence presque continuelle de l'enquêteur dans les familles pendant un mois lui permettait, en plusieurs interrogatoires et par recoupement, d'arriver à des chiffres que nous croyons assez proches de la réalité.

Les revenus réels ont souvent été assez difficiles à évaluer. Il n'y avait en principe pas de difficultés pour les salariés, qui montrent volontiers leur bulletin de paye. Pour les artisans, il a fallu, à côté de la comptabilité de leur famille tenir celle de leur activité professionnelle ; quant aux cultivateurs, c'est certaine-

(1) Pour des indications détaillées sur la méthode suivie pour cette enquête, cf. : Y. Mersadier : Un essai d'enquête sur le niveau de vie d'une population urbaine (communication à la conférence d'experts sur les conséquences sociales de l'industrialisation et les problèmes urbains en Afrique, Abidjan, septembre 1954).

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

ment chez eux que se trouve le pourcentage d'erreur le plus élevé. Nous avons tenu compte du produit de la vente de leur récolte, souvent sous estimé par l'intéressé, de la part d'auto-consommation, des revenus procurés par les activités annexes exercées en saison sèche. Pour aboutir à un chiffre de revenu pouvant être comparé à celui des salariés.

Mais les femmes qui presque toutes se déclarent « sans profession », ont presque toutes de petites sources de revenus qui leur permettent d'équilibrer un budget, ou tout au moins de combler partiellement un déficit. Il s'agit souvent de petit commerce, quelquefois de travaux domestiques, parfois de dons de comédienne qui attirent la sympathie et les cadeaux, ainsi que nous l'avons constaté chez une famille de la caste des griots. Il a donc fallu se pencher longuement sur chaque cas avant d'arrêter un chiffre exact. Nous croyons pourtant nous être trompé sur deux ou trois cas, qui se révèleront d'eux-même par la suite.

Bien entendu, le cas s'est présenté souvent ou dans une famille, ou disons plutôt dans une même « unité de consommation » puisque c'est le terme que nous emploierons le plus couramment (1), plusieurs personnes percevaient des revenus. Le revenu global retenu n'est pas toujours la somme de ces revenus. Nous avons étudié des budgets de groupes et non des budgets d'individu. Or, ces groupes, ces « unités de consommation », ne coïncident que rarement avec la famille restreinte de type occidental. Il contient souvent des individus qui ayant un lien de parenté ou non avec un membre de la famille restreinte, participent pour partie à la vie économique de l'unité de consommation et d'autre part s'en séparent pour d'autres activités.

Le cas le plus net est celui du pensionnaire qui prend ses repas dans l'unité de consommation et paie le prix de ces repas. Aussi simple, il est exceptionnel, de même que le cas extrême où tous les revenus sont mis en commun. Entre les deux, il y a des quantités de situations possibles. Pour chaque unité de consommation nous avons donc fait la part, parmi tous les revenus perçus par ses membres, de ce dont disposait le chef de famille pour faire vivre sa famille restreinte et remplir ses obligations à l'égard des autres membres de l'unité de consommation ne faisant pas partie de la famille restreinte.

---

(1) Chaque fois que nous parlerons de « famille », c'est en réalité de l'unité de consommation qu'il s'agira. Pour désigner le groupe familial au sens occidental du mot, nous emploierons le terme de « famille restreinte ».

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

***

Nous avons essayé, si réduit que soit notre échantillon, de le rendre tout de même représentatif de la structure de la population de Thiès, tant aux points de vue du groupe ethnique de l'unité de consommation, qu'à ceux des groupes professionnels, des revenus, du nombre de personnes. Ce choix était donc difficile, de 45 familles (chiffre initialement prévu) nous convenant et acceptant de se soumettre à l'enquête [1]. Les 43 unités de consommation dont il va être question ici se répartissent ainsi :

Au point de vue des revenus :

13 entre 5.000 et 10.000 fr. par mois,
9 entre 10.000 et 15.000 fr. par mois,
5 entre 15.000 et 20.000 fr. par mois,
8 entre 20.000 et 30.000 fr. par mois,
8 au-dessus de 30.000 fr. par mois, dont un de 81.000 fr.

Au point de vue de la répartition professionnelle :

5 cultivateurs,
8 manœuvres (dont 1 spécialisé),
3 plantons,
3 employés de bureau « non qualifiés »,
2 employés de bureau « qualifiés »,
1 employé de bureau « hautement qualifié »,
6 ouvriers « non qualifiés »,
4 ouvriers « qualifiés »,
2 ouvriers ayant des fonctions de commandement,
1 brigadier chef de police,
4 artisans,
1 maraîcher,
1 comptable privé,
1 instituteur,
1 médecin africain.

(1) Pour ce choix des familles, notre tâche a été grandement facilitée par les organisations syndicales, les autorités religieuses et les chefs de quartiers.

4: Meradier MS37 Senegal

Au point de vue du groupe ethnique (1) :

26 Wolof,
4 Bambara,
3 Sarakolé,
3 Peul,
3 Toucouleur,
2 Sérère,
2 Maure.

Enfin, d'après le nombre de personnes composant l'unité de consommation :

5 de moins de 5 personnes,
18 de 5 à 9 personnes,
12 de 10 à 14 personnes,
5 de 15 à 19 personnes,
3 de 20 personnes et plus.

Sur tous ces points, la répartition est à peu près normale. Seul le groupe de revenus de 15 à 20.000 fr. est un peu faiblement représenté, la moyenne du groupe inférieur étant peut-être au contraire un peu trop élevée.

Mais cet équilibre apparent présente un inconvénient : chaque famille ou presque a ses caractères propres, et il n'y en a pas deux qui soient absolument comparables. C'est pourquoi, pour faciliter la compréhension de certains points qui concernent la consommation des denrées alimentaires, nous avons dû recourir à un artifice un peu hasardeux : partant des standards utilisés pour le calcul du besoin alimentaire théorique par l'Institut National d'Hygiène de Paris, nous avons affecté aux hommes, aux femmes et aux enfants, suivant leur catégorie d'âge un coefficient :

1 pour les hommes,
0,8 pour les femmes,
0,5 pour les enfants de 2 à 6 ans,
0,7 pour les enfants de 7 à 12 ans,
0,8 pour les enfants de 13 à 20 ans.

(1) D'après le recensement de 1953 la répartition de la population de Thiès par principaux groupes ethniques est la suivante :

Wolof	65,5 %	Peul	3 %
Toucouleur	9,3 %	Sarakolé	1,8 %
Bambara	6,8 %	Maure	2,4 %
Sérère	5,1 %	Autres	6,1 %
			26

Par addition nous avons obtenu une composition théorique de l'unité de consommation en hommes seulement. Nous pouvons alors calculer la consommation de cet homme théorique. Les enfants au sein ont été compris dans la catégorie 2 à 5 ans, mais nous avons laissé le coefficient 0,8 aux femmes allaitantes. Ceci compense cela.

Le tableau I donne la composition de l'unité de consommation en hommes, femmes et enfants, et dans la dernière colonne sa composition en « unités homme ». La colonne qui précède celle de l'unité de consommation (U. C.) contient un chiffre indiquant de combien de personnes se compose la famille restreinte constituant le noyau de chaque unité de consommation.

Il n'y a coïncidence absolue que dans 5 cas : les n°s 6, 9, 26, 34 et 42.

La famille n° 6 comprend, outre le chef de famille, matelassier, et ses deux femmes, deux filles qu'il a eu de sa première femme, une de sa deuxième femme, une d'une troisième femme décédée.

Le boulanger, chef de la famille n° 9, n'a qu'une épouse. Mais celle-ci avait déjà eu deux enfants avant ce mariage : une fille et un garçon. Tous deux vivant auprès du chef de famille. La fille, déjà mariée, puis divorcée, a avec elle un enfant de 6 ans. Il y a enfin, un enfant commun aux époux.

Avec le n° 26 nous trouvons vraiment une famille de type occidental : un homme, sa femme et leur enfant unique. Le chef de famille a 28 ans, tout comme celui de la famille 34, qui comprend également un homme, sa femme et deux enfants. Il est vrai que déjà ce jeune commis des P. T. T. a épousé une deuxième femme, qui réside à Dakar.

Dans la famille 42 enfin, le chef de famille qui a deux épouses vit seulement avec celles-ci et leurs huit enfants, dont un déjà adulte.

Ces quatre familles mises à part, toutes les unités de consommation comprennent donc un ou plusieurs éléments extérieurs, avec ou sans lien de parenté avec le noyau familial.

Ce « parasitisme » (1) quasi général, est plus important dans les unités de consommation à revenu élevé : ainsi dans les familles 31 36, 37, 38, 40, 41. Mais ses conséquences financières seront plus lourdes dans les autres.

---

(1) Le mot est usuel. Nous le mettons entre guillemets pour marquer à quel point il est inadéquat. Il a surtout le tort d'être péjoratif, alors qu'il désigne un phénomène traditionnel.

TABLEAU N° I

N°	REVENU	FAMILLE RES-TREINTE	U. C.	H	F	2-6	7-12	13-20	U. C. THÉOR.
1	5.800	7	13	3	3	3	1	3	10
2	6.100	5	10	1	1	3	2	1	5,5
3	6.500	3	4	1	2	0	0	0	2,8
4	6.700	4	7	1	3	2	1	0	5,10
5	6.745	5	7	2	2	1	1	1	5,6
6	7.000	7	7	1	2	3	1	0	4,8
7	7.000	2	5	1	2	1	1	0	3,8
8	7.410	2	5	2	3	0	0	0	4,4
9	7.500	6	6	1	2	0	2	1	4,4
10	8.150	8	12	2	6	1	1	2	9,6
11	8.950	3	6	1	2	1	2	0	4,5
12	9.000	4	8	3	2	2	1	0	6,3
13	9.800	3	5	2	2	0	0	1	4,4
14	10.000	10	10	3	3	1	2	2	8,9
15	10.000	6	7	2	2	1	2	0	5,5
16	10.675	3	4	1	1	0	2	0	3,2
17	10.800	5	9	1	3	1	2	2	6,9
18	11.000	3	4	2	2	0	0	0	3,6
19	11.950	5	9	4	2	3	0	0	7,1
20	12.000	6	10	3	3	3	1	0	7,6
21	13.000	5	5	1	2	1	1	0	3,8
22	14.000	8	12	2	5	2	3	0	9,1
23	15.000	14	18	4	4	6	0	4	13,4
24	15.000	17	21	2	5	8	4	2	14,4
25	15.630	7	15	4	5	3	0	3	11,9
26	15.800	4	4	1	1	1	0	0	2,3
27	16.200	10	12	2	3	2	3	2	9,1
28	22.000	16	18	4	4	1	2	7	14,7
29	22.000	4	11	4	3	3	1	0	8,6
30	24.000	5	7	1	3	2	1	0	5,1
31	25.000	10	18	2	3	1	1	11	14,4
32	25.000	5	6	2	1	1	1	1	4,8
33	25.000	4	7	1	2	2	1	1	5,1
34	25.900	4	4	2	1	1	0	0	3,3
35	27.000	5	6	1	2	1	1	1	4,6
36	34.000	3	15	4	7	1	0	3	12,5
37	36.000	11	24	7	10	2	2	3	19,8
38	50.000	5	13	5	5	3	0	0	10,5
39	51.000	6	11	1	3	2	4	1	8,0
40	55.000	15	24	4	9	7	4	0	17,5
41	55.000	8	14	2	6	3	3	0	10,4
42	56.000	11	11	2	2	1	3	3	8,6
43	81.000	4	5	2	1	1	1	0	4,0

* * *

Le tableau II énumère, avec le groupe ethnique et la profession du chef de l'unité de consommation, les revenus dans leur ordre croissant et les dépenses courantes constatées pendant le mois de l'enquête. Les petits revenus, jusqu'à 10.000 fr., sont essentiellement ceux des manœuvres, des plantons et de deux très petits artisans, un matelassier et un boulanger. Nous trouvons aussi (n° 11) un ouvrier auxiliaire [1] du Dakar-Niger, dont le faible revenu s'explique par le fait qu'il débute dans sa profession.

Le cultivateur dont nous avons évalué le revenu à 8.150 fr. cultive en réalité très peu de champs. Sa famille vit grâce à de très petits commerces pratiqués séparément par le chef de famille, ses deux épouses et ses deux sœurs, tous très âgés.

De 10 à 15.000 fr. par mois, ce sont des employés de bureau et des ouvriers non qualifiés (chez le manœuvre n° 15 il y a en réalité deux revenus qui se cumulent). Deux cultivateurs ouvrent la série des 15.000, puis nous trouvons successivement les ouvriers et employés qualifiés, un gros cultivateur, et, dans la catégorie des gros revenus, à côté d'un maraîcher et d'un bijoutier, un représentant des professions libérales, notre instituteur et notre médecin, les ouvriers et employés supérieur. Le n° 43 cumule aussi deux revenus (ainsi que le n° 25).

La comparaison des revenus et des dépenses fait apparaître, jusque vers le milieu du tableau, un excédent de dépenses parfois peu important, mais dépassant pourtant 1.000 fr. dans deux cas (nos 4 et 20). On pourrait y voir la conséquence d'une erreur d'appréciation, soit des revenus, soit des dépenses. Mais il ne faut pas oublier qu'il ne s'agit encore que des dépenses courantes, ce qui revient à dire, pour les petits revenus qui nous intéressent maintenant, des dépenses effectuées pour l'alimentation. Il faut donc ajouter à ce chiffre toutes les autres dépenses, que nous avons calculé pour une période d'un an (divisées par 12 bien entendu). Le tableau III, où nous avons porté le déficit mensuel en valeur absolue et en pourcentage du revenu, nous montre ce que deviennent alors nos budgets : le déficit le plus élevé est de 45,2 % le plus bas

(1) La mention « auxiliaire » D. N., sert ici à désigner des ouvriers non qualifiés. Elle est empruntée à la terminologie administrative (employée aussi par le Dakar-Niger « D. N. »).

TABLEAU N° II

N°	GROUPE ETHNIQUE	PROFESSION	REVENU	DÉPENSES
1	Sarakolé	Manœuvre	5.800	5.839
2	Peul	Planton	6.100	6.726
3	Wolof	Manœuvre	6.500	5.383
4	Sérère	Manœuvre	6.700	8.251
5	Toucouleur	Planton D. N.	6.745	6.772
6	Wolof	Matelassier	7.000	7.471
7	Wolof	Manœuvre	7.000	7.231
8	Wolof	Planton	7.410	7.234
9	Wolof	Boulanger	7.500	7.842
10	Wolof	Cultivateur	8.150	8.133
11	Maure	Auxiliaire D. N.	8.940	9.067
12	Peul	Manœuvre	9.000	8.952
13	Wolof	Manœuvre	9.800	9.981
14	Wolof.	Cultivateur	10.000	8.092
15	Bambara	Manœuvre	10.000	8.501
16	Bambara	Auxiliaire	10.675	10.013
17	Maure	Auxiliaire	10.800	10.892
18	Peul	Manœuvre spéc.	11.000	9.816
19	Toucouleur	Compathle	11.950	10.860
20	Bambara	Auxiliaire D. N.	12.000	13.557
21	Wolof	Écrivain	13.000	13.799
22	Wolof	Auxiliaire	14.000	14.405
23	Wolof	Cultivâteur	15.000	9.182
24	Wolof	Cultivateur	15.000	13.809
25	Wolof	Auxiliaire D. N.	15.630	13.801
26	Wolof	Employé P. T. T.	15.800	10.238
27	Wolof	Cordonnier	16.200	10.600
28	Wolof	Ouvrier D. N.	22.000	18.641
29	Toucouleur	Brigadier police	22.000	18.730
30	Wolof	Ajusteur D. N.	24.000	14.305
31	Wolof	Menuisier	25.000	21.571
32	Wolof	Cultivateur	25.000	7.850
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25.000	15.706
34	Wolof	Employé P. T. T.	25.900	14.715
35	Wolof	Employé cadre D. N.	27.000	16.654
36	Wolof	Comptable privé	34.000	19.829
37	Wolof	Maraîcher	36.000	23.680
38	Wolof	Bijoutier	50.000	27.397
39	Sarakolé	Instituteur	51.000	21.240
40	Wolof	Ouvrier cadre D. N.	55.000	31.004
41	Sarakolé	Employé Pr. D. N.	55.500	21.105
42	Bambara	Chef ouvrier C. D. N.	56.000	24.548
43	Wolof	Médecin	81.000	34.612

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

de 6,4 % (1). (Ce dernier curieusement situé chez une des familles ayant le plus petit revenu.)

Ce déficit est bien entendu théorique. N'ayant pas suivi de très près ces familles pendant une année entière, nous ne pouvons pas prétendre présenter un bilan exact de leur budget. Il est possible que nos pourcentages soient réduits en cours d'année, ou à plus longue échéance, soit grâce à une réduction des dépenses (réduction de la consommation, ou réduction de l'unité de consommation elle-même), soit par la création d'une autre source de revenus. Il n'en demeure pas moins qu'ils existent, et qu'ils sont importants.

Il nous sera facile de montrer d'où ils proviennent. Il est presque impossible d'expliquer rationnellement leur persistance et leur quasi-généralité. Un déficit continuel de 20 % du revenu mensuel crée bientôt, pour un individu ou un groupe d'individus, un passif énorme inconcevable dans une société organisée économiquement d'après des critères occidentaux. Être couvert de dettes est une déchéance en Europe. Le non paiement des achats à crédit est sanctionné. La plupart des chefs de famille que nous avons enquêtés, eux, ne cachaient pas les sommes qu'ils devaient, soit du fait d'achats à crédit auprès des commerçants, soit directement à la suite d'emprunts d'argent. Dans la mesure où ils s'en souvenaient. Et, lorsqu'une dette est remboursée, c'est souvent parce qu'un emprunt d'un montant peut-être plus important a eu lieu quelques instants auparavant.

Seule l'importance de la pratique des ventes et achats à crédit permet au système de durer. Environ 80 % des africains des villes, au Sénégal tout au moins, achètent à crédit ce qui leur est nécessaire. Il n'y a guère que le marché quotidien de la ménagère (légumes, condiments, poisson et viande) qui ait lieu au comptant. Bien entendu, les prix de vente à crédit sont majorés : 5,10, 15 % suivant les produits, jusqu'à 50 % parfois (pour les tissus, par exemple). Et les commerçants qui consentent à ces pratiques, sont pour la plupart des revendeurs en deuxième ou troisième main : le prix au comptant lui-même est plus élevé. Mais ils vendent le sucre par morceaux et les allumettes par unité...

Le salarié africain, lorsqu'il perçoit son salaire, paye donc pratiquement ses dettes du mois, et recommence à s'endetter jusqu'à la fin du mois suivant. Dans beaucoup de cas, les déficits constatés

(1) Nous ne tenons pas compte ici des déficits des nos 24, 25 et 26, moins significatifs. La faiblesse du déficit du no 3 peut s'expliquer par le nombre réduit de personnes que contient l'unité de consommation.

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

TABLEAU N° III

N°	GROUPE ETHNIQUE	PROFESSION	REVENU	EXCÉDENT OU DÉFICIT MENSUEL	% PAR RAPPORT AU REVENU
1	Sarakolé	Manœuvre	5.800	— 1.555	26,8
2	Peul	Planton	6.100	— 1.642	26,9
3	Wolof	Manœuvre	6.500	— 416	6,4
4	Sérère	Manœuvre	6.700	— 3.034	45,2
5	Toucouleur	Planton D. N.	6.745	— 1.237	18,3
6	Wolof	Matelassier	7.000	— 1.471	21,0
7	Wolof	Manœuvre	7.000	— 2.231	31,8
8	Wolof	Planton	7.410	— 1.124	15,1
9	Wolof	Boulanger	7.500	— 2.967	39,5
10	Wolof	Cultivateur	8.150	— 1.641	20,1
11	Maure	Auxiliaire D. N.	8.940	— 2.168	29,2
12	Peul	Manœuvre	9.000	— 1.593	17,5
13	Wolof	Manœuvre	9.800	— 1.614	16,4
14	Wolof	Cultivateur	10.000	— 1.354	13,5
15	Bambara	Manœuvre	10.000	— 1.621	16,2
16	Bambara	Auxiliaire	10.675	— 2.206	20,6
17	Maure	Auxiliaire	10.800	— 2.306	21,3
18	Peul	Manœuvre sp.	11.000	— 1.758	15,9
19	Toucouleur	Comptable	11.950	— 2.418	20,2
20	Bambraa	Auxiliaire D. N.	12.000	— 2.582	21,5
21	Wolof	Écrivain	13.000	— 3.579	27,5
22	Wolof	Auxiliaire	14.000	— 1.488	10,6
23	Wolof	Cultivateur	15.000	+ 452	3,0
24	Wolof	Cultivateur	15.000	— 426	2,5
25	Wolof	Auxiliaire	15.630	— 837	5,3
26	Wolof	Employé P. T. T.	15.800	— 529	3,3
27	Wolof	Cordonnier	16.200	+ 1.567	9,2
28	Wolof	Ouvrier D. N.	22.000	+ 259	1,1
29	Toucouleur	Brigad. Police	22.000	+ 286	1,3
30	Wolof	Ajusteur D. N.	24.000	+ 2.004	8.3
31	Wolof	Menuisier	25.000	+ 1.079	4,3
32	Wolof	Cultivateur	25.000	+ 1.442	5,7
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25.000	+ 1.128	4,5
34	Wolof	Employé P. T. T.	25.900	+ 977	3,7
35	Wolof	Empl. cadre D. N.	27.000	+ 2.117	7,8
36	Wolof	Compt. privé	34.000	+ 751	2,2
37	Wolof	Maraîcher	36.000	+ 1.237	3,4
38	Wolof	Bijoutier	50.000	+ 2.555	5,1
39	Sarakolé	Instituteur	51.000	+ 12.894	25,2
40	Wolof	Ouv. cadre	55.000	+ 2.494	4.5
41	Sarakolé	Empl. Pr. D. N.	55.500	+ 5.599	10,0
42	Bambara	Chef ouv. D. N.	56.000	+ 4.726	8,4
43	Wolof	Médecin	81.000	+ 847	1,0

le prouvent, le montant de ce salaire est bien inférieur aux sommes à rembourser. Si alors un commerçant ne consent plus de crédit (ils sont en général patients) il est toujours possible d'aller chez un autre, en changeant de quartier.

Le commerçant lui ne perd rien : ses prix sont suffisamment élevés pour que, même incomplètement payé, les sommes reçues lui permettent d'effectuer ses propres achats. Et il a toujours quelques clients à revenus plus élevés qui remboursent intégralement leurs dettes. Ceux-ci payent pour les autres, et, s'ils s'en rendent compte ne s'en étonnent pas. C'est une survivance vivace, dans un système basé sur une institution à caractère individualiste, le salariat, du fonds traditionnel essentiellement collectif. De même le salarié obligé un jour à rembourser plus de dettes qu'il ne peut, pourra envoyer sa famille passer quelques mois chez les parents qu'il a conservés au village natal, et ceux-ci n'y verront rien d'anormal. Lui-même vivra en « parasite » dans une unité de consommation plus favorisée, et personne ne s'en étonnera (1).

Est-ce un signe d'évolution, que sur les cinq unités de consommation qui n'ont pas admis dans leur sein d'élément étranger à la famille restreinte, deux soient parmi les plus jeunes, donc susceptibles d'être plus influencées par des idées d'émancipation ? Chez ces deux là, nous avons de même trouvé un pourcentage plus faible d'achats à crédit. Une enquête plus étendue confirmerait peut-être cette tendance.

Revenons aux 43 familles pour constater que le premier budget en équilibre apparaît avec le premier revenu de 15.000 fr. Les trois suivants sont encore en déficit, mais plus faible. Compte tenu de la marge d'erreur possible, on peut conclure non à un déficit mais une certaine difficulté à « joindre les deux bouts ».

Cette expérience est cependant trop limitée pour que l'on puisse en conclure avec certitude que 15.000 fr. est le revenu minimum mensuel indispensable.

Tous les budgets suivant le n° 27 sont nettement excédentaires. Notons déjà que le « trou » du n° 34 est dû au coût de l'entretien d'une deuxième femme dans une autre ville, pour un revenu qui n'est pas très élevé. Les n°s 36 et 43 ont un pourcentage d'excédent plus faible : mais nous avons pu avoir ici sur l'utilisation des

(1) Les problèmes de crédit, complexes et mal connus, dont les éléments sont souvent inextricables, n'ont pas été suivis systématiquement au cours de cette enquête. Ils pourront faire, nous espérons, l'objet d'une série d'enquêtes qui leur sera spécialement consacrée.

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

excédents des renseignements assez précis pour pouvoir inclure ces sommes dans le total des dépenses.

***

Il est devenu banal d'affirmer que la nourriture des Africains manque de variété. Les habitudes alimentaires restent les plus vivaces, et si pourtant on voit apparaître de plus en plus de produits alimentaires d'importation chez les familles africaines des villes, il est frappant de constater que presque tous se sont seulement superposé aux anciens. Le fond de l'alimentation, les repas de midi et du soir, n'évoluent que rarement, quels que soient le groupe ethnique, le revenu, la profession. Les produits d'importation n'apparaissent qu'à l'occasion du petit déjeuner : pain, lait condensé sucré, sucre en morceaux. Les deux autres repas restent toujours composés de quatre produits, qui peuvent se combiner différemment : riz, mil, poisson, viande et d'un cinquième toujours présent, l'huile. Le seul élément de diversité proviendra de la plus ou moins grande variété et de la plus ou moins grande quantité de légumes et de manioc qui sera incorporée aux plats traditionnels, et bien entendu du savant dosage des condiments de toutes sortes.

Sauf quelques exceptions (1) l'étude des dépenses d'ordre alimentaire de nos familles se limitera presque, à côté du pain, du lait et du sucre, à la description des variantes constatées dans la consommation de ces quelques produits essentiels.

On peut affirmer que d'une manière générale toutes nos familles consomment du riz par goût et du mil par nécessité. Le riz est l'aliment de choix, le mil n'intervenant que lorsque la situation financière de la famille l'exige, ou pour apporter tout de même un peu de variété.

Le riz est de 30 à 35 % plus cher que le mil. On le cultive à petite échelle dans quelques zones humides de la campagne autour de Thiès. Tandis que le mil pousse à peu près partout. Les zones vraiment productrices de riz les plus proches de Thiès sont au S. la Casamance, au N. le cours inférieur du Sénégal. A l'E. il n'apparaît qu'avec le cours supérieur de ce fleuve et dans la région

(1) Les exceptions les plus importantes sont les numéros 39 et 43. Ces deux unités de consommation ont entièrement adopté les habitudes alimentaires européennes, et ne sont pas autrement comparables avec les autres. C'est pourquoi nous les négligeront un peu sur ce point.

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

drainée par le Niger et ses affluents, en Guinée et au Soudan. C'est en réalité un produit importé. L'alimentation traditionnelle de cette région était avant tout à base de mil.

Le tableau IV indique, en pourcentage par rapport à l'ensemble du revenu la part du riz et celle du mil. Nous avons porté dans la dernière colonne le rapport, toujours rapporté à 100, de la quantité de mil à la quantité de riz consommées, afin d'éliminer les différences de prix et de rendre plus évidents certains faits.

Constatons d'abord que toutes les familles sans exception, consomment du riz, alors que chez quatre d'entre elles il n'y a jamais de mil : ce sont les nos 18, 26, 36 et enfin le no 43. Pour ce dernier nous en avons expliqué la raison. Parmi les trois autres, l'une est une famille de Peul originaire de Moyenne Guinée, pays du riz par excellence, qui a simplement conservé ses habitudes, bien que son installation à Thiès remonte à la génération précédente. L'autre est une famille réduite de trois personnes qui peut simplement se permettre un tel luxe. Le seul à se singulariser est donc le no 36, sans que l'on puisse donner d'autre raison qu'un souci d'originalité, qui se manifeste encore, nous le verrons plus loin, par le fait que ce riz exclusivement consommé n'est jamais accompagné de viande, mais toujours de poisson.

Quinze familles seulement consomment une plus grande quantité de mil que de riz. Pour en découvrir les raisons rapprochons le tableau IV du tableau V. Celui-ci nous donne pour le riz et le mil, les quantités totales consommées et la consommation d'un de nos « hommes théoriques » pour chaque unité de consommation. Il donne également le nombre de personnes que compte cette unité de consommation et sa composition théorique en homme.

Chez le no 1, il y a un excédent de 39,5 % du poids de mil sur le poids de riz, l'achat de ces deux denrées utilisant 42,9 % du revenu. Si tout le mil était remplacé par du riz, sur la base de 32 fr. le kg, nous atteindrions 57,6 %. Mais l'unité de consommation est de 13 personnes (équivalant à 10 hommes). Le groupe no 2 consomme la même quantité de riz, pour 10 personnes équivalant à 5,5 hommes : il peut se contenter de 30 kg de mil au lieu de 60, tout en se situant à un niveau alimentaire supérieur : dans un cas, 4,3 kg de riz et 6 kg de mil par homme et par mois, dans l'autre respectivement 7,9 et 5,4 kg.

Le nombre de consommateurs, joint à la modicité des revenus, paraît donc ici déterminant. Il l'est toujours dans la catégorie des revenus élevés : no 37, excédent de mil 25 %, unité de consommation 24, no 41, excédent de mil 50 %, unité de consommation 14.

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

TABLEAU N° IV

N°	GROUPE	PROFESSION	REVENU	% DÉPENSES DE RIZ REVENU	% DÉPENSES DE MIL REVENU	% POIDS DE MIL POIDS DE RIZ
1	Sarakolé	Manœuvre	5.800	24,33	18,6	139,5
2	Peul	Planton	6.100	24,9	10,3	69,7
3	Wolof	Manœuvre	6.500	14,4	5,2	61,5
4	Sérère	Manœuvre	6.700	22,9	9,7	73,0
5	Toucouleur	Planton D. N.	6.745	13,3	12,4	140,0
6	Wolof	Matelassier	7.000	15,2	—	166,6
7	Wolof	Manœuvre	7.000	11,1	7,5	125,0
8	Wolof	Planton	7.410	14,1	8,3	108,0
9	Wolof	Boulanger	7.500	11,1	7,4	81,5
10	Wolof	Cultivateur	8.150	5,1	8,3	250,0
11	Maure	Auxiliaire D. N.	8.940	16,7	8,9	90,4
12	Peul	Manœuvre	9.000	51,0	—	12,9
13	Wolof	Manœuvre	9.800	17,4	10,0	98,0
14	Wolof	Cultivateur	10.000	18,4	—	80,7
15	Bambara	Manœuvre	10.000	12,4	5,1	68,6
16	Bambara	Auxiliaire	10.675	17,1	2,8	30,0
17	Maure	Auxiliaire	10.800	24,6	7,7	48,3
18	Peul	Manœuvre spe.	11.000	26,8	—	—
19	Toucouleur	Comptable	11.950	12,6	0,8	10,0
20	Bambara	Auxiliaire D. N.	12.000	25,4	—	169,8
21	Wolof	Écrivain	13.000	12,6	3,8	44,4
22	Wolof	Auxiliaire	14.000	18,0	10,2	100,0
23	Wolof	Cultivateur	15.000	15,7	—	128,3
24	Wolof	Cultivateur	15.000	11,3	0,4	195,9
25	Wolof	Auxiliaire D. N.	15.630	11,5	13,2	163,3
26	Wolof	Employé P. T. T.	15.800	7,1	—	—
27	Wolof	Cordonnier	16.200	5,0	5,9	204,0
28	Wolof	Ouvrier D. N.	22.000	15,2	8,9	97,8
29	Toucouleur	Brigad. Police	22.000	9,8	5,4	88,5
30	Wolof	Ajusteur D. N.	24.000	7,5	4,9	93,3
31	Wolof	Menuisier	25.000	17,2	1,1	10,8
32	Wolof	Cultivateur	25.000	4,1	—	344,0
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25.000	5,7	3,3	88,8
34	Wolof	Employé P. T. T.	25.900	4,8	6,3	8,9
35	Wolof	Empl. cadre D. N.	27.000	6,6	1,9	50,0
36	Wolof	Compt. privé	34.000	6,5	—	—
37	Wolof	Maraîcher	36.000	11,6	2,0	125,0
38	Wolof	Bijoutier	40.000	5,9	1,2	37,1
39	Sarakolé	Instituteur	51.000	2,2	0,6	35,8
40	Wolof	Ouv. cadre D. N.	55.000	8,1	3,8	80,6
41	Sarakolé	Empl. principal	55.500	6,4	5,1	150,0
42	Bambara	Chef ouvrier D. N.	56.000	8,0	3,7	79,3
43	Wolof	Médecin	81.000	0,9	—	—

TABLEAU N° V

N°	REVENU	U.C.	COMP. THÉOR.	RIZ		MIL		PAIN	
				Qt. (kg.)	I. H. (kg.)	Qt. (kg.)	I. H. (kg.)	Qt. (kg.)	I.H. (kg.)
1	5.800	13	10	43,5	4,3	60,0	6,0	17	1,7
2	6.100	10	5,5	43,5	7,9	30,0	5,4	10,8	1,9
3	6.500	4	2,8	26,0	9,2	16,7	5,9	5,3	1,8
4	6.700	7	5,1	42,5	8,3	31,5	6,1	6,0	1,1
5	6.745	7	5,6	30,0	5,3	42,5	7,5	10,2	1,9
6	7.000	7	4,8	29,5	6,2	42,0	10,4	20,0	4,1
7	7.000	5	3,8	20,0	5,2	50,0	6,7	19,0	5,0
8	7.410	5	4,4	30,0	6,8	25,3	7,5	14,0	3,1
9	7.500	6	4,4	27,7	6,3	32,5	5,5	25,0	5,6
10	8.150	12	9,6	13,0	1,3	22,4	3,3	20,7	2,2
11	8.940	6	4,5	52,5	11,7	32,5	10,6	3,0	0,6
12	9.000	8	6,3	135,2	21,5	47,5	2,8	9,2	1,5
13	9.800	5	4,4	50,0	11,3	17,5	11,1	12,0	2,7
14	10.000	10	8,9	52,5	5,9	49,0	4,7	28,5	3,2
15	10.000	7	5,5	34,7	6,3	23,9	4,3	19,7	3,5
16	10.675	4	3,2	55,0	17,1	16,5	5,3	17,0	9,4
17	10.800	9	5,9	83,5	12,1	40,0	5,0	10,2	1,4
18	11.000	4	3,6	91,0	25,2	—	—	9,2	2,5
19	11.950	9	7,1	48,5	6,9	5,0	0,7	18,2	2,6
20	12.000	10	7,6	53,0	6,9	90,0	11,8	38,7	5,1
21	13.000	5	3,8	54,0	14,2	24,0	7,5	24,0	6,3
22	14.000	12	9,1	70,0	7,6	70,0	7,6	27,6	3,0
23	15.000	18	13,4	74,0	5,5	95,0	7,0	36,5	2,7
24	15.000	21	14,4	49,2	3,4	96,2	6,7	31,0	2,1
25	15.630	15	11,9	60,0	5,5	98,5	8,3	9,0	0,7
26	15.800	4	2,3	31,5	13,9	—	—	6,0	2,6
27	16.200	12	9,1	25,7	2,8	50,9	5,6	17,2	1,9
28	22.000	18	14,7	93,0	6,3	91,0	6,1	30,0	2,0
29	22.000	11	8,6	67,0	7,7	60,0	6,9	60,0	6,9
30	24.000	7	5,1	60,0	11,7	56,0	10,9	31,5	6,2
31	25.000	18	14,4	120,0	8,3	13,0	0,9	19,2	1,3
32	25.000	6	4,8	29,0	6,2	100,0	2,0	26,6	5,6
33	25.000	7	5,1	45,0	8,8	40,0	7,8	24,2	4,7
34	25.900	4	3,3	39,0	10,8	3,5	5,4	24,7	7,5
35	27.000	6	4,6	50,0	11,8	25,0	1,2	23,7	5,2
36	34.000	15	12,5	93,4	7,4	—	—	16,5	1,3
37	36.000	24	19,8	120,0	6,0	150,0	7,5	32,5	1,6
38	50.000	13	10,5	78,2	7,4	29,0	2,7	47,0	4,4
39	51.000	11	8,0	31,2	3,8	11,2	1,3	37,0	4,6
40	55.000	24	17,5	124,0	7,0	100,0	5,7	34,0	1,9
41	55.500	14	10,4	100,0	9,6	150,0	14,4	40,0	3,8
42	56.000	11	8,6	126,0	14,6	100,0	11,6	54,5	6,4
43	81.000	5	4	16,8	4,2	—	—	39,5	10,0

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

Et à plus forte raison chez les familles 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, composées respectivement de 10, 12, 18, 21, 15 personnes et dont les revenus sont encore très moyens.

Il y a une autre raison évidente, à cette plus forte consommation de mil : c'est le cas des cultivateurs qui, produisant du mil, le consomment presque entièrement. Les nos 6, 12, 14, 20, 23, 32, consomment du mil qu'ils ont cultivé eux-mêmes ; tous ne sont pas cultivateurs, mais possèdent quelques champs aux environs de Thiès. Le cultivateur n° 10, dont nous avons parlé plus haut, a préféré vendre son mil aussitôt récolté.

Quant à la récolte du n° 24, elle n'est pas suffisante pour nourrir 21 personnes ; il faut parfois acheter quelques kilogs en supplément.

Ces quelques constatations prouvent bien ce que nous avancions plus haut : c'est en grande partie par nécessité que les Thiessois mangent du mil au lieu du riz. S'ils ne le font pas, ce sera souvent presque toujours au détriment de l'équilibre de leur budget. Consommant deux fois moins de riz contre deux fois plus de mil, les familles 2 et 4 économiseraient des sommes équivalent à 4,5 % et 4,1 % de leurs revenus.

Car la part du revenu consacrée à l'achat du riz est de loin, dans l'ensemble, la plus forte pour les petits revenus. Pour les revenus inférieurs à 10.000 fr., elle est dépassée dans trois cas par la part de la viande (1) (dans six cas pour les revenus supérieurs à 15.000 fr.).

Les quantités consommées sont pourtant faibles, très faibles même. Un homme de la famille 6 consomme 14,6 kg de riz et 11,6 kg de mil. C'est beaucoup, mais pas excessif. La plus forte consommation suivante est celle du n° 9, un Peul qui achète le riz qu'il mange en grande quantité par goût et par tradition, mais consomme aussi le peu de mil qu'il cultive : respectivement 21,5 et 2,8 kg : c'est à peu près normal pour un Peul du Fouta Djalon. Et les chiffres de consommation très faibles sont la majorité. Nous les donnons à titre indicatif, laissant aux spécialistes le soin de les juger (2).

Nous avons placé face à nos quantités de riz et de mil, celles du pain. Constatons à ce sujet que, le boulanger excepté, toutes les consommations supérieures à 4 kg par homme et par mois se

(1) Dans deux cas par celle du pain.

(2) La consommation moyenne de riz pour l'ensemble des familles est de 8,2 kg. La consommation moyenne de mil de 5,8 kg.

trouvent chez des ouvriers et des employés (à l'exception du n° 6 et du n° 38, ce dernier ayant par ailleurs, une alimentation plus variée). Toutes nos familles consomment habituellement du pain, et toutes sauf trois au petit déjeuner seulement.

La part du revenu consacrée au pain (tableau X) est loin d'être négligeable, et dépasse parfois 10 %. Le pain est considéré comme un produit de luxe : il est plus cher encore que le riz ! Et c'est certainement à cause de son utilité (il ne nécessite aucune préparation avant d'être consommé) qu'il est utilisé, mais seulement pour le premier repas de la journée. La consommation moyenne de nos familles est d'ailleurs assez faible : 3,5 kg par homme et par mois, soit 113 gr. par jour. A l'époque du rationnement, en France, la ration moyenne atteignait 300 gr.

Dix-huit familles au total dépassent cette moyenne de 113 gr. par jour et par mois. Ces plus fortes consommations sont logiquement enregistrées chez les plus gros revenus (11 sur 18) où son achat nécessite rarement plus de 5 % du revenu. Ce pourcentage atteint 6,9 chez la famille 29, et, pour les revenus plus faibles dépassant la moyenne de 3,5 kg, il est, par ordre croissant, de 6,2 %, 6,9 %, 7,9 %, 10,1 %, 10,2 %, 10,3 %, 11,8 %.

***

Le poisson et la viande constituent le deuxième groupe d'aliments essentiels pour les Africains des villes du Sénégal.

Thiès, proche d'une côte très poissonneuse, est largement ravitaillée en poisson. Au mois de mars 1954, on en trouvait à profusion sur tous les marchés au prix à peu près constant de 40 fr. le kg.

La viande est beaucoup plus chère. Le prix le plus couramment constaté à cette époque était de 80 fr., double de celui du poisson. Il n'y a eu aucune variation importante de prix pendant la durée de l'enquête. A qualité égale s'entend. Or, sauf quatre exceptions (1), nos familles n'ont acheté que de la viande à 80 fr. le kg. Pour rendre comparables toutes les familles, nous avons alors divisé les prix effectivement payés par 80, et obtenu des quantités de viande d'une seule qualité.

Les indications que nous avons recueillies concernant la viande et le poisson sont rassemblées aux tableaux VI et VII, présentés de la même manière que ceux relatifs au riz et au mil. La der-

(1) Les n° 38, 39, 42 et 43.

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

nière colonne du tableau VI met en évidence les familles qui dans leur ensemble, consomment plus de viande que de poisson. (Il ne s'agit ici que des quantités.)

Il y en a dix, plus une juste à la limite, y compris le n° 43 que nous éliminons.

Parmi les dix autres, six nous sont déjà apparues comme consommant plus de mil que de riz : ce sont les n°s 1, 7, 10, 24, 32 et 41. On ne peut ici expliquer le fait ni par l'importance du groupe de consommateurs, ni par les possibilités financières, puisque la viande est deux fois plus chère que le poisson. Il est probable que pour ces six familles, la plus grande consommation de viande est une conséquence directe de la plus grande consommation de mil. Entre nos quatre produits de base, les associations les plus fréquentes sont en effet, celle du riz avec le poisson et celle du mil avec la viande. Les deux combinaisons inverses se rencontrent, mais elles sont beaucoup moins fréquentes et beaucoup moins goûtées. Or, si c'est en général le chef de famille qui achète le riz et le mil, grosses dépenses groupées en début de mois, c'est la ménagère qui au marché choisit entre viande et poisson ; ayant déjà en stock une grande quantité de mil, elle achète surtout la viande qui l'accompagne normalement. Le calcul économique n'est pas son fort, et il est probable que si son mari lui laissait entière liberté pour les autres achats, elle choisirait le riz avant le mil, ne serais ce que pour s'éviter la corvée du pilage.

Quatre autres familles mangent plus de viande que de poisson : le n° 9, le n° 14, cultivateur en réalité habitué au mil, mais qui a épuisé sa récolte, les n°s 15 et 42, deux Bambara.

Mais il n'y a pas forcément concordance entre ces rapports de qualité et les quantités effectivement consommées par un individu. La consommation mensuelle des 43 familles s'établit à 2,5 kg pour le viande et 4,7 kg pour le poisson. Parmi les 10 familles dont la consommation globale de viande dépasse celle du poisson il en est 3 seulement où la consommation individuelle de viande atteint ou dépasse cette moyenne (n°s 7, 9, 32). Alors que c'est chez 17 familles au total qu'elle est atteinte, contre 20 pour la moyenne du poisson. Par rapport au revenu central (n° 22 : 14.000 fr.), ces familles se groupent ainsi :

Pour le poisson : 9 au-dessus, 12 au-dessous.
Pour la viande : 6 au-dessus, 11 au-dessous.

Il y a, au-dessus, 4 familles qui atteignent la moyenne dans les 2 cas. Il y en a 8 au-dessous.

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

TABLEAU N° VI

N°	GROUPE ETHNIQUE	PROFESSION	U.C.	% PRIX DU POISSON REVENU	% PRIX DE LA VIANDE REVENU	% POIDS DE VIANDE POIDS DE POISSON
1	Sarakolé	Manœuvre	13	2,8	14,2	251,0
2	Peul	Planton	10	7,2	2,6	18,1
3	Wolof	Manœuvre	4	3,6	1,2	16,6
4	Sérère	Manœuvre	7	15,7	9,1	28,7
5	Toucouleur	Planton D. N.	7	8,9	12,4	69,5
6	Wolof	Matelassier	7	5,0	7,1	71,2
7	Wolof	Manœuvre	5	6,3	12,4	98,1
8	Wolof	Planton	5	9,8	5,6	28,8
9	Wolof	Boulanger	6	5,8	12,9	110,0
10	Wolof	Cultivateur	12	2,6	12,0	232,0
11	Maure	Auxiliaire D. N.	6	13,0	14,0	51,9
12	Peul	Manœuvre	8	15,0	1,3	4,3
13	Wolof	Manœuvre	5	14,4	8,5	41,5
14	Wolof	Cultivateur	10	3,3	10,5	148,0
15	Bambara	Manœuvre	7	3,5	8,4	119,0
16	Bambara	Auxiliaire	4	11,1	8,4	28,2
17	Maure	Auxiliaire	9	12	14,8	61,5
18	Peul	Manœuvre sp.	4	11,1	2,5	11,0
19	Toucouleur	Comptable	9	5,4	8,8	81,4
20	Bambara	Auxiliaire D. N.	10	11,9	7,6	32,1
21	Wolof	Écrivain	5	8	10,1	63,2
22	Wolof	Auxiliaire	12	9,3	10,4	55,4
23	Wolof	Cultivateur	18	4,5	7,9	86,6
24	Wolof	Cultivateur	21	3,3	10,2	152,0
25	Wolof	Auxiliaire D. N.	15	12,5	12,7	50,0
26	Wolof	Employé P. T. T.	4	5,6	7,7	67,5
27	Wolof	Cordonnier	12	4,5	4,5	49,2
28	Wolof	Ouvrier D. N.	18	13,0	11,1	42,9
29	Toucouleur	Brigad. Police	11	8,2	5,8	33,3
30	Wolof	Ajusteur N. D.	7	5,5	5,8	56,7
31	Wolof	Menuisier	18	11,4	12,0	52,3
32	Wolof	Cultivateur	6	1,5	4,2	133,0
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	7	6,0	7,9	65,7
34	Wolof	Employé P. T. T.	4	4,1	2,7	45,1
35	Wolof	Employé cadre	6	6,4	7,2	56,0
36	Wolof	Compt. privé	15	11,5	—	—
37	Wolof	Maraîcher	24	8,4	11,5	68,7
38	Wolof	Bijoutier	13	4,6	5,4	60,0
39	Sarakolé	Instituteur	11	1,8	6,7	61,1
40	Wolof	Ouv. cadre D. N.	24	8,1	7,3	45,2
41	Sarakolé	Empl. principal	14	1,6	3,4	105,0
42	Bambara	Chef ouvrier	11	1,7	7,5	212,0
43	Wolof	Médecin	5	0,9	5,0	255,0

TABLEAU N° VII

N°	REVENU	U.C.	COMP. THÉOR.	POISSON		VIANDE		HUILE	
				Qt. (kg.)	I. H. (kg.)	Qt. (kg.)	I. H. (kg.)	Qt. (l.)	I. H. (l.)
1	5.800	13	10	4,1	0,4	10,3	1,0	5	0,5
2	6.100	10	5,5	11,0	2,0	5,0	0,3	8,5	1,5
3	6.500	4	2,8	6,0	2,1	1,0	0,3	6,0	2,1
4	6.700	7	5,1	26,4	5,1	7,0	1,4	15,0	2,8
5	6.745	7	5,6	16,1	2,6	10,5	1,8	6,0	1,0
6	7.000	7	4,8	8,7	1,8	6,2	1,2	6,5	1,3
7	7.000	5	3,8	11,1	2,9	10,9	2,8	10,5	2,7
8	7.410	5	4,4	18,0	4,0	5,2	1,1	6,5	1,4
9	7.500	6	4,4	11,0	2,5	12,1	2,7	11,0	5,1
10	8.150	12	9,6	5,3	0,5	12,3	1,2	4,5	0,4
11	8.940	6	4,5	30,8	6,8	16,0	3,5	12,0	2,6
12	9.000	8	6,3	34,6	5,4	1,5	0,2	14,0	2,2
13	9.800	5	4,4	35,3	8,0	10,5	2,3	24,0	5,4
14	10.000	10	8,9	8,8	1,0	13,1	1,4	14,0	1,5
15	10.000	7	5,5	8,8	1,6	10,5	2,0	16,0	2,9
16	10.675	4	3,2	29,6	9,2	11,2	3,5	6,5	2,0
17	10.800	9	6,9	32,5	4,7	20,0	2,8	12,0	1,7
18	11.000	4	3,6	30,7	8,5	3,4	0,9	25,0	6,9
19	11.950	9	7,1	16,2	2,2	13,2	1,8	8,0	0,1
20	12.000	10	7,6	35,8	4,7	11,5	1,5	13,0	1,7
21	13.000	5	3,8	26,1	6,8	16,5	3,3	11,0	2,8
22	14.000	12	9,1	32,8	3,6	18,2	2,0	17,0	1,8
23	15.000	18	13,4	17,2	1,2	14,9	1,1	17,0	1,2
24	15.000	21	14,4	12,6	0,8	19,2	1,3	12,0	0,8
25	15.630	15	11,9	48,9	4,1	24,9	2,0	10,0	0,8
26	15.800	4	2,3	22,5	9,7	15,2	6,6	16,0	6,9
27	16.200	12	9,1	20,3	2,2	10,0	1,0	5,9	0,6
28	22.000	18	11,7	71,5	4,8	30,7	2,0	31,0	2,1
29	22.000	11	8,6	45,3	5,2	15,1	1,7	29,0	3,3
30	24.000	7	5,1	31,0	6,0	17,6	3,4	20,0	3,9
31	25.000	18	14,4	71,7	4,9	37,5	2,6	24,0	1,6
32	25.000	6	4,8	10,0	2,0	13,3	2,7	11,0	2,2
33	25.000	7	5,1	37,7	7,3	24,8	4,8	26,0	5,0
34	25.900	4	3,3	26,6	8,0	12,0	3,6	25,0	7,5
35	27.000	6	4,6	43,7	10,7	24,5	5,3	16,0	3,4
36	34.000	15	12,5	97,7	7,8	—	—	47,0	3,7
37	36.000	24	19,8	75,6	3,8	52,0	2,6	47,0	2,3
38	50.000	13	10,5	57,0	5,6	34,2	3,2	36,5	3,4
39	51.000	11	8,0	23,7	2,9	14,5	1,8	10,0	1,2
40	55.000	24	17,5	112,0	6,4	50,7	2,8	38,0	2,1
41	55.500	14	10,4	22,5	21,1	23,7	2,2	30,0	2,8
42	56.000	11	8,6	25,0	2,9	43,0	6,1	20,0	2,3
43	81.000	5	4	20,0	5,0	51,1	12,7	14,0	3,5

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

Avant de quitter ces 4 produits de base, nous pouvons faire quelques comparaisons sur la répartition des familles qui atteignent, pour chacun, la moyenne de la consommation individuelle :

— Pour le mil, 22 familles atteignent la moyenne : 12 au-dessus du revenu central, 10 au-dessous.

— Pour le riz, sur 17 familles, 11 en a 8 au-dessus et 9 au-dessous.

3 familles seulement atteignent la moyenne pour les 4 produits : ce sont les n°s 11, 21 et 30.

Parmi les 10 familles qui atteignent la moyenne pour 3 produits, il y en a 6 dans la combinaison riz, viande, poisson, 3 dans la combinaison mil, riz, poisson, une seule dans la combinaison mil, riz, viande.

Par contre, nous ne trouvons, chez les familles à 2 moyennes représentées que 2 « Mil-Poisson », contre 3 « Mil-Viande ». 2 cumulent viande et poisson, 2 riz et poisson, 2 mil et riz. Il n'y en a aucune dans la combinaison viande poisson.

Enfin, 7 familles n'atteignent la moyenne que pour le mil, 2 pour la viande seulement, une, le n° 36, qui ne consomme jamais de viande, pour le poisson seulement.

6 familles enfin, n'atteignent jamais la moyenne : les n°s 2, 10, 14, 15, 19 et 27, soit 5 au-dessus du revenu central, et une au-dessous (1).

***

Les Africains ont la réputation d'absorber une très grande quantité de matières grasses, qui serait, prétend-on, indispensable pour faire face à cette consommation continuelle de riz et de mil. Or, pour les 43 familles étudiées, nous trouvons une moyenne de 2 litres 1/2 par personne et par mois (tableau VII). C'est une excellente moyenne, mais qui ne nous paraît pas excessive. Encore doit-on tenir compte des 6 familles où l'on en consomme le plus : de 5 litres à 7,5 litres par personne et par mois. C'est vraiment beaucoup. Ces familles éliminées, la moyenne tombe à 1,9 litres et elle est atteinte ou dépassée par 25 familles. 2 chiffres de consommation seulement sont faibles : ceux des n°s 1 (0,5) et 19 (0,1).

Mais l'huile est chère, 100 fr. le litre en moyenne : sa consom-

(1) Nous préférons utiliser le revenu central plutôt que le revenu moyen. Celui-ci, qui se situerait pour 19.000 fr. (le n° 43 non compris) entre les n°s 27 et 28 est un peu trop gonflé par l'importance des très gros revenus.

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

mation en est donc limitée : ainsi le n° 4 de notre série, à l'achat de 15 litres mensuels, soit 2,8 par homme, consacre 21,1 % de son revenu (tableau VIII). Un individu du n° 2, qui en consomme chaque mois 1 litre 1/2 y voit passer 12,6 % de son revenu. Et que deviendrait le budget du n° 1 s'il prenait fantaisie à tous les membres de l'unité de consommation de consommer les 2 litres 1/2 moyens : l'achat des 25 litres nécessaires absorberait 42,8 % des revenus de la famille.

Il est d'ailleurs significatif de voir que les quantités d'huile consommées n'augmentent pas avec les revenus. Parmi les 9 dernières familles, il n'y a pas un chiffre supérieur à 4 litres par homme et par mois.

Nous avons groupé sous la rubrique « condiments » (tableau VIII), des denrées en réalité assez dissemblables. Leur valeur calorifique est de peu d'importance. Pourtant, le comble de la misère serait pour les Africains de ne pas pouvoir relever leur cuisine avec d'abord les condiments proprement dits : poivre, sel, vinaigre, piments, ensuite avec quelques petites quantités de légumes, qualifiés de condiments justement parce qu'ils ne sont achetés qu'en très petites quantités, enfin, avec du poisson séché, dont la saveur est infiniment supérieure à celle du poisson frais : il remplace souvent celui-ci dans le riz au poisson, sinon par la quantité, du moins par la qualité.

Les pourcentages qui figurent dans cette colonne du tableau VIII concernent donc tout un groupe de petits produits, allant de la feuille de baobab pilée à la tranche de poisson séché : persil, oignon, ail, morceau de betterave et de choux, tomate en poudre, produits de cueillette divers. Tous répétons-le, en très petites quantités journalières. Ce sont d'ailleurs ces produits qui font l'objet du petit commerce des femmes : achetant assez souvent 2 ou 3 fois plus qu'il ne leur faut, elles installent un petit éventaire devant la porte de leur concession, et proposent aux passants de s'épargner la fatigue d'aller jusqu'au marché. Elles peuvent réaliser ainsi de très petits bénéfices, de 5 à 10 fr. par jour.

Cependant, ajoutés les uns aux autres les prix de ces divers condiments finissent par absorber eux aussi une part relativement importante du revenu familial [1].

L'importance de ce revenu agira donc comme un frein pour leur consommation, mais finalement seuls le goût et les habitudes de chacun sont vraiment déterminantes.

---

(1) La part du poisson séché est à peu près généralement du 1/5 des chiffres indiqués.

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

TABLEAU N° VIII

N°	GROUPE ETHNIQUE	PROFESSION	REVENU	% CONDIMENTS REVENU	% LÉGUMES REVENU	% MANIOC REVENU	% HUILE REVENU
1	Sarakolé	Manœuvre	5.800	1,9	2,3	0,2	6,8
2	Peul	Planton	6.100	3,1	5,8	—	12,6
3	Wolof	Manœuvre	6.500	2,0	3,4	0,6	8,1
4	Sérère	Manœuvre	6.700	4,5	8,1	2,1	21,1
5	Toucouleur	Planton	6.745	8,5	5,0	1,3	7,7
6	Wolof	Matelassier	7.000	6,5	3,1	1,9	8,2
7	Wolof	Manœuvre	7.000	8,2	2,7	3,5	13,2
8	Wolof	Planton	7.410	3,5	6,3	1,4	8,7
9	Wolof	Boulanger	7.500	7,7	2,7	1,5	12,6
10	Wolof	Cultivateur	8.150	4,0	1,7	—	5,7
11	Maure	Auxiliaire	8.950	5,4	7,4	1,0	12,0
12	Peul	Manœuvre	9.000	4,1	1,0	1,3	14,0
13	Wolof	Manœuvre	9.800	2,6	5,3	1,3	20,4
14	Wolof	Cultivateur	10.000	6,2	1,9	2,9	9,9
15	Bambara	Manœuvre	10.000	6,5	2,0	2,6	14,3
16	Bambara	Auxiliaire	10.675	9,0	13,5	2,0	5,2
17	Maure	Auxiliaire	10.800	3,2	5,6	0,8	9,7
18	Peul	Manœuvre sp.	11.000	4,6	5,2	1,3	18,1
19	Toucouleur	Comptable	11.950	3,8	3,8	1,0	5,6
20	Bambara	Auxiliaire	12.000	7,7	8,3	2,2	9,3
21	Wolof	Écrivain	13.000	7,6	9,4	1,0	7,6
22	Wolof	Auxiliaire	14.000	5,9	9,2	0,9	10,7
23	Wolof	Cultivateur	15.000	4,5	1,6	2,2	7,3
24	Wolof	Cultivateur	15.000	2,4	1,4	2,2	8,9
25	Wolof	Auxiliaire	15.630	3,9	5,7	0,7	5,7
26	Wolof	Employé P. T. T.	15.800	7,7	8,7	—	8,9
27	Wolof	Cordonnier	16.200	2,7	1,3	1,0	2,8
28	Wolof	Ouvrier	22.000	3,7	6,0	1,1	12,4
29	Toucouleur	Brigad. Police	22.000	2,0	2,9	—	11,8
30	Wolof	Ajusteur	24.000	3,1	5,9	0,4	7,6
31	Wolof	Menuisier	25.000	2,0	—	1,3	9,6
32	Wolof	Cultivateur	25.000	2,2	0,8	1,1	3,9
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25.000	1,7	2,6	0,6	9,1
34	Wolof	Employé P. T. T.	25.900	1,8	3,0	—	6,7
35	Wolof	Empl. supérieur	27.000	5,7	8,9	2,5	5,6
36	Wolof	Compt. privé	34.000	2,6	7,7	0,1	13,3
37	Wolof	Maraîcher	36.000	1,5	5,2	1,0	3,3
38	Wolof	Bijoutier	50.000	8,8	5,1	0,1	6,5
39	Sarakolé	Instituteur	51.000	0,8	2,6	—	1,7
40	Wolof	Chef ouvrier	55.000	0,7	3,0	0,5	6,5
41	Sarakolé	Empl. princip.	55.500	1,0	2,3	—	2,0
42	Bambara	Chef ouvrier	56.000	2,3	1,8	0,2	2,4
43	Wolof	Médecin	81.000	1,7	1,9	—	0,3

TABLEAU N° IX

N°	REVENU	U. C.	COMP. THÉOR.	LÉGUMES		MANIOC	
				Qt. (kg.) (kg.)	I. H. (kg.)	Qt. (kg.)	I. H. (kg.)
1	5.800	13	10	6,9	0,7	1,0	0,1
2	6.100	10	5,5	17,7	3,2	2,0	—
3	6.500	4	2,8	11,3	4,0	2,0	0,7
4	6.700	7	5,10	27,4	5,3	12,0	2,3
5	6.745	7	5,6	16,9	3,0	5,1	0,9
6	7.000	7	4,8	10,8	2,2	8,0	1,6
7	7.000	5	3,8	9,5	2,5	14,7	3,8
8	7.410	5	4,4	23,3	5,2	6,2	1,4
9	7.500	6	4,4	10,1	2,2	15,0	3,4
10	8.150	12	9,6	7,0	0,7	—	0,3
11	8.950	6	4,5	33,4	7,4	5,5	1,2
12	9.000	8	6,3	4,9	0,7	6,9	1,1
13	9.800	5	4,4	26,1	5,9	7,7	1,7
14	10.000	10	8,9	9,8	1,1	17,3	1,9
15	10.000	7	5,5	10,0	1,8	15,7	2,8
16	10.675	4	3,2	71,3	22,0	12,2	3,8
17	10.800	9	6,9	30,6	4,4	5,2	0,7
18	11.000	4	3,6	29,1	9,5	8,6	2,3
19	11.950	9	7,1	23,1	3,2	1,0	0,1
20	12.000	10	7,6	50,6	6,6	15,5	2,0
21	13.000	5	3,8	61,6	16,2	7,7	2,0
22	14.000	12	9,1	65,1	6,0	6,8	0,7
23	15.000	18	13,4	12,6	0,9	7,6	0,5
24	15.000	21	14,4	10,6	0,7	7,6	0,5
25	15.630	15	11,9	44,6	3,7	6,4	0,5
26	15.800	4	2,3	69,5	30,0	—	—
27	16.200	12	9,1	11,1	1,2	10,0	1,0
28	22.000	18	14,7	67,5	4,5	15,3	1,0
29	22.000	11	8,6	32,5	3,7	0,3	1,0
30	24.000	7	5,1	71,8	14,0	6,9	1,3
31	25.000	18	14,4	114,0	10,0	19,0	1,3
32	25.000	6	4,8	10,3	2,1	17,0	3,5
33	25.000	7	5,1	32,5	6,3	9,6	1,8
34	25.900	4	3,3	39,0	11,0	1,0	0,3
35	27.000	6	4,6	121,1	26,0	8,2	1,7
36	34.000	15	12,6	132,4	10,5	3,1	0,2
37	36.000	24	19,8	94,6	5,0	21,0	1,0
38	50.000	13	10,5	129,7	12,8	4,7	0,5
39	51.000	11	8,0	66,5	8,3	—	—
40	55.000	24	17,5	84,7	4,8	15,8	9,3
41	55.500	14	10,0	65,0	6,2	12,0	1,2
42	56.000	11	8,6	53,2	6,1	7,3	0,9
43	81.000	5	4,0	79,3	19,7	—	—

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

Nous n'avons mentionné sous la rubrique « légumes » que les achats vraiment importants. C'est la ménagère elle-même qui les nomme, soit légumes, soit condiments, suivant l'importance qu'ils auront dans le repas qu'elle va préparer ; une plus forte quantité de légumes permettra de réduire la quantité de riz ou de mil. Si celle-ci ne change pas, ce sont des condiments. La nuance est compréhensible. Nos enquêteurs eux-mêmes la faisaient, et il nous était difficile, par la suite, de ne pas en tenir compte.

Les quantités exprimées au tableau IX ne sont pas les quantités réelles. Nous avons ici encore éliminé le facteur qualité, les différences de qualité étant remplacées par des différences de quantité. Le « légume étalon » choisi a été le chou, qui valait en mars 1953, 20 fr. le kg. Ce procédé, certainement peu valable pour un nutritioniste, offre pour nous un autre avantage : les prix relevés pendant l'enquête pour les légumes sont parmi les plus précis, alors que les quantités, estimées seulement, étaient parfois très fantaisistes. L'opération valait donc la peine d'être effectuée.

La part du revenu consacrée aux légumes est relativement peu importante : elle ne dépasse 10 % que dans un cas (n° 16). Elle est parfois inférieure à celle consacrée aux condiments. D'autre part, nous constatons qu'elle ne diminue pas très sensiblement à mesure que l'on approche des hauts revenus. La consommation de légumes semblerait donc varier exactement comme les revenus, s'accroissant presque parallèlement à eux.

C'est le premier produit que nous rencontrons où ce parallélisme commence à se révéler.

La consommation moyenne en légumes pour les 43 familles est de 7 kg par homme et par mois. Sauf 2 exceptions, les n°s 11 et 16, on commence à la trouver fréquemment à partir du n° 20, dont le revenu est de 12.000 fr. A partir du n° 24 se rencontrent la plupart des consommations supérieures à 10 kg.

Poussant plus loin l'investigation, on s'aperçoit que le n° 11 qui est une exception parmi les petits revenus, est une unité de consommation composée de 6 personnes seulement (4,5 hommes). La famille n° 16, 22 kg de légumes, comprend 4 personnes (3,2 hommes). Et ensuite :

N° 21 : 16,2 kg, 5 personnes (3,8)
N° 26 : 30,0 kg, 3 personnes (2,8)
N° 30 : 14,0 kg, 7 personnes (5,1)
N° 34 : 11,0 kg, 4 personnes (3,3)
N° 35 : 26,0 kg, 6 personnes (4,6)
N° 43 : 19,7 kg, 5 personnes (4).

Restent les nos 31, 36 et 38. Le n° 31 possède de grands jardins et n'achète pas de légumes. Sa plus forte consommation est donc explicable (1). Le n° 36 qui ne consomme ni viande ni mil, se rattrape normalement sur les légumes. Avec le n° 38 nous sommes dans la catégorie des revenus plus élevés, où aucune restriction n'est à envisager en raison de l'importance de la famille. C'est sans doute avec cette famille que nous atteignons le seuil supérieur de la consommation de légumes.

Rappelons une fois de plus que si les prix sont les prix réels, les quantités sont fictives. Ainsi ce n'est pas 19,7 kg de chou que consomme chaque mois un individu de la famille 36. Pour celle-ci en particulier (la seule ou nous ayions vu la ménagère écosser des petits pois), c'est la supériorité de la qualité, donc du prix, qui nous a conduit à un chiffre aussi élevé. L'observation est valable pour les autres familles que nous venons de citer : la réduction de la composition de l'unité de consommation permet d'améliorer non seulement la quantité mais aussi la qualité des produits consommés.

Nous avons porté à côté des colonnes « légumes » les indications recueillies qui concernent le manioc. Aliment bon marché (de 14 à 17 fr. le kg), il n'est pas très goûté par les Africains. Mais il est énormément répandu : sa culture ne demande presque aucun soin, et les rendements en sont élevés.

Il est donc surtout utilisé comme aliment d'appoint : il est à noter, que sauf une exception, les familles en consommant le plus ne sont jamais celles qui consomment également plus de 10 kg de légumes par individu. Dans un cas seulement plus de 3 % du revenu lui est consacré.

*
* *

Nous en aurons fini avec l'étude des principales denrées alimentaires après avoir parlé du sucre et du lait (tableaux X et XI).

La consommation moyenne de sucre par individu est de 1,7 kg pour un mois. Or, nous ne trouvons que peu de chiffres qui soient très au-dessous de cette moyenne. Le chiffre le plus élevé est 2,7. La plupart sont très proche de la moyenne. Il y a donc une sorte d'uniformité dans la consommation du sucre, et il est probable qu'ici aussi nous sommes en présence d'une limite supérieure.

(1) Ce n'est d'ailleurs pour cette famille qu'une estimation : nous n'avions pas de prix d'achat à partir desquels nous aurions pu obtenir un poids en « unité-chou » valable.

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

La part du revenu consacrée au sucre va donc, elle, varier suivant l'importance du revenu et la composition de l'unité de consommation. Le maximum enregistré est 10 % pour le n° 4, le minimum 0,3 pour le n° 43 (1,2 pour le n° 42).

La même uniformité n'existe pas pour le lait concentré sucré. Son usage se répand de plus en plus, mais il y a quand même 10 familles qui n'en consomment pas du tout.

La consommation moyenne s'établit, pour 1 homme, à 589 gr. par mois sur les 43 familles, à 767 si l'on élimine celles qui n'en consomment pas.

14 familles sur 33 se situent au-dessus de cette moyenne, dont 4 seulement dans le haut du tableau. Et, comme pour les légumes, ces 24 familles sont justement les moins nombreuses. La plus forte composition théorique de l'unité de consommation parmi ces 24 familles est celle du n° 38 : 10,5. Mais c'est pour un revenu de 50.000 fr. par mois. Le maximum suivant est 8,6 pour le n° 29. Ici aussi l'importance de l'unité de consommation est essentielle.

27 familles utilisent du lait frais à côté ou en complément du lait condensé. 2 seulement ne consomment ni l'un ni l'autre. Mais cette consommation de lait frais est assez réduite : la moyenne, pour les utilisateurs seulement, est de 1,1 litre. Elle est habituelle dans un cas seulement, le n° 42, où l'on achète 1 litre chaque jour. Partout ailleurs il n'y a aucune périodicité. Le lait frais n'est d'ailleurs pas employé aussi systématiquement au petit déjeuner seulement. On préfère l'utiliser pour la bouillie au riz, que beaucoup de familles aiment à consommer dans l'après-midi. Elle est alors réservée aux femmes et aux enfants. C'est le seul point sur lequel nous trouvions un régime spécial pour les enfants, sauf de temps à autre la mangue ou la goyave achetée uniquement pour eux.

Le lait frais coûte proportionnellement plus cher que le lait condensé : 40 fr. le litre contre 40 fr. la boîte de 400 gr. de lait Nestlé.

Il est surtout infiniment moins pratique, se conservant moins longtemps. Le lait condensé a en outre l'avantage de pouvoir être acheté en bloc au début du mois, et à crédit.

C'est pourtant dans le groupe des petits revenus que l'on trouve le plus de régularité dans sa consommation : dans le groupe de 5.000 à 8.000 fr. de revenu, 2 familles seulement ont une consommation par homme, inférieure à 1 litre par mois. Du n° 12 au n° 24, jusqu'aux revenus supérieurs à 15.000 fr., elle est toujours inférieure à 1 litre. Dans le groupe de revenus supérieurs à 15.000 fr., sur 7 représentés, dans 6 elle est supérieure à 1 litre.

Il n'y a donc que peu de points de comparaison entre ces 2 caté-

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

gories de lait. Leur usage est différent, et elles ne paraissent pas complémentaires.

Nous ne pouvons pas parler du lait sans dire un mot de son complément du petit déjeuner, le café. Sa consommation est extrêmement variable. Un produit du crû, le quinquéliba, pratiquement gratuit, le remplace souvent, quels que soient les revenus ou le groupe professionnel. Le café est peut-être un peu plus fréquent dans le groupe de revenus supérieurs à 15.000 fr. Le pourcentage par rapport au revenu des sommes qui lui sont consacrées est en général plus élevé. La consommation augmente donc dans de fortes proportions. Il est malheureusement impossible de parler ici des quantités : le café se vend en poudre, par pincées, et à des prix variables. Nous n'avions donc d'éléments que pour juger des dépenses effectuées pour ce produit. Quoi qu'il en soit, le lait et le café sont un poste important du budget des familles africaines : c'est souvent 8 à 14 % du revenu qui lui est consacré (1).

***

Nous avons donc fait le tour des principales dépenses alimentaires de nos familles. N'y a-t-il vraiment rien d'autre ?

Il y a bien entendu quantité de produits que l'on voit figurer épisodiquement en feuilletant les questionnaires. Ils prennent parfois quelque importance dans les unités de consommation à revenu élevé.

Le plus souvent représenté est l'arachide. Il n'y a rien d'étonnant : nous sommes au Sénégal. Mais l'arachide est un produit qui se vend plus qu'il ne se consomme. On en achète pour la valeur d'un billet de 5 fr., afin de tromper sa faim en attendant l'heure du repas. Sous forme de pâte, on l'introduit dans certains plats. Dans le cas extrême la ménagère achète de l'arachide si elle n'a vraiment pas assez d'argent pour faire un marché convenable avec d'autres produits. Mais si l'on voit souvent de l'arachide en coque entre les mains des femmes, ce n'est que lorsqu'elles la décortiquent, avant de la faire griller, puis la revendre avec un très léger bénéfice.

(1) Les nos 11 et 17 sont Maures et boivent donc traditionnellement du thé. Le n° 11 lui consacre 1,3 % de son revenu, le n° 17 : 4,4 %. Le n° 39 prend du cacao à son petit déjeuner : 0,7 % du revenu. Nous avons également noté l'achat de cacao chez le n° 6 (1,2 %) et chez le n° 20 (0,7 %).

TABLEAU N° X

N°	PROFESSION	REVENU	U. C. COMP. THÉOR.	% LAIT CONDENSÉ REVENU	% LAIT FRAIS REVENU	% CAFÉ REVENU	% SUCRE REVENU	% PAIN REVENU
1	Manœuvre	5.800	10	3,4	0	—	5,6	11,0
2	Planton	6.100	5,5	—	2,3	0,2	7,0	6,2
3	Manœuvre	6.500	2,8	0,6	3,9	0,3	5,5	2,7
4	Manœuvre	6.700	5,10	4,1	1,4	3,5	10,0	2,6
5	Planton	6.745	5,6	4,1	4,5	3,2	3,5	5,9
6	Matelassier	7.000	4,8	9,5	9,5	3,0	9,5	7,9
7	Manœuvre	7.000	3,8	—	3,1	—	6,1	10,1
8	Planton	7.410	4,4	6,1	3,0	1,3	4,7	7,9
9	Boulanger	7.500	4,4	—	2,7	—	4,3	11,8
10	Cultivateur	8.150	9,6	1,4	6,0	2,2	6,2	6,6
11	Auxiliaire	8.950	4,5	—	—	—	1,5	1,1
12	Manœuvre	9.000	6,3	0,1	2,0	—	3,8	3,3
13	Manœuvre	9.800	4,4	0,8	1,1	1,0	5,2	4,1
14	Cultivateur	10.000	8,9	—	1,9	—	5,5	10,3
15	Manœuvre	10.000	5,5	—	1,3	—	3,8	6,9
16	Auxiliaire	10.675	1,8	1,1	0,7	2,5	2,0	6,0
17	Auxiliaire	10.800	6,9	—	0,7	—	5,1	3,1
18	Manœuvre sp.	11.000	3,6	0,7	0,3	0,2	2,5	3,3
19	Comptable	11.950	7,1	6,1	—	2,5	2,8	5,1
20	Auxiliaire	12.000	7,6	3,0	0,4	1,2	5,5	10,2
21	Écrivain	13.000	3,8	9,4	1,8	1,9	4,8	6,2
22	Auxiliaire	14.000	9,2	0,9	1,0	—	3,0	7,7
23	Cultivateur	15.000	13,4	—	1,7	—	9,8	9,9
24	Cultivateur	15.000	14,4	0,1	0,9	2,0	4,0	6,6
25	Auxiliaire	15.630	11,9	0,7	3,2	2,7	2,2	2,0
26	Employé P.T.T.	15.800	2,3	3,1	—	3,4	2,8	2,4
27	Cordonnier	16.200	9,1	0,1	2,2	0,9	2,6	3,4
28	Ouvrier	22.000	14,7	—	—	1,3	9,0	4,8
29	Brigad. police	22.000	8,6	6,0	3,0	2,5	3,[illegible]	9,7
30	Ajusteur	24.000	5,1	2,3	—	1,3	[illegible]	4,5
31	Menuisier	25.000	14,4	3,8	—	4,6	[illegible]	3,2
32	Cultivateur	25.000	4,8	—	1,7	—	2,2	3,9
33	Chauffeur	25.000	5,1	0,8	—	3,9	2,2	3,2
34	Employé P.T.T.	25.900	3,3	1,1	0,7	1,0	11,9	3,3
35	Empl. supér.	27.000	4,6	1,6	0,9	1,2	2,2	3,0
36	Compt. privé	34.000	12,5	0,9	0,6	1,0	1,3	1,9
37	Maraîcher	36.000	19,8	3,1	—	6,7	2,5	3,3
38	Bijoutier	50.000	10,5	2,3	—	1,1	1,7	3,3
39	Instituteur	51.000	8	1,7	—	—	2,5	2,5
40	Chef ouvrier	55.000	17,5	1,6	—	2,9	2,2	2,0
41	Employé princ.	55.500	10,4	2,5	—	—	2,0	2,5
42	Chef ouvrier	56.000	8,6	1,2	2,4	—	1,2	3,5
43	Médecin	81.000	4	0,5	—	1,2	0,3	1,7

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

TABLEAU N° XI

N°	REVENU	GROUPE ETHNIQUE	SUCRE		LAIT CONDENSÉ		LAIT FRAIS	
			Qt. (kg.)	I. H. (kg.)	Qt. (gr.)	I. H. (gr.)	Qt. (l.)	I. H. (l.)
1	5.800	Sarakolé	6,2	0,6	2.000	200	—	—
2	6.100	Peul	7,2	1,3	—	—	3,4	0,6
3	6.500	Wolof	7,4	2,6	400	142	6,3	2,2
4	6.700	Sérère	11,7	2,3	2.800	549	2,2	0,4
5	6.745	Toucouleur	4,0	0,7	2.800	500	7,4	1,3
6	7.000	Wolof	12,4	2,6	6.650	1.380	16,6	3,4
7	7.000	Wolof	9,7	1,2	—	—	5,5	1,4
8	7.410	Wolof	6,0	1,3	4.550	1.034	5,5	1,2
9	7.500	Wolof	5,0	1,1	—	—	5,1	1,1
10	8.150	Wolof	10,0	1,1	1.200	125	14,2	1,4
11	8.940	Maure	2,5	0,6	—	—	—	—
12	9.000	Peul	6,3	1,0	150	238	4,6	0,7
13	9.800	Wolof	7,5	1,8	600	136	2,5	0,5
14	10.000	Wolof	11,5	1,3	—	—	4,6	0,5
15	10.000	Bambara	8,0	1,5	—	—	3,3	0,6
16	10.675	Bambara	4,0	1,2	1.200	370	1,8	0,5
17	10.800	Maure	7,7	1,1	—	—	1,8	0,2
18	11.000	Peul	2,0	0,5	800	222	—	—
19	11.950	Toucouleur	4,5	0,7	7.400	1.098	—	—
20	12.000	Bambara	10,2	1,4	3.600	470	1,2	0,1
21	13.000	Wolof	10,0	2,6	12.370	3.255	6,1	1,6
22	14.000	Wolof	7,0	0,7	1.350	148	3,2	0,3
23	15.000	Wolof	12,6	0,9	—	—	6,4	0,4
24	15.000	Wolof	12,0	0,8	200	138	3,5	0,2
25	15.630	Wolof	6,0	0,5	1.140	95	12,6	1,0
26	15.800	Wolof	4,0	1,7	5.000	2.173	—	—
27	16.200	Wolof	8,7	1,0	300	329	9,1	1,0
28	22.000	Wolof	8,0	0,5	—	—	—	—
29	22.000	Toucouleur	15,0	1,7	15.000	1.744	16,7	1,9
30	24.000	Wolof	15,0	2,9	5.600	1.100	—	—
31	25.000	Wolof	11,0	0,7	9.660	670	—	—
32	25.000	Wolof	11,6	2,5	—	—	11,1	2,3
33	25.000	Sérère	8,5	1,7	2.000	400	—	—
34	25.900	Wolof	9,0	2,7	3.000	910	4,9	1,4
35	27.000	Wolof	10,5	2,3	4.400	950	0,5	—
36	34.000	Wolof	8,6	0,7	3.150	252	5,5	0,4
37	36.000	Wolof	6,2	0,3	11.400	575	—	—
38	50.000	Wolof	14,7	1,4	11.500	1.100	—	—
39	51.000	Sarakolé	20,0	2,5	8.400	1.050	—	—
40	55.000	Wolof	20,0	1,1	8.800	500	—	—
41	55.500	Sarakolé	20,0	1,9	14.400	1.380	—	—
42	56.000	Bambara	13,5	1,6	6.900	802	34,7	4,0
43	81.000	Wolof	5,0	1,2	4.200	1.300	—	—

Voici d'ailleurs les pourcentages du revenu qui lui ont été consacrés :

N° 2 : 1,8	N° 17 : 0,6	N° 29 : 0,4
N° 4 : 1,2	N° 18 : 1,5	N° 31 : 0,3
N° 5 : 2,4	N° 19 : 2,0	N° 33 : 0,4
N° 6 : 0,6	N° 20 : 3,8	N° 37 : 0,2
N° 8 : 2,8	N° 21 : 0,2	N° 38 : 0,4
N° 13 : 1,0	N° 22 : 0,8	N° 39 : 0,2
N° 16 : 0,6	N° 25 : 0,6	N° 40 : 1,2

Ce dernier pourcentage exprime la quantité la plus forte : la cuisinière s'était simplement fait une spécialité d'un plat à base d'arachide.

Nous trouvons, parfois, du beurre, une seule fois en quantité importante : encore chez le n° 40, qui y consacre 2,5 % de son revenu. Le même n° 40 consacre encore 2 % de ses 55.000 fr. mensuels a du fromage. Deux autres l'imitent sur ce point : le n° 34 : 0,9 %, le n° 38 : 0,3 %.

Les œufs apparaissent dans 5 cas : tous parmi les revenus supérieurs à 15.000 fr., et en faible quantité, sauf chez le n° 41 (2,8 %). De même, nous avons trouvé parfois de très petites quantités de farine, parfois des pommes de terre : 0,8 % du revenu chez le n° 16, 1,7 % chez le n° 24, 2,2 % chez le n° 26, 1,9 % chez le n° 35, des « traces » dans quelques autres. Des macaronis, dans deux cas : n° 35, 0,5 % du revenu, n° 38, 0,1 %. Des fruits, dans deux cas : n° 34, 3,1 %, n° 39, 1,1 %.

Il y a ainsi des quantités de petites fantaisies que se sont offert nos familles : une boîte de sardines, une bouteille d'eau minérale, un paquet de bonbons, etc... Toujours en quantité trop négligeable pour que nous en tenions sérieusement compte dans cette étude de budgets.

Le seul produit qui est assez généralement consommé, mais que nous hésitons à ranger dans la catégorie « alimentation », est la noix de kola, que l'on croque par habitude, habitude dont il est difficile de se défaire, comme pour le tabac chez d'autres. Chez certains, elle peut absorber une fraction importante du revenu (voir tableau XI). Nos cinq cultivateurs en font une consommation importante. C'est, disent les autres, parce qu'en saison sèche ils n'ont pas autre chose à faire. Notons que chez le n° 10, qui a, par ailleurs, le niveau alimentaire le plus bas, on y consacre 5 % du revenu total. Nous pouvons incidemment rapprocher ces chiffres de ceux obtenus pour le tabac (5 cas).

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

N° 11 : 3,9 % du revenu (ouvrier)
N° 16 : 5,7 % — (ouvrier)
N° 17 : 0,1 % — (ouvrier)
N° 19 : 6,7 % — (comptable)
N° 36 : 4,2 % — (comptable)

Pour le n° 11, nous avions 1,3 % de kola, pour le n° 19, 0,6 %. La kola revient quand même moins cher que le tabac. Et c'est, dit-on le meilleur excitant pour réagir contre les effets de la sous alimentation.

Il y a trois catégories de dépenses « courantes », de celles que nous avons notées au jour le jour, que nous devons encore mentionner. Elles retiendrons moins notre attention, car elles sont en quelque sorte obligatoires. Ce sont celles qui concernent le combustible, l'éclairage et l'entretien des vêtements, la lessive (tableau XII).

La plus importante, par les sommes qu'il est nécessaire de lui consacrer, est celle du combustible : bois et charbon de bois. Elle représente couramment 6 à 7 % des petits revenus, puis va en s'atténuant, décroissant à mesure que le revenu augmente.

Par contre, le pourcentage des dépenses consacrées à l'éclairage, beaucoup moins important, n'accuse pas des grandes variations d'un revenu à l'autre. Car il y a diverses façons de s'éclairer, de la bougie à la lampe à pétrole et l'électricité, sans oublier la lampe à pile. Plus l'éclairage se modernise plus il devient onéreux. Il se modernise à mesure que les revenus augmentent de même qu'à l'accroissement des revenus correspond une habitation plus confortable, où il y a un plus grand nombre de pièces à éclairer.

Quant aux dépenses consacrées à la lessive du linge de la famille, elles seront proportionnelles au nombre de personnes composant cette famille. Parfois il viendra s'y ajouter les dépenses de portage pour l'eau, qui sert aussi à la cuisine. Il ne faut pas comprendre autrement la colonne « Eau » du tableau XII.

***

Voici achevé ce coup d'œil sur les principales dépenses courantes de nos 43 familles. Pour près de la moitié d'entre elles, totalisant les pourcentages par rapport au revenu obtenus, nous atteignons ou dépassons le chiffre 100. Pourtant il ne suffit pas de se nourrir et de laver son linge. D'autres dépenses devront, peu ou prou, figurer au budget de ces familles. C'est alors que les déficits vont s'accroître dans de très fortes proportions.

TABLEAU N° XII

N°	REVENU	PAR RAPPORT AU REVENU				
		Combustible	Éclairage	Entretien	Eau	Kola
1	5.800	0,2	1,2	5,6	0,9	—
2	6.100	1,9	0,5	4,5	—	1,6
3	6.500	3,8	0,5	1,0	1,3	0,8
4	6.700	7,3	0,5	1,4	—	0,1
5	6.745	6,3	0,9	4,0	—	0,3
6	7.000	7,5	1,1	1,5	—	2,0
7	7.000	3,7	2,2	2,5	—	3,7
8	7.410	3,5	0,6	1,6	—	0,2
9	7.500	4,3	0,5	1,6	1,0	4,7
10	8.150	6,5	2,3	2,2	0,6	5,0
11	8.940	7,8	0,2	1,9	—	1,3
12	9.000	4,6	0,7	1,1	2,2	0,1
13	9.800	7,1	0,7	5,8	—	—
14	10.000	2,9	2,5	1,2	0,4	2,9
15	10.000	2,9	2,1	0,6	—	3,1
16	10.675	7,2	0,3	5,1	—	—
17	10.800	6,0	1,0	4,4	—	—
18	11.000	5,1	0,9	1,4	—	—
19	11.950	2,9	1,8	2,0	—	0,6
20	12.000	11,4	1,8	4,7	—	—
21	13.000	5,3	1,3	2,3	1,6	0,9
22	14.000	8,1	1,1	3,9	0,3	0,2
23	15.000	2,0	1,7	2,0	0,3	2,6
24	15.000	4,0	0,7	1,0	3,2	1,5
25	15.630	6,6	0,9	1,8	—	0,2
26	15.800	3,1	1,6	4,0	—	—
27	16.200	2,5	0,7	2,2	0,9	0,7
28	22.000	3,9	1,7	2,7	—	0,1
29	22.000	1,3	1,6	1,3	—	—
30	24.000	3,7	0,7	1,0	—	0,1
31	25.000	3,2	0,3	0,6	—	0,4
32	25.000	1,2	0,8	1,0	—	1,3
33	25.000	3,2	0,8	1,0	—	—
34	25.900	1,5	0,4	1,1	—	0,2
35	27.000	2,8	0,2	1,5	—	—
36	34.000	2,0	0,9	1,6	—	—
37	36.000	3,5	0,7	1,1	—	0,1
38	50.000	0,8	0,5	1,4	—	—
39	51.000	1,3	2,5	0,5	1,1	—
40	55.000	3,6	1,2	1,5	—	0,1
41	55.500	2,5	0,5	1,0	—	1,3
42	56.000	1,6	0,5	1,1	—	—
43	81.000	0,4	—	0,6	—	—

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

Commençons par les plus obligatoires de toutes, celles auxquelles il est le plus difficile de se dérober : l'impôt et le loyer de l'habitation (tableau XIII).

Deux de nos familles ne payent pas l'impôt. Presque toutes les autres y consacrent au moins 1 % de leur revenu. L'impôt payé devrait normalement être proportionnel au nombre d'adultes que compte la famille restreinte. Il est assez souvent plus faible : on peut arriver à échapper au recensement fiscal. Il est quelquefois plus fort : en particulier dans 3 cas où le salarié de la ville paye l'impôt pour ses parents restés au village.

Treize familles seulement payent un loyer pour l'habitation. 2 sont logées gratuitement par le propriétaire, 3 sont logées par leur employeur. Les autres sont « propriétaires ». Cette propriété se limite souvent à une paillote, ou mieux une baraque, construites sur une concession administrative. Les plus favorisées construisent une vraie maison en banco ; un seul de nos chefs de famille a jusqu'à présent entrepris une construction « en dur ».

Il serait hors de notre propos de nous étendre sur le problème de l'habitat, puisqu'il n'est question ici que des budgets et non du niveau de vie en général. Constatons donc seulement que le désir d'être propriétaire de son habitation se légitime si l'on examine le montant des loyers, et surtout la part du revenu que nécessite leur payement : 12 % pour le n° 1, dont le revenu est de 5.800 fr. (2 pièces dans une baraque à toit de tôle où s'entassent 13 personnes), 12,6 % pour le n° 2, 14 % pour le n° 16, etc... Les pourcentages enregistrés après le n° 26 sont plus normaux, et les habitations sont plus confortables. Mais les revenus sont de 4 à 10 fois plus élevés.

Nous avons porté sur le même tableau les pourcentages calculés pour les cotisations syndicales, dont le prix est le même pour tous et pour un même syndicat (300 ou 350 fr. suivant le syndicat). Ceci pour montrer la charge, faible dans l'ensemble qu'elles représentent : on descend, par palliers, de 0,4 %, ce qui n'est pas négligeable, à 0,09 % : c'est alors insignifiant. Le n° 43 fait partie du syndicat des médecins, dont la cotisation est plus élevée.

*
* *

Après le riz le poste habillement est chez beaucoup de familles le plus important. Certains s'en étonneront, s'ils ne connaissent pas les villes du Sénégal. Les autres devaient s'attendre à ce résultat.

Le tableau XIV nous donne le détail de ce poste famille par

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

TABLEAU N° XIII

N°	PROFESSION	REVENU	EN % PAR RAPPORT AU REVENU		
			Impôt	Loyer	Cotisation syndicale
1	Manœuvre	5.800	—	12	0,4
2	Planton	6.100	4,0	—	0,4
3	Manœuvre	6,500	2,0	—	—
4	Manœuvre	6,700	—	12,6	0,3
5	Planton	6.745	4,0	—	0,3
6	Matelassier	7.000	1,0	—	—
7	Manœuvre	7.000	1,7	11,4	0,4
8	Planton	7.410	2,0	—	0,5
9	Boulanger	7.500	1,1	—	—
10	Cultivateur	8.150	1,2	—	—
11	Auxiliaire D. N.	8.940	2,6	—	0,2
12	Manœuvre	9.000	3,4	—	0,2
13	Manœuvre	9.800	1,7	—	0,2
14	Cultivateur	10.000	1,8	—	—
15	Manœuvre	10.000	3,1	7,5	—
16	Auxiliaire	10.675	0,9	14	0,2
17	Auxiliaire	10.800	2,1	—	0,2
18	Manœuvre spéc.	11.000	1,1	—	0,2
19	Comptable	11.950	2,0	4,1	0,3
20	Auxiliaire	12.000	1,3	—	0,2
21	Écrivain	13.000	3,2	—	0,1
22	Auxiliaire	14.000	1,3	—	0,1
23	Cultivateur	15.000	5,0	—	—
24	Cultivateur	15.000	1,6	—	—
25	Auxiliaire D. N.	15.630	1,6	—	0,1
26	Employé P. T. T.	15.800	1,7	9,5	0,1
27	Cordonnier	16.200	3,4	—	—
28	Ouvrier D. N.	22.000	4,5	—	0,1
29	Brigad. police	22.000	1,4	1,3	—
30	Ajusteur	24.000	1,6	—	0,1
31	Menuisier	25.000	1,3	—	0,1
32	Cultivateur	25.000	0,7	—	—
33	Chauffeur	25.000	2,5	4	0,1
34	Employé P. T. T.	25.900	1,4	6	0,09
35	Employé cadre D. N.	27.000	1,6	3,7	0,09
36	Compt. privé	34.000	1,4	—	—
37	Maraîcher	36.000	1,4	—	—
38	Bijoutier	50.000	0,4	4	—
39	Instituteur	51.000	1,1	—	—
40	Ouv. cadre D. N.	55.000	1,1	—	0,09
41	Empl. princ. D. N.	55.500	1,4	1,8	—
42	Chef ouvrier	56.000	0,9	—	—
43	Médecin	81.000	3,2	—	0,2

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

famille. La première constatation qui s'impose est que le nombre de familles dépassant 10 % du revenu est plus important dans le haut du tableau, là où il existe un déficit, que dans le bas. Doit-on en conclure déjà que ceux-là sont décidés à satisfaire à tout prix leur goût réputé pour les vêtements ?

Les pourcentages sont trompeurs, il nous vaut mieux donner quelques renseignements sur les valeurs absolues.

Du n° 1 au n° 10, en un an, aucune de ces familles n'a consacré à l'habillement plus de 10.000 fr. Le n° 29 a dépensé 9.300 fr., le n° 1, 8.000 fr. Du n° 11 au n° 23, nous ne dépassons qu'une fois 15.000 fr. (19).

Ces 2 groupes correspondent à peu près, d'une part, au groupe de revenus mensuels 5.000 à 10.000 fr., d'autre part, au groupe 10.000 fr. à 15.000 fr. Pour ceux-ci, le maximum à consacrer à l'habillement serait donc égal à un mois de revenu. Le chiffre peut sembler raisonnable, mais la proportion est vraiment forte, pour des budgets systématiquement en déficit. Il est vrai que beaucoup ne l'atteignent pas, en ignorant la tradition qui veut que l'on s'habille à neuf pour la fête de tabaski. Certaines dépenses paraissent exagérées, très légèrement. Le chef de famille n° 11, qui s'habille lui-même très modestement, offre chaque année une splendide robe neuve à sa femme, qui l'exige d'ailleurs, bien qu'elle ne puisse la porter que rarement. Les 8.000 fr. du n° 1 sont par contre, justifiés par l'importance de sa famille restreinte : 7 personnes.

Il est pourtant certainement possible de réduire ces dépenses. Mais l'opinion exige que l'on ait parfois des vêtements neufs à montrer, et il est difficile de passer inaperçu dans une ville africaine de moyenne importance.

Après ce seuil des 15.000 fr. de revenu mensuel, nous rencontrons des chiffres de dépenses impressionnants. Le n° 27 consacre déjà 48.000 fr. à son habillement. Le n° 30, 65.000 fr. ainsi que le n° 36. A partir du n° 34, tous dépassent 40.000 fr. par an. Pour certains, cela peut se justifier par l'importance de la famille : le n° 36 a 15 personnes à sa charge, pratiquement pour tout ce qui leur est nécessaire. La seule famille restreinte du n° 40 comprend 15 personnes, celle du n° 42, 11. Pour d'autres nous ne pouvons que constater les faits, laissant aux psychologues et aux sociologues le soin de les expliquer : le n° 34 gagne 25.000 fr. par mois, consacre 65.000 fr. à l'habillement de 4 personnes, 22,5 % de ses revenus. Son budget est pourtant excédentaire, mais de 3,7 % seulement, au milieu d'une série où ils le sont beaucoup plus. Nous en avons maintenant l'explication.

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

***

Nous avons groupé sous la rubrique « équipement » (tableau XIV), des éléments dissemblables, qui ont le caractère commun d'être d'une utilité certaine, et sinon d'être achetés une fois pour toutes, du moins de n'avoir pas besoin d'être renouvellés avant une assez longue période : ainsi le mobilier, le matériel de cuisine, la literie, etc... Les sommes qui leur sont consacrés sont en général peu importantes. L'achat du fourneau malgache ou de quelques verres est pourtant lourd à supporter pour un revenu inférieur à 10.000 fr. Ces choses là ne s'achètent généralement pas à crédit.

Le meuble que nous retrouvons le plus souvent dans nos listes est le lit (1). Dans presque tous les logements africains nous trouvons au moins un lit, mais il y en a rarement pour tout le monde. Et dormir dans un lit est devenu la première preuve que l'on puisse donner de son acclimatation à la ville.

Si le revenu est plus élevé on peut se permettre des achats de mobilier plus importants. Alors apparaissent, par ordre d'urgence, les fauteuils, les tapis, puis les tables et les armoires.

Nous atteignons ainsi la rubrique des « dépenses exceptionnelles », celles dont la nécessité ne se faisait pas absolument sentir. Elles sont, d'ailleurs, plus rares dans le haut du tableau : 3 seulement, puis vont en se multipliant (tableau XIV).

La première chose que nous trouvons ici, c'est la montre ou le réveil, suivis de près par les bijoux de l'épouse, ou des épouses. Viennent ensuite, mais seulement dans les plus hauts revenus, la bicyclette, ou suivant les possibilités, le vélo-solex ou la moto, puis le poste de radio à accumulateurs. Il n'y a rien de très original dans tout cela, et sauf peut-être l'importance donnée aux bijoux des femmes, nous trouverions des prétentions semblables chez les familles européennes ayant des revenus équivalents.

***

Sur le dernier tableau (tableau XV) nous avons groupé une série de dépenses qui ont une origine commune : la religion des familles enquêtées, toutes musulmanes, sauf une. Il s'agit de deux fêtes musulmanes, Tabaski et Korité, des cotisations religieuses, des

(1) Les 13,3 % du cultivateur n° 22 proviennent de l'achat d'une charette et d'un cheval.

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

TABLEAU N° XIV

N°	GROUPE ETHNIQUE	PROFESSION	REVENU	HABILLEMENT	ÉQUIPEMENT	DÉPENSES EXCEPTIONNELLES
1	Sarakolé	Manœuvre	5.800	11,4	—	—
2	Peul	Planton	6.100	4,0	2,2	—
3	Wolof	Manœuvre	6.500	9,6	2,0	—
4	Sérère	Manœuvre	6.700	6,2	0,6	—
5	Toucouleur	Planton	6.745	3,3	0,6	—
6	Wolof	Matelassier	7.000	4,7	0,9	—
7	Wolof	Manœuvre	7.000	8,0	—	—
8	Wolof	Planton	7.410	6,7	0,8	1,6
9	Wolof	Boulanger	7.500	10,3	1,1	—
10	Wolof	Cultivateur	8.150	4,6	6,7	1,5
11	Maure	Auxiliaire	8,940	13,9	0,9	—
12	Peul	Manœuvre	9.000	11,1	0,2	—
13	Wolof	Manœuvre	9.800	8,9	0,1	—
14	Wolof	Cultivateur	10.000	10,8	0,1	—
15	Bambara	Manœuvre	10.000	10,0	0,6	—
16	Bambara	Auxiliaire	10.675	6,2	1,9	—
17	Maure	Auxiliaire	10.800	11,5	0,3	2,3
18	Peul	Manœuvre spéc.	11.000	4,5	—	—
19	Toucouleur	Comptable	11.950	11,5	—	—
20	Bambara	Auxiliaire	12.000	4,0	—	—
21	Wolof	Écrivain	13.000	7,5	—	—
22	Wolof	Auxiliaire	14.000	7,4	2,3	—
23	Wolof	Cultivateur	15.000	8,0	2,2	—
24	Wolof	Cultivateur	15.000	9,4	5,7	—
25	Wolof	Auxiliaire	15.630	8,5	0,6	6,0
26	Wolof	Employé P. T. T.	15.800	6,3	1,5	2,6
27	Wolof	Cordonnier	16.200	24,6	0,3	1,8
28	Wolof	Ouvrier	22.000	5,6	—	0,7
29	Toucouleur	Brigadier police	22.000	4,5	0,2	3,0
30	Wolof	Ajusteur	24.000	22,5	1,0	—
31	Wolof	Menuisier	25.000	5,0	1,0	—
32	Wolof	Cultivateur	25.000	2,6	13,3	—
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25.000	9,3	5,0	—
34	Wolof	Employé P. T. T.	25.900	16,0	8,7	0,6
35	Wolof	Empl. supérieur	27.000	9,2	3,7	2,6
36	Wolof	Compt. privé	34.000	15,9	0,4	1,9
37	Wolof	Maraîcher	36.000	9,2	1,3	3,4
38	Wolof	Bijoutier	50.000	9,5	4,1	4,2
39	Sarakolé	Instituteur	51.000	11,4	2,0	—
40	Wolof	Chef ouvrier	55.000	12,1	2,2	—
41	Sarakolé	Empl. principal	55.500	9,0	5,2	—
42	Bambara	Chef ouvrier	56.000	13,2	8,1	15,0
43	Wolof	Médecin	81.000	6,1	1,0	3,0

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

offrandes aux marabouts et enfin des frais occasionnés par l'envoi des enfants à l'école coranique.

Pour Tabaski, on tue un mouton par famille. Il faut vraiment des circonstances exceptionnelles pour déroger à cette règle. Un mouton vaut de 1.500 à 3.000 fr. Et bien entendu, il n'est pas interdit d'en tuer plusieurs. Le mouton doit être accompagné de divers plats, aussi copieux que possible. Tout cela finit par faire de grosses dépenses, et souvent des dettes pour plusieurs mois. Les pourcentages par rapport au revenu mensuel sont faibles, mais c'est le même mois qu'ont lieu toutes ces dépenses, et aussi beaucoup de celles consacrées aux vêtements. Il est difficile de ne pas faire de dettes.

Pour Korité, si des repas plus copieux que d'ordinaire ont souvent lieu, l'essentiel est pourtant l'aumône de mil ou d'argent que l'on fait aux pauvres par l'intermédiaire du marabout.

Pour ces deux fêtes, les pourcentages constatés ne sont pas sensiblement plus élevés dans le haut du tableau que dans le bas. Si, pour les premiers revenus, les chefs de familles sont souvent obligés de faire mieux que ne leur permettrait leurs moyens, chacun semble s'adapter ensuite à ses possibilités (1).

Les cotisations religieuses sont moins nombreuses que les cotisations syndicales, mais plus lourdes à supporter. Elles n'existent que dans trois cas au-dessus du n° 20, mais représentent 2 % des revenus, et 0,8 %. Elles augmentent de nouveau sensiblement dans le bas du tableau. Quand aux dons aux marabouts, ils sont peut-être plus fréquents que nous ne l'avons constaté. Beaucoup de familles ont dû vouloir les cacher. Tels quels, et ajoutés au payement du professeur de l'école coranique (10 fr. par semaine), ces obligations religieuses finissent par accroître sensiblement les déficits qui existaient déjà au départ.

***

De même que pour les dépenses courantes certains produits ne se rencontraient que dans quelques familles, nous allons ici en trouver encore, d'un autre ordre, mais qui sont souvent plus importantes.

Il y a d'abord les frais de scolarisation des enfants : 13 familles envoient leurs enfants à l'école, publique ou privée, et les dépenses effectuées à cette occasion peuvent s'évaluer ainsi :

(1) Pour le n° 43, les indications données concernent les fêtes de Noël et du 1er Janvier.

TABLEAU N° XV

N°	REVENU ANNUEL	% PAR RAPPORT AU REVENU							
		1 Tabaski	2 Korité	3 Cotis.	4 Décès	5 École coran.	Total 1 et 2	Total 3-4-5	Total général
1	69.600	1,4	0,8	—	—	—	2,2	—	2,2
2	73.200	3,1	0,4	2	—	—	3,5	2	5,5
3	78.000	4,1	1,0	—	—	—	5,1	—	5,1
4	80.000	1,8	0,3	—	—	—	2,1	—	2,1
5	80.940	5,6	0,8	—	—	0,5	6,4	0,5	6,9
6	84.000	1,1	0,6	—	2,3	1,1	1,7	3,4	5,1
7	84.000	2,9	2,1	—	3,3	—	5,0	3,3	8,3
8	88.200	3,9	0,7	—	—	—	4,6	—	4,6
9	90.000	3,6	2,0	—	5,0	—	5,6	5,0	10,6
10	97.000	2,1	1,5	—	3,0	0,4	3,6	3,4	7,0
11	107.280	1,8	0,4	0,8	0,9	—	2,2	1,7	3,9
12	108.000	2,0	0,9	—	—	0,4	2,0	0,4	3,3
13	117.000	3,4	0,1	—	—	—	3,5	—	3,5
14	120.000	2,5	0,5	—	1,2	—	3,0	1,2	4,2
15	120.000	3,1	2,0	—	—	—	5,1	—	5,1
16	128.000	2,3	[illegible]	—	—	—	2,3	—	2,3
17	129.000	2,[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—	2,9	—	2,9
18	132.000	3,[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—	3,7	—	3,7
19	143.000	[illegible]	[illegible]	1,0	3,4	—	2,5	5,4	7,9
20	144.000	1,7	2,6	—	—	—	2,3	—	2,3
21	156.000	2,8	1,5	0,1	0,2	1,9	4,3	3,2	7,5
22	168.000	1,8	0,4	0,7	—	—	2,2	0,7	2,9
23	180.000	4,1	2,3	0,5	2,7	1,7	6,4	4,9	11,3
24	180.000	1,6	1,3	—	—	1,3	2,9	1,3	3,2
25	187.560	1,7	0,5	0,3	—	—	2,2	0,3	2,5
26	189.600	2,1	0,6	0,7	1,3	—	2,7	3,8	8,5
27	194.000	2,3	1,0	—	—	0,4	3,3	0,4	3,7
28	264.000	1,3	0,3	0,9	—	—	1,6	0,9	2,5
29	264.000	1,5	—	0,9	—	—	1,5	0,9	2,4
30	288.000	1,7	0,9	—	—	0,3	2,6	0,3	2,9
31	300.000	1,0	0,3	0,3	—	—	1,9	0,4	1,7
32	300.000	1,5	0,5	1,2	1,6	0,1	2,0	2,9	4,9
33	300.000	1,6	0,4	—	—	—	2,0	—	2,0
34	310.000	5,1	0,4	1,1	—	—	5,5	1,1	6,6
35	324.000	5,5	0,4	—	—	—	5,9	—	5,3
36	408.000	2,9	0,7	0,8	0,9	—	3,6	1,7	5,3
37	432.000	3,2	0,5	0,8	0,9	—	3,7	1,7	5,4
38	600.000	3,3	0,5	0,6	—	0,2	3,8	0,8	4,6
39	612.000	1,6	0,8	—	—	—	2,4	—	2,4
40	660.000	1,5	0,4	1,0	0,6	1,0	1,9	2,6	4,5
41	666.000	1,5	0,4	0,6	—	—	1,9	0,6	2,5
42	678.000	2,2	0,5	—	1,4	1,0	2,7	2,4	5,1
43	972.000	1,6	—	—	—	—	1,6	—	1,6

N° 8 : 0,8 %	N° 38 : 0,5 %
N° 10 : 0,5 %	N° 39 : 0,6 %
N° 15 : 0,5 %	N° 40 : 2,4 %
N° 17 : 1,8 %	N° 41 : 4,4 %
N° 20 : 0,5 %	N° 42 : 0,5 %
N° 28 : 0,4 %	N° 43 : 5,6 %
N° 31 : 0,5 %	

Ces pourcentages ne vont pas en décroissant. Il faut en voir l'explication dans le fait que seules les familles à hauts revenus envoient tous leurs enfants à l'école, et que d'autre part, elles préfèrent souvent, même musulmanes, les envoyer dans une école catholique.

Dans trois cas les chefs de familles nous ont signalé que depuis un an ils avaient eu à faire face aux dépenses occasionnées par un baptême (qui exige aussi un mouton). Pour le n° 19, la dépense a représenté 11,5 % du revenu, 6,3 et 3,4 % seulement pour les n°s 26 et 31.

Mais l'obligation familiale la plus lourde reste la nécessité, pour beaucoup, d'envoyer des sommes d'argent à leurs parents en difficulté. C'est ainsi que le n° 3 a envoyé à un frère une somme représentant 2,5 % de son revenu. Le n° 11 en 2 fois, 4,4 %, le n° 24, 0,9 %. Le n° 43, enfin, envoie chaque mois 8,2 % de ses revenus à sa famille et à celle de sa femme.

Autre obligation familiale, voulue celle-ci : les n°s 18, 35, 38, 40 et 41, ont en réalité 2 ou 3 foyers, car ils ont préféré ne pas faire vivre toutes leurs épouses ensemble. Fantaisie qui leur revient respectivement à 18,1 %, 6,1 %, 10 %, 10,6 % de leur revenu. (Le budget du n° 18 est en déficit de 15 %).

Treize familles emploient un ou plusieurs domestiques. Toutes sont d'ailleurs situées au-dessous du revenu central. Voici la part de leur budget qui y est consacrée :

N° 24 : 6,6 %	N° 35 : 3,7 %
N° 26 : 2,2 %	N° 37 : 3,8 %
N° 27 : 6,1 %	N° 38 : 2 %
N° 28 : 1,5 %	N° 40 : 3 %
N° 30 : 4,1 %	N° 42 : 1,7 %
N° 31 : 4 %	N° 43 : 11,1 %
N° 34 : 4,3 %	

Enfin, 8 familles consacrent, plus ou moins régulièrement, une partie de leurs revenus au poste « distractions » : le n° 36, exclu

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

(il assiste aux courses de chevaux), toutes vont au cinéma ou y envoient leurs enfants. Ce sont les n^os :

N° 16 : 1 %	N° 36 : 1 %
N° 22 : 3,5 %	N° 39 : 0,6 %
N° 26 : 0,9 %	N° 40 : 0,2 %
N° 33 : 0,6 %	N° 43 : 0,6 %

Il faut ajouter à cela 5 familles qui lisent et achètent des journaux :

N° 34 :	Employé	0,3 %	du revenu
N° 36 :	Comptable ...	0,7 %	—
N° 39 :	Instituteur.....	1,6 %	—
N° 41 :	Employé	0,4 %	—
N° 43 :	Médecin.....	2,5 %	—

***

Une dernière question se pose. Comment, lorsqu'il y en a, sont utilisés les excédents ?

Nous n'avons pu avoir de données précises que dans deux cas : le n° 36 construit une maison à laquelle il avait consacré en 1 an, de mars 1952 à mars 1953, 80.000 fr. D'autre part, le n° 43 a pris en location vente une villa à Dakar, et il verse pour cela 12.300 fr. par mois.

L'ambition de beaucoup est d'ailleurs, nous l'avons dit, de devenir propriétaire de leur habitation. Certains voient plus loin, et veulent, à côté, des jardins. Plusieurs possèdent déjà l'un ou l'autre, et ne cherchent qu'à agrandir ou à améliorer. L'un d'eux a déclaré avoir fait creuser un puits, mais n'a pas pu ou n'a pas voulu se souvenir des sommes engagées dans cette entreprise.

Un des chefs de famille a réussi à monter une entreprise de transport après avoir acheté 2 charettes et 1 cheval. Certains thésaurisent. Nous avons cru savoir qu'un cultivateur avait un compte en banque assez bien garni, et prêtait de l'argent à des taux usuraires. Nous n'avons pas pu tenir compte de ces revenus, mais il est certainement mal placé dans notre liste : c'est le n° 23. Les 15.000 fr. déclarés correspondent bien à son train de vie, mais il pourrait certainement être plus élevé.

Enfin, beaucoup ne savent pas où passe l'argent... et seraient tout étonnés d'apprendre qu'ils doivent normalement avoir un excédent à chaque fin de mois. Il est fort probable qu'ils en prêtent

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal

beaucoup qui ne leur est jamais rendu et qu'ils ne pensent pas à réclamer : ce sont eux qui permettent au système de rester en équilibre.

***

Beaucoup de points sont resté obscurs au cours de cette étude, et beaucoup d'autres auraient demandé à être un peu éclaircis. Nous nous sommes strictement limité à l'exposé des constatations que nous avions faites concernant les budgets de nos familles, ne voulant pas encore aller plus loin et parler de « niveau de vie ». Ce sont donc des résultats bruts, qui auraient besoin d'être dégrossis, replacés dans leur cadre et éclairés à la lumière du contexte : tous les éléments qui constituent la vie quotidienne africaine.

Mais d'autres études du même ordre sont en cours. L'une a eu lieu dernièrement à Dakar même, une autre débutera bientôt à Saint-Louis. En réunissant les résultats nous pourrons alors confirmer certaines des tendances constatées, et enfin, rédiger peut-être des conclusions déjà valables.

Les conclusions provisoires seront : l'impossibilité apparente, en tout cas la difficulté, d'équilibrer un budget lorsque le revenu est inférieur à 15.000 fr. à moins de changer les habitudes alimentaires (en consommant plus de mil, par exemple), et surtout le contexte social. Mais sur ce dernier point les traditions sont encore les plus fortes. D'autre part, nous venons de le dire, c'est grâce à elles que le système reste en équilibre. Mais de cette lutte entre deux forces : les traditions de la vie rurale et les nécessités de la vie à la ville, le déséquilibre risque aussi de naître. C'est en tout cas ce qui se passe souvent au niveau des groupes familiaux que nous étudions.

511
262

Fulani MS11

/For a detailed study of the income and expenses of 3 Peul families in the city of Thiès, Senegal (including percentage of income spent on and average consumption of particular foodstuffs) see 4: Mersadier, MS37 Senegal, Category 116./

511
262

Serer FA32

/For a detailed study of the income and expenses of 2 Serer families in the city of Thiès, Senegal (including percentage of income spent on and average consumption of particular foodstuffs) see 4: Mersadier, MS37 Senegal, Category 116./

511
262 Wolof MS30

/For a detailed study of the income and expenses of 26 Wolof families in the city of Thiès, Senegal (including percentage of income spent on and average consumption of particular foodstuffs) see 4: Mersadier, MS37 Senegal, Category 116./

511
262

Soninke MS21

/For a detailed study of the income and expenses of 3 Sarakole families in the city of Thiès, Senegal (including percentage of income spent on and average consumption of particular foodstuffs) see 4: Mersadier, MS37 Senegal, Category 116./

511
262 Tukolor MS27

/For a detailed study of the income and expenses of 3 Tukolor families in the city of Thiès, Senegal (including percentage of income spent on and average consumption of particular foodstuffs) see 4: Mersadier, MS37 Senegal, Category 116./

511
262 Bambara FA8

/For a detailed study of the income and expenses of 4 Bambara families in the city of Thiès, Senegal (including percentage of income spent on and average consumption of particular foodstuffs) see 4: Mersadier, MS37 Senegal, Category 116./

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal MS37

511

/For detailed information on the family budgets of 43 families in the city of Thiès, see category 116, pp. 6-74./

4: Mersadier Senegal MS37

262

/For specific information on the proportion of various foods consumed in the city of Thiès based on a study of 43 families, see category 116, pp. 18-47, 50-53, and 57./

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

SENEGAL

A STUDY IN FRENCH ASSIMILATION POLICY

MICHAEL CROWDER

Issued under the auspices of the Institute of Race Relations, London

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON NEW YORK IBADAN

1962

[Title page]
[p iii]
[pp i-ii contain no textual material]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Oxford University Press, Amen House, London E.C.4

GLASGOW NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE WELLINGTON
BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS KARACHI LAHORE DACCA
CAPE TOWN SALISBURY NAIROBI IBADAN ACCRA
KUALA LUMPUR HONG KONG

© *Institute of Race Relations 1962*

DT549.5
C76

W00159

Printed in Great Britain

[p iv]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

FOR

TESSA HEAD

[7 v]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

CONTENTS

		Page
	PREFACE	viii
	MAP	x
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
II.	FRENCH ASSIMILATION IN PRACTICE	7
III.	FRENCH REACTION AGAINST ASSIMILATION	16
IV.	REFORMS	29
V.	AFRICAN REACTION AGAINST ASSIMILATION	35
VI.	TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE	49
VII.	THE FRENCH IN SENEGAL	64
VIII.	THE SENEGALESE	76
IX.	THE FUTURE	93
	SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY	102

[p vii]
[p vi is blank]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

PREFACE

114 THIS short study of Senegal with particular reference to France's policy of assimilation of her colonial peoples is the result of a number of visits made to Senegal since 1955. However, most of the material was gathered in the months of January, February and March of 1961 while I was in Senegal participating in a major research project sponsored by the Institute of Race Relations and directed by Mr. Guy Hunter, which has resulted in his recently published *The New Societies of Tropical Africa*. I am particularly grateful
121 to Mr. Hunter for indirectly giving me the opportunity to collect material for this book, for there is a great dearth of material in English on the French-speaking states of Africa. I must also thank Mr. Philip Mason who first suggested the idea of writing such a book, which I hope will help to give some idea of the special character of the African country that was most heavily subjected to France's policy of assimilation. I also hope it will clear away some of the current misconceptions about French assimilation and its effects on Africans.

ooo Many people have helped, often unwittingly, in the creation of this book. I have acknowledged written sources in a detailed bibliography at the end of the book and I have marked with an asterisk those on which I have drawn particularly heavily. Much of my material was obtained in conversation and I am afraid it would be impossible to thank all those who have helped me in this respect. I am, however, particularly indebted to the following: M. Raymond Mauny, M. Ly Abdoulaye, M. André Hauser, M. Yves Mersadier and M. Diop Abdoulaye of the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire at the University of Dakar; M. Galou Fall, M. Guy Etscheverry, and M. Alain Kocher of the Ministry of Information; of the British Embassy, H. E. Mr. Adam Watson and Mr. Tim Brierley who lent

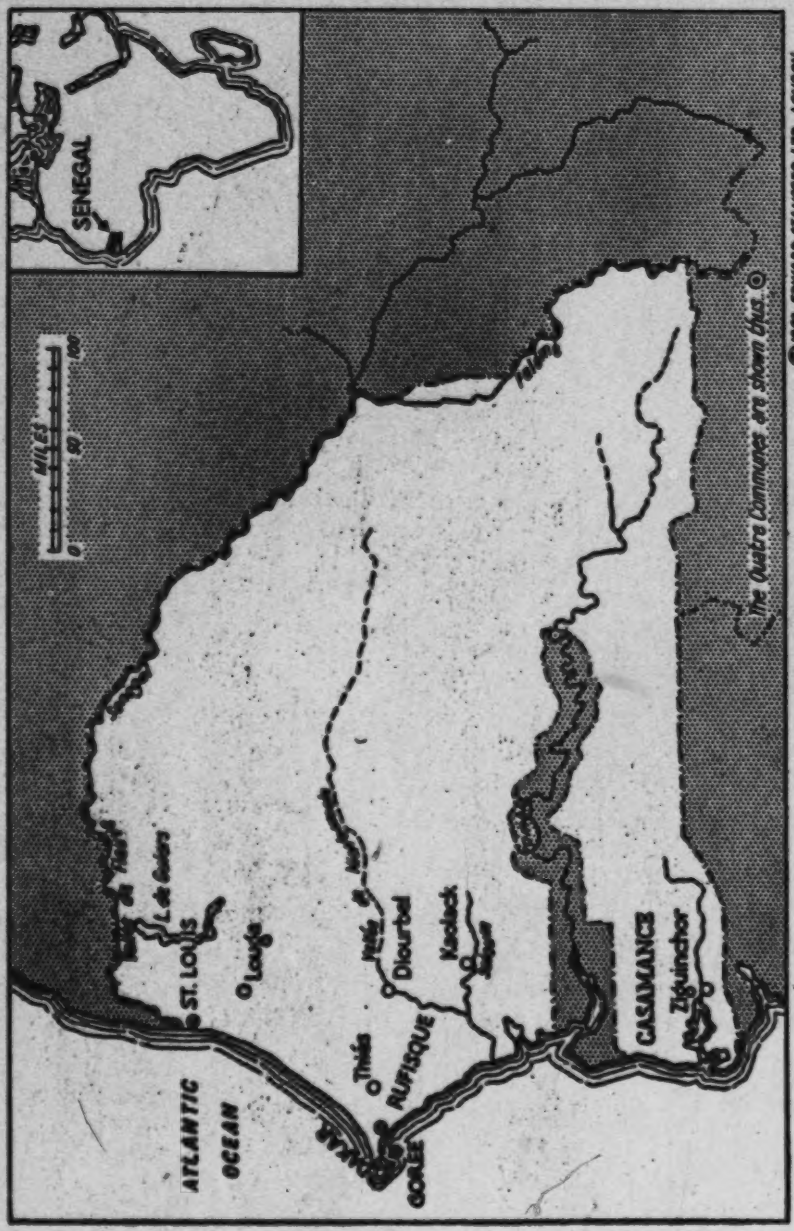
5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

me his house and made useful comments on the manuscript, as well as many other members of the Embassy who offered me hospitality and gave me much valuable advice. I should also like to thank Mr. David Pearson, the former British Consul in Dakar, who first introduced me to Senegal. and finally my many Senegalese friends who offered me much hospitality and kindness during my stay. I should particularly like to thank my driver, M. Seck Bassirou, who acted as guide and interpreter in addition to the work for which he was engaged.

Above all I should like to thank Mr. William Foltz of the Department of Political Studies, Yale University, who was in Dakar making a study of the Mali Federation and who not only read this book for publication and made many helpful criticisms, but also gave me much valuable material when we met in Senegal; and finally M. Léopold Wade of the Senegalese Embassy in Lagos, and Mr. Akin Mabogunje of the University College, Ibudan who read the manuscript and offered me much useful advice.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

102
361
133



SENEGAL

[7.x]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

I. INTRODUCTION

As far as the majority of Frenchmen are concerned, men are born and remain free and equal before the law. Taking this principle further than its immediate implications, the French tend, with regard to the people of their overseas territories, towards assimilation.

J. RICHARD-MOLARD

WRITERS on the colonial history of Tropical Africa have usually characterised the French as pursuing a policy of direct rule and political assimilation. These two features have always been stressed in any comparison with British rule in West Africa, which has always been strongly anti-assimilationist and guided by Lord Lugard's theories on indirect rule through existing indigenous institutions. In practice neither colonial power kept, or was able to keep, strictly to its avowed policy; and just as the British found it impossible to impose a system of indirect rule on the peoples of Eastern Nigeria, where traditionally there were no chiefs but democratic organisation at the village level, so too the French found themselves relying frequently on traditional rulers in the administration of their territories and unable to apply a policy of assimilation to nomads or people who had hardly emerged from the Stone Age. Whatever the defects of either theory in practice, it remains true that the French had as their goal, however distant, the cultural and political integration of their colonial peoples, just as Britain, particularly in West Africa, always had as her ulitmate aim the preparation of her colonies for self-government and independence.

French assimilation is based on the revolutionary doctrine of the equality of man and at the same time on the assumption of the superiority of European, and in particular

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648

French, civilisation. Thus the French, when confronted with people they considered barbarians, believed it their mission to convert them into Frenchmen. This implied a fundamental acceptance of their potential human equality, but a total dismissal of African culture as of any value. Africans were considered to be a people without history, without any civilisation worthy of the name, constantly at war with one another and fortunate to have been put in touch with the fruits of French civilisation. Thus French books describe the French conquest of Africa as 'la paix française' and her early administration as 'l'oeuvre civilisatrice'.

Direct rule was a necessary adjunct of a policy of assimilation for in so far as the French relied on the traditional chiefs, so far did they preserve the traditional social structure of the societies they were administering and this made it more difficult to assimilate them to French standards. Nevertheless where chiefs had great traditional authority, the French found it in practice impossible to use them as mere 'agents' of the administration, and were often forced to adopt a more empirical approach to the problem, particularly in the northern sector of the French Cameroons. The successful application of direct rule was further complicated by the size of the areas the administration had to cover and often, if only as a temporary measure, the traditional authority in these areas had to be used if government were to be maintained. Indeed such were the problems of administering so vast an area as French West Africa that the famous French colonial administrator, Lyautey, came to very much the same conclusions as his contemporary, Lugard, about the problems of native administration in Africa. Lyautey also represented a strong strand in French political theory which was opposed to the assimilation of colonial peoples.

On the other hand Harmand, in his *Domination et colonisation*, written in 1910, whilst generally attacking the application of assimilation in Asia, advocated it for Africa

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

where, he believed—as did most of his contemporaries— 648
there was no indigenous culture worthy of the name.

It was not only the practical problems involved that hampered the full application of an assimilationist policy in Africa. French rule in Africa has been just as much a mixture of authoritarianism and liberalism as it has been ever since the Revolution in France. Some of the so-called liberal regimes were effectively reactionary, whilst some of the authoritarian regimes initiated liberal reforms. This curious mixture has been put most succinctly by Robert Delavignette, a colonial administrator of great experience, when he writes in *Freedom and Authority in French West Africa*:

> And the Europe of the Revolution and that of the *ancien régime*, far from fighting each other in Africa, worked together on the same task. The young cavalry officer, De la Tour Saint-Ygest, who perhaps left France because he could not stand the Revolutionary equality there, went off to Upper Senegal-Niger to destroy the feudal power of the Tuareg, the principles and sentiments of which he cherished. On the other hand, the man who wielded the power of the Republic at Dakar, adherent of a French Freemason lodge, and member of the Radical-Socialist party, was to become in Africa a governor fanatically attached to old style hierarchy, using autocratic methods to lead the natives along the path of progress.

The French never really faced the full implications of 648
assimilation and in practice remarkably little was done 641
to bring into effect the official policy that all colonial peoples should become French and have all the rights of French citizens, which implies that there should have been a very substantial coloured representation in the metropolitan institutions. Thus in 1921, twenty years after France had established her rule throughout French West Africa, the vast mass of the population still had the inferior status of *sujet*, that is they were subject to summary administrative justice and the corvée or forced labour and had no political rights. Ivory Coast had only 308 inhabitants with the

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 privileges of French citizens; Dahomey, 121; Upper Volta,
641 17; Niger, 9. As late as 1936 out of a total population of fifteen million in French West Africa there were only 2,136 French citizens, with the exception of the citizens
[633] of the Four Towns or *Quatre Communes* of Senegal. Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff in their book *French West Africa* have suggested that this was because at that time 'the advantages conferred by naturalisation obviously did not compensate in the eyes of the great majority of Africans for acceptance of French law in regard to marriage and inheritance, and for the general shaping of their lives according to the European pattern'. This was only half the
648 truth. Just as important a factor was the sparseness of facilities for education, the keystone to a successful assimilationist policy. As late as 1947 only 1.3 per cent of children of school age in Guinea were actually attending
[871] school. In Soudan the figure was higher at 5 per cent, Dahomey 10 per cent and Senegal 12.4 per cent.

In each case Senegal is the exception. Senegal sent a deputy to the French Assembly as early as 1848. Her first indigenous deputy, Blaise Diagne, elected in 1914, became Under Secretary of State for the Colonies on several occasions before his death in 1934. But the other territories of French black Africa did not elect deputies until 1946, though they sent representatives to the Constituent Congress
648 in 1945. In 1848 the privileges of French citizenship were
641 granted to all Senegalese living in the Colony, though they were allowed to retain their private law in matters of land,
[671] inheritance, marriage and divorce. It was only in 1946 with the passing of the *loi Lamine Guèye* that the privileges of citizenship were granted to Africans other than those who obtained naturalisation, which involved accepting French
648 private law. In Senegal, the towns of St. Louis and Gorée
[633] were created *communes de pleine exercice* or full scale municipal
[646] councils in 1872 and seven years later a General Council on the lines of those operating in the French departments was established.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

established. Until recent years Senegal was the only territory with an educational system in any way compatible with a policy of assimilation. 648

Thus, with the exception of Senegal, there evolved a mixed policy containing elements of assimilation and separation which came to be known as the policy of association. Even so, as Lord Hailey wrote in his recent *African Survey*, 'the underlying assumption remained that, on a long view, the future of the overseas territories must be one of eventual integration with France in a larger political unit'. And though assimilationist policy was never really successful on the political level, on the personal level, particularly in education where equality of black and white was so frequently demonstrated, it left deep marks. To quote Lord Hailey once again, this time from his 1939 *African Survey*, 'it is not easy to exaggerate the effect on native outlook of a system which permits Africans to sit side by side with French children and to compete with them on equal terms in examinations'.

Since assimilation was only practised in any real measure in Senegal, it is the most interesting of all the French African colonies as the one most marked by contact with the metropolitan power. This book is therefore a study of Senegal with particular reference to a special kind of race relations whereby one people, whilst accepting the fundamental equality of the other, attempts to assimilate it to its own standards in every sphere of life. An attempt will be made to assess to what extent French assimilation was successful in Senegal and why the Senegalese eventually reacted against it; the subsequent marks it was to leave on this newly independent state; the extent to which indigenous culture withstood assimilationist policy; and finally what sort of society the Senegalese, now independent of France, are trying to create for themselves. 121

Senegal becomes even more interesting as a present day case study. For in applying their policy of assimilation, the French Government had to remember that Senegal was the [563]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

121 563 only black African territory where there was a sizeable French community. In Dakar alone the French numbered [160] 6,600 in 1931, 17,300 in 1948 and increased to nearly 30,000 in recent years. It is interesting to examine how the *colons* on the spot reacted to the acceptance of Africans as [369] equals in law and political rights and finally how far assimilation, by providing a new common culture, was able to break down traditional indigenous inter-ethnic hostilities.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

II. FRENCH ASSIMILATION IN PRACTICE

. . . that France above all should understand this great mission which the Lord has entrusted to her . . . by sending missions composed of men of clear courage and integrity and of superior intelligence . . . to serve as intermediaries and interpreters between these more or less savage people on the one hand and the civilisation and institutions of Europe on the other . . .

HEINRICH BARTH

IN a few short words the great German explorer Heinrich Barth summed up the ideals of French assimilationist policy in Africa. But as we have seen these ideals were to be tempered not only by the realities of colonial administration but also by the failure of the French ever to accept the full implications of an assimilationist policy. Nowhere was this clearer than in Senegal, where France carried out in one part of the country what may be described in terms of nineteenth-century colonial administration as a very advanced policy of assimilation whilst subjecting the rest of the country to an authoritarian rule unknown in British West Africa.

Senegal came into contact with the French in the early seventeenth century when French commercial companies started trading at the mouth of the river Senegal, first entered by Europeans in 1445. In 1659 Caullier founded the town of St. Louis on an island at the mouth of the river. For the rest of the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth century, the fort he built there, around which grew up a prosperous trading town dominated by the great chartered companies, was to be the centre of French commercial activity on the west coast of Africa.

Though the French did explore the Senegal river and even established a fort at Podor in 1745, they had no control of the hinterland; their sphere of influence was strictly limited to the island on which St. Louis was built and to the

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

175 small island of Gorée further down the coast. However this did not mean that the French lacked interest in the interior. From 1749-53 Michel Adanson explored the Senegalese coast and undertook the first really scientific description of West Africa. His writings were largely responsible for the later hope that European colonisation of this part of Africa would be possible. But for the rest of the eighteenth century France's hold on St. Louis was too tenuous for anything of this nature to be undertaken. Indeed during the Seven Years' War the town fell to the British and was only returned
175 in 1779. By the end of the eighteenth century St. Louis
563 with a population of 7,000, had a European colony number-
369 ing 600, the largest on the whole of the West Coast. It also
[162] had an important assimilated mulatto community, whose descendants are known today as St. Louisiens. Indeed there had been a very high degree of *métissage* by the end of the eighteenth century, since most Frenchmen there took permanent African mistresses known as *signares*, and ensured the education of any children they had by them. Indeed in all but legal status these *signares* were wives and their 'marriages' were celebrated by their families with all the pomp of a normal wedding. However, with the improvement of communications between Senegal and France and the arrival of larger numbers of soldiers in the middle of the nineteenth century, mistresses were much more temporary in nature and the number of Frenchmen prepared to educate resulting offspring was considerably reduced.

175 In 1789 St. Louis sent its *cahier* of grievances to the States-
567 General on the eve of the French Revolution, demanding the end of the monopoly of the great companies, freedom of
[439] trade and the abolition of slavery, which had hitherto formed the main item of export from St. Louis. These grievances were heeded. Slavery was abolished and the companies had their charters withdrawn. But the position of slaves and slave-trading in the colonies was not in fact settled until the end of the wars that followed the French Revolution.

175 During these wars St. Louis once again fell to the British
648

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 648 [175]

and only under the terms of the Treaty of Paris which ended the Napoleonic Wars was it finally returned to the French in 1817. Under King Louis XVIII, France embarked on a policy of European colonisation of Senegal. Colonel Schmaltz negotiated with Moctar Diop, the Lebou chief of the small village of Dakar, for land to settle 200 emigrants to be despatched from France under the auspices of the *Société Coloniale Philanthropique*. But climate and disease soon put an end to this venture. Nevertheless Schmaltz persisted with his schemes in St. Louis so that Senegal could by its products enrich the mother country. He made agreements with local chiefs for the agricultural settlement of part of the Oualo or hinterland of St. Louis and in 1819 a model farm was established to experiment in the growing of cotton, olives, dates, coconuts and coffee. This policy was pursued enthusiastically by his successor, Baron Roger, and a number of experiments, mainly concerned with cotton, were undertaken in the next few years. By 1822 nearly fifty concessions had been granted to the French by local chiefs and for the next five years further experiments were carried out by Monsieur Richard who started a full scale research station at what is now called Richard-Toll or Richard's field. But his efforts were not crowned with success, and later governors influenced by the reaction against colonialism in France lost interest in agricultural settlement. This was perhaps fortunate for modern Senegal, since had these first experiments been fruitful she might have been saddled with a settler problem today.

S W 648

S 648

France was already working towards an assimilationist policy. A governmental despatch to Schmaltz informed him that his political aim should be 'to introduce gradually among the blacks of Senegal a civilisation based on free labour . . . education, and public peace . . .' It continued: 'A mulatto is now mayor of the capital of our possessions, and a black could become so too.' Two years later Baron Roger was informed that since most of the free population of St. Louis was mulatto or African it was 'very important

S [563] [369]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 [563] [369] not to let the same discriminations and prejudices such as exist in other colonies be introduced among them.' At the same time the metropolitan Government was asking whether Africans would make suitable corporals and under-officers. Furthermore Schmaltz, whilst advocating a system of economic exploitation that seemed to be entirely to the advantage of France, maintained that the Senegalese were not merely to be auxiliaries and that they would be encouraged by fixed prices for their crops to produce more and become 'civilised' by their contact with Europe.

648 567 641 So far France had made no definition of the position of non-French inhabitants of her colonies. Even though France by the decree of 16 Pluviose Year II (1792) had abolished slavery and declared that 'all men, without distinction of colour, domiciled in French colonies, are French citizens, and enjoy all the rights assured by the Constitution', and even though the slave trade had been outlawed in 1818, until 1833 freed slaves had uncertain status in law, and domestic slaves still existed in large numbers. A royal ordinance of that year proclaimed that 'Any person born free or having legally acquired his liberty enjoys in the French colonies: (1) civil rights; (2) political rights under conditions prescribed by law'. But only in 1848 was the status of *captif* or domestic slave abolished, though the majority of *captifs* continued to serve with their former masters. Naturally this law only affected inhabitants of St. Louis and Gorée and the other French posts like Dagana and Richard-Toll.

648 [641] [818] [799] The most important result of these two laws was to give about 12,000 Africans, mostly illiterate, the full rights of French citizens. Of these less than a thousand had been converted to Christianity by their French, mulatto or Christian African masters. Educational facilities, which would have to accompany any effective conversion of illiterates into full scale French citizens were still rudimentary. But it must be remembered that in France, at the time, the electorate was suddenly increased from 200,000 to

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

9,000,000 most of whom were illiterate. Balzac, in 1845, wrote in his book *Les paysans*: 648

> For twenty million beings in France the law is merely a piece of white paper stuck on the door of the Church or the Town Hall . . . Many mayors of cantons turn their copies of the *Bulletin des Lois* into bags for holding raisins and seeds. As for the mere mayors of communes you would be shocked by the number who cannot read or write and by the way in which the civil registers are kept.

Most remarkable of the innovations of the short lived French Second Republic of 1848-52, in which the Revolution once more came into its own, was the granting of the right to Senegal of sending a deputy to the National Assembly in France. Grandly it was announced, 'The Colonies purified of slavery . . . will be represented in the National Assembly'. Effectively, such a deputy would be representing an overwhelming majority of African 'citizens' for metropolitan Frenchmen numbered then only some 500. However it was to take some time before the African citizens were to use this newly acquired right to elect one of their own number to the Assembly. [162] [563] [666]

The 1848 Revolution thus embroidered on the 1833 ordinance of the French monarchy by introducing a full scale assimilationist policy for the colonies of France. In Senegal it affected only a small number of people. And never again would France in her expansion through Africa apply this trend in her colonial policy so liberally to her newly acquired territories. Thereafter there was to be a tussle with those administrators who either felt that the inhabitants of the colonial territories were different and should be treated as such, or were overwhelmed by the practical problems involved in applying an assimilationist policy to a largely illiterate population spread over an area eight times the size of France.

The reaction to the liberal thinking of the second republic soon came with Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* by which an authoritarian Second Empire was established. In 1854 the right of electing a deputy was withdrawn from all

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 colonies other than Martinique, Guadeloupe and Réunion and at the same time they were subjected to rule by direct decree of the Emperor.

[167] It was under the Second Empire that the first great period of French colonial expansion in black Africa took place. It was during that regime that Faidherbe, who was to Senegal what Lugard was to Nigeria, first embarked on his African conquests. Faidherbe himself embodied this dichotomy in French colonial policy: an authoritarian agent of an authoritarian regime, he was often found introducing reforms and innovations that conformed with the most liberal application of an assimilationist policy.

[643] Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in 1854. 369 At the time St. Louis, according to Abbé Boilaut in his [162] *Esquisses sénégalaises* was a city of 12,336 inhabitants with [563] only 177 Europeans. There were two primary schools run by Catholic missionaries. A full scale administration had [872] succeeded in imposing on a town otherwise consisting mainly [797] of single storey houses, a governor's palace, a 'very elegant [361] Palace of Justice', a large naval hospital, a fine church and an army barracks.

648 From his base at St. Louis, Faidherbe, in a series of 643 brilliant campaigns, notably against the powerful emir of Trarza and the Muslim reformist and Toucouleur leader, El Hadj Omar, was to lay the foundations of France's West African empire. To do this he organised the now famous *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, since Europeans did not stand up well to the climate and the prevalent diseases. By conquest or by treaty he brought most of modern Senegal and much of 643 Soudan (Mali) under French rule. He installed an efficient military administration, and even published an official [004] newspaper the *Moniteur du Sénégal*. Altogether Faidherbe was a remarkable man. He was a firm believer in the equality of races, and did much to increase the educational facilities of the colony. He established a school for the sons [871] of chiefs, and lay schools for Muslims, who objected to [797] attending the mission schools. Whilst Faidherbe wanted to

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

encourage the evangelisation of the population, he[1] was sufficiently knowledgeable about the country and its people to realise that it would be impossible to win converts from among the Muslims who formed the majority in Senegal. Scholarships for primary education in St. Louis, and secondary education in France were awarded under his auspices to promising students. Small technical schools were established at Dakar. And he even opened a museum at St. Louis.

He tried to equip the colony with some of the benefits of a modern economy. He established the Bank of Senegal, laid out St. Louis afresh as befitted a capital city, and under his influence Pinet-Laprade founded the new port of Dakar. He promoted the export of the ground-nut crop, becoming increasingly valuable to the colony's revenue which rose from 12 million francs in 1848 to 37 million in 1869, and proved a profitable substitute for human merchandise. He made valuable and detailed studies of the local people. Like Lugard he seemed to be able to think of every aspect of administration at the same time. The historian G. Hardy wrote of him: 'He touched on everything, and always with good results.' But as J. Richard-Molard commented, 'He was the first great Frenchman to realise the wish of Barth. But he did it as an officer of the Empire, endowed with an abominable character and a sense of authority which bordered on vice. He was proconsul of an authoritarian Empire.'

One decision vital for the future of the Senegal was made during the Faidherbian regime: this was the final abandonment of any ideals of European colonisation. It came at a time when the French were settling Algeria, and was not altogether altruistic, as the ministerial instructions of 1859 showed:

> Nothing similar to Algeria could be undertaken in Senegal. The climate is against it. The land should therefore be left to the natives, at least as a general rule. It is by their hands that it should be cultivated and if our rule is to be extended over all the territory

[1] [i.e., Faidherbe, who became Governor in 1854 - Gwolyn]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 that belongs to us, our occupation should be limited to those parts necessary for assuring the suppression of brigandage, the freedom of trade and the tranquillity of an industrious population.

The land cultivated by them will provide produce which will become the object of lucrative trade for the European, the only kind of work he can undertake in this climate.

648 641 [161] [160] [563] By 1865 the colony of Senegal comprised 150,000 inhabitants of whom only some 15,000, living in the original French settlements of St. Louis and Gorée-Dakar, were French citizens. Indeed this number was not to increase noticeably until the end of the century, since the privileges granted to those Africans under French rule in 1848 were never extended to the interior. For whilst Faidherbe pursued a policy of assimilation in the main centres like St. Louis, Gorée and Dakar, he initiated the basis of a system of administration for what was to become the rest of modern Senegal and French black Africa as a whole that was distinctly non-assimilationist. The laws for the *sujets* or those who did not enjoy the rights of French citizens were particularly harsh. They were not allowed to leave the colony, they had no right of meeting or association, and they were subjected to the corvée or forced labour on the maintenance of roads. To obtain this forced labour Faidherbe relied on the chiefs, and indeed one of the main criticisms of him as an exponent of assimilationism is that he leaned so heavily on both the chiefs and Islam. The treaty made by Jauréguiberry (acting-Governor whilst Faidherbe was on leave in 1865) with Abdoul Boubaker of Toro was far removed from the principles of assimilation: 'Art. 2—The Toro will continue to administer itself according to its own laws, traditions and customs.'

[167] [466] [653] [631]

The overthrow of the Second Empire and the establishment of the Third Republic in 1870 was to see lukewarm reaffirmation of principles of the revolution and a consequent return to assimilationist principles at least in the political field. In 1871 Senegal regained her deputy. More

[696]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

important still a Conseil-Général equivalent to the Conseils-Généraux of the French department but with much greater financial autonomy was established for the colony. However representation was limited to citizens of the colony and not the great majority of *sujets* of the Protectorate. This spurt of assimilation was completed a year later when privileges of local self-government were granted to St. Louis and Gorée which were created *communes de pleine exercice*. In 1880 the prosperous new port of Rufisque, some fifteen miles from modern Dakar, was also accorded these privileges, and in 1887 Dakar was separated from Gorée and also gained them.

This was as far as assimilation was to go politically in either Senegal or the rest of French West Africa. Not until 1944 was there any extension of political rights in French black Africa. Indeed in Senegal the citizens had to fight to retain their privileges against an administration that came increasingly to regret the privileges it had granted the Senegalese in the first fine flush of colonial expansion in Black Africa. Thus until the outbreak of the Second World War one had the paradoxical situation of the French regretting their assimilationist policy and the Senegalese citizens asking that it be applied more liberally. This is one of the main reasons why the activities of French Africans, particularly in Senegal, were channelled not towards the attainment of independence but the assertion of their fundamental equality with the French. Their energies were for long directed to obtaining from the French those rights which in principle an assimilationist policy offered them.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

III. FRENCH REACTION AGAINST ASSIMILATION

France had made a great mistake in granting suffrage to the Natives. She did not withdraw her present, but took good care not to repeat it elsewhere.

PIERRE MILLE: *The Black Vote in Senegal.*

648 UNTIL 1913 all the Senegalese deputies in the French Chamber of Deputies were citizens of metropolitan origin. And in the General Council and the municipal 646 [633] [563] councils Europeans, even when they were not in a majority, more often than not succeeded in controlling proceedings. With this European domination of the representative institutions, it may come as a surprise that France not only failed to extend the experiment to other parts of French Africa, but indeed did her best to suppress those rights already granted in Senegal. First of all many of the Gover- 643 646 [652] nors resented the control the General Council had over the territorial budget, albeit limited. Secondly they found that the General Council tried to run a peace-time administration for that part of Senegal under direct rule, whilst the Governors were more concerned with the pacification of the much larger hinterland, for in those days Senegal included much of what is now Mali. As one historian of Senegal, André Villard, has put it: 'The Colony thought it had the right to lead the quiet life of a French *arrondissement* at the very time when expansion towards the east necessitated exceptional political and military efforts.' An authoritarian Governor like Brière de l'Isle found it particularly galling to be saddled with a democratically 646 563 633 elected legislative council. Furthermore the General-Councillors, who were mainly European or half-caste up

[p 16]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

till the end of the nineteenth century, neglected the Protectorate and seemed to think that the only parts of the country that mattered were the four communes. Naturally their official business with the Protectorate was limited, but they did control the three main ports of the country through which the products of the interior passed to France. The councillors, too, restricted education largely to the communes, where on the whole it reached a satisfactory level. They even sent students on scholarships to France, but unfortunately too few of these returned to Senegal to use their newly acquired talents. It was not until the establishment of the Government-General of French West Africa in 1905 that educational facilities were extended to the Protectorate in any great measure.

The increase in education amongst citizens of African origin meant that by the turn of the nineteenth century they were less willing to accept European domination in the communes and the General Council. The assertion of their rights is one of the main factors behind the attempts of the administration to deprive the indigenous Senegalese of their position as *citoyens*. Actually the Administration was batting on a good wicket. Technically a French citizen was one who accepted French rights and duties without qualification. In the case of the Africans in Senegal they had been allowed to retain their own *statut personnel*, that is private law, with reference to civil disputes, matrimony, divorce, inheritance and land. But this seemed to conflict openly with the definition of a French citizen. It seemed wrong that a man should exercise the rights of a French citizen and not accept the consequent obligations. Many Frenchmen felt it quite illogical that an African with four wives could yet be a citizen. And indeed in later years the main obstacle to granting citizenship to other colonial peoples was to be the question of retention of the *statut personnel*. Thus many of the attempts by the French to deprive the Senegalese citizens of their rights were the result of quite genuine objections to the illogicality of their position. Faidherbe,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

643 Faidherbe,
641 writing in 1889, protested against this attitude since he felt that to make monogamy a condition of citizenship would break up families and that monogamy should be achieved by education. But more potent were those forces which disliked the exercise of such rights by a small African minority, albeit linked with Europeans, which could so often obstruct not only the Governor of Senegal but the Governor-General himself, since until 1904 these two were one and the same man. The existence of a vocal General Council and Municipal Councils, let alone a deputy in France, which could all express opinions directly hostile to the authoritarian rule of the Governor, was another important factor behind the moves to deprive the Senegalese of their citizenship at the end of the nineteenth century. There was also
666 however quite genuine concern at the way in which the vote
641 was exercised in Senegal. Pierre Mille, in an article entitled *The Black Vote in Senegal* published in 1901, alleged that the African voters, mainly illiterate, were controlled by the handful of Europeans who bought their votes. He went so far as to describe Senegal as a 'rotten borough'. Indeed he alleged that the expense of the election absorbed a large part of the colony's finances: and further that after competing against each other for the electors' favour, the big companies in Senegal finally decided to combine the operation to save expenses and control Senegal to their
641 mutual advantage. But as to the virtue of the Senegalese
[595] as citizens in other respects Mille was surprisingly warm: 'Having become French citizens and notwithstanding that they were Muslims, they, with a few exceptions, accepted monogamy . . . and they have spread far and wide in Africa the renown and justice of French administration'. But as Mille concluded, this was not sufficient to persuade France
648 to continue the experiment in her other West African colonies. Indeed, confirming what has already been said about empirical tendencies in French colonial rule, by 1900, when France had gained most of her vast African empire, Mille commented that it was 'administered with an

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

interesting suppleness under the most diverse conditions 648
according to the state of civilisation or submission—or lack of submission—of the natives'.

As a reaction against the powers of the Senegalese General 648
Council during the regrouping of the French West African 646
territories the Protectorate, with the exception of Casa- [633]
mance, Thiès, Cayor and Tivaouane and the *cercles* of the Fleuve, was detached from the colony of Senegal so that the General Council could not legitimately interfere in its affairs. However two years later economic and administrative exigencies decreed the reshaping of Senegal and the rest of French Africa into the territorial boundaries that exist today.

The first major attempt to undermine the rights of the 641
Senegalese with the rights of citizens by virtue of being born 633
in one of the four communes, known as *originaires*, came in 1908 when the Lieutenant-Governor of Senegal asked that 1,563 names be struck off the electoral role of Dakar arguing that since the natives concerned were only French subjects they could not vote. Only French citizens could vote, and citizenship could be obtained only by individual naturalisation. This was upheld in the local court but rejected by the [692]
Cour de Cassation in Paris. However, the Court confirmed that these voters were not French citizens though they maintained that they had the right to vote. This failure to recognise their status as citizens evoked much ill-feeling among the *originaires*. In 1910 the voting rights in the Senegal were in fact extended when it was provided that French citizens living outside the communes but within the colony could vote. But the Minister of Colonies declared that the decree did not apply to 'non-naturalised natives who only enjoy the franchise in the four *communes de pleine exercice* on condition of being born there', and thus once again emphasised the fact that the French Government did not consider the *originaires* as true citizens. Indeed in the following year their position was further aggravated when [701]
originaires doing their military service in metropolitan units

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

641 633 [701] of the army in West Africa, and serving on the same basis as European citizens, were suddenly discharged without reason. A commission of the General Council asked that in future all voters, without distinction of colour, be called on to perform their obligatory military service. Thus by 1912 one had the odd spectacle of Africans, far from trying to avoid military service, insisting on their right to perform it on the grounds that only thus could they secure their rights as French citizens.

However French intransigence over the question of the *originaires* was made clear in the Naturalisation Decree of 1912, which stated that only French subjects born in West Africa could acquire French citizenship. The conditions for acquisition of citizenship were: having proved devotion to France or having occupied with merit for at least ten years a position in a French office, public or private; having learned to read or write French; having given evidence of possessing a means of existence and good character. As a result between 1914-22 only ninety-four natives in French West Africa were naturalised. Those who were defined as 692 subject to the jurisdiction of the native, instead of the 641 French, tribunals were all those natives 'who had not had in 633 their country of origin the status of European national'. This was interpreted by the *originaires* as an attempt to remove from them their right to appear before French tribunals and subject them to administrative justice like the sujets of the Protectorate, for whilst they were anxious to retain their right to their *statut personnel* in civil matters such as marriage and inheritance, they wanted to be tried in French courts in criminal cases. This evoked furious criticisms by the *originaires* and Maître Lamine Guèye, himself an *originaire* and later Deputy in the French Assembly, wrote 'Our fears were more than justified by the spectacle of what happened in the interior of the Colony, where administrators, reviving in certain respects feudal practices, imposed on the persons of our compatriots of the protectorate acts which were neither human nor French'.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Such was the outcry against this decree that a further decree in 1914 confirmed that 'all natives born in the four communes would be subject to French tribunals throughout the colony and in certain other places'. Indeed Lamine Guèye was one of the most ardent critics of France for her failure to accord the full rights of an assimilationist policy to the *originaires*. He protested against the way the Government opposed 'the entrance of all natives of whatever status they may be, into the general administrative services, even into military units stationed in the colony'. It was only by insistence on the right to do military service on equal terms with the French that the *originaires* were finally able to gain confirmation of their rights as citizens. In 1914 Blaise Diagne became the first Senegalese to sit in the Chamber of Deputies. He won his seat partly as a result of the split vote amongst his six European opponents, partly because he appealed to the Senegalese voters by his demands for complete equality between black and white. His particular platform was a pledge to vote for a law for obligatory military service without distinction of race or colour. In a letter to the Minister of Colonies he said the *originaires* did not want the privileges without the obligations of French citizenship. At the time, of course, France was just about to enter into the Great War and badly needed troops from Africa. Thus without much difficulty a law was passed providing for the conscription of the *originaires* as French troops. In return for Diagne's co-operation in recruiting troops for the war effort, the Government passed the Citizenship Law of 1916 which once and for all confirmed the status of the *originaires*. They could retain their *statut personnel* and need not understand French to be considered as citizens. 'The natives of the *communes de pleine exercice* and their descendants are and remain French citizens subject to the military obligations of the Law of 19 October 1915.' The rider about the status of 'descendants' was of particular importance to Lamine Guèye who was born in Soudan of *originaire* parents.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

641 648 [643] An interesting sidelight on the confused French attitude towards assimilation and Africans was the status accorded to Blaise Diagne as Commissioner of the Republic in charge of conscription of troops in West Africa. He was given rank equal to that of the Governor-General, Van Vollenhoven, who thereat resigned. However this is only one side of the story. The French insist that he resigned because he felt that the large number of troops to be recruited would wreck the colony's economy and severely reduce the indigenous population. Nevertheless the presence of an African deputy for Senegal was not viewed well in all quarters. But Diagne could not be tempted by high office outside the parliamentary sphere and won a resounding victory in the 1919 elections [666] with 7,444 votes to his opponent's 1,252. He was then appointed Under Secretary of States for Colonies. His essential attachment to France was clear, for whilst in 1919 he became President of the Pan-African Congress, which urged that ultimately 'Africa should be ruled by consent of the Africans . . .' he refused, as Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff have pointed out 'to support any revolutionary theories as to the emancipation of all Negro peoples'. 'We French natives', he said, 'wish to remain French, since France has given us every liberty'.

646 633 The French were still not happy about the position of the *originaires* and in 1920, not so much from a show of liberalism as from a desire to reduce the pressures exercised on the Administration by the twenty-member General Council, it was translated into a Colonial Council with an increased membership of forty-four of which twenty were sent by the hitherto unrepresented Protectorate. The representatives [631] of the *sujets*, who were provincial or cantonal chiefs, could be relied on to vote with the Administration whose agents they were, and thus reduce the independence of the communes. In 1925, however, the number of chiefs was reduced to sixteen and the citizens' representatives increased to twenty-four as a means of persuading them to vote larger

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

taxes, but thereafter relations between chiefs and Government on the one hand and citizens on the other were rarely cordial. 646 [633] [631]

The powers of the Council were very restricted, having legislative rights over minor matters like the classification of roads and the management of public properties. Even these limited powers were subject to the veto of the Governor-General of French West Africa. Its main deliberative competence was over the budget, which though drawn up by the Governor could be criticised by the councillors. This power was watered down by the classification of a large section of the budget as obligatory expenditure. Nevertheless the council was an exceptional institution in West Africa. As R. L. Buell in his *The Native Problem in Africa* wrote: [648] [652] [643]

> That the eight Europeans who participated in the Council should have exactly the same status as the thirty-two blacks is a situation which would strike the Anglo-Saxon as anomalous to say the least. The visitor to the Council will frequently witness a black president calling a European member to order for rowdiness. It does not appear, however, that the council is divided upon racial lines, i.e. of white versus black, except on the issue of higher pay for European officials—a policy which was, in fact, attacked as vigorously by the Europeans as by the native members. The real alignment so far has been the citizen members—both black and European—against the government supported by the chiefs. Black members as we have seen, have unmercifully criticised officials in Senegal. No British colony would tolerate the attacks which the natives make upon European officials in Senegal. 563 646

Buell pin-pointed a growing division in the territory—that between the *originaires* and the *sujets* of the Protectorate. The *originaires*, especially since the election of one of their own number as deputy, became increasingly jealous of their privileges. Meanwhile the rest of the territory was administered according to the same principles of administration as were applied throughout the rest of West Africa. Though traditional chiefs were stripped of their traditional powers 641 [631]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

641 they were made agents of the Administration and responsi-
[631] ble for the enforcement of the corvée when required. The harshness of this authoritarian rule, escaped only by the *evolués* in the other territories, has been vividly described by Geoffrey Gorer in *Africa Dances*, which records a long tour made through French West Africa in the mid-thirties. Even so in 1930 France had signed the Geneva Act for-
[466] bidding forced labour in the colonies; but it was slow to disappear. In 1937 the right to form trade unions, which
[467] hitherto was only granted to Senegalese citizens by a law of 1920, was extended in a restricted form to the *sujets*. That same year a new decree allowed easier conditions for the acquisition of French citizenship by the *sujets*. Out of a population of 1,800,000 in 1936 there were 78,000 citizens compared with some 2,400 in the rest of French West Africa. And in 1939 the *sujets* were granted the right of
[666] electing some of their representatives to the Colonial Council instead of being represented only by nominees of the Administration.

641 This newly acquired right was enjoyed for a very brief
648 period. For in 1940 the authoritarian element in France came to the fore in particularly unhappy circumstances with the fall of France and the establishment of the Vichy Government. Under the Vichy regime, racism manifested itself openly for the first time. This was particularly embittering for the Senegalese élite since they had been much in sympathy with the Popular Front Government which attempted liberal experiments in Algeria and Syria. All Senegalese representative institutions were suppressed. Priority was given to Europeans in rationed goods and in many other spheres. Liberty of association was withdrawn from both races, and whilst European members of the resistance were rarely hanged, Africans themselves rarely escaped the supreme penalty. By contrast in France the future President of Senegal, Léopold Sédar Senghor, was fighting in the French resistance and was later interned in a German concentration camp.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Senegal had never in fact been free from elements of racism, though such a policy was never officially countenanced until the Vichy regime. Geoffrey Gorer found many instances of discrimination in Dakar, and actually went as far as to say that 'The colour bar is extremely strong in Dakar'. But he concluded 'these French citizens are far happier than their brother French Negro subjects; if they are too badly cheated or abused they have some redress in the law courts'. The colour bar was certainly not official policy then as it became under the Vichy Administration. 641 648

The Vichy regime marks the end of an era in West Africa and particularly in Senegal. Until 1940 there had been little or no opposition to French assimilationist policy by the Africans. Indeed they were the first to criticise any deviations from it. Blaise Diagne enjoyed high status in France, and though he was accused by his critics of corruption and of selling himself to the French he remained the popular choice in Senegal until his death. 648

At the ensuing election Galandou Diouf defeated Blaise Diagne's old opponent, Lamine Guèye, who was instrumental in the formation of the Senegalese branch of the *S.F.I.O.* Hitherto elections had been largely fought on the basis of personal followings, with the exception of the European-dominated *Parti Socialiste Sénégalais* founded in 1929 in which Europeans played a prominent role. Not only was Lamine Guèye the first Senegalese to realise the value of the party machine, but he was also the first to advocate the granting of full political and legal rights to all French Africans. Significantly he did not suggest any form of break with France, rather that France should carry her assimilationist policy to its logical conclusions. In 1939 he increased his political backing considerably when the *P.S.S.* fused with his section of the *S.F.I.O.* and this was to make him a leading member of the party in the metropolis as well as in Senegal. 648 665 662 [667] [641]

However the younger generation of Senegalese were 000

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

however the younger generation of Senegalese were
648 beginning to question the moral right of assimilation. These
871 critics were the educated élite, by-products of an educational
571 policy of which Governor-General Chaudié had written in 1897: 'The school is the surest means of action by which a civilising nation can transmit its ideas to people who are still primitive and by which it can raise them gradually to its own standards. In a word the school is the supreme element of progress. It is also the most effective tool of propaganda for the French language that the Government can use.'

Ousmane Socé Diop, in *Karim*, a remarkable study of the sort of young Senegalese most affected by French assimilation, published in 1935, shows not only how effective this policy was in those early days, but also points to the awakening of the Senegalese to the values of their own traditional society.

648 On certain evenings in Dakar, Karim and his young
571 friends would talk not only of love but of their political and social ideas:

> The teacher was there, reasonable, but capable at moments of behaving foolishly, such as over the beautiful eyes of a Senegalese girl. He was a 'progressive', a partisan of a plan of evolution with its basis in the fundamental characteristics of his people.
>
> The graduate, a know-all, spoke of 'cleaning-up Senegalese traditions and of bringing about an immediate and thorough Europeanisation.
>
> The doctor, a Catholic, adopted Western civilisation without question. Nevertheless, his atavistic temperament remained one with that of his own people.
>
> Abdou was born a Muslim and an oriental and had been educated at a French school. His mind had been nurtured on European ideas and logic. His heart had been formed within the curious framework of the *Khalam*, of French poetry and European music. He was a person of contrasts. He could dance to the tam-tam as well as do the tango, he liked Negro music and black girls, but also dreamed of Deauville, of Paris and of some film-starlet, a blonde blue-eyed Venus.

[369] Later Karim is sent out to a small town in the 'bush' where he has to help with the collection of the ground-nut

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

crop. Struck by the simple, uncomplicated ways of the bush compared with that of Dakar, Rufisque and St. Louis he reflects: 'The teacher and above all the graduate who spoke so often of immediate and complete Europeanisation, should be here to see for themselves.' 648 571 369

Ousmane Socé Diop has pin-pointed perfectly the growing conflict in the minds of the educated Senegalese at this time and the ever increasing gap between the peoples of the *Quatre Communes* and the *sujets* of the bush.

Furthermore the Senegalese student in Paris was beginning to question the rights of colonialism in general and the honesty of France's assimilationist policy in particular. He was hardly encouraged by the pronouncements of a leading politician during the twenties and thirties like Albert Sarraut who wrote in *La mise en valeur de nos colonies* that the colonies had a threefold purpose of serving France. First the numbers of France's overseas peoples increased her population from 40 million to 100 million, thus giving her a greater manpower than Germany. Secondly they could make a financial contribution to France. Thirdly they could supply her with the raw materials she needed. France's civilising mission, whilst important, was conceived of by Sarraut as a by-product of these functions. (Quoted in L. P. Mair, *Native Policies in Africa.*)

As we have seen, assimilationist professions were rarely matched by the facts. And indeed in other parts of French West Africa education was limited. But in Senegal France made a major effort in education, so that by 1940 there had already been formed a substantial African élite, particularly in comparison to the country's population. 571 871 648

By 1938 18,000 boys and 1,500 girls, taught by 132 European and 337 African teachers were at school; even so, a very low percentage of the population of school age actually attended school. Nevertheless this was considerably higher than that of any other French African territory. Children were educated according to French methods with few concessions made to local factors. The aim was not

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

571
871
648
[873]

only to civilise them but to make them aware of 'France's achievements' in Africa. Thus, as Lucy Mair has pointed out, history was taught so as to justify French occupation of West Africa. Several important *lycées* and secondary schools were founded. The *Lycée Faidherbe* and the *Lycée Van Vollenhoven* were to provide the basis of the modern élite whilst the *Ecole Normale William Ponty* educated many of the present leaders of French-speaking Africa. It was this new generation of educated young men, produced in the late twenties and thirties, that was first to question the virtues of an assimilationist policy both on the political and moral plane.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

IV. REFORMS

The aims of France's civilising mission accomplished in the colonies rules out any idea of autonomy, any possibility of evolution outside the French empire bloc; the eventual constitution, however remote, of self-government in the colonies is out of the question. 000

Brazzaville Conference, 1944

THE years that followed the fall of Vichy France were to see great changes in the political structure of French Africa. Senegal itself benefited less from these changes than the other African territories, for the main substance of the changes was to bring the other territories constitutionally in line with her. Though two Senegalese deputies, Maître Lamine Guèye and Léopold Sédar Senghor, were to play a leading role in the shaping of the new constitution of the Fourth Republic for France and her overseas territories, the first initiative for change came from the much more backward colonies of French Equatorial Africa, who, unlike the French authorities in Senegal and French West Africa, had never accepted the Vichy regime. 648

At the conference held in Brazzaville in 1944 on the eve of the fall of the Vichy Government to decide the future role of Tropical Africa in a liberated France, the coloured Governor-General of French Equatorial Africa, Felix Eboué, one of de Gaulle's most loyal supporters, and who enjoyed immense prestige in French Africa, played the leading part. This conference effectively marks the beginning of modern French African politics, though no African politicians, least of all the experienced Senegalese, participated in it. Characteristically the delegates, mainly colonial administrators, were torn between the ideals of assimilation and the more practical virtues of political and administrative decentralisation.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 The conference decided that the political future of the colonies should lie with France and ruled out all ideas of eventual independence. They did, however, insist that the colonies should be represented at the constituent Assembly that would draw up the constitution for the Fourth Republic at the end of the war. But they did not consider that the wider representation of Africans in metropolitan institutions would be as beneficial to the African colonies as the establishment of a Federal Assembly for France and its empire. These two suggestions were in tune with traditional integrationist and assimilationist thought, but in addition the delegates made certain proposals that implied considerable administrative and political decentralisation. They asked that assemblies should be set up for each territory, but on the understanding that they should work in close relation to the proposed Federal Assembly and that if possible the franchise should be as wide as practicable for Africans. They also laid down the principle of the dual college, so that Europeans could have effective representation. The administrators of the 'Republic one and Indivisible' were thereby advocating a considerable degree of administrative decentralisation, which in retrospect can be seen as vital to the subsequent achievement of independence by the various states of French black Africa. It was probably fortunate that the conference was one of administrators and not of politicians for their cogent arguments against the inefficiency of the pre-war, highly centralised empire were accepted eventually as directed towards the achievement of a more efficient working of the empire rather than as an attempt to break it up as they certainly might have been had such criticisms come from African politicians. On the other hand the conference made it explicit that decentralisation did not imply independence. All possibility of autonomy outside the French bloc was excluded.

641 648 871 The conference was highly assimilationist in its recommendations for individuals particularly as regards political
z [i.e., Brazzaville Conference, 1944 -- Analyst]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

and juridical rights. The old signs of inequality, the *indigénat* and the hated corvée were to be withdrawn, the latter after a period of five years. Education was to remain exclusively French, though Eboué put in a plea for the recognition of the values of traditional society. The problems of granting French citizenship to Africans without prejudicing their *statut personnel* was to be solved within the framework of the proposed Federal Parliament for France and her overseas territories. Africans would thus have citizenship of this larger Federation rather than of France itself and would not therefore have to give up their *statut personnel*. The new principle was first applied in March 1944. French citizenship was extended to a number of Muslims in Algeria who were allowed to retain their *statut personnel*, on the same terms as the *originaires* of Senegal had been. Finally the conference proposed a large scale development programme for the overseas territories.

In the Constituent Assembly which was to deliberate on the constitution of the Fourth Republic, sixty-four seats were given to overseas deputies, a fair number going to Africans. Two socialists from Senegal, Lamine Guèye and his lieutenant Léopold Sédar Senghor, the first African to become a *professeur agrégé* of the Sorbonne, played a leading role in the debates of the new constitution, attacking remnants of Vichy racialism amongst colonial officials, decrying the ban on freedom of meeting and association, and above all denouncing the corvée and *indigénat*. The first Constituent Assembly of 1945, liberal in outlook, was deeply concerned as to how the Republic could remain one and indivisible and yet accord any degree of autonomy to the overseas territories. This was settled by proposing that the overseas territorial assemblies be thought of as equivalent to the *conseils* of the metropolitan department just as that of Senegal had been. The colonies, instead of forming a federation with France as proposed at the Brazzaville Conference, were to participate in a French Union much more integrationist in character and within

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 the assimilationist tradition. Once again, however, the implication of granting full citizenship to all colonials was
641 not faced, for the *loi Lamine Guèye* which extended citizenship to all French *sujets* without prejudice to their *statut personnel* did not in fact extend the right to vote to all of them. However it achieved much in abolishing the humiliating status of *sujet*. The *indigénat*, forced labour and the law against freedom of meeting and association were abolished. And a large scale development plan for overseas territories was projected. But although those Africans eligible to vote supported the new constitution, it was defeated in metropolitan France and the new Constituent Assembly proved to be much more conservative. A powerful group known as the States-General of Colonisation was formed in France with the object of reducing the effect of the concessions already granted to the overseas territories. It attacked the proposed French Union since its members believed that under it France would become a colony of its own colonies.

The second Constituent Assembly elected after the defeat of the first constitution was much less liberal in its attitude towards colonial affairs and as a result the new constitution it drew up was far from that envisaged by the Brazzaville
C48 Conference. The structure of the French Union was integrationist. It was composed of the French Republic, which included on the one hand metropolitan France, the Overseas Departments and Territories, among them all the territories of French and Equatorial Africa and the associated states and territories, such as the mandated territories of Togo and Cameroons and the Protectorates of Morocco and Tunisia on the other. The President of the French Republic would automatically become President of the French Union. The Assembly of the Union was to draw half its members from metropolitan France and half from the overseas territories. As to the composition of the High Council the concept of the wider French Republic was adopted for the choice of members who would share office with representatives of the associated states. Its

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

powers were limited to consultation on matters affecting the overseas territories. 648

The integrationist character of the new constitution was clear from its preamble: 641 648

> France, together with the peoples of its overseas territories, forms a union based on the equality of rights and duties without distinction of race or religion. Faithful to its traditional mission France intends to lead the people she has taken into her charge towards freedom to administer themselves and to regulate their own affairs democratically, ruling out all methods of colonisation founded on arbitrary acts; she guarantees to all equal access to the public service as well as the individual and collective exercise of rights and liberties confirmed heretofore.

Under the new constitution French citizenship was extended on 7 May 1946 to all French colonial subjects; but in practice the franchise was limited to those whose political education was considered sufficient (e.g. ex-servicemen, civil servants, and the literate or wealthy, etc.), so that of all France's vast overseas population only 1½ million were given the vote. But a number of liberal features were retained. General Councils were established for each territory, though with dual colleges for all but Senegal so that European representation could be secured. Separate rolls were used for election to the Senate and the Assembly of the French Union though a single roll was used for the National Assembly. A Grand Council was established for the eight territories of French West Africa, with members elected by the individual General Councils whose powers were purely advisory and thus no greater than those of the old Senegalese General Council. The constitutional position of Senegal itself was consequently little changed, except that there was no longer a major distinction between *sujet* and citizen. It still remained an integral part of the French Republic. The French Parliament, to which it sent two deputies, still had the final say on all questions of public liberty, and political and administrative organisation. The new General Council replaced the old Colonial [646] [646]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

[648] [649] [646] Council in Senegal but differed little in competence. The only [redacted] made to Senegal and not to the other territories, and this undoubtedly being influenced by its political history, was the retention of a single college electorate as against the dual colleges prescribed for all other territories. The French penal code was made generally [671] applicable for Senegal. In January 1946 the three *communes de pleine exercice* (Gorée had by then been incorporated in [633] Dakar) were given full municipal status as equivalent French towns. Finally and most important, forced labour was [466] legally abolished; but it survived in covert forms for several years to come. In Senegal, Senghor received the full credit for this measure from his peasant electorate and has been drawing political dividends from it ever since.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

V. AFRICAN REACTION AGAINST ASSIMILATION

I admit that as Negro students in the years 1930–4 we were only an obstruction. I admit that we were racialist; we were intoxicated by the banner of Negritude. At that time no intercourse was possible with Europeans. But since then, because this racialism betrayed our African-Negro humanism, because it led to deadlock by imposing cold war between races and continents, between man and man, we decided upon reflection to make an extra effort. Today we have accomplished this—the results of European decolonisation have contributed to it—we have left behind us the period of denial to embark with you upon the period of construction.

LÉOPOLD SÉDAR SENGHOR

THE 1946 constitution as far as Senegal and the other more advanced territories of French Africa were concerned really fell between two stools. In so far as it was assimilationist, it was not sufficiently so. If France were ever to establish her Franco-African republic it had to be on the basis of the equality implicit in assimilation. And this equality was denied at many turns. In so far as it permitted decentralisation in the form of territorial and federal assemblies, it was to encourage the growth of nationalist and regional politics. In Senegal, where the changes made were of relatively little importance, the failure to put into practice a fully assimilationist policy was to be one of the predominant influences behind the reaction against assimilation that was the distinguishing feature of the next decade of Senegalese politics.

Overseas leaders had been particularly disillusioned with French honesty in the application of the Overseas Labour Code. This code was drawn up at the Brazzaville Conference and promised amongst other things equal pay for equal work,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

a forty hour week, a minimum wage, the development of trade unions and the institution of a labour inspectorate. However the second Constituent Assembly procrastinated in according these economic rights to its overseas citizens and was dissolved before it could bring them into force. It was only in 1952 that the overseas deputies were able to force this measure through.

One of the reasons for the break-up of the old *S.F.I.O.* in 1948, which may be taken as symbolic of the reaction against assimilation, was the attitude of the parent party in France to social legislation for the overseas territories. The *S.F.I.O.* had voted against equal pensions for African and metropolitan French veterans; it had voted against the introduction of the French social security system for the overseas departments, and it had abstained on a motion to abolish the dual college system. But more important was the desire of the newly enfranchised 'bush' peasants for greater participation in the direction of party policy. Hitherto the party, closely linked with the parent body in France, had been tightly ruled by Lamine Guèye from Dakar. At the 1947 Congress of the party a group of members led by Senghor demanded a greater voice in party councils. The people of the bush, so long denied the rights accorded to the privileged of the *Quatre Communes*, once enfranchised showed their resentment against both those who exercised these rights and those who granted them. In the following year Senghor, backed not only by the intellectuals but by the vast majority of the bush, founded the *Bloc Democratique Sénégalais* (*B.D.S.*) declaring that 'Assimilation is an illusion in a world whose people have become aware of their own personality'. He attacked the *S.F.I.O.* for its close ties with France and its failure to take an independent line on African matters. So just as Lamine Guèye has been described as the representative of the era of assimilation, so Senghor can be dubbed the representative of reaction to this policy.

This reaction was at first not part of a concerted

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

movement, though by the late fifties it amounted to a definite 648
revolt against the basic assumption of an assimilationist 668
policy that there was nothing of worth in African culture and that the greatest benefit France could bring to Africans was to make them French. It was hardly surprising that those to whom this policy had been most heavily applied should be the first to react. Thus in political and cultural affairs the Senegalese were in the vanguard of the campaign for the recognition of the African personality, or in French African terms *la négritude*. This new movement showed itself in many fields. In politics it was to manifest itself in a [665]
rupture with the metropolitan French parties, and the assertion of the necessity of the incorporation of traditional African values into European-type political systems. On the human plane it insisted on the dignity of the African, the originality of his personality and his contribution to the achievement of the human race. In the cultural field it implied a return to the values of African art, which educated [532]
Africans until recently had themselves tended to reject. As regards history, it denied the common European allegation that Africans had no history and asserted that Africans had in fact made a far greater contribution to world history than was revealed in text books. Finally it was to produce a picture of a suffering Africa, exploited and abused by the white man, awakening slowly to a glorious day of freedom.

The policy of Senghor's new party, which was not allied 665
to any metropolitan party, was characteristic of this revolt. 668
Its declared aim was to promote a new form of African 648
socialism, related to the realities of the African situation. Accordingly the party was to be organised to correspond with the socio-ethnic structure of the country. It demanded a greatly increased autonomy for Senegal and other African countries, and whilst not demanding independence, a word that did not touch the public lips of any major French African politician for another ten years, it advocated a federal relationship between France and her overseas territories.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648
668

This move was the more surprising since Senghor was and is one of the most highly assimilated of French Africans. He was the first African to gain his *agrégation*. He was effectively the grammarian of the constitution of the Fourth Republic, and whenever there was a dispute as to the interpretation of the constitution in the National Assembly it was as often as not the second deputy of Senegal to whom the President of the Assembly referred for advice. As a member of a rich family of merchants from Joal, a town which though not privileged like the *Quatre Communes*, had long-standing connexions with Europe, he had been able to pursue his education in France and became a professor there. He was well known in literary circles as a writer and poet. Indeed as those who have wished to malign him have since asserted, he seemed almost more French than the French. But, and it is an important but, his return to his African past, his sudden resentment of his own Frenchness and his search for virtue in the African personality was the result of his sudden realisation of the extent of his assimilation by France, though he himself has said that he assimilated, and was not assimilated. Perhaps his dilemma is best illuminated by the experience of Aimé Césaire, the High Priest of *négritude*, who as Senghor is always the first to admit, was his real source of inspiration for this return to the past. The story goes that Césaire, a West Indian living for long in Paris, and already distinguished as a man of letters, was travelling in a train, when he found himself sitting next to a black marine. His first racial reaction was that of a white man. This horrified him so much that he returned to his native West Indies to 'rediscover' himself, and wrote a series of poems, that have become as it were the hymns of *négritude*. Senghor subsequently became the fulcrum of the new movement to assert the uniqueness and value of the Negro personality. Ulli Beier, reviewing Senghor's poetry, has written: 'Senghor is not merely a Frenchified African who tries to give exotic interest to his French poems; he is an African who uses the French language to express his African soul.'

[633]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Those who have not come under the influence of a strong assimilation policy have never had to assert their essential *négritude*. Thus the English-speaking African, whose culture and traditional political organisation was largely left intact by the British administration, was rarely concerned about his identity as an African and until very recently this problem has been of little concern for the Nigerian or Ghanaian. It has never occurred to him to doubt his *négritude*. There are of course a number of examples of what may be called assertion of the African personality in the English-speaking territories, but the cult of *négritude* never caught on in them as it did in Senegal and the other French territories. 648 668

Thus it was that the very Africans who had achieved the greatest distinction within the French cultural framework were to be the first to champion a return to the African past in search of their own essential personality. Thus it was that for long Paris became the cultural capital of Africa, for there the books and magazines were published in which they could tell the public of their new ideas. Whilst in the late forties and early fifties the British West African *évolué* was more concerned with the achievement of political independence from Britain, the French African *évolué* was more concerned with his cultural emancipation. Senghor's formation of a new political party is more interesting for the emphasis it lays on its reassertion of African values than for any proposed political rupture with France. [665]

The reaction against assimilation, as P. Mercier has pointed out in *Elites Sénégalaises*, came essentially from the new educated generation. 668

It is the elite that has given expression to this desire for a return to the fountain head . . . From an acceptance of assimilation characteristic of the preceding generation opinion turned first to less sharply defined positions—typified by the slogan 'assimilate, don't be assimilated'—and then the attitudes of refusal, the details of which are still not very clear. Such attitudes accompany a lush ideological growth, to which only a very brief reference can be [571]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 given here. They are not exempt from inconsistency, they are intertwined with each other. The only point at which all these ideologies concur is that they one and all are the expression of an intense reaction against colonialism—and obviously against the policy of assimilation—and serve as a basis for a growing nationalism.

The reaction against assimilation took the form of a denial of the basic assertion that Africans were a people without history or culture and that they were fortunate to have been taken under the guiding wing of France. The French administrator who declared 'We are the modern Romans. We have civilised these people, and built them roads', was the prime object of their attack. To counter 668 this patronising French attitude Senegalese intellectuals 814 looked into their past to discover an African civilisation which they could show had also played its part in the development of man. They rejected the common nineteenth-century European interpretation of African history which showed a people engaged in interminable internecine and debilitating warfare, who had not discovered the wheel, who lived under appalling conditions of disease and climate, and they substituted their own interpretation of Africa, which was closer to Jean-Jacques Rousseau's picture of the Noble Savage untainted by the evils of modern society. In a few cases they took the somewhat defeatist attitude of Césaire, shouting 'Hurrah for those who invented nothing'. But the more typical reinterpretation, was that of Cheikh Anta Diop, who gives an extreme idealisation of African history. His works—*L'Afrique noire pré-coloniale*, *Nations nègres et cultures* and *L'unité culturelle de l'Afrique noire*—have come under heavy criticism from European scholars. But a critical evaluation is not intended here. What is important is that a Senegalese, of undoubted scholastic attainment, had reinterpreted the history not only of his country but of the continent as a whole, so that it could be put on equal terms with that of Europe. Thus he asserts in *Apports et perspectives culturels de l'Afrique* (*Présence Africaine*) that

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Pharaonic Egypt was a Negro civilisation. Since the West acknowledges its debt to Egyptian civilisation, it was also indebted to Negro peoples for its present cultural attainments. '. . . the Egyptian achievement was essentially a Negro one and . . . all Africans without exception can draw from it the same moral benefits that the West does with regard to Graeco-Latin civilisation.' Elsewhere he asserts in *Nations nègres et culture* (1955), 'Intellectuals should study the past not merely for pleasure but to learn lessons from it.' A notable strand in Diop's return to the past is not merely to assert the traditional dignity of the Senegalese, but of all Africans, even though his work shows inevitably a pro-Senegalese bias when he states that the ancient Egyptians spoke a language that was basically Wolof.

The second major string in the bow of reaction to assimilation was the assertion of the original unity of Africans, a unity that had only been broken up by the colonialists. Diop's *L'unité culturelle de l'Afrique noire* is an attempt to prove the fundamental unity of black Africa, for obviously a united Africa would represent a more potent cultural force, and consequently political force, in the face of Europe than one divided into a host of petty states and tribes. Pan-Africanism, on the cultural level, was largely the work of such writers as Diop and Senghor. Its political aspects, not surprisingly, were to be taken up by the more politically conscious English-speaking Africans like Nnamdi Azikiwe and Kwame Nkrumah.

But the most important thesis of all was that of the African personality. And for this Senghor, now President of the Republic of Senegal, was largely responsible. It is all very well for a people to prove that they have a history when others say they have not. But the most important thing, as far as Senghor and other Senegalese intellectuals saw it, was to prove the uniqueness of the African contribution not only to the past but to the present. Thus Senghor asserted that the African had a certain outlook on life that others had not. The essence of the African

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 personality, its uniqueness as Senghor saw it, is best understood from this quotation:

> That is to say that the Negro, traditionally, is not devoid of reason, as people would have me say. But his reason is not discursive, it is synthetic; it is not antagonistic but sympathetic. It has a different mode of perception. Negro reasoning does not detract from the things it contemplates, it does not mould them into two rigid schemes, thereby ignoring their very essence; it flows through the veins of things to arrive at the living heart of reality. The reasoning of the white man is analytical by utilisation, that of the Negro intuitive by participation.

Whether all the advocates of the African personality held so abstruse and philosophical a concept of its character is doubtful. But as the young poet Lamine Diakhite, a close disciple of Senghor, has written: 'Let us admit it, it is thanks to Senghor and Césaire that my generation became aware of itself, that it embarked upon the path of asserting its personality.'

[571] This movement, started in the late forties, was to touch mainly the intellectuals, those who had been most assimilated by the French. The poorer classes had of course not been so effectively alienated from their past. These intellectuals were during the next years to question everything in the light of this newly discovered or rediscovered African personality. Some advocated the shutting of the door against Europe and some of Cheikh Anta Diop's writings have elements of counter-racism. Whilst Europeans have been asserting their superiority over Africans for so long, he counters by asserting the Negro superiority over Europeans. Fortunately this negative attitude did not survive to any important degree.

There was also a healthy questioning of the values of European or Western culture, though this often went to the extremes of outright rejection. David Diop, the young Senegalese poet who died recently in an air crash, accuses the white man's civilisation of hypocrisy: [539]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

 668

In the country where the houses touch the sky
but where the heart is not touched [539]
In the country where the hand is placed on the Bible
but where the Bible remains closed.*

The forum for this great re-examination of the African 204
past was to be *Présence Africaine*, a bi-monthly review of 668
Negro African culture, founded by a Senegalese called Alioune Diop in 1947 and open 'to all contributors of good-will (white, yellow or black), who might be able to help define African originality and to hasten its introduction into the modern world'. Although the review was Pan-Negro in outlook, its original inspiration came from a small group of Senegalese intellectuals in association [571]
with West Indians like Césaire and Haitians like Price-Mars. There was of course nothing parochial about this. It was only that the Senegalese were the first, for the reasons outlined above, to feel really strongly about the reassertion of African culture. And when in 1956 *Présence Africaine's* efforts culminated in the first Congress of Negro Writers and Artists, the Senegalese were to play a dominant role. In his opening speech to the conference Alioune 668
Diop, the secretary and backbone of the organisation, made a moving protest against the myth of a people without culture, a protest that earned the support of all delegates. But his attacks on assimilation can have had relatively little meaning for delegates from the English-speaking territories; whilst some of the American Negro delegates like Richard Wright felt that as far as they were concerned it was impossible to return to a past from which they had been physically and culturally removed for over three centuries. Replying to a brilliant discourse by Senghor on 'The Laws of the Negro African Culture', he asked: 'I wonder where do I, an American Negro, conditioned by the harsh industrial, abstract force of the Western world that has used stern, political prejudices

* Translated by Ulli Beier.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 against the society (which he has so brilliantly elucidated)—where do I stand in relation to that culture?'

Alioune Diop declared:

> Assimilation corresponds to a type of human relationship imposed by colonisation. It demands that the individual (for it affects only individuals) tear himself from his natural context and he who cannot assert his own personality must replace his habits of thinking, feeling and acting by others which he would only share with a foreign community.

By the time of this congress the Senegalese, as well as other Africans, had examined pretty thoroughly the whole question of French assimilation. For instance, A. Wade, a Senegalese, in a paper entitled 'Must Africa evolve a
[671] positive law?', protested against the use in his country of a foreign legal system evolved in a different social context and which could not meet all the requirements of traditional society. He called for a new legal system which would be in effect a synthesis of African customary law and French law. In another article he called for a reform of teaching methods in Africa in the light of local conditions. There
[591] were few stones this anti-assimilationist élite left unturned in their efforts to re-establish the values of the African past. They presented a dramatic contrast with the élite of the pre-war generation who, like the young men in Ousmane Socé Diop's *Karim*, so readily accepted the virtues of Western ways.

668 Amongst this group were a number who fell back not on
648 the values of the African past so much as Marxist theories in their attacks on colonialism and assimilationist policy. Principal amongst this group was Majhemout Diop, leader of the pro-Communist *Parti Africain de l'Indépendence*.
[665] In issue No. 14 of *Présence Africaine* he attacked colonialism bitterly:

> There is no possible ambiguity; colonisation equals capitalistic enterprise. Any other explanation is invalid, is deceitful, a myth, a myth of civilisation and of co-operation.
>
> A coloniser cannot be humanitarian . . . that would be the

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

most irreducible of paradoxes. Colonisation is always measured in terms of gain for the coloniser. 668 648

Between colonialist and colonial there is room only for forced labour, intimidation, pressure, police, theft, rape, obligatory farming, scorn, mistrust, arrogance, self-conceit, deceit, suppressed élites and debased masses.

No human relationship but a relationship based on domination and submission which transform the coloniser into a pawn, an adjutant, a warder, a flogger and the native into an instrument of production.

The resentment of assimilation is the same. But the interpretation is a Marxist one and the remedies subsequently offered by Majhemout Diop were non-African in origin. His *Contribution to the Study of Political Problems in Black Africa* is almost entirely Marxist in inspiration and the source matter, abundantly evident from the footnotes, is the work of Stalin, Lenin, Engels and Marx, none of whom had any first-hand knowledge of economic conditions in Africa. Another Senegalese, of very distinguished academic reputation, who uses Marxist techniques in his studies of African problems, is Ly Abdoulaye, an economic historian who nevertheless is much more inclined to take into account African circumstances in the application of Marxist theories. Indeed Ly is at great pains to avoid Marxist terminology even when employing Marxist ideas. There are in fact few Senegalese intellectuals who are not in some sense Marxist socialists. But more especially they are devotees of what they call African socialism. [814]

In the search for identity that followed the application of assimilationist policy, the first tendency was to rehabilitate African culture. Naturally political rehabilitation was one of the most important goals for politicians like Senghor. But when he broke with the *S.F.I.O.* in 1948, he gave as one of his reasons that French socialism, like Communism, after all, 'did not understand our problems, and wanted to solve them with a plan devised by and for Europe'. His proposed alternative of 'African socialism' was at the time 668 [665]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 very ill-defined. But with the necessity of finding a new
[665] political system appropriate to the African situation there evolved, particularly in Senegal, a fairly coherent doctrine which will be examined in the final chapter.

In the early days a number of assertions were made about the political genius of the African, none of which can be attributed to any one man though as far as Senegal has been concerned Senghor has been the chief theoretician. Whilst appreciating and accepting many of Marx's theories as both politically and economically valid for Africa he believed that Marx would have revised his system in face of African realities as well as the scientific achievements of the twentieth century. He advocated the adoption of Marxism, shorn of its anti-religious doctrine and adapted to African needs. A cardinal point as far as Senghor was concerned, was that African society could not fit into the classical Marxist analysis. Instead he maintained modern African society
[565] had three classes: first the liberal professions and trades; second the salaried employees, civil servants and workers; third the vast peasant mass. Under the colonial regime the former two classes had been able to achieve incomes out of all proportion to the average peasant income of fourteen pounds a year. This peasant class is Marx's proletariat.

To support his policital views, Senghor advanced his theory that the 'Negro-African' was essentially different from the European. 'The African Negro does not distinguish the object nor does he analyse it—he takes it as it is between his hands, he feels it, touches it, smells it; thus the subject and the object are dialectically confronted in the very act of perception, and hence participation and communion.' Others, in their suggestions for a modern African political system showed how they could look to their own (somewhat idealised) African past for guidance. For instance there was no real need for opposition in the European sense. African politics in the village would supply the model. There everyone sat in the palaver house until all were agreed on the formula of action. Once discussed openly

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

in this sense, it had to be agreed by everyone and the discussion would not end until agreement was reached. Thus in the modern African society there would be real justification for a one-party state, for in theory no one could be against the Government, since by adopting traditional African methods, all would be agreed to any given course of action. Furthermore Africans already had their own built-in socialism. In the village no one could go hungry. And by an elaborate set of social laws and customs he who had invariably ended by sharing his possessions with those who had not. Above all, Africans could bring to the world this harmony of traditional African society where agreement was reached by all on every political decision, and where a voluntary socialism was already practised—what Senghor described as 'la sagesse africaine'. If Africa had something to bring to the modern world, it was this special political experience.

Despite this intense reaction to France's assimilationist policy by the Senegalese élite, for long no one openly voiced the logical conclusion of such attacks—the demand for total independence. Up until 1958 the most extreme official demand was for a federal constitution in which the African territories could develop along their own lines and have equal political rights with France. But in France, African students were impatient of constitutional niceties which seemed to them to avoid the one and only issue—that of putting an end to colonialism. In 1952 *Présence Africaine* published a special supplement in which African students, mostly Senegalese, made themselves more than clear on this issue. And whilst it is true that students tend to be much more extreme in their political attitudes than those actually exercising power, amongst the writers in this special supplement were some who were to have considerable influence on the political situation in Senegal as representatives of the young anti-colonialist generation, such as Assane Seck and Majhemout Diop. The latter in his call for immediate, unequivocal and absolute independence was in fact not

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 668 representative of the main stream of student feeling. Rather it was summed up by Kader Fall in his article 'The Problem of the Elite in Black Africa' in which he concluded: 'The African people, after centuries of colonisation, has a right to demand that its more intelligent members should participate at his side and together in the elaboration of a new world which will see the end of colonial servitude.'

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

VI. TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE

The choice of the Senegalese people is independence; they want it to take place only in friendship with France, not in dispute.

LÉOPOLD SÉDAR SENGHOR (September 1958)

IT was not until 1951 that Senghor was able to test the strength of his new party at the elections for the French National Assembly in which it gained both seats with 213,000 votes to the *S.F.I.O.*'s 90,000. His success was proved the next year when he won forty-one out of the fifty seats in the *Conseil-General* under the new and greatly enlarged franchise. His vote came overwhelmingly from the 'bush', since Lamine Guèye still retained strong support in Dakar and St. Louis. The party ticket was a popular one: accusing the French Administration of supporting socialists in the towns and chiefs in the bush.

From a theoretical standpoint as we have seen the *B.D.S.* fitted into the new anti-assimilationist trend in Senegal. It represented the 'unsophisticated' bush against the Gallicised *citoyens* of the *Quatre Communes*. It demanded a return to African values and had an essentially African-style organisation in the bush. But few real differences showed themselves on the platforms adopted by the two parties at the elections.

In the French National Assembly Senghor had joined forces with a number of other deputies from African territories who like himself did not wish to link themselves with one of the metropolitan parties. This group was known as the *Indépendents d'Outre Mer*. As a result of the elections the *I.O.M.* gained thirteen seats, enough to form a recognised group in the National Assembly. However they were never able to mould themselves into a united federal party on the lines of the *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain* (*R.D.A.*)

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648
665

which had been founded by M. Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast in 1946 and which had branches in all African territories. This party had been closely aligned with the Communists from which it adopted many ideas including its cellular structure, but it was temporarily suppressed by French administrative action because of its extreme and violent tactics, especially in the Ivory Coast. It had however by 1952 broken with the Communists, but in its weakened state it might have found it difficult to rival a well organised *I.O.M.* which was more than just a group of individuals with like ideas. However at their conference at Bobo Dioulasso the *I.O.M.* failed once more to form the necessary federal organisation to compete with either the *R.D.A.* or *S.F.I.O.* as a Pan-African party. Nevertheless the *I.O.M.* were able to play an increasingly important role in the National Assembly in the formation of delicate French government coalitions and were often able to extract as the price of their support concrete returns in the form of aid.

In Senegal the political scene remained calm until the 1956 elections to the National Assembly when the *B.D.S.* came out with what by French African standards was a nationalist programme. As Kenneth Robinson remarks in his admirable study of this and the 1957 elections to the territorial assembly in *Five Elections in Africa*, 'among politically conscious West Africans there has undoubtedly been for several years increasing nationalist feeling, a mood more and more outspokenly hostile to colonial rule, less and less interested in the refinements of juridical forms, more impatient of reformist schemes, and more and more determined that Africans must be masters in their own house'. Thus the *B.D.S.* put strong emphasis on autonomy within a federal association with France. The *B.D.S.* won both seats, with the socialists still strong in the *Quatre Communes*. But on the federal West African level, the *I.O.M.* had done badly and Houphouët Boigny's *R.D.A.*, now purged of its connexions with Communism, a purge

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

that involved the breaking-away of a number of small sections in various territories, emerged as West Africa's leading party with nine seats, and joined the Guy Mollet Government. Under this Government the famous *loi cadre* was passed establishing for each of the black African territories a wholly elected assembly, based on universal adult suffrage. An executive, that could be drawn from within or without the assembly, was established. Although the territorial Governor presided over it, it was effectively guided by the Vice-President or Prime Minister. Separate rolls for Europeans were abolished. Thus in one fell swoop all African territories were given the elements of responsible democratic government. Certainly their powers were restricted since a large number of subjects were reserved to the Federation, still run by the French High Commissioner, and checked only by the *Grand Conseil*. The *loi cadre*, whilst it did not envisage independence, and still saw the future of the African territories as within the structure of the French body politic, did in effect set these territories on the road to independence. Senghor, an ardent critic of the *loi cadre*, declared: 'The peoples of Africa do not intend to cut themselves off from metropolitan France; they want to be able to construct, side by side with her, their own buildings which will consolidate and extend French territory.'

The *loi cadre*, whilst it made large concessions to African demands for autonomy, was in fact designed to avoid demands for independence. The new French Government had been influenced to this end by France's unfortunate experiences in other parts of her empire as well as the political progress of the Gold Coast. Furthermore she wished to anticipate moves by the Gold Coast to absorb that part of the former German Togo which she administered and therefore accorded it a limited form of internal autonomy. It was inevitable that having granted this concession to Togo she would eventually have to make it to neighbouring French African territories as well. Whilst considerable

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 powers were devolved on the individual territories, it is clear that a desire to avoid any ultimate break-up of the French Union was one of the main factors behind the emasculation of the federal executive. French West Africa as a federation might soon be demanding independence; eight small territories on their own would find it a more daunting prospect.

Senghor attacked France vigorously for what he called the balkanising of French Africa by devolving powers on individual territories and at the same time making no provision for an executive at the federal level. The *Grand* [646] *Conseil* retained only its limited legislative powers. Executive action for the federation was still undertaken by the High Commissioner, representing the Republic. By thus turning politics towards the individual territories, France was 'balkanising' the federation, following the classic pattern of dividing in order to rule. Bitterly, he accused the French of offering Africa 'sucettes et bonbons'. It may seem odd that the role of defending the federation should have [665] fallen on Senghor, who had already failed to convert the *I.O.M.* from an association of deputies into a Pan West African political party. But though the R.D.A. was officially a Pan-African party, its leader came from the rich Ivory Coast, and disliked intensely the ideas of sharing his country's wealth with his many poorer neighbours. He was instrumental in securing the form of *loi cadre* that avoided the creation of a supra-government. On the other hand it might be argued that it was in Senegal's interest to ensure that the federation did not break up, since one of [633] Dakar's *raisons d'être* was as a federal capital. But Senghor argued cogently that only with a strong West Africa, containing twenty million people, could Africans participate with any sense of political equality and weight of personality with France in the proposed Franco-African Community. 'Within the framework of a French federal republic, a French West Africa of 20 million inhabitants can, side by side with the metropolis, form a stable element and develop its own personality.'

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

develop its own personality.' The *S.F.I.O.* parties of Africa met in Conakry to found a new socialist party entirely African in basis, called the *Mouvement Socialiste Africain*. Thus after over twenty years Lamine Guèye officially broke one of Senegal's closest links with France. At the same time Senghor called a congress of his allies in other territories from the *I.O.M.* and formed a federal party called the *Convention Africaine*. There were thus three new major African parties, with sections in most of the eight territories of West Africa and some in *A.E.F.*, each preaching African unity. But the federal executive, the very structure through which this could be maintained, was missing. 648 665

At the *loi cadre* elections that took place at the end of March 1957, the *R.D.A.*, the most thoroughly organised on the ground, proved the strongest party of the three and in West Africa and gained overwhelming majorities in Soudan, Guinea and Ivory Coast, dominated the coalition in Upper Volta and provided the opposition in Niger and Dahomey. But the party, as was soon proved at the long delayed Bamako Conference of September 1957, was far from united. Its main difference was over the problem of the federal executive. Its President, Félix Houphouët-Boigny of Ivory Coast had, as a Minister in the French Government, been one of the principal architects of the *loi cadre* and was opposed to the creation of a federal executive. The *R.D.A.*'s very dynamic Vice-President, Sékou Touré of Guinea, formed in the tough school of trade unionism, however championed the creation of a federal executive, and in this respect he was closer to Senghor than to his own party chief. At the Bamako Conference Sékou Touré persuaded the party to adopt it as a prime objective. [666]

Meanwhile in Senegal, ever the source of new things, was born the first African party with the avowed object of independence, the *P.A.I.* (*Parti Africain de l'Indépendence*) led by Majhemout Diop, who had strong Communist sympathies. Till then the word independence had been [668]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 studiously avoided not only by Senegalese but by nearly
665 all leading French African politicians. The official formula
[668] was the creation of a Franco-African community, in which Africans would have fully autonomous states (or federations if Senghor and Sékou Touré had their way) and matters like defence and foreign affairs would be shared between France and the other member states. As far as the Senegalese were concerned their long attachment to France, despite their reaction against assimilationism, made it difficult to countenance the idea of complete separation. As Senghor always put it, 'fédérer n'est pas séparer.' Furthermore
[651] French aid to West Africa in general and Senegal in particular had been enormous.

The Senegalese thesis on federation made headway in the early months of 1958. After several meetings between the major African parties, the *Convention Africain* and the *M.S.A.* met in Dakar in March and formed the new *Parti du Regroupement Africain*, with the aim of obtaining Federations of French West and French Equatorial Africa, which in turn would be federated with France in the proposed Franco-African community. On 5 April 1958 the *P.R.A.* members of the *Grand Conseil*, plus the *R.D.A.* members, voted in favour of the creation of a federal executive; the only Ivory Coast delegate abstained.

Despite bitterness over the question of the federal executive, there was still little open talk about independence
[668] except by the *P.A.I.* and this despite the example of Ghana. This situation was to be abruptly changed by the *putsch* of the military in Algiers on 13 May.

648 In presenting his new constitution for the Fifth Republic to the French people, de Gaulle made it a straight choice of Yes or No. As far as the French were concerned this was a reasonable choice. Acceptance or rejection. Once rejected, there was the possibility of trying again as they had done in 1946. But as far as the overseas territories were concerned, they were given no alternative. They either accepted the constitution, whose details we shall examine

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648

shortly, or rejected it and took what de Gaulle described as independence with all its consequences. Under the constitution France and her overseas territories were to form a Franco-African Community in which each territory would become an autonomous republic, but would pool certain matters such as defence, foreign affairs, currency and higher education in the Executive Council of the Community. Thus once again we have the traditional French dilemma over assimilation, this time in its most acute form. Once again we have the paradox of an authoritarian regime introducing liberal reforms. On the one hand de Gaulle's Franco-African Community satisfied assimilationist theory by creating a supreme institution, the Senate of the Community, and a supreme executive, the Council of the Community, in which France and Africa would participate on roughly equal terms, whilst on the other hand he conceded a great degree of autonomy to all the overseas territories. Furthermore de Gaulle offered, albeit with little grace, independence to any territory that cared to take it—an offer that had hitherto never been considered by French politicians. This actually tied in with a growing resentment in France against the cost of the colonies. From 1946-1958 France had spent in the form of aids and subsidies over £400 million in French West Africa alone. Much of this money was spent on lavish schemes often of dubious economic worth. In France many people, particularly after a series of articles in *Paris-Match* by Raymond Cartier, began to question the worth of colonies which cost so much and whose leaders seemed to them so ungrateful for all they received. This attitude received the nickname of *Cartierisme*.

Judging by earlier statements of both Senegalese and other African politicians the *loi cadre* might well seem to have been a liberal solution to the problem of small poor countries economically and culturally linked to France. But already Ghana had gained her independence, and Nigeria was scheduled for it in 1960. In Senegal resentment against the nature of the *loi cadre* and the large number of students

[668]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 returning from France imbued with anti-colonialist ideas
668 made the issue of independence a burning one. Yet the difficulty of making a complete break with her cultural parents was made clear by Joseph Ma Thiam, a member of F.E.A.N.F. (Federation of Students from French Black Africa) who wrote: 'We are not anti-French, that would be ridiculous and impossible. We are simply Africans and we want not minor reforms, called *loi-cadre* or Community, but a revolution of which the necessary outcome will be independence, as this is conceived of and put into practice in the twentieth century.'

For the Senegalese leaders, as indeed for other African leaders, the choice was a difficult one. The idea of sudden rupture with France, which de Gaulle's choice implied, was not only economically terrifying, but rather like the impending break-up of a family. So many of the leaders had lived so much of their lives in Paris that the prospect of such imminent separation was difficult to contemplate. It
665 is against this background that the conference of the *P.R.A.*
668 at Cotonou from 25-27 July 1958 must be seen. Here dele-
648 gates met to consider the situation created by the projected new constitution. At that stage the terms of the constitution were not clearly known, though it was general knowledge that they would not be favourable to the idea of total independence. At the conference delegates were carried away by demands for independence and voted for 'Immediate independence; the creation of a solid and progressive African Community; and negotiation with France for the creation of a multi-national confederation of free and equal peoples.' The last two items were in accord with current Senegalese feeling that federation was the only way to secure equality of the African personality in a Franco-African Community. But the morrow of the conference saw a number of delegates reflecting on the demand for immediate independence. The rupture seemed too abrupt and, as Mamadou Dia pointed out, they did not even know the terms of the new constitution. He expressed doubts on

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

the ability of Senegal to accede immediately to independence. In certain territories, particularly in Senegal and Dahomey, pressure was brought to bear by France on the delegates against taking so drastic a step, so that the *P.R.A.* withdrew from its earlier stand and said that effectively the decision over the constitution would be left to each territorial section. In August the burning question for both the *P.R.A.* and *R.D.A.* was answered by General de Gaulle on his tour of Africa prior to the referendum in September: The right of independence would be inscribed in the constitution. But, he later added ominously, those who voted No to his constitution now would take all the consequences. For all states so economically dependent on France this was a considerable threat. Thus few leaders did in fact campaign against the constitution. In Guinea, Sékou Touré with a superb party organisation, managed to obtain a 97 per cent vote against the constitution and took independence with all its consequences, which involved the French destroying all their files and even taking away the telephones! In Niger the Premier, Djibo Bakary failed to carry his campaign against the constitution, and was forced reluctantly to resign, and after the subsequent election which was won by his *R.D.A.* opponents, to flee the country. In this matter it was said, the French who suspected Djibo Bakary of extreme left-wing sympathies were determined not to have 'a hole in the desert'.

In Senegal the situation was confused. Not until the last minute did the *P.R.A.* come out definitely in favour of the constitution. De Gaulle received a hostile reception on his visit to Dakar. Three radical members of the *P.R.A.* Ly Abdoulaye, Assane Seck and Amadou M. M'Bow declared they would vote No, whatever the rest of the Party decided. On 11 December the *P.R.A.* section of the Senegal party decided to vote Yes. The three members who had declared they would vote No resigned, formed a new party confusingly called *P.R.A.-Sénégal* and joined with the *P.A.I.* and campaigned against de Gaulle. Once the decision of the

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 majority party had been made, however, there was little
668 doubt as to the outcome of the Referendum. But the seeds
[665] of independence had been sown.

Almost immediately after the Referendum the planners got down to work seeking to create the federal executive that had escaped them under the *ancien régime*. Guinea meanwhile had become independent and there was a certain satisfaction amongst those who voted Yes at the difficulties so abrupt a break with France entailed. Alas, as was later realised, Guinea independent and the rest still within the Community, meant the first crack in the old federation. On 29 December delegates from Senegal, Soudan, Upper Volta and Dahomey, together with observers from Mauretania, met to consider the possibility of creating a new federation.

On 17 January 1959 a federal constitution was promulgated with the accord of all four governmental delegations, and the new Mali came into being. However pressures from France and from Houphouët-Boigny, who still bitterly opposed any form of federation, soon forced Upper Volta and Dahomey to withdraw, reducing Mali to two member states: Senegal and Soudan.

648 The new federation was short lived. In Soudan there had
665 been almost unanimous support for the federation, but in Senegal a number of religious chiefs, in association with Ibrahim Seydou N'Daw, formerly President of the Senegalese Assembly, and an important member of the governing *U.P.S.* party, formed the Senegalese Solidarity Party and together with the two left-wing parties, the *Parti Africain de l'Indépendence* and the *P.R.A.*—Senegal campaigned
[666] against the proposed federation. At the polls the Government won a resounding victory.

Thus in both Senegal and Soudan the leaders who had chosen the path of federation won triumphant approval, though as Mamadou Dia admits somewhat ruefully, the people followed their leaders blindly on this question. It is essential here to note that the two countries were

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

governed by different parties, and in each territory that party held all the parliamentary seats. In any election to the Federal Assembly, which was by nomination of each territorial house of an equal number of seats, there could well be deadlock. However on 24 March 1959 Soudanese and Senegalese met in Dakar to form the new African Federalist Party, to which delegates from Niger and Dahomey came. The new party was formed, then, from the *R.D.A.* of Soudan, the *U.P.S.* which was the official Senegal Section of P.R.A., which in effect contained both *M.S.A.* and *Convention Africaine* as well as the small Senegal *R.D.A.* the Niger *P.R.A.* (in effect *M.S.A.*) and the Dahomey *P.R.A.* Thus, with the exception of the small *P.R.A.-Sénégal* and the small *P.A.I.*, Mali had only one effective party. This detailed composition shows that the Mali Federation could not then be called a one-party state. Indeed the local politicians described their party as a 'unified party', which admitted opposition outside the party as well as within.

From the start the Mali Federation ran into difficulties with France, which initially refused to recognise her existence. Thus Modibo Keita did not attend the first three meetings of the executive council of the Community because of this failure to recognise the State of which he was head. However de Gaulle soon realised that Mali was there to stay and gave her recognition and Modibo Keita attended the fourth meeting of the Community Executive at Tananarive in Madagascar. It was not long before the leaders of Mali decided to take advantage of the clause in the constitution which apparently allowed members of the Community to become independent and yet remain members. For long the French Government would not commit itself to granting independence, and only when the question was raised at the sixth meeting of the Community Executive at St. Louis in Senegal on 13 December did de Gaulle give it his blessing. But there followed long and protracted negotiations over the terms of independence,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

C48 the main drawback for Mali being the concessions she had to make over the military base at St. Louis. Far from cutting [651] Mali off without a penny as she had Guinea, France promised to continue her aid. Mali's decision to take independence marked the beginning of the end of the Franco-African Community, and indeed of France's political assimilation of her African states.

This done, the Mali Federation was all set for independence. But there were internal hurdles to overcome. Mali may well have been ruled by a unified party, but there were definite differences between Soudanese and Senegalese. Soudan was the larger, more populous territory, but the poorer. It was much more left wing and politically was run very much more strictly than Senegal. The party controlled everything. To appreciate this one must remem- [665] ber that the *R.D.A.* was initially allied to the Communists and had adopted their cell technique for its own party organisation. This system of administration proved most effective and explains why Sékou Touré was able to keep so firm a hold on Guinea after the French had gone. Senegal, however, after three centuries of contact with the French, was much more affected by French ideas of liberty [641] and certainly found this rather ruthless element in its Soudanese partner disturbing. For instance at the constitutional conference preceding independence the Soudanese demanded that a unitary state be created, and that the excess burden of two territorial governments be removed. They also wanted a president with strong powers like those enjoyed by de Gaulle. The Senegalese, who saw many dangers to themselves in such a constitution protested successfully on the moral grounds that it would prevent other states from joining Mali—which was after all the federation's main *raison d'être*. The Senegalese won the day after bitter wrangling. Of course, though Senegal as the richer partner effectively subsidised the federation, she had her own interests in maintaining it since Soudan exported [439] its ground-nuts along the railway from Bamako to Dakar.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648
[439]

Certain left-wing elements in Soudan had already insinuated that if the Senegalese made trouble, they could easily build a railway line from Bamako to Kankan, the railhead in Guinea, or send their ground-nuts down the road to Bobo Dioulasso and thence by rail to Abidjan. If no Eastern bloc power were forthcoming to help them to do this, they said they could always do it by communal effort.

Despite these differences, independence was achieved on 20 June 1960. On the surface all seemed well. But there was in fact considerable tension and only two months after independence the federation broke up. Matters came to a head when Modibo Keita tried to remove Mamadou Dia, the Vice President, from his post as Minister of Federal Security and Armed Forces, a post the Senegalese felt it was necessary to hold as a guarantee for their participation in the federation. Modibo also tried to call out the army to assert his authority as President. Meanwhile, unknown to the Soudanese, Senghor and the Senegalese ministers had decided that the federation was unworkable in the circumstances and on the morning of 20 June, Modibo Keita and the other Soudanese ministers found themselves under house arrest and the whole of Dakar under the control of the *gendarmerie* and armed supporters of Senghor who had been brought in from the bush. The same day they were packed off by rail and air to Bamako. The details of the break-up need not concern us here. The reasons for it are confused. Each partner in the federation has its own version of the story. The contemporary vocabulary of political abuse has been used to the full by both partners ever since. What is important are not the machinations of one side against the other, but the fundamental defects in the federation. First of all the two states found it almost impossible to co-operate within the framework of an ill and hastily devised constitution. Second it was unfortunately a federation of only two states, meaning that with unbalance of population—Soudan was larger in size and population, but much poorer and

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 more backward in every way—one could try and dominate the other. Indeed Senegal felt she was subsidising Soudan whilst that territory, it was believed, was taking all the plum jobs. Third, in such a federation it was not surprising that there should be a clash of personalities between the two regional leaders, Senghor and Modibo Keita. They proved quite incompatible, each representing entirely different political traditions. And though nominally they now belonged to the same political party the *P.F.A.*, in fact they had entirely different outlooks. Modibo Keita represented a country of considerable poverty, with a very small educated élite, where ministers worked in the fields for three weeks each year. The population undertook voluntary labour on government projects. Altogether it was a puritan, left-wing regime anxious to lift its peoples out of their age-long poverty, intolerant of opposition and very ascetic in its approach to life.

The Senegalese were almost entirely opposite in every [665] way. Politically the *U.P.S.* was much more liberal, flanked on either side by extreme right-wing and extreme left-wing opposition parties. Indeed the *U.P.S.* itself was an amalgamation of two parties. Senegal by comparison, was much richer, the population less interested in the type of ascetic left-wing politics practised in Mali. But above all the conflict between the two came from their widely different political histories. Senegal had nearly 150 years' experience of European-style politics, Soudan barely fourteen. The conflict between the sophisticated communes and the neglected bush that had been instrumental in Senghor's foundation of the *B.P.S.* in 1948, seemed to be repeating itself in a new form. The Soudanese found it difficult to co-operate with their sophisticated neighbours who seemed to take politics and indeed life far less seriously than they did, who seemed too identified with France as a result of long contact and the latter's policy of assimilation. This conflict seemed to be embodied in the personalities of their two leaders. Senghor, poet, philosopher, political

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

theoretician, *agregé-ès-grammaire* from the Sorbonne, at home in any *salon* in Paris; from a middle class commercial family in long contact with Europe, seemed to sum up Senegal on the one hand; whilst Modibo Keita was an aristocrat—tracing his ancestry to the emperors of the great kingdom of Mali, a simple school teacher, with few intellectual pretensions. And so these two countries, so alike to the casual observer, were unable to co-operate, mainly for reasons of history. 648

The night before Senghor despatched the Mali ministers to Bamako, the Senegalese Assembly in an emergency session had declared Senegal an independent nation which subsequently applied for membership of the United Nations. Soudan, which now called itself the Mali Republic, left the Franco-African Community; Senegal decided to remain as an independent member. This was, however, very much a token gesture, for all members of the Community had now either taken independence or announced their intention of doing so. Several had left it altogether. Consequently it could no longer claim to be the Franco-African Community originally conceived by de Gaulle, and became instead a rather casual commonwealth. [646]

As an independent nation Senegal chose to retain close ties with France. Indeed her politicians and her whole social structure had been profoundly influenced by her long contact with that country, so that any radical rupture in relations such as Guinea had experienced and the Mali Republic at one stage appeared to contemplate, would have been quite out of character. The next three chapters will try to describe first what sort of society has evolved through this long contact and second what the Senegalese hope to do within their independence.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

VII. THE FRENCH IN SENEGAL

000 The less intelligent the white man, the more stupid the black man seems to him.

ANDRÉ GIDE

563 369 THE first thing that strikes the casual visitor to Dakar is the large number of Europeans and the apparent absence of any colour problem. Senegal in fact has an exceptionally good record of race relations, especially when one considers that the proportion of Europeans to Africans is much higher than in many countries with acute racial problems. The French in Senegal today probably [168] number some 40,000 of which nearly 30,000 live in Dakar alone. In comparison with other territories of French speaking Africa, Senegal has always had a large European minority, and this has increased rapidly since the war. Thus in Senegal the policy of assimilation was not applied in the abstract by the metropolitan Government to a people who, with the exception of administrative officials, had practically no daily contact with Frenchmen. In the major towns the Senegalese have been used to the presence of a substantial French community for well over seventy years. But, as we shall see, it was one thing for the metropolitan Government to initiate a policy of assimilation and quite another to expect its citizens to apply it on a personal level in their relations with the people who were being assimilated.

Though the French community in Senegal is relatively [162] large and in Dakar constitutes at least a tenth of the population, it must not be confused in character with the settler communities of Kenya and Rhodesia.

563 The great majority of Frenchmen have no intention of remaining in Senegal after their retirement. On independence few Frenchman opted for Senegalese nationality

[p 64]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

though few picked up their bags and left 'in disgust at the new order of things'. Of course in certain uninformed quarters there was the inevitable short-lived panic about what independence would mean for the French community, and even today, despite reassurances from the Government, certain sectors remain oversensitive to each move or speech made by a Minister. For many Frenchmen their stay in Senegal is not longer than five years, and as a result there is a higher proportion of bachelors than one would normally expect in a community that had intentions of making the country its permanent home. This proportion is largely accounted for by the presence of a French army base.

On the other hand the Dakar European population has none of the temporary character of the English communities in West Africa. Far from living in reservations outside the city, as is still the case with the European population of Lagos, they have moved into the centre of the town and made it a small corner of Europe, and the more the French population has increased the more it has tended to create a metropolitan life for itself in Africa. The range of European-style shops, the number of restaurants, night-clubs, and women's hairdressers shows that although the Dakar Frenchman may have no intention of settling in the city for good, he is determined to live his life in the maximum comfort during his stay. There is relatively little of the attitude of living for the next leave.

Another distinguishing feature of the European community in Senegal is that not only is it not a true settler community but also its economic interests, whilst vast, have not involved any important alienation of land and until very recently have not brought it into conflict with African economic interests. Dakar can in no way be considered a small Algiers. The majority of Europeans, whose per capita income is about £600 a year, are employed by the Administration or commercial and industrial undertakings in executive posts or in technical and clerical positions

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 for which no trained African staff is available. There is a
369 wide range of professional occupations, but private enter-
[463] prise by individuals is largely restricted to higher-class shopkeeping and the running of bars and restaurants. Most of the export and import trade is still in the hands of
[439] the large commercial houses controlled from France as distinct from individual Frenchmen in Dakar.

Relations between the African and European communities have been remarkably good. There have been no really significant racial conflicts in Dakar since the war. But relations are *negatively* good. That is to say that there is almost no contact between the two groups outside work. The French in Dakar, despite the official assimilationist policy of the mother country, have shown little inclination to extend it on a personal plane during their sojourn in Dakar. On the other hand when they were officially representatives of the colonial Power they rarely attempted to enforce discrimination against Africans. Apart from the time of the unfortunate Vichy episode there has never been any open discrimination in Dakar. Africans always had legal access to all places the French had, though inevitably there were a number of private associations such as the *Amicales des Provinces Françaises* which excluded Africans by definition though never by statute. A visitor might be tempted to think that the absence of Africans from the French-style cafés in the main streets of Dakar indicated some subtle form of discrimination, but in fact any African entering would be served, and the sparseness of African clientele is determined by economic and social reasons. Drinks are enormously expensive in such bistros, and few
[162] Muslims, who form the majority of the population in Dakar,
[779] care to be seen drinking in public. Nevertheless it is true that proprietors of certain bars do their best to maintain a white clientele.

There is a certain residential separation, once more largely determined by economics. The expensive European

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

flats and villas are usually beyond the range of the African purse though the difference is being eliminated by the accession of Senegalese, immediately prior to and in particular since independence, to high administrative posts and today there is no real residential separation. Many Europeans live in housing estates built primarily for Africans and not a few live in the Medina or main African quarter. Some trade unions are divided on racial lines between Africans and Europeans, largely because the European workers are skilled technicians and there are even to this day few Africans trained in most of the industrial work done by Europeans.

Nevertheless there are certain cases of bitterness between Africans and Europeans over the question of equal pay for equal work. Though the basic principle is that both groups should be paid the same rate for the same kind of work, the European in many cases gets an expatriation addition of up to two-fifths of his basic salary. This is not true of all classes of work. For instance shop girls in Printania, a local version of Woolworth's, earn the same pay whether white or black though of course the European staff are recruited locally from wives and daughters of Frenchmen working in Dakar. It is surely a healthy sign that Europeans and Africans can work together on equal terms and that Europeans can occupy what in Europe would be considered very humble positions.

One does not detect amongst the French in Senegal any very strong feeling for or against the African. Where any form of racism does manifest itself it is mainly at the level of the artisan worker or the *petit blanc*, a term generally used to describe the poorer white community of small shopkeepers, clerks, mechanics and skilled workers. When the Senegalese are confronted by outbursts of racism from members of this group they are usually inclined to return the abuse in kind, for the Senegalese are naturally an immensely proud people and have very little feeling of racial inferiority. Close contact with a French community

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 that ranges from the Olympian civil servant to a taxi driver and a clerk without work, has left them under no illusion about the equal fallibility of the European. This is in direct contrast to Nigeria where until very recently all Europeans held executive posts, lived in large houses in separate reservations, had cars, servants and high incomes, all of which gave the impression to the vast majority of Nigerians who had not travelled overseas that the English were a race which commanded and did not occupy itself with subaltern work. Thus to this day, even in Lagos, the European is still a 'remarkable' being. In [369] Dakar the Frenchman passes unremarked, and the *Dakarois* is as used to seeing him on foot or on a velo-cycle as in a car, with the result that the Senegalese on the whole do not have any complex about the European as a person although he does about the technical superiority of the European and about France's insistence on the superiority of its culture.

P. Mercier, the French sociologist, in an investigation into [369] the habits of the European community in Dakar, found that very few Europeans had African friends outside work, and that contact between white and black was largely limited to the following spheres: among colleagues, employees, and domestic servants, in cultural and sporting activities, and in schools. Few marriages take place between African and European in Dakar and when they do they are usually between African male and European female, and are contracted in Paris. There are two obvious explanations for this. For many it is impossible to find a wife of the same intellectual level in a society where Islam has retarded female education. For many others the need for a companion leads to love affairs and eventual marriage with women whom they would not consider marrying at home. The reason that few French women marry Africans in Senegal, as distinct from in France, is that they become more aware of the type of society into which they are [596] marrying. It is very difficult for the European woman,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

with her restricted notions about the family, to integrate successfully into the extended family, especially in a territory like Senegal where family relations are of such importance that it is practically forbidden to refer to the economic burden they cause. The European wife often insists on her husband breaking with the extended family and restricting the family to the usual European size. Instances of marriage between European male and African females are rare because of the small number of well educated African females. 563 [596]

This all builds up to a picture of a French community with little interest in assimilating the Senegalese to their own standards. But a number of points must be stressed. On the whole the French have always accepted the Senegalese as equals. There is a strict code of mutual courtesy between Senegalese and all but the most uncouth Frenchmen. As Claude Duchemin of the *Institut Francais d'Afrique Noire* has written: 'A genuine "niceness" was apparent in their daily contacts, simply and with no ostentation, as if it were quite natural. It seemed that each wanted to prove to the other his wish to play the game loyally, without complexes.' Also there has been remarkably little use of 'pidgin' in Senegal, a debased form of French which by implication infers an inferior recipient. [576] [198]

But most important of all is the fact that a small minority of Frenchmen, fortunately usually in positions of authority have followed personally an assimilationist policy. This has been most marked in the political sphere. Though the great majority of Frenchmen who were interviewed by Mercier had nothing to do with local politics and even talked in terms of maintaining 'white solidarity' a few were militant politicians alongside men like Senghor and Lamine Guèye. Men like Maître Paul Bonifay, until recently deputy Mayor of Dakar, who was Secretary of the *S.F.I.O.* in Dakar for many years, or André Peytavin, who worked closely with Senghor in the early days of the *B.D.S.* and was chosen as Minister of Finance in the Government [645]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 formed as a result of the *loi cadre* reforms, are typical of the
[645] Frenchmen who have identified themselves with the country of their sojourn. Indeed such was the devotion of Peytavin to his party's cause that he was retained as Minister of Finance even after independence and opted for Senegalese nationality, a step that Bonifay found himself unable to take. These were men of high education—Bonifay, a well known lawyer, and Peytavin a veterinary surgeon. There were many others like them, not only applying such principles in the political field, but in the administration and commerce, who helped to dispel from the African what would otherwise have been a dominant impression of an isolationist and sometimes racist French community.

[369] It would be foolish to paint too idealised a picture of
[571] race relations in Dakar. Many Europeans, particularly the *petit blanc*, openly admit to holding the African in contempt. But these are usually Europeans of little economic or political consequence and since independence their opinions have obviously carried negligible weight with the Senegalese.

Furthermore most Europeans in Dakar and the other main towns of Senegal, whatever their prejudices, send their children to local schools, where perforce they mix on terms of equality with Africans. The same is true of
[873] Dakar University which has a large number of French students, the majority of whom are girls whose parents are working in Dakar. Their brothers try if possible to go to French universities. Though friendships tend to be
[572] within the same racial group, there is a considerable number of inter-racial friendships.

563 The main point of conflict would appear to the casual
369 visitor to be the economic domination of private enterprise
463 and the more important subaltern jobs by Europeans.
472 But before analysing any tensions that have arisen from this, it is essential to point to some special features of Senegalese society. In Senegal, by contrast with Nigeria, Ghana and Ivory Coast, there is no entrepreneurial class of

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Africans. Indeed only very small scale trading is in the hands of Africans, otherwise large scale commercial enterprises are run by Europeans, and most of their managerial staff being European. Between these large scale organisations, the whole range of middleman trade is dominated by Lebanese and the so-called *petit blancs*. Small shopkeeping is predominantly in the hands of the Mauritanians, though larger shops particularly in Dakar, are run by Lebanese and Europeans. At first sight this would seem to be an unhealthy situation, and it would be foolish to ignore the inherent dangers in it. But the most ardent critics of this state of affairs are as often as not visiting Africans, not the Senegalese themselves. When a Nigerian shops in Printania or goes to the local bank in Dakar, he is shocked by the number of Frenchwomen employed in jobs he is accustomed to seeing held by Africans in Lagos. But in considering the rather special case of Dakar one must take into account a number of factors that are often overlooked by would-be critics.

Senegal is a territory of only 3,100,000 people and in the normal run of education in French-speaking African states, even taking into account Senegal's special position among them, the percentage of the population available to fill managerial and sub-managerial posts or indeed any 'European-style' job in all sectors of the economy, can hardly match up to the requirements of the most highly industrialised city in West Africa. In addition Dakar has a large international airport and a port that was the third largest in the French Union. It is also the centre of government for Senegal and the terminus of a railway. It is not surprising therefore that Senegal finds it more difficult to find the appropriate number of Africans to fill its senior posts in commerce and industry than Lagos which has a Nigerian population of over 36 million to draw on. Furthermore Lagos is in the centre of an area where missionaries have been active for over a hundred years and consequently

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

463 has enjoyed a much higher rate of education than was possi-
[563] ble in an Islamic community like Senegal, even taking into account French assimilation policy.

There is a pronounced bias in Senegal against entering into commerce, whether at the African level or at the European level. This bias has been observed by many Europeans. It may be thought of as a mere attempt to explain away the lack of success or rather a lack of desire and intention to Africanise commerce, but against this view, M. Assane Seck, one of the leaders of the Opposition
[665] *P.R.A.-Sénégal* and a lecturer at the university, who might normally be only too pleased to pin the slow rate of Africanisation of commerce on the Government, has said that one of the chief obstacles to the Africanisation of economy at
[571] its higher levels is the preference of the Senegalese élite, and even the lesser educated classes, for work in the Admini-
[647] tration. Under the French the Administration seems to have enjoyed a very high status especially as rates of pay
[965] have always been considerably higher than in commerce and industry. Commerce, even when it pays better, has among the Senegalese something of the smear it had in ninteenth-century England.

471 Another barrier to the Africanisation of shopkeeping and
[472] small scale private enterprise is the difficulty the Senegalese have in amassing capital. The obligations towards members
[596] of the extended family are such that a man with money has calls made on it from even his most distant relatives. This social parasitism is much stronger in Senegal than in most West African countries. One of the few important Senegalese business men operating in Dakar today has admitted that he had to reduce his family obligations drastically, not only because he was married to a European, but because unless he did so, he would never be able to keep enough capital in his business. Diop Abdoulaye, in his study of the Tou-
[736] couleur, has protested against the use of the term family parasitism for something which 'makes it possible to help those in need, the unemployed, for example, who can then

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

live whilst waiting to find work; it permits those who are ill, those incapable of work, and those without resources to be taken care of and not die of hunger.' 471 [736]

Probably the most important barrier to the accumulation of capital has been Senegal's dependence on a one-crop economy of ground-nuts. The method of cultivation of ground-nuts and their comparatively low price per ton have worked against the creation of large scale plantations, for instance of cocoa and coffee, which have supplied individual entrepreneurs in the Western Region of Nigeria, in Ghana and in the Ivory Coast with their capital. [438]

These are all factors to set against a situation which otherwise might be explosive. Africanisation has always been a problem in the Senegal and it has increased as the number of professionally trained Africans has increased. But historically, and even today, it has been most acute in the Administration, employment in which is the goal of most young Senegalese. Thus very often commerce is left with the second best. Even so French commercial houses have done far less comparatively to train up an efficient African subaltern class, let alone a managerial élite, than say a company like the United Africa Company in Nigeria. And whilst Senegal was under French control the Administration did very little indeed to encourage Africanisation of commerce. 463 563

The present day Senegalese Government, however, recognises the danger of the present position and its efforts to rectify the situation should not be interpreted as a new form of racism but as an honest attempt to maintain the present excellent racial situation. Though the Government has placed many limitations on the autonomy of the trade unions it could not for long suppress criticism of the present structure of Dakar, particularly as Senegal, like all African countries, is subject to propaganda from every quarter. The truth is that there are far too many Europeans doing jobs that Africans could do. In small tea rooms it is not rare to be served by a French girl, for this tea shop is in [467]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

463 fact a family concern where it is considered more economical
563 to employ the daughter of the family in menial work than a Senegalese. To counter this the Senegalese Government has studiously avoided any open declaration on the undesirability of this situation, but by a series of discriminatory
[651] taxes hopes to make the position of the marginal *petit blanc* untenable. In this way it is hoped that European employment will be reduced by half within the next four years. Thus whilst the European population of Senegal was given
[162] as 46,500 in 1956, about 40,000 in 1960, the Government hopes to have it reduced to about 30,000 by 1965.

[655] One of the ways in which the Government is attempting to overcome the twin problem of European domination of
[471] commerce and the lack of private indigenous capital, is the establishment of state trading companies and co-operatives to compete in the marketing of ground-nuts and other basic Senegalese products. Also in order to reduce Senegal's dependence on expatriate technicians and minor
[874] functionaries it is expanding technical education and spending considerable sums on the training of Africans overseas. In the initial stages this will only remove those Europeans who were doing jobs that can easily be taken over by Senegalese once they have received basic training. There is no reason to suppose that the European Community will diminish by much more than the numbers cited above envisaged by the planners, since the anticipated expansion of the Senegalese economy under the four-year plan should be able to absorb the marginal cases who might otherwise have been forced to return to France. Nor indeed is it the intention of the Senegalese to get rid of the Europeans for the sake of getting rid of them, since the Government still maintains that the two groups can co-exist to their mutual benefit but that it must prevent the seeds of racial tension from germinating.

563 There is of course amongst the young and particularly among students some difference of opinion over this matter.
[208] Not all of them hold such liberal views, particularly

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

those who have been influenced by the barrage of anti-colonial and especially anti-French propaganda that has been current in Africa during the last two years. Many young men declare that the best thing they can do is to get rid of the French since the economy is being strangled or alternatively dominated by their former colonial masters. But this does not reflect a deep-seated dislike for France as such, indeed the opposite is nearer the case. The young man who is demanding the expulsion of the French in a heated moment today, may well be packing his bag to go and find work in France tomorrow. Once again, this division is removed when one suggests that the young Senegalese may be against the French as such in Dakar, but this does not imply that he is against either individual Frenchmen—he may well count a number amongst his personal friends—or against France and what France stands for from the point of view of culture and civilisation. Like all those who have led the anti-assimilationist campaign since the war, he is also aware of the dominating role French culture still plays in his daily life. And the wish to remove the French from Dakar may be considered an attempt to compensate for a psychological domination he resents rather than as a reaction against the French community for anything they may have done.

The real danger will come if the younger generation becomes economically frustrated by the French community, a situation which could lead to real racial tension. And it is this again that the Senegalese Government in its present planning intends to avert. The Senegalese leaders at present in power believe that it is their role to show how various racial groups can live together in harmony. Here it is essential to remember that Senegal has three other substantial racial minorities, the Cape Verdians, Lebanese, and Mauretanians of Arab stock, but they are not important for the purposes of this study which is primarily concerned with the effects of assimilation on the indigenous Senegalese.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

VIII. THE SENEGALESE

563 The case of the one and only Senegalese is interesting. There you have a man no longer designated by his tribe, but by his colony. We are not told what tribe in Senegal he belongs to, Serer, Wolof or Lebu. That he comes from the Colony of Senegal is enough to give him some sort of status, and for native policy to know whom it is dealing with. He is not a *déraciné* from a small isolated Africa; in Bobo *cercle* he is son of the mother colony of all the colonies of the Federation. He is settled in Bobo as he might elsewhere, as a man of the new African world that has got beyond race, where natives of all races give life to the colonial structure and break it open from within.

ROBERT DELAVIGNETTE: *Freedom and Authority in French West Africa*

If the first thing that strikes the visitor to Dakar is the large number of Europeans, the second is the homogeneous character of Senegalese society itself. It is not possible, as it is in Lagos or Leopoldville, to tell from a glance at a man or a woman's clothes from which ethnic group he or she comes. Senegal not only has an excellent record of race relations between Europeans and Africans but between the various indigenous ethnic groups. This happy position is typified by the President of the Republic, Léopold Sédar Senghor, who comes neither from the majority tribe nor the dominant religion of the country, but is a Serer and Catholic. Furthermore he is married to a French woman.

[369] [292]

563 162 Senegal has six major ethnic groups accounting for all but 130,000 of its population of 3,100,000. The last census figures gave the Wolof as the largest ethnic group with 35 per cent, followed by the Fula with 17 per cent, the Serer, 16 per cent, Toucouleur, 9 per cent, Diola, 9 per cent, and the Mandingo 7 per cent.

[p 76]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S

The French sociologist Mercier has already remarked the fundamental homogeneity of Senegal's main ethnic groups, which 'Whatever their cultural differences and whatever their traditional hostility to one another (which has by no means completely disappeared) all had the same type of social and political organisation.' 563 [184]

W

Of the major groups the Wolof and the Lebou are for all intents and purposes indistinguishable, the Lebou being the Wolof-speaking inhabitants of the Cape Verde peninsula. The Serer are also very closely related to the Wolof, being considered as tribal cousins. The Toucouleur, Serer and Fula are traditionally connected, it being held that the Toucouleur are the result of an ancient mixing between the Serers, with whom they have a strong joke-relationship, and the Fulas whose language is very close to their own. Thus nearly three-quarters of the population have closer historical and ethnic connexions than exist in any other area of West Africa save Hausaland in Northern Nigeria. With the exception of the Serers, of whom a substantial minority is Christian, these people are almost exclusively Muslim. They also tend today to use Wolof as a lingua franca. Even the Diola, from the Casamance, which is in many ways a minority area of Senegal, especially because it is cut off from the north by the Gambia, have strong traditional connexions with the Serer and assert in effect that they are descended from the same ancestor. This leaves only the Mandingo people out of the pattern and as we shall see they do tend to be a minority group in Senegal. [101] g [771] S [197]

S

There is thus at the basis of Senegalese society an indigenous homegeneity that is nothing to do with the French policy of assimilation, and which has been greatly encouraged by a common adherence to Islam, where Marabouts or religious leaders of one tribe have considerable influence over Muslims of other ethnic origins. 184 563 S [192]

S

The French administration, however, through its policy of direct rule did in fact make one major contribution towards [631]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

184 563 [631] this homogeneity by reducing the traditional authority of the chiefs who more than anyone else are responsible for the preservation of ethnic differences, in being the repositories of tribal customs.

For Senegal as a whole, this homogeneity does not go beyond similarities in socio-political structure, a common adherence to Islam, uniformity in styles of dress, a tradition of common relationship and a growing use of Wolof as a lingua franca. Only in the larger towns has there been 563 [369] any general break-down of traditional tribal barriers and only in the town does one find a high incidence of inter-ethnic habitation and, more important still, inter-ethnic marriage. And since it was mainly in the towns that the French applied their policy of assimilation it is reasonable to assume that there is probably some correlation between the two. In the first place the French in Senegal have always tended to think of the local inhabitants as Senegalese rather than Wolof or Serer, which runs contrary to the common European attitude to ethnic divisions, particularly in British territories where the tendency was always to emphasise the tribal origin of an African rather than the colony in which he lived. Indeed the British administrators, as Lord Lugard himself observed, were always great partisans of particular ethnic groups. Such an attitude, however, has not always been absent in Senegal. For instance Mercier has remarked that certain European foremen in factories tended to choose workers of the same ethnic group in order to avoid possible friction, but he adds that this was not always justified.

563 619 [369] In the *Quatre Communes*, which for a long time *were* Senegal as far as the French were concerned, the inhabitants came to accept from early on the idea of being Senegalese as well as Wolof and Serers. Or they might have thought of themselves parochially as St. Louisiens or Dakarois. With their elected deputy, their *Conseil-Général*, and their municipal councils, the Senegalese crossed early on the barrier between tribalism and nationalism, a result for which other African

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

leaders had to work so ardently and patiently many decades later. Where it has often seemed to be the policy of European powers to divide and rule, here the French positively encouraged the creation of a Senegalese identity. Faidherbe created the *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, whereas Lugard called his force the Hausa Constabulary. For many years, Senegal has had a romantic and sentimental place in the eyes of the French, and the *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, who in fact enjoyed the services of recruits from all over West Africa, are known by most Frenchmen for their services to France in both world wars. This concept of national as distinct from tribal identity in the *Quatre Communes* also influenced the educated élite from the Protectorate who were determined to participate in the privileges of the *originaires*.

A policy of assimilation that has the aim of eradicating the African past and the creation of 'black Frenchmen', when applied thoroughly, did in fact help to eliminate tribal differences and create a new common culture. In particular, education, which grouped children of different ethnic groups side by side, made no concession to local circumstances. They were taught about 'our ancestors the Gauls' and in the best schools standards were the same as those in France. Instruction was in French from the very first years, and the school uniform was in European style. They were thus given a common meeting ground from the earliest age, with almost no concessions made to their own ethnic differences. Large numbers of Senegalese have been to France for their education ever since the days of Faidherbe, and in France they found themselves automatically dubbed as Senegalese, for few Frenchmen had time for the niceties of tribal distinctions.

It is not surprising, then, that particularly among young men many friendships were made outside the tribe. Indeed today in Dakar it would be rare to find a young man with primary education who could not count many friends from outside his own ethnic group. Marriage presented different problems. For if the young man had overcome sensitivities

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

S 563 [582] about tribe, the women, who in a Muslim society rarely gained the opportunity of education, tended naturally to be more conservative in such matters. Nevertheless many *originaires* have married outside their ethnic group and can claim to be Senegalese and Senegalese only, for how else, they ask, can they describe themselves when one grandparent is Wolof, another Toucouleur and yet another Serer? This is by no means common in Senegal, but its highest incidence is amongst the most assimilated groups in Senegal.

S 563 582 [619] [369] One of the most difficult barriers to break down in African tribal society is that of the taboo on marriage outside the tribe or clan. Onuora Nzekwu in his *Wand of Noble Wood* gives a very illuminating study of this problem. In Senegal however, there is an exceptionally high rate of inter-ethnic marriage for Africa. Mercier, in his study of Dakar, observed that the rate of inter-ethnic marriage was below the W [582] Senegalese average amongst the Diola, Serer, and Wolof where endogamy is clearest, whilst the Bambaras and groups of the south, and particularly the Lebou who are inter-marrying increasingly with the Wolof, were above the average. Out of 696 monogamous families investigated, 71 per cent had married a woman of the same tribe, but the figure of 29 per cent for mixed marriages must be S [595] considered extremely high for Africa. Out of 228 polygamous families interviewed 43 per cent were all of the same ethnic group but 57 per cent had at least one wife of different ethnic origin. The highest incidence of inter-ethnic marriages in Dakar occurs amongst clerks, administrators, S [369] employees of commercial houses and the professional classes, i.e. those who have been most affected by French assimilation and for whom ethnic considerations are considerably S [619] less important than for the peasant, who is so much closer to the traditional concepts of the tribe. There is then in Dakar, and one could apply this to other main towns, a S [369] [582] significant increase in inter-ethnic marriages, though as far as Senegal as a whole is concerned ethnic considerations in marriage are still very important. But the multiplication

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

of inter-ethnic marriages in the towns is indicative of a major social change and a reflection of the effects of an assimilationist policy on the Senegalese.

Though many communities in Dakar are based on ethnic and family ties, particularly amongst the immigrant Toucouleurs from the Vallée du Fleuve, Dakar is on the whole a heterogeneous city. Mercier has observed that inter-ethnic habitation is particularly frequent among young bachelors, who often club together to hire a room. This is still relatively rare in Africa except amongst educated élites. But in Senegal many young men resent being asked the question whether they are Wolof or Serer, answering only to the name Senegalese. As far as friendship outside the ethnic group and in particular living with someone from another tribe is concerned, one great advantage is the existence of a common cuisine for Wolof, Serer, Toucouleur and Lebou. There is even a national dish known as *riz sénégalais*, known further down the coast as Jollof rice. This means that not only can friends share the same plate, but a man is not frustrated in his desire to marry outside his ethnic group by fear of a foreign cuisine.

Another important factor in the breakdown of tribal barriers has been the urbanisation of Senegal. Over 25 per cent of the population live in towns, the bulk in Dakar, Rufisque and St. Louis and Kaolack. This represents a higher rate of urbanisation than in any other West African territory except the Western Region of Nigeria, where, it must be pointed out, urbanisation was intense long before the arrival of the Europeans and therefore does not owe its origin to colonisation as it does in Senegal. It is difficult in the present stage of research to measure the results of the inter-mixing of races in urban agglomerations. But in an environment whose *raison d'être* is completely different from that of the tribal village, the individual is subjected to so many pressures that his ethnic individuality has to be extremely strong for him not to assimilate both ideas and customs from his neighbours and above all from the

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 369 563 French. The Moors are an obvious exception to this, as P. Dubié has pointed out. Though they work in all the major towns of Senegal they have retained complete identity of tribal customs, even maintaining abroad the traditional hostilities between their own tribal subdivisions. The tribal structure of Dakar, which is the most heavily W [369] industrialised single city in West Africa, gives an idea of the common melting pot that the new cities and towns in S [162] Senegal represent: Wolof constitute 25 per cent; Lebou, the original inhabitants, 15 per cent; mixed Wolof-Lebou, 11 per cent; Serer, 3 per cent; Bambara, 9 per cent; Toucouleur, 10 per cent; Fula, 5 per cent; Moors, 4 per cent; Diola, 5 per cent; Soussou, 2 per cent; Cape Verdians 2 per cent. The result is that the inhabitants S [197] of Dakar are forced to learn some form of *lingua franca*, in this case Wolof or French, if they are to live in the city.

In the modern economy of the city, where one seeks work where work is and where housing is short and expensive, it is difficult for any of these groups to keep up any pretence at tribal solidarity. However, as Schapera has shown, it is possible for the African migrant working in industry 'to maintain two quite distinct spheres of human relations. The African who leaves his tribe to go and work in the town will take part in the social organisations, e.g. trade unions, he finds there, but these will affect him only as a factory worker, and will have no place in the subsistence economy which is governed by traditional tribal and social relationships. The two spheres are distinct spatially as wellas socially, and despite the exchange of ideas between them they remain none the less parallel.'

In Dakar this is particularly true of the immigrant Toucouleur from the Vallée du Fleuve, as A. Diop shows in his excellent study of Toucouleur immigration to Dakar. S But it should be noted here that the Toucouleur are not [164] permanent emigrants from their areas, and have only come to Dakar temporarily to supplement the low incomes of the Vallée du Fleuve. Permanent settlers without the ultimate

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

goal of return to their tribal home, even Toucouleur, find it more difficult to resist the pressures of their environment, and Dakar has a large number of permanent settlers, who are first and foremost *Dakarois*. 369 563

Many of these have found a common brotherhood above tribe in their trade unions. These, despite various setbacks and restrictions, have been well organised in Senegal. Indeed the 1944 decree restoring liberty of association did much to ensure this, by insisting that trade union officials should have good educational qualifications and that accounts should be scrutinised by the administration. Most of the unions belonged to one of the large French confederations from whom they received considerable help and advice. Since Senegal has until quite recently had over 40 per cent of the organised workers of French West Africa, trade unionism embraced a large number of people of different ethnic groups brought together to seek ends that went far beyond the limited horizons of tribal ambition. 467 563

The influence of the towns extends beyond their limits. Both in the cities, and increasingly in the villages, young men who have come in contact with the new life of Dakar or of the other major towns tend to contract monogamous marriages in the European style. Amongst the Diola, as L. V. Thomas has observed, young men are now building their own houses outside the parental extended home. But probably most important of all in the breakdown of tribal barriers is the increase of economic individualism, the desire to have possessions, and particularly good clothes, all of which run contrary to the traditional social system which leads to the maximum dispersion of a man's gains amongst his relatives. 369 [595] [591] [422]

Only the very strongest survive the effect of the city, in particular a city like Dakar, the most sophisticated, the most European, the city most diametrically opposed to the tribal life of the bush. Indeed among Dakar's inhabitants only the Moors and Toucouleur really withstand the 369 563

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 369 563 immense impact of the town. They live in small villages made up of relations and fellow villagers. They even club together, subscribing to a common fund to receive their fellows from the Fleuve, and as far as work is concerned they S [463] virtually monopolise certain jobs such as bootboys, waiters, and newspaper sellers. This maintenance of tribal cohesion is a difficult task in this city of French creation, where a new community of Dakarois is rapidly coming into existence.

S 665 563 [619] [182] An important factor in the breakdown of tribal ties has been the creation of political parties and the creation of a new political élite that thinks in national terms. Experience in Africa has shown, however, that this can work two ways, for many political parties are in effect organisations intended to defend ethnic interests. Senegalese politics have on the whole been remarkably free from tribalism, though Senghor did in fact achieve much of his success in the early days of the *B.D.S.* though the emphasis he laid on ethnic considerations in the organisations of his party, and certainly there have existed specifically regional and ethnic parties like *Le Mouvement Démocratique Casamançais* and the *Union Générale de la Vallée du Fleuve.* But, as Kenneth Robinson pointed out in his study of Senegalese politics in *Five Elections in Africa*, these ethnic and regional aspects were compensated for by the federal aspect of the major party, *Le Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais.* In 1954, in fact, all ethnic and regional sub-sections of the *B.D.S.* were abolished and individual membership was insisted on. But though this led to the breaking-away of certain elements in the Casamance, it would be fair to say that the party has been much less dominated by those regional differences that normally influence political parties in West Africa. Nevertheless, as Robinson found in the 1957 S [666] election, there were a number of constituencies where ethnic rivalries were more important than political issues. W [666] [665] At Linguère, a single member constituency, the population was divided between Fula and Wolof in the proportion of three to two. When the sitting member, a Fula, was

[i.e., The Moors and Toucouleurs in Dakar--Analyst]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 196
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

renominated, the Wolofs created a *Bloc Démocratique du Djollof* which polled 6,000 votes to the 8,000 of the Fula candidate.

A further commentary on the lack of tribalism in Senegal is the ethnic structure of the Government and the national assembly. The Government is composed of the President of the Republic, who is a Serer, a President of the Council of Ministers who is Toucouleur with strong Wolof ancestry, and fourteen Ministers of whom nine are Wolof, two are half-caste, one a Frenchman who has opted for Senegalese nationality, one a Diola and one a Lebou.

The ethnic repartition of the Senegalese National Assembly is equally revealing*:

Tribe	*Percentage of population*	*Number of Deputies*	*Percentage of Deputies*
Wolof	35·0	33	41
Serer	16·0	5	6
Lebou	0·2	10	13
Toucouleur	9·0	10	13
Fula	17·0	5	6
Diola	9·0	5	6
Mandingo/Bambara	7·0	3	4
European	0·1	3	4
Metis	0·1	5	6
Rest	4·7	1	1

The above figures, with the reservations footnoted, show that the National Assembly with one or two exceptions

* These figures were supplied to me by William J. Foltz and are based on his own research and ethnic data from the *S.E.R.E.S.A. Rapport General* 1ère partie, Ch. 1., p. 38. The population figures are based on old administrative censuses, which may be somewhat conservative. The figures for the Lebou seem surprisingly low. Furthermore, placing deputies under a particular ethnic grouping is often an arbitrary process, since it is in the educated classes that the highest rate of inter-ethnic marriage occurs. Furthermore the large number of Wolofs can partly be explained by the fact that anyone of mixed ethnic origin, in which one parent is Wolof, tends to call himself Wolof.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 C46 is excellently balanced from a tribal point of view. The large number of Lebou deputies is accounted for by the fact that the Lebou were the original inhabitants of Dakar, and therefore had greater facilities for education than other groups. The relatively small number of Serer deputies can be explained by the fact that the distinction between Wolof and Serer is not very pronounced. Again, the small number of Fula deputies in proportion to their size as an ethnic group is partly the result of the fact that they are a nomadic people, and partly because they are very close to the Toucouleur who have a relatively high representation. The only grossly under-represented group are the Mande, for though the Mandingo-Bambara peoples make up 7 per cent of the population and have 4 per cent of the deputies, only one of the three deputies in this group is actually Mande, who make up the greater part of this 7 per cent. Both in Senegal and neighbouring Gambia the Mandingo seem to have fared badly as a group in politics. Though only 5 per cent of Senegal is Christian, five members of the Government and nearly a fifth of the National Assembly are Christian. Nor does one have to be a member of the majority tribe in a constituency to be elected by it*.

[162] [771]

563 [771] A source of possible conflict in Senegal is the existence of a large Muslim majority and a small Christian minority representing only 5 per cent of the population. The French as the colonial power, despite their policy of assimilation, were unable to establish a strong Catholic Church in Senegal since Islam had been with the Toucouleur since the eleventh century and had already embraced most of the country by the time Faidherbe extended his protectorate. Islam in Senegal is peculiarly tolerant, not only in its concessions to traditional beliefs among more recently converted groups, but also towards Christians. In few other predominantly Muslim countries would it be possible not only to have a Catholic President but to have such a

* I am indebted to Mr. W. J. Foltz for supplying me with most of the data on which this paragraph is based.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

large proportion of Christians in the National Assembly. 563
At the time of the break up of the Mali Federation there was some attempt to disparage Senghor because of his religion, but it never gained ground. And whilst there is still in certain quarters some criticism of the presence of a Catholic President, it is not widespread. The fact that neighbouring Gambia's Chief Minister Njie is also a Catholic in a predominantly Muslim country suggests that a tolerance that is so rare amongst Muslim communities may be local to this part of the coast rather than peculiar to Senegal. Senghor himself has been particularly assiduous in his courting of the great Muslim leaders of the country. However French assimilation policy was certainly a contributory factor. Long contact with France and particularly the large number of Senegalese who have studied in France have meant that the modern élite is accustomed to the idea of Catholicism and is able to co-exist with it.

So far the picture we have drawn of modern Senegal is rather an idealised one: a large European minority is tolerated by the African majority and there is remarkably little theoretical or actual animosity towards it; it has a particularly homogeneous population in which traditional ethnic barriers are breaking down, particularly in the major towns which have been most heavily assimilated by France; there is little political friction of ethnic origin and religion does not play an important role in the determination of the country's affairs. Indeed the planning of Senegal's economic development was confided to a Catholic priest not by Senghor, as one might have imagined, but by the Premier, Mamadou Dia, a particularly devout Muslim. In some ways Senegal from a racial and ethnic point of view represents the ideal West African state. But it has its minority problems.

In a sense the Vallée du Fleuve du Sénégal can be called a minority area, but in many ways it is an economic rather than racial problem. Though the Toucouleur tend to look down on, say, the Wolof, because they do not consider [433 735]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 them strict enough Muslims, the main distinguishing
[433] feature of their homeland, the Vallée du Fleuve du Sénégal,
735 is its poverty compared with that of other parts of Senegal. Diop Abdoulaye in his study of Toucouleur immigration into Dakar estimates that the average *per capita* income of a Toucouleur of that region is little more than 4,000 *C.F.A.*
[434] per annum, i.e. about £6 a year. It is this rather than any real tribal differences that makes the Vallée a special problem, and this as much as any ethnic factor accounted
[665] for the existence of the *Union Générale de la Vallée du Fleuve.*

563 The only real minority area in the Senegal is the Casa-
619 mance, whose special position is further emphasised by its separation from the main block of Senegal by the Gambia. In the past it has been thought of as geographically, economically, socially and even religiously separate from the rest of Senegal. A forest zone closer to its neighbours Portuguese Guinea and the Republic of Guinea, it remained very underdeveloped by the French, though the present Government is taking this fact into account with a special development programme for the area. This separateness was emphasised by the very name Casamance. The people describe themselves to this day as *Casamançais* rather than Senegalese, though this could well be accepted on the same terms as a Briton describing himself as Scots or Welsh. It is fortunate that the tendency is to talk in terms of regional rather than tribal origin. However one of the important factors in the Casamance has been tribal. The Diolas were until very recently an animist people with an entirely different social organisation from that of the main groups of Senegal, though as we have already pointed out they had traditional ties with the Serer which went as far as the injunction that a Diola should never spill the blood of a Serer. But today the Diola are being drawn into the main socio-religious pattern of Senegal. In the most recent estimate of the religious
[162] adherence of the population of Casamance, estimated at
771 327,500, 284,000 were Muslims, only 28,000 Christians and

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

the rest animists. Of course this includes the exclusively Muslim Mandingo inhabitants of the Casamance who have been largely responsible for this proselytisation. The Diola too is inclined more and more to imitate his Mandingo and Wolof neighbours. L. V. Thomas, who has written a monumental study on the Diola, fears: 'Soon the Diola country may be, at least in its landscape, like Senegal if no power intervenes to limit the extension of the bushfire; it will certainly become, in its people, just another African country, where only a few anthropological remains fixed by heredity will enable us to distinguish the Diola from the Wolof or the Mandingo.' 563 619 [162] [771]

The Casamance may well be coming closer to the rest of the Senegal, but it still remains a seat of opposition to the Government of Senghor and Dia, and votes heavily for the opposition *P.R.A.-Sénégal*. However neither of the leaders of this party, Ly Abdoulaye or Assane Seck, is *Casamançais*, and there is strong support in many towns for the *U.P.S.*, which indicates that Diola-Casamance politics are not necessarily either regional or tribal, though these are important factors. 563 665 666

The main social problem of the Senegal, and one which both assimilation and religion seem to have been unable to break down, is that of caste or a class structure very similar to caste. All the main Senegalese tribes—the Wolof, Lebou, Toucouleur, Serer—are divided into a series of endogamous castes. These castes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but roughly they are divided thus: 565 [582]

Nobles and Freeborn
Artisans (jewellers, smiths, weavers, leatherworkers) [463]
Griots or minstrels
Liberated slaves
Slaves

(Of course domestic slaves no longer exist as such in Senegal, but families know who their slaves were.) [567]

It is certainly easier in Senegal for a Toucouleur noble to marry a Wolof noble than to marry a woman of inferior [582]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 565 582 S [595] caste from his own tribe. The extent to which caste matters is brought out by the case of a young Catholic girl from a devout family who, rather than marry a fellow Catholic out of caste, in the end became the polygamous wife of a Muslim of the same caste. Within any ethnic group in Senegal marriage out of caste is extremely rare.

S 565 W [565] S [533] [814] The caste system is not vicious in any real sense. For the privileges of a high caste entail many obligations. Thus a noble Wolof family will be obliged to feed and pay frequent sums of money to its family griots (minstrels, praise-singers and family historians) and if they fail to do this the griot is able to shame them publicly as a poor or mean family, something a Wolof would avoid at all costs. Likewise the S [463] [326] artisan castes have a monopoly in their respective trades, since it would be impossible for a noble or free man to undertake the work of a jeweller or smith. Nevertheless in Senegalese society the term 'bijoutier' or 'tisserand' has slight contempt attached to it. The only caste to suffer S [561] socially in any way is of course that designated slave, because of the implications of such a status. In social investigations amongst the factory workers of Dakar, M. André Hauser found very few indeed who would admit to being of slave caste.

At present it is certainly a disadvantage to belong to any of the inferior castes, and though one hears of a few cases of open clashes between castes, in the present state of affairs it is certain that a number of young men resent this classification of people into superior and inferior groups and it is very much less important to them than to the older generation.

S 565 764 578 Early in 1961 *Agence Presse Sénégalaise* reported 'bloody clashes between griots and non-griots at Diack'. These ended with several dead and a number of wounded and started as a result of the refusal of non-griots to accept the burial of griots in their burial ground. The Minister of the S [641] Interior himself went to settle the dispute and gathered the whole population to tell them that his Government gave

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

equal status to all Senegalese and wanted to make everyone true Senegalese citizens whether they were griots, leather-workers or jewellers. Afterwards the non-griots agreed that the griots who had just died should be buried 'in the same way as anyone else, and as a beginning they agreed to let the burial of the victim of the incident take place, not in the traditional baobab but in Diack earth.' 565, 764 578 [641]

In the Government today there are, amongst those members belonging to tribes with a class system only two of inferior caste, one being a 'bijoutier' and one a griot. It is said of another that he is of slave origin, but this is not certain because politicians often try to attribute inferior caste to their opponents. In the Assembly, of the members with caste all are noble or freeborn with the exception of one 'bijoutier', and one griot. It is thus at present difficult to get on in politics unless one is noble or freeborn. Indeed chiefly connexion is important, even though chiefs are no longer of significance administratively. Thus in 1957 Kenneth Robinson wrote: 565 [646] [631]

> Membership of chiefly families is, nevertheless, an important source not only of prestige but of political interest. In many interviews with political leaders in the smaller townships and villages they almost invariably defined their own position, and that of their fellows, in part by reference to their relationship with the ruling families, or with the indigenous caste system. [554]

Mr. William Foltz, who is making a detailed survey of Senegalese politics, has however observed that the local party groups in the country are increasingly representative of the inferior castes and many of the important backroom boys are of inferior caste, which suggests that there may be a change from the present situation at the next elections. But so far, as Mercier has observed, it does not look as though high standing in the modern context can yet completely redeem traditional inferiority. [665] [554]

The caste system in Senegal is one of the most delicate problems confronting the Senegalese Government today.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

565 [563] Influenced heavily by the Revolutionary doctrine of liberty, equality and fraternity, and having broken down barriers to this at the inter-ethnic level, the Government finds it most difficult to break it down at the level of the caste. Significantly, it was the Minister of the Interior himself who laid down government attitudes to caste at the troubles at Diack and one must hope that such trouble will soon disappear.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

IX. THE FUTURE

We must really decolonise ourselves down to our innermost hearts and not merely at the level of appearances. Independence is a period of dismantling and creating. It is a 'creative destruction', to use the phrase of a well-known economist. 000

MAMADOU DIA

IN many independent African countries today it is difficult to elicit from politicians exactly what economic, social and political policy they propose to follow. Quite naturally, they talk in terms of achieving the maximum good for their people: but as often as not they have not worked out the priorities of industrialisation as against agriculture, health against education, roads against railways. Many describe their economic policies as socialist, a term which on investigation turns out to embrace advanced welfare state projects as well as questionable capitalist enterprises. In Senegal, however, the student is fortunate in having two leaders—President Senghor and Prime Minister Mamadou Dia—who have given not only considerable thought to the future economic and political structure of their country but have also put their ideas down on paper. Senghor has been the political theoretician of Senegal, Mamadou Dia its economist. 668

Both philosopher and economist show in their theories an intense desire to find 'African' solutions to their problems, and yet to incorporate the best the Western world has taught them. Senghor talks of the symbiosis of two cultures to both of which, as a Senegalese who has experienced France's assimilationist policy, he feels legitimately heir. Both have as their goal the creation of an African socialist state, but one that shall not stand in isolation from France and the Western world. All they ask is that the technical and political experience of the West should be adapted to the African

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

668

context. Whilst accepting many of Marx's theories, Senghor feels that socialism must be adapted to African realities, of which Marx, writing in the nineteenth century, was quite unaware. Also he refuses, not only as an African but as a Catholic, to accept Marxist atheism. Senegal must above all be an African state, but he is opposed to what he calls the fashionable habit of rejecting Europe of whatever political shade. 'We shall continue to borrow from Europe the weapons of our liberation', he writes, 'above all socialism'. Once again it will be socialism in principle, adapted to the particular circumstances of Senegal and incorporating the keen African sense of community responsibility as well as European socialist experience in dealing with the problems of an advanced agricultural and industrial society.

Internally it is his aim to make of Senegal a model socialist state without disrupting the existing economy or social structure too violently. But his goal is a greater one: that is that Senegal, and indeed Africa, should make a major contribution to what he describes as the *Civilisation de l'universel*. It will be possible and proper for Senegal to absorb influences from outside provided they contribute towards this goal. It is his aim to achieve harmony between all races and ethnic groups in Senegal, to show that Africans, despite their bitter experiences in the past, harbour no bitterness towards their fellow men. And on the African plane, despite the unfortunate outcome of the Mali Federation, he is still a fervent believer in the ultimate goal of African unity, though much less enthusiastic about the federal form of government. The failure of the Mali Federation is taken not as a disaster for its eventual achievement but as an object lesson about the obstacles that can present themselves.

Senegal then is to be a model socialist state, aiming not only at internal harmony, but at the greater harmony of Africa and the world. Mamadou Dia has described this role succinctly in *Nations africaines et solidarité mondiale*:

That is why the African nations who tomorrow will be called

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

upon to play a historic role will be neither Negro, Berber, nor Arab nations, nor Christian, Muslim, nor animist nations. They will surely be strongly marked by the influence of different biological factors, and by the influence of different philosophies of their environment; but they will be nothing if not a synthesis, if not a civilisation. It is under this condition that they will be truly active element in the post-Marxian revolution of the twentieth century. 668

Reading the political philosophy of both Senghor and Mamadou Dia, one is tempted to say this humanism is all very admirable but what have such high-flown ideas got to do with a nation of three million poor people still living barely above subsistence level and of whom the majority of adults are still illiterate? Indeed, Senghor the philosopher and poet comes in for criticism by some students of African politics for his advocacy of this cultural cross breeding, for his apparent excessive attachment to the West. Will not, they ask, someone more African, more a politician and less a poet, be more typical of the African politicians of the future? This is perhaps not only to misunderstand Senghor, but also the Senegalese. Senghor may seem to live in the clouds, uttering fine phrases in enviable French, but the last fifteen years have shown him as a masterly political tactician. He broke away from Lamine Guèye and the *S.F.I.O.* to form his own party at just the right psychological moment. And when he felt an end had to be brought to the Mali Federation he accomplished it without shedding one drop of blood, to the surprise not only of foreign observers but particularly of his Soudanese partners. Today opposition to Senghor comes mainly from fellow intellectuals, whilst his standing with the people of the countryside remains high. His opposition is no less inclined to lengthy discourses on the philosophical foundations of the state. Ly Abdoulaye and Assane Seck of the *P.R.A.* are both of the University of Dakar; Majhemout Diop of the *P.A.I.* is a doctrinaire Communist; and Cheikh Anta Diop, as we have seen, has spent most of his time on the rehabilitation of African history.

[433] [412] [665] [665]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

spent most of his time on the rehabilitation of African history.

631 Of course there would be considerable justification for such criticisms if Senghor and his Government were not in fact getting down to the fundamental reorganisation of Senegal. Already since the days of the French, the whole country has undergone a complete administrative transformation. Before independence the country was divided into *cercles* and *subdivisions*, under French and occasionally African administrators, and *cantons*, run by traditional chiefs as agents of the administration. This structure has been completely changed to give the administration and therefore the Government closer contact with the people. Previously the traditional chief, albeit an agent of the administration, was interposed between the administrator and his people. Now that the *chef de canton* has been eliminated and the *canton* has been redesignated as an *arrondissement*, presided over by an administrative official, working under the *commandant de cercle*, the Government has rid the country of what the Minister of Interior, Valdiodio N'Diaye, has described as an anachronistic institution. The *cercles* [635] are grouped into seven regions, each with its Governor and regional assembly, which deliberates on the regional budget. These seven regions have been laid out so as to correspond with the major economic zones of the country, making concessions only to ethnic factors and problems of communications. The whole field administration outside headquarters has been completely Africanised since July [563] 1960, though there are many Europeans serving as 'technical advisers' in the Government in Dakar.

668 But most important of all is the proposed four-year development plan for the Senegal which envisages a major revolution in the education, health and economy of the country. This plan was drawn up after nearly eighteen months of intensive research in Senegal by the Révérend Père Lebret, and his team of European and African researchers. The whole plan was directed by Mamadou Dia,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

whose economic ideas are well known from various books he has written, more especially his *Nations africaines et solidarité mondiale* and *Réflexions sur l'économie de l'Afrique noire*. Dia is essentially a socialist, who believes however that European socialism could never really identify itself with Africa, because, as he points out, so much of the improvement in the living conditions of European workers was founded on the economic expansion resulting from nineteenth and twentieth-century colonialism. And he remarks bitterly that even today one sixth of the world's population, mainly white, enjoys 80 per cent of the world's income. He feels that political liberation is nothing without economic liberation and that this is the great challenge to the young states of Africa. He does not believe in any tailor-made answer to this challenge, whether it be Communist or Western in origin. The Senegalese answer must be based on Senegalese realities, taking into account the experience of other underdeveloped countries, in which he is well versed.

This explains the eighteen-month long 'inventory' made by Father Lebret and his team of every aspect of Senegalese life. Dia sees one of the greatest dangers of Africa in its present economic balkanisation, dangers which provide economic backing to political demands for African unity. Dakar's many industries were of course planned to serve the former French West Africa and are now at the mercy of the individual economic policies of its seven French-speaking neighbours. Such a situation will make it impossible for large scale and rational economic development. Nor does he see in industrialisation the solution to all the country's problems. Indeed the basic problem is the raising of the general standard of living of the country, particularly of those areas that lag behind the rest. Above all he is not going to follow slavishly the ideas of the West or the East. Senegal's development is to be undertaken in the light of Senegal's own problems

This then is the background to the impressive and far

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

433 reaching economic development plan. Mamadou Dia
668 has described the plan as the 'décollage' or taking-off point of the country's development. The plan is the expression of the African socialism of which Senghor and Dia have so long dreamed. It has two important points. Relatively little emphasis is placed on industrialisation, and fundamental to the development of the country are
[494] 'rural animation' and co-operatives through which the people will be made aware of the great future that could be theirs if only they co-operate in the realisation of this plan. Already 80 per cent of peasant farmers are organised in co-operatives.

Senegal's economy is based today on the export of its ground-nut crop of just under 800,000 tons a year. This has been produced to the detriment of subsistence crops, with the absurd result that Senegal, a basically agricultural country, is importing foodstuffs to the tune of £15 million a year. Furthermore there has been a great disparity in the economic and social development of the towns in com-
[369] parison with the bush. Thus whilst Dakar is one of the most modern and prosperous towns in West Africa, the Vallée du Fleuve is abysmally poor and Casamance hitherto neglected. Thus the emphasis is on rural development; the
[871] extension of educational facilities to a population only 30 per cent of whose children go to school; then the increase in medical facilities; the supply of water to villages without it; and in particular the opening-up of hitherto neglected regions by improved communications, which includes the
[491] tarring of over 1,000 miles of roads and improvement of 600 miles of dirt road. But above all the emphasis is on the increase of home food crops and the widening of the variety of foodstuffs available to the peasants. It is estimated that if the plan works out, then the global index of production, taken as 100 in 1959, will be up to 137 in 1964. New industries such as the phosphate works at Taiba, an oil refinery, chemical factories and textile printing works will provide 10,000 new jobs, and thus absorb some of the unemployed

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

school leavers who characterise every West African town from Dakar to Douala, and whose numbers will increase in future under the new plan, since by 1964-65 it is hoped over 50 per cent of children of school age will be at primary school.

The whole plan is to cost £135 million, much of the money to be drawn from abroad, and much from private sources. As can be seen from the table below the emphasis is on social improvement rather than the creation of great gesture industries.

	Percentages	
	Of public investments	*Of total investments*
Infrastructure	33·9	18·75
Agriculture	18·0	13·4
Commerce and Industry ..	7·0	44·4
Education	12·2	6·7
Health	5·3	2·9
Housing	7·2	10·9
Administrative	5·5	3·0

It is a socialist plan at heart. The state will be taking over large sectors of the economy. Already the state trading organisation for the marketing of ground-nuts with the aid of local co-operatives has taken over the marketing of over a quarter of the crop from private commerce. But it is doing this in direct competition with them, to ensure that the organisation is commercially viable. Senghor believes 'Where private capitalism comes into peaceful competition with socialism, the latter must, I feel sure, emerge triumphant . . .'

On the other hand Senegal is not trying to discourage private enterprise, for, as can be seen from the above table, it accounts for much of the capital for the plan. Indeed, particularly favourable concessions are made to it. What

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

433 the Government is trying to do is take out of its hands the
668 control of the basic economy, such as the ground-nut crop,
[491] and to ensure that the maximum benefit accrues to Senegal from overseas investment.

The distinguishing feature of the plan is its reliance not on *investissement humain* on Chinese lines, a method which tends to be favoured by the Guinea and Mali Governments, but on *animation rural*. It is believed that compulsory forced
[466] labour is not satisfactory to the people who are undertaking it, even if it is ostensibly in their own interests, first because it is compulsory, and secondly because it can suffer from excessive planning by the centre, so that the people may be 'investing' their labour in things which in the first place they do not want, and which in the second place fail, as certain agricultural schemes have done in Russia and China, as a result of overcentralised planning.

433 Basically *animation* is what we would call 'community
668 development', but it is to be operated in the context of the
654 general plan for the Senegal, touching on education and medical services as well as economic development. The idea is that people in villages should be asked what they want: a new road; a new dispensary etc. It will then be explained to them that such things have not been achieved up till now through lack of funds but that the Government is prepared to put its services at the disposal of the villagers to build a road or some such if the villagers are prepared to provide labour. The object then is to find out what villag-
[496] ers really want and to stimulate them into wanting them enough to supply labour for them. In any chosen area, then, a member of the Ministry of Planning and Development (Animation Section) will go into the village and enlist the people's co-operation in selecting an intelligent man who is sufficiently respected both by the traditionalists and by the youth to be able to put over these new ideas of community development. He is then sent on an 'animation course' where he is taught improved farming and other methods and is (it is hoped) inspired with the need for

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

progress. This he then transmits to the village, and in Casamance *animation* has worked to the extent of building a thirty-five kilometre road which cut the journey between two important villages by nearly fifty kilometres. In the Vallée du Fleuve, people who never grew rice before have now quadrupled their incomes by producing rice under a rural animation scheme.

All this President Dia hopes will raise the standard of living of each man by 3.5 per cent each year, doubling it by the fourth four year plan in 1975.

The plan is an ambitious one, an attempt to create a new Senegal synthesising the best of Africa and Europe. If it works, and the political future of both Senghor and Dia may well depend on this, then Senegal may become a pilot nation for Africa both economically and culturally. Senegal will then be in a sense a justification for the French assimilation policy, for although it failed in its attempts to assimilate the Senegalese both culturally and politically it has left profound marks on Senegalese society. And even if the experience of assimilation in Senegal has demonstrated the immense difficulties not only of one group trying to assimilate the other to its own standards, but of even getting the assimilating group to accept the other group as political and cultural equals, the end result may be the production of an African society which, whilst maintaining its own national identity, may prove a bridge between Africa and Europe and their two cultures.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

113 Afrique Occidentale Francaise, Gouvernement-General, *Dakar et dépendances*, Dakar, 1931.

Angrand, Armand-Pierre, *Les Lébous de la presqu'île du Cap-Vert*, Dakar, 1947.

Black Orpheus, Irregular publication, Ibadan, Nigeria.

Buell, Raymond Leslie, *The Native Problem in Africa*, 2 vols, New York, 1928.*

Brasseur, G., *L'A.O.F.*, Senegal, 1957.

Brunschwig, Henri, *Mythes et realtités de l'impérialisme colonial français 1871-1914*, Paris, 1960.

Cartier, Raymond, *En France noire*, Paris-Match, 11 and 18, August 1956.*

Césaire, Aimé, *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal*, Présence Africaine, (1939) 1956.

Crowder, Michael, *Pagans and Politicians*, London, 1959.

Delafosse, Maurice, *Haut-Sénégal-Niger*, 3 volumes, Paris, 1911.

Delavignette, Robert, *Freedom and Authority in French West Africa*, London, 1950.*

Dia, Mamadou, *Réflexions sur l'économie de l'Afrique noire*, Paris, 1961.

— *Nations africaines et solidarite mondiale*, Paris, 1960.*

Diop, Abdoulaye, *L'immigration toucouleur à Dakar* (enquête, 1958 1959), cyclostyled, I.F.A.N., Dakar, 1960.*

Diop, Cheick Anta, *L'unité culturelle de l'Afrique noire*, Paris, 1959.

— 'Nations Nègres et Culture', *Présence Africaine*, Paris, 1955.*

— *Systémes politiques et sociaux de l'Europe et de l'Afrique*, Paris.*

Diop, David, *Coups de Pilon*, Paris.

Diop, Majhemout, 'L'unique issue: l'indépendance totale', *Les étudiants noires parlent*, Paris, 1953.

— *Contribution à l'étude des problèmes politiques en Afrique noire*, Paris, 1960.

Diop, Ousmane Soceé, *Karim*, Paris, 1935, 2nd edition, 1948.

Etudes Sénégalaises, Senegal, 1949.

Europe-France-Outremer, Special Number, 'Une décolonisation réussie, Sénégal', no. 376, March, 1961.*

Fall, Kader, 'Problème de l'élite en Afrique noire,' *Les étudiants noirs parlent*, Paris, 1953.

[p102]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

113

Gamble, David P., *The Wolof of Senegambia*, London, 1957.
Garnier, Christine, *La fête des sacrifices*, Paris, 1959.
Government of Senegal, *Trois siècles d'histoire*, Senegal, 1959.*
Gorer, Geoffrey, *Africa Dances*, London, 1935.
Gouilly, A., *L'Islam dans l'A.O.F.*, Paris, 1952.
Graurand, Rev. Père, P., *Les Sérères*, Cahiers de la Fraternité Saint Dominique, Dakar, 1961.
Guèye, Lamine, *Etages et perspectives de l'union française*, Paris, 1955.
Guid 'A.O.F., Yearly.
Gunther, John, *Inside Africa*, London, 1955.
Hailey, Lord, *An African Survey*, London, 1939.*
— *An African Survey*, Revised 1956, London, 1957.*
Hauser, A., Masse, L., and Mercier, P., *L'agglomération dakaroise*, Senegal, 1954.*
Hodgkin, Thomas, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa*, London, 1958.*
— *African Political Parties*, London, 1961.
Ly, Abdoulaye, *L'état et la production paysanne*, Paris, 1958.
— *Les masses africaines et l'actuelle condition humaine*, Paris.
— *Mercenaires Noires*, Paris, 1957.
Mackenzie, W. J. M., and Robinson, Kenneth E., *Five Elections in Africa*, London, 1960.
Mauny, R., *Guide de Gorée*, 2nd edition, Senegal, 1954.
Mercier, P., Evolution of Senegalese Elites, *International Social Science Bulletin*, vol. viii, p. 443, 1956.*
— Le groupement européen de Dakar, *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, vol. XIX, pp. 130–146, 1955.*
— 'An Experimental Investigation into Occupational and Social Categories in Dakar,' *Social Implications of Industrialisation and Urbanisation in Africa South of Sahara*, UNESCO, 1956.
Mersadier, Y., *Budgets familiaux africains*, Senegal, 1957.*
Mille, Pierre, 'The Black Vote in Senegal', *Journal of the African Society*, vol. 1, pp. 64–79, 1961.*
Ministère de l'Information, de la Presse et de la Radio Diffusion, Senegal, *Livre blanc sur le coup d'état manqué du 19 au 20 août 1960 et de la proclamation de l'indépendence du Sénégal*, Dakar, 1960.
N'Diaye, Massata, *Aspects sociaux africains*, Paris, 1960.
Ousmane, Sembene, *Les bouts de bois de Dieu*, Paris, 1960.
Présence Africaine, 'Le 1er congrès international des écrivains et artistes noirs, Paris, 1957.*
Présence Africaine, 'Le 2ème congrès des écrivains et artistes noirs,' Paris, 1960.*

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

113 *Présence Africaine*, Paris, bi-monthly since 1947.
Présence Africaine 1947–1958 (A short history), Paris, 1958.
Richard-Molard, Jacques, *Afrique occidentale française*, Paris, 1952.*
Robinson, Kenneth, 'Political Development in French West Africa,' *Africa in the Modern World*, Chicago, 1955.*
Senghor, Léopold Sédar, *Chants d'ombre*, Paris, 1945.*
— *Ethiopiques*, Paris, 1956.
— *Nation et voie du socialisme*, Paris, 1961.*
Séré de Rivières, Edmond, *Sénégal-Dakar*, Paris, 1953.
Thomas, L. V.,* *Adculturation et déplacements de populations en afrique de l'ouest*. Cyclostyled, University of Dakar, 1960.*
Thomas, L. V., *Les Diola*, 2 volumes, Dakar, 1959.
Thompson, Virginia & Adloff, Richard, *French West Africa*, London, 1958.*
Thiam, Doudou, 'De l'avenir des institutions coutumières en Afrique noire.' *Présence Africaine*, No. 6, 1949.
Villard, A., *Histoire du Sénégal*, Dakar, 1943.*
Wade, Abdoulaye, 'Afrique noire et union française,' *Les étudiants noirs parlent*, Paris, 1953.
West Africa, Weekly.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

000

Printed in Great Britain by
R. J. Acford Ltd., Industrial Estate,
Chichester, Sussex

[p105]

originaire - a person born in one of the quatre communes, thus having the status of a French citizen (citoyen).

sujet - a person who does not enjoy the rights of a French citizen.

Quatre Communes - Four Towns: Dakar, Gorée, St. Louis and Rufisque.

Conseil-Général - General Council

For information on the political organization of
the Region see category 635
the Cercle " " 634
the Arrondissement (or Canton under Colonial Government)
see category 632
the Quatre Communes see category 633

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE BULLETIN

000

VOLUME VIII — 1956

UNESCO

[Title Page]

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

EVOLUTION OF SENEGALESE ELITES

P. MERCIER

The increasingly rapid development of elites[1] of a non-traditional type is a conspicuous feature of the social change now occurring in all African territories. It is a sign of the most recent phase of the crisis through which colonized societies are passing. The problems connected with the crystallization[2] of such elites vary considerably in different regions and in different economic, political and social contexts. Even inside the group of territories composing French West Africa appreciable local variations can be observed. But everywhere these elites exert ever stronger and more united pressure on existing politico-social organizations in the hope of attaining to the leadership they feel to be their destiny. Wherever we study them, we find the same situation—fraught with conflict: conflict with the existing African social system imposed by colonization; conflict with the traditional ruling classes or what remains of them; internal conflict, when the elites do not—as yet, at any rate—form a homogeneous group, or, alternatively, when divergent trends appear. The same phenomena can be found everywhere, and go to make up a general pattern.

If, however, we wish to understand the discrepancies observed in the pace at which the new elites developed, their composition, their methods and capacity for self-expression, their ambitions, etc., we must study the differences between them. Among the criteria applicable in a first attempt to classify the various regional situations, the following appear to me to be the most important:

1. Extension of education. We have to take into account both a territory's crude school rate and, among other facts: any divergencies between the rates reached by different regions of the same territory; inequalities in the distribution of school facilities on racial, religious or other grounds, the distribution of the school population classified according to the various kinds and degrees of education, the distribution of the school population classified by sex, etc.
2. Types and degree of economic development, i.e. whether or not it has permitted the emergence of social categories well-integrated in modern economic life, and, in particular, with the capacity for investing money: rich farmers (mainly planters), merchants, entrepreneurs, etc.;[3] whether or not an embryonic working class has emerged in urban centres (an elite of manual workers more or less closely linked to the intellectual elite and anxious to assume leadership of a pseudo-proletariat[4] of casual labourers).[5]
3. Role of the traditional structures and social grades. The traditional political, religious and other systems have more or less succeeded in holding their own and the governing classes which made them work have been able to

1. The word 'elite' is used here in a very broad sense. It does not mean a ruling class, but a social category more or less enjoying prestige status and exerting influence, by its example, over the whole or large sections of the population.
2. Crystallization which does not necessarily result in the formation of well-knit groups.
3. The Ivory Coast offers the most typical example of such development.
4. In most cases, it maintains close ties with the district or the group from which it came.
5. The classic example is that of the Senegalese towns.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

571
178

preserve much of their prestige;[1] they are sometimes in diametrical opposition to the modernist elites and sometimes try to come to terms with them; occasionally, as the result of historical conditions, the two elites are closely interlocked.[2]

4. Types and degree of tension between the African modernist elites and the European groups. The latter occupy the position of ruling class in the whole community represented by each territorial unit. The conflict is fundamental, yet a balance, however temporary and precarious, between the two groups may sometimes be discerned, though it varies enormously in degree from one region to another and at different times.[3]

The situation in Senegal, compared with that in other parts of French West Africa, exhibits certain special features. Senegal was the first of these territories to be colonized.[4] At the beginning of the new phase which opened after the war, it had the largest number of educated and partly Westernized persons, and it has for several decades had a political life modelled on the West, though of a summary and limited character.[5] At this level of political life, the course of events during the past 10 years affords us a first glimpse of regional divergencies. It is a significant fact that Senegal was not the first French West [668] African territory in which a movement making political demands of some magnitude arose. The acute crises of the immediate post-war period developed elsewhere—in the Ivory Coast—with the founding and expansion of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain, the first political party in French [665] Africa (Black) with nationalistic tendencies. The Rassemblement Démocratique Africain never succeeded in establishing itself firmly in Senegal, either before or after its change of policy in the 1950's.[6] There is no space here to describe in detail the historical and social background of such events, though I shall have to refer to it several times later in this paper. Some of the basic traits will suffice for mention: aspects of the traditional structures, of contemporary economic development, of the schools' endeavour to promote assimilation.

[563] The principal racial groups inhabiting Senegal,[7] whatever their cultural differences, and whatever their traditional hostility to one another (which has still by no means completely disappeared) all had the same type of social and political organization. They were strictly graded societies divided into endogamous castes, each with its special economic, political, ritual and other functions. In the present context, inter-caste antagonisms and incompatibilities are as a rule more important than racial antagonisms, since several racial groups may have equivalent social gradings or one may have borrowed and adapted another's gradings. This is a fundamental feature; it indicates the framework within which we can explain the problem of relations between [554] the traditional and the modernist elites. For instance, prestige due to education may be superimposed on prestige based on tradition, in particular prestige due to caste; or else the two may be completely separate.[8] Even today a high

1. Either officially or more or less 'clandestinely'.
2. E.g. in South Dahomey.
3. In the Ivory Coast, for example, a period of calm and co-operation followed when the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain dropped certain extreme claims.
4. Trade counters have existed for more than three centuries and the more spontaneously colonial period began more than a hundred years ago.
5. It had four municipalities with full privileges which sent a deputy to the French Parliament.
6. It broke off its alliance with the French Communist party.
7. The Ouolof, the Toucouleur and the Serer.
8. The resistance of the traditional ruling strata to foreign influence explains why, in certain cases, the lower castes were the first to go to school.

[075]

[177]

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

standing in the modern context does not often completely redeem a traditional inferiority. The latter obviously does not prevent accession to such rank, but it does prevent a man from reaping the full benefit of the prestige which it confers. We shall have to revert to the ambiguity which thus characterizes individual situations, because it is an important aspect of the problem of the modernist elites. The old political organizations have either been destroyed or considerably weakened, though the prestige of the aristocratic families who hold the chefferies or are closely connected with them has not completely disappeared. But an important change has occurred: the power and influence of the traditional political chiefs has to a large extent been transferred to the khalifas of the great Islamic sects;[3] the latter represent today the principal force capable of resisting the modernist elite, and the one with which the latter and the political movements identified with it must to some extent come to terms.[3]

The changes due to the new economic conditions resulting from the colonial period can be discerned at several levels. The rural economy has been radically transformed—progressive abandonment of subsistence farming in favour of a single cash crop throughout a large part of the territory.[3] In contrast with regions where a plantation economy has developed, the average farmer's income has remained extremely low. Consequently, what has elsewhere been termed a 'rural bourgeoisie' has not emerged, and the most favoured economic categories coincide, by and large, with the upper strata of the traditional or semi-traditional type (heads of sects),[4] or with those artificially created on the same model by the colonial administration. Again, the group to which the name 'commercial bourgeoisie' has been given is still too small to have much influence;[5] almost all African traders are small shopkeepers and make no appreciable impact on the affairs of the community as a whole. The most significant changes are found at another level: urbanization and industrialization. Senegal is the most highly urbanized territory of French West Africa; about a quarter of the population live in the big towns and the administrative and trading centres. A very large wage-earning class with a steadily growing nucleus of stable labour has developed.[6] A workers' elite has appeared, and intensive trade union activity in the big towns has brought this class into touch with the educated elite (the administrative bourgeoisie, etc.).

This educated elite deserves special attention; in Senegal more than elsewhere, it represents the dominant element among the modernist elites. The educational policy was definitely conceived and organized at the beginning of the colonial period in the context of a policy and a ideology of assimilation. The educational curriculum introduced in the French establishments in Senegal at the beginning of the nineteenth century was essentially foreign to the tradition and culture of the autochthonous societies. Thus, in a recent paper, the author made much of the point that 'it was not a factor making for integration of the individual in his group, but rather—at any rate in the first historical phase—one making for a break. The adaptation of the curriculum and even of teaching methods

2. Their functions are hereditary.
3. Cf. below, remarks on the political parties of the traditional type.
4. In this case, groundnuts.
5. The economic role of the Mouride brotherhood is particularly important: colonization of new lands, experiments in mechanization, etc.
6. The middle-man trade is practically monopolized by the Lebanese colony; in the town of Dakar alone there are more than 5,000 Lebanese.
7. The region of Dakar alone has more than 30,000 wage earners in the private sector.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

to the African social environment was scarcely taken into consideration. The fact that the African languages were, and still are, totally excluded, even in the lowest school classes, brings out this tendency quite clearly, whatever the justification that may have been offered on practical grounds. The original policy has of course been relaxed in certain points; the principle of adjusting the French educational system to local conditions has been accepted—the adaptations being concerned however more with the physical than with the social and human framework. But the basic tendency remains.'

However, the schools could reach—and still reach—only a fraction of the population. And so the training of an 'elite' came soon to be regarded as a necessary first stage in the process of assimilation. The two ideas emerge closely intertwined in Faidherbe's famous declaration of 1860: 'Everyone can reach the same goal when he satisfies the conditions required of all of you alike, conditions which we are today putting within your reach. You see young men from the Christian families of Saint-Louis, who after a good start in the mission schools, go and continue their studies in a secondary school in France, come back fit for filling the highest positions in the colony. That road is open to you all alike. We are ready to facilitate access to the liberal professions for every child who shows exceptional talent at school. . . .' As a matter of fact, those, as yet few in number, who at the start of the colonial period received instruction on Western lines were supposed to be the answer to immediate, limited needs. The main object was to train interpreters, lower grade civil servants, clerks, etc., as the indispensable auxiliaries in the establishment of a colonial administrative and commercial system. Their role was a humble one, but they shared in the prestige of the European group and also, to some extent, in its privileged economic position. The notion of an elite rapidly acquired a wider and hazier signification; it came to cover all those who were thought to serve as a link between the colonizers, the bearers of civilization, and the untaught masses who were destined gradually to acquire it. In fact, the eager adoption of European values, and the acceptance of assimilationist policies characteristic of the period up to the last war, accentuated the trend towards a rift between the indigenous elite and the masses who still adhered to their traditional cultural and social systems.[1] A point deserving emphasis is the considerable attraction exerted by the centres of assimilation, notably the 'four communes',[2] the natives of which very soon received French citizenship, and in which education developed much more rapidly than elsewhere.[3] These events in the recent history of Senegal explain why prestige in modern times was focused on the 'intellectual' elite,[4] and why the latter made a considerable impact on that colony sooner than they did on the other French West African territories.

Intensive investigations have been made in the principal urban centres of Senegal[5] to ascertain the aspirations of the various population classes and the models they adopt. They cover adults as well as children. More summary samplings taken in rural surroundings show that there is less difference in this matter between the city and the country than might have been supposed.

1. Firm links subsisted, however, as will be seen later on.
2. Dakar, Gorée, Saint-Louis, Rufisque.
3. Multiplication of primary schools, introduction of secondary education, etc.
4. Taken in a very broad sense; for a long time, the mean type of this new intellectual elite was the *certifié* (the holder of the primary school certificate).
5. By the sociology section of the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

This is a significant fact; high prestige, more or less definitely acknowledged by the whole population, crystallizes around professions, functions or situations which are considered to be 'intellectual'—implying in fact a minimum of Western-type learning. Prestige on economic grounds seems to be definitely on the decline.[1] At Dakar, Thiès and Saint-Louis du Sénégal, adults were questioned about the trade or occupation they would like their children to take up. A vast majority of the socio-vocational categories (unskilled and skilled workers, traders, clerks, civil servants, etc.) from which the population sample under study was taken gave the same answer. Between 65 and 80 per cent mentioned an intellectual profession. Those most frequently cited were teaching (primary or secondary school teacher) and the liberal professions (lawyer, doctor, etc.); the technological professions (engineer etc.) were much more rarely specified.[2] One of the commonest answers was that vague but highly significant term, 'civil servant'. The fact is that the trend of education in the period before 1945 helped to establish a very close link between education and a job in the administration; this is still the case, despite the changes effected in the last few years. Similar attitudes are found in the results of surveys among children in the primary schools at Dakar. Among those who replied specifically[3]—about three-quarters of the children questioned—more than 80 per cent expressed a preference for an occupation considered to be intellectual, irrespective of their father's occupation; next came certain manual trades, with commerce far behind. The choice of an unspecified administrative job was less frequent than among the adults. It follows that the view generally taken about education—including primary education—viz. that it will lead almost inevitably to an intellectual occupation,[4] however modest, remains very stable; but it is less and less in keeping with the realities of the situation.

A brief study of the facts in the development of the educational system will allow us to make a first evaluation of the system. The crude school rate rose rapidly from 1946 to 1953 and has since continued to rise pretty regularly (16 per cent in 1953, 18 per cent in 1954, about 20 per cent in 1955). Senegal's early advance in this respect explains why the increase is less steep there than in most of the other French West African territories.[5] True, the school rate is still relatively low (and a fairly large proportion of the children do not complete even the primary course and will probably soon lose such learning as they have acquired), but a plateau was reached several years ago: primary education turns out many more pupils than the 'administrative bourgeoisie'—characteristic of the colonial period—or its equivalent in private enterprise can absorb. Formerly, the surplus of the educated population could be absorbed by the manual trades or by migration to other territories. But this second door is gradually closing now that these other territories are catching up in education. Moreover, the slow pace of economic expansion precludes any big increase in the number of openings for technical workers or in the supervisory grades in industry.[6] This is the justification for the talk about the educational over-

1. Material security (e.g. that enjoyed by civil servants) seems to be desired more often than actual wealth.
2. They are only beginning to acquire some prestige; the number of students choosing this branch has risen considerably in recent years.
3. Children from 10 to 14, in the 'intermediate' classes.
4. A job in the bureaucracy was for years the standard aim.
5. The school rate in the Ivory Coast almost trebled between 1946 and 1953.
6. Limited, but chronic unemployment, already exists in Dakar.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

571 178 871

equipment of Senegal in relation to the existing employment market. These facts must, however, be considered from another angle. The real problems are those of the true integration of education into a developing social environment, its adaptation to various local situations, and the adjustments which must be made in the Senegalese people's conception of education. These problems look, of course, more acute in the big towns, particularly in the former 'centres of assimilation',[1] which have often reached a relatively high school rate (sometimes more than 50 per cent); in many rural districts the critical phase is still a long way off. Recent changes in the position are marked by another important feature to which I shall revert at greater length: the difference in the distribution of the school population classified according to the various kinds of education. The past 10 years have been marked by the development of secondary and technical education, and the introduction of local higher education. At the beginning of 1955, pupils and students were distributed approximately as follows among the different types of education: 87 per cent in primary schools, 9 per cent in secondary schools, 2 per cent in vocational training schools, 2 per cent in higher education and its various equivalents.[2] At the same time education in French West Africa ceased to be an almost isolated system providing degrees and diplomas which were not recognized in metropolitan France and qualified their holders only for subordinate positions in most occupations.[3] The intellectual elite is becoming steadily more diversified. Its ideals are being noticeably modified; some of its prestige values are being revised; the masses are beginning to change their idea of what they mean by the elite. This is a transitional stage, with its own special tensions.

[369]

178 571 369 871

At this stage in the development of education—the outstanding fact in which is that, particularly in the urban primary schools, the demand exceeds the supply[4]—the signs are already fairly evident of a trend towards less mobility in the social scale. The prospects of reaching the ranks conferring most prestige differ in the towns and the rural zones, for the reasons already indicated. They are also tending to be less evenly distributed among the various sections of the urban population as the latter becomes more diversified. It is not, however, a case of the urban population breaking up into closed or nearly closed groups; none of the discernible social categories are of this character, nor can they be in any way likened to social classes.[5] In particular, relations based on kinship in the widest sense of the term continue to play a fundamental role, and maintain in being close ties among all the individuals composing the family group. Severance of these relations occurs only in extreme cases. Nevertheless, a trend towards the crystallization of social categories does appear, through the mere accumulation of circumstances.[6] The problem has been studied in a recent work the principal points of which I will venture to recall.[7] A survey of the urban district of Dakar—confirmed by later research in other cities—showed certain significant differences in the social origins of

[871]

[602]

[863]

1. The 'four communes' mentioned above.
2. Including young people studying in France.
3. Even in teaching, medicine, etc.
4. In Dakar it became necessary to establish part-time classes to meet an ever-rapid increase in demand.
5. Cf. P. Mercier, 'Aspects de la Stratification Sociale dans l'Ouest Africain' (Aspects of social stratification in West Africa), *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, XVII, 1954.
6. Studied, e.g. by G. Balandier, in *Sociologie des Brazzavilles Noires* (Sociology of the coloured population of Brazzaville), Paris, 1955.
7. Cf. P. Mercier, op. cit.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

the individuals questioned; and these differences are likely to become sharper—45 per cent were farmers' sons, but considerable variations appeared according to the socio-vocational category. The proportion of unskilled workers was 80 per cent; it was only 42 per cent for skilled workers and craftsmen; still lower (33 per cent) for civil servants and subordinate office employees (the widest category of the 'administrative bourgeoisie' characteristic of the colonial period), 28 per cent for senior clerks and civil servants; for members of the liberal professions in the widest sense[2] it was no more than 21 per cent. These last three categories taken as a whole represent the 'intellectual professions', according to the meaning still ascribed by the great majority of Senegalese to that phrase. Of those who had a father already in one of these professions, three-quarters were engaged in the same work. The same process of stabilization can, however, be observed, though less clearly, among specialized workers; of those whose father was a worker, nearly two-thirds still belonged to the same class; most of the others had been absorbed into the 'administrative bourgeoisie'. These, moreover, are the two chief categories,[3] from which there has emerged a new type of elite which really began to grow in size only after the last war.

178 571 369 463

Important changes in outlook, not only in Senegal, but in the whole of French West Africa, have accompanied this most recent historical phase. From the elite of the strictly colonial type as defined above there has begun to emerge—and even to take on separate existence—a new intellectual elite, still a relatively small group.[4] This elite, which might be termed that of the liberal professions—this time in the strict sense of the phrase—having a distinctly higher level of education and more definite professional competence, is able to lay claim to a quantity of posts until now almost exclusively held by Europeans. The category was not completely non-existent during the pre-war period; it developed earlier in Senegal than in the other French West African territories as a result of Senegal's possession of an embryonic system of secondary education.[5] Being numerically weak, this elite had an opportunity of associating, to a certain extent, with the European population, a fact which manifestly lessened its prospects of playing an active role and assuming the leadership of the African masses. Furthermore, it continued to follow the policy of assimilation and was the only element in the 'colonial elit e' which succeeded in achieving it. It could find only a limited field of action in the political life of the 'four communes'. It consisted mainly of lawyers, a few members of the teaching profession and doctors and even a few administrators. It doubtless set an example for a colonial elite of a far inferior grade from which it was not entirely cut off; it showed them the road to be taken by the seeker after modern knowledge. Prestige of the kind hitherto enjoyed only by Europeans was transferred to them and was thus seen to be no longer out of reach and so engendered ideas of power—a share, even if limited, of political and administrative powers—and wealth, or material security, at the lowest. This role continued to develop after the war, though with a rather abrupt change of direction.

178 571 [463] [873] [554]

1. i.e. those holding posts of responsibility, regardless of their educational level.
2. Medicine, teaching, medicine, etc.
3. The first, especially.
4. Only a few hundred individuals, including members of the 'colonial elite' who were belatedly given fresh opportunities for completing their studies and reaching a higher status.
5. *Lycée* at Saint-Louis, later at Dakar.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

[178] [571] The reason is not to be sought solely in the increase in numbers of this intellectual elite though that was quite substantial. Trained in Europe and remaining in touch with the world outside, it was the first section of the population to become consciously aware of the 'colonial situation',[1] and it immediately made an attempt to build up ideological systems which soon acquired crucial influence. Next, the changed pattern in the relations between Europeans and Africans speeded up the development of situations in which conflicts became inevitable, and encouraged the maintenance of close contact between the new [578] and the colonial elites. I shall revert to this point later. True, tension existed, especially between generations, the older strata of the colonial elite having sometimes to defend the positions they had won.[2] But the younger people tended to identify themselves with the new elite, to accept its guidance and to share, more or less confusedly, in the same awakening to the colonial situation. Thus, the intellectual elite, in the broadest sense of the term, embarked in a new direction, and the political consequences of this change are now beginning to be seen. The problem of relations with the workers' elite which has emerged in the past few years is more complex; I shall come back to it in connexion with trade union activity.

In the typical pre-war situation, the African elite had little chance of competing with the European managing class, which was much less numerous that it is now.[3] It was trained to be what might be called an auxiliary elite. The new elite, on the contrary—notwithstanding the administrative and economic expansion of the past 10 years—will inevitably find itself in competition with Europeans in the managing and supervisory grades in an ever growing number of specific cases. Though still few in numbers, it has difficulty in finding a place in the territory's administrative and technological machine. It is a paradox that in a country immensely in need of responsible personnel, both managers and technicians, demand seems somewhat to exceed supply. [464] In French West Africa, and particularly in Senegal, the government officially recognizes the existence of an 'employment problem for holders of diplomas'. One of the causes of this situation is no doubt the total absence of planning in the training of elites.[4] But the real explanation must be found in political circumstances and race relations.[5] The effort to 'Africanize' the upper grades encounters firm resistance, and so the rise of the elites is apparently seriously checked by the growing number of situations in which Africans and Europeans compete and which the two groups explain in diametrically opposite ways.[6] It is a significant fact that several Senegalese who have completed their studies in France have remained there, because they would be unable to find jobs for which they could apply at home. The problem is obviously even more [167] acute in the private sector than in the administration.[7] Also, the European [563] population has considerably increased in the past 10 years:[8] it has more than doubled in Senegal, tripled at Dakar—where it now represents about 10 per cent of the population.

[113] 1. Cf. the studies of G. Balandier, and in particular: *Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique Noire* (Present sociology of Negro Africa), Paris, 1955.

2. Especially in the administration.

[113] 3. Cf. P. Mercier, 'Le Groupement Européen de Dakar: Orientations d'une Enquête' (The European group at Dakar: Suggested line for a survey), *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, XIX, 1955.

4. An effort is now being made in this direction.

5. Cf. P. Mercier, 'Le Groupement Européen de Dakar', op. cit.

6. Patterns of thought based on the pre-war situation play a fundamental role here.

7. Where the trend, as yet timid, towards 'Africanization' of the upper grades can be discerned.

8. A general phenomenon in French West Africa which involves important changes in relations between Africans and Europeans.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

cent of the population. Thus, the number of Europeans in intermediate or subordinate posts has substantially increased and the range of competitive situations, instead of growing less is being regularly extended. This affects not only the new elite, but a large segment of the old 'administrative bourgeoisie', and even, to some extent, the workers and lower supervisory grades in industry. And so, while—in theory—opportunities for reaching the highest ranks and simultaneously entering the European group (a consequence foreseen by assimilationist ideology) have increased with the development of education, in reality a radical change in the whole social structure has multiplied the causes of conflict. New factors have cropped up abruptly: further assimilation is gainsaid, Europeans and Africans become more and more sensitive to the realities of race, etc. Obviously, the political consequences of such conflicts are considerable.

I have mentioned cases in which a rift occurred between the elites and the masses, in the early years, at any rate, of the 'colonial elite'. This fact needs some further explanation, while the question of the relations between the 'educated' and the 'traditional' categories calls for re-examination on a wider basis. The stereotyped patterns maintained by the European administration underline the points of divergence. The administration has besides had a tendency—and not only in Senegal—to underestimate the influence of modernist elites and to depreciate their impact upon the population as a whole. True, important tensions can be observed, and some antagonism developed between the citizens (those of the 'four communes'), from whom the major part of the 'colonial élite' came, and the subjects in the other parts of the territory; but such tensions virtually disappeared with the legal changes introduced immediately after the war, a fact which is proof enough how superficial the points of divergence were. The 'educated' classes, moreover, sought to reap all possible profit from the power they acquired in their administrative functions, or in their role of intermediary between producers and the big commercial companies; and that attitude naturally set up a great many local conflicts. Sometimes they sought compensation for their inferior standing in the traditional framework by asserting themselves in the exercise of their new functions. As we have already shown, however, the population as a whole recognized the prestige of the new intellectual elite. True, their prestige did not necessarily displace the traditional prestige, but the two can coexist, a circumstance which stands out most clearly in rural districts. So, even if the 'educated' African has difficulty in fitting into the traditional system or even the family group, even if he is often a maladjusted element, he is rarely the fish out of water whom so many colonial observers considered him. All the elements of the population are still continually in touch.[1] There are two basic reasons for this. First, the range of family relationships is still a very wide one and they themselves are still effective; they maintain their hold on the 'educated' African even when he has left his birthplace. Secondly, religion—chiefly Islam in Senegal—and above all, membership of a sect, which is practically hereditary, continue to be important. The fact that tension between elites and masses led to nothing but quite limited and temporary breaks explains why the recent and entirely conscious effort to retie loose bonds was carried through with comparative ease. It was the new elite that, with political aims in view, inspired this effort. Usually too far removed from the

[1] The vitality of racial or regional associations is significant in this respect.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37
p 450

178 masses, it found in the 'colonial elite' the go-between it needed for the resumption of contact to which it aspired.
571

The activity of this new elite is beginning to be discernible in its political and trade union work, and its basic aspirations can be defined. As has already been said, a Western-type political life was introduced fairly early in one part of Senegal. Political parties were formed; after 1946, their influence extended throughout the territory. In a recent paper[1] we stated that they had become, in the 'four communes', an almost traditional part of the social system. Once they reached the whole of Senegal, they acquired an enormous body of followers, the divisions among whom reflected successively—or simultaneously, according to the district—a number of historical, social, ethnic and family rifts. Thus, the antagonism between the Socialist party and the Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais, which has been a salient factor over recent years, did but reproduce according to time and place, the antagonism between former 'citizens' and former 'subjects', Ouolof and non-Ouolof, Moslems and Catholics, one Moslem sect and another, etc. On the whole, the 'colonial elite' has assumed the leadership of these parties.[2] But recent surveys have shown that, in the urban centres at any rate, membership in a political party might be commoner among the illiterate elements than among the 'educated'. This is a clear indication of the gap between the political parties and the present ambitions of the elites. A strongly held local position or the prestige of certain leaders is the reason why the traditional parties, though ill adapted to the present situation, have succeeded in keeping afloat. However, the waning influence of the Socialist party (the oldest organized party) was the sign after 1950 of the start of a new phase. The young elite from the liberal professions, followed by numerous young members of the 'colonial elite', remained markedly aloof from these movements, which seemed to afford no opportunity for the political action in which they intended to engage. Their sympathies went to a movement of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain type, although they were unable to impose it because of the strong positions held by the traditional parties. Yet some of the more influential members of this young elite finally decided to join the Senegalese party which seemed to have the strongest hold over the popular masses, the Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais.[3] There, they will doubtless play an important role. The point has been reached at which the new elite is seeking to take over the torch from the 'colonial elite', but with political ambitions of a much more radical nature; I shall consider later the ideological aspects of the problem. In the case of the trade unions, the position is slightly different. Their activity,[4] of recent origin, soon acquired deeper significance. The more energetic elements of the 'administrative bourgeoisie', in alliance with the still small working-class elite, embarked in the trade unions on a course of action which was more directly effective than that of the political parties.[5] The climate of thought, directly or indirectly influenced by theories of Marxist origin, favoured the growth of an awareness of the 'colonial situation'. In this respect, however, the new intellectual elite played

665
178
571
[369]
460
178
571

[113]

1. Cf. P. Mercier, *An Experimental Investigation conducted by means of Questionnaires in the town of Dakar*, report presented to the Conference on the Social Impact of Industrialization and Urban Problems, organized by Unesco at Abidjan, 1954.
2. As here, needless to say, certain members of an elite formed from the liberal professions, which had already emerged before the war.
3. In which they represent the 'left' wing.
4. Most of the unions are affiliated to the trade union federations in France.
5. And more resolutely nationalist in its outlook.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

only a limited, and very indirect, part. Between this group and the working-class elite certain persisting tensions can be descried; a survey among the younger members—students, young workers—has brought to light more or less radical divergencies. However, the new elite is trying to extend its activity to the trade union sphere. A confederation of African workers independent of the organizations in metropolitan France has recently been founded, in which the young intellectual elite will apparently be extremely influential. This would be the counterpart of its entry into organized political action. In another domain, significant changes are occurring: the 'cultural associations' have a much more important role than their name would imply.[1] These are made up of the intellectual elite (in the widest sense in which I have used this term), which seeks by these means to avoid being relegated to a position of isolation, to acquire greater influence in the education of the people—e.g. through theatrical representations in one of the local languages—and to rediscover the highways of traditional African culture.

It is the new elite that has given expression to this desire for a 'return to the fountain-head'. A reaction, against assimilationist policies has appeared. From the acceptance of assimilation characteristic of he preceding generation opinion turned first to less sharply defined positions—typified by the slogan 'assimilate, don't be assimilated'—and then to attitudes of refusal, the details of which are still not very clear. Such attitudes accompany a lush ideological growth, to which only a very brief reference can be given here. It is not exempt from inconsistency; it is intertwined with growths of very different origin, sometimes hostile to each other. The only point at which all these ideologies concur is that they one and all are the expression of an intense reaction against colonialism—and obviously against the policy of assimilation—and serve as a basis for a growing 'nationalism'.[2] I will mention only the following points: the revival of African cultures and the affirmation of the common elements in a pan-African or, more generally, a Negro culture; the development of a veritable mythology around the notion of 'Negrohood'[3] and of a sort of 'counter-racism', the end-result of which is to shut the door on the outside world—i.e. primarily the Western world; the reinterpretation of history through a reversal of the perspective, a method applied not only to the history of the slave trade and the colonial period, but to the whole history of Africa as well;[4] the forging from Marxist theories of an ideological battering ram, to be used in a specifically African anti-colonial drive. The results of all these efforts make rapid headway throughout the 'educated' classes.[5]

The above picture is unavoidably only an incomplete outline. I have merely sought to bring out the importance of the present transitional phase and its characteristic processes. A new intellectual elite is taking up the torch from the 'colonial elite' which in Senegal had already succeeded in gaining appreciably greater influence than in the other French West African territories; there has been no break between them. And yet tensions and possibilities of conflict exist. Nevertheless, the conscious search for points of contact with

1. The study of political problems is a particularly important part of their activity.
2. In the African context, this term is used very broadly, to cover all anti-colonial movements.
3. The review *Présence Africaine* offers many examples of articles showing the influence of this idea.
4. The recent book by Cheikh Anta Diop, *Nations Nègres et Culture* (Negro nations and culture), Paris, 1955, is a highly significant example of what is being done on these lines.
5. There are still more trends, but they indicate a change of outlook which will probably become deeper with time.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

178 the masses which are still partly traditionalists helps to strengthen the ties
571 between the masses and the elite—ties never completely broken. General acceptance of the example set by the elite testifies at another level to the permanence of those ties (despite frequent conflicts, misunderstanding, and failures at adaptation). However, certain traditional factors making for heterogeneity still enter into the picture. Tensions can most easily degenerate into conflicts when relations between members of different racial groups, or different castes,
[578] are involved. That is a problem which cannot be studied in detail here. But the survival of such rifts (other examples in Negro Africa show that they may reappear after being temporarily suppressed) is a basic fact. A long time will probably be needed before the obstacle they represent to the growth of a homogeneous elite wielding universal influence can be overcome in Senegal. But only when that has been done can the broad general trends briefly described above find their complete expression.

[p 452]

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

2

The Revolution

494 OUR bus had been travelling across monotonous scrub country for several hours. The road was excellent, but the journey uncomfortable in the heat of the afternoon sun. The goats on the roof had not stopped screaming since we left Kaolak and the hair of two Mauretanian women sitting in front of me 302 exuded a suffocating odour of rancid butter, with which it was greased, attracting a large swarm of flies. The bus had a drowsy lethargic atmosphere in which we could neither sleep nor think.

After we had been travelling for what seemed an eternity, the 133 skyline was broken by some small hills, covered with lemon-leafed trees. I cannot adequately describe the visual relief those hills afforded. For their significance, they might have been mountains. Towards evening we left these hills behind us and our road quite suddenly came upon the sea, which stretched out before us an undecided compromise between grey and blue. Its [361] shore was skirted by mud huts, from which hung long fishing nets, tied to gaily painted canoes.

361 There was a sudden stir in the front of the bus. A voice cried: 369 'Dakar, ici Dakar.' I looked beyond the fretwork silhouette of the fishing village, beyond the cold grey of the sea to an incredible backdrop: a vast city of giant houses, gleaming in the late sun, rode the horizon like some fantastic flotilla of the future.

'Dakar, ici Dakar.' The voice cried once more and the excited passengers took up the refrain.

Our bus pulled up into a large lorry station, in a part of [498] Dakar whose resemblance to the Motte-Picquet-Grenelle suburb of Paris immediately struck me, except that Africans had been substituted for Algerians. At once there was a mad scramble to get

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30

out of the bus and it was only with difficulty that Arnold and I managed to extricate ourselves. We took a taxi, at almost greater cost than the journey from Kaolak to Dakar, to a dingy little hotel, in the old quarter of the city. To reach it we passed through the centre of Dakar. Trees lined the streets and the architecture of both offices and houses was admirably suited to its tropical setting. It was at once evident that Dakar was a city and not just a town that had, like Lagos, rambled and sprawled and got too big. With its statuesque young skyscrapers and its wide streets, Dakar seemed a model city for the new West Africa. It was neither distinctly African nor European, but had its affinity with the modern cities of South America.

Arnold, accustomed to the higgledy-piggledy, chaotic sprawl of Lagos, and the quiet Victorian dignity of Freetown, could not quite take this in. He seemed almost to resent it as an imposition on Africa, as something that was not African. True, I found that against this background the African appeared, at first, to be an intruder. Nothing seemed more incongruous than a vast Jollof belle, dressed in her traditional robes of lace and muslin, sweeping past the more outrageous examples of *cinema moderna* architecture, or standing pensively beneath a marble plaque depicting a naked African surrounded by the fruits of progress. More incongruous still was the sight of them being spooned in and out of fast American cars or staring into patisserie windows—just imagine one of those muslin cocoons tackling a chocolate éclair. Yet the Africans seemed to have accepted their surroundings with such aplomb that very soon I was to feel that it was the Europeans who were out of place. There seemed nothing unnatural in half a dozen Africans making up their bed for the night on the pavement outside a twelve-story bank, or the young men in tight jeans standing on the street corners eyeing passing girls, just like Saturday night back at the Buildings.

We stayed one night in the Hotel des Fleurs, the cheapest I could find in Dakar. It was owned by a Lebanese, and for Dakar, a city which is almost prohibitive in price for an Englishman, it was remarkably cheap. A haircut in Dakar is 12s., and it has one of the highest cost of living indices in the world.

That night when I entered a bar called appropriately 'Café de Paris', I was unable to believe that we were still in Africa. It had

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

369 all the accoutrements of a Montmartre bistro, together with a
275 large, bad painting of the Sacré Coeur above the bar. Drinks were served by a tall barmaid, with long flaxen hair and make-up applied so that she looked like a German-doll: The clientele was mainly composed of soldiers from the barracks by the sea-front, but at our table sat two elegant Jollof girls, both very drunk.
[548] They made it fairly clear they were prostitutes and it was not long before a policeman came to arrest the more intoxicated of the two. She spat, screamed furiously and struggled to break away. Just as she was about to enter the car, she demanded: 'Let me finish my drink.' She was allowed to return to her table, where she drank her beer slowly, eyeing us all as if we were vermin. Then just as slowly, with the comic dignity that comes so naturally to a drunk, she swept to her feet, stood with her henna'd hands on her hips, spat with incredible accuracy at the feet of a nearby soldier and shouted in a voice ringing with anger, and looking at us with contempt: 'Salauds.'

Then an African sergeant came in, asked for a drink, which
[563] the flaxen doll served him. She served African and European alike. I found this hard to believe after the Gambia, where no white woman could serve drinks behind a bar to Europeans, let alone to Africans.

369 Next morning, I was even more surprised when Arnold took
563 me into a large department store and pointed to the counter-girls. Seventy-five per cent of them were white. Outside a French-woman was selling vegetables at a small stall. Of course, in this respect Dakar is exceptional for West Africa. It is the only city with a large population of Colons. Over 25,000 Europeans live
[162] there. They came from every walk of life and have more affinity with the Colons of Algeria than anything else one can cite on the Coast. You can walk into the most ramshackle bar and yet be served by a Parisienne. You will find poor whites living in the Médina, as the African quarter is known. Each year, 'Les Girls' from a Paris night club do a season at the *Bodega*. The N'Gor Hotel and the 'Croix du Sud' are as fine as you will find in France. Dakar's Colons have re-created Paris in Africa. Most of them have never ventured out of the city, and if they had to go into 'the bush' they would probably prepare for it as though they were Mungo Park setting out to discover the Niger.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS 30

S 369 563

Arnold was critical of these Colons, for in British West Africa there is no such class. Indeed he seemed almost to resent their presence, though he has no dislike of Europeans. His opinion is shared by a number of Africans who come into competition with whites for jobs.

'In Lagos the counter girls are African. Why shouldn't they be here?' Arnold argued.

On the other hand in Lagos service and shopping facilities are infinitely inferior to those of Dakar. Another thing that struck Arnold was the absence of Africans from the main cafés and hotels. Surely this indicated a subtle colour bar, he argued. However, I had the answer to this from an African whom I invited to have a drink in a café with me. He declined, because as a Muslim it would not do for him to be seen in a café by any of his friends or relations. If they did see him there would be terrible trouble.

S [873] [369]

W [563]

The Jollofs, Dakar's main tribe, are proud of their race and not over-keen on mixing with whites. Nevertheless relations between African and European in Dakar are extremely cordial. France is still aware of the debt that she owes the Senegalese troops for their part in the last war. There is, moreover, none of the patronizing attitude in the French approach to the African. If anything, as many French complain, the Jollof is the one who does the patronizing.

S 123 [815]

We went from the Hotel de Fleurs to some rooms in IFAN, the Institut Français D'Afrique Noire, which were lent us by its Director, Professor Theodore Monod, whom I had met on my last visit to Dakar. Professor Monod is one of the most impressive men I have ever met. He received us both in his large, book-lined office without looking up from his work. We both fumbled and fidgeted nervously studying the pictures on the wall, many of which were religious paintings or texts from the Bible. When I was beginning to feel acutely embarrassed, he looked up from his work revealing a gaunt, hollow face with deep-set piercing eyes, half obscured behind the glass of his horn-rimmed spectacles. I informed him that we had met some two years before, and that I should be grateful for his help on my journey. He looked at me vaguely, smiled, and then suddenly seemed to come into contact with the world we inhabited, and promised to arrange for letters

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

123 of introduction to be sent to the Directors of his Institute in all the towns we should be visiting. We talked for a moment at human level, then a glance at his papers, a distant look in his eyes, indicated it was time for us to leave.

815 Monod is an established expert on the following subjects: geology; geography: physical, climatic, regional and human; archaeology; history; marine biology; ethnography; botany; zoology; pre-history; and languages. He has over 400 publications to his name and has published two best-sellers in France. He went down in the bathyscope with Professor Piccard and with Captain Houot. His real love is the Sahara Desert. He must know it better than any other man alive. His first journey into the unknown wastes of the Sahara was in 1923, and by 1930 he had travelled its length and breadth from Algiers to Timbuktu, from Mauretania to Lake Chad. Friends called the gaunt young man, who rode off into the desert wastes alone with a camel, 'Monod le Fou'. Today he is known more respectfully as 'Monod le Saharien'. In the winter of 1954 he completed a phenomenal trek across the desert over a distance never before dared by another white man. With four camels, two Arabs, and a strict daily ration of half a litre of wine, Monod, aged 52, covered 900 kilometres in 47 days.

Theodore Monod has probably done as much as any European to give dignity to the culture and traditions of the tribes of West Africa, and to preserve these traditions for their future inheritors when the steamroller of Western civilization threatens to obliterate them. The Institut Français D'Afrique Noire, which he directs, has a federal museum in Dakar and a [217] network of museums and research centres throughout French Black Africa. It employs scholars in every field of knowledge concerning Africa, and most important of all, it gives African scholars an opportunity to make research into their own customs, traditions and history.

123 Monsieur Pierre Cros, of the Press Section of the Federal 204 Information Services, who was to help us as much as anyone in our travels in West Africa, received us in his small office on the [659] ninth floor of the vast Federal Administration building. What impressed me most about the Federal Information Services was their very considerable knowledge of British West Africa. Fortnightly they published a resumé of the local press of Nigeria,

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

W
142
291
854
301
531

S
[463]

The Wollof women of Dakar are some of the most elegant in Africa. The latest styles in their dresses, derived from the Empire line, are worn here by three mannequins of Maison Pierre Grosse. Their elegance is reflected even in the working clothes of a young Wollof mother

[p 48 (A)]

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

S
361
369

A general view of Dakar, capital of French West Africa

W
291
482
369

Wollof women on their way to market in St. Louis

[J 48 (B)]

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

Ghana and Sierra Leone, together with articles on these territories that had appeared in the major British papers. 173 [204]

Monsieur Cros told us that he was going that evening to a 'lunch' at the Grand Conseil building, which was being held in honour of the Secretary-General of the French National Assembly. He promised to arrange invitations for us.

Every important official and politician in Dakar was present at the 'lunch'. Black and white mingled freely. M. Cros whisked me from Governor to Inspector General, from an African Colonel to the Secretary-General of the National Assembly, to a representative of Agence France Press and a Senegalese Minister I was to meet the next day. The scene was high-powered and bewildering, but after a few drinks had been consumed the party lost much of its formality, a thing the French, especially in Africa, do not believe in, and I was pulled into conversation by an elderly French Administrator with sleek grey hair, a well-preserved figure, piercing grey eyes, and bronzed complexion. He asked me what I was doing in Dakar.

'I am spending six months travelling in West Africa.'

'Where are you going?'

'I hope to visit most of French West Africa, and spend some time in Nigeria, Ghana and Sierra Leone. I've already been to Gambia and Portuguese Guinea.'

'How do you like Dakar?'

'I was here two years ago. But even in my short absence, it's changed so much. This Grand Conseil was just a mass of scaffolding and concrete when I was last here.'

We both looked at the marbled floor, the graceful pillars, at the group of superbly dressed Africans, many of them with better dress sense than the Frenchmen they were talking to.

'Yes,' he said, suddenly giving words to a sequence of thought, 'It's a revolution, a veritable revolution.'

POLITICS AND POWER

Dakar

Obviously the young man talking to Arnold did not agree. 648
He told him in English: 'We'll have to drive the French out of

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

[648] West Africa, or they'll never leave. The Frenchman has taken everything away from the African. Even prostitution,' he sneered, 'is in their hands.'

Arnold asked him what he thought about Ghana. 'Ghana,' he said fiercely, as though to him it was a deeply significant symbol, 'will stand on its own feet, despite the ill-will of the whole world.' Arnold said: 'But I heard some of your African politicians don't want independence on the Ghana pattern. I've even been told that one said that Ghana got its independence too early.'

'Huh!' he interjected. 'They are jealous because Ghana has got what we will never get, unless they take up arms and drive the Frenchmen away like they did in Dien Bien Phu and are now doing in Algeria.'

Quite why the young man was so vicious against the French I did not discover. His conversation with Arnold certainly gave a false impression of the political situation in French West Africa. He seemed almost as unaware of the political revolution that had taken place here in the Senegal, and throughout French Black Africa only six months earlier, as most British Africans are. For [641] on 31st March, in the same month as Ghana got its independence, French West Africans, every adult, went to the polls to elect their own Territorial Assemblies, from which their own Prime Ministers and Governments would be chosen. And although the new law provided only for a limited degree of internal autonomy for each territory—control of the Civil Service and the police, [643] for instance, were reserved for the Governor—it was an irrevocable step that placed the future of French West Africa in African hands. If the young man had doubts about this, he had only to look at the African Minister from the Senegal talking calmly and confidently to the Acting High Commissioner, Monsieur Torre, to reassure himself.

This young African was not alone in his views. I heard it from other students, though never from a politician in power. The French, of course, because of their record in Indo-China and North Africa, often hear such attacks from the Americans who write about French Black Africa. They arrive there, their opinions already formed by a study of French Colonial policy elsewhere, and condemn everything going on in Dakar and the eight

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

territories of the Federation. This has made the French very bitter 648
against the Americans. As it is, the French are notoriously anti-American, and nowhere was this more pronounced than in Dakar when I was there. Memories of the incident at Little Rock were still fresh. One official told me triumphantly:

'When Holmes, Foster Dulles' plenipotentiary, came to Dakar to patch up the effect of Little Rock, which, I might say, had a profound effect on Africans here, the local people told him that they were astonished that the Federal Government of the U.S.A. could not control a State Governor. Of course,' he continued, a vicious light in his eyes, 'the best thing was at the Youth Conference at Abidjan, in Ivory Coast. The local American Consul went there in his large car, Stars and Stripes flying. When these young Africans talked about independence he clapped, and smiled when they passed resolutions in its favour. Then they called for a vote censuring Little Rock. He had to get up and leave!'

After meeting the young African at the 'lunch' in the Grand 665
Conseil, Arnold was very surprised by the moderate views of 648
Monsieur Doudou Guèye, a leading politician of French Africa's largest party, the Rassemblement Démocratique Africaine, whom we met in his office in the same building. He is President of the Permanent Commission of the Grand Conseil, and a man with a record much more extremist than Nkrumah. He received us in a large office, overlooking the Atlantic, immaculately dressed and radiating an air of efficiency.

'In French West Africa,' he told us, 'independence is not so simple as in British West Africa, where you have practised indirect rule, preserving much of the old tribal system, the power of the Chiefs, and native law. Here most of that is destroyed. We have had to build up a new life for ourselves. Independence is therefore much more difficult. Anyway I don't think Ghana has much advantage over us. Our new *Loi Cadre* has given internal responsibility to the Africans who, in effect, run everything. The main strings France pulls are economic.'

It all seemed so smooth now, very remote from the fiery words of Arnold's friend. But Doudou Guèye, like many of his party, had been persecuted by the French. He had been in prison during the years 1948, 1949 and 1950. He did not seem bitter

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

665
648

about it, and even waved a letter at me which he said he had just received from his old prison governor.

'If we politicians hadn't been in prison we would never have got what we have today. Other politicians who did not go to prison suffered more than I did.'

He seemed to take a far more mature view of his party's experience of prison than Nkrumah and his 'prison graduates' do. One could see that Doudou Guèye would never parade on French West African Independence Day in a prisoner's hat. Though he and his party members would have much more reason to.

Later we met a leader of R.D.A., with a record much more extreme than that of Doudou Guèye. Gabriel D'Arboussier, Vice-President of the Grand Conseil, had once been as good as a member of the Communist Party. The R.D.A., too, had been very much a fellow-travelling party, which even now is organized on the Communist cell basis. 'We owe a lot to the Communists, who taught us and trained us,' Doudou Guèye had told us. But D'Arboussier, a mulatto from Djenne in Soudan, is no longer a Communist, and R.D.A. has moved steadily away from the left. The Communists hate D'Arboussier today as a traitor to the cause, but this has lost him little, for he is now at the forefront of French African politics.

He received us in his plush office, sat us both in large armchairs, and instead of viewing us from the fortress of his very large desk, sat in the third armchair. He talked in fluent and excellent English. We talked about Africa.

'The great problem of Africa is the creation of a united people and the breakdown of tribal factions. When we stress the need for unity in Africa, I think it is because consciously or unconsciously in Africa it is clear to us that the element of division is very great. We shall have to fight very hard to achieve it.' Arnold: 'Do you think we will ever succeed?' D'Arboussier looked doubtfully at us for a moment. I said I thought that the impact of the various Colonial powers in Africa and the imposition of their culture and tradition in the African peoples would make unity difficult, at least in the immediate future. He nodded agreement.

'What is important,' D'Arboussier said, 'is the African way of

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

living. What we must preserve completely is that, though, of course, I realize, it is no longer possible to treat the economic and political problems of Africa on the level of the tribes. However, what Africa could give to the West, is the sense of democratic function. People tend to laugh at the institution of the village palaver house, but it is the great school of politics. Decisions there are taken on the basis not of a majority but of unanimity. They will talk night and day till the last man in the village is convinced their common action is right.'

Arnold looked at D'Arboussier somewhat suspiciously when he talked largely about the 'African' and his personality. As a Creole, Arnold, I think, detected D'Arboussier's own dilemma, as a Mulatto, who was not sure where he belonged. To Africa or Europe?

For a man who had once been a Communist sympathizer D'Arboussier was surprisingly moderate. There was no talk of independence or an immediate rupture with France.

'We have decided that absolute independence would be a burden,' he told me.

One of my best friends in Dakar was a young Toucouleur, of my own age, who was a member of the newly formed Partie Africane de L'Independence, which was in complete opposition to the creation of any Franco-African Community, who believed that France exploited Africa, and the sooner Africa was rid of her the better.

He himself was extremely well-educated, with no immediately obvious motive for bitterness against the French. Indeed, it was a Frenchman who introduced me to him. He took me to the headquarters of the party, a small bookshop in a side street of Dakar. It was well decorated, and its shelves were lined with books on Marxist Socialism and Communism, a lesser Colletts. Mixed with picture books about Rumania and Russia and the Chinese way of life were the French Classics. Mahjemout Diop, one of the leaders of this party, as yet with little influence, received me in his office and lectured me on the evils of French administration. There was something clandestine about our encounter in this side office and yet with Africans in power at the Grand Conseil, and with an African Prime Minister of the Senegal I could not help thinking his anti-colonialist crusade a

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 little misguided. He handed me a copy of the party manifesto.
648 On the front it read:

> 'At the historic moment of Bandung and of the Colonial and Imperialist system, at the moment when political confusion submerges Black Africa under French domination, our duty as Africans obliges us to bring before the masses of our country the problem of national independence and the transformation of our economy into a socialist economy.'

[204] He also handed me a copy of the party newspaper, *La Lutte*, 'The Battle', which is surprisingly well produced at an intellectual level. It even had an article explaining why Sputnik stayed up. On another page a cartoon demonstrated party feeling towards France: Picture I. Thin, Belsen figure, in casque colonial, sucks from straw the lifeblood of Africa—Picture II. Fatter version of this Frenchman leaves for home, a small Africa behind him.

But the magazine was directed not only against France. Jibes were made at the Minister of the Interior of the Senegal, and at the high wages paid to Ministers. Mahjemout Diop was later arrested on the orders of the Minister of the Interior.

OLD SENEGAL

Dakar—Gorée—St. Louis

369 [491] [361] [175] Our third afternoon in Dakar, Arnold and I took the afternoon ferry to Gorée, a tiny island embraced by the bay of Dakar. This island, which until the turn of the century was better known than Dakar itself, was discovered in 1444 by Dinis Dias, one of the early Portuguese explorers, and commands the entrance to the port of Dakar, so that for long it was prized as the most strategic of islands on the Guinea Coast. Today it is no more than an historical relic, but whether against a clear blue sky or of dark grey rain clouds massing for an assault on the mainland, it serves as a reminded that though in Africa the revolution has taken place largely over the last ten years, its groundwork has been prepared by centuries of contact with Europeans and their way of life.

The small ferry was crammed with trippers, armed with

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Goree

expensive cameras and an intriguing assortment of seaside equipment. The boat ploughed through the brisk waters of the bay before it pulled alongside the jetty, at Gorée, where the passengers climbed out with great difficulty because of the swell in the ice-blue waters, so transparent that I could see myriad fish lurking on the sandy bottom. I was cluttered up with cameras, so a tall, light-skinned African helped me on to the jetty. His fine, almost European features revealed that he was a Fulani, a curious tribe of cattle nomads to be found throughout West Africa. Some of the tribe have settled in the towns, as a superior aristocracy. The young man, a guide book in his hand, introduced himself as Seyni Djibey, and asked me whether this was the first time I had been to Gorée.

'No, I've been here before. Two years ago,' I replied.

'But you're not French,' he remarked with some astonishment. He looked at Arnold. 'I could tell because of him. The clothes he is wearing are not what the French Africans would wear,' he added.

'Where do you come from?' I asked.

'From Niamey, that's in Niger, you know!' he replied.

'Yes, I'm going there,' and before he could ask me why, I asked him a similar question.

'But what are you doing here in Senegal?'

'I just came to look. I had leave from my job, so I decided to spend some money I had saved up, travelling around West Africa. I've already been to Bamako. Next week I'm going to Conakry and Abidjan. I wanted to come here and see what Gorée is like.'

He walked towards the house of a friend to whom I had been given an introduction. The beach was littered with naked bodies, white and black, roasting in the sun that glared through a thin veil of cloud. Overlooking the right-hand wall of the beach was the picturesque Hostelerie du Chevalier de Boufflers, from which stretched in a generous semi-circle an intricacy of old houses, each one a perfect example of nineteenth-century French colonial architecture, with crumbling plaster façades, slatted shutters, large sash windows and delicately patterned verandas. Old wrought iron lamps clung to the walls of each house, giving a strangely Victorian atmosphere to the narrow street.

Seyni, looking up from his guide book, pointed to an old fort.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Goree

369 'That must be the Batterie Nord.'

[697] As we passed a gang of prisoners shuffled through its main gates outside which lay rusting cannons, their barrels stopped with cement. In the shade of palm trees at the entrance to the fort a guard played draughts with one of the local inhabitants, whilst the wives of the prisoners washed clothes or prepared their evening meal. Only the grim bars set deep into the dark stonework of the fort indicated that it was used as a prison: otherwise the entrance to the fort was more like the gate of a Moslem city, such was the coming and going.

I took some photographs and remembered with amusement an account of a former Earl of Scarborough's visit to Gorée in his diary, *The Cruise of the African Witch, 1890*:

> 'As I was taking a photo of a part of the island a nigger had the audacity to tell me that no one was allowed to photograph in the neighbourhood of the fort, and when I asked him who he was, he said: "Je suis Français". I sent him about his business and he ran to tell the guard in the fort. Europeanized niggers are obnoxious and often intolerable.'

Eighteen-ninety is a long time ago for Dakar and Gorée, though unhappily in East Africa such sentiments are still not out of date.

As I walked down the rubble-filled streets of the island, the occasional perfectly preserved balcony or heavy wooden shutters conjured up vivid memories of the old colonial society that used to inhabit Gorée. Today fat black mammies lean over the balustrades to hang out their washing whilst their naked children play on the rusty cannons encased in the mud and sand of the pavements. From the Rue de Dakar, with its crumbling houses and elegant street lamps, I could see the skyscrapers of the mainland. Above the harbour, fish hawks glided lazily, swooping suddenly with outstretched talons and amazing precision on their prey, whilst in the water bronzed Frenchmen with underwater diving equipment conducted the same operation with less success. In Europe one rarely remarks upon the contrast between [175] history and the present: the two are so constantly juxtaposed as to [633] be unworthy of comment. Yet in West Africa, where nearly

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Goree

everything seems to have been built within the last half-century, an island like Gorée, full of historical sites, stands to remind one how long Africa and Europe have been in contact. Gorée itself has been controlled by many masters: the Portuguese from 1444–1595, the Dutch 1597–1677; the French and British at intervals from 1677–1817, when the island was finally ceded to the French by the Treaty of Paris. Many famous explorers including Nuno Tristão, Fernando Po, Bartholomew Dias and Vasco da Gama and Christopher Columbus, as well as scholars like Camoens and St. Francis Xavier, stayed on the island. A small church was built by Diogo d'Azembuja, the architect of the fort of Elmina on the Gold Coast. The Dutch used Gorée for their trade with the Gold Coast and India, though later it became to its various owners important as a slaving post, as the gracious Maison des Esclaves, built between 1776–1778, witnesses. I was taken there two years ago by an African guide, through a low, damp tunnel into some squalid little cells whose only source of light was from a small grille facing on to the sea; below was a sheer drop on to Atlantic breakers. Into those cells slavers bundled hundreds of miserable wretches, seized from their villages, as often as not by other Africans. There they were imprisoned, their feet held by the heavy balls and chains that still littered the floor, until a ship was ready to take them to the New World. Often more than half of them died on the Middle Passage, and many died waiting in this house because of cold and damp, or just the lack of will to live.

However, in 1794, when Gorée was in French hands, the Revolutionary Convention abolished slavery, and accordingly deprived Gorée of its main source of income. But in 1802 the law was repealed, only to be reinforced again in 1817, so that ironically Gorée, which had been built into a naval base and the administration headquarters of French West Africa, became a major centre for the suppression of the slave trade.

Towards the end of the century Gorée declined at Dakar's expense. By 1929, from having been one of the Quatre Communes, the others being St. Louis, Rufisque and Dakar, sending representatives to the French National Assembly and enjoying equal rights with Frenchmen, it had so declined in importance that it was incorporated into the Municipality of Dakar.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 [633] Today Gorée is a residential suburb of Dakar, where administrators and merchants live. In the hot sun of the afternoon, Gorée, an island of unopened shutters, of lazy negroes passing life away in sleep, and of buildings that look as though they would crumble in one's hands like a hard-baked sand pie, was little more than an historical relic.

Gorée was a dead town. More pathetic, I found, was St. Louis, the capital of the Senegal, which is a dying town. I flew to St. Louis for a week-end, leaving Arnold in Dakar because his attack of dysentery had not yet cleared up.

[361] I loved St. Louis, a quiet little city on an island in the estuary of the river Senegal, which bounds the northern frontier of the territory to which it has given its name. I remembered it clearly from my previous visit, a city with no important industries, and few modern buildings to detract from the quiet serenity of the cool, colonial style houses, heavily shuttered against the fierce sun of the desert. In two years not much had changed. The houses had crumbled a little more, adding to, rather than detracting from its dignity as capital of two territories, a unique honour. The governments of Senegal and neighbouring Mauretania are to be found there.

369 633 But the serenity of this ancient city, which dates back to 1659, that had struck me so forcibly on my first visit two years ago had gone. The Mauretanians' decision to transfer their capital to Nouakchott, in their own territory, was something the St. Louisians could understand, even if it did mean a loss of income to their city. But when their own government decided to move their capital to Dakar, the Federal Capital, the population was profoundly shocked. I found them extremely bitter about it. The provincial calm of the city was for once shattered, and its inhabitants had but one topic—the transfer—and the prospect of seeing their city die, for St. Louis depends largely on the administration for its income.

One man told me with extreme bitterness: 'Dakar has killed Gorée and Rufisque. Now it will kill us.' Since the creation of a port at Dakar, the chief *raison d'être* of St. Louis has been as an administrative centre. Take away the administration and the town could not survive.

My first afternoon in St. Louis I saw M. Valdiodio N'Diaye,

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

Acting Prime Minister of the Senegal, and cousin of Pierre Njie in Bathurst. I asked him what his party would do to save St. Louis from becoming a second Gorée. N'Diaye replied confidently: 'My government intends to build up St. Louis as a new and prosperous economic centre for the Senegal valley, just as Kaolak is the centre of the Saloum and Zuiginchor of the Casamance. We plan to build a great dam at Dagana which will open up the Senegal to extensive cultivation and St. Louis will not die. Of course the money for the dam will have to come from France. You see,' M. N'Diaye continued, 'St. Louis is really rather absurdly placed, lying at the extreme north and the extreme west of the territory. It is "doublement periphique", whilst Dakar is the economic centre of the Senegal.'

'Already, of course, the transfer is proving more difficult than they thought,' a member of an old and respected St. Louisian family told me. 'There is little enough room in Dakar as it is without moving the Senegalese Government there. They'll have to take hotels over for ministries. I don't think this transfer is necessary. After all, America has its Washington and New York, Switzerland its Berne and Geneva. Why should not Senegal have its St. Louis and Dakar? If they carry out this transfer, St. Louis will be little more than an historical souvenir like Gorée.'

M. Babacar Saye, Mayor of St. Louis and member of the Opposition party, told me with considerable feeling: 'St. Louis has played a great part in the history of the Senegal. Even if it has lost the opportunity of economic development as a port to Dakar, it is the spiritual head of the Senegal. If St. Louis had not existed in the history of the Senegal and French West Africa there would be no Federation today. It has been a bastion of fidelity to France. St. Louisians penetrated every corner of West Africa on her behalf. It has had an immense moral and psychological influence on the present good relations between France and West Africa.'

This attitude I found supported by a young African official from Dahomey, whom I met in the Ministry of Finance. He had travelled all over French West and Equatorial Africa. 'The Senegal,' he said, 'has always been at the head of politics in French West Africa. It has been the *avant-garde* of all Black Africa. After all it was the first to send black Deputies like Blaise Diagne to the

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 Metropolis. Until recently the African élite has always come from
[571] St. Louis. It is a sort of spiritual centre of Black Africa. It had the
[873] first school—Lycée Faidherbe. And in 1866 it was given the first Hotel de Ville of the French Union. It is the cradle of the French Union. It would be a tragedy if it died.'

369 To such men as these it seems scandalous that St. Louis with
175 its great history and traditions should give way to a parvenue like Dakar. Of all West African cities St. Louis is the one with the most illustrious and fascinating history. It was called St. Louis after the great French King, Louis XIII, in the middle of the seventeenth century. However, in the following century it began to expand into a town whose inhabitants were a distinct race, comparable
[563] to the Creôles of Sierra Leone. White and black intermarried to form a group known as the St. Louisians. During the eighteenth
[591] and nineteenth centuries these were the great families of the
[554] Senegal, though today they are losing importance. Names like Carpot, Descanet, Deves, Guillabert and Crespin are still remembered with respect in St. Louis.

[162] By the end of the eighteenth century the town had more than 7,000 inhabitants and in 1778 a mayor, who had to be chosen
[633] from the local population, was charged with the maintenance of good relations between the people and the Governor. In 1833
[641] all inhabitants of St. Louis were given the status of French citizens.

Perhaps the most important date for St. Louis and for West Africa was 1854, when General Faidherbe was appointed Governor. Today his mark is still firmly on St. Louis. The
[361] ordered layout of the city and its streets were his work. The large
[491] bridge connecting the island on which St. Louis stands to the mainland is named after him. The city's most important and famous school is the Lycée Faidherbe. And even now one can listen to old folk sitting on the benches of the park, in which his statue stands, telling tales of the great General, who had fought against the famous Toucouleur chief, El Hadj Omar and brought Senegal, Soudan and Mauretania into the French orbit. Perhaps some of these old people are his own descendants, for he is reputed to have been a prolific father.

[162] By 1878 St. Louis had grown to a city of 16,000 inhabitants, and despite the rapid expansion of Dakar and Rufisque farther down the coast, there was little to worry about the future.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

down the coast, there was little to worry about the future. And the creation of the Federal Government there marked its apogee. Five years later when the Federal Government was transferred to Dakar, St. Louis began its long decline which, when the Government is transferred, will be final.

As I walked along the old streets of St. Louis recalling vividly New Orleans, past old houses, their plaster façades beautiful with the patina of a century, and along the river that divides the island from the mainland with its brightly painted fishing boats, I could sympathize with the inhabitants of St. Louis. I could understand their pride; and their fears that their city might die. But at the same time the Government's desire to move into the economic centre of Senegal and the Administrative centre of the Federation, seemed to me a realistic one.

ECONOMICS OF THE REVOLUTION

I returned to Dakar for an appointment with the High Commissioner of French West Africa whose office was on the ninth floor of the Administrative building. When I arrived I was shown into a small ante-room by a messenger dressed in khaki.

'The High Commissioner will see you soon,' he assured me.

Within two minutes a similarly dressed messenger beckoned me towards a large swing door. I pulled it open, only to be confronted by another, a foot in front of me. I pushed this open, and entered a large, well-windowed room. For a moment I could see no one. Then a tall, grey-haired man, looking very much like a university professor, came forward towards me, his right hand outstretched. M. Gaston Cusin, High Commissioner for French West Africa, led me to a large chair and, with a degree of informality that put me entirely at ease, he began to talk of the problems of French West Africa. To him, a former Director of Economic Affairs in France, it was clear that West Africa was largely an economic problem. He pointed to a large map of West Africa:

'We are hoping to develop iron reserves here in Mauretania; there in Guinea we want to open up bauxite reserves, in Dahomey

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 we plan to build a modern port; and there in the Soudan we hope to develop livestock for export. For that we would need a number of large refrigeration units here in Dakar.'

Thus he continued in detail all over the vast area of French West Africa stretching from St. Louis to the Chad, from the Sahara to the Guinea Coast, with an area of nearly 1,840,000 square miles, and a meagre population of 18 millions. I pointed to Nigeria and Ghana.

'I am afraid we British took the best bits of West Africa. Yet we haven't put nearly as much money into it by comparison. I wonder what Nigeria would be like if you French had got it?'

His eyes looked longingly at the large chunk of red.

471 'That would be something marvellous!' he said. Since the war the French have poured money into West Africa. Private funds have accounted for a lot, but FIDES, the equivalent of our Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, has contributed more than £175,000,000 to these territories, and together with other public funds the total of capital investment (not from private sources) is more than £300,000,000, for a large, but poor and underpopulated territory.

369 This heavy capital investment has created large cities like Dakar, Abidjan and Conakry. The Africans have come into contact not only with urban life, but with industry. In Dakar there has been a minor industrial revolution. In the past six years, largely because of this, the city's population has swollen to nearly 300,000. Africans have flooded into the city seeking work, [162] attracted by tales of its gay life or lured by its glamour and the prospect of easy money.

274 463 I went down to the large brewery in Dakar, to see a modern industry with Africans as employees.

One of the managers there replied to my question, why weren't there any Africans in senior positions in the brewery. 'We have great difficulty in finding Africans to fill our managerial vacancies. You see, though many go to Paris they nearly all want to become lawyers, doctors, and officials. Very few are interested in becoming technicians. We would pay for their studies if we could find suitable candidates—you know, all part of the *Loi Cadre*. We must Africanize!'

'But haven't you found any good enough?'

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

'Oh yes, our sister company in Abidjan has sent a young African to train in a large brewery in France.' 274 463

'What is your labour like?'

'Not so good. They don't seem to have much interest in their work.'

I remembered my discussion with Babacar Saye, Mayor of St. Louis, who told me that though he was a Socialist, he believed that at the present time capitalism had an essential role in the country. 'If we are to improve the conditions of the proletariat capitalism is a necessity, but this improvement cannot be speeded up except to the extent that the profit from capital is used towards the satisfying of the indispensable needs of the workers. Therefore it is necessary that the worker feels that he is complementary to the capitalist—it is up to the capitalist to make him understand this.' 829

To me this seems one of the most important factors in the industrialization of West Africa. The African from the tribal background is essentially an individual with a distinct position in his tribal group or village. Though he appreciates the money he earns in industry, psychologically he does not like being treated as a mere cog in a machine, losing his identity. If he could be given some indication that he is as indispensable to the firm as the manager, he would work hard. As Mr. C. O. Van der Plas, the United Nations Official in the Gambia, once observed: 'It is curious that the African running his own little enterprise works literally like a black, and takes on enormous responsibilities.' Yet if he is taken on as a cog in a vast machine, he becomes slack and Europeans call him the most inefficient and expensive labour in the world. It seems to me that a lot depends on the relations between the worker and the managerial staff. 461

Two years before I had visited a large shoe factory in neighbouring Rufisque with Mr. David Pearson, the British Consul responsible for liaison between British and French territories in West Africa. The factory was sited on the outskirts of the town opposite a huge cement works which belched forth pastel smoke at an angry sky. We entered a courtyard where hides of every colour were lying in the sun to dry. A Czech employee of the firm, which has its origins in Czechoslovakia, met us and led us into a gloomy shed where flabby hides, a hideous grey green in 295 282 [339]

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 295 882 colour, flopped on the floor like lumps of spittle. Others, like them, were being cured in evil vats or stripped in heavy mangles. I examined one of the skins stretched out on the floor. The Czech pointed to three large holes in its surface.

'They are not good, these skins. Very stiff. They come from the North Senegal and the Fula herdsmen will not learn that the cow must be looked after if you want to make good shoes from it. They are only good for cheap shoes. We have to get the better models from our European factories.'

We emerged from the foetid gloom of the curing section into the dyeing room, full of sheets of leather, which an African was busy spraying scarlet, yellow, grey or blue. Another was trimming the coloured hides before they were sent to dry.

S 295 [463] We followed our guide into a long hall, which reverberated to the rat-ti-tat of a hundred sewing machines, manned exclusively by Africans.

'Are most of your employees Africans?' I asked.

'On this work, yes. But not in the executive. And on some of the more skilled jobs we have to have Europeans.'

'Are they good workers?'

'Very good, though they cannot tackle the more difficult jobs. I believe they are better farther down the Coast. But we have nothing to complain about.'

And from the rate those shoes were coming off the production line, I was sure they hadn't.

'How many shoes do you produce a year?'

'About 300,000. Most of them are sandals,' he said, pointing to some scarlet slippers which an African was packing into boxes.

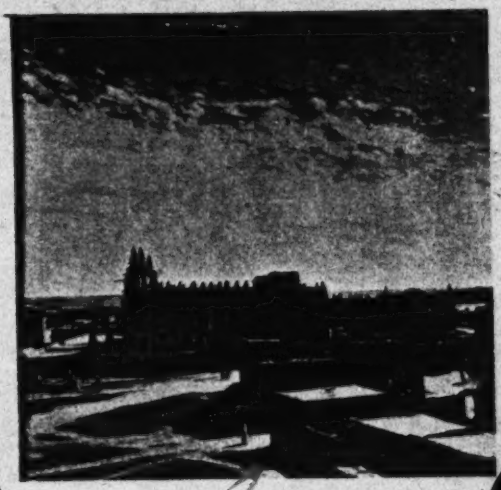
'These we also produce in great quantities.'

S W [291] He showed me a pink, green and sky blue slipper with a large plastic pompom where the big toe would be. These were wildly popular with the fashion-mad Jollof women at the time. Bata's are very much at the mercy of their whims, though they have the consolation that supply rarely exceeds demand.

S [294] [565] As I watched one African youth deftly turning a leather sandal on a stitching machine, I could not help thinking of the old Mandinka leather-worker in Dakar's market, laboriously sewing tough slippers as his father had done before him and as he was bound to do by virtue of his caste. Once he exercised a monopoly

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal
Mali MS35

346
788



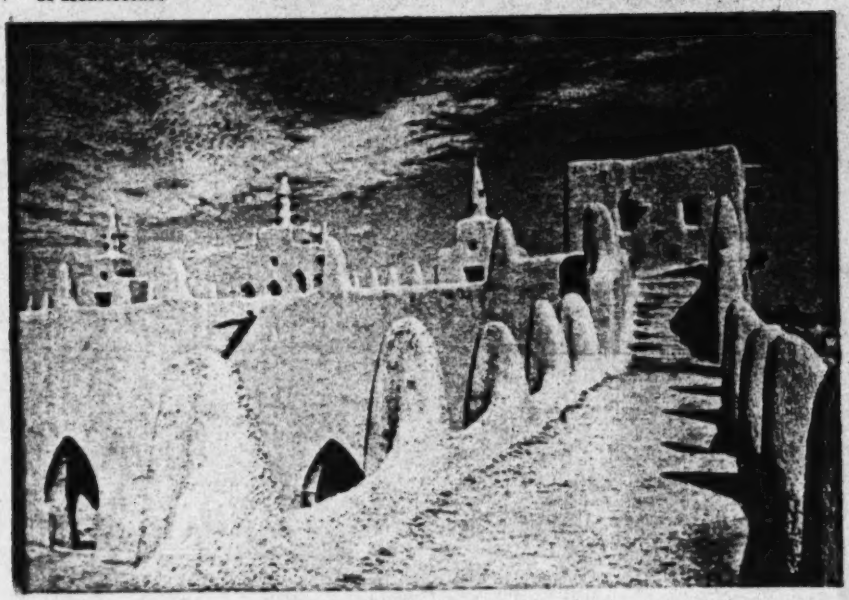
The great mosque of Djenne, in French Soudan (which is a lesser Mecca for West African Muslims)

142
792

Amadou Hampaté Ba, Soudan's leading Muslim theologian

Though Djenne's mosque was designed by a French administrator, both its exterior and interior are typical of the Soudanese style of architecture

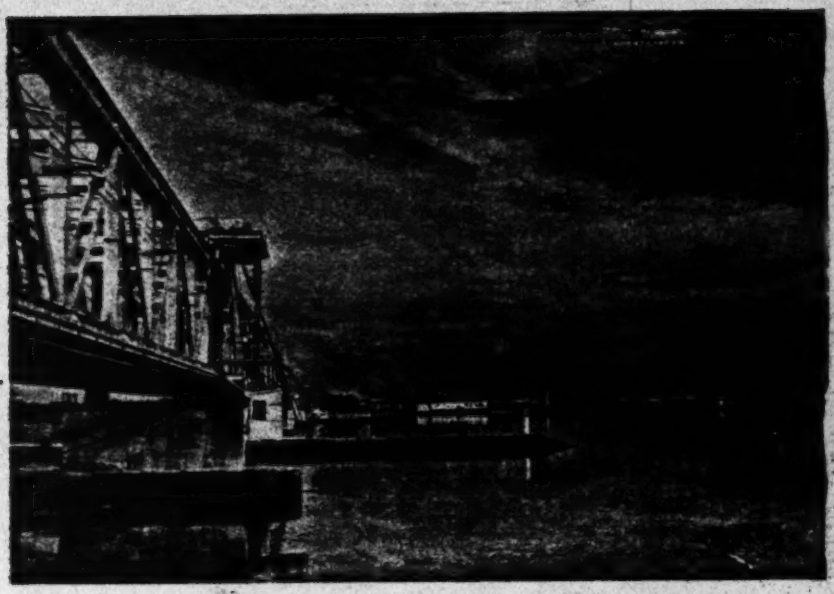
346
341



[p 64 (A)]

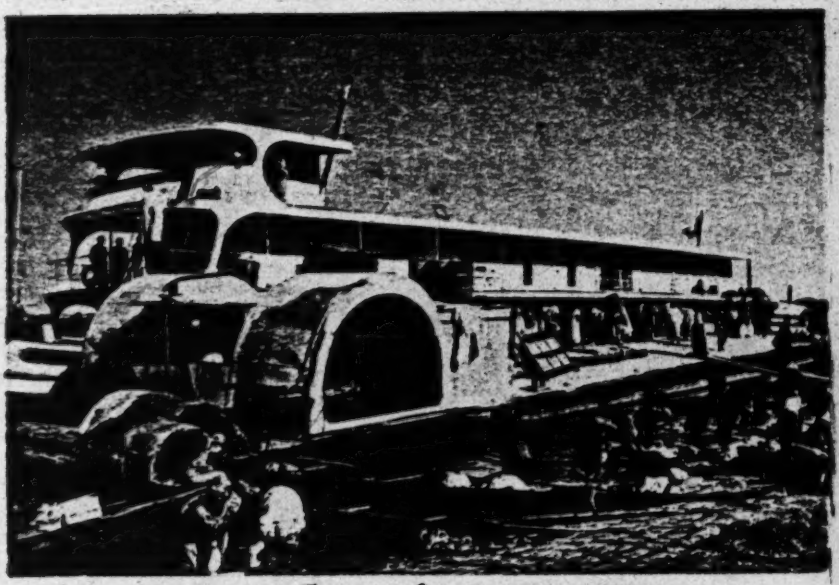
7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal
Mali MS 35

491
133



The Niger is vital to the economy of French Soudan. At Sansending it has been harnessed by a great dam to irrigate over 100,000 acres of cotton and rice. It is also an excellent highway of commerce, navigable by paddle steamers such as the one the author travelled on (*below*)

501



[p 64 (B)]

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

for no-one would undertake his work unless he belonged to that caste. But the laws of supply and demand do not respect hereditary caste-rights. Mass production and cheaper shoes dictate the old leather-worker's redundance. Soon he will fade into the obscurity of a rural industry, a supplier of goods for the local arts and crafts store.

This was nowhere more evident than in Dakar which has a large number of factories. Here one can see the new Africa rising up. The young negro comes from the bush, illiterate and half naked, living much as his ancestors before him. Soon he is caught up in the revolution. At first his house may be a small wooden shed, shared with members of his family or tribe on whom he is sponging. But soon he may earn thirteen pounds a month as an unskilled labourer, so that he can afford to take rooms with one of his richer brothers, whose weekly pay packet as a cook is six pounds. And so in Dakar people of all tribes meet in the great metropolis, live next to each other in the crowded Medina, and help to create a new town-life as different from that of the bush as city life in nineteenth-century industrial England was from that of the countryside.

In Dakar I met Diop, a young Jollof, well-educated, but out of work. I asked him how he lived and he told me that he just went from relation to relation each day borrowing money. He had had a job before, but after a quarrel with his employer, an African lawyer, he had had to leave. Each morning he left his wife, pretending to go to work. He deceived her into thinking he still had his job, by bringing home money lent him by relations. He 'borrowed' the equivalent of ten shillings from me, and to my astonishment promptly asked me to lunch the next day. His house, or rather room, was made of wood. Inside, the walls and the floor were covered with a gaily patterned lino. A large double bed and a small divan provided seats. A chest of drawers hung with all the crockery was the only other piece of furniture. On the walls was a large array of photos of friends and relations, all slightly over-exposed to give the effect of a lighter skin. Diop's wife, a ravishing, beautiful girl of nineteen, had spent all morning preparing Jollof rice for us, consisting of rice done in a sort of tomato purée, to which a delicious white fish with a variety of vegetables and a hot pepper sauce were added. A bottle of wine was produced for me.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

me. Diop, Faye, one of his friends, who was secretary to the local theatre, and I sat round the large bowl eating with spoons. A number of people passed, and one old man came in to watch us.

'That's our Griot,' Diop told me. A Griot is a member of a special caste, to be found in the Jollof and Mandinka tribes, who sings, drums, dances and tells jokes—a sort of family jester.

He started to talk in rapid Jollof and soon Diop and his friend were in hoots of laughter. For his pains the bowl of rice was handed to him, and another man who joined him.

'Who is he?' I asked.

'Another relation. I have to feed him,' Diop replied.

'One of the greatest problems in Dakar,' an official of IFAN had told me, 'is parasitism. A man will come to Dakar and get himself a good job, say at ten pounds a month. He has his immediate family to look after. Then along comes a cousin, and installs himself. An uncle from the bush comes to stay three days, decides he likes Dakar and fails to return to his village. A man like this may find he is supporting between eight and fifteen dependants.'

'I suppose that explains why Dakar's population is much larger than opportunities for work would justify?'

'Yes. It's a great problem, because it prevents any accumulation of capital by Africans. People complain that there is no African bourgeoisie here, that all the trade is in the hands of Lebanese and small Frenchmen. It's largely because an African here cannot, by the laws of hospitality, refuse to give a bed and food to his fellow tribesmen.'

'Of course, in a way that's a good thing, because no one goes hungry, and it's one way of redistributing wealth voluntarily. A sort of voluntary welfare state.'

'Yes, but if the African is to control the economy of his own economy, he must be rid of this scourge.'

In Gorée I met a Frenchman to whom Senegalese soldiers used to come immediately after their discharge from the Army to leave all their new clothes and money, otherwise they would have returned to the town to hear: 'Oh, you are the most wonderful, most bountiful man alive.' After that there would have been little left of their money.

Diop was perhaps a classic example of parasitism. He himself was a borrower, only to have other people borrowing from him.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

was a borrower, only to have other people borrowing from him.

The morning after I had lunch with Diop I went to a Conference in the High Commission on Alcoholism. This, it appeared, was a grave problem in Dakar. The creation of the new Africa has its ugly sides, and this was perhaps one of its most ugly. A favourite drink, named after the local bus service, was the 'Car Rapide'. To make it you mix beer, methylated spirits and a drop of petrol. It is guaranteed to knock you out in one go. In Zuiginchor a more potent drink was made by adding a well-known Parisian perfume to beer.

A day before the Conference *Paris-Dakar*, the local daily newspaper, published an article on alcoholism in M'Backé, a large Senegalese town:

ALCOHOLISM MUST BE FOUGHT

An all out police attack is needed and would be appreciated to seek out and rid our town of a gang of drunks of both sexes who spend their time in the small shops and sordid bars which are hidden all over the town in the guise of restaurants and small eating places.

Most of the proprietors of these cafés add to their miserable occupations that of pimping. Favouring alcoholism, they nevertheless indulge in all revolting forms of debauchery.

In most parts of our town one finds these small cafés nicely divided, serving as homes and places of business.

A few posts in the ground, a roof of polished tiles, a wooden fence and there you have the ideal café.

The interior of these hovels is divided into small compartments with no ventilation and on the ground a few mattresses covered with dirty blankets. The decoration consists of a few old newspapers pasted here and there to keep out the sun. The bar stock lies among packing cases and hidden under the mattresses. In holes made for the purpose are bottles of wine, red, rosé and white, and beer.

To cover up this business known to be officially disliked, the café proprietors keep a kitchen where periodically they prepare meals, hygienically leaving a lot to be desired.

In these sordid places, the atmosphere heavy with noxious smells, they give themselves up to their anti-social pastimes. Debauchery has been given a home here. These are also the rendezvous of scoundrels and receivers of stolen goods.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 295 733 After the great Magal de Touba[1] our town inherited bands of homeless among whom were notorious criminals.

S 369 614 Alcoholism was not the only form of moral decadence in a city like Dakar. Actually crimes of violence, robbing and murder were almost unknown. There were rarely any reference to them in the papers, and a police officer assured me that this was true. However, one read frequently of crimes of passion, such as a man stabbing his friend to death in the course of a quarrel.

S 369 548 There was, I was told, an enormous amount of prostitution in Dakar. I was shown one of the city's more notorious brothels in Rebeusse suburb, a rambling shack that had been raided more than once by police. On the whole prostitution is not organized S [563] because of legal difficulties. A number of prostitutes were white women, who receive patronage mainly from Lebanese and Syrians. I was told of one who went around the Médina in a W small car, serving the local population.

S 369 838 548 On the other hand homosexuality had a much freer rein, being prevalent amongst Africans, Mauretanians and Europeans alike. In Place Prôtet, the main square of Dakar, young African boys, more often than not Jollofs, could be seen waiting to be picked up. Under the Code Napoleon it is, of course, legal, and in theory presents no problem, though many people are worried by its spread in the city.

Of course, to many of these boys with no work, it is one way of making money. But amongst the Jollofs it seems to be more deeply rooted. Contact with Frenchmen in St. Louis, who often preferred black boys to black mistresses and contact with the Mauretanians may provide an explanation.

Today one can even see Jollof men dressed in women's clothes. I once met one in a small bar outside Dakar. He was obviously pathetically feminine. The Jollof must be used to this since they even have a word for them—Gor-Digen. The elders and faithful Muslims condemn men for this, but it is typical of African tolerance that they are left very much alone by the rest W of the people.

589 One reason for the growing tendency of Jollof men to remain bachelors to an age much older than is usual in Africa, if not for their homosexuality, is the character of the Jollof women.

[1] Celebration of Birth of Prophet.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

their homosexuality, is the character of the Jollof women. They are Africa's most beautiful women: they must also be the most demanding. Few people have much good to say for these elegant *femmes fatales*. They are lazy, selfish and fickle. They dislike housework and many of them stick with their husbands only as long as they are prepared to pay out vast sums for their clothes and jewellery. Since the elegant woman (and every Jollof girl aspires to be that) costs about £100 a year to keep in clothes and jewellery, it is little wonder that Jollof men are seeking wives from other tribes, where competence within the house rather than elegance is the standard by which a woman is judged.

Such is Jollof preoccupation with fashion that there is a fashion house in Dakar with Jollof mannequins. These women are chosen not only for their beauty but for their position in society. For if they come from a good family they are sure to be noticed by other Jollof women in the streets, and immediately the clothes they are wearing will be remarked on, and to Pierre Grosse's shop the fashion-crazy Jollofs will rush.

The Jollof dress originates from St. Louis, when the French re-occupied it after the Napoleonic wars. At that time fashionable ladies were wearing the Empire style with its high waistline and long, flowing dresses. Since then the Jollofs have made this style their national dress. They have the same high waistline, the long dresses, sometimes modified by a bodice, and great candy-floss turbans. To show off their magnificent shoulders they have enlarged the neckline, and puffed up the sleeves, stiffened with starch, to half-moon shapes that stand out crisply from the body. The sleeve is usually dropped off one shoulder to reveal the full beauty of its owner.

Over the dress a great docket or cloak of muslin, tulle or organdie is thrown, usually in a colour contrasting with the dress. Materials are chosen with great care. One has only to see these women in Pierre Grosse's handling great lengths of cloth with expert and tender attention to know that no cheap cotton print can be palmed off on the most discriminating buyers on the West African market.

The Jollof's ensemble is not complete without wig, jewellery and make-up. Wigs are of several designs. The most typical, though not the most frequently seen, are two stiff plaits of horse-

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

W 302 hair fixed on either side of the head, from which they protrude like thin curled horns. Another trick is to fix balls of black velvet or twists of black sisal. Strands of soft black silk are commonly used in their coiffure today, and they hang in nearly every small store, a baffling commodity to those unacquainted with Jollof fashions.

W 301 To these wigs the rich and fashionable Jollof woman fixes huge pendants of gold filigree, beautifully worked by the local craftsmen. The really chic touch is a bunch of gold coins—Louis D'Ors, American dollars and Franz-Josephs, or English Guineas—hanging from false plaits over the forehead, preferably coquettishly to one side. Gold is indispensable to their ensemble. A really W [556] wealthy Jollof lady seems to be covered with it: great ear-rings, pin brooches, heavy gold rings on the finger, ear-rings and tiny rings placed all round the outside of the ear and Tudor toe-rings.

W 302 A Jollof woman spends considerable time on her make-up. Her lips are tattooed with indigo, sometimes even on their pink [304] insides. A thin blue line is tattooed on to the lower eyelid, immediately under the lashes, making her eyes seem much larger than they are. Eyelashes are painted with black dye, and the white palms of the hands and the soles of the feet are stained black as well. Their long, bejewelled fingers are crowned with nails W painted with red nail varnish or an orange stain.

291 This ensemble gives the Jollof woman something of the 177 gracious artificiality of appearance that marked the fashions of the Empire period. Geoffrey Gover,* in his book *Africa Dances*, described their behaviour as continually provocative. 'Their W movement, their glances, their sighs, their manner of speaking, [839] are all, almost subconsciously, alluring.'

So striking is the Jollof dress that it has been adapted by African women all over the Senegal, and is copied as far distant as Niger and Ivory Coast.

A CULTURAL DILEMMA

Dakar

S 545 One evening Arnold and I went to the Théâtre du Palais, a [368] small, neat theatre owned by the Government in the centre of [655] Dakar. We were to see a production of tribal dancing by Sereres

* [this should read Gorer--Analyst]

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

called 'Les Ballets Sereres du Sine Saloum,' a group of dancers 545
who had won the Territorial Cup in 1957.

The theatre was packed. I was sitting next to an ample Jollof matron, a small child strapped to her back, its tiny nose buried [854] in the pink muslin of her dress. Another child sat on her knee, beturbanned and clothed just like its mother. From the woman's [291] forehead dangled three shining American dollars. Unfortunately a similar Jollof woman sat immediately in front of me, her black horsehair wig and tall tulle turban almost totally obscuring my view. A strong scent of 'Bint El Sudan' manufactured in East [302] London perfumed the room as the curtains rose to the first dance, 'Love and its Caprices', which was to be the theme of the evening. The variations, the programme told me, were to include '*Allo M'Bissine*'—'My fiancée has beaten me because a boy who loves me told me "Hello M'Bissine" ', and later '*Khodia Kha Lola*'—'Why do you cry Khodia? Only the Gods understand what a tear says'. Ending with an initiation dance of future circumcision candidates. One of the most memorable dances was a solo by a woman with a baby strapped to her back, its head swaying backwards and forwards like a punch ball. The child uttered not a murmur as its mother danced into a frenzy, singing at the top of her voice, and in the background a corps of drums beat an hysterical rhythm. It was an entertaining evening, with a beautiful dance of a slight youth, his black-brown body shining sleekly in the glow of the footlights, contrasting with the powdered copper of his lissom partner, a girl of singular beauty with entrancing opalescent eyes.

After the performance there was a cast party to which Faye, 536
the young secretary of the theatre, invited me. The dancers, [517]
various guests, European and African, drank bottles of Coca-Cola [272]
and orange squash. Amongst them was Ka Abdou Anta.

He was a handsome young man, but he dragged continuously at a cigarette and his teeth were discoloured with nicotine. His jacket, once well cut, was misshapen by papers stuffed into the pockets. My first meeting with Ka had been two years before but we had not been introduced. He was rehearsing a scene from his play *La Fille des Dieux*, which he was producing for the Théâtre du Palais. It was highly symbolic: a somewhat uneasy compromise between tribal metaphysics and the classical French

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

536 theatre. But the writing was powerful and distinguished. My most vivid memory of Ka at that time was an ear-shattering torrent of abuse directed at his leading lady: 'Pas de Fred Astaire ici. Çe n'est pas le Music Hall.'

Today that play is a thing of the past, which nevertheless brought him fame. Now he is engrossed in a piece about a young schoolteacher who is sent to a pagan animist village in the south of the Senegal, to found its first school. The play centres on the conflict between the educated teacher and the local witchdoctor who opposes the school. Deep in Ka's intellect is a striking preoccupation with the conflict of occidental reason with the seemingly irrational metaphysics of the forest and the bush.

Ka was seized by numerous other friends so we agreed to meet the following day at a café in the Avenue William Ponty, Dakar's main thoroughfare.

[547] The small café was crowded. Across the street the Café de Paris with its large, bad painting of Montmartre, was half empty and its clientele, sitting at the iron street tables, stared at us with vague interest. Ka was talking animatedly about nineteenth-century Russian novelists and the decline of Russian literature today. He was very typically '*rive gauche*' and indeed we might well have been in St. Germain des Prés.

'Of course, I think that Huxley is more essentially English than Graham Greene,' my companion continued in a new vein.

Later I went with Ka to his room in a small, dingy hotel in the back streets of Dakar. 'I prefer living here, away from my relations. At least one is free.' I wondered whether it wasn't because it reminded him of his life in Paris.

Together we read his latest play about Chaka, in which he treats the great Zulu as a narcissist. Once again I was struck by the power of his writing, the economy of his style. We fingered through copies of *Présence Africaine*, *Traits d'Union* and *Afrique* [204] *en Marche* where he and his fellow intellectuals have their works published.

668 Most striking of all is the cultural revolution, so marked in
571 Dakar, but gaining momentum from all parts of the French West African Federation. Ka Abdou Anta is a part of this revolution, which has produced a generation, albeit small, of intellectuals who can vie on equal terms with their counterparts in Europe.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

Their grounding in French culture is superb. It is evident in their writing and in the exacting logic of their minds which sometimes, as so often with the French, can lead them to points of profound illogicality. We have nothing comparable in British West Africa. The creative output of these French Africans, good or bad, literary or scientific, is immense, especially if one considers that the whole of French West Africa has a population just equal to that of Northern Nigeria. Some of their leaders, like Léopold Sédar Senghor, stand on intellectual pedestals in France at the foot of which even Jean Paul Sartre sometimes worships. The reasons for this aspect of the revolution are not altogether difficult to discover. The French have, as opposed to the British, always been assimilationists. 'La France entend conduire les peuples dont elle a la charge.' French culture was fed to these young men and their success today is a tribute to the success of the French 'civilizing mission'. The other important factor is that French intellectuals have on the whole been negrophiles, and African art and culture has long enjoyed a vogue in France.

Today French Africans have a striking confidence in their intellectual prowess that one rarely remarks in the British West African equivalent. They know French culture like Frenchmen, but, in the words of M. Alioune Diop, the editor of *Présence Africaine*, 'It is necessary that we black men affirm that we alone can interpret our own culture.' And this interpretation seems largely to involve a return to the past such as Cheick Anta Diop, a much respected Senegalese writer, has advocated. In a sense Ka is involved in this return, this new movement. For him and his fellows the burning question becomes: Will this new generation of intellects ever derive anything from such a return? Or indeed are they in any better position to grasp the essentials of their traditional culture than the French negrophiles who first made them aware of the values of their own art.

An African professor at the University of Dakar, Monsieur Alassane N'Daw, remarked in an article 'Un Africain devant la Culture Française' published in the journal *L'Education Africaine*, that when he held a discussion with his philosophy class on Malraux's views on Negro art there was 'no enthusiasm, nor even any particular interest, but rather general scepticism'. One of his pupils confessed that when he visited the museum at Abomey in

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

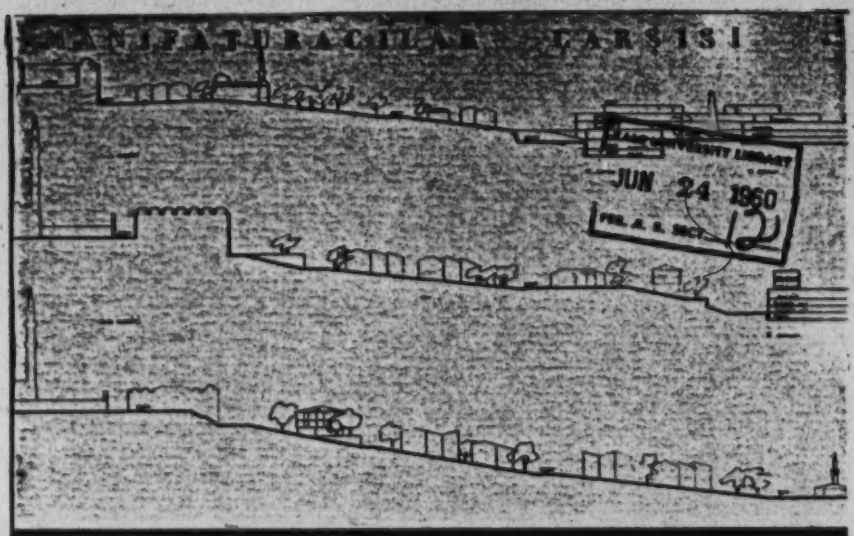
668 Dahomey he experienced no aesthetic pleasure from Negro art, but was rather struck by its crudities. Indeed Professor N'Daw had difficulty in explaining to his students that European enthusiasm for African art was serious.

[571] Earlier in his article he points out the difficulty of the African intellectual who is torn between two cultures: the call of the past demanding fidelity to Africa, and the fascination of Western culture in which he has been educated and one of whose languages he uses to express himself. He is usually much more strongly drawn towards the latter.

In essentials these intellectuals are Frenchmen. They are living in a modern, occidentalized world far apart from the tribal, agricultural society that produced this art. Can they go back and at the same time go forward? Is there anything in the past that is appropriate to the new Africa they are trying to construct? This is their dilemma.

In Dakar the revolution is almost complete. What matters for these Africans are the years of reconstruction that lie ahead. Perhaps this vigorous young generation of intellectuals would do well to look to a better future than to a past from which they are almost totally divorced.

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37



POLITICAL RESEARCH ORGANIZATION AND DESIGN

PROD TRANSLATIONS

IN THE NEWS 2

Political Life in the Urban Centers of Senegal: A Study of a Period of Transition — Paul Mercier 3

Turkey's Path of Development — A. Miller 21

The Social and Political Value of Sociometric Groupwork — Hans H. Floeter 28

Annotated BIBLIOGRAPHY on Policy Research and Political Behavior 31

Index to Volume III 34

EDITORIAL: Two Centuries of Encyclopedism are Enough 36

Special Insert: Indexes to Volumes I and II

VOL. III JUNE, 1960 NO. 10

[P.1]

[Title Page]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[P. 3A]
[P. 2 contains no textual material]

Political Life in the Urban Centers of Senegal: A Study of a Period of Transition

Senegal and Sudan presently comprise the Mali Federation, which is in the process of achieving sovereignty within the French Community. Senegal itself is one of the most urbanized West African regions, and its cities have been characterized by a gradual growth of modern political life. The author presents some major findings on its urban political activity, based on extensive interviews made in the mid-1950's. The oldest urban elite, almost entirely assimilated into the French way of life, has been only partially successful in developing party organizations that satisfy the interests of the newer urban residents. As a consequence, the most active and radical post-war political activity has been centered in "non-political" bodies, notably labor unions. Also, urban political activity has been increasingly challenged by rural political developments, which have drawn their framework from urban politics. African specialists will note that Senegalese political development has much in common with such development elsewhere in Africa; it also has a number of distinctive features.

The article originally appeared in CAHIERS INTERNATIONAL DE SOCIOLOGIE, *XXVII (July-December, 1959), pp. 55-84, under the title,* "La vie politique dans les centres urbains du Sénégal." *It was translated by T. H. Stevenson.*

369
668
114
665
467
151

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

The African Urban Milieu

369 It has been emphasized for some time that an essential characteristic of most cities in sub-Sahara Africa is that they were a "creation of the whites." For the sociologist, the outstanding feature of the African urban milieu is that it is a "drastically new milieu." With a few exceptions, the most important of these cities were founded quite recently, and lie within the framework of colonial history. Those whose functional development and population growth in the past two decades have been most spectacular for the most part date back less than a century. In these cities African urban problems are most apparent, and hence they have more quickly drawn the attention of researchers. The essential concepts of the urbanization process in sub-Sahara Africa have been formulated in this context.

The diversity in these urban situations should not be underestimated, however; it is especially important in the study of

[P.3B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 problems arising from political activities. Cities founded in the slave-trade period have traits that distinguish them from the more recent colonial cities, and any discussion of Senegalese cities must take full account of such a distinction.

[177] To be sure, "old cities" and "recent cities"[1] have one fundamental trait in common: both are entirely the products of external compulsion. In the rural districts, the controls introduced by the colonial power impinged on integrated, settled societies, whose solidarity and coherence often enabled them at least to check and moderate external influences, and to confine them to given channels. In the colonial cities, however, foreign activity itself created the framework in which it operated. Its principal effect was to bring together a conglomerate and poorly-integrated population, which from the outset was confronted by novel problems and upon which the agencies of change acted with maximum intensity. This condition is essential in the consideration of problems of political life in an urban milieu.

[P. 3 C]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

369
113

[P. 3 D]

[1] An instrumental distinction whose meaning is explained below. For an examination of some criteria making possible the definition of different types of colonial cities, *cf.* P. Mercier, "Aspects de la société africaine dans l'agglomération dakaroise: groupes familiaux et unités de voisinage," in *L'agglomération dakaroise. Quelques aspects sociologiques et démographiques.* I.F.A.N., Dakar, 1954.

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 Even at this juncture, however, effects of the distinction between old and recent cities are apparent. The growth of the old slave-trade cities took place in two stages. In the first, there was a fairly slow tempo of growth in which the elements comprising the city were united into a relatively integrated whole. In the second stage, corresponding to the recent colonial period, population growth was much more rapid; new strata of city-dwellers appeared, so numerous that the original city could not effectively assimilate them. A series of problems arose from the relations between the comparatively stable nucleus and the weakly-structured host of new arrivals. In Senegal these relations were originally hostile, yet played an important role in certain phases of urban political life.

The complexity of the principal traits of political phenomena in the framework of the colonial cities is suggested in the following discussion.

The Traditional and Modern Frameworks

369 633 African urban centers were established more or less wholly beyond the limits of traditional political units.[2] They were distinguished by novel activities and functions, quickly acquired a cosmopolitan aspect, and received a meager administrative organization. As privileged centers for Europeans, they could hardly survive except through a system of direct administration, and withdrew more or less rapidly from the local, pre-European political systems and authorities, which were in no way equipped to absorb them. Yet political problems of the traditional sort were not entirely excluded from urban life. In certain cases the territory of an indigenous political system was largely or wholly incorporated by the city, and officially recognized.[3] Colonial authorities at first assumed only the radi-

[P.4A]

369 cally new functions that the old system
633 could not manage, but this phase of internal autonomy was brief. The new government progressively assumed all political functions, and the population of the
642 city became diversified. Effective operation of the traditional authority was then
633 limited to the one ethnic group that henceforth furnished its members. Nevertheless, despite its increasingly ambiguous position and more and more purely formal character, despite the fact that it had no genuine initiative, traditional authority continued to play a role in urban life. Old political systems eventually were used by the modern political organizations as one of the props for their own action, and conversely, some traditional authorities attempted to reinforce their declining influence by insinuating themselves into a new political role.

[369] These interactions merit attention. In effect, traditional political forms were taken over into the framework of urban life, though in rudimentary outline. This was the case in ethnic group and ward organization, for example, which involved the institutions of "ward-chiefery" and "race-chiefery." These were often developed spontaneously, sometimes assuming a clandestine nature. In other cases such organizational forms were encouraged and given official recognition. Some were created out of whole cloth by the colonial authority, which saw in them an effective means for regulating populations still poorly integrated into the framework that it was striving to establish.[4] The role of authorities having traditional origins quickly became secondary, of course, but it has raised contradictions that make the study of interpenetration between traditional and modern political frameworks an essential one.

[P. 4B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[P. 4C]
[Footnote 4 continued on P 5C-Analysis]

[2] Their territory, at least in the case of the oldest cities, was often the object of a "concession" by local authorities, and was therefore withdrawn from their direct control.

[3] This is the case, for example, of Lagos; regarding Dakar, where the authorities of the "Republic of Lebou" had their seat, *cf.* C. Michel, "L'organisation coutumière (sociale et politique) de la communauté Laboue de Dakar," *Bull. du Comité d'Et. hist. et sci. de l'A.O.F.*, March 17, 1934; and C. Faure, *Histoire de la presqu'île du Cap-Vert et des origins de Dakar*, Paris, 1914.

[4] G. Balandier, in *Sociologie des Brazzavilles noires* (Paris, 1955) shows clearly the occurrence there of "a transfer onto an urban milieu of leadership agencies already existing in a rural milieu; the

369
633
113
642

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

The New Political Life

369 More importantly, the urban centers
668 deserve attention because of the role they have played in the development of a radically new type of political life, one
[177] whose forms have been largely borrowed from outside Africa. The first attempts at political organization and activity were born in the cities. More recently some political movements have appeared in a rural context, as a reflection of rural conditions, but they have drawn much of their pattern from the cities, or from among elements subject to urban influences.

The modern African city presents a set of conditions favorable to the development of especially intense political reac-
369 tions. The position of the colonizing power is most sharply apparent in the city, and the instruments of its power are concentrated there. The rootless condition of the African population seems at its extreme; the masses that gather in the city are unsettled, poorly established in their occupations, and suffer from
[571] every form of insecurity. The new elites created and shaped by urban life feel restricted and disappointed in their desires for social advancement and for a share in authority and in modern symbols of prestige.[5] Finally, the city brings together a white society and a Negro
[563] society, though often clearly separated by topography. In these circumstances racial tensions can develop to their maximum. Moreover, they assume varied aspects, *e.g.*, competitive situations in various spheres, official or unofficial discrimination.[6] Intense reactions to such conditions may take no organized form and may not manifest themselves except after some delay, however. Here the

[P. 5A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 problem of the "old cities" is again relevant. In them, such reactions can remain unorganized or marginal longer in relation to the official forms of political expression. We shall see that this is typical of certain Senegalese cities.

668 Furthermore, some reactions are born and expressed in a much larger framework than that of political life in its strictest sense of party activity. Demands for justice in the colonial situation can be expressed on different planes and in different fields. In South Africa, for example, Africans are largely barred from social and political action, and the chief demands emerge in religious activities.[7] Elsewhere, political life may not be forbidden, but its forms of expression are limited, either openly or in fact—for instance, by means of a judicial system in which people cannot file a case. Thus, the [467] most radical demands are formulated not within the framework of parties — at least, in their official platforms — but in that of unions or other associations. Attitudes, behaviors, and ideologies are formed in such organizations, pending the possibility of full expression at the political level. In the urban centers of Senegal some of the most important popular forces, at least prior to the great transformations that began in 1956, were to be found outside parties.

The Growth of Rural Political Life

369 668 These fundamental demands of the urban population provide models for similar demands that spread from the cities into rural districts. The general preponderance of the cities in political initiative is mentioned above. They are both centers of attraction and centers for the diffusion of foreign influences. An im-

[P.5 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[P.5C]

hierarchy of administrator-mayor, administrator-deputy mayor, and ward leader corresponds to the hierarchy of regional leader, district leader, and cantonal leader" (p. 169). The contradictions that he points out in the administrative organization of Brazzaville were sharper still at Dakar: the institution of appointed ward leaders coexisted with that of an elected city government, whose relations with the colonial administration did not differ in principle from those of French city governments with prefectoral authority.

[5] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Evolution des élites sénégalaises," *Bull. intl. des Sci. soc.*, VIII (#4, '56).

Groupement européen de Dakar: orientations d'une enquête," *Cahiers intl. de Soc.* XIX, 1955.

[6] *Cf. Infra.*, and the Summary Notes Given in P. Mercier, "Aspects de la Société Africaine" and "Le

[7] *Cf.* B. G. M. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, London, 1948; and G. Balandier, *Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique noire*, Paris, 1955.

[113] 6363 6363

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 portant part of the urban population has
668 considerable mobility, and thus maintains solid ties and frequent communication with the regions of its origins.[8] Moreover, lesser members of the modern urban
[571] elites, *e.g.*, workers and petty offiicials, have been settled in rural centers, thus extending urban influence still further. By these means a double network of individuals more or less shaped by the conditions of urban life is established. Contacts and relations between urban centers and rural districts can vary markedly, however. The area affected by the prestige of political leaders thus may be more or less extensive. The forms of activity and organization created in the city generally can be transplanted to rural sectors only in their rudimentary forms.

In Senegal, historical factors account for the sharp division between city and countryside. In the old coastal cities, a separatistic history and a particular juridical status have contributed to their marginal position in Senegalese life. The consequences of the separation between the former "citizens" of "the four communes" and the former "subjects" of the interior[9] have not been entirely wiped out, even in recent years.

From the foregoing points of view, Senegalese urban political life can be oriented in summary fashion to the general problems of urban political life. A series of particular traits in the Senegalese situation are first interpreted against the historical background. The subsequent section summarizes the results of investigations conducted in certain Senegalese
[114] centers in 1953-1955, during a period of transition between two major phases in the development of political life.[10]

[P.6A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

Political Development In The Cities of Senegal

369 361 In all of West Africa, the phenomenon of urbanization has been most extensive and the variety of its forms most striking in Senegal. The area has about ten communities with more than 10,000 inhabitants each; five of these have well over 30,000 inhabitants and the major urban center, Dakar, has almost 250,000 inhabitants. The urban population exceeds 500,000, about one quarter of the total population. The present urban pattern has no link with a pre-European tradition. Some of the cities wield influence over extensive suburban zones, and the distances separating them are relatively short, so that the western half of Senegal is covered by a close network of urban centers.

[162]

633 Partial administration of municipal affairs and familiarity with electoral machinery are by no means recent acquisitions. The first African communes "with full powers"[11] were created in Senegal, in the second half of the 19th century, and there the first "mixed communes"[12] were developed, at the beginning of the 20th century. Among all the French West African territories, Senegal contained the largest number of constituted communes, and alone had almost a quarter of the communes with full powers created in all French Overseas Territories by the law of 1956. As early as 1925 there were 18 communes, of which four had full autonomy. The exercise of political rights in modern form dates back more than 75 years for some cities, and by 1953 there were elected municipal councils in 14 of the 20 mixed communes in Senegal.

[p. 6 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[8] These facts were studied by M. Hunter, *Reaction to Conquest*, London, 1936, among others.
[9] *Cf., infra.*, summary historical comments regarding the development of citizenship in the oldest Senegalese settlements.
[10] After 1956, changes occurred more rapidly. There were profound transformations in the orientations of political parties, in the organization of unions, etc. These transformations acquired greater significance in the new legislative and constitutional frameworks instituted in 1957 and subsequently.
[11] These had an organization patterned after that of French communes, even though the conditions under which they operated were not always comparable. It was not until 1956, 75 years later, that communes were established in territories other than Senegal.
[12] These were all characterized by the fact that their mayor was a representative of the French colonial administration. There were various types, according to whether the city council was entirely appointed, or partially or entirely elected. Between the two wars they expanded rapidly outside Senegal.

[P.6C]

668
369
633

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

"The Four Communes of Senegal"

369 633 175 The four coastal cities have had the longest experience with political rights. All are fairly old; Dakar was founded most recently, in 1857. St. Louis of Senegal, founded in the time of the slave-trade, is the oldest, and a typical example of the "old colonial city." In 1659 a warehouse of the Company of the Senegal was built on the site, the first French settlement in the region. It was a commercial post oriented toward the river, and a small military outpost; it became the jumping-off place for the conquest of the African territories. The general traits of the old African city may still be found in St. Louis' central section, despite recent changes. In such a center the African population was relatively stable.[13] A few European families established residence, and a rather important mixed-blood population developed. By the mid-19th century an urban community with a homogeneous way of life had emerged.

[563]

The Isle of Gorée, which became the second commune in Senegal, was occupied in 1677; it was oriented toward the Petite-Cote and the factories of Rufisque, Joal, and Portudal. Of these, only Rufisque developed; it became the third commune. St. Louis and Gorée underwent many vicissitudes before 1815, when they were restored to France. They then returned to "legal" commerce, which was centered in the valley of the Senegal. St. Louis retained its dominance. By the end of the 18th century it had had nearly 7,000 inhabitants, about half of whom were free and almost a tenth European. In the 1870's its population was about 15,000, while Gorée had but 3,000; Rufisque was growing as was Dakar. Finally, the interior back of the Petite-Cote was opening up, and Thiès was founded. In the following period St.

[162] [563]

[P.7A]

8;Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 Louis stagnated[14] and Gorée declined,
633 losing people at the expense of Dakar and
175 Rufisque; Rufisque grew rapidly, as the
[162] port for the ground-nut. Dakar entered
[439] a period of prosperity at the turn of the
century.[15] During the late 19th century
the composition of the population already
was beginning to change fairly rapidly,
especially in the expanding centers, but
the old core of urban population con-
tinued to hold a dominant place, not
only in urban life but also in the colony
of Senegal as a whole, whose constitution
had come into effect. The people of
St. Louis most notably served as essential
instruments of the colonization effort.

This dominance was expressed very
clearly in the political realm. The coastal
cities, in contrast to the interior cities
and rural areas, had been introduced to
the structure and organization through
which modern political life is conducted
long before the reforms of 1946. Political
activity of the modern type was first
limited to the European settlers but was
[563] soon extended to the mixed-blood element
and then to the Negro population. Begin-
ning in the late 18th century, St. Louis
had a mayor, always a mixed-blood, who
served as intermediary between the gov-
ernor and the populace. In 1789 the
[668] colony participated in metropolitan polit-
ical activities, sending to the States-
General a petition of grievances that de-
manded commercial freedom — *i.e.*,
abolition of the Company monopoly —
and the end of slavery. A satisfactory
agreement was reached among employees
of the Company, European businessmen,
and mixed-blood businessmen, but it was
never brought to fruition; a period of
disorder set in and persisted until the
rebirth of the colony in 1815.

[641] In 1833 French citizenship was con-
ferred upon all free inhabitants of St.
Louis and Gorée by royal decree. Citizen-
ship was extended to all inhabitants of

[P.7B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[13] We have observed that in such cases a "people belonging to the city" emerged. Their ties with their birthplaces were more or less completely severed.
[14] It had scarcely 20,000 inhabitants in 1920, but its growth resumed in the 1930's. In 1954 it had a population of 39,000.
[15] With the creation of a harbor, which captured the trade of Rufisque, whose modernization appeared impossible, and the installation of the government-general of French West Africa, established in 1895.

[p.9c]

175
369
633
169

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 633 175 [641] the two cities with the abolition of slavery in 1848.[16] The four coastal cities were elevated to the status of communes with full powers between 1872 and 1887, and the organization of political life on a European pattern in the four communes crystalized the opposition between the citizens of the old settlements and the subjects of the territories in the newly-conquered interior. The cities alone provided apprenticeship in public life and in the representative system. Beginning in 1871 they elected a deputy to the French Parliament. In 1879 they [646] elected a Council-general patterned after those in France, supposedly to represent all Senegal. It actually represented only the few urban centers, whose interests at the time diverged widely from those of the rest of Senegal. An effort was subsequently made to repair this breach by transforming the Council-general into a colonial council, consisting of representatives elected by the citizens and representatives for the non-citizens appointed by the *notables*.[17] This reduced conflicts scarcely at all. Meanwhile, citizenship [641] acquired new importance. At first it was established by local law and had no effect in other French territories. Not until 1916 did the "natives of the four communes" receive full French citizenship while still being able to retain their personal status. These citizens were few in [668] number: scarcely 80,000 in 1939, about 100,000 in the 1950's. The cities tended to include more non-citizens than citizens as they grew. Actual participation in politics developed only gradually. At [666] the first legislative elections, in 1871, only a third of those registered voted, and the rate dropped to less than a fifth

[P. 8A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 633 175 [666] in some years. Since the beginning of the 20th century, however, urban citizens have taken an increasingly lively interest in political matters.[18]

563 668 In this restricted political system the relative importance of the roles played by different ethnic groupings and different cities varied continuously. Ethnic dominance, first held by the old European families, passed gradually to mixed-blood society, which came into being in the 18th century and rapidly acquired wealth, education, and influence. By the mid-19th century mixed-bloods made up the majority of the westernized population. But the entry of the emancipated slaves, [166] the first sizable migration toward the cities, quickly reduced the mixed-bloods to a minority. In 1900 they numbered [162] less than 5,000 in the four communes together, though for several decades their economic and political influence remained quite disproportionate to their numbers. 668 Among the cities, St. Louis was [369] predominant until WW I. At the beginning of the century it practically controlled the deputation to the French legislature and the Council-general — and hence the economic life of the territory. Then Gorée-Dakar came to the fore;[19] in 1914 a citizen of Gorée, Blaise Diagne, was elected deputy, followed by Galandou Diouf and Lebou. These men were the first elected Senegalese to win [645] broad support at Paris; Diagne himself was appointed a Secretary of State [a subministerial post, equivalent to a U.S. Under-Secretary]. In Senegal, the au- [642] thority of elected officials — deputies and Councillors-general — increased, and clashes with the civil administration were frequent.[20]

[P. 8 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[16] Which nearly tripled the number of citizens, who henceforth comprised a body that was more heterogeneous but less completely "assimilated."
[17] Translator's note: the *notables* were influential residents appointed to high political offices in the interior by the local representative of French government.
[18] Especially after 1914, when there appeared a particularly dynamic personnage, Blaise Diagne, whose popularity was widespread.
[19] Dakar absorbed Gorée in 1929. The latter was reestablished as a separate commune in 1956.
[20] At first — at the end of the 19th century — these were conflicts between the merchants, upholding the interests of their agencies, and the civil administration, then engaged in an expansionist policy in West Africa, whose advantages the former could not see. Not until recent years did these conflicts change very much in character.

[P.8C]

369
633
668
[115]
641
642
649
666

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

The Growth of Political Parties

668 This political tradition explains why the changes in Senegal after 1946 took a unique coloring, and why Senegal's subsequent political history has been considerably different from that of other French West African territories. The political changes instituted after WW II [633] represented in part a loss of privileged position for the four communes, though they continued to play a dominant role for several years.[21] This was one of the factors that made the period 1946-1956 one of transition.

668 665 One important development was the appearance of well-structured political parties. Pre-war political life had been characterized by clusters of followers assembled about influential leaders, in a framework that somewhat resembled that of a "republic of notables." This pattern was still common in 1946; the nature of parties changed only gradually. On the other hand, political life broadened to include the whole territory. The long-standing predominance enjoyed by the coastal cities persisted for a few years but the weight of their electorate fell rapidly.[22] The emerging ideologies and the newly-founded political organizations were oriented toward the satisfaction of wants quite different from those typical of the old urban populations. But the models and the leaders that the latter had produced retained an influence that greatly exceeded their geographic limits, and in the cities they receded only slowly before the growth of a political life with different roots.

The fact that the post-war institutional developments were not transplanted to virgin soil had two contradictory results. On the one hand, a political party that was merely a branch of a

[P. 9A]

668 French party — the S.F.I.O.[23] — devel-
665 oped and for several years played a dominant role throughout Senegal. In the other territories parties were more often purely local, and simply allied themselves with the French parties. The S.F.I.O. lost its predominence in Senegal after 1951, but kept it in the four communes — St. Louis and Dakar-Gorée being its chief strongholds; it remained there as
[666] the African Socialist Movement.[24] This result, the adoption of assimilationist views, was to a certain degree a characteristic of pre-war political life, but on the other hand it contributed to the leadership of the first party that tried to be at once interterritorial and specifically African: the African Democratic Assembly (R.D.A.). It provided some of the most radical elements in the movement, which received considerable support, especially at Dakar. Several radical leaders were the source of the conflicts that resulted in the split in the R.D.A. that followed the change of orientation after 1950. The R.D.A. was subsequently a rather marginal movement in Senegal. This second result suggests the strength of the relations of a party limited to the numerous elite of the old Senegalese cities with the great European currents of political thought.

[369] But the greatest effect of the diversifi-
[666] cation of Senegalese political life was felt elsewhere. The appearance and rapid success of the Senegalese Democratic Bloc (B.D.S.) — which stemmed from a division in the S.F.I.O. — were the manifestations, in the political realm, of two essential facts: (1) the important changes that had taken place in the composition of city populations; and (2) the resumption of initiative by the rural populations, who seized the opportunity to express themselves directly, and especi-

[P. 9 B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[21] A very significant portion of the present framework emerged from the "four communes."
[22] Until 1957, universal suffrage existed only in the four communes. In the rest of Senegal the franchise, which was very limited in 1946, was extended to more and more people. The organic law of 1956 abolished all restrictions.
[23] Translator's note: French section of the Workingmen's International: the French Socialist Party, attached to the old Second International.
[24] In 1956. The municipal elections of the same year showed clearly the extent of its influence, which was unimportant in the interior cities.

[p.9c]

668
665
BA1
E2

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 ally to express themselves in opposition
665 to the old cities. The legislative elections
369 of 1951 were typical in this respect. The
666 enlarged rural electorate had numerical control and held the key to success in the elections; a substantial part of the urban masses shared in an effort to drive a breach in the old system of urban domination. In this period the ideological aspects of the political parties were still unimportant. The elections of 1951 were a victorious revolt of the new citizens, urban and rural, against the old citizens of the "four communes."[25] The two candidates of the B.D.S. won. Significantly, one of them represented directly, through the unions, the new forces. The division between the whole of the territory and the cities was thus repeated *within* the cities. A new phase had commenced, one in which politics became more complicated. But the forms that can be termed "traditional" for political life were too deeply embedded within the patterns of urban life to give way at once.

Senegalese Political Life in Transition, 1953-1956

668 It was under such conditions that re-
665 searches were conducted on the forms of
[114] political expression in several Senegalese urban centers, chiefly at Dakar-Gorée and at St. Louis — that is, three of the four communes — and also at Thiès, a newer city in the interior close to and under the influence of the Dakar-Gorée-Rufisque aggregate. This last study provided certain comparative materials. This essay discusses only some of the findings of these researches. Three essential facts must be remembered:

(1) The importance retained by certain long-standing patterns. A party de-

[p. 10A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 signed to be distinctive, and to a degree
665 founded in opposition to these patterns, nevertheless conforms with them, at least for a time, within the "old cities." This is one of the limits of the political system of this period: the deepest political aspirations, which are rapidly gaining strength, can be only partially expressed within a partisan structure.

(2) The central role of certain non-political groupings and organizations[26] in the elaboration of more radical ideologies and in the formation of the most active groups. This must be viewed as a direct function of the preceding condition.

[57] (3) The temporarily marginal status of an important part of the new elites, whose formation had accelerated in the post-war years. At the time of study, a shift of elites was occurring. Youthful elements were vigorously opposed to what was termed the "bourgeoisie of the old cities."[27] This is another indication that the underlying forces still laid outside urban politics; they did not enter them until 1956.

The New Parties

665 After 1946 a series of political parties
369 emerged: the Senegalese branch of the S.F.I.O., the B.D.S., the M.P.S., and the U.D.S.[28] Only the first two received wide support, yet one cannot fail to be impressed by the extent of party membership. Out of a group of 1,200 men interviewed at Dakar, for example, more than half (56 per cent) declared themselves members of a party.[29] The percentage was very high, and of considerable significance. The population involved in this sampling was essentially a stable one, or at least one settled in cities for several years. Other researches justify

[P. 10 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[25] At the time, the civil administration viewed this revolt rather favorably. Of course, it was only one aspect of the politics of the period. Some rather contradictory alliances were formed to oppose the S.F.I.O.

[26] Assuming a limited sense for the word "political," by applying it solely to party organizations.

[27] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Evolution des élites sénégalaises," *Bull. intl. des Sci. soc.*, VIII (#4, '56). Materials for comparison appear, *mutatis mutandis*, in E.-F. Frazier, *Bourgeoisie noire*, Paris, 1956.

[28] Senegalese Populist Movement and Senegalese Democratic Union.

[29] This involved solely the male population.

[P.10c]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

S 665 369

the assertion that the temporary population, especially the seasonal one, shared very little in urban politics.[30] However, the groupings under study clearly extended beyond the nucleus of the "old population," which in Dakar was less sharply defined and more conglomerate than in a center such as St. Louis.[31] The traits peculiar to the latter were still discernible, however: thus, the majority ethnic group — Lebou and Wolof, which includes the largest number of "old urban families" — exhibited these political characteristics in a more striking form. Exact data gathered on extended family groups revealed political party membership varying from 50 to 80 per cent among the Lebou and Wolof (as much among women as among men); in these cases, membership was verified by possession of a party card. This verification was not required in the course of the general study previously noted; one may thus assume that some of the men interviewed who declared themselves members of a party were only sympathizers, or had failed to have their cards renewed. Other data, however, confirmed the validity of the information obtained. Thus, during the post-war years the Senegal branch of the S.F.I.O. was among the six most important branches of the party; in the mid-1950's the enormous majority of its adherents were to be found in the coastal cities.

W [369]

W [665]

One peculiarity, examined in the course of this essay, requires at least a partial interpretation. Considering the massive party membership, participation in elections was scanty. Thus, at the time of the last municipal elections in Dakar, the number of persons registered to vote exceeded 50,000.[32] According to the

S [666]

[P. 11 A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

665
369
[666]

census of 1955, one might have expected it to reach nearly 80,000. Abstentions — in relation to the number registered — amounted to about 30 per cent. In this trend one can see the ambiguity that typified political life in the Senegalese cities. Evidence was also gathered on the status of participation in the other phases of party activity. Parties are organized in ward sections, sometimes with separate sections for women. The activities of these sections do not merit detailed study; they vary too greatly in intensity. One point became clear, however, from direct observation on one hand and the results of a series of interviews on the other: these sectional activities drew only a very limited portion — about 10 per cent — of party effectives. By contrast, occasional demonstrations might draw considerable numbers, including individuals from outside the city. Sometimes such demonstrations coincided with propaganda meetings organized directly by the party. In other cases they stemmed from the presence of a party leader as an observer at an official reception, a conference, etc.

Other facts also demonstrate that party membership does not imply militant action in the specifically political arena. A series of interviews carried out during 1953-1954 revealed only a slight degree of ideological unity in the two large parties, the S.F.I.O. and the B.D.S.; knowledge about specific phases of their programs was generally modest or nonexistant. Hence distribution of party memberships scarcely involved a precise ideological choice.[33] This choice to some degree reflected an actual distinction,[34] but this was apparently no more than a tendency. In addition to the primary

[P. 11 B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[30] But it could remain attached more or less firmly to the political activities of the place of its origin.
[31] It included elements from St. Louis and Gorée, Lebou elements that had become urbanized "on [illegible]ot," etc. The population of Dakar tripled 1936-1956, from 80,000 to nearly 250,000.
[illegible] To be precise, 52,250. These elections are used as an example because the new organization for the city government involved a revision of the electoral lists, the most extensive in many years; and, also, a comparison with recent census figures (compiled in 1955) was possible for the first time.
[33] The facts of the split between the latent ideological content of judgments and opinions of a political sort, and that of the party programs, are noted below. Of course, there were probably distinctions according to level of schooling.
[34] Roughly, between old and new city-dwellers.

[P. 11c]

[996] [168] [699] 369

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

665
369

cause of this peculiarity, described previously, there were secondary causes, of ethnic, religious, and other natures. Their action contributed to the blurring of lines between the party groups. These facts explain, for example, why the B.D.S., until its recent changes, was unable despite great efforts to change the nature of urban politics. Only the broad action of new factors that were felt considerably beyond the frontiers of Senegal, from 1956 on, brought some change.

These widespread occurrences affected chiefly the two large parties. The other parties, the M.P.S. and U.D.S., which had developed from the schism in the R.D.A., had a quite different nature. They were parties of activists, and in Senegalese political life had only secondary importance. The successes of the R.D.A. elsewhere in West Africa, even during 1956-1957, had only feeble repercussions in Senegal. This fact had many causes, which cannot be studied here. By contrast, the S.F.I.O. and the B.D.S. were tending to become, in terms of number, parties with mass support; their cores were made up as much by "*notables*" and "elected agents" as by activists. The struggle between these two parties continued to dominate the stage, if not in all Senegal, at least in the cities and in certain rural districts.[35] In some cases it took extremely violent forms.

666
665
369
[633
579]

Pre-election riots were common between 1946 and 1956. Even in 1957, rather serious incidents marked the reorganization of the commune of Dakar, before the last municipal elections.[36] For the first time, elements of the B.D.S. (now the Senegalese Populist Bloc, or B.P.S.) won strong representation in the city council, previously dominated without opposition by the S.F.I.O. (now the African Socialist Movement — M.S.A.); an outburst of partisan passions marked

[P. 12A]

665 this shift. Such demonstrations revealed
[369] the intense hostility between the two
[666] main parties. This deeply influenced urban life, in the realms that overlapped into the specifically political domain.

Some indications have been given as to the significance of party membership. They can be supplemented by approaching the problem somewhat differently. To a considerable degree, the parties remained closely associated with the "clienteles" that typified pre-war political life. This trait appeared most clearly in the party in power, the one that controlled the city government. To maintain and increase
[669] such a political clientele, the party had access to very important instruments. Through the numerous municipal employees and all others who depended upon city hall, or who directly or indirectly benefited from its aid or its support, it extended a very wide network of influence. This was elaborated by the other network of influence, comprising the traditionally influential individuals, who were partly interwoven into it.[37] If a party had such a basis its dynamic force dropped considerably, and the role of its leaders assumed major importance. The prestige of the leader was essential to the cohesion of the political groups. This fact came out clearly in various researches. For instance, in the course of over 100 interviews it appeared that there were wide gaps between the official orientation of the party to which the respondent belonged and the political goals that he expressed.[38] Adherence to the leader overcame that difference to some extent. A certain formalization of partisan attachment thus appeared, in a primitive fashion. The importance of the leader's prestige was revealed with the greatest clarity in relation to the feminine clien-
[369] tele of the parties. It must be emphasized that at Dakar, at least among the

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[35] Where the rivalry, furthermore, was chiefly between the "outposts," in this case more or less connected with the tradition of the "old cities," and the surrounding countryside.
[36] The separation of Gorée and the anticipated electoral redistricting had persuaded the civil administration to dissolve the municipal council and to replace it during the electoral period with a bipartisan municipal commission.
[37] Particularly in their activity as electoral agents.
[38] In a general way, these goals showed a much more definite "nationalist" potential.

[p. 12c]

665
369
699
633

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 elements that have been urbanized the
369 longest, the percentage of party memberships has been as high among women as among men. This was a peculiar aspect of the Dakar situation, not found, for instance, at Thiès (where the percentage of memberships among women, depending upon the ethnic group, was from one-half to one-tenth that among men). At Dakar the women's branches on occasion could mobilize large crowds, adorned in party colors. Study of about 30 of these individual cases suggested that the conscious essence of political attachment consisted almost entirely of the relation with the leader.

665 The formalization noted above can be
578 studied from various points of view. The fundamental bipartition of political life in a way was responsible for the indirect expression of intragroup and intergroup divisions and rivalries whose nature was other than political. This explains why the line of separation between the two political blocs did not have the same significance to all sectors of the population. In specific situations it assumed many meanings. For example, one could find: (1) hostility between the Lebou-Wolof grouping and the rest of the population (which resembled, without exactly cor-
[563] responding to, the fundamental division noted above); (2) hostility, more or less muted, between Wolof and Lebou; and (3) hostilities within each of the two groups, in proportion to diversities of origin, status, etc.

This accounts for the relative flexibility prevailing in the composition of the clienteles that made up the parties.[39] Since the clienteles represented varied levels, however, they introduced new divisions, or revived and solidified old hostilities.

665 (1) A fundamental problem arises from the interactions between the modern political system and what remains of the traditional or semi-traditional sys-
[P.13A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 tems. At Dakar, the powers of the "*sé-*
[633] *rigne*" and of the dignitaries of the former "Lebou Republic" were continued, although they gradually lost their importance.[40] The parties were careful to keep these leading figures among their clientele. As a result there were some rather complex manipulations concerning nominations and successions. A nomination accepted by one party was more or less openly contested by the other. Hence the relatively frequent bifurcation of power: opposing the dignitary who had received official recognition was another who maintained himself as pretender, with the support of the party that had backed his candidacy. Such events stood
[667] out even more sharply among ward leaders, who depended most directly upon the party that controlled the city government. Their support was more or less confined to the voters of this party. Hence, certain wards had clandestine ward leaders, around whom the members of the opposition party could gather. Of course, such phenomena have accelerated the deterioration of these institutions.

793 (2) In the religious field, control over
665 chiefs of the great Moslem brotherhoods similarly has been at stake in intense struggles between the parties. This was particularly true of the main brotherhood in Senegal, that of the Tidjanes.
[369] This problem has been centered outside Dakar and the other coastal cities, but has had important repercussions in these cities. The rivalries that apparently have always surrounded the choice of the caliph of the Tidjanes were intensified and acquired a greater impact, in proportion as the fundamental hostility of the parties was openly associated with them. Violent incidents involving politi-
[788] cal enemies occurred even on pilgrimages to Tivaouane, where the caliph resides; they contributed to the prolongation of conflicts within the caliph's family. Well-meaning interference by re-

[P. 13 B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[39] We found, for example, that extended family groups with some degree of solidarity might be divided in political views. This caused severe tensions, but rarely breaks.

[40] *Cf.* C. Michel, *op. cit.* The civil administration continued to grant some prominence to the *sérigne* of Dakar, and ultimately used him as a propaganda agent in some of its activities outside Senegal.

[P.13C]

[635 1985 565]

665 spected figures, with the aim of keeping
[193] such matters on a purely religious plane, has had little success. The Tidjane chieftans have been too enmeshed in politics to listen.

527 (3) A last example involves recreational activities organized at the end of
665 the year around the exhibition of the
578 "lanterns."[41] These activities provided a basis for the formation of temporary groupings founded on ethnic background, neighborhood, occupation, etc. Such groupings undertook the making of a "lantern," and exhibited it to neighbors, relatives and others, eventually by forming a parade. An element of competition entered; the most noteworthy "lanterns" won rather imposing gifts and a brief prestige for the groupings that exhibited them. The parties seized on this competitive aspect. Party sections themselves created "lantern" groupings. With access to considerable material means and a large number of workers, they made "lanterns" that were veritable carnival floats, huge and very elaborate. Their exhibition brought together in a procession the typical rabble of large political demonstrations. At the same time it aroused friction between hostile parties.[42] They had taken over, almost entirely at their expense, demonstrations whose character they had utterly changed. This is a typical example of the way in which disparate activities have been infused by the two-party rivalry.

369 This process also has another side: the
665 parties have seen a decline in their opportunities for expressing political drives. In the old cities, they experienced relative stagnation for some years, while social changes accelerated and intensified. Elements just becoming aware of the world

[P. 14A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 political situation remained aloof from
665 party activity, unless they joined the marginal parties. This was a prime discovery from general investigations at Dakar and St. Louis. Comparison of the principal socio-occupational categories that had been used as a basis for classifying the population under study provided informative data for this topic. The following categories showed a per-
[463] centage of political party membership higher than that of the average of respondents: farmers and fishermen; unskilled laborers and domestic workers; merchants. By contrast, the percentage of membership was lower among semi-skilled workers, higher-ranking office-workers and government employees, and professional people. It is significant that trained workers and the intellectual elements most often kept apart from the existing political system. Such was the situation at Dakar. That at St. Louis was little different, or so it appeared from an incomplete analysis of an inquiry carried out among a sampling of the population in the island wards.

By contrast, the inquiry carried out at Thiès, whose traits are quite unlike those of the "old cities," provided very different results. For all the men, the percentage of membership was smaller than that at Dakar—40 per cent.[43] The following categories were below that fig-
[463] ure: farmers, merchants, skilled workers, lower-ranking office-workers, and government employees. On the other hand, unskilled and semi-skilled workers, and higher-ranking office-workers and government employees, were higher.[44] Here the greatest degree of party membership corresponded to the most active categories; Thiès does not have the political traditions of the old cities, and the formalization found in them was much less

[P. 14B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

1

[41] At first these were merely decorated lanterns. The custom certainly has a European origin; it is typical of the "old cities" of Senegal.
[42] In 1954 the parades of "lanterns" were prohibited by administrative edict.
[43] The results at Dakar and at Thiès cannot be compared in detail. However, the informative value of these general results could, in each case, be verified at other stages in the research.
[44] It should be noted that in the case of Thiès the category of unskilled workers was much closer to that of semi-skilled workers. The unskilled workers, largely employed by the railroad, comprise a more stable group than at Dakar.

[P. 14C]

7 [i.e, an exhibition of "lanterns" at the end of the year accompanied by recreational activities — See category 116, P. 14A -- Analyst]

665
266
529
111
463
578

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 665 striking. The data from Thiès enable one to approach in a much more meaningful way the problem of differentiating between the two large Senegalese parties in terms of their socio-occupational composition. Adherence to the B.D.S. was generally predominant in all categories, but the trend toward this party was greater, on the one hand, among semi-skilled and unskilled workers, and on the other, among higher-ranking office-workers and government employees. At Dakar, where the B.D.S. was at this time in the minority, a comparable trend was apparent: the party was proportionately stronger among semi-skilled workers and intellectuals. But differentiations of this type cannot fail to be blurred in a context such as that described above.

665 668 Therefore the importance of the groups remaining on the edge of party activities was more significant. Two groups merit particular attention. These were, first, the new cadres emerging from higher education; the problems resulting from their emergence are briefly discussed below. Secondly, there was a rather large group of persons less than thirty years old who had at least a primary school education.[45] The criticisms that the latter expressed against the established political system were often very harsh (against the city government, against the cadres of the two parties, etc.). Some had made several attempts to gain admittance to the existing parties, or into youth groups affiliated with the parties. They found themselves in weakly-structured, short-lived groups with no specific political function, but in which political problems were approached in a generally nonconformist manner. Otherwise they devoted their energies to organized nonpolitical groupings.

The importance of some of these nonpolitical groupings must now be examined. To a large degree they offered, more

[P. 15A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 668 than the relatively inflexible political parties, adequate frameworks for expressing anti-colonial demands and for creating activists.

Religious Organizations

665 668 793 As distinct from many other parts of Sub-Sahara Africa, organizations of a religious character play only a very limited part here. We have already seen how the "traditional" political parties entered into the activities of some religious groups and attempted to make them recruiting bases for their clientele. The more limited movements alone provided certain means, chiefly indirect, for expressing extremist political demands. This was the case, for example, of a grouping founded by Moslem students at Dakar. However, they received very little support.[46]

Cultural Associations and Youth Movements

668 575 Cultural associations and youth movements have had a more important role in this area. Some of them have contributed to the formation of strong political cadres. In general, the cultural associations have had a rather precarious existence; their activities in some cases have ceased. Their efforts to win the support of the masses by undertaking an educational role — for instance, by means of the theater — have often been disappointing. Finally, they often have had a ambiguous nature. Thus, in a city such [369] as Dakar, founded by highly "assimilated" elements, they have experienced some difficulty in contributing to the development of modernized African culture. But they are not devoid of concern for political organization in a very general sense, removed from party orientation. This was shown with regard to three of the

[P. 15 B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[45] Often, youths whose studies had been interrupted. It was difficult for them to achieve occupational stability.

[46] Its policies called for a renovation of Islam, so that it came more or less directly into opposition with the great Brotherhoods, whose religious formalism was rather marked; the latter retained a generally dominant influence.

[P. 15 c]

[1963 8 22 65]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 most vigorous associations, by an investi-
575 gation of the topics discussed by the study groups that they created, and of the content of the discussion.[47] By considering such questions as teaching and the language for teaching, the organization of local communities, economic development, interracial marriages, etc., their study of the political problems resulting from the colonial situation had wide influence.

As for the Youth Council of Senegal,
[369] which comprised the majority of youth associations and was organized primarily in the cities, the orientation of its activity was even clearer. By the nature of its conflicts with the civil administration, by the content of its demands in behalf of youth, by the topics related to the future of youth whose study it was undertaking, it disclosed a "nationalist" potential of some vigor.

It is essential to note the possible role of associations founded on ethnic or territorial bases, in particular those inspired by youths. Centers for contact with territories other than Senegal, they spread
[665] the foreign political influence of the parties predominating within them. This seemed to be the case, for instance, of the grouping of Senegalese youths with relation to the R.D.A. However, these associations were never directly linked with a given partisan organization. The political role that they might temporarily play was very flexible and therefore somewhat indeterminate.

Labor Unions

467 Labor unions should receive especial attention. The union movement in French West Africa is numerically one of the most important, and among the most active, in all of sub-Sahara Africa.
[665] Like the political parties, it took form only in the immediate post-war period.
[P. 16A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

467 In 1954 it had a membership about 100,-
000, or a little less than one-third of all
wage-earners. The unions have reached
[369] their greatest development in Senegal,
especially in the large cities. In 1954
this territory contained more than half
the union members in French West
Africa, more than a third of all Sene-
galese wage-earners. Dakar has a central
role in this field. It is the headquarters
for the largest unions, which were once
affiliated with French federations but
are now autonomous. Dakar also pos-
sesses a very active "Labor Exchange."
By itself it contains more than two-fifths
of the union members in Senegal.

467 To some extent the significance of
668 the unions is more than occupational
and economic. The degree to which they
[667] complete the political machinery of the
[665] city is suggested by a comparison of the
percentages of party memberships with
the percentages of union memberships.
Of 1,200 persons interrogated during the
Dakar survey noted above, about one-
half (52 per cent) stated they were
union members. The potential ambiguity
of such statements was suggested above
in connection with political parties.[48]
However, an analysis of the respondents
by socio-occupational categories gave
meaningful results. The average rate of
union membership was surpassed by
lower-ranking office-workers and govern-
ment employees, higher-ranking office-
workers and government employees, and
professional people; it was equalled by
semi-skilled workers. With the exception
[665] of the first, these are precisely the cate-
gories whose rates of party membership
were lowest. On the other hand, partici-
pation in union activity was distinctly
more important among the categories
comprising the intellectual elements than

[P. 16 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[47] We acknowledge our indebtedness to the cultural associations for inviting us to participate in their study groups.

[48] Respondents claiming membership in a union often were behind in the payment of their dues, or only heeded the directives of the union without having joined it. Hence the number of union members, so far as it can be estimated from the general survey, is much higher than that given by the unions themselves. The deviations shown for the different categories are more marked than the raw figures of the general survey indicate; the categories with the highest percentages of union members were those in which the exactness of the responses was the greatest, as later samplings emphasized.

[p. 16c]

668
575
469

467 among the semi-skilled workers. The
668 situation was reversed at Thiès, but be-
cause of the large Dakar-Niger Railroad
[498] shops there, this city is an exceptional
case. The traits found at Dakar, by
contrast, proved characteristic of union-
ism in French West Africa. The overall
figures, obtained from official sources
based on statements by unions, indicated
clearly that manual occupations were the
least unionized. Out of the 100,000
union members in French West Africa in
[647] 1954, more than half were either govern-
ment officials or government employees.
The rate of unionization in the govern-
mental sector was nearly double that in
the non-governmental sector. Finally, in
the two sectors together, semi-skilled
workers comprised only a little more
than a fourth of all union members.
Furthermore, results of the studies at
Dakar and Thiès suggest that union
membership and level of schooling corre-
[665] late rather closely; this was far from the
case with respect to party membership,
at least at Dakar. To what degree did
unionism offer educated individuals a
means of expression that, in the period
studied, parties did not offer them? Edu-
cated persons, especially youths, were
more susceptible to extremist anti-colonial
aspirations. And to what degree could
union action present itself more clearly
as a trial postponement for the existing
order than action within the framework
of parties?

The particular traits of union struggle
markedly demonstrate the fundamental
conflicts of the colonial situation. One
cannot accurately speak of the "politiza-
tion" of unions, in the sense many gov-
ernment officials give this term. The
[665] limited activities of parties and the very
conditions of unionism in a colonial situ-
ation have given unionism a marked
political coloring.

(1) Interviews of militant unionists,
[p. 17A]

467 focussing on some of their asserted poli-
668 cies, revealed that the union struggle was regarded as directed essentially against the government. This must be interpreted not only with regard to the general traits of the colonial system but also in relation to the commanding role that the government played in labor. It was first of all the principal employer: in a city
[369] such as Dakar, a little more than a third of the wage-earners were dependent upon it. It was responsible for setting the
[465] minimum wage, and it has happened that owing to budgetary considerations and general policy it established a lower figure than non-governmental employers might have adopted. Finally, during the period in question, a central problem was that
[466] of enforcing the Code of Overseas Labor, enacted by Parliament in 1952. The civil administration was responsible for its enforcement, and the strikes of 1953 were
[468] designed to bring pressure on the administration so as to obtain a "fair enforcement" of its provisions. In the interviews mentioned above, conflicts with employers were scarcely mentioned as such. Employers were identified with the civil administration; the terms "civil administration" and "colonialism" seemed almost interchangeable. The adversary of the unions being essentially the civil administration — and a "colonial civil administration" — their action inevitably assumed political significance, broadly defined.[49]

467 (2) In the field of union activities
668 the hostility between the European com-
563 ponent and the African component of the urban population showed itself most vividly. This stemmed not merely from the fact that the civil administration and the employers represented the power of the "whites." It was also noteworthy that European workers, employees, and
[468] officials almost invariably formed separate unions, with goals sharply opposed to

[P. 17B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[49] This struggle against the civil administration was not confined to local matters. It was affected by events at Paris, both administrative and parliamentary. The use of political precedents seems very clear here. They sometimes brought success, as was the case in the enforcement of the provisions of the Labor Code regarding the hours of work.

[Pinc]

467
668
[466]

467 468 668 563 those of the African unions.[50] The acute crises produced by certain important strikes gave forceful expression to this rift. The African unions, despite their ideological differences, despite the personal rivalries that brought their leaders into opposition, often engaged in combined and coordinated activities. By contrast, the strikes of the African workers and those of the European workers scarcely ever coincided, though the latter might break out as a response to the [465] former in an effort to maintain the hierarchy of salary scales. As demonstrations of African unity against the civil administration and against European [578] controls in general, strikes were the only occasion in which the underlying tension characterizing the city appeared distinctly and in a generalized fashion. It was because they expressed this tension that their impact and the emotional response to them were so important.

467 468 668 (3) This was also the principal cause of their ultimate success. During such conflicts, demands were expressed that were far more extreme than those made by the parties. Thus, in the strikes of 1953, the union press and the union leaders evoked the possibility that African "loyalism" would be suspended and that the bonds between France and the Overseas Territories would be changed; the question of independence was openly and threateningly discussed. Union activities assumed a certain nationalistic coloring that the parties at that time disregarded. Behind every limited demand regarding salaries or the regulation of working conditions lay the fundamental anti-colonial demand; it was this demand that gave weight to the mass demonstrations and that carried the day.[51] It must be further 467 668 noted that during this period major external ideological elements entered the contest, especially through the unions. An important number of their activists had studied techniques of organization,

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

467 both in France and in other countries.
668 Participation in international congresses put them in contact with the ideological currents of the world. A study of the union press was very revealing in this regard.

[665] To the masses, unions proposed goals that were, in the period under consideration, far different from those of the political parties. Unions were in many ways more systematic and more vigorous. They were much less apt to make
[663] differentiations along ethnic, religious, or other lines. The unity of action that they practiced banned their assimilating such hostilities and conflicts, whose meaning was foreign to them. These hostilities yielded before the fundamental hostility brought out by union action. The near-unanimity with which the directives of the union have been followed is very
[571] significant. For the elites, on the other hand, unions offered, in an era in which the forms and matrices of customary political expression appeared too narrow, a wider and more adequate field of action. Unionism supplied the most accessible agencies for sharing in power of the modern sort. The intellectual elites furnished
[571] the substance of the union framework and played a dominant role on their executive committees.[52] Located at the very center of situations of tension and conflict, they found in union activities the most effective way of asserting modern views and of surmounting the limits barring their advancement in the political and occupational fields.

Developments Since 1956

668 Such were the chief aspects, in a period
369 of transition, of the political life of the large Senegalese urban centers. In the subsequent four years, great changes have occurred. Senegalese political individuality — considerably modified by that of the "old cities" — has remained clear, but it has in great part shifted to
[P. 18 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[50] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Aspects des problemes de stratification sociale," *Cahiers intl. de Soc.* XVIII, 1954.
[51] A scrutiny of union publications in 1953 made this evident.
[52] In a very broad sense; their composition was very heterogeneous and drawn from various strata.

[P.18c]

[5n] 467 478 668 563

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

other fields.

668 369 In the "old cities," changes have taken place that were already evident when the investigations noted above were being conducted. The importance of these facts must be emphasized:

(1) The separation between the cities and the countryside, and more particularly between the old cities and the rest of the territory, is becoming less sharp. This fact has already been pointed out in connection with recent demographic developments and the growth of the B.D.S. There are other indications. The 571 intellectual elites have more diversified 668 origins; though the oldest nuclei of urban 369 population remain important in their composition, they are steadily decreasing in size. The bonds among the different sections of the territory are tightening. On the other hand, the old elites are becoming active outside city boundaries, and give a place in their considerations to the problems of rural modernization and evolution. Certain projects established by the youth associations and the unions have contributed to this orientation.

(2) These facts are connected with a shift in generations that has extensive effects. The attitude of youthful elites has been different; they feel themselves competent to assume broader responsibilities.[53] At the same time they are diverging more or less impetuously from the paths of "assimilation," and are striving to rediscover and revive specifically African values. An effort to prove themselves individually by integrating themselves into the existing system is being succeeded by an effort to prove themselves as representatives and guides for a host that must be freed from this system. This is a trend toward nationalism, in the widest sense of the term.

668 369 563 (3) In the coastal cities, the growing strength of racial tensions since the last war cannot fail to encourage such a

[P. 19 A]

668 369 [563] change. The vast increase in the number of Europeans, their greater occupational diversification, the much stronger reaction to the facts of discrimination, and multiplication of competitive situations — occupational or otherwise — are the most obvious phases of this major phenomenon.[54]

As these factors have come into full operation, a new phase of political life has opened. These are its principal traits:

668 665 [467] (1) From 1956 on, in unions and in politics, secessions from the original French bodies — confederations or parties — have multiplied. Previous remarks indicated the development of this process among unions. After some delay it affected the S.F.I.O. itself, which was transformed, not without difficulties, into the African Socialist Movement. The assimilationist tradition declined, or at least was no longer proclaimed openly. After the parties became autonomous, the distinction between direct and indirect forms of political expression began to disappear. Extremist demands of a nationalistic character found expression within the parties, and worked effectively there after 1957 (at the time when the new "organic law" authorized the first Senegalese government).

(2) To a certain degree, the very old Senegalese political tradition once more became a driving force. At the same time the marginal elements, whose existence was particularly marked among intellectuals, [571] entered into real politics, chiefly within the framework of the B.D.S. They comprised the left wing of the new Senegalese Populist Bloc (B.P.S.), which stemmed from the B.D.S., and shared in the creation of the African Convention, which is striving to extend outside Senegal the strictly autonomous orientations of the B.D.S. They tried to organize the B.D.S. as a

[P. 198]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[53] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Evolution des élites sénégalaises," *Bull. intl. des Sci. soc.*, VIII (#4, '56).
[54] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Le groupement européen de Dakar," *Cahiers intl. de Soc.*, XIX, 1955.

[P.19C]

369
698
511
563

668 mass-party, but in patterns very different
665 from those prevailing in the "old cities." Finally, their influence has been decisive in attempts to regroup the Senegalese parties, "disregarding personal and doctrinal differences." It has been a question of wiping out the fundamental hostility that typified post-war Senegalese political life, which — as we have seen — had more than a purely political significance. This effort led, not without difficulties, to the creation of the African Regroupment Party (P.R.A.). The former rivalries were still evident, though in a diminished and less forceful manner, during 1958-1959. The youthful elements of the B.P.S. at first helped provide the latter with leadership of the other territorial parties. It was they who, at the Congress of Cotonou, introduced the first outspoken assertion by the P.R.A. in favor of independence.[55]

(3) However, the influence of the
[369] political tradition of the old cities has not been entirely discarded. Added to that of the conservative religious leaders, it helps account for a return to a moderate stand on the part of Senegal. The campaign for the referendum of 1958 showed

[P. 20 A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 this clearly; it was under this two-fold
665 pressure that the B.P.S. took a position in favor of "yes." It likewise accounts for the less extreme attitudes often taken by leaders within the new Mali Federation.[56] However, this influence of tradition is not sufficient to block new trends. It is significant that in the legislative
[666] elections of March, 1959, the Senegalese Solidarity Party (P.S.S.), a combination of conservative city and rural elements, was as thoroughly defeated at St. Louis, where victory seemed probable, as in the rural districts. Again, it should be noted that the youthful elements that entered the B.P.S. in 1956 have in part left the new Senegalese Progressive Union (U.P.S.), an offshoot of the latter party after the regrouping noted above. By founding the African-Senegalese Regroupment Party (P.R.A.-S.), they have hoped to express their disappointment with a party insufficiently radical, insufficiently organized in structure, and containing too many aspects of the "traditional" political life of the old cities.

Paul Mercier
École pratique des Hautes Études

[P. 20 B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[53] Some months before there was established an African Independence Party, whose support remains very limited. [Cotonou is the capital of Dahomey.]

[54] Translator's note: the Mali Federation is the new state formed by the union of Senegal with the Sudanese Republic.

[p.20c]

668
665

9: Cantrelle E-5 (1957) 1960 MS 37 Senegal

000

The Endogamy of the Populations of the Senegalese Fouta
[L'Endogamie des Populations du Fouta Sénégalais]

by Pierre Cantrelle

Paris, 1960

Population

Vol. 15, pp. 665-676

Translated from the French by Frieda Schütze

Human Relations Area Files

1963

[Title page]

114 /665/ The study of demography in the countries of Black Africa has made great progress in recent years. Nevertheless, it has often had to be limited to monographs because of the diversity of the ethnic groups and the lack of census statistics.

Among the questions to be studied is that of consanguinity, often in these regions and sometimes responsible for demographic stagnation and an unhealthy condition. It is in this direction that the activity of Dr. Cantrelle of the Institut français d'Afrique noire /French Institute of Black Africa/ is oriented. The high degree of endogamy among the populations that he has studied is given particular attention. The results presented here deal with the Senegalese Fouta and are to be followed by more complete data pertaining to the Fouta Djallon.

Introduction

133 The Senegal River separates the republic of Senegal from that of Mauritania. Its central valley, running from east to west, between Dembakané upstream and Dagana downstream, constitutes a region defined by history and geography, the Fouta Toro. This is a long alluvial strip more than 400 kilometers long by ten kilometers wide on the average, hemmed in by two semi-arid regions, the Mauritanian Sahara on the north and the Ferlo of Senegal on the south (Map No. 1). In contrast
161 to these two regions, in which lives a population of nomadic shepherds, very low in density, the fertile valley has a concentration of farmers, fishermen, and livestock-raisers, with a relatively great density of about 20 inhabitants per square kilometer downstream, 35 near the center, and reaching 50 upstream.

143 Like most of the large valleys, it is a zone of passage which in the course of previous centuries has mixed together populations of varied origin, and one can assume that this region of homogeneous appearance, and where Islam is the sole religion, has created conditions favorable to panmixia (1).

1. Panmixia: assemblage of hypotheses

/665 cont./

143 used in population genetics for the construction of models indicating the mode of evolution of a concentration of genes in the course of time. In this general hypothesis it is postulated that: the population is closed; marriage is random; fertility is the same for all couples. If in this case the population is unlimited, the frequency of the three varieties of zygotes, A/A, A/a, a/a (monohybrid diallel), remains constant from generation to generation (Hardy-Weinberg Law, N.D.L.R.).

/666/ /Map No. 1 appears here./

143 582 The actual situation is entirely different; the social stratification entails very strict endogamy at the ethnic and caste level, endogamy reinforced by preferential marriages as well as by residential proximity. Some authors (1), Soh [1],

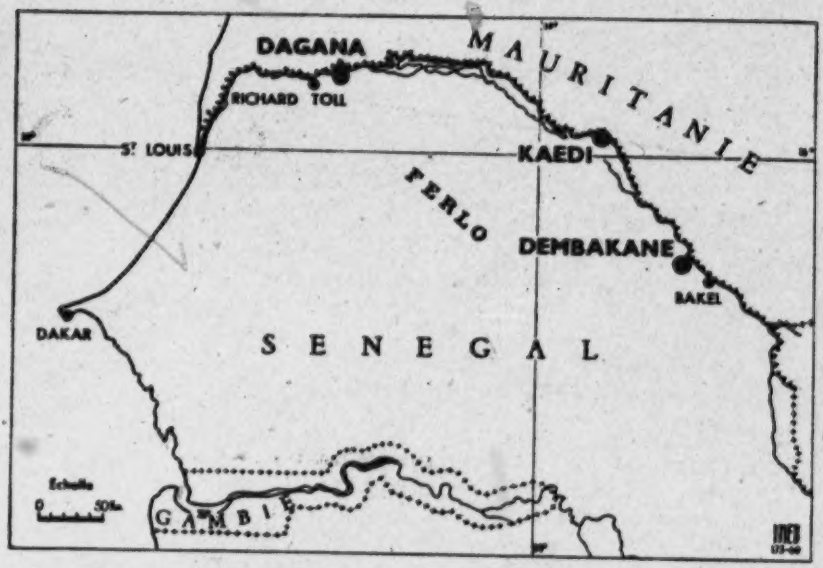
1. The numbers in brackets refer to the bibliographic references at the end of the article.

Gaden [2], M'Bow [3], have already described the origin and causes of these local ethnic and social differences and also the types of marriages, but quantitative observations only permit one to measure endogamy. After reviewing the method of study used, we shall indicate the principal results of these observations.

128 143 Method of study. In Europe, and notably in France, consanguinity and geographical endogamy have been determined by means of the frequency of marriages from the third to the sixth degree inclusive, that is to say, especially between first and second cousins, and also by studying the distance between the domiciles of future spouses. It is possible to know the frequency

[Text continues middle of P. 3 -- Analyst]

102
103
131
133



Map No. 1. /Mauritanie = Mauritania; Gambie = Gambia; eschelle = scale./

128 and variation of these facts with regard to dates and regions, thanks to
143 various registers which have existed for several generations (Sutter and Tabah [4] and [5], Sutter [6]).

114 In the western part of Africa it is difficult to gather this kind of
143 information, which the administrative censuses do not normally give. The first quantitative study of endogamy by M. de Lestrange in Guinea among the Coniagui [7] has permitted an evaluation of the size of the isolate, one woman /667/ being able to choose her partner from among 400 to 500 men, but does not specify the frequency of consanguineous unions. It deals with a closed population limited to 8,000 persons.

143 The population of the valley of the Senegal itself is much
125 more extensive and, in principle, not closed. In this case a demographic inquiry by sampling, taking one out of ten, has been resorted to, which made it possible to establish, in 1957, not only its classic characteristics of structure (sex, age, ethnic affiliation, place of birth, etc.) and of natural change (fertility, mortality), but also elements permitting precise determination of its degree of endogamy,

/667 cont./

125 [143] such as caste and the degree of kinship of each actual union [8].

In this region the person questioned, mostly in public, did [565] not make any difficulty about declaring to which caste he be- [124] longed. Moreover, this is known by all the inhabitants of the village and has such social importance that if one asks a child in the street, "Who are you?" he replies, "I am of such and such a caste." As for the degree of kinship of the spouses, a previous study among the sedentary Peul of the Fouta Djallon [9] has shown that it was possible to obtain this without a cumbersome demographic investigation; the individuals are well acquainted with the fact in regions where consanguineous unions are the custom.

The investigator asks whether or not the woman is married to a near relative, and, in the case of an affirmative answer, if the spouses have the same grandfather or grandmother (fourth degree) or in what other way they are related. A total number of 6,208 married women were questioned in this manner, and in order to correct possible errors of observation in such a sample, a control was established in a subsample of 382 sedentary couples by noting the names of the parents, grandparents, and eventually great-grandparents. At this stage there is uncertainty, but this can be removed only by laboriously working out genealogies. That is why the proportion of marriages to the sixth degree, which we indicate below and which are beyond the kinship ties known with sufficient accuracy, are perhaps more important in reality.

563 The ethnic groups. The region studied contains 341,000 inhabitants divided into five principal ethnic groups: Moors, Toucouleur [Tukuler], Peul, Saracolé [Sarakole], and Wolof (Table I). The ethnic groups are distinguished by such characteristics as the way of life, social structure, group consciousness, [186] the name given them by other groups, and language, except for [197] the Peul and the Toucouleur, who speak the same language, Poular. Aside from the Moors, the population is grouped in five po [361] port cities and 800 villages and communities.

[162] The Toucouleur form the largest aggregate (187,000 persons) and occupy the center of the region on the two rivers. The

/667 cont./

563 term Toucouleur often erroneously designates all the inhabitants of the Fouta Toro; we shall use it here in the way the Toucouleur speak of themselves, namely, Halpoularen (speaking the lan-
[197] guage of the Peul), distinct from the Wolof, who have their own language, and from the Saracolé, who speak a Mandé dialect.

/668/ Downstream the boundary between the Wolof and the Toucouleur is not clearly defined and several Wolof villages have been established in the very heart of Toucouleur country and
[186] have preserved their ethnic individuality. They are regarded as foreigners. It is the same upriver on the part of the Saracolé.

The Peul live in the midst of the three groups mentioned
[175] above, and the Peul ethnic group in the valley of the Senegal is itself composed of several waves /nappes/ which have successively spread throughout the region. The oldest are also the most sedentary and the most Islamized (Foulbé walo) and have a way of life very much like that of the Toucouleur, with whom they sometimes intermarry. The others, who have come more re-
[221] cently (Foulbé Diéri), are seminomads and only in winter culti-
[162] vate the sands of the hills which border the valley (Diéri). There is a total of 47,000 Peul in this region, but we do not know the
[613] actual number of each wave, itself divided into relatively
[175] endogamous lineages /lignages/ or pseudo-lineages. The latter, designated by the administration as communities, served as census units for the Peul, while for the others this unit was the village. The location of these communities often changes because of the seminomadic character of the Peul way of life, which is devoted principally to livestock-raising.

Among the 56,000 Moors, although some of them (6,000)
[162] are settled in the river ports, the majority merely meet on the Mauritainian shore and only part of the year; they camp there
[221] during the dry season in order to cultivate the alluvial soil (walo), and they return after the harvest to camps sometimes located several dozen kilometers from there. These farmers for the most part are Haratin of the black race, that is to say, ancient serfs of the Moors, from whom they continue to lease land.

125 Since they occupy a very marginal position in relation to the totality of the inhabitants of the valley, they will not be studied here. /Table I appears here./

/668 cont./

162 Table I. Division of the population of the Senegalese Fouta according to ethnic groups.

Ethnic Group	Actual Number	Percentage
Toucouleur	187,000	54.8
Wolof	36,000	10.6
Saracolé	13,000	3.8
Peul	47,000	13.8
Moor	56,000	16.4
Miscellaneous	2,000	0.6
Total	341,000	100.0

582 563 The ethnic groups are relatively endogamous, because marriages between persons of different ethnic groups are very rare, except perhaps, as we have seen, between Toucouleur and Peul (Foulbé walo). The Toucouleur /669/ are the only group entirely 563 within the Fouta, aside from some fractions that emigrated in the [166] course of religious crusades into Macina, Boundou, and elsewhere.

Each of the other ethnic groups is merely an extension into the valley of a group whose bulk occupies the neighboring regions, the Wolof in the northern part of Senegal, the Saracolé in western Sudan, the Peul near the Ferlo and the Assaba. But each of these ethnic groups is itself divided into several populations: the castes.

565 Castes and social conditions. The castes, in reality, present [582] a matrimonial barrier more difficult to overcome than that of ethnic affiliation. The term "caste" is used here in the general sense of social class, exclusive in nature, and not in the sense [564] that is given it in the valley where the term is reserved for artisan castes.

[567] Social conditions first of all distinguish the captives from [422] the free men. The captives are regarded as the personal property

S /669 cont./

567 of the masters and are married by them. They have no property
565 rights nor a voice in the village councils, being[1] constrained to
[422] menial work. This condition cannot be compared to that of the
[421] slave of the two Americas in former times; it is more reminiscent
[623] of that of bondage in the Europe of the Middle Ages. Before the legal suppression of this custom a certain number of captives had already been freed, but the prejudice against these people remains, and they constitute, in fact, the inferior caste in the social hierarchy.

S 564 463 It is the hereditary work of the artisans that, properly speaking, distinguishes the men of the castes from the others: work in wood, leather, metal, and cotton thread. This distinction is transmitted from father to son, whatever calling is actually practiced. A captive may practice weaving, but he will never belong to the caste of weavers; conversely, a man belonging to the caste of jewelers may be a doctor of medicine and practice the profession of medicine.

S 582 565 Marriage most clearly distinguishes the social barriers which the child inherits from its father. Although there is no rigid interdict, there is such ostracism that it is practically impossible for a man to marry a woman of an inferior caste without risking loss of status and being banned from society. There is one exception: S [567] it may happen that a master marries his captive in order to have children who are free; the mother will be set free by this act, but if the union is sterile the woman remains in the condition of servitude.

S/T 565 The system of castes is still very much alive, especially among the Toucouleur, and actually divides the ethnic group into partial populations, which, however, are less numerous than in India.

The functional nature of the castes has brought about in the course of their history the appearance of a hierarchy. Among the Toucouleur there are first the free men (rimbê), not belonging to the trade castes, and among /670/ whom, at the head, are the torobé (singular, torodo). Originally, in the Fouta Toro, this word in Arabic designated a scholar, a propagator of Islam. It

[1] [i.e., The captives -- Analyst]

S /670 cont./
565 has been the dominant class since the Islamic revolution. In former times many strangers from neighboring countries would come to follow the teachings of the marabouts, to settle around them, and, thanks above all to Islam, to join this caste, which at present seems more closed and now tends to be less heterogeneous.

The social stratum which comes next is that of the tiédo and the thioubalo. It is believed that their ancestors were the first occupants of the soil, and they have preserved their traditions, the tiédo as farmer and the thioubalo as fisherman. The caste of fishermen is quite closed and has its own hierarchy with its
S captives, its free men, and its dynasty.

582 The tiédo caste sometimes intermarried with the fishermen
565 and the torobé. Also free, but of an inferior social rank, are the trade castes. The general name for them, "gnégno," indicates a relationship of dependence vis-à-vis the above castes. Wood-cutters (labo), blacksmiths (baïlo), shoemakers (saké), and weavers (mabo) in principle intermarry indiscriminately. In contrast, the griots (gaoulo), who specialize in the singing of praises, marry only
S among themselves and sometimes with the blacksmiths.

565 Finally, at the bottom of the social hierarchy is the group
567 of captives and former captives. There is a distinction between the freed (gallounké) and the captive (mathioudo), but they are in fact united by the same prejudice which the other castes have with regard to them.

S The social structure of the other ethnic groups is of the same
565 type as that of the Toucouleur, with the exception of a few details; for instance, the diawando was originally the attendant or the courtier of the large Peul families and seems to form a differen-
W tiated caste at present. The caste of fishermen does not exist among
[565] the Peul, for they do not fish, or among the Wolof all of whom
[006] can engage in fishing.

S If we limit ourselves to the Toucouleur group, the only
582 one for which we know the actual number in the valley, we shall
143 be able to estimate the numerical importance of the various endogamous groups and consequently the number of women with whom marriage is possible (Table II). For certain castes, few in number, such as those of the artisans, the results of the sampling,

S /670 cont./
582 however, permit only an approximation.
143 Be that as it may, an examination of the figures of Table II shows some very important numerical differences between one group and another, since for each of the 11 groups, the actual number varies from 1,100 individuals to 84,200, and that of the women from 15 to 45 years of age from 250 to 18,700. This fragmentation of the population into isolates by
S [565] the system of castes is particularly noticeable on the artisan level where the average actual number does not exceed 2,000 persons. By this mechanism a high degree of endogamy is maintained, which determines some important phenomena. It is easily seen, for example, that the phenomena /671/ /Table II appears here/ of genetic drift (1) have acted in the course of time

> 1. Genetic drift: in the case of a population of limited number the frequency of a given gene may drift randomly, in the course of generations, within the range of possible values, contrary to that which occurs in panmixia, where this frequency remains constant (N.D.L.R.).

so as to promote the disappearance or, on the contrary, the appearance of certain morphological characters and their retention in these partial populations.

S Proximity of residence. The conditions noted above are
582 aggravated by the fact that the Toucouleur country stretches in
143 a strip of land of about 300 kilometers; such a great distance greatly decreases the chances of marriage between individuals from distant residences, and the figures we have just given are therefore reduced to those of surrounding villages.

S This is perhaps in part the reason for the regrouping in
[565] certain regions of a less numerous endogamous group such as that of the griots.

As in all countries, distance actually plays an important
S part in the possibilities for marriage. We shall not study this
[565] phenomenon here, for within a given caste the radius of marriage

[Text continues on P. 11--Analyst]

/671 cont./

S
T
582
565
143
162

Table II. Actual number of the endogamous Toucouleur groups, with, for each one, their percentage in relation to the total population, and the number of women from 15 to 45 years of age

Caste	Actual Number	%		Number of women from 15 to 45 years of age	
Torodo	84,200	45.0	74.0	18,700	
Tiédo	13,700	10.0		7,150	
Thioubalo	32,200	17.2		4,150	
Diawando	3,400	1.8			
Labo	2,100	1.1	4.5	450	1,850
Saké	1,100	0.6		250	
Mabo	2,300	1.2		500	
Baïlo	2,200	1.6		650	
Gaoulo	2,100	1.1	1.1	450	1,100
Gallounké	5,800	3.2	20.4	1,300	8,450
Matioudo	32,200	17.2		7,150	
Total	187,000	100.0		41,900	

S /671 cont./
582 does not actually express the probability of a union between two
143 individuals of a given domicile, since this schema is distorted
[565] by preferential marriages. Nevertheless, in a rural environment, the census according to place of birth shows that 84.2% of the women from /672/ /Table III appears here/ 15 to 45 years of age, most of whom were married, were born in the village of their residence. The men, therefore, in the majority, marry women from their own village.

Preferential marriages. To the probability of unions between individuals of a close degree of kinship in the groups already restricted is added the preference for these same marriages, which extends the endogamic system of castes. But if the ethnic group and the caste determine a negative choice, certain variables bring about on the contrary, a positive choice, chief of which is the customary preference for unions between close relatives, in particular between first cousins. The inquiry showed that in the whole of the zone studied (Haratin Moors not included) the proportion of marriages of the fourth, fifth, and sixth degrees rises to almost 28% of the total. The figure varies according to the ethnic groups, as is indicated in Table III.

W The percentage of marriages between first cousins (fourth
[582] degree) in fact extends from 10.1 among the Wolof to 16.8 among the Saracolé; between cousins of an uneven degree (fifth
W degree) the percentage goes from 2.2 among the Saracolé to 7.1
[582] among the Wolof, and between first cousins (sixth degree) from
T 10.5 among the Toucouleur to 14.5 among the Peul. Among
[582] the Toucouleur and the Peul there are practically as many marriages between first cousins as between second cousins: 10.4% as against 10.5% in the one case, 14.5% and 14.5% in the other.
W Only the Wolof have more marriages between second cousins, 13%
[582] as against 10.1%. Among the Saracolé, the more numerous unions between first cousins (16.8%) than between second cousins (10.9%)
S confirm what is known about family cohesion in this group.
T
582 Within each ethnic group the frequency of cansanguineous
143 marriages varies more noticeably according to the castes. In
565 Table IV we have assembled the absolute numbers of consanguineous

[Text continues middle of P. 12 -- Analyst]

S
T
582
143

/672 cont./

Table III. Percentage of consanguineous marriages according to the degree of kinship in the different ethnic groups in the valley of the Senegal. Value of the mean coefficient of consanguinity

Ethnic Group	Number of women interrogated	% of consanguineous marriages according to degree of kinship			Total	Mean Coefficient of consanguinity F X 10^3
		4th D	5th D	6th D		
Toucouleur	3,865	10.4	4.2	10.5	25.1	7.6
Peul	1,135	14.5	6.8	14.5	35.9	12.2
Wolof	731	10.1	7.1	13.0	30.2	9.5
Saracolé	270	16.8	2.2	10.9	29.9	12.7
Total	6,208	11.3	5.0	11.3	27.6	8.7

S
T
582
143
565

marriages and their percentages in the four principal castes of the Toucouleur. The percentage of these marriages /673/ /Table IV appears here/ varies from 10.7 among the captives to 44.4 among the artisans; the figure increases among the fishermen to 32.2 and to 35.6 among the Torobé. The relatively weak proportion observed among the captives (10.7%) is due to the fact that the latter came from different regions, according to the accident of wars, but it shows that they have nevertheless adopted the custom of their masters.

S
T
[567]

S
582
143

The customary nature of these marriages is shown by the fact that certain types of unions between cousins are preferred to others. The number of marriages of the fourth degree, the type of which we have noted, although small (47), nevertheless tends to confirm the preference for marriages with the daughter of either

[Text continues middle of p.13--Analyst]

S /673 cont./

582
143
565

Table IV. Absolute numbers of consanguineous marriages and their percentage in the principal Toucouleur castes. Value of the mean coefficient of consanguinity

Caste	Number of couples interrogated	Consanguineous Marriages 4th D Nos.	5th D Nos.	6th D Nos.	Total Nos.	%	Coefficient of cansanguinity $F \times 10^3$
Torobé	101	15	6	14	35	35.6	10.9
Fishermen	56	8	4	6	18	32.2	8.2
Artisans	27	7	1	4	12	44.4	13.6
Captives	93	6	0	4	10	10.7	4.2

S
582
143

the mother's brother (19) or the father's brother (15), rather than the daughter of the mother's sister (8) or of the father's sister (4). These consanguineous marriages represent the most strict form of endogamy. The others reflect the same tendency, but are practiced in a larger framework, lineage, clan, the extent of which we have not been able to evaluate. There are also traditional unions between two or more families, which perpetuate themselves from generation to generation.

Actual endogamy. The results observed in the valley of the Senegal cannot be extended to the Sahelo-Sudan region and still less to the western part of Africa. From analogous studies now in progress, we shall soon know whether the situation is comparable in the other regions of the Senegal and the Sudan.

In the valley the frequency of marriages of the fourth to the sixth degree inclusive ranks among the highest yet observed anywhere in the world. Freire-Maia in 1957 [10] collected data on this point, followed by Serra and Soini in 1959 [11] in this same journal. The measure which gives the best

S
[114]
[128]

/673 cont./

584 representation of the degree of endogamy in a population is the
143 mean coefficient of consanguinity (1). Its value, multiplied by
[128]

1. The mean coefficient of consanguinity of a population represents the probability that two homologous loci of an individual taken at random in the population under consideration are identical. Two analogous conclusions exist in the literature on genetics: the coefficient F of Wright and the α of Bernstein. For more details, see Serra and Soini, Population, 1959, pp. 70-72 (N.D.L.R.).

1,000, has been reported /674/ here in Tables III and IV for each of the partial populations studied. It is a little less than one would have expected from the frequency of consanguineous marriages. If there is, in fact, a not insignificant number of double cousins among the spouses, one also finds an important
[595] number of cousins descended from half brothers or half sisters. Nearly one-half of the consanguineous unions concern individuals of this category because of the frequency of successive and simultaneous unions (polygamy).

For the whole of the ethnic groups studied (Table III), its value reaches 8.7, and for each of the specific ethnic groups: Toucouleur 7.6; Wolof 9.5; Peul 12.2; Saracolé 12.7. For the Toucouleur castes (Table IV) one finds the following values: captives 4.2; fishermen 8.2; torobé 10.9; artisans 13.6.

143 Comparisons with other countries. The highest coefficient found up to now, 24.08 (Ishikuni and Coll., 1960 [12]) concerns a Japanese island, Hosojima, populated by 125 inhabitants, which thus represents a very small isolate and is mentioned only incidentally with reference to the demographic conditions in which most human populations live.

In order to appreciate the high endogamic level of the valley of the Senegal, let us emphasize that one finds analogous figures for the present day only in Brazil (Freire-Maia,

/674 cont./

143 1957 [13]): diocese of Oeiras in the state of Piauí, 9.67 for 1,931 marriages in 1954; diocese of Petrolina in the state of Pernambuco, 8.3 for 3,063 marriages in 1950, etc. These figures are exceptional for this country. Very often the value of the coefficient in each diocese is below 1.

Even the castes of India do not furnish comparable figures: 1.3 among the Desasth Rigvedi Brahmans; 2.8 among the Gaud Saraswat Brahmans; 6.35 among the Marathas. Nor even a closed tribe like the Ramah Navaho of the United States: 6.6. In Japan where a strong endogamy persists, the figures found so far are between 2.8 and 3.6.

In the countries of Europe, since the breakup of the isolates took place, the value of the coefficient is everywhere less than the unit. In the French provinces it varies at the present time between 0.1 and 0.9.

For the African populations the data are still very scarce. As far as we know, only Roberts, 1956 [14], has given figures for three Dinka groups from the valley of the Nile to the Sudan: 1.53, 0.96, 0.49. These figures are very far from those for the valley of the Senegal. Nevertheless, Tanner, 1958 [15], in an Islamic community of Tanganyika, has found a rate of 37.8% for marriages between cousins, which should correspond to a mean coefficient of consanguinity bordering on those reported here.

582 143 Evolution. The inaccuracy of historical knowledge makes it impossible to say whether the endogamic state described has always been so important, but one may assume that the present situation will be modified in the years /675/ to come. Several factors could play a part in an evolution toward exogamy, for example, migrations, the size of families, social barriers.

The role of migration is negligible here, for even though the Wolof and the Saracolé have founded some villages of foreigners [166] within Toucouleur country, the Fouta is now a country of active emigration toward urban centers like Dakar. The average size of families is probably increasing because of the prolongation of [162] the average length of life, which tends to increase the possibilities

S /675 cont./
582 of consanguineous marriages. More important, undoubtedly than the
143 above two will be the factors of the decrease of endogamy by the
[162] dissolution of social barriers, although the prejudice against misalliances seems as long-lived as the human species.

Whether sudden or progressive, this social revolution, furthered by education, will sooner or later bring about the development of means of communication and the emancipation
S of the woman as well as of the man, for its is often the parents who
[584] choose the bride, rather than the future bridegroom.

W In addition, one notes among the Wolof a smaller propor-
[582] tion of consanguineous marriages in the ports than in the villages.
[369] As in Europe, but for different reasons, this evolution will result in the "breakup of the isolates," the social and ethnic frontiers going back to those of the nation.

Conclusion

S
143 The demographic inquiry by sampling carried out in the valley of the Senegal has made it possible to measure endogamy on the basis of the frequency of consanguineous marriages and the mean coefficient of consanguinity. The figures obtained are by far the highest that are now known for populations of such numerical importance. This peculiarity causes the populations concerned to evolve under very special biological circumstances which are not without reverberations on their demographic condition. (See Sutter [16].) An investigation in this direction is being pursued.

The genetic aspect of the situation should no longer be ignored, and anthropologists concerned with the mechanism of the differentiation of human types will find the material for taking into consideration the intervention of a factor which is also important.

Pierre Cantrelle
(Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, Dakar)

/See the foreign text for the bibliography on p. 676 of the original text./

9: Cantrelle MS37 Senegal

15e année AOÛT SEPT. 1960 numéro 4

YALE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY OCT 18 1960

POPULATION

REVUE TRIMESTRIELLE
DE L'INSTITUT NATIONAL
D'ÉTUDES DÉMOGRAPHIQUES

SOMMAIRE

Louis Henry. — Villes nouvelles et grandes entreprises : structure de la population.

Jean Stoetzel. — La maladie, le malade et le médecin : esquisse d'une analyse psychosociale.

Pierre Renouvin. — Démographie et relations internationales.

Jacques Lambert. — Croissance démographique et instruction dans les pays en voie de développement.

Pierre Cantrelle. — L'endogamie des populations du Fouta Sénégalais.

Jean Sutter. — Bilan de la politique néo-malthusienne en Suède (1939-1957).

CHRONIQUES

Notes et documents. — Bibliographie critique.

Informations.

[Title Page]

L'ENDOGAMIE DES POPULATIONS DU FOUTA SÉNÉGALAIS

L'étude de la démographie dans les pays d'Afrique noire a fait ces dernières années de grands progrès. Cependant, elle a dû souvent se limiter à des monographies, en raison de la diversité des groupes ethniques et de l'insuffisance des recensements statistiques.

Parmi les questions à étudier figure la consanguinité, souvent élevée dans ces régions et parfois responsable de la stagnation démographique ou d'un état sanitaire défectueux. C'est dans ce domaine que s'est orientée l'activité du Dr CANTRELLE *à l'Institut français d'Afrique noire. L'endogamie élevée des populations qu'il a étudiées retient particulièrement l'attention. Les résultats donnés ici concernent le Fouta sénégalais et doivent être suivis de données plus approfondies portant sur le Fouta Djallon.*

INTRODUCTION

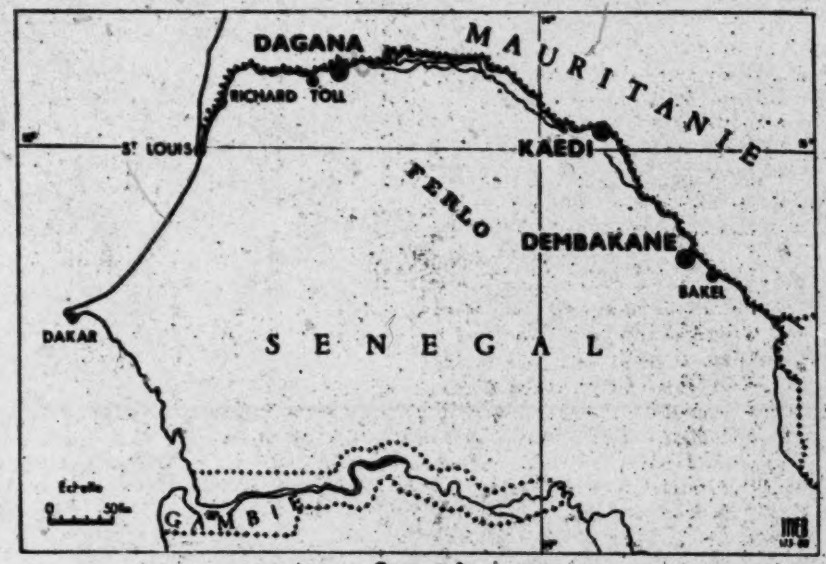
Le fleuve Sénégal sépare la République du Sénégal de celle de Mauritanie. Sa moyenne vallée, orientée d'est en ouest, entre Dembakané en amont et Dagana en aval, constitue une région définie par l'histoire et la géographie : le Fouta Toro. C'est une longue bande alluviale de plus de 400 kilomètres de longueur sur une dizaine de kilomètres de largeur en moyenne, enserrée par deux régions semi-désertiques, le Sahara Mauritanien au Nord et le Ferlo du Sénégal au Sud. (Carte N° 1). A l'inverse de ces deux régions, où vit une population de pasteurs nomades, de densité très faible, la vallée fertile a concentré cultivateurs, pêcheurs et éleveurs, avec une densité relativement forte d'environ 20 habitants au kilomètre carré, vers l'aval, à 35 vers le centre et pouvant atteindre 50 en amont.

Comme la plupart des grandes vallées, c'est une zone de passage qui a dû, au cours des siècles précédents, brasser des populations d'origine variée, et l'on pouvait supposer que cette région d'apparence homogène, et dont l'Islam est l'unique religion, avait créé des conditions favorables à la panmixie [1].

---

[1] Panmixie : ensemble d'hypothèses utilisées en génétique de population pour la construction de modèles indiquant le mode d'évolution d'une concentration génique au cours du temps. Dans cette hypothèse générale, on postule que : la population est fermée; les mariages s'y font au hasard; la fécondité est identique pour tous les couples. Si dans ce cas, la population est illimitée, la fréquence des trois variétés de zygotes A/A, A/a, a/a (diallélie monohybride), reste constante de génération en génération (loi de HARDY-WEINBERG, *N.D.L.R.*).

[p665]



Carte n° 1.

La situation réelle est toute différente : le cloisonnement social entraîne une endogamie assez stricte, au niveau de l'ethnie et de la caste, endogamie renforcée par les mariages préférentiels et aussi la proximité résidentielle. Quelques auteurs [1] SOH [1], GADEN [2], M'BOW [3], ont déjà décrit les origines et les causes de ces différences locales ethniques et sociales et aussi les types de mariages, mais les observations quantitatives permettent seules de mesurer l'endogamie. Après avoir rappelé la méthode d'étude utilisée, nous indiquerons les principaux résultats de ces observations :

Méthode d'étude. En Europe, et notamment en France, la consanguinité et l'endogamie géographique ont été déterminées à l'aide de la fréquence des mariages du 3e au 6e degré inclus, c'est-à-dire surtout entre cousins germains ou issus de germains, et aussi en étudiant la distance entre les domiciles des futurs époux. Connaître la fréquence et les variations de ces faits, selon les époques et les régions, est possible grâce aux divers enregistrements qui existent depuis plusieurs générations (SUTTER et TABAH [4] et [5], SUTTER [6]).

En ouest africain, il est difficile de recueillir ce genre de renseignements que ne donnent pas les recensements administratifs normaux. La première étude quantitative de l'endogamie, réalisée par M. de LESTRANGE en Guinée, chez les Coniagui [7] a permis d'évaluer les dimensions de l'isolat, une femme

[1] Les chiffres entre tirets se rapportent aux références bibliographiques placées en fin d'article.

9: Cantrelle MS37 Senegal

pouvant choisir son conjoint parmi 400 à 450 hommes, mais sans préciser la fréquence des unions consanguines. Il s'agissait d'une population fermée et limitée à 8.000 personnes.

La population de la Vallée du Sénégal est, elle, beaucoup plus étendue et, en principe, non fermée. On a eu recours, dans son cas, à une enquête démographique par sondage au 1/10, qui a permis de connaître, en 1957, non seulement ses caractères classiques de structure (sexe, âge, ethnies, lieu de naissance, etc.) et de mouvement naturel (fécondité, mortalité), mais aussi des éléments susceptibles de préciser son degré d'endogamie, comme la caste et le degré de parenté de chaque union actuelle [8].

Dans cette région, la personne interrogée, la plupart du temps en public, ne fait aucune difficulté pour déclarer à quelle caste elle appartient. Celle-ci est d'ailleurs connue de tous les habitants du village et conserve une telle importance sociale que, si on demande à un enfant dans la rue : « Qu'est-ce que tu es? », il répond : « Je suis de telle caste ». Quant au degré de parenté des conjoints, une précédente étude chez les Peuls sédentaires du Fouta Djallon [9] avait montré qu'il était possible de l'obtenir, sans alourdir l'enquête démographique; les individus sont très au courant du fait dans les régions où les unions consanguines sont de coutume.

L'enquêteur demande si la femme est mariée avec un parent proche ou non, dans l'affirmative, si les conjoints ont le même grand-père ou la même grand-mère (4e degré), ou de quelle autre façon ils sont apparentés. 6.208 femmes mariées ont ainsi été interrogées, et pour corriger les erreurs d'observation possibles sur un tel échantillon, un contrôle a été fait sur un sous-échantillon de 382 couples sédentaires, en notant le nom des parents, grands-parents et éventuellement arrière-grands-parents. A ce stade, une incertitude demeure, mais celle-ci ne pourrait être levée que par l'établissement laborieux de généalogies. C'est pourquoi, en dehors des liens de parenté connus avec une précision suffisante, les proportions des mariages au 6e degré que nous indiquons plus loin, sont peut-être plus importantes en réalité.

Les Ethnies. La zone étudiée comprend 341.000 habitants répartis en 5 ethnies principales : Maure, Toucouleur, Peul, Saracolé, Wolof (tableau I). Les groupes ethniques sont individualisés par des caractères tels que le mode de vie, la structure sociale, la conscience de groupe, le nom que leur donnent les autres groupes, et la langue, sauf pour les Peuls et les Toucouleurs qui parlent la même langue, le Poular. A part les Maures, la population est groupée dans 5 villes-escales et 800 villages et communautés.

Les Toucouleurs forment la plus grande masse (187.000 personnes) et occupent le centre de la zone sur les deux rives. Le terme de Toucouleur désigne souvent improprement tous les habitants du Fouta Toro; nous l'entendrons ici comme les Toucouleurs se nomment eux-mêmes : Halpoularen (parlant la langue des Peuls), distincts des Wolofs, qui ont leur langue propre et des Saracolés, qui parlent un dialecte mandé,

9: Cantrelle MS37 Senegal

En aval, la frontière entre Wolofs et Toucouleurs n'est pas nettement délimitée et plusieurs villages wolofs se sont établis en plein cœur du pays toucouleur, conservant leur particularisme ethnique. Ils sont considérés comme étrangers. Il en est de même en amont du côté saracolé.

Les Peuls vivent au milieu des trois groupes précédents et l'ethnie peul, dans la vallée du Sénégal, est elle-même composée de plusieurs nappes qui se sont répandues successivement dans toute la région. Les plus anciennes sont aussi les plus sédentarisées et les plus islamisées (Foulbé walo) et ont un mode de vie très proche de celui des Toucouleurs, avec lesquels il leur arrive de contracter des unions. D'autres, plus récemment venues (Foulbé Diéri), sont semi-nomades et cultivent seulement en hivernage les sables des collines qui bordent la vallée (Diéri). Au total 47.000 Peuls dans cette région, mais nous ne connaissons pas l'effectif de chaque nappe, elle-même divisée en lignages ou pseudo-lignages, relativement endogames. Ceux-ci, désignés par l'administration sous le nom de communautés, ont servi d'unités de recensement pour les Peuls, tandis que, pour les autres, cette unité fut le village. Ces communautés ont des emplacements souvent variables, en raison du caractère semi-nomade du mode de vie Peul, consacré principalement à l'élevage.

Parmi les 56.000 Maures, si quelques-uns d'entre eux (6.000) sont fixés dans les escales du fleuve, la majorité ne se rencontre que sur la rive mauritanienne et seulement une partie de l'année; ils y campent pendant la saison sèche, pour cultiver les terres d'alluvions (*walo*) et retournent, après la récolte, dans des campements situés parfois à plusieurs dizaines de kilomètres de là. Ces paysans sont, pour la plupart, des Haratines de race noire, c'est-à-dire d'anciens serfs des Maures, dont ils continuent à louer les terres.

Occupant une position assez marginale par rapport à l'ensemble des habitants de la vallée, ils ne seront pas étudiés ici.

TABLEAU I. — RÉPARTITION DE LA POPULATION DU FOUTA SÉNÉGALAIS SELON LES GROUPES ETHNIQUES

Ethnie	Effectif	Pourcentage
Toucouleur	187.000	54,8
Wolof	36.000	10,6
Saracolé	13.000	3,8
Peul	47.000	13,8
Maure	56.000	16,4
Divers	2.000	0,6
Total	341.000	100,0

Les groupes ethniques sont relativement endogames, car les mariages entre personnes d'ethnies différentes sont très rares, sauf peut-être, comme nous l'avons vu, entre Toucouleurs et Peuls (Foulbé walo). Les Toucouleurs

9: Cantrelle MS37 Senegal

forment le seul groupe entièrement contenu dans le Fouta, à part quelques fractions émigrées au cours de croisades religieuses dans le Macina, le Boundou et ailleurs.

Les autres ethnies ne sont chacune que le prolongement, dans la vallée, d'un groupe dont la masse occupe les régions voisines, les Wolofs dans la partie Nord du Sénégal, les Saracolés dans le Soudan occidental, les Peuls vers le Ferlo et l'Assaba. Mais chacune de ces ethnies est divisée elle-même en plusieurs populations : les castes.

Castes et condition sociale. Les castes, en effet, dressent une barrière matrimoniale, plus difficile à franchir que celle des ethnies. Le terme de caste est entendu ici dans le sens général de classe sociale, à caractère d'exclusive, et non dans le sens qu'on lui donne dans la vallée, où le terme est réservé aux castes artisanales.

La condition sociale sépare d'abord les captifs des hommes libres. Les captifs étaient considérés comme bien-meuble des maîtres et mariés par eux. Ils n'avaient pas droit de propriété, ni voix aux conseils de village, étaient astreints au travail servile. Cette condition ne peut être comparée à celle de l'esclave des deux Amériques d'autrefois, elle rappellerait plutôt celle du servage dans l'Europe du Moyen Age. Avant la suppression légale de cette coutume, un certain nombre de captifs avait déjà été affranchi, mais le préjugé vis-à-vis de ces gens demeure et ils constituent, en fait, la caste inférieure dans la hiérarchie sociale.

C'est le travail artisanal héréditaire qui distingue les hommes de castes proprement dits des autres : travail du bois, du cuir, du métal et du fil de coton. Cette distinction se transmet de père en fils, quel que soit le métier actuellement exercé. Un captif peut pratiquer le tissage, il n'appartiendra jamais à la caste des tisserands; inversement, un homme appartenant à la caste des bijoutiers peut être docteur en médecine et exercer la profession de médecin.

C'est le mariage qui distingue le plus nettement les barrières sociales dont l'enfant hérite par son père. Sans être rigoureusement un interdit, il existe un tel ostracisme qu'il est pratiquement impossible à un homme d'épouser une femme de caste inférieure, sans risquer de déchoir et de se mettre au ban de la société. Une exception : il arrive qu'un maître épouse sa captive, pour en avoir des enfants qui seront libres; la mère sera affranchie par ce fait, mais si l'union est stérile, la femme demeure dans sa condition servile.

Le système des castes est encore très vivace, en particulier chez les Toucouleurs et divise réellement les ethnies en populations partielles, moins nombreuses cependant que dans l'Inde.

La nature fonctionnelle des castes a entraîné au cours de leur histoire l'apparition d'une hiérarchie. Chez les Toucouleurs viennent en premier lieu les hommes libres (*rimbé*), n'appartenant pas aux castes de métier, et parmi

eux, en tête, les *torobé* (singulier *torodo*). A l'origine, ce mot désignait en arabe, au Fouta Toro, un lettré, propagateur de l'Islam. C'est la classe dominante depuis la révolution islamique. Autrefois, de nombreux étrangers de pays voisins seraient venus suivre l'enseignement des marabouts, se fixer autour d'eux, et, grâce surtout à l'Islam se fusionner à cette caste, qui semble actuellement plus fermée, et dont l'hétérogénéité tendrait donc à diminuer.

La couche sociale qui vient au-dessous est celle du *tiédo* et du *thioubalo*. On pense que leurs ancêtres étaient les premiers occupants du sol, et ils ont conservé leurs traditions, le tiédo de paysan et le thioubalo de pêcheur. La caste des pêcheurs est assez fermée et possède elle-même sa hiérarchie avec ses captifs, ses hommes libres et sa dynastie.

La caste *tiédo* échangerait parfois des unions avec les pêcheurs et les *torobé*. Libres aussi, mais à un rang social inférieur, sont situées les castes de métier. Le nom de « gnégno », qui leur est donné en commun, indique un rapport de dépendance vis-à-vis des castes précédentes. Bûcherons (*labo*), forgerons (*bâtlo*), cordonniers (*saké*) et tisserands (*mabo*) se marient, en principe, indifféremment entre eux. Par contre, les griots (*gaoulo*), spécialisés dans le chant des louanges, ne se marient qu'entre eux et parfois aussi avec les forgerons.

Enfin en bas de la hiérarchie sociale se trouve le groupe des captifs et anciens captifs. Il existe une distinction entre l'affranchi (*gallounké*) et le captif (*mathioudo*), mais ils sont en fait réunis par le même préjugé qu'ont vis-à-vis d'eux les autres castes.

La structure sociale des autres ethnies est du même type que celle des Toucouleurs, à l'exception de quelques particularités; par exemple, le *diawando* était, à l'origine, le suivant ou le courtisan des grandes familles Peuls et semble former actuellement une caste différenciée. La caste des pêcheurs n'existe ni chez les Peuls, car ils ne pêchent pas, ni chez les Wolofs qui peuvent tous pratiquer la pêche.

Si nous nous limitons à l'ethnie Toucouleur, la seule dont nous connaissions l'effectif dans la vallée, nous pouvons estimer l'importance numérique des divers groupes endogames et par conséquent le nombre de femmes parmi lesquelles une union est possible (tableau II). Pour certaines castes, peu nombreuses, comme celle des artisans, l'échantillon du sondage ne permet cependant qu'une approximation.

Quoi qu'il en soit l'examen des chiffres du tableau II révèle des différences numériques très importantes d'un groupe à l'autre puisque, pour chacun des 11 groupes, l'effectif total varie de 1.100 individus à 84.200, et celui des femmes âgées de 15 à 45 ans, de 250 à 18.700. Ce fractionnement des populations en isolats par le système des castes est particulièrement sensible au niveau des artisans où l'effectif moyen n'excède pas 2.000 personnes. Par ce mécanisme, une endogamie élevée se maintient qui détermine des phénomènes importants. On conçoit facilement, par exemple, que les phénomènes

9: Cantrelle MS37 Senegal

TABLEAU II. — EFFECTIF DES GROUPES ENDOGAMES TOUCOULEURS AVEC, POUR CHACUN, LEUR POURCENTAGE PAR RAPPORT À LA POPULATION TOTALE ET LE NOMBRE DES FEMMES ÂGÉES DE 15 À 45 ANS

Caste	Effectif	%		Nombre de femmes de 15 à 45 ans	
Torodo	84.200	45,0	74,0	18.700	
Tiédo	13.700	10,0		7.150	
Thioubalé	32.200	17,2		4.150	
Diawando	3.400	1,8			
Laho	2.100	1,1	4,5	450	1.850
Saké	1.100	0,6		250	
Mabo	2.300	1,2		500	
Sailo	2.200	1,6		650	1.100
Gaoulo	2.100	1,1	1,1	450	
Galounké	5.800	3,2	20,4	1.300	8.450
Malounda	32.200	17,2		7.150	
Total	187.000	100,0		41.900	

de dérive génétique [1] ont agi, au cours du temps, pour favoriser la disparition ou, au contraire, l'apparition de certains caractères morphologiques et leur maintien dans ces populations partielles.

La proximité de résidence. Les conditions précédentes s'aggravent du fait que le pays toucouleur s'étire sur une bande de terrain de 300 kilomètres environ; une si longue distance diminue forcément les chances de mariages entre individus de résidences éloignées, et l'effectif que nous venons d'indiquer se réduit donc à celui des villages environnants.

Ce fait est peut-être, en partie, la cause du regroupement dans certaines régions d'un groupe endogame peu nombreux comme celui des griots.

La distance joue en effet, comme dans tous les pays, un rôle essentiel dans les possibilités d'union. Nous n'étudierons pas ce phénomène ici, car, à l'intérieur d'une caste donnée, le rayon de mariage n'exprime pas réellement la probabilité d'une union entre deux personnes d'un domicile donné, puisque ce schéma est faussé par les mariages préférentiels. Cependant, en milieu rural, le recensement selon le lieu de naissance montre que 84,2 % des femmes de

(1) Dérive génétique : dans le cas d'une population à effectif limité, la fréquence d'un gène donné peut dériver au hasard, au cours des générations, dans le champ des valeurs possibles. Contrairement à ce qui se passe dans la panmixie, où cette fréquence reste constante (*N.D.L.R.*).

9: Cantrelle MS37 Senegal

TABLEAU III. — POURCENTAGE DES MARIAGES CONSANGUINS SELON LE DEGRÉ DE PARENTÉ DANS LES DIFFÉRENTES ETHNIES DE LA VALLÉE DU SÉNÉGAL.
VALEUR DU COEFFICIENT MOYEN DE CONSANGUINITÉ

Ethnie	Nombre de femmes interrogées	% de mariages consanguins selon le degré de parenté			Ensemble	Coefficient moyen de consanguinité $F \times 10^3$
		4e D	5e D	6e D		
Toucouleur	3.885	10,4	4,2	10,5	23,1	7,6
Peul	1.135	14,5	6,8	14,5	35,9	12,2
Wolof	751	10,1	7,1	13,0	30,2	9,5
Saracolé	276	16,8	2,2	10,9	29,9	12,7
Ensemble	6.208	11,3	5,0	11,3	27,6	8,7

15 à 45 ans, mariées pour la plupart, sont nées dans le village de leur domicile. Les hommes dans la majorité épousent donc des femmes de leur propre village.

Les mariages préférentiels. A la probabilité d'unions entre individus de degré de parenté proche, dans des groupes aussi restreints, s'ajoute la préférence pour ces mariages mêmes, ce qui prolonge le système endogamique des castes. Mais si l'ethnie et la caste déterminent un choix négatif, certains mobiles entraînent, au contraire, un choix positif, dont le principal est la préférence coutumière pour les unions entre parents de degré proche, en particulier entre cousins germains. L'enquête a montré que, dans l'ensemble de la zone étudiée (Maures Haratines non compris), la proportion des mariages des 4e, 5e et 6e degrés s'élève à près de 28 % de l'ensemble. Ce chiffre varie suivant les ethnies comme l'indique le tableau III:

Le pourcentage des mariages entre cousins germains (4e degré) s'étale, en effet, entre 10,1 chez les Wolofs à 16,8 chez les Saracolés; entre cousins de degré inégal (5e degré) le pourcentage va de 2,2 chez les Saracolés à 7,1 chez les Wolofs et entre cousins germains (6e degré) de 10,5 chez les Toucouleurs à 14,5 chez les Peuls. Chez les Toucouleurs et les Peuls, il y a pratiquement autant de mariages entre cousins germains qu'entre cousins issus de germains : 10,4 % contre 10,5 % d'une part, 14,5 % et 14,5 % d'autre part. Seuls les Wolofs ont plus de mariages entre cousins issus de germains 13 % contre 10,1 %. Chez les Saracolés, les unions plus nombreuses entre cousins germains (16,8 %) qu'entre cousins issus de germains (10,9 %) confirment ce que l'on connaît de la cohésion familiale dans ce groupe.

A l'intérieur de chaque ethnie, la fréquence des mariages consanguins varie plus sensiblement selon les castes. Sur le tableau IV, nous avons rassemblé les nombres absolus des mariages consanguins et leurs pourcentages dans les quatre castes principales des Toucouleurs. Le pourcentage de ces mariages

9: Cantrelle MS37 Senegal

TABLEAU IV. — NOMBRES ABSOLUS DES MARIAGES CONSANGUINS ET LEUR POURCENTAGE DANS LES PRINCIPALES CASTES TOUCOULEURS VALEUR DU COEFFICIENT MOYEN DE CONSANGUINITÉ

Caste	Nombre de couples interrogés	Mariages consanguins			Ensemble		Coefficient de consanguinité $F \times 10^3$
		4e D Nombres	5e D Nombres	6e D Nombres	Nombres	%	
Torobé	101	15	6	14	35	35,6	10,9
Pêcheurs	56	8	4	6	18	32,2	8,2
Artisans	27	7	1	4	12	44,4	13,6
Captifs	93	6	0	4	10	10,7	4,2

varie de 10,7, chez les captifs, à 44,4 chez les artisans; le chiffre s'élève chez les pêcheurs à 32,2 et 35,6 chez les Torobé. La proportion relativement faible observée chez les captifs (10,7 %) est due au fait que ceux-ci provenaient de régions différentes, selon le hasard des guerres, mais révèle qu'ils ont cependant adopté la coutume des maîtres.

Le caractère coutumier de ces mariages est illustré par le fait que certains types d'unions entre cousins sont préférés à d'autres. Le nombre des mariages du 4e degré dont nous avons relevé le type, bien que faible (47), tend cependant à confirmer la préférence pour les mariages avec la fille, soit du frère de la mère (19) soit du frère du père (15), plutôt qu'avec la fille de la sœur de la mère (8) ou de la sœur du père (4). Ces mariages consanguins représentent la forme la plus étroite de l'endogamie. D'autres reflètent la même tendance, mais se pratiquent dans un cadre plus large : lignage, clan, dont nous n'avons pu évaluer l'étendue. Il existe aussi des unions traditionnelles, entre deux ou plusieurs familles, qui se perpétuent de génération en génération.

L'endogamie actuelle. Les résultats observés dans la vallée du Sénégal ne peuvent être étendus à la zone sahélo-soudanienne et moins encore à tout l'ouest africain. Des études analogues, actuellement en cours, nous feront bientôt connaître si la situation est comparable dans d'autres régions du Sénégal et du Soudan.

Dans la vallée, la fréquence des mariages du 4e au 6e degré inclus, se range parmi les plus élevées jusqu'ici observées dans le monde. FREIRE-MAIA, en 1957 [10], a rassemblé les données sur ce point, puis SERRA et SOINI en 1959 [11], dans cette même revue. L'instrument de mesure qui donne la meilleure représentation du degré d'endogamie dans une population est le coefficient moyen de consanguinité [1]. Sa valeur, multipliée par 1.000, a été rapportée

[1] Le coefficient moyen de consanguinité d'une population représente la probabilité pour que deux loci homologues d'un individu, pris au hasard dans la population considérée, soient identiques. Deux déterminations analogues existent dans la littérature génétique : le coefficient F de WRIGHT et l'α de BERNSTEIN. Pour plus de détails, voir : SERRA et SOINI, *Population*, 1959, p. 70-72 (*N.D.L.R.*).

ici dans les tableaux III et IV, pour chacune des populations partielles étudiées. Elle est un peu plus faible qu'on aurait pu prévoir d'après la fréquence des mariages consanguins. S'il existe, en effet, un nombre non négligeable de double-cousins parmi les conjoints, il s'y trouve aussi un nombre important de cousins issus de demi-frères ou demi-sœurs. Près de la moitié des unions consanguines intéressent des individus de cette catégorie, à cause de la fréquence des unions successives et simultanées (polygamie).

Pour l'ensemble des ethnies étudiées (tableau III), sa valeur atteint 8,7 et pour chacune des ethnies particulières : Toucouleurs 7,6; Wolofs 9,5; Peuls 12,2; Saracolés 12,7. Pour les castes Toucouleurs (tableau IV), on trouve les valeurs suivantes : captifs 4,2; pêcheurs 8,2; *torobé* 10,9; artisans 13,6.

Comparaisons avec d'autres pays. Le coefficient le plus élevé trouvé à ce jour : 24,08, (Ishikuni et Coll., 1960, [12]) intéresse une île japonaise, Hosojima, peuplée de 125 habitants, qui représente donc un très petit isolat et ne relève que de l'anecdote par rapport aux conditions démographiques dans lesquelles vivent la plupart des populations humaines.

Pour apprécier le haut niveau endogamique de la vallée du Sénégal, soulignons qu'on ne trouve qu'au Brésil des chiffres analogues pour la période contemporaine (Freire-Maia, 1957 [13]) : diocèse d'Œiras dans l'état de Piaui : 9,67 pour 1.931 mariages en 1954; diocèse de Petrolina dans l'état de Pernambouc : 8,3 pour 3.063 mariages en 1950, etc. Ces chiffres sont exceptionnels pour ce pays. Très fréquemment la valeur du coefficient, dans chaque diocèse, est inférieure à 1.

Même les castes de l'Inde ne fournissent pas de chiffres comparables : 1,3 chez les Desasth Rigvedi Brahmanes; 2,8 chez les Gaud Saraswat Brahmanes; 6,35 chez les Mahrattes. Ni même une tribu fermée comme les Ramah Navaho, aux Etats-Unis : 6,6. Au Japon, où persiste une forte endogamie, les chiffres trouvés jusqu'ici s'étalent entre 2,8 et 3,6.

Dans les pays d'Europe, depuis que s'est produit l'éclatement des isolats, la valeur du coefficient est partout inférieure à l'unité. Dans les départements français, elle varie à l'heure actuelle entre 0,1 et 0,9.

Pour les populations africaines, les données sont encore fort rares. A notre connaissance seul Roberts, 1956 [14], a donné des chiffres intéressant trois groupes Dinka de la vallée du Nil, au Soudan : 1,53, 0,96, 0,49. Ces chiffres sont très éloignés de ceux de la vallée du Sénégal. Cependant Tanner, 1958, [15], dans une communauté bâmique du Tanganyika, a trouvé un taux de mariages entre cousins de 37,8 %, ce qui doit correspondre à un coefficient moyen de consanguinité voisin de ceux rapportés ici.

Évolution. L'imprécision des connaissances historiques ne permet pas de dire si l'état endogamique décrit a toujours été aussi important, mais on peut supposer que la situation présente se modifiera dans les années

9: Cantrelle MS37 Senegal

à venir. Plusieurs facteurs pourraient jouer un rôle dans une évolution vers l'exogamie, citons les migrations, la dimension des familles, les barrières sociales.

Le rôle des migrations est négligeable ici, car si des Wolofs et des Saracolés sont venus créer quelques villages d'étrangers au sein du pays Toucouleur, le Fouta est maintenant un pays de forte émigration vers les centres urbains comme Dakar. La dimension moyenne des familles s'accroîtra vraisemblablement à cause de l'augmentation de la durée moyenne de vie, ce qui tendrait à accroître les possibilités des mariages consanguins. Plus importants sans doute, que les deux précédents seront les facteurs de diminution de l'endogamie par la dissolution des barrières sociales, bien que le préjugé des mésalliances semble aussi vivace que le genre humain.

Brusque ou progressive, cette révolution sociale se produira tôt ou tard, favorisée par la scolarisation, le développement des moyens de communications, l'émancipation de la femme et aussi de l'homme, car ce sont souvent les parents qui choisissent l'épouse plutôt que le futur conjoint.

On note d'ailleurs chez les Wolofs une proportion de mariages consanguins plus faible dans les escales que dans les villages.

Comme en Europe, mais par des causes différentes, cette évolution aboutirait à « l'éclatement des isolats », les frontières sociales et ethniques se reportant à celles de la nation.

CONCLUSION

L'enquête démographique par sondage, pratiquée dans la vallée du Sénégal, a permis d'y mesurer l'endogamie à partir de la fréquence des mariages consanguins et du coefficient moyen de consanguinité. Les chiffres obtenus sont, de loin, les plus élevés que l'on connaisse jusqu'ici, pour des populations de cette importance numérique. Cette particularité fait que les populations intéressées évoluent dans des circonstances biologiques très spéciales, qui ne sont pas sans retentir sur leur état démographique. (Voir SUTTER [16]). Une recherche dans ce sens se poursuit.

L'aspect génétique de la situation ne doit pas non plus être méconnu et les anthropologues intéressés par le mécanisme de différenciation des types humains, trouveront là matière à prendre en considération l'intervention d'un facteur aussi important.

Pierre CANTRELLE
(*Institut Français d'Afrique Noire*, DAKAR)

9: Cantrelle MS37 Senegal MS3/7

RÉFÉRENCES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

113

1. Soh Siré Abbas. — Chroniques du Fouta Sénégalais. Traduit et commenté par M. Delafosse et H. Gaden. Paris, *Leroux*, 1913, 1 vol. in-8°, 328 p.
2. Gaden H. — Proverbes et Maximes Peuls et Toucouleurs. Paris, *Institut d'Ethnologie*, 1931, 1 vol. in-8°, 368 p.
3. M'Bow A. M. — Enquête préliminaire sur les villages de Gaya (Subdivision de Dagana); Dembakané (Cercle de Matam); Sénoudébou (Cercle de Tambacounda); Territoire du Sénégal. Service de l'Éducation de base du Sénégal, 1954, 3 fascicules ronéotypés, 64, 43 et 34 p.
4. Sutter J. et Tabah L. — Fréquence et répartition des mariages consanguins en France. *Population*, 1948, 3, 607-630.
5. Sutter J. et Tabah L. — L'Évolution des Isolats de deux départements français : Loir-et-Cher, Finistère. *Population*, 1955, *10*, 645-674.
6. Sutter J. — Évolution de la distance séparant le domicile des futurs époux. *Population*, 1958, *13*, 228-258.
7. De Lestrange M. — Pour une méthode socio-démographique (étude du mariage chez les Coniagui et les Bassari). *J. Soc. Africanistes*, 1951, *21*, 97-109.
8. La démographie du Fouta Toro (Toucouleurs et Peuls). Mission socio-économique du fleuve Sénégal (MISOES). Document de Travail ronéot. 82 p., 30 tabl., 15 graph. *Service Statistique F.O.M.*, Paris 1959.
9. Cantrelle P. et Dupire M. — L'Endogamie des Peuls du Fouta Djallon (A paraître).
10. Freire-Maia N. — Inbreeding Levels in Different Countries. *Eugen. Quart.* 1957, *4*, 127-138.
11. Serra A. et Soini A. — La consanguinité d'une population. Rappel de notions et de résultats. Application à trois provinces de l'Italie du Nord. *Population*, 1959, *14*, 47-72.
12. Ishikuni N., Nemoto H., Neel J. V., Drew A. L., Yanase T., Matsumoto Y. S. — Hosojima. — *Am. J. Human Gen.*, 1960, *12*, 67-75.
13. Freire-Maia N. — Inbreeding in Brazil. *Am. J. Human Gen.*, 1957, *9*, 284-298
14. Roberts D. F. — Some Genetic Implications of Nilotic Demography. *Int. Int. Cong. Human Genetics. Acta Gen. Stat. Med.*, 1956-57, *6*, 446-452.
15. Tanner R. E. S. — Fertility and Child Mortality in Cousin Marriages. A study in a Moslem Community in East Africa. *Eugenics Review*, 1958, *49*, 197-199.
16. Sutter J. — Recherches sur les effets de la consanguinité chez l'homme. *Biologie Médicale*, 1958, *47*, 563-660.

10: Thoré S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37

000

Dagoudane-Pikine, a Demographic and Sociological Study
/Dagoudane-Pikine. Étude demographique et sociologique/

By L. Thoré

Dakar: 1962
Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire
Vol. 24, pp. 155-198

Translated from the French by Frieda Schütze

Human Relations Area Files

1963

/Title page/

/155/

491 [131] At kilometer 13 on the Dakar-Rufisque highway and branching off at a right angle to the latter there is a side road with a sign bearing the notice: Dagoudane-Pikine. Two hundred meters farther on, just beyond the church on the left, the road forks, and the right branch, after passing between two gas stations, in turn divides in two. These three roads, after describing several more or less sinuous meanders, take a northwest direction and traverse the agglomeration from end to end, the east road and the west road being symmetrical in relation to the center one.

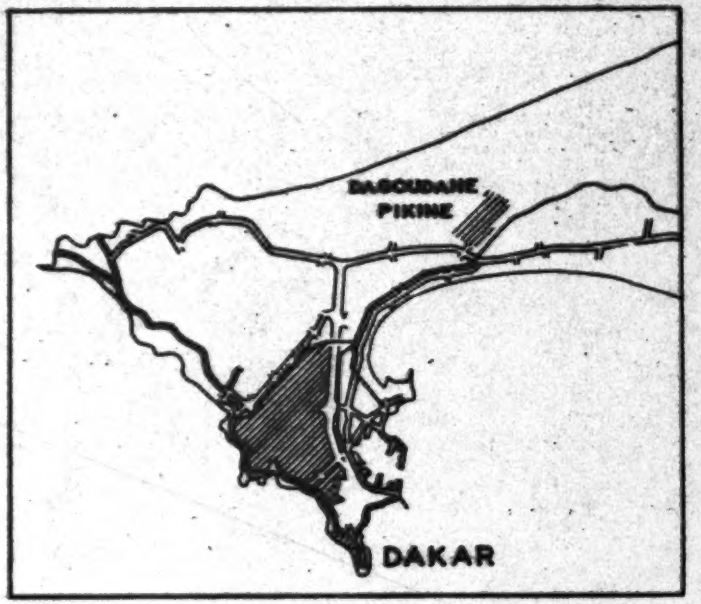
133 361 Viewed from an airplane, the agglomeration has, in general, the shape of a large rectangle laid flat, its length measuring two kilometers and the median width 1,240 meters. This impression of flatness is deceptive, for the ground is slightly hilly, and the 2 CV which ventures into the cross streets may have the disagreeable experience of not being able to climb back up certain sandy slopes. Very schematically the terrain appears thus: the two center streets and the west one extend along the summit of one dune, with a depression between the two. To the west of the west street, the land descends slightly and then rises again before dropping down to the Niayes. The east street, on the contrary, is located halfway up the slope of a dune, the summit of which runs along the center street and is separated from the latter by a depression which sinks down more and more as one turns northward. Finally, to the east, the land rises again slightly before the railway which skirts Pikine and bounds it on the east. On the north it is -- or rather was, for the land was already divided into lots in 1960, the date of the investigation -- the route of the Niayes which forms the line of demarcation, and on the west the Niayes themselves. /156/ On the south, except for the sheds of the ICOTAF in the eastern part, there is no clear boundary.

36 For the visitor who views the agglomeration for the first time, Pikine leaves a contradictory impression: first, of uniformity and monotony. It is undoubtedly easy to orient

/156 cont./

36 oneself once one has grasped the principle of the cutting up of the city into four sections by the three axes of roads, just as it is easy to align the principal landmarks on each of the two extreme axes: on the west road the Chavanel house opposite the first market, then the commissariat, the mosque,

102
131
491
361



36 and on the left, halfway, the / map appears here/ big market with, at the end, the block that houses the cinema El-Karim and a business; on the east road, at the right, the business of the Syrian, then, after the turns, the district /cité/ named after the ICOTAF because it is adjacent to the lands occupied by the factory, a long space as yet unoccupied, and finally, on the left, first the cinema El-Hilal, and, some 200 meters beyond, the second district named after the Pépinière. On the center road, by contrast, there is no notable building, but simply, towards the middle, two large empty spaces on both sides of the road, with a sports field on the right. But if one

/156 cont./

36 leaves the principal streets, the landmarks disappear, /157/ all the parcels resemble one another, crossroads at angles succeed crossroads, wooden structures are lined up one after the other, different and yet similar. The contrast is therefore great between Pikine and the so-called irregular quarters of Dakar, Wakhinane or Baye Gayndé. One is easily lost in both cases; in the second, it is because of the disordered jumble of lanes that wind in every direction, whereas in the first it is because of the geometrical regularity of the streets and the almost perfect alignment of enclosures and walls, which finally eliminate all originality and every distinctive sign. It is impossible, on the other hand, to compare Pikine with the Médina or the new quarters. In the latter, the streets are paved, sometimes lighted, electricity is common in the windows of the houses, and the buildings of durable material far outweigh the wooden huts. In the former, on the contrary, only the broad axes are tarred, while elsewhere sand is king, and although here and there one finds some durable buildings outside the two districts, the great majority of the huts are of wood, sometimes of straw. Village, shantytown, or city? One does not know how to answer this question. Moreover, another contrast, to which reference has already been made, complicates it: the difference which distinguishes the two districts of the ICOTAF and the Pépinière, on the one hand, from the other quarters of Pikine on the other. The former are actually comparable to Ouagouniaye or Bopp, and therefore this duality of habitat, and consequently of living conditions, leads to a modification of the initial question: Is Pikine not made up of a city and a village? Is not the unity of the Pikine agglomeration merely artificial?

175 369 423 One is more inclined to believe this if one considers the origin and history of the district. Before 1952 Pikine did not exist, and instead the bush stretched out, with monkeys, jackals, etc. Only this bush belonged to the state, and it [166] was on these govemment lands that it was decided to relocate the inhabitants of the irregular quarters who had to be expelled from Dakar, in order to realize the planned works of urbanization.

/157 cont./

175 urbanization. An initial slice was portioned out, and a
369 parcel was allocated to the head of each family that was
[423] expelled. Ownership granted an uncertain title, but it could become definite if the occupant improved his parcel by building a durable dwelling on it. At first the authorities hardly believed in the existence of Pikine; there was no easy communication with Dakar, since the auto road did not yet exist, there was no connection by express bus, no stores, etc. It was believed that the people expelled would return to occupy other lands on the outskirts of Dakar. Contrary to all expectation, /158/ Pikine lived, prospered, and grew by the same process that had given it birth, to the point that today
[435] the parcel which originally had no value costs from 30,000 to 40,000 francs. On the other hand, the dwellings that the Office de l'Habitat has now built in the districts are
[426] sold on credit to those who have the desire and the means to obtain them.

Pikine thus originated through an administrative decision; it is an agglomeration which has no tradition, no past, a city of recent date and entirely created. Moreover, this brief historical account brings to light another difference which has to do with the mode of peopling it: in the districts it is voluntary, while in the quarters it has been more or less imposed by the administration.

121 This assemblage of peculiar traits make Pikine a very interesting city from the sociological point of view. The investigation, which was conducted during the latter half of 1960, pursued a threefold goal: first, to collect a certain number of general data which would complete or confirm those which had already been gathered; then to examine to what extent the difference in housing conditions did or did not produce a perceptible difference in behavior and style of living, especially with regard to the family; finally, in correlation with the preceding problem, to study the evolution of family behavior in an urban environment and to observe the appearance of new familial structures better adapted to an urban environment than the traditional family.

/158 cont./

125 Before going into a detailed analysis, let us look briefly at the conditions under which the investigation was conducted. Actually there were two of them, the first by [124] questionnaire with an investigator, the second by interviews conducted through the medium of an interpreter. Since one of the aims was to examine carefully the repercussion of the housing conditions on the social reality, we divided the sample into two strata. The first includes the two districts of the Pépinière and the ICOTAF, which together contain the more important dwellings of durable construction and each of which forms a whole -- this is not the case for the district of the Police, still embryonic. (If we have not added the district of the T.P. of Cape Verde to this stratum as we had originally intended, it is because we were obliged to replace the three dwellings drawn by three others as a result of the ill-will of one of the persons responsible.) This drawing was made for 1/10th in order to obtain a sufficient number of replies. As for the /159/ second stratum, it included all the rest of the quarters, and a drawing of 1/20th sufficed. The sampling frame was furnished by the plan of the division into lots, the statistical unit being the parcel. Each parcel was given a number, and the drawing was done with the aid of a table of random numbers. The second stratum included all the parcels located on this side of the road of the Niayes, with the exception of some ten among them located farther along and already occupied, a total of 5,740, giving a sample of 287 parcels. The sampling frame for the stratum of the districts was made up from the data given by the Office de l'Habitat relating to the parcels which were supposed to be occupied at the time of the investigation. That made 500, hence 50 in the sample; in fact, of these 50 there were eight that were still vacant or not completely finished, leaving 42. As for the second phase of the investigation, we have been obliged, as a result of the insufficient resources at our disposal, to reduce the second stratum by drawing in the second stage two parcels for three out of the original sample. The number of the first, however, has remained intact.

/159 cont./

125 The questionnaire of the first investigation pertains to
124 indispensable socio-demographic data and to housing conditions; as for the interviews, although permitting a definite framework, they were conducted in a very flexible way to give the interlocutor the maximum liberty of expression and thus to gather information on attitudes and opinions concerning family problems: education, marriage portion, marriage, polygamy, etc.

128 We shall not present here the complete record of this double investigation, but simply a certain number of results which give a somewhat more precise idea of the social reality at Pikine.

I. Demographic Elements

162 The total population of Pikine during the winter of 1960, not counting visitors and transients, comes to 28,780 inhabitants (1). The first stratum numbers 25,660 persons and the

1. A brief calculation of error shows that the population of Pikine has a 95% chance of being made up of between 26,286 and 31,374, the standard deviation being 1,247.

the second 3,120. This figure calls for the following remarks.

167 1) In winter the seasonal migrants who come to work at
166 Dakar during the dry season have set out again for their homes /160/ in order to farm. Thus it is probable that the population of Pikine, like that of Dakar, is larger during the months from December to April (1).

1. It will suffice to refer to the results of the demographic investigation that took place in March 1961 to verify the magnitude of this event.

/160 cont./

162 361 2) One often hears figures on the order of 40,000 or 50,000 advanced for the total population of Pikine. It seems that there may be a distinct exaggeration there and that the reason for it is the following: a good many parcels are unoccupied, as they are bare or built up but uninhabited. Out of a sample of 287 parcels, 65 were unoccupied, making 22.6%. One comes across bare lands in all the quarters but the phenomenon is particularly noticeable in one of the first quarters of Pikine, namely, Maka-Kolobane, and naturally in the new subdivisions which are adjacent to Thiaroye-Gare. 162 473 Here it is normal, elsewhere it is less so, and one may ask whether a certain number of owners, although already possessing a residence in Dakar, have not obtained the right to certain parcels in spite of the administration. Be that as [123] it may, it has been impossible for me to investigate this further since the subject is taboo and the mere fact of mentioning it at one time or another has resulted in serious prejudices against carrying out the investigation.

162 3) This figure confirms the one obtained in the investigation conducted in the previous year during the same period by Father Martin, which gave a little more than 22,000 persons. An increase of 6,000 individuals in one year, taking into account the lots divided up in the course of the year or the buildings finished by the Office de l'Habitat in the districts, is nothing extraordinary.

[361] 4) With its 30,000 inhabitants Pikine is to be classed in the first rank of the agglomerations of the suburbs of Dakar, far ahead of the traditional villages of Cambérène, Thiaroye, and others, and the size of its population gives it a place apart; it is no longer a village, but a city.

Let us now examine the structure according to age and ethnic group. The following table shows the division of men and women into their age classes and according to ethnic groups; the pyramid that follows recapitulates the total results.

162 882 The age pyramid makes two phenomena apparent. On the one hand, there is the indentation of the class from 15 to 19 years of age. This gap is characteristic of all the cities of Africa. It probably has two principal causes: first, an

/160 cont./

162 erroneous estimate of the age /161/ /Table 1 appears here/
882 /162/ of young people, which is of a psycho-sociological order. The adolescents are either very much children, and one then gives them less than 15 years -- or they are already considered adults, thus more than 20 years old. /Diagrams appear here./ Without commenting on this error, let us nevertheless note that this fact is correlative to a global situation in which youth is difficult to recognize as such in the society, and where passage from childhood to adulthood is accomplished without the transition of adolescence.

162 /163/ The other cause is of an objective order: Pikine
[166] is a city composed largely of migrants coming from their villages, as we shall see farther on, and the most favorable age for rural migration is between 20 and 30.

The other phenomenon clearly perceptible on the pyramid is the successive bulge of each of the two sides of the pyramid; in the city the old women are proportionately less numerous than the men of the same age. Despite the possibility of errors of estimation on the part of the persons concerned, the subjective impressions of an investigator confirm this fact: in Pikine one finds fewer old women than old men.

The percentage of persons more than 60 years old is, moreover, low: only 3%. The population as a whole is very young. It is calculated that 53.6% are less than 20 years old, which leaves 43.4% adults.

Another remarkable fact is a slight imbalance of the sex ratio in favor of women; 47.5% men as against 52.3% women. We observe an inverse structure in Dakar; the census of 1955 shows that the percentage of women increases as one goes from the center to the periphery. Ouakam, Yof, Cambérène, Thiaroye, Yembeul, and Mbao, like Pikine, have a female population larger than the male population. Only the first are old villages, and this fact is not surprising. On the contrary, the building of Pikine is of very recent date and it is a matter of a city. Let us note, finally, that in the districts the sex ratio is slightly higher than in the rest of the quarters: 54% women as against 46% men, and then again one finds 52.3% and 47.7%. We shall see later whether

10: Thoré--9 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37
Pikine
Wolof MS30
SERER FA32
Fulani MS11
162
/161/

Table 1. Population by sex, age, and ethnic group.

TOTAL		Age Groups	WOLOF		SÉRÈRE		TOUCOULEUR		PEUL		Moors		BAMBARA		Others		TOTAL
M	W		M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	
900	640	0 à*1	490	340	70	40	190	140	60	40	40	20	30	20	20	40	1 540
2 630	2 070	1 à 4	1 440	1 250	70	100	560	370	160	60	140	40	170	80	90	170	4 700
2 120	2 740	5 à 9	1 200	1 520	100	160	470	610	40	120	80	100	110	120	120	110	4 860
1 400	1 280	10 à 14	770	560	0	120	220	390	60	40	80	60	130	60	140	50	2 680
590	1 070	15 à 19	350	520	20	120	60	210	30	40	60	20	60	90	10	70	1 660
570	1 420	20 à 24	290	770	40	130	60	260	40	90	80	40	0	80	60	50	1 990
520	1 680	25 à 29	320	950	40	140	100	420	10	60	20	60	30	40	0	10	2 200
850	1 240	30 à 34	420	720	80	80	160	260	50	40	80	40	30	40	30	60	2 090
960	1 080	35 à 39	440	660	70	80	200	230	80	50	20	20	90	0	60	40	2 040
900	580	40 à 44	540	380	30	10	210	100	30	20	20	40	70	20	0	10	1 480
710	420	45 à 49	430	220	0	20	110	130	60	20	40	20	40	0	30	10	1 130
650	400	50 à 54	310	270	10	0	60	70	20	20	100	0	50	40	100	0	1 050
370	150	55 à 59	170	90	0	40	100	0	20	0	20	0	0	20	60	0	520
510	330	60 et +	310	260	20	20	100	30	20	0	0	20	20	0	40	0	840
13 680	15 100		7 480	8 510	550	1 060	2 600	3 220	680	600	780	480	830	610	760	620	28 780
28 780			15 990		1 610		5 820		1 280		1 260		1 440		1 380		

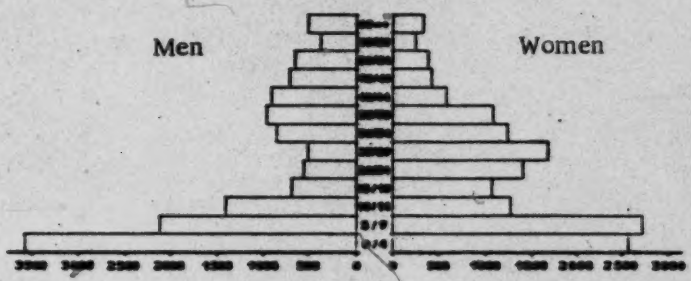
*a = to; et = and.

10: Thoré--10 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37
Pikine
Wolof MS30

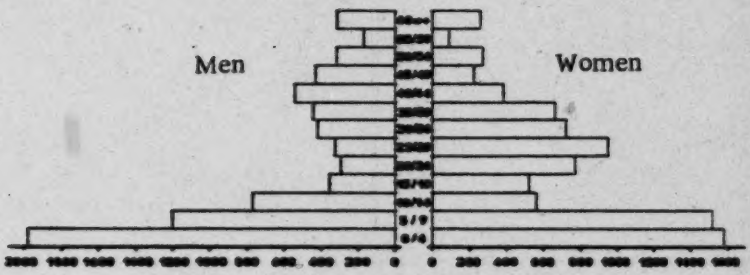
/162/

SW
162

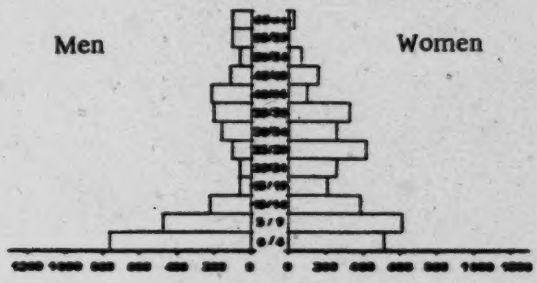
Total Population



Wolof



Toucouleur



S /163 cont./
162 it is possible to discover a likely explanation for this phenomenon.

S Let us now turn to the data peculiar to each ethnic group.
162 Let us determine first the classification followed and the
128 reasons which have led to its adoption. The Lebou have been grouped with the Wolof because of their small number and also because, in a city recently created, their traditional particularism has not found the means or the occasion to develop as in the old villages of the peninsula. The few Sarakolé investigated have been grouped with the Toucouleur /Tukolor/ insofar as they are natives of the Valley. By Bambara, both the Bambara proper as well as the Khassonké /Kassonke/ are to be understood. Finally, under the category "Others" we have assembled all the other ethnic groups, primarily the Casamançais /people of Casamance/, Manjack and Diola, Guineans, and the natives of the other African states.

/164/

S The Wolof
W
162 Numbering almost 16,000, they constitute 55.6% of the population. This majority is close to that of Dakar. The sex ratio is 108 women for 100 men. The age pyramid shows the same anomalies as the general pyramid, with the characteristic gap for the period 15-19 years, and the successive bulge on each side. 52.8% of the population is less than 20 years old, which is the general percentage.

S The Sérère
SR
162 Their total number does not exceed 5.6% of that of the
166 total population; 50% are less than 20 years old. The most characteristic trait which is peculiar to the Sérère /Serer/ is the size of the female population -- hence of the female migration: out of three individuals there are two women and one man. In connection with this fact, the indentation from 15-19 years of age is much less pronounced here on the female side than in the other ethnic groups; the young Sérère women and girls soon leave their village for the city.

/164 cont./

000 and girls soon leave their village for the city.

The Toucouleur

162 This is the second ethnic group in order of importance, since they make up 20.22% of the population. The young people less than 20 years old constitute 55.3%, and the sex ratio is 123 women to 100 men, clearly higher than that of the Wolof. But the remarkable phenomenon which appears on the above pyramid and distinguishes it from the Wolof pyramid is that this imbalance is much more pronounced between the ages of five and 20 than at other ages; if the number of boys from 0 to five years old is much larger than that of girls (68 girls for 100 boys), the sex ratio between five and 20 years is 161 girls as against 100 boys, and subsequently drops again to 136 as against 100. The same phenomenon is observable in Dakar according to the census of 1955, and this demographic structure is peculiar to the city, since the census made in the Fouta by the MISOES shows an inverse structure: in the Valley
162 the boys are more numerous than the girls. Why? The answers
166 that were given in the Toucouleur households questioned on the subject oriented the explanation in the following direction: on the one hand, the girls are reared by their mother and remain with her in the city; on the other hand, when his sons have come of age, /165/ the father likes to send them back to the country so that they may attend the Koranic school.

162 For the remainder of the ethnic groups we shall limit ourselves to presenting the same data in the table below, which at the same time sums up the total results. /Table 2 appears here./

This recapitulative table, besides the information already given, shows clearly the difference which distinguishes the first three ethnic groups from the last three, the Peul being at the extremity: among the latter the sex ratio is below 100 and the percentage of adult women clearly drops below 50%, whereas it is the reverse among the others. This
[166] is easily explained if one notes that the Moors, the Bambara,

/165/

SR
THE
167

Table 2

% of the total population	Wolof	Sérère	Toucouleur	Peul	Moors	Bambara	Others	Total
	55.5	5.6	20.2	4.5	4.4	5	4.8	100
% of young people less than 20 years old	55.6	50	55.3	50.8	50.8	65	59.4	Av. 53.6
Sex ratio (number of women per 100 men)	108	200	123	88	61	73	81	110
% of women out of the group less than 20 years old	49.7	67.5	52.9	44.4	37.5	42.5	53.7	50.5
% of women between 5 and 20 years old	55	78	71	60.6	45	47.3	46	61.9
% of adult women	57.2	64.2	58.4	49.5	38.7	42.1	32.1	54.3
Average % of women (in each ethnic group)	53.2	66.6	53.3	46.9	38.1	42.4	45	54

/165 cont./

162 and the Others (some Manjack and Diola are an exception)
166 come from a distance and that it is therefore normal to see the men emigrate to Dakar and the women remain in the country. On the other hand, one can expect the native Wolof or Sérère women to accompany their husbands, fathers, or brothers to join them when they are settled in the city. An anomaly already pointed out exists no less in this case: Pikine appears somewhat if not altogether like a city reservoir of women, at least like a refuge for them.

/166/ II. Place of Origin and Date of Arrival

166 If one considers the history of Pikine, a preliminary question arises which does not bear on the "where-did-you-come-from" or "when-did-you-arrive?" and which is this: "why did you come to Pikine?" Indeed, let us not forget that in the beginning the Pikine population consisted only of the people who were expelled from the irregular quarters of Dakar, to whom a parcel of land was granted in compensation. The problem is to know whether in 1960 the situation had not changed. Here is the average percentage of the heads of families expelled out of the total, and within each ethnic group. /Table 3 appears here./

In the districts one does not count any family head expelled, since, upon their request, they have all been housed by the following results for the other quarters: 45% of the heads of families have been expelled, and 46% have not. This test is important because it proves that in eight years the mode of the peopling of Pikine has radically changed: from being forced to depart, it has today become voluntary. Another fact is significant for this evolution and its meaning: one finds in our sample a score of families, say 8.2%, who came directly from their former residence to Pikine without going by way of Dakar, and all except one arrived in the course of the year preceding the investigation. The village migrants come to Pikine for the same reasons that impel
[369] them to come to Dakar, and the inhabitants of Rufisque or of Thiès do not think of leaving the city to settle in Pikine.

[Text continues on p. 16 -- Analyst]

166

/166/

Table 3

	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Expelled	48	52.9	44.2	30.2	35.7	54.6	31.2	45
Non-expelled	52	47.1	55.8	69.2	64.3	45.4	58.8	55

/166 cont./

166 369 Coming to Pikine means coming to the city, and that is an indication of urban maturity which shows that Pikine is tending toward a relative sociological autonomy with respect to Dakar (1). /167/ /Table 4 appears here./

1. Autonomy does not mean independence, and it is quite certain that Pikine is a result of Dakar and that without Dakar there would be no Pikine. We wish to say simply this: migration to Pikine effectively brings about insertion into an urban environment through its distance from the Dakar agglomeration, and permits a migrant to participate in the economic and social advantages of the city.

166 /168/ As for the high percentages of non-expelled among the Peul, Moors, and the other ethnic groups, it is difficult to give a reason for them. All that one can suggest as far as the Moors are concerned is that they are chiefly [563] merchants and that they establish their shops where the population is to be found. It is therefore normal that their presence in Pikine is the result, not of compulsion born of expulsion, but of choice for commercial motives.

Except for several hundred children less than five years old, no resident was born in Pikine. Two things are interesting to know:

1) Where do they come from, what is the respective proportion of their region of origin?

2) When did they arrive in Dakar?

Here is first, for the male heads of families, a detailed table, in absolute figures, for the places of birth divided according to age classes, and then the table in percentages from the principal regions, regrouped this time into only five categories in order to make the principal tendencies more apparent. /Table 5 appears here./

/167/
166
167

Table 4. — Place of birth by age class of the family heads (man).

AGE \ REGION	1 Cap Vert	2 Thiès	3 Saint-Louis	4 Dagana	5 Podor	6 Matam	7 Bambey	8 Diourbel	9 Louga	10 Sine-Saloum	11 Tambacounda	12 Casamance	13 Mauritanie	14 Mali	15 Guinée	16 ex-A. O. F.*	17 Elsewhere	TOTAL
20	9	8	0	2	2	3	0	2	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	31
30	13	17	2	0	7	0	1	4	4	6	1	4	8	3	3	0	2	75
35	5	10	5	2	3	4	4	15	9	8	0	2	2	5	2	2	0	78
40	12	10	0	6	6	4	2	6	20	2	0	0	0	5	3	3	0	79
45	6	17	4	2	4	3	6	4	10	3	0	1	6	2	4	0	0	72
50	3	6	0	2	2	0	0	4	10	8	0	6	4	4	0	1	2	52
55	4	4	7	2	4	0	2	2	2	2	0	4		4	0	2	0	39
60 +	2	10	2	2	2	4	0	0	2	4	0	2		4	2	0	2	38
Total	54	82	20	18	30	18	15	37	57	36	1	19	22	27	14	8	6	464

*Formerly French West Africa

Table 5. – Percentage from places of origin in each age class.

Age	Cape Verde	Thiés	Saint-Louis	River	Baol	Sine-Saloum	Casamance	Mauritania	Mali	Elsewhere	Total
20	29	25.8	0	22.6	6.4	9.8		6.4			100
30 to 39	11.7	17.6	4.6	10.5	24.2	9.9	3.9	6.6	5.2	5.8	100
40 to 49	12	17.9	2.6	16.6	31.8	3.2	0.7	4	4.6	6.6	100
50 to 59	7.7	11	7.7	11	22	11	11	4.4	8.8	5.4	100
60 +	5.3	26.3	5.3	21	5.3	10.5	5.3	0	10.5	10.5	100
Total	11.6	17.7	4.3	14.3	23.5	8	4.1	4.7	5.8	3	100

/168 cont./

166 From this, it is shown that:

1) The Senegalese naturally make up the great majority
[167] of the population: 86%. The rest is divided between the Mauritanians and the Mali.

/169/ 2) The Cape Verde Peninsula includes only 11.6% of the family heads, which indirectly confirms the fact that more than 90% of them are emigrants. The region which stands at the head is that of Baol, then Thiès and the River.

3) The significant figures which have been underlined make it appear that: the young people from 20 to 30 years old come either from neighboring regions or from the Valley.

-- The adult men from 30 to 50 years old are originally from there.

-- The majority of elderly men are again either from Thiès or the Valley, or from the outside. It is to be noted
[167] that the percentage of 10.5 for the Mali or outsiders more than 60 years old, as well as that of 11 for the Casamançais from 50 to 60 years old, is distinctly higher than their average percentage.

One may perhaps answer the second of the above questions in two ways by indicating either the date of their arrival in Dakar or their age at the present time. In the table for the dates of arrival we have grouped together the secondary ethnic groups while separating them from the Moors who are too special a case to be included with the others, and we have divided the time into five-year periods. /Table 6 appears here./

The period during which the arrivals were the most important is the one after the war. It seems that the war may also have somewhat slowed up a movement which was already weakened before 1940 and which continued even after 1950 for the Toucouleur.

Let us now see the average age at which the migrant arrived in Dakar: /170/ /Table 7 appears here./

/169/

166

Table 6

Ethnic Group Date	W	S	T	M	O	Av.
55-60	5.9	12.9	6.6	16.7	3.7	6
50-55	12.3	13.1	19	16.7	13.9	14
45-50	27.2	32	29	0	13.9	25
40-45	16.1	13	10	8.3	16.7	15
35-40	17.2	6.5	14.4	25	17.6	16
30-35	5.2	0	10	8.3	14	8
25-30	7.4	10	4.4	25	16.5	9
20-25	3	0	2.2	0	0	2
Before 20	5.7	12.7	4.4	0	3.7	5
	100	100	100	100	100	100

/170 cont./

Table 7

166

Ethnic Group	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Age	28.1	25	28.9	25.5	28.9	25.6	27.2	27.9

The Sérère leave their homes at a younger age than the others, whereas the Toucouleur and the Moors are the oldest.

If we compare this last result with the tables of the places of origin in each age class, we may reasonably suppose that the first wave of migration toward Dakar set out from Thiès and from the Valley and in a lesser proportion from the outside. A second wave followed it, coming from Baol, and in recent years Thiès and the Valley have again recovered first place. The Diola in Pikine are too few in number to enable one to obtain valid data on the subject of their migrations.

166
369

A final point merits examination: what does their arrival in Pikine mean for the people of Pikine? Or, what experience of the urban environment have they had before this date? For that we have divided the replies into seven categories: those who, before Pikine, lived in only one city, for example, Dakar or Rufisque, and those who have always lived in a city but have known several residences. Then we took as a criterion for the others the age of their arrival in Dakar: before 15 years, between 15 and 30, between 30 and 50, and over 50. A final category is made up of those who come directly from the bush to Pikine. Here (p.23) are the results in percentages and by ethnic groups:

It is certain that the age at which one arrives in the city has a considerable influence on the facility of adaptation to the urban environment, and that the difference is great between the citizen who has always lived in the city and the peasant who comes there looking for work at the age of 40 or 50. The preceding table therefore permits one to understand from a certain point of view the degree of acculturation to an urban environment of the Pikine population.

/170 cont./

166 369 It will suffice to regroup together the first three categories -- since one can combine with the citizens those who arrived in the city when they were still children -- as well as the last three, and to leave the fourth intact. /171/ /Tables 8 and 9 appear here./

A third of the family heads are therefore original citizens, a little more than a third is made up of people who arrived in the city between the ages of 15 and 30, and a little less than a third arrived after the age of 30.

On the other hand, if one considers the differentiation by ethnic group, one finds that the Sêrère come ahead of the [167] Wolof, whereas the Moors rob the Toucouleur of last place.

A comparison of the respective rates of urbanization in the districts and in the quarters is very instructive: /172/ /Table 10 appears here./

The contrast between the two lines is very distinct: the proportion of citizens which is close to 60% in the districts is reduced to one-fourth in the quarters, whereas one sees the opposite phenomenon for the category of the Pikine people who arrived in Dakar after the age of 30. Another indication is worth keeping in mind: the Toucouleur are the only ethnic group among whom this difference disappears almost completely, and among whom the peopling of the districts shows the same structure as that of the quarters.

One may sum up the preceding results in the three following remarks:

1) Two-thirds of the adult population of Pikine are country people, the majority of whom arrived in Dakar at the age of about 30, the most important period of immigration being the one after the war.

2) A clear difference distinguishes the districts from the other quarters: in the former, the mode of peopling is solely voluntary and one counts three citizens out of five family heads; in the quarters close to half of the families were originally forced to leave Dakar where they first sought lodgings, and one finds there only one citizen out of five.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 26 --ANALYST]

/171/

Table 8

Have lived \ Ethnic Group	W	S	T	M	O	Av.
Only one city	6.5	26.3	4.7	7.1	3	6.6
Always in the city but in several places	27.1	10.5	10.5	14.2	25.8	21.9
Arrived in Dakar before the age of 15	2.8	5.3	7	0	4.5	3.6
Arrived in Dakar between 15 and 30	34.4	52.6	40.6	28.5	42.4	38.3
Arrived in Dakar between 30 and 50	17.8	5.3	30.2	43	18.2	20.4
Arrived in Dakar after 50 years of age	5.7	0	2.3	0	0	3.6
Arrived in Pikine directly from the village	5.7	0	4.7	7.2	6.1	5.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

10: Thoré--24 S-5 (1960) 1962 M337 Senegal MS37

/171/

166
369

Table 9. Rate of urbanization

	W	S	T	M	O	Av.
Citizens	36.4	42.1	22.2	21.3	33.3	32.3
Migrants to the city between 15 and 30 years of age	34.4	56.6	40.6	28.5	42.4	38.3
Migrants to the city after 30 years of age	29.2	5.3	37.2	50.2	24.3	29.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

/172/

166
369

Table 10

Ethnic Group		W	S	T (1)	O	Av.
Citizens	Q.....	32.2	37.5	21.6	32.1	24.3
	D.....	94	66.7	25	40	59.5
To Dakar between 15 and 30 years of age	Q.....	30.5	62.5	40.5	39.3	39.1
	D.....	6	0	41.7	60	28.6
To Dakar after 30 years of age	Q.....	31.3	0	37.9	28.6	36.6
	D.....	0	33.3	33.3	0	11.9
Total	Q.....	100	100	100	100	100
	D.....	100	100	100	100	100

1. We have not mentioned the Moors since there is no Moorish family head in the districts.

/172 cont./

166 369 3) The migrations of the Toucouleur and the Moors show, for each of them, their own peculiarities, which give these two ethnic groups of immigrants an unquestionable originality.

/173/

III. Work, Socio-occupational Structure

162 463 128 Three problems are interesting in this section: the socio-occupational distribution properly speaking, unemployment, and the place of work.

The crude results of the distribution of the occupations are too scattered to show the broad outlines of the structure. It has seemed to us preferable to regroup the various professions into six large categories and to present the table of percentages of each within each ethnic group. Let us specify what each category corresponds to: that without any occupation, we have put the marabouts who do not have any activity, whether they practice full time -- which is rare --, part time, or do not have any students at all. /Table 11 appears here./

It is necessary to add the merchants to the artisans. The category "manual workers" is the largest: it includes the /174/ laborers, orderlies, chauffeurs, in short, all those who do not have an occupational qualifications. By staffs one should understand foremen as well as office employees, accountants, or typists, provided they belong to private enterprises. Under the rubric of "officials" are listed all those who are concerned with public functions from the local or general staff: policemen, government officials, or employees of the municipality. For each ethnic group the first line gives the percentages in the quarters and the second the corresponding percentages in the districts. The bottom line shows the total result, and the two preceding ones the results in the quarters and in the districts.

This table deserves a brief explanation:

162 463 [127] 1st. There are only very few cultivators. One would think that the proximity of the Niayes of Cape Verde and the importance of truck-gardening cultivation would favor

[Text continues on p. 28--Analyst]

/173/

Pikine
Wolof MS 30
Sereer FM 38
Fulani MS 11
Peul

E
EU
SR
162
163
5
164

Table 11. Occupations in % within each ethnic group.*

		Without	Cultivators	Artisans	Manual Workers	Teachers	Officials	Total
W	Q	7.6	1.8	28.8	44.1	8.5	9.2	100
	D			5.8	17.6	17.8	58.8	100
S	Q		9.1	27.2	63.7			100
	D					33.3	66.7	100
T	Q	2.6	0	21	47.4	13.2	15.8	100
	D				8.5	16.5	75	100
P	Q			20	60	10	10	100
	D				50		50	100
M	Q			64.2	35.8			100
	D							
B	Q				71.4		28.6	100
	D					20	80	100
O	Q		6.5	18.75	62.5		12.5	100
	D					64.7	33.3	100
	Q	4.7	1.9	27.6	48.1	7.5	10.2	100
	D	0	0	2.4	11.9	21.4	64.3	100
Av.		4.3	1.7	25.3	44.9	8.7	15.1	100

* [For explanation of Table 11, see category 116, p. 26 and 28--Analyst]

/174 cont./

162 the development of agricultural work; there has been none
463 of this. Indeed, the lands are the property of the Lebou of
[427] neighboring villages and the cost of renting is high. Gardening therefore remains the privileged domain of the old villages of the peninsula, Keur-Massar, Thiaroye-sur-Mer, and Cambérène.

2nd. The great majority of the labor force is made up of non-specialized workers: almost 45% manual workers without occupational qualifications.

3rd. The Moors have a special place: two-thirds are merchants who keep shop, and the last third is made up almost exclusively of butchers who have been classed among the "manual workers."

4th. The most interesting feature is the difference which distinguishes the occupational structure of the districts from that of the quarters: in the first, no shop, either Moorish or Wolof, and practically no artisan; in the second, practically one worker out of two has no occupational qualifications, whereas this proportion drops to 12% in the districts; finally, and above all, out of three heads of families in the former, two are officials, whereas there is no more than one official out of ten in the latter.

362 The reason for this recruitment is solely of an economic
463 nature. Almost all the inhabitants of the districts are owners
[427] of their dwellings or will become such after they have made
[426] their payments. Now, these are spread over five years and have been calculated in such a way that the monthly payment does not exceed a quarter of the salary received. For
[465] the cheapest dwellings this is equal to a payment of 5,000, therefore to a monthly salary of about 20,000. A /175/ guard, houseboy, or a laborer does not earn this sum and is incapable of procuring a dwelling of this type. The dwellings of the districts are thus principally reserved for the officials, and then for the staffs, who have an adequate and
571 an assured salary. We therefore witness here the appearance of this phenomenon of social differentiation observable in many other African countries; it consists of the existence

/175 cont./

571 of a favored sector of the population with privileged living and working conditions, which is composed largely of officials, but which it is nevertheless difficult, in the present state of research, to characterize as bourgeoisie, or as a class. With what sort of social layer are we dealing? The study of the educational level and schooling will show us this.

464 The investigation does not bear specifically on unemployment; nevertheless, it is impossible to speak of Pikine without mentioning the importance of this problem. That unemployment is considerable may already be deduced from the fact that most of the workers do not have any occupational training which would permit them to find employment. Those who were between 18 and 65 years of age and who were without steady work at the time of the investigation have been regarded as unemployed. This category therefore includes not only those who were unemployed all the time, but also those who did "odd jobs," finding a little work to do here and there to help out a friend, a neighbor, or a relative.

In the first stratum we have listed 79 unemployed, and four in the second, which leads to a total of 1,580 unemployed out of an economically active male population of 5,530, or a rate of unemployment of 29.3%. For the family heads this rate is not quite as high: 26.3%. Here is how it is distributed according to ethnic groups, age classes, and the educational level. /Table 12 appears here./

/176/ Unemployment is naturally much less high among the literate, all of whom have some kind of occupational qualification, than among the illiterate. The former, moreover, are for the most part young people. The proportion of unemployed is at a minimum in the 30-year class. The case of those over 50 years old is more serious, since it is in general a matter of people whose age, lack of occupational qualifications, and often the late date of their immigration gravely jeopardize their chance of finding employment.

Let us note in conclusion that the rate of unemployment of the Toucouleur is the lowest, although their age at immigration is higher, and that their average competence does not exceed that of the other ethnic groups. This fact, as the investigations of the Toucouleur migration by the MISOES

464

/175/

Table 12

Ethnic Group	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
% of unemployed	28.9	36.4	23.7	40	42.9	28.6	25	26.3
% of unemployed	literate 16				illiterate 29.2			
% of unemployed	20 to 30 years old 25.8		30 to 50 years old 22.7		50 and over 33.6		Average 26.3	

/176 cont./

464 and by A. Diop have shown, is connected with the effective solidarity of the ethnic group; certain occupations are their monopoly, and when a Toucouleur occupying a position wishes to go back to the Fouta, he will see to it that one of his "brothers" succeeds him. No doubt there is the same solidarity with regard to work everywhere, but it does not seem to have the same effectiveness.

464 484 A final point remains to be discussed: where do the residents of Pikine go to work? They rely on two principal places of work: Dakar, and Pikine itself. Furthermore, a certain number of persons are employed either in the Niayes or in the concerns located on the route from Rufisque outside of Dakar to the interior of the peninsula of Cape Verde, and some go still farther, especially some cattle traders or some peddlers whose permanent residence is in Pikine. Here are the respective percentages, by quarters, of workers employed in the different places: /Table 13 appears here./

Table 13

	Quarters	Districts	General Av.
Dakar	66.4	95.2	70.4
Pikine	26.7	4.8	23.7
Cape Verde	6.1	0	5.3
Elsewhere	0.8	0	0.6
Total	100	100	100

464 484 162 The people of Pikine who work locally should be divided into two categories: on the one hand, the employees of the ICOTAF (Industrie /177/ Cotonnière africaine/ African Cotton Industry/); on the other hand, the merchants and artisans. Those who are over fifty have more difficulty in leaving their homes, as a comparison of the three following rates shows:

/177 cont./

464 Proportion of persons over 50 out of the active labor
484 force 25.3%
162 Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers
in Pikine 37%
Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers
in Dakar 16%

[463] Thus, old people prefer the traditional trades, jewelers, tailors, merchants, which can be carried on locally.

If one considers the fact that the active male labor force numbers 5,530 individuals and that about 70% of this labor force goes to Dakar to work, one can estimate the number of workers whose place of employment is located in Dakar at
464 about 2,800. Another question pertaining to the frequency of
484 journeys to Dakar shows that 62% of the total labor force, that is to say, about 3,700, make the trip at least once a day. This means that not only the workers but the unemployed as well go to Dakar daily. Dakar thus has a double attraction for the workers of Pikine: as an actual place of employment,
494 and as a place of possible hiring. The two principal means of
484 transportation are: for the officials, the cars called "G.G.," thanks to which they can return for lunch at noon, and for the great majority of others the express buses; only a few have
[493] personal means of transportation, mobylettes /bicycles with motors/ or vehicles. The length of the automobile trip from
484 Pikine to the Sandaga market varies from 20 minutes to more than half an hour depending on traffic difficulties. One must add to this the time required to go on foot through the sand from the concession to the bus stop. In a very general way one can say that the worker leaves his house in the morning about seven o'clock and returns to it in the evening between 6:45 and seven o'clock, provided that he does not have errands on
[369] the way. This quick analysis therefore shows the role of
[361] "bedroom community" that Pikine plays to a certain extent in relation to Dakar.

462 After the male labor force, it is necessary to say a word
463 about female work. The great majority of the women do not
162 have any occupation other than that of housework: more than two-thirds. The 32% who draw monetary income from their

S /177 cont./
462 work are divided into very different groups: here is the
463 distribution of female occupations by percentages:
162 /178/ Hairdressers (occupation often held by the griotes)...4.5

Silent partners of weavers	2.2
Dyers	3.7
Saleswomen in markets or stalls	15.5
Cleaning women, laundresses	4.5
Laborer	0.8
Others	68.8
Total	100

S
305 Hairdressing is more an ordinary service than remunera-
565 tive work: it is most often done by the caste women, griotes
463 or jewelers, in exchange for money or for presents which they receive from "free" or "noble" families -- the Wolof term is "guer" -- for whom they are the appointed griotes. It is not unusual, along one of the sandy streets in the shade of a wall, to come across a group of women, one of whom will be braiding the hair of another stretched out flat on her stomach, her head on the knees of her hairdresser.

S
462 Equally traditional are the occupations of dyer or silent
463 partner of a weaver. At the extreme opposite is the laborer
SR of the CAFAL who works daily at fixed hours for a definite
[462] salary. There are only a few of them in our sample, all of whom are Sérère. The women who do housework or who are laundresses must likewise be classed under this rubric of modern work. The way they use their time is indeed much less whimsical than in the case of the first categories. Between the two one must place the most important occupation,
S that of saleswoman. And here it is again necessary to dis-
[443] tinguish several categories of saleswomen: those who keep a shop or a stall by the side of their houses, those who go to sell at the market of Pikine, and finally those who every day go from Pikine to Dakar to sell their vegetables and their produce
S at Kermel or at Sandaga.
W
SR On the other hand, the positive replies are too numerous
462 to be profitably discussed by ethnic groups and thus to separate
162 out the principal ethnic behaviors. At best it is possible that

S
WR
462
162

/178 cont./

the jobs most thrust into the modern rhythm, like the last two categories of the saleswomen in the Dakar markets, are held by Wolof of Sérère women. The rate of activity of these last two is generally higher proportionately, since almost 40% of the Wolof or Sérère women are reckoned as having an occupation outside of the household. /179/ while this proportion drops to 13% for the Toucouleur and the other ethnic groups.

S
462
162

A final point deserves to be mentioned: although one finds some women devoted to traditional occupations in the sample of the districts and even though one or two stalls are to be found there, we have, in turn, not found any woman there who works outside as saleswoman, housekeeper, or typist; the female workers of our sample are all found in the stratum of the quarters.

S
369
462

In conclusion one may say that acculturation to the urban environment by means of modern work seems for the time being to have left aside the female world. Except for the Wolof and Sérère sectors of the female population, the rest have remained untouched. It is only under the strong pressure of economic motives that the women become reconciled to going to work, and the Sérère women give proof of more initiative than the others. But when this compulsion ceases and the woman again takes up her traditional behavior: housewife, and nothing but housewife. This return to tradition may seem astonishing; it is explained by the educational level of those whom we have called "literate." It is this point that should now be studied.

[462]

IV. Educational Level and Schooling

121

If belonging to a specific ethnic group constitutes a fundamental conditioning prior to settling in a city, the educational level, on the contrary, is both a sign and a factor of acculturation. On these grounds, therefore, it also has considerable importance when it is a matter of studying the possible variations of behavior, attitudes, and opinions. The initial results have shown that these were in fact, with

/179 cont./

171 the ethnic group, the two principal criteria of miscegenation.
125 But, at the beginning of the investigation, besides the primary
871 distinction between illiterates and literates, we thought that we could distinguish two groups within this last category. In fact, the literate group is too small, the educational status too limited -- among the family heads of the sample none had had any secondary studies -- for one to be able to retain this subdivision. Therefore all those who had had a minimum of schooling, from the second year elementary course up to C.E.P., with an occasional C.A.P., have been considered literate.

191 /180/ Nevertheless, by combining schooling and the
871 knowledge of French, we have been able to group the family
125 heads of the sample into three categories. The first is made up of the illiterates who do not understand French, except for a few words; the second is made up of those who have a "summary" knowledge of the language, and in this case it is obviously a matter of a partly subjective criterion which depends on the judgment of the investigator. Actually, the decisive test was the following: those for whom the interview of the second investigation was conducted in French and who only rarely appealed to the interpreter were regarded as having a summary knowledge of French. There are very few cases where the conclusion obtained by the application of this test did not confirm the previous judgment of the investigator.

The third category, finally, includes the "literates" in the sense in which we have defined them above.

The following table represents the grouping, in percentages, of these three categories within each ethnic group; furthermore, the districts have been separated from the quarters, and the last line gives the average for the whole of Pikine. /Table 14 appears here./

871 Three principal facts stand out clearly from a reading
191 of this table:

/181/

1) The small number of literates: a little more than one out of five family heads have received a beginning of

[Text continues on p. 37--Analyst]

Table 14

Ethnic Group		W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Quarters	Il.	45.7	9.1	31.6	20	21.4	37.5	31.5	43.3
	S.	33	27.3	50	60	78.6	50	50	39.5
	L.	21.3	63.6	18.4	20	0	12.5	18.7	17.2
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Districts	Il.	17.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.9
	S.	23.6	0	50	50	--	20	0	28.5
	L.	64.7	100	50	50	--	80	100	66.6
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
General average	Il.	43.8	56	27.28	9.1	78.6	28.5	28.5	40
	S.	32.8	24	50	77	21.4	43	45.8	38.5
	L.	23.4	20	22.72	13.9	0	28.5	25.7	21.5
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: Il. = illiterates; S. = summary knowledge of French.

/181 cont./

191 871 academic training.

2) The great difference between the districts and the other quarters: the percentage of literates in the districts is almost four times the corresponding percentage in the quarters.

191 871 563 3) The very special situation of the Moors: they seem distinctly refractory with regard to modern education and do not show any more evidence of an aptitude or a very urgent desire for the study of French. This trait is characteristic of the originality of the Moorish community. It is not merely a sign, however, but is also a factor, and, as such, it contributes strongly to the withdrawal of this community and to its cultural isolation in the midst of the nascent urban civilization. The Moor has managed to integrate himself in the city -- it would be more accurate to say thrust himself into the city -- without changing his habits of life very much and by keeping intact the compact homogeneity of the group.

191 It is likewise necessary to note another tendency, although less obvious than the preceding ones: the Wolof and Sérère family heads who do not speak French are superior in number to those who speak it; this proportion is, on the contrary, reversed in the other ethnic groups. One must probably seek the cause of this variation in the fact that Pikine is a city close to the Wolof regions and that Wolof is the lingua franca there. The Toucouleur, Bambara, Soussou /Susu/, or Mossi come from much farther away, they have often "labored" in several places before ending up in Dakar, and this experience has not failed to give them some rudiments of French acquired in the course of their previous migrations.

191 871 The evaluation of the preceding results, no longer according to ethnic group but according to age class, gives other indications which at the same time indirectly confirm the above remark. /Table 15 appears here./

/182/ The percentage of literates in proportion to the whole of an age class decreases in proportion to the increase in age. There are proportionately six times more young

/182 cont./

Table 15

191
871

Age Class	20-30	30-50	50 +
Illiterate	38.7	34.1	60.2
Summary knowledge	6.5	41.9	30.6
Literate	54.8	24	9.2
Total	100	100	100

people than old who have received a beginning of academic training. Besides, the young people from 20 to 30 years old have either been to school or do not know French because they have not had occasion to learn it outside of school. Thus the generations show a distinct difference, and this can only become more pronounced as an examination of the actual number of pupils enrolled shows.

871
162

Here is first the table of the attendance ratio; it refers to children from seven to 14 years old, divided by ethnic groups and sex. /Table 16 appears here./

A comparison with the results of the same inquiry, conducted the preceding year, despite the possible variations of the sampling, indicates distinct progress for the girls, from 62.5% to 82.6% for the boys, and an average of from 45.3 to 63.9. Nevertheless, a great effort must still be made, especially on the part of the female population, since one girl out of two still does not go to school. Let us now distinguish the attendance ratios in the districts and in the quarters. /Table 17 appears here./

/183/ The difference is great between the school behavior of the districts and that of the quarters. First the total: almost all of the children in the districts go to school, nine out of ten, while this proportion drops to three out of five in the quarters.

SU
SR
F
167
871

/182/

Table 16 [1]

Ethnic Groups	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Total
Girls	32.65	88.6	46.9	50	100	75	61.54	47.32
Boys	92.5	64.7	79.16	66.6	44.4	72.2	75.86	82.6
Girls + boys	52.58	75	56.16	55.5	68.7	73.5	69	63.9

[1] /school attendance ratio of children 7-14 years old in the city of Pikine. See cat. 116 pp 38 and 41 for explanation — AN/

SU SR F 162 811

10: Thoré--40 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37 Wolof MS30 Serer FA37 Fulani MS11 Peul

/182/

Table 17 [1]

Ethnic Groups	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Total
Q	25.75	71.74	39	50	100	66.6	58.33	40.69
Girls								
D	93.33	100	75	--	--	100	100	89.13
Q	91.66	63.5	76.2	50	44.44	75	76.9	81.2
Boys								
D	100	100	100	100	--	100	66.6	96.9
Q	60.1	66.6	51.6	50	68.7	71.4	68	60
Total G. + B								
D	99	100	81.8	100	--	100	80	91

[1] /school attendance ratio of children 7-14 years old in the city of Pikine — by districts and quarters — see cat. 116 pp 38 and 41 for explanation — AN/

/183 cont./

871 On the other hand, the backwardness of the girls, which was particularly marked among the Wolof and the Toucouleur, disappears almost completely among the Wolof of the districts, whereas one Toucouleur girl out of four in the districts still does not go to school.

191 871 In all respects one observes a radical change which distinguishes the generations: the one of the present parents is, in the majority, illiterate and knows only a little French. The situation is reversed with the rising generation, thanks to the effort toward educational equipment. This upset will be even more noticeable in the female population, for in 20 years more than half the mothers of families living in Pikine will have been to school, while at present one finds scarcely any.

V. Religion

771 795 162 A final factor should be studied because of its considerable cultural influence: that of religion. In Pikine the vast majority of inhabitants are Moslems, so that, in addition to membership in a religious confession properly speaking, we have differentiated membership in a definite Islamic sect. This leads to five different categories within Islam: two of these are sects of wide geographic scope, the Tidjanes and the Khadres, one is peculiar to the Senegal, Muridism, and one is encountered above all in the region of Cape Verde, the Layens; finally, some individuals, while calling themselves Moslems, declare that they do not belong to any sect.

795 162 Here (p. 43) is the table of the various sects or religious confessions into which the inhabitants of Pikine are divided, first in absolute figures and then in percentages.

It suffices to underline the points that these tables clearly bring to light. First, the numerical preponderance of the Tidjanes over the assemblage of the other confessions.

/183 cont./

1795 162 In itself alone, the sect accounts for more than half of the population. It is only among the Sérère that Muridism predominates; in all the other ethnic groups it is either non-existant or occupies second place, as among the Wolof.

In the second place, although Tidjanism predominates among the Wolof /184/ /Tables 18 and 19 appear here/ and by a large majority among the Toucouleur, the Peul, and the Sarakolé (1), the Khadres are the ones who are preponderant

1. We have separated the Sarakolé from the Toucouleur because there is a slight difference of religious behavior between them.

in the other groups.

Finally, Pikine is not a city in which the Christian element holds an important place. Unquestionably it is difficult to judge by starting from such a limited sample of Catholics. Nevertheless, the percentage obtained corresponds to that which Father Martin found last year: 2.36% instead of 2%. The Christian minority /185/ is represented above all by the Sérère and Casamançais element. We note simply that this percentage is slightly higher in the districts than in the quarters: 13.7% instead of 0.9%.

The table of the distribution of the heads of households -- comprised of women this time -- by ethnic group and religion offers a useful point of comparison. /Table 20 appears here./

Let us compare the average percentage of this table with that of the preceding one: we see that the proportion of Tidjanes and of Khadres decreases as one passes from the total population to the category of heads of households, while this proportion increases in the case of the Murids. This phenomenon indicates simply that the Tidjane and Khadre homes are relatively more numerous than the Murid homes, as is confirmed by the following table where we give the average number of individuals by homes, according to religious affiliation: /Table 21 appears here./

[Text continues on P. 46--Analyst]

Pikine
Soninke MS21
Wolof MS30
Serer FA32
Fulani MS11
Tukolor MS29

SEE SR + E SO 162 795

/184/

Table 18. Religions

Religion	Wolof	Sérère	Toucouleur	Sarakolé	Peul	Moors	Bambara	Other	Total
Tidjanes	8,790	340	3,990	680	1,000	40	460	120	15,420
Khadres	1,070	280	170	280	280	1,120	940	810	4,950
Murids	5,760	740	480	---	---	20	---	80	7,080
Layens	200	0	100	---	---	0	---	--	300
Without sect	130	20	120	---	---	80	---	--	350
Catholics	40	230	0	---	---	0	40	370	680
Total	15,990	1,610	4,860	960	1,280	1,260	1,440	1,380	28,780

SEST SO 1692 795

Pikine
Wolof MS30
Serer FA32
Fulani MS11
Tukolor MS20
Soninke MS21

/184/

Table 19

Religion	Wolof	Sérère	Toucouleur	Sarakolé	Peul	Moors	Bambara	Other	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Tidjanes	54.97	21.11	82.1	70.8	78.1	3.1	31.9	8.7	53.58
Khadres	6.7	17.39	3.5	29.2	21.9	89	65.3	58.7	17.2
Murids	36.02	45.96	9.87			1.5		5.8	24.6
Layens	1.25	0	2.06						1
Without sect	0.81	1.24	2.47			6.4			1.22
Cathol.	0.25	14.3	0				2.8	26.8	2.36
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

10: Thoré--45 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS39

995
162

/185/

Table 20

Ethnic Group / Religion	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Tidjanes	48.2	27	74.5	78.6	7.1	22.2	11.4	47.4
Khadres	3.6	13.5	11.2	14.3	85.8	74.1	54.3	16.9
Murids	45.3	43.3	10.1	--	--	--	5.7	29.7
Layens	2.3	--	2.1	--	--	--	--	1.6
Without sect	0.3	5.4	2.1	7.1	7.1	--	--	1.6
Catholics	0.3	10.8	--	--	--	3.7	28.6	2.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

/185 cont./

795
162

Table 21

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect.	Cath.
Average number of individuals per home	5.86	5.27	4.29	3.33	3.88	4.25

Let us note that this remark applies to the Wolof, for the difference of percentage in the case of the Sérère or the Toucouleur is too slight to enable one to draw any valid indications from it.

/186/ Let us now compare the religious affiliation of the districts and the quarters. We have the following table, always in percentages, for the male heads of families within each of these two categories. /Table 22 appears here./

Table 22

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect	Cath.	Total
% Quarters	46.6	16	32.3	1.6	1.6	1.9	100
% Districts	54.8	19	7.1	2.4	2.4	14.3	100

Thus one observes two opposite movements: on the one hand, the percentage of all the sects increases as one passes from the quarters to the districts; on the other, this percentage decreases in the case of the Murids who are relatively and absolutely much more numerous in the quarters than in the districts. On the basis of this one could comment on the incompatability of Muridism and durable construction. Rather than launching ourselves on risky interpretations, let us content ourselves with observing the fact and noting that it runs in the same direction as the following observation obtained from the respective percentages of the literates and illiterates

795
162
191
871

/186 cont./
of each sect. /Table 23 appears here./

795
162
191
871

Table 23

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect	Cath.	Av.
Literate	22	8.5	10.3	22.2	11.2	50	21.5
Illiterate	78	91.5	89.7	77.8	88.8	50	78.5
Total	100						100

The number of Moslems declared as without sect is too small to give any valid information. The small number of literates among the Khadres comes from the Moors, and their proportion doubles if one does not take the latter into consideration. Hence there remain only the Murids, among whom the proportion of literates does not come to half /187/ of the average percentage: 10.3 instead of 21.5. If one cannot say that Muridism specifically encourages illiteracy, neither can one say that it develops a taste and desire for learning among its adepts; the foregoing fact would tend rather to show that it plays the role of a curb, voluntary or involuntary, in the same measure that illiteracy constitutes a force of inertia to be conquered and that education, on the contrary, perpetuates itself. In any case, the intellectual elite of the Pikine population prefers to join the other sects.

[571]

VI. Habitat and Family

128

After having presented the social framework of the whole society of Pikine, we shall conclude this quick study by showing first the material factors that condition its mode of existence, and then a certain number of general considerations concerning the structure of the urban family.

10: Thoré-48 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37

/187 cont./

1) Housing Conditions

362
342

The dwelling is in the first rank of these material factors. Of what is the house constructed, how many rooms are there, how is it occupied, etc.? There are all sorts of questions which must be answered in order to give a true picture of the conditions in which most of the families of Pikine live. What follows obviously applies only to the quarters, except where we specify that it is likewise a matter of the districts. Out of a sample of 281 structures one counts 206 in wood, 45 in durable material, 12 in "crinting" (1), and 18 in straw.

[285]

1. One calls "crinting" the walls whose framework is composed of plaited rushes and which are covered with a coating of sand and cement.

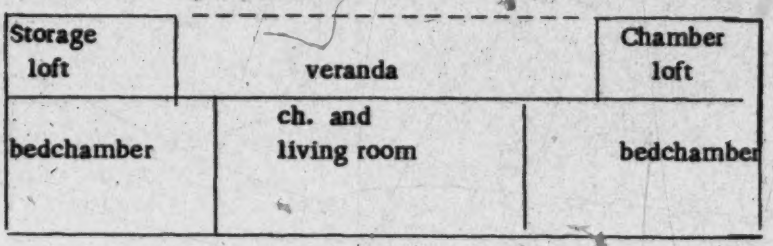
The chief material, used in more than 75% of the cases, is therefore wood, which one encounters in all forms: long building boards, ends of boxes, etc. The quality of the wood, the professional competence of the artisans, the size of the house, and the arrangement of the rooms, all these elements are combined to produce very different types of construction which run from the extreme dilapidation of the one-room hut with disjointed boards, gaping roof, and a sand floor, scarcely larger than a dog kennel, to the comfortable cottage consisting of several rooms, with ceiling and veranda, the price of which may exceed 200,000 francs.

[435]

/188/ Except for these extreme cases, which are rare, most of the wooden dwellings can be divided into three principal types. The first is the house of two rooms, about six or seven meters long and three to three and one-half meters wide. The second is built in the same way, but contains a third room, which increases the length by three or four meters. These are two types of a purely functional model used to provide a shelter for personal objects and a roof for the night.

/188 cont./

362 In the third type the "veranda" appears, which distinguishes
342 it from the first two; first of all, it materially increases the size of the dwelling, which reaches a width of five or six meters; on the other hand, this new element, superfluous /sketch appears here/ one might say, for there is a question



there of a necessary benefit -- already introduces a little complexity into the arrangement of the rooms and as a result encourages some organization of family life around a center. Moreover, this beginning is most often only a rough draft which reproduces the same pattern (see sketch above); nevertheless, this rough draft has the merit of existing and of translating into the material, into the surrounding environment, this sketchy effort toward a "home-life" /quoted in English/ of modern type.

In almost all cases the floor is slightly raised and cemented. There is practically never any ceiling, and the roof is constructed either with the aid of a sheet of metal or fibro-cement, or with a wooden frame covered with tar paper, for the disinherited.

351 How is the house placed within the parcel? It is practically impossible to answer this question, for there seems to be no general rule; sometimes the house is on the edge of the street and forms a wall; sometimes it is at the back of the parcel facing the road, and sometimes it extends perpendicularly to the length of a neighboring parcel. The only certain fact is that one does not /189/ come across a wooden house of any importance in the middle of the land. This is understandable because the parcel measures approximately 15 by 11. But

/189 cont./

351 there again the small one-room structures of wood or straw are an exception to the rule and are distributed at random over the concession.

Each owner or tenant likes very much to see his parcel clearly delimited, and the wall is the general rule. But its forms are very different, and this in one and the same parcel, ranging from the house itself or a high wall of durable material to a line of pickets running along a simple heap of rubble. In any case, the parcels that are not completely enclosed, with merely an opening on the street, are rare.

343 What else does one find within the parcel or in the
351 structures serving as dwellings? Two things: a little hovel sheltering the Madagascan stove and serving as kitchen, and then, in a corner of the parcel, an enclosure surrounded by
[783] secco, with a kettle containing the water needed for ablutions, which gives off a characteristic ammoniacal odor, yet not enough to inconvenience the inhabitants.

362 Let us complete this description with the table of the
511 number of buildings, shown according to the number of rooms
342 and the material used. /Table 24 appears here./

More than 50% of the wooden structures (113 out of 206) have only one or two rooms, that is, fall into the first category. Thus the whole habitat does not show a very high standard of living.

511 /190/ This is still more true if one now considers the
364 equipment of the huts. 228 homes out of 258, nearly 90 %,
354 have neither water, electricity, nor w.c. in the concession;
312 26 have electricity only; one has a w.c. without running water or electricity, one likewise has a w.c. plus electricity (in these two cases the w.c. consists of a septic pit dug into the sand in one corner of the parcel by the person concerned under the control of the Service d'hygiene). One has water and electricity. Ten per cent of the homes are thus lighted with electricity, and the remainder with kerosene, which is very few in a city where, except in the very last quarters, it is possible to have a meter installed in each parcel.

10: Thoré--51 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37
/189/
362
511
342

Table 24

Material \ Number of Rooms	1	2	3	4	5	6	7+	Total
Wood	46	67	27	25	27	4	10	206
Durable material	9	15	16	2	2	1	0	45
Crinting	3	3	1	0	2	3	0	12
Straw (1)	7	7	1	1	2	0	0	18
Total	65	91	45	29	33	8	10	281

1. Each hut of straw contains only one room. When we divide them up under the rubrics of 2, 3, or 5 rooms, this means that there are 2, 3, or 5 straw huts on the same parcel.

/190 cont./

511 Nevertheless, ingenuity and mutual helpfulness make up for
207 the poverty of the equipment, and if one comes across well over 10% of owners of radio sets, it is because in a number of cases the owner attaches his radio to the current which comes into the house of his immediate -- or distant -- neighbor.

364 A very serious inconvenience, as much from the point of
514 view of hygiene as from the point of view of comfort, results from the total absence of sanitary equipment. Without doubt, an enclosure on the parcel has its particular spot, but this little corner cannot serve everyone, and for those who are on the edge of the agglomeration it is the bush which serves as a comfort station; for the others whose parcel is located far from the outskirts it is the vacant land within Pikine. This state of affairs is unfortunate for many reasons: first of all, for a good many inhabitants it is a veritable expedition, in a word, to go to the toilet; one can imagine what this means for the old people or for the sick. Besides, it is unhealthy, and to get an idea of this it will suffice to go out one winter evening after a tornado and breathe this nauseous odor which the wind blows from the vacant land over the rest of the agglomeration (1).

[515] [653]

1. At the beginning of 1961 the public authorities undertook the construction of several groups of "showers" in 12 places. One can only wish for the extension of the anticipated program and its rapid completion.

511 In the districts, while all are not the owners of a
364 septic tank, the situation is better. Only 12% of the homes
354 are counted as not having either water, electricity, or w.c.,
312 12% have electricity in addition to w.c. without a water line in the concession, 21% have water and electricity, and the remainder, some 34%, have complete modern equipment.

[337] It should also be noted that the Office de l'Habitat no longer builds structures without a septic tank in its subdivisions.

/190 cont./

600 builds structures without a septic tank in its subdivisions. The
511 difference between the two groups of habitat is therefore very
362 noticeable: only the districts /191/ constitute a modern type of housing adapted to the exigencies of the city, while the vast majority of the inhabitants of the other quarters are deprived of the comfort which the modern city affords.

Can one say as well that they live in "shantytowns"? Certainly not. What characterizes the "shantytowns" is the crowding of the population in a limited space and the disorder of the huts. This is by no means the case here: the
[363] streets, although of sand, are well defined, and, above all, the parcels are large; there is actual space with its psychological reverberation which permits the inhabitants of a parcel to feel that they are by themselves. To the further question asked, "what is it that you like about your housing in Pikine?" the replies have brought out the existence of this feeling of "home" /quoted in English/, of "one's own home," which in most cases was associated with the space occupied and the tranquility that it provided.

This material and psychological reality of free space is all the more important since one realizes, if one relates the number of rooms utilized to the number of persons, that the relative scantiness of space brings with it an undeniable crowding in many instances. Here (p. 55) is the table, in absolute figures, of the homes, which have been listed simultaneously according to the number of persons and according to the number of rooms. The horizontal line gives the number of persons, and the vertical line that of rooms. For example, in the case located at the intersection of horizontal line No. 2 and the vertical indicated by the figure 6 and 7, the number 12 means that there are 12 households in which the number of persons is six or seven and that they occupy only two rooms. The first table gives the distribution in the quarters, the second that of the districts.

The broken line in the middle of the table separates it into two parts; inasmuch as in general one room has an area of about ten square meters, we have considered that the

/191 cont./

511 limit of reasonable occupancy has been passed when one
362 figures an average of more than two persons per room. Thus at the left of this line are the households which do not exceed this relation of one room for two persons, at the right those for whom occupancy becomes crowded. Now let us add all the figures at the right of the line of separation, and let us refer this total of "crowded" homes in each table to the general total. One finds that this result, which one may call the "index of occupancy," is much higher in the districts than in the quarters: 26.4% as against 45.2%. This phenome-
162 non indicates that the families are much more /192/ /Table
592 25 appears here/ numerous in the districts. It is possible to
511 verify this in two ways: first, by comparing the average
362 number of persons per household, which gives 7.43 as against 4.86; or else by constructing from the preceding tables the histogram of the various families in percentages. One then finds that in the first case the median runs between seven and eight persons, and in the second between four and five; in other words, that 47% of the homes in the districts have at least eight persons, while in the quarters one counts only 47% of the homes with five or more persons.

511 The same tendency is shown in the matter of the rela-
352 tion of the furnishings to the number of persons. We have therefore drawn up a table identical to the preceding one and substituted the number of beds for the number of rooms, for it is the bed that constitutes the principal article of furniture. Obviously the data obtained do not have the same value, since it has not been possible /193/ /Table 26 appears here/ to distinguish the various kinds of beds: beds in one or two places, wooden or metal springs. Nevertheless, it is shown that the ratio of the number of persons to the number of beds is higher in the districts than in the quarters. The total result is the following: in the former 47, in the latter 38 beds per 100 persons. One finds only five or six instances where the bed is nothing but a simple mat thrown on the beaten earth in the huts of the quarters.

10: Thoré--55 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37

511
362

Table 25. Number of rooms per person. 1) Quarters.

	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-9	10 to 15	15 +	TOTAL
1	15	10	11	10	8	4	1	0	0	59
2	4	13	10	15	8	12	3	3	0	68
3	0	5	7	12	4	8	5	1	0	42
4	2	4	1	5	1	7	5	1	0	26
5	0	2	2	4	4	12	9	6	0	39
6	0	1	0	0	0	4	3	3	0	11
7 +	0	1	0	0	1	2	4	3	1	12
Total	21	36	31	46	26	49	30	17	1	257

511
592

What can be concluded from these various remarks? That in general the inadequacy of housing conditions explains why the people of Pikine attach so much importance to the land of their parcel, and why this space, as much if not more than the interior, is the center of family life and activity. The rooms of the dwelling serve mainly as a shelter for sleeping and to screen a conversation or a tête-à-tête from indiscreet eyes and ears. During the day one is better off outside than inside, and this is the reason why the veranda is so important. It is the link /194/ between outdoors and indoors; when one is sitting there, one is outside in the air and yet sheltered from the rain, the sun, and the stifling heat inside.

In the second place, it is undeniable that augmentation of the comfort of the habitat is accompanied by an enlargement

Table 26. -- 2) Districts

511
362

	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-9	10 to 15	15 +	TOTAL
1										
2			2	1	2	2	1			8
3		1	3		4	4	3	5		20
4	1					1	2	4	1	9
5				1			2		1	4
6						1				1
7										
Total.....	1	1	5	2	6	8	8	9	2	42

/194 cont./

511 of the family. This is an extremely important phenomenon. In
592 order to understand it better, a study of the group occupying the parcel is now in order.

427 A first distinction arises regarding the mode of occupation.
511 Aside from the tenants and owners of their parcels, there are also those who are neither the one nor the other and who live
[592] gratuitously in a hut that does not belong to them, generally because of their kinship ties with the owner. Here is the table in percentages of these three categories arranged by ethnic groups. /Table 27 appears here./

62% of the occupants are thus owners, but we have seen
[369] that only 45% have been expelled from Dakar and have therefore from this fact become owners of the parcel that has been granted

10: Thoré--57 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS 37
511
592
427

/194/

Table 27

Ethnic Groups	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Owner	67	58	60	53	50	63	68	62
Renter	19	23	32	30	42	27	18	23
Occupant without paying	14	19	8	17	8	10	14	15
Total	100							100

/194 cont./

511 them. As a result, a certain number of family heads, around
427 17%, are owners only because they have bought their parcel.
[369] This fact therefore shows that Pikine has become a choice locality where it is worth the trouble to spend money in order to establish oneself, and thus corroborates the hypothesis set forth above, that the evolution of Pikine today attests to an indisputable degree of urban maturity.

In the districts one counts only 9% who are tenants; all the others are owners or on the way to it. But while the rent of a room in a hut located in the quarters costs an average of 500 francs, the price is much higher in the districts, and this income permits the owner, who for his part is obliged to make a monthly payment to the Office de l'Habitat hardly higher /195/ than the amount of the rent, to acquire at the end of five years a dwelling by paying, in a word, only a ridiculous amount. It is difficult to evaluate the frequency of this abusive practice; in our sample it was three out of four tenants.

351 Another point has to do with the possibility of dividing
511 the parcel into half parcels or of two and even three homes being associated on the land of a single parcel. This possibility does not exist in the districts, where, in practice, economic obligations and the arrangement of the habitat as a rule require having only a single home per parcel. In the quarter, out of 264 homes, one counts 191 of them, namely, 72%, that are alone on the land; 46, or 17%, are in groups of two; and 27, or 11%, are in groups of three.

511 The types of association are very diverse, from the
592 households which are united by a bond of kinship and which represent 22% of the cases of association, that is to say, 6% of the total, to homes living on two half-parcels rigorously separated. The most frequent case is that of two unrelated households living together, who share, if not the same hut, at least the same inner court, each having its fire and doing its cooking separately. In general, the families thus grouped contain only a limited number of members, the scantiness of a half parcel not being favorable to the installation of numerous families. Since this factor does not

/195 cont./

511 exist in the districts, where the parcel is individual, one can
592 see in it one of the reasons why the average number of individuals per home is higher there than elsewhere.

592 The analysis of the qualitative composition of the
162 family group discloses another reason. Schematically one may distinguish four principal kinds of family, if one considers its qualitative composition: the lone adult; the adult living with one or more children, where it is a matter of his own or of young brothers; the family called "elementary," composed of the husband, his wife or wives, and their children; finally, the elementary family to which are added either the collateral relatives, or outsiders, or both.

Here (p. 60) is the table of the percentages of these different types listed by ethnic groups; the first is that of the quarters, the second that of the districts.

When one goes from the quarters to the districts, the total shows that:

1st. The number of elementary families increases.

2nd. The proportion of the "extended" families -- in the very broad sense of the term -- remains the same in the two cases.

/196/ 3rd. This increase in the rate of the conjugal family is thus due to the almost total disappearance in the districts of single persons living alone or in the company of children who are in their charge, especially divorced women. /Table 28 appears here./

592 One may ask whether this factor suffices in itself to
162 explain this increase in the number of individuals per household
595 which we have listed above. There is another difference between the districts and the quarters which may likewise contribute to this explanation: it is the rate of polygamy. We mean by that the number of household heads who are polygamists in relation to the total number of male heads of households. Out of 100 family heads 21 are polygamists in the quarters and 31 in the districts. The difference is notable.

592
162

/196 cont./

Table 28

Ethnic Group	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Type 1	8.4	17.6	7	7.7	21.4	9.1	12.5	9.7
2	9.1	17.6	2.3	7.7	0	9.1	0	7.4
3	39.9	35.3	48.8	61.5	50	54.5	62.5	44.7
4	42.6	29.5	41.9	23.1	28.6	27.3	25	38.2
Total	100							100
Type 1	5.9							2.4
2	0					20		2.4
3	70.6	33.3	50	50	--	60	33.3	57.1
4	23.5	66.7	50	50		20	66.7	38.1
Total	100							100

/196 cont./

511 595 The raising of the standard of living, which is symbolized and realized by the acquisition of a durable dwelling provided with modern conveniences, thus seems to go hand in hand with an increase in polygamy. Another factor should also be correlated with it: the educational level. The proportion of polygamists among the literate is higher than the corresponding proportion among the illiterate: 26.5% as against 21.6%.

511 But, as the preceding figures suggest, it seems that the principal cause is to be found in the improvement of economic conditions, and education in this case plays only the role of a /197/ second cause, which is the very thing that permits access to a higher income. Another index runs along the same lines: the average number of persons under [602] the care of the head of the family, persons who do not live in the concession, but either in the city or village. This average figure is distinctly larger for the districts: 219 as against 142 persons under the care of 100 heads of families, in addition to those who live with him.

It is now possible to draw some conclusions which are to be found at the point of convergence with the preceding remarks.

511 592 602 1) It does not seem that what is designated by the deplorable name of "familial parasitism" (1) can be held

1. It is not a question of denying the negative and paralyzing influence which a family can exert on the best of its members and which is ordinarily designated by the name of parasitism. But neither should one ignore the positive aspect of solidarity that makes up for the detrimental consequences of migration and eases for the immigrant the transition from the traditional environment to the urban environment.

responsible for the relative increase of the number of persons

/197 cont./

511 per home in the districts. This fact may be explained by two
592 other reasons: on the one hand, the disappearance of homes
602 reduced to single or divorced persons, in favor of the conjugal family; on the other hand, as part of this, an increase in the number of spouses.

2) Family solidarity is no less a patent fact in the districts than in the quarters. It works in two ways: the first consists of taking complete charge of the housing and support of brothers, nephews, or other relatives. This is shown in the figure of 38% of the families who extend beyond the framework of the conjugal family properly speaking. In this respect the inhabitants of the districts behave much the same as the others. But they make a greater effort with respect to the second form of family solidarity: sending money to relatives to all or part of their living expenses.

369 3) The betterment of living conditions and the participation to a certain degree in the material comfort that the urban environment brings with it do not necessarily mean a rupture and an overthrow of traditional social behavior. On the contrary, on two points, polygamy and family solidarity, there is a reinforcement of these behaviors, and, if one may apply this terminology to Senegal, it is not "detribalization" which should be spoken of, but "supertribalization."

/198/ Conclusion

Despite its youth, Dagoudane-Pikine is a definite city no less than Dakar, although closely dependent upon the latter. It is a city by reason of its area, the size of its population, the effort undertaken with regard to equipment, especially with regard to schools, and finally by the type of work offered to an important part of the economically active population. It is also a typical African city, with its small number of durable buildings, the considerable unemployment, the large number of young people, and above all, its gross
[444] deficiencies of public equipment. We have not spoken of its
[443] health equipment; it is still terribly inadequate, although

/198 cont./

369 a pharmacy has opened since the investigation took place,
[444] and the construction of a maternity hospital is in progress...
[743] Some large sewer works are to be undertaken.

369 On the other hand, it is certain that the material dif-
571 ference between the two habitat groups, very distinct geographically, brings about and expresses an indisputable sociological difference. The population of the districts enjoys superior conditions of comfort, it is better acculturated to the urban environment, the educational level there is higher on the average, and, on the occupational level, one finds there a large proportion of officials and minor staffs of industry and commerce. All these factors therefore contribute to accentuating a certain separation between two social layers. But at the same time that intégration into modern life and work and participation in the advantages and obligations of the urban environment alienate the inhabitants of the districts from traditional conditions, and by that even from their fellow-citizens who do not have the same advantages, a reverse movement of return to tradition or of reinforcement of former behaviors is discernible. There is thus not really a rupture: the family patterns, the relationships between man and woman, change less quickly than housing conditions, and this explains why the unity of the society has not been affected, at least not yet, by the recent change, and why the style of family life remains the same in the parcels of the quarters or in the enclosed concessions of the districts. A more detailed analysis of the conflicts of these contradictory forces belongs to another work.

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

BULLETIN
DE
L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'AFRIQUE NOIRE

ANNÉE 1962
TOME VINGT-QUATRIÈME

SÉRIE B, SCIENCES HUMAINES

DAKAR, IFAN

[Title Page]

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

Bulletin de l'I. F. A. N.
T. XXIV, sér. B, nos 1-2, 1962.

[#155]

Dagoudane-Pikine.
Étude démographique et sociologique

par L. THORÉ.

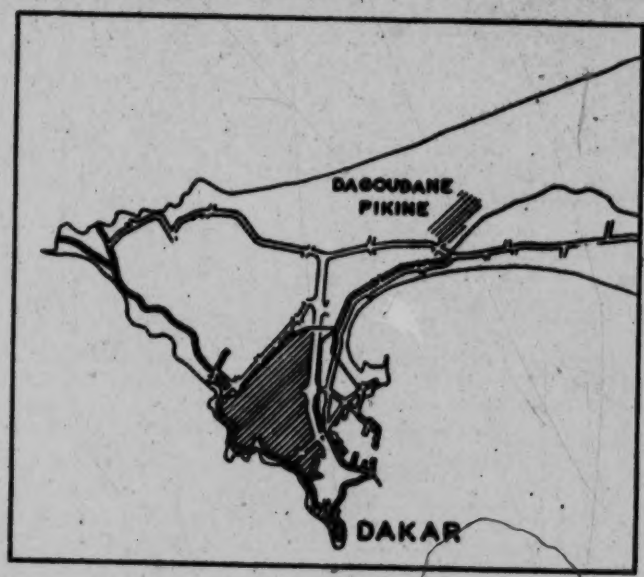
Au km 13 de la grande route Dakar-Rufisque, s'élève perpendiculairement à celle-ci une voie latérale, avec un écriteau qui porte la mention : Dagoudane-Pikine. Deux cents mètres plus loin, juste après l'église située sur la gauche, la route bifurque, et la branche de droite après être passée entre deux stations d'essence, se divise à son tour en deux. Ces trois routes, après avoir décrit quelques méandres plus ou moins sinueux, prennent la direction nord-ouest et traversent l'agglomération de bout en bout, la route de l'est et la route de l'ouest étant symétriques par rapport à celle du centre.

Vue d'avion, l'agglomération a, grosso modo, la forme d'un grand rectangle posé à plat, dont la longueur mesure 2 km, et la largeur médiane 1 240 mètres. Cette impression de platitude est trompeuse, car le sol est légèrement vallonné, et la 2 CV qui se risque dans les rues transversales peut faire la désagréable expérience de ne pouvoir remonter certaines pentes sableuses. Très schématiquement le terrain se présente ainsi : les deux rues du centre et celle de l'ouest s'allongent sur le sommet d'une dune, avec une dépression entre les deux. A l'ouest de la rue Ouest le terrain descend légèrement puis remonte avant de s'abaisser sur les Niayes. La rue de l'Est par contre est située à mi-pente d'une dune dont le sommet se trouve du côté de la rue du centre et séparé de celle-ci par une dépression qui se creuse de plus en plus à mesure qu'on roule vers le nord. Enfin, à l'est, le terrain remonte légèrement avant la voie ferrée qui longe Pikine et la délimite à l'est. Au nord, c'est — ou plutôt c'était car le terrain était déjà en partie loti en 1960, date de l'enquête — la route des Niayes qui forme la ligne de démarcation, et à l'ouest les Niayes elles-mêmes.

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

Quant au sud, à part les hangars de l'ICOTAF pour la partie est, il n'y a pas de frontière nette.

Au visiteur qui parcourt l'agglomération pour la première fois, Pikine laisse une impression contradictoire : d'abord d'uniformité et de monotonie. Sans doute est-il facile de s'orienter une fois qu'on a saisi le principe du découpage de la ville en 4 tronçons par les trois axes routiers, de même qu'il est aisé d'aligner sur chacun des deux axes extrêmes les principaux points de repère : sur la route ouest, la maison Chavanel en face du premier marché, puis le commissariat, la mosquée, et sur la gauche, à mi-chemin, le



grand marché, avec, pour terminer, le bloc qui abrite le cinéma El-Karim et un commerce ; sur la route est à droite, le commerce du Syrien, puis après les tournants la cité dite de l'ICOTAF, parce qu'elle est contiguë aux terrains occupés par l'usine, un long espace encore inoccupé, avec pour finir sur la gauche, d'abord le cinéma El-Hilal, et quelque 200 m plus loin la deuxième cité dite de la Pépinière. Sur la route du centre, par contre, aucune construction notable, simplement vers le milieu, deux grands espaces vagues de part et d'autre de la route, avec un terrain de sport sur la droite. Mais si l'on quitte les rues principales, les repères dispa-

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

raissent, toutes les parcelles se ressemblent, les carrefours à angle succèdent aux carrefours, les constructions en bois s'allongent les unes à la suite des autres, différentes et cependant semblables. Le contraste est donc grand entre Pikine et les quartiers dakarois dits irréguliers, de Wakhinane ou de Baye Gayndé : on se perd facilement dans les deux cas ; dans le second c'est à cause du fouillis désordonné des ruelles qui serpentent dans tous les sens, tandis que dans le premier c'est à cause de la régularité géométrique des rues et de l'alignement à peu près correct des clôtures et des murs, qui finissent par effacer toute originalité et tout signe distinctif. Impossible d'autre part de rapprocher Pikine de la Médina ou des quartiers neufs. Ici les rues sont bitumées, parfois éclairées, l'électricité est fréquente à la fenêtre des maisons, et le dur l'emporte de loin sur la baraque en bois. Là au contraire, seuls les grands axes sont goudronnés, ailleurs le sable est roi ; et si, mises à part les deux cités, on trouve ça et là quelques constructions en dur, l'immense majorité des cases sont en bois, parfois en paille. Village, bidonville, ville ? on ne sait que répondre à cette question. En outre, un autre contraste, auquel il a déjà été fait allusion, vient la compliquer : la différence qui sépare les deux cités de l'ICOTAF et de la Pépinière d'une part, et les autres quartiers pikinois d'autre part. Les premières sont en effet comparables à Ouagouniaye ou Bopp, de sorte que cette dualité d'habitat et, par conséquent, des conditions de vie, conduit à modifier la question initiale : Pikine ne se compose-t-il pas d'une ville et d'un village ? L'agglomération pikinoise n'a-t-elle d'unité qu'artificielle ?

On est d'autant plus porté à le croire si l'on considère l'origine et l'historique de la cité. Avant 1952, Pikine n'existait pas, et à la place s'étendait la brousse avec singes, chacals, etc. Seulement cette brousse appartenait à l'État, et c'est à ces terrains domaniaux que l'on songea pour reloger les habitants des quartiers irréguliers qu'il fallait expulser de Dakar pour réaliser les travaux d'urbanisme prévus. On lotit une première tranche et on alloua une parcelle à chaque chef de famille expulsé : propriété concédée à titre précaire, mais qui peut devenir un titre définitif si l'occupant met sa parcelle en valeur en y construisant un logement en dur. Au début, les autorités ne croyaient guère à l'existence de Pikine : pas de communication facile avec Dakar, puisque l'autoroute n'existait pas encore, pas de liaison par car rapide, pas de magasins, etc. On pensait que les expulsés reviendraient occuper d'autres terrains à la périphérie de Dakar. Contre toute attente,

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

Pikine vécut, prospéra, et s'augmenta par le même processus qui lui avait donné naissance, au point qu'aujourd'hui la parcelle, qui primitivement ne valait rien, coûte 30 à 40 000 francs. Par contre les logements que l'Office de l'Habitat a construit actuellement dans les cités sont vendus à crédit à ceux qui ont le désir et les moyens de se les procurer.

Pikine a donc pour première origine une décision administrative; c'est une agglomération qui n'a aucune tradition, aucun passé, une ville créée de toutes pièces et à une date récente. De plus ce bref rappel historique met en lumière une autre différence qui concerne le mode de peuplement : dans les cités, il est volontaire, tandis que dans les quartiers il a été plus ou moins imposé par l'administration.

Cet ensemble de traits particuliers fait de Pikine une ville très intéressante du point de vue sociologique. L'enquête qui a été menée durant le dernier semestre de l'année 1960 a poursuivi une triple fin : d'abord recueillir un certain nombre de renseignements généraux qui compléteraient ou confirmeraient ceux qui avaient déjà été rassemblés ; puis examiner dans quelle mesure la différence des conditions d'habitat engendrait ou non une différence perceptible des comportements et du style de vie, spécialement en ce qui concernait la famille ; enfin, en corrélation avec le problème précédent, étudier l'évolution des comportements familiaux en milieu urbain, et observer l'apparition de nouvelles structures familiales plus adaptées au milieu urbain que la famille traditionnelle.

Avant d'entrer dans le détail de l'analyse, exposons brièvement les conditions dans lesquelles s'est déroulée l'enquête. En fait il y en a eu deux, la première par questionnaire avec un enquêteur, la seconde par interviews auxquels il a été procédé par l'entremise d'un interprète. Comme l'un des buts était précisément d'examiner la répercussion des conditions de logement sur la réalité sociale, nous avons divisé l'échantillon en deux strates : la première comprend les deux cités de la Pépinière et de l'ICOTAF, qui constituent l'ensemble le plus important de logements construits en dur et qui forment chacune un tout — ce qui n'est pas le cas pour la cité de la Police, encore embryonnaire. (Si nous n'avons pas adjoint à cette strate la cité des T. P. du Cap-Vert, comme nous l'avions primitivement envisagé, c'est que, par suite de la mauvaise volonté de l'un des responsables, nous avons dû remplacer les 3 logements tirés par 3 autres). Sur celle-ci le tirage a été effectué au 1/10e pour obtenir un nombre suffisant de réponses. Quant à la

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

seconde strate, elle comprend tout le reste des quartiers, et le tirage au 1/20e suffisait. La base de sondage a été fournie par le plan des lotissements, l'unité statistique étant la parcelle. Chaque parcelle fut affectée d'un numéro et le tirage effectué à l'aide d'une table de nombres au hasard. La seconde strate comprenait toutes les parcelles situées en-deçà de la route des Niayes, à l'exclusion de la dizaine d'entre elles situées au-delà et qui sont déjà occupées; au total, 5 740, ce qui a donné un échantillon de 287 parcelles. La base de sondage pour la strate des cités, a été constituée à partir des renseignements donnés par l'Office de l'Habitat, concernant les parcelles qui devaient être habitées au moment de l'enquête. Ce qui faisait 500, donc 50 dans l'échantillon ; en fait, sur ces 50 il y en avait 8 qui étaient encore vides ou pas complètement achevées : il en reste 42. Quant à la seconde phase de l'enquête, par suite de l'insuffisance des moyens mis à notre disposition, nous avons dû réduire la seconde des strates, en tirant au second degré sur l'échantillon primitif 2 parcelles sur 3. Mais le nombre de la première est demeurée intact.

Le questionnaire de la première enquête portait sur les données socio-démographiques indispensables et sur les conditions de logement ; quant aux interviews, bien que comportant un cadre déterminé, ils ont été conduits de manière très souple, de manière à donner à l'interlocuteur le maximum de liberté d'expression, et à recueillir ainsi des renseignements sur les attitudes et les opinions concernant les problèmes familiaux : éducation, dot, mariage, polygamie, etc.

Nous ne présentons pas ici le dossier complet de cette double enquête, mais simplement un certain nombre de résultats qui permettent de se faire une idée un peu plus précise de la réalité sociale à Pikine.

I. — Éléments démographiques.

La population totale de Pikine au cours de l'hivernage de 1960, compte non tenu des visiteurs et des gens de passage s'élevait à 28 780 habitants [1]. La première strate compte 25 660 et la seconde 3 120 personnes. Ce chiffre appelle les remarques suivantes.

1) Pendant l'hivernage, les migrants saisonniers qui viennent travailler à Dakar durant la saison sèche, sont repartis chez eux

(1) Un écart calcul d'erreur montre que la population de Pikine a 95 % de chances d'être comprise entre 26 286 et 31 374, l'écart-type étant de 1 247.

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

pour les cultures. Il est donc probable que la population de Pikine, comme celle de Dakar, doit être plus importante pendant les mois de décembre à avril [1].

2) On entend souvent avancer des chiffres de l'ordre de 40 ou 50 000 pour la population totale de Pikine. Il semble qu'il y ait là une nette exagération, et que celle-ci ait la cause suivante : bon nombre de parcelles sont inoccupées, qu'elles soient nues ou construites mais inhabitées. Sur un échantillon de 287 parcelles, 65 étaient inoccupées, soit 22,6 %. On rencontre des terrains nus dans tous les quartiers, mais le phénomène est particulièrement sensible dans l'un des premiers quartiers de Pikine, celui de Maka-Kolobane, et, naturellement dans les nouveaux lotissements qui sont contigus à Thiaroye-Gare. Ici c'est normal, ailleurs ce l'est moins et on peut se demander si un certain nombre de propriétaires, quoique possédant déjà un logement à Dakar, n'auraient pas obtenu quand même de l'administration l'attribution de certaines parcelles. Quoi qu'il en soit, il m'a été impossible d'explorer davantage cette voie, car le sujet est tabou, et le seul fait de l'évoquer une fois ou l'autre a failli entraîner de graves préjudices pour le déroulement de l'enquête.

3) Ce chiffre confirme celui qu'avait obtenu l'enquête menée l'année précédente à la même période par le P. Martin et qui donnait un peu plus de 22 000 personnes. Un accroissement de 6 000 personnes en un an, compte tenu des lotissements faits en cours d'année, ou des constructions achevées par l'Office de l'Habitat dans les cités, n'a rien d'extraordinaire.

4) Avec ses 30 000 habitants, Pikine se classe au premier rang des agglomérations de la banlieue dakaroise, loin devant les villages traditionnels de Cambérène, Thiaroye et autres, et l'importance de sa population lui donne une place à part : ce n'est plus un village, mais une ville.

Examinons maintenant la structure par âge et par ethnie. Le tableau suivant présente la répartition des hommes et des femmes dans leurs classes d'âge et selon les ethnies ; la pyramide qui suit résume les résultats globaux.

La pyramide des âges fait apparaître deux phénomènes : d'une part l'échancrure de la classe des 15 à 19 ans. Ce trou est caractéristique de toutes les villes d'Afrique ; il tient vraisemblablement à deux causes principales : d'abord une estimation erronée de l'âge

(1) Il suffira de se reporter aux résultats de l'enquête démographique qui a eu lieu en mars 1961, pour contrôler l'exactitude de ce fait.

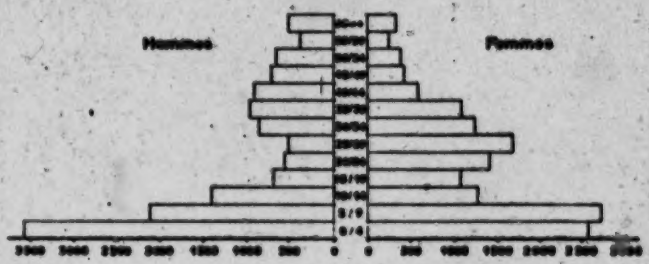
10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

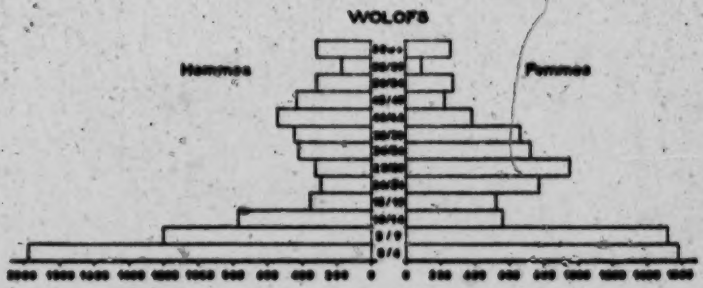
Tableau 1. — Population par sexes, âge et groupe ethnique.

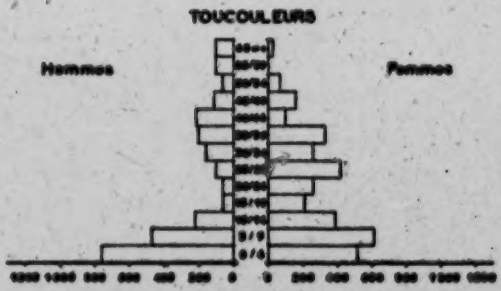
Total		Groupes d'âges	Wolof		Sérère		Toucouleur		Peul		Maure		Bambara		Autres		Total
H	F		H	F	H	F	H	F	H	F	H	F	H	F	H	F	
900	640	0 à 1	490	340	70	40	190	140	60	40	40	20	30	20	20	40	1 540
2 630	2 070	1 à 4	1 440	1 250	70	100	560	370	160	60	140	40	170	80	90	170	4 700
2 120	2 740	5 à 9	1 200	1 520	100	160	470	610	40	120	80	100	110	120	120	110	4 860
1 400	1 280	10 à 14	770	560	0	120	220	390	60	40	80	60	130	60	140	50	2 680
590	1 070	15 à 19	350	520	20	120	60	210	30	40	60	20	60	90	10	70	1 660
570	1 420	20 à 24	290	770	40	130	60	260	40	90	80	40	0	80	60	50	1 990
520	1 680	25 à 29	320	950	40	140	100	420	10	60	20	60	30	40	0	10	2 200
850	1 240	30 à 34	420	720	80	80	160	260	50	40	80	40	30	40	30	60	2 090
960	1 080	35 à 39	440	660	70	80	200	230	80	50	20	20	90	0	60	40	2 040
900	580	40 à 44	540	380	30	10	210	100	30	20	20	40	70	20	0	10	1 480
710	420	45 à 49	430	220	0	20	110	130	60	20	40	20	40	0	30	10	1 130
650	400	50 à 54	310	270	10	0	60	70	20	20	100	0	50	40	100	0	1 050
370	150	55 à 59	170	90	0	40	100	0	20	0	20	0	0	20	60	0	520
510	330	60 et +	310	260	20	20	100	30	20	0	0	20	20	0	40	0	840
13 680	15 100		7 480	8 510	550	1 060	2 600	3 220	680	600	780	480	830	610	760	620	28 780
28 780			15 990		1 610		5 820		1 280		1 260		1 440		1 380		

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

des jeunes, qui est d'ordre psycho-sociologique. Les adolescents sont ou bien des enfants, on leur donne alors moins de 15 ans — ou bien déjà considérés comme adultes, donc âgés de plus de 20 ans.







Sans gloser sur cette erreur, notons pourtant que ce fait est corrélatif d'une situation globale où la jeunesse est difficilement reconnue comme telle dans la société, et où le passage de l'enfance à l'âge adulte s'effectue sans la transition de l'adolescence.

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

L'autre cause est d'ordre objectif : Pikine est une ville composée en bonne partie de migrants, venus de leur village, comme nous le verrons plus loin ; et l'âge le plus favorable à la migration rurale se place entre 20 et 30 ans.

L'autre phénomène nettement perceptible sur la pyramide est le renflement successif de chacun des deux côtés de la pyramide : à la ville les vieilles femmes sont proportionnellement moins nombreuses que les hommes du même âge. Malgré la possibilité d'erreurs d'appréciation de la part des intéressés, les impressions subjectives d'un enquêteur confirment ce fait : à Pikine on rencontre moins de vieilles femmes que de vieillards.

Le pourcentage des personnes âgées de plus de 60 ans est d'ailleurs faible : 3 % seulement. La population est très jeune dans son ensemble. On compte 53,6 % de moins de 20 ans, ce qui laisse 43,4 % d'adultes.

Autre fait remarquable, un léger déséquilibre du sex-ratio en faveur des femmes ; 47,5 % d'hommes contre 52,3 % de femmes. On observe la structure inverse à Dakar ; le recensement de 1955 montre que le pourcentage de femmes augmente à mesure qu'on s'éloigne du centre vers la périphérie. Ouakam, Yof, Cambérène, Thiaroye, Yembeul, Mbao comme Pikine ont une population féminine plus nombreuse que la population masculine. Seulement les premiers sont d'anciens villages, et ce fait n'y surprend pas. Au contraire l'édification de Pikine est de date très récente, et il s'agit d'une ville. Notons pour finir que dans les cités le sex-ratio est légèrement plus élevé que dans le reste des quartiers : 54 % de femmes contre 46 % d'hommes, alors qu'ailleurs on trouve 52,3 % et 47,7 %. Nous verrons plus loin si l'on peut découvrir une explication vraisemblable de ce phénomène.

Abordons maintenant les données propres à chaque ethnie. Précisons d'abord quel est le classement suivi et les raisons qui ont conduit à l'adopter. Les Lebou ont été rangés avec les Wolof en raison de leur petit nombre et aussi parce que, dans une ville de création récente, leur particularisme traditionnel n'a pas trouvé les moyens ni l'occasion de se développer comme dans les vieux villages de la presqu'île. Les quelques Sarakolé recensés ont été groupés avec les Toucouleur, en tant qu'originaires de la Vallée. Par Bambara, on comprend à la fois les Bambara proprement dits, et aussi les Khassonké. Enfin, sous la catégorie « Autres », nous avons rassemblé toutes les autres ethnies, essentiellement les Casamançais, Manjack et Diola, Guinéens et les originaires des autres États africains.

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

Les Wolof.

Près de 16 000, ils constituent 55,6 % de la population. Cette majorité est à peu de chose près celle de Dakar. Le sex-ratio est de 108 femmes pour 100 hommes. La pyramide des âges présente les mêmes anomalies que la pyramide générale, avec le trou caractéristique de la période 15-19 ans, et les renflements successifs de chaque côté. 52,8 % de la population a moins de 20 ans, ce qui est le pourcentage général.

Les Sérère.

Leur effectif ne dépasse pas 5,6 % de celui de la population totale. 50 % a moins de 20 ans. Le trait le plus caractéristique et qui est propre aux Sérère, est l'importance de la population — donc de la migration — féminine : sur 3 individus, on compte 2 femmes et 1 homme. En liaison avec ce fait, l'échancrure de 15-19 ans est beaucoup moins accentuée du côté des femmes ici que dans les autres groupes ethniques : les jeunes femmes et les jeunes filles sérères quittent tôt leur village pour la ville.

Les Toucouleur.

C'est le second groupe ethnique par ordre d'importance, puisqu'ils forment 20,22 % de la population. Les jeunes de moins de 20 ans constituent 55,3 %, et le sex-ratio est de 123 femmes pour 100 hommes, nettement plus élevé que celui des Wolof. Mais le phénomène remarquable qui apparaît sur la pyramide ci-dessus et distingue celle-ci de la pyramide wolof, est que ce déséquilibre est beaucoup plus accentué entre 5 et 20 ans qu'aux autres âges : si le nombre des garçons de 0 à 5 ans est de beaucoup supérieur à celui des filles (68 filles pour 100 garçons), entre 5 et 20 ans le sex-ratio est de 161 filles contre 100 garçons, et redescend ensuite à 136 contre 100. On observe le même phénomène à Dakar d'après le recensement de 1955, et cette structure démographique est propre à la ville, puisque le recensement effectué dans le Fouta par la MISOES manifeste l'existence d'une structure inverse : dans la Vallée les garçons sont plus nombreux que les filles. Pourquoi ? Les réponses qui ont été données dans les foyers toucouleur interrogés à ce sujet, orientent l'explication dans la direction suivante : d'une part, les filles sont élevées par leur mère et restent avec elle en ville; de l'autre côté, quand ses fils ont atteint l'âge,

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

le père les renvoie volontiers au pays pour qu'ils puissent suivre l'école coranique.

Pour le reste des autres ethnies, nous nous bornerons à présenter les mêmes données dans le tableau ci-dessous qui résume en même temps l'ensemble des résultats.

TABLEAU 2.

	WOLOF	SÉRÈRE	TOUCOUL	PEUL	MAURE	BAMBARA	AUTRES	TOTAL
% de la population totale	55,5	5,6	20,2	4,5	4,4	5	4,8	100
% de jeunes de moins de 20 ans	55,6	50	55,3	50,8	50,8	65	59,4	Moy. 53,6
Sex-ratio (nbre de F pour 100 H)	108	200	123	88	61	73	81	110
% de femmes sur le moins de 20 ans	49,7	67,5	52,9	44,4	37,5	42,5	53,7	50,5
% de femmes entre 5 et 20 ans	55	78	71	60,6	45	47,3	46	61,9
% de femmes adultes	57,2	64,2	58,4	49,5	38,7	42,1	32,1	54,3
% moyen de femmes (dans chaque ethnie)	53,2	66,6	53,3	46,9	38,1	42,4	45	54

Ce tableau récapitulatif, outre les indications déjà relevées manifeste clairement la différence qui sépare les 3 premières ethnies des 3 dernières, les Peul se situant à la limite : dans celles-ci le sex-ratio est inférieur à 100 et le pourcentage des femmes adultes tombe nettement en dessous de 50 %, tandis que c'est l'inverse chez les autres. Ceci s'explique aisément, si l'on remarque que les Maures, les Bambara et les Autres (exception faite des quelques Manjack et Diola) viennent de loin et qu'il est par conséquent normal de voir les hommes émigrer vers Dakar et les femmes rester au pays. Par contre on peut s'attendre à ce que les femmes d'origine wolof ou sérère accompagnent leurs maris, pères ou frères, ou les rejoignent lorsque ceux-ci se sont installés à la ville. Il n'en subsiste pas moins une anomalie déjà signalée : Pikine apparaît un peu sinon comme une ville-réservoir de femmes, au moins comme un refuge pour celles-ci.

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

II. — Lieu d'origine et date d'arrivée.

Si l'on considère l'histoire de Pikine, une question préalable se pose qui ne porte pas sur le « d'où venez-vous » ni sur le « quand êtes-vous arrivés ? » et qui est celle-ci : « comment êtes-vous venus à Pikine ? » En effet, n'oublions pas qu'au début la population pikinoise ne comprenait que les expulsés des quartiers irréguliers de Dakar, à qui on avait alloué une parcelle en compensation. Le problème est de savoir si en 1960 la situation n'a pas varié. Voici donc le pourcentage moyen des chefs de famille expulsés sur le total, et à l'intérieur de chaque ethnie.

Tableau 3.

	W	S	T	P	M	B	A	Moy.
Expulsés	48	52,9	44,2	30,2	35,7	54,6	31,2	45
Non expulsés	52	47,1	55,8	69,2	64,3	45,4	58,8	55

Dans les cités on ne compte aucun chef de famille expulsé, puisqu'ils ont tous été logés par l'Habitat sur leur demande. Si l'on retranche les Cités du reste, on obtient le résultat suivant pour les autres quartiers : 45 % des chefs de famille ont été expulsés, et 46 % non. Ce test est important, car il prouve qu'en 8 ans, le mode de peuplement de Pikine s'est radicalement transformé : d'imposé au départ, il est devenu volontaire aujourd'hui. Une autre donnée est significative de cette évolution et de son sens : on trouve dans notre échantillon une vingtaine de familles, soit 8,2 %, qui sont venues directement de leur résidence antérieure à Pikine, sans passer par Dakar, et toutes sauf une sont arrivées au cours de l'année précédant l'enquête. Les migrants villageois viennent à Pikine pour les mêmes raisons qui les poussent à venir à Dakar, et les habitants de Rufisque ou de Thiès ne croient pas quitter la ville en s'installant à Pikine. Ce qui veut dire que venir à Pikine, c'est venir en ville, et c'est là un indice de maturation urbaine qui montre que Pikine tend vers une relative autonomie sociologique à l'égard de Dakar (1).

(1) Autonomie ne signifie pas indépendance, et il est bien certain que Pikine est une conséquence de Dakar, et que sans Dakar il n'y aurait pas de Pikine. Nous voulons simplement dire ceci : la migration à Pikine réalise effectivement l'insertion dans un milieu urbain par son éloignement de l'agglomération dakaroise, et permet en nombre de participer aux avantages économiques et sociaux de la ville.

Tableau 4. — Lieux de naissance par classe d'âge des chefs de famille (Homme).

Région / Age	1 Cap Vert	2 Thiès	3 Saint-Louis	4 Dagana	5 Podor	6 Matam	7 Bambey	8 Diourbel	9 Louga	10 Sine-Saloum	11 Tambacounda	12 Casamance	13 Mauritanie	14 Mali	15 Guinée	16 A. O. F.	17 Ailleurs	TOTAL
20	9	8	0	2	2	3	0	2	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	31
30	13	17	2	0	7	0	1	4	4	6	1	4	8	3	3	0	2	75
35	5	10	5	2	3	4	4	15	9	8	0	2	2	5	2	2	0	78
40	12	10	0	6	5	4	2	6	20	2	0	0	0	5	3	3	0	79
45	6	17	4	2	4	3	6	4	10	3	0	1	6	2	4	0	0	72
50	3	6	0	2	2	0	0	4	10	8	0	6	4	4	0	1	2	52
55	4	4	7	2	4	0	2	2	2	2	0	4		4	0	2	0	39
60 et +	2	10	2	2	2	4	0	0	2	4	0	2		4	2	0	2	38
Total	54	82	20	18	30	18	15	37	57	36	1	19	22	27	14	8	6	464

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

Quant aux pourcentages élevés de non-expulsés chez les Peul, les Maures et les autres groupes ethniques, il est difficile d'en donner la raison. Tout au plus peut-on suggérer en ce qui concerne les Maures, que ceux-ci sont principalement des commerçants, et qu'ils installent leurs boutiques là où se trouve la population. Il est donc normal que leur présence à Pikine résulte non d'une contrainte née de l'expulsion, mais d'un choix pour des motifs commerciaux.

Excepté quelques centaines d'enfants de moins de 5 ans, aucun habitant n'est né à Pikine. Deux choses sont intéressantes à connaître :

1) D'où viennent-ils, quelle est la proportion respective de leur région d'origine ?

2) Quand sont-ils arrivés à Dakar ?

Voici d'abord pour les chefs de famille masculins, le tableau détaillé, en chiffres absolus, des lieux de naissance, en répartissant ceux-ci selon les classes d'âge, puis le tableau en pourcentages des principales régions, regroupées cette fois en 5 catégories seulement, afin de mieux faire apparaître les principales tendances.

TABLEAU 5. — Pourcentage des lieux d'origine dans chaque classe d'âge.

AGE	CAP VERT	THIÈS	SAINT-LOUIS	FLEUVE	BAOL	SINE-SALOUM	CASAMANCE	MAURITANIE	MALI	AILLEURS	TOTAL
20	29	25,8	0	22,6	6,4	9,8		6,4			100
30 à 39	11,7	17,6	4,6	10,5	24,2	9,9	3,9	6,6	5,2	5,8	100
40 à 49	12	17,9	2,6	16,6	31,8	3,3	0,7	4	4,6	6,6	100
50 à 59	7,7	11	7,7	11	22	11	11	4,4	8,8	5,4	100
60 et +	5,3	26,3	5,3	21	5,3	10,5	5,3	0	10,5	10,5	100
Total.....	11,6	17,7	4,3	14,3	23,5	8	4,1	4,7	5,8	3	100

Il ressort de là que :

1) Les Sénégalais forment naturellement la grande majorité de la population : 86 %. Le reste se partage entre la Mauritanie et le Mali.

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

2) La presqu'île du Cap-Vert ne compte que 11,6 % de chefs de famille, ce qui confirme indirectement que plus de 90 % de ceux-ci sont des émigrés. La région qui vient en tête est celle du Baol, puis Thiès et le Fleuve.

3) Les chiffres significatifs qui ont été soulignés font apparaître que : les jeunes de 20 à 30 ans viennent soit des régions limitrophes soit de la Vallée.

— Les adultes hommes de 30 à 50 ans en sont originaires.

— Les hommes âgés se rencontrent en majorité soit à Thiès, soit dans la Vallée, soit à l'étranger. Il est à noter que le pourcentage de 10,5 pour les Maliens ou les étrangers âgés de plus de 60 ans, ainsi que celui de 11 pour les Casamançais de 50 à 60 est nettement plus élevé que leur pourcentage moyen.

On peut répondre à la seconde question ci-dessus de deux manières en indiquant soit la date de leur arrivée à Dakar, soit l'âge qu'ils avaient à ce moment. Dans le tableau des dates d'arrivée, nous avons regroupé ensemble les groupes ethniques secondaires tout en les séparant des Maures qui constituent un cas trop à part pour être avec les autres, et divisé le temps en période de 5 ans.

TABLEAU 6.

ETHNIE / DATE	W	S	T	M	A	MOY.
55-60	5,9	12,9	6,6	16,7	3,7	6
50-55	12,3	13,1	19	16,7	13,9	14
45-50	27,2	32	29	0	13,9	25
40-45	16,1	13	10	8,3	16,7	15
35-40	17,2	6,5	14,4	25	17,6	16
30-35	5,2	0	10	8,3	14	8
25-30	7,4	10	4,4	25	16,5	9
20-25	3	0	2,2	0	0	2
Avant 20	5,7	12,7	4,4	0	3,7	5
	100	100	100	100	100	100

La période où les arrivées ont été les plus importantes est celle de l'après-guerre. Il semble que la guerre ait d'ailleurs quelque peu ralenti un mouvement qui s'amorçait déjà avant 1940, et qui a continué encore après 1950 pour les Toucouleur.

Voyons maintenant l'âge moyen auquel le migrant est arrivé à Dakar :

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

TABLEAU 7.

ETHNIE	W	S	T	P	M	B	A	MOY.
Age	28,1	25	28,9	25,5	28,9	25,6	27,2	27,9

Les Sérère se déplacent plus jeunes que les autres, tandis que les Toucouleur et les Maures sont les plus âgés.

Si nous rapprochons ce dernier résultat du tableau des lieux d'origine dans chaque classe d'âge, on peut raisonnablement supposer que la première vague de migration vers Dakar est partie de Thiès et de la Vallée, et, dans une proportion moindre, de l'étranger. Lui a succédé une seconde vague venant du Baol, et, ces dernières années, Thiès et la Vallée ont de nouveau repris la première place. Les Diola sont à Pikine trop peu nombreux pour qu'on puisse tirer des renseignements valables au sujet de leurs migrations.

Un dernier point mérite d'être examiné : que représente pour les Pikinois leur arrivée à Pikine ? Ou, quelle expérience du milieu urbain avaient-ils avant cette date ? Pour cela, nous avons réparti les réponses en 7 catégories : ceux qui, avant Pikine n'ont habité qu'une seule ville, par exemple Dakar, ou Rufisque, et ceux qui ont toujours vécu en ville mais ont connu plusieurs résidences. Ensuite nous avons pris comme critère pour les autres l'âge de leur arrivée à Dakar : avant 15 ans, entre 15 et 30, entre 30 et 50, et plus de 50. Une dernière catégorie est constituée par ceux qui viennent directement de brousse à Pikine. Voici (p. 171) en pourcentages et par ethnies les résultats :

Il est certain que l'âge auquel on arrive en ville influe considérablement sur la facilité d'adaptation au milieu urbain, et que la différence est grande entre le citadin qui a toujours vécu en ville et le paysan qui vient y chercher du travail à 40 ou 50 ans. Le tableau précédent permet donc d'appréhender sous un certain aspect le degré d'acculturation au milieu urbain de la population pikinoise. Il suffit de regrouper ensemble les 3 premières catégories — car on peut assimiler à des citadins ceux qui sont arrivés en ville encore enfants — ainsi que les 3 dernières, et de laisser la 4e intacte.

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

TABLEAU 8.

ETHNIE / ONT HABITÉ	W	S	T	M	A	MOY.
Une seule ville	5,5	26,3	4,7	7,1	3	6,6
Toujours en ville mais en plusieurs lieux ..	27,1	10,5	10,5	14,2	25,8	21,9
Arrivés à Dakar avant l'âge de 15 ans.....	2,8	5,3	7	0	4,5	3,8
Arrivés à Dakar entre 15 et 30 ans.....	34,4	52,6	40,6	28,5	42,4	38,3
Arrivés à Dakar entre 30 et 50 ans.....	17,8	5,3	30,2	43	18,2	20,4
Arrivés à Dakar après 50 ans	5,7	0	2,3	0	0	3,6
Arrivés directement du village à Pikine .	5,7	0	4,7	7,2	6,1	5,4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLEAU 9. — **Taux d'urbanisation.**

	W	S	T	M	A	MOY.
Citadins	36,4	42,1	22,2	21,3	33,3	32,3
Migrants en ville entre 15 et 30 ans.....	34,4	56,6	40,6	28,5	42,4	38,3
Migrants en ville après 30 ans.	29,2	5,3	37,2	50,2	24,3	29,4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Un tiers des chefs de famille sont donc des citadins d'origine, un peu plus d'un tiers est composé de gens arrivés en ville entre 15 et 30 ans, un peu moins d'un tiers est arrivé après 30 ans.

De l'autre côté, si l'on regarde la différenciation par ethnie, on constate que les Sérère viennent en tête devant les Wolof, tandis que les Maures ravissent la dernière place aux Toucouleur.

La comparaison des taux d'urbanisation respectifs des Cités de l'habitat et des quartiers est assez instructive :

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

TABLEAU 10.

ETHNIE		W	S	T (1)	A	MOY.
Citadins	Q	32,2	37,5	21,6	32,1	24,3
	C	94	66,7	25	40	59,5
A Dakar entre 15 et et 30 ans	Q	30,5	62,5	40,5	39,3	39,1
	C	6	0	41,7	60	28,6
A Dakar après 30 ans	Q	31,3	0	37,9	28,6	36,6
	C	0	33,3	33,3	0	11,9
Total	Q	100	100	100	100	100
	C	100	100	100	100	100

Le contraste entre les deux lignes est très net : la proportion de citadins qui est de près de 60 % dans les Cités s'abaisse au 1/4 dans les quartiers, tandis qu'on assiste au phénomène inverse pour la catégorie des Pikinois arrivés à Dakar après 30 ans. Une autre indication vaut la peine d'être retenue ; les Toucouleur sont le seul groupe ethnique où cette différence disparaît presque complètement, et où le peuplement des Cités présente la même structure que celui des quartiers.

On peut résumer les résultats précédents dans les 3 remarques suivantes :

1) La population adulte de Pikine est composée de 2/3 de ruraux, dont la majorité est arrivée à Dakar à un âge voisin de la trentaine, la période d'immigration la plus importante étant celle de l'après-guerre.

2) Une nette différence distingue les Cités des autres quartiers : dans les premières le mode de peuplement est uniquement volontaire et on compte 3 citadins sur 5 chefs de famille ; dans les quartiers, près de la moitié des familles ont été à l'origine contraintes de quitter Dakar où elles avaient d'abord élu logement ; et l'on n'y trouve qu'un citadin sur 5.

3) Les migrations des Toucouleur et des Maures présentent chacune des particularités propres qui donnent à ces deux groupes ethniques d'immigrants une originalité indiscutable.

(1) Nous n'avons pas mentionné les Maures puisqu'il n'y a aucun chef de famille maure dans les Cités.

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

III. — Travail, structure socio-professionnelle.

Trois problèmes sont intéressants dans cette section : la répartition socio-professionnelle proprement dite, le chômage et le lieu de travail.

Les résultats bruts de la distribution des professions sont trop éparpillés pour que se dégagent les grandes lignes de la structure. Il nous a paru préférable de regrouper les divers métiers en 6 grandes catégories et de présenter le tableau des pourcentages de chacune à l'intérieur de chaque ethnie. Précisons à quoi correspond chaque catégorie : dans la première, celle des sans profession, nous avons mis les marabouts qui n'ont pas d'activité, soit qu'ils exercent à plein temps — ce qui est rare —, à mi-temps, soit qu'ils n'aient pas d'élèves du tout.

Tableau 11. — Professions en %
à l'intérieur de chaque ethnie.

		SANS	CULTIVATEURS	ARTISANS	OUVRIERS	MAITRISE	FONCTIONNAIRES	TOTAL
W	Q	7,6	1,8	28,8	44,1	8,5	9,2	100
	C			5,8	17,6	17,8	58,8	100
S	Q		9,1	27,2	63,7			100
	C					33,3	66,7	100
T	Q	2,6	0	21	47,4	13,2	15,8	100
	C				8,5	16,5	75	100
P	Q			20	60	10	10	100
	C				50		50	100
M	Q			64,2	35,8			100
	C							
B	Q				71,4		28,6	100
	C					20	80	100
A	Q		6,25	18,75	62,5		12,5	100
	C					64,7	33,3	100
	Q	4,7	1,9	27,6	48,1	7,5	10,2	100
	C	0	0	2,4	11,9	21,4	64,3	100
Moy.		4,3	1,7	25,3	44,9	8,7	15,1	100

Aux artisans, il faut adjoindre les commerçants. La catégorie « ouvriers » est la plus nombreuse : elle comprend à la fois les

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

manœuvres, les plantons, les chauffeurs, bref tous ceux qui n'ont pas de qualification professionnelle. Par cadres, on doit entendre aussi bien les contremaîtres que les employés de bureau, comptables ou dactylos, pourvu qu'ils appartiennent à des entreprises privées. Sous la rubrique « fonctionnaires » se rangent tous ceux qui appartiennent à la fonction publique, du cadre local ou général : policiers, fonctionnaires du gouvernement, ou employés de la municipalité. Pour chaque ethnie, la première ligne donne les pourcentages dans les quartiers, et la seconde les pourcentages correspondants dans les Cités. La ligne du bas présente le résultat global, et les deux précédentes, les résultats dans les quartiers et dans les Cités.

Ce tableau mérite un bref commentaire :

1° Il n'y a que fort peu de cultivateurs. On aurait pu croire que la proximité des Niayes du Cap-Vert et l'importance de la culture maraîchère favoriseraient le développement de la main-d'œuvre agricole ; il n'en a rien été. Les terrains en effet sont la propriété des Lébou des villages voisins, et le prix de la location est élevé. Le jardinage reste donc le domaine privilégié des anciens villages de la presqu'île ; Keur-Massar, Thiaroye-sur-Mer et Cambérène.

2° La grosse majorité de la main-d'œuvre est composée de travailleurs non spécialisés : près de 45 % d'ouvriers sans qualification professionnelle.

3° Les Maures ont une place à part : les 2/3 sont des commerçants qui tiennent boutique, et le dernier tiers est composé presque exclusivement de bouchers qui ont été classés parmi les « ouvriers ».

4° Le trait le plus intéressant est la différence qui sépare la structure professionnelle des Cités de celle des quartiers : dans les premières, pas de boutique ni maure ni wolof, et pratiquement pas d'artisan ; dans les seconds, pratiquement 1 travailleur sur 2 n'a pas de qualification professionnelle, tandis que cette proportion tombe à 12 % dans les Cités ; enfin, et surtout, ici sur 3 chefs de famille 2 sont fonctionnaires, là il n'y a plus qu'1 fonctionnaire sur 10.

La raison de ce recrutement est uniquement d'ordre économique. Presque tous les habitants des Cités sont propriétaires de leurs logements ou le deviendront quand ils auront achevé leurs versements. Or ceux-ci s'échelonnent sur 5 ans et ont été calculés de façon que la mensualité à payer ne dépasse pas le quart du salaire perçu, Pour l'habitation le meilleur marché ceci équivaut à un versement de 5 000, donc à un salaire mensuel d'environ 20 000. Un

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

gardien, un boy, ou un manœuvre ne gagnent pas cette somme et sont dans l'incapacité de se procurer un logement de ce type. Les logements des Cités sont donc réservés principalement aux fonctionnaires, puis aux cadres, qui ont un salaire suffisant et assuré. Nous assistons donc ici à l'apparition de ce phénomène de différenciation sociale, observable dans bien d'autres pays africains ; il consiste dans l'existence d'un secteur favorisé de la population, que privilégient les conditions de travail et d'existence, qui se compose de fonctionnaires pour une part notable, et qu'il est pourtant difficile, en l'état actuel des recherches, de caractériser comme bourgeoisie, ou comme classe. A quelle sorte de couche sociale avons-nous affaire ? L'étude du niveau d'instruction et de la scolarisation nous le montrera.

L'enquête ne portait pas spécialement sur le chômage ; néanmoins il est impossible de parler de Pikine sans mentionner l'importance de ce problème. Que le chômage soit considérable, on peut le déduire déjà du fait que la plupart des travailleurs n'ont pas de formation professionnelle qui leur permettrait de trouver un emploi. Ont été considérés comme chômeurs ceux dont l'âge était compris entre 18 et 65 ans, et qui se trouvaient sans travail fixe au moment de l'enquête. Cette catégorie comprend donc non seulement les chômeurs à temps complet, mais également ceux qui « bricolent », trouvant par-ci par-là un petit travail à effectuer pour le compte d'un ami, d'un voisin, ou d'un parent.

Dans la première strate, nous avons relevé 79 chômeurs, et 4 dans la seconde : ce qui conduit au total de 1 580 chômeurs sur une population active masculine de 5 530 : soit un taux de chômage de 29,3 %. Pour les chefs de famille, ce taux est un peu moins élevé : 26,3 %. Voici comment il se distribue selon les groupes ethniques, les classes d'âge et le niveau d'instruction.

TABLEAU 12.

ETHNIE	W	S	T	P	M	B	A	MOY.
% de chômeurs.....	28,9	36,4	23,7	40	42,9	28,6	25	26,3
% de chômeurs.....	lettrés 16				illettrés 29,2			
% de chômeurs.....	20 à 30 ans 25,8		30 à 50 ans 22,7		50 et plus 33,6		Moyenne 26,3	

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

Le chômage est naturellement bien moins élevé chez les lettrés, qui ont tous une qualification professionnelle quelconque, que chez les illettrés; ceux-là sont d'ailleurs pour la plupart des jeunes. La proportion des chômeurs passe par un minimum dans la classe des 30 ans. Le cas des plus de 50 ans est plus sérieux, car il s'agit en général de gens à qui leur âge, leur manque de qualification professionnelle, et la date souvent tardive de leur immigration compromettent gravement leur chance de trouver un emploi.

Notons pour terminer que le taux de chômage des Toucouleur est le plus bas, bien que leur âge d'immigration soit le plus élevé et que leur compétence moyenne ne dépasse pas celle des autres groupes ethniques. Ce fait tient, comme l'ont montré les enquêtes sur la migration toucouleur de la MISOES et de A. Diop, à la solidarité agissante de l'ethnie : certaines professions sont leur monopole, et quand un Toucouleur occupant un emploi veut repartir au Fouta, il veillera à ce qu'un de ses « frères » prenne sa succession. Sans doute la même solidarité est-elle partout à l'œuvre, il ne semble pas qu'elle possède la même efficacité.

Un dernier point reste à traiter : où vont travailler les habitants de Pikine ? On compte deux principaux lieux de travail : Dakar, et Pikine même. En plus un certain nombre de travailleurs sont employés soit dans les Niayes, soit dans les entreprises situées sur la route de Rufisque en dehors de Dakar à l'intérieur de la presqu'île du Cap-Vert, et quelques-uns vont encore plus loin, notamment quelques marchands de bétail ou quelques colporteurs dont la résidence fixe est à Pikine. Voici par quartiers les pourcentages respectifs des travailleurs employés dans les différents lieux :

Tableau 13.

	Quartiers	Cités	Moyenne générale
Dakar	66,4	95,2	70,4
Pikine	26,7	4,8	22,7
Cap Vert	6,1	0	5,3
Ailleurs	0,8	0	0,6
Total	100	100	100

Les Pikinois qui travaillent sur place doivent être divisés en deux catégories : d'un côté les employés de l'ICOTAF (Industrie

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

Cotonnière africaine) ; de l'autre les commerçants et les artisans. Ceux qui ont dépassé la cinquantaine se déplacent plus difficilement, comme le montre la comparaison des trois taux suivants :

Proportion des plus de 50 ans sur la main-d'œuvre active.	25,3%
Proportion des plus de 50 ans sur les travailleurs à Pikine.	37 %
Proportion des plus de 50 ans sur les travailleurs à Dakar.	16 %

Les vieux préfèrent donc les métiers traditionnels, de bijoutiers, tailleurs, commerçants, qu'il est possible d'exercer sur place.

Si l'on considère que la main-d'œuvre active masculine se chiffre à 5 530 personnes et que environ 70 % de cette main-d'œuvre se rend à Dakar pour y travailler, on peut évaluer à près de 2 800 le nombre de travailleurs dont le lieu d'emploi est situé à Dakar. Une autre question portant sur la fréquence des voyages à Dakar montre que 62 % de la main-d'œuvre totale, c'est-à-dire environ 3 700 effectuent le trajet au moins une fois par jour. Ce qui signifie que non seulement les travailleurs mais également les chômeurs se rendent à Dakar journalièrement. Dakar exerce donc son attraction sur les travailleurs de Pikine d'une double manière : comme lieu d'emploi actuel, et comme lieu d'embauche possible. Les deux principaux moyens de transport sont : pour les fonctionnaires les cars dits du « G. G. », grâce auxquels ils peuvent revenir déjeuner à midi, et pour les autres en très grosse majorité, les cars rapides ; seuls quelques-uns ont des moyens de transport personnels, mobylettes ou voitures. La durée du trajet automobile de Pikine au marché de Sandaga varie de 20 minutes à plus d'une demi-heure selon les difficultés de la circulation. Il faut y ajouter le temps nécessaire pour se rendre, à pied dans le sable, de la concession à l'arrêt du car rapide. Très schématiquement, on peut dire que le travailleur quitte son domicile le matin vers 7 h, et y revient le soir entre 18 h 45 et 19 h, à condition qu'il n'ait pas de courses à faire sur le chemin. Cette rapide analyse met donc en évidence le rôle de « commune-dortoir » que Pikine joue dans une certaine mesure par rapport à Dakar.

Après la main-d'œuvre masculine, il faut dire un mot du travail féminin. La grande majorité des femmes n'a pas d'autre occupation que celle des travaux ménagers : plus des 2/3. Les 32 % qui tirent un revenu monétaire de leur travail, se répartissent de manières très diverses ; voici en pourcentage la distribution des occupations féminines :

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

Coiffeuses (occupation souvent tenue par les griotes)...	4,5
Commanditaires de tisserands.....	2,2
Teinturières.....	3,7
Vendeuses au marché ou à l'étalage.....	15,5
Femmes de ménage, blanchisseuses.....	4,5
Ouvrières.....	0,8
Autres.....	68,8
Total.....	100

La coiffure est plus une prestation coutumière qu'un travail rémunéré ; il est exécuté le plus souvent par des femmes castées, griotes ou bijoutières, en échange de l'argent ou des cadeaux que celles-ci reçoivent des familles « libres » ou « nobles » — le terme wolof est « guer » — dont elles sont les griotes attitrées. Il n'est pas rare de rencontrer au bord d'une des rues sableuses, à l'ombre d'un mur, un groupe de femmes dont l'une tresse les cheveux d'une autre, allongée à plat ventre, la tête sur les genoux de sa coiffeuse.

Également traditionnelles sont les occupations de teinturière ou de commanditaire de tisserand. A l'extrême opposé se trouve l'ouvrière de la CAFAL qui travaille quotidiennement, à heure fixe, contre un salaire déterminé. Il n'y en a que quelques-unes dans notre échantillon, et qui, toutes, sont des Sérère. Dans cette rubrique de travail moderne, il faut également classer les femmes qui font le ménage ou qui sont blanchisseuses. Leur emploi du temps est en effet beaucoup moins fantaisiste que celui des premières catégories. Entre les deux, il faut placer l'occupation la plus importante : celle de commerçante. Et là il serait encore nécessaire de distinguer plusieurs catégories de commerçantes : celles qui tiennent boutique ou étalage, à côté de chez elles, celles qui vont vendre au marché de Pikine, et enfin celles qui vont tous les jours de Pikine à Dakar pour vendre leurs légumes et leurs produits à Kermel ou à Sandaga.

D'autre part, les réponses positives sont trop nombreuses pour qu'on puisse les ventiler utilement par ethnies et dégager ainsi les principaux comportements ethniques. Tout au plus est-il possible que les métiers les plus insérés dans le rythme moderne, comme les deux dernières catégories avec les vendeuses des marchés dakarois sont tenus par des femmes wolof ou sérère. Le taux d'activité de ces dernières est d'une manière générale proportionnellement le plus élevé, puisqu'on compte près de 40 % des femmes wolof ou sérère qui exercent une activité en dehors du ménage,

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

tandis que cette proportion tombe à 13 % pour les Toucouleur, et les autres ethnies.

Un dernier point mérite d'être signalé : si l'on trouve quelques femmes adonnées aux occupations traditionnelles dans l'échantillon des Cités, si même on peut y apercevoir un ou deux étalages, en revanche nous n'y avons rencontré aucune femme qui travaille à l'extérieur comme vendeuse, ménagère ou dactylo; les travailleuses de notre échantillon se trouvent toutes dans la strate Quartiers.

En conclusion, on peut dire que l'acculturation au milieu urbain par le travail moderne semble avoir provisoirement laissé de côté le monde féminin. Si l'on excepte les secteurs wolof et sérère de la population féminine, les autres sont restés inentamés. Ce n'est que sous la forte pression des motifs économiques que les femmes se résignent à aller travailler, et les femmes sérère font preuve de plus d'initiative que les autres. Mais que vienne à cesser cette contrainte, et la femme reprend son comportement traditionnel : ménagère, et rien que ménagère. Ce retour à la tradition peut paraître étonnant ; il s'explique par le niveau d'instruction de ceux que nous avons dénommés « lettrés ». C'est ce point qu'il convient à présent d'étudier.

IV. — Niveau d'instruction et scolarisation.

Si l'appartenance à un groupe ethnique déterminé constitue un conditionnement fondamental, antérieur à l'installation en ville, le niveau d'instruction par contre est à la fois signe et facteur de l'acculturation. A ce titre il possède donc lui aussi une importance considérable lorsqu'il s'agit d'étudier les variations possibles des comportements, des attitudes et des opinions. Les premiers résultats ont montré que c'était en effet, avec le groupe ethnique, les deux principaux critères de croisement. Mais, au début de l'enquête, outre l'opposition primordiale entre illettrés et lettrés, nous pensions pouvoir distinguer deux groupes à l'intérieur de cette dernière catégorie. En fait le groupe des lettrés est trop peu nombreux, le degré d'instruction trop limité — parmi les chefs de famille de l'échantillon aucun n'a fait d'études secondaires — pour qu'on puisse conserver cette subdivision. Ont donc été considérés comme lettrés tous ceux qui avaient eu un minimum de scolarisation : depuis le cours élémentaire 2e année, jusqu'au C. E. P., avec parfois un C. A. P. quelconque.

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

Néanmoins en combinant la scolarisation et la connaissance du français, nous avons pu ventiler les chefs de famille de l'échantillon en 3 catégories ; la 1re comprend les illettrés qui ne comprennent pas le français, sinon quelques mots ; la seconde, ceux qui ont une connaissance « sommaire » de la langue : il s'agit évidemment là d'un critère en partie subjectif, qui tient à l'appréciation de l'enquêteur. En fait le test décisif fut le suivant : étaient considérés comme possédant une connaissance sommaire du français, ceux dont l'interview de la seconde enquête s'est déroulé en français, en ne faisant que rarement appel à l'interprète. Il n'y a que très peu de cas où la conclusion obtenue par l'application de ce test n'a pas confirmé le jugement précédent de l'enquêteur.

La 3e catégorie enfin comprend les « lettrés » au sens où nous les avons définis plus haut.

Le tableau suivant représente la ventilation en pourcentage de ces trois catégories à l'intérieur de chaque ethnie ; en plus, les Cités ont été séparées des quartiers, et la dernière ligne donne la moyenne pour l'ensemble de Pikine.

TABLEAU 14.

ETHNIE		W	S	T	P	M	B	A	MOY.
Quartiers	Il.	45,7	9,1	31,6	20	21,4	37,5	31,5	43,3
	S.	33	27,3	50	60	78,6	50	50	39,5
	L.	21,3	63,6	18,4	20	0	12,5	18,7	17,2
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Cités	Il.	11,7	0	0	0	0	0	0	4,9
	S.	23,6	0	50	50	—	20	0	28,5
	L.	64,7	100	50	50	—	80	100	66,6
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Moyenne générale	Il.	43,8	56	27,28	9,1	78,6	28,5	28,5	40
	S.	32,8	24	50	77	21,4	43	45,8	38,5
	L.	23,4	20	22,72	13,9	0	28,5	25,7	21,5
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note : Il = illettrés ; S = connaissance sommaire du français.

Trois principaux faits se dégagent de la lecture de ce tableau avec évidence :

1) Le petit nombre des lettrés : un peu plus d'un chef de famille sur 5 a reçu un début de formation scolaire.

2) La grande différence entre les Cités et les autres quartiers : le pourcentage des lettrés dans les Cités est presque le quadruple du pourcentage correspondant dans les quartiers.

3) La situation très particulière des Maures : ceux-ci apparaissent nettement réfractaires à l'instruction moderne, et ne témoignent pas non plus d'une aptitude ou d'un désir très poussé pour l'étude du français. Ce trait est caractéristique de l'originalité de la communauté maure; mais il n'est pas seulement signe, il est également facteur, et, comme tel, il contribue fortement au repli sur soi de cette communauté, et à son isolement culturel au milieu de la civilisation urbaine naissante. Le Maure a réussi à s'intégrer à la ville — il serait plus juste de dire : s'insérer dans la ville — sans changer grand chose à ses habitudes de vie, et en gardant intacte l'homogénéité compacte du groupe.

Il faut également relever une autre tendance, bien que moins nette que les précédentes : les chefs de famille wolof et sérère qui ne parlent pas français, sont supérieurs en nombre à ceux qui le parlent ; au contraire cette proportion est inverse dans les autres ethnies. Probablement faut-il chercher la cause de ce changement dans le fait que Pikine est une ville proche des régions wolof et que le wolof y est la langue véhiculaire. Les Toucouleur, Bambara, Soussou, ou Mossi viennent de beaucoup plus loin, ils ont « bourlingué » souvent en plusieurs endroits avant d'aboutir à Dakar, et cette expérience n'a pas été sans leur donner quelques rudiments de français, acquis au cours de leurs migrations antérieures.

La ventilation des résultats précédents, non plus selon l'ethnie mais selon la classe d'âge, donne d'autres indications, qui en même temps confirment indirectement la remarque ci-dessus.

TABLEAU 15.

CLASSE D'AGE	20-30	30-50	50 et +
Illettrés	38,7	34,1	60,2
Connaissance sommaire	6,5	41,9	30,6
Lettrés	54,8	24	9,2
Total	100	100	100

Le pourcentage des lettrés par rapport à l'ensemble d'une classe d'âge diminue à mesure que l'âge augmente. Il y a proportionnellement six fois plus de jeunes qui ont reçu un début de formation scolaire que de vieux. En outre, chez les jeunes de 20 à 30 ans, ou bien on a été à l'école, ou bien on ne connaît pas le français, parce qu'on n'a pas eu l'occasion de l'apprendre en dehors de l'école. Les générations présentent donc une différence sensible, et celle-ci ne peut aller qu'en s'accentuant, comme le montre la considération des effectifs scolaires actuels.

Voici en premier le tableau du taux de scolarisation : il concerne les enfants de 7 à 14 ans répartis par ethnies et par sexe.

TABLEAU 16.

ETHNIES	W	S	T	P	M	B	A	TOTAL
Filles	32,65	88,6	46,9	50	100	75	61,54	47,32
Garçons	92,5	64,7	79,16	66,6	44,4	72,2	75,86	82,6
Filles + garçons	52,58	75	56,16	55,5	68,7	73,5	69	63,9

La comparaison avec les résultats de l'enquête menée l'année précédente, malgré les variations possibles de l'échantillonnage, indique un net progrès pour les filles, de 62,5 à 82,6 % pour les garçons, et en moyenne, de 45,3 à 63,9. Il reste néanmoins un gros effort à faire, spécialement du côté de la population féminine, puisqu'une fille sur deux ne va pas encore à l'école. Distinguons maintenant les taux de fréquence scolaire dans les Cités et dans les quartiers.

TABLEAU 17.

ETHNIES	W	S	T	P	M	B	A	TOTAL
Q	25,75	71,74	39	50	100	66,6	58,33	40,69
Filles								
C	93,33	100	75	—	—	100	100	89,13
Q	91,66	63,5	76,2	50	44,44	75	76,9	81,2
Garçons								
C	100	100	100	100	—	100	66,6	96,9
Q	60,1	66,6	51,6	50	68,7	71,4	68	60
Total F + G								
C	99	100	81,8	100	—	100	80	91

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

La différence est grande entre le comportement scolaire des Cités et celui des quartiers. D'abord le total : presque tous les enfants vont à l'école dans les Cités, 9 sur 10, tandis que cette proportion s'abaisse à 3 sur 5 dans les quartiers.

D'autre part le retard des filles, qui était particulièrement marqué chez les Wolof et les Toucouleur, disparaît presque complètement chez les Wolof des Cités, tandis qu'une fille toucouleur sur 4 dans les Cités continue de ne pas aller à l'école.

De toutes manières, on constate un changement radical qui sépare les générations : celle des parents actuels est en majorité illettrée, et ne connaît que peu le français. La situation va se renverser avec la génération qui monte grâce à l'effort d'équipement scolaire. Ce bouleversement sera encore plus sensible dans la population féminine, puisque dans 20 ans, plus de la moitié des mères de famille habitant Pikine auront été à l'école, tandis qu'à présent on en compte à peine quelques-unes.

V. — Religion.

Un dernier facteur doit être étudié en raison de son influence culturelle considérable : celui de la religion. A Pikine, l'immense majorité des habitants sont musulmans : de sorte que, outre l'appartenance à une confession religieuse proprement dite, nous avons distingué l'appartenance à une secte islamique déterminée. Ce qui conduit à 5 catégories différentes à l'intérieur de l'Islam : deux de celles-ci sont des sectes de grande extension géographique, les Tidjanes et les Khadres, une est propre au Sénégal, le Mouridisme, une se rencontre surtout dans la région du cap Vert, les Layens ; enfin quelques individus, tout en se disant musulmans, déclarent n'appartenir à aucune secte.

Voici (p. 184) le tableau des diverses sectes ou confessions religieuses qui se partagent les habitants de Pikine ; d'abord en chiffres absolus et puis en pourcentages.

Il suffit de souligner les points que ces tableaux mettent clairement en lumière. D'abord la prépondérance numérique des Tidjanes sur l'ensemble des autres confessions. A elle seule la secte compte plus de la moitié de la population. Il n'y a que chez les Sérère où le mouridisme domine ; dans toutes les autres ethnies il se trouve soit inexistant, soit occupant la seconde place comme chez les Wolof.

En second lieu, si le tidjanisme prédomine chez les Wolof,

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

TABLEAU 18. — Religions.

RELIGION	WOLOF	SÉRÈRE	TOUCOULEUR	SARAKOLÉ	PEUL	MAURE	BAMBARA	AUTRE	TOTAL
Tidjanes	8 790	340	3 990	680	1 000	40	460	120	15 420
Khadres	1 070	280	170	280	280	1 120	940	810	4 950
Mourides	5 760	740	480	—	—	20	—	80	7 080
Layens	200	0	100	—	—	0	—	—	300
Sans secte	130	20	120	—	—	80	—	—	350
Catholiques	40	230	0	—	—	0	40	370	680
Total	15 990	1 610	4 860	960	1 280	1 260	1 440	1 380	28 780

TABLEAU 19.

RELIGION	WOLOF	SÉRÈRE	TOUCOULEUR	SARAKOLÉ	PEUL	MAURE	BAMBARA	AUTRE	TOTAL
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Tidjanes	54,97	21,11	82,1	70,8	78,1	3,1	31,9	8,7	53,58
Khadres	6,7	17,39	3,5	29,2	21,9	89	65,3	58,7	17,2
Mourides	36,02	45,96	9,87			1,5		5,8	24,6
Layens	1,25	0	2,06						1
Sans secte	0,81	1,24	2,47			6,4			1,22
Cathol.	0,25	14,3	0				2,8	26,8	2,36
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

et à une forte majorité chez les Toucouleur, les Peul et les Sarakolé [1], dans les autres groupes ce sont les Khadres qui l'emportent.

Enfin, Pikine n'est pas une ville où l'élément chrétien tienne une place importante ; sans doute est-il difficile de juger en partant d'un échantillon de catholiques aussi restreint ; néanmoins le pourcentage obtenu correspond à celui qu'avait trouvé le P. Martin l'an dernier : 2,36 % au lieu de 2 %. La minorité chrétienne

(1) Nous avons séparé les Sarakolé des Toucouleur, parce qu'il existe entre eux une légère différence de comportement religieux.

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

est représentée surtout par l'élément sérère et casamançais. Notons simplement que ce pourcentage est légèrement supérieur dans les Cités à ce qu'il est dans les quartiers : 13,7 % au lieu de 0,9 %.

Le tableau de la distribution des chefs de ménage — femmes comprises cette fois-ci — par ethnie et par religion offre un point utile de comparaison.

TABLEAU 20.

ETHNIE / RELIGION	W	S	T	P	M	B	A	MOY.
Tidjanes	48,2	27	74,5	78,6	7,1	22,2	11,4	47,4
Khadres	3,6	13,5	11,2	14,3	85,8	74,1	54,3	16,9
Mourides	45,3	43,3	10,1	—	—	—	5,7	29,7
Layens	2,3	—	2,1	—	—	—	—	1,6
Sans secte	0,3	5,4	2,1	7,1	7,1	—	—	1,6
Catholiques	0,3	10,8	—	—	—	3,7	28,6	2,8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Rapprochons le pourcentage moyen de ce tableau de celui du précédent : nous voyons que la proportion des Tidjanes et des Khadres diminue lorsqu'on passe de la population totale à la catégorie des chefs de ménage, tandis que cette proportion augmente dans le cas des Mourides. Ce phénomène indique simplement que les foyers tidjanes et khadres sont relativement plus nombreux que les foyers mourides, comme le confirme le tableau suivant qui nous donne le nombre moyen d'individus par foyers selon l'appartenance religieuse :

TABLEAU 21.

CONFESSION	TID.	KH.	MOUR.	LAY.	S. SEC.	CATH.
Nombre moyen d'individus par foyers	5,86	5,27	4,29	3,33	3,88	4,25

Précisons que cette remarque s'applique aux Wolof, car la différence de pourcentage dans le cas des Sérère ou des Toucouleur est trop faible pour qu'on puisse en tirer une indication valable.

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

Comparons maintenant l'appartenance religieuse des Cités et des quartiers. Toujours en pourcentages à l'intérieur de chacune de ces 2 catégories nous avons le tableau suivant pour les chefs de famille masculins.

TABLEAU 22.

CONFESSION	TID.	KH.	MOUR.	LAY.	SANS SECT.	CATH.	TOT.
% Quartiers	46,6	16	32,3	1,6	1,6	1,9	100
% Cités	54,8	19	7,1	2,4	2,4	14,3	100

On observe donc deux mouvements inverses : d'un côté le pourcentage de toutes les sectes augmente quand on passe des quartiers aux cités ; de l'autre, ce pourcentage diminue dans le cas des Mourides, qui sont relativement et absolument beaucoup plus nombreux dans les quartiers que dans les Cités. On pourrait, à partir de là, gloser sur l'incompatibilité du mouridisme et de la construction en dur. Plutôt que de nous lancer dans des interprétations aventureuses, contentons-nous d'observer le fait et de noter qu'il va dans le même sens que la constatation suivante, obtenue à partir des pourcentages respectifs des lettrés et des illettrés de chaque secte.

TABLEAU 23.

CONFESSION	TID.	KH.	MOUR.	LAY.	SANS SECTE	CATH.	MOY.
Lettrés	22	8,5	10,3	22,2	11,2	50	21,5
Illettrés	78	91,5	89,7	77,8	88,8	50	78,5
Total	100						100

Le nombre des musulmans sans secte déclarée est trop réduit pour donner une indication valable. Le petit nombre des lettrés parmi les Khadres vient des Maures et leur proportion double si l'on ne tient pas compte de ceux-ci. Il ne reste donc que les Mourides chez lesquels la proportion de lettrés n'atteint pas la moitié

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

du pourcentage moyen : 10,3 au lieu de 21,5. Si l'on ne peut pas dire que le mouridisme favorise l'analphabétisme directement, on ne peut pas dire non plus qu'il développe chez ses adeptes le goût et le désir de l'instruction ; le fait précédent tendrait plutôt à montrer qu'il joue le rôle d'un frein, volontaire ou involontaire, dans la mesure même où l'analphabétisme constitue une force d'inertie à vaincre et où l'instruction au contraire s'engendre elle-même. En tout cas, l'élite intellectuelle de la population de Pikine se recrute de préférence dans les autres sectes.

VI. — Habitat et Famille.

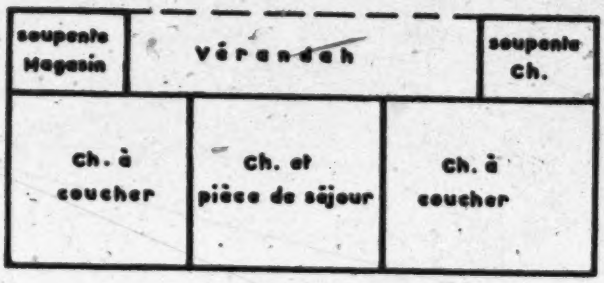
Après avoir présenté les cadres sociaux de la société globale de Pikine, nous terminerons cette rapide étude en exposant d'abord les facteurs matériels qui conditionnent son mode d'existence, puis un certain nombre de considérations générales qui concernent la structure de la famille urbaine.

1) Les conditions de logement.

Au premier rang de ces facteurs matériels se place le logement. En quoi est construite la case, combien de pièces, quel est le mode d'occupation, etc. ? Toutes sortes de questions, auxquelles il est nécessaire de répondre pour donner une image réelle des conditions dans lesquelles vivent la plupart des familles de Pikine. Ce qui suit ne concerne évidemment que les quartiers, sauf quand nous préciserons qu'il est également question des Cités. Sur un échantillon de 281 constructions, on en dénombre 206 en bois, 45 en dur, 12 en « cristing » (1) et 18 en paille. Le matériau principal, employé dans plus de 75 % des cas, est donc le bois, que l'on rencontre sous toutes les formes : longues planches de construction, bouts de caisse, etc. La qualité du bois, la compétence professionnelle des artisans, la grandeur de la case et la disposition des pièces, tous ces éléments en se combinant donnent naissance à des types très variés de construction, qui vont de l'extrême délabrement de la case à une pièce, aux planches disjointes, au toit troué avec un sol sableux, à peine plus grande qu'une niche à chien, jusqu'au chalet confortable composé de plusieurs pièces, avec plafond, véranda, et dont le prix peut dépasser 200 000 francs.

(1) On appelle « cristing » des murs dont l'armature est composée de sortes de joncs tressés et qui sont dès recouverts d'un revêtement de sable et de ciment.

Si l'on excepte ces cas extrêmes qui sont rares, la plupart des habitations en bois peuvent se répartir en trois types principaux. Le premier, c'est la case de deux pièces, longue d'environ 6 ou 7 m, et large de 3 à 3,5 m. Le second est construit de la même manière, mais comprend une troisième pièce, qui augmente la longueur de 3 ou 4 m. Deux types d'un modèle purement fonctionnel dont l'utilité consiste à fournir un abri pour les objets personnels et un toit pour la nuit. Dans le troisième type apparaît la « véranda », qui le distingue des deux premiers : matériellement d'abord, elle augmente la taille de l'habitation qui atteint une largeur de 5 ou 6 m ; de l'autre côté, cet élément nouveau, surperflu



si l'on peut dire, car il s'agit là d'un bien nécessaire — introduit déjà un peu de complexité dans l'agencement des pièces, et favorise de ce fait une certaine organisation de la vie familiale autour d'un centre. Le plus souvent, d'ailleurs, ce début n'est qu'une ébauche, qui reproduit le même modèle (voir croquis ci-dessus) ; néanmoins cette ébauche a le mérite d'exister et de traduire dans la matière, dans le milieu environnant, cet effort esquissé vers une « home-life » de type moderne.

Dans presque tous les cas le sol est légèrement surélevé et cimenté. Le plafond ne se rencontre pratiquement pas, et le toit est construit soit à l'aide de tôle en métal ou en fibro-ciment, soit d'une armature en bois recouverte de papier goudronné, pour les déshérités.

Quelle est la disposition de la case à l'intérieur de la parcelle ? Il est pratiquement impossible de répondre à cette question, car il ne semble pas y avoir de règle générale, tantôt la case est en bordure de la rue et forme clôture, tantôt elle est au fond de la parcelle face à la route, tantôt elle s'allonge perpendiculairement le long d'une parcelle voisine. Le seul fait certain est que l'on ne ren-

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

contre pas de case en bois d'une certaine importance au milieu du terrain. Ceci est compréhensible puisque la parcelle mesure environ 15 sur 11. Mais là encore, les petites constructions d'une pièce en bois ou en paille, font exception à la règle, et se trouvent réparties un peu au hasard de la concession.

Chaque propriétaire ou locataire aime bien voir sa parcelle clairement délimitée, et la clôture est la règle générale. Mais les formes en sont fort diverses, et ceci dans une même parcelle : depuis la case elle-même ou un grand mur en dur, jusqu'à la ligne de piquets en passant par le simple entassement d'agglomérés. En tout cas, rares sont les parcelles qui ne sont pas fermées complètement, en laissant simplement un accès sur la rue.

Que trouve-t-on à l'intérieur de la parcelle en plus de la ou des constructions servant de logement ? Deux choses : un petit réduit abritant le fourneau malgache et servant de cuisine, puis dans un coin de la parcelle, un enclos entouré de secco, avec une bouilloire contenant l'eau nécessaire aux ablutions, et d'où se dégage une odeur ammoniaquée caractéristique, insuffisante toutefois pour incommoder les habitants.

Complétons cette description par le tableau du nombre de constructions, ventilées selon le nombre de pièces et le matériau employé.

TABLEAU 24.

MATÉRIAU \ NOMBRE DE PIÈCES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 et +	TOTAL
Bois	46	67	27	25	27	4	10	206
Dur	9	15	16	2	2	1	0	45
Crinting	3	3	1	0	2	3	0	12
Paille (1)	7	7	1	1	2	0	0	18
Total	65	91	45	29	33	8	10	281

Plus de 50 % des constructions en bois (113 sur 206) n'ont qu'une ou deux pièces, c'est-à-dire se rangent dans la première catégorie. L'ensemble de l'habitat ne témoigne donc pas d'un niveau de vie très élevé.

(1) Chaque case de paille ne comporte qu'une pièce. Quand nous les avons réparties sous les rubriques 2, 3 ou 5 pièces, cela veut dire qu'il y a 2, 3 ou 5 cases en paille dans la même parcelle.

Ceci est encore plus vrai si l'on considère maintenant l'équipement des cases. 228 foyers sur 258, près de 90 % n'ont ni eau, ni électricité, ni W.-C. dans la concession ; 26 ont l'électricité seulement ; 1 a les W.-C. sans eau courante ni électricité, 1 également les W.-C. plus l'électricité (dans ces deux cas les W.-C. se composent d'une fosse septique creusée dans le sable d'un coin de la parcelle par l'intéressé sous le contrôle du Service d'hygiène). Un a l'eau et l'électricité. 10 % des foyers s'éclairent donc à l'électricité, et le reste au pétrole, ce qui est fort peu dans une ville où sauf dans les tout derniers quartiers il est possible de faire installer un compteur dans chaque parcelle. Cependant, l'ingéniosité et l'entraide suppléent à la pauvreté d'équipement ; et si l'on rencontre un pourcentage de propriétaires d'appareils de radio bien supérieur à 10 %, c'est que dans nombre de cas le possesseur branche sa radio sur le courant qui arrive chez son voisin immédiat ou... lointain.

L'inconvénient le plus grave tant du point de vue hygiène que du point de vue confort, résulte de l'absence totale d'équipement sanitaire. Sans doute, un enclos dans la parcelle a une destination particulière ; mais ce petit coin ne peut servir à tout, et, pour ceux qui sont en bordure de l'agglomération, c'est la brousse qui sert de lieu d'aisance ; pour les autres, dont la parcelle est située loin de la lisière, ce sont les terrains vagues intérieurs à Pikine. Cet état de fait est néfaste pour bien des raisons : d'abord pour bon nombre d'habitants, c'est une véritable expédition en définitive que d'aller aux cabinets ; que l'on juge de ce que cela représente pour les vieillards ou les malades. En outre c'est malsain, et il suffit pour s'en rendre compte, d'aller un soir d'hivernage après une tornade, respirer cette odeur nauséabonde que le vent chasse des terrains vagues sur le reste de l'agglomération (1).

Dans les Cités, bien que tous ne soient pas possesseurs d'un bloc sanitaire, la situation est meilleure. On compte seulement 12 % des foyers qui n'ont ni eau ni l'électricité ni W.-C., 12 % qui possèdent l'électricité en plus des W.-C. sans poste d'eau dans la concession, 21 % qui ont l'eau et l'électricité, et le reste, soit 34 % qui détient l'équipement moderne complet. Il est à noter d'ailleurs que l'Office de l'Habitat ne construit plus dans son lotissement de constructions sans bloc sanitaire. La différence entre les deux groupes d'habitat est donc très sensible : seules les Cités

(1) Au début de l'année 1961, les Pouvoirs Publics ont entrepris la construction de plusieurs groupes de « douches », à 12 places. On ne peut que souhaiter l'extension du programme prévu et son achèvement rapide.

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

constituent un type de logement moderne, adapté aux exigences de la ville, tandis que dans leur immense majorité les habitants des autres quartiers sont dépourvus du confort qu'offre la ville moderne.

Peut-on dire pour autant qu'ils vivent dans des « bidonvilles » ? Certainement pas. Ce qui caractérise les « bidonvilles », c'est l'entassement de la population dans un espace restreint, et le désordre des baraques. Ici, ce n'est nullement le cas ; les rues, quoique sableuses, sont bien tracées, et, surtout, les parcelles sont grandes ; il y a de l'espace réel avec son retentissement psychologique qui permet aux habitants d'une parcelle de se sentir chez eux. A la question posée plus loin : « qu'est-ce que vous aimez dans votre logement à Pikine ? », les réponses ont mis en évidence l'existence de ce sentiment du « home », du « chez-soi », que l'on associait dans la plupart des cas à l'espace occupé et à la tranquillité qu'il procurait.

Cette réalité matérielle et psychologique de l'espace libre a d'autant plus d'importance que, si l'on rapporte le nombre de pièces utilisées au nombre de personnes, on s'aperçoit que la relative exiguïté des lieux entraîne un entassement indéniable dans bien des cas. Voici (p. 192) le tableau, en chiffre absolus, des foyers qui ont été distribués à la fois selon le nombre de personnes et selon le nombre de pièces. La ligne horizontale donne le nombre de personnes, et la ligne verticale celui des pièces. Par exemple dans la case située à l'intersection de la ligne horizontale n° 2 et de la verticale indiquée par le chiffre 6 et 7, le nombre 12 veut dire qu'il y a 12 ménages dont le nombre de personnes est 6 ou 7 et qui n'occupent que 2 pièces. Le 1er tableau donne la répartition dans les quartiers, le second celle des Cités.

La ligne brisée au milieu du tableau sépare celui-ci en deux parties ; comme une pièce a en général une superficie d'environ 10 m carrés, nous avons considéré que la limite d'une occupation raisonnable était dépassée quand on comptait en moyenne plus de 2 personnes par pièce. A gauche de cette ligne se trouvent donc les ménages qui n'excèdent pas ce rapport de 1 pièce pour 2 personnes, à droite ceux pour lesquels l'occupation devient entassement. Additionnons maintenant tous les chiffres à droite de la ligne de séparation, et rapportons dans chaque tableau ce total des foyers « entassés » au total général. On constate que ce résultat, qu'on peut appeler « indice d'occupation », est beaucoup plus élevé dans les Cités que dans les quartiers : 26,4 % contre 45,2 %. Ce phénomène vient de ce que les familles sont beaucoup plus

TABLEAU 25. — Nombre de pièces par personne. 1) Quartiers.

	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-9	10 à 15	15 et +	TOTAL
1	15	10	11	10	8	4	1	0	0	59
2	4	13	10	15	8	12	3	3	0	68
3	0	5	7	12	4	8	5	1	0	42
4	2	4	1	5	1	7	5	1	0	26
5	0	2	2	4	4	12	9	6	0	39
6	0	1	0	0	0	4	3	3	0	11
7 et +	0	1	0	0	1	2	4	3	1	12
Total	21	36	31	46	26	49	30	17	1	257

nombreuses dans les Cités. Il est possible de le vérifier d'une double manière : d'abord en comparant le nombre moyen de personnes par ménage : ce qui donne 7,43 contre 4,86 ; ou bien en construisant à partir des tableaux précédents l'histogramme des familles nombreuses en pourcentages ; on s'apercevrait alors que la médiane passe dans le 1er cas entre 7 et 8 personnes, et dans le second, entre 4 et 5 ; c'est-à-dire que 47 % des foyers dans les Cités comptent au moins 8 personnes, tandis que dans les quartiers on ne dénombre que 47 % de foyers atteignant ou dépassant 5 personnes.

La même tendance est décelable en ce qui concerne la relation de l'équipement mobilier au nombre de personnes. Nous avons donc dressé un tableau identique au précédent en substituant le nombre de lits au nombre de pièces, car c'est le lit qui constitue l'élément principal du mobilier. Évidemment les renseignements obtenus n'ont pas la même valeur, puisqu'il n'a pas été possible

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

TABLEAU 26. — 2) Cités.

	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-9	10 à 15	15 et +	TOTAL
1										
2			2	1	2	2	1			8
3		1	3		4	4	3	5		20
4	1					1	2	4	1	9
5				1			2		1	4
6						1				1
7										
Total.....	1	1	5	2	6	8	8	9	2	42

de distinguer les diverses sortes de lits : lits à une ou deux places, sommiers en bois ou sommiers métalliques. Néanmoins on constate que le rapport du nombre de personnes au nombre de lits est plus élevé dans les Cités que dans les quartiers. Le résultat global est le suivant : ici 47, là 38 lits pour 100 personnes. On ne compte que 5 ou 6 cas où le lit se réduit à une simple natte jetée à même la terre battue, dans les baraques des quartiers.

Que conclure de ces diverses remarques ? Que de manière générale l'insuffisance des conditions de logement explique pourquoi les Pikinois attachent tant d'importance au terrain de leur parcelle, et pourquoi autant sinon plus que l'intérieur, cet espace est le centre de la vie et de l'activité familiale. Les pièces d'habitation servent essentiellement d'abri pour dormir, et pour protéger un entretien ou un tête-à-tête des regards et des écoutes indiscrètes. De jour, on est mieux dehors que dedans, et c'est la raison pour laquelle la véranda tient tant de place : elle est le trait d'union

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

entre le dehors et le dedans, quand on y est assis, on est dehors, à l'air, et cependant à l'abri de la pluie, du soleil et aussi de la chaleur étouffante du dedans.

En second lieu, il est indéniable que l'augmentation du confort de l'habitat s'accompagne d'un accroissement de la famille. C'est là un phénomène extrêmement important. Pour mieux le comprendre il convient maintenant d'aborder l'étude du groupe occupant la parcelle.

Une première distinction s'impose quant au mode d'occupation. Outre les locataires et les propriétaires de leurs parcelles, il y a aussi ceux qui ne sont ni l'un ni l'autre, et qui sont logés gratuitement dans une baraque ne leur appartenant pas, en général à cause de leurs liens de parenté avec le propriétaire. Voici le tableau en pourcentage de ces 3 catégories ventilées par ethnies.

TABLEAU 27.

ETHNIES	W	S	T	P	M	B	A	MOY.
Propriétaire	67	58	60	53	50	63	68	62
Locataire	19	23	32	30	42	27	18	23
Occupant sans payer	14	19	8	17	8	10	14	15
Total.....	100							100

62 % des occupants sont donc propriétaires, or nous avons vu que seulement 45 % ont été expulsés de Dakar et sont donc devenus de ce fait propriétaires de la parcelle qui leur a été concédée. Par conséquent un certain nombre de chefs de famille, environ 17 %, ne sont propriétaires que parce qu'ils ont acheté leur parcelle. Ce fait témoigne donc que Pikine est devenue une localité recherchée, où il vaut la peine de dépenser de l'argent pour s'établir, et corrobore ainsi l'hypothèse émise plus haut, à savoir que l'évolution de Pikine atteste aujourd'hui un degré indiscutable de maturation urbaine.

Dans les Cités, on ne compte que 9 % de locataires ; tous les autres sont propriétaires ou en voie de l'être. Mais alors que la location d'une pièce dans une baraque située dans les quartiers coûte en moyenne 500 fr, le prix est beaucoup plus élevé dans les Cités, et ce revenu permet au propriétaire, qui de son côté doit verser la mensualité requise à l'Office de l'Habitat, à peine supé-

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

rieure au montant du loyer, d'acquérir au bout de 5 ans un logement en ne versant en définitive qu'une somme dérisoire. Il est difficile d'évaluer la fréquence de cette pratique abusive ; dans notre échantillon, cela fait 3 locataires sur 4.

Un autre point concerne la possibilité de diviser la parcelle en demi-parcelles, ou de s'associer à 2 et même 3 foyers sur le terrain d'une seule parcelle. Cette possibilité n'existe pas dans les Cités, où, pratiquement, les obligations économiques et la disposition de l'habitat impose comme règle de n'avoir qu'un seul foyer par parcelle. Dans le quartier, sur 264 foyers, on en compte 191, soit 72 % qui sont seuls à occuper le terrain, 46 soit 17 % groupés à deux, et 27, soit 11 % groupés à 3.

Les types d'association sont très divers, depuis les ménages qui sont unis par un lien de parenté, et qui représentent 22 % des cas d'association, c'est-à-dire 6 % du total, jusqu'aux foyers vivant dans deux demi-parcelles rigoureusement séparées. Le cas le plus fréquent est constitué par la cohabitation de deux ménages non parents, qui partagent sinon la même baraque du moins la même cour intérieure, chacun ayant son feu et faisant sa cuisine à part. En général les familles ainsi groupées ne comprennent qu'un nombre limité de membres, l'exiguïté d'une demi-parcelle ne favorisant pas l'installation de familles nombreuses. Comme ce facteur n'existe pas dans les Cités, où la parcelle est individuelle, on peut y voir l'une des causes pour lesquelles le nombre moyen d'individus par foyer y est plus élevé qu'ailleurs.

L'analyse de la composition qualitative du groupe familial va dévoiler une autre raison. On peut distinguer schématiquement 4 principales sortes de famille, si on considère sa composition qualitative : l'adulte solitaire, l'adulte vivant avec un ou plusieurs enfants, qu'il s'agisse des siens propres ou de jeunes frères, la famille dite « élémentaire » composée du mari, de sa ou ses femmes, et de leurs enfants, enfin la famille élémentaire à laquelle s'adjoignent soit des parents collatéraux, soit des étrangers ou les deux.

Voici (p. 196) le tableau des pourcentages de ces différents types, ventilés par ethnies ; le premier est celui des quartiers, le second celui des Cités.

Quand on passe des quartiers aux Cités, on constate globalement que :

1° Le nombre des familles élémentaires augmente.

2° La proportion des familles « étendues » — au sens très large du terme — reste la même dans les deux cas.

3° Cet accroissement du taux de la famille conjugale est donc dû à la disparition presque totale dans les Cités des célibataires, vivant seuls ou en compagnie d'enfants qui sont à leur charge, notamment des femmes divorcées.

TABLEAU 28.

ETHNIES	W	S	T	P	M	B	A	MOY.
Type 1	8,4	17,6	7	7,7	21,4	9,1	12,5	9,7
2	9,1	17,6	2,3	7,7	0	9,1	0	7,4
3	39,9	35,3	48,8	61,5	50	54,5	62,5	44,7
4	42,6	29,5	41,9	23,1	28,6	27,3	25	38,2
Total	100							100
Type 1	5,9							2,4
2	0					20		2,4
3	70,6	33,3	50	50	—	60	33,3	57,1
4	23,5	66,7	50	50		20	66,7	38,1
Total	100							100

On peut se demander si ce facteur suffit à lui seul à expliquer cet accroissement du nombre de personnes par ménage que nous avons relevé plus haut. Il existe entre les Cités et les quartiers une autre différence qui peut également contribuer à cette explication : c'est celle du taux de polygamie. Nous entendons par là le nombre de chefs de ménage qui sont polygames rapporté au nombre total de chefs de ménage masculins. Sur 100 chefs de famille, 21 dans les quartiers sont polygames, et 31 dans les Cités. La différence est notable.

L'élévation du niveau de vie, que symbolise et réalise l'accession à un logement en dur pourvu des commodités modernes, semble donc aller de pair avec un accroissement de la polygamie. Un autre facteur doit également être mis en corrélation : le niveau d'instruction. La proportion des polygames chez les lettrés est plus élevée que la proportion correspondante chez les illettrés : 26,5 % contre 21,6 %.

Mais, comme le suggèrent les chiffres précédents, il semble que la cause principale se trouve dans l'amélioration des conditions économiques, et que l'instruction ne joue ici que le rôle d'une

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

cause seconde, celle qui permet précisément l'accès à un revenu plus élevé. Un autre indice va dans le même sens : le nombre moyen de personnes à la charge du chef de famille, personnes qui ne logent pas dans la concession, mais habitent soit en ville, soit au village. Ce nombre moyen augmente nettement pour les Cités : 219 contre 142 personnes à charge pour 100 chefs de famille, en plus des siens qui vivent avec lui.

Il devient possible maintenant de dégager quelques conclusions qui se trouvent au point de convergence des remarques précédentes.

1) Il ne semble pas que ce qu'on désigne sous le nom déplorable de « parasitisme familial (1) » puisse être rendu responsable de l'augmentation relative du nombre de personnes par foyer dans les Cités. Ce fait est explicable par deux autres raisons : d'une part la disparition de foyers réduits de célibataires ou de divorcés, au profit de la famille conjugale ; d'autre part, au sein de cette dernière, un accroissement du nombre d'épouses.

2) La solidarité familiale n'en est pas moins un fait patent tant dans les Cités que dans les quartiers. Elle s'exerce sous deux formes : la première consiste à prendre complètement à sa charge le logement, et l'entretien de frères, de neveux ou de parents quelconques. Elle transparaît dans le chiffre de 38 % de familles dont l'extension déborde le cadre de la famille conjugale proprement dite. Sur ce point les habitants des Cités se comportent à peu près de la même manière que les autres. Mais leur effort est plus grand en ce qui concerne la seconde forme de solidarité familiale : envoyer de l'argent à des parents de manière à payer tout ou partie de leurs frais d'entretien.

3) L'amélioration des conditions de vie et la participation dans une certaine mesure, au confort matériel qu'apporte le milieu urbain, ne se traduisent pas nécessairement par une rupture et un bouleversement des comportements sociaux traditionnels. Au contraire sur deux points, la polygamie et la solidarité familiale, on assiste à un renforcement de ces conduites, et, si l'on peut employer cette terminologie au Sénégal, ce n'est pas de « détribalisation » qu'il faudrait parler, mais de « surtribalisation ».

---

(1) Il ne s'agit pas de nier l'influence négative et paralysante que peut exercer une famille sur les meilleurs de ses membres et qu'on désigne d'ordinaire sous le nom de parasitisme. Mais il ne faut pas méconnaître non plus l'aspect positif de solidarité qui compense les conséquences nocives de la migration et facilite à l'immigrant la transition du milieu traditionnel au milieu urbain.

10: Thoré MS37 Senegal

Conclusion.

Malgré sa jeunesse, Dagoudane-Pikine n'en est pas moins une ville distincte de Dakar, quoique dépendant étroitement de celle-ci. Une ville, par sa superficie, l'importance de sa population, l'effort d'équipement entrepris, notamment sur le plan scolaire, et enfin par le mode de travail offert à une part importante de la population active. Ville typiquement africaine aussi, avec le petit nombre de constructions en dur, son chômage important, le grand nombre de jeunes, et surtout les grosses déficiences des équipements publics : nous n'avons pas parlé de l'équipement sanitaire ; il est encore terriblement insuffisant, bien qu'une pharmacie soit ouverte depuis la fin de l'enquête, que la construction d'une maternité soit en cours... De gros travaux de voirie sont à exécuter.

D'autre part, il est certain que la différence matérielle entre les deux groupes d'habitat, bien distincts géographiquement, entraîne et exprime une différence sociologique indiscutable. La population des Cités jouit de conditions de confort supérieures, elle est mieux acculturée au milieu urbain, le niveau d'instruction y est plus élevé en moyenne, et, sur le plan professionnel, on y compte une grosse proportion de fonctionnaires et de petits cadres de l'industrie et du commerce. Tous ces facteurs contribuent donc à accentuer une certaine séparation entre deux couches sociales. Mais, dans le même temps où l'intégration à la vie et au travail moderne, et la participation aux avantages et aux obligations du milieu urbain éloignent les habitants des Cités des conditions traditionnelles, et par là même, de leurs concitoyens qui ne profitent pas des mêmes avantages, se dessine un mouvement inverse de retour à la tradition ou de renforcement des conduites anciennes. Il n'y a donc pas vraiment rupture : les modèles familiaux, les rapports entre homme et femme changent moins vite que les conditions de logement, et c'est ce qui explique pourquoi l'unité de la société n'est pas atteinte, du moins pas encore, par le changement récent, et pourquoi le style de vie familiale reste le même dans les parcelles des quartiers ou dans les concessions clôturées des Cités. Il appartiendra à un autre travail d'analyser plus exactement les conflits de ces forces contradictoires.

11: Lèques P-5 (1956) 1957 MS37 Senegal

Current Fashion among the Women of Dakar
(Study in Social Psychology)
/La mode actuelle chez les Dakaroises
(Etude de psychologie sociale)/

by R. Lèques

Dakar: 1957
Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire
Vol. 19, pp. 431-445

Translated from the French by Frieda Schütze

Human Relations Area Files

1964

/Title page/

/431/

121 Fashion, from a subjective point of view, represents a fleeting custom that depends on the taste and the whims of individuals. Its range of application is universal. It is thus a social and aesthetic phenomenon of the same order as painting, from which it borrows much.

Like all expressions of art, fashion is a language and a magic. It is also a technique, the different aspects of which may be grouped in three categories: the fabrication of the objects (fabrics and garments), the methods of sale, and the motivations for the purchase.

For the social psychologist the problem of the adaptation of the African to European fashions presents itself.

125 Among the various possible methods of investigation, our choice was directed first of all to direct observations and the method of tests. We have taken into consideration both the ethnic origin and the age of the subjects.

I. Female African Population of Dakar

162 1. Resident population on 6-1-55.

We ascertained:

a) the very distinct predominance of the Wolof group (47.8%).

b) the weak representation of the Sérèr and Diola in relation to the Bambara.

/432/

2. Characteristics of this population:

[191] [212] a) Knowledge of French (14 years old and +):

4,844 women and girls speak our language (2,850 of them write it).

162 463 [294] [386] b) Salaried occupations in crafts and business (14 years old and +):

3,779, of whom: sewing, dressmaking,

lingerie, clothing	609
preparation, dyeing.....	142

S /432 cont./
162 The 609 individuals who derive a profit from the
463 fashion trades are divided ethnically as follows:

[294]

Cape Verde group	243
Wolof group	157
Diola group	48
Lebou group	31
Sérer group	29
Others	101

W [294]

S W [386] The majority of the 142 dyers are Toucouleur /Tukolar/ (77) and Wolof (36).

W [463] Out of 1,455 Wolof women practicing a trade, for their own benefit or salaried, 598 are tradeswomen, 157 in sewing, 110 business employees.

The Lébou women likewise prefer to carry on a business (150 out of 340 counted as workers).

S 125

II. Experimental Research on the Aesthetic Sense of Dakar Women in the Matter of Clothing

For this study, which is only in its beginnings, two methods are used:

-- direct observation of clothing worn for display by a certain number of women.

-- the result of tests conducted among some of them.

/Table I appears here on an unnumbered page./

/433/

A. Direct Observation.

1. Circumstances.

S [114] a) The investigation was conducted in the Médina of Dakar, in the quarters Sapeurs-pompiers /Firemen/ and Champ de courses /Race course/ -- between 9 and 19 November 1956, at the end of an election.

/Between pp. 432 and 433./

S
W
162

Table I. Female Population of Dakar on 6-1-55.

Ethnic Groups	1-9 yrs. old	10/14	15/19	20/24	25/29	30/34	35/39
West Atlantic Gr.							
Wolof	12 830	2 654	3 629	4 630	5 260	3 561	2 555
Lébou	3 980	912	929	1 181	1 263	865	722
Sérère	1 093	251	495	662	676	289	237
Diola	302	106	231	226	173	109	65
Mandjiak	174	26	101	111	74	34	30
Sussu	261	69	90	76	71	37	29
Kisi	39	2	34	26	8	3	1
Kpellé	19	3	13	21	14	3	2
Mankagne	33	11	11	11	7	1	2
Others	146	30	48	57	48	12	16
	18 877	4 064	5 581	7 001	7 596	5 014	3 659
Peul Gr. (N and NE)							
Toucouleur	2 954	545	1 033	1 191	1 366	882	616
Peul	702	142	292	359	348	234	173
Foula	385	61	247	208	168	54	49
Others	614	125	187	257	310	219	146
	4 655	873	1 759	2 015	2 192	1 389	984
Sudanese Gr.							
Bambara	1 045	206	299	290	308	205	158
Serakholé	568	105	190	207	260	150	102
Soninké	227	39	45	71	66	37	26
Malinké	260	46	109	77	74	36	23
Khassonké	147	33	38	40	50	29	26
Mandingue	133	17	30	39	30	19	10
Others	39	6	18	19	14	6	8
	2 419	452	729	743	782	482	329
Others							
CI + Bénin	242	38	52	52	63	35	16
Voltaics	122	14	32	44	31	13	5
Haoussa	26	11	11	11	10	4	1
Af., not Fr. W. Af.	71	16	27	25	21	23	11
Cape Verdians	502	159	180	209	188	127	117
Misc.	13	1	1	8	5	1	—
	986	239	303	349	318	203	150
Totals							

/Left half of table/

11: Lèques--4 P-5 (1956) 1957 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

/Between pp. 432 and 433. /

S
W
162

30/34	35/39	40/44	45/49	50/54	55/59	60/64	65 +	Totals
3 561	2 555	2 007	1 063	1 036	611	608	1 184	41 628
865	722	635	416	370	268	260	496	12 297
389	237	141	78	62	41	34	51	4 212
109	65	47	25	25	10	9	13	1 341
34	30	13	13	1	2	3	1	583
37	29	22	11	7	7	3	5	683
3	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	114
3	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	80
1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	69
12	16	5	4	4	1	—	1	372
5 014	3 659	2 870	1 610	1 505	940	918	1 751	61 379
882	616	452	231	137	85	86	127	9 705
234	173	130	60	56	20	29	50	2 595
54	49	22	19	3	12	2	2	1 223
219	146	112	63	58	34	34	84	2 243
1 389	984	716	373	254	151	151	263	15 775
205	158	128	76	54	40	22	82	2 923
150	102	67	43	34	22	21	23	1 772
37	24	28	14	6	4	6	5	572
36	23	17	4	5	1	1	6	669
29	24	3	6	4	8	2	2	396
19	10	6	5	6	2	5	3	305
6	8	3	1	—	—	—	3	117
482	329	262	149	109	77	67	124	6 754
35	16	8	7	4	2	3	3	535
13	5	3	3	3	4	1	—	285
4	1	2	1	1	—	1	1	80
22	11	14	11	7	12	4	7	249
127	117	136	141	81	82	33	61	2 016
1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	30
203	150	164	163	96	100	42	72	3 195
								87 103

/Right half of table/

/433 cont./

125 b) It was concerned with the "outer" garments of 4,772 women 14 years old and + . the majority of them Wolof and Lébou.

291 Except when the principal garment is of transparent material, it is very difficult to distinguish, not the underclothing in the European sense of the term, but masses of draped or fitted material, indispensable elements of feminine dress in tropical Africa.

2. Results.

a) Classical African clothing (boubous):

Table II

Dominant Colors	Voiles Tulles Organdies	Plain	Lace or Open-work	Printed Wax or Fancy	Dyed (Craft)	Woven (Craft)	Totals
Whites	262	117	81	--	--	--	460
Blacks	95	149	23	--	--	--	267
Violets and mauves	115	52	--	244	--	34	445
Indigos	--	106	--	463	426	--	995
Blues	131	15	20	61	--	--	227
Greens	11	24	--	73	--	--	108
Yellows	106	20	--	58	--	--	184
Oranges	11	3	--	100	--	21	135
Reds	20	3	--	28	--	10	61
Pinks	248	3	45	21	--	--	317
Garnets	13	--	--	9	--	--	22
Ochers	3	--	--	6	--	--	9
Maroons	128	16	4	576	--	--	724
Grays	3	--	9	36	--	--	48
Totals	1,146	508	182	1,675	426	65	4,002

/434/

291 177 b) Clothing of European inspiration (tailles-basses and dresses):

11: Lèques--6 P-5 (1956) 1957 MS37 Senegal MS37
DAKAR
/434/
291
177

Table III

	Tailles-basses			Voiles, Tulles, Organdies, Lace	Dresses						
	Printed	Others	Total		Plain	Printed Cotton	Printed W. and F.	Dyed	Fibranne	Nylon	Total
Whites	--	16	16	17	24	--	--	--	--	3	44
Blacks	--	--	--	21	22	--	--	--	--	--	43
Violets, mauves	11	--	11	19	5	--	50	--	--	--	74
Indigos	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	33	--	--	33
Blues	11	--	11	31	28	14	37	--	6	12	128
Greens	--	--	--	--	--	26	39	--	--	--	65
Yellows	--	--	--	--	--	--	38	--	7	--	45
Oranges	3	--	3	--	--	--	23	--	--	--	23
Reds	--	--	--	--	--	14	--	--	--	--	14
Pinks	3	--	3	12	5	--	34	--	--	10	61
Garnets	5	--	5	--	--	--	17	--	3	--	20
Ochers	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Maroons	49	--	49	--	--	--	87	--	9	--	96
Grays	--	--	--	--	--	--	26	--	--	--	26
	82	16	98	100	84	54	351	33	25	25	672

/Fibranne designates various artificial or synthetic fabrics whose fibers are short and connected by twisting, in contrast to rayon made of continuous fibers./

/434/

291

Table IV. Recapitulation by Color

Colors	Total 1	Total 2	Total 3	General Total
Whites	460	16	44	520
Blacks	267	--	43	310
Violets and mauves	445	11	74	530
Indigos	995	--	33	1,028
Blues	227	11	128	366
Greens	108	--	65	173
Yellows	184	--	45	229
Oranges	135	3	23	161
Reds	61	--	14	75
Pinks	317	3	61	381
Garnets	22	5	20	47
Ochers	9	--	--	9
Maroons	724	49	96	869
Grays	48	--	26	74
	4,002	98	672	4,772

The Wax and Fancy printed fabrics are always bicolored or multicolored. Our tables, however, only include simple colors without variations, because the latter are too numerous. We have therefore classified these fabrics by the color of the background, or by the dominant note registered visually.

/435/ /There is no side-heading numbered 3./

4. Interpretation

a) Colors:

The indigo colors take first place (24.86% of the boubous and 21.54% of the whole), thanks to:

--the quality of the European industry--especially Dutch and English--which permits printing designs.

/435 cont. /

291 in vivid and distinct colors on an indigo background, without overlappings.

[288] -- the presence in Dakar of an industry which manufactures "guinées" /cotton cloth/ and "sucretons";

[386] -- the survival of a traditional craft of dyers that still had 142 representatives in 1955.

The family of maroons takes second place (18.09% of the boubous and 18.21% of the whole).

In third place we find the violets and mauves, and in practically the same place the whites (about 11% in each category).

b) Classical African style:

-- Clothing for display, the mboubeu (1), or boubou,

[192] 1. Boubou is an incorrect pronunciation of the Wolof term mboubeu = woman's clothing in general, a full simple tunic.

[177] is always in favor (4,002 as against 770 garments of European inspiration, 83.86% as against 16.14%).

-- But in this category the Wax and Fancy printed fabrics are in regression (1,675 = 41.85% as against 2,412 = 56.52%).

291 177 c) Style of European inspiration:

-- The taille-basse, a kind of blouse that terminates at the waist in a circular flounce 20 to 25 centimeters wide, is combined either with a draped loincloth /pagne, a long strip of material/ or a sewed skirt. Most often the two pieces are made of the same material.

It is worn especially by the young girls (out of 52 women tested, 40 young girls, 25 of whom habitually wore tailles-basses).

-- The dress, worn by women of fashion in African life, is long in 99% of the cases.

/435 cont./

291 It is sometimes difficult to differentiate it from the
177 boubou when it is merely a long, sewed tunic.

It presents different variations (straight, pleated at the waist; round neck, square, etc.; its sleeves plain, puffed .... not reaching below the elbow).

/436/

291 d) Evolution:

In observing the different styles of clothing worn by women of different ages, one has a history of the evolution of the cut in the course of the last 20 years.

Among these 4,772 subjects, we have in fact noted at random: 4 women (from 50 to 55 years old), of whom:

2 wore 1 Fancy print boubou
+ 1 camisole
+ 3 loincloths, of which 1 was made by a weaver
+ 1 Jacquard
+ 1 cotton print

2 -- 1 voile boubou
+ 1 camisole
+ 3 loincloths, of which 1 was from a weaver
1 Jacquard
1 Fancy

4 women from 40 to 50 years old:

2 wore 1 voile boubou
+ 1 cotton-print loincloth
+ 1 Fancy loincloth

1 -- 1 voile boubou
+ 1 Fancy dress
1 Fancy loincloth

1 -- 1 voile boubou
+ 1 Fancy dress
+ 1 Jacquard loincloth

4 women from 30 to 40 years old:

2 wore 1 voile boubou
+ 1 dress

1 -- 1 Fancy boubou
+ 1 dress

/436 cont./

291 1 wore 1 Fancy boubou
+ 1 loincloth

/437/

4 women from 20 to 30 years old:

1 wore 1 voile boubou + 1 Fancy loincloth

1 -- 1 dress + 1 loincloth

2 -- 1 dress

4 young girls:

2 wore 1 taille-basse + loincloth

2 -- 1 dress

Corresponding to this evolution of style, there is an evolution in the choice patterns of printed materials and of the quality of these materials.

When it is a matter of a dress, one sees affirmed more and more the abandonment of large patterns of one or 1.20 X 1.20 meters, and, on the contrary, a choice of simple lines, of flowers, leaves, birds, heightened by a harmony of warm but not gaudy colors.

Similarly, the light cotton fabrics (Citec) are more and more in demand.

B. Method of the Tests.

121 1) General remarks.

"Among the objects that determine positive or negative feelings, one particular category consists of those about which it is said that they are 'beautiful' or 'ugly,' that is to say, of those that do or do not satisfy the aesthetic tendencies." (P. Jampolsky.)

We have asked ourselves, following Mr. Jampolsky, to what extent this "projection" can occasion the application of a personality test.

The apparatus utilized was only meant to furnish, by
125 way of correction, a more complete method.
822 It included:

-- a sheet of straight, broken, and curved lines and of rough sketches of figures in black on white.

/437 cont./

125
822

-- a sheet of simple figures in black on white.

-- 13 colors painted in gouache on cardboards.

Fifty-two women and young girls were subjected to this test. Since they have all been identified among the 4,772 individuals mentioned in the first part of this article, it seemed to us interesting to give here the results of this experiment as far as the color tests are concerned.

/438/ a) Table V

Ethnic Groups Represented by Age

Ages	Wolof (A)	Lebou (B)	Sérèr (C)	Mandjiak (D)	Toucoul. (E)	Peul + Foula (F)	Sarakhulé (G)	Malinké (H)	Sosé (I)	Mandingue (J)	Susu (K)	Totals
14 (1)	1										1	3
15 (2)	4				1				1	1	2	9
16 (3)	6			1				1			1	9
17 (4)	4	1										5
18 (5)								1			1	2
19 (6)	3				1		1					5
20 (7)	4				2							6
21 (8)	1										1	2
22 (9)	1				1							2
25 (12)	2											2
27 (14)	1											1
30 (17)			1		1							2
35 (22)	1											1
36 (23)						1						1
41 (28)								1				1
49 (36)								1				1
	28	1	1	1	6	2	1	4	1	1	6	52

b) Tests used:

/438 cont./

125
822

Description.

Presented on cardboards of 7 centimeters by 9 centimeters, colored on one side with gouache.

C1 = violet, C2 = indigo, C3 = blue (royal)
C4 = green (Veronese), C5 = yellow (bright gold),
C6 = orange, C7 = red.
C8 = black, C9 = white
C10 = dead leaf, C11 = chocolate
C12 = yellow ochre, C13 = brick red.

/Table VI appears here on an unnumbered page./

/439/ Process

-- The first 7. Questions: a) which are the two colors that you prefer? b) which is the color that you like the least?

-- Add C8 + C9 to the first. The same two questions.

-- It is then asked that two colors be matched (the most beautiful combination possible). Take 1.

-- To the first 9 colors add: C10, C11, C12, C13. Same questions as above.

-- Make a new combination out of the 13 colors: Take 2.

-- With the elements of these 2 combinations make a final combination considered "the best."

It is obvious that this question is not asked when Take 1 = Take 2.

822 3) Results.

a) Simple choice. Rough balance color by color -- out of 52 individuals, each giving six replies in favor (+) and

/Between pp. 438 and 439./

822

Table VI. Color Test Results by Ethnic Group and Ages

Colors	A1	F1	K1	A2	E2	I2	J2	K2	A3	D3	H3	K3	A4	B4	H5	K5	A6	E6
C1	1	1	1	4		2			5			1	3	0	1	2	4	2
C2	00	000	0	000				00	0000		000		0	1	0	00	1 000	
C3		3	1 0	3		2	1	3	5	1	2	1	3	1	1	0	1	1
C4	0		1	4	1	00	2		6 0			1	1	1			1 0	
C5	1		0	2 0	1		0		000	1		0	2 0000	0			1 00	1
C6				00000	00	0		3	0000000	1 0			1 000000	1			0	00
C7			1	1			2	2	2 00		2		3		3	2	1 0	0
C8	2			3 0	1		0		7	0	1	0	5	0			1	1
C9	1	2	1	1	1		1	0000	3	1		1	2	1	00		2	
C10				2	0	1		2	4	1		1	2		1		3	1
C11	1					1			2	0			1	1		1	1	
C12				00	1		0		0	1		0	0				0	
C13			1	4	1			2	2		1	1	1			1	2	
	9	9	9	26	9	9	9	18	54	9	9	9	26	9	9	9	27	9

Legend = C1, C2, ... C13 = colors as defined on p. 438 above. The capital letters = ethnic groups; the figures coupled with the capital letters = ages (cf. Table V).

/left half of Table VI/

/Between pp. 438 and 439./

822

Table VI (cont.)

H5	K5	A6	E6	G6	A7	E7	A8	K8	A9	E9	A12	A14	C17	E17	A22	F23	H28	H36	Totals	
1	2	4	2	1	4 0	1	3	1		1	3				0	1		0	+ 42	— 4
0	00	1 000		0	1 0000	000			000	1	000000	00		0	1		000	0	+ 5	— 49
1	0	1	1	1	5	2 0					1	2	3	1	2		3		+ 49	— 3
		1 0		0	1 0	4	1	1		0	3		3	0		00	2	1	+ 34	— 11
		1 00	1		3	0	000	000	3					1		0	1	1	+ 18	— 22
		0	00	1	000	1			2	00	2	0	000	0				1	+ 13	— 35
3	2	1 0	0		2 0	2		1				1		1	00	1			+ 27	— 7
		1	1	1	1			1		1	1	1		2	1	1		1	+ 22	— 5
00		2			2 00		1			1		1				1			+ 23	— 8
1		3	1	1	3	1	1	1		1	2				1	1		1	+ 31	— 1
	1	1		0	1					1				1	1			1	+ 13	— 2
		0		1		0												0	+ 3	— 9
	1	2			1	1		1	1			1				1			+ 22	— 0
9	9	27	9	9	36	18	9	9	9	9	18	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	+312	—156

1

/right half of Table VI/

1 [these four columns duplicate those found on p. 13 - ANALYST]

/439 cont./

822 three replies against (–), making a total of 312 + and 156 –, one obtains the following results:

Table VII

Blue	+	49	Indigo	–	49
Violet	+	42	Orange	–	35
Green	+	34	Yellow	–	22
Black	+	32	Green	–	11
Dead leaf	+	31	Yellow ocher	–	9
Red	+	27	White	–	8
White	+	23	Red	–	7
Brick red	+	22	Black	–	5
Yellow	+	18	Violet	–	4
Chocolate	+	13	Blue	–	3
Orange	+	13	Chocolate	–	2
Indigo	+	5	Dead leaf	–	1
Yellow ocher	+	3	Brick red	–	0

Taking into account the replies -- we are adopting the following classification (brick red is in 5th place):

/440/

Blue	+49–3 = 46 (1)	Indigo	–49+5 = –44
Violet	+42–4 = 38 (2)	Orange	–35+13 = –22
Dead leaf	+31–1 = 30 (3)	Yellow	–22+18 = –4
Black	+32–5 = 27 (4)	Yellow ochre	–9+3 = –6
Brick red	+22–0 = 22 (5)		
Green	+34–11 = 23 (6)		
Red	+27–7 = 20 (7)		
White	+23–8 = 15 (8)		
Chocolate	+13–2 = 11 (9)		

It should be noted:

-- the + choices shown (6 colors = 60.23%);

-- the concentration of the – choices (3 colors = 67.94%);

/440 cont./

822 -- a single color has no — (brick red);

-- 3 controversial colors: yellow, yellow ochre, and orange -- family of "coppers" --

Yellow ocher	+ 3 - 9 =	+ 34 = 66
Yellow	+ 18 - 22 =	
Orange	+ 13 - 35 =	

-- the 3 shades of the family of maroons: dead leaf, chocolate, and red brick are relatively prized:

all together + 31 + 13 + 22 = 66 (21.15%).

b) Simple choice. Replies in detail.

If one studies the replies in detail, one finds:

a) a single subject has concentrated her choice: + on 2 colors

b) 4 subjects have concentrated their choice: + on 3 —

11 — showed + on 4 —

17 — — + on 5 —

19 — — + on 6 —

c) 13 subjects have concentrated their — choice on 1 single color.

c) Replies in detail according to ethnic groups and ages:

The number of subjects is too small to permit one to draw serious conclusions. Only the Wolof group is represented by 28 persons, 53.8%, but divided into 11 ages; 6 Toucouleur into 5 ages, and 6 Susu into 5 ages.

The same is to be noted for the ages, of which those best represented, 15 years old (9 subjects) and 16 years old (9 subjects), are not the most significant.

The result shows more + choices even /441/ here. The same is true in the group 20 years old (6 subjects), 17 years old (5), 19 years old (5). The only Sérère woman 30 years old concentrated her + choice on two colors, green and blue, and her — choice on orange.

d) Complex choice (construction).

This is a matter of combinations that the subject is called upon to make. These combinations, selections of two colors, are made after the indication of + and —.

They are made = from among the first 9 colors.

from among these 9 + 4 = 13.

/441/

822 Results:

Blue and white	22
Violet and white.....	12
Black and white.....	12
Red and black	8
Red and white.....	6

It is necessary to note immediately the presence of white in 56 combinations, namely, 35.8% of the total.

According to ages, the proportions remain identical with those of the final table.

The same is true of the classification according to ethnic groups.

Out of 52 subjects, 9 have repeated 3 times the same combination of 2 colors, 26 have done it 2 times.

[291] Out of these 35 subjects (10 married women and 25 young girls), 25 wore clothes for display of which the dominant notes conformed to the preference expressed at the time of the test.

III. Perspectives.

291 "Color is a more emotional and primitive variable than form. /it/ marks the peculiar and significant tendencies in each sex and develops from before adolescence." (P. Jampolsky.)

It would seem, then, more than the design of the motif and the cut of the garment, to be the essential cause of the variability of individual choice in the matter of fashion.

The 1,000 motifs or so (including the variants of the same pattern) put out last year on the Dakar market by the /442/ importers of printed fabrics have brought into play more than 60 different colors, which seems to confirm the preceding point of view.

121 How to determine the ecological and cultural influences in the matter of the individual choice of color with both an aesthetic and useful aim? This presupposes a preliminary definition and delimitation of this milieu, which is the object of a study in progress. /Figs. 1-3 appear here on unnumbered pages./

11: Lèques--18 P-5 (1956) 1957 MS37 Senegal MS37

291

Fig. 1. Boubou in white voile and dress in Fancy material (Médina, Dakar).

(Lartéguy photo and plate.)

11: Lèques--19 P-5 (1956) 1957 MS37 Senegal MS37

291
347
443

Fig. 2. The Kaolack market for dresses (Lèques photo and plate).

11: Lèques--20 P-5 (1956) 1957 MS37 Senegal Ms 37

142
516
291

Fig. 3. Taille-Basse (Dakar) (Lèques photo and plate).

Il: Lèques MS37 Senegal

BULLETIN
DE
L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'AFRIQUE NOIRE

ANNÉE 1957
TOME DIX-NEUVIÈME

SERIE B, SCIENCES HUMAINES

DAKAR, IFAN

[title page]

11: Lèques MS37 Senegal

Bulletin de l'I. F. A. N.
T. XIX, sér. B, n° 3-4, 1957.

La mode actuelle chez les Dakaroises

(Étude de psychologie sociale)

par R. LÈQUES.

La Mode représente, d'un point de vue subjectif, un usage passager qui dépend du goût et des caprices des individus. Son champ d'application est universel. Elle est donc un phénomène social, et esthétique, au même titre que la Peinture à laquelle elle emprunte beaucoup.

Comme toutes les expressions de l'Art, la Mode est un langage et une magie. Elle est aussi une technique dont les différents aspects peuvent se grouper en trois catégories : la fabrication des objets (tissus et vêtements), les méthodes de vente et les motivations de l'achat.

Au psychologue social se pose le problème de l'adaptation de l'Africaine à la Mode européenne.

Parmi les divers moyens d'investigations possibles notre choix s'est porté d'abord sur l'observation directe et sur la méthode des tests. Nous avons tenu compte à la fois de l'origine ethnique et de l'âge des sujets.

I. — Population féminine africaine de Dakar.

1° *Population de résidence habituelle au* 1-6-55.

Nous constatons :

a) la prédominance très nette du groupe wolof (47,8 %),

b) la faible représentation des Sérèr et des Diola par rapport aux Bambara.

TABLEAU I. — POPULATION FÉMININE DE

GROUPES ETHNIQUES	DE 1 A 9 ANS	DE 10/14	DE 15/19	DE 20/24	DE 25/29	DE 30/34	DE 35/39
Gr. Atlantique de l'Ouest.							
Wolof	12 830	2 654	3 629	4 630	5 260	3 561	2 555
Lébou	3 980	912	929	1 191	1 263	865	722
Sérer	1 093	251	495	662	678	389	237
Diola	382	106	231	226	173	109	65
Mandjiak	174	26	101	111	74	34	30
Sousou	261	69	90	76	71	37	29
Kisi	39	2	34	26	8	3	1
Kpellé	19	3	13	21	14	3	2
Mankagne	33	11	11	11	7	1	2
Autres	146	30	48	57	48	12	16
	18 877	4 064	5 581	7 001	7 596	5 014	3 659
Gr Peul (N et NO).							
Toucouleur	2 954	545	1 083	1 191	1 306	882	616
Peul	702	142	292	359	348	234	173
Foula	385	61	247	208	168	54	49
Autres	614	125	187	257	310	219	146
	4 655	873	1 759	2 015	2 192	1 389	984
Gr Soudanien.							
Bambara	1 045	206	299	290	308	205	158
Sarakhalé	568	105	190	287	260	150	102
Soué	227	39	45	71	66	37	24
Malinké	260	46	109	77	74	36	23
Khassonké	147	33	38	40	50	29	24
Mandingue	133	17	30	39	30	19	10
Autres	39	6	18	19	14	6	8
	2 419	452	729	743	782	482	329
Autres.							
C I + Bénin	262	38	52	52	63	35	16
Voltaïques	132	14	32	44	31	13	5
Haoussa	36	11	11	11	10	4	1
AI, non A.O.F.	71	16	27	25	21	23	11
Cayordiens	502	159	180	209	188	127	117
Divers	13	1	1	8	5	1	—
	986	239	303	349	318	203	150
TOTAUX							

[facing p. 432, Section A]

TION FÉMININE DE DAKAR AU 1-6-55.

DE 30/34	DE 35/39	DE 40/44	DE 45/49	DE 50/54	DE 55/59	DE 60/64	65 ET +	TOTAUX
2 561	2 555	2 007	1 063	1 036	611	608	1 184	41 628
865	722	635	416	370	268	260	496	12 297
389	237	141	78	62	41	34	51	4 212
109	65	47	25	25	10	9	13	1 341
34	30	13	13	1	2	3	1	583
37	29	22	11	7	7	3	5	683
3	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	114
3	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	80
1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	69
12	16	5	4	4	1	—	1	372
5 014	3 659	2 870	1 610	1 505	940	918	1 751	61 379
882	616	452	231	137	85	86	127	9 705
234	173	120	60	56	20	29	50	2 595
54	49	22	19	3	12	2	2	1 232
219	146	112	63	58	34	34	84	2 243
1 389	984	716	373	254	151	151	263	15 775
205	158	138	76	54	40	33	82	2 933
150	102	67	43	34	22	21	23	1 772
37	24	28	14	6	4	6	5	572
36	23	17	4	5	1	1	6	669
29	24	3	6	4	8	2	2	386
19	10	6	5	6	2	5	3	305
6	8	3	1	—	—	—	3	117
482	329	262	149	109	77	67	124	6 754
35	16	8	7	4	2	3	3	535
13	5	3	3	3	4	1	—	285
4	1	2	1	1	—	1	1	80
23	11	14	11	7	12	4	7	349
127	117	136	141	81	82	33	61	2 016
1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	30
203	150	164	163	96	100	42	72	3 195
								87 103

[facing p.432, section B]

11: Lèques MS37 Senegal

2° *Caractéristiques de cette population* :

a) Connaissance du français (14 ans et +) :

4 844 femmes et filles parlent notre langue (dont 2 850 l'écrivent).

b) Emplois salariés artisanaux et commerciaux (14 ans et +) :

3 779, dont : couture, mode, lingerie, vêtement.....	609
apprêt, teinture.....	142

Les 609 personnes qui tirent un profit des métiers de la Mode se répartissent ethniquement comme suit :

Gr. cap Vert.....	243
Gr. Wolof.....	157
Gr. Diola.....	48
Gr. Lebou.....	31
Gr. Sérèr.....	29
Divers	101

Les 142 teinturières sont en majorité Toucouleur (77) et Wolof (36).

Sur 1 455 femmes wolof exerçant un métier, à leur compte ou salariées, 598 sont commerçantes, 157 dans la couture, 110 employées de commerce.

Les femmes lébou préfèrent également exercer un commerce (150 sur 340 recensées comme travailleuses).

II. — Recherches expérimentales sur le sens esthétique des Dakaroises en matière de vêtement.

Pour cette étude, qui n'est qu'à ses débuts, deux méthodes sont utilisées :

— l'observation directe des vêtements d'apparat portés par un certain nombre de femmes,

— l'épreuve des tests sur une partie d'entre elles.

Il: Lèques MS37 Senegal

A. — Observation directe.

1° *Circonstances.*

a) L'enquête a été faite en Médina de Dakar, quartiers Sapeurs-pompiers et Champ de courses — entre les 9 et 19 novembre 1956, fin d'une période électorale.

b) Elle a porté sur les vêtements « extérieurs » de 4 772 femmes, âgées de 14 ans et +, en majorité Wolof et Lébou.

Sauf lorsque le premier vêtement est en tissu transparent, il est très difficile de distinguer, non pas les sous-vêtements au sens européen du terme, mais les masses de tissus drapés ou façonnés, éléments indispensables de la parure féminine en Afrique tropicale.

2° *Résultats,*

a) Vêtements africains classiques (boubous) :

TABLEAU II.

COULEURS DOMINANTES	VOILES TULLES ORGANDIS	UNIS	DENTELLES OU A JOURS	IMPRIMÉS WAX OU FANCY	TEINTS (ARTISANAT)	TISSÉS (ARTISANAT)	TOTAUX
Blancs	262	117	81	—	—	—	460
Noirs	95	149	23	—	—	—	267
Violets et mauves	115	52	—	244	—	34	445
Indigos	—	106	—	463	426	—	995
Bleus	131	15	20	61	—	—	227
Verts	11	24	—	73	—	—	108
Jaunes	106	20	—	58	—	—	184
Orangés	11	3	—	100	—	21	135
Rouges	20	3	—	28	—	10	61
Roses	248	3	45	21	—	—	317
Grenats	13	—	—	9	—	—	22
Ocres	3	—	—	6	—	—	9
Marrons	128	16	4	576	—	—	724
Gris	3	—	9	36	—	—	48
Totaux	1 146	508	182	1 675	426	65	4 002

11: Lèques MS37 Senegal

b) Vêtements d'inspiration européenne (tailles-basses et robes) :

TABLEAU III.

	TAILLES BASSES			ROBES							
	Imprimés	Autres	Total	Voile, Tulle, Organdi, Pont.	Unis	Indiennes	Imprimés W. et F.	Teints	Fibranne	Nylon	Totaux
Blancs	—	16	16	17	24	—	—	—	—	3	44
Noirs	—	—	—	21	22	—	—	—	—	—	43
Violets, mauves	11	—	11	19	5	—	50	—	—	—	74
Indigos	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	33	—	—	33
Bleus	11	—	11	31	28	14	37	—	6	12	128
Verts	—	—	—	—	—	26	39	—	—	—	65
Jaunes	—	—	—	—	—	—	38	—	7	—	45
Orangés	3	—	3	—	—	—	23	—	—	—	23
Rouges	—	—	—	—	—	14	—	—	—	—	14
Roses	3	—	3	12	5	—	34	—	—	10	61
Grenats	5	—	5	—	—	—	17	—	3	—	20
Ocres	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Marrons	49	—	49	—	—	—	87	—	9	—	96
Gris	—	—	—	—	—	—	26	—	—	—	26
	82	16	98	100	84	54	351	33	25	25	672

TABLEAU IV. — RÉCAPITULATION PAR COULEUR.

COULEURS	TOTAL 1	TOTAL 2	TOTAL 3	TOTAL GÉNÉRAL
Blancs	460	16	44	520
Noirs	267	—	43	310
Violets et mauves	445	11	74	530
Indigos	995	—	33	1 028
Bleus	227	11	128	366
Verts	108	—	65	173
Jaunes	184	—	45	229
Orangés	135	3	23	161
Rouges	61	—	14	75
Roses	317	3	61	381
Grenats	22	5	20	47
Ocres	9	—	—	9
Marrons	724	49	96	869
Gris	48	—	26	74
	4 002	98	672	4 772

Les tissus imprimés Wax et Fancy sont toujours bicolores ou multicolores. Cependant nos tableaux ne comprennent que des couleurs simples sans assortiments, car ceux-ci sont trop nombreux. Nous avons donc classé ces tissus par la couleur du fond, ou par la note dominante enregistrée visuellement.

11: Lèques MS37 Senegal

4° *Interprétation.*

a) Couleurs :

Les coloris indigo occupent le premier rang (24,86 % des boubous et 21,54 % de l'ensemble), grâce à :

— la qualité de l'industrie européenne — surtout hollandaise et anglaise — qui permet, sur un fond indigo, d'imprimer en couleurs vives et nettes des dessins sans bavures ;

— la présence à Dakar d'une industrie qui fabrique « guinées » et « sucretons » ;

— la survivance d'un artisanat traditionnel de teinturières qui comptait encore en 1955, 142 représentants.

La famille des marrons vient en seconde position (18,09 % des boubous et 18,21 % de l'ensemble).

En 3e place nous trouvons les violets, mauves et sensiblement au même rang les blancs (env. 11 % dans chaque catégorie).

b) Style classique africain :

— Vêtement d'apparat, le *Mboubeu* (1) ou Boubou est toujours en faveur (4 002 contre 770 vêtements d'inspiration européenne (83,86 % contre 16,14 %).

— Mais dans cette catégorie les tissus imprimés Waw et Francy sont en régression (1 675 = 41,85 % contre 2 412 = 56,52 %).

c) Style d'inspiration européenne :

— La taille-basse, genre de corsage qui se termine à la taille par un volant circulaire large de 20 à 25 cm, est associée soit à un pagne drapé, soit à une jupe cousue. Le plus souvent les 2 pièces sont faites dans le même tissu.

Elle est surtout portée par les jeunes filles (sur 52 femmes testées, 40 jeunes filles dont 25 habituellement vêtues de tailles-basses).

— La robe, portée par les femmes de genre de vie africain, est longue pour 99 % des cas.

Il est parfois difficile de la différencier du boubou quand elle n'est qu'une longue blouse cousue.

Elle présente diverses variantes (droite, plissée à la taille ; à cols ronds, carrés, etc... ses manches simples, bouffantes... ne dépassent pas le coude.

(1) Boubou est une prononciation défectueuse du terme wolof, *Mboubeu* — vêtement de femme en général, grande blouse simple.

d) Évolution :

En observant les divers styles du vêtement porté par des femmes d'âges divers, on a un historique de l'évolution de la coupe au cours des 20 dernières années.

Parmi ces 4 772 sujets, nous avons en effet noté au hasard :

4 femmes (de 50 à 55 ans) dont :

2 portaient 1 boubou Fancy print
+ 1 camisole
+ 3 pagnes dont 1 fait par un tisserand
+ 1 Jacquard
+ 1 indienne

2 — 1 boubou voile
+ 1 camisole
+ 3 pagnes dont 1 de tisserand
1 jacquard
1 Fancy

4 femmes de 40 à 50 ans :

2 portaient 1 boubou voile
+ 1 pagne indienne
+ 1 pagne Fancy

1 — 1 boubou voile
+ 1 robe Fancy
1 pagne Fancy

1 — 1 boubou voile
+ 1 robe Fancy
+ 1 pagne Jacquard

4 femmes de 30 à 40 ans :

2 portaient 1 boubou voile
+ 1 robe

1 — 1 boubou Fancy
+ 1 robe

1 — 1 boubou Fancy
+ 1 pagne

11: Lèques MS37 Senegal

4 femmes de 20 à 30 ans :

1 portait	1 boubou voile + 1 pagne Fancy
1 —	1 robe + 1 pagne
2 —	1 robe

4 jeunes filles :

2 portaient	1 taille-basse + pagne
2 —	1 robe

A cette évolution du style correspond une évolution du choix des motifs des tissus imprimés et de la qualité de ces tissus.

Lorsqu'il s'agit d'une robe, l'on voit s'affirmer de plus en plus l'abandon des grands motifs de 1 m ou 1 m 20 × 1 m 20, et au contraire le choix des lignes simples, des fleurs, des feuilles, des oiseaux, mis en valeur par une harmonie de couleurs chaudes mais non criardes.

Parallèlement les cotonnades légères (Citec), sont de plus en plus demandées.

B. — Méthode des tests.

1) *Généralités.*

« Parmi les objets qui déterminent des sentiments positifs ou négatifs, une catégorie particulière est constituée par ceux dont on dit qu'ils sont « beaux » ou « laids », c'est-à-dire par ceux qui satisfont ou non les tendances esthétiques. » (P. Jampolsky.)

Nous nous sommes demandés, à la suite de M. Jampolsky, dans quelle mesure cette « projection » peut donner lieu à l'application d'un test de personnalité.

Le matériel utilisé, était seulement destiné à fournir par correction une batterie plus complète.

Il comprenait :

— une planche de lignes droites, brisées, courbes, et d'ébauches de figures, en noir sur blanc,

— une planche de figures simples, en noir sur blanc,

— 13 couleurs peintes à la gouache sur des cartons.

52 femmes et jeunes filles ont été soumises à cette épreuve. Comme elles ont toutes été reconnues parmi les 4 772 personnes mentionnées dans la première partie de cet article, il nous a paru intéressant de donner ici les résultats de cette expérience en ce qui concerne les tests couleur.

TABLEAU VI. — RÉSULTATS TESTS COULEURS

COULEURS	A1	F1	E1	A2	E2	I2	J2	K2	A3	B3	H3	K3	A4	B4	H5	K5	A6	E6
C1	1	1	1	4		2			5			1	3	0	1	2	4	2
C2	00	000	0	000				00	0000		000		0	1	0	00	1 000	
C3		3	1 0	3		2	1	3	5	1	2	1	3	1	1	0	1	1
C4	0		1	4	1	00	2		6 0			1	1	1			1 0	
C5	1		0	2 0	1		0		000	1		0	2 0000	0			1 00	1
C6				00000	00	0		3	0000000	1 0			1 000000	1			0	00
C7			1	1			2	2	2 00		2		3		3	2	1 0	0
C8	2			3 0	1		0		7	0	1	0	5	0			1	1
C9	1	2	1	1	1		1	0000	3	1		1	2	1	00		2	
C10				2	0	1		2	4	1		1	2		1		3	1
C11	1					1			2	0			1	1		1	1	
C12				00	1		0		0	1		0	0				0	
C13			1	4	1			2	2		1	1	1			1	2	
	9	9	9	36	9	9	9	18	54	9	9	9	36	9	9	9	27	9

Légende = C1, C2, ... C13 = couleurs telles que définies p. 438 ci-dessus. Les majuscu

[facing p. 438, section A]

ESTS COULEURS PAR GROUPE ETHNIQUE ET AGRÉ.

H5	E5	A6	E6	G6	A7	E7	A8	E8	A9	E9	A12	A14	C17	E17	A22	F23	H28	H34	TOTAUX
1	2	4	2	1	4 0	1	3	1		1	3				0	1		0	+ 42 — 4
0	00	1 000		0	1 0000	000			000	1	000000	00		0	1		000	0	+ 5 — 49
1	0	1	1	1	5	2 0					1	2	3	1	2		3		+ 49 — 3
		1 0		0	1 0	4	1	1		0	3		3	0		00	2	1	+ 34 — 11
		1 00	1		3	0	000	000	3					1		0	1	1	+ 18 — 22
		0	00	1	000	1			2	00	2	0	000	0				1	+ 13 — 35
3	2	1 0	0		2 0	2		1				1		1	00	1			+ 27 — 7
		1	1	1	1			1		1	1	1		2	1	1		1	+ 22 — 5
00		2			2 00		1			1		1				1			+ 23 — 8
1		3	1	1	3	1	1	1		1	2				1	1		1	+ 21 — 1
	1	1		0	1					1				1	1			1	+ 13 — 2
		0		1		0												0	+ 3 — 9
	1	2			1	1		1	1			1				1			+ 22 — 0
9	9	27	9	9	36	18	9	9	9	9	18	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	+312 —156

Les majuscules = groupes ethniques; les chiffres accolés aux majuscules = âges (*cf.* Tableau V).

[facing p.438, section B]

2) *Technique.*

a) TABLEAU V.

GROUPES ETHNIQUES REPRÉSENTÉS PAR AGES.

AGES	WOL. (A)	LEBOU (B)	SÉRÈR (C)	MANDJIAK (D)	TOUCOUL. (E)	PEUL + FOULA (F)	SARAKHULÉ (G)	MALINKÉ (H)	SOSÉ (I)	MANDINGUE (J)	SUSU (K)	TOTAUX
14 (1) ...	1										1	3
15 (2) ...	4				1				1	1	2	9
16 (3) ...	6			1				1			1	9
17 (4) ...	4	1										5
18 (5) ...								1			1	2
19 (6) ...	3				1		1					5
20 (7) ...	4				2							6
21 (8) ...	1										1	2
22 (9) ...	1				1							2
25 (12) ..	2											2
27 (14) ..	1											1
30 (17) ..			1		1							2
35 (22) ..	1											1
36 (23) ..						1						1
41 (28) ..								1				1
49 (36) ..								1				1
	28	1	1	1	6	2	1	4	1	1	6	52

b) Tests utilisés :

Description.

Présentés sur cartons de 7 cm × 9 cm, colorés sur une face à la gouache.

C 1 = violet, C 2 = indigo, C 3 = bleu (roy)
C 4 = vert (véronèse), C 5 = jaune (or vif), C 6 = orange, C 7 = rouge.
C 8 = noir, C 9 = blanc
C 10 = feuille morte, C 11 = chocolat
C 12 = terre ocreuse, C 13 = rouge brique.

11: Lèques MS37 Senegal

Opération.

— Les 7 premières. Questions : *a*) quelles sont les 2 couleurs que vous préférez ? *b*) quelle est la couleur que vous aimez le moins ?

— Ajouter aux 7 premières C 8 + C 9. 2 mêmes questions.

— Il est ensuite demandé de faire un assortiment (le plus beau possible) de 2 couleurs. As 1.

— Aux 9 premières couleurs ajouter : C 10, C 11, C 12, C 13. Mêmes questions que ci-dessus.

— Faire un nouvel assortiment pour les 13 couleurs : As 2.

— Avec les éléments de ces 2 assortiments, composer un dernier assortiment estimé « le mieux ».

Il est évident que cette question n'est pas posée lorsque As 1 = As 2.

3) *Résultats.*

a) Choix simple. Bilan brut couleur par couleur — sur 52 personnes donnant chacune 6 réponses préférentielles, (+) et 3 réponses contraires (—), soit un total de 312 + et 156 —, l'on obtient les résultats suivants :

TABLEAU VII.

Bleu	+	49	Indigo	—	49
Violet	+	42	Orangé	—	35
Vert	+	34	Jaune	—	22
Noir	+	32	Vert	—	11
Feuille morte	+	31	Terre ocreuse	—	9
Rouge	+	27	Blanc	—	8
Blanc	+	23	Rouge	—	7
Rouge brique	+	22	Noir	—	5
Jaune	+	18	Violet	—	4
Chocolat	+	13	Bleu	—	3
Orangé	+	13	Chocolat	—	2
Indigo	+	5	Feuille morte	—	1
Terre ocreuse	+	3	Rouge brique	—	0

Compte tenu des réponses — nous adoptons le classement suivant : (le rouge brique est en 5e place).

Bleu	+ 49	— 3	= 46 (1)	Indigo	—49	+ 5	= —44
Violet	+ 42	— 4	= 38 (2)	Orangé	—35	+ 13	= —22
Feuille morte	+ 31	— 1	= 30 (3)	Jaune	—22	+ 18	= —4
Noir	+ 32	— 5	= 27 (4)	Terre ocreuse	— 9	+ 3	= —6
Rouge brique	+ 22	— 0	= 22 (5)				
Vert	+ 34	— 11	= 23 (6)				
Rouge	+ 27	— 7	= 20 (7)				
Blanc	+ 23	— 8	= 15 (8)				
Chocolat	+ 13	— 2	= 11 (9)				

Il faut noter :

— l'étalage des choix + (6 couleurs = 60,23 %) ;
— la concentration des choix — (3 couleurs = 67,94 %) ;
— une seule couleur n'a aucun — (rouge brique) ;
— 3 couleurs controversées : jaune, terre ocreuse et orangé — famille des « cuivres » —

Terre ocreuse	+ 3	— 9 =		
Jaune	+ 18	— 22 =	+ 34	— 66
Orangé	+ 13	— 35 =		

— les 3 tons de la famille des marrons :

feuille morte, chocolat et rouge brique, sont relativement prisés :
ensemble + 31 + 13 + 22 = 66 (21,15 %).

b) Choix simple. Détail des réponses.

Si l'on étudie le détail des réponses l'on constate :

a) un seul sujet a concentré son choix : + sur 2 couleurs

b) 4 sujets ont concentré leur choix : + sur 3 couleurs

11	—	étalé	+ sur 4	—
17	—	—	+ sur 5	—
19	—	—	+ sur 6	—

c) 13 sujets ont concentré leur choix — sur 1 seule couleur.

c) *Détail des réponses par groupes ethniques et par âges* :

Le nombre de sujets est trop peu élevé pour permettre de tirer des conclusions sérieuses. Seul le groupe wolof est représenté par 28 personnes 53,8 %, mais réparties en 11 âges ; 6 Toucouleurs en 5 âges et 6 Susu en 5 âges.

Même remarque pour les âges dont les mieux représentés, 15 ans (9 sujets) et 16 ans (9 sujets) ne sont pas les plus significatifs.

L'étalage signalé plus haut des choix + se retrouve néanmoins

11: Lèques MS37 Senegal

ici. De même que dans le groupe des 20 ans (6 sujets), 17 ans (5), 19 ans (5). L'unique femme sérère de 30 ans, a concentré son choix + sur 2 couleurs : le vert et le bleu ; et son choix — sur l'orangé.

d) *Choix complexe* (construction).

Il s'agit des assortissements que le sujet est appelé à faire. Ces assortissements, qui sélectionnent 2 couleurs, interviennent après l'indication des + et des —.

Ils se font = entre les 9 premières couleurs,
entre ces 9 + 4 = 13.

Résultats :

Bleu et blanc	22
Violet et blanc	12
Noir et blanc	12
Rouge et noir	8
Rouge et blanc	6

Il faut noter immédiatement la présence du blanc dans 56 combinaisons, soit 35,8 % du total.

Par âges les proportions restent identiques à celles du tableau final.

Il en est de même du classement par groupes ethniques.

Sur 52 sujets 9 ont répété 3 fois le même assortiment de 2 couleurs, 26 l'ont fait 2 fois.

Sur ces 35 sujets (10 femmes mariées et 25 jeunes filles), 25 portaient des vêtements d'apparat dont les notes dominantes étaient conformes à la préférence exprimée lors du test.

III. — Perspectives.

« La couleur est une variable plus émotionnelle et primitive que la forme, [elle] marque des tendances propres et significatives dans chaque sexe et évolue dès avant l'adolescence. » (P. Jampolsky.)

Elle semblerait donc, plus que le dessin du motif et la coupe du vêtement être la cause essentielle de la variabilité du choix individuel en matière de Mode.

Les quelque 1 000 motifs (y compris les variantes d'un même modèle), lancés l'an dernier sur le marché dakarois par les impor-

tateurs de tissus imprimés, ont mis en jeu plus de 60 coloris différents, ce qui semble confirmer le point de vue précédent.

Comment déterminer les influences écologiques et culturelles en matière de choix individuel de la couleur dans un but à la fois esthétique et utile ? Cela suppose une définition et une délimitation préalables de ce milieu, qui font l'objet d'une étude en cours.

FIG. 1. — Boubou en voile blanc et robe en tissu Fanny (Médina, Dakar) (Photo et Cliché LARTÉGUY).

[p. 443]

FIG. 2. — Le marché aux robes de Kaolak (Photo et Cliché Lèques).

[p. 444]

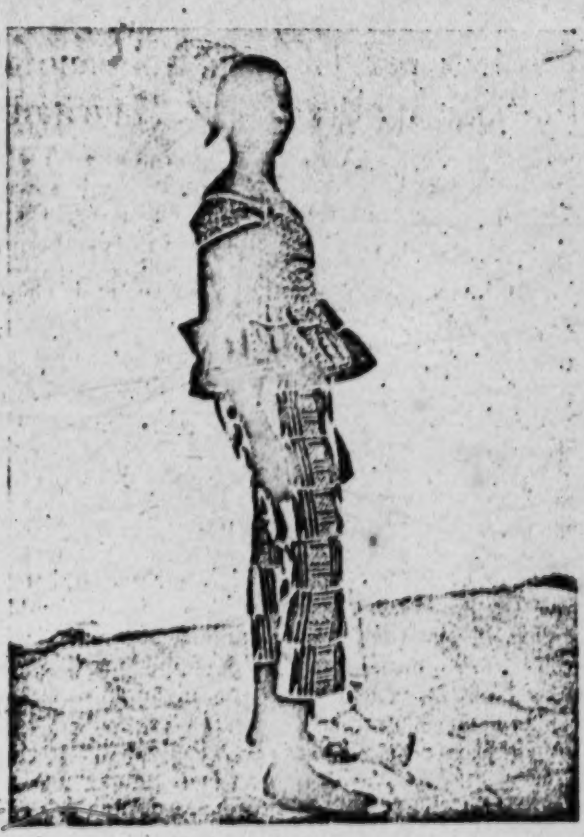


FIG. 3. — Taille-Basse (Dakar) (Photo et Cliché Lèques).

[p. 445]

12: Holas U-5 (no date) 1946 MS37 Senegal MS37

Some Methods Used in Senegal to Evoke Dreams
[Quelques recettes employees au Senegal pour provoquer les reves]

by Bohumil Holas

Dakar: 1946
Notes Africaines
No. 32, pp. 8-9

Translated from the French by Grace W. Moore

Human Relations Area Files

1963

[Title page]

Rufisque 14537 Sénégal

N° 32 OCTOBRE 1946

NOTES AFRICAINES

BULLETIN D'INFORMATION ET DE CORRESPONDANCE DE L'

INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'AFRIQUE NOIRE

CHICAGO NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM
FEB 4 - 1947

[title page]

[8]

787 177 All of the methods currently used in the different regions of Senegal to promote dreaming bear traces of the influence of Moslem beliefs, often distorted by local superstitions.

For centuries the work of Mohamed Ibn-Sirina (died in 110 A.H.), an Arab scholar of old regarded as the foremost of [791] the great mou'abbirs (interpreters of dreams) in the whole Moslem world, has served as the basis for this science. This work, supplied with few examples, brings together the most common types of interpretations and establishes universal rules that are still valid today.

Later, another Arab scholar (Cheïka Abdoul Khaniyou of Nabili Chiyou) revised and completed the work of Ibn Sirina; he collected and classified the various dreams in logical categories according to their subject (things, animals, persons, supernatural beings ...) in an important work: Taatire El-Ana mbitâbir El-Manam (= To make the world happier by the interpretation of dreams). Subsequently, Eddemiri in his great work entitled Hayatou el-Hayaouan (in two volumes) has given precise and exhaustive interpretations concerning the dreams in which animals figure.

[791] These are the two sources of classical information most often utilized by the interpreters of Senegalese dreams. The traditional religion, however, continues to exert an indisputable influence upon them.

Some of the practices that we are going to point out [9] by means of examples show this same influence. Utilized to evoke dreams, one finds them throughout Senegal.

Place: It is always essential that the place where one lies down is the most suitable one possible. In a place where a Moslem may not pray, one cannot hope to have a dream.

In the canton of Kahône (Bas-Saloum [Lower Saloum]), a region little Islamized, the women go at night to lie down near the ancient tombs.

The Ouolof [Wolof] of Cayor, with the same aim, visit [778] the tomb of the great marabout El Hadj Malick Sy at Tivaouane; the people of Baol go to the one of Sérigne Amadou Bamba M'Backé at Touba in the region north of Diourbel.

[9 cont.]

787 805 Time: Certain hours are favorable for the birth of dreams -- especially those when silence is deepest, that is to say, from midnight to early morning and the hour of the siesta (when it is customary to have one).

Among all the months of the year, the month of Nisân (April) is the most propitious, according to a universal belief.

787 788 Texts to quote: In order to evoke a favorable dream, it is recommended that, before lying down, one quote verses from the Koran, which differ greatly according to the method used; [779] those of the first holy book, the Fâtiha, are most preferred for this practice. The Souratou el Ikhâssi ("qhoul houe Allahou ahadoun" = There is only one God) is most frequently used, and one must say it seven times.

There are others (for example, "Astâgh firou Allah!" = May God forgive me!) which one must say 100 times.

[776] The nine names of God (El Djabar = The Almighty, El Moukatabir = The Proud One, El Amad = The Eternal One, El Bâtin = The Hidden One, El Kâdir = The Mighty One, El Madjîd = The Illustrious One, El Bourkhân = The Miracle, El Mouktadir = The One for Whom Anything Is Possible, El Rahman = The Merciful) must be repeated 21 times before sleeping.

Various practices: In order to promote favorable dreams, as well as to drive away bad dreams, one observes various rules which differ only in details.

[783] Thus, to execute the practice of listikhâra, one must make his ablutions (following a rigorously prescribed order) and then [782] his evening prayer. During each rakaa (1), one must say eleven

1. Phase of the prayer which involves: 1 standing position; 1 bowing position, the hands on the knees; 2 prostrate positions, the forehead against the ground; 1 seated position.

times (or more, according to the method followed) the verses of Fâtiha and other quotations from the Koran.

[9 cont.]

787 After having recited the required prayers, one expresses his particular desire in a whisper while shielding the mouth with the right hand.

Then one lies down in a quiet and suitable place, on the right side, placing the right hand under the ear.

787 278 [791] Drugs and substances: Many drugs are provided for facilitating dreaming, sometimes by the mou'abbirs (who are relatively very rare in Senegal) and sometimes by other experienced persons.

The use of the roots of bakis or of sindiègne (a kind of creeping plant common in the western part of Senegal) is very widespread; if one falls asleep with a toothpick of bakis or sindiègne in his mouth, he will have frightful visions in which demons, the dead, and supernatural beings appear.

The same result is obtained if, before lying down, one takes a solution of salted water in which roots of sindiègne have fermented for quite a long time, the effect of which is both purgative and stimulative.

[308] Among other substances, the extract called kaoulâne (sometimes used in the form of a lotion for the face), liquid myrrh, opium, etc. should be mentioned.

787 [782] More rarely, fumigation is practiced in a sealed and isolated hut, in which honey or incense is burned. Obviously, in this case, the procedure may be completed by one of the above practices.

[778] [789] Magical means: Throughout Senegal (as is well-known) one finds an enormous number of talismans (for example, the khâtim, magical designs made up of names, characters, and figures which possess a kind of supernatural power), the aim of which is to evoke favorable dreams; their form varies according to the desire that the believer wants to realize.

Bohumil Holas

(Ifan, Dakar)

Biffolas M537 Senegal

N° 32 OCTOBRE 1946

NOTES AFRICAINES

BULLETIN D'INFORMATION ET DE CORRESPONDANCE DE L'

INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'AFRIQUE NOIRE

CHICAGO NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM FEB 4 - 1947

[title page]

4. — QUELQUES RECETTES EMPLOYEES AU SENEGAL POUR PROVOQUER LES REVES

Les moyens de favoriser les rêves actuellement utilisés dans les différentes régions du Sénégal portent tous la trace de l'influence des croyances musulmanes, souvent déformées par les superstitions locales.

Depuis des siècles, c'est l'œuvre de Mohamed Ibn-Sirîna (mort en 110 de l'hégire), ancien savant arabe, considéré comme le premier des grands *mou'abbirs* (interprètes des rêves) dans tout le monde musulman, qui sert de base à cette science. Cette œuvre, d'ailleurs peu fournie en exemples, rassemble les types d'explications les plus fréquents et établit les règles universelles encore valables aujourd'hui.

[p. 8a]

Plus tard, un autre savant arabe (Cheïka Abdou Khaniyou de Nabili Chiyou) a remanié et complété le livre de Ibn Sirina ; il a recueilli et classé les rêves divers en catégories logiques selon leur objet (choses, animaux, personnes, êtres surnaturels...) dans un ouvrage important : *Taatire El-Ana m bitâbir El-Manam* (= Pour rendre le monde plus heureux par l'explication des rêves). Ensuite, Eddemiri dans son grand livre appelé *Hayatou el-Hayaouan* (en 2 volumes) a donné des explications précises et exhausives concernant les songes où figurent les animaux.

Telles sont les deux sources d'informations classiques utilisées le plus souvent par les interprètes de songes sénégalais. Mais la religion traditionnelle continue à exercer sur eux une influence indiscutable.

Les quelques pratiques que nous allons citer à

[p. 8 (B)]

titre d'exemple relèvent de cette même influence. Utilisées pour provoquer les rêves, on les rencontre partout au Sénégal.

Lieu : Il est toujours essentiel que l'endroit où l'on se couche soit le plus propre possible. Là où un musulman ne peut faire sa prière, on ne peut espérer obtenir un rêve.

Au canton de Kahône (Bas-Saloum), région peu islamisée, les femmes vont, la nuit, se coucher auprès des anciens tombeaux.

Les Ouolof du Cayor, dans le même but, visitent la tombe du grand marabout El Hadj Malick Sy à Tivaouane, les gens du Baol celle de Sérigne Amadou Bamba M'Backé à Touba dans la région Nord de Diourbel.

Moment : Certaines heures sont favorables à la naissance des rêves — surtout celles où le calme est le plus profond, c'est-à-dire depuis minuit jusqu'au matin de bonne heure et l'heure de la sieste (quand il est d'usage de la faire).

Entre tous les mois de l'année, le mois de Nisân (avril) est, d'après une croyance universelle, le plus propice.

Textes à citer : Pour provoquer un rêve favorable, il est recommandé de citer, avant de se coucher, des versets du Coran très variables selon les recettes; ceux du premier livre saint, *le Fâtiha*, se prêtent le mieux à cet usage : le *Souratou el Ikhâssi* (« qhoul houe Allahou ahadoun » = Le Dieu est unique) est le plus fréquemment utilisé : on doit le citer sept fois.

Il en existe d'autres (par exemple : « Astâgh firou Allah ! » = Que Dieu me pardonne !) qu'il faut citer 100 fois.

Les neuf noms de Dieu (*El Djabar* = Le Tout Puissant, *El Moukatabir* = l'Orgueilleux, *El Amad* = l'Eternel, *El Bâtin* = Le Caché, *El Kâdir* = Le Puissant, *El Madjid* = l'Illustre, *El Bourkhân* = le Miracle, *El Mouktadir* = Celui-Qui-Peut-Tout, *El Rahman* = le Miséricordieux) doivent être répétés 21 fois avant le sommeil.

Pratiques diverses : Pour favoriser les rêves favorables aussi bien que pour chasser les mauvais songes, on se conforme à diverses règles qui ne varient que dans le détail.

Ainsi, pour exécuter la pratique de *Istikhâra*, il faut faire ses ablutions (selon un ordre rigoureusement prescrit) et puis, sa prière du soir. Pendant chaque *rakaa* (1), il faut citer 11 fois (ou plus, selon la recette suivie) les versets de *Fâtiha* et d'autres citations du Coran.

Après avoir récité les prières légales, on exprime

(1) Phase de prière qui comporte : 1 position debout. — 1 position baissée, les mains aux genoux. — 2 positions prosternées, le front contre terre. — 1 position assise.

[p. 9(A)]

son désir particulier à voix chuchotée en s'abritant la bouche de sa main droite.

Puis on se couche dans un endroit calme et propre, sur le côté droit en plaçant la main droite sous l'oreille.

Drogues et substances : De nombreuses drogues sont fournies pour faciliter les rêves tantôt par les *mou'abbirs* (qui, d'ailleurs, au Sénégal sont relativement très rares), tantôt par d'autres gens expérimentés.

L'usage des racines de *bakis* ou de *sindiègne* (sorte de plante rampante, fréquente dans la partie occidentale du Sénégal) est très répandu ; si l'on s'endort avec un cure-dents de *bakis* ou de *sindiègne* dans la bouche, on aura des visions de terreur où paraissent les démons, les morts et les êtres surnaturels.

On obtiendra le même résultat, si l'on prend, avant d'aller se coucher, une solution d'eau salée où ont fermenté assez longtemps des racines de *sindiègne* dont l'effet est à la fois purgatif et excitant.

Entre autres substances on pourrait mentionner encore l'extrait nommé *kaoulâne* (utilisé parfois sous forme de lotion pour le visage), la myrrhe liquide, l'opium, etc...

Plus rarement on pratique la fumigation, dans une case close et isolée où l'on brûle du miel ou de l'encens. Evidemment, ce procédé peut être complété, le cas échéant, par l'une quelconque des pratiques précédentes.

Moyens magiques : Dans tout le Sénégal (comme ailleurs, bien entendu) on trouve un nombre immense de talismans (p.e. les *khâtim*, dessins magiques composés des noms, caractères et chiffres qui possèdent une certaine force surnaturelle), dont le but est de provoquer des rêves favorables ; leur forme varie suivant le désir que le croyant veut réaliser.

Bohumil HOLAS,
(Ifan, Dakar).

[p. 9 (B)]

13: Diagne Y-5 (no date) 1947 MS37 Senegal MS37

The Expenses of a Saint-Louis Marriage -- Origins -- Principal Aspects and Consequences

[Les Frais du Mariage Saint-Louisien -- Origines -- Principaux Aspects et Consequences]

by Diagne Oumar Syr

Dakar: 1947
Notes Africaines
No. 34, pp. 8-13

Translated from the French by Grace W. Moore

Human Relations Area Files

1963

[Title page]

[8]

36
581

The native of the large cities of Senegal, one from Saint-Louis in particular, is evolving, but his expenses for ceremonies of "pleasure," baptism and especially marriage, are evolving also, and unhappily much more rapidly. The young man looks for a way to be able to manage this vertiginous soaring of expenses; he struggles, if not to stop it, to curb it at least. Some associations have been formed in order to agree on a fixed sum which one [9] [Fig. 6 appears here] [10] is not to exceed, as for the expenses of marriage. They scarcely seem to give the anticipated result, their members not facing up to the strength of character required for the attacks, with innovation as the object. Nevertheless, one should cite the nearly general agreement of the members on the precept to "defy the tempest" and to pay no attention to the desires of their parents, parents-in-law, and spouses for having pompous nuptials. Those among them who do not feel capable of restraining their vanity by acting "poverty-stricken" avail themselves of the facilities that they have for [589] changing posts and contracting bush marriages (1). Most of them

1. For the men and women of Saint-Louis, any woman who does not live in Saint-Louis or has no ancestors in this city is from the bush and hence is of mundane breeding and an inadequate housekeeper.

remain single.

What is the origin of these high expenses? We are going to look for it in the local customs, without any expectation of finding it in former times or in the laws of the Koran, which we have merely submitted to, and which in any case we are trying to adapt to our fancy. What are the phases of marriage? What expenses does each one require? We shall give them specifically as we consider the single case of a man from Saint-Louis. Saint-Louis is the "center of good taste" for the colony and serves as the model for it. Finally, do these exaggerated expenses have

13: Diagne--2 Y-5 (no date) 1947 MS37 Senegal
Wolof MS 30

[9]

142
291
301
302
515

Fig. 6. A young lady of fashion from Wolove [Wolof] high society. Artificial coiffure in the latest fashion; jewelry in "Senegal gold" (generally inferior; dress and robe in bright colors; very stately; painted lips (in blue, of course); universal toothpick. Photo. Labitte, I.F.A.N.

[10 cont.]

369 consequences with regard to celibacy and the orientation of
581 manners and customs? This will be the last part of this too brief sketch.

What is the origin of the expenses?

It is in large part in the social organization of the Senegalese Blacks before the introduction of Islam and before the French peace.

584 Marriage then depended upon the wishes of the fathers and mothers of the spouses. The marriage portion imposed was
583 enormous, even though proportional to the social rank of the fiancé and to his wealth. It was made up of captives and animals. In return, the wife, in order to maintain her dignity in the eyes of the husband and the co-spouses, joined her new residence with often as much wealth as she had received. This per-
[582] haps is the origin of the frequent unions between cousins, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew. The purpose of this for the family was to keep its wealth concentrated.

As Moslems, we have introduced the Koran and the Koranic marriage portion, different for a slave and for a free woman, with an assessment proportional to the wealth of the husband, but which is principle requires no costly pomp and which is not preoccupied with griots [singers, poets, storytellers].

With the French peace, the captives have been withdrawn from the exchanges, and the idea of replacing them with gold, money, or animals (now very vulgar property) prevails.

369 But with freedom the horizon was also widened. The
584 suitors, formerly localized and nearly always known in advance,
178 have multiplied. One originally from the Fouta is quickly transported to Sène and, without bloodshed, without abduction, can marry a girl whom many young men dream of winning. The rivalries, which not long ago were settled on the field of battle or by thrusts of daggers, have perpetuated themselves under the indifferent eyes of the Whites, but on the field of marriage and by thrusts of gold or banknotes (diamalé, rivalry for a woman).

[10 cont.]

369 533 The griots, those "vipers' tongues," have put together new songs in order to make up for the loss of the spoils of war never to be hoped for again. Without exaggeration or error, one can assert that the very high cost of the marriage expenses is due [583] only to the griots, who, using their malevolent genius, contrast in their chants the generosity of such and such a man with the parsimony of the other, spicing all the praises with references to his always legendary and generous ancestors.

369 583 To dazzle the girl and her relatives with his generosity and his wealth, to wrest from the rivals acknowledgment of their poverty, to overwhelm with goods persons of inferior castes whose praises will never cease, to enrich the prestige and the dignity of his parents-in-law -- there is the origin of the enormous expenses which must be faced by those who marry in Saint-Louis.

The phases of Marriage and their cost

369 565 This is not the place to show what role the girl plays in 582 the act which is going to decide her life. Nevertheless, let [584] us be permitted to affirm that today some freedom is permitted the girl in choosing a spouse, always with the condition that her choice must be a man of her rank. Native society is, in effect, compartmented, and the smith, the jeweler, the cobbler, the griot never becomes attached to a guer (2) woman with the

2. All the persons who do not belong to an inferior caste -- griot, cobbler, etc. Not to be confused with gor, free man, who is not a slave or a freed man.

permission of his parents. Conversely, the guer must remain in his domain, and the custom which formerly authorized the [631] chiefs to contract marriages with caste women, always under the pretense of conquest in battle, is tending to disappear.

[10 cont.]

369 584 So some young persons of the same rank are going to marry. Communication is maintained more or less secretly by neighbor women or more commonly by a caste girl, a friend of the future wife, until the young man is certain of success. Then he goes to make his "attack" with thrusts of banknotes; he must compel his rivals to yield to him. The parents of the girl are not supposed to know about the thousands of francs thus pledged, and the cost is not counted in the expenses of the marriage. When the rivals accept their defeat, the candidate makes his request [11] officially. Otherwise, the attack must continue until it is settled. Then the man announces his candidacy, and the real expenses for his marriage begin.

369 584 583 1. The Varugar. This is the sum that is deposited, with the approval of the parents of the two young people. It is a guarantee for the man that the girl will no longer receive any other candidate, and, for the girl, assurance of being obligatorily supported by the suitor. The amount of the varugar varies: fixed at 2,500 francs at the minimum, it easily reaches 25,000 to 30,000 francs among the "nouveaux riches" of the Black market place.

As the proverb says, however, it is a long way from the cup to the lips, and it is a long way between the varugar and the marriage. Even though the amount due first is within the reach of every purse, the actual expenses of the marriage are enormous, and the man has to set about with the utmost slowness to save what is needed. Need it be added that, faced with following fashion and dressing accordingly, the future spouses devote to that a large part of their earnings? In order to make haste, very often the young man goes on a "campaign" and returns at the end of several years (two to seven) bearing the sum required for the marriage and for the nuptials, the last two phases.

2. The N'dakutar. This is a lump sum of 1,000 francs at least (which sometimes exceeds 5,000 francs), which the suitor gives to the girl in order to be presented to her parents. Accepting the n'dakutar implies for the latter the duty of

[11 cont.]/

369 584 583 dismissing all present or future suitors. Originally this was an indemnity to be shared among the unhappy rivals, or was intended as reimbursement for the advances collected by the parents of the girl without her knowledge. Some reputedly avaricious families demand it several times.

369 583 3. The Marriage Portion. Its amount does not rigorously follow the fluctuations which characterize the other expenses. It amounts to 2,500 francs and is fixed by a marabout, by converting the heads of cattle of Koranic law into French money. Religious in nature and hence escaping the whims of fashion, its importance is wholly secondary. One can delay five or six years or more before paying it. Many monogamous households get along very well, even though not a sou of the marriage portion [587] has been paid. Payment becomes obligatory, however, when the husband wishes to contract a second marriage.

4. Ngegenay (The Pillow). This is an optional expense, but one that good breeding requires. It consists of leaving under the wife's pillow a sum of money and a quantity of little gifts [585] (perfumes, sandals, bracelets, etc.) the day after the first nuptial contact. It is like a manifestation of the joy that one felt upon finding his wife to be virgin.

5. The Decoration. This is the essence of the Saint-Louis marriage. All of the expenses listed up to here are more or less private, or in any case little known, except for the marriage portion, by the neighboring quarters or the relatives far away from the city. For the Decoration, the payment is preceded by widely disseminated announcements several months in advance. It is exhibited before all the relatives of the married couple, their friends, their acquaintances, before all the persons of inferior castes, who go everywhere and who will repeat what they have seen, in brief, before the city.

Optional in the beginning, it today assumes such an obligatory character that only in Saint-Louis do the instructors dare to avoid it or to minimize its importance. Of what is the Decoration composed? Essentially of a box, a basket for effects, and a basket of small goods, but most especially what one has been able to amass that is precious and rare, and which has not

[11 cont.]
369 been distributed for the older children.
583 a) The Pani (the box). In appearance it may be ordinary or magnificent, according to the aesthetic inclinations of the sisters of the husband. Often it is an old metal box that contained tidbits. In any case it is not the appearance that interests us, but the contents, which generally are:

12 louis d'or 51;
[301] 2 gold necklaces, we say "chains";
2 pairs of gold earrings;
1 or 2 pairs of gold bracelets;
4 or 8 sautoirs, medals of gold which encircle the figure.

The box is found already prepared among the jewelers.
[435] Its minimum price is 6,000 francs. Its value easily reaches 20,000 francs and more.

b) The Basket for Effects. This is an expense of recent character and of practical import. Formerly, on the day of
[585] the nuptials, the husband gave his wife a bundle of banknotes as personal property accruing to her from her marriage. But the tradition that the woman should be generous made this money disappear immediately, distributed among the persons of caste who came from everywhere. I would have willingly given, if I had known it, the name of the first Saint-Louis man who replaced this packet of money with a quantity of clothing, thus putting his wife in a position to benefit from it herself. The basket actually contains articles whose number and quality vary, but which constitute a veritable trousseau no less, which may last for years. For an individual from a "great family" or a
369 "peasant," it includes as much as:
583
291 12 robes [boubous] of crepe de Chine (of which
435 4 of 8 meters each are obligatory, 160 francs per meter);
12 robes of rich bazin (4 obligatory of 8 meters each at 225 francs per meter);
4 camisoles, ordinary or of Lagos fabric;
[12] 4 camisoles of crepe de Chine (extravagantly cut to a length of 4 or 5 meters);

[12 cont.]

369 583 291 435

12 silk headkerchiefs (6 obligatory, valued at 500 to 600 francs each;

12 kerchiefs with "edging" [mouchoirs de "bord"] (6 obligatory, valued at 300 to 375 francs each);

2 silk handkerchiefs;

4 Mauritanian mats, on which the objects are detailed, valued at 500 francs each, and most of all rare, which costs dearly.

369 685

c) Basket of Small Goods. This is a creation of the well-bred man of Saint-Louis, who during the 3 or 8 or 15 days that the nuptials last wishes the guests to be treated well. The young people of both sexes are supposed to crowd into the spacious rooms, suitably decorated and illuminated, and to be "overwhelmed" by the songs of the griots. The husband considers their rejoicings an imperious duty and offers them a basket generally containing several packs of cards, packages of toothpicks, perfume, razor blades, pipes, tobacco, incense, kohéal, fans, tidbits, etc.

369 585 565

d) The Gifts. These expenses are the final obligations and bear the name of "decorations of castes." As we have noted, since the first visit of the husband, the persons of caste have not officially benefited further from his generosity or from that of his wife. But custom requires that these people be gratified. It should be noted also that the guers have their men of caste who are faithful to them from father to son. In their presence and when they are equal to their task. Whatever their fortune or rank (in the Europeanized society), a guer cannot address any other [576] persons of caste without their permission. Only one coiffeuse ar- [302] ranges the hair of a young girl until her marriage, and one [306] jeweler repairs or makes her finery. The marriage is the ceremony of their dedication and the occasion of proving to them that they have not placed their confidence in vain. These persons comprise two categories: that of the woman and that of the man. Let us note at once that the latter cannot be too demanding without showing a lack of the proper attitude. They form part of the general staff of the husband, and, under penalty

[12 cont.]

369 of humiliation, they must, as must he, show proof of generosity.
585 How does one go about "decorating these persons"?
565 There are the griots, the jewelers, the cobblers, and also ... the captives; the husband gives 1,000 francs or more to each grouping, and his relatives a supplementary sum, always distinct from that given by the husband, of such a nature that each caste receives 10,000 or 20,000 francs or more. This sum will be divided under the direction of the caste head.

585 This ceremony concludes the marriage, because im-
369 mediately, for three streets around, there is nothing but hysteria and hubbub, with griots coming and going, as well as drivers (3).

3. We have not said anything about the expense for the food. Each morning during the whole period of the nuptials, the husband must give a sum large enough to provide food for all of his guests and those of the wife. It is obligatory for the parents of the wife to send supper to the mother of the husband on the first day. I have seen a case that merits being noted. On the occasion of a recent marriage, the parents-in-law sent from Saint-Louis to Louga a wagon of food, 25 large basins, "tolis," containing 25 foods estimated in 1939 at 4,000 francs, deducted from the meals of the mother, which were, it was said, transported by five or six carts.

Consequences of the high price of marriage on the manners and customs

369
178
584 Such expenses greatly hinder young people from marrying.
581 Most of them, if they do not wish to remain single, are obliged to leave their city to contract bush marriages, which are almost

[12 cont.]

369 always temporary marriages, so great is the attachment of the
178 Saint-Louis man for his city and for the girls of his city. Al-
[584] though this situation is very unfortunate for the boys, it is less
so for the girls. Although some of them are still sacrificed very
[581] young to rich old men, many wait to meet the young man of
[562] their choice before marrying. The marriages of infant girls
have become very rare: the girls of Saint-Louis now marry at a
[582] reasonable age, at about 20, much like French girls. It is a
profound change. Convinced of being obliged to wait a long
369 time for a husband, they are acquiring an independence that
178 their mothers have not known; they go out, they go to dances
562 where they dance European dances, they dare to sit at a table
[191] in a café, they dress according to their taste, they speak French.
They go to school without constraint, which is also a revolution,
and they, like the boys, look for a salaried position, which
allows them a very broad life, like single persons, and which,
within the household, frees them from the guardianship of the
[595] husband. Polygamy, which the modern [evoluées] women
generally refuse, is more and more rare in Saint-Louis (4).

> 4. A polygamous husband most often shuns the modern women for the sake of peace in his household, because the personal earnings of these women permit them to buy finery other than that which he periodi-
> [578] cally distributes to his spouses, and this provokes jealousy and quarrels. Recently a young female official was supposed to enter the home of a Saint-Louis official as the third or fourth wife. She opposed her parents and married according to her inclination.

Educated girls have long been judged quite harshly, but this is passing. Many of the young girls who married against the wishes of their parents have been quickly forgiven when the latter saw the good appearance of the household and the affluence

[12 cont.]

369 that [13] prevailed there. This has been made obvious by the
178 war; the modern households have suffered from economic diffi-
662 culties much less than the others, because the women proved to
[511] be much more skillful in getting out of difficulties with the little that could be obtained.

369 Will the custom of such sumptuous expenses with regard
581 to marriage last? It is difficult to tell. It evidently greatly satisfies the pride of the man of Saint-Louis by exhibiting his
[556] wealth and his generosity. If it makes marriage difficult for young people, this is very regrettable, because the precious years of youth are lost and the children will come too late; it makes marriage the great affair of one's life, which is good,
[562] and it has contributed in a very large measure to the freeing of the girls, which, except for some extravagances, is a great benefit.

Diagne Oumar Syr

Instructor at N'Dioum
(Circle of Podor)

13:Diagne MS37 Senegal

NOTES AFRICAINES

CHICAGO NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM
JUL 14 1947

BULLETIN D'INFORMATION ET DE CORRESPONDANCE
DE L'
INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'AFRIQUE NOIRE

N° 34 AVRIL 1947

[title page]

7. — LES FRAIS DU MARIAGE SAINT-LOUISIEN — ORIGINES — PRINCIPAUX ASPECTS ET CONSEQUENCES

L'indigène des grandes villes du Sénégal, le Saint-Louisien en particulier, évolue, mais ses dépenses aux cérémonies de « Plaisir », baptême, mariage surtout, évoluent aussi, et malheureusement beaucoup plus vite. Le jeune homme lui-même voit où peut le conduire cette ascension vertigineuse des frais ; il lutte sinon pour l'arrêter, du moins pour la freiner Des associations se sont créées pour convenir d'une somme fixe qu'on

[p. 9]

Fig. 6. — Une jeune élégante de la haute société Wolove. Coiffure postiche à la mode; bijoux en « or du Sénégal » (titre généralement bas); robes et boubous aux couleurs vives; pleine de majesté, lèvres peintes (en bleu naturellement) ; cure dents universel. Cliché Labitte I.F.A.N.

ne doit pas dépasser, comme frais de mariage. Elles ne semblent guère donner le résultat escompté, leurs membres n'opposant pas une force de caractère nécessaire aux attaques dont l'innovation est l'objet. Il faut cependant citer, l'entente à peu près générale des membres de l'enseignement, à « braver la tempête » et à ne prêter aucune attention aux vœux de leurs parents, beaux-parents et épouses de faire des noces pompeuses. Ceux d'entre eux qui ne se sentent pas capables de contraindre leur amour-propre à faire figure de « pauvres » profitent des facilités qu'ils ont de changer de poste et contractent des mariages de brousse (1). La plupart restent célibataires.

Quelle est l'origine de ces frais élevés ? Nous allons la rechercher dans la coutume locale sans pouvoir espérer la situer dans le temps et non dans les lois du Coran, que nous avons subies seulement et que d'ailleurs nous nous sommes efforcés d'adapter à notre fantaisie. Quelles sont les phases du mariage ? Quelles dépenses occasionnent chacune d'elles. Nous le dirons en précisant que nous considérons le seul cas Saint-Louisien. Saint-Louis est le « centre du bon goût » de la colonie et lui sert de modèle. Enfin ces dépenses exagérées ont-elles des conséquences sur le célibat et l'orientation des mœurs ? Ce sera la dernière partie de cette esquisse trop succincte.

Quelle est l'origine des frais ?

Elle est en grande partie dans l'organisation sociale des Noirs Sénégalais avant l'introduction de l'Islam, et avant la Paix Française.

Le mariage dépendait alors de la volonté des pères et mères des époux. La dot imposée était énorme bien que proportionnelle au rang social du fiancé et à ses biens. Elle se composait de captifs et d'animaux. En revanche, l'épouse, pour conserver sa dignité aux yeux du mari et des coépouses, rejoignait son nouveau domicile avec souvent autant de biens qu'elle en avait reçus. Ceci est peut-être à l'origine des unions fréquentes de cousin à cousine, d'oncle à nièce, de tante à neveu. L'idée pour la famille était de toujours ainsi concentrer ses biens.

Les musulmans nous ont amené le Coran et la dot coranique, différente pour une esclave et pour une femme libre, avec un taux proportionnel aux biens du mari, mais qui ne demande en principe aucun faste dispendieux et qui ne se préoccupe pas des griots.

Avec la paix française, les captifs ont été retirés des échanges et l'idée de les remplacer par l'or, l'argent, les animaux (biens maintenant très vulgaires) prévalut.

Mais l'horizon s'est aussi élargi avec la liberté. Les prétendants autrefois localisés et presque d'avance connus se sont multipliés. L'originaire

[p. 10(A)]

du Fouta rapidement se transporte au Sène, et sans effusion de sang, sans rapt, peut épouser une fille dont la possession était le rêve de beaucoup de jeunes gens. Les rivalités qui, naguère se réglaient sur les champs de bataille ou à coups de poignards, ont pu se perpétuer sous l'œil indifférent du Blanc, mais sur un lit et à coups d'or ou de billets de banque (Diamalé : rivalité chez une femme).

Les griots, ces « langues de vipères » ont échafaudé de nouvelles chansons pour se rattraper de la perte des butins de guerre à jamais révolus. Sans exagération, et sans erreur, on peut affirmer que les dépenses si élevées des frais de mariage, ne sont dues qu'aux griots qui, usant de leur malfaisant génie, opposent dans leurs mélopées les largesses de tel homme à la parcimonie de tel autre, assaisonnant le tout de louanges a l'adresse de leurs ancêtres toujours légendaires et généreux.

Eblouir la fille et ses parents par sa générosité et ses richesses, arracher aux rivaux l'aveu de leur pauvreté, combler de biens les personnes de castes inférieures dont les louanges ne tariront plus, rehausser le prestige et la dignité de ses beaux-parents, voilà l'origine des énormes dépenses auxquelles doivent faire face ceux qui se marient à Saint-Louis.

Les phases du mariage et leurs frais

Ce n'est pas la place de montrer quel rôle la fille joue dans l'acte qui va décider de sa vie. Qu'il nous soit permis néanmoins d'affirmer qu'aujourd'hui une certaine liberté est laissée à la fille de se choisir un époux à la condition toutefois de n'arrêter son choix que sur un homme de sa condition. La société indigène est, en effet, compartimentée et le forgeron, le bijoutier, le cordonnier, le griot ne se lient jamais avec la permission de ses parents à une femme *guer* (2). Inversement le *guer* doit rester dans sa sphère et la coutume qui autrefois autorisait les chefs à contracter des mariages avec des femmes de caste sous prétexte de toujours vaincre au combat tend à disparaître.

Des jeunes de même condition vont donc se marier. Les relations sont entretenues, plus ou moins secrètement par des voisines ou plus communément par une fille de caste, camarade de la future mariée, jusqu'à ce que le eune homme soit certain de sa réussite. Alors il va faire son « attaque » à coups de billets de banque ; il doit mettre en demeure ses rivaux de lui céder la place. Les quelques milliers de francs ainsi engagés sont censés n'être pas connus des parents de la fille et la dépense n'est pas comptée dans les frais du mariage. Lorsque les rivaux acceptent leur défaite, le postulant fait sa demande offi-

ciellement. Dans le cas contraire l'attaque doit continuer jusqu'à ce qu'elle aboutisse. Alors l'homme pose sa candidature et les vraies dépenses pour son mariage commencent.

1° *LE VARUGAR.* — C'est la somme que l'on dépose, avec le consentement des parents des deux jeunes gens. C'est une garantie pour l'homme que la fille ne recevra plus un autre candidat, et, pour la femme, la certitude d'être obligatoirement entretenue par le prétendant. Le montant du *varugar* varie ; fixé à 2.500 fr. au minimum, il atteint facilement chez les « nouveaux enrichis » du marché noir 25 à 30.000 francs.

Mais, comme dit le proverbe, il y a loin de la coupe aux lèvres, il y a loin entre le *varugar* et le mariage. Si le montant du premier est à la portée de toutes les bourses, les vraies dépenses du mariage sont énormes et l'homme doit procéder avec la plus grande lenteur pour économiser le nécessaire. Faut-il encore ajouter que, devant suivre la mode et s'habiller en conséquence les futurs époux consacrent à cela une grande partie de leur gain? Pour faire vite, très souvent, l'homme va faire « campagne » et revient au bout de quelques années (2 à 7), porteur de la somme exigée pour le mariage et pour les *noces*, les deux dernières phases.

2° *LE N'DAKUTAR.* — C'est une somme globale de 1.000 fr. au moins (qui dépasse 5.000 fr. parfois) que le prétendant remet à la fille pour être présenté à ses parents. L'acceptation du *N'Dakutar* implique pour ceux-ci le devoir d'éconduire tous les prétendants présents ou à venir. Ce fut, à son origine, une indemnité à partager entre les concurrents malheureux, ou destinée à rembourser les avances perçues par les parents de la fille à son insu. Certaines familles réputées avares le réclament plusieurs fois.

3° *LA DOT.* — Son montant ne suit pas rigoureusement les fluctuations qui caractérisent les autres dépenses. Elle s'élève à 2.500 fr. et est fixée par un marabout, par conversion des têtes de bétail de la loi coranique en monnaie française. De caractère religieux et, partant, échappant aux fantaisies de la mode, son importance est tout à fait secondaire. On peut demeurer cinq ou six ans ou plus avant de l'acquitter. De nombreux ménages de monogames, s'entendent très bien alors que pas un sou de la dot n'a été versé. Le paiement devient cependant obligatoire lorsque le mari veut contracter un second mariage.

4° *NGEGENAY* (L'Oreiller). — C'est une dépense facultative, mais que le bon ton exige. Elle consiste à laisser sous l'oreiller de l'épouse une somme d'argent et un lot de petits cadeaux (parfums, sandalettes, bracelets, etc.), le lendemain du premier contact nuptial. Elle est comme la manifestation de la joie que l'on a eue à trouver sa femme vierge.

[P. 11(A)]

5° *LA DECORATION.* — C'est l'âme du mariage Saint-Louisien. Toutes les dépenses jusqu'alors énumérées sont plus ou moins privées, en tout cas peu connues, sauf pour la dot, des quartiers voisins, des parents éloignés de la ville. Pour la Décoration, la remise est précédée par des annonces largement diffusées et plusieurs mois à l'avance. On l'exhibe devant tous les parents des mariés, leurs amis, leurs connaissances, devant toutes les personnes de castes inférieures qui vont partout et qui répéteront ce qu'elles ont vu, bref devant la ville.

Facultative au début, elle revêt aujourd'hui un caractère si obligatoire que seuls à Saint-Louis les instituteurs osent l'esquiver, ou en amoindrir l'importance. De quoi se compose la Décoration ? Essentiellement d'une boîte, d'un panier à effets et d'un panier de pacotilles, en plus de tout ce qu'on a pu amasser de précieux et de rare, et qui n'a pas été répandu par les aînés.

a) *LE PANI (la boîte).* — Elle est d'apparence ordinaire ou luxueuse, suivant les dispositions esthétiques des sœurs du marié. Souvent c'est une vieille boîte de métal qui contenait des friandises. Ce n'est d'ailleurs pas l'apparence qui nous intéresse, mais le contenu qui est généralement de :

12 louis d'or 51 ;
2 colliers d'or, nous disons « chaîne » ;
2 paire de boucles d'oreilles en or ;
1 ou 2 paires de bracelets d'or ;
4 ou 8 sautoirs, médailles d'or qui encadrent la figure.

La boîte se trouve prête chez les bijoutiers. Son prix minimum est de 6.000 fr. Sa valeur atteint facilement 20.000 fr. et plus.

b) *LE PANIER A EFFETS.* — C'est une dépense de caractère récent et de portée pratique. Autrefois, le jour des noces, le mari donnait à sa femme une liasse de billets de banque, comme biens personnels lui revenant de son mariage. Mais la tradition qui veut que la femme soit généreuse faisait disparaître immédiatement cet argent partagé entre les personnes de castes venues de partout. J'aurais volontiers donné, si je l'avais connu, le nom du premier Saint-Louisien qui a remplace ce paquet d'argent par un lot de vêtements, mettant ainsi sa femme en mesure d'en profiter elle-même. Le panier renferme en effet des pièces dont le nombre et la qualité varient, mais qui n'en constitue pas moins un véritable trousseau qui peut durer des années. Pour un individu de «grande famille ou un « campagnard » il comprend jusqu'à :

12 boubous de crêpe dé chine (dont 4 obligatoires de 8 m chacun, 160 fr. le m.) ;
12 boubous de bazin riche (4 obligatoires 8 m. chacun à 225 fr. le m.) ;
4 camisoles ordinaires ou de tissu Lagos ;

[p. 11(B)]

4 camisoles de crêpe de chine (taille luxe longueur 4 ou 5 m.) ;
12 mouchoirs de tête en soie (6 obligatoires de valeur 5 à 600 fr. l'un) ;
12 mouchoirs de « bord » (6 obligatoires de valeur 300 à 375 fr. l'un) ;
2 foulards de soie ;
4 nattes mauritaniennes sur lesquelles on détaille les objets, valeur 500 fr. l'une, en plus tout ce qui est rare qui coûte cher.

c) *PANIER DE PACOTILLES.* — C'est une création du bon ton Saint-Louisien qui veut que pendant les 3 ou 8 ou 15 jours que durent les noces les invités soient bien traités. Les jeunes gens des deux sexes doivent se coudoyer dans des chambres spacieuses, décorées et illuminées en conséquence et doivent être « submergés » par les chants des griots. L'époux considère comme un devoir impérieux leurs réjouissances et leur offre un panier renfermant généralement plusieurs jeux de cartes, des paquets de cure-dents, des parfums, des lames de rasoir, des pipes, du tabac, de l'encens, du kohéal, des éventails, des friandises, etc., etc...

d) *LES DONS.* — Ces dépenses sont les dernières obligations et portent le nom de décorations de castes. Comme nous l'avons remarqué, depuis la première visite de l'époux les personnes de castes n'ont plus officiellement bénéficié de sa générosité ni de celle de sa femme. Or l'usage veut que ces gens soient comblés. Il faut dire aussi que les *guers* ont leurs hommes de castes qui leur sont fidèles de père en fils. En leur présence et lorsqu'ils sont à la hauteur de leur tâche. Quels que soient leur fortune ou leur rang (dans la société européanisée) un *guer* ne peut s'adresser sans leur autorisation à d'autres personnes de castes. La même coiffeuse seule arrange la tête d'une fillette juqu'à son mariage et le même bijoutier lui répare ses parures ou lui en confectionne. Le mariage est la cérémonie de leur consécration et l'occasion de leur prouver qu'ils n'avaient pas en vain placé leur confiance. Ces personnes comprennent deux catégories ; celles de la femme, celles de l'homme. Notons toutefois que ces dernières ne peuvent être trop exigentes sans manquer de tenue. Elles font partie de l'Etat-major du mari et sous peine de rabaisser celui-ci doivent comme lui, faire preuve de générosité.

Comment procède-t-on pour « décorer ces personnes » ? Il y a les griots, les bijoutiers, les cordonniers et aussi... les captifs ; le mari donne à chaque groupement 1.000 fr. ou plus ; et ses parents une somme supplémentaire toujours distincte de celle donnée par l'époux, de sorte que chaque caste reçoit 10 ou 20.000 fr. ou plus. Cette somme sera partagée sous la présidence du chef de caste.

Cette cérémonie clot le mariage, car aussitôt, à

[p. 12 (A)]

trois rues à la ronde, ce n'est plus que cris, tintamarre, va et vient des griots aussi bien que des voituriers (3).

Conséquences de la cherté du mariage sur les mœurs

De telles dépenses empêchent beaucoup de jeunes gens de se marier. Elles obligent la plupart d'entre eux s'ils ne veulent demeurer célibataires à quitter leur ville, à contracter des mariages de brousse qui sont presque toujours des mariages provisoires tant est grand l'attachement du Saint-Louisien pour sa ville et pour les jeunes filles de sa ville. Si cette situation est très fâcheuse pour les garçons elle l'est moins pour les filles. Si quelques-unes sont encore sacrifiées toutes jeunes à des vieillards riches, beaucoup attendent pour se marier de rencontrer le jeune homme de leur choix; les mariages de filles-enfants sont devenus très rares, les Saint-Louisiennes se marient maintenant à un âge raisonnable ; vers la vingtaine, à peu près comme les jeunes filles françaises. C'est une transformation profonde. Persuadées d'être obligées d'attendre longtemps un mari, elles acquièrent une indépendance que leurs mères n'ont pas connue, elles sortent, elles vont au bal où elles dansent ces danses européennes, elles osent s'asseoir à une table de café, elles se parent selon leur goût, elles parlent français. Elles vont à l'école sans contrainte ce qui est aussi une révolution et elles recherchent comme les garçons une situation rétribuée qui leur permet une vie très large comme célibataires et qui dans le ménage les affranchira de la tutelle du mari. La polygamie, que les femmes évoluées refusent généralement, est à Saint-Louis de plus en plus rare (4).

Les filles instruites ont été longtemps assez mal considérées, mais ceci passe. Bien des jeunes filles qui se sont mariées contre le gré de leurs parents ont été rapidement pardonnées quand ceux-ci ont vu la bonne tenue du ménage et l'aisance qui y

---

(1) Pour les St-Louisiens et St-Louisiennes, toute femme qui n'habite pas St-Louis ou ne compte pas d'ascendants dans cette ville est de la brousse, donc d'éducation mondaine et ménagère incomplète.

(2) Toutes les personnes qui n'appartiennent pas à une caste inférieure — griot cordonnier, etc... Ne pas confondre avec gor homme libre, qui n'est pas esclave, ni affranchi.

(3) Nous n'avons pas dit qu'il existe des dépenses de repas. Pendant toute la période des noces, le mari doit chaque matin donner une somme suffisante pour nourrir tous ses invités et ceux de la femme. Obligatoirement les parents de l'épouse envoient à la mère du mari un souper le premier jour. J'ai vu un cas qui mérite d'être signalé. A l'occasion d'un mariage récent, les beaux-parents ont envoyé de St-Louis à Louga un wagon de nourriture, 25 grandes cuvettes « Tolis » renfermant 25 mets évalués en 1939 à 4.000 francs, prélevés sur les repas de la mère qui étaient, raconte-t-on, transportés par 5 ou 6 charrettes.

(4) Les maris polygames évitent le plus souvent les évoluées pour la paix de leur ménage car le gain personnel de celles-ci leur permet d'acheter des parures autres que celles qu'ils distribuent périodiquement à leurs épouses et cela provoque jalousies et disputes. Récemment, une jeune fonctionnaire devait entrer comme troisième ou quatrième épouse dans la maison d'un fonctionnaire St-Louisien. Elle a résisté à ses parents et s'est mariée selon son goût.

[p. 12(B)]

règne. Ceci a été rendu sensible par la guerre, les ménages évolués ont beaucoup moins souffert des difficultés économiques que les autres car les femmes s'y montraient beaucoup plus habiles à se débrouiller avec le peu qu'on pouvait obtenir.

La coutume de faire d'aussi somptueuses dépenses à propos du mariage durera-t-elle ? Il est difficile d'en augurer. Elle satisfait évidemment l'orgueil bien Saint-Louisien de montrer sa richesse et sa générosité. Si elle rend le mariage difficile aux jeunes gens, ce qui est très regrettable car de précieuses années de jeunesse sont perdues et les enfants viendront trop tard, elle fait du mariage la grande affaire de la vie, ce qui est bon et elle a contribué dans une très large mesure à l'affranchissement des jeunes filles ce qui, hormis quelques extravagances, est un grand bien.

DIAGNE OUMAR SYR
Instituteur à N'Dioum
(Cercle de Podor).

[p. 13 (A)]

14: Duchemin U-5 (no date) 1948 MS37 Senegal MS37

Rural Urbanism -- the Village of Cambérène
[Urbanisme Rural -- le village du Cambérène]

by G.J. Duchemin

Dakar: 1948
Notes Africaines
No. 39, pp. 17-18

Translated from the French by Grace W. Moore

Human Relations Area Files

1963

[Title page]

[17]

The Village of Cambérène (Dakar)

361 175 The village of Cambérène was founded about 1885 by the gathering of tabilés [disciples] around their teacher, Li Mamou Laye Thiaw, who had set up his dwelling near the watercourse Der Gui N'Dargou to the northeast of Yoff (east of the present gardens of the Government).

731 175 622 Li Mamou died in 1909, and his brother, Seydina Issa Laye Thiaw, succeeded him at the head of the small zaouïa, which in 1914 was the victim of an epidemic of the plague.

Seydina Issa decided, as is generally done in such cases, to change the location of the little village.

361 Considering his first location unfavorable, being too near the Niaye, he decided to establish it in the open air in front of the heights of the string of littoral dunes on the very edge of the sea, which should, he thought, be healthier.

[369] Having ascertained that in Dakar an effort was made to align the houses and to put straight and wide streets between them, he resolved to order that, in establishing the new village, the center of the site was to be the mosque, which, first constructed [346] of wood and straw, was replaced in 1939 by a handsome edifice of masonry.

To the north and south of the mosque, Seydina Issa laid out two parallel avenues east to west. He placed the dwellings of his family facing the entrance of the mosque, leaving open a large space which he had reserved to the east; at right angles to the principal streets, some north-south streets were laid out, and each family put its dwellings in the form of a U opening on the principal streets.

[18] [Fig. 1. appears here.]

The arrangement was subsequently respected, and the most recent of the 28 land-grants open on a third east-west avenue.

The curious fact of this very precise outline is not noted when one arrives at Cambérène by the road, nor when one goes about on foot within the village, and even the diagram on the map on a scale of 1/50,000 does not make it stand out. Thus, it was a

[18 cont.]

361

Fig. 1. Aerial view of the village of Cambérène.

surprise when the accompanying aerial photograph, taken at random during a flight at low altitude, revealed the prescribed arrangement of this village.

369 This attempt at urbanism merits notice as proof that evolution in Senegal can be circumspect and effectual and can adapt modern conceptions to local conditions.

G. J. Duchemin
(Dakar)

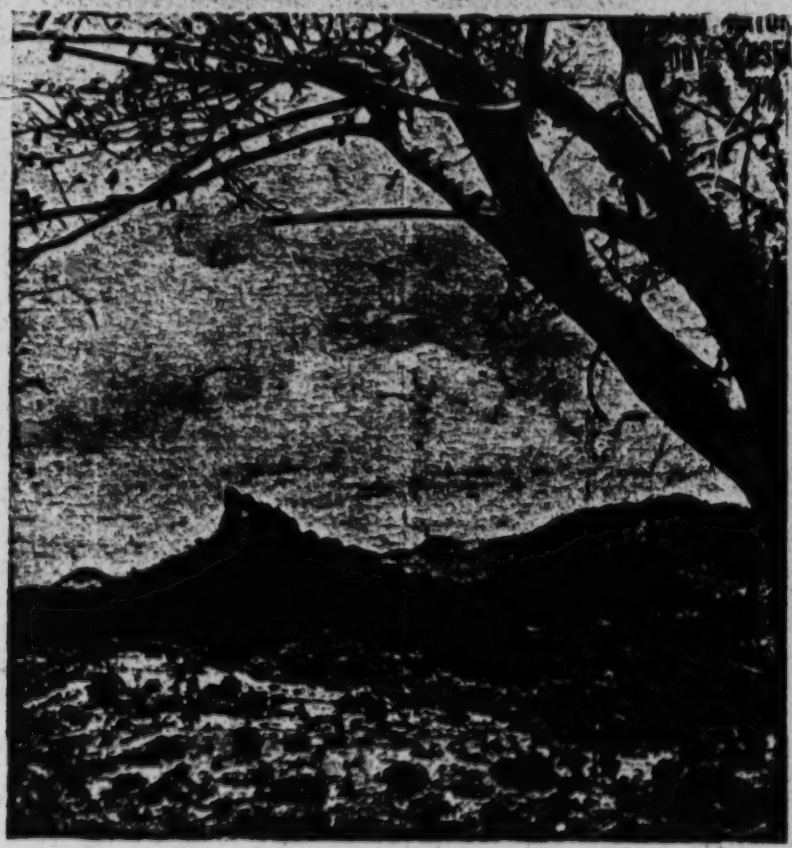
14:Dschomin MS37 Senegal

N° 39 JUILLET 1948

NOTES AFRICAINES

BULLETIN D'INFORMATION ET DE CORRESPONDANCE DE L'

INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'AFRIQUE NOIRE



[title page]

Urbanisme Rural - le village de Cambérène

LE VILLAGE DE CAMBERENE (DAKAR)

Le village de Cambérène fut créé vers 1885 par le rassemblement de cultivés autour de leur maître Li Mouna Laye Thiaw qui avait installé en cette zone du marigot Dan Caï N'Dangue au Nord-Est de Yoff (à l'Est de l'actuel jardin du Commissariat).

Li Mouna mourut en 1900 et son fils Seydina Issa Laye Thiaw lui succéda à la tête de la petite cité laquelle fut victime en 1914 d'une épidémie de peste.

Seydina Issa décida ensuite en le fait définitivement en ce sens de changer l'emplacement du petit village.

Estimant que en première problème sous prés de la Mosquée d'Etat pas favorable, il décida, de l'édifier en plein vent en avant de leur du cordon de dunes Rouaches en bordé autour de la mer en qui devait, pensait-il, être plus sûr.

Après constaté qu'à Dakar on s'efforçait d'ajouter les habitations et de subsister entre elles des rues droites et larges, il résolut d'adopter l'implantation du nouveau village en prenant comme centre l'emplacement de la mosquée qui, d'abord construite en bois et paille, fut remplacée en 1939 par une élégante construction de maçonnerie.

Au Nord et au Sud de la mosquée, Seydina Issa traça deux avenues parallèles Est-Ouest. Il plaça les cours de ses familles face à l'entrée de la mosquée en laissant libre une large place dans le prolongement à l'Est; à la perpendiculaire des rues principales, furent ensuites des rues Nord-Sud et chaque famille disposa un cours en forme d'U ouvrant sur les rues principales.

[p. 17]

Fig. [illegible] Vue générale du village de [illegible]

La [illegible] fut [illegible] par le [illegible] d'un [illegible] du [illegible] [illegible] d'[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Est-Ouest.

Fait curieux en [illegible] et [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

15: Mauny E-5 (1955) 1955 MS37 Senegal

Baobab Cemeteries for Griots 000
/Baobabs-Cimetieres a Griots/

by Raymond Mauny

Dakar: 1955
Notes Africaines
No. 67, pp. 72-76

Translated from the French by Jean Winchell

Human Relations Area Files

1964

/Title Page/

/72/

On March 15, 1955, the I.F.A.N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noire/ was informed by the administration of the Collège Technique d'Industrie at Fann of the discovery, by students of this establishment, of human skeletons inside a baobab located between this school and the Mandel rest home, at the edge of the Médina of Dakar (1). The next day we went 114 172

1. Discovery announced in the Paris-Dakar of March 22, 1955. February 19 was given erroneously.

to the spot and returned from there on March 19.

This baobab, called "Bok," rises in the middle of a former garden. It is of fine size: 15 meters high, 18.50 meters in circumference, or nearly six meters in diameter (Fig. 1). The trunk is hollow and forms a nearly circular chamber, 3.50 meters in diameter by six meters high, connected to the outside by three orifices: one on the east at ground level, 60 centimeters high by 45 wide, through which there is access to the interior; a sort of dormer window, 0.35 by 0.25 of a meter, on the north face, /73/ 75 centimeters above the ground; and, in the ceiling of the interior cavity, a slit one meter long by about 0.30 of a meter wide (Fig. 2). 137 172 766

Inside, the ground is composed of brownish earth mixed with sand and many human bones. The upper layer had already been excavated by students desirous of procuring skulls for themselves. The first time, we took away the bones found on the surface, not having the means to make excavations. When we came back two days later with the necessary equipment, we noticed that meanwhile new borings and samplings had been made by the students; thus this time it was wise to remove /Fig. 1 appears here/ all the osteological material possible, without being able to proceed with methodical excavations. 126 172 766

We therefore rescued all that we could; the skeletons were tangled up in the most extraordinary fashion without any attempt at orientation. The bodies had, obviously been thrown down 172 766

/73 cont./

pell-mell. The skulls appeared with the face turned up, down, or to one side. The piling at certain points was hard to believe: in a single space of 80 by 60 centimeters and a depth of 40 centimeters, nearly 20 skulls, without counting other bones, were found! 172 766

No implements accompanied the skeletons, neither iron bracelets, shell necklaces, nor pottery, as in the burials of the

[137]

Fig. 1. The baobab Bok (north side). The persons are standing in front of the entrance hole. In the center, the "dormer window."

beach of Ouakam, for example (2). Only a few basalt pebbles

2. [Monod, Th.] "En attendant l'homme fossile /While awaiting fossil man/." Dakar, Notes Afr., No. 2, April 1939, pp. 8-9; Corbeil, R., Mauny, R., Charbonnier, J., "Préhistoire et Protohistoire de la presqu'île du Cap Vert et de l'extrême

/73 cont./

172
766

Ouest sénégalais /Prehistory and Protohistory of the Peninsula of Cape Verde and the Extreme West of Senegal/." Bull. de l'I.F.A.N., /1948/, p. 450.

were mixed with the skeletons, which were found to a depth of 60 centimeters, the soil below, consisting solely of sand, being intact.

In all, about 20 skulls practically in good condition and about ten in bad condition, including one of a child, and hundreds of bones were brought back for study by the Section d'Anthropologie of the I.F.A.N. /Fig. 2 appears here./ [128]

There is no doubt about the meaning of this discovery. We are dealing with a baobab that served as a burial place for griots /musicians, storytellers/ in a recent past (3); the Baobab [565]

3. Probably until the effective Islamization of the peninsula due to the establishment of the theocratic Lébou community about 1795, although isolated cases could have occurred up to a about the founding of Dakar (1857). [175]

of Bok, moreover, is also known in the neighborhood by the name of "goui guevel" (Baobab for Griots).

It is likewise the name of goui guevel (shown, moreover, on the Yof sheet at 1/20,000, 1954) that designates another baobab (24.50 meters in circumference) located west of the village of Ouakam, which I visited April 6, 1955, without being able to get into it, the opening being too small (0.60 x 0.15 of a meter).

A small village bears the same name northeast of Ouayembam (Sangalkam sheet at 1/20,000, 1941). /74/ /Fig. 3 appears here./

The interment of griots in hollow trees has, moreover, 000

/73/

172
766

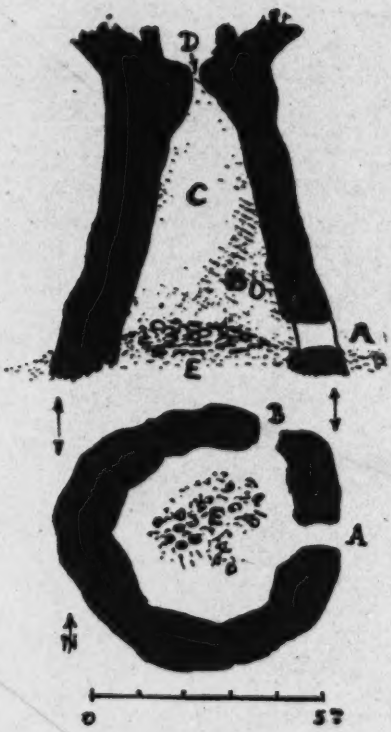


Fig. 2. Cross-section and ground plan of Bok: A. Entrance orifice; B. Window; C. Interior chamber; D. Ceiling orifice; E. Layer of bones.

15: Mauny--5 E-5 (1955) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37
Serer FA32

/74 cont./

S
766

Fig. 3. Burials in the country of the Jalophes (Wolofs) according to Dapper (1668). In the background one sees a griot who is being interred in a hollow tree.

SR
766
565

The interment of griots in hollow trees has, moreover, been reported in Senegal for a long time. It is always practiced in Sérère /Serer/ country; this custom does not seem to have been known outside the territory and seems to have been completely abandoned, for example, in Wolof country where it must have been practiced in former times (4). The case of the peninsula of

4. Dapper (1668) mentions it in the "pais des Jalofes /country of the Wolof/," but includes in this latter Sine, Baol, and Joal, Sérère countries (1686, p. 228).

Cape Verde is somewhat special, its populations having been in close contact with the Sérère, whose habitat begins just east of Bargny and even includes a good part of the region (Sébikotane, Pout, Thiès, etc. are in Sérère country).

To my knowledge the first to mention this funeral custom was Alvarez d'Almada (1594) who reports it in Saloum (5). The

5. Silveira, L., 1946, p. 25.

S SR 766 565

/74 cont./

explanation given was already the one that is advanced today: if the griots (Judeus) were buried in the depths of the earth, the fields would no longer produce.

Following the R. P. Alexis de Sainct Lô (1637, p. 88), Dapper (1668) relates the same belief and reports that the ostracism cast on the griots is applied even to their wives and their children and that they can neither be put in the earth nor thrown into the sea or a river (6). His account of the interment

6. Dapper, O., French translation 1686, p. 235.

of tambours in baobabs is illustrated by a drawing (Fig. 3). His account is taken up again by Barbot (1732) (7). The Chevalier

7. Barbot, J., 1732, p. 55.

de Fréminville relates to us the discovery of a baobab cemetery for griots near Hann in 1822 (8). Abbé Boilat (1853) and

8. Herpin, E., 1913, pp. 120-121, and 1955, p. 45; for a case noted at Dakar in 1873, see Th. Monod, 1949, p. 311, and J. Hachet, 1892, p. 38.

Carrère and Holle (1855) (9) recall briefly the same custom.

9. Boilat, Abbé P. D., 1853, p. 315; Carrère, F., and Holle, P., p. 68.

Nearer to us, Diguy Kanté, Valtaud, and Aujas report it in Sérère country (10).

10. Kanté, Diguy, 1917, p. 156; Valtaud, 1922, p. 251; Aujas, L., p. 321.

MS37 Senegal MS37
Serer FA32

/74 cont./

An unpublished source of information is furnished us by the notebooks of vacation homework of pupils of the William-Ponty School, written in 1945, which had as subject "the funeral rites" (11).

S
SR
766
565

11. Let us cite, among others, the studies of MM. Diouf Khar N'Dofène, NDao Ibrahima, Diop Boubacar, N'Diaye N'Diaga, Diop Biram. These notebooks are kept in the Section de Documentation of the I.F.A.N. at Dakar.

S
[127]

From these studies several facts stand out from the others:

a) This custom is practiced today only in animist Sérère country.

b) It is tending to disappear because of new ideas (flight of the griots to the cities, where they melt into the masses; hygiene; equalitarianism /75/ preached by Islam, Christianity, schools, etc.

c) The griots of our day are buried with the other "people of caste" (blacksmiths, shoemakers, weavers) in a cemetery near, but different from the one for the noble classes of the society.

This is how, according to these notebooks, a griot interment takes place in animist Sérère country.

The griot in Sérère country, as in a large part of Black Africa, occupies the bottom of the social ladder. An inferior, scorned, and feared being, it is not appropriate for him to be buried; the soil of the land where he would rest "would be rendered sterile forever or at least its yield would diminish from year to year."

After his death one proceeds with his funeral toilet, which is the same as for the other castes: the dead man is clothed in his finest garments, then wrapped in a pagne /Fr., a long strip of cloth/, and then "fastened with palmyra leaves in such a way as to form a solid package."

He is then laid out on a litter and carried to the baobab-cemetery by two strong young men, accompanied by the crowd of griots of the village, men and women.

/75 cont./

The hollow baobab chosen has an opening obstructed by brambles to keep out hyenas and jackals.

When the procession arrives in front of the baobab, the young men rush and jostle one another to be the first to enter the tree. They are armed and engage in a savage struggle with this aim, spurred on by the cries of the women, who appeal to their bravery and sing their praises.

Finally, one of them succeeds; henceforth he will do his utmost, with the help of his weapons, to prevent the others from entering in their turn. The candidates fight from the outside with the winner on the inside. The combat stops only when a second fighter has conquered the winner; then both bring the corpse into the tree amidst the applause and songs of those present. They lay the dead man on the pile of previous corpses without other ceremony. The two winners are regarded as heroes by the girls, while the other young men beaten in the course of this struggle "have lost their honor and degraded their families," cruel shame in Senegal; they will find it difficult to marry...

This custom from other ages is obviously destined to disappear rapidly in the face of the evolution of customs; the land already lost (Lébou country, part of the Wolof and even Sérère country) allows it to be clearly foreseen, although the interested persons themselves, the Sérère griots, continue to practice it in many places in Sine-Saloum and Baol.

Therefore it was necessary to describe it in a little more detail than the previous authors have done, before it is no more than a memory.

By a fair reversal of things, it is provocative to note concerning the Bok discovery that the skeletons of the most despised caste have been almost perfectly preserved in these very special conditions of inhumation in a baobab, while absolutely nothing of the bones of the great of the country, the guers, remains after perhaps less than a century; the Senegalese sand, moistened by the winter rains, reduces them to impalpable dust or bony splinters which do not withstand being touched (12).

12. Corbeil, R., Mauny, R., and Charbonnier, J., op. cit., 1948, p. 442.

/75 cont./

Charbonnier, J., op. cit., 1948, p. 442.

ooo

Raymond Mauny
(I.F.A.N., Dakar.)

/See the foreign text, pp. 75-76, for the bibliography./

15: Mauny

M537 Senegal

n° 67

JUILLET 1955

CHICAGO NATURAL
HISTORY MUSEUM
SEP 1 - 55

NOTES AFRICAINES

BULLETIN D'INFORMATION ET DE CORRESPONDANCE
DE L'
INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'AFRIQUE NOIRE

(Photo A. Gouaux, Photothèque IFAN)

Vieux wolofs chez
Mme, veuve de Thiès (Sénégal).

[title page]

BAOBABS - CIMETIERES A GRIOTS

Le 15 mars 1955, l'I.F.A.N. était informé par la Direction du Collège Technique d'Industrie à Fann de la découverte, par des élèves de cet établissement, de squelettes humains à l'intérieur d'un Ba bab situé entre cette école et la maison de repos Mandel, à la lisière de la Médina de Dakar [1]. Dès le lendemain, nous nous rendions sur place et y retournions le 19 mars.

Ce Baobab, dit « *Bok* », s'élève au milieu d'un ancien jardin. Il est de belle taille : 15 mètres de haut, 18 m. 50 de circonférence, soit près de 6 mètres de diamètre (Fig. 1). Le tronc en est creux et forme une chambre à peu près circulaire de 3 m. 50 de diamètre sur 6 mètres de haut, reliée à l'extérieur par trois orifices : un à l'Est, au niveau du sol, de 60 cm. de haut sur 45 de large, par lequel on accède à l'intérieur ; une sorte de lucarne de 0 m. 35 sur 0 m. 25, sur la face nord,

[p. 72]

à 75 cm. du sol, et, au plafond de la cavité intérieure, une fente d'un mètre de long sur 0 m. 30 de large environ (Fig. 2).

Le sol, à l'intérieur, est composé de terre brunâtre mêlée à du sable et à de nombreux ossements humains. La couche superficielle avait déjà été fouillée par les élèves désireux de se procurer des crânes. Nous emmenâmes la première fois les ossements se trouvant en surface, n'ayant pas les moyens de pratiquer des fouilles. Lorsque nous revînmes deux jours après avec le matériel nécessaire, nous nous aperçûmes qu'entre temps, de nouveaux sondages et prélèvements avaient été faits par les élèves : il convenait donc de retirer

Fig. 1, Le Baobab *Bok* (côté nord). Les personnages se tiennent devant le trou d'entrée. Au centre, la « lucarne ».

cette fois tout le matériel ostéologique possible sans pouvoir procéder à des fouilles méthodiques.

Nous dégageâmes donc tout ce que nous pûmes : les squelettes étaient emmêlés de la façon la plus extraordinaire, sans aucune recherche d'orientation. Les corps avaient visiblement été jetés pêle-mêle. Les crânes se présentaient la face tournée vers le haut, vers le bas, vers le côté. L'empilement en certains points était invraisemblable : en un seul espace de 80 sur 60 centimètres, et une profondeur de 40 centimètres, près d'une vingtaine de crânes, sans compter d'autres ossements, furent retrouvés !

Aucun matériel n'accompagnait les squelettes : ni bracelets de fer, ni colliers en coquillages, ni poteries comme dans les sépultures de la plage

[p. 73 (A)]

d'Ouakam, par exemple [2]. Seuls quelques galets de basalte étaient mêlés aux squelettes, qui se retrouvaient jusqu'à 60 cm. de profondeur, le sol au-dessous, constitué uniquement de sable, étant vierge.

En tout, une vingtaine de crânes à peu près en bon état et une dizaine en mauvais état dont un d'enfant et des centaines d'ossements furent rapportés pour étude par la Section d'Anthropologie de l'I.F.A.N.

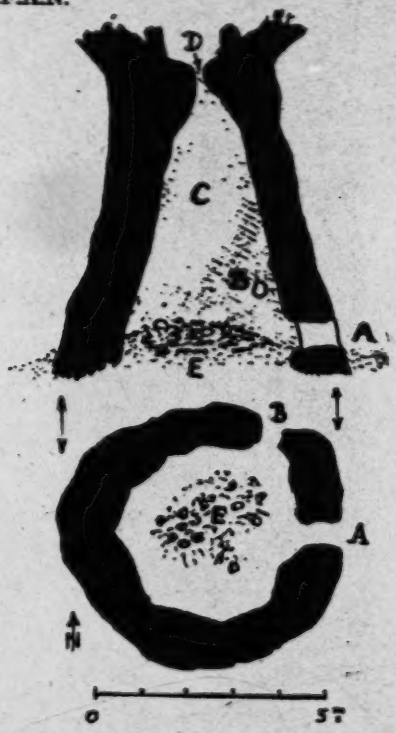


Fig. 2, Coupe et plan de *Bok* : *A*. Orifice d'entrée ; *B*. Lucarne ; *C*. Chambre intérieure ; *D*. Orifice du plafond ; *E*. Couche à ossements.

Le sens de cette découverte ne fait aucun doute : nous avons affaire à un Baobab ayant servi de sépulture à des griots dans un passé récent [3] : le Baobab de Bok est d'ailleurs connu également dans le voisinage sous le nom de « *goui guevel* » (Baobab à griots).

C'est également le nom de *goui guevel* (porté d'ailleurs sur la feuille Yof au 1/20.000e (1954) qui désigne un autre Baobab (24 m.50 de circonférence) situé à l'Ouest du village d'Ouakam, que j'ai visité le 6 avril 1955 sans pouvoir y pénétrer, l'ouverture étant trop petite (0 m 60 × 0 m 15).

Un petit village porte même le nom au Nord-Est d'Ouayembam (feuille Sangalkam au 1/20.000e (1941).

[p. 73(B)]

Fig. 3. Enterrements au pays des Jalophes (Wolofs) d'après Darven (1668). Au second plan, on voit un griot que l'on enterre dans un tronc creux.

[p. 74(A)]

[p. 74 (B)]

L'enterrement des griots dans les arbres creux est d'ailleurs signalé de longue date au Sénégal. Il est toujours pratiqué en pays sérère: cette coutume ne semble pas avoir été connue hors du territoire et semble complètement abandonnée, par exemple en pays wolof où elle dut être autrefois pratiquée [4]. Le cas de la presqu'île du Cap Vert est un peu spécial, ses populations ayant été en contact étroit avec les Sérères dont l'habitat commence juste à l'Est de Bargny et comprend même une bonne partie de la région (Sébikotane, Pout, Thiès, etc., sont en pays sérère).

Le premier à mentionner cette coutume funéraire est à ma connaissance ALVAREZ D'ALMADA (1594) qui la signale au Saloum [5]. L'explication donnée était déjà celle que l'on avance aujourd'hui: si l'on enterrait les griots (*Judeus*) en pleine terre, les champs ne produiraient plus.

Après le R.P. ALEXIS DE SANCT LÔ (1637, p. 88), DAPPER (1668) relate la même croyance et rapporte que l'exclusive jetée sur les griots s'applique même à leurs femmes et leurs enfants

[p. 74(c)]

et qu'on ne peut ni les mettre en terre, ni les jeter dans la mer ou une rivière [6]. Son récit d'enterrement des *tambours* dans les Baobabs est illustré d'un dessin (fig. 3). Son récit est repris par Barbot (1732) [7]. Le Chevalier de Frémin-ville nous relate la découverte d'un Baobab-cimetière à griots près de Hann en 1822 [8]. L'abbé Boilat (1853), Carrère et Holle (1855) [9] rappellent brièvement la même coutume.

Plus près de nous, Diguy Kanté, Valtaud et Aujas la rapportent en pays sérère [10].

Une source inédite de renseignements nous est fournie par les cahiers de devoirs de vacances d'élèves de l'Ecole William-Ponty rédigés en 1945, qui avaient pour thème « les rites funéraires » [11].

Plusieurs faits ressortent entre autres de ces études :

a) Cette coutume n'est pratiquée aujourd'hui qu'en pays sérère animiste.

b) Elle tend à disparaître du fait des idées nouvelles (fuite des griots vers les villes où ils se fondent dans la masse; hygiène; égalitarisme

prêché par l'Islam, le Christianisme, l'école, etc.

c) Les griots sont enterrés de nos jours avec les autres « gens de castes » (forgerons, cordonniers, tisserands) dans un cimetière proche mais différent de celui des classes nobles de la société.

Voici comment se passe, d'après ces cahiers, un enterrement de griot en pays sérère animiste.

Le griot occupe au pays sérère, comme dans une bonne partie de l'Afrique noire, le bas de l'échelle sociale. Etre inférieur, méprisé et redouté, il ne convient pas qu'il soit enterré : le sol du terrain où il reposerait « serait rendu stérile pour toujours ou, pour le moins, son rendement diminuerait d'année en année ».

Après son décès, on procède à sa toilette funèbre, qui est la même que pour les autres castes : le mort est revêtu de ses plus beaux vêtements, enveloppé ensuite dans un pagne, puis « attaché avec des feuilles de Rônier de manière à former un paquet solide ».

Il est ensuite étendu sur un civière et porté au Baobab-cimetière par deux solides gaillards, accompagnés par la foule de griots du villages, hommes et femmes.

Le Baobab creux choisi comporte une ouverture obstruée de ronces pour en interdire l'accès aux Hyènes ou aux Chacals.

Lorsque le cortège arrive devant le Baobab, les jeunes gens se précipitent et se bousculent à qui entrera le premier dans l'arbre. Ils sont armés et se livrent à une lutte sauvage dans ce but, excités par les cris des femmes qui font appel à leur bravoure et chantent leurs éloges.

Enfin, l'un d'entre eux y parvient : il fera désormais tout son possible, à l'aide de ses armes, pour empêcher les autres d'y pénétrer à leur tour. Les candidats se battent, de l'extérieur, avec le gagnant situé à l'intérieur. Le combat ne cesse que lorsqu'un deuxième combattant a vaincu le gagnant : tous deux font alors entrer le cadavre dans l'arbre sous les applaudissements et les chants de l'assistance. Ils couchent le mort sur le tas de cadavres précédents, sans autre cérémonial. Les deux vainqueurs sont considérés comme des héros par les jeunes filles, tandis que les autres jeunes gens vaincus au cours de cette lutte « ont perdu leur honneur et avili leur famille », honte cruelle au Sénégal : ils trouveront difficilement à se marier...

Cette coutume d'autres âges est évidemment destinée à disparaître rapidement devant l'évolution des mœurs : le terrain perdu déjà (pays lébou, partie du pays wolof et même sérère), le laisse clairement entrevoir, bien que les intéressés eux-mêmes, les griots sérères, continuent à la pratiquer en de nombreux points du Sine-Saloum et du Baol.

Aussi était-il nécessaire de la décrire un peu plus en détails que ne l'ont fait les auteurs précédents avant qu'elle ne soit plus qu'un souvenir.

[p. 75 (A)]

Par un juste retour des choses, il est piquant de noter, à propos de la découverte de *Bok*, que les squelettes de la caste la plus méprisée se sont presque parfaitement conservés dans ces conditions très spéciales d'inhumation dans un Baobab, tandis que des ossements des grands du pays, des *guers*, il ne reste absolument rien après moins d'un siècle peut-être: le sable sénégalais, humecté par les pluies d'hivernage, les réduit en poussière impalpable ou en esquilles osseuses qui ne résistent pas au toucher [12].

Raymond MAUNY.
(*I.F.A.N., Dakar.*)

NOTES

(1) Découverte annoncée dans le *Paris-Dakar* du 22 mars 1955. C'est par erreur que le 19 février a été donné.

(2) [MONOD, Th.] En attendant l'homme fossile... *Dakar, Notes Afr.* n° 2, avril 1939, p. 8-9; CORBEIL, R., MAUNY, R., CHARBONNIER, J., Préhistoire et Protohistoire de la presqu'île du Cap Vert et de l'extrême Ouest sénégalais, *Bull. de l'I.F.A.N.*, [1948], p. 450.

(3) Probablement jusqu'à l'islamisation effective de la presqu'île due à la constitution de la communauté théocratique Mbouc vers 1795, bien que des cas isolés aient pu se produire jusque vers la fondation de Dakar (1857).

(4) DAPPER (1668) la mentionne au « pais des Jalofes » mais comprend dans ce dernier le Sine, le Baol et Joal, pays sérères (1686, p. 228).

(5) SILVEIRA, L., 1946, p. 25.

(6) DAPPER, O. trad. fr. 1686, p. 235.

(7) BARBOT, J., 1732, p. 55.

(8) HERPIN, E., 1913, p. 120-121 et 1955, p. 45; pour un cas signalé à Dakar en 1873, voir Th. MONOD, 1949, p. 311 et J. HACHET, 1892, p. 38.

(9) BOILAT, Abbé P. D., 1853, p. 315; CARRÈRE, F. et HOLLE, P., p. 68.

(10) KANTÉ, Diguy, 1917, p. 156; VALTAUD, 1922, p. 251; AUJAS, L., p. 321.

(11) Citons entre autres les études de MM. DIOUF KHAR N'DOFÈNE, NDAO Ibrahima, DIOP Boubacar, N'DIAYE N'Diaga, DIOP Biram. Ces cahiers sont conservés à la Section de Documentation de l'I.F.A.N. à Dakar.

(12) CORBEIL, R., MAUNY, R. et CHARBONNIER, J., *op. cit.*, 1948, p. 442.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

ALVARES D'ALMADA (voir L. SILVEIRA).

AUJAS (L.), Les Sérères du Sénégal (Mœurs et coutumes de droit privé). *Bull. Com. Et. Hist. et Sc. A.O.F.*, 1931, p. 293-333.

BARBOT (J.), A description of the coasts of North and South Guinea... [s. l.], 1732, 722 p.

BOILAT (Abbé P. D.), Esquisses sénégalaises, *Paris*, P. Bertrand, 1853, 496 p., 24 pl., 1 carte h. t.

CARRÈRE (F.) et HOLLE (P.), De la Sénégambie française, *Paris*, F. Didot, 1855, 393 p.

DAPPER (O.), Description de l'Afrique... *Amsterdam*, Wolfgang, 1686, 556 p., ill.

HACHET (J.), Un voyage à la côte d'Afrique [en 1873], *St-Quentin*, Moureau, 1892, 98 p., ill.

(*Orcinus orca*) : Killer whale ou les Globicéphales

HERPIN (E.), Mémoires du Chevalier de Fréminville, *Paris*, Champion, 1912, 265 p.

— Le Chevalier de Fréminville à Dakar, *Notes Afr.*, n° 66, avril 1955, p. 41-47.

[p.75(B)]

KARTÉ (Digny), Les rites fétichistes chez les Sérères du Baol, *Bull. de l'Enseignement de l'A.O.F.*, février 1917, p. 146-160.

MONOD (Th.), Les anciens villages, *in* La presqu'île du Cap Vert, *Et. Sénégalaises*, n° 1, I.F.A.N., *Dakar*, 1949, p. 309-311.

SAINCT-LÔ (R.P. Alexis DE), Relation du voyage du Cap Verd, *Paris*, Targa, 1637, 222 p.

SILVEIRA (Luis), Edicão nova de Tratado breve dos Rios de Guiné feito pelo Capito André Alvares d'Almada [1594], *Lisboa*, 1946, 106 p.

VALTAUD, Coutume funéraire des Sérères, *Bull. Com. Et. Hist. et Sc. A.O.F.*, 1922, p. 251.

[p. 76]

16: Faur U-5 (no date) 1957 MS37 Senegal MS37

On the Principal Gramineae of Senegal and Their Utilization

/Sur les principales Graminées du Sénégal et leur utilisation

by J. B. Faur

Dakar: 1957
Notes Africaines
No. 74, pp. 37-38

Translated from the French by Jean Winchell

Human Relations Area Files

1964

/Title Page/

/37/

During the dry season the ground appears bare, but with the first rains it is covered with a lusty vegetation, and it is principally the Gramineae that thus again adorns with verdure this land previously so desolate. S 137

I. -- Gramineae: Food Crops

The petit mil /small millet/, mil chandelle or penicillaire /candle or penicillate millet/ (Pennisetum), is native to Africa. It is also cultivated in India; undoubtedly it was at the time of the slave trade that it was introduced into America. This is the early small millet, or souna of the Wolof. The souna must be sown at the time of the first rains. It shoots up promptly; it grows well in the light, sandy soils (groundnut soils). After the 15th of August it begins to ripen, and one can already eat the unripe ears roasted. When it begins to push out of the ground, the Senegalese, and especially the Sérère /Serer/, sow beans between the rows; this is the volet (Phaseolus vulgaris), which will be eaten as green beans from the 15th of August on. The souna root is regarded by the Africans as a poison and, according to them, might be one of the causes of sleeping sickness. S 243 W [243] S [252] S [244] S [753]

Another variety of small millet is the sanio of the Wolof, late millet or bearded millet (Penicillaria spicata). This is a late variety of small millet with the ears covered with very strong beards, which, entering the eyes of birds, prevents them from eating it. It is said that it gives sottiete (eye ailments). The sanio grows in heavy soils. It is sown during the rainy season and harvested at the end of it, at the same time as groundnuts. W [243] S [753]

The gros mil /great millet/, or basi of the Wolof, requires a heavy and clayey soil. It ripens much later than the souna and can be cultivated in the middle of the rainy season. Sometimes it can even be planted again toward the end of the winter season when one sees that the first sowings have failed. The great millet, or basi, is sorghum (Sorghum sudanense). W [243]

Millet reduced to flour and granulated is called "couscous." S 262

/37 cont./

This is the most common preparation, but the native cuisine is acquainted with a host of others. The couscous is light, refreshing, and very nourishing. S 262

Millet is also given to horses. Basi is used the most in this practice, but souna gives them more vigor, although heating them up more. S 231

The Africans, by making millet germinate and putting it in water to boil for several days, obtain a kind of invigorating beer (pouh in Wolof), but one which, if taken in great quantities, produces a very heavy drunkenness. Millet, just like maize, fattens animals quickly, especially poultry. S W 273 S 231

Sorghum is a plant widely cultivated in Senegal. It is necessary to accustom the Senegalese farmer as rapidly as possible to replacing the ordinary variety by that of the sweet sorghum, that is, the saccharatum variety, which would have the advantage of giving sugar and grain. This saccharatum variety is utilized a great deal in the United States for the production of sugar. Then a sugar refinery would be created, which would be one more source of wealth for this country, wealth all the more appreciable because the African is fond of delicacies and a great consumer of sugar (mint tea, Moorish coffee, and infusions). S 243 S [433] [263] [272]

Rice. It is cultivated in Senegal in damp places, on the edges of marigots /watercourses/, in Sine, in Casamance, and at the mouth of the river (Richard-Toll, etc.). A large number of varieties is known, some of which grow in relatively dry and high places; black rice is one of them.

The African rice is Oryza glaberrima, but wild rice grows by itself; this is Oryza latifolia (punctata and sylvestris). The native rice is much more in demand by the Africans and often even by the Europeans than foreign rice. African cooks excel in preparing rice in all kinds of ways. S [137] S 262

Rice is emollient, soothing, very nourishing, and not at all binding or constipating as is sometimes thought. It also gives a beer by fermentation. Rice water renders great service in dysentery, as a beverage, and for bathing. Rice water is also a cooling drink for feverish and inflammatory ailments. Finally, rice powder is useful as an absorbent for skin diseases. S 273 757 [272] [515]

/38/

Maize (Zea mays L.): Succeeds well when sown at the beginning of the winter season. The native species sown under these conditions is very beautiful and gives large yellow ears, very well filled out. The Africans eat fresh roasted corn, and, when it is hard, they make couscous of it. The infusion prepared with the fruit is emollient and diuretic. The styles or stigmas of maize are famous as diuretics and cure several ailments of the urinary tract (cystitis, gravel, dysuria, etc.); the young kernels, when cooked, constitute an excellent vegetable and replace peas; the flour gives a beer and an alcoholic extract. The husks of the ears serve to make quite springy mattresses. 243 262 757 [273] [513]

II. -- Useful Gramineae

(not being subject to any cultivation)

Bamboo. -- Grows in the wild state in the Ravin des Voleurs /Ravine of Thieves/ near Thiès. The native species is rather small. Stakes, frames, masts of dugouts, huts, and fences, but especially clinting (constructions of bamboo filled in with lime) are made of it. The young shoots are said to be edible, and the sweet sap is supposed to be an agreeable drink. In Casamance a small species of bamboo grows in shady places; pipestems are made of it. 824 [313] [342] [262] [272] [276]

Begnefala (Andropogon shirensis). -- A tall gramineous plant with a penetrating aromatic odor. It is used in African medicine and the old colonials used it with success at the time of the great epidemic of yellow fever at Dakar in 1927. For fevers, one pounds the floral heads mixed with lemon or vinegar and energetically rubs the body with this mixture. [757]

Hada (Imperata cylindrica). -- A gramineous plant with a very hard leaf and whitish ear, which is used for covering the roofs of huts. [342]

Hat (Andropogon gayanus). -- Tall grass whose stem is used in making fences around huts. [351]

Haham or cram-cram (Cenchrus biflorus). -- Its seeds fasten themselves to clothing and are very disagreeable. Is gathered and [262]

/38 cont./

eaten as couscous in the south of the Sahara.

Some Gramineae give very fine hay, but one must hurry to harvest them before the dryness is well established, for then the Gramineae quickly lose their leaves and become not very nourishing. Besides, these hays are worth far less than those of Europe, even comparing plants of the same species with each other. Finally, the best local hay is still groundnut straw.

824 [262] [231]

J. B. Faur.
(Dakar.)

16:Faur

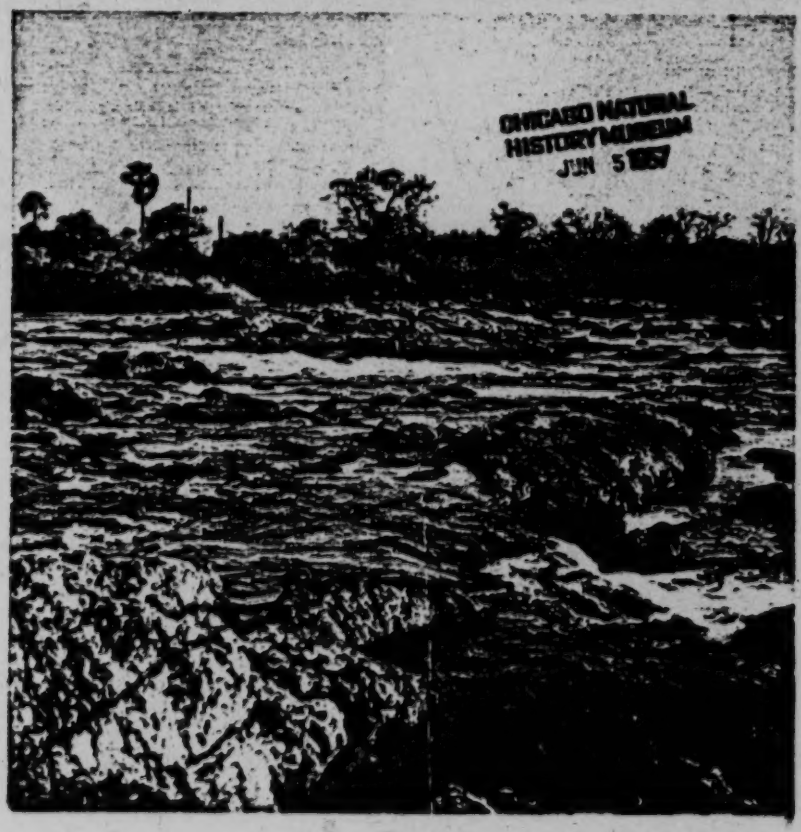
M537 Senegal

N° 74

AVRIL 1957

NOTES AFRICAINES

BULLETIN D'INFORMATION ET DE CORRESPONDANCE
DE L'
INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'AFRIQUE NOIRE



CHICAGO NATURAL
HISTORY MUSEUM
JUN 5 1957

[Title page]

[p. 37(A)]

SUR LES PRINCIPALES GRAMINEES DU SENEGAL ET LEUR UTILISATION

Durant la saison sèche le sol paraît nu ; mais aux premières pluies, il se couvre d'une végétation puissante et ce sont principalement les Graminées qui revêtent ainsi de verdure cette terre auparavant si désolée.

I. — Graminées : Cultures vivrières

— Le *petit mil, mil chandelle* ou *penicillaire* (Pennisetum) est originaire d'Afrique. Il est également cultivé dans l'Inde ; c'est sans doute lors de la traite des Noirs qu'il a été introduit en Amérique. C'est le petit mil hâtif ou *souna* des Wolof. Le *souna* doit être semé aux premières pluies. Il pousse promptement; il vient bien dans les terres sablonneuses et légères (terres à arachide). Après le 15 août, il commence à mûrir et l'on peut déjà manger les épis non mûrs et grillés. Quand il commence à sortir de terre les Sénégalais et surtout les Sérères sèment des haricots dans l'intervalle des lignes: c'est le *volet* (Phaseolus vulgaris) qui sera consommé sous forme de haricot vert à partir du 15 août. La racine de *souna* est regardée par les Africains comme un poison et serait d'après eux une des causes de la maladie du sommeil.

— Une autre variété de petit mil est le *sanio* des Wolof, mil tardif ou mil barbu (Penicillaria spicata). C'est une variété tardive de petit mil à épis couvert de barbes très fortes qui, entrant dans l'œil des oiseaux, les empêche de le manger. On dit qu'il donne des *sotticte* (maux d'yeux). Le *sanio* pousse dans les terres fortes. On le sème pendant la saison des pluies et on le récolte à la fin de celle-ci, en même temps que l'arachide.

— Le *gros mil* ou *basi* des Wolof demande une terre forte et argileuse. Il mûrit beaucoup plus tard que le *souna* et peut être cultivé en pleine

saison des pluies. Quelquefois même on peut le semer à nouveau vers la fin de l'hivernage lorsque l'on voit que les premiers semis ont manqué. Le gros mil ou *basi* est le Sorgho (Sorghum Sudanense).

Le mil réduit en farine et granulé s'appelle « couscous ». C'est la préparation la plus ordinaire mais la cuisine indigène en connait une foule d'autres. Le couscous est léger, rafraichissant et très nourrissant.

Le mil se donne aussi aux chevaux. Le *basi* est le plus employé à cet usage, mais le *souna* leur donne plus de nerf, quoique les échauffant davantage.

Les Africains, en faisant germer le mil et en le mettant à bouillir dans l'eau plusieurs jours, obtiennent une sorte de bière fortifiante (*pouh* en wolof) mais qui, absorbé en grande quantité, produit une ivresse très lourde. Le mil tout comme le maïs engraisse vite les animaux, surtout les volailles.

Le sorgho est une plante largement cultivée au Sénégal. Il faut le plus rapidement possible habituer le cultivateur sénégalais à remplacer la variété ordinaire par celle du sorgho sucré, soit la variété *saccharatum* qui aurait l'avantage de donner du sucre et du grain. Cette variété *sacchartum* est utilisée en grand aux Etats-Unis pour la production du sucre. On verrait alors se créer une raffinerie de sucre, ce qui serait une richesse de plus pour ce pays, richesse d'autant plus appréciable que l'Africain est friand et grand consommateur de sucre (thé à la menthe, café maure et infusions).

— Le *Riz*. — Est cultivé au Sénégal dans les endroits humides, sur les bords des marigots, dans le Sine, en Casamance et à l'embouchure du fleuve (Richard-Toll, etc...). On en connait un grand nombre de variétés, dont quelques unes viennent dans des endroits relativement secs et élevés ; le riz noir est de ce nombre.

— Le riz africain est l'*Oryza Glaberrima* mais des riz sauvages poussent à l'état spontané, ce sont les *Oryza Latifolia* (*punctata* et *sylvestris*). Le riz indigène est bien plus recherché par les Africains et même souvent par les Européens que les riz étrangers. Les cuisinières africaines excellent à préparer le riz de toutes sortes de manières.

Le riz est émollient, adoucissant, très nourrissant et nullement échauffant, ni resserrant comme on le croit parfois. Il donne aussi une bière par la fermentation. L'eau de riz rend de grands services dans la dysenterie, en boisson et en lavement. L'eau de riz est aussi une boisson réfrigérante dans les maladies fébriles et inflammatoires. Enfin la poudre de riz est utile comme absorbant dans les maladies cutanées.

[p. 37(B)]

— Le *Maïs* (*Zea Mays* L.) : Réussit bien quand on le sème au commencement de l'hivernage. L'espèce indigène semée dans ces conditions est très belle et donne de forts épis jaunes, très bien remplis. Les Africains mangent le maïs frais rôti et quand il est dur ils en font du couscous. La tisane préparée avec le fruit est émolliente et diurétique. Les styles ou stigmates de maïs sont célèbres comme diurétiques et guérissent plusieurs affections des voies urinaires (cystite, gravelle, dysurie, etc...) ; les jeunes fruits cuits constituent un excellent légume et remplacent les pois ; la farine donne une bière et un extrait alcoolique. Les enveloppes des épis servent à faire des paillasses assez élastiques.

II. — Graminées utiles

(ne faisant l'objet d'aucune culture.)

— Le *Bambou*. — Pousse à l'état sauvage dans le Ravin des Voleurs près de Thiès. L'espèce indigène est assez petite. On en fait des pieux, des charpentes, des mâts de pirogues, des cases, des entourages, mais surtout du *clinting* (constructions en bambous avec remplissage de chaux). On dit les jeunes pousses comestibles et la sève sucrée serait une boisson agréable. En Casamance, une petite espèce de Bambou pousse dans les endroits ombragés ; on en fait des tuyaux de pipe.

— Le *Begnefala* (*Andropogon shirensis*). — Haute graminée à odeur aromatique pénétrante. On s'en sert dans la médecine africaine, et les vieux coloniaux l'ont utilisée avec succès lors de la grande épidémie de fièvre jaune à Dakar en 1927. Dans les fièvres, on pile les sommités florales mêlées à du citron ou du vinaigre et on frotte énergiquement le corps avec ce mélange.

— Le *Hada* (*Imperata cylindrica*). — Graminée à feuille très dure et épi blanchâtre qui sert à couvrir le toit des cases.

— Le *Hat* (*Andropogon gayanus*). — Herbe élevée dont la tige sert à faire l'entourage des cases.

— Le *Haham* ou *Cram-cram* (*Cenchrus biflorus*). — Ses graines s'attachent aux habits et sont très désagréables. Est recueilli et mangé en couscous dans le Sud du Sahara.

Quelques Graminées donnent de très beaux foins mais il faut se hâter de les récolter avant que la sécheresse ne soit bien établie car alors les Graminées perdent vite leurs feuilles et deviennent peu nourrissantes. Du reste, ces foins sont loin de valoir ceux d'Europe, même en comparant entre elles les plantes de la même espèce. En définitive, le meilleur foin local, c'est encore la paille d'arachide.

[p. 38(A)]

J.R. Faur.
(*Dakar.*)

17: Mercier S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

Aspects of African Society in the Agglomeration of Dakar: Family Groups and Neighborhood Units

000

/Aspects de la société africaine dans l'agglomeration dakaroise: groupes familiaux et unités de voisinage/

by P. Mercier

Saint-Louis: 1954
Études sénégalaises
No. 5, pp. 11-40

Translated from the French by Carl Hille

Human Relations Area Files
1964

/title page/

17: Mercier --1 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/11/

There can as yet be no question of making a synthetic report on the [redacted]ained by the various sociological investigations stricto sensu undertaken in the agglomeration of Dakar. Many domains on which we still have only very summary data remain to be explored: the sociography of groupings can only be sketched; important chapters such as the religious sociology, the sociology of leisure, etc., must be made the subject of deeper inquiries. The very broad plan of study that we elaborated at the beginning of 1952 could obviously not be wholly realized (1). The complexity of the composition, /2/

1. It was published in the Annual Report of the IFAN for 1953.

racial, ethnic, occupa[redacted], etc., of the urban center requires long and diverse investigations. On the other hand, the necessity of comparative studies in other urban centers of Senegal has very rapidly become apparent, studies which favorable circumstances permitted us to undertake as early as the end of 1953 (2). The present article will therefore be limited to a

2. In particular, the basic documentation furnished by recent censuses of the cities of Thiès and Saint-Louis has permitted there the realization of investigations by questionnaires in accordance with the sampling method. We regret that in Dakar the lack of a recent and precise census hinders us in entering upon many aspects of the demography and sociology of this town. And we hope that it may soon be realized.

/11 cont./
very small number of aspects of the social structure; allusions will be made to the others when it is necessary. 121

On the one hand, we shall illustrate certain aspects of the structure of kinship groups in the African population; despite the shrinking of the functions performed by the family in an urban environment, despite the diversification of groupings with specialized functions, which characterize urban social life, their role continues to be of primary importance (3). 121 571 369x

3. The demographic account by L. Masse, of course, crosschecks certain aspects of this study. Cf. our preface /untranslated/.

Very /12/ close to it is the one played by the ethnic group, which will only be outlined here. On the other hand, we shall study the role played by certain non-structured de facto groupings: neighborhood units, groups of friends, more or less independent, depending on the case, of traditional, ethnic, and familial ties and structures. The study of structured groupings of a new type will be reserved for another work; we shall only give brief indications on this subject.

The profound interconnection of the social phenomena observable in a defined environment (1) must, however, as

1. Which itself is never closed. Cf., for example, the role of the waves of seasonal immigrants in colonial towns.

always, be emphasized. The first part of this account will therefore be devoted to a very general account of the frameworks into which one must recast any study of the Dakar social complex (2). 121 361

2. These have been, up to the

/12 cont./

present, limited to the Dakar agglomeration proper; the suburbs more or less completely tied to the town have been provisionally left aside (Ouakam, Hann, the recent subdivision of Dagoudane-Pikine, etc.). 121 361

I

Dakar has known enormous development between the two wars, and especially since 1946. Demographic development, economic development (3). 369x

3. Cf., for example, the accounts of an American geographer after two voyages to Dakar, one before the war (1935-36), the other in 1947: D. Whittlesey, "Dakar and the Other Cape Verde Settlements," The Geographical Review, Oct. 1941, pp. 609-638; "Dakar Revisited," The Geographical Review, Oct. 1948, pp. 626-632. And the changes have accelerated even more. [113]

At the same time, the characteristics of Dakar society, it being well understood that it is broken up into several partial societies, linked organically, but each of which have their particular problems, have undergone important changes. To account for them would exceed the limits of this work; we shall content ourselves with recalling some essential features.

A. -- The towns born of colonization have been established [361]

/12 cont./
everywhere under comparable conditions and for similar reasons, 369x
ports, trading points, administrative centers, etc., these di- 361
verse elements being joined to one another (4). One can

4. See the general article by J. Dresch, "Villes d'Afrique Occidentale /Towns of West Africa/," Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, July-September 1950, pp. 201-230.

nevertheless distinguish at present several types (5), some of

5. We limit ourselves, of course, to the African West, the towns of southern Africa, for example, having had a different development and being placed in a considerably different social context.

the essential criteria to consider being the following:
/13/ 1. Their functions have more or less multiplied and diversified; thus, at Dakar, a beginning of industrialization and tendencies toward the formation of a West African cultural center announce a new phase of development. D. Whittlesey, in his first article on Dakar, already noted: "Dakar, in all the African West, is the only town in the European (or Western) sense of the term (1)."

1. He added: "No other center shows the very clear spatial differentiation of functions which characterizes the urbs occidentalis...

/13 cont./

this differentiation of functions has only taken shape in the last three decades (op. cit., p. 609)." This differentiation has been greatly accentuated in recent years.

369x [361]

2. The time and variable possibilities that the colonial towns have had to crystalize new social behavior and forms permit one to place them on a scale between two extreme types. There are old towns, this with respect to the measure of time that one must adopt in order to place the colonial towns, the majority of which date from only a few decades ago and very few of which have reached a century of existence; there are absolutely new towns.

a) The old town has already had time to structure itself. The original ethnic differences are being obliterated; one could say that there is being created from multiple contributions a new ethos peculiar to the city. 369x 563

The European and African elements have contacts of variable amplitude and partially mingle in the habitat. Some Europeans found families. A sizable mixed society is formed. A proportion of higher schooling and in certain cases landed wealth have favored the creation of a leading African stratum. Some political traditions have been created there. The African population has become stabilized; the "family home" is in town and no longer in the bush. This extreme case is rare; one finds an example of it in the central part of Saint-Louis of the Senegal, the island. Still a new town, with an unstable population, little urbanized up to now, it is juxtaposed there, and the contribution of new layers of European population has changed certain data of the problem.

b) The recent town on the other hand, has very few stabilized Europeans. The mass of Africans is not [166]

/13 cont./

stabilized either. Most of them were not born in town. There is no mixed society of any importance. The structures adapted to the new environment in which the rural people, recently settled, or seasonal people, who stream toward the town and salaried work, find themselves placed are hardly delineated yet. A relative "social amorphism" prevails. The European town and the African town, on the other hand are more clearly separated. This is the case, in part, for a town such as Brazzaville (2).

369x
563
[166]

2. Cf. G. Balandier, "Approche sociologique des 'Brazzavilles noires'; Etude préliminaire /Sociological Approach to the 'Black Brazzavilles': Preliminary Study/," Africa, XXII, 1, January 1952, pp. 23-34.

/14/ 3. Among the colonial towns, some have received an African population that is ethnically homogeneous or characterized by a well-marked dominant ethnic group; others have been populated by waves of immigrants of very diverse origin. The role that the traditional structures and values retain is therefore of unequal importance. Thus the clear contrast between the two "Black Brazzavilles" pointed out by G. Balandier (1). Thus the contrast between the two

1. Ibid.

western and eastern annexes of Saint-Louis, Guet-Ndar and Sor, neither of which, however, can be regarded as completely urbanized.

4. The numerical importance of the European population, in absolute value and in relative value, is quite variable. Its growth is accompanied by modifications of structure

17: Mercier--7 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30
Lebu

/14 cont./

S
369x
563

(occupational structure, class structure, etc.). It seems that there are certain numerical thresholds beyond which important qualitative changes make themselves felt, for example, in the area of race relations. We shall return to this.

B. -- Dakar is one of the most complex cases. It has some aspects of an old colonial town, and in fact it is one of the oldest in West Africa (2). But this one has been

2. Counting only the colonial towns; the pre-European towns, with specific characteristics, are excluded here.

covered in a way by a town of the second type (3). The

3. Cf. above, I, A, 1, b.

mixture of the social characteristics of the one town and of the other permits one to understand certain features of evolution of Dakar. On the other hand, the dominant original ethnic group, the Lebou group, has progressively lost its importance. Finally, a last phase of the development of the town makes it seem like a center of European population, still unstable.

S
369x
563
W
369
563

1. Considering only the African population, one ascertains that the elements that are old and stabilized -- unequally and under diverse conditions -- (Goréean "old families," Lebou community) have been submerged by a heterogeneous mass. It is nevertheless necessary to specify:

a) The Lebou, despite the contributions received from the nearby suburb which is their traditional habitat zone (4), undoubtedly represent hardly more than 10% of

S
W
[162]
[113]

4. Cf. G. Balandier and P. Mercier, "Particularisme et évolution: les pêcheurs

17: Mercier--8 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS90
Lebu

/14 cont./

Lebou /Particularism and evolution: the Lebou Fishermen/," Etudes Sénégalaises, No. 3, 1952. Result of investigations made in 1946.

S 369^ W 369 S W 563 [113] [162]

the population.(5). Their /15/ customary organization,

5. The estimates, furnished by the way with every reservation by the Dakar Délégation, give 15% Lebou, but for the whole of the commune (suburban villages included); in the town itself the proportion is not as high. We consider only this one, without forgetting, however, that many Lebou living in the villages, and even Rufisque, work in Dakar. In the investigation by questionnaires conducted in Dakar, which gives, if not a true ethnic representation, at least some valuable indications, we encountered a little less than 10% Lebou.

S W [484]

moreover, continues to exist (1), but becomes more and

1. On this subject, cf. C. Michel, "L'organisation coutumière (sociale et politique) de la collectivité Leboue de Dakar /The customary organization (social and political) of the Lebou community of Dakar/," Bull. du Comité d'Etudes Historiques et Scientifiques de l'A.O.F., XXII,

S W [113]

17: Mercier--9 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS90
Lebu

/15 cont./

S
369*
369
S
W
569
[113]

3, 1934; G.-J. Duchemin, "La République Lebou et le peuplement actuel /The Lebou republic and the present pupulation/," in "La presqu'île du Cap-Vert /The Cape Verde peninsula/," Etudes Sénégalaises, No. 1, 1949.

more formal, and its efficacy is reduced besides by the new political cleavages (2). Their role as holders of the landed

2. This goes as far as a splitting up of the traditional functions and those of the heads of quarters between the supporters of the two large present-day parties (SFIO and BDS).

property has progressively shrunk and remains important only in the suburbs (3). Finally, the Lebou particularism (4)

3. On this subject cf. the indications furnished by J. Dresch, op. cit., pp. 219-220.

4. Cf. G. Balandier and P. Mercier, op. cit., passim.

is tending to be obliterated, and the boundaries between Lebou and Wolof become more blurred (5).

S
W
[162]

5. In the figures furnished by the Dakar Délégation, one sees accounting for 11% a category

17: Mercier-- 10 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30
Lebu

/15 cont./

called Wolof-Lebou, for which one cannot know to what extent it is the result of mixtures between the two groups and to what extent it is the effect of a "Wolofization" of the Lebou.

S 369x W 369 S W [162] [563]

b) As far as the Lebou and the Wolof are concerned, and to a lesser extent certain other groups, contacts with the regions and kinship groups of origin remain important. Let us add that for a population in large majority Moslem, the religious centers attracting pilgrims are in the interior of Senegal. A large proportion of the population is therefore not at all completely uprooted, and the phenomena of "destructurization" which generally accompany the rural exoduses are less marked than in most of the recent towns. Therefore the fact that only 22% of the persons questioned during our investigation were born in Dakar is less significant than it seems at first glance (6).

S 369x [788]
S [162]

6. Compare with the figures given by G. Balandier for Poto-Poto: 90 to 98% for persons born outside of the town (op. cit., p. 25). On the other hand it must not be forgotten that even in the "old towns" in France the proportion of persons born in the town where they live may be very low, for example, 25% at Auxerre (cf. C. Bettelheim and S. Frère, Une ville française moyenne, Auxerre en 1950, Etude de structure sociale et urbaine /An average French town, Auxerre in 1950; Study of social and urban structure/, Paris, 1950).

17: Mercier--11 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30
Lebu

/15 cont./

c) It must be noted also that not all of the immigrant population is of rural origin. Many persons questioned by us, especially among the functionaries, were originally from "old towns" /16/ (Saint-Louis, Rufisque, etc.). It is then a matter of elements already strongly urbanized, for which, in any case, the question of uprooting would not pose itself in the same manner as for the rural people. The percentage of persons born in the town thus does not express exactly the degree of urbanization of the population.

S 369x [166]

2. Under these conditions, the ethnic heterogeneity of the Dakar agglomeration does not signify, as in other centers presenting the same character, that social "amorphism" prevails (1).

S 369x 563

1. Likewise, in a town such as Cotonou, the proximity of the big traditional centers of Dahomey counterbalances in part the facts of dissociation which one would suppose more important in view of the considerable ethnic mixtures that are produced there (cf. J. Lombard, "Cotonou, ville africaine /Cotonou, African town/," Etudes Dahoméennes, X, 1954).

It only reveals itself at certain levels and in certain sectors of the population (seasonal workers, members of ethnic groups represented by a very low number of persons, etc.). The topographic regrouping of people of the same origin however, is far from being systematic, as we shall see in the study of neighborhood groups. At the very most one can mention some dominant ethnic groups in certain quarters (Sarakolé sector of the quarter of Nyaye-Thioker, for example), and the tendency to the least dispersion which characterizes certain groups (Moors, for example). The purely Lebou quarters have ceased

W [369] [563]

17: Mercier--12 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30
Lebu

/16 cont./

to exist by two processes: forced displacement of old quarters at the time of the creation of the Médina, massive settlement of foreign "tenants" in the quarters remaining in place. If the Lebou names of quarters have often been preserved (even after their displacement), if the headships of quarters are still in major part held by Lebou, these soon perhaps will be only historical vestiges. Moreover, the ethnic composition of the quarters and of the "compounds" is constantly being transformed. The numerical importance of the diverse groups cannot be established in any precise fashion because of the lack of detailed censuses. We shall mention as an indication:

S 369x 563 [166] W [369] [563]

S 369x 563 162

a) The official figures, furnished by the way with every reservation, and valid for the whole of the commune of Dakar (the suburban villages included): Lebou, 15%; Wolof, 25%; "Wolof-Lebou," 11%; Sérère, /Serer/, 3%; Bambara, 9%; Toucouleur /Tukolor/, 10%; Peul, 5%; Moors, 4%; Diola, 5%; Soussou /Susu/, 2%; Cape Verdeans (Portugese), 2%; etc. (2).

2. Percentages taken from figures shown in the 1953 report. Not mentioned, by the way, are persons originally from Upper Volta, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey. They do not seem to figure in the total, the headings including only: persons originally from other territories of the A.O.F. /French West Africa/, persons from Cape Verde, persons from Togo, persons from the Cameroun, persons originally from AEF /French Equatorial Africa/ and those from Sierra Leone.

/17/ b) The fragmentary data gathered at the time of the investigation by questionnaires conducted by the Section

S [125]

/17 cont./ 369*
563
162
[125]

de Sociologie in the first half of 1953. The 1,231 persons questioned were divided among 43 different ethnic groups. The groups of small numerical importance, however, were not all represented (1). One found (the few percentages

1. Some others, represented in all Dakar by only a few individuals, were encountered in the course of subsequent investigations.

given are only indicative):

-- persons originally from the Senegal-Sudan zone: [166]
besides the Lebou (9%), the Wolof (43%)(2), the Toucouleur [167]

2. Included here is a certain number of persons who were manifestly of Lebou origin and who nevertheless called themselves Wolof, proof of the crisis of the old Lebou particularism.

(11%), the Sérère (5%), the Bambara (6%), the Sarakolé (3%), the Socé, the Mandingue /Mandingo/, the Khassonké /Kassonke/, the Peul, the Diola (3%) (3), the Mandiaque;

3. The figure furnished by official sources undoubtedly is closer to reality; there is, in fact, among the Diola, a majority of workers, permanent or seasonal, and this is the category that proved to be the most difficult to contact. The proportion of workers in the total number of persons who agreed to answer our questionnaire is much smaller than it should be. [125]

/17 cont./

369x 563 162 [167]

-- persons originally from French Guinea: Malinké (3%), Peul, Soussou, Kissi;

-- persons from the Ivory Coast: Agni, Appollonien, Attié, Baoulé /Baule/, Bété /Betie/, Dida, Krou, Wobé;

-- persons originally from the Togo-Dahomey zone: Aizo, Ewe, Fon, Goun /Gun/, Nago, Popo, Mina;

-- persons originally from the Upper Volta-Niger zone: Mossi, Sonray;

-- miscellaneous: Moors (3%), Cape Verdeans (2%), Yoruba, Boulama, Congolese, etc.

Those for whom we have indicated no percentage are for the most part of little importance numerically in relation to the total population. Their situation, however, is very variable: the consequences of uprooting, the degree of cohesion which preserves small groups very far from their region of origin, the degree of integration in the urban society, vary according to the level at which they are located in the new social stratification which takes shape in the towns.

369x 565

3. Indeed, another feature of the sociology of colonial towns -- and which is, as we mentioned above, very conspicuous in the "old towns" -- is the progressive differentiation into strata definable by socio-occupational criteria. It assumes, as the investigation on Dakar showed, a /18/ greater and greater importance in the stabilized population; there, the domains where behavior continues to be determined by the ethnic, religious, etc. situation are limited. We posed the problem in this manner in a recent article, to which we allow ourselves to refer (1): "It appears ... that our categories only

1. P. Mercier, "Un essai d'enquête par questionnaires dans la ville de Dakar /An attempt at investigation by questionnaires in the town of Dakar/" (Paper given at the conference on the Consequences of Industrialization [113]

17: Mercier--15 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/18 cont./

and Urbanization in Africa, Abidjan, 1954). 369x 565 [113]

tendentially have the character of social classes. They are distinguished by the living standard and way of life and by a certain number of specific behaviors, but the characteristics of colonial society, on the one hand, and, on the other, the persistence of traditional values do not permit them to assume the character of clear-cut classes." We shall return to this account, where we noted the absence of close correlations [182] between socio-occupational category, ethnic group, and religion, but, on the other hand, the existence of very clear correlations between the socio-occupational categories and facts such as level of French studies, the importance of intermarriages between different ethnic groups, that of the role played by the groupings and associations of a new type (political parties, syndicates, etc.). Also the ethnic affiliation plays a role of variable importance, although it is very rarely obliterated completely.

4. The new structures which characterize the towns 369x give a large place to grouping of a political, syndical, cultural, sportive, etc. order. We shall not discuss this problem here. It must be noted, however, that in Dakar the importance of some of them is considerably reinforced by the function that Dakar performs as the federal capital; it is valid for the syndicates and to a lesser degree for the political parties.

5. Finally, an important fact in every colonial town, 369x but particularly in Dakar is the juxtaposition of racially and culturally different groups. For Dakar, the European population undoubtedly represents 10% of the total population (2), and

2. In the census of the non-autochthonous population of 1951, close to 22,000.

/18 cont./ 369x
the Lebano-Syrians at least 2%. Let us consider in this brief 563
glance only the problem of the relations between Africans and [162]
Europeans.

a) The increase in the number of Europeans -- which
has increased at least sixfold since 1939, while the African popu- [161]
lation has undoubtedly not even tripled -- has been accompanied
by qualitative changes: development of the categories of tech- [463]
nicians, workers, artisans, petty employees, petty merchants.
This population, despite the sense of a strong solidarity (which
is admitted in time of crisis) vis-à-vis the African population,
has seen a division /19/ into classes inherited from the society [565]
of origin become marked. At the same time, the European
community has withdrawn into itself, developing its own ser-
vices (specialized merchants, etc.).

b) The evolution of habitat zones reflects these trans- 369x
formations. The close checkerwork of the original plan of 563
Pinet-Laprade still encompasses multi-racial quarters (where 361
the Lebano-Syrians have taken a greater and greater place).
But, in the course of the development of the town, the Médina,
almost exclusively African (1), has been added to them in the

1. Some Europeans live there, [362]
however; the general housing
crisis largely accounts for this.

north, while purely European residential quarters developed
in the south. The recent zones set up on the other side of the
Médina for the residences of functionaries likewise allow for
little mixing. Finally, with the reconstruction of new build-
ings, the European town, starting from the southern zone,
gained on the mixed quarters, and a movement toward a clearer
segregation of the habitat zones is taking shape, segregation
which is in no way official, but which is considered desirable
by the majority of the European population (2) and is based in

2. Differences in way of life,

17: Mercier--17 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/19 cont./

369x
563
[361]

differences in the daily rhythm are the arguments put forward by those who do not use purely racist arguments.

fact on the differences in economic status.

c) In principle there is no segregation in social life, either; certain public places, however (cafés, bars, etc.), strive directly or indirectly, to secure for themselves a purely European clientele. On the other hand, many clubs and asso- [575] ciations of a recreational nature exclude Africans in fact (it is rarely statutory). The syndicates themselves, although they [467] are not in principle founded on a racial basis, do not effect a mixing of Africans and Europeans, as a result of the diver- [468] gence of interests and claims; the strikes, when they occur, are in practice purely African. Finally, the political parties [665] are for the most part almost exclusively African; the European population as a whole is disinterested in local political activity.

d) Essentially the relations between Africans and Europeans are: relations at the place of work, between colleagues and, much more often, between subordinates and superiors, employees and bosses; relations between masters and domestics at home; common participation in cultural and sportive activities; relations between teachers and pupils or students. Relations of a more personal character(regular relationships, friendships, etc.) are much rarer. Intermarriages -- almost exclusively between African men and European women -- have a particular significance; there are practically none that have been contracted locally.

/20/ e) Here we shall not touch on the area of interracial judgments and attitudes, which must be the subject of more detailed investigations. It will suffice to say that all the observations made permit one to conclude that there is a

/20 cont./

state of tension between certain sectors of each of the two populations that is much more obvious than it was a few years ago. New facts have intervened in this period (not to speak of the grasp of clearer political perception by certain African elements). The number of European (men and women) workers and subordinate employees has increased, and this coincides with a considerable extension of vocational instruction and general instruction (at all levels) among the Africans, resulting in a much greater frequency of competitive situations in the occupational and economic spheres (1). 369x 563

1. The study of unemployment in Dakar is very revealing. Besides the causes of unemployment which one could call classic, one more and more notices those that are due to this competitive situation. [464]

Such a glance shows how numerous, important, and entangled are the problems to be studied. A general publication will later give an account of the various investigations in progress. This account will permit one to place the problems that we shall bring up next. It will also permit one to understand the spirit in which our first inquiries were conducted. 369x

II

The information that we are going to give on the African family structure in the Dakar agglomeration is based, on the one hand, on documentation gathered at the time of the investigation by questionnaires, and, on the other hand, on facts confirmed through broader interviews and applying to a much more restricted number of families. These last have permitted us to observe in a more precise fashion the dynamic aspect of the problem. 125 124

17: Mercier--19 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

/20 cont./

On the general level of our study, it did not seem indispensable to take into account the details of organization and the traditions peculiar to each ethnic group. These monographic aspects will have their place in a more complete work. The common traits are sufficiently well marked, at least as far as the systems of patrilineal and bilateral kinship are concerned, which are dominant by far in the populations represented in Dakar. 121 369x

There should be noted in passing, however, certain distinctions between: a) the groups which existed prior to the creation of the town, that is to say, in effect, the Lebou; b) the groups which, even if they are /21/ numerically important, arrived in the town in migrations which rarely involved complete kinship groups, the latter having been able later to reconstitute themselves on the spot to a variable extent.

It is necessary to recall here some general features of the African kinship organizations, in order to place better the intervening changes in certain domains (1).

1. Cf. in particular A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and D. Forde, African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, London, 1950.

Kinship is to a certain extent an abstract notion; it does not necessarily coincide with consanguinity, and the obligations in the order of kinship do not spring solely from the latter. These obligations, on the other hand, extend, at least in the line of dominant filiation, as far as the known limits of the kinship group; they are only more precise and more frequently actualized on the level of the closest relatives (2).

2. The limits of the group of relatives considered as close are not everywhere the same,

/21 cont./

as the extremely variable extension of marriage prohibitions shows.

121
369*

The local unit coincides more or less completely with the kinship group delineated by the line of dominant filiation; a village quarter is in principle the habitat of a given lineage.

Marriage is not a commitment between two individuals, guaranteed by a state or religious body (3), but the conclusion [581]

3. This guarantee intervenes among the Moslems, but in most cases does not play the essential role.

of an agreement between two kinship groups, an agreement which assumes, directly or indirectly, the form of an exchange of forces. The networks of matrimonial alliances, while permitting each kinship group to maintain and increase its substance, create bonds, constantly reinforced, between diverse groups, thus assuring the cohesion of the ethnic group that their assemblage composes. Therefore, in the vast majority of cases, one does not conceive of marriage outside the ethnic group. [582]

Even in the systems of patrilineal filiation, the maternal line is likewise a source of obligations. In particular, in most populations -- and very especially in Senegal -- the role of the uterine uncle is important (4). [604]

4. Cf., as far as the Lebou are concerned, G. Balandier and P. Mercier, op. cit., passim.

It is important to keep these basic elements in mind in the course of the account that we shall give about the problems that are posed at present.

/22/ We shall first give some figures expressing certain

/22 cont./

salient aspects of the present situation; we shall then turn to some monographic examples. Thus the orientation of our investigations will summarily appear. 369* [121]

A. -- The changes in the organization and the family values form a whole. The correlations that appear between the facts that we have retained for illustration will suffice to indicate it.

We have noted that in town, in most cases, there is topographic dispersion of the ethnic groups and the more restricted kinship groups. It must in no way be concluded that there is a general rupture of the kinship structures; all the ties are not cut. Only the facts of neighborhood and kinship do not reinforce each other any more, in accordance with the typical process of traditional situations. A first examination of the variations in numerical importance of groups of relatives living together will permit one to define the present tendencies. We shall see that the instituting of a new situation where the household /maisonnée/ (1) 621 369* [592] [594]

1. Cf. below for the definition of this idea.

tends to coincide with the restricted family /famille restreinte/ has progressed unequally, depending on the social categories (2).

2. See above (I, B, 4) the brief information given on the socio-occupational categories.

We have said why, especially where marriage is concerned, the considerations of the family structure proper cannot be separated from the problems posed by ethnic affiliation. The multiplication of interethnic marriages is a symptom of important social changes. It must likewise be noted that, the less numerically important an ethnic group is in the town, the more the simple ethnic relationship tends to play the role of ties of closer relationship. [593]

The structure of the restricted family itself is subject to variations. Here in particular the question of polygamy poses 369* 595

/22 cont.//

itself, its variable importance depending on religions, ethnic groups, socio-occupational categories. 369x [595]

B. -- The numerical importance of the groups of relatives making up a single household is very variable. We have defined the household /maisonnée/: the assemblage of persons living in a single house or a single group of houses, and putting together at least a part of their resources. 369x 592 [104]

1. Some remarks are necessary here in order to place conveniently the data gathered.

/23/ Certain households are composed of groups of persons having no ties of kinship between them -- in extreme cases, not even of ethnic relationship. In particular this is the case for groups of bachelors who rent a room with common funds, a case that is quite frequent among the seasonal workers, but this is a category that has only briefly been studied up to now. The investigation by questionnaires is practically limited to the permanent population. The elements relating to the composition of the household thus concern kinship groups almost exclusively. We obtain an approximation adequate for our purpose. [589] [125]

There are some facts which we shall be able to take into account only in the statement of qualitative data. On the one hand, a certain number of households are tied by kinship or by marriage with immediately neighboring households. Even though there is no life in common for the whole of the family group, its different parts continue to have constant relations. This aspect will be brought out in the last part of our work. On the other hand, the restricted polygamous family, in a certain number of cases, is not assembled in one and the same place; each wife, with her children, forms the nucleus of a household, which other members of the kinship group eventually come to join; the head of the family passes from one household to another (1) [595]

1. This fact is less marked, however, than in a town like Saint-Louis.

/23 cont./

369x
592

2. The figures which follow will give a first idea of the size of the groups. They apply to the male heads of ménages (monogamous and polygamous), the bachelors and groups of bachelors being excluded. We made a simple count of the persons belonging to the household outside of the ménage investigated (man, wife or wives, children living with their parents, adopted children) (2). One obtains the following results:

2. We will see further on what has to be understood concretely by "adoption" in the Dakar urban context. This only concerns the effectively grouped ménage; if certain wives and their children do not live in the household considered, they are not counted.

a) For the whole of the population studied, or 915 male heads of ménages, 41% of the households coincide with the restricted family, 32% include one person in addition to the restricted family, 14% include two, 5% include three, 2% include four, 1% include five, 1% include more than five (3). [594] [162]

3. These percentages, as well as those that follow, are calculated faultily. They can only be approximations, under the conditions of the investigation. The expression in percentage, however, strikingly illustrates the indications gathered. The tendencies that they show have been corroborated for most of the categories by many subsequent interviews. [128]

/24/ The following table divides this population into socio-occupational categories: [565]

17; Mercier--24 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/24 cont./

Socio-occupational Category	Number of Households	Number of persons not belonging to the restricted family (%)						
		0	1	2	3	4	5	+5
Farmers, fishermen	23	47%	26%	13%	4%		2%	2%
Laborers, domestics	124	35%	37%	12%	8%	4%	0.5%	0.5%
Workers and artisans	290	38%	29%	14%	6%	3%	3%	2%
Master workmen	21	23%	23%	42%		10%		
Subordinate employees and functionaries	265	42%	33%	13%	4%	3%	3%	2%
Superior employees and functionaries	39	46%	43%	7%		2%		
Teaching, intellectual professions, etc.	48	46%	35%	14%	4%			1%
Merchants, transport, etc.	122	38%	36%	13%	7%	2%	1%	1%

369
592
565
594

/24 cont./

369x

b) These simplified data call for some commentary. 592
What is the significance of the sometimes important differences 565
that we affirm between the situations that prevail in the dif- 594
ferent strata?

The high proportion, among the farmers, of households that coincide with the restricted family -- a proportion clearly higher than the average -- is explained by the fact that we [241]
are dealing more with market-gardeners than with farmers of the traditional type (as are found in the suburban villages). In any case, the problem has not been studied for a sufficient number of cases for us to draw definitive conclusions here.

/25/ Besides this category, for which we lack certain explanatory factors, only two others noticeably exceed the average established for the whole population: on the one hand, the superior employees and functionaries; on the other hand, members of the teaching profession, doctors, etc. The impor- [177]
tant factor here is the degree of Westernization (1). [871]

1. The only categories whose members have all been to the French school.

It is only on this level that we have ascertained facts not only on the topological dispersion of the group of relatives, but also on the very clear loosening of the obligations flowing from kinship ties. Let us add that in reality the number of restricted families is much more important. In the majority of house- [357]
holds which include one person in addition to the restricted family, this person is a domestic lodging with the family (who is sometimes a distant relative). The change in structure is therefore clearer than it would seem in view of the raw figures.

c) This first general view shows, as in other domains -- 369x
we shall see this soon for the structure of even the restricted 565
family -- that the characteristics of the socio-occupational

/25 cont./

strata which we have defined do not depend on a single factor or on a series of factors in close correlation; it would be a simplification to establish a hierarchy based on certain criteria. There are in fact several scales. There is more or less complete participation in several socio-cultural contexts. We are dealing here with three principal groups: 369x 565

On the one hand, the categories of laborers and domestics, workers and artisans, master workmen, merchants, and, to a lesser degree, farmers and fishermen (2), where the

2. See above.

tendency toward familial regrouping is still very much alive. The extent of the familial group is as a whole a function of the possibilities for housing and of available finances (the maximum number of persons which a given number of salaried persons can support). It must likewise be noted that, in the case of autochthonous groups or groups originally from nearby regions, the frequency of neighboring and related households is much greater, and the tendency towards a reconstitution of the extended family /famille etendue/ manifests itself in a considerable number of cases. [596]

On the other hand, the categories of the superior functionaries and employees and the teaching and intellectual professions, in which, if one keeps in mind the preceding remarks, one sees that the household tends in permanent fashion to include only the restricted family. [594]

Finally, the category of subordinate employees and functionaries, intermediate between the two preceding groups, which is explained in particular by the composite character of this category; there, one /26/ finds elements (orderlies, beneficiaries of reserved employment in the administrative sector, etc.) clearly less Westernized, but their very superior living standard does not permit placing them in the category of laborers, whom they approximate in many aspects. The [177]

17: Mercier--27 S 5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/26 cont./

intermediate character of this category, very mixed concerning the level of studies, way of life, etc., is found again in various domains. 369x 565

C. -- The old familial institutions do not always adapt themselves easily to the environment of the new life into which they are transplanted. They were linked with a collective work organization, all the members of the group being assured of enjoying (under the authority of the family head) the revenue of the latter. The notion of individual work, with individual remuneration, has not been introduced without shock. We shall set aside the categories where the work has remained in the family framework despite the necessary transpositions: farmers and fishermen on the one hand, merchants on the other. In the others, the vigor preserved by the traditional familial institutions is sometimes a curb on the raising of the living standard of urbanized elements. There is the problem, commonly called "familial parasitism," which poses itself in all of the African towns; the obligation to come to the aid of all the members of the kinship group is still strongly felt. We shall not proceed here to a detailed examination of the data gathered on the number of salaried persons, and persons practicing a non-salaried occupation, in relation to the total number of adults in the household. But it is necessary to give a survey of them. 369x 59 [476] [461] [602]

1. When questioned about the reasons for their coming to town, less than 10% of those questioned say that they came to rejoin relatives. But subsequent interviews have permitted it to be confirmed that among those persons who had come, according to their statements, to look for work (58%), there were many who would not have been able to subsist except by joining, upon their arrival, a group of relatives already settled. The process has already been described several times, and we shall not return to it (1). 369x 602 166

1. Cf., for example, G. Balandier, op. cit., one of the latest accounts to date.

/26 cont./

There are many who, in the present unemployment crisis, can only maintain themselves in town thanks to the aid of their relatives. This results in a spontaneous form of insurance against unemployment (2). 369x 602 [464]

2. Which has become more and more important in Dakar in the last two years. Without speaking of the seasonal immigrants who find no work, the number of recorded unemployed amounts to more than 2,000.

2. The figures expressing the extent of family groups do not give, in a direct fashion, indications of the importance of this "familial parasitism." The fact of finding work, when it is a matter /27/ of a close relative, does not signify in any way that the group which has formed is going to split up: the tendency toward the traditional familial regrouping is not exercised solely in terms of extreme forms of mutual aid. The other data in figures that we gathered permit in themselves only a first approach to the problem (1). These

1. In fact, even though the idea of salaried person is clear, that of the person enjoying a non-salaried income is very broad; it does not assume that this income is able to assure completely the subsistence of this person (petty trade, piece work, etc.); this person may, since he is attached to a kinship group larger than the restricted family, benefit from partial aid. The investigation conducted at Thiès on [434]

17: Mercier--29 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/27 cont./

369x
602
[434]

living standards made apparent the complexity of the notion of income; for example, there are incomes which do not correspond to any work, but come solely from a given social position (belonging to the griot caste, etc.). A similar investigation will be conducted in Dakar in August 1954 and will permit precise statements concerning these problems.

data only represent a snapshot taken on a certain date; the situation is very changeable, the dependent relatives, except when it is a matter of old men, are such only temporarily. Furthermore, the manifestations of familial mutual aid may go beyond the framework of the household. Let us take, in the whole of our population, the family groups containing more than five adults. The number of persons enjoying an income, reported for one adult, comes to between 0.5 and 0.7. One does not ascertain significant differences between categories on the quantitative level, the scale of situations in each one of them being very broad. Qualitatively, however, important differences appear. In the categories of superior functionaries and employees, members of the teaching profession and the intellectual professions, etc., and to a lesser degree among the subordinate functionaries and employees, women practicing petty commerce or similar activities are much less numerous than in other categories (but the number of women in a salaried occupation is higher). On the other hand, among the dependent adults (2), the adult sons and

369x
602
565

2. In our investigations, we have arbitrarily fixed the lower limit for the "adult" category at 18-20 years of age.

/27 cont./

daughters who are pursuing their studies figure much more frequently. While among the laborers, the workers, and to a lesser degree the master workmen, it is above all a matter of relatives -- in the majority close relatives, cousins, nephews -- who are unemployed or without an occupation. We shall thus again find the same grouping of categories, although here the differences are more blurred than in the other domains considered. 369* 565 602

D. -- For numerical data on the dimensions of the restricted family, thus on the extension of polygamy, we refer to the account by L. Massé in the present collection. We shall only add certain comments based on complementary studies.

/28/ 1. Religious affiliation divides our population into two groups, one Christian, almost exclusively monogamous (1), 369* 595 565 [771]

1. There are cases of polygamy, but they are rarely admitted.

the other Moslem, where the tendency toward polygamy is very deep-rooted, but where differences make themselves felt according to the socio-occupational category. It is only on the level of the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc., that this distinction based on religion disappears, and that we ascertain, common to Christians and Moslems, a value set on monogamy.

2. It is in fact on the level of values more than on that of de facto situations that this question must be studied. The progression of the number of polygamous men in going from the laborers to the master workmen, passing through the workers, and, in a different sector, going from the subordinate functionaries and employees to the superior functionaries and employees, is found again in going from the petty to the large-scale merchants. Polygamy may be, by the same token, an ideal for all the members of these categories, but it is only realized on occasion (2) starting from a certain material [183

2. It is obviously limited by the

/28 cont./

369*
595
565
[183]

demographic structure of the population (number of available women).

position (3).

3. Let us recall the problems raised by the "marriage portion" and the accessory expenses of marriage. The reactions of the young people and certain Moslem elements in favor of a "matrimonial pact" have to some extent stabilized the situation.

3. The numerical data on the de facto situation seem to lead to a grouping of our categories different from that shown in the preceding paragraphs. But let us consider the first results of an investigation -- which is in progress -- on the attitudes of the young elements of the population (4). We shall again find

4. Below 30-35 years of age.

a similar grouping: dominance of attitudes in favor of polygamy among the farmers, laborers, workers, master workmen, merchants; a dominance still, but much less clear, among the subordinate functionaries and employees; a dominance on the contrary in favor of monogamy among the superior functionaries and employees (although it is not yet actualized for the whole category) and among the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc. (where it has already clearly become fact) (5). A strong correlation appears between these data and

5. Less, however, than the total figures would let be foreseen. The Christians, who are only 11% of the whole of our population, are 20% of the superior functionaries and

[162]

/28 cont./

369x
595
565
[162]

employees and 15% of the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc.

those concerning the extent of the family.

/29/ E. -- In the same general sense, the variations in the percentage of interethnic marriages are according to socio-occupational categories. For the whole of our population, we find: among the monogamous (696 families), 71% ménages where the wife is of the same ethnic group as the husband, 29% where she is from a different ethnic group; among the polygamous with two and three wives (228 families), 43% ménages where all the wives are of the same ethnic group as the husband, 57% ménages where at least one wife is from a different ethnic group. The following tables give the distribution by socio-occupational categories:
(tables on following pages)

369x
563
565

17: Mercier--33 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/29 cont./

Socio-occupational Category	Number of monogamous restricted families	Wives of the same ethnic group as their husband		Wives from a group different from that of the husband	
		T	%	T	%
Farmers, fishermen	16	14	87%	2	13%
Laborers, domestics	81	68	84%	13	16%
Workers and artisans	214	152	71%	62	29%
Master workmen	11	5	45%	6	55%
Subordinate functionaries and employees	208	136	65%	72	35%
Superior functionaries and employees	29	19	64%	10	36%
Teaching, intellectual professions, etc.	47	28	59%	19	41%
Merchants, transporters, etc.	47	65	84%	12	16%

369x
563
565

17: Mercier--34 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

Dakar

/29 cont./

Socio-occupational Category	Number of polygamous restricted families (2 and 3 wives)	All the wives of same ethnic group as the husband		At least one wife from an ethnic group different from that of the husband	
		T	%	T	%
Farmers, fishermen	7	3	43%	4	57%
Laborers, domestics	14	7	50%	7	50%
Workers and artisans	75	36	48%	39	52%
Master workmen	10	3	30%	7	70%
Subordinate functionaries and employees	57	25	44%	32	66%
Superior functionaries and employees	10	2	20%	8	30%
Teaching, intellectual professions, etc.	5	2	40%	3	60%
Merchants, transporters, etc.	45	19	42%	26	58%

369x
563
565

/30/

1. The first table is more significant. In fact, the number of polygamous families is too low in absolute value in certain categories for one not to fear distortion, in the conditions under which the investigation was made. In any case, the fact that the only wife (or the first wife of potential polygamists) is from an ethnic group different from that of their husband is more important than when it is a matter of a second or third wife of a polygamist. 369x 565 563

2. As far as the monogamists are concerned, the categories of farmers, laborers, and merchants are clearly below the average (29%). The workers and artisans reach this average exactly. They likewise form among the polygamists a rather clear grouping, characterized by the preservation of ethnic values. One problem is posed here, however: the master workmen, contrary to what we have previously ascertained, do not fit into this group. We lack factors for an explanation of this seemingly aberrant fact. Subsequent investigations will try to illuminate it.

3. The categories of the subordinate functionaries and employees more clearly approximates here those of the superior functionaries and employees, of the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc. In this whole, the ethnic values, and this is confirmed by other investigations, tend to play a less important role; they are far, however, from complete obliteration (1).

1. See below some notes on the composition of groups of friends.

4. It would be necessary, however, to shade this account by studying the prevalent behaviors in the different ethnic groups (2). One finds that the situation varies in terms of: 369x 563

[565]

2. It is necessary to take into account the fact that the ethnic groups, except for the most important numerically, are not

17: Mercier--36 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30

/30 cont./

regularly distributed among the socio-occupational categories. We shall refer here to our paper, already cited, which was prepared for the Conference of Abidjan of September 1954.

369*
563
[565]

on the one hand, the numerical importance of the group in the town; on the other hand, the distance from the region of origin; finally, particular factors closing off the group (racial prejudices, religion, etc.). Thus we find, among the groups where the average for interethnic marriages is not attained: the Cape Verdeans, the Moors, the Diola, the Sérère and equally the Wolof, among whom ethnic endogamy is the clearest. Among those where the proportion of interethnic marriages clearly exceeds the average: the Bambara, the groups originally from the territories of the south, and, unexpectedly, the Lebou, which indeed confirms the weakening of the former particularism and the mixing (which is accelerating) with the Wolof element. Let us note /31/ finally that in numerous cases, if the spouses are not of the same ethnic group, they are nevertheless originally from the same region; this is the case for most of those questioned by us who were originally from Dahomey and Togo.

F. -- We must look briefly into the qualitative aspect of the composition of the family groups going beyond the framework of the restricted family; we have indicated what limits are put on the utilization of the purely quantitative data. This composition is very diverse and very changeable in time.

S
369*
592

1. Here are the dominant types which were encountered, in order of decreasing frequency:

a) The nephew-uterine uncle relationship and more rarely the nephew-consanguineous /paternal/ uncle are the basis for the formation of many groupings. In particular among the Wolof and the Lebou, the educational role of the uterine

S
W
[604]
[597]

Dakar
Wolof MS30

/31 cont./

uncle persists, and the latter often has charge of his nephews until adolescence, whether or not the father lives in town (1). S 369x 592 S W [604] [597] [591]

1. Nephews harbored in this manner represent a large proportion of the category of "adopted children." The other types of relationships covered by the term adoption in common usage are: those between the guardian and orphaned children (of brothers or of more distant relatives), and those between the guardian and children who have been entrusted to him during the time of schooling by relatives living out of town.

One often ascertains this fact in the whole of the categories where the vigor of traditional institutions is, as we have seen, the greatest (farmers, laborers, workers, merchants), but it is noticeable everywhere.

b) Another frequent type is that of groupings of collaterals of the same generation, consanquineous /paternal/ or uterine (brothers in the classificatory sense). It frequently breaks up when the younger brothers marry; it is more unstable if "brothers" of a distant degree are involved.

c) One encounters, in a smaller number of cases, the typical extended family, where the married sons -- and sometimes, temporarily or permanently, married daughters (2)-- S [596] [591]

2. The case where the husband is housed by his wife or by the family of the latter, the owner of the house, is encountered frequently, but less than, for example, at Saint-Louis. It is

/31 cont./

369x
592
[591]
[596]

a matter of a de facto matrilocal, non-institutionalized marriage.

do not form separate households. The segmentation of these groups occurs constantly -- it poses a question of available space -- but its importance is sometimes tempered by the maintenance of the neighborhood situation. The aged father and mother are often dependent, and the role of the de facto head of the family has partially been transferred to the eldest son.

/32/ d) Kinship by marriage is likewise a factor of grouping. One finds most frequently the collaterals of the wife, more rarely her relatives on ascending generations. One is reminded in part of the preceding case (1).

1. See preceding note.

e) One finds finally, living with the restricted family, distant relatives or "friends" who, in the majority of cases, are at least tied to this family by an ethnic relationship. But these much looser relationships account chiefly for the formation of bachelor groups. [589]

2. Two typical cases of variations in time will be given by way of illustration. The first example is that of a specialized worker's family, the second that of a family of a subordinate employee. The wages of the family heads in the chosen cases are much the same.

a) This family is of Toucouleur origin, but, after a series of marriages, is closely tied to Wolof groups. The nucleus of the restricted family consists of the husband, his wife, and her three children. The mother of the family head, a widow, lives with her son permanently. The following changes in the composition of the household were observed from August 1953 to May 1954:

-- August: a guest was lodged for three weeks, in the capacity of both a distant relative and a marabout;

/32 cont./ 369x 592

-- September: the brother of the family head, an itinerant merchant, settled in Dakar for six weeks; he was not entirely dependent on his brother;

-- October: the son of a uterine cousin of the family head was entrusted to him for the school year: he is not entirely dependent on his relative;

-- December: two cousins who work seasonally in Dakar came from the region of the river; the first found work and was laid off in March, but he stayed until May; the second only did occasional work and left in April; they were both dependent on their relative for at least a third of their stay.

One thus sees how the exercise of diverse obligations stemming from kinship ties caused the size of the family to vary in the course of the year. The number of adults living entirely or partially on one salary went from a minimum of three to a maximum of five.

/33/ b) The second family is Lebou. It consists permanently of the husband, one of his two wives, her two children (the second wife, with her two children, lives in another sector of the same quarter), a uterine nephew, and a sister of the wife. The following changes were noted during this period (not including the many, very short visits of relatives living in the area of Rufisque): [595]

-- September: the younger brother of the family head returns, his military service completed; he will not find work until March and moreover will continue to live with his brother; until then, there will be only one salary.

-- December: the second wife leaves for a stay with her relatives and leaves her eldest son, a schoolboy, in the care of her co-wife; this does not in fact represent an increase in burden; [595]

-- February: after the death of their father, the young brother of the wife joins her.

One has had then, during this period, at first three and

17: Mercier--40 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/33 cont./

369x
592

and then four adults living on one salary, and subsequently four adults living on two salaries.

G. -- One sees by these examples how a "snapshot" of the situation only furnishes an approximate picture of the totality of the facts. The preceding pages have shown, however, that it does draw an outline of it; it is therefore possible to put down some remarks in the guise of conclusions.

1. The situation is not fixed. The restricted family clearly tends to constitute a milieu of life more closed than [594] in the traditional framework, and to coincide with the household. But this tendency, even in the most Westernized categories, is far from having caused the traditional forms to re- [182] treat everywhere. The obligations founded on kinship in the [602] broad sense are still strongly felt. But one has seen that a first step toward their gradual weakening has already been made with the transformation of the character of the de facto groupings (extent, structure, etc.). Doubtlessly for a long time yet there will continue to be a gap between the values recognized by the members of these societies and the new structures born out of the transformations imposed from the outside. As for the structure of the restricted family, the proportion of polygamists, for all the cases studied, seems to be [595] at the average level which it attains in a demographically normal population. A regression of polygamy, however, appears to have started in the categories which represent a new type of elite with Western instruction.

2. The variations in the extent and the structure of both the broad group of relatives and the restricted family are not linked in a constant manner to the differences in living standard. [182] The situations /34/ can be extremely variable with equal resources (1). The relation is well marked (2) only in the

1. As the investigations on family budgets conducted in Thiès have indeed shown.

17: Mercier--41 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/34 cont./ 369x

2. And much less, as we have seen, with regard to the facts of "familial parasitism."

categories that on the whole have the same way of life. The distinction which has imposed itself between two groups of categories corresponds to this last fact. The boundary, however, is unequally clear, depending on the phenomena considered. One finds the problem of cultural persistences cutting across the changes of structure and way of life in the course of consolidation.

3. The at least partial entry into the western "technical milieu" appears to be a factor of transformation much less important than schooling. The majority of the specialized workers are still in the most traditionalist group, with only the master workmen approaching, in certain forms of their average behavior, an intermediate position. The level of schooling itself, however, is still only weakly decisive, except in the category of members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc. The relation between level of studies and the way of life, even though it tends to assert itself, is not direct in every case. [182]

III

The group of relatives no longer coincides with the local unit. Neither the quarter, the sector, the block, nor in certain cases the "compound" are ethnically homogeneous any longer. In this case, what is the social role of the neighborhood? Under what conditions does it create relationships of a new type which are to be integrated into the new urban "pattern"? The groups of friends were formed essentially in the framework of the age class (3) as a consequence of the ethnic group (and often of the group of relatives in the broad sense). 369x 621 571 [563]

3. See, for example, G. Balandier and P. Mercier, op. cit.

17: Mercier--42 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/34 cont./

group of relatives in the broad sense). What is the influence of the neighborhood factor, among other new factors, on their constitution now? Such are the principal questions for which we shall give the first, very brief elements of an answer. 369* 621 571

A. -- The neighborhood unit does not constitute a structured grouping, as in the village quarters. The decrease of mobility and of heterogeneity condition the creation of a common milieu of life, in the framework of the quarter as in that of the block. But, particularly in Médina, the quarters represent only an artificial segmentation and have no clearly /35/ marked centers (of commerce, of leisure, etc.). The weakness of the authority and prestige of the quarter heads is another aspect of this fact. As for the smaller elements, groups of blocks, blocks, compounds, their transformation into neighborhood communities based on a minimum of permanence of their components has advanced unevenly. The study of a certain number of blocks has permitted us to distinguish several types. In the first, almost all the people know one another (1), they often visit one another,

1. It is very easy there to find a person whose exact address is not known.

help one another, and on occasion have common leisure-time activities. In the opposite type, there is very little personal contact and mutual aid, and one hardly knows the names of the neighbors, even the immediate ones. An intermediate type is the one where the neighborhood relationships are reduced to very small circles, the relationships dispersed throughout the town, however, retaining more importance. It seems that this is the most frequent case. We shall briefly describe a block of this type.

It is often difficult to pick out from the complex network of relationships between the inhabitants of a block those which are based purely on neighborhood. In many cases, the fact of the neighborhood is eclipsed, as a factor of explanation, by

/35 cont./

kinship, kinship by marriage, membership in the same ethnic group, the same religious persuasion, the same occupation; certain other facts are ambivalent, for example, membership in the same association. In the study that we have made of a certain number of blocks of Médina, we have tried to isolate the neighborhood factor at different levels of participation in common activities. We essentially retained: reciprocal visits, conversation groups, mutual aid (loans, etc.), relationships between women, the play groups of children. The relationships of simple politeness are not retained. We considered successively the relationships inside the compound -- when it is not inhabited by a single family -- and the relationships within the block. In the last case, a somewhat arbitrary limit is posed: the street is not a border, but a zone of assembly. It has not yet been possible to study completely the social role of the latter. 369x 621 571

In the block that we shall take as an example, 12 out of 14 compounds were studied; the inhabitants of the other two compounds were on a trip or refused to lend themselves to the investigation. The block as a whole is very heterogeneous ethnically, but, however, with a clear dominance of Wolof-Lebou (2). [563]

2. Six family heads who were manifestly Lebou persisted in calling themselves Wolof. Cf. above.

It contains 39 family groups (representing 199 persons) and 11 isolated bachelors, tenants of some of the preceding families. Five of these bachelors only live /36/ in Dakar seasonally, but in principle always in the same place. The distribution of the family heads by ethnic groups is as follows: 28 Wolof, 4 Lebou, 5 Toucouleur, 1 Sarakolé, 1 Socé. Among the isolated bachelors, one has: 5 Wolof, 2 Toucouleur, 2 Socé, 1 Bambara, 1 Soussou. [427] [563]

1. The study of the relationships within the compounds shows a certain variety of situations.[1] These compounds are

[1] [see chart, pp. 56-57.- Analyst]

/36 cont./

divided into several types by their composition: 369x

-- Compounds composed of a single family group: extended kinship group based on the nephew-uterine uncle relationship (B), restricted family (E); 621 571

-- Compounds composed of restricted family groups, but having between them ties of distant collateral kinship (J);

--Compounds composed of restricted or extended family groups tied only by the ethnic relationship (A and N);

-- Compounds grouping restricted families from different ethnic groups (F, G);

-- Compounds grouping restricted families and isolated persons, all of the same ethnic group (L);

-- Compounds grouping restricted families and isolated persons, and ethnically varied (C, D, K, M).

The compounds of the first two types will not detain us; family solidarity plays a major role there. In the others, the situation is extremely variable. Frequent relationships exist everywhere, on the level of the children (play groups), less frequently on the level of women, still less frequently on the level of men. Let us consider essentially the relationships which are not sustained by the ethnic community.

a) The bachelors, except when they are of the same ethnic group as some of the families of the compound (1 case, in compound D), participate little in the life of the compound; most eat outside and only spend the night at home. Mutual aid does little for them; most said that they had recourse, in case of sickness, to the aid of friends -- almost always of the same ethnic group -- on the outside. In one single case (compound K), the bachelors -- of the same ethnic group, moreover -- form a group eating together, going out together, etc.; the cooking is done for them by an old woman -- also of the same ethnic group -- a widow who lives with her children. [589]

b) Within the compound the ethnic disparity among the families does not exclude some minimal forms of mutual aid (loans of utensils, small purchases, care of children, etc.) [563]

17: Mercier--45 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/36 cont./

There is one single case of a ménage having practically no relations with the rest of the compound, that of a Sarakolé family (compound F). 369x 621 571 563

/37/ c) The extreme cases of mutual aid, on the contrary, are only noticed among families that are related or at least of the same ethnic group. Thus, in the compounds I, N, D, one finds an unemployed man, married and father of a family, temporarily taken care of by his cousins (compound I) or by his neighbors who are related to him only in the broadest possible sense of the term (compounds D and N).

d) The play community of the children is encountered everywhere within the compounds, the ethnic differences not at all intervening. This and other elements, such as the life in the courtyards, the daily encounters at the water places, cause the women ultimately to have many more personal contacts than the men. The only case of a woman living relatively isolated is that of the Sarakolé woman already mentioned. [857]

2. The picture is a little different when one passes to the larger framework of the block. It is moreover divided longitudinally, the relations clearly being more frequent among the compounds which face on the same street. It is necessary, however, to add the shadings.

a) The play groups of the children are still larger, and neither the ethnic group nor other differential elements seem to play a role in their formation, but only proximity and individual affinities. [857]

b) As far as the women are concerned, the contacts that we noted above, conversations at the water place, etc., concern practically the whole block. On the other hand, visits and possible mutual aid occur almost exclusively among relatives, relatives by marriage, and women of the same ethnic group.

c) We have examined, for the men, the composition of groups of friends. In most cases, the majority of friends were dispersed throughout the town, these friends being either of the same ethnic group, of the same work group, or members of the same association -- these factors can all be combined, or [572]

/37 cont./

combined two by two. Out of 32 male heads of families, eight had no friends in the neighborhood (block and its immediate surroundings -- the relatives obviously being excluded). Among the 24 others, one counted 15 whose friends in the neighborhood were at the same time all members of the same ethnic group; for five others, they were either of the same ethnic group or members of the same syndicate;[1] for two others, they were either of the same ethnic group or members of the same religious association. Only the two heads of Lebou families, the ones settled in the block the longest and enjoying a certain prestige, had many friends in the neighborhood; the majority of the latter did not belong to the Lebou group and were not members of a like structured group. The factor of neighborhood, properly speaking, seemed, for our people as a whole, to account for only the most superficial type of relations. The common religious persuasion does not /38/ play an essential role; its limits rarely coincide with the limits of groups of friends. The religious associations, however, are practically the only ones which rest, in a certain number of cases, on a local basis. The importance of occupational ties (in the broad sense, including syndical activity) and, above all, that of ethnic ties are of primary importance.

B. -- In this domain, however, differences in behavior between the socio-occupational categories are seen to appear, and it is important to note them in order to complete the preceding data. One sees some distinctions delineated which, as a whole, go in the same direction as those encountered in the second part of this work. In our population investigated by questionnaires, one finds: 13% of those queried who have less than 10% of their connections belonging to the same ethnic group as themselves; 29% who have less than 30%; 57% who have less than 50%; 11% who have 100%. The following table indicates the distribution by socio-occupational categories:

[1] [i.e., trade union,-Analyst]

/38 cont./

Socio-occupational Category	Percentage of connections belonging to the same ethnic group			
	Less than 10%	Less than 30%	Less than 50%	100%
Farmers, fishermen	11%	26%	50%	7%
Laborers, domestics	7%	19%	41%	21%
Workers and artisans	13%	33%	64%	10%
Subordinate employees and functionaries	14%	33%	60%	11%
Superior employees and functionaries	17%	34%	61%	7%
Teaching, intellectual professions, etc.	26%	40%	72%	6%
Merchants, transporters, etc.,	6%	17%	41%	17%

369x
621
571
563
572
565

We thus find a first group where the role played by ethnic membership in the formation of the group of friends is more important than it is on the average: the laborers and domestics, the merchants and transporters. The opposite situation is found among the superior functionaries and employees and even more accentuated, among the members of the teaching and intellectual professions. The farmers are to be added to this group, however; most of them are Lebou, and these figures account well on the one hand for the loss of their particularism before the Wolof thrust, and on the other hand for the more /39/important role played among them by the factors of neighborhood. An average group is constituted by: the subordinate functionaries and employees, and, much more clearly than in the other domains considered, the workers and artisans.

Some remarks are necessary. The factor of ethnic regrouping retains its importance in all the categories, although unequally.

17 Mercier--48 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/39 cont./

unequally. The scrutiny of the data concerning the neighborhood factor furnished by this same investigation is not finished; the first results seem to confirm those obtained in our monographic investigations: it in itself only plays a reduced role, only reinforcing the ties of some other origin. On the contrary, memberships in the same occupational milieu, in the same association, syndical, cultural, sportive, etc. (1), are important

369x 621 571 563 [572]

1. The study of the role of associations is reserved for another work.

factors in the formation of groups of friends. Finally, let us add that the average behaviors of ethnic groups are extremely variable. Their distribution, however, does not coincide exactly with the one that we have indicated in the domain of interethnic marriages. Only groups among whom the importance of the ethnic factor is clearly greater than the average, the Moors, the Peul, the Toucouleur, the Sarakolé; on the other hand it is slightly less among the Wolof and the Bambara, average among the Sérère, the Diola, the Soussou, the Cape Verdeans. The partial divergences between these two orders of data (2) pose in themselves a problem which will be the

2. Cf. II, E, 4.

subject of subsequent investigations.

We have studied essentially the permanent population of the town, moreover unequally stabilized. It remains to complete these data by the examination of the problems posed by the seasonal population, and, more generally, by the population without fixed residence. It is in this minority that one can really speak of facts of detribalization, in the sense of pure deterioration of the former social frameworks. On the contrary, we

[182]

/39 cont./
have seen that in the permanent population the kinship structures and ethnic membership (3) played a considerable role. Certainly, a new equilibrium has not been achieved everywhere, and we have noted that the kinship structures were not always adapted to the conditions of urban life. But one is far from dealing with an amorphous mass. Where one can speak /40/ of detribalization, among the elites of a new type, it is not in a purely negative sense. The crisis phase of traditional institutions has not completely passed. But the phase of reconstruction of institutions has begun; some average behavior which implies a certain equilibrium in new frameworks can already be disclosed. /Figs. 1-4 appear here./

182
369x
[621]
[571]
[563]

3. It would also be necessary to examine the role played by the associations formed on an ethnic or regional basis.

17: Mercier--50 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

102
361
×369

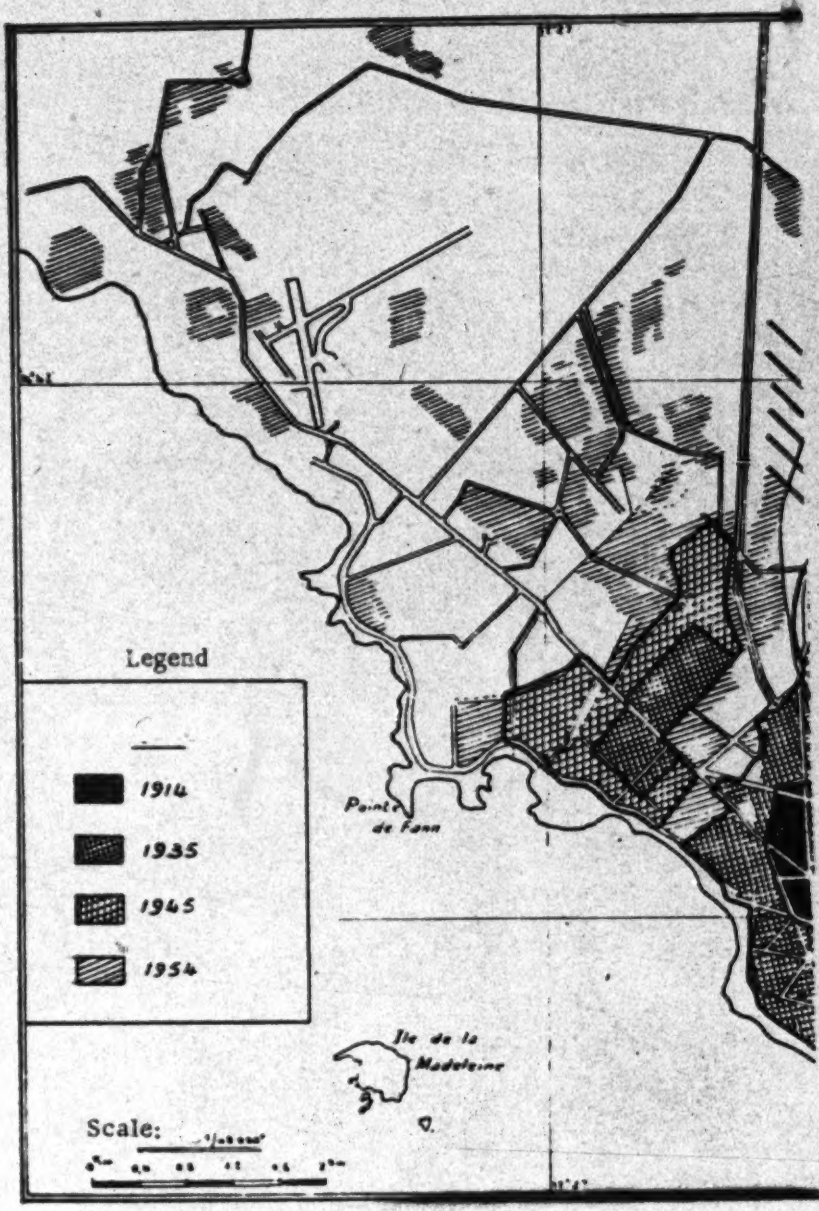


Fig. 1. Stages of the development of Dakar.
/left side of map/

17: Mercier--51 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

102
361
x369

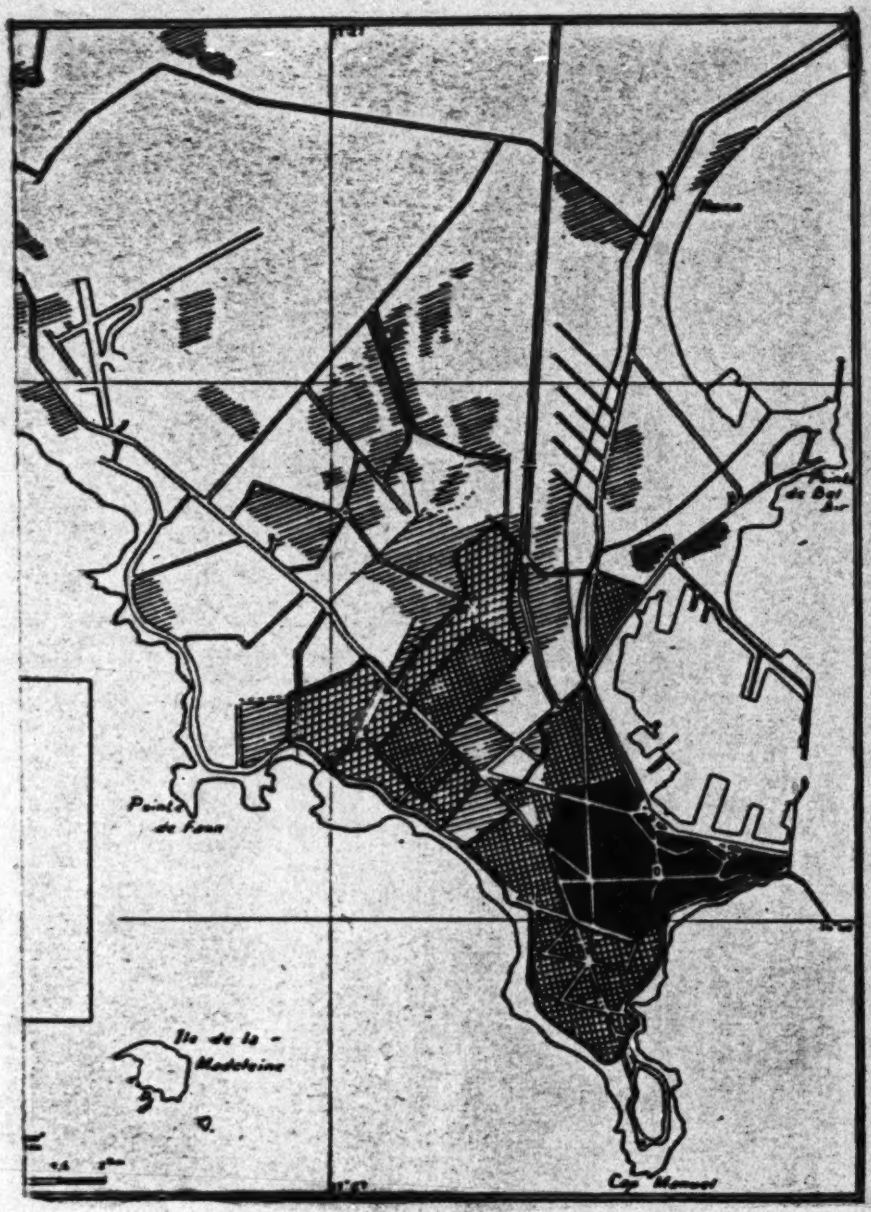


Fig. 1. Stages of the development of Dakar.
/right side of map/

17: Mercier--52 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

102
361
369
712

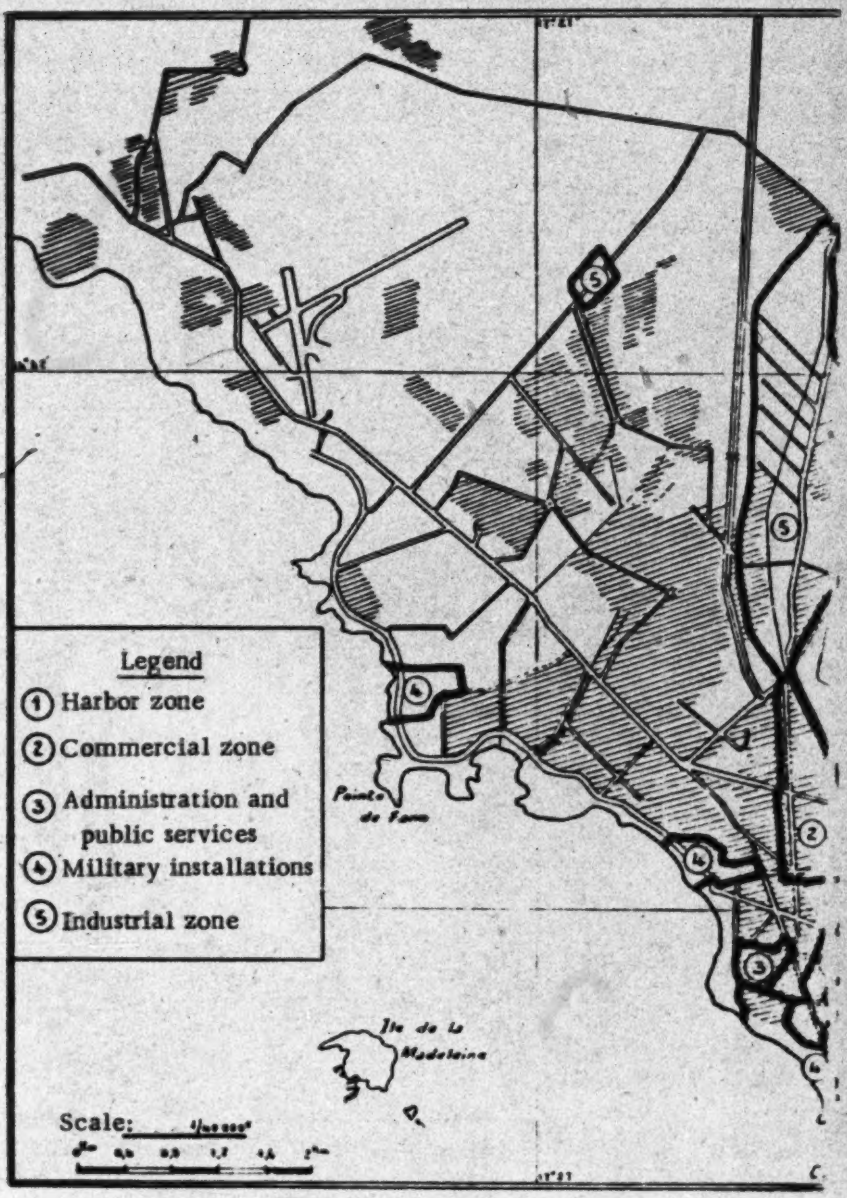


Fig. 2. Functional zones in the agglomeration of Dakar /left side of map/

17: Mercier--53 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

102
361
712
x369

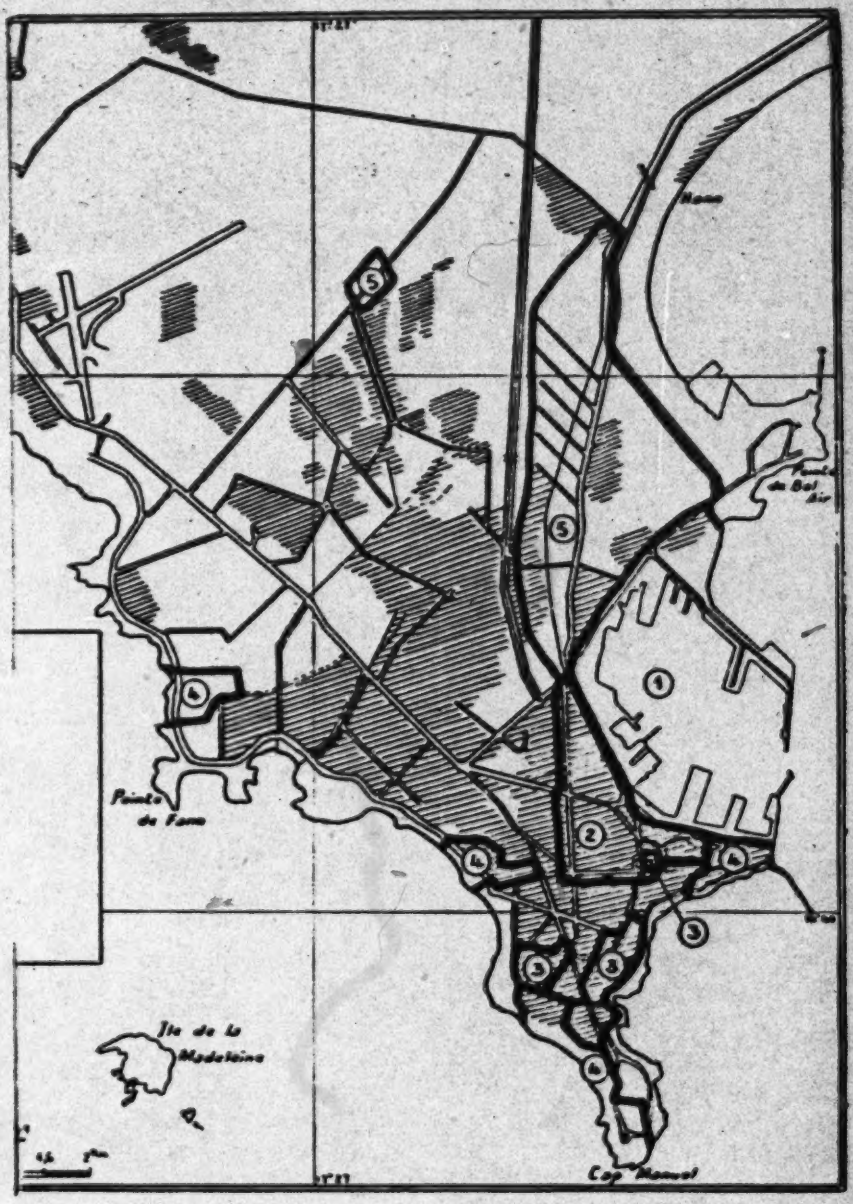


Fig. 2. Functional zones in the agglomeration of Dakar.
/right side of map/

17: Mercier--54 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

102
361
x 369
563

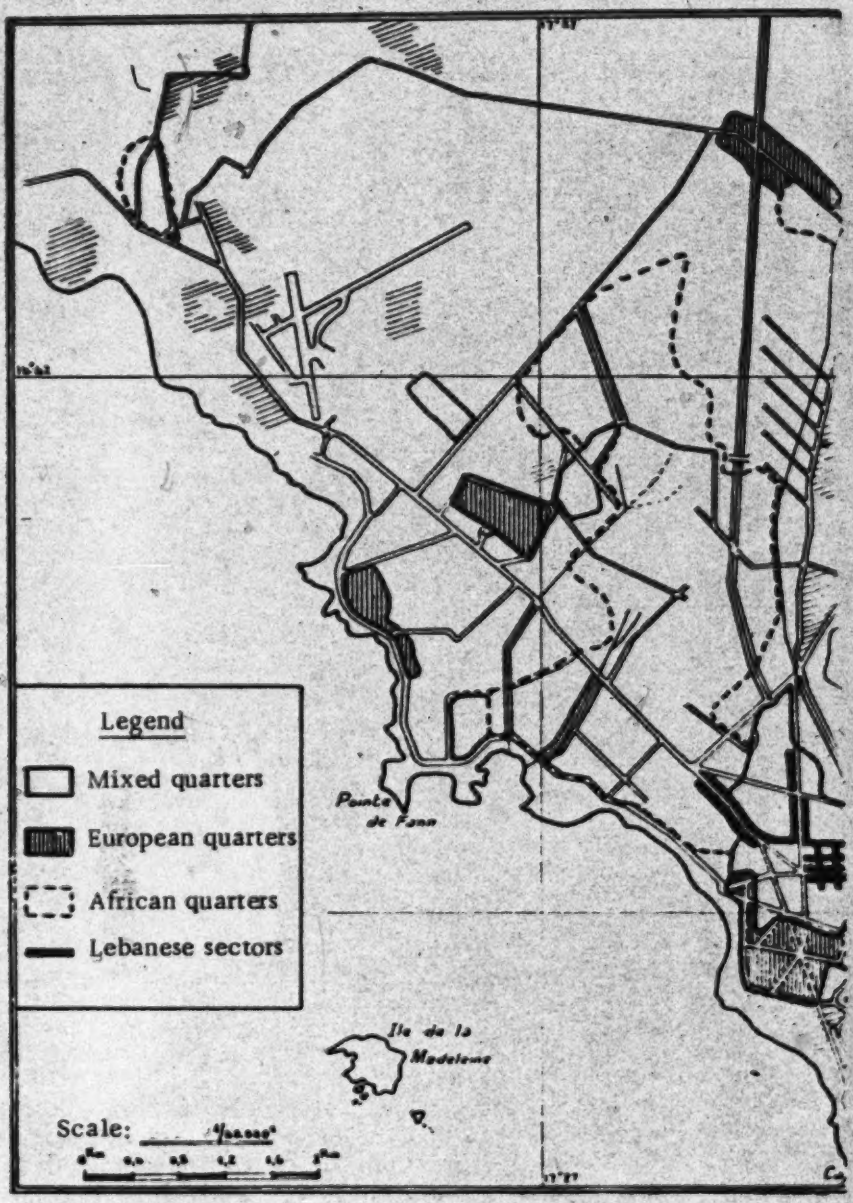


Fig. 3. Divisions of the Dakar habitat.
/left side of map/

17: Mercier--55 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

102
361
563
x 369

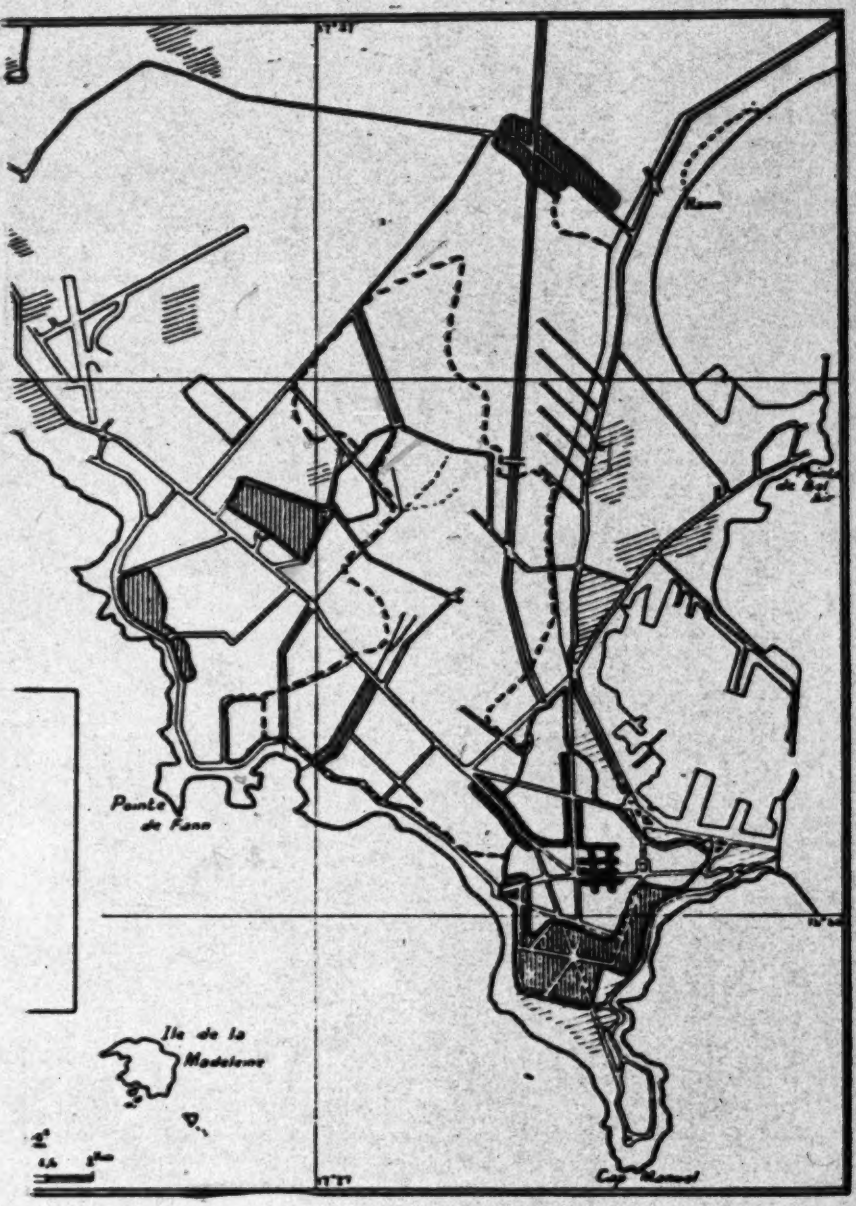
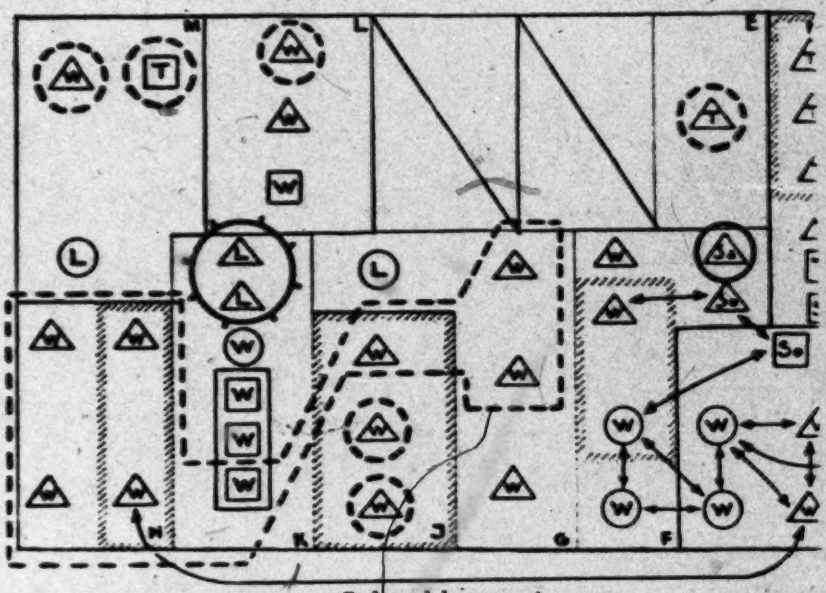


Fig. 3. Divisions of the Dakar habitat.
/right side of map/

17: Mercier--56 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

Dakar

x 369
571
563
621



Related by marriage

Male heads of families △

Female heads of families ○

Bachelors □

Related groups

Wolof W

Lebou L

Toucouleur T

Sarakolé Sa

Example of a group with relationships.

Example of relationships between persons of two neighboring compounds.

Families having relationships in the whole neighborhood

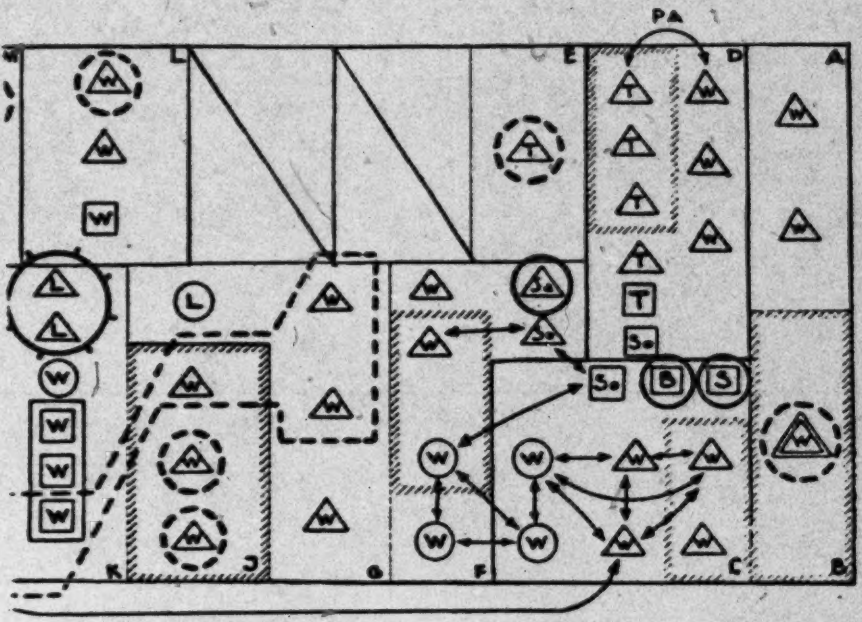
Families not having, beyond the compound, any relationships in the block.

Persons without relationships in the neighborhood.

Fig. 4.
/left side of sketch/

17: Mercier--57 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

x 369
563
571
621



Related by marriage

△	Wolof	W	Socé	So
○	Lebou	L	Soussou	S
□	Toucouleur	T	Bambara	B
	Sarakolé	Sa		

/see left side of Fig. 4/

Fig. 4.
/right side of Fig. 4/

17: Mercier MS37 Senegal

ÉTUDES SÉNÉGALAISES

N° 5

L'AGGLOMÉRATION DAKAROISE

Quelques aspects sociologiques et démographiques

Centre IFAN — Sénégal
Saint - Louis - du - Sénégal
1954

[Title Page]

[4 11]

ASPECTS DE LA SOCIETE AFRICAINE DANS L'AGGLOMERATION DAKAROISE : GROUPES FAMILIAUX ET UNITES DE VOISINAGE

Par P. Mercier.

Il ne peut encore être question de faire un exposé synthétique des résultats obtenus par les diverses enquêtes sociologiques *stricto sensu* entreprises dans l'agglomération dakaroise. De nombreux domaines restent à explorer, sur lesquels nous ne possédons encore que des données très sommaires : la sociographie des groupements n'a pu qu'être ébauchée, des chapitres importants tels que la sociologie religieuse, la sociologie des loisirs, etc., doivent faire l'objet de recherches plus approfondies. Le plan d'étude, très vaste, que nous avions élaboré au début de 1953, n'a pu évidemment être réalisé entièrement (1). La complexité de la composition raciale, ethnique, professionnelle, etc., du centre urbain oblige à des enquêtes longues et diverses. D'autre part, la nécessité d'études comparatives dans d'autres centres urbains du Sénégal est très rapidement apparue, études que des circonstances favorables nous ont permis d'entreprendre dès la fin de 1953 (2). Le présent article va donc se limiter à un très petit nombre d'aspects de la structure sociale : aux autres, il sera fait allusion lorsque ce sera nécessaire.

D'une part, nous illustrerons certains aspects de la structure des groupes de parenté dans la population africaine ; malgré l'amenuisement des fonctions remplies par la famille en milieu urbain, malgré la diversification des groupements à fonction spécialisée, qui caractérisent la vie sociale urbaine, leur rôle demeure capital (3). Tout

(1) Il a été publié dans le Rapport Annuel de l'IFAN pour 1953.

(2) En particulier, la documentation de base fournie par des recensements récents des villes de Thiès et de Saint-Louis a permis d'y réaliser des enquêtes par questionnaires selon la méthode des sondages. Regrettons que l'absence à Dakar d'un recensement récent et précis nous empêche d'aborder maints aspects de la démographie et de la sociologie de cette ville. Et souhaitons qu'il puisse être réalisé bientôt.

(3) L'exposé démographique de L. Massé recoupe bien entendu certains aspects de cette étude. Cf. notre avant-propos.

proche est celui joué par le groupe ethnique, qui ne sera qu'esquissé ici. D'autre part, nous étudierons le rôle joué par certains groupements de fait, non structurés : unités de voisinage, groupes d'amis, plus ou moins indépendants, selon les cas, des structures et des liens traditionnels, ethniques et familiaux. L'étude des groupements structurés de type nouveau sera réservée pour un autre travail ; nous ne donnerons à ce sujet que des indications sommaires.

La profonde interconnection des phénomènes sociaux observables dans un milieu défini (1) doit cependant, comme toujours, être soulignée. La première partie de cet exposé sera donc consacrée à un exposé, très général, des cadres dans lesquels on doit replacer toute étude du complexe social dakarois (2).

I

Dakar a connu un énorme développement entre les deux guerres, et surtout depuis 1946. Développement démographique, développement économique (3). En même temps, les caractéristiques de la société dakaroise, étant bien entendu qu'elle se décompose en plusieurs sociétés partielles, organiquement liées, mais qui ont chacune leurs problèmes particuliers, ont subi d'importants changements. En rendre compte dépasserait les limites de ce travail ; nous nous contenterons de rappeler quelques traits essentiels.

A. — Les villes nées de la colonisation ont partout été établies dans des conditions comparables, et pour des raisons semblables : ports, points de traite, centres administratifs, etc... ; ces divers éléments s'ajoutant les uns aux autres (4). On peut cependant en distinguer actuellement plusieurs types (5), quelques-uns des critères essentiels à considérer étant les suivants :

---

(1) Qui lui-même n'est jamais clos. Cf. par exemple le rôle dans les villes coloniales des vagues d'immigrants saisonniers.

(2) Celles-ci ont été, jusqu'à présent, limitées à l'agglomération dakaroise proprement dite ; les banlieues plus ou moins complètement liées à la ville ont été provisoirement laissées de côté (Ouakam, Hann, le lotissement récent de Dagoudane-Piking, etc.)

(3) Cf. par exemple les exposés d'un géographe américain, à la suite de deux voyages à Dakar, l'un avant la guerre (1935-36), l'autre en 1947 ; D. Whittlesey, Dakar and the Other Cape Verde Settlements, *The Geographical Review*, oct. 1941, pp. 609-638 ; Dakar Revisited, *The Geographical Review*, oct. 1948, pp. 626-632. Et les changements se sont encore accélérés.

(4) Voir l'article d'ensemble de J. Dresch : Villes d'Afrique Occidentale, *Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer*, Juillet-Septembre 1950, pp. 201-230.

(5) Nous nous limitons bien entendu à l'Ouest africain, les villes d'Afrique méridionale, par exemple, ayant eu un développement différent, et étant placées dans un contexte social sensiblement différent.

1° Leurs fonctions se sont plus ou moins multipliées et diversifiées ; ainsi, à Dakar, un début d'industrialisation, les tendances à la formation d'un centre culturel ouest-africain, annoncent une nouvelle phase de développement. D. WHITTLESEY, dans son premier article sur Dakar notait déjà : « Dakar est dans tout l'Ouest africain la seule ville au sens européen (ou occidental) du terme [1] ».

2° Le temps et les possibilités variables qu'ont eu les villes coloniales de cristalliser des formes et des comportements sociaux nouveaux permettent de les échelonner entre deux types extrêmes. Il y a de vieilles villes, ceci à la mesure de temps que l'on doit adopter pour situer les villes coloniales, dont la plupart ne datent que de quelques décades, dont fort peu atteignent le siècle d'existence ; il y a des villes absolument neuves.

a) La ville ancienne a déjà eu le temps de se structurer. Les différences ethniques originelles s'effacent : on pourrait dire qu'il se crée une nouvelle ethnie propre à la ville, à partir d'apports multiples.

Les éléments européens et africains ont des contacts, d'ampleur variable, et se mêlent partiellement dans l'habitat. Quelques Européens font souche. Une société métisse importante se constitue. Un taux de scolarisation élevé, et dans certains cas la richesse foncière, ont favorisé la création d'une strate dirigeante africaine Des traditions politiques s'y sont créées. La population africaine s'est stabilisée : la « maison de famille » est en ville, et non plus en brousse. Ce cas extrême est rare ; on en trouve un exemple dans la partie centrale de Saint-Louis du Sénégal, l'île. Encore une ville neuve, à population instable, jusqu'ici peu urbanisée, s'y est-elle juxtaposée et l'apport de nouvelles couches de population européenne a-t-elle changé certaines données du problème.

b) La ville récente, elle, compte fort peu d'Européens stabilisés. La masse des Africains ne l'est pas non plus. La plupart d'entre eux ne sont pas nés en ville. Point de société métisse de quelque importance. Les structures adaptées au nouveau milieu dans lequel se trouvent placés les ruraux, récemment installés, ou saisonniers, qui affluent vers la ville et le travail salarié, ne sont guère dessinées encore. Un relatif « amorphisme social » prévaut. Ville européenne et ville africaine sont d'autre part plus nettement séparées. C'est le cas, partiellement, d'une ville comme Brazzaville [2].

---

(1) Il ajoutait : « Aucun autre centre ne montre la différenciation spatiale très nette des fonctions qui caractérise *l'urbs occidentalis*, cette différenciation de fonctions n'a pris forme que dans les trois dernières décades (*op. cit.* p. 609). » Cette différenciation s'est beaucoup accentuée dans les dernières années.

(2) Cf G. BALANDIER, Approche sociologique des « Brazzavilles noires » : Etude préliminaire, *Africa*, XXII, 1, janvier 1952, pp. 23-34.

3° Parmi les villes coloniales, les unes ont reçu un peuplement africain ethniquement homogène, ou caractérisé par une dominante ethnique bien marquée ; les autres ont été peuplées par des vagues d'immigrants d'origine très diverse. Le rôle que conservent les valeurs et les structures traditionnelles est donc d'inégale importance. Ainsi l'opposition nette entre les deux « Brazzavilles noires », signalée par G. BALANDIER [1]. Ainsi le contraste entre les deux appendices occidental et oriental de Saint-Louis, Guet-Ndar et Sor, qui pourtant ni l'un ni l'autre ne peuvent être regardés comme complètement urbanisés.

4° L'importance numérique, en valeur absolue et en valeur relative, de la population européenne, est très variable. Son accroissement s'accompagne de modifications de structure (structure professionnelle, structure de classe, etc.) Il semble qu'il y ait certains seuils numériques au-delà desquels d'importants changements qualitatifs se font sentir ; par exemple dans le domaine des relations raciales. Nous aurons à y revenir.

B. — Dakar est un cas des plus complexes. Elle a des aspects de vieille ville coloniale, et de fait elle est l'une des plus anciennes en Afrique occidentale [2]. Mais celle-ci a été en quelque sorte recouverte par une ville du second type [3]. Le mélange des caractéristiques sociales de l'une et de l'autre ville permet de comprendre certains traits de l'évolution de Dakar. D'autre part, la dominante ethnique d'origine, le groupe Lebou, a perdu progressivement de son importance. Enfin, une dernière phase du développement de la ville la fait apparaître comme un centre de peuplement européen, encore instable.

1° Ne considérant que la population africaine, on constate que les éléments anciens et stabilisés — inégalement et dans des conditions diverses — (« vieilles familles » goréennes, communauté Lebou) ont été submergés par une masse hétérogène. Il faut cependant préciser :

a) Les Lebou, malgré les apports reçus de la proche banlieue qui est leur zone d'habitat traditionnel [4], ne représentent sans doute guère plus de 10 % de la population [5]. Leur organisation

---

(1) *Ibid.*

(2) Compte tenu seulement des villes coloniales : les villes pré-européennes, à caractères spécifiques, sont ici exclues.

(3) Cf. *supra*, I, A, 1, *b*.

(4) Cf. G. BALANDIER et P. MERCIER, Particularisme et évolution : les pêcheurs Lebou, *Etudes Sénégalaises*, n° 3, 1952. Résultat d'enquêtes accomplies en 1946.

(5) Les évaluations, d'ailleurs fournies sous toute réserve par la Délégation de Dakar, donnent 15% de Lebou, mais pour l'ensemble de la commune (villages

17: Mercier MS37 Senegal

coutumière subsiste d'ailleurs (1) mais devient de plus en plus formelle, et son efficacité est, de plus, réduite par les clivages politiques nouveaux (2). Leur rôle de détenteurs de la propriété foncière s'est progressivement amenuisé, et ne reste capital qu'en banlieue (3). Enfin, le particularisme Lebou (4) tend à s'effacer, et les limites entre Lebou et Wolof deviennent plus floues (5).

b) En ce qui concerne les Lebou et les Wolof, et dans une moindre mesure certains autres groupes, les contacts avec les régions et les groupes de parenté d'origine demeurent importants. Ajoutons que, pour une population en grande majorité musulmane, les centres religieux attirant les pélerins sont dans l'intérieur du Sénégal. Une large proportion de la population n'est donc point complètement déracinée, et les phénomènes de « déstructuration » qui accompagnent généralement les exodes ruraux sont moins marqués que dans la plupart des villes récentes. Aussi le fait que seulement 22% des personnes interrogées lors de notre enquête soient nées à Dakar est-il moins significatif qu'il ne le semble au premier abord (6).

c) Il faut remarquer aussi que toute la population immigrée n'est pas d'origine rurale. De nombreuses personnes interrogées par nous, surtout parmi les fonctionnaires, sont originaires de « vieilles villes »

---

suburbains y compris) ; la proportion est moins forte dans la ville même. Nous ne tenons compte que de celle-ci, sans oublier cependant que de nombreux Lebou habitant les villages, et même Rufisque, ont leur emploi à Dakar. Dans l'enquête par questionnaires menée à Dakar qui donne sinon une représentation ethnique fidèle, du moins des indications précieuses, nous avons rencontré un peu moins de 10% de Lebou.

(1) Cf. à ce sujet : C. Michel, L'organisation coutumière (sociale et politique) de la collectivité Leboue de Dakar, *Bull. du Comité d'Etudes Historiques et Scientifiques de l'A.O.F.*, XXII, 3, 1934 ; G.-J. Duchemin, La République Lebou et le peuplement actuel, *in* La presqu'île du Cap-Vert, *Etudes Sénégalaises*, n° 1, 1949.

(2) Cela va jusqu'à un dédoublement des fonctions traditionnelles et celles des chefs de quartier entre clients des deux grands partis actuels (SFIO et RDS).

(3) Cf. à ce sujet les indications fournies par J. Dresch, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-220.

(4) Cf. G. Balandier et P. Mercier, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

(5) Dans les chiffres fournis par la Délégation de Dakar, on voit figurer pour 11% une catégorie dénommée Wolof-Lebou, dont on ne peut savoir dans quelle mesure elle résulte de mélanges entre les deux groupes et dans quelle mesure elle est l'effet d'une « wolofisation » des Lebou.

(6) Comparer avec les chiffres donnés par G. Balandier pour Poto-Poto : 90 à 98% de personnes nées en dehors de la ville (*op. cit.* p. 25). Il ne faut pas oublier d'autre part que, même dans les « vieilles villes » en France, la proportion de personnes nées dans la ville où elles résident peut être très faible : ainsi, 25% à Auxerre (Cf. C. Bettelheim et S. Frère : Une ville française moyenne, Auxerre en 1950, Etude de structure sociale et urbaine, *Paris*, 1950).

17: Mercier MS37 Senegal

(Saint-Louis, Rufisque, etc...). Il s'agit donc d'éléments déjà fortement urbanisés, pour lequel de toute façon la question du déracinement ne se poserait pas de la même façon que pour les ruraux. Le pourcentage des personnes nées en ville n'exprime dons pas exactement le degré d'urbanisation de la population.

2° Dans ces conditions, l'hétérogénéité ethnique de l'agglomération dakaroise ne signifie pas, comme dans d'autres centres présentant le même caractère, que l' « amorphisme » social prévale (1). Il ne se révèle qu'à certains niveaux et dans certains secteurs de la population (manœuvres saisonniers, membres de groupes ethniques représentés par un nombre infime de personnes, etc...). Cependant le regroupement topographique des gens de même origine est loin d'être systématique, comme nous le verrons dans l'étude des unités de voisinage. Tout au plus peut-on mentionner des dominantes ethniques dans certains quartiers (secteur Sarakolé du quartier Nyaye-Thioker, par exemple), et la tendance à la moindre dispersion qui caractérise certains groupes (Maures, par exemple). Les quartiers purement Lebou ont cessé d'exister par deux processus : déplacement contraint des anciens quartiers lors de la création de la Médina, installation massive de « locataires » étrangers dans les quartiers demeurés en place. Si les noms Lebou des quartiers se sont maintes fois conservés (même après leur déplacement), si les chefferies de quartiers sont encore en majeure partie détenues par des Lebou, ce ne seront peut-être bientôt que vestiges historiques. La composition ethnique des quartiers et des « carrés » se transforme d'ailleurs constamment. L'importance numérique des divers groupes ne peut être fixée de façon précise, faute de recensements détaillés. Nous signalerons à titre indicatif :

a) Les chiffres officiels, fournis d'ailleurs sous toutes réserves, et valables pour *l'ensemble de la commune de Dakar* (y compris les villages suburbains) : Lebou, 15 % ; Wolof, 25 % ; « Wolof-Lebou », 11 % ; Sérère, 3 % ; Bambara, 9 % ; Toucouleur, 10 % ; Peul, 5 % ; Maures, 4 % ; Diola, 5 % ; Soussou, 2 % ; Cap-Verdiens (Portugais), 2 %, etc... (2).

---

(1) De même, dans une ville comme Cotonou, la proximité des grands centres traditionnels du Dahomey contrebalance en partie les faits de dissociation que l'on supposerait plus importants au vu des mélanges ethniques considérables qui s'y produisent (Cf. J. Lombard, Cotonou, ville africaine, *Etudes Dahoméennes*, X, 1954).

(2) Pourcentages tirés des chiffres figurant dans le rapport 1953. Ne sont d'ailleurs pas mentionnées les personnes originaires de Haute-Volta, de Côte d'Ivoire, du Dahomey. Elles ne semblent pas figurer dans le total, les rubriques ne comportant que : les originaires des autres territoires de l'A.O.F., les Cap-Verdiens, les Togolais, les Camerounais, les originaires de l'AEF et ceux de Sierra-Leone.

b) Les données fragmentaires recueillies lors de l'enquête par questionnaires menée par la Section de Sociologie dans le premier semestre de 1953. Les 1.231 personnes interrogées se répartissaient entre 43 groupes ethniques différents. Les groupes de faible importance numérique n'étaient pas tous représentés cependant (1). On trouvait (les quelques pourcentages donnés ne sont qu'indicatifs) :

— des originaires de la zone Sénégal-Soudan : en dehors des Lebou (9 %), les Wolofs (43 %) (2), les Toucouleur (11 %), les Sérère (5%), les Bambara (6%), les Sarakolé (3%), les Socé, les Mandingue, les Khassonké, les Peul, les Diola (3 %) (3), les Mandiaque ;

— des originaires de Guinée française : Malinké (3%), Peul, Soussou, Kissi ;

— des originaires de la Côte d'Ivoire : Agni, Appollonien, Attié, Baoulé, Bété, Dida, Krou, Wobé ;

— des originaires de la zone Togo-Dahomey : Aizo, Ewe, Fon, Goun, Nago, Popo, Mina ;

— des originaires de la zone Haute-Volta-Niger : Mossi, Sonray ;

— divers : Maures (3 %), Cap-Verdiens (2 %), Yoruba, Boulama, Congolais, etc...

Ceux pour lesquels nous n'avons indiqué aucun pourcentage sont pour la plupart numériquement peu importants par rapport à la population totale. Leur situation est cependant très variable : les conséquences du déracinement, le degré de cohésion que conservent de petits groupes très éloignés de leurs régions d'origine, le degré d'intégration à la société urbaine, varient selon le niveau auquel ils se situent dans la stratification sociale nouvelle qui prend forme dans les villes.

3° En effet, un autre trait de la sociologie des villes coloniales — et qui prend, nous l'avons signalé plus haut, un grand relief dans les « vieilles villes » — est la différenciation progressive en strates définissables par des critères socio-professionnels. Elle prend, comme l'a montré l'enquête sur Dakar, une importance de plus en plus

---

(1) D'autres, représentés dans tout Dakar par quelques individus seulement, ont été rencontrés au cours d'enquêtes ultérieures.

(2) Y compris un certain nombre de personnes qui étaient manifestement d'origine Lebou, et se déclaraient cependant Wolof, preuve de la crise de l'ancien particularisme Lebou.

(3) Le chiffre fourni par les sources officielles s'approche sans doute plus de la réalité ; il y a, en effet, parmi les Diola, une majorité de manœuvres, permanents ou saisonniers, et c'est la catégorie qui s'est avérée la plus difficile à toucher. La proportion des manœuvres dans l'ensemble des personnes qui ont accepté de répondre à notre questionnaire est beaucoup plus faible qu'elle devrait être.

grande dans la population stabilisée : là les domaines où les comportements demeurent déterminés par la situation ethnique, religieuse, etc..., se restreignent. Nous posions ainsi le problème dans un article récent, auquel nous nous permettons de renvoyer (1) : « Il apparaît... que nos catégories n'ont que tendanciellement le caractère de classes sociales. Elle se distinguent par le niveau et le genre de vie, et par un certain nombre de comportements spécifiques ; mais les caractères de la société coloniale, d'une part, la persistance de valeurs traditionnelles, d'autre part, ne leur permettent pas de prendre un caractère de classes tranchées. » Nous ne reviendrons pas sur cet exposé, où nous signalions l'absence de corrélations serrées entre catégorie socio-professionnelle, groupe ethnique et religion ; l'existence au contraire de corrélations très nettes entre les catégories socio-professionnelles et les faits tels que : le niveau des études françaises, l'importance des intermariages entre groupes ethniques différents, celle du rôle joué par les groupements et associations de type nouveau (partis politiques, syndicats, etc.) Aussi l'appartenance ethnique joue un rôle d'importance variable, bien qu'il soit très rarement effacé de façon complète.

4° Les structures nouvelles qui caractérisent les villes font une large place aux groupements d'ordre politique, syndical, culturel, sportif, etc. Nous ne discuterons pas ici ce problème. Il faut cependant signaler que l'importance de certains d'entre eux, à Dakar, est considérablement renforcée par la fonction de capitale fédérale que joue Dakar : c'est valable pour les syndicats et dans une moindre mesure pour les partis politiques.

5° Enfin, fait important dans toute ville coloniale, mais particulièrement à Dakar, la juxtaposition de groupes racialement et culturellement différents. Pour Dakar, la population européenne représente sans doute 10 % de la population totale (2), et les Libano-Syriens au moins 2%. Ne retenons, dans ce bref aperçu, que le problème des rapports entre Africains et Européens.

a) L'augmentation du nombre des Européens — qui a au moins sextuplé depuis 1939, alors que la population africaine n'a sans doute même pas triplé — s'est accompagnée de changements qualitatifs : développement des catégories de techniciens, d'ouvriers, d'artisans, de petits employés, de petits commerçants. Cette population, malgré le sens d'une forte solidarité (qui s'accuse en cas de crise) vis-à-vis de la population africaine, a vu s'accentuer une divi-

---

(1) P. Mercier, Un essai d'enquête par questionnaires dans la ville de Dakar (Communication à la Conférence sur les conséquences de l'industrialisation et de l'urbanisation en Afrique, Abidjan, 1954).

(2) Au recensement de la population non-autochtone de 1951, près de 22.000.

sion en classes héritée de la société d'origine. En même temps, la communauté européenne s'est repliée sur elle-même, développant ses propres services (commerçants spécialisés, etc...).

b) L'évolution des zones d'habitat reflète ces transformations L'étroit quadrillage du plan primitif de Pinet-Laprade enserre encore des quartiers multi-raciaux (où les Libano-Syriens ont pris une place de plus en plus grande). Mais, au cours du développement de la ville, la Médina presque exclusivement africaine [1] leur a été ajoutée au Nord, tandis que des quartiers résidentiels purement européens se développaient au Sud. Les zones récentes aménagées au-delà de la Médina pour l'habitation des fonctionnaires ne comportent également que peu de mélanges. Enfin, la ville européenne, à l'occasion de la reconstruction de nouveaux bâtiments, à partir de la zone Sud, gagne sur les quartiers mixtes, et un mouvement se dessine vers une ségrégation plus nette des zones d'habitat. Ségrégation qui n'est nullement officielle, mais qui est considérée comme souhaitable par la majorité de la population européenne [2], et basée en fait sur les différences de statut économique.

c) Il n'y a non plus aucune ségrégation de principe dans la vie sociale ; cependant, certains lieux publics (cafés, bars, etc.) s'efforcent, directement ou indirectement, de s'assurer une clientèle purement européenne. D'autre part, maints Cercles et Associations d'ordre récréatif, excluent en fait (c'est rarement statutaire) les Africains. Les Syndicats eux-mêmes, bien qu'ils ne soient pas, en principe, fondés sur une base raciale, ne réalisent pas un mélange des Africains et des Européens, par suite de la divergence des intérêts et des revendications ; les grèves, lorsqu'il s'en produit, sont en pratique purement africaines. Enfin, les partis politiques sont pour la plupart presque exclusivement africains : la population européenne dans son ensemble se désintéresse de l'activité politique locale.

d) Les rapports entre Africains et Européens sont essentiellement : des rapports sur le lieu de travail, entre collègues, et beaucoup plus souvent entre subordonnés et supérieurs, employés et patrons ; des rapports entre maîtres et domestiques à la maison ; la participation commune à des activités culturelles et sportives ; les rapports entre maîtres et élèves ou étudiants. Les rapports de caractère plus personnel (relations suivies, amitiés, etc.) sont beaucoup plus rares. Les intermariages — presque exclusivement entre Africains et Européennes — ont une signification particulière : il n'en est pratiquement point qui ait été contracté sur place.

---

(1) Quelques Européens y résident cependant : la crise générale du logement en rend largement compte.

(2) Différence de genres de vie, différences dans le rythme journalier sont les arguments mis en avant par ceux qui n'emploient pas les arguments purement racistes.

e) Nous n'aborderons pas ici le domaine des attitudes et des jugements interraciaux, qui doit faire l'objet d'enquêtes plus détaillées. Qu'il suffise de dire que toutes les observations faites permettent de conclure, entre certains secteurs de chacune des deux populations, à un état de tension beaucoup plus manifeste qu'il y a quelques années. Des faits nouveaux sont intervenus dans cette période (sans parler de la prise de conscience politique plus nette de certains éléments africains). Le nombre des ouvriers et employés subalternes européens (et européennes) a augmenté, et cela coïncidait avec une extension considérable de l'enseignement professionnel et l'enseignement général (à tous les niveaux) parmi les Africains. D'où une fréquence beaucoup plus grande des situations de compétition dans les domaines professionnel et économique (1).

Un tel aperçu montre combien sont nombreux, importants et enchevêtrés les problèmes à étudier. Une publication d'ensemble rendra compte plus tard des diverses enquêtes en cours. Cet exposé permettra de situer les problèmes que nous évoquerons ensuite. Il permettra aussi de comprendre dans quel esprit ont été conduites nos premières recherches.

II

Les indications que nous allons donner sur la structure familiale africaine dans l'agglomération dakaroise sont basées d'une part sur la documentation recueillie lors de l'enquête par questionnaires, d'autre part sur les faits constatés à la faveur d'interviews plus larges, et portant sur un nombre de familles beaucoup plus restreint. Ces derniers nous ont permis d'observer de façon plus précise l'aspect dynamique du problème.

Au niveau général où se situe notre étude, il n'a pas paru indispensable de tenir compte des détails d'organisation et des traditions particulières à chaque groupe ethnique. Ces aspects monographiques prendront place dans un travail plus complet. Les traits communs sont suffisamment marqués, en ce qui concerne au moins les systèmes de parenté patrilinéaire et bilatérale, qui sont de très loin dominants dans les populations représentées à Dakar.

Certaines distinctions seront cependant à noter au passage entre : *a*) les groupes qui préexistaient à la création de la ville ; c'est-à-dire en fait les Lebou ; *b*) les groupes qui, même s'il sont numé-

(1) L'étude du chômage à Dakar est très révélatrice. A côté de causes que l'on pourrait appeler classiques du chômage, on relève de plus en plus celles qui sont dues à cette situation de compétition.

riquement importants, ont gagné la ville en migrations qui intéressaient rarement des groupes de parenté complets, ceux-ci ayant pu ensuite, dans une mesure variable, se reconstituer sur place.

Il est nécessaire de rappeler ici quelques grands traits des organisations de parenté africaines, pour mieux situer les changements intervenus dans certains domaines (1).

La parenté est dans une certaine mesure une notion abstraite ; elle ne coïncide pas nécessairement avec la consanguinité, et les obligations dans l'ordre de la parenté ne découlent pas seulement de celle-ci. Ces obligations, d'autre part, s'étendent, au moins dans la ligne de filiation dominante, jusqu'aux limites connues du groupe de parents ; elles sont seulement plus précises et plus fréquemment actualisées au niveau des parents les plus proches (2).

L'unité locale coïncide plus ou moins complètement avec le groupe de parenté dessiné par la ligne de filiation dominante ; un quartier de village est en principe l'habitat d'un lignage donné.

Le mariage n'est pas un engagement entre deux individus, garanti par un organisme étatique ou religieux (3), mais la conclusion d'un accord entre deux groupes de parenté, accord qui revêt, directement ou indirectement, la forme d'un échange de forces. Les réseaux d'alliances matrimoniales, tout en permettant à chaque groupe de parenté de maintenir et d'accroître sa substance, créent des liens, contamment renforcés, entre divers groupes, assurant ainsi la cohésion du groupe ethnique que leur réunion compose. Aussi ne conçoit-on pas, dans l'énorme majorité des cas, de mariage à l'extérieur du groupe ethnique.

Même dans les systèmes à filiation patrilinéaire, la ligne maternelle est également source d'obligations. En particulier, dans la plupart des populations — et tout spécialement au Sénégal — le rôle de l'oncle utérin est important (4).

Il importe de garder présents à l'esprit ces éléments de base au cours de l'exposé que nous ferons des problèmes qui se posent actuellement.

---

(1) Cf. en particulier A. R. Radcliffe-Brown et D. Forde : African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, *Londres*, 1950.

(2) Les limites du groupe de parents considérés comme proches ne sont pas partout les mêmes, comme le montre l'extension très variable des interdictions de mariage.

(3) Cette garantie intervient chez les Musulmans, mais ne joue pas dans la plupart des cas le rôle essentiel.

(4) Cf., en ce qui concerne les Lebou, G. Balandier et P. Mercier, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

Nous donnerons d'abord quelques chiffres exprimant certains aspects saillants de la situation présente ; nous recourrons ensuite à des exemples monographiques. Ainsi se dessinera sommairement l'orientation de nos enquêtes.

A. — Les changements dans l'organisation et les valeurs familiales forment un tout. Les corrélations qui apparaissent entre les faits que nous avons retenus à titre d'illustration suffiront à le marquer.

Nous avons signalé qu'en ville, dans la plupart des cas, il y a dispersion topographique des groupes ethniques et des groupes de parenté plus restreints. Il n'en faudrait nullement conclure à une rupture générale des structures de parenté : tous les liens ne sont pas coupés. Seulement, les faits de voisinage et de parenté ne se renforcent plus réciproquement, selon le processus typique des situations traditionnelles. Un premier examen des variations de l'importance numérique des groupes de parents vivant en commun permettra de définir les tendances actuelles. Nous verrons que l'instauration d'une situation nouvelle où la maisonnée (1) tend à coïncider avec la famille restreinte est inégalement avancée selon les catégories sociales (2).

Nous avons dit pourquoi, en ce qui concerne spécialement le mariage, les considérations sur la structure proprement familiale ne peuvent être séparées des problèmes posés par l'appartenance ethnique. La multiplication des mariages interethniques est un symptôme de changements sociaux importants. Il faut noter également que, moins un groupe ethnique est numériquement important dans la ville, plus la simple parenté ethnique tend à jouer le rôle de liens de parenté plus proches.

La structure de la famille restreinte elle-même est sujette à variations. Ici se pose en particulier la question de la polygamie, de son importance variable selon les religions, les groupes ethniques, les catégories socio-professionnelles.

B. — L'importance numérique des groupes de parents composant une même maisonnée est très variable. Nous avons défini la maisonnée : l'ensemble des personnes vivant dans une même maison ou un même groupe de maisons, et mettant en commun au moins une partie de leurs ressources.

1° Quelques remarques sont ici nécessaires pour situer convenablement les données recueillies.

---

(1) Cf. *infra* pour la définition de cette notion.

(2) Voir plus haut (I, B, 4) les indications rapides données sur les catégories socio-professionnelles.

Certaines maisonnées sont composées de groupes de personnes n'ayant entre elles aucun lien de parenté — dans les cas extrêmes, même pas de parenté ethnique. C'est le cas en particulier des groupes de célibataires qui louent à fonds communs une chambre. Cas assez fréquent chez les manœuvres saisonniers, mais c'est une catégorie qui n'a été jusqu'ici que sommairement étudiée. L'enquête par questionnaires s'est pratiquement limitée à la population permanente. Les éléments relatifs à la composition de la maisonnée concernent donc presque exclusivement des groupes de parents. Nous obtenons une approximation suffisante pour notre propos.

Il est des faits dont nous ne pourrons tenir compte que dans l'exposé des données qualitatives. D'une part, un certain nombre de maisonnées sont liées par la parenté ou par l'alliance à des maisonnées immédiatement voisines. S'il n'y a pas vie en commun de l'ensemble du groupe familial, ses différentes fractions demeurent en rapports constants. Cet aspect sera évoqué dans la dernière partie de notre travail. D'autre part, la famille restreinte polygame, dans un certain nombre de cas, n'est pas rassemblée en un même lieu : chaque femme forme, avec ses enfants, le noyau d'une maisonnée, auquel viennent s'ajouter éventuellement d'autres membres du groupe de parenté ; le chef de famille passe d'une maisonnée à l'autre (1).

2° Les chiffres qui suivent donneront une première idée de la dimension des groupes. Ils portent sur les hommes chefs de ménage (monogames et polygames), les célibataires et groupes de célibataires étant exclus. Nous avons fait un simple comptage des personnes appartenant à la maisonnée en dehors du ménage enquêté (homme, épouse ou épouses, enfants vivant avec leurs parents, enfants adoptifs [2]). On obtient les résultats suivants :

a) Pour l'ensemble de la population étudiée, soit 915 hommes chefs de ménage : 41 % des maisonnées coïncident avec la famille restreinte, 32 % comprennent une personne en plus de la famille restreinte, 14 % en comprennent deux, 5 % en comprennent trois, 2 % en comprennent quatre, 1 % en comprennent cinq, 1 % en comprennent plus de cinq (3).

---

(1) Ce fait est cependant moins marqué que dans une ville comme Saint-Louis.

(2) Nous verrons plus loin ce qu'il faut entendre concrètement par « adoption » dans le contexte urbain dakarois. Il ne s'agit que du ménage effectivement groupé : si certaines épouses et leurs enfants ne vivent pas dans la maisonnée considérée, ils ne sont pas comptés.

(3) Ces pourcentages, ainsi que ceux qui suivent, sont calculés par défaut. Ils ne peuvent être, dans les conditions de l'enquête, que des approximations. L'expression en pourcentage illustre cependant de façon frappante les indications recueillies. Les tendances qu'ils manifestent ont été pour la plupart des catégories corroborées par de nombreuses interviews ultérieures.

Le tableau suivant répartit cette population en catégories socio-professionnelles :

CATEGORIE SOCIO-PROFESSIONNELLE	NOMBRE de MAISONNÉES	NOMBRE DE PERSONNES N'APPARTENANT PAS A LA FAMILLE RESTREINTE (%)						
		0	1	2	3	4	5	+ 5
Cultivateurs, pêcheurs	23	47 %	26 %	13 %	4 %		2 %	2 %
Manœuvres, domestiques ..	124	35 %	37 %	12 %	8 %	4 %	0,5 %	0,5 %
Ouvriers et artisans	290	38 %	29 %	14 %	6 %	3 %	3 %	2 %
Agents de maîtrise	21	23 %	23 %	42 %		10 %		
Fonctionn^ res et employés subalternes	265	42 %	33 %	13 %	4 %	3 %	3 %	2 %
Fonctionn^ res et employés supérieurs	39	46 %	43 %	7 %		2 %		
Enseignem^t, professions libérales, etc.	48	46 %	35 %	14 %	4 %			1 %
Commerçants, transport., etc.	122	38 %	36 %	13 %	7 %	2 %	1 %	1 %

b) Ces données simplifiées appellent quelques commentaires. Quelle est la signification des différences parfois importantes que nous constatons entre les situations qui prévalent dans les différentes strates ?

La forte proportion, parmi les cultivateurs, des maisonnées qui coïncident avec la famille restreinte — proportion nettement supérieure à la moyenne — s'explique par le fait que nous avons affaire à des maraîchers plus qu'à des cultivateurs de type traditionnel (comme on en trouve dans les villages suburbains). De toute façon, le problème n'a pas été étudié sur un nombre suffisant de cas pour que nous tirions ici des conclusions définitives.

En dehors de cette catégorie, pour laquelle certains facteurs d'explication nous font défaut, deux autres seulement dépassent sensiblement la moyenne établie pour l'ensemble de la population : d'une part les employés et fonctionnaires supérieurs, d'autre part les membres de l'enseignement, médecins, etc... Le facteur important est ici le degré d'occidentalisation [1]. Ce n'est qu'à ce niveau que nous avons constaté des faits non seulement de dispersion topographique du groupe de parents, mais aussi de relâchement très net des obligations découlant des liens de parenté. Ajoutons que le nombre de familles restreintes est en réalité beaucoup plus important. Dans la majorité des maisonnées qui comportent une personne en plus de la famille restreinte, cette personne est un domestique hébergé dans la famille (qui est parfois un parent éloigné). Le changement de structure est donc plus net qu'il ne paraîtrait au vu des chiffres bruts.

c) Cette première vue générale fait ressortir, comme en d'autres domaines — nous le verrons tout à l'heure pour la structure même de la famille restreinte —, que les caractères des strates socio-professionnelles que nous avons définies ne dépendent pas d'un seul facteur ou d'une série de facteurs en corrélation étroite : ce serait une simplification que d'établir une hiérarchie basée sur certains critères. Il y a en fait plusieurs échelles. Il y a participation plus ou moins complète à plusieurs contextes socio-culturels. Nous avons affaire ici à trois groupes principaux :

D'une part, les catégories : manœuvres et domestiques, ouvriers et artisans, agents de maîtrise, commerçants, et, dans une moindre mesure, cultivateurs et pêcheurs [2] où la tendance au regroupement familial est encore très vivante. L'étendue du groupe familial est dans l'ensemble fonction des possibilités de logement et des disponibilités financières (nombre maximum de personnes que peut supporter un nombre donné de salariés). Il faut noter également que, dans le cas des groupes autochtones ou originaires de régions proches, la fréquence des maisonnées voisines et apparentées est beaucoup plus grande, et la tendance à la reconstitution de la famille étendue se manifeste dans un nombre de cas non négligeable.

D'autre part, les catégories : fonctionnaires et employés supérieurs, enseignement et professions libérales, dans lesquelles, si l'on tient compte des remarques précédentes, on voit que la maisonnée tend à ne comprendre de façon permanente que la famille restreinte.

Enfin, la catégorie des employés et fonctionnaires subalternes, intermédiaire entre les deux groupes précédents, ce qui s'explique en particulier par le caractère composite de cette catégorie ; on y

---

(1) Seules catégories dont tous les membres ont été à l'école française.

(2) Voir plus haut.

trouve des éléments (plantons, bénéficiaires d'emplois réservés dans le secteur administratif, etc.) nettement moins occidentalisés, mais que leur niveau de vie très supérieur ne permettait pas de placer dans la catégorie des manœuvres, dont ils se rapprochent par maints aspects. Le caractère intermédiaire de cette catégorie très mêlée quant au niveau des études, au genre de vie, etc., se retrouve en divers domaines.

C. — Les institutions familiales anciennes ne s'adaptent pas toujours aisément au milieu de vie nouveau dans lequel elles sont transplantées. Elles étaient liées à une organisation collective du travail, tous les membres du groupe étant assurés de jouir (sous l'autorité du chef de famille) du revenu de celui-ci. La notion de travail individuel, à rémunération individuelle, ne s'est pas introduite sans heurt. Nous mettrons à part les catégories où le travail est resté dans le cadre familial, malgré les nécessaires transpositions : cultivateurs et pêcheurs d'une part, commerçants d'autre part. Dans les autres, la vigueur conservée par les institutions familiales traditionnelles est parfois un frein à l'élévation du niveau de vie des éléments urbanisés. C'est là le problème, communément appelé du « parasitisme familial », qui se pose dans toutes les villes africaines : l'obligation de venir en aide à tous les membres du groupe de parenté est encore fortement sentie. Nous ne procéderons pas ici à un examen détaillé des données recueillies sur le nombre de salariés, et des personnes exerçant une profession non-salariée, par rapport au nombre total des adultes de la maisonnée. Mais il est nécessaire d'en donner un aperçu.

1° Interrogés sur les raisons de leur venue en ville, moins de 10 % des enquêtés disent y être venus pour rejoindre des parents. Mais des interviews ultérieures ont permis de constater que, parmi les personnes qui étaient venues, selon leurs déclarations, pour chercher du travail (58 %), nombreuses étaient celles qui n'avaient pu subsister qu'en s'agrégeant, à leur arrivée, à un groupe de parents déjà installés. Le processus a déjà été plusieurs fois décrit, nous n'y reviendrons pas [1]. Nombreux sont ceux qui, dans l'actuelle crise de chômage, ne peuvent se maintenir en ville que grâce à l'aide de leurs parents. Cela aboutit à une forme spontanée d'assurance contre le chômage [2].

2° Les chiffres exprimant l'étendue des groupes familiaux ne donnent pas de façon directe des indications sur l'importance de ce « parasitisme familial ». Le fait de trouver du travail, lorsqu'il s'agit

---

[1] Cf., par exemple, G. Balandier, *op. cit.*, un des derniers exposés en date.

[2] Lequel est devenu de plus en plus important à Dakar dans les deux dernières années. Sans parler des immigrants saisonniers qui ne trouvent pas de travail, le nombre des chômeurs recensés s'élève à plus de 2.000.

d'un parent proche, ne signifie nullement que le groupe qui s'est constitué va éclater : la tendance au regroupement familial traditionnel ne s'exerce pas seulement en fonction des formes extrêmes de l'entraide. Les autres données chiffrées que nous avons recueillies ne permettent elles-mêmes qu'une première approche du problème [1]. Ces données ne représentent qu'un instantané, pris à une certaine date ; la situation est très changeante, les parents à charge, sauf lorsqu'il s'agit de vieillards, ne le sont que de façon temporaire. De plus, les manifestations de l'entraide familiale peuvent dépasser le cadre de la maisonnée. Prenons dans l'ensemble de notre population les groupes familiaux comptant plus de cinq adultes. Le nombre de personnes jouissant d'un revenu, rapporté à un adulte, s'établit entre 0,5 et 0,7. On ne constate pas de différences significatives entre les catégories sur le plan quantitatif, la gamme des situations dans chacune d'elles étant très étendue. Par contre, qualitativement, des différences importantes apparaissent. Dans les catégories : employés et fonctionnaires supérieurs, membres de l'enseignement, des professions libérales, etc., et dans une moindre mesure chez les employés et fonctionnaires subalternes, les femmes exerçant un petit commerce ou des activités similaires sont beaucoup moins nombreuses que dans les autres catégories (mais le nombre de femmes exerçant une profession salariée est plus élevé). D'autre part, parmi les adultes [2] à charge figurent beaucoup plus fréquemment les fils et filles adultes qui poursuivent leurs études. Tandis que chez les manœuvres, les ouvriers, et dans une moindre mesure les agents de maîtrise, il s'agit surtout de parents — en majorité des proches parents : cousins, neveux — qui sont en chômage ou sans profession. Nous retrouverons donc le même groupement des catégories, bien que les différences soient ici plus floues que dans les autres domaines considérés.

D. — Nous renvoyons, pour les données chiffrées sur les dimensions de la famille restreinte, donc sur l'extension de la polygamie, à l'exposé de L. Massé dans le présent recueil. Nous ajouterons seulement quelques commentaires basés sur des recherches complémentaires.

---

[1] En effet, si la notion de salarié est nette, celle de personne jouissant d'un revenu non-salarié est très large ; elle ne sous-entend pas que ce revenu permette d'assurer entièrement la subsistance de cette personne (petit commerce, travaux à la tâche, etc...) ; celle-ci peut, du fait qu'elle est agrégée à un groupe de parenté plus large que la famille restreinte, bénéficier d'une aide partielle. L'enquête menée à Thiès sur les niveaux de vie a fait apparaître la complexité de la notion de revenu ; il existe par exemple des revenus qui ne correspondent à aucun travail, mais découlent seulement d'une position sociale donnée (appartenance à la caste des griots, etc...). Une enquête semblable sera menée à Dakar, en août 1954, et permettra de préciser ces problèmes.

[2] Nous avons, dans nos enquêtes, fixé arbitrairement la limite inférieure de la catégorie « adulte » à 18-20 ans.

1° L'appartenance religieuse divise notre population entre deux groupes, l'un, chrétien, presque exclusivement monogame [1], l'autre, musulman, où la tendance à la polygamie est très vivace, mais où des différences se font sentir selon la catégorie socio-professionnelle. C'est seulement au niveau des membres de l'enseignement, des professions libérales, etc., que cette distinction à base religieuse s'efface et que nous constatons, commune aux chrétiens et aux musulmans, une valorisation de la monogamie.

2° C'est en effet au niveau des valeurs plus que des situations de fait que cette question doit être étudiée. La progression du nombre de polygames, des manœuvres aux agents de maîtrise en passant par les ouvriers, et, dans un secteur différent, des employés et fonctionnaires subalternes aux employés et fonctionnaires supérieurs, se retrouve des petits aux grands commerçants. La polygamie peut être au même titre un idéal pour tous les membres de ces catégories, mais elle ne se réalise éventuellement [2] qu'à partir d'une certaine position matérielle [3].

3° Les données chiffrées sur la situation de fait paraissent conduire à un groupement de nos catégories différent de celui qui ressortait des paragraphes précédents. Mais considérons les premiers résultats d'une enquête — qui se poursuit — sur les attitudes des éléments jeunes de la population [4]. Nous retrouverons un groupement semblable : dominante des attitudes en faveur de la polygamie chez les cultivateurs, manœuvres, ouvriers, agents de maîtrise, commerçants ; dominante encore, mais beaucoup moins nette, chez les employés et fonctionnaires subalternes ; dominante au contraire en faveur de la monogamie chez les employés et fonctionnaires supérieurs (alors qu'elle n'est pas encore actualisée dans l'ensemble de la catégorie) et chez les membres de l'enseignement, des professions libérales, etc... (où elle a déjà nettement passé dans les faits) [5]. Une forte corrélation apparaît entre ces données et celles relatives à l'étendue de la famille.

---

(1) Il y a des cas de polygamie, mais ils sont rarement avoués.

(2) Elle est limitée évidemment par la structure démographique de la population (nombre de femmes disponibles).

(3) Rappelons les problèmes soulevés par la « dot » et les dépenses accessoires du mariage. Les réactions des jeunes et de certains éléments musulmans en faveur d'un « pacte matrimonial » ont, dans une certaine mesure, stabilisé la situation.

(4) Au-dessous de 30-35 ans.

(5) Moins cependant que les chiffres globaux ne le laisseraient prévoir. Les chrétiens, qui ne sont que 11 % de l'ensemble de notre population, sont 20 % des employés et fonctionnaires supérieurs et 15 % des membres de l'enseignement, des professions libérales, etc...

E. — Dans le même sens général sont les variations du pourcentage des mariages interethniques selon les catégories socio-professionnelles. Pour l'ensemble de notre population, nous trouvons : chez les monogames (696 familles), 71 % de ménages où la femme est du même groupe ethnique que le mari, 29 % où elle est d'un groupe ethnique différent ; chez les polygames à deux et trois femmes (228 familles), 43 % de ménages où toutes les femmes sont du même groupe ethnique que le mari, 57 % de ménages où au moins une femme est d'un groupe ethnique différent. Les tableaux suivants donnent la répartition par catégories socio-professionnelles :

CATÉGORIE SOCIO-PROFESSIONNELLE	NOMBRE DE FAMILLES restreintes monogames	FEMMES DU MEME GROUPE ETHNIQUE que leur mari		FEMMES D'UN GROUPE ETHNIQUE différent de celui du mari	
		T	%	T	%
Cultivateurs, pêcheurs. . .	16	14	87%	2	13%
Manœuvres, domestiques.	81	68	84%	13	16%
Ouvriers et artisans. . . .	214	152	71%	62	29%
Agents de maîtrise. . . .	11	5	45%	6	55%
Fonctionnaires et employés subalternes	208	136	65%	72	35%
Fonctionnaires et employés supérieurs.	29	19	64%	10	36%
Enseignement, professions libérales, etc.	47	28	59%	19	41%
Commerçants, transporteurs, etc. . .	47	65	84%	12	16%

CATEGORIE SOCIO-PROFESSIONNELLE	NOMBRE DE FAMILLES restreintes polygames (2 et 3 f.)	TOUTES LES FEMMES DU MEME GROUPE ETHNIQUE que le mari		AU MOINS UNE FEMME D'UN GROUPE ETHNIQUE différent de celui du mari	
		T	%	T	%
Cultivateurs, pêcheurs. . .	7	3	43%	4	57%
Manœuvres, domestiques.	14	7	50%	7	50%
Ouvriers et artisans. . .	75	36	48%	39	52%
Agents de maîtrise. . . .	10	3	30%	7	70%
Fonctionnaires et employés subalternes	57	25	44%	32	66%
Fonctionnaires et employés supérieurs.	10	2	20%	8	80%
Enseignement, professions libérales, etc.	5	2	40%	3	60%
Commerçants, transporteurs, etc. . .	45	19	42%	26	58%

1° Le premier tableau est plus significatif. En effet, le nombre des familles polygames est trop faible en valeur absolue dans certaines catégories pour qu'une distorsion ne soit pas à redouter, dans les conditions où a été réalisée l'enquête. De toute façon, le fait que l'unique épouse (ou la première épouse de polygames potentiels) soit d'un groupe ethnique différent de celui de leur mari, est plus important que s'il s'agit d'une seconde ou d'une troisième épouse de polygame.

2° En ce qui concerne les monogames, les catégories : cultivateurs, manœuvres, commerçants, sont nettement au-dessous de la moyenne (29%). Les ouvriers et artisans atteignent exactement cette moyenne. Ils forment également, chez les polygames, un groupement assez net, caractérisé par le maintien des valeurs ethniques. Un problème se pose cependant ici : les agents de maîtrise, contrairement à ce que nous avons précédemment constaté, ne s'intègrent pas à ce groupe. Les facteurs d'explication de ce fait en apparence aberrant nous manquent. Des enquêtes ultérieures tenteront de l'éclaircir.

3° La catégories des employés et fonctionnaires subalternes se rapproche plus nettement ici de celles des employés et fonctionnaires supérieurs, des membres de l'enseignement, des professions libérales, etc... Dans cet ensemble, les valeurs ethniques, et ceci est confirmé par d'autres enquêtes, tendent à jouer un rôle moins important ; elles sont loin cependant d'un effacement complet [1].

4° Il faudrait cependant nuancer cet exposé en étudiant les comportements prévalant dans les différents groupes ethniques [2]. On constate que la situation varie en fonction : d'une part de l'importance numérique du groupe dans la ville ; d'autre part de l'éloignement de la région d'origine, enfin de facteurs particuliers de fermeture du groupe (préjugés raciaux, religion, etc.). Ainsi, nous trouvons, parmi les groupes où la moyenne des mariages interethnique n'est pas atteint : les Cap-Verdiens, les Maures, les Diola, les Sérères et également les Wolof, chez lesquels l'endogamie ethnique est la plus nette. Parmi ceux où la proportion de mariages interethniques dépasse nettement la moyenne : les Bambara, les groupes originaires des territoires du Sud, et, fait inattendu, les Lebou, ce qui confirme bien l'affaiblissement du particularisme ancien et le mélange (qui s'accélère) avec l'élément Wolof. Remarquons

---

(1) Voir plus loin quelques notes sur la composition des groupes d'amis.

(2) Il faut tenir compte du fait que les groupes ethniques, sauf les plus importants numériquement, ne sont pas régulièrement répartis entre les catégories socio-professionnelles. Nous renverrons ici à notre communication déjà citée, qui a été préparée pour la Conférence d'Abidjan de septembre 1954.

enfin que, dans de nombreux cas, si les époux ne sont pas du même groupe ethnique, ils sont néanmoins originaires de la même région : c'est le cas pour la plupart de nos enquêtés originaires du Dahomey et du Togo.

F. — Il nous faut voir brièvement l'aspect qualitatif de la composition des groupes familiaux dépassant le cadre de la famille restreinte : nous avons signalé quelles limites sont posées à l'utilisation de données purement quantitatives. Cette composition est très diverse, et très changeante dans le temps.

1° Voici les types dominants qui ont été rencontrés, par ordre de fréquence décroissante :

a) La relation neveu-oncle utérin, et plus rarement la relation neveu-oncle consanguin, sont à la base de la formation de nombreux groupements. En particulier chez les Wolof et les Lebou, le rôle éducatif de l'oncle utérin persiste, et il est fréquent que celui-ci ait à charge ses neveux jusqu'à l'adolescence, que le père réside ou non en ville ([1]). On constate ce fait souvent dans l'ensemble des catégories où la vigueur des institutions traditionnelles est, nous l'avons vu, la plus grande (cultivateurs, manœuvres, ouvriers, commerçants) ; mais il est repérable partout.

b) Un autre type fréquent est celui des groupements de collatéraux de la même génération, consanguins ou utérins (frères au sens classificatoire). Il éclate fréquemment lorsque les frères plus jeunes se marient ; il est plus instable s'il s'agit de « frères » à un degré éloigné.

c) On rencontre, dans un plus petit nombre de cas, la famille étendue typique, où les fils mariés — et parfois, à titre temporaire ou définitif, les filles mariées ([2]) — ne forment pas de maisonnées séparées. La segmentation de ces groupes intervient constamment — il se pose une question d'espace disponible — mais son importance est parfois tempérée par le maintien de la situation de voisinage. Père et mère âgés sont souvent à charge, et le rôle de chef de famille de fait a été partiellement transféré au fils aîné.

([1]) Les neveux ainsi hébergés représentent une forte proportion de la catégorie des « enfants adoptifs ». Les autres types de relations couvertes par le terme d'adoption dans l'usage commun sont : celles entre le tuteur et des enfants orphelins (de frères ou de parents plus éloignés), celles entre le tuteur et des enfants qui lui sont confiés pendant le temps de scolarité par des parents résidant hors de la ville.

([2]) Le cas où le mari est logé par sa femme ou par la famille de celle-ci, propriétaire de la maison, se rencontre fréquemment, mais moins que, par exemple, à Saint-Louis. Il s'agit d'un mariage matrilocal de fait, non institutionalisé.

d) La parenté par alliance est également un facteur de groupement. On trouve le plus fréquemment des collatéraux de l'épouse, plus rarement ses ascendants. On est ramené en partie au cas précédent [1].

e) On trouve enfin, vivant avec la famille restreinte, des parents éloignés ou des « amis » qui, dans la plupart des cas, sont au moins liés à cette famille par la parenté ethnique. Mais ces relations beaucoup plus lâches rendent compte surtout de la formation des groupes de célibataires.

2° Deux cas typiques de variations dans le temps seront donnés à titre d'illustration. Le premier exemple est celui d'une famille d'ouvrier spécialisé, le second celui d'une famille d'employé subalterne. Les salaires des chefs de famille sont, dans les cas choisis, sensiblement égaux.

a) Cette famille est d'origine Toucouleur mais, par une suite de mariages, s'est étroitement liée à des groupes Wolof. Le noyau de la famille restreinte est composé du mari, de son épouse et des trois enfants de celle-ci. La mère du chef de famille, veuve, habite en permanence avec son fils. Les changements suivants dans la composition de la maisonnée ont été observés d'août 1953 à mai 1954 :

— août : un hôte a été hébergé trois semaines, à la fois en qualité de parent éloigné et de marabout ;

— septembre : le frère du chef de famille, commerçant ambulant, s'est installé pour six semaines à Dakar ; il n'était pas entièrement à la charge de son frère ;

— octobre : le fils d'un cousin utérin du chef de famille lui a été confié pour l'année scolaire ; il n'est pas entièrement à la charge de son parent ;

— décembre : deux cousins qui travaillent saisonnièrement à Dakar sont venus de la région du fleuve ; le premier a trouvé du travail, a été débauché en mars, mais il est demeuré jusqu'en mai ; le second n'a effectué que des travaux occasionnels, et est reparti en avril ; ils ont été l'un et l'autre à la charge de leur parent pendant au moins un tiers de leur séjour.

On voit donc comment l'exercice de diverses obligations découlant des liens de parenté a fait varier au cours de l'année le volume de la famille. Le nombre des adultes vivant entièrement ou partiellement sur un unique salaire est passé de trois au minimum à cinq au maximum.

---

(1) Voir note précédente.

17: Mercier MS37 Senegal

b) La seconde famille est Lebou. Elle comprend de façon permanente le mari, une de ses deux épouses, les deux enfants de celle-ci (la seconde épouse, avec ses deux enfants, habite un autre secteur du même quartier), un neveu utérin, et une sœur de l'épouse. Les changements suivants ont été constatés pendant cette période (compte non tenu de nombreuses visites très courtes de parents habitant les environs de Rufisque) :

— septembre : le frère cadet du chef de famille revient, son service militaire accompli ; il ne trouvera de travail qu'en mars, et continuera d'ailleurs à habiter avec son frère ; jusque là, il n'y aura qu'un seul salaire.

— décembre : la seconde épouse part pour un séjour chez ses parents et laisse son fils aîné, écolier, à la garde de sa co-épouse ; ceci ne représente pas en fait un accroissement de charge ;

— février : à la suite du décès de leur père, le jeune frère de l'épouse la rejoint.

On a donc eu, durant cette période, d'abord trois puis quatre adultes vivant sur un seul salaire, et ensuite quatre adultes vivant sur deux salaires.

G. — On voit par ces exemples combien un « instantané » de la situation ne fournit qu'un tableau approché de l'ensemble des faits. Les pages précédentes ont montré qu'il en dessine cependant les grandes lignes : il est donc possible de poser quelques remarques en guise de conclusions.

1° *La situation n'est pas fixée.* La famille restreinte tend nettement à constituer un milieu de vie plus clos que dans le cadre traditionnel, et à coïncider avec la maisonnée. Mais cette tendance, même dans les catégories plus occidentalisées, est loin d'avoir fait partout reculer les formes traditionnelles. Les obligations fondées sur la parenté au sens large sont encore fortement senties. Mais on a vu qu'un premier pas vers leur affaiblissement graduel est déjà franchi, avec la transformation du caractère des groupements de fait (étendue, structure, etc.). Sans doute, entre les valeurs reconnues par les membres de ces sociétés et les structures nouvelles nées de transformations imposées de l'extérieur, un écart subsistera longtemps encore. Quant à la structure de la famille restreinte, la proportion des polygames, pour l'ensemble des cas étudiés, semble être au niveau moyen qu'elle atteint dans une population démographiquement normale. Cependant, une régression de la polygamie paraît amorcée dans les catégories qui représentent une élite de type nouveau, instruite à l'occidentale.

2° *Les variations dans l'étendue et la structure, aussi bien du groupe large de parents que de la famille restreinte, ne sont pas liées de façon constante aux différences de niveau de vie.* Les situations

17: Mercier MS37 Senegal

peuvent être très variables à ressources égales [1]. La relation n'est bien marquée [2] que dans les catégories qui ont dans l'ensemble le même genre de vie. La distinction qui s'est imposée entre deux groupes de catégories correspond à ce dernier fait. Cependant, la limite est inégalement nette selon les phénomènes envisagés. On trouve le problème des persistances culturelles à travers les changements de structure et de genre de vie en cours de consolidation.

3° *L'entrée, au moins partielle, dans le « milieu technique » occidental apparaît un facteur de transformation beaucoup moins important que l'instruction scolaire.* Les ouvriers spécialisés se situent encore en majorité dans le groupe le plus traditionnaliste, seuls les agents de maîtrise approchant, par certaines formes de leur comportement moyen, une position intermédiaire. Cependant, le niveau d'instruction lui-même n'est encore que timidement déterminant, sauf dans la catégorie : membres de l'enseignement, professions libérales, etc. La relation entre le niveau des études et le genre de vie, si elle tend à s'affirmer, n'est pas, dans tous les cas, directe.

III

Le groupe de parents ne coïncide plus avec l'unité locale. Ni le quartier, ni le secteur, ni l'îlot, ni dans certains cas le « carré » ne sont plus ethniquement homogènes. Quel est dans ce cas le rôle social du voisinage ? Dans quelles conditions celui-ci crée-t-il des relations de type nouveau qui s'intégreraient au nouveau « pattern » urbain ? Les groupes d'amis se formaient essentiellement dans le cadre de la classe d'âge [3], par conséquent du groupe ethnique (et souvent du groupe de parents au sens large). Quelle est maintenant dans leur constitution l'influence, entre autres facteurs nouveaux, du facteur de voisinage ? Telles sont les principales questions auxquelles nous donnerons des premiers éléments de réponse, très sommaires.

A. — L'unité de voisinage ne constitue pas, comme dans les quartiers de village, un groupement structuré. La diminution de la mobilité et de l'hétérogénéité conditionnent, dans le cadre du quartier comme dans celui de l'îlot, la création d'un milieu de vie commune. Mais, particulièrement dans Médina, les quartiers ne représentent qu'un découpage artificiel, et n'ont point de centres nettement

---

(1) Comme l'ont bien montré les enquêtes sur les budgets familiaux menées à Thiès.

(2) Et beaucoup moins, comme nous l'avons vu, en ce qui concerne les faits de « parasitisme familial ».

(3) Voir, par exemple, G. Balandier et P. Mercier, *op. cit.*

17: Mercier MS37 Senegal

marqués (du commerce, des loisirs, etc.). La faiblesse de l'autorité et du prestige des chefs de quartier est un autre aspect de ce fait. Quant aux éléments plus petits, groupes d'îlots, îlots, carrés, leur transformation en communautés de voisinage basées sur un minimum de permanence de leurs composantes est inégalement avancée. L'étude d'un certain nombre d'îlots nous a permis de distinguer plusieurs types. Dans le premier, la presque totalité des gens se connaissent [1], ils se visitent souvent, s'entraident, ont éventuellement des loisirs communs. Dans le type opposé, il y a très peu de contacts personnels et d'entraide, et l'on connaît à peine les noms des voisins, même immédiats. Un type intermédiaire est celui où les relations de voisinage sont réduites à de très petits cercles, les relations dispersées à travers la ville conservant cependant plus d'importance. Il semble que ce soit le cas le plus fréquent. Nous décrirons sommairement un îlot de ce type.

Il est souvent malaisé de dégager du réseau complexe des relations entre les habitants d'un îlot celles qui sont fondées sur le pur voisinage. Dans de nombreux cas, le fait du voisinage est éclipsé, comme facteur d'explication, par la parenté, la parenté par alliance, l'appartenance au même groupe ethnique, à la même obédience religieuse, à la même profession ; certains autres faits sont ambivalents : par exemple l'appartenance à une même association. Dans l'étude que nous avons faite d'un certain nombre d'îlots de Médina, nous avons tenté d'isoler le facteur voisinage, à différents niveaux de participation à des activités communes. Nous avons retenu essentiellement : les visites réciproques, les groupes de conversation, l'entr'aide (prêts, etc.), les relations entre les femmes, les groupes de jeux des enfants. Les relations de simple politesse ne sont pas retenues. Nous avons envisagé successivement les relations à l'intérieur du carré — quand celui-ci n'est pas habité par une seule famille — et les relations à l'intérieur de l'îlot. C'est, dans ce dernier cas, poser une limite un peu arbitraire : la rue n'est pas une frontière, mais une zone de rassemblement. Le rôle social de celle-ci n'a pu encore être étudié complètement.

Dans l'îlot que nous prendrons pour exemple, douze carrés sur quatorze ont été étudiés ; les habitants des deux autres carrés étaient en voyage ou ont refusé de se prêter à l'enquête. L'ensemble de l'îlot est très hétérogène ethniquement, mais cependant à nette dominante Wolof-Lebou [2]. Il comprend 39 groupes familiaux (représentant 199 personnes) et 11 célibataires isolés, locataires de certaines des familles précédentes. Cinq de ces célibataires ne résident

---

(1) Il est très facile d'y retrouver une personne dont on ne connaît pas l'adresse exacte.

(2) Six chefs de famille qui étaient manifestement Lebou ont persisté à se déclarer Wolof. *Cf. supra.*

à Dakar que saisonnièrement, mais en principe toujours au même endroit. La répartition des chefs de famille par groupes ethniques s'établit de la façon suivante : 28 Wolof, 4 Lebou, 5 Toucouleur, 1 Sarakolé, 1 Socé. Parmi les célibataires isolés, on a : 5 Wolof, 2 Toucouleur, 2 Socé, 1 Bambara, 1 Soussou.

1° L'étude des relations à l'intérieur des carrés montre une certaine variété de situations. Ces carrés se répartissent en plusieurs types par leur composition :

— Carrés composés d'un seul groupe familial : groupe étendu de parenté basé sur la relation neveux-oncle utérin (B). famille restreinte (E) ;

— Carrés composés de groupes familiaux restreints, mais ayant entre eux des liens de parenté collatérale éloignés (J) ;

— Carrés composés de groupes familiaux restreints ou étendus liés par la seule parenté ethnique (A et N) ;

— Carrés groupant des familles restreintes de groupes ethniques différents (F, G) ;

— Carrés groupant des familles restreintes et des isolés, tous de même groupe ethnique (L) ;

— Carrés groupant des familles restreintes et des isolés, et ethniquement variés (C, D, K, M).

Les carrés des deux premiers types ne nous retiendront pas : la solidarité familiale y joue à plein. Dans les autres, la situation est très variable. Les relations fréquentes existent partout au niveau des enfants (groupes de jeux), moins fréquemment au niveau des femmes, moins fréquemment encore au niveau des hommes. Envisageons essentiellement les relations qui ne sont pas sous-tendues par la communauté ethnique.

a) Les célibataires, sauf lorsqu'ils sont du même groupe ethnique que certaines des familles du carré (1 cas, dans le carré D), participent peu à la vie du carré ; la plupart mangent à l'extérieur et ne passent que la nuit à la maison. L'entraide s'exerce peu à leur endroit ; la majorité ont déclaré avoir recouru, en cas de maladie, à l'aide d'amis — presque toujours du même groupe ethnique — de l'extérieur. Dans un seul cas (carré K), les célibataires — d'ailleurs du même groupe ethnique — forment un groupe mangeant en commun, sortant en commun, etc. ; la cuisine leur est faite par une vieille femme — également du même groupe ethnique — veuve, qui vit avec ses enfants.

b) A l'intérieur du carré, la disparité ethnique entre les familles n'est pas exclusive des formes minima d'entraide (prêts d'ustensiles, petits achats, garde d'enfants, etc.). Un seul cas de ménage n'ayant pratiquement pas de relations avec le reste du carré, celui d'une famille Sarakolé (carré F).

c) Les cas extrêmes d'entraide, par contre, ne sont repérables qu'entre familles apparentées ou au moins du même groupe ethnique. Ainsi, dans les carrés I, N, D, on trouve un chômeur marié et père de famille temporairement pris en charge par ses cousins (carré I) ou par ses voisins qui n'ont avec lui qu'une parenté au sens le plus large possible du terme (carrés D et N).

d) La communauté de jeux des enfants se retrouve partout à l'intérieur des carrés, les différences ethniques n'intervenant nullement. Ceci, et d'autres éléments comme la vie dans les cours, les rencontres quotidiennes au point d'eau, font que les femmes ont finalement beaucoup plus de contacts personnels que les hommes. Le seul cas de femme vivant relativement isolée est celui de la femme Sarakolé déjà signalée.

2° Le tableau est un peu différent lorsqu'on passe au cadre plus large de l'îlot. Celui-ci se divise d'ailleurs longitudinalement, les relations étant nettement plus fréquentes entre les carrés qui donnent sur la même rue. Il faut cependant y apporter des nuances.

a) Les groupes de jeux des enfants sont encore les plus larges et ni le groupe ethnique, ni d'autres éléments différentiels ne paraissent jouer un rôle dans leur formation, mais seulement la proximité et les affinités individuelles.

b) En ce qui concerne les femmes, les contacts que nous avons signalés plus haut : conversations au point d'eau, etc., intéressent pratiquement tout l'îlot. Par contre, les visites, l'entraide éventuelle ont lieu presque exclusivement entre parentes, parentes par alliance et femmes du même groupe ethnique.

c) Nous avons examiné, pour les hommes, la composition des groupes d'amis. Dans la plupart des cas, la majorité des amis était dispersée à travers la ville, ces amis étant soit du même groupe ethnique, soit du même groupe de travail soit membres d'une même association — ces facteurs pouvant être tous réunis, ou réunis deux à deux. Sur les 32 chefs de famille-hommes, 8 n'avaient pas d'amis dans le voisinage (îlot et ses environs immédiats — les apparentés étant évidemment exclus). Parmi les 24 autres, on en comptait 15 dont tous les amis du voisinage étaient en même temps membres du même groupe ethnique ; pour 5 autres, ils étaient soit du même groupe ethnique, soit membres du même syndicat ; pour 2 autres, ils étaient soit du même groupe ethnique, soit membres de la même association religieuse. Seuls, les deux chefs de famille Lebou, les plus anciennement installés de l'îlot et jouissant d'un certain prestige, avaient de nombreux amis dans le voisinage ; ceux-ci, en majorité, n'appartenaient pas au groupe Lebou, ni n'étaient membres d'un même groupe structuré. Le facteur de voisinage proprement dit ne paraissait rendre compte, pour l'ensemble de nos gens, que des relations de type plus superficiel. La commune obédience religieuse ne

joue pas un rôle essentiel : ses limites coïncident rarement avec les limites du groupe d'amis. Cependant, les associations religieuses sont pratiquement les seules qui reposent dans un certain nombre de cas sur une base locale. L'importance des liens professionnels (au sens large, y compris l'activité syndicale), et surtout celle des liens ethniques, sont capitales.

B. — Dans ce domaine, on voit pourtant apparaître des différences de comportement, entre les catégories socio-professionnelles, qu'il est important de noter pour compléter les données qui précèdent. On voit se dessiner des distinctions qui, dans l'ensemble, vont dans le même sens que celles rencontrées dans la deuxième partie de ce travail. Dans notre population enquêtée par questionnaires, on trouve : 13 % des enquêtés qui ont moins de 10 % de leurs relations appartenant au même groupe ethnique qu'eux ; 29 % qui en ont moins de 30 % ; 57 % qui en ont moins de 50 % ; 11 % qui en ont 100 %. Le tableau suivant indique la répartition par catégories socio-professionnelles :

CATEGORIE SOCIO-PROFESSIONNELLE	POURCENTAGE DES RELATIONS APPARTENANT AU MÊME GROUPE ETHNIQUE			
	Moins de 10 %	Moins de 30 %	Moins de 50 %	100 %
Cultivateurs, pêcheurs	11 %	26 %	50 %	7 %
Manœuvres, domestiques	7 %	19 %	41 %	21 %
Ouvriers et artisans	13 %	33 %	64 %	10 %
Employés et fonctionnaires subalternes	14 %	33 %	60 %	11 %
Employés et fonctionnaires supérieurs	17 %	34 %	61 %	7 %
Enseignement, professions libérales, etc.	26 %	40 %	72 %	6 %
Commerçants, transporteurs, etc.	6 %	17 %	41 %	17 %

Nous trouvons donc un premier groupe où le rôle joué par l'appartenance ethnique dans la formation du groupe d'amis est plus important qu'il ne l'est en moyenne : les manœuvres et domestiques, les commerçants et transporteurs. Situation inverse chez les employés et fonctionnaires supérieurs, et, plus accentuée encore, chez les membres de l'enseignement et des professions libérales. Les cultivateurs s'ajoutent cependant à ce groupe ; la plupart sont Lebou, et ces chiffres rendent bien compte d'une part de la perte de leur particularisme devant la poussée Wolof, d'autre part du rôle plus

17: Mercier MS37 Senegal

important joué chez eux par les facteurs de voisinage. Un groupe moyen est constitué par : les employés et fonctionnaires subalternes, et, beaucoup plus nettement que dans les autres domaines envisagés, les ouvriers et artisans.

Quelques remarques sont nécessaires. Le facteur de regroupement ethnique conserve son importance dans toutes les catégories, quoiqu'inégalement. Le dépouillement des données relatives au facteur de voisinage fournies par cette même enquête n'est pas achevé ; les premiers résultats semblent confirmer ceux obtenus dans nos enquêtes monographiques : il ne joue en soi qu'un rôle réduit, ne faisant que renforcer des liens d'une autre origine. Au contraire, l'appartenance au même milieu professionnel, à une même association syndicale, culturelle, sportive, etc. (1), sont des facteurs importants dans la formation des groupes d'amis. Ajoutons enfin que les comportements moyens des groupes ethniques sont fort variables. Leur répartition, cependant, ne coïncide pas exactement avec celle que nous avons dessinée dans le domaine des mariages interethniques. Seuls groupes chez lesquels l'importance du facteur ethnique est nettement plus grande qu'en moyenne : les Maures, les Peul, les Toucouleur, les Sarakolé ; elle est par contre légèrement inférieure chez les Wolof et les Bambara, moyenne chez les Sérère, les Diola, les Soussou, les Cap-Verdiens. Les divergences partielles entre ces deux ordres de données (2) posent en elles-mêmes un problème qui fera l'objet d'enquêtes ultérieures.

⁂

Nous avons étudié essentiellement la population permanente de la ville, d'ailleurs inégalement stabilisée. Il resterait à compléter ces données par l'examen des problèmes que pose la population saisonnière, et, plus généralement, la population flottante. C'est dans cette minorité que l'on peut parler réellement de faits de *détribalisation*, au sens de pure dégradation du rôle des anciens cadres sociaux. Au contraire, nous avons vu que, dans la population permanente, *les structures de parenté et l'appartenance ethnique* (3) jouaient un rôle considérable. Certes, un nouvel équilibre n'est pas atteint partout, et nous avons remarqué que ces structures de parenté n'étaient pas toujours adaptées aux conditions de vie urbaine. Mais on est loin d'avoir affaire à une masse amorphe. Là où on peut parler

(1) L'étude du rôle des associations est réservée pour un autre travail.

(2) Cf. II, E, 4.

(3) Il faudrait examiner aussi le rôle joué par les associations à base ethnique ou régionale.

de détribalisation, chez les élites de type nouveau, ce n'est pas dans un sens purement négatif. La phase de crise des institutions traditionnelles n'est pas complètement dépassée. *Mais la phase de reconstruction des institutions est commencée :* des comportement moyens qui impliquent un certain équilibre dans de nouveaux cadres peuvent déjà être décelés.

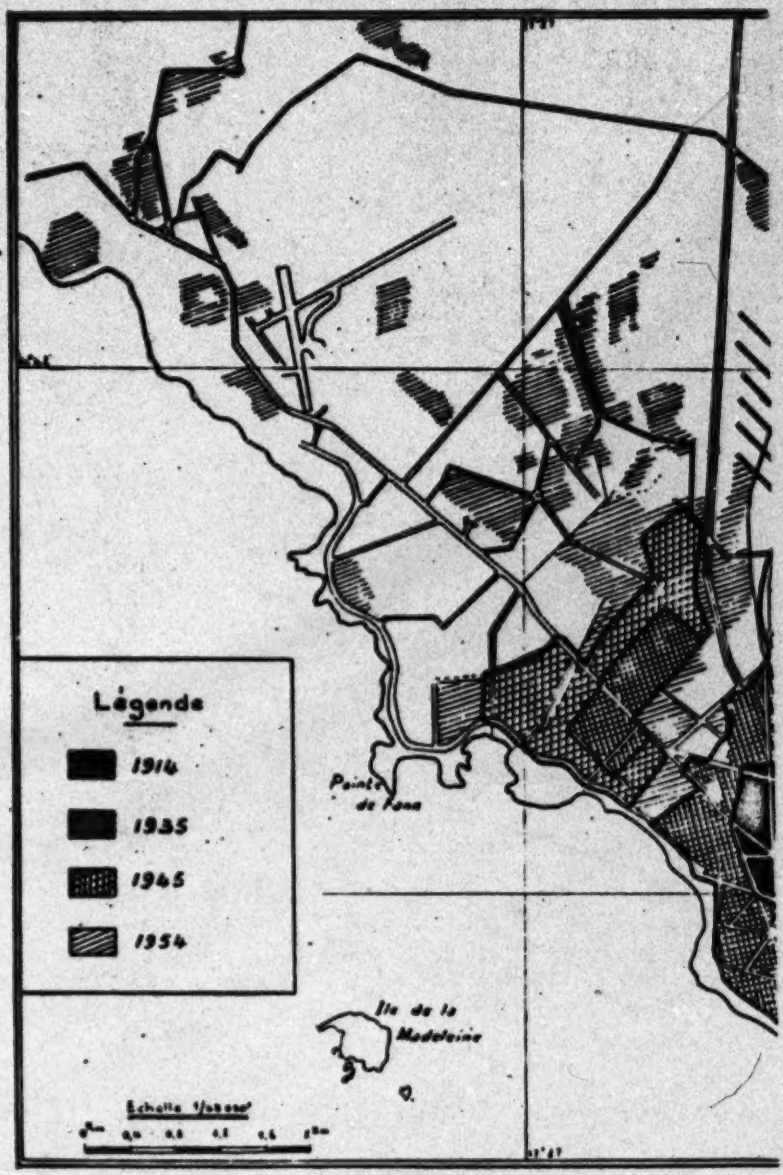


FIG. 1.

Etapes du développement de Dakar.

CATALOGUED
[f 40 - A1]

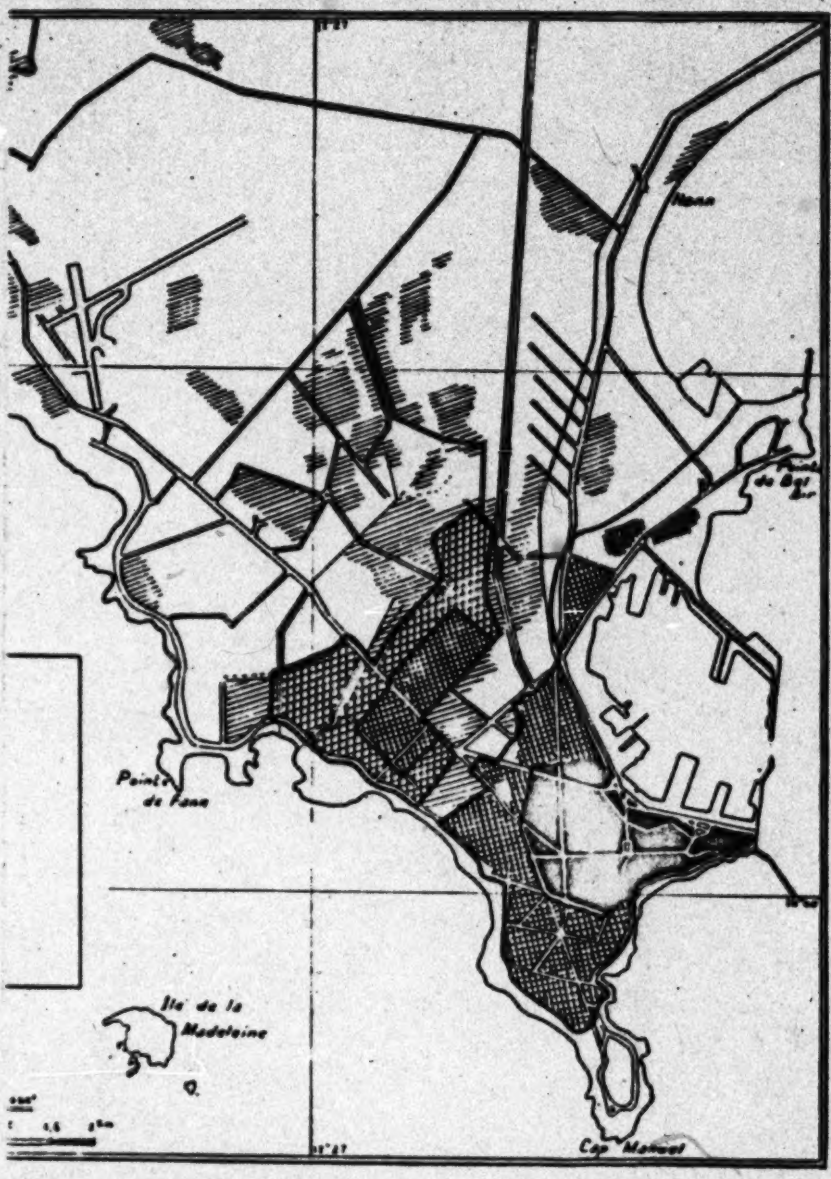


Fig. 1.

Etapes du développement de Dakar.

[P40-A2]

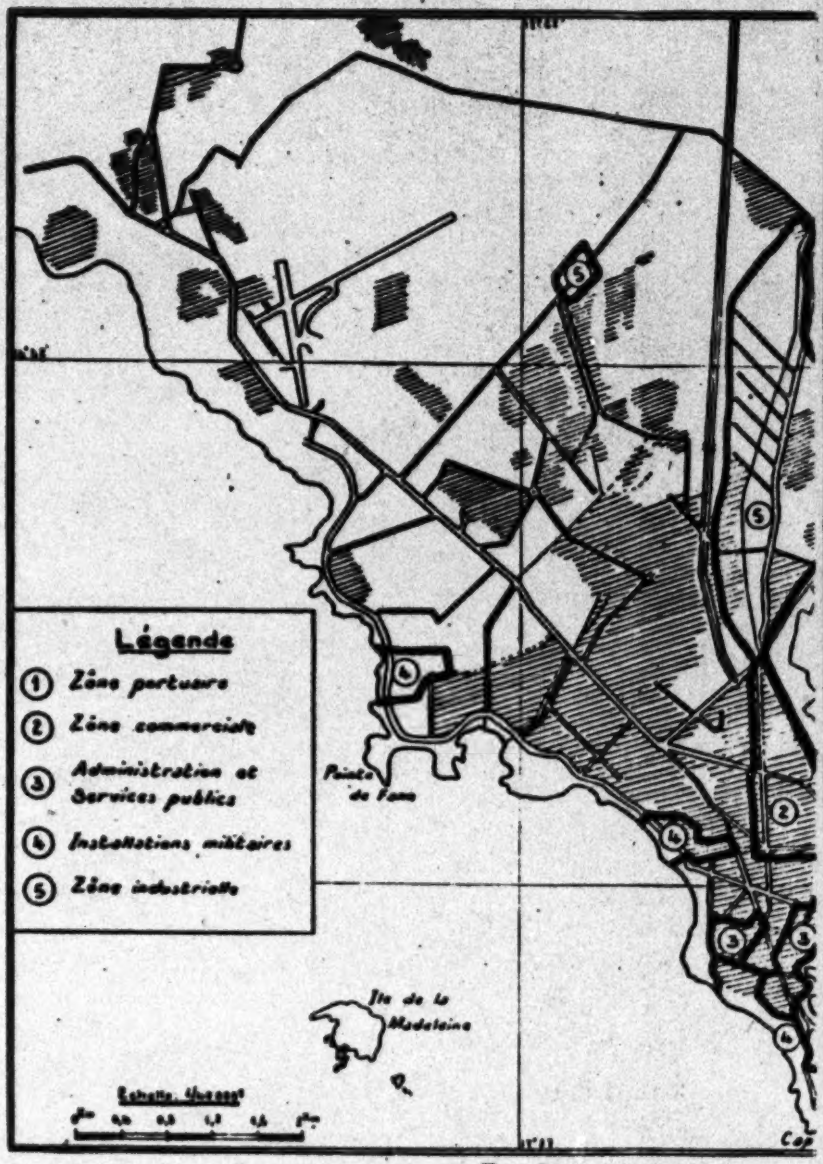


FIG. 2.
Zones fonctionnelles dans l'agglomération dakaroise.

CATALOGUED
[40 - B 1]

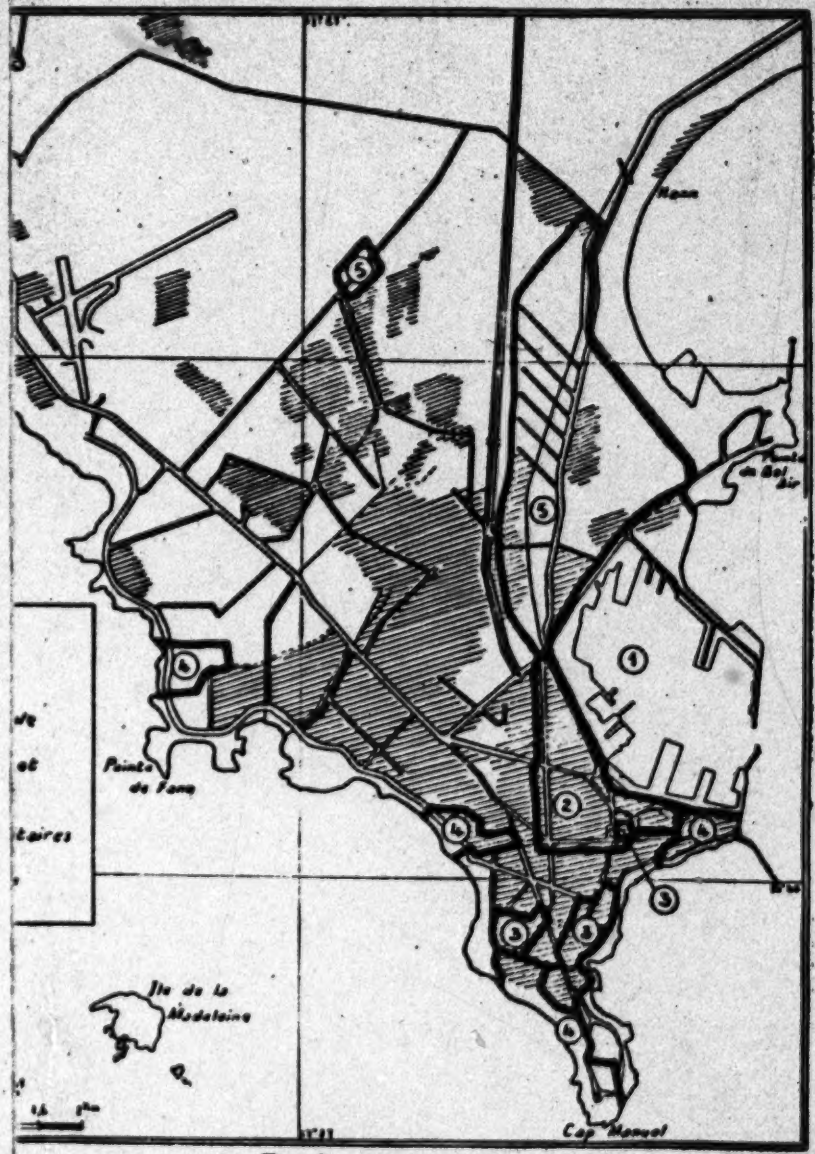


FIG. 2.
Zones fonctionnelles dans l'agglomération dakaroise.

[p 40-B2]

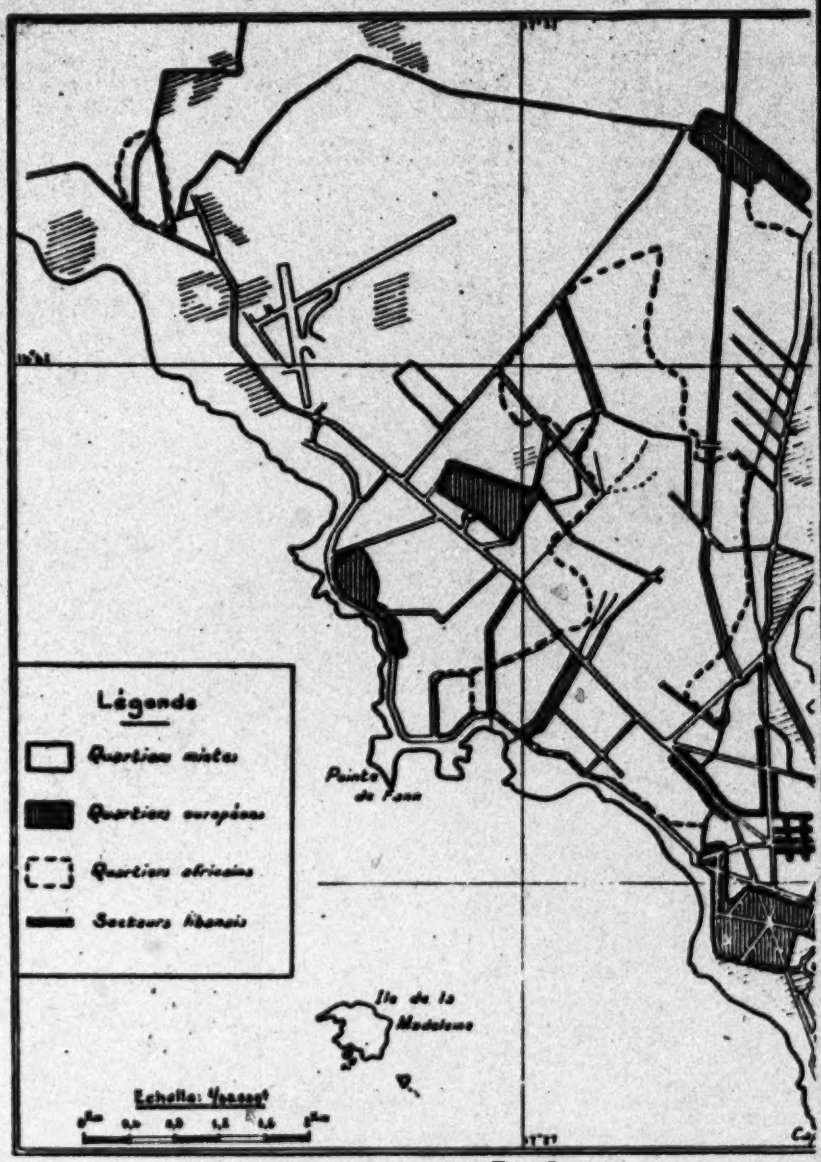


FIG. 3.
Répartition de l'habitat dakarois.

[p 40 - C1]

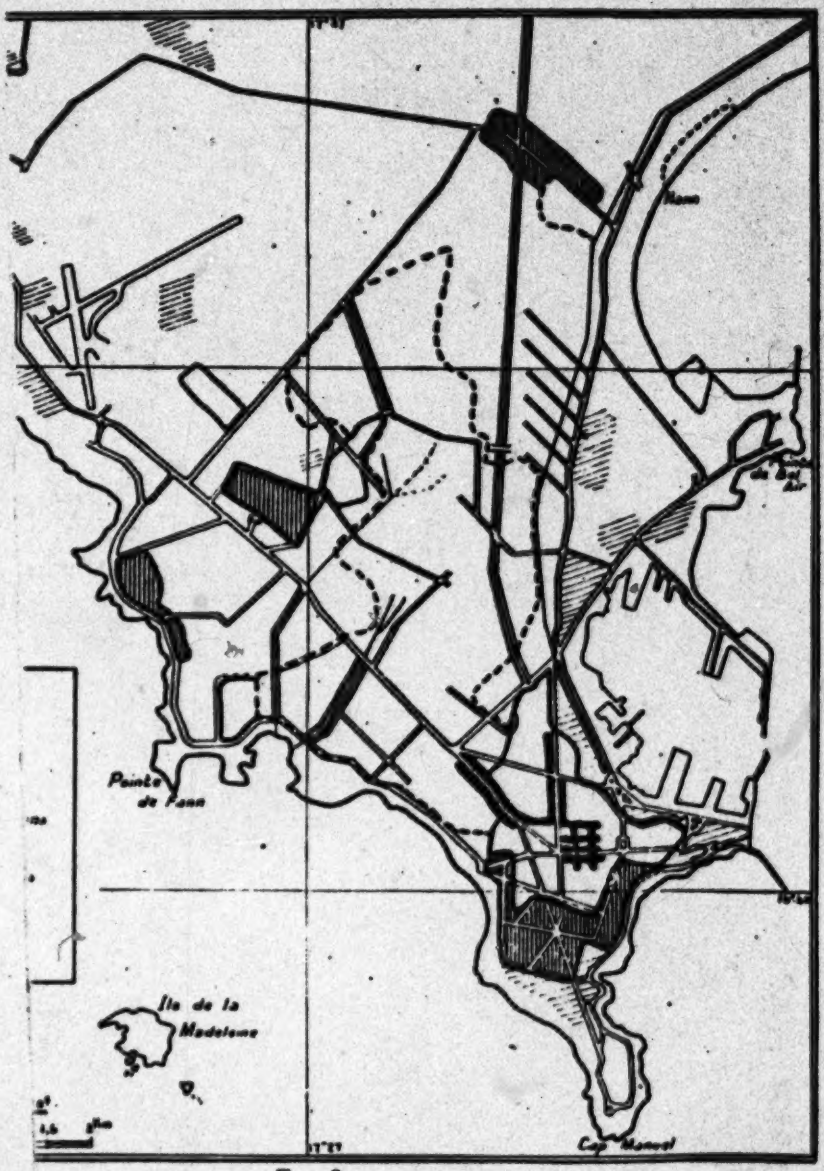
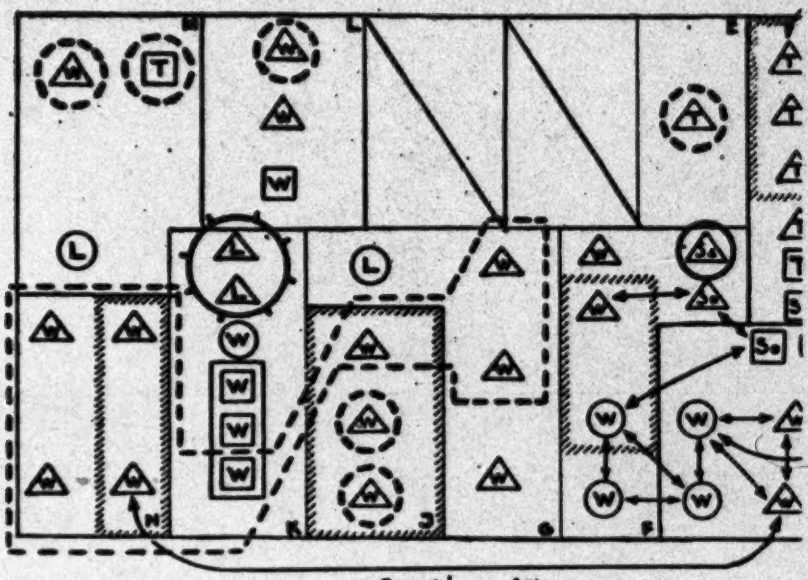


FIG. 3.
Répartition de l'habitat dakarois.

[p 40-C2]



Hommes chefs de famille	△	Wolof	W
Femmes chefs de famille	○	Lebou	L
Célibataires	□	Toucouleur	T
Groupes d'apparentés		Sarakolé	Sa

Exemple d'un groupe de relations.

Exemple de relations entre personnes de deux carrés voi

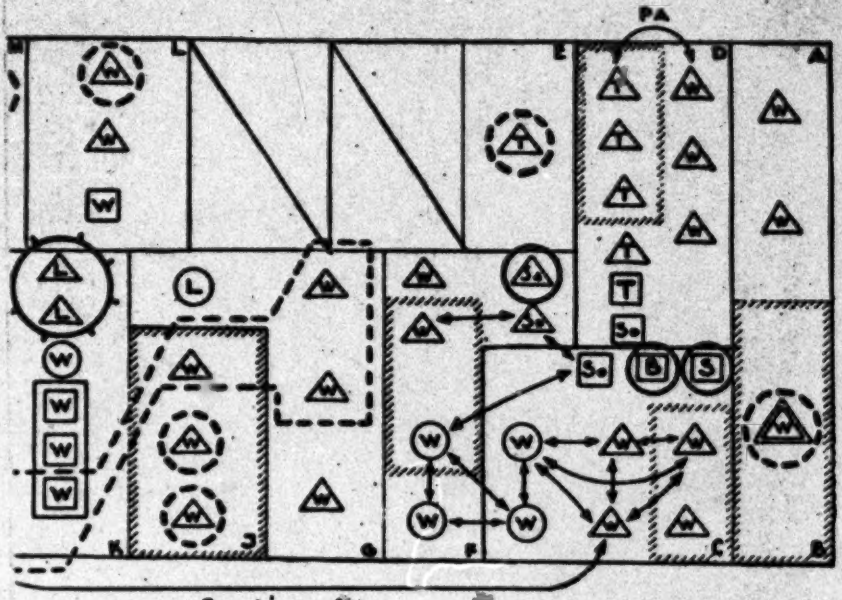
Familles ayant des relations dans tout le voisinage.

Familles n'ayant, en dehors du carré, pas de relations

Personnes sans relations dans le voisinage.

FIG. 4.

[p40 - D1]



nille	△	Wolof	W	Soré	Se
nille	○	Lebou	L	Soussou	S
	□	Toucouleur	T	Bambara	B
		Sarakolé	Sa		

Exemple d'un groupe de relations.

Exemple de relations entre personnes de deux carrés voisins.

Familles ayant des relations dans tout le voisinage.

Familles n'ayant, en dehors du carré, pas de relations dans l'îlot.

Personnes sans relations dans le voisinage.

FIG. 4.

[p 40 - D2]

18: Savonnet E-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS37 Senegal

A New City of Senegal: Thiès
/Une ville neuve du Sénégal: Thiès/

000

by Georges Savonnet

Bordeaux: 1956
Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer
Vol. 9, pp. 70-93

Translated from the French by Frieda Schütze

Human Relations Area Files
1964

/Title page/

361 /70/ New countries present the peculiarity that their important cities are established along the coast, for example, in South America and in Australia. West Africa is no exception to this rule; Dakar, Conakry, Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Accra ... are port cities. In contrast, cities in the interior are rarer; Bamako and Bobo-Dioulasso are important centers, but represent exceptions.

Thiès in Senegal does not entirely belong to either one of these categories. Located some 50 kilometers as the crow flies from the nearest port, it benefits from this proximity only in a very imperfect way. Nor is it a city of the interior; its economic relations with the port of Dakar do not permit such an appellation.

361 369 It is of recent creation and cannot, in contrast to Saint-Louis, Rufisque or Dakar, boast of a rich historic past (African or colonial); it no longer possesses that embryo of the old Creole middle class which would have been able to check its evolution toward the rapid formation of a more modern society, more Western in its conception. It is a new city that seems by a stroke of fate to have thrust out from the African bush as a kind of crossroads where the lines of modern communication have come to promote its fortune.

361 133 Before examining the different reasons which governed its implantation on such a site, it is advisable to place the city within the Senegalese countryside that surrounds it. When the traveler, leaving Dakar, takes the road or the railway which leads him to Saint-Louis, he leaves the Atlantic coast at the village of Bargny and then crosses the plain of Cape Verde over some 60 kilometers. A few moderate undulations occasionally break the monotony of the landscape; these are the Ndias "massifs." A little before the village of Pout, the eastern horizon is obstructed by a line of elevations giving the impression of sizable and brutal relief. Very soon, however, some ten kilometers from this village, one reaches the slope of Thiès. Its altitude is very slight; it culminates at 137 meters. The road and railway track ascend /71/ the face by a steep grade that makes use of a narrow defile called "Ravin des Voleurs" /Ravine of Thieves/. One quickly

/71 cont./

361 reaches the summit of the plateau.

[133] [137] The landscape which one then discovers seems more open: few trees or none at all; only a shrubby vegetation in the form of brush from which some baobab tops emerge. In the background there gradually appears the light color of the first houses of Thiès. The contrast between the green foliage of the city and the surrounding countryside, bare and yellow, blinding with light, is striking, especially in the dry season.

The aerial photograph, or better still the flight, makes this contrast appear even sharper. The city, with roughly triangular outlines and divided into large patches of geometrical squares flecked with innumerable dark spots of green foliage, stands out particularly sharply against the grey and [illegible]ted bush of the surroundings. The presence of an urban center on this almost unpopulated plateau seems strange, and one might wonder what reasons caused this not very hospitable site to be retained for the establishment of a relatively important city?

1. The History of Thiès

361 133 [104] [443] 1. The site.

The plateau on which the escale (1) has been built

1. "Escale" here means a place where caravans rested after the halt of the day's journey and where small-scale trade was carried on; by extension, a village or city-market generally located on a railway.

slopes slightly toward the east, while its western face forms a steep slope. Plateau and slope belong to geological formations of the same date as those of the Cape Verde Peninsula and consist principally of limestone from the end of the Secondary/Mesozoic/ subsequently overlaid by a ferruginous shell. It is probable that the eastern section rose up and the western one sank in the Tertiary.

135

/71 cont./

133 The presence of a marl-calcareous horizon at a slight depth, the arrangement of the layers sloping toward the east, has favored the formation of a perpetual phreatic layer close to the surface and capable of supplying all the wells of the Thiès plateau.

The Thiès slope describes a concave line 40 kilometers long which begins in the north at the height of Mont-Rolland and ends abruptly in the south at the height of the village of [361] Tiao. The brow of the slope, with an average altitude of 100 meters, is cut broadly and deeply only by the "Ravin des Voleurs." At the foot of the slope there stretches a depressed, more or less swampy zone, /72/ /Fig. 1 appears here/ which borders it from north to south. Beyond Mont-Rolland, toward the northwest, accumulations of dune sand extend to the ocean (Fig. 1).

369 175 During the period of the pacification of Senegal by Faidherbe, Thiès was only a small village of unruly Sérère-None /Serer/, pillagers of caravans when the occasion presented itself. This village was established near the actual site [361] of the Faidherbe Redoubt, in a shaded and cool spot, hence the name "Diankhène" which was given to it and which means place of repose.

In 1856 Dakar was founded, and Saint-Louis developed. [648] A treaty concluded with the damel of Cayor (2) authorized the

2. Damel. Wolof word meaning sovereign.

[206] installation of a telegraph line to connect these two cities. But the execution of the work came up against the ill-will of the damel and the continual insecurity that prevailed in the region of Thiès.

After the creation of the post of Mbidjem, near Lake Tanma, the /73/ post of Thiès was built in 1863. Its [361] role was to pacify and to cover, in case of necessity, the troops that operated in the region. The latter, coming [487] from Gorée and from Dakar, took the trail /piste/ from Rufisque to Pout and from there reached the post of Thiès and Cayor by way of the "Ravin des Voleurs," the only easy and direct passage that connected Cayor with the Cape Verde Peninsula.

/73 cont./

102
131
133
491
496

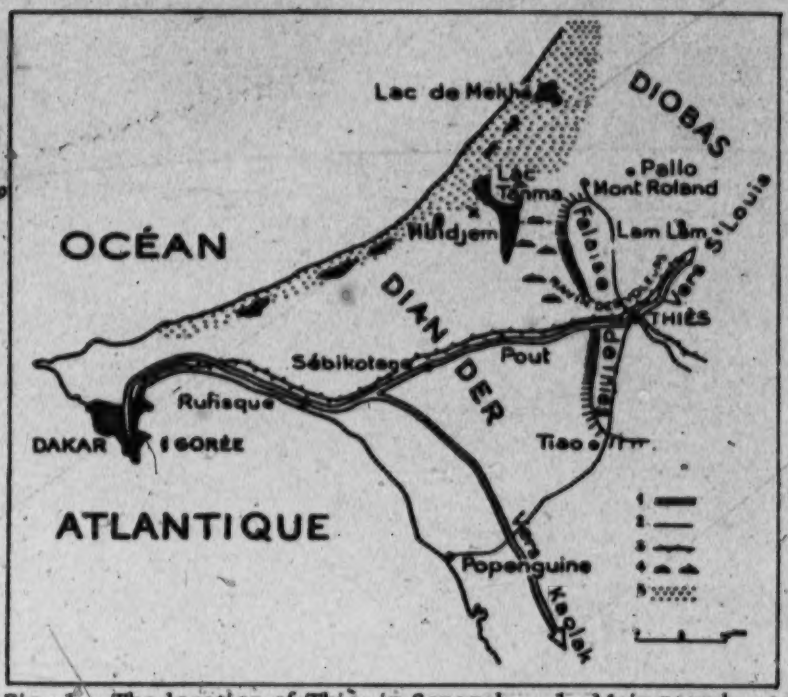


Fig. 1. The location of Thiès in Senegal. 1. Main paved road; 2. secondary road; 3. railroad; 4. swamps; 5. sand.

175 Verde Peninsula. As long ago as this epoch Thiès seems to
369 have been a strategic point and support point of primary im-
361 portance.

As early as 1880 the provinces of Diander and Diobas were pacified. The military posts lost their importance and were abandoned one after the other, for example, Nguiguis (near Tivaouane) and Mbidjem. Only the one at Thiès, because of its exceptional location, survived and developed.

175 2. The commercial escale (1880-1923).
369 The years of the decade 1880-1890 correspond to the
499 period of the development of groundnut cultivation in Senegal
244 and to the construction of the Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad.

/73 cont./

175 The surveys for the future course of this railway re-
369 vealed that the shortest route would have to follow the
499 Atlantic coast, but since this is bordered by dunes it would
133 necessitate some important construction work. The passage across the slope of Thiès was also a serious obstacle, but the "Ravin des Voleurs" made access to the plateau possible; the line would thus follow the valley which cuts the brow of the hill, then the depression which follows the plateau to the east, and would pass in front of the military fort established at its extremity.

175 The fortune of Thiès was made: as early as 1885, the
369 date of the opening of the railroad, the merchants of
[361] Rufisque set up branches there; a plan for dividing the future city into lots was outlined. This plan, unfortunately, foresaw the development of the city only north of the line, along the trail connecting Thiès with Rufisque and Dakar. A Catholic
[797] mission was established in the vicinity, and in 1893 the first civil administrator occupied the new residence built near the Faidherbe redoubt.

175 The groundnut policy developed successfully; 20,000
369 tons of groundnuts were shipped by rail from the Thiès station
439 in 1890 (3). Commerce, however, was not established in

[496]
[492]

3. Convoys of camels competed with the railway up to 1910 and transported their cargo to the port of Rufisque. Thiès was the last stop before reaching the quays of embarkation 50 kilometers away.

[366] permanent fashion in the escale: only during the period of trading (from November to May) did the European employees
[441] sent by the firms of Rufisque live in the city and buy groundnuts, millet, cotton ... at their branches; from May to November they returned to Rufisque, and most of the shops in Thiès were closed, the city seemingly dead.

174/

175 The major part of the commerce was then concentrated
369 north of the railway; nevertheless, as early as 1895 some
[366] shops were established to the south, near the residence.

In 1890 Thiès had a permanent population of 1,200
[162] inhabitants. Some native quarters were established in the
175 vicinity of the commercial escale. The little village of
369 Thiès-None was shifted from the other side of the railway.
361 A native quarter was attached to the western part of the commercial zone; it was moved toward the south after the plague of 1911 and took the name of Randoulème (a word meaning in Wolof: remove yourself). Takhikao (storied house in Wolof), established originally near the first storied house belonging to Maurel and Prom, was ultimately pushed back along the route to Saint-Louis (Fig. 2).

175 Little by little, while the military function fell asleep,
369 the development of commerce brought stable economic
[366] activity to the city. Until 1914 the city grew very little,
[162] and its population amounted to only 2,400 inhabitants at that date; from 1885 to 1914 the city gained only 1,400 souls in all.

The military function of the city recovered part of its former importance during the war of 1914. The base of Thiès
[712] became a center of military training for new recruits. The quarter of Diakhao adjoining the camp was enlarged by the arrival of the families of the military. On the other hand, commerce was threatened during this period. The French
175 personnel, which since the beginning of the century had been
369 permanently established, was summoned to the colors. In
441 order to avoid shutting up shop, the Levantines were called
563 upon. The latter had made their appearance in Senegal as early as 1895 and up to that time had played only a very secondary role in the market of the city: selling candles, matches, beads... The war of 1914 facilitated their entry into the lucrative activity of trade.

/74 cont./

369 3. The establishment of industries (1923-1945).

498 The event which gave a decisive impulsion to the
[175] commercial escale and which brought Thiès to the rank of a city was without question the establishment of the railroad repair shops in 1923. As early as 1907 the first work had been undertaken to connect Thiès to Bamako directly by rail; difficulties of all kinds and then the war impeded it. In 1923 only the junction of the two sections had been made at Kidira on the Falémé. There was some concern to have the repair shops of the Thiès-Niger established in the center nearest the coast. Thiès, head of the line, was chosen as
[162] the center. In a few years the city grew by 10,000 souls, going from 3,000 inhabitants in 1921 to 13,000 in 1929.

369 The opening of the railroad yards not only brought about
441 the arrival of many workers and their families, but at the same /75/ /Fig. 2 appears here/ time gave a strong impulsion to commerce. The regular injection of credits by this new industry brought about a renewal of commercial activity which showed in the expansion of the firms already established and the creation of new stores. The Africans, who up
[472] to that time worked solely for the profit of firms under
[563] European management and who had been kept out of the retail business, opened small shops for their own profit (4).

[197] 4. It is the military, it seems, who brought back from France this idea of establishing for themselves small grocery stores copied from those encountered in the villages of the mother country.

The latter, appealing to an essentially native clientele, multiplied as soon as the economic scope of the city increased. At the same time the number of artisans increased.

[563] After the war, the Levantines, who had been the only ones able to carry on commerce in complete tranquility for four years, set up businesses for themselves. Their experience

/75 cont./

102
361
491
496

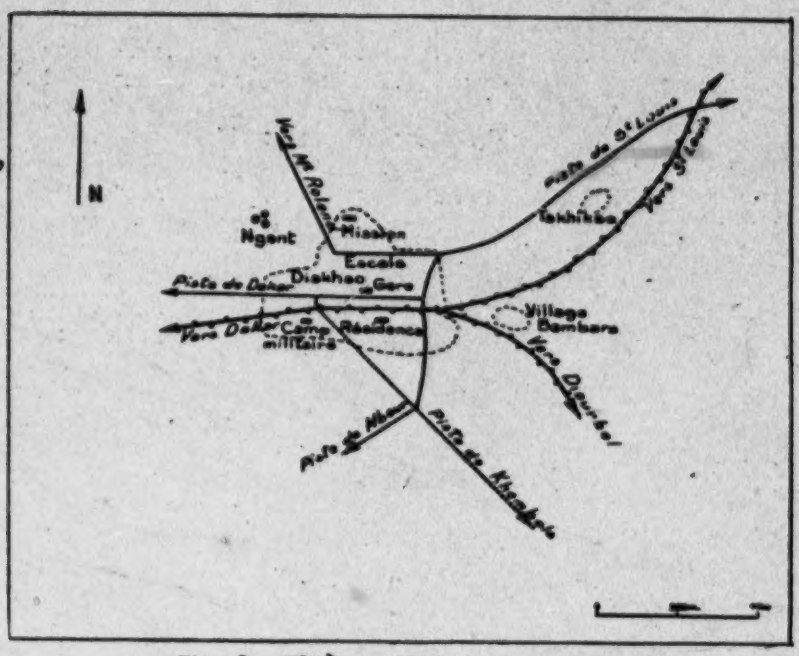


Fig. 2. Thiès in 1910.

369 acquired during the period of hostilities, their knowledge of the
441 language, and their great aptitude for adapting themselves to
563 the customs of the country and for living under very curtailed conditions /76/ made these newcomers serious competitors whom French commerce tried, but in vain, to eliminate. All the concessions of the northern escale were now occupied (5); the

5. There was no question of extending the first lots farther to the north; the concession ceded to the Mission prevented such an extension.

newcomers -- chiefly Syrians -- set up their factorerie (6) in the

[443]

6. Factorerie: shop where everything is sold and where at the same time

/76 cont./

369 local products (groundnuts,
441 millet ...) are bought or
563 bartered for.
443

still almost empty quarter of the residence.

Already the economic equilibrium of the city was no
369 longer essentially based on the commerce of trade, subject to
433 price fluctuations, but also on the budding industry which as-
458 sured it a certain stability. It is true that the latter, barely acquired, was put to a harsh test during the world crisis from 1930 to 1934. In the course of this difficult period the price of the groundnut slumped. The old commercial firms which depended solely on the trading were no longer able to meet their payments and liquidate their stock: Société Française du Sénégal, the firms Lacombe, Latrille... The sounder establishments were themselves obliged to close their city branches temporarily, for example, Peyrissac, Maurel Frères. Nevertheless one did not see here a complete slump in commerce with spectacular failures such as occurred in Dakar, but rather commercial liquidations, sales of stocks that were repurchased by Levantines and wholesale companies.

The effects of the crisis, which ended in 1934, re-
[471] sulted in a redistribution of commercial ownership, a re-
[563] adaptation of commerce to the new requirements, along with the definitive establishment of the Levantines.

369 At this date the fusion of the two railroad companies,
498 the Dakar--Saint-Louis and Thiès-Niger, stimulated an ex-
433 pansion of the industrial quarter by regrouping at Thiès the workshops originally installed at Dakar for the Dakar--Saint-Louis railway.

369 On the eve of the Second World War the city reached
the figure of 22,000 inhabitants, 1,200 of them Europeans.
[162] The almost complete disappearance of epidemics, the better
[511] food supply, the construction of comfortable houses (Ballabey
[361] district created as early as 1925 for the railway workers, villas for officers) permit metropolitan families to settle in a permanent fashion. In a parallel manner, the native

/76 cont./

369 quarters spread out toward the southwest in the vicinity of
361 the workshops; "Derrière la voie ferrée /Behind the Railroad/" and "Bambara" developed on the outskirts of "Randoulène."

4. Thiès, industrial and strategic city (after 1945).

369 The Second World War temporarily slowed down the
712 economic activity of the city. As in 1914, one saw a /77/ very earnest renewal of the military function: an autonomous motorized detachment (D.M.A.) was established in the old military camp which was considerably enlarged; an air base created a little before 1940 doubled the one of Ouakam installed at the gates of Dakar and now inadequate.

The experience of the last war had demonstrated the possible vulnerability of Dakar. Strategy demanded the formation of a strong base in the rear areas of the capital of French West Africa to support it if the need arose. The location and the proximity of Thiès met these requirements. In order to give maximum effectiveness to this enterprise, the means of communication between the two cities had to be improved, the military camps reorganized and modernized.
[491] A strong and wide road was built between these two cities. Its course was different from that of the old trail; it entered Thiès not from the west but from the south. The military camp covered several dozen hectares, the installations of the air base were improved and enlarged, and the annexes permitted the permanent establishment of officers and troops (Fig. 4).

369 From 1947 to 1952 intense activity prevailed in the
361 city. The entire district, except the old escale, formed a veritable workshop where vast avenues cut across the native quarters, where plazas were created, where zones of green were distributed. In the industrial precinct of the Dakar-
[498] Niger, new workshops intended for the repair of Diesel tractors and the construction of passenger coaches were installed. New villas along more modern lines for officials and railway workers rose almost everywhere in the city. The old escale, paralyzed within too narrow limits, was aroused

/77 cont./

369 and attempted as far as possible to renovate the lines of its
361 architecture and to offer to its clientele pleasant salesrooms with tastefully arranged windows and displays.

The native quarters for their part were enlarged and improved, penetrating deeply into the neighboring bush. The quarters of "Randoulène-Sud" /South Randoulene/, of "Grand Thiès" /Greater Thiès/, and of "Médina" were new creations. Diakhao and Takhikao develop. Some African officials and
[342] merchants have since begun some construction of small villas in durable material that replace the traditional straw hut or the simple plank hut.

[162] The growth of the population was considerable; from 24,000 in 1945, it reached 40,000 inhabitants in 1953, 2,700 of whom were Europeans.

369 Thus, from the founding of the first military post near
433 the village of Thiès-None up to our time, the growth of Thiès has been accomplished without any shocks. It has not known the great hopes of Dakar, the depressions, the failures of Rufisque and Saint-Louis. The /78/ wars, the crises are shown in the graph of its evolution only as simple plateaus (7).

7. G. Savonnet, "Evolution démographique de la ville de Thiès /Demographic Evolution of the City of Thies/, "Notes africaines, pp. 122-124.

369 Its fortune, as we have tried to show, comes from its
361 exceptional site at the entrance of the sole path of access to
433 the plateau of Thiès, along with the relative proximity of Dakar. Through the action of these three essential functions, commercial, industrial, and military, it enjoys an economic equilibrium that seems more stable than that of the other cities of Senegal.

/78 cont./

2. The Quarters

1. The quarters of European type.

361 If we eliminate the two military bases that offer very
563 special characteristics peculiar to their internal organization, Thiès contains three quarters of Western conception: the Cité Ballabey /Ballabey District/, the Vieille Escale /Old Escale/, the Résidence. While the first shelters a population almost wholly European, in the other two the Whites are in the minority (one White to four Blacks).

No systematic segregation really exists in the city. The Cité Ballabey itself is a district for operatives belonging to the managerial staffs; it is in no way closed to Africans who have reached the rank required by their establishment. Although located near the workshops, it is a quiet zone. Its park is magnificent. The villas there are arranged regularly
351 according to a checkerboard plan in the purest colonial style.
[342] Each square of the checkerboard is occupied by a villa divided into two twin and symmetrical apartments; courtyards and gardens extend out on all sides of the dwelling; some mango trees with dense foliage shelter the rabbit hutches, the hen house, and the garage from the heat of the sun. It is easy
341 to date the construction of each of them by its architectural
342 style: the pink brick corresponds to the years 1925-1930; the reinforced concrete, painted light beige, dates from after the war... The quarters of the D.M.A. and of the air base, with some variations, show almost no originality of their own and are comparable to the Cité Ballabey.

The Old Escale presents the appearance of a quarter
[363] in a Mediterranean city: narrow streets bordered by storied buildings built out of the white limestone from Bargny; a small, light balcony with a metal balustrade projects over the sidewalk and runs from one end of the building to the other; a very slightly sloping red tile roof under a blue sky accentuates this impression of the Mediterranean world.

351 Each concession, square in plan, forms a regular block of

/78 cont./

102
361
491
496

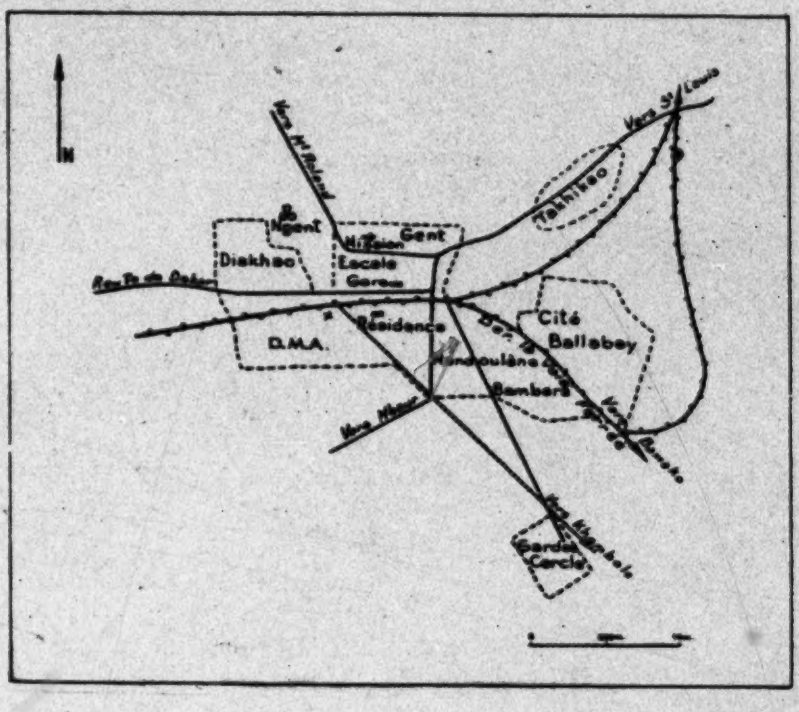


Fig. 3. Thiès in 1940.

351 buildings pierced here and there by a portal which gives access to the courtyards, always littered, of the shop or workshop. /79/ /Fig. 3 appears here./

361 One now sees a modification of this oldish architecture and [341] attempts at renovation. This quarter, built essentially for commercial purposes, did not leave any space free for expansion; no plaza, no small garden offers a pleasant spot in this assemblage dedicated essentially to trade.

The quarter of the Residence is quieter, and also cooler. The arrangement of the settlement pattern is looser; the houses are spread out, and each is separated from its neighbor by a [351] kitchen garden, a courtyard, or a small pleasure garden. Near the administrative buildings care has even been taken to reserve and arrange some public squares in the shade of immense Gambia

/79 cont./

361 mahoganies planted at the end of the last century. The very close presence of the station, and the continual coming and going of locomotives, with strident cries that rend the air, destroys the harmony of these quiet spots of small provincial cities, while attempts are made to recreate them.

361 Even more peaceful air is breathed in the Catholic
346 Mission, located to the north of the old "escale." The buildings were constructed at the end of the last century in red laterite, storied buildings /80/ with monastery arcades. They are situated in the middle of a huge garden, always green, extended by a park of magnificent trees. The whole reminds one to some extent of the peaceful site of some metropolitan abbey.

361 The two business quarters (Old Escale and Residence)
563 present the peculiarity of becoming, according to the time of day, the domain of the European in the evening (at the hour
443 for the apéritif) and on Sundays, and that of the African during the day (while the market is open). A place of contact between the Black and the White, this market occupies a very important place in the life of the African city and merits pausing there a bit.

443 It is on the day of the opening of the groundnut trade (at
[438] the beginning of December, for example) that it is proper to visit it. On coming from the station one plunges suddenly into the animation, the dust, the heat, the "sticky" odors of the market. The place is swarming with people where
443 the most diverse means of locomotion are squeezed and
494 mingled together: a small cinder-gray donkey, heavily laden, deciding to block the passage of an automobile, despite the beating by its master; a small, light cart with two rubber wheels serving as a taxi and in quest of a possible passenger; a housewife from the neighboring village, her
[482] last-born hanging on her back, and who keeps on her head, in marvelous balance, a calabash full of market produce; a cyclist, poorly balanced on his machine, now and again running into a pedestrian or a vehicle; a truck with impressive loads, which slowly pushes from the road the human

/80 cont./

443 flood rapidly closing in again behind it. All these noisy peo-
[493] ple carry with them a flavor of the neighboring bush, warm and dusty.

The market of dried fish readily reveals itself by the strong odor that it gives off; farther on is the stall of the
[563] butcher for Europeans; very close to it the merchant of the tripe trade who grills some skewers of small pieces on a charcoal fire. Elsewhere the sellers of colas, of condiments and cloth from Guinea, the cobblers offering their products among the very mixed odors in a halo of dust raised by the crowd. It is a delight for the eyes to see, in the bright sunlight under a very clear and pure blue sky, the shimmer of full garments of vivid hues moving with deliberation and majesty.

443 The animation reaches its greatest intensity between
512 nine and ten o'clock in the morning; the pedestrian is king, he blocks all traffic. Then, little by little, sellers and buyers disperse, and everyone falls into a blessed torpor at the noon hour. The afternoon is quiet, and at five o'clock each merchant has left his premises. This animation, which has only a temporary character in the commercial quarters of /Plates XI and XII appear here/ /81/ European type, is permanent in certain native quarters, but with a maximum amplitude in the evening after work.

2. The native quarters.

361 The native quarters also have their peculiar characteristics, a function of their antiquity, of their proximity or their distance from a center of activity, and, naturally, of the social category of their inhabitants.

Takhikao and Gent were among the first quarters created. Except for the nearness of the road from Thiès to Tivaouane, which attracts the merchants' small shops of planks or straw, they have kept their rural character: dwell-
[351] ings arranged in a loose order, surrounded by an orchard protected by a tapade /walling/ of branches or stalks of millet.

[Text continues on p. 18]

18: Savonnet--16 E-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37
/Between pp. 80 and 81./

342
137
493
363
361

A. Thiès. Quarter of Derrière-la-voie-ferrée. Juxtaposition of houses of mud covered with sheet metal, sheet metal, and of straw.

346

B. The site of one of the oldest mosques of Thiès: quarter of Takhikao.

18: Savonnet--17 E-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37
/Between pp. 80 and 81./

363
357
291

Plate XII

A. Thiès. The Takhikao square after winter.

291
443
516

B. Thiès. Market scene.

/81 cont./

361 millet. The old people assemble in the evening under the
[517] large silk-cotton tree that shades the old crumbling mosque of
Takhikao. The women chatter while awaiting their turn to
312 draw water at the common well, while the children play in
[342] the sand. Gent stands out because of a series of small, low
houses with a rectangular base and a roof of corrugated metal,
all identical and set along the trail that leads to the marigot
[351] /watercourse/ of the mission. A garden and a courtyard, al-
[563] ways littered with laundry, characterize each concession. It
is the quarter of Portuguese half-breeds called "portugalais"
(Plates XI B and XII A).

Diakhao-Nord /North Diakhao/, quiet, airy, arranged
[363] according to a strict plan of lots, contrasts with Diakhao-Sud
with narrow, winding lanes bordered on all sides by tapades
of millet stalks and noisy in the evening. The proximity of
[275] the two military bases has made it a place where one amuses
himself with all that this includes in the way of drinking
525 shops and more or less clandestine gambling dens. Brawls be-
[579] tween drunken men are not rare in these places.

Randoulène, Derrière-la-voie-ferrée, and Bambara,
which form a unique quarter, homogeneous in its density and
in the heterogeneity of its dwellings, have become established
in the immediate vicinity of the railroad repair shops. The
[342] huts of planks, mud, or straw stand one against the other along
[363] the winding lanes laid out according to the desire of the
moment and not without some imagination. These lanes are
[373] noisy with people, and even late at night they walk between
the small shopkeepers' stalls lighted with smoking candle ends.
351 The dense crowd flows over the edges of the street and enters
the interior of the courtyards. The latter, covering barely
[463] a few square meters, often serve as a workshop for the
weaver, the blacksmith, or the jeweler, and as a kitchen for
[252] the housewives of the neighboring huts; it is not rare to see
half a dozen millet pounders there, pounding their mortars
in rhythm in groups of two or three. This is also the gathering
[517] place /82/ /Fig. 4 appears here/ of workers, where, after
[524] work, sitting in the sand amidst the dust and the noise, in a

18: Savonnet--19 E-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS37 Senegal

/82/

36
102
491
496
712

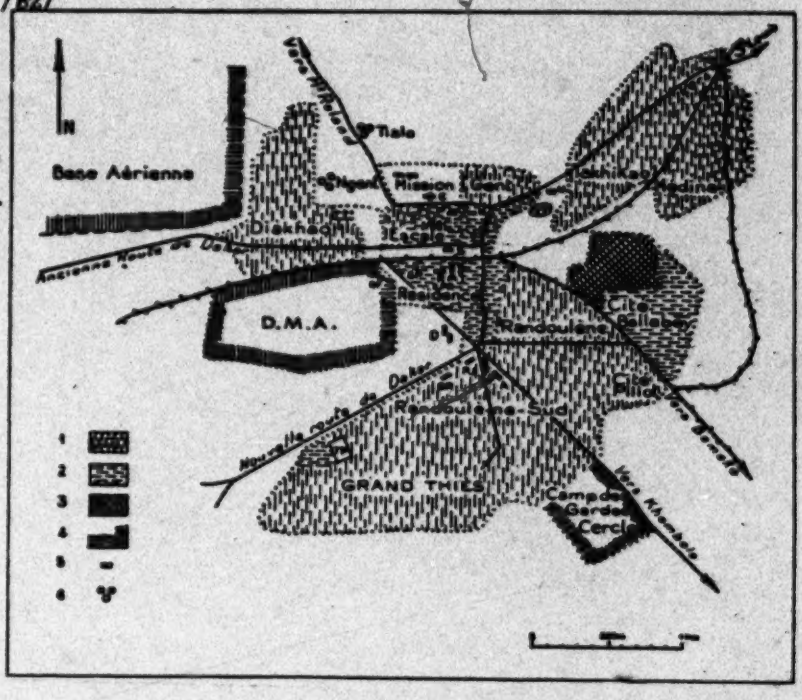


Fig. 4. Thies in 1954.

1. Residential zone of Africans; 2. Residential zone of Europeans; 3. Industrial zone; 4. Military bases;5. Administrative and religious buildings; 5. Village. E-- Catholic church; U-- Mosque; V-- Posts; C-- College; L-- Police; S-- Station; N-- Gendarmery; P-- Primary school; RF-- Faidherbe Redoubt; SP-- Société de Prévoyance /Welfare Society/; M-- Town Hall. T-- Treasury; R-- Residence of the Commander of the Circle; Pr-- Prison; D-- Dispensary; TP-- Public Works; PJ-- Palace of Justice; GR-- Bus station; P-- Collector's office. A-- Firemen.

/82 cont./

35 heat heavily laden with the most diverse odors, they play
[517] cards or checkers. There is no question in such crowded
[524] quarters of removing all the household rubbish and used water.
[364] It is frequent in the course of walks within this zone to run into piles of refuse or to cross several ditches full of stagnant, dirty, and malodorous water. Sometimes at a bend in a street one is surprised to discover some straw huts in the middle of a spacious courtyard (Plate XI A).

361 The quarters of the south, newly divided into lots, re-
351 mind one of that of North Diakhao with its embryos of streets intersecting at a right angle, /83/ its huts arranged in a loose order inside each square and huddled in the shade of mango trees.

Each concession of Médina, in distinct geometric forms, marked off by tapades of millet stalks, is of a meticulous neatness that contrasts with the other quarters of the city.
[795] This strict order, this rigid arrangement where all imagination is banished, is a reflection of the peculiar character of the Moslem Murid sect that occupies it.

361 The Cité Pillot, finally, built for the higher operatives and the specialized workers of the Dakar-Niger, to the south of the Bamako railroad, gives the appearance of a series of buildings that resemble those of barracks. The arrangement
[342] of the new constructions is that of small houses with twin apartments.

369 Thus, each of the European-type quarters, like the native quarters, possesses some particular trait or even its own individuality, which seems to correspond to a definite social structure: milieu of merchants, millieu of officials, milieu of artisans, of laborers, of cultivators.

At the same time, each stage of its evolution has stamped this or that part of the city with its original imprint, which makes it possible to follow quite easily the successive periods of its expansion.

/83 cont./

3. The Activities of the City

1. Commerce.

433 If we except the period of conquest, during which a handful of troops established themselves in the entrenched camp, the primary function of Thiès was commerce.

441 An escale of trade in its beginnings, Thiès has re-
433 mained that up to our times. Almost 25,000 tons of groundnuts are commercialized each year in spite of the opening of important points of trade in the vicinity, Tivaouane, Khombole, located some 30 kilometers from there. This commerce demands a certain taste for risk; if in certain years it offers appreciable profits, it sometimes renders the balance sheet of the merchants who practice it very precarious. The groundnut trade, as far as purchase from the pro-
[563] ducer is concerned, is almost entirely in the hands of the
[442] Levantines and a few Moors and Blacks. The important establishments, N. O. S. O. C. O. (8) and the Soucail firm,

8. N. O. S. O. C. O. Nouvelle Société Commerciale.

engage only in wholesale trade.

443 The factorerie run by a Levantine (9) next to the

[162] [563] 9. The Levantines are 48 in number, namely, 23 Syrians and 25 Lebanese (figures of 1952).

courtyard of the secco (10) has kept all its picturesqueness

[257] 10. Secco: mass of groundnuts stored in the courtyard of the merchant and destined for export.

[438] up to our day. /84/ Everything is sold there, from the piece of trade cloth in vivid colors to cheap perfume; kerosene by the liter and millet by the kilo or sack are retailed there.

/84 cont./

443 One corner of the plank counter, polished by the hands of
[275] customers, is often reserved for the sale of beverages that are drunk from the bottle itself. Boards and piles of sacks block the passage of the customers. There is a constant coming and going of possible customers who pass the shop fully open to the street. Some stay there for hours without buying, solely to feast their eyes. The patient Levantine,
[437] arguing about the price in the native language, supervises the weights and inspects the sacks of groundnuts in order to take out the stones that may have slipped into them. The factorerie type makes it possible to imagine exactly what the commerce of the escale must have been in the first years of its establishment in the city.

European commerce is totally different. To be sure, there are still some factoreries of the type that we have just described, but for some years a real effort at modernization has changed their appearance; they are becoming metropoli-
tan-type stores with counters of plywood, shelves of canned
[438] goods, novelties from Paris... A luxury store was opened in 1950, offering buyers the latest goods from the capital: gowns, shorts, suits for men, curios of all sorts. But the nearness of Dakar, the ease of access to it, its attraction seem to be seriously limiting its sales potential.

442 The branches of the large commercial houses, N.O.
443 S.O.C.O., Maurel and Prom, C.F.A.O. (11), are eight in

11. C.F.A.O.: Compagnie Française d'Afrique Occidentale.

number and practically control the local market. Each is still established in its original concession in the interior of the old escale. The courtyard that formerly held the groundnuts has been remodeled into a warehouse; the retail store has been modernized: tiling, frigidaire, and cold rooms, as well as huge shop windows that replace the small windows of former times. The wholesale store, on the other hand, has preserved its disorder: bags of cement, boards,

/84 cont./

442 iron for cement, tires...piled loosely together. The activity
443 of these branches is based on three elements: retail with a sales store open to the average customers, wholesale granted to the important factoreries (Levantines...), and wholesale to the small shopkeepers for retail. Each is furthermore an implement dealer with exclusive right of sale granted to them: frigidaires, motor fuel, automobiles...The figure
[433] for the monthly business of one of them fluctuated between 20 and 25 million in 1953.

443 An intermediate type of commerce was established a short time ago with the arrival of the Moroccans; they
[563] numbered 25 in 1952. /85/ Some among them attempt to
[162] corner both the European and native clientele. They special-
[438] ize in the sale of fabrics and fancy articles for Africans: babouches, fezzes, cheap watches. They speak the native
[191] language fluently and sometimes French extremely well.

The Africans, as we have seen, have launched into private business since 1920. Some of them have a factorerie of the Levantine type, but most of them have opened a shop in the outlying quarters. The Moors and the Blacks share this small-scale commerce: in 1952 the former reached the figure of 120; the Blacks were perhaps as numerous. They
[347] are installed in the small shops of boards or mud roofed with straw or with corrugated metal. On the counter, made up of a simple board, stands a Roberval scale, some jars of large multicolored bonbons, a pasteboard box filled with dry biscuits. The bag of charcoal on the floor stands beside a tin of kerosene. Some cola nuts kept fresh in a wrapping of leaves still green, a kilo of sugar broken open, which is sold by the lump, some packages of cigarettes sold by the unit, and small cans of condensed milk give a glimpse of the small volume of their business.

To complete this picture, let us add the innumerable small "doorstep" merchants who on a piece of cloth or in a calabash display a few handfuls of roasted peanuts and cola nuts, a package of cigarettes, or millet fritters. These small stalls are all located in front of the door of the hut;

/85 cont./

443 while the housewife attends to her tasks, the oldest child makes the sale (12).

12. According to an economic investigation made by Mr. Mersadier in Thiès, the returns from these sales[1] do not exceed ten francs profit per day (Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N., July-Oct., 1955, series B, p. 411).

[434]
[433]

Thus, the commerce in Thiès (and certainly in most of the cities of French West Africa) is diffused among all of the layers of the society and at the same time has adapted itself extremely well there. The branches of important commercial houses, which in the beginning were violently opposed to this diffusion not controlled directly by them, quickly understood all the benefits that they could draw from this new situation.

463 Paralleling this extension of commerce, the working class, to a more limited extent, has also taken on much greater importance. To the traditional artisans, potters, jewelers, and smiths have been added activities more modern in inspiration: photographers, clockmakers, repairers of phonographs, bicycles, or even trucks, and, in another category of enterprises, small restaurant keepers and /86/ proprietors of drink shops. Finally, the establishment of European artisans (hairdressers, pastry cooks, etc.) is a specific phenomenon of the social evolution in African cities since the last war, and Thiès is not escaping it.

[265]
[275]
[178]

2. Industry.

498 The industrial activity of Thiès gravitates principally around the repair shops of the Dakar-Niger (13). The

[317]
[464]
[162]

13. The two phosphate quarries opened by the Société Péchiney some 15 kilometers from the city (Pallo and Lam-Lam)

[1] [ie, by "doorstep" merchants - ANALYST]

/86 cont./

498 [317] 464 [162]

hardly affect its economy because of the limited number of its workers (200 to 300) and above all the distance from the urban center.

concession of the Dakar-Niger located a short distance from the city would actually form the most important industrial center of French West Africa in terms of the number of its [162] operatives (around 2,500 in 1952). It groups within its enclosure a series of the most diverse workshops: woodworking shop, sawmill, assembly shops for railroad cars, tinsmith shop, and even a foundry. Putting new Diesel tractors into service has brought about the recent creation of new shops where manifold improved machines operate. Power is taken [377] from a high tension line of 30,000 volts coming from Dakar. The enterprise annually consumes 1,700,000 kilowatt-hours, that is to say, more than the total consumption of the city itself. The much smaller consumption of coke and of fuel oil used in the furnace and cupolas of the foundries should be added here.

The workshops of the Dakar-Niger present themselves in the form of an industry with vertical integration of an incomplete type. The distance from the mother country, the expenses and above all the slowness of shipments (principally during the last World War) have brought about the installation of an industrial complex that makes it possible to satisfy the greater part of the demands of the work required for the smooth functioning of the service. All the woodworking is carried out in the sawmill-carpentry section; the cars are assembled from imported chassis, wheels, and bogies. Most of the parts of the locomotives can be smelted in Thiès, except when it is a matter of special alloys. Certain elements demanding a machine-finishing precision of 1/100 of a millimeter for Diesel tractors have already been manufactured by the enterprise. Only the parts requiring very special techniques or machines for their manufacture, or whose

S /86 cont./
498 manufacturing cost would be high if they were smelted
S in Senegal, are bought on the outside.
498 Originally the repair work, the machining of loco-
463 motive parts or of rolling stock, necessitated only the
563 presence of good mechanics. But putting into service more powerful engines that no longer run on charcoal but on fuel oil requires /87/ precise inspection and minute repairs made by experienced specialists. Most of them are still Europeans, but already some Africans have the technical training required for this delicate work.

S The enterprise, however, has only a small percentage
[162] of Whites: out of 2,500 railway workers there were only 140 Europeans in 1953. And most of the worked in the offices (one European to eight natives); in the workshops this proportion reached only one to 40. While most of the metropolitan specialists are taken from the staffs of the S.N.C.F., the African specialists are recruited from among the students
S [874] coming from the technical schools of Terrasson-de-Fougères in Bamako or William-Ponty in Dakar and from among the former mechanics of the arsenals of the national marine. They constitute the supervisory staffs in the different shops.

The ordinary workers, founders, hammermen, carpenters ...., have generally been trained in the very workshops of the Dakar-Niger where they work for a number of years. Finally, the non-specialized work is done by newcomers from the bush.

S An investigation carried out in 1952 on a quarter of
498 the total number (834) enables one to learn the ethnic
563 composition of all the workshops. One can note a pre-
W eminence of the number of Wolof (301); the Peul and
498 Toucouleur /Tukolor/ number 189; the Bambara come
162 third with 115 individuals. It is necessary to add 39
463 Sarakolé, 40 Khassonké /Kassonke/, and 79 workers belonging to different groups. This list gives an idea of the important mingling of individuals that make up this industrial center. One observes, nevertheless, that the

/87 cont./

S 498 563 W 498 162 463

workers from the regions neighboring Thiès are not in the majority; the Wolof-Sérère group is made up of 380 units, 45% of the total. Besides, the Wolof and Sérère /Serer/ offer relatively few technicians and supervisory operatives; the Wolof make up only 7% in the supervisory category as against 24% in that of manual workers; the Sérère account for only 5% in the first category and 39% in the second. On the other hand, 17% of the Khassonké and Sarakolé belong to the supervisory staffs as against only 22% of the manual workers and employees. These figures underline the difficulty for the enterprise in recruiting specialized workers in the vicinity of Thiès. It must call upon technicians from distant territories, although a high percentage of non-specialized workers and manual laborers are recruited locally.

S 498 433

Because of the number of its total labor force, the industrial grouping of the Dakar-Niger forms one of the most active elements of the economy of the district. More than 25,000,000 francs C.F.A. are distributed monthly in the form of salaries to all of the personnel.

/88/

3. The Public sector.

S 712 433

Although the installation and extension of the two military camps have in an indirect way increased the importance of the city, it indeed seems that they have little influence on the economy of the district on account of their internal organization within a closed circuit.

S 647 464

The establishment of increasingly more numerous and substantial administrative services affects the economic life of the escale in a more tangible fashion. The administration of the circle /cercle, an administrative district/ and the services for agriculture, education, and public works employ several hundred officials, day laborers, and manual workers.

/88 cont./

871 Education has developed in a remarkable fashion; each year more than 2,000 school children attend the public and private schools. The number of young pupils also has increased steadily, but only for the past dozen years. The modern college, because of its inadequate size, refuses numerous requests for admission every year. In spite of the annual opening of new classes, it can be estimated that only one child out of three of school age attends school.

369
563

4. The Social Structure of the City

1. The Whites.

In 1955 we are far from the heroic epoch when Thiès was considered an unhealthy place and when the mortality was very high. The arrival of the first European families at the beginning of this century could be considered an important event. It marked the possibility of permanently implanting a white colony in the escale.

The climate has been made more bearable by the many improvements in comfort that have created a propitious atmosphere for the establishment of family life. [162] In 1953 there were almost 1,200 women out of 2,700 Whites.

369
563
573

The European population is divided into a certain number of "milieus": army, operatives of the Dakar-Niger, officials, merchants. Contact between any of these assemblages is very loose: with few exceptions the relations between individuals belonging to different groups are not very frequent; there is visiting only among people of the same background. The transfer of personnel, which is repeated every two years, has the result that the time of residence is not ordinarily long enough for a newcomer to break away from his milieu. A certain apathy and a lack of curiosity limit these human contacts with neighboring groupings.

The armed forces, and Dakar-Niger, because of the very conception of their internal organization, live in isolation. Each of them has its co-operative, its club, its

/88 cont./

369 bar, and sometimes its cinema and its swimming pool; /89/
563 they form a small city that is self-sufficient. The officers
573 of the administration by their very functions seem to have more extensive relations in the different milieus.

Among the merchants and artisans, the problem is different because of the very stability of their work and the length of their stay. In this commercial and artisan milieu one could define three very distinct "groupings": the "old ones" who have lived in Thiès for several decades; the "newcomers" from after the war; the Levantine-Moroccan grouping.

The first are not very numerous; they live in their old factorerie, which, in spite of recently added arrangements, preserves something old-fashioned about it. They are able to [191] talk to the native in his own language. Their life, while it has become more comfortable, is lived modestly; they go out little and entertain only among themselves. Every two [484] or three years they take a few months' rest in France during the season of cultivation in Senegal. As a result, their life is quite withdrawn.

The second group, made up of recent emigrants, is entirely different. It primarily contains bachelors or young married people more or less in love with adventure perhaps, but above all seeking a broader existence. They generally [427] live in one or two rooms rented from a Levantine or Moroccan. [265] Since it is difficult for them to cook at home, the restaurant [484] provides for them. In general they adopt a careless attitude, [493] are restless, and speak loudly; their first savings are intended for the purchase of a motorcycle or a small car which will enable them to escape from the city. Moreover, they are per- [546] sistent spectators at the four local cinemas, which have a new program every day.

The group of Levantines is different from the two preceding ones; their life is spent between their shop and their [484] apartment. Rare changes take them to Dakar on business. [353] Their interior is comfortable, arranged according to Oriental taste; they love vivid colors and pile up cushions. They [484] rarely go back to their country of origin; some of them have

S /89 cont./
369 not left Africa for 30 or 40 years. Others, more favored by
563 business, take a trip each year to France or western Asia.
573 Generally, the children pursue their studies in their parents'
[484] land of origin and speak French and English fluently. This
[191] new generation of Levantines, to whom one must add a few
[529] Moroccans, is becoming integrated little by little in the
[578] metropolitan milieu through the medium of sports associa-
[477] tions and hunting parties. These amicable relations will perhaps favor to a certain degree a closer relationship between these groups which are so often antagonistic on the commercial level.

/90/

2. The Africans.

S According to the census statistics gathered in 1953, the
369 ethnic composition of the city was the following: out of an
563 African population of 36,050 inhabitants, the Wolof appeared
162 as the most numerous and, with 23,624 individuals, made
W up 65.5% of the population; the Toucouleur, numbering
[162] 3,356, represent 9.3% of the total; the Bambara (Sudanese,
[369] rather) attained third place and accounted for 6.8% of the population with 2,447 individuals; the Sérère, although settled in the vicinity of Thiès, included only 1,856 persons, namely, 5.1% of the total. The Peul and the Moors, respectively 1,074 and 843 individuals, made up 3% and 2.4% of the total. The Sarakolé and the various other groups, represented, respectively, by 650 and 2,190 members, formed 1.8% and 6.1% of the population.

W These details speak eloquently of the ethnic hetero-
[162] geneity of the Thiès population. Still, it should be empha-
[369] sized that the number of true Wolof is certainly less than the
[563] statistical figure given; after a stay of some ten years spent in Thiès, the Khassonké or the Sarakolé, who will have lost almost all contact with his country of origin, who will have married a woman not of his race, who will have adopted the language, the food, the corresponding Wolof name, will speak of himself as belonging to this group.

/90 cont./

369 As one may well imagine, the most populated zones are
563 the ones located near the railroad workshops; Derrière-la-
[161] voie-ferrée, Randoulène, and Bambara have densities from
102 to 125 inhabitants per hectare (14). These quarters are

14. In French Equatorial Africa, in the quarters of Brazzaville (Poto-Poto and Bacongo), it reaches 100 inhabitants per hectare. Information taken from Documents and Statistics, Ministry of the F. O. M., No. XI, March 1954, p. 25.

at the same time the places of the most complete intermingling; almost 40% of the population is made up of elements foreign to the region of Thiès where Wolof and Sérère live.

We quote these figures, of course, in order to pose the problem of contacts between the various ethnic groups and of the relations between individuals.

369 Nevertheless, we should set apart the Moor group,
563 whose conduct clearly differs from that of its colored neigh-
573 bors. The Moors do not have any relations with the Blacks, except for purely commercial reasons. They meet only among themselves, travel only accompanied by one of their fellows. Their sobriety, their sense of thrift (often carried to excess), and their frigid calm estrange them from the often expansive temperament of the Blacks. Perhaps a certain feeling of superiority toward the population which they dominated before our arrival is the origin of this profound gap between people of identical material circumstances.

369 /91/ The Black masses seem at first estimate to form
563 a homogeneous whole. Nevertheless, among the elements which compose it there exist traditional distinctions of customary, ethnic, and religious origin, and social distinc-
[182] tions linked to recent structures: a new hierarchy in the

/91 cont./

369 industrial enterprises and in the public function. Even in a
563 professional category a certain hierarchy of a traditional
[182] order survives and is always respected. In the workshops of
[565] the Dakar-Niger, for example, the higher supervisory staffs
are made up of workers belonging to superior castes: free
[466] men, descendants of chiefs' families... Operatives coming
from families of griots or former captives, in spite of their
skill at the work and their training, would have only very
weak authority over their subordinates.

[578] The animosities between individuals belonging to
formerly hostile groups or to opposed religious sects may
sometimes reappear in the course of contacts between in-
dividuals or groups of individuals. Along the same line
[466] of thought, a certain favoritism may creep into the relations
between foreman and subordinates belonging to the same
ethnic category or the same religion.

Within each ethnic minority scattered through the
369 city spontaneous associations spring up, led by the oldest
563 among them. These friendly groups meet periodically. They
573 are at the bottom of the mutual aid to the newcomer, to the
workman who lives temporarily without funds in the escale.
Each of these gatherings is at the same time the occasion for
"folkloristic" celebrations, reminding the members of the
group of their customs and their country of origin.

369 The traditions which have been able to survive by
177 being adapted to the new conditions of the society lose
563 their importance to a certain extent in contact with new
ideas and Western influence. We have already remarked
that the notion of ethnic group is rapidly obliterated when the
individual is transplanted for a long time in a city very far
from his natal village. The family ties, and above all the
[593] authority of the head of the family over each of its members,
become extremely loose in the city. We see a breaking up
of the subordination that subjected each of the members of a
family to the paternal authority. The child is no longer
compelled to adopt the trade of his father; he may choose
the work that he thinks will suit him. The young girl is
[584] rapidly becoming emancipated, and rare are the Thiès

/91 cont./

369 177 563 [584] [593] [182] families in which the father imposes on the child the spouse of his choice. The spread of the teaching of the Moslem and Christian religions count for much in this loosening of the too confining ties of family tradition. This breaking up of ancient, too narrow social structures is not a strictly /92/ urban phenomenon; it also occurs in the countryside, but with less force and with a certain delay.

369 565 178 The presence of the industrial bloc of the Dakar-Niger, on the other hand, has had as an effect the formation of a working class, which is a specifically urban phenomenon. Although the ancient system of castes does exist in human contacts, that of social class is little by little being substituted for it. In sum, there actually exists a superposition of the two systems, but the pre-eminence of the second is already being affirmed. Through daily contacts and the rapid [177] [467] [474] diffusion of social ideas coming from the West, the mass of workers is organized, it is grouped by syndicates, it has set up consumer co-operatives. Because of the great number of the members of this worker group, the workshops of the Dakar-Niger and, through repercussion, the city of Thiès itself have become the most active and the busiest centers of French West Africa. The strike that in 1948 paralyzed [468] railroad traffic on the two lines (Dakar-Bamako and Dakar--Saint-Louis) for several months is certainly proof of the influence of a powerful and organized grouping, and a typical urban phenomenon.

369 563 578 Thus there exists in Thiès a somewhat special social climate that sometimes makes the relations between Whites and Blacks strained. Chiefly during these periods of social crises. But these tensions are always temporary and automatically disappear as soon as the conflict is settled.

369 161 A much more important problem that seems general in all of the cities of Black Africa is that of the too rapid, if not excessive, swelling of the urban population. We have [162] seen that the population of Thiès has almost doubled from 1945 (24,000 inhabitants) to 1953 (40,000 inhabitants). Dakar, Conakry, and Abidjan have grown in the same proportions.

18: Savonnet--34 E-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37
Thies

/92 cont./

369 All of the new elements that swell the urban quarters
166 are young elements coming from the country; 32% of the
[162] population is made up of young people less than 14 years of age (15) whom the so-called facilities of the city have

15. In France this percentage is 24%, the figure estimated according to the census statistics given in the review Population, Oct.-Dec. 1954, p. 718.

attracted. The countryside is being drained of its energetic elements and the city does not have enough work to give to
[464] those who come to settle there. A class of idlers and para-
[574] sites is forming little by little, living on either the generous African hospitality or by expedients. This aspect of the social problem of the large African cities is one of the more urgent to be solved.

369 The public authorities are disturbed by this enormous
168 swelling of the urban populations, which far exceeds the actual needs. It seems that none of the methods adopted up to now for decreasing them /93/ have given appreciable results. Perhaps the efforts that are now being made to improve the conditions of rural life and promote some modernization of agricultural techniques will allow the economic capacity of the countryside to increase and will curb the rural exodus. Greater stability among the urban population would then permit the establishment of more coherent and better balanced social structures.

Georges Savonnet.

18: Savonnet MS37 Senegal MS37
369

[For information on the quarters of Thiès see category 116, pp. 12-20; on the economic activities of Thiès see category 116, pp. 21-27.]

18:Savonnet MS37 Senegal

Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer

Publiés par
l'Institut de la France d'Outre-Mer de Bordeaux
avec le concours de
l'Institut de Géographie de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux
et de
la Société de Géographie de Bordeaux

Directeurs :
Louis PAPY, Henri ENJALBERT

TOME IX
Année 1956

Siège Social : PALAIS DE LA BOURSE
Place Gabriel - BORDEAUX

[title page]

UNE VILLE NEUVE DU SÉNÉGAL :

THIÈS

Les pays neufs offrent cette particularité que leurs villes importantes sont établies le long de la côte : ainsi en Amérique du Sud et en Australie. L'Afrique Occidentale ne fait pas exception à cette règle : Dakar, Konakri, Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Acra... sont des villes portuaires. Par contre les villes de l'intérieur sont plus rares : Bamako, Bobo-Dioulasso sont des centres importants mais font figure d'exception.

Thiès au Sénégal n'appartient complètement ni à l'une, ni à l'autre de ces catégories. Située à une cinquantaine de kilomètres à vol d'oiseau du port le plus proche, elle ne bénéficie que d'une façon très imparfaite de cette proximité. Elle n'est pas non plus une ville de l'intérieur : ses rapports économiques avec le port de Dakar ne permettent pas une telle dénomination.

Elle est de création récente et ne peut, à la différence de Saint-Louis, Rufisque ou Dakar, s'enorgueillir d'un riche passé historique (africain ou colonial); elle ne possède pas non plus cet embryon de vieille bourgeoisie créole qui aurait pu freiner son évolution vers l'élaboration rapide d'une société plus moderne, à conception plus occidentale. C'est une ville neuve qui semble avoir poussé par un coup du sort à un carrefour quelconque de la brousse africaine où les voies de communications modernes sont venues promouvoir sa fortune.

Avant d'examiner les différentes causes qui présidèrent à son implantation dans un tel site, il convient de situer la ville dans le paysage sénégalais qui l'entoure. Lorsque le voyageur, parti de Dakar, emprunte la route ou le chemin de fer qui le conduit à Saint-Louis, il traverse, après avoir quitté la côte atlantique au village de Bargny, la plaine du Cap-Vert sur une soixantaine de kilomètres. Quelques médiocres ondulations rompent parfois la monotonie du paysage : ce sont les « massifs » de Ndias. Peu avant le village de Pout, l'horizon, à l'Est, est barré par une ligne de hauteurs donnant l'impression d'un relief important et brutal. Très vite cependant on atteint à quelques dix kilomètres de ce village la côte de Thiès. Son altitude est très faible : elle culmine à 137 mètres. La route et la voie ferrée gravissent

[p. 70]

18:Savonnet MS37 Senegal

l'abrupt par une forte rampe qui emprunte un défilé étroit dénommé « Ravin des Voleurs ». Rapidement on atteint le sommet du plateau.

Le paysage que l'on découvre alors apparaît plus dégagé : peu ou pas d'arbres, seulement une végétation arbustive sous forme de taillis d'où émergent quelques têtes de baobab. Dans le fond, se détache peu à peu la teinte claire des premières maisons de Thiès. Saisissant, surtout en saison sèche, est le contraste entre les frondaisons vertes de la ville et la campagne environnante dénudée jaune, aveuglante de lumière.

La photographie aérienne, ou mieux encore le survol, font apparaître avec plus de netteté encore cette opposition. La ville aux contours grossièrement triangulaires et divisée en grandes plaques de quadrillages géométriques mouchetés par les innombrables taches sombres des vertes frondaisons, se détache de façon particulièrement nette sur la brousse grise et déserte des environs. La présence d'un centre urbain sur ce plateau presque vide de population paraît insolite et on peut se demander quelles sont les raisons qui ont fait retenir ce site peu accueillant pour l'établissement d'une ville relativement importante ?

I. L'histoire de Thiès.

1. *Le site.*

Le plateau sur lequel l'escale (1) a été construite est légèrement incliné vers l'Est, tandis que son abrupt occidental forme une cuesta vigoureuse. Plateau et cuesta appartiennent à des formations géologiques contemporaines de celles de la presqu'île du Cap-Vert et constituées principalement de calcaires de la fin du Secondaire, recouverts postérieurement par une carapace ferrugineuse. Il est probable que le compartiment oriental a été soulevé et que celui de l'Ouest s'est affaissé au Tertiaire.

La présence d'un horizon marno-calcaire, à faible profondeur, la disposition des couches inclinées vers l'Est a favorisé la formation d'une nappe phréatique, pérenne, superficielle, capable d'alimenter tous les puits du plateau thiéssois.

La côte de Thiès dessine une ligne incurvée d'une longueur de 40 kilomètres, qui prend naissance au Nord à la hauteur de Mont-Rolland et s'arrête brusquement au Sud, à la hauteur du village de Tiao. Le front de côte d'une altitude moyenne de 100 mètres n'est entaillé largement et profondément qu'au « Ravin des Voleurs ». Au pied du talus s'étend une zone déprimée plus ou moins marécageuse

(1) « Escale » signifie ici un lieu où les caravanes se reposaient après l'étape de la journée, et où se pratiquait un petit commerce de traite, par extension village ou ville-marché situé généralement sur une voie ferrée

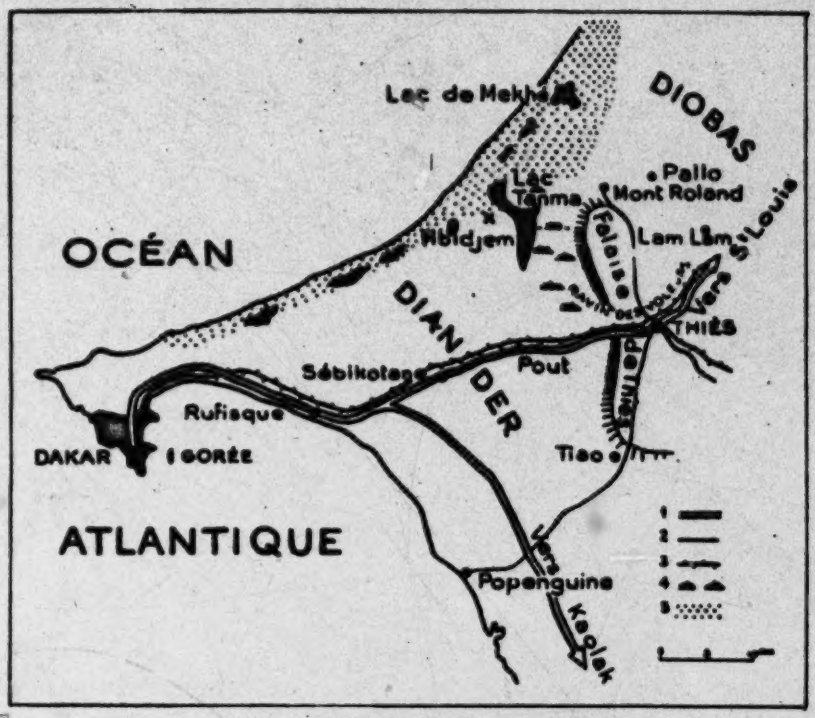


Fig. 1. — La situation de Thiès au Sénégal
1. Route principale bitumée ; 2. Route secondaire ; 3. Voie ferrée
4. Marécages ; 5. Sable.

qui la borde du Nord au Sud. Au-delà de Mont-Rolland, vers le Nord-Ouest des accumulations de sable dunaire s'étendent jusqu'à l'Océan (fig. 1).

A l'époque de la pacification du Sénégal par Faidherbe, Thiès n'était qu'un petit village de Sérère-None turbulents, pilleurs de caravanes lorsque l'occasion se présentait. Ce village était établi à proximité de l'emplacement actuel du Réduit Faidherbe, dans un lieu ombragé et frais : d'où le nom de « Diankhène » qui lui fut donné et qui signifie lieu de repos.

En 1856, Dakar est fondée, Saint-Louis se développe. Un traité passé avec le damel du Cayor (2) autorise l'installation d'une ligne télégraphique pour relier ces deux villes. Mais l'exécution des travaux se heurte à la mauvaise volonté du damel et à l'insécurité continuelle qui règne dans la région de Thiès.

Après la création du poste de Mbidjem, près du lac Tanma, le

(2) *Damel*, mot Wolof qui signifie souverain.

18:Savonnet MS37 Senegal

poste de Thiès est construit en 1863. Son rôle est de pacifier et de couvrir, en cas de nécessité, les troupes qui opèrent dans la région. Celles-ci venant de Gorée et de Dakar empruntent la piste de Rufisque à Pout et de là atteignent le poste de Thiès et le Cayor par le « Ravin des Voleurs », le seul passage facile et direct qui relie le Cayor à la presqu'île du Cap-Vert. Thiès apparaît dès cette époque comme un point stratégique et un point d'appui de première importance.

Dès 1880, les provinces du Diander et du Diobas sont pacifiées. Les postes militaires perdent leur importance et sont abandonnés les uns après les autres; ainsi : Nguiguis (près de Tivaouane) et Mbidjem. Seul celui de Thiès, par sa situation exceptionnelle, survivra et se développera.

2. *L'escale commerciale* (1880-1923).

Les années de la décennie 1880-1890, correspondent à la période du développement des cultures d'arachide au Sénégal et à la construction du chemin de fer Dakar-Saint-Louis.

Les travaux d'étude pour le futur tracé de cette voie ferrée firent ressortir que l'itinéraire le plus court aurait à suivre la côte atlantique, mais comme celle-ci est bordée de dunes, il nécessiterait des travaux d'art importants. Le passage à travers la côte de Thiès était aussi un obstacle sérieux, mais le « Ravin des Voleurs » rendait possible l'accès du plateau; la voie suivra donc la vallée qui entaille le front de côte, puis la dépression qui se poursuit sur le plateau, à l'Est, et passera devant le fort militaire établi à son extrémité.

La fortune de Thiès est faite : dès 1885, date d'ouverture de la voie ferrée, les commerçants de Rufisque y installent des comptoirs; un plan de lotissement de la future ville est tracé. Ce plan, malheureusement, prévoit le développement de la cité seulement au Nord de la ligne, le long de la piste reliant Thiès à Rufisque et Dakar. Une mission catholique s'installe à proximité, et en 1893 le premier administrateur civil occupe la nouvelle résidence construite auprès du réduit Faidherbe.

La politique de l'arachide se développe avec succès : 20.000 tonnes d'arachide sont expédiées par fer, de la gare de Thiès en 1890 (3). Le commerce n'est cependant pas installé d'une façon permanente dans l'escale : pendant la période de traite seulement (de novembre à mai) les employés européens envoyés par les maisons de Rufisque demeurent dans la ville et achètent arachide, mil, coton... dans leur comptoir; de mai à novembre ils repartent à Rufisque, et la plupart des boutiques à Thiès sont fermées, la ville paraît morte.

(3) Les convois de chameaux font concurrence au rail jusqu'en 1910 et transportent au port de Rufisque leur chargement. Thiès était la dernière étape avant d'atteindre les quais d'embarquement distants de 50 kilomètres.

18:Savonnet MS37 Senegal

La majeure partie du commerce est alors concentré au Nord de la voie ferrée; cependant, quelques boutiques s'établissent au Sud, à proximité de la résidence, dès 1895.

En 1890. Thiès compte une population permanente de 1.200 habitants. A proximité de l'escale commerciale, des quartiers indigènes se sont établis. Le petit village de Thiès-None s'est déplacé de l'autre côté de la voie ferrée. A l'Ouest de la zone commerciale s'est accolé un quartier indigène; il sera déplacé vers le Sud après la peste de 1911 et prendra le nom de Randoulème (mot signifiant en Wolof : éloigne-toi). Takhikao (maison à étage en Wolof) établi primitivement à proximité de la première maison à étage appartenant à Maurel et Prom est refoulé définitivement le long de la route de Saint-Louis (fig. 2).

Peu à peu, tandis que la fonction militaire est tombée en sommeil, le développement du commerce a apporté à la ville une activité économique stable. Jusqu'en 1914 la ville s'accroît très peu, sa population atteint seulement 2.400 habitants à cette date : de 1885 à 1914 la ville n'a gagné au total que 1.400 âmes.

La fonction militaire de la ville va recouvrer une part de son ancienne importance pendant la guerre de 1914. La base de Thiès devient un centre de formation militaire pour les nouvelles recrues. Le quartier de Diakhao voisin du camp s'élargit par l'arrivée des familles de militaires. En contre-partie le commerce périclite pendant cette période. Le personnel français qui, depuis le début du siècle, s'était installé en permanence, est rappelé sous les drapeaux. Pour ne pas fermer boutique on fait appel aux Levantins. Ces derniers avaient fait leur apparition au Sénégal dès 1895 et, jusqu'alors n'avaient joué qu'un rôle très secondaire sur le marché de la ville : vente de bougies, d'allumettes, de perles... La guerre de 1914 facilite leur entrée dans le jeu lucratif de la traite.

3. *L'installation des industries* (1923-1945).

L'événement qui donna une impulsion décisive à l'escale commerciale et qui porta Thiès au rang de ville, fut sans conteste, l'installation en 1923 des ateliers de réparation du chemin de fer. Dès 1907, les premiers travaux avaient été entrepris pour relier directement par voie ferrée Thiès à Bamako : des difficultés de tous ordres, puis la guerre les entravèrent. En 1923, seulement, à Kidira sur la Falémée se fit la jonction des deux tronçons. On eut le souci d'installer les ateliers de réparation du Thiès-Niger dans le centre le plus proche de la côte : Thiès, tête de ligne, fut choisi comme centre. En quelques années, la ville s'accroît de 10.000 âmes, passant de 3.000 habitants en 1921 à 13.000 en 1929.

L'ouverture de chantiers ferroviaires non seulement provoqua l'arrivée de nombreux ouvriers et de leurs familles, mais en même

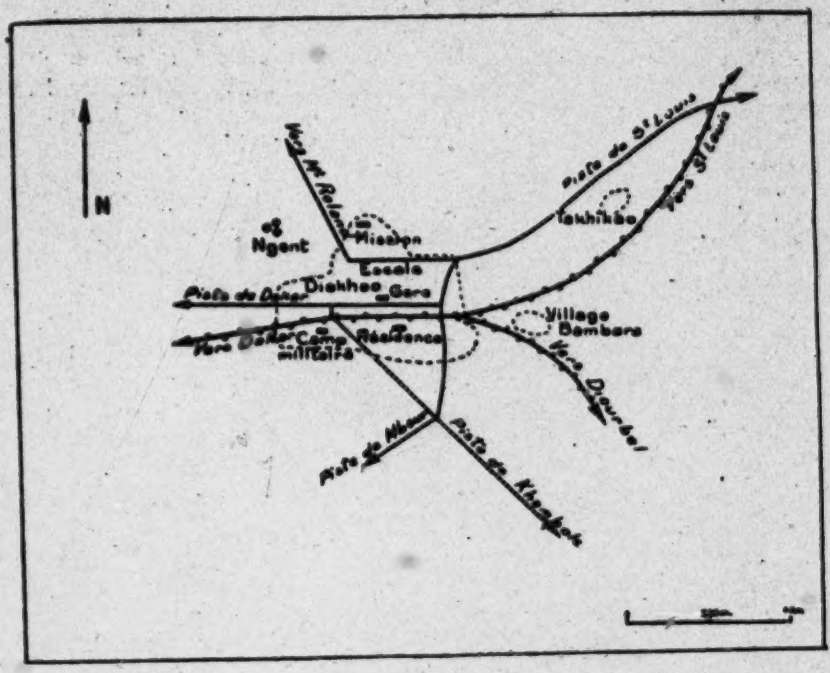


Fig. 2. — Thiès en 1910.

temps donna une forte impulsion au commerce. L'injection régulière de crédits par cette industrie nouvelle entraîna une recrudescence d'activité commerciale qui se traduisit par l'extension des établissements en place et par la création de nouveaux magasins. Les Africains qui jusqu'à présent travaillaient uniquement pour le compte de maisons à gérance européenne et qui avaient été tenus à l'écart du commerce de détail, ouvrirent pour leur propre compte de petites boutiques (4). Celles-ci, s'adressant à une clientèle essentiellement indigène, se multiplièrent dès que l'essor économique de la ville s'amplifia. En même temps le nombre des artisans s'accrut.

Après la guerre, les Levantins qui avaient été les seuls à pouvoir commercer en toute tranquillité pendant quatre ans, s'installèrent à leur compte. Leur expérience acquise pendant la durée des hostilités, leur connaissance de la langue, leur grande aptitude à s'adapter aux mœurs du pays et à vivre dans des conditions très

(4) Ce sont les militaires, semble-t-il, qui ont ramené de France cette idée de créer pour leur compte de petites épiceries calquées sur celles rencontrées dans les villages métropolitains.

sommaires firent de ces nouveaux venus des concurrents sérieux que le commerce français essaya, mais en vain, d'éliminer. Toutes les concessions de l'escale Nord sont alors occupées (5), les derniers arrivés — principalement les Syriens — installent leur factorerie (6) dans le quartier de la résidence encore presque vide.

Déjà l'équilibre économique de la cité n'est plus fondé essentiellement sur le commerce de traite, sujet aux fluctuations des cours, mais aussi sur l'industrie naissante qui lui assure une certaine stabilité. Il est vrai que celle-ci à peine acquise est mise à rude épreuve pendant la crise mondiale de 1930 à 1934. Au cours de cette période difficile les prix de l'arachide s'effondrent. Les anciennes maisons de commerce qui s'appuyaient uniquement sur la traite, ne peuvent plus faire face aux échéances et liquident leur fond : Société Française du Sénégal, maisons Lacombe, Latrille... Les établissements plus solides sont eux-mêmes obligés de fermer temporairement leurs succursales en ville, ainsi, Peyrissac, Maurel Frères. On n'assiste pas cependant ici à un effondrement complet du commerce avec faillites spectaculaires comme cela se produit à Dakar, mais plutôt à des liquidations commerciales, à des ventes de fonds qui sont rachetés par les Levantins et les grosses sociétés.

Les effets de la crise, qui prennent fin en 1934, ont pour conséquence une redistribution de la propriété commerciale, une réadaptation du commerce aux exigences nouvelles, à l'installation définitive des Levantins.

A cette date la fusion des deux compagnies de chemin de fer Dakar-Saint-Louis et Thiès-Niger provoque une extension du quartier industriel par le regroupement à Thiès des ateliers installés primitivement à Dakar pour le chemin de fer Dakar-Saint-Louis.

A la veille de la seconde guerre mondiale, la ville atteint le chiffre de 22.000 habitants parmi lesquels 1.200 Européens). La disparition presque complète des épidémies, le ravitaillement meilleur, la construction d'immeubles confortables (cité Ballabey créée dès 1925 pour les cheminots, villas pour officiers) permettent aux familles métropolitaines de se fixer d'une manière permanente. Parallèlement, les quartiers indigènes se sont étendus vers le Sud-Ouest, à proximité des ateliers : « Derrière la voie ferrée », « Bambara » se développent aux abords de « Randoulène ».

4. *Thiès ville industrielle et stratégique* (*après* 1945).

La deuxième guerre mondiale ralentit passagèrement l'activité économique de la ville. Comme en 1914 on assiste à un renouveau

(5) Il n'est pas question d'étendre plus au Nord le premier lotissement : la concession cédée à la Mission empêche une telle extension.

(6) Factorerie : boutique où l'on vend de tout et où, en même temps, s'achètent ou s'échangent des produits locaux (arachides, mil...)

18:Savonnet MS37 Senegal

très sérieux de la fonction militaire : un détachement motorisé autonome (D.M.A.) s'établit dans l'ancien camp militaire qui s'élargit considérablement; une base aérienne créée peu avant 1940, double celle de Ouakam installée aux portes de Dakar et devenue insuffisante.

L'expérience de la dernière guerre a démontré la vulnérabilité possible de Dakar. La stratégie exige la formation sur les arrières de la capitale de l'A.O.F. d'une base solide qui l'appuierait éventuellement. La situation et la proximité de Thiès répondent à ces exigences. Pour donner une pleine efficacité à cette entreprise, les relations entre les deux villes doivent être améliorées, les camps militaires réorganisés et modernisés. Une route solide et large est construite entre ces deux villes. Son tracé est différent de celui de l'ancienne piste : elle pénètre à Thiès non par l'Ouest, mais par le Sud. Le camp militaire couvre plusieurs dizaines d'hectares, les installations de la base aérienne sont améliorées et élargies, les annexes permettent l'établissement permanent des officiers et des hommes de troupe (fig. 4).

De 1947 à 1952 une activité intense règne dans la ville. Toute la cité, exceptée la vieille escale, forme un véritable chantier où l'on perce de vastes avenues à travers les quartiers indigènes, où l'on crée des places, où l'on aménage des zones de verdure. Dans l'enceinte industrielle du Dakar-Niger, de nouveaux ateliers destinés à la réparation des tracteurs Diésel et à la construction de wagons de voyageurs sont installés. De nouvelles villas aux lignes plus modernes, pour fonctionnaires et cheminots, s'élèvent un peu partout dans la ville. La vieille escale, paralysée dans des limites trop étroites, s'émeut et essaie dans la mesure du possible de rajeunir les lignes de son architecture et d'offrir à sa clientèle des locaux de vente agréables aux vitrines et étalages ordonnés avec goût

Les quartiers indigènes de leur côté s'étendent et s'améliorent, mordant profondément sur la brousse voisine. Les quartiers de « Randoulène-Sud », de « Grand Thiès » et de « Médina » sont des créations récentes. Diakhao, Takhikao se développent. Quelques fonctionnaires et commerçants africains ont depuis peu commencé la construction de petites villas en dur qui remplacent la paillote traditionnelle ou la simple case en planche.

L'accroissement de la population est considérable : de 21.000 en 1945, elle atteint 40.000 habitants en 1953 dont 2.700 Européens.

Ainsi, de la création du premier poste militaire, à proximité du village de Thiès-None, jusqu'à nos jours, la croissance de Thiès s'est effectuée sans heurt. Elle n'a pas connu les grands espoirs de Dakar, les dépressions, les déchéances de Rufisque et de Saint-Louis. Les

18;Savonnet MS37 Senegal

guerres, les crises ne se révèlent dans la courbe de son évolution que par de simples paliers (7).

Sa fortune, nous avons essayé de le montrer, tient à son site exceptionnel, à l'entrée de la seule voie d'accès sur le plateau de Thiès, en même temps que la proximité relative de Dakar. Par le jeu de ces trois fonctions essentielles : commerciale, industrielle et militaire, elle jouit d'un équilibre économique qui semble plus stable que celui des autres villes du Sénégal.

2. Les quartiers.

1. *Les quartiers de type européen.*

Si nous éliminons les deux bases militaires qui offrent des caractères très particuliers propres à leur organisation intérieure, Thiès comprend trois quartiers de conception occidentale : la Cité Ballabey, la Vieille Escale, la Résidence. Si le premier abrite une population presque essentiellement européenne, dans les deux autres, les Blancs sont en minorité (un Blanc pour quatre Noirs).

Aucune ségrégation systématique n'existe réellement dans la ville. La Cité Ballabey elle-même est une cité pour agents appartenant aux cadres de direction; elle n'est aucunement fermée aux Africains qui ont atteint le grade exigé pour leur installation. Bien que située à proximité des ateliers, elle forme une zone silencieuse. Son parc est magnifique. Les villas y sont disposées régulièrement selon un plan en damier dans le plus pur style colonial. Chaque carreau du damier est occupé par une villa divisée en deux appartements jumeaux et symétriques; de part et d'autre de la demeure s'étendent cours et jardins; quelques manguiers au feuillage épais abritent des ardeurs du soleil le clapier, le poulailler, le garage. Il est facile de dater la construction de chacune d'elles par son style architectural : la brique rose correspond aux années 1925-1930, le béton-armé, peint en beige clair, date d'après guerre... Les quartiers du D.M.A. et de la base aérienne à quelques variantes près n'offrent aucune originalité propre et sont comparables à la Cité Ballabey.

La Vieille Escale se présente sous l'aspect d'un quartier de ville méditerranéenne : rues étroites, bordées par des immeubles à étage construit en calcaire blanc de Bargny; un petit balcon léger à balustrade métallique surplombe le trottoir et court d'une extrémité à l'autre de l'immeuble; une toiture en tuile rouge à pente très faible, sous un ciel bleu accentue cette impression de monde méditerranéen. Chaque concession, de plan carré, forme un véritable bloc d'immeubles percé ça et là d'un portail qui donne accès aux cours, toujours encombrées, de la factorerie ou de l'atelier.

(7) G. Savonnet. Evolution démographique de la ville de Thiès. *Notes africaines*, pp. 128-134.

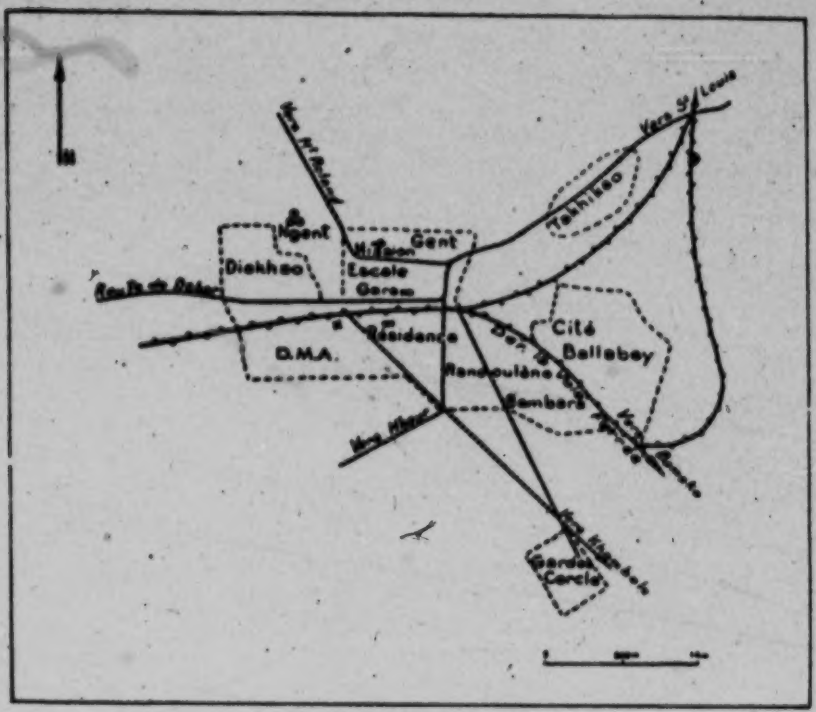


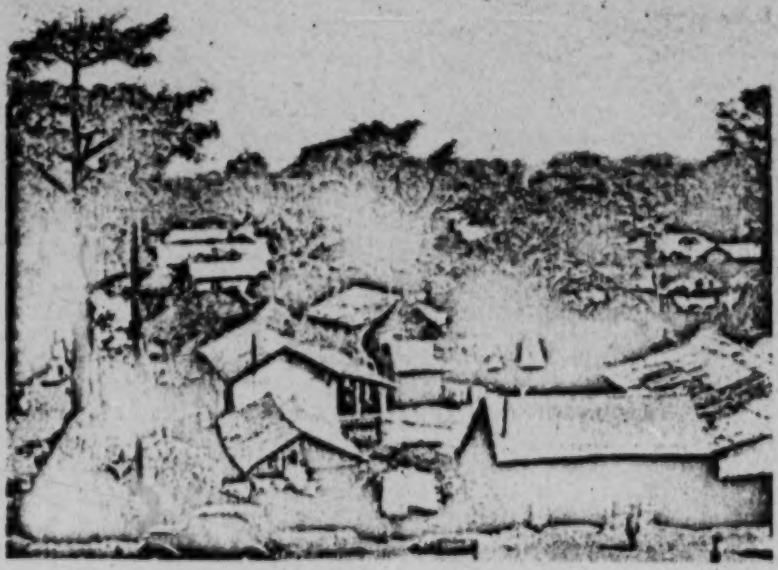
Fig. 3. — Thiès en 1940.

On assiste maintenant à une modification de cette architecture vieillotte et à des essais de rajeunissement. Ce quartier, construit essentiellement pour des fins commerciales, n'a laissé aucune place libre pour la détente : aucun square, aucun jardinet ne viennent offrir un endroit agréable dans cet ensemble voué essentiellement au négoce.

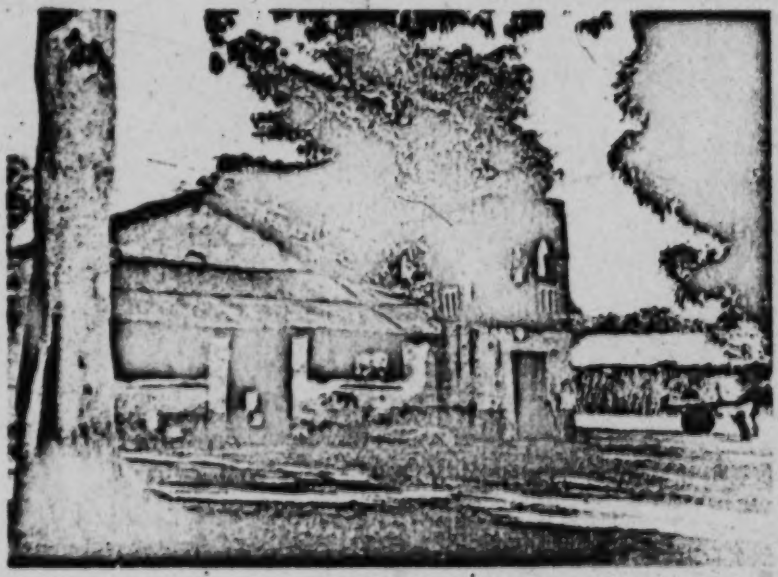
Le quartier de la Résidence est plus calme, plus frais aussi; le dispositif de l'habitat est plus lâche : les maisons s'étalent et chacune est séparée de sa voisine par un potager, une cour ou un jardinet d'agrément. A proximité des bâtiments administratifs, on a même pris soin de réserver et d'aménager quelques squares publics à l'ombre d'immenses caïlcédrats plantés à la fin du siècle dernier. La présence toute proche de la gare et le va-et-vient continuel des locomotives aux cris stridents, qui déchirent l'air, détruit l'harmonie de ces lieux calmes de petite ville de province que l'on cherche à recréer.

On respire un air plus paisible encore à la Mission catholique, située au Nord de la vieille « escale ». Les bâtiments ont été construits à la fin du siècle dernier en latérite rouge. immeubles à étage

18:Savonnet MS37 Senegal



A. - Thiès. — Quartier de Derrière-la-voie-ferrée. Juxtaposition de maisons en banco couvertes de tôle, tôle et en paille.



B. - La place d'une des plus vieilles mosquées de Thiès : quartier de Takhikao.

[facing p.80]

Clichés I.F.A.N., Saronnet.

18:Savonnet MS37 Senegal

avec des arcades de monastère. Ils sont situés au milieu d'un immense jardin toujours vert, prolongé par un parc aux arbres magnifiques. L'ensemble rappelle, dans une certaine mesure, le site paisible de quelque abbaye métropolitaine.

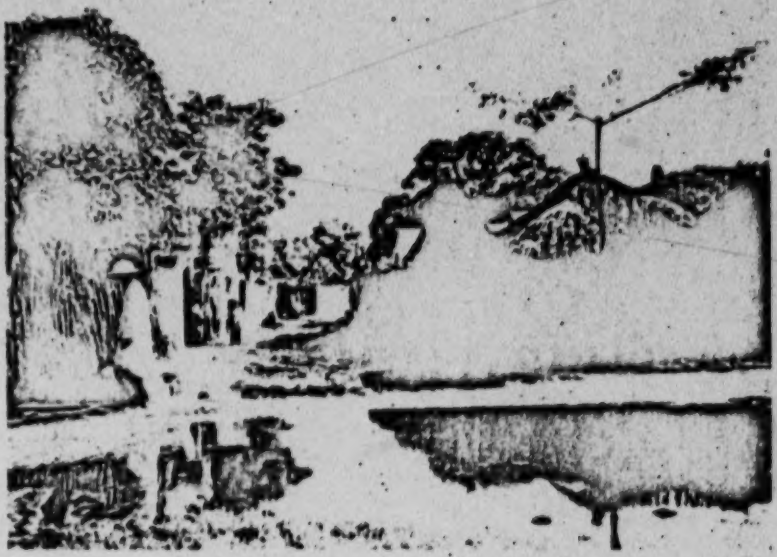
Les deux quartiers commerçants (Vieille Escale et Résidence) offrent cette particularité de devenir selon le moment de la journée le domaine de l'Européen le soir (à l'heure de l'apéritif) et le dimanche, et celui de l'Africain durant le jour, (pendant l'ouverture du marché). Lieu de contact entre le Noir et le Blanc, ce marché prend une place très importante dans la vie de la cité africaine et mérite qu'on s'y arrête quelque peu.

C'est un jour d'ouverture de traite d'arachide (au début de décembre par exemple) qu'il convient de le visiter. Au sortir de la gare on plonge tout à coup dans l'animation, la poussière, la chaleur, les odeurs « prenantes » du marché. La place est grouillante de monde où se pressent et se mêlent les moyens de locomotion les plus divers : petit âne gris cendré lourdement chargé, décidé à entraver le passage d'une automobile malgré la bastonnade de son maître, petite carriole à deux roues caoutchoutées faisant fonction de taxi et en quête de client éventuel, ménagère venue du village voisin, son dernier né accroché au dos, et qui maintient sur sa tête, en un merveilleux équilibre, la calebasse pleine de produits maraîchers, cycliste mal établi sur sa machine, accrochant ça et là un piéton ou une voiture, camion aux charges impressionnantes qui, lentement, écarte de la route le flot humain rapidement refermé derrière lui. Tout ce peuple bruyant apporte avec lui un goût de la brousse voisine, chaude et poussiéreuse.

Le marché aux poissons séchés se révèle facilement par l'odeur puissante qu'il exhale; plus loin, c'est l'étal du boucher pour Européens; tout proche de lui le marchand de triperies qui grille sur un feu de charbon quelques brochettes de bas morceaux. Ailleurs les marchands de colas, de condiments et d'étoffes de guinée, les savetiers, offrent leurs produits aux odeurs très composites dans un halo de poussière soulevé par la foule. C'est une joie des yeux de regarder dans le grand soleil lumineux, sous un ciel d'un bleu très pur et clair, le chatoiement des vêtements amples aux teintes vives se mouvant avec lenteur et majesté.

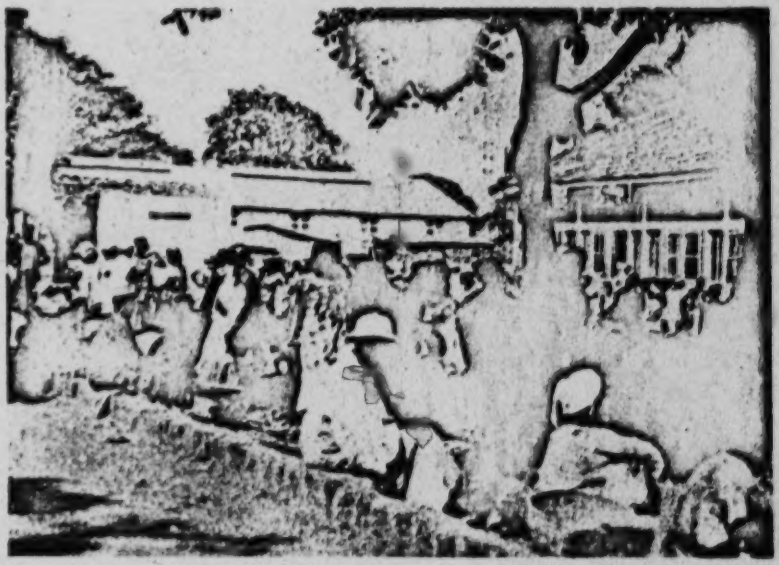
L'animation atteint son intensité majeure entre 9 et 10 heures du matin; le piéton est roi, il entrave toute circulation. Puis peu à peu vendeurs et acheteurs s'égaient et tout tombe dans une torpeur bienheureuse à l'heure de midi. L'après-midi est calme et, à 5 heures chaque marchand a quitté les lieux. Cette animation qui n'a qu'un caractère temporaire dans les quartiers commerciaux de type

18:Savonnet MS37 Senegal



A. - Thiès. — La place de Takhikao après l'hivernage

Cliché I.F.A.N., Savonnet.



B. - Thiès. — Scène de marché.

Cliché L. Papy.

[facing p. 81]

18:Savonnet MS37 Senegal

européen, est permanente dans certains quartiers indigènes mais, avec une amplitude maximum le soir après la sortie du travail.

2. *Les quartiers indigènes.*

Les quartiers indigènes possèdent eux aussi leurs caractères propres, fonction de leur ancienneté, de leur proximité ou de leur éloignement d'un centre d'activité et naturellement de la catégorie sociale de leurs habitants.

Takhikao et Gent, sont parmi les premiers quartiers créés. Sauf à proximité de la route de Thiès à Tivaouane qui attire les petites boutiques en planche ou en paille des commerçants, ils ont conservé leur caractère rural : habitations disposées en ordre lâche, entourées d'un jardin-verger protégées par une tapade en branchage ou en tiges de mil. Les vieux se rassemblent le soir sous le grand fromager qui ombrage la vieille mosquée croulante de Takhikao. Les femmes bavardent en attendant leur tour de puiser l'eau au puits commun, pendant que les enfants jouent dans le sable. Gent se singularise par une série de petites maisons basses à base rectangulaire et à toit en tôle ondulée toutes identiques et disposées le long de la piste qui conduit au marigot de la mission. Un jardin et une cour toujours encombrés de matériel de lessive individualisent chaque concession. C'est le quartier des métis portugais appelés « portugalais » (planches XI B et XII A).

Diakhao-Nord, calme, aéré, ordonné selon un plan de lotissement strict, s'oppose à Diakhao-Sud aux ruelles étroites, sinueuses, bordées de part et d'autre par des tapades de tiges de mil, et bruyante le soir. La proximité des deux bases militaires en a fait un lieu où l'on s'amuse avec tout ce que cela comporte de débits de boisson et de tripots plus ou moins clandestins. Des rixes entre hommes avinés ne sont pas rares en ces lieux.

Randoulène, Derrière-la-voie-ferrée, Bambara, qui forment un quartier unique, homogène par sa densité et par l'hétérogénéité de ses habitations se sont établis à proximité immédiate des ateliers du chemin de fer. Les cases en planches, en banco, en paille se pressent les unes contre les autres le long des ruelles sinueuses tracées au gré du jour non sans quelque fantaisie. Ces ruelles sont grouillantes de monde et tard dans la nuit, on se promène encore entre les étals de petits marchands qui s'éclairent de lumignons fumeux. La foule dense déborde les limites de la rue et pénètre à l'intérieur des cours. Celles-ci, couvrant à peine quelques mètres carrés, jouent souvent le rôle d'atelier pour le tisserand, le forgeron ou le bijoutier et de cuisine pour les ménagères des cases voisines; il n'est pas rare d'y voir une demi-douzaine de pileuses de mil marteler, en cadence, leur mortier par groupe de deux ou trois. Là est aussi le lieu

18:Savonnet MS37 Senegal

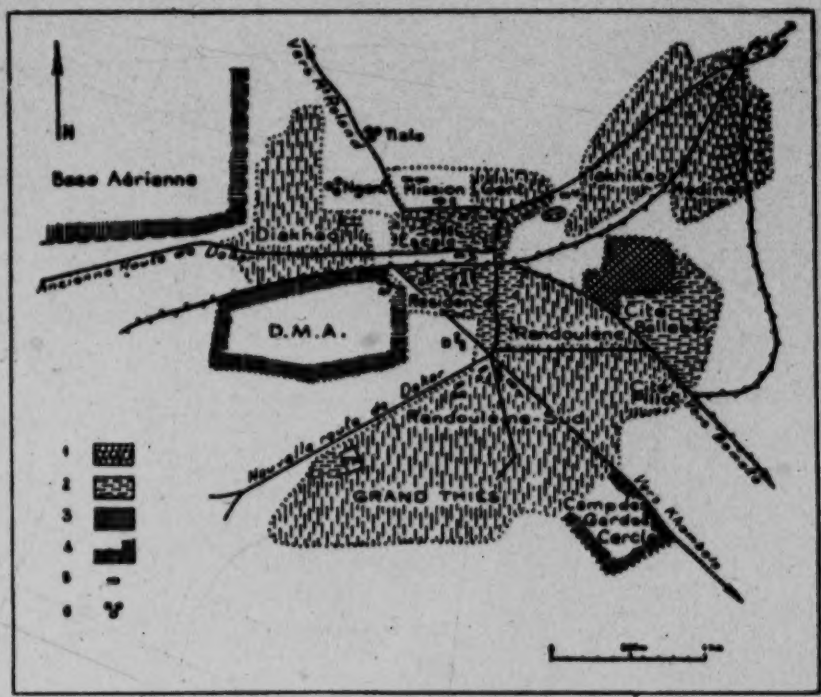


Fig. 4. — Thiès en 1954

1. Zone résidentielle des Africains ; 2. Zone résidentielle des Européens ; 3. Zone industrielle ; 4. Bases militaires ; 5. Bâtiments administratifs et religieux ; 5. Village. E - église catholique ; U - mosquée ; V - Postes ; C - Collège ; L - Police ; S - Gare ; N - Gendarmerie ; P - Ecole primaire ; RF - Réduit Faidherbe ; SP - Société de Prévoyance ; M- Mairie ; T - Trésor ; R - Résidence du Commandant de Cercle ; Pr - Prison ; D - Dispensaire ; TP - Travaux publics ; PJ - Palais de Justice ; GR - Gare routière ; P - Perception ; A - Pompiers.

de réunion des ouvriers où, après le travail, assis dans le sable, au milieu de la poussière, du bruit, dans une chaleur lourde chargée des odeurs les plus variées, ils jouent aux cartes ou au jeu de dames. Il n'est pas question dans des quartiers aussi denses d'évacuer la totalité des détritus ménagers et des eaux usées. Il est fréquent au cours de promenades à l'intérieur de cette zone de se heurter à des tas d'immondices ou de traverser quelques rigoles aux eaux stagnantes sales et malodorantes. Parfois, au détour d'une rue on a la surprise de découvrir quelques cases en paille au milieu d'une cour spacieuse (planche XI A).

Les quartiers du Sud nouvellement lotis rappellent celui de Diakhao-Nord avec ses embryons de rues se coupant à angle droit,

ses cases disposées en ordre lâche à l'intérieur de chaque carré et blotties à l'ombre des manguiers.

Chaque concession de Médina aux formes géométriques nettes, délimitées par des tapades de tiges de mil est d'une propreté méticuleuse qui tranche sur les autres quartiers de la ville. Cet ordre sévère, cette disposition rigide où toute fantaisie est bannie est le fait du caractère particulier de la secte musulmane mouride qui l'occupe.

La Cité Pillot, enfin, construite pour les agents supérieurs et les ouvriers spécialisés du Dakar-Niger au Sud de la voie ferrée de Bamako se présente sous l'aspect d'une série de bâtiments qui rappellent ceux d'une caserne. Le dispositif des nouvelles constructions est celui des petites maisons à appartements jumelés.

Ainsi, chacun des quartiers de type européen, comme des quartiers indigènes possède quelque trait particulier ou même son individualité propre qui semble correspondre à une structure sociale déterminée : milieu de commerçants, milieu de fonctionnaires, milieu d'artisans, de manœuvres, de cultivateurs.

En même temps, chaque étape de son évolution a marqué telle ou telle partie de la cité de son empreinte originale, ce qui permet de suivre assez facilement les moments successifs de son extension.

3. Les activités de la ville.

1. *Le commerce.*

Si nous exceptons la période de la conquête pendant laquelle une poignée d'hommes de troupe s'installa dans le camp retranché, la première fonction de Thiès fut le commerce.

Escale de traite à ses débuts, Thiès l'est demeurée jusqu'à nos jours. Près de 25.000 t. d'arachide sont commercialisées chaque année malgré l'ouverture de points de traite importants dans les environs, Tivaouane, Khombole, situés à une trentaine de kilomètres de là. Ce commerce exige un certain goût du risque : s'il offre certaines années d'appréciables bénéfices, il rend parfois très précaire le bilan des commerçants qui le pratiquent. La traite de l'arachide est, pour l'achat au producteur, presque essentiellement entre les mains des Levantins et de quelques Maures et Noirs. Les établissements importants : N.O.S.O.C.O. (8), maison Soucail ne pratiquent que le commerce de gros.

La factorerie tenue par un Levantin (9), attenante à la cour du secco (10) a conservé jusqu'à nos jours tout son pittoresque. On y

(8) N.O.S.I.C.O. Nouvelle Société Commerciale.
(9) Les Levantins sont au nombre de 48, soit 22 Syriens et 26 Libanais (chiffres de 1960).
(10) Secco : amas d'arachides entreposé dans la cour du commerçant et destiné à être exporté.

18:Savonnet MS37 Senegal

vend de tout : depuis la pièce d'étoffe de traite aux couleurs vives jusqu'au parfum bon marché; on y débite le pétrole au litre, le mil au kilo ou au sac. Un coin de comptoir en planche, patinée par les mains des clients, est souvent réservé à la vente des boissons que l'on absorbe à même le goulot. Des planches, des sacs empilés entravent le passage de la clientèle. C'est un va-et-vient permanent de clients éventuels qui traversent la boutique largement ouverte sur la rue. Certains demeurent là, des heures entières, sans acheter, seulement pour le plaisir des yeux. Le Levantin patient, discute du prix en langue indigène, surveille les pesées, contrôle les sacs d'arachide pour en éliminer les pierres qui peuvent s'y glisser. Le type de factorerie permet d'imaginer avec exactitude ce que devait être le commerce de l'escale dès les premières années de son installation dans la ville.

Le commerce européen est totalement différent. Il existe bien encore quelques factoreries du type que nous venons de décrire, mais, depuis quelques années, un réel effort de modernisation a changé leur aspect; elles deviennent magasin de type métropolitain avec comptoir en contreplaqué, rayonnages de conserves, nouveautés de Paris... Un magasin de luxe s'est ouvert en 1950, mettant à la disposition des acheteurs les derniers articles de la capitale : robes, shorts, costumes pour hommes, bibelots de toute sorte. Mais la proximité de Dakar, sa facilité d'accès, son attrait semblent devoir limiter sérieusement ses possibilités de vente.

Les succursales des grandes maisons de commerce : N.O.S.O.C.O., Maurel et Prom, C.F.A.O. (11) sont au nombre de huit et pratiquement détiennent le marché de la place. Chacune est encore établie dans sa concession primitive à l'intérieur de la vieille escale. La cour qui recevait autrefois l'arachide a été transformée en dépôt de marchandises; le magasin de vente au détail a été modernisé : carrelage, frigidaires, chambres froides et aussi de vastes vitrines qui remplacent les petites fenêtres d'autrefois. Le magasin de gros, par contre, a conservé son désordre : sacs de ciment, planches, fers à béton, pneus,... disposés en vrac. L'activité de ces succursales est fondée sur trois éléments : détail avec magasin de vente ouvert à la clientèle normale, commerce de gros accordé aux factoreries importantes (Levantins...) et demi-gros offert aux petits boutiquiers. Chacune est en outre concessionnaire d'appareils dont l'exclusivité de vente leur a été concédée : frigidaires, carburant, automobiles... Le chiffre d'affaire mensuel de l'une d'entre elles variait, en 1953, entre 20 et 25 millions.

Un type intermédiaire de commerce s'est établi depuis peu avec l'arrivée de Marocains : ils étaient au nombre de 25 en 1952. Cer-

(11) C.F.A.O. : Compagnie Française d'Afrique Occidentale.

18:Savonnet MS37 Senegal

tains d'entre eux tentent d'accaparer en même temps clientèle européenne et indigène. Ils sont spécialisés dans la vente des tissus et des objets de fantaisie pour Africains : babouches, fez, montres bon marché. Ils parlent couramment la langue indigène et parfois fort bien le français.

Les Africains, comme nous l'avons vu, se sont lancés dans le commerce individuel depuis 1920. Certains d'entre eux possèdent une factorerie du type Levantin, mais la plupart ont ouvert une boutique dans les quartiers extérieurs. Les Maures et les Noirs se partagent ce petit commerce : en 1952, les premiers atteignaient le chiffre de 120; les Noirs étaient peut-être aussi nombreux. Ils sont installés dans de petites boutiques en planche ou en banco recouvertes de paille ou de tôle ondulée. Sur le comptoir, constitué par une simple planche, repose une balance Roberval, quelques bocaux contenant de gros bonbons multicolores, une boîte de carton remplie de biscuits secs. Le sac de charbon posé à terre voisine avec la tine de pétrole. Quelques noix de colas maintenues au frais dans un emballage de feuilles encore vertes, un kilo de sucre cassé ouvert que l'on vend au morceau, quelques paquets de cigarettes vendues à l'unité, de petites boîtes de lait condensé donnent un aperçu de la médiocre ampleur de leurs affaires.

Pour compléter ce tableau, ajoutons les innombrables petits commerçants de « pas de porte » qui étalent sur un morceau d'étoffe ou dans une calebasse, quelques poignées de cacahouètes grillées et de colas, un paquet de cigarettes ou des beignets de mil frits. Ces petits étals sont tous situés devant la porte de la case; pendant que la ménagère vaque à ses occupations, l'aîné des enfants procède à la vente (12).

Ainsi, le commerce à Thiès (et certainement dans la plupart des villes d'A.O.F.) s'est diffusé parmi toutes les couches de la société et en même temps s'y est fort bien adapté. Les succursales des importantes maisons commerciales qui s'étaient, au début, opposées violemment à cette diffusion non contrôlée directement par elles, comprirent rapidement tous les bénéfices qu'elles pourraient retirer de cette situation nouvelle.

Parallèlement à cette extension du commerce, l'artisanat, dans une plus faible mesure, a pris lui aussi une importance assez grande. Aux artisans traditionnels : potières, bijoutiers, forgerons, viennent s'ajouter des activités d'inspiration plus moderne : photographes, horlogers, réparateurs de phonos, de bicyclettes ou même de camions, et dans un autre ordre d'entreprises : petits restaurateurs et tenan-

(12) D'après une enquête économique faite par M. Mersad'er à Thiès, le produit de cette vente ne dépasserait pas 10 francs de bénéfice par jour (*Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N.*, juill.-oct. 1955, série B, p. 461).

18:Savonnet MS37 Senegal

ciers de débits de boissons. Enfin, l'installation d'artisans européens (coiffeurs, pâtissiers, etc...) est un phénomène spécifique de l'évolution sociale dans les villes africaines depuis la dernière guerre et Thiès n'y échappe pas.

2. *L'industrie.*

L'activité industrielle thièssoise gravite principalement autour des ateliers de réparation du Dakar-Niger (13). La concession du Dakar-Niger située à peu de distance de la ville formerait actuellement le centre industriel le plus important d'A.O.F. par le nombre de ses agents (2.500 environ en 1952). Elle groupe dans son enceinte une série d'ateliers les plus divers : menuiserie, scierie, ateliers de montages pour wagons, chaudronnerie et même fonderie. La mise en service de nouveaux tracteurs Diésel a provoqué la création récente de nouveaux ateliers où fonctionnent de multiples machines perfectionnées. L'énergie est empruntée à la ligne de haute tension venue de Dakar sous 30.000 volts. L'entreprise consomme annuellement 1.700.000 kilowatts-heure, c'est-à-dire plus que la consommation globale de la ville elle-même. Il convient d'y ajouter celle, beaucoup plus faible, du coke et du mazout utilisés dans les fours et cubilots des fonderies.

Les ateliers du Dakar-Niger se présentent sous la forme d'une industrie à intégration verticale de type incomplet. L'éloignement de la Métropole, les frais et surtout la lenteur des expéditions (principalement pendant la dernière guerre mondiale) ont entrainé l'installation d'un complexe industriel qui permet de satisfaire la plupart des demandes de travaux exigés pour le bon fonctionnement du service. Tous les travaux sur bois sont effectués à la section scierie-menuiserie; les wagons sont montés à partir de chassis, de roues, de bogies importés. La plupart des pièces des locomotives peuvent être fondues à Thiès, excepté lorsqu'il s'agit d'alliages spéciaux. Certains éléments demandant à l'usinage une précision de 1/100 de millimètre pour les tracteurs Diésel sont dès maintenant fabriqués dans l'entreprise. Seules les pièces exigeant des techniques ou des machines très particulières pour leur usinage, ou dont le prix de revient serait supérieur si elles étaient forgées au Sénégal, sont achetées à l'extérieur.

Primitivement les travaux de réparation, l'usinage des pièces de locomotives ou de matériel roulant ne nécessitaient la présence que de bons mécaniciens. Mais la mise en service de machines plus puissantes fonctionnant non plus au charbon mais au mazout, exige des

(13) Les deux carrières de phosphate ouvertes par la Société Péchiney à une quinzaine de kilomètres de la ville (Pallo et Lam-Lam) n'intéressent guère son économie : en raison du nombre restreint de ses ouvriers (200 à 300) et surtout de l'éloignement du centre urbain.

18:Savonnet MS37 Senegal

révisions précises, des réparations minutieuses faites par des spécialistes avertis. La plupart d'entre eux sont encore des Européens, mais déjà quelques Africains ont la formation technique nécessaire à ces travaux délicats.

L'entreprise ne compte cependant qu'un faible pourcentage de Blancs : sur 2.500 cheminots on comptait en 1953 140 Européens seulement. Encore la plupart d'entre eux travaillaient-ils dans des bureaux (un Européen pour huit autochtones) dans les ateliers cette proportion atteignait seulement un pour quarante. Si la plupart des spécialistes métropolitains sont détachés des cadres de la S.N.C.F., les spécialistes africains sont recrutés parmi les élèves sortis des écoles techniques Terrasson-de-Fougères à Bamako ou William-Ponty à Dakar et parmi les anciens mécaniciens des arsenaux de la Marine nationale. Ils constituent les cadres de maîtrise dans les différents ateliers.

Les ouvriers ordinaires : fondeurs, marteleurs, menuisiers... ont été formés en général dans les ateliers même du Dakar-Niger où ils travaillent depuis de nombreuses années. Les manœuvres enfin, sans spécialité, sont engagés parmi les nouveaux arrivés de brousse.

Une enquête effectuée en 1952 sur le quart des effectifs (834) permet de connaître la composition ethnique de l'ensemble des ateliers. On peut noter une prééminence du nombre des Wolof (301); les Peul et Toucouleur sont au nombre de 189, les Bambara viennent en troisième position avec 115 individus. Il faut ajouter 39 Sarakolé, 40 Khassonké et 79 ouvriers appartenant à des groupes divers. Cette liste donne une idée de l'important brassage d'individus que constitue ce foyer industriel. On remarque cependant que les ouvriers des régions voisines de Thiès ne sont pas en majorité : le groupe Wolof-Sérère est de 380 unités soit 45 % du total. En outre Wolof et Sérère offrent relativement peu de techniciens et d'agents de maîtrise : il n'y a que 7 % de Wolof dans la catégorie maîtrise contre 24 % dans celle des manœuvres; le Sérère n'entre que pour 5 % dans la première catégorie et pour 39 % dans la seconde. Par contre 17 % des Khassonké et des Sarakolé font partie des cadres de maîtrise contre 22 % seulement de manœuvres et assimilés. Ces chiffres soulignent la difficulté de l'entreprise à recruter des ouvriers spécialisés dans le voisinage de Thiès. Elle doit faire appel à des techniciens de territoires éloignés, alors qu'un pourcentage élevé des ouvriers non spécialisés et des manœuvres sont recrutés sur place.

Par l'importance de ses effectifs, le groupe industriel du Dakar-Niger forme un des éléments les plus actifs de l'économie de la Cité. Plus de 25.000.000 de francs C.F.A. sont distribués mensuellement sous forme de salaire à l'ensemble du personnel.

18:Savonnet MS37 Senegal

3. *Le secteur public.*

Si l'installation et l'extension des deux camps militaires ont accru, d'une façon indirecte, l'importance de la ville, il semble bien qu'ils ont une influence médiocre dans l'économie de la cité par suite de leur organisation intérieure en circuit fermé.

L'installation de services administratifs de plus en plus nombreux et étoffés intéresse de façon plus tangible la vie économique de l'escale. L'administration du cercle, les services d'agriculture, de l'enseignement, des travaux publics, emploient plusieurs centaines de fonctionnaires, journaliers et manœuvres.

L'enseignement s'est développé d'une façon remarquable : chaque année plus de 2.000 écoliers fréquentent les écoles publiques et privées. Le nombre des jeunes écolières s'accroît également mais depuis une dizaine d'années seulement. Le Collège moderne, en raison de ses dimensions insuffisantes, refuse chaque année de nombreuses demandes d'admission. Malgré l'ouverture annuelle de nouvelles classes, on peut estimer que seulement un enfant sur trois en âge de scolarité fréquente l'école.

4. La structure sociale de la ville.

1. *Les Blancs.*

En 1955, nous sommes loin de l'époque héroïque où Thiès était considéré comme un point malsain et où la mortalité était très élevée. L'arrivée des premières familles européennes au début de ce siècle peut être considéré comme un évènement important. Il marqua la possibilité d'implanter durablément une colonie blanche dans l'escale.

Le climat a été rendu plus supportable par les améliorations multiples dans le confort qui ont créé une atmosphère propice à l'établissement de la vie familiale. En 1953 sur 2.700 Blancs on compte près de 1.200 femmes.

La population européenne est divisée en un certain nombre de « milieux » : armée, agents du Dakar-Niger, fonctionnaires, commerçants. Les contacts entre chacun de ces ensembles sont assez lâches ; sauf exception, les rapports suivis entre individus appartenant à des groupes différents, sont peu fréquents; on ne se reçoit qu'entre gens de formation identique. Le jeu des mutations qui se répètent tous les deux ans fait que le temps de séjour n'est d'ordinaire pas assez long pour qu'un nouvel arrivant se dégage de son milieu. Une certaine apathie, un manque de curiosité limitent ces contacts humains avec les groupements voisins.

Les secteurs armée, et Dakar-Niger, par la conception même de leur organisation interne, vivent en vase clos : chacun d'eux possède sa coopérative, son club, son bar et parfois son cinéma et sa piscine:

18:Savonnet MS37 Senegal

ils forment une petite ville qui se suffit à elle-même. Les agents de l'administration semblent par leurs fonctions même avoir des relations plus étendues dans les milieux différents.

Chez les commerçants et artisans le problème se pose différemment en raison de la stabilité même de leur travail et de la longueur de leur séjour. On pourrait définir dans ce milieu commercial et artisanal trois « groupes » très distincts : les « anciens » qui vivent à Thiès depuis quelques décennies, les « nouveaux arrivés » d'après guerre, le groupe Levantin-Marocain.

Les premiers sont peu nombreux; ils vivent de leur ancienne factorerie qui, malgré les aménagements récemment apportés, conserve quelque chose de vieillot. Ils peuvent s'entretenir avec l'indigène dans sa langue propre. Leur vie, si elle est devenue plus confortable, est demeurée modeste : ils sortent peu et ne se reçoivent qu'entre eux. Tous les deux ou trois ans, ils vont prendre quelques mois de repos en France pendant la saison des cultures au Sénégal. Leur vie est par conséquent assez repliée sur elle-même.

Tout différent est le second groupe formé d'émigrants récents. Il comprend surtout des célibataires ou de jeunes mariés, plus ou moins épris d'aventure peut-être, mais recherchant surtout une existence plus large. Ils vivent généralement dans une ou deux pièces louées à un Levantin ou Marocain. Comme il leur est difficile de faire la cuisine chez eux, le restaurant y supplée. En général ils adoptent une tenue négligée, s'agitent, parlent haut; leurs premières économies sont destinées à l'achat d'une moto ou d'une petite voiture qui leur permettra de s'évader de la ville. Ils sont en outre des spectateurs assidus des quatre cinémas de la place, au programme chaque jour renouvelé.

Le groupe des Levantins est différent des deux précédents; leur vie s'écoule entre leur boutique et leur appartement. De rares déplacements les conduisent à Dakar pour leurs affaires commerciales. Leur intérieur est confortable, aménagé selon le goût oriental : ils aiment les teintes vives et multiplient les coussins. Rarement ils reviennent dans leur pays d'origine; certains d'entre eux n'ont pas quitté l'Afrique depuis 30 ou 40 ans. D'autres, plus favorisés par le négoce, font chaque année un séjour en France ou en Asie occidentale. Généralement les enfants font leurs études dans le pays d'origine des parents et parlent couramment le français et l'anglais. Cette nouvelle génération de Levantins à laquelle il faut ajouter quelques Marocains s'intègrent peu à peu dans le milieu métropolitain par le truchement d'associations sportives, de parties de chasse. Ces relations amicales favoriseront peut-être dans une certaine mesure le rapprochement entre ces groupes si souvent antagonistes sur le plan commercial.

18:Savonnet MS37 Senegal

2. *Les Africains.*

D'après les recensements statistiques effectués en 1953, la composition ethnique de la ville était la suivante : sur une population africaine de 36.050 habitants les Wolof apparaissaient les plus nombreux et formaient 65,5 % de la population avec 23.624 individus, les Toucouleur au nombre de 3.356 représentent 9,3 % du total, les Bambara (Soudanais, plutôt) arrivaient au troisième rang et entraient pour 6,8 % de la population avec 2.447 individus, les Sérères établis cependant dans le voisinage de Thiès ne comptaient que 1.856 personnes, soit 5,1 % de l'ensemble. Les Peuls et les Maures respectivement 1.074 et 843 individus formaient 3 % et 2,4 % du total. Les Sarakollé et les divers autres groupes représentés respectivement par 650 et 2.190 éléments formaient 1,8 % et 6,1 % de la population.

Ces précisions disent éloquemment l'hétérogénéité ethnique de la population thiéssoise. Encore faut-il souligner que le nombre des Wolof véritables est certainement inférieur au chiffre statistique donné : après un séjour d'une dizaine d'années passées à Thiès, le Khassonké ou le Sarakolé qui aura perdu presque tout contact avec son pays d'origine, qui aura épousé une femme n'appartenant pas à sa race, qui aura adopté la langue, la nourriture, le nom correspondant Wolof se dira appartenir à ce groupe.

Comme bien on le pense, les zones les plus peuplées sont celles qui se situent à proximité des ateliers du chemin de fer : Derrière-la-voie-ferrée, Randoulène et Bambara offrent des densités de 102 à 125 habitants à l'hectare (14). Ces quartiers sont en même temps les lieux de brassage les plus complets; près de 40 % de la population sont formés d'éléments étrangers à la région de Thiès où vivent Wolofs et Sérères.

Ces chiffres nous amènent naturellement à poser le problème des contacts entre les divers groupes ethniques et des relations entre les individus.

Toutefois, nous devons mettre à part le groupe Maure dont le comportement diffère nettement de celui de ses voisins de couleur. Les Maures n'ont pas de relations avec les Noirs, excepté pour des raisons purement commerciales. Ils ne se rencontrent qu'entre eux, ne voyagent qu'accompagnés d'un de leurs semblables. Leur sobriété, leur sens de l'épargne (souvent poussé à l'excès), leur calme froid, les éloignent du tempérament souvent expansifs des Noirs. Peut-être un certain sentiment de supériorité vis-à-vis de populations qu'ils dominaient avant notre arrivée est-il à l'origine de cette coupure profonde entre gens de conditions matérielles identiques.

(14) En A.E.F., dans les quartiers de Brazzaville (Poto-Poto et Bacongo) elle atteint 160 habitants à l'hectare. Renseignements tirés des Documents et Statistiques, Ministère de la F.O.M., fasc. XI, mars 1954, p. 2.

La masse noire semble former, en première approximation, un tout homogène. Cependant il existe parmi les éléments qui la composent, des distinctions traditionnelles, d'origine coutumière, ethnique, religieuse et des distinctions sociales liées aux structures récentes : hiérarchie nouvelle dans les entreprises industrielles et dans la fonction publique. Dans une même catégorie professionnelle, survit une certaine hiérarchie d'ordre traditionnel qui est toujours respectée. Dans les ateliers du Dakar-Niger par exemple, les meilleurs cadres de maîtrise sont ceux formés par les ouvriers appartenant à des castes supérieures : hommes libres, descendants de familles de chef... Les agents issus de familles de griots ou d'anciens captifs, en dépit de leur habileté au travail et de leur formation, n'auront qu'une autorité très fragile auprès de leurs subordonnés.

Les animosités entre individus appartenant à des groupes autrefois ennemis ou à des sectes religieuses opposées peuvent parfois réapparaître au cours de contacts entre individus ou groupes d'individus. Dans le même ordre d'idées, un certain favoritisme peut se glisser dans les rapports entre chef et subordonnés appartenant à une même catégorie ethnique ou de religion identique.

A l'intérieur de chaque minorité ethnique dispersée dans la ville sont nées des associations spontanées dirigées par le plus ancien d'entre eux. Périodiquement, ces amicales se réunissent. Elles sont à la base de l'entr'aide au nouvel arrivé, au chômeur qui demeure temporairement sans ressources dans l'escale. Chacune de ces réunions est en même temps l'occasion des fêtes « folkloriques » rappelant aux membres du groupe leurs coutumes et leur contrée d'origine.

Les traditions qui ont pu survivre en s'adaptant aux conditions nouvelles de la société, perdent, dans une certaine mesure, de leur importance au contact des idées nouvelles et de l'influence occidentale. Nous avons déjà remarqué que la notion de groupe ethnique s'efface rapidement lorsque l'individu est transplanté depuis longtemps dans une ville très éloignée de son village natal. Les liens familiaux, et surtout l'autorité du chef de famille sur chacun de ses membres deviennent, en ville, extrêmement lâches. Nous assistons à un éclatement de la subordination qui soumettait chacun des membres d'une famille à l'autorité paternelle. L'enfant n'est plus contraint de prendre le métier de son père, il peut choisir le travail qu'il suppose lui convenir. La jeune fille s'émancipe rapidement et rares, sont les familles thiéssoises où le père impose à son enfant l'époux de son choix. La diffusion de l'enseignement des religions musulmane et chrétienne sont pour beaucoup dans cette désagrégation des liens trop sèrrés de la tradition familiale. Cet éclatement des anciennes structures sociales trop étriquées n'est pas un phénomène strictement

18:Savonnet MS37 Senegal

urbain, il [illegible] dans la campagne, mais avec moins de force et avec un certain retard.

La présence du bloc industriel du Dakar-Niger d'autre part a eu pour effet la constitution d'une classe ouvrière qui est un phénomène spécifiquement urbain. Si l'ancien système des castes subsiste dans les contacts humains, celui de classe sociale se substitue peu à peu à lui. Actuellement il existe en somme une superposition des deux systèmes mais déjà s'affirme la prééminence du second. Par les contacts journaliers, par la diffusion rapide des idées sociales venues de l'Occident, la masse des ouvriers s'est organisée, elle s'est groupée en syndicat, elle a constitué des coopératives de consommation. Par le nombre élevé des adhérents de ce groupe ouvrier, les ateliers du Dakar-Niger et, par répercussion, la ville de Thiès elle-même sont devenus les centres les plus actifs et les plus agissants de l'A.O.F. La grève qui paralysa en 1948 pendant plusieurs mois le trafic ferroviaire sur les deux lignes (Dakar-Bamako et Dakar-Saint-Louis) est bien la preuve de l'influence d'un groupement puissant et organisé en même temps qu'un phénomène typiquement urbain.

Il existe donc à Thiès un climat social un peu particulier qui rend parfois tendus les rapports entre Blancs et Noirs. Principalement pendant ces périodes de crises sociales. Mais ces tensions sont toujours temporaires et s'évanouissent d'elles-mêmes dès que le conflit est liquidé.

Un problème beaucoup plus important et qui paraît général dans toutes les villes d'Afrique Noire, est celui du gonflement trop rapide sinon excessif des populations urbaines. Nous avons vu que la population de Thiès avait presque doublé de 1945 (24.000 habitants) à 1953 (40.000 habitants). Dakar, Konakri, Abidjan se sont accrus dans des proportions identiques.

Tous les éléments nouveaux qui viennent grossir les quartiers urbains sont des éléments jeunes issus de la campagne : 32 % de la population sont constitués par des jeunes gens âgés de moins de 14 ans (15) que les soit-disant facilités de la ville ont attirés. La campagne se vide de ses éléments vigoureux et la ville n'a plus assez de travail à donner à ceux qui viennent s'y installer. Une classe d'oisifs et de parasites se constitue peu à peu qui vit soit de la grande hospitalité africaine, soit d'expédients. Cet aspect du problème social des grandes villes africaines est un des plus urgents à résoudre.

Les pouvoirs publics s'inquiètent de cet énorme gonflement des populations urbaines qui dépasse de beaucoup les besoins réels. Il semble qu'aucune des méthodes adoptées jusqu'ici pour les ralentir

(15) En France, ce pourcentage est de 24 %, chiffre calculé d'après les renseignements statistiques donnés par la revue *Population*, numéro d'oct.-déc. 1954, p. 718.

18:Savonnet MS37 Senegal

n'aient donné des résultats appréciables. Peut-être les efforts qui sont faits à l'heure actuelle pour améliorer les conditions de la vie rurale et promouvoir une certaine modernisation des techniques agricoles permettront-ils d'accroître la capacité économique des campagnes et de mettre un frein à l'exode rural. Une stabilité plus grande parmi les populations urbaines permettrait alors l'établissement de structures sociales plus cohérentes et mieux équilibrées.

Georges SAVONNET.

19: Pehaut K-4 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

The Groundnut in Senegal
/L'arachide au Sénégal/

by Yves Pehaut

Bordeaux: 1961
Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer
Vol. 14, pp. 5-25

Translated from the French by Grace W. Moore

Human Relations Area Files
1963
/Title page/

19: Pehaut--1 K-4 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/5/

244 433 Since the "campaign" of 1959-60, the commercial production of groundnuts in Senegal has reached 720,000 metric tons of groundnuts in the shell. In 1957-58, there was a record year with 830,000 metric tons. Since for these recent years the total production of food products can be estimated at about 550,000 metric tons, the proportion of 1,800 kilograms of groundnuts harvested per metric ton of food products, advanced in 1951 by M. Portères, is very close to the Senegalese economic reality (1).

[113]

1. For this information we have consulted: Barbier, J., "L'économie de l'arachide au Sénégal, Contribution à l'Étude du marché français des huiles alimentaires /The economy of the groundnut in Senegal, Contribution to the study of the French marketing of food oils/," typewritten thesis for the doctorate in law, Lille, 20 May 1960, 475 pp.

A.O.F. 57: Tableaux économiques /French West Africa 57: Economic Tables/. Haut-Commissariat de la République en A.O.F. Direction des Services économiques et du plan, 412 pp.

Outre-Mer 58: Service statistique d'Outre-Mer /Oversea 58: Oversea Statistical Service/, P.U.F. 1960.

177 244 The groundnut is originally from America; Jean de Léry, a French clergyman, described this plant around 1855, under the name of "manoki," as a crop of the region of Rio. In the seventeenth century Père Plumier noted it for the Antilles. The Portuguese slave-dealers seem to have imported it to Africa around the middle of the sixteenth century. The natives of Senegambia were soon cultivating it around their huts, and as

/5 cont./

177 early as 1560 Alvarez de Almada speaks of the abundant har-
244 vests of mantiga eaten fresh by the Mandingue /Mandingo/. In 1840 a Paris chemist, Rousseau, discovered the wealth of oil in the groundnut. In 1841 the brig "Zénith" transported 70 metric tons of nuts to Rouen. Protêt and Faidherbe encouraged this crop, which, in the framework of the colonial economic system, progressed rapidly from the coast toward the interior, thanks to the possibilities of the natural environment.

132 From the Senegal River in the north to the Casamance in the south, the climate of the country changes by successive transitions from Sahelian characteristics to Sudanese aspects. A long dry season of nine months in the north, shorter in the south, from October or December to May-June, contrasts with a "winter season" of three to five months, depending on the region. The frequency and the importance of the precipitations increase from north to south. They go from 350 millimeters in the region of Louga to 1,200 millimeters in that of Ziguinchor. Whereas the coast is moistened by the humid trade wind, the Ferlo to the east is like a desert. These conditions are nearly /6/ ideal for a
244 plant whose vegetative cycle is short -- about 120 days -- and which germinates easily in a slightly moistened soil, develops under heavy rains, and bears fruit best during the dry days that follow.

134 The soil conditions also seem to be wholly favorable.
244 The plant is not very demanding with respect to fertility; essentially it requires a light soil, because the fructification is underground. The silico-argillaceous soils of the center of Senegal (the dek of the Ouoloff /Wolof/) and the sandy soils of the north (the dior of the Ouoloff) suit the groundnut perfectly.

496 The expansion of the area of cultivation, from the coast
244 and the estuaries toward the interior, has been led by the rail-
311 roads. The Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad, built in 1885, explains the essential role of Cayor in groundnut production at the beginning of the century, since it was along the Dakar-Niger line, achieved in 1888, that the groundnut front progressed toward the east. Today this front, which in the south has broken into the

/6/
496 edges of the woodlands of Casamance, has reached the Ferlo
244 and the zone of the lateritic cuirasses of the east.
311

I. The Types of Groundnut Cultivation in Senegal

244 The very symbol of the product of "trade," the groundnut
[433] is essentially cultivated by the autochthonous peasants, who devote to it an important part of their activities.

1. The types of autochthonous cultivation. Whatever the place of the groundnut may be in the system of crops, one always finds, within the framework of the very short agricultural cycle of winter, the same techniques for the preparation of the soil, the same kinds of tillage.

Everywhere in Senegal the traditional technical contrivances are primitive and permit only rather crude tillage. The
[412] lopping tool, the rhock, a kind of fork with two prongs, the hilaire, formed by a quite long handle and a flat blade in the shape of an ace of hearts, and the hoe, or daba, constitute the essential equipment.

In the spring, at the end of the dry season, the trees and bushes are topped with the lopping tool to 60 or 70 centimeters from the ground. Only the "Faidherbia," stripped of their leaves in winter, are spared. The branches are burned on the spot; their ashes are the sole fertilizer for the field recovered from the bush. The mutilated and burned trunks, the stumps left in place, give it an unfinished and disorderly appearance. Soon after the first rains, generally in June, one proceeds with the sowing. In the holes /7/ four to five centimeters deep, made with the daba or with the handle of the rhock, the cultivator puts one or two groundnut seeds and then, with the heel, covers them with soil. These holes, made in a row, are generally 30 centimeters apart. In July and August, one proceeds with several weedings and dressings with the daba in order to mellow the soil. In September the last cleaning out of foul grasses is done by hand. When the stalks wither, the shells have reached maturity,

S 244 /7/ generally at the end of October or the beginning of November. Harvesting is done by cutting the stalks with the hilaire four or five centimeters under the ground. They are collected into little piles, sometimes protected by a shelter of plant material for drying, and then heaped into stacks to await the detachment S [462] of the shells several weeks later by threshing or by hand. This last operation is entrusted to the women and children. All of these tasks require great effort, and the more so since during the S [243] same brief period one must busy himself with the food crops, millet, niébés /Vigna/, etc.

S 241 244 W 244 The ways in which the groundnut is associated with the food crops are quite variable and put their mark on the agrarian landscape.

1) The lougan of the Ouoloff peasant. The Ouoloff peasant of Cayor or of Siné-Saloum represents the most traditional type of cultivator of groundnuts. He still practices shifting cultivation on his lougan /cultivated field/ cleared by fire in the open bush. Although he does practice a millet-groundnut rotation, often with very little strictness, he does not know the virtues of fertilization. He cultivates the soil until it is exhausted and then abandons it for 15 or 20 years, which allows it to go back to bush. Today, however, demographic pressure does not always permit him to dispose of the vast areas of land required for this long rest. S W The soil is rapidly being exhausted; the yields are diminishing. [433] In Cayor the latter have fallen off at least 700 kilograms per hectare. The cultivation of the groundnut is very obviously regressing.

S SR 241 2) The organized ground of the Sérère /Serer/ peasantry (2). The Sérère are a group of Sudanese origin, driven back

S [113] 2. Pelissier, P. "Les paysans sérère, essai sur la formation d'un terroir au Sénégal /The Serer peasants, an essay on the formation of a ground in Senegal/." Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, Vol. VI, 1953, No. 22, pp. 105-127.

S
SR
241
[244]

/7 cont./

by the Mandingue and settled in Siné-Saloum. They are above all millet farmers; on the average they cultivate a hectare of this cereal to 70 acres of groundnuts. The groundnut, having entered the agricultural cycle quite recently, has contributed to the formation of a ground of specialized sectors. Around the village, surrounding it, are located the fields of small millet, cotton, and manioc. Beyond this pombod, under the Faidherbia, the ground is divided into three areas /soles/ corresponding to a system of triennial rotation, small millet, groundnuts, and fallowing, where, after cultivation, the animals graze and manure the soil for the next cultivation. Each family has its shares in each /8/ /Fig. 1 appears here/ area.

SR
[423]

The separation between these three large sectors of the ground is maintained by living hedges or barriers of cut thorns. In Sérère country a permanent ground is delineated, and land ownership stands out. The peasant takes care of managing the land and only wants a little money for the groundnuts, a secondary crop.

S
244

3) "Speculative" or "extractive" cultivation. In contrast to the Sérère example, this is a type of cultivation where the cultivator, often occasional, is attracted solely by the immediate profit that groundnuts may bring. It is practiced by the group of Murids on the one hand, and, on the other, by the navétanes /seasonal workers/.

S
795

/9/ Muridism (3) is a Moslem movement founded by Sheik

S
[113]

3. Pelissier, P. "L'arachide au Sénégal, rationalisation et modernisation de la culture," Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, Vol. IV, 1951, No. 13, pp. 80-85.

Amadou Bamba, who died in 1927. The brotherhood has many adepts, especially in Siné-Saloum near the Ouoloff. For the Murids, Islam is a religion based on renouncement. Agricultural work becomes a holy thing if it is done for the benefit of the pious man who prays. The adepts of Muridism, or talibés, thus

[Text continues on p.7--Analyst]

~~18~~ cont. /

102
103
131
244
311
496

Fig. 1. Domain of the groundnut in Senegal.

1. Sahelo-Saharan zone;
2. Sahelo-Sudanese zone;
3. Sudano-Sahelian zone .
4. Sudano-Guinea zone.
5. Guinea zone.
6. Coastal zone with relics of the Guinea woodland.
7. Groundnuts.
8. Progression of the domain of the groundnut.
9. Railroad.
10. Boundaries of the states.
11. Boundaries of the circles.

/9 cont./

795 have a moral obligation to deliver the products of their labor to the marabouts. With a remarkable ardor for clearing, these
244 Murids have improved new lands and have thus made a "groundnut front" progressing toward the east, especially on both sides
311 of the Dakar-Niger railroad. This cultivation, however, pre-
795 sents grave dangers, because the Murids essentially concern themselves with groundnuts at the expense of millet; they use the cleared lands in the average proportion of 60% of the area for groundnuts and only 40% for millet. Crop rotation and fallowing are all too rarely respected, and the lands put under cultivation are all the more unstable since the groundnut front now abuts on the zone of the lateritic cuirasses of the east, ushering in the Sudan.

244 The navétanes (4) are the seasonal workers who come
427
[464]
[167]
[113]

4. Fouquet, J., La traite des arachides dans le pays de Kaolack et ses conséquences économiques, sociales et juridiques /The trade of groundnuts in the region of Kaolack and its economic, social, and legal consequences/. Law thesis, Montpellier, 1951, 262 pp.

from the Sudan in particular and, up to 1958, from the north of Guinea. They cultivate the groundnut for the benefit of
[466] the employer, or diatigui, according to the clauses of a ver-
[465] bal contract. The employer furnishes the cleared ground, the seed, lodgings, and food. The navétane prepares the land, sows, weeds, and gathers the harvest. Actually, he devotes scarcely three to four half-days per week in work for the benefit of the diatigui. He utilizes the rest of his time for clearing and cultivating for himself. This labor is very costly for the employer, who is often obliged to borrow at prohibitive rates in order to feed the navétane. Moreover, this system presents grave dangers, because the temporary immigrant, clearing and cultivating land for which he feels no attachment,

/9 cont./

244 shows no regard for it. Finally, the navétane eats millet
407 and does not produce any, which in certain regions aggravates the problem of the supply. Before 1939, in the period of the full development of groundnut cultivation, there were up to 70,000 navétanes in some years. The system of the authoritative organization of labor during the hostilities could by no means support these effectives; therefore, with the return to freedom in 1946, the number of navétanes had fallen to about 12,000. In order to attract them, they were given free travel going and returning. The suppression of these facilities in 1956 and
[648] the closing of the Guinea frontier at the end /10/of 1958 have
[167] considerably diminished the importance of these temporary
[433] migrations, which, in sum, were not very profitable for the economy of Senegal.

Other seasonal movements of labor take place in the
244 framework of groundnut cultivation. The sourga come from
166 the city and take their place among their relatives under the
464 same conditions as the navétanes. The baraguini are laborers
[427] who, in the regions of Tambacounda and Kédougou, offer their assistance to the cultivators during the harvest. They dig up the groundnut stalks, dry them, and detach and clean the seeds.

244 All of these types[1] of groundnut cultivation are charac-
433 terized by small yields: 830 kilograms per hectare on the average in Senegal. These yields, a consequence of the poorness of the traditional technical contrivances, can hardly be improved. In recent decades the increase in volume of the harvest has been linked with that of the area cultivated, which is not without grave dangers: abuses of cultivation on soils that are unstable, and a falling off of food production. After some attempts without results in the years 1920-1930, it is mechanized cultivation which, at the end of the Second World War, seems most capable of increasing production for the benefit of the mother country, which suffered from a grave shortage of fatty substances.

[1] [See Category 116, pp. 3-8 for types of autochthonous cultivation--Analyst]

/10 cont./

244
654

2. Experiences with mechanized cultivation. The experiences with mechanized cultivation proceeded from the arrangements of the law of 30 April 1946 on the first plan for "social and economic development of the oversea territories."

a) The first experience was that of the "bloc de l'arachide /bloc of the groundnut/." In 1947 the "Bloc de l'arachide" was created at Boulel, 21 kilometers north of Kaffrine, in the region of new lands. It had at its disposal 15,000 hectares of bush in a single holding and was endowed with powerful equipment. A labor force of 360 Murids, directed by 160 technicians, proceeded with the clearing, which in 1954 reached about 3,000 hectares. The aims of the enterprise are multiple. It is a matter of: 1. testing the equipment to be used in the preparation of the soil plowing, see
[795] seeding, weeding, and harvesting; 2. initiating the Murid labor force in the handling of mechanical machines; 3. procuring contrivances for certain jobs, such as decortication for the sowing, deherbaging before the harvest; 4. instituting methods of cultivation that can give the highest yields while protecting the soil.

The practical results have been rather mediocre. The expenses are very high, and amortization of the equipment is scarcely possible. Moreover, the Murid colonists have
[795] adapted themselves poorly. In 1953 the latter were eliminated, and in 1955 the Bloc became the "Secteur expérimental de modernisation agricole" (S. E. M. A.) /Experimental Section for Agricultural Modernization/. Its activities were henceforth to be divided /11/ into three sections: a management section which supervises the clearing; an experimental section determining the most suitable techniques of cultivation and instructing the labor force; a section of exploitation, which applies the results of experimentation. The S. E. M. A. "admitted" 155 families for its work. It furnishes the lands prepared by machine, assures certain methods, loans food and seed without interest. Those admitted must take care of the complementary

/11 cont./

244 tasks by hand; they promise to respect the rotations prescribed
654 by the experimental section.

b) The experience of the C. G. O. T. in Casamance began in 1948. Within the framework of the first plan, the Compagnie générale des oléagineux tropicaux /General Company of Tropical Oily Substances/ acquired vast areas of land in the region of Séfa, upstream from Sedhiou. Powerful equipment permitted this society of mixed economy to clear 4,000 hectares of woodland. At great expense the company
[177] recruited some European technicians and local labor receiving wages higher than the average. The experience of total mechanization met very grave difficulties: clearing woodland is very ticklish, because carapaces are found at a shallow depth, the equipment wears out very quickly, and the administrative
[433] expenses are very high; and then, when yields of 2,000 kilograms of groundnuts per hectare are anticipated, only 1,200 are obtained. The company had to modify its policy. The lands were divided among the "colonists," who promised to respect a millet or rice-groundnut rotation. The company cultivated the rice mechanically and kept the harvest. It proceeded to the more difficult tasks in connection with the groundnuts and collected in exchange 450 kilograms of shells per hectare thus cultivated. The millet went to the colonists.

795 c) The Murid chiefs of the region of Djourbel also had
244 an experience with mechanization. In fact some of them, enriched by the "gifts" from the faithful, acquired equipment and in the new lands undertook mechanized cultivation of the groundnut in imitation of the example of Boulel. This system, without considering the dangers of the deterioration of the soil, seems dangerous from the social point of view, because it may strengthen the hold of the marabouts on the faithful, who become ordinary laborers.

244 In fact the experiences with mechanized cultivation have been dismissed because of a check on how much one could anticipate a generalized use of machinery. Nevertheless,
[654] in sum, these modest attempts have not been as catastrophic

/11 cont./

244 654 as the one of the famous "groundnut scheme" of Tanganyika. Moreover, they have greatly contributed to the rationalization of the traditional techniques, also studied since 1924 at the experimental center of Bambey.

242 244 654 3. Improvements in the traditional methods of cultivation. The center of Bambey, administered by the Institut de recherche des huiles /12/ et oléagineux (I.R.H.O.) /Institute for Research on Oils and Oily Substances/ has made great efforts, especially since the end of the last war, in the selection of seed, instituting new methods of cultivation, and protection of the soil and the natural environment. These studies, together with the information furnished by Boulel and Séfa, have given very encouraging results.

1) The selection of seed. In traditional cultivation, the cultivator had to take the seed for the next season from his own harvest. This system was not very satisfactory: the seeds were often of mediocre quality, and they did not keep well; finally, very often the cultivator improvidently sold part of his stock before the end of trading and consequently had [426] to resort to usurious loans.

Since 1924 the center of Bambey has introduced seed selected for high yield, adapted to the natural conditions of each productive region. The adoption of creeping varieties for the dry regions of the north and of erect plants for the more moist and compact soils of the south assures an increase of 20% in yields. In 1935 26 metric tons of selected seed had been distributed; in 1951 this figure exceeded 35,000. Since then more than 90% of the seed used has been selected seed. The popularization and the distribution of these seeds are handled by the satellite centers, but above all by the sociétés de prévoyance /welfare societies/, which in 1958 became the Sociétés mutuelles de développement rural (S.M.D.R.). The distribution of the seed takes place between the closing of

/12 cont./

242 trade and the beginning of cultivation, at an interest of 20%
244 on a base of about 100 kilograms per cultivator. Reimburse-
654 ment takes place before the opening of trade, the greatness of the loss explaining the high rate of interest. The seeds stocked by these Mutuelles are disinfected, and samples are sent to Bambey for analysis.

2) Improvement in the techniques of cultivation. An agricultural calendar restricted to four months and demanding hard labor, very rudimentary implements, and the absence of fertilizers explain in large part the lack of efficiency of the traditional methods.

The example of Koutiala in the Sudan, where some plows were distributed, has shown that the use of this implement is often prohibited in a tropical environment. In contrast, Bambey and Boulel have successfully experimented with small equipment, hoes and drills /semoirs/, in mixed /attelée/cultivation. These light implements can greatly facilitate the work of the peasant. A great obstacle remains in the mediocrity of the
[231] animal husbandry, inasmuch as it is divorced from agriculture. The donkeys throughout the country, the camels in the north, and the cattle entrusted to the Peul have never been regarded as draft animals. Today 20,000 light drills, sold on credit by the S.M.D.R., are in service. Up to now the hoes have not had the same success.

/13/ Mixed cultivation also has the advantage of linking cultivation and animal husbandry and of permitting the agriculturalist to utilize the manure, as the Sérère know how to do. The experiences of Bambey have shown that manuring is to be done for millet, but not for groundnuts, under penalty of harvesting many empty shells. The use of millet as green manure seems very beneficial on these unstable lands; the application of the fertilizer compound N.P.K., in the form of tablets to avoid rapid leaching, assures returns 30% higher. At the present time the Mutuelles are distributing about 6,000 metric tons of fertilizer a year. The high price of these imported products is an obstacle to their popularization, but some

/13 cont./

242 specialists envisage the utilization of the phosphates of Thiès.

244 654 3) Protection of the environment. The cultivation of the groundnut with the traditional techniques carries with it grave dangers for the soil. The abusive burning of brush denudes it and facilitates the erosive action of the dry harmattan which blows at the end of the dry season, from the month of March. The cultivation, most often improvident, leads to the rapid deterioration of very unstable soils. In the west the sands are impoverished, the salts are rising to the surface; in the east the lateritic cuirass appears at a shallow depth.

[313] [656] Legislation is intervening in defense of the natural environment; the decree of 4 July 1935 has interdicted the cutting of trees without authorization and has regulated the burning of brush and clearing. The most effective remedies, however, have been introduced by experimentation and recommended after a serious inventory of the soils. The example of Boulel has shown that bands of natural vegetation separating the clearings by passages perpendicular to the roads are an effective remedy against the action of the wind. The instability of the soils requires a strict system of rotation. Bambey and Boulel have proved that the sequence of millet, groundnuts, and fallowing is the best for preserving them. Fallowing for two years, recommended in the south, is insufficient in the north, where six years of rest seems to be indispensable. It is undeniable that for several years these crop rotations have been followed more and more, especially in the pilot sectors. Finally, the rearrangement of the map of the groundnut, amply primed, may have beneficial consequences. The circles /cercles, administrative districts/ bordering the Senegal River have practically abandoned this crop (Podor, Matam, etc.); northern Cayor, with a dry climate, impoverished soils, and a large population, has had a very marked decline in groundnuts to the profit of millet. In contrast, the new regions in Siné-Saloum and Tambacounda typically become groundnut-producers.

All of these innovations can actually bear fruit only with the acceptance of the peasant masses, which poses the problem

244 /14/
242 of training. This is one of the essential preoccupations of
654 the present Sengalese government.

II. The "Trade" of Groundnuts

433 For a century the total volume of production has pro-
244 gressed in spectacular fashion. Actually, no statistics are available at the harvesting stage. Only the commercial figures are known with any accuracy. In any case they differ little from the total figure of production because local consumption seems to be of little importance. It is estimated that the average production of groundnuts from 1900 to 1904 was 123,000 metric tons. The more recent figures are the following: 1938-1939 campaign, 584,000 metric tons; 1942-1943 compaign, 183,000 metric tons; 1943-1944 campaign, 281,000 metric tons; 1957-1958 campaign, 808,000 metric tons; 1958-1959 campaign, 653,000 metric tons; 1959-1960 campaign, 720,000 metric tons.

Except for the period of the war, when the production of
[439] groundnuts, difficult to export, decreased to the profit of that of millet, progress was continuous, the 1957-1958 campaign being exceptionally favorable.

439 This production enters into the circuit of commercialization or "trade," which today is very strictly regulated.

[178] 1. The organization of "trade." The commercialization of the groundnut has replaced the "trade" in gum, slaves, and gold of the former colonial system. Although the term is still often used, its present context is very different from the
439 acceptation of the era of the colonial pact. Trade is no longer,
441 as Littré wished it to be, an exchange trade organized almost
438 exclusively for the benefit of the European "trader"; today it is a commercial activity that is strictly regulated as to time and place and open only to approved intermediaries.

442 1.) The "campaign." "The campaign" is the period
654
438

/14 cont./

442 during which commercial operations in groundnuts are authorized.
654 It is opened and closed each year by governmental decree. In
438 general it begins at the end of November or the beginning of December and closes at the end of April. The date of opening the campaign is set about two months after the beginning of the harvest, in order to avoid premature uprooting and to favor
438 the reimbursement of the seed advanced. This system never-
442 theless leads to some smuggling in the south, because the
[439] navétanes, anxious to return home, and the peasants, without any money, are tempted to sell in Gambia. At the time of the close, the transactions have been over for a long time, but this decision prevents the eventual sale /15/ of the seed distributed by the Mutuelles. In order to have the commodity brought in gradually and to avoid heavy transactions at the beginning of trade, operations are suspended from Friday to Monday. Nevertheless by the end of the month of January nearly all of the harvest has been negotiated.

366 2) The "points of trade." Since 1932 the operations of
442 selling must take place in the localities called points of trade
438 or "escales" located on the railroad or a road (Circular of 13 July 1932). These points of trade, which were 175 in number in 1935, now number more than 300. The limitation, in 1932, on the number of the points of trade was a response to the desire to moderate the rhythm of the selling and to avoid the proliferation of intermediaries. The recent creation of new escales is
[244] devoted to the conquest of new lands and is an attempt to avoid the abuses of cultivation on the lands near the former points of trade.

The accession of a locality to the rank of escale makes
[369] it legally an urban center, with the obligation of division into lots /lotissement/ and, for the merchants, permanent buildings. The campaign is a period of great animation for the escale.
442 The merchants or traders open their bank of purchase or "factory."
437 Traditionally, intermediaries, or "masters of language," conduct
[492] the producer to the factory. The groundnuts, transported by don-
[488] keys and in bags loaned by the trader, are weighed and emptied

/15 cont./

442 437 [492] [488] [452] [443] [438] into the secco, an area with a floor of hard earth or cement, closed off by sheet metal. The agriculturalist, paid forthwith, immediately spends the sum received, in settling the sums owed to the trader and in buying from among the manufactured objects of the same factory the most diverse articles: cloth, playthings, articles for bicycles, etc. Thus the same trader realizes two profits in the traditional system.

3) The agents of trade. Until the Second World War, 439 441 442 438 the trade in groundnuts was in the hands of about 3,000 private traders organized in a strict hierarchy. At the top, the trade was controlled by the large import-export houses, especially of Bordeaux origin, Maurel et Prom, Peyrissac, Vézia, etc., to which was added the C. F. A. O. of Marseilles origin, and the S. C. O. A. Franco-Switzerland. These firms, whose central agencies for Senegal are in Dakar, make arrangements for the "banks" and "agencies" in the principal localities, for "factories" in the escales, and for "operations" in the bush. These commercial houses concentrate the purchases of their various traders and provide them with imported products. They are supported during the campaign by the banks of the mother country or their agencies in Senegal.

441 442 438 The independent French merchants, often former employees of the firms, play the role of intermediary /demi-grossiste/ in the escales. /16/ They buy directly from the producers or from the African sub-trader and bag and forward /the product/ to the commercial houses in the shipping ports. They have been very harshly affected by the economic crisis of the 1930's and then [563] by the war, in particular by the mobilization, which facilitated the establishment of many Lebano-Syrian traders.

The treaties of 1919 facilitated the arrival in Africa of [563] these Lebano-Syrians. They devote themselves essentially to commerce, and they have on the whole succeeded, because, living near the autochthons, they have adopted their way of life and are contented with much less than the independent 442 443 438 Europeans. During the trade, they are generally commission agents of the firm that they represent. They receive a commission for each metric ton of groundnuts purchased, and sell in

/16 cont./

438 their establishments the manufactured products that the firm
442 delivers to them. They[1] are most often linked with the pro-
[443] ducers by the system of[1] loans that they authorize in cash and
[452] especially in kind during the difficult period of low supplies before the harvest.

The African "sub-traders" most often play the role of
[441] intermediary between the producers and the traders; they very often are transporters and guide the seller to the weighing-machine of a friend.

Since the last war this system has been greatly perturbed by the appearance of new purchasers who more and more compete with the traditional commerce. The local oil-makers
[258] scarcely ever appeal to the large firms. They do business with the traders of the escales, or, more often, they have their
438 own buyers. Since 1952 some pilot co-operatives have made
442 the collection in many escales at little expense; they utilize
474 the personnel and equipment of the S.M.D.R. Moreover, the
656 law of 13 January 1960, creating an "Office de commercialisation agricole" (O.C.A.), has assigned to this body the responsibility of selling the products collected by the co-operatives (Art. 6) and has granted it license to create purchase points for the direct collection of local agricultural products in the sectors where there are as yet no co-operatives (Art. 7). The decree of 20 May 1960, which more precisely relates to the marketing of groundnuts, grants purchasing permits only to organismes stockeurs (O.S.) /storage bodies/, private or co-operative, properly approved by the decision of a Comité régional d'agrément /Regional Committee of Approval/, and to the purchasing posts of the O.C.A. One might ask if these decisions do not constitute a step toward the creation of an "Office de l'arachide" /Office for Groundnuts/, which would have exclusivity of the trade and could normalize a "circuit of groundnuts," now very complex. /Pl. I and II appear here on unnumbered pages./

[1] [The Lebano-Syrian Traders--Analyst]

/17/

438 2. The "circuit" of groundnuts. The purchase of the
442 groundnuts in the escale and storing them in the secco of the trader constitute only one step in the complicated circuit that the groundnuts take from the place of production to the port of exportation or to the oil-factories.

492 1) The means of transport. From the place of production
438 to the escale, the groundnuts essentially utilize the traditional modes of transport, donkeys throughout the country and camels
[656] in the north. The decree of 4 September 1935 has forbidden the use of trucks. Its aims were to avoid bulky hauls, purchases at
[231] a low price at the place of production, and, above all, to encourage local animal-husbandry. This system, however, carries with it grave defects. Most often transport on the back of a donkey is more expensive for the producer than transport by truck because the camel-drivers and donkey-drivers impose their own price on the peasants who do not have animals. Moreover, the transporter guides the seller to a trader whom the seller did not choose. Today, however, more and more derogations are permitted, because in the south, where the groundnut is progressing, the tsetse interdicts animal husbandry, and in the other regions the overworked animals are incapable of doing the transporting at the end of trade. Finally, certain
[474] co-operatives which pretend "to collect" and not to buy do send trucks to the places of production.

494 From the secco of the trader to the port nearby or to the
438 railroad station, transport is handled by trucks. It is essentially the commercial firms, the traders, or the local oil-makers who use them. There are few professional transporters because the traffic is essentially seasonal. The generally bad
[491] condition of the unpaved roads, except for the "Transgambienne" from Dakar to Ziguinchor, causes a rapid wearing-out of equipment, whose amortization is a heavy burden on the budget of the merchants.

497 The Dakar-Saint-Louis railroad and especially the Dakar-
438 Niger transport more than 200,000 metric tons of groundnuts

[Text continues on p. 21 -- Analyst]

19: Pehaut--19 K-4 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 16-17/

Plate I

244
133
[291]

A. Harvested field of groundnuts in Wolof country.

B. The groundnut harvest in Sérère country.

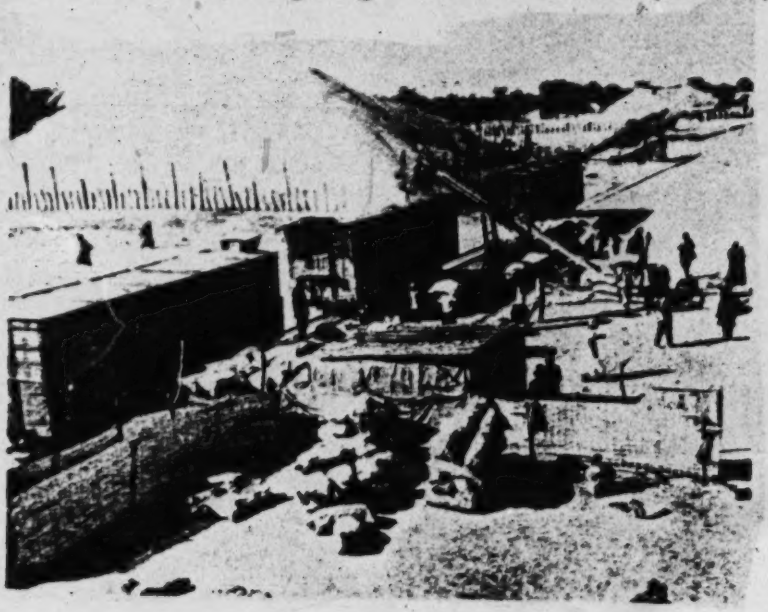
19: Pehaut--20 K-4 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 16-17/ Plate II

492
482
491

A. Trade: transporting the groundnuts to the trader (Diourbel).

496
366



B. Loading the loose groundnuts into the cars at the station in M'Backé.

/17 cont./

499 each year. In spite of the use of cars of great capacity, the
438 transport facilities are insufficient during the first months of trade. However, the practice of degressive tariffs, so as not to place at a disadvantage the production of regions that are
[651] farther from the place of destination, limits all the more the possibility of an increase of vehicles, since the traffic in groundnuts is essentially seasonal and it poses a problem of return freight. The three ports of Dakar, Kaolack, and
438 Ziguinchor consitute, for exports, freight breaking-points
[504] between land transport and maritime transport. The latter
[505] is handled for the most part by the vessels of companies who undertake regular service: Delmas et Vieljeux, Maurel et Prom, etc.; they also have competition from the tramps.
435 These /18/ multiple freight-breaks weigh quite heavily on
438 the price of groundnuts, quite low at the outset, due to the fact that each of them is accompanied by multiple manipulations.

2) The manipulations. In its present organization, the circuit of the groundnuts involves many manipulations, because the product is transported in bags. At each step it is necessary to weigh the bags, to empty them into the secco, and then, when they are again forwarded, to proceed to another weighing and rebagging. Over and above the cost of the labor, the firms and sometimes the traders must bear the great expense of buying and repairing great quantities of bags which quickly wear out or go astray. M. Barbier estimates that a bag of groundnuts undergoes 16 handlings at the minimum from the place of production to the port. A solution to this problem might be found in transporting the product loose, by trucks and cars with gratins, loaded by mechanical transporters. These transformations presuppose great investments, which the groundnut, a cheap and, above all, seasonal product, cannot amortize.

3) Regulation of the condition. The decree of 11 January
[656] 1926 created an Office d'inspection et de conditionnement de l'arachide /Office of Inspection and of the Condition of

/18 cont./

435 Groundnuts/ which controlled the quality of the product in
438 the escales and in the ports. This office, which functioned
656 under the responsibility of the local Chambres de Commerce, applied the norms of "the practice of Bordeaux" of 1922. In
[685] the escales the lots with impurities of more than 2% were returned, and fines could be slapped on the sellers whose product concealed more than 3%. A second control was established in the ports. Since 1947 this office has been replaced by a "Service de contrôle et du conditionnement," which inspects the product only in the ports, thus making only the exporter responsible. All merchandise with impurities of more than 2%, and an average of more than 4% acidity for the decorticated product, is refused or subject to a reduction in price. Several years ago the commercial houses acquired sieves which permit the elimination of much debris, but they are often poorly utilized, and the groundnuts from Senegal usually have considerable debris, stalks or other things.

438 The complications of the circuit of the groundnuts, its
656 inadequacies, have stimulated many projects of rationalization, which for the most part recommend loose transport, stockpiling in silos, and rigorous control over the quality. At present a public body, the "Secteur d'expérimentation et de rationalisation du circuit de l'arachide" (S. E. R. C. A.) is concerned with this, but it singularly lacks any means.

435 /19/ 3. The marketing of the groundnut and the problem of prices. Up to the Second World War, all the transactions in groundnuts were free; the prices varied considerably as a function of supply and demand. During the war the "Groupement national d'achat des produits oléagineux" (G. N. A. P. O.) /National Group for the Purchase of Oleaginous Products/ controlled the market and authoritatively fixed the price. After the war, during the campaign of 1950-1951, the return to freedom led to a spectacular jump in the market price of groundnuts, which, at production, went from 18 to 30

/19 cont./

435 francs C.F.A. per kilo of shells. This situation led to an intervention by the public authorities, anxious to fix a stable price at production.

1) The purchase-price at production and the standard of living of the producer of groundnuts. It was impossible to make any calculation of the price of groundnuts at the stage of production because of the lack of available data with regard to the elements of the cost price. The government determined the price at production, starting from the price C.F.A. in France and subtracting the various costs of commercialization, imposts, and maritime transport. Since the 1955-1956 campaign, these prices have been about 22 francs C.F.A. per kilo of shells at Dakar, 21.25 at Kaolack, and 20.5 at Ziguinchor. Actually these prices are much higher than the world market price. According to M. Barbier, they are the "social and political" prices. In a word, the French consumer "accepts" an overprice for the finished product.

434 What does the price thus fixed represent for the producer?
435 Since it is impossible to obtain data on the cost price, only an idea of the exchange value /valeur libératoir/ of a kilo of groundnuts can be used. All of the statistics utilize the criterion of the price of millet and rice, basic commodities for the producer of groundnuts. Although the value of this reference can be argued, it would appear that, after the difficult period of the war, the producer has seen an increase in his purchasing power, which around 1951 was comparable to that of the period preceding the conflict. Since that date, however, in spite of the sacrifices consented to by the French consumer, he has been able to maintain his living standard only by appreciably increasing the volume of the harvest, that is, of the area cultivated, because the progression of the price of millet, through the deficient harvests, and of rice, through Indochina's leaving the franc zone, has been faster than that of the market price of groundnuts. Nevertheless, recourse to the notion of "ratio of exchange" for the producer of groundnuts,

/19 cont./

434 obtained by the ratio of the index of the F. O. B. price of
435 groundnuts to the balanced index of the various import products, led to a more encouraging situation: on a base of 100 for 1949, the ratio of exchange in 1958 would be 114.5 in favor of the Senegalese producer. M. Barbier concludes: "The ratio of exchange for the Senegalese producer has /20/ been improved; the difference in it can be confirmed in most of the underdeveloped areas."

Actually all of these calculations are theoretical, and, on the whole, the living standard of the producer has remained low. The "average" cultivator, cultivating about a hectare, receives less than 20,000 francs C. F. A. for an average yield of 800 kilograms. This sum is modest, and, it must be added, at the time of selling an important part
[452] goes for the settlement of debts in cash and especially in kind, contracted during the winter with the trader at a very high interest rate. It is estimated that the total of these credits represents 20% of the value of the harvest.

435 This fixing of the price at production considerably
439 reduces the fluctuations of the market, which in fact is governed by the needs of the former mother country.

2) The groundnut market depends on the needs of France. One cannot speak of competition at the selling stage in a market where the purchase prices paid to the producer are authoritatively fixed. In fact the demand essentially depends on French needs, as is decidedly expressed in the decree of 13 November 1954 which regulates the importation of oleaginous products in the mother country. Senegal can export to it a quota of 225,000 metric tons oil-equivalent, at a guaranteed minimum price and duty free. This price may vary within narrow limits, around 5%. The regularization of the market is handled by an official body, the Société interprofessionnelle des oléagineux fluides alimentaires (S. I. O. F. A.), solely qualified to import from foreign countries in order to depress prices and bring them back under

/20 cont./

435 439 the maximum price in periods of shortages. On the other hand this body supports the market prices when they are under the minimum price in a period of overproduction, thanks to a maintenance fund provided for by a tax of 2.50 N.F. per metric ton of decorticated groundnuts imported.

Nevertheless, apart from the quota absorbed by the mother country and the satisfaction of local needs, during certain campaigns, 1957-1958, for example, there is a problem of the disposal of large surpluses. At the beginning of 1958, 102,000 metric tons of decorticated groundnuts were available, unpledged by the S.I.O.F.A. In order to ensure disposal, while respecting the price at production, the public authorities created at Dakar, in February 1958, a stabilization body such as exists for coffee and cacao. This body, taking a sixth of the export duty on groundnuts and oil, and a professional assessment, could make good a part of the difference between the world price and that of the franc zone, the remainder being taken care of by the mother country. This body is still far from possessing the financial power of the "Marketing Boards" of Nigeria.

/21/ Just as the public authorities could intervene effectively in a period of abundance, they also had occasion to settle provisionally a dispute between purchasers during the deficient campaign of 1954-1955.

258 435 439 3) Competition between purchasers and the agreement of January 1956. The Senegalese oil-factories, having become very powerful after the war, are prone to acquire great tonnages, which could only lead to competition and conflict with the traditional purchasers for the mother country in a year of shortage. This is what happened during the 1954-1955 campaign, when the harvest amounted to only 390,000 metric tons. Not bound to respect the price set by the intervention of the S.I.O.F.A., the local oil-makers made the price rise. The protests of the buyers for the mother country let to the intervention of the Haut-Commissariat, which fixed 330,000 metric tons of

/21 cont./

258 435 439 groundnuts in shells as the quota assigned to local industries, with the distribution among them to be based on their activities of the previous years.

In order to avoid any repetition of such conflicts, the oil-makers of the mother country and their colleagues in Senegal on 17 January 1956 reached an agreement valid for five years. The local oil-makers can buy 420,000 metric tons of groundnuts in the shell. On the other hand, they can forward to France, under exemption, within the framework of the quota of 225,000 metric tons, only 10,000 metric tons of refined oil. The greatest part of their exports is represented by crude oil, exported in accordance with bipartisan agreements by manufacturers of the mother country, on the basis of a price C.F.A. established according to the market price of oil for consumption in France.

III. The Place of the Groundnut in the Present-day Senegalese Economy

258 439 The above reference to the activity of the Senegalese oil-makers now permits the groundnut to be placed in the framework of an economy which has ceased to be solely colonial and which is employed to valorize the product exported.

1. The valorization of exports: decortication. A comparison of the details of the exports of 1935 with those of 1958 is truly eloquent: in fact the exports of groundnuts in shells, which represented 335,000 metric tons in 1935, have disappeared in 1958, while those of the decorticated product have gone from 16,000 to 330,000 metric tons during the same period. At export the transport of the crude product signified that of 28% of the weight in sterile matter, and the attempts to utilize this as fertilizer or for the making of paper were unsuccessful. After the war the acute shortage of maritime tonnage made the practice of decortication general. It is done today at different /22/ stages in the circuit of the groundnut: the place of production, the points of trade, and the

/22 cont./

258 439 ports, especially Kaolack. It is practiced by semi-industrial enterprises, usually dependent on the great commercial houses or the oil-factories, which utilize the decortication frame or tray, shaking tables, and blowers. This operation, which employs many laborers, permits a charge of about one franc C.F.A. per kilo of groundnuts in shells. It nevertheless imposes some problems: that of the rate of decortication, which varies from one campaign to another, around 71%, and that of the risk of acidification. The decorticated product deteriorates quite quickly, and, depending on the [435] times of the campaign, a rate of acidification of more than 3% or 5% causes a reduction in price.

258 Decortication is in fact only a preparation of the raw material. It is the presence today of the powerful oil-factories, constituting the essential part of its industry, that symbolizes the anxiety of Senegal to valorize on its soil its greatest wealth.

2. The Senegalese oil-factory. The industry of the oil-factory is a recent industry in Senegal. The first factory established was that of the Société életrique et industrielle du Baol at Djourbel in 1920. Then, after 1930, with the factory of the Huileries et Savonneries de l'Ouest Africain [388] /West African Oil and Soap Factories/, and especially the Etablissements Petersen, this industry came to Dakar. Nevertheless, until the war, its development was impeded by the protective measures taken at the demand of the oil-factories in the mother country: an export duty of 187 francs per quintal of oil in 1936; and a quota of only 5,800 metric tons, admitted free of import duty, in 1938. The war caused this regulation to disappear, and in 1942-1944 the great factory "Lesieur-Afrique" was established in Dakar.

258 433 After the war, the oil industry modernized its equipment and added to its capacity for trituration, which today amounts to about 500,000 metric tons of peanuts in shells, corresponding to a maximum production of about 165,000 metric tons of oil. Today, 125,000 metric tons of the

/22 cont./

258 product, usually crude, each year leaves the Senegalese
[433] factories, which thus operate under their productive capacity.
[439] About 110,000 metric tons are exported. The traditional technique of manufacture by pressure, with recovery of the oil cake, or "expellers," is being replaced more and more by the procedure with solvents, slightly increasing the rate of extraction of oil, but providing poor oil-cake.

This industry of the oil-factory if now localized in five urban centers: Dakar, Lyndiane, Djourbel, Kaolack, and
[464] Ziguinchor. It employs more than 3,000 wage earners, nearly
[563] 300 of whom are European technicians; on the basis of this it is the primary industry /23/ of Senegal, and the more so since
[388] it has had annexed to it the complementary industry of soap-making, which produced more than 15,000 metric tons of soap from the neutralization paste.

258 The development of the Sengalese industry of oil-making
433 represents a considerable evolution of the economy of the country, since the groundnut has ceased to be a product of
[439] trade in the colonial sense of the term. In fact, the product that traditionally constitutes the great agricultural resource has become the principal raw material of local industry; more than ever, the groundnut keeps Senegal alive.

433 3. The essential position of the groundnut in the economy
241 of Senegal. "Whether or not it is desirable, the economy of Senegal can revolve only with the help of the production of groundnuts." This phrase by M. Porteres sums up the essential position of the product in the local economy. In 1957, for the
[439] whole of former Mali, the total value of the exports rose to 21,085 billions of francs C.F.A., the products of the groundnut accounting for 18,257 billions of this sum, of which more than 15 billions was for Senegal alone. At the same time, of
[162] 2,230,000 inhabitants of Senegal, only 58,700 were non-agricul-tural workers, that is, non-producers of groundnuts. Actually,
433 however, many of them are supported by them indirectly, in trade, transport, or industry. It is not exaggerated to affirm

/23 cont./

433 that the great majority of the inhabitants of Senegal draw their only monetary resources from the groundnut.

651 For the Senegalese state, the groundnut plays an essential role in the budgetary resources. Without speaking of the various domestic imposts, the products of the groundnut, upon leaving the territory, support multiple duties and taxes: the fiscal export duty varies from 10% to 12% of the value of the product, according to its degree of elaboration; the taxes of inspection and condition are from 1.2% to 1.5%, and, finally, the groundnuts pay the fixed tax of 5.4% on transactions. In addition to these different duties, there are the assessment for the support funds, which is 700 francs C.F.A. per metric ton of groundnuts in shells, and the dues for the local stabilization fund, which vary from 175 francs C.F.A. per metric ton of the product in shells to 500 francs per metric ton of refined oil.

[435] These various imposts correspond to more than 25% of the purchase price given to the producer for the product in shells. In 1957 the taxes gathered on the groundnuts for the [652] benefit of the Senegalese treasury exceeded a total of four billions C.F.A., when the budget proper of the territory for the same year was 8.1 billions.

439 433 Conclusion. The present situation permits a conclusion on the notion of "industrial monocultivation of the groundnut in Senegal." For some, it is /24/ regrettable to write in the passive about the economy of trade; for others it is the criterion of the passage of Senegal into the sphere of a commercialized economy, although in this case based on a single product, since, unlike such countries as the Ivory Coast, the attempts to develop other crops for speculation have not been successful here.

This economy of the groundnut, however, is at a turning point today, due to the evolution of the relations between Senegal and France and the existence of the common market.

In the framework of the former political system, and

/24 cont./

439
433

then that of the franc zone, the groundnut of Senegal was traded outside of the world market for the product and could be integrated into it only at the cost of serious disturbances, as a consequence of its very high market price, to these practices when the transactions were made in foreign markets. In 1959, after the two successive devaluations in 1957 and 1958, the French consumer again consented to a sacrifice of 27 old domestic francs per kilo of decorticated groundnuts from Senegal in relation to the world price of the product. From this figure one can deduce that the passage of the Senegalese groundnut into the world circuit would be expressed by a lowering of nearly 30 % of the value of the harvest, that is, of the monetary revenue of the producers, and by a perceptible diminution of the fiscal receipts, if one presupposes the suppression of certain duties, in order to bring together as much as possible the local export price and the world price. The suppression of the private traders and of their margin of profit and the sale of food products or of foreign manufactures at a price lower than that of similar French products, which one can envisage in case of a rupture, do not seem capable of compensating for the lack of gain to the producer no longer benefiting from stable supported prices. In fact, the system of a free association between the Senegalese producer and the French buyer, and for the former a regime of stability and supported prices, and guaranteed sales, would seem to be the wisest solution.

The other problem is that of the existence of the European Common Market, of which France is a member. By virtue of the agreements of Venice of March 1956, an association with the overseas territories of the member nations is anticipated by Article 131 of the treaties. Although the reservations of some African politicians, non-signatories of the treaties, seem justified, nothing remains except that the treaty of Rome seems to offer some interesting prospects for the Senegalese economy. The five partners of France are hardly interested in the groundnuts of Senegal for various reasons. Federal Germany and The Netherlands purchase oleagineous materials at a low price on the world market in the

/24 cont./

439
433

framework of their commercial activities. Moreover, they are especially great consumers of margarine. Belgium /25/ is concerned about protecting its daily herds and, up to now, the products of the Congo. Finally, Italy gives priority to olive oil. In fact the coincidence of the French shortage of oleaginous materials and the largely excess production of Senegal can lead, within the spirit of the treaty and without contradiction, from the common policy anticipated for certain agricultural products (Art. 39) to the definition of the groundnut as a basic French oleaginous commodity, with the formation of a support fund maintained essentially by France. M. Adler concludes: "On the one side there is sought a product that on the other side no one wants" (5).

[113]

5. Adler, J., "Le Mali et l'archide /Mali and the groundnut/," Marches tropicaux, No. 745, 20 February 1960, pp. 497-498.

On the other hand it seems that in the case of union Senegal could anticipate, through the increasing competition between the local products of the six member countries, an appreciable lowering of the price of articles imported from Europe, from which there is a possibility of an increase in the purchasing power of the groundnut producer, in any case assured of getting a stable income from his harvest, except in the case of very serious natural calamities.

In conclusion it seems, as M. Barbier emphasizes, that for Senegal in the present circumstances the policy of bigamy is preferable to that of divorce.

Yves Pehaut.

19:Pehaut MS37 Senegal

Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer

Publiés par

l'Institut de Géographie de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux

avec le concours de

l'Institut de la France d'Outre-Mer de Bordeaux

de la Société de Géographie de Bordeaux

et du

Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique

Directeurs :

Louis PAPY, Henri ENJALBERT

Secrétaire de rédaction :

Guy LASSERRE

TOME XIV

Année 1961

Siège Social : PALAIS DE LA BOURSE

Place Gabriel - BORDEAUX

[Title Page]

19:Pehaut MS37 Senegal

N° 53 - 14me Année Janvier-Mars 1961

Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer

L'arachide au Sénégal

Lors de la « campagne » 1959-60, la production commercialisée d'arachide, au Sénégal, a atteint 720 000 tonnes d'arachides en coques. En 1957-58, elle avait connu une année record avec 830 000 tonnes. Pour ces dernières années, la production totale de produits vivriers pouvant être estimée à 550 000 tonnes environ, la proportion de 1 800 kg d'arachide récoltée par tonnes de produits vivriers, avancée en 1951 par M. Portères, est toujours proche de la réalité économique sénégalaise (1).

L'arachide est originaire d'Amérique: Jean de Léry, pasteur français décrit cette plante vers 1855, sous le nom de « manoki » comme une culture de la région de Rio. Au XVIIe siècle, le Père Plumier la signale aux Antilles. Les négriers portugais l'importèrent, semble-t-il, en Afrique vers le milieu du XVIe siècle. Bientôt les indigènes de la Sénégambie la cultivent autour des cases, et dès 1560, Alvarez de Almada, parle d'abondantes récoltes de *mantiga* consommée fraîche par les Mandingues. En 1840, un chimiste parisien, Rousseau, découvrit la richesse en huile de l'arachide. En 1841, le brick « Zénith » transporta 70 tonnes de graines à Rouen. Protêt et Faidherbe encouragent cette culture qui, dans le cadre du système économique colonial, progresse rapidement de la côte vers l'intérieur, grâce aux possibilités du milieu naturel.

Du fleuve Sénégal au Nord, à la Casamance au Sud, le climat du pays passe, par transitions successives, des caractéristiques sahéliennes aux aspects soudanais. Une longue saison sèche de neuf mois dans le Nord, plus courte au Sud, d'octobre ou décembre à mai-juin, s'oppose à un « hivernage » de trois à cinq mois suivant les régions. La fréquence et l'importance des précipitations croissent du Nord au Sud. On passe de 350 mm dans la région de Louga à 1 200 mm dans celle de Ziguinchor. Si le rivage est arrosé par l'alizé humide, le Ferlo à l'Est est assimilé à un désert. Ces conditions sont presque

(1) Pour cette mise au point, nous avons consulté:
BARBIER J. L'économie de l'arachide au Sénégal, Contribution à l'étude du marché français des huiles alimentaires. Thèse dactylographiée pour le doctorat en droit, Lille, le 20 mai 1960, 475 pages.
A.O.F. 57: Tableaux économiques. Haut-Commissariat de la République en A.O.F. Direction des Services économiques et du plan, 412 pages.
Outre-Mer 58: Service statistique d'Outre-Mer, P.U.F. 1960.

[p 5]

idéales pour une plante dont le cycle végétatif est court — environ 120 jours — et qui germe facilement dans un sol légèrement humide, se développe sous de fortes pluies et fructifie au mieux lors des journées sèches qui suivent.

Les conditions de sol paraissent tout aussi favorables. La plante n'est guère exigeante quant à la fertilité; elle demande essentiellement des sols légers car la fructification est souterraine. Les sols silico-argileux du centre du Sénégal (le *dek* des Ouoloff), les sols sableux du Nord (le *dior* des Ouoloff) conviennent parfaitement à l'arachide.

L'expansion du domaine de culture, de la côte et des estuaires vers l'intérieur, a été guidée par les voies ferrées. La voie ferrée Dakar-Saint-Louis, construite en 1885, explique le rôle essentiel du Cayor dans la production arachidière au début du siècle. Puis c'est le long de la voie Dakar-Niger, achevée en 1888, que le front de l'arachide progressa vers l'Est. Aujourd'hui, ce front qui, au Sud, a effrangé la forêt de Casamance, a atteint le Ferlo et la zone des cuirasses latéritiques de l'Est.

I. - Les types de culture de l'arachide au Sénégal

Type même du produit de « traite », l'arachide est essentiellement cultivée par les paysans autochtones qui lui consacrent une part importante de leurs activités.

1. *Les types de culture autochtones.*

Quelle que soit la place de l'arachide dans le système de cultures, on retrouve toujours, dans le cadre d'un cycle agricole très court d'hivernage, les mêmes techniques de préparation du sol, les mêmes façons culturales.

Partout, au Sénégal, les moyens techniques traditionnels sont primitifs, et ne permettent que des façons assez grossières. Le coupe-coupe, le *rhock*, sorte de fourche à deux dents, l'*hilaire*, formée d'un manche assez long et d'une lame plate en forme d'as de cœur, et la houe ou *daba*, constituent l'essentiel de l'outillage.

Au printemps, en fin de saison sèche, les arbres, les arbustes sont écimés au coupe-coupe, à 60 ou 70 cm du sol. Seuls, les « Faidherbia », dépouillés de leurs feuilles en hivernage, sont épargnés. Les branches sont brûlées sur place; leur cendre constitue le seul apport fertilisant le champ récupéré sur la brousse. Les troncs mutilés et calcinés, les souches laissées en place lui donnent un aspect inachevé et désordonné. Aussitôt après les premières pluies, en général en juin, on procède aux semailles. Dans des trous

19:Pehaut MS37 Senegal

de quatre à cinq centimètres de profondeur ménagés à la daba ou avec le manche du rhock, le cultivateur dépose une ou deux graines d'arachide, puis, du talon, recouvre de terre. Ces trous, disposés en ligne, sont généralement distants de trente centimètres. En juillet et août, on procède à plusieurs sarclages et binages à la daba pour ameublir le sol. En septembre, le dernier sarclage des mauvaises herbes se fait à la main. Dès que les tiges fanent, les gousses sont arrivées à maturité, en général à fin d'octobre ou début de novembre. On récolte en coupant les pieds à l'hilaire, à quatre ou cinq centimètres au-dessous du sol. Ils sont rassemblés en petits tas, parfois protégés par un abri végétal pour être séchés, puis entassés en meules, en attendant, quelques semaines plus tard, la séparation des gousses, par battage ou à la main. Cette dernière opération est confiée aux femmes et aux enfants. Tous ces travaux demandent un grand effort, d'autant plus que, durant la même courte période, il a fallu s'occuper des cultures vivrières : mils, niébés, etc.

Les modes d'association de l'arachide et des cultures vivrières sont très variés et imposent leur marque dans le paysage agraire.

1°) *Le lougan du paysan ouoloff*. Le paysan ouoloff du Cayor ou du Siné-Saloum représente le type le plus traditionnel du cultivateur d'arachide. Il pratique encore une culture nomade, sur son lougan défriché au feu en pleine brousse. S'il pratique un assolement mil-arachide, souvent assez peu rigide, il ne connaît pas les vertus de la fumure. Il cultive jusqu'à épuisement de la terre, qu'il abandonne ensuite pendant quinze ou vingt ans, ce qui permet le retour à la brousse. Mais aujourd'hui, la pression démographique ne lui permet pas toujours de disposer des vastes superficies de terre nécessaires à ce long repos. L'usure des sols est rapide ; les rendements faiblissent. Dans le Cayor, ceux-ci sont tombés à moins de 700 kg à l'hectare. La culture de l'arachide est en régression très marquée.

2°) *Le terroir organisé de la paysannerie sérère* (2). Les Sérère constituent un groupe d'origine soudanaise, refoulé par les Mandingues et installés dans le Siné-Saloum. Ce sont surtout des paysans du mil : en moyenne, ils cultivent un hectare de cette céréale pour 70 ares d'arachide. L'arachide, entrée assez récemment dans le cycle de culture, a contribué à la naissance d'un terroir à secteurs spécialisés. Autour du village, le ceinturant, sont situés des champs de petit mil, de coton, de manioc. Hors de ce *pombod*, sous les faidherbia, le terroir est divisé en trois soles correspondant à un système d'assolement triennal ; petit mil ; arachide ; jachère, où, après la culture, pacagent les bêtes, qui fument le sol pour la prochaine culture. Chaque famille possède des parcelles dans chaque

(2) Pelissier P. Les paysans sérère, essai sur la formation d'un terroir au Sénégal. *Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer*, t. VI, 1953, n° 22, pp. 105-127.

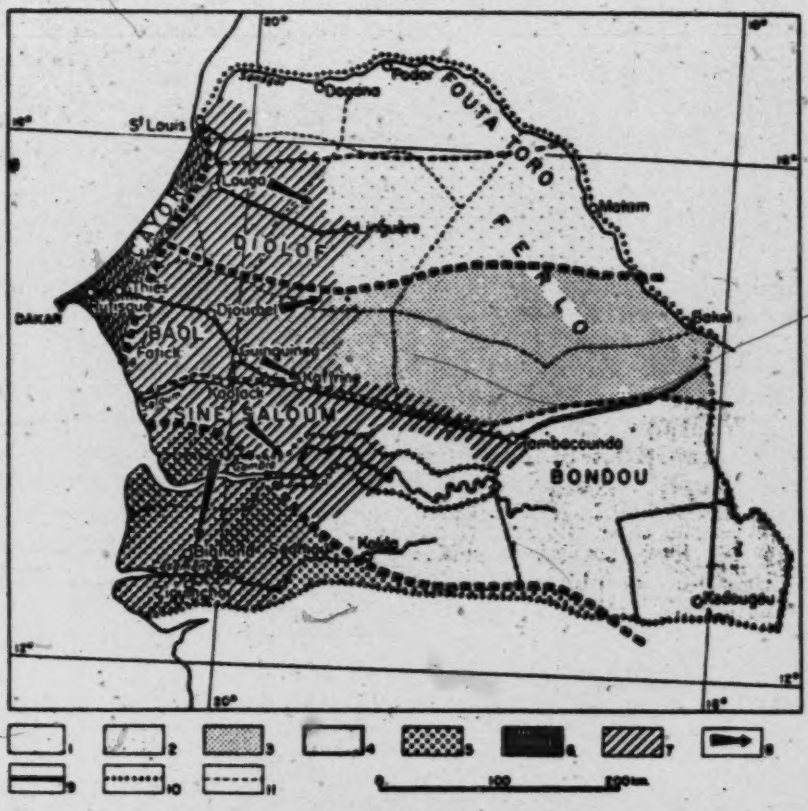


Fig. 1. — Le domaine de l'arachide au Sénégal.

1. Zone sahélo-saharienne; 2. ZoneSahélo-soudanienne; 3. Zone soudano-sahélienne; 4. Zone soudano-guinéenne; 5. Zone guinéenne; 6. Zone côtière avec reliques de la forêt guinéenne; 7. Arachide; 8. Progression du domaine de l'arachide; 9. Chemin de fer; 10. Limites d'Etats; 11. Limites de cercles.

sole. La séparation entre ces trois grands secteurs du terroir est assurée par des haies vives ou des barrières d'épineux coupés. En pays sérère se dessine un terroir permanent, et se profile une propriété foncière. Le paysan a soin de ménager la terre et ne demande à l'arachide, culture secondaire, qu'un appoint en argent.

3°) *La culture « aventureuse » ou « minière »*. C'est, à l'opposé de l'exemple sérère, un type de culture, où le cultivateur, souvent occasionnel, est attiré uniquement par le profit immédiat que peut procurer l'arachide. Il est pratiqué par le groupe des Mourides d'une part et par les navétanes d'autre part.

Le *mouridisme* (3) est un mouvement musulman, fondé par le Cheikh Amadou Bamba, mort en 1927. La confrérie a fait de nombreux adeptes, surtout dans le Siné-Saloum, auprès des Ouoloff. Pour les Mourides, l'Islam est une religion, fondée sur le renoncement. Le travail agricole devient une chose sainte, s'il est fait au profit de l'homme pieux qui prie. Les adeptes du mouridisme ou *talibés* ont ainsi obligation morale de livrer le produit de leur travail aux marabouts. D'une ardeur remarquable au défrichement, ces Mourides ont mis en valeur des terres neuves et, ainsi constitué un « front de l'arachide », progressant vers l'Est, surtout de part et d'autre du chemin de fer Dakar-Niger. Mais cette culture présente de graves dangers car les Mourides se soucient essentiellement de l'arachide, aux dépens du mil; ils utilisent les terres défrichées dans la proportion moyenne de 60 % de la superficie pour l'arachide, et 40 % seulement pour le mil. Les rotations culturales, la jachère ne sont que trop rarement respectées; or les terres mises en culture sont d'autant plus fragiles que le front de l'arachide butte actuellement, sur la zone des cuirasses latéritiques de l'Est, annonçant le Soudan.

Les *navétanes* (4) sont des travailleurs saisonniers, qui viennent surtout du Soudan, et, jusqu'en 1958, du Nord de la Guinée. Ils cultivent l'arachide pour le compte d'un employeur ou *diatigui*, suivant les clauses d'un contrat verbal. L'employeur fournit le sol défriché, les semences, le logement et la nourriture. Le navétane prépare le terrain, sème, sarcle et fait la récolte. En fait, il ne consacre guère que trois à quatre demi-journées par semaine au travail pour le compte du diatigui. Il utilise le reste de son temps au défrichement et à la culture pour son compte. Cette main-d'œuvre est très coûteuse pour l'employeur qui est souvent obligé d'emprunter à des taux prohibitifs, pour nourrir le navétane. De plus, ce système présente de graves dangers, car l'immigrant temporaire, défrichant et cultivant une terre pour laquelle il n'éprouve aucun attachement ne lui témoigne aucun ménagement. Enfin, le navétane consomme du mil et n'en produit pas, ce qui, dans certaines régions, aggrave le problème de la soudure. Avant 1939, en période de plein développement de la culture de l'arachide, il y eut certaines années, jusqu'à 70 000 navétanes. Le régime d'organisation autoritaire du travail, pendant les hostilités, ne put, et de loin, maintenir ces effectifs; aussi, avec le retour à la liberté en 1946, le nombre des navétanes était tombé à 12 000 environ. Pour les attirer, on leur accorda la gratuité du voyage aller et retour. La suppression de ces facilités en 1956, la fermeture de la frontière guinéenne à la fin

(3) PELISSIER P. L'arachide au Sénégal, rationalisation et modernisation de la culture. *Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer*, t. IV, 1951, n° 13, pp. 30-85.

(4) FOUQUET J. La traite des arachides dans le pays de Kaolack et ses conséquences économiques, sociales et juridiques. Thèse de Droit, Montpellier, 1951, 262 pages.

19:Pehaut MS37 Senegal

de 1958, ont considérablement diminué l'importance de ces migrations temporaires, au total assez peu profitables à l'économie du Sénégal.

D'autres mouvements saisonniers de main-d'œuvre ont lieu dans le cadre de la culture de l'arachide. Les *sourga* viennent de la ville, ils se placent chez des parents, dans les mêmes conditions que les navétanes. Les *baraguini* sont des manœuvres qui, dans les régions de Tambacounda et Kédougou, offrent leur aide aux cultivateurs, lors de la récolte. Ils déterrent les pieds d'arachide, les font sécher, détachent et nettoient les graines.

Tous ces types de culture de l'arachide, sont caractérisés par de faibles rendements: 830 kg/ha en moyenne pour le Sénégal. Ces rendements, par suite de la pauvreté des moyens techniques traditionnels, ne sont guère susceptibles d'amélioration. Dans les dernières décennies, l'accroissement du volume de la récolte était donc lié à celui de la superficie cultivée, ce qui n'allait pas sans présenter de graves dangers: abus de culture sur des sols souvent fragiles et recul des productions vivrières. Après quelques essais sans lendemain dans les années 1920-1930, c'est la culture mécanisée qui, à la fin du deuxième conflit mondial, parut la plus capable d'accroître la production au profit de la métropole qui souffrait d'une grave pénurie de corps gras.

2. *Les expériences de culture mécanisée.*

Les expériences de culture mécanisée procèdent des dispositions de la loi du 30 avril 1946, sur le premier plan de « développement économique et social des territoires d'Outre-Mer ».

a) La première expérience fut celle du « bloc de l'arachide ». En 1947, est créé à Boulel, à 21 km au Nord de Kaffrine, dans la région des terres neuves, le « Bloc de l'arachide ». Il dispose de 15 000 ha de brousse d'un seul tenant, et est doté d'un puissant matériel. 360 manœuvres mourides, encadrés par 160 techniciens, procèdent aux défrichements qui en 1954 atteignent près de 3 000 hectares. Les buts de l'entreprise sont multiples. Il s'agit: 1° d'expérimenter le matériel chargé de la préparation du sol, des labours, des semis, des sarclages et de la récolte; 2° d'initier la main-d'œuvre mouride au maniement des engins mécaniques; 3° d'obtenir des manœuvres certaines tâches: décorticage pour les semis, désherbage avant la récolte; 4° de mettre au point les façons culturales capables des plus hauts rendements, tout en protégeant le sol.

Les résultats pratiques s'avèrent assez médiocres. Les frais sont très élevés et l'amortissement du matériel n'est guère possible. De plus, les colons mourides s'adaptent mal. En 1953, ces derniers sont éliminés, et en 1955, le Bloc devient le « Secteur expérimental de modernisation agricole » (S.E.M.A.). Ses activités se répartissent

dorénavant en trois secteurs: un secteur d'aménagement qui poursuit les défrichements; un secteur expérimental définissant les techniques de cultures les mieux adaptées et instruisant la main-d'œuvre; un secteur d'exploitation qui applique les résultats de l'expérimentation. Le S.E.M.A. « associe » à son travail 155 familles. Il fournit les terres préparées à la machine, assure certaines façons, prête vivres et semences sans intérêt. Les associés doivent assurer manuellement les tâches complémentaires; ils s'engagent à respecter les assolements prescrits par le secteur expérimental.

b) L'expérience de la C.G.O.T. en Casamance commença en 1948. Dans le cadre du premier plan, la Compagnie générale des oléagineux tropicaux avait acquis de vastes superficies de terres dans la région de Séfa, en amont de Sédhiou. Un puissant matériel permit à cette société d'économie mixte de défricher 4 000 hectares de forêts. La compagnie avait recruté à grands frais des techniciens européens et des manœuvres locaux touchant des salaires supérieurs à la moyenne. L'expérience de mécanisation intégrale rencontra de très graves difficultés: le défrichement en forêt est très délicat, car des carapaces se trouvent à faible profondeur, le matériel s'use très vite, les frais de gestion sont très élevés; or, alors que l'on avait escompté des rendements de 2 000 kg d'arachides à l'hectare, on n'en obtint que 1 200. La Compagnie dut modifier sa politique. Les terres furent réparties entre des « colons » qui s'engagèrent à respecter un assolement mil ou riz-arachide. La Compagnie cultive le riz mécaniquement et garde la récolte. Elle procède aux façons les plus difficiles de l'arachide et perçoit en échange 450 kg de coques par hectare ainsi cultivé. Le mil revient aux colons.

c) Les chefs mourides de la région de Djourbel ont fait aussi une expérience de mécanisation. Certains d'entre eux, en effet, enrichis par les « dons » des fidèles ont acquis du matériel et ont entrepris dans les terres neuves la culture mécanisée de l'arachide imitée de l'exemple de Boulel. Ce système, sans préjuger des risques de dégradation des sols, semble dangereux au point de vue social, car il peut renforcer l'emprise des marabouts sur les fidèles devenus de simples manœuvres.

En fait, les expériences de mécanisation de la culture se sont soldées par un échec dans la mesure où l'on pouvait escompter un emploi généralisé de la machine. Cependant ces tentatives, modestes, au total, n'ont pas été aussi catastrophiques que celle du fameux « groundnut scheme » du Tanganyika. De plus, elles ont puissamment contribué à la rationalisation des techniques traditionnelles, étudiée par ailleurs depuis 1924 au centre expérimental de Bambey.

3. *Les améliorations apportées aux modes traditionnels de culture.*

Le centre de Bambey, géré par l'Institut de recherche des huiles

et oléagineux (I.R.H.O.) a fait, surtout depuis la fin de la dernière guerre, de gros efforts de sélection des semences, de mise au point de nouvelles méthodes de culture et de protection des sols et du milieu naturel. Ces études, jointes aux enseignements fournis par Boulel et Séfa, ont donné des résultats très encourageants.

1°) *La sélection des semences.* En culture traditionnelle, le cultivateur devait prélever les semailles pour la prochaine campagne sur sa propre récolte. Ce système était peu satisfaisant; les graines étaient souvent de médiocre valeur, elles se conservaient mal: enfin, très souvent, le cultivateur imprévoyant vendait une partie de son stock avant la fin de la traite, et devait ensuite recourir à des prêts usuraires.

Depuis 1924, le centre de Bambey a mis au point des semences sélectionnées à haut rendement, adaptées aux conditions naturelles de chaque région productrice. L'adoption de variétés rampantes pour les régions sèches du Nord, de plantes à port érigé pour les sols plus humides et compacts du Sud, assure une augmentation de 20 % des rendements. En 1935, 26 tonnes de semences sélectionnées avaient été distribuées; en 1951, ce chiffre passa à 35 000. Depuis, plus de 90 % des semences utilisées sont constituées de graines sélectionnées. La vulgarisation et la distribution de ces semences sont assurées par des centres satellites, mais surtout par des sociétés de prévoyance, devenues en 1958 les Sociétés mutuelles de développement rural (S.M.D.R.). La distribution des graines a lieu entre la fermeture de la traite et le début des façons culturales, à intérêt de 20 % sur la base d'environ 100 kg par cultivateur. Le remboursement a lieu avant l'ouverture de la traite, l'importance des pertes expliquant le haut taux d'intérêt. Les semences, stockées par ces mutuelles, sont désinfectées, et des échantillons sont expédiés à Bambey aux fins d'analyse.

2°) *L'amélioration des techniques de culture.* Un calendrier agricole resserré en quatre mois et exigeant un dur labeur, des outils très rudimentaires, l'absence d'apports fertilisants expliquent en grande partie le manque d'efficacité des méthodes traditionnelles.

L'exemple de Koutiala au Soudan où l'on avait distribué des charrues, a montré que l'emploi de cet instrument était souvent à proscrire en milieu tropical. Par contre Bambey et Boulel ont expérimenté avec succès du petit matériel; houes, semoirs, en culture attelée. Ces instruments légers peuvent faciliter grandement le travail du paysan. Le grand obstacle réside dans la médiocrité de l'élevage, d'autant qu'il a fait divorce avec l'agriculture. Les ânes dans tout le pays, les chameaux dans le Nord, les bovins confiés aux Peul n'ont jamais été considérés comme des animaux de trait. Aujourd'hui 20 000 semoirs légers vendus à crédit par les S.M.D.R. sont en service. Les houes n'ont pas eu jusqu'ici le même succès.

La culture attelée a aussi l'avantage d'associer la culture et l'élevage et de permettre à l'agriculteur d'utiliser le fumier, comme savent le faire les Sérère. Les expériences de Bambey ont montré que la fumure doit se faire sur le mil et non sur l'arachide, sous peine de récolter de nombreuses gousses vides. L'usage du mil comme engrais vert paraît très bénéfique sur ces terres fragiles; l'apport d'engrais composés N.P.K., sous forme de pastilles pour éviter le lessivage rapide, assure des rendements supérieurs de 30 %. Actuellement les Mutuelles distribuent environ 6 000 tonnes d'engrais par an. Le prix élevé de ces produits d'importation est un obstacle à leur vulgarisation, mais certains spécialistes envisagent l'utilisation des phosphates tricalciques de Thiès.

3°) *La protection du milieu.* La culture de l'arachide suivant les techniques traditionnelles comporte de graves dangers pour le sol. Les feux de brousse abusifs le dénudent et facilitent l'action d'érosion de l'harmattan sec qui souffle en fin de saison sèche, à partir du mois de mars. La culture, le plus souvent imprévoyante, conduit à la dégradation rapide de sols très fragiles. Dans l'Ouest, les sables sont appauvris, les sels remontent à la surface; à l'Est, la cuirasse latéritique apparaît à faible profondeur.

La législation intervient dans la défense du milieu naturel; le décret du 4 juillet 1935 a interdit la coupe des arbres sans autorisation, et a réglementé les feux de brousse et les défrichements. Mais les remèdes les plus efficaces ont été mis au point par l'expérimentation, et préconisés après un inventaire sérieux des sols. L'exemple de Boulel a montré que des bandes de végétation naturelle, séparant les défrichements par couloirs perpendiculaires aux routes, constituaient un remède efficace contre l'action du vent. La fragilité des sols requiert un système rigide d'assolement. Bambey et Boulel ont prouvé que la succession mil, arachide, jachère était la plus susceptible de les préserver. La jachère de deux ans, recommandée au Sud, est insuffisante dans le Nord, où six ans de repos paraissent indispensables. Il est indéniable que, depuis quelques années, ces rotations culturales sont de plus en plus suivies, surtout dans les secteurs pilotes. Enfin, le réaménagement de la carte de l'arachide, largement amorcé, peut avoir des conséquences bénéfiques. Les cercles limitrophes du fleuve Sénégal ont pratiquement abandonné cette culture (Podor, Matam, etc...), le Nord Cayor, au climat sec, aux sols appauvris, à la forte population connaît un déclin très marqué de l'arachide, au profit du mil. Par contre, les régions neuves du Siné-Saloum, de Tambacounda deviennent typiquement arachidières.

Toutes ces innovations ne pourront porter véritablement leurs fruits qu'avec l'adhésion de la masse paysanne, ce qui pose le pro-

blème de son éducation. C'est là une des préoccupations essentielles de l'actuel gouvernement sénégalais.

II. - La « traite » de l'arachide

Depuis un siècle, le volume total de la production a progressé de façon spectaculaire. En fait, au stade de la récolte, toute statistique est impossible. Seuls, les chiffres de commercialisation sont connus avec précision. Ils diffèrent d'ailleurs assez peu du chiffre global de production, car l'autoconsommation paraît peu importante. On estime que la moyenne de la production arachidière de 1900 à 1904 fut de 123 000 tonnes. Les chiffres les plus récents sont les suivants : campagne 1938-1939, 584 000 tonnes ; campagne 1942-1943, 183 000 t ; campagne 1943-1944, 281 000 t ; campagne 1957-1958, 808 000 t ; campagne 1958-1959, 653 000 t ; campagne 1959-1960, 720 000 t.

Hormis la période de guerre où la production de l'arachide difficilement exportable s'effaça au profit de celle du mil, la progression fut continue, la campagne 1957-1958 étant exceptionnellement favorable.

Cette production entre dans le circuit de commercialisation ou « traite » qui est aujourd'hui strictement réglementée.

1. *L'organisation de la « traite »*.

La commercialisation de l'arachide a relayé la « traite » de la gomme, des esclaves et de l'or de l'ancien système colonial. Si le terme est encore souvent utilisé, son contexte actuel est très différent de l'acception de l'époque du pacte colonial. La traite n'est plus, comme le voulait Littré, un commerce d'échange, organisé au bénéfice presque exclusif du « traitant » européen, c'est aujourd'hui une activité commerciale strictement réglementée, dans le temps et dans l'espace, et ouverte aux seuls intermédiaires agréés.

1°) *La « campagne »*. « La campagne » est la période durant laquelle sont autorisées les opérations commerciales de l'arachide. Elle est ouverte et fermée chaque année par décret gouvernemental. En général, elle débute à la fin de novembre ou au début de décembre et se termine à la fin d'avril. La date d'ouverture de la campagne se situe deux mois environ après le début de la récolte, afin d'éviter les arrachages prématurés, et de favoriser le remboursement des semences avancées. Ce système conduit cependant à une certaine contrebande dans le Sud, car les navétanes pressés de rentrer chez eux, les paysans désargentés sont tentés de vendre en Gambie. Lors de la fermeture, les transactions sont depuis longtemps terminées, mais, cette décision empêche la vente éventuelle

19:Pehaut MS37 Senegal

des semences distribuées par les mutuelles. Pour échelonner les apports, et éviter les transactions massives en début de traite, les opérations sont suspendues du vendredi au lundi. Cependant dès la fin du mois de janvier, la presque totalité de la récolte a été négociée.

2°) *Les « points de traite »*. Depuis 1932, les opérations de vente doivent avoir lieu dans des localités dites points de traite ou « escales » situées sur la voie ferrée ou une route (Circulaire du 13 juillet 1932). Ces points de traite qui étaient au nombre de 175 en 1935, sont aujourd'hui plus de 300. La limitation, en 1932, du nombre de points de traite répondait au désir de ralentir le rythme de la vente et d'éviter la prolifération des intermédiaires. La création récente de nouvelles escales consacre la conquête des terres neuves et veut éviter l'abus de culture sur les terres proches des anciens points de traite.

L'accession d'une localité au rang d'escale en fait juridiquement un centre urbain, avec obligation de lotissement, et pour les commerçants de construction en dur. La campagne est pour l'escale une période de grande animation. Les commerçants ou traitants ouvrent leur comptoir d'achat ou « factorerie ». Traditionnellement, des intermédiaires, ou « maîtres de langue », conduisaient le producteur à la factorerie. L'arachide transportée par des ânes, en sacs prêtés par le traitant, est pesée et vidée dans le *secco*, aire en terre battue ou en ciment limitée par des tôles. L'agriculteur, payé aussitôt, dépense sur-le-champ la somme reçue, en réglant les sommes dues au traitant, et en achetant au rayon des objets manufacturés de la même factorerie les articles les plus divers: tissus, bimbeloterie, articles pour bicyclettes, etc... Le même traitant réalisait ainsi, dans le système traditionnel deux bénéfices.

3°) *Les agents de la traite*. Jusqu'à la deuxième guerre mondiale, la traite de l'arachide était aux mains d'environ 3 000 traitants du secteur privé, organisés selon une stricte hiérarchie. Au sommet, la traite était contrôlée par de grandes maisons d'import-export, d'origine surtout bordelaise: Maurel et Prom, Peyrissac, Vézia, etc., auxquelles s'ajoutaient la C.F.A.O. d'origine marseillaise, et la S.C.O.A. franco-suisse. Ces firmes, dont les agences générales pour le Sénégal se trouvent à Dakar, disposent de « comptoirs » et « agences » dans les principales localités, de « factoreries » dans les escales, et d' « opérations » en brousse. Ces maisons de commerce concentrent les achats de leurs différents traitants, et leur fournissent les produits importés. Elles sont soutenues lors de la campagne, par les banques métropolitaines ou leurs agences du Sénégal.

Des commerçants indépendants français, souvent anciens employés des firmes, jouent un rôle de demi-grossiste dans les escales.

19: Pehaut MS37 Senegal

A. - Champ d'arachide récoltée en pays wolof.

B. - La récolte de l'arachide en pays sérère.

[facing p. 16]

19:Pehaut MS37 Senegal

Ils achètent directement aux producteurs ou à des sous-traitants africains, ensachent et expédient aux maisons de commerce dans les ports d'expédition. Ils ont été très durement touchés par la crise économique des années 1930, puis par la guerre, en particulier du fait de la mobilisation, ce qui a facilité l'installation de nombreux traitants libano-syriens.

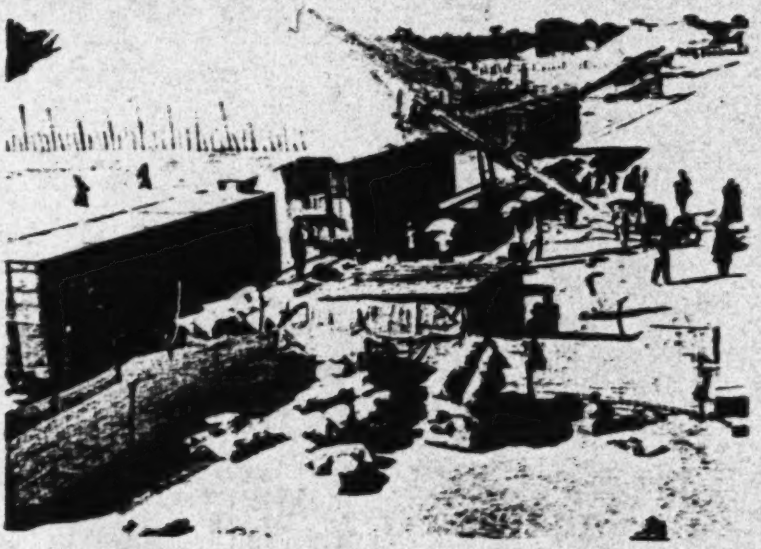
Ce sont les traités de 1919 qui ont facilité la venue en Afrique de ces Libano-Syriens. Ceux-ci se consacrent essentiellement au commerce, et ils ont dans l'ensemble réussi, car, vivant près des autochtones, ils ont adopté leur manière de vivre, et se contentent de beaucoup moins que les Européens indépendants. Pendant la traite, ils sont en général commissionnaires de la firme qu'ils représentent. Ils reçoivent une commission par tonne d'arachide achetée et vendent dans leur comptoir les produits manufacturés que leur livre la maison. Le plus souvent, ils sont liés avec les producteurs par le système des prêts qu'ils consentent en espèces et surtout en nature, lors de la difficile période de soudure d'avant la récolte.

Des « sous-traitants » africains jouent le plus souvent le rôle d'intermédiaires entre les producteurs et les traitants, ils sont très fréquemment transporteurs, et conduisent le vendeur à une bascule amie.

Depuis la dernière guerre, ce système a été assez largement perturbé par l'apparition de nouveaux acheteurs qui concurrencent de plus en plus le commerce traditionnel. Les huiliers locaux ne s'adressent guère aux grandes firmes. Ils font affaire avec les traitants des escales, ou, le plus souvent, ils ont leurs propres acheteurs. Depuis 1952, des coopératives pilotes font à peu de frais la collecte dans de nombreuses escales ; elles utilisent le personnel et le matériel des S.M.D.R. De plus, la loi du 13 janvier 1960 portant création d'un « Office de commercialisation agricole » (O.C.A.) a attribué à cet organisme la responsabilité de vente des produits collectés par les coopératives (art. 6) et lui a accordé licence de créer des points d'achats destinés à la collecte directe des produits agricoles locaux dans les secteurs où n'existent pas encore de coopératives (art. 7). Le décret du 20 mai 1960, qui concerne plus précisément le marché de l'arachide, n'accorde licence d'achat qu'à des organismes stockeurs (O.S.), privés ou coopératifs, dûment agréés après décision d'un Comité régional d'agrément, et aux postes d'achat de l'O.C.A. On peut se demander si ces décisions ne constituent pas une étape vers la création d'un « Office de l'arachide » qui aurait l'exclusivité de la traite, et pourrait normaliser un « circuit de l'arachide » actuellement très complexe.

19: Pehaut MS37 Senegal

A. - La traite: transport des arachides chez le traitant (Diourbel)



B. - Embarquement de l'arachide en vrac dans des wagons en gare de M'Backé.

[facing p. 17]

2. - *Le « circuit » de l'arachide.*

L'achat de l'arachide à l'escale, et son stockage dans le secco du traitant ne constituent qu'une étape dans le circuit compliqué qui mène l'arachide du lieu de production au port d'exportation ou à l'huilerie.

1°) *Les moyens de transport.* Du lieu de production à l'escale, l'arachide utilise essentiellement les modes de transports traditionnels, ânes dans tout le pays, chameaux dans le Nord. L'arrêté du 4 septembre 1935 a interdit l'usage du camion. Ses buts étaient d'éviter les transports massifs, les achats à bas prix au lieu de production, et surtout d'encourager l'élevage local. Mais ce système comporte de graves défauts. Le plus souvent le transport à dos d'âne revient plus cher au producteur que le transport par camion, car les chameliers et les bourricotiers imposent leurs prix aux paysans ne possédant pas de bêtes. De plus, le transporteur conduit le vendeur chez un traitant que ce dernier ne choisit pas. Aujourd'hui, il y a cependant de plus en plus de dérogations autorisées, car, dans le Sud où l'arachide progresse, la tsé-tsé interdit l'élevage, et, dans les autres régions, les bêtes surmenées sont incapables d'effectuer les transports en fin de traite. Enfin, certaines coopératives qui prétendent « collecter » et non acheter, envoient des camions sur les lieux de production.

Du secco du traitant au port proche, ou à la gare, le transport est assuré par camions. Ce sont essentiellement les firmes de commerce, les traitants ou les huiliers locaux qui les exploitent. Il y a peu de transporteurs professionnels, car le trafic est essentiellement saisonnier. Le mauvais état général des routes non bitumées, hormis la « transgambienne » de Dakar à Ziguinchor, provoque une usure rapide du matériel dont l'amortissement grève lourdement le budget des commerçants.

Le chemin de fer Dakar-Saint-Louis, et surtout le Dakar-Niger transportent chaque année plus de 200 000 tonnes d'arachides. Malgré l'utilisation de wagons de grande capacité, les possibilités de transport sont insuffisantes lors des premiers mois de la traite. Or, la pratique des tarifs dégressifs, pour ne pas désavantager la production des régions les plus éloignées du lieu de destination, limite d'autant plus les possibilités d'accroissement du parc que le trafic de l'arachide est essentiellement saisonnier, et qu'il pose le problème du fret de retour. Les trois ports de Dakar, de Kaolack et de Ziguinchor constituent, aux exportations, le point de rupture de charge entre transports terrestres et transports maritimes. Ceux-ci sont assurés pour la majeure partie par les navires de compagnies qui se chargent des services réguliers : Delmas et Vieljeux, Maurel et Prom, etc... ; ils sont concurrencés d'ailleurs par des tramps. Ces

19:Pehaut MS37 Senegal

multiples ruptures de charge grèvent assez lourdement le prix de l'arachide, au départ assez bas, du fait que chacune d'elles est accompagnée de multiples manutentions.

2°) *Les manutentions*. Dans son organisation actuelle, le circuit de l'arachide implique de multiples manutentions, car le transport du produit s'effectue en sacs. A chaque étape, il faut peser les sacs, les vider dans le secco, puis procéder lors de la réexpédition à une nouvelle pesée et à un réensachement. En sus du coût de la main-d'œuvre, les firmes et parfois les traitants doivent supporter de grosses dépenses pour l'achat et l'entretien de grandes quantités de sacs vite détériorés, ou détournés. M. Barbier estime à 16 au minimum le nombre de manutentions supportées par un sac d'arachide, du lieu de production au port. Une solution à ce problème résiderait dans le transport en vrac du produit, par camion et wagons grillagés, chargés par transporteurs mécaniques. Ces transformations supposeraient de gros investissements, que l'arachide, produit bon marché et surtout saisonnier, ne peut amortir.

3°) *La réglementation du conditionnement*. Le décret du 11 janvier 1926 a créé un Office d'inspection et de conditionnement de l'arachide qui contrôlait la qualité du produit dans les escales et dans les ports. Cet Office qui fonctionnait sous la responsabilité des Chambres de Commerce locales appliquait les normes de « l'usage de Bordeaux » de 1922. Dans les escales, les lots comportant plus de 2 % d'impuretés étaient refoulés, et des amendes pouvaient frapper les vendeurs dont le produit en recélait plus de 3 %. Un second contrôle était effectué dans les ports. Depuis 1947, cet Office est remplacé par un « Service du contrôle et du conditionnement » qui n'inspecte le produit que dans les ports, ce qui engage la seule responsabilité de l'exportateur. Toute marchandise comportant plus de 2 % d'impuretés, et en moyenne plus de 4 % d'acidité pour les décortiquées, est refusée ou subit une réfaction de prix. Depuis quelques années, les maisons de commerce ont acquis des cribles qui permettent l'élimination de beaucoup de débris, mais ils sont souvent mal utilisés, et l'arachide du Sénégal est le plus souvent assortie de débris de tiges ou autres.

La complication du circuit de l'arachide, ses insuffisances, ont suscité de nombreux projets de rationalisation qui recommandent pour la plupart le transport en vrac, le stockage en silos, et un contrôle rigoureux de la qualité. Actuellement, un organisme public, le « Secteur d'expérimentation et de rationalisation du circuit de l'arachide » (S.E.R.C.A.) s'en occupe, mais il manque singulièrement de moyens.

3. - *Le marché de l'arachide et le problème des prix.*

Jusqu'à la deuxième guerre mondiale, toutes les transactions sur l'arachide étaient libres; les prix variaient considérablement en fonction de l'offre et de la demande. Pendant la guerre, le « Groupement national d'achat des produits oléagineux » (G.N.A.P.O.) contrôlait le marché et fixait autoritairement les prix. Après la guerre, lors de la campagne 1950-1951, le retour à la liberté détermina un bond spectaculaire des cours de l'arachide qui, à la production, passèrent de 18 à 30 francs C..F.A. le kilo de coques. Cette situation conduisit à une intervention des pouvoirs publics, soucieux de fixer un prix stable à la production.

1°) *Le prix d'achat à la production et le niveau de vie du producteur d'arachide.* Le calcul du prix de l'arachide fut impossible à établir au stade de la production, par manque de références valables quant aux éléments du prix de revient. Le gouvernement détermina le prix à la production, à partir du prix C.F.A. en France, diminué des différents frais de commercialisation, d'imposition et de transport maritime. Depuis la campagne 1955-1956, ces prix sont proches de 22 francs C.F.A. le kilo coque à Dakar, de 21,25 à Kaolack, et de 20,5 à Ziguinchor. En fait ces prix sont très supérieurs aux cours mondiaux. Selon M. Barbier, ce sont des prix « sociaux et politiques ». En définitive, le consommateur français « accepte » un surprix du produit élaboré.

Que représente, pour le producteur, le prix ainsi fixé? Les références au prix de revient n'étant pas possibles, la seule idée de la valeur libératoire d'un kilo d'arachide peut être retenue. Toutes les statistiques utilisent le critère du prix du mil et du riz, denrées de base du producteur d'arachide. Si la valeur de cette référence peut être discutée, il apparaît qu'après la période difficile de la guerre, le producteur a vu croître son pouvoir d'achat, qui, vers 1951, était comparable à celui de la période précédant le conflit. Mais, depuis cette date, malgré les sacrifices consentis par le consommateur français, il n'a pu maintenir son niveau de vie que par un accroissement appréciable du volume de la récolte, donc des surfaces cultivées, car la progression des prix du mil, par déficit de la récolte, et du riz, par la sortie de l'Indochine de la zone franc, a été plus rapide que celle des cours de l'arachide. Cependant, le recours à la notion de « Rapport d'échange » du producteur d'arachide, obtenu par le rapport: indice du prix F.O.B. de l'arachide sur l'indice pondéré des différents produits d'importation, conduit à une réalité plus encourageante: sur la base 100 en 1949, le rapport d'échange serait de 114,5 en 1958, en faveur du producteur sénégalais. M. Barbier conclut: « Le rapport d'échange du producteur sénégalais s'est

amélioré, à la différence de ce que l'on constate dans la plupart des pays sous-développés ».

En fait tous ces calculs sont théoriques, et dans l'ensemble, le niveau de vie du producteur est resté bas. Le cultivateur « moyen », cultivant environ un hectare reçoit moins de 20 000 francs C.F.A. pour un rendement moyen de 800 kg. Cette somme est modeste, or, il faut l'amputer, lors de la vente, d'une part importante consacrée aux règlements des dettes en espèces et surtout en nature, contractées lors de l'hivernage auprès du traitant, à un taux d'intérêt très élevé. On estime que la masse de ces crédits représente 20 % de la valeur de la récolte.

Cette fixation du prix à la production réduit considérablement les fluctuations du marché qui est en fait dominé par les besoins de l'ex-métropole.

2°) *Le marché de l'arachide est sous la dépendance des besoins français.* On ne peut parler de concurrence au stade de la vente, dans un marché où les prix d'achat au producteur sont fixés autoritairement. En fait, la demande dépend essentiellement des besoins français, ce que traduit parfaitement le décret du 13 novembre 1954, qui réglemente les importations de graines oléagineuses en métropole. Le Sénégal peut y exporter un contingent de 225 000 tonnes équivalent-huile, à un prix minimum garanti, et en franchise. Ce prix peut varier dans d'étroites limites, environ 5 %. La régularisation du marché est assurée par un organisme officiel, la Société interprofessionnelle des oléagineux fluides alimentaires (S.I.O.F.A.), seule habilitée à importer de l'étranger, pour faire pression sur les prix et les ramener au-dessous du prix maximum en période déficitaire. Cet organisme, d'autre part, soutient les cours s'ils se situent au-dessous du prix minimum, en période de surproduction, grâce à un fonds alimenté par une cotisation de 2,50 NF par tonne d'arachide décortiquée importée.

Cependant, hors le contingent absorbé par la métropole, et la satisfaction des besoins locaux, le problème s'est posé, lors de certaines campagnes, 1957-1958 par exemple, de l'écoulement d'importants surplus. Au début de l'année 1958, 102 000 tonnes d'arachides décortiquées étaient disponibles, non garanties par la S.I.O.F.A. Pour en assurer l'écoulement, en respectant le prix à la production, les pouvoirs publics créèrent à Dakar, en février 1958, une caisse de stabilisation, comme il en existe pour le café ou le cacao. Cet organisme prélevant un sixième des droits de sortie sur les arachides et les huiles, et une cotisation professionnelle, put combler une partie de la différence entre le cours mondial et celui de la zone franc, le reste étant pris en charge par la métropole. Cet organisme est encore loin de posséder la puissance financière des « Marketing boards » de Nigéria.

Si les pouvoirs publics purent intervenir efficacement en période d'abondance, ils eurent aussi l'occasion de trancher provisoirement un litige entre acheteurs lors de la campagne déficitaire 1954-1955.

3°) *La concurrence entre acheteurs et l'accord de janvier* 1956. L'huilerie sénégalaise, devenue très puissante après la guerre, se porte acquéreur de gros tonnages, ce qui ne pouvait que conduire à la concurrence et au conflit avec les acheteurs métropolitains traditionnels, en année déficitaire. C'est ce qui se produisit lors de la campagne 1954-1955, où la récolte n'atteignit que 390 000 tonnes. Non tenus de respecter les prix d'intervention de la S.I.O.F.A., les huiliers locaux firent monter les cours. Les protestations des acheteurs métropolitains conduisirent à une intervention du Haut-Commissariat, qui fixa à 330 000 tonnes d'arachides en coques le contingent attribué aux industriels locaux, avec répartition entre eux sur la base de leur activité des années précédentes.

Pour éviter la répétition de tels conflits, les huiliers métropolitains et leurs collègues du Sénégal passèrent, le 17 janvier 1956, un accord valable pour 5 ans. Les huiliers locaux peuvent acheter 420 000 tonnes d'arachides en coques. En contrepartie, ils n'expédient en France, sous franchise, dans le cadre du contingent de 225 000 tonnes, que 10 000 tonnes d'huile raffinée. La plus grande partie de leurs exportations est représentée par des huiles brutes, prises en charge après accords bi-parties par les industriels métropolitains, sur la base d'un prix C.F.A. établi d'après le cours de l'huile à la consommation en France.

III. - La place de l'arachide dans l'économie sénégalaise actuelle

L'allusion précédente à l'activité des huiliers sénégalais, permet de placer aujourd'hui l'arachide dans le cadre d'une économie qui a cessé d'être uniquement coloniale, et qui s'emploie à valoriser le produit exporté.

1. *La valorisation des exportations : le décorticage.*

La comparaison entre le détail des exportations de 1935, et celui de 1958 est vraiment éloquente ; en fait, les exportations d'arachides en coques, qui représentaient 335 000 tonnes en 1935, ont disparu en 1958, alors que celles du produit décortiqué sont passées, pendant la même période, de 16 000 à 330 000 tonnes. A l'exportation, le transport du produit brut signifiait celui de 28 % du poids en matières stériles, dont les tentatives d'utilisation comme engrais, ou pour la fabrication de papier furent autant d'échecs. Au lendemain de la guerre, la pénurie aiguë de tonnage maritime, généralisa la pratique du décorticage. Il est aujourd'hui effectué aux différentes

19:Pehaut MS37 Senegal

étapes du circuit de l'arachide : lieux de production, points de traite, ports, surtout Kaolack. Il est pratiqué par des entreprises semi-industrielles dépendant le plus souvent des grandes maisons de commerce ou des huileries, qui utilisent des décortiqueuses à cage ou à plateaux, des tables à secousses, des souffleries. Cette opération qui emploie de nombreux manœuvres, permet de prélever environ 1 franc C.F.A. par kilo d'arachides en coque. Elle pose cependant des problèmes : celui du taux de décorticage, qui varie d'une campagne à l'autre, autour de 71 %, et celui du risque d'acidification. Le produit décortiqué s'altère assez vite ; or, selon les époques de la campagne, un taux d'acidification de plus de 3 ou 5 % donne lieu à réfaction de prix.

Le décorticage n'est en fait qu'une préparation de la matière première. C'est la présence actuelle de puissantes huileries constituant l'essentiel de son industrie, qui symbolise le souci du Sénégal de valoriser sur son sol sa plus grande richesse.

2. *L'huilerie sénégalaise.*

L'industrie de l'huilerie est une industrie récente au Sénégal. La première usine installée a été celle de la Société électrique et industrielle du Baol, à Djourbel, en 1920. Puis, après 1930, avec l'usine des Huileries et Savonneries de l'Ouest Africain, et surtout les Etablissements Petersen, cette industrie devient dakaroise. Cependant, jusqu'à la guerre, son développement est entravé par les mesures de protection prises à la demande des huiliers métropolitains ; droit de sortie de 187 fr par quintal d'huile en 1936, et contingent de 5 800 tonnes seulement, admis en franchise des droits à l'importation, en 1938. La guerre fait disparaître cette réglementation, et en 1942-1944, s'installe à Dakar la puissante usine « Lesieur-Afrique ».

Au lendemain de la guerre, l'industrie de l'huilerie modernise son matériel et accroît sa capacité de trituration, qui atteint aujourd'hui environ 500 000 tonnes d'arachides en coques correspondant à un maximum de production d'environ 165 000 tonnes d'huile. Actuellement, 125 000 tonnes du produit, le plus souvent brut, sortent chaque année des usines sénégalaises, qui travaillent ainsi au-dessous de leur capacité de production. 110 000 t environ sont exportées. La technique traditionnelle de fabrication par pression, avec récupération de tourteaux gras ou « expellers » est de plus en plus remplacée par le procédé au solvant, accroissant légèrement le taux d'extraction de l'huile, mais fournissant des tourteaux maigres.

Cette industrie de l'huilerie est aujourd'hui localisée dans cinq centres urbains : Dakar, Lyndiane, Djourbel, Kaolack et Ziguinchor. Elle emploie plus de trois mille salariés, dont près de trois cents techniciens européens, et constitue de ce fait la première industrie

du Sénégal, d'autant plus qu'il y a lieu de lui annexer l'industrie complémentaire de la savonnerie, qui, à partir des pâtes de neutralisation produit plus de 15 000 tonnes de savon.

Le développement de l'industrie sénégalaise de l'huilerie représente une évolution considérable de l'économie du pays, puisque l'arachide a cessé d'y être un produit de traite au sens colonial du terme. En fait, le produit qui constitue traditionnellement la grande ressource agricole, est devenu la principale matière première de l'industrie locale; plus que jamais, l'arachide fait vivre le Sénégal.

3. *La place essentielle de l'arachide dans l'économie du Sénégal.*

« Qu'on le veuille ou non, l'économie du Sénégal ne peut tourner qu'avec l'aide de la production arachidière ». Cette phrase de M. Portères résume la place essentielle du produit dans l'économie locale. En 1957, pour l'ensemble de l'ex-Mali, la valeur totale des exportations s'élevant à 21,085 milliards de francs C.F.A., les produits de l'arachide s'inscrivaient dans cette somme pour 18,257 milliards, dont plus de 15 milliards pour le seul Sénégal. Au même moment, sur 2 230 000 habitants du Sénégal, 58 700 seulement étaient des travailleurs non agricoles, c'est-à-dire non producteurs d'arachides. Mais en fait beaucoup d'entre eux en vivent indirectement, dans le commerce, les transports ou l'industrie. Il n'est pas excessif d'affirmer que la grande majorité des habitants du Sénégal tirent leurs seules ressources en espèces de l'arachide.

Pour l'Etat sénégalais, l'arachide joue un rôle essentiel dans les ressources budgétaires. Sans parler des différents impôts intérieurs, les produits de l'arachide, à leur sortie du territoire, supportent de multiples droits et taxes: Le droit fiscal de sortie, varie de 10 à 12 % de la valeur du produit selon son degré d'élaboration, les taxes de recherche et de conditionnement sont de 1,2 à 1,5 %, enfin l'arachide paie la taxe forfaitaire sur les transactions de 5,4 %. Il y a lieu d'ajouter à ces différents droits, la cotisation au fonds de soutien qui est de 700 fr C.F.A. par tonne d'arachides en coques, et la redevance destinée à la Caisse locale de stabilisation qui varie de 175 fr C.F.A. par tonne de produit en coques à 500 fr par tonne d'huile raffinée.

Ces diverses impositions correspondent à plus de 25 % du prix d'achat au producteur pour le produit en coque. En 1957, les taxes perçues sur l'arachide au profit du fisc sénégalais ont dépassé un total de 4 milliards C.F.A. alors que le budget propre du territoire était pour la même année de 8,1 milliards.

Conclusion.

La situation actuelle autorise à conclure sur la notion de « monoculture industrielle de l'arachide au Sénégal ». Pour certains, c'est

19:Pehaut MS37 Senegal

là un fait regrettable à inscrire au passif de l'économie de traite, pour d'autres, c'est le critère du passage du Sénégal dans le domaine de l'économie commercialisée, portant ici sur un seul produit, puisqu'à la différence de pays comme la Côte d'Ivoire, les tentatives de développement d'autres cultures de spéculation ont été ici autant d'échecs.

Mais cette économie de l'arachide est aujourd'hui à un tournant, du fait de l'évolution des rapports entre le Sénégal et la France, et de l'existence du marché commun.

Dans le cadre de l'ancien système politique, et dans celui de la zone franc, l'arachide du Sénégal est commercialisée en dehors du marché mondial du produit, et ne pourrait s'y intégrer qu'au prix de graves bouleversements, par suite de son cours très supérieur. à ceux pratiqués lors des transactions sur les places étrangères. En 1959, après les deux dévaluations successives de 1957 et de 1958, le consommateur français consentait encore un sacrifice de 27 francs anciens métropolitains par kilo d'arachides décortiquées du Sénégal, par rapport au cours mondial du produit. De ce chiffre, on peut déduire que le passage de l'arachide sénégalaise dans le circuit mondial se traduirait par une baisse de près de 30 % de la valeur de la récolte, donc du revenu monétaire des producteurs, et par une diminution sensible des rentrées fiscales si l'on supposait la suppression de certains droits, pour rapprocher le plus possible le prix de sortie local du cours mondial. La suppression des traitants privés et de leur marge bénéficiaire, la venue de produits alimentaires ou manufacturés étrangers à des prix inférieurs à ceux des produits français similaires, que l'on peut envisager pour cas de rupture, ne paraissent pas par ailleurs susceptibles de compenser le manque à gagner du producteur ne bénéficiant plus de prix stables soutenus. En fait le système d'une libre association entre le producteur sénégalais et l'acheteur français, avec pour le premier régime de stabilité et de soutien des prix, et garantie d'écoulement, paraît être la solution la plus sage.

L'autre problème est celui de l'existence du marché commun européen, dont la France fait partie. Au titre des accords de Venise de mars 1956, l'association des Territoires d'Outre-Mer des nations membres est prévue par l'article 131 des traités. Si les réserves de certains hommes politiques africains, non signataires des traités paraissent justifiées, il n'en reste pas moins que le traité de Rome semble offrir des perspectives intéressantes à l'économie sénégalaise. Les cinq partenaires de la France, pour des raisons diverses ne s'intéressent guère à l'arachide du Sénégal. L'Allemagne fédérale et les Pays-Bas, achètent des oléagineux à bas prix sur le marché mondial, dans le cadre de leurs courants commerciaux. De plus, ce sont surtout de gros consommateurs de margarine. La Belgique

se soucie de protéger son élevage laitier, et jusqu'ici, les produits du Congo. L'Italie, enfin, accorde priorité à l'huile d'olive. En fait, la coïncidence du déficit français d'oléagineux, et de la production largement excédentaire du Sénégal, peut conduire dans l'esprit du traité, et sans contradiction, de la politique commune prévue pour certains produits agricoles (art. 39), à la définition de l'arachide oléagineux français fondamental, avec constitution d'une caisse de soutien alimentée essentiellement par la France. M. Adler conclut : « D'un côté on recherche un produit que de l'autre on ne désire pas » (5).

Par contre, il semble bien qu'au cas d'adhésion, le Sénégal pourrait escompter, par la concurrence croissante entre les produits en provenance des six pays membres, une baisse appréciable du prix des articles importés d'Europe, d'où une possibilité d'accroître le pouvoir d'achat du producteur d'arachide, par ailleurs assuré de retirer de sa récolte des revenus stables, hormis le cas de calamités naturelles très graves.

En conclusion, il semble, comme le souligne M. Barbier, que, dans les circonstances actuelles, la politique de bigamie soit pour le Sénégal préférable à celle du divorce.

Yves PEHAUT.

(5) ADLER J. Le Mali et l'arachide. *Marchés tropicaux*, n° 745, 20 février 1960, pp. 497-498.

20: Seck U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS 37

ooo

Dakar
/Dakar/

by Assane Seck

Bordeaux: 1961
Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer
Vol. 14, pp. 372-392

Translated from the French by Grace W. Moore

Human Relations Area Files
1963

/Title Page/

/372/

369 "Dakar is the only city, in the European (or Western)
[361] sense, in all of West Africa," wrote D. Wittlesey in 1941 (1).

[113] 1. Derwint Wittlesey. "Dakar and other Cap Verde Settlements," The Geographical Review, 1941, p. 609.

Things have changed since then; Conakry, Bamako, Abidjan, and other centers have become true cities. It is incontestable
[162] that the 230,000 inhabitants counted in the census in 1955, of
[563] whom more than 30,000 were non-Africans, make Dakar the most important city in all of the Black Africa of French expression. In 1957 its port had more traffic than all the other ports
[505] of former French West Africa; in 1960, 8,000 vessels, with a capacity of 21,000,000 tons (2), put it among the most frequented

2. The official figures are 7,948 vessels and 20,992,111 tons.

[162] ports of Africa. But 50 years ago Dakar did not have 25,000 inhabitants. The rhythm of its growth is thus on a level with that of certain mushrooming cities in the United States of America. Dakar does not owe this extraordinarily rapid development solely to favorable natural conditions, as is often said, but also and especially to a complex interaction of historical, economic, and political factors. It is a crossroads born out of the effective integration of the African world and South America in the European economic system, an integration linked with the search for raw materials and markets, made possible and necessary by the great technical progress realized since the middle of the nineteenth century. City-crossroads, all of its vitality depends on the state of its relations.

[133] 1. Birth of Dakar. The head of the peninsula of Cape Verde, on which Dakar was established, is an assemblage of

/372 cont./

369 plateaus made up of two volcanic systems of different ages,
133 separated by a small, low plain, the whole tilting toward the east-northeast. This head of the penisula is savagely attacked by oceanic floods which create on these coasts many capes and little bays, as well as some little detached islands not very far away. It is in one of these little bays, the bay called Dakar,
361 the most extensive and the best protected, that the great modern
369 port is located, between Pointe de la Défense and Pointe de Bel-Air (Fig. 1).[7] Incontestably, this head of the peninsula makes a favorable site for a port city, a site whose equal would be sought in vain in West Africa (Fig. 2).[8]

131 /373/ But even more than the site, it is the location of
361 this forward cape of Africa that constitutes a trump of the first
369 order in the cards of Dakar. Crossed by the north parallel 14° 40' and located at the center of curvature of the great western
487 bulge of the African continent, almost halfway between the 30th degree north where the desert begins and the regions of the Bénin, former slave-dealers, the peninsula occupied an interesting position in the former navigational system of the central and southern Atlantic, for both the ships coming from the north and those coming from the south. It was in fact chosen as the first place of easy reprovisioning for the sailors who had traveled for several days along a desert-like coast from south of Morocco, while, for the ships coming from the Gulf of Guinea, it was the last place for provisioning available before the Canaries. Moreover, the tip of the peninsula is the most westerly of all the headlands of the Old World. Cape Dunemore in Ireland, which is the most westerly in Europe, does not go beyond 11° west of Greenwich, whereas the peninsula of Cape Verde goes beyond 17° west, even reaching 17° 32' 16" at Cape Almadies. Dakar is thus more than 500 kilometers west of Casablanca (3); it is

[113] 3. Marcel M. Chartier, "Dakar, Port aérien /Dakar, aerial port/," in Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 1948, p. 87.

[7] [See category 116, p. 5--Analyst]
[8] [See category 116, p. 11--Analyst]

/373/

369 therefore one of the Old World's closest points to South America
36 (4). Dakar and Natal are about 3,000 kilometers apart.
[131]
[487]

4. Cape Roxo and the region of Freetown are closer from Cape St. Roque by 250 kilometers (cf. J. Richard Molard, in "La presqu'île
[113] du Cap-Vert /The peninsula of Cape Verde/;" I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 10).

These advantages of site and location, however, should not make one forget that the tip of the peninsula of Cape Verde did not have easy access. On the one hand, the shallow depths
[133] which border it on its north front caused many shipwrecks, the
369 pillage of which in part supported the riparian populations, and,
175 on the other hand, it did not offer any security for the possible
[579] establishment of a settlement because of the very independent character of the Lébou, who were tightly organized in a geronto-theocratic republic under the authority of the "Great Serigne" (5).

5. Great Marabout.

after being freed from the bondage of the Damel (6) around 1809.

6. King of Cayor.

Thus, one should not be surprised that the actual occupation of the peninsula by France was very late. For a long time the island of Gorée better satisfied the needs of the early navigators. Discovered by the Portuguese at the same time as Cape Verde, in 1444, the island, located off the southeastern cape of the peninsula, was still uninhabited when the Hollanders appeared at Cape Verde in 1588. In 1617 the latter bought it from the chiefs of the coast "for iron and some nails" (7). This island of less than a

[113] 7. Dr. Cariou, note on Gorée in "La

369
175
[113]

/373 cont./

presqu'île du Cap-Vert,"
op. cit., p. 274

square kilometer nevertheless satisfied a double /374/ /Fig. 1 appears here / concern of the Hollanders, security and commerce: security first for the ships, which could find an excellent anchorage in the bay on the northeast of the island, immediately so appreciated that its excellence -- Goede reede, "the good roadstead" in Dutch -- served to designate the establishment under the name of Gorée (8) in distinguishing

[103]

8. Nora and Ch. Toupet,
"L'origine du nom de Gorée,"
in Notes Africaines, January 1959,
pp. 17-20, I.F.A.N., Dakar.

[113]

it from the other islands of the peninsula; and then, security for the occupants. From this point of view, the insularity would have been a great advantage for the site of Dakar. Finally, with regard to commerce, the island of Gorée, although minuscule, sufficed for barter with the natives of the coast and could well fill its role as a warehouse for products and slaves. As soon as these views were confirmed by the facts, Gorée became the object of competition among the Hollanders, French, and British, finally coming to the French. In spite of this changing of hands, the establishment of Gorée, thanks to the slave trade, /375/ prospered, and around 1845 it harbored more than 5,000 persons. The abolition of the trade, and then that of slavery, around the middle of the century dealt it a mortal blow, bringing about a crisis from which Gorée did not recover. There was indeed an attempt at adaptation to the new conditions, the Goréans trying to make the island a place for commerce with the continent, where the cultivation of the groundnut had already developed, but on this point Gorée could not rival the peninsula. The inhabitants understood it; there were those who encouraged the occupation of Dakar with the idea

[439]
[162]
[567]

/375 cont./

102
133

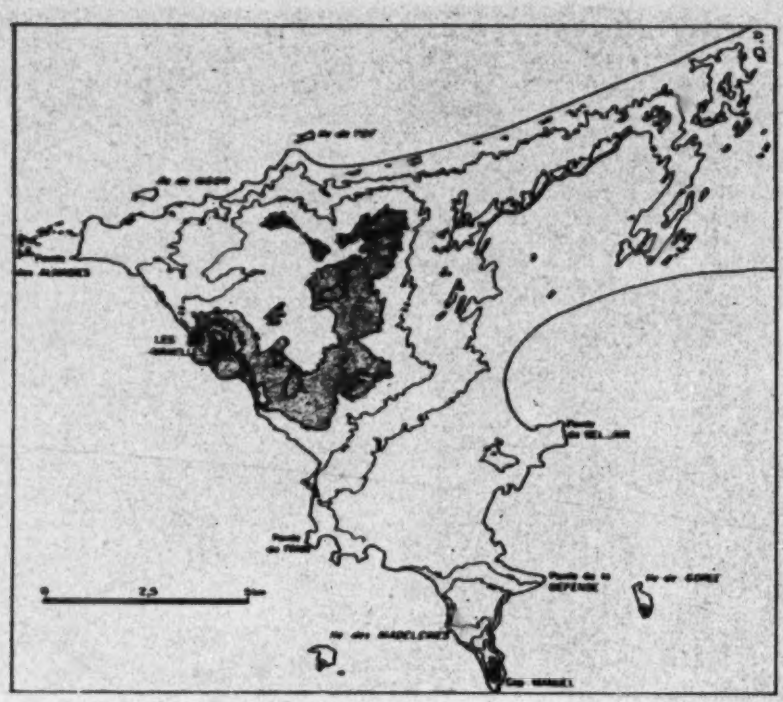


Fig. 1 The site of Dakar.

175
369

of making it a kind of colony (Pl. XXI A).[7]

But at the same time, with slavery abolished, Europe was instituting new forms of relations with the underdeveloped countries, imposing itself on the populations for the establishment of a new order less cruel than slavery and better suited for profitable improvements that were more diversified, more systematic, and more in accord with the requirements of the European societies which the technical and industrial revolution was more and more transforming. From this perspective, Dakar could become an incomparable point of support: its site was favorable for the establishment of a city; its coves could harbor a military port and a commercial port.

[912] Thus, on 25 May 1857, Dakar was officially occupied in the

7 [See category 116, p. 15--Analyst]

/375 cont./

175 369 [712] [505] [500] name of France by the post-captain Protet, who materialized this taking of possession by the construction of a protective fort, from which outfitting soon began. Work on the port[1] began in 1862, and, on 4 November 1866, the first accomplishments were inaugurated by the first passage of a packet-boat. As early as the first of April 1864, the lighthouse of the Grande-Mamelle was lighted, followed two years later, on the first of December 1866, by the two lighthouses with fixed lights at Cape Manuel and the Pointe des Almadies /Cape Almadies/. A first plan for the future city was approved by the decree of 1 July 1862, while from this time on a plan for a railroad to link Dakar and Saint-Louis agitated opinion.

Nevertheless, despite these efforts, the launching of Dakar, put under the administrative guidance of Gorée, was difficult; the city was unpopulated, the Goréans monopolizing the lands without wanting to leave their island. Moreover, Rufisque, closer to the regions where groundnuts were cultivated, was better located for commerce with the interior and, because of this, contributed to blocking the development of Dakar. But [633] the decree of 17 June 1887 separating Dakar from Gorée marked a decisive turning point (1885) in the life of the new creation.

369 2. Dakar, metropolis before being a city. Having become an autonomous center as a result of the Conference of Berlin, at a period when the colonial rivalries between the great powers were accentuated, Dakar benefited from the effective support /376/ of a mother country determined to make it a base for its expansion in West Africa.

504 369 It was the port in particular that was to be the essential instrument of the launching and of the power of Dakar. Its first elements constructed shortly after the occupation were clearly insufficient, and as early as 1892 it was necessary to extend the old embankment by 200 meters and to add on to it a pier of 280 meters (present Pier III). But it was especially from 1899 that [712] the great works began. The military port, which had to serve as

1 [i.e., the Port of Dakar--Analyst]

/376 cont./

504 the support point for the whole military organization of the
369 West African coast, was constructed between 1899 and 1902.
712 Some of these accomplishments, such as the north jetty, the extension of the south jetty, and the dry dock, also concerned the commercial port, the construction of which began immediately afterwards and continued from 1903 to 1910. Two new piers were added to the first one, delimiting three docks between the south jetty and the military port, while the outfitting of the platforms was vigorously carried on (9).

[113] 9. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar", Annales de Géographie, 1936, pp. 607-671.

369 This phase of the construction of the port was accom-
648 panied by a very important act which was to serve as support for the development of Dakar: the transfer in 1902 of the office of the Government-general of West Africa from Saint-Louis to Dakar, which led to the establishment of high administrative offices in this city (Contrôle Financier, Treasury, Public Works, etc.) (10), although the Governor-general, awaiting

10. Morazé, Ch., op. cit., p. 620.

the construction of his palace, was installed at Gorée, where he remained until 1907, an event adding considerably to the accomplishments on the port and which marked the beginning of the prodigious vigor of Dakar (Fig. 3). 7/1

369 As early as 1911 the port registered a tonnage of more
[505] than four million tons; it exceeded 5.6 millions in 1913. During the course of the First World War it played a role that greatly surpassed anything that the founders could have hoped for: in 1917, a tonnage of 10.5 million tons. To be sure, the end of the war led to a sharp decrease in the arrivals and departures,
[504] but the recovery that followed the war was such that new works for the port soon became necessary. They were done between

7/1 [See Category 116, P.19-- Analyst]

/376 cont./

369 504 1927 and 1933 in the northern zone, where laying out a platform intended for groundnuts was undertaken with the construction of three new piers, one of which was intended for traffic in combustibles. Finally, a maritime wet-dock was installed in the southern zone (11).

11. Coursin (L.) op. cit., p. 278.

Moreover, these new works did not end the construction of the port. Outfitting and new arrangements continued up to the eve of the Second World War and were taken up again immediately afterwards, making the port the complex organ that it is today: /377/ 6,904 meters of quays, of which 2,794 have depths of 20 meters and more, 2,103 meters with depths of 8 to 9 meters, 580 meters with depths of 6.50 to 7.50 meters, and, finally, 1,427 meters reserved for small boats, the total providing quay posts for 31 ships at a time; a water surface of 210 hectares; 682,000 square meters of platforms, of which 53,940 square meters are covered; and, finally, 240,000 square meters of storage space for hydrocarbides (12). These

[113] 12. Synthèse de la situation économique de l'ex-A.O.F. durant la période 1948 à 1958, Vol. IV, p. 712. Publication of the Chambre de Commerce, d'Agriculture et d'Industrie de Dakar.

are the essential elements of the infrastructure of the port of Dakar, which has become a very effective instrument, fully valorizing a favorable location at the crossroads of the heavily traveled maritime routes. Dakar thus receives ships from practically all of the countries possessing a merchant marine; only the flags of Saudi Arabia, Iran, China, and Russia do not wave in the port of Dakar.

[439] This great frequentation comes about first from the fact

/377 cont./

369 that Dakar is designated above all as a port d'escale, "a service
439 station," of the tropical Atlantic, provisioning the ships with
504 water and, above all, combustibles; the latter, represented in former times by coal in particular, are now almost entirely made up of hydrocarbides, the export and import traffic of which sometimes represents more than double that of merchandise: 211.1% in 1954, 233.6% in 1955, 186% in 1959.

369 But, beyond this role as a port d'escale, Dakar thrust ahead
439 as a metropolis, governing a large region. In fact it is via Dakar
487 that food products (rice, flour, sugar, etc.), cloth and thread, industrial products, etc. come in, principally destined for Senegal, Mauritania, and the Sudan, which, in return, send groundnuts, gum, hides wax, etc. to it for export. This situation is the result of struggles in the recent past between Dakar and the old mari-
[505] time or river ports which shared the light traffic of former times. The construction of the port and modern means of communication with the interior permitted Dakar to eliminate its rivals very quickly.

369 The establishment of Gorée, caught in a crisis since the
[505] abolition of slavery, despite the resistance, at first active and then passive, of its municipality (13), has been practically

[113] 13. In the work by J. Charpy (La Fondation de Dakar /The Founding of Dakar/, Larose, Paris, 1958), there is a series of documents on the various aspects of this resistance.

eliminated from the economic circuit since the accomplishment of the great work of the commercial port. Business then emigrated
[162] to the continent, while the city went to sleep, losing more and more of its population; from 3,200 inhabitants in 1872, it went to 2,068 in 1891, 1,249 in 1910, 998 in 1921, so that the com-
[633] mune was abolished and attached to Dakar in 1929, and then the entire island was classified as a historical monument in 1944.

/377 cont./

369 The reconstitution of the municipality in 1956, a simple elec-
633 toral operation, proved /378/ /Fig. 2 appears here/ to be in-
capable of giving life to Gorée; at the beginning of 1961 it was
forced to reattach itself to Dakar, for which it is nothing more
than a tourist annex. Nevertheless, due to the crisis in housing
[362] in Dakar, it offers its old houses to workers from the victorious
great city.

369 The elimination of the other rival centers was not as easy,
but no less radical. The railroad linking Dakar and Saint-Louis,
505 finished in 1885, did not immediately bring about the decline
496 of the old Senegalese capital. On the contrary, asleep since
487 entry up the river became impossible because of the increase in
tonnage of the ships, it seems to have gained a revival of activity,
especially after the construction of the Kayes-Niger section of
the railroad at the end of the century. In fact the products des-
[439] tined for the Sudan or coming from there, which took the path
of the Senegal River, were subjected to an obligatory freight-
break there, which made Saint-Louis a quite important mart.
But the construction of the Thiès-Kayes railroad after the First
World War and the /379/development of automobile traffic had
the effect, on the one hand, of directly annexing the Sudan to
the zone of influence of Dakar, and, on the other hand, of iso-
lating Saint-Louis and the old escales /trading centers/ of the
Senegal River and accelerating their economic decline (Fig. 2).
369 Bakel, Matam, Podor, and Dagana are no more than administra-
[633] tive centers without any great economic activity. Saint-Louis,
continuing as the capital of Senegal, preserved an appearance of
vitality longer. But in 1957 Dakar robbed it of this function to
the great despair of its population, which, after a phase of vio-
lent opposition, complains today in a passive resistance that the
tokens of sympathy and the promises expressed a thousand times
in the official speeches of the state authorities do not come to
anything.

369 As for Rufisque, for a long time it had more economic
505 trump cards than Dakar. In fact, when the port had not yet been
439 constructed at Dakar, it was more advantageous to load the

/379 cont./

102
496
508
504
491
361

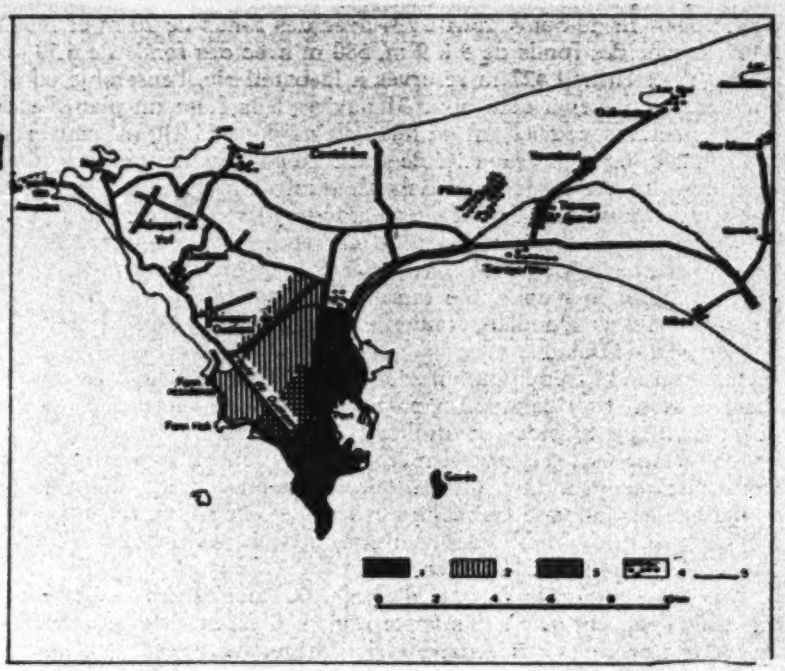


Fig. 2. The quarters of Dakar. --1. Dakar-ville and the industrial zone; 2. Greater Dakar; 3. Médina; 4. villages of the suburbs; 5. railroads.

369 groundnuts at Rufisque, nearer to the centers of production in
505 Cayor. Therefore Rufisque soon became the groundnut capital.
439 As early as 1862, 27 European or Goréan merchants were estab-
[441] lished there (and 12 at Bargny, located three kilometers farther to the east). Three years later, this figure climbed to 35 (14).

14. Note 1 in Fondation de Dakar, op. cit., p. 328.

369
633 The activity at Rufisque was so great and the launching of Dakar so

/379 cont./

369 difficult that the commandant of Gorée, Pinet-Laprade, in a
633 letter of 9 May 1862 (15), proposed to the governor of Senegal

15. Archives of the G.G.A.O.F. 4 B 20, 13 G 299, L 9, in Fondation de Dakar, op. cit., pp. 327-329.

that the authority of the settlement of Rufisque be abolished in order to avoid stifling Dakar. Evidently Pinet-Laprade was not followed, and the declassing of Rufisque, which nevertheless was to intervene later, was the result of a bitter struggle. As
369 soon as it was possible to draw up alongside the quay at the port
505 of Dakar, Rufisque lost the advantage of its situation, which had
504 permitted a saving, in relation to Dakar, of some 30 kilometers of land travel. Actually, this drawing up to the quay by the ships ended the slow transshipments which caused a great loss of time at Rufisque. Therefore, as early as about 1930, Rufisque
[633] had been declassed; in 1933, after the construction of the groundnut platform at the port of Dakar, it did not load more than 10% of the harvest of Senegal, as against 28% at Dakar. Today no maritime loading is done at Rufisque, and the city maintains some economic activity only by grace of a new orientation tending to make it an industrial annex of Dakar.

369 Thus, the elimination of rivals has resulted in a tendency
505 for all of the activity of collecting the products of Senegal,
439 Mauritania, and the Sudan to be concentrated at a single pole. Only two ports, Kaolack and Ziguinchor, have succeeded in maintaining themselves /380/ and even developing themselves as ports of direct importation and exportation. In 1933 Kaolack exported 52% of the Senegalese harvest of groundnuts, and Ziguinchor nearly 10%, while Dakar had only 28%. Specifically, in addition to a regional exportation equal to half of the Senegalese harvest, Kaolack handled the rail shipments of a large part of the production of eastern Senegal and even of the Sudan. In the case of Ziguinchor, it handled the production of Casamance, which has no other export port. Today the conversion of the

/380 cont./

369 505 439 groundnut before exportation has given Dakar an undisputed advantage over Kaolack. In 1957 the exports of groundnut products (shelled groundnuts, oil cake, oil), which represented only about a twentieth of the total traffic of merchandise in the port of Dakar, was more than the total of the import and export traffic of Kaolack (292,000 metric tons as against 220,000 metric tons). In any case neither Kaolack nor Ziguinchor, both located on rivers which are difficult to enter because of the shifting banks of sand or mud, can be dangerous rivals in any way for Dakar, which, because of this, practically thrusts itself on all of Senegal, Mauritania, and the Sudan. On the other hand, Dakar dominates from afar the three other large maritime ports of former French West Africa, Conakry, Abidjan, and Cotonou, whose total traffic in 1957 equaled only about three-fifths of the traffic of Dakar.

369 [433] But even though the port is the basic instrument of the power of Dakar, there are other additional elements that reinforce this power.

369 509 [487] First there is the place that Dakar occupies in the sphere of aviation. Since the first direct connection with France via the Mediterranean coast of Spain, Morocco, and Mauritania (16), its role has not ceased to grow on the international plane.

16. Marcel M. Chariter, "Dakar, port aérien," op. cit., p. 84.

The hydrobase of Bel-Air and the airport of Ouakam, which served the first trans-Atlantic airplanes, are outclassed today [508] by the great airport of Yoff, which was begun in 1940. Well equipped, this airport of international class and one of the largest airports of Africa is by far the most important one in former French West Africa, accounting by itself in 1957 for a fourth of the airplanes (arrivals and departures), a third of the passengers embarking or debarking in former French West Africa, and half of the passengers in transit. For certain directions, such as South America, the passengers from all of West Africa must embark at Dakar.

/380 cont./

000 at Dakar.

369 Even more than in the sphere of aviation, however, it is
648 on the commercial and industrial plane that the other states of
former French West Africa were, before the recent political
[433] disturbances, dependent on Dakar. In fact Dakar was the seat
[453] of the banks and of the commercial associations or the branch
agencies of the mother country, all of whom /Pl. XXI and XXII
[491] appear here on unnumbered pages/ /381/exercise from Dakar,
if not always a role of direct administration, at least some co-ordination and in any case an influence that is not negligible on the branches scattered across Senegal, former French West Africa, and sometimes even across foreign territories. Thus, the C.F.A.O., the S.C.O.Z., the B.A.O., and the B.C.A., which practice their activities in practically all of Black Africa, although having their seat in Paris, are strongly established in Dakar, from where they manage a number of agencies and branches. On the other hand, the Société Maurel et Prom, which has branches in Senegal, Mauritania, the Sudan, Guinea, and Gambia, the "Commerce Africain," which has establishments in Senegal, Gambia, the Ivory Coast, and the Cameroun, and other companies have their
[439] seat in Dakar (17). Moreover it must be added that several in-

17. "Le Commerce Africain" transferred its seat from Dakar to Paris in July 1960.

dustries (oil factories, soap factories, breweries, cement factories, textile factories, shoe factories, etc.) established on the peninsula of Cape Verde send a part of their products to other territories in former French West Africa.

369 Finally, because of its former function as federal capital,
633 Dakar brought together all of the federal political and adminis-
648 trative organs, which permitted it to direct and co-ordinate all of the political, administrative, and economic life of former French West Africa.

Thus, Dakar became the leader, the undisputed metropolis, upon which there depended a regional assemblage much

[Text continues on p. 17--Analyst]

20: Seck – 15 U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 380-381/ Plate XXI

361

A. Gorée.

Photo. IFAN.

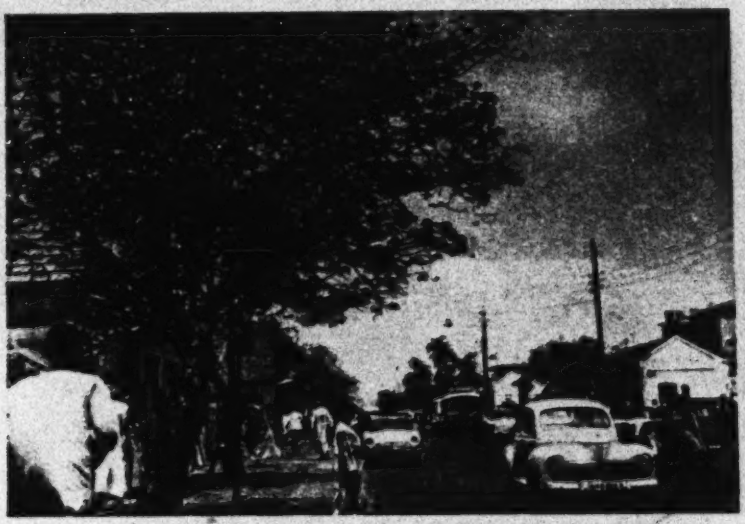
363
342

B. A view of Dakar (photograph taken from the Pasteur Building). Photo. Assane Seck.

20: Seck--16 U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 380-381/ Plate XXII

363
493
137



A. The avenue Blaise-Diagne.

363
137

B. A street in the old Mèdina. Street 13, Corner 6.
Photo. Assane Seck.

/381 cont./

369 larger than that of Paris. In Dakar, this function as a metrop-
648 olis, which has been confirmed since the construction of the
633 commercial port, preceded and conditioned the development of the city.

369 3. The city. The commercial affairs which thus make
166 African products and products from the outside converge toward
167 the Dakar crossroads could not fail to bring with them a great
[487] number of people. First, there are the Goréans, finally resigned to their fate, who accompany or follow the commercial or administrative establishments being transferred to Dakar; then, non-Africans, administrators, technicians, merchants, etc., usually arriving from Europe by the same route as that of the imported manufactured products. But above all there are the masses who arrive by road and by rail, by these paths of a money economy which have greatly disturbed the villagers' traditional institutions and thus communicated to the people a mobility formerly unknown in the rural world. Willingly or unwillingly, the rural people of Senegal, of the Sudan, of Upper Guinea, and of the Upper Volta take to the road and rails to cast themselves into an /382/ /Fig. 3 appears here/ /383/ adventurous existence which will lead many of them to Dakar and to settle there. Finally, Africans from Guinea, the Ivory Coast, and Dahomey, students at the large educational institutions and officials who come in connection with the functions of the federal capital, also arrive by sea.

369 This human convergence, which since the last decade of
162 the century has continued to grow, has caused a vertiginous increase in the population. To be sure, for the period before 1955
[633] there were only estimations, all the less certain because the boundaries of the commune have often changed, but the official figures (18), even though they should be corrected here or

[113] 18. Synthèse de la situation économique de l'ex-A.O.F. durant la période 1948 à

/383 cont./

369 162 [113] 1958, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 35: 1910, 24,000; 1921, 32,000; 1931, 54,000; 1945, 132,000; 1955-56, 231,000.

[633] there, nevertheless give an acceptable idea of the direction of the development of the population of Dakar. The first 20 years that followed the construction of the port were characterized by a not very spectacular progression, the population merely having doubled, going from 24,900 in 1910 to 54,000 in 1931. This relative slowness of growth should undoubedly be attributed to some check due to the First World War, but it is basically explained by the then very imcomplete [496] character of the modern paths of penetration, the railroads from Thiès to Kayes and from Louga to Linguère not having been finished until after the war. By contrast, the progression has been particularly rapid in the 20 years that followed, and, in spite of the checks that would seemingly have been put into operation by the Second World War, the population has more than quadrupled between 1931 and 1955, reaching 230,000 inhabitants at the latter date (19).

[113] 19. Recensement démographique de Dakar 1955. Résultats définitifs, 1er fascicule /Demographic census of Dakar for 1955. Final Results, No. 1/. Publication of the Service de la statistique de l'ex-A.O.F., July 1958. The following figures given for the population of Dakar have been taken from this number or have been calculated from the figures that it gives.

369 563 162 This Dakar population, very diverse in its make-up, is an almost complete sampling of the ethnic groups of Senegal, to which are added elements from the other territories of former French West Africa and also some non-Africans. Thus, jostling

[Text continues on P. 20--Analyst]

20: Seck--19 U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 382-383/

36
102
491
496
504
712
743

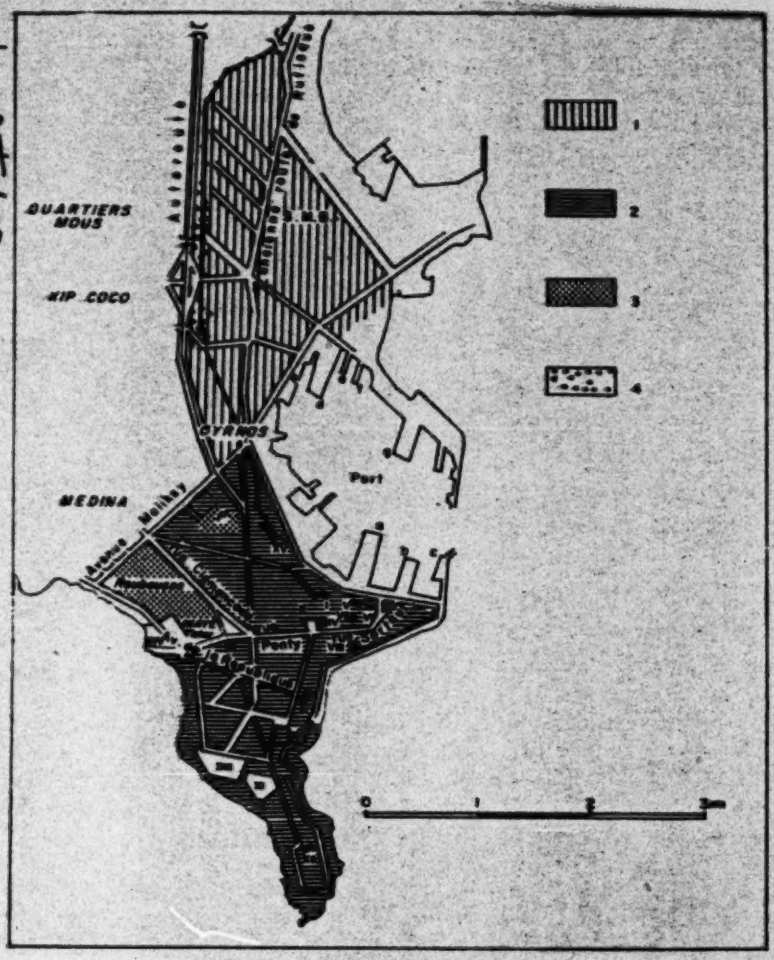


Fig. 3. Dakar. The port and the industrial zone. -- 1. The industrial zone; 2. the very urbanized sections; 3. low quarters; 4. irregular quarters.

(Caption Continued on following page.)

/Fig. 3 Caption cont./

36
102
491
496
504
712
743

a-g. The piers. -- I. Town Hall. -- II. Chambre de Commerce. -- III. Sandaga Market (Ponty-Clemenceau crossroads). -- IV. Former Palace of Justice. -- V. General Postoffice. -- VI. Treasury. -- VII. Kermel Market. -- VIII. Military Circle. -- IX. Residence of the President of the Republic. -- X. Military Hospital. -- XI. African Hospital. -- XII. Palace of Justice. -- XIII. Camp Bornis. -- XIV. Camp Galliéni. -- XV. Station.

369
563
162

/383 cont./ one another in Dakar are Lébou, Ouolof /Wolof/, Toucouleur /Tukolor/, Sérère /Serer/, Sarakolé, Diola, Socé, etc., who are Senegalese, but there are also Mauritanians, Sudanese, Voltaics, Guineans, Ivorians /persons from the Ivory Coast/, Dahomeans, Cape Verdeans, Lebano-Syrians, French, etc. The Lébou, who are the original population of Dakar, today represent scarcely one-tenth of the population, exceeded in number by the Oulof, the Toucouleur (20), and even by the 30,000 non-Africans,

[113]

20. A. Diop, "L'immigration toucouleur à Dakar (enquête /investigation/ 1958-1959)," I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 1. The author, citing an investigation by the M.I.S.O.E.S., gives the figure of 31,000 Toucouleur in 1959.

among whom the French constitute a great majority of close to 23,000 persons in residence. This character of Dakar as a [166] region of call is illustrated first by the fact that only a little more than one-third of the population was born there, /384/ and then by the quite obvious inequality between the number of men and that of women. Before the war, among the Europeans, there were 65% men as against 25% women and 10% [744] children (21). Today the systematic destruction of the

21. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar," op. cit., p. 630.

162 /384 cont./
369 breeding-places of mosquitoes in the numerous swamps of the
563 peninsula having been successfully undertaken by the federal
[744] authorities, one can better appreciate the exceptionally pleas-
[192] ant climate of Dakar, subject eight months of the year to the "influences of the Canaries" (cool and brisk current, marine trade-wind from the northeast), and an equilibrium tends to be established between men, women, and children, the first nevertheless still remaining the most numerous; in 1955, 39% men against 31% women and 30% children for the total non-African population; and 35% men, 30% women, and 35% children for the non-African population in residence. Among the Africans, one can verify the same phenomenon: 36% men, 31% women, and 35% children less than 14 years of age for the total population; 34% men, 31% women, and 35% children for the population in residence. Despite this tendency toward equilibrium, the fact remains that for the whole population of Dakar, men over 14 years of age are definitely more numerous than women over 14 years of age and than children; the balance sheet gives 37% for the men as against 30% for the women and 35% for the children.

369 This situation is explained by the fact that immigration
563 to Dakar is first of all of interest to the men, for whom it carries
166 the hope of a better position, but it also represents a daring
162 enterprise on which one does not take women and children until definite opportunities for settling down present themselves. This fact is particularly clear for the non-resident population, among whom the proportion of men is very high. Thus, among the non-resident Africans, there are 57% men as against 27% women and 16% children. The proportion is even higher among non-resident foreigners: 77% men as against 12% women and 11 % children.

[464] But though settling in Dakar is almost always linked to employment for the non-African population, it is not the same for Africans. The destruction of the villagers' traditional institutions, modern transportation, the facilities for hospitality

/384 cont./

369 in the city at the home of a relative, at the home of a friend
563 or the friend or relative of a friend, or at the home of a resi-
166 dent originally from the same village or merely from the same
162 region -- all of this ultimately makes up the factors that are
464 more decisive than the salary. Because of this, while among the resident non-Africans the number of persons employed amounts to 43 % of the total and 64% of the economically active, among the resident Africans, the proportion of workers is no more than 27% of the total and 42% /385/ of the economically active. If one adds to that the salaries, on the average
369 much higher among the first than among the second, one finds
511 in Dakar some of the contrasts characteristic of West African
563 cities: on the one hand, among the non-Africans, a high standard of living which is often shown in the appearance of their quarters, and, on the other hand, the mass of the African population whose settling in the city is tied neither to a correlative augmentation of the normal opportunities for lodgings nor to a higher living standard in relation to the bush, which gives to the African city, or at least to some of its quarters, an appearance more wretched than that of the villages of the interior.

369 This situation, formerly very clear, put Dakar in the
563 normal category of West African cities, where a white city and
[361] a black city stand in contrast (22), a contrast that was the result

[113] 22. Dresh, J., "Villes d'Afrique occidentale /Cities of West Africa/," Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 1950.

of a de facto segregation imposed, not by law, but by the norms of urbanism and of hygiene, to which it was impossible for the bulk of the natives to subject themselves, and also by the high
[465] price of rent -- the non-Africans being nearly always lodged by their employers. In 1936 Charles Morazé wrote: "Formerly Europeans and natives lived mixed. Innumerable families lived

/385 cont./

369 in small apartments, true caravansaries contained within the
563 European city. This promiscuity was deplorable. Europeans and natives were not in fact subject to the same epidemics;
[164] yellow fever, for example, fatal for the white, is benign to the black. The danger of a mixed population was that the epidemics would spread without being stamped out in time.
[361] Finally, the system lacked style; therefore as early as 1916 the creation of the native village of Médina was decided upon" (23).

23. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar," op. cit., p. 630.

There it was, in a way, the theory of the urbanism of the West African cities ! Nevertheless the problems of land were so complicated at Dakar (24) between the two world wars

[113] 24. See the work by A. Angrand, Les Lébou de la presqu'île du Cap-Vert (Essai sur leur histoire et leurs coutumes) /The Lébou of the peninsula of Cape Verde (essay on their history and their customs)/. "La Maison du Livre," Dakar.

[167] that, with the Lebano-Syrian immigration and the Crédit
[452] Foncier /Mortgage-loan Society/ helping, there was created, in contact with the European city and the Médina, a collection
[361] of quarters more mixed in their contents and in their appearance. Up to the end of the Second World War Dakar preserved this appearance of a threefold city. But after the war a series of new factors caused a rapid and brutal evolution in Dakar. The return to normal economic activities after the slack period following the war, the awakening and amplification of political and syndical life, the creation of the Fonds d'Investissement Economique et Social (F.I.D.E.S.), and, finally, the ever greater influx of rural people into Dakar led the federal authorities to take a series of fortunate initiatives. /386//Fig. 4 appears here/

/386/

102
491
361
363
496

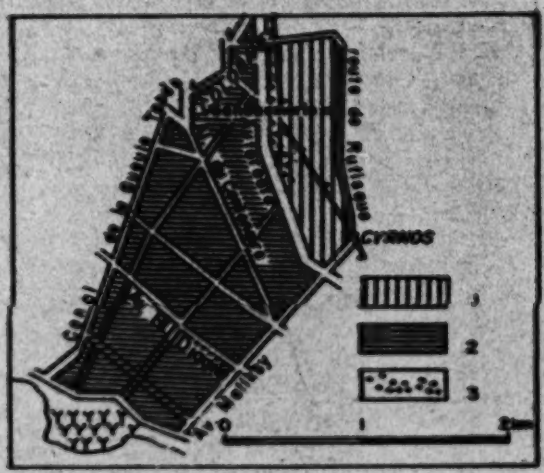


Fig. 4. Médina. -- 1. Industrial zone;
2. quarters more or less urbanized;
3. irregular quarters.

369 which progressively transformed the Dakar agglomeration.
563 There was first the creation of the S. T. A. G. D. (Service temporaire de l'aménagement du Grand-Dakar /Temporary
[361] Office for the Arrangement of Greater Dakar/) for a systematic urbanization of the city. Then there was the decision to promote a policy of lodgings for African officials, while a society for a mixed economy, the Société Immobilière du Cap-Vert (S. I. C. A. P.) /Building Society of Cape Verde/
[362] studied and made up forms for cheap dwellings for mere renting or for rent-sale. At the same time there was the law called "Lamine Gueye," which equalized upward several
[465] elements of the African and non-African wages at the time when "l'africanisation des cadres" /Africanization of the staffs/ was promoted, which led to a mixture of Africans and
[647] Europeans in the administrative lodgings and in the new quarters for officials. Finally, first the staff-law and then autonomy

/386 cont./

369 and independence have had the effect of reinforcing this mix-
563 ing the more since it sometimes brings about a pure and simple substitution of African staffs for European staffs in many of the lodgings.

Finally, although today the quarters of Dakar are still clearly distinguished by their appearance, the differentiation of their contents is less and less based on origin and tends to be a social rather than racial differentiation. Therefore, instead of the traditional division of the West African cities into "white city and black city," let us distinguish four sections in the Dakar agglomeration: /387/ Dakar-ville, the Médina, Greater Dakar, and the suburbs.

361 1. Dakar-ville. The plateau from the southeast to the
369 head of the peninsula and a part of the plain from Cape Manuel to the avenue El Hadji Malick Sy constitute what today is called Dakar-ville. The essential characteristic of this part of the Dakar agglomeration is that almost all of its buildings are permanent, except for some islands of huts. This is where practically all of the administrative offices, the large-scale
[366] commerce, the major part of the Lebano-Syrian commerce, and the great markets are found. But Dakar-ville shows very diverse aspects (Pl. XXI B) (Pl. XXIIA).

The Plateau is the best arranged part of Dakar-ville. It is there that the first nucleus of modern Dakar was located, extending around the port, from the station to the Protet Plaza and the Military Circle. Little changed, this nucleus has re-
[363] mained very much as it was at the beginning of the century;
[342] it is intersected by narrow streets, bordered by old houses in
[347] colonial style, with stores on the ground floor and lodgings with verandas on the upper floor. This nucleus has remained the business quarter, that of the large-scale commerce domi-
[441] nated by the great companies and the old Bordeaux firms, C.F.A.O., S.C.O.A., N.O.S.O.C.O., S.O.C.O.P.A.O.,
[366] Chavanel, Maurel et Prom, etc., surrounding the Kernel market, surmounted by its cupola of 1900 style. Several old administrative

/387 cont./

361 buildings, the General Postoffice, the Treasury, the Town
369 Hall, the former Délégation, the former Palace of Justice, and the Chambre de Commerce are included there. A "city" phenomenon tends to be produced in this quarter which, very lively by day, is almost completely empty at night. Toward the east this quarter extends along the road to Bel-Air and the old road to Rufisque by way of the industrial section of Dakar where the factories have been established largely since the war. On the northwest, on each side of the avenue W.-Ponty, extends a mixed quarter, commercial and residential, harboring the old Lébou families, having benefited from the facilities offered
[427] by the Crédit Foncier, and the Lebano-Syrians and Cape Verdeans who rent or are quasi-owners as a result of long-term leases. It is therefore an old quarter that developed especially after the construction of the commercial port and has preserved its narrow streets, quite unique today, its low houses dominated here and there by some recent building. The avenue W.-Ponty,
366 with greatly varied commerce, the avenue Gambetta dominated
369 by the Lebano-Syrian commerce, the avenue Roume bordered by beautiful buildings and enlivened by luxury commerce, and finally the avenue Maginot which is shared by great stores of the West and Lebano-Syrian commerce in fabrics near the market of Sandaga are the most completely transformed arteries of this section of the Plateau, where many cafés and restaurants, /388/ cabarets, and cinemas maintain far into the night a nonchalant, but pleasant animation following the rushing business of the day.

369 Beyond the Boulevard de la République, which bounds the
361 old quarters on the west and which is distinguished by its many buildings, commerce disappears almost entirely, giving way to a residential zone of middle-class appearance, with its villas often
[563] more comfortable than stylish. This residential zone, formerly entirely European, is mixed today, harboring European and African staffs. Barracks and hospitals separate this quarter from
[712] Cape Manuel, formerly a military zone, but today occupied by
[344] the monumental, Palace of Justice dominating the newly established embassies. But all of Dakar-ville is not as well arranged

/388 cont./

369 361 as the Plateau. The low quarters that border the avenue Malick Sy and which are crossed by the route de l'Abbattoir /Slaughter-
[363] house Road/ quite obviously differ from the rest. In Rebeus and in Niayes-Thioker, few of the streets are paved, and, during
[364] winter, ponds where household debris rots often surround the low permanent houses and the neighboring huts.

[162] Dakar-ville has only 46,000 inhabitants, among whom
[563] are almost two-thirds of the 30,000 non-Africans of Dakar.

Gorée, the fallen capital, which has become a military, tourist, and, to a slight extent, residential annex of Dakar, is attached to this section.

[563] 2. The Médina. Containing practically only Africans, the Médina is much more densely populated than Dakar-ville.
[764] Blocked on the west by the Moslem cemetery and on the north by the canal of the Gueule-Tapée, the Médina has not ceased stretching toward the east since its creation during the First World War. It presents several aspects: the oldest part, east
[363] of the avenue Blaise-Diagne, has all of its streets paved and planted with trees; it has few huts, and permanent houses are
[364] erected almost everywhere there; many sanitary facilities and public fountains complement the private establishments and make this quarter relatively clean and pleasant (Fig. 4 and Pl. XXII B).7/A

The farther one goes toward the east, however, beyond the avenue Blaise-Diagne, the newer the quarter is and the more it gives the appearance of a wretched village. Thus, between
[363] the avenue Blaise-Diagne and the Gendarmerie, although some
[364] principal arteries are paved, most of the streets remain sandy and obstructed with household rubbish. Moreover, one notes some permanent houses here and there, to be sure, but huts are much more numerous. East of the Gendarmerie, Colobane is even less well arranged, while, beyond the automobile road, Kip-Coco and Quartier Mous, veritable camp cities for new arrivals, are called "irregular quarters," that is to say, quarters temporarily tolerated, although no right of the inhabitants to settle there can be recognized (Pl. XXIII A).2/A /Pl. XXIII and

7/A [See category 116, p.16 -- Analyst]
2/A [See category 116, p.29 -- Analyst]

/388 cont./

369 Pl. XXIV appear here on unnumbered pages/. /389/ /Fig. 5
361 appears here./

3. Greater Dakar. Of all the sectors of the Dakar agglomeration, Greater Dakar is certainly the one that presents the sharpest contrasts. The quarter of the "Gueule-Tapée" resembles the old Médina, while Fass and "Usine Biscuit" /Biscuit Factory/ remind one of Colobane, but aside from these there stand some modern quarters that are quite varied in appearance, contrasting strongly with the "Médinas," the "Colobanes," and the irregular quarters that surround them. It is in this sector of Greater Dakar [873] that the University is found, raising its majestic buildings on the edge of the sea. It is flanked on the north by the rich quarter of Fann-Résidence where the residences of ministers and members of their cabinets, directors of houses of commerce, and high officials are grouped; to the south military villas and the allotment of Fann Hock separate it from the Gueule-Tapée. Point E, Zone A, Zone B, /390/ the Cité des Douanes /customs/, and that of the Port de Commerce are officials' quarters, while Bopp, formerly a swamp, has in recent years become a pretty little quarter, all the houses of which were built by officials [452] with the aid of the Crédit du Sénégal /Local Association of Senegal/. The S.I.C.A.P. which extend along the route des Puits /Roads of the Wells/ (Karacks, Baobabs, Liberté I, Liberté II, Liberté III, etc.) are pleasant lots intended to facilitate for Africans the acquisition of property (Fig. 5).

Finally, the quarter of Derklé forms, in several groupings of houses, a residence for petty African officials, another one for the African employees of private enterprises, and finally a quarter called the "Castors," the houses of which have been built by their associated and grouped owners with the aid of the public authorities.

Greater Dakar is the most extensive and the heaviest popu- [162] lated sector in the Dakar agglomeration. It includes more than [563] 73,000 inhabitants, among whom is numbered one-sixth of the non-African population.

[Text continues bottom of p. 31--Analyst]

20: Seck--29 U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 388-389/ Plate XXIII

363
342

[415]

A. A street beyond the avenue Blaise-Diagne.

B. Remote suburb.

Photo. Assane Seck.

20: Seck--30 U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 388-389/ Plate XXIV

501
361

A. Yoff, suburb of fishermen.

361

B. Thiaroye, truck-gardening suburb.

Photo. Assane Seck.

/389/

108
361
363
873
712

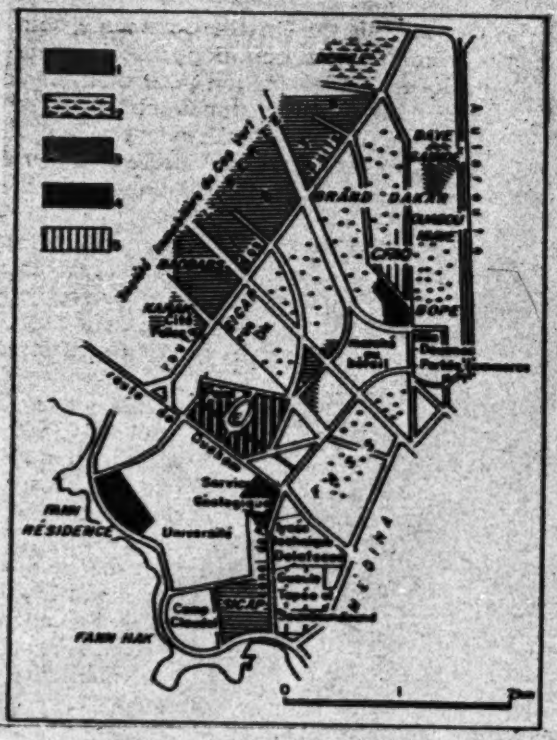


Fig. 5. Greater Dakar. -- 1. Officials' quarter; 2. Derklé; 3. H.L.M.; 4. houses of officials; 5. loan grouping.

/390 cont./

361
369

4. The suburbs. The suburbs of Dakar are composed of 13 villages, of which those closest to Dakar, Ouakam, N'Gor, Yoff, Hann, Thiaroye, and M'Bao resemble Colobane. The others remain typical traditional villages. Only Dagoudane-Pikime escapes either category. Created ex nihilo less than ten years ago to serve as an outlet for the irregulars of Dakar who were to be found there, driven back as urbanism progressed, [62] it already has the appearance of a little city with its 10,000 inhabitants.

/390 cont./

361 inhabitants. It had an official center and wide streets, which,
369 however, are not yet paved. Despite this city appearance,
[363] however, Pikine is more intimately dependent on Dakar than the other villages of the suburbs; it is a workman's suburb, and all of its provisioning comes from Dakar, while practically all of its inhabitants are employed in the great city. With this exception, the villages of the suburbs have as their essential
[438] role the provisioning of Dakar with fish and fresh vegetables. Many transportation facilities in common connect them with
[489] Dakar-ville from very early in the morning until around the middle of the night (Pl. XXIII B, Pl. XXIV A and B).

This is the arrangement or juxtaposition of the various elements of the Dakar agglomeration, whose present popula-
[162] tion may well have exceeded 300,000 inhabitants.

369 4. Perspectives. The Dakar agglomeration has the appearance of an unfinished city in the process of being organized, even though its function as a West African metropolis has been confirmed for a long time. There are surprises in this situation for those who analyze the old European urban civilizations, where one sees an ancient city existing as /391/ /Fig. 6 appears here/ one that patiently developed its relations in order to become a metropolis and to constitute a solid and dynamic assemblage where urban and metropolitan functions mutually support one another. Dakar, however, is above
369 all a center of relations which has woven with its hinterland
439 connections that have the appearance of complementary ties,
433 but which actually are ties of dependence: dependence in fact because in the Senegalese and Sudanese interior the development of export crops is tied up with the means of evacuation organized by Dakar; dependence also because the export crops, in breaking up the former village autarchy, have given Dakar the role of a great relay-station in the importation of food products in compensation and manufactured products which have become a necessity there where formerly they were unknown; dependence, finally, not only for the Senegalese and

/391 cont. /

102
491
496
487
433

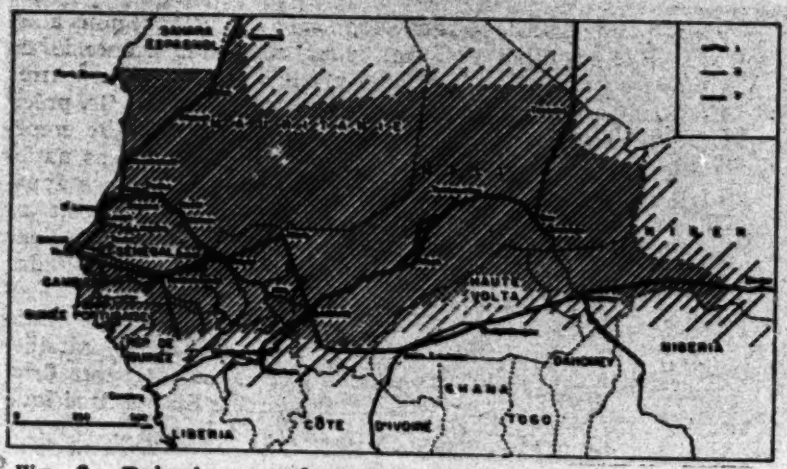


Fig. 6. Dakar's zone of economic influence.
1. Navigable course; 2. railroad;
3. road.

369 Sudanese interior, but also for the whole of former French West
433 Africa through the role of management that the administrative
439 offices, the banks, and the great commercial agencies play from Dakar.

In truth, however, this pre-eminence of Dakar which rests only on its role as a relay-station, a "service station," which receives for redistribution, carries with it grave weaknesses. And first of all it is necessary to note that the influence of Dakar, which extends supremely over a regional assemblage larger than France, is actually /392/ nothing less than a sign of the underdevelopment of the regions thus dominated. It in fact signifies for them an economy of trade, without local conversion of the products, with few urban centers playing an important role in regional management. Now, precisely this influence, while maintaining the economy of trade, prevents any new orientation of the economy in a national sense. Because of this, the ties uniting Dakar with its zone of influence appear to be of the same nature as those that tie the colonies to their mother countries, or, more accurately, they are only shackles; the nationalism of the new states will confuse them in a similar

/392 cont./

369 condemnation.

433 Consequently it is necessary to emphasize the same

439 instability of this role of Dakar as a relay-station. Already

[505] strongly rivaled in its function of provisioning ships by such ports as Las Palmas and Santa Cruz of Tenerife (25), better

[113] 25. Nicolas, J. -P., "Les hydrocarbures de soute à Dakar; 2e rapport. Eléments d'information sur la position concurrentielle des îles Canaries, 15 Nov. 1960 /The hydrocarbides stored at Dakar; 2nd report. Data on the competitive position of the Canary Islands, 15 Nov. 1960/," I.F.A.N., Dakar.

located on the direct route between Europe and South America, Dakar is no longer an imperative stop in the tropical Atlantic because of the greater autonomy of the ships in the matter of provisioning. On the other hand, the recent political evolution which has led to the "Balkanization" of former French West Africa has not only broken all the administrative and political ties which were among the most notable elements of the power of Dakar, but it has also permitted at Conakry, Abidjan, and Cotonou other possible relay-stations for the interior regions to become rivals, more and more limiting the zone of influence of Dakar. The recent breakup of the Federation of Mali, completely and at a single stroke turning the traffic between Senegal and the Sudan toward Abidjan in particular and to a lesser extent toward Conakry, is a particularly striking example of the instability of the position of Dakar. In the present state of affairs, nothing remains for Dakar but the Senegalese interior and Mauritania, and this latter country, which is building its own port at Port-Etienne, is seeking to free itself (Fig. 6).

Thus, grave threats weigh on the metropolis of Dakar. In any case, even in the eventuality of a recovery in the

/392 cont./

369 economic relations between Senegal and Sudan, or better, in
433 the eventuality of the formation of a West African common
439 market, the role of collection which has perpetuated the superiority of Dakar is today threatened by decline because of the nationalism of the states and their desire to convert their own products locally. It therefore seems that salvation for this metropolis in a virtual crisis is not in an illusory rebirth of its former role, but in a new and unequivocal orientation of its activities. It should no longer be a pole of suction, but become a pole of development of the hinterland.

Assane Seck.

20:Seck MS37 Senegal

Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer

Publiés par

l'Institut de Géographie de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux

avec le concours de

l'Institut de la France d'Outre-Mer de Bordeaux

de la Société de Géographie de Bordeaux

et du

Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique

Directeurs :

Louis PAPY, Henri ENJALBERT

Secrétaire de rédaction :

Guy LASSERRE

TOME XIV

Année 1961

Siège Social : PALAIS DE LA BOURSE

Place Gabriel · BORDEAUX

[Title Page]

DAKAR

« Dakar est la seule ville, au sens européen (ou occidental) de tout l'Ouest Africain », écrivait D. Wittlesey en 1941 (1). Les choses ont changé depuis; Conakry, Bamako, Abidjan et bien d'autres centres encore sont devenus de vraies villes. Ce qui est incontestable, c'est que les 230 000 habitants recensés en 1955, dont plus de 30 000 non-africains font de Dakar la ville la plus importante de toute l'Afrique noire d'expression française. Son port avait, en 1957, un trafic supérieur à celui de l'ensemble des autres ports de l'ex-A.O.F.; en 1960, 8 000 navires, jaugeant 21 000 000 de tonneaux (2), le placent parmi les ports les plus fréquentés d'Afrique. Or, Dakar n'avait pas 25 000 habitants il y a cinquante ans. Le rythme de sa croissance se situe donc au niveau de celui de certaines villes champignons des Etats-Unis d'Amérique. Ce développement extraordinairement rapide, Dakar ne le doit pas uniquement à des conditions naturelles favorables, comme on le dit souvent, mais aussi et surtout à une interaction complexe de facteurs historiques, économiques et politiques. C'est un carrefour né de l'intégration effective du monde africain et de l'Amérique du Sud dans le système économique européen, intégration liée à la recherche des matières premières et des marchés, rendus possible et nécessaire par les formidables progrès techniques réalisés depuis le milieu du XIXe siècle. Ville-carrefour, toute sa vitalité dépend de l'état de ses relations.

1. *Naissance de Dakar.*

La tête de la presqu'île du Cap-Vert sur laquelle s'est installé Dakar, est un ensemble de plateaux constitués par deux systèmes volcaniques d'âges différents séparés par une petite plaine basse, le tout s'inclinant vers l'Est - Nord-Est. Cette tête de la presqu'île est furieusement attaquée par les flots océaniques qui créent sur ces côtes de nombreux caps et anses, tandis que quelques îlots s'isolent à peu de distance. C'est dans une de ces anses, l'anse dite de Dakar, la plus étendue et la mieux protégée, que s'est logé le grand port moderne, entre la Pointe de la Défense et la Pointe de Bel-Air (fig. 1). Incontestablement, cette tête de la presqu'île constitue un site favorable pour une ville-port, site dont on cherchera vainement l'équivalent en Afrique occidentale (fig. 2).

(1) Derwint Wittlesey. Dakar and other Cap Verde Settlements. *The Geographical Review*, 1941, p. 609.

(2) Les chiffres officiels sont: 7 948 navires et 20 992 111 tx.

[p 372]

Mais plus encore que le site, c'est la situation de ce cap avancé de l'Afrique qui constitue un atout de premier ordre dans le jeu de Dakar. Traversée par le parallèle 14° 40' Nord et situé au centre de courbure du grand renflement Ouest du continent africain, à peu près à mi-distance entre le 30e degré Nord où commence le désert et les pays du Bénin, anciens fournisseurs d'esclaves, la presqu'île occupait dans l'ancien système de navigation de l'Atlantique central et méridional, une situation intéressante, à la fois pour les navires venant du Nord et pour ceux venant du Sud. Elle se désignait, en effet, comme le premier lieu de ravitaillement facile, pour les voiliers qui avaient voyagé plusieurs jours le long d'une côte désertique depuis le Sud du Maroc, tandis qu'elle était, pour les navires venant du Golfe de Guinée, le dernier point de ravitaillement possible avant les Canaries. Par ailleurs, le bout de la presqu'île est, de tous les finistères de l'ancien monde, le plus occidental. Alors que le Cap Dunemore, en Irlande, qui est le point le plus occidental de l'Europe, ne dépasse pas 11° W de Greenwich, la presqu'île du Cap-Vert dépasse 17° W, atteignant même 17° 32' 16" à la pointe des Almadies. Dakar se trouve ainsi à plus de 500 km à l'Ouest de Casablanca (3); de ce fait, c'est l'un des points de l'ancien monde les plus rapprochés de l'Amérique du Sud (4). Il y a 3 000 km environ entre Dakar et Natal.

Mais ces avantages de sites et de situation ne doivent pas faire oublier que le bout de la presqu'île du Cap-Vert n'était pas d'accès facile. D'une part les hauts fonds qui le bordent sur sa face Nord provoquaient de nombreux naufrages de navires dont le pillage faisant en partie vivre les populations riveraines, d'autre part, il ne présentait aucune sécurité pour l'établissement éventuel d'un comptoir en raison du caractère très indépendant des Lébou qui s'y étaient solidement organisés en une république géronto-théocratique sous l'autorité du « Grand Serigne » (5), après s'être affranchis du joug de Damel (6) vers 1809. On ne saurait donc s'étonner du caractère très tardif de l'occupation effective de la presqu'île par la France. Pendant longtemps, l'îlot de Gorée a mieux répondu aux besoins des anciens navigateurs. Découvert par les Portugais en même temps que le Cap Vert en 1444, l'îlot situé à la pointe S.E. de la presqu'île était encore inhabité au moment où les Hollandais apparurent au Cap-Vert en 1588. En 1617, ces derniers l'achetèrent aux chefs de la côte « contre du fer et quelques clous » (7). Cet îlot de moins d'un kilomètre carré répondait pourtant à un double

(3) Marcel M. Chartier. Dakar, Port sérien, in *Cahiers d'Outre-Mer*, 1948, p. 87.
(4) Le Cap Roxo et la région de Freetown sont plus rapprochés du Cap St-Roque de 250 km (cf. J. Richard Molard, in « La presqu'île du Cap-Vert, I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 10).
(5) Grand Marabout.
(6) Roi du Cayor.
(7) Dr Carreau. Notice sur Gorée, in « La presqu'île du Cap-Vert », *op. cit.*, p. 274.

Z0:Seck MS37 Senegal

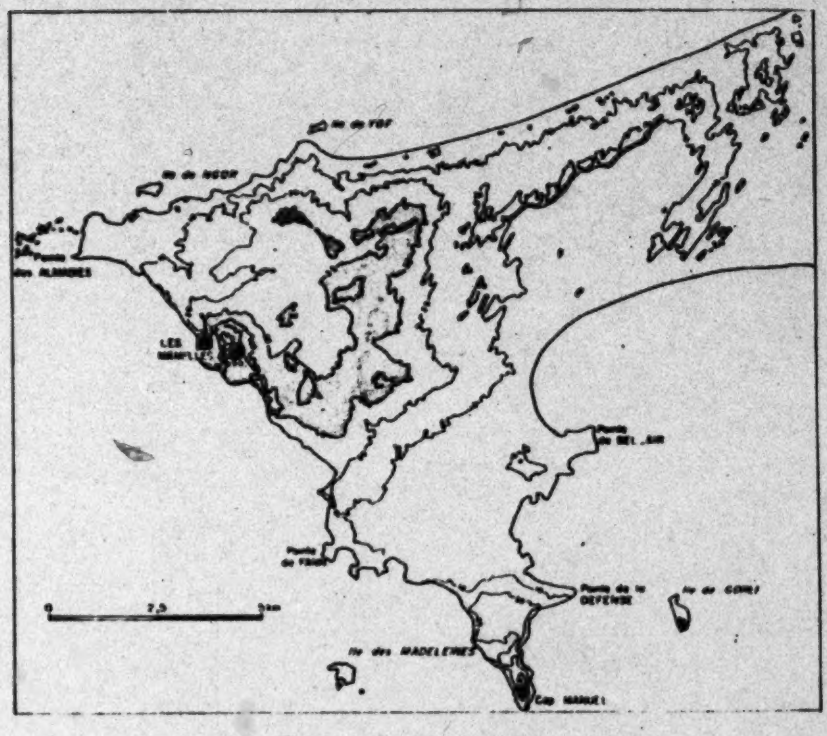


Fig. 1. — Le site de Dakar.

souci des Hollandais : sécurité et commerce. Sécurité d'abord pour les navires qui pouvaient trouver un excellent mouillage dans l'anse N.E. de l'îlot, immédiatement si appréciée que sa qualité — *Goede reede*, « la bonne rade » en Hollandais — servira à désigner l'établissement sous le nom de Gorée (8) en le distinguant des autres îlots de la presqu'île. Ensuite, sécurité pour les occupants. A ce point de vue l'insularité constituait un gros avantage pour le site de Dakar. Enfin concernant le commerce, l'îlot de Gorée, bien que minuscule, suffisait au commerce de troc avec les indigènes de la côte et pouvait bien remplir son rôle d'entrepôt pour les produits et pour les esclaves. Dès que ces vues furent confirmées par les faits, Gorée devint l'objet de compétitions entre Hollandais, Français et Anglais pour finalement rester aux Français. Malgré ces changements de mains, l'établissement de Gorée, grâce à la traite

(8) Nora et Ch. Tourer. L'origine du nom de Gorée, in *Notes Africaines*, janvier 1959, pp. 17-20, I.F.A.N., Dakar.

20:Seck MS37 Senegal

des esclaves prospéra et, vers 1845, il abritait plus de 5 000 âmes. L'abolition de la traite, puis celle de l'esclavage vers le milieu du siècle lui portèrent un coup mortel, ouvrant une crise dont Gorée ne se relèvera pas. Il y eut bien un essai d'adaptation aux conditions nouvelles, les Goréens cherchant à faire de l'îlot une place de commerce avec le continent où déjà se développait la culture de l'arachide, mais sur ce point, Gorée ne pouvait rivaliser avec la presqu'île. Les habitants le comprirent; ce sont eux qui encouragèrent l'occupation de Dakar avec l'arrière-pensée d'en faire une sorte de colonie (Pl. XXI A).

Or, dans le même temps, l'esclavage balayé, l'Europe mettait au point de nouvelles formes de rapports avec les pays non équipés: s'imposer aux populations pour l'établissement d'un ordre nouveau moins barbare que l'esclavage et répondant mieux à une mise en valeur plus diversifiée, plus systématique, plus en rapport avec les exigences des sociétés européennes que transforme de plus en plus la révolution technique et industrielle. Dans cette perspective, Dakar pouvait devenir un point d'appui incomparable, son site était favorabble à l'établissement d'une ville, ses anses pouvaient abriter un port militaire et un port de commerce.

Donc, le 25 mai 1857, Dakar fut officiellement occupé, au nom de la France, par le capitaine de vaisseau Protet, qui matérialisa cette prise de possession par la construction d'un fort à l'abri duquel, bientôt, commença l'équipement. Les travaux du port débutèrent en 1862 et, le 4 novembre 1866, les premières réalisations furent inaugurées par un premier passage de paquebot. Déjà, le 1er avril 1864, le phare de la Grande-Mamelle s'était allumé, suivi deux ans après, le 1er décembre 1866, par les deux phares à feux fixes du Cap Manuel et de la Pointe des Almadies. Un premier plan de la future ville fut approuvé par arrêté du 1er juillet 1862, tandis que, dès ce moment, un projet de chemin de fer qui relierait Dakar à Saint-Louis agitait l'opinion.

Cependant, malgré ces efforts, le démarrage de Dakar, placé sous la tutelle administrative de Gorée, fut difficile: la ville ne se peuplait pas, les Goréens accaparant les terres sans se décider à quitter leur île. De plus, Rufisque plus proche des régions de culture de l'arachide était mieux placé pour le commerce avec l'intérieur, et, de ce fait, contribuait à bloquer le développement de Dakar. Mais le décret du 17 juin 1887 séparant Dakar de Gorée marqua un tournant décisif (1885) dans la vie de la nouvelle création.

2. *Dakar, métropole avant d'être une ville.*

Devenu centre autonome au lendemain de la Conférence de Berlin, à une période où les rivalités coloniales entre les grandes puissances s'accentuent, Dakar va bénéficier de l'appui efficace

20:Seck MS37 Senegal

d'une métropole décidée à en faire la base de son expansion en Afrique occidentale.

C'est le port surtout qui va être l'instrument essentiel du démarrage et de la puissance de Dakar. Ses premiers éléments construits peu après l'occupation, étaient nettement insuffisants et, dès 1892, il fallut prolonger de 200 m la vieille digue et la compléter par un môle de 280 m (actuel môle III). Mais c'est surtout à partir de 1899 que commencent les grands travaux. Le port de guerre qui doit servir de point d'appui à toute l'organisation militaire de la côte d'Afrique occidentale, est construit de 1899 à 1902. Certaines de ces réalisations, telles que la jetée Nord, le prolongement de la jetée Sud et le bassin de radoub, intéressent d'ailleurs le port de commerce dont la construction commence immédiatement après et durera de 1903 à 1910. Deux nouveaux môles s'ajoutent au premier, délimitant trois bassins entre la jetée Sud et le port de guerre, tandis que l'équipement des terre-pleins est activement mené (9).

Cette phase de la construction du port s'est accompagnée d'un acte très important qui va servir d'appui au développement de Dakar : le transfert, en 1902, du siège du Gouvernement Général de l'Afrique occidentale, de Saint-Louis à Dakar, ce qui amène l'installation dans cette ville des grands services administratifs (Contrôle Financier, Trésor, Travaux Publics, etc.) (10), bien que le Gouverneur Général, attendant la construction de son palais, se soit établi à Gorée où il restera jusqu'en 1907. Evénement considérable s'ajoutant aux réalisations du port et qui marque le début de l'essor prodigieux de Dakar (fig. 3).

Dès 1911, le port enregistre plus de 4 millions de tonneaux de jauge ; on passe à 5,6 millions en 1913. Au cours de la première guerre mondiale, il joue un rôle considérable dépassant tout ce que les fondateurs pouvaient espérer : en 1917, 10,5 millions de tonneaux de jauge. Certes, la fin de la guerre amène une brusque diminution des entrées et des sorties, mais la reprise qui a suivi la guerre est telle que de nouveaux travaux portuaires s'avèrent bientôt nécessaires. Ils sont exécutés entre 1927 et 1933 dans la zone Nord où l'aménagement d'un terre-plein destiné aux arachides est entrepris, avec construction de trois nouveaux môles dont l'un est destiné au trafic des combustibles. Enfin, dans la zone Sud, une gare maritime est installée (11).

Ces nouveaux travaux n'ont d'ailleurs pas terminé la construction du port. Aménagements et équipement ont continué jusqu'à la veille de la deuxième guerre mondiale et ont repris immédiatement après, faisant du port l'organisme complexe qu'il est aujour-

(9) Monazé Ch. Dakar. *Annales de Géographie*, 1936, pp. 467-471.
(10) Monazé Ch. *Op. cit.*, p. 620.
(11) Courrier (L.). *Op. cit.*, p. 278.

20:Seck MS37 Senegal

d'hui : 6 904 m de quais dont 2 794 avec des fonds de 20 m et plus, 2 103 m avec des fonds de 8 à 9 m, 580 m avec des fonds de 6,50 m à 7,50 m, et enfin 1 427 m réservés à la batellerie, l'ensemble comportant des postes à quai pour 31 navires à la fois ; un plan d'eau de 210 hectares, 682 000 m² de terre-pleins dont 53 940 m² couverts et enfin 240 000 m³ de capacité de stockage pour hydrocarbures (12), tels sont les éléments essentiels de l'infrastructure du port de Dakar devenu un instrument d'une grande efficacité valorisant pleinement une situation favorable au carrefour de routes maritimes très fréquentées. Aussi Dakar reçoit-il pratiquement des navires de tous les pays possédant une marine marchande ; il n'est pas jusqu'aux pavillons séoudien, iranien, chinois et russe qui ne flottent dans le port de Dakar.

Cette grande fréquentation vient d'abord du fait que Dakar se désigne avant tout comme un port d'escale, « une station service » de l'Atlantique tropical, ravitaillant les navires en eau et surtout en combustibles ; ces derniers, représentés autrefois surtout par le charbon, sont aujourd'hui presque entièrement constitués par les hydrocarbures dont le trafic importation et exportation représente parfois plus du double de celui des marchandises : 211,1 % en 1954, 233,6 % en 1955, 186 % en 1959.

Mais, outre ce rôle de port d'escale, Dakar s'est imposé comme une métropole dirigeant une vaste région. C'est en effet par Dakar qu'entrent produits alimentaires (riz, farine, sucre, etc...), tissus et fils, produits industriels, etc... destinés principalement au Sénégal, à la Mauritanie et au Soudan qui, en retour, lui envoient pour l'exportation, arachide, gomme, peaux, cire, etc... Cette situation est le résultat des luttes d'un passé récent entre Dakar et les vieux ports maritimes ou fluviaux qui se partageaient le faible trafic d'autrefois. La construction du port et de moyens modernes de communication avec l'intérieur, ont permis à Dakar d'éliminer rapidement ses concurrents.

L'établissement de Gorée, entré en crise depuis l'abolition de l'esclavage, malgré une résistance d'abord active, puis passive de sa municipalité (13) a été pratiquement éliminé du circuit économique, dès l'achèvement du gros œuvre du port de commerce. Le négoce émigra alors vers le continent, tandis que la ville entrait en sommeil perdant de plus en plus sa population ; de 3 200 habitants en 1872, on passe à 2 068 en 1891, 1 249 en 1910, 998 en 1921, si bien que la commune fut supprimée et rattachée à Dakar en 1929, puis l'île entière classée monument historique en 1944. La reconstitution de la municipalité en 1956, simple opération électorale, s'est avérée

(12) Synthèse de la situation économique de l'ex-A.O.F. durant la période 1948 à 1958, tome IV, p. 712. Publication de la Chambre de Commerce, d'Agriculture et d'Industrie de Dakar.

(13) On trouvera dans l'ouvrage de J. Charpy (La Fondation de Dakar, Larose, Paris, 1958), une série de documents sur les divers aspects de cette résistance.

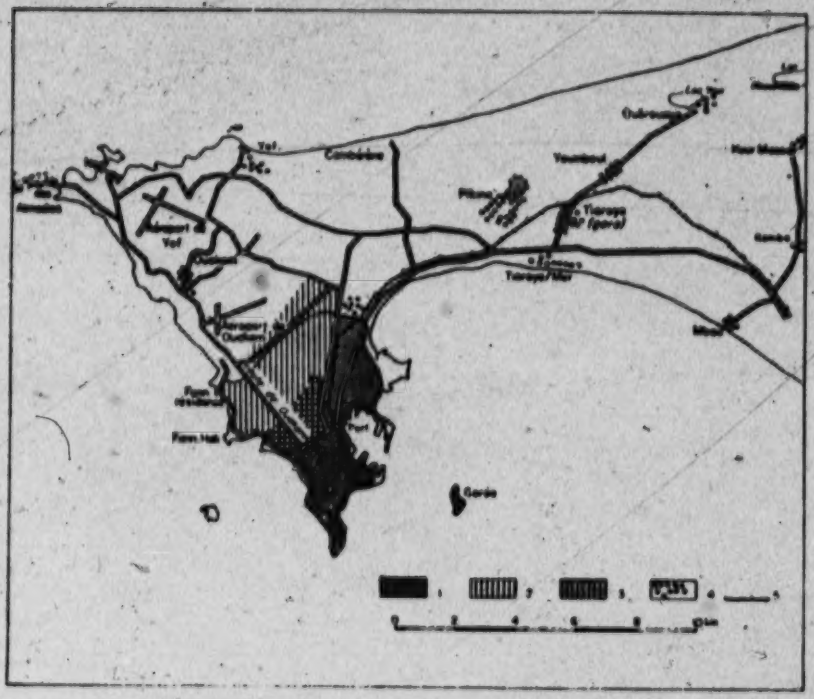


Fig. 2. — Les quartiers de Dakar. — 1. Dakar ville et zone industrielle; 2. Grand Dakar; 3. Médina; 4. Villages de banlieue; 5. Voies ferrées.

incapable de donner vie à Gorée; force a été, au début de 1961, de la rattacher de nouveau à Dakar dont il n'est plus qu'une annexe touristique. Cependant, du fait de la crise du logement à Dakar, il offre ses vieilles maisons aux travailleurs de la grande cité victorieuse.

L'élimination des autres centres rivaux a été moins aisée, mais non moins radicale. Le chemin de fer reliant Dakar et Saint-Louis, terminé en 1885, n'a pas immédiatement entraîné le déclassement de la vieille capitale sénégalaise. Au contraire, sommeillant depuis que l'entrée du fleuve est devenue impraticable du fait de l'augmentation du tonnage des navires, elle semble en avoir tiré un regain d'activité surtout après la construction, à la fin du siècle, du tronçon Kayes-Niger. En effet, les produits destinés au Soudan ou en provenant et qui empruntaient la voie du fleuve Sénégal, y subissaient une rupture de charge obligatoire qui faisait de Saint-Louis un assez important entrepôt. Mais la construction du chemin de fer Thiès-Kayes après la première guerre mondiale et le déve-

20:Seck MS37 Senegal

loppement de la circulation automobile, ont eu pour effet, d'une part, d'annexer directement le Soudan à la zone d'influence de Dakar, d'autre part, d'isoler Saint-Louis et les vieilles escales du fleuve Sénégal et d'accélérer leur décadence économique (fig. 2). Bakel, Matam, Podor, Dagana ne sont plus que des centres administratifs sans grande activité économique. Saint-Louis, demeuré capitale du Sénégal, a conservé plus longtemps une apparence de vitalité. Mais, en 1957, Dakar lui ravit cette fonction au grand désespoir de sa population qui, après une phase d'opposition violente, se complaît aujourd'hui dans une résistance passive que les marques de sympathie et les promesses mille fois exprimées dans les discours officiels des autorités de l'Etat ne parviennent pas à vaincre.

Quant à Rufisque, pendant longtemps, il a disposé de plus d'atouts économiques que Dakar. En effet, tant qu'il n'y a pas eu de port construit à Dakar, il était plus avantageux d'embarquer les arachides à Rufisque, plus près des centres de production du Cayor. Aussi, très tôt, Rufisque est-il devenu la capitale de l'arachide. En 1862 déjà, 27 commerçants européens ou goréens y étaient établis (et 12 à Bargny, situé à 3 km plus à l'Est). Trois ans plus tard, ce chiffre montait à 35 (14). L'activité de Rufisque était si grande et le démarrage de Dakar si difficile que le commandant de Gorée, Pinet-Laprade, dans une lettre du 9 mai 1862 (15) proposa au gouverneur du Sénégal la suppression d'autorité du comptoir de Rufisque pour éviter un étouffement de Dakar. Evidemment Pinet-Laprade ne fut pas suivi et le déclassement de Rufisque qui devait néanmoins intervenir plus tard, fut le résultat d'une lutte âpre. Dès que l'accostage à quai fut possible au port de Dakar, Rufisque perdit l'avantage de sa situation qui permettait l'économie, par rapport à Dakar, d'une trentaine de kilomètres de parcours terrestre. En effet, cet accostage à quai des navires, supprimait les lents transbordements qui occasionnaient à Rufisque de grosses pertes de temps. Aussi, dès les environs de 1930, Rufisque a-t-il été déclassé, n'embarquant plus en 1933, après la construction, au port de Dakar, du terre-plein des arachides, que 10 % de la récolte du Sénégal, contre 28 % à Dakar. Aujourd'hui, aucun chargement maritime ne se fait à Rufisque et la ville ne garde quelque activité économique que grâce à une nouvelle orientation tendant à en faire une annexe industrielle de Dakar.

Ainsi, l'élimination des rivaux a eu pour effet une tendance à la concentration en un pôle unique de toute l'activité de ramassage des produits du Sénégal, de la Mauritanie et du Soudan. Seuls, deux ports, Kaolack et Ziguinchor, sont parvenus à se maintenir

(14) Note n° 1, in « Fondation de Dakar », *op. cit.*, p. 328.
(15) Archives du G.G. A.O.F. 4 B 20, 13 G 299, L 9, in « Fondation de Dakar », *op. cit.*, pp. 327-329.

20:Seck MS37 Senegal

A. — Gorée

Photographie IFAN.

B. — Un aspect de Dakar (photographie prise du Building Pasteur)

Cl. Assane Seck.

[facing p. 380]

20:Seck MS37 Senegal

et même à se développer comme ports d'importation et d'exportation directes. En 1933, Kaolack a exporté 52 % de la récolte sénégalaise d'arachide et Ziguinchor, près de 10 %, quand Dakar n'en était qu'à 28 %. Précisons que Kaolack ajoutait à une exportation régionale égale à la moitié de la récolte sénégalaise, les envois par chemin de fer d'une grande partie de la production du Sénégal oriental et même du Soudan. Pour Ziguinchor, il s'agissait de la production de la Casamance qui n'a pas d'autre porte de sortie. Aujourd'hui, la transformation de l'arachide avant l'exportation a donné à Dakar un avantage incontesté sur Kaolack. En 1957, les exportations de produits arachidiers (arachides décortiquées, tourteaux, huile) qui ne représentaient que le vingtième environ du trafic total des marchandises du port de Dakar, n'en dépassaient pas moins l'ensemble du trafic importation et exportation de Kaolack (292 000 t contre 220 000 t). D'ailleurs, en aucune matière, ni Kaolack, ni Ziguinchor, tous deux situés sur des fleuves dont les entrées sont rendues difficiles par des bancs mouvants de sable ou de vase, ne peuvent constituer des concurrents dangereux pour Dakar, qui, de ce fait, s'impose pratiquement à tout le Sénégal, à la Mauritanie et au Soudan. D'autre part, Dakar domine de loin les trois autres grands ports maritimes de l'ex-A.O.F., Conakry, Abidjan et Cotonou, dont le trafic total en 1957, n'égale que les 3/5 à peu près du trafic de Dakar.

Mais si le port est l'instrument de base de la puissance de Dakar, d'autres éléments s'y ajoutent qui viennent renforcer cette puissance.

C'est d'abord la place qu'occupe Dakar dans le domaine de l'aviation. Depuis la première liaison directe avec la France par la côte méditerranéenne d'Espagne, le Maroc et la Mauritanie (16), son rôle n'a cessé de croître sur le plan international. L'hydrobase de Bel-Air et l'aéroport de Ouakam qui servaient aux premiers avions transatlantiques sont aujourd'hui déclassés par le grand aéroport de Yoff dont les travaux ont débuté en 1940. Bien équipé, cet aéroport de classe internationale et l'un des plus grands aéroports d'Afrique, est, de beaucoup, le plus important de l'ex-A.O.F., comptant à lui seul, en 1957, le quart des avions (arrivées et départs), le tiers des passagers embarquant ou débarquant dans l'ex-A.O.F. et la moitié des passagers en transit. Pour certaines directions comme l'Amérique du Sud, les passagers de toute l'Afrique occidentale doivent s'embarquer à Dakar.

Mais plus encore que dans le domaine de l'aviation, c'est sur le plan commercial et industriel que les autres Etats de l'ex-A.O.F. étaient, avant les bouleversements politiques récents, dépendants de Dakar. En effet, Dakar était le siège des banques, des sociétés commerciales ou des comptoirs-relais métropolitains, les uns et les

(16) Marcel M. CHARTON. Dakar, port aérien, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

20:Seck MS37 Senegal

A. — L'avenue Blaise-Diagne.

B. — Une rue de la vieille Médina. Rue 13, angle 6.

Cl. Assane Seck.

[facing p. 381]

autres exerçant de Dakar, sinon toujours un rôle de gestion directe, du moins une certaine coordination ou en tout cas une influence non négligeable sur les filiales disséminées à travers le Sénégal, l'ex-A.O.F. et même parfois à travers les territoires étrangers. Ainsi, la C.F.A.O., la S.C.O.Z, la B.A.O., la B.C.A. qui exercent leurs activités pratiquement dans toute l'Afrique noire, bien qu'ayant leur siège à Paris, sont fortement établies à Dakar, d'où elles supervisaient un certain nombre d'agences et de succursales. Par contre, la Société Maurel et Prom, qui a des comptoirs au Sénégal, en Mauritanie, au Soudan, en Guinée et en Gambie, le « Commerce Africain »», qui a des établissements au Sénégal, en Gambie, en Côte-d'Ivoire et au Cameroun, et d'autres sociétés, ont leur siège à Dakar (17). Par ailleurs, il faut ajouter que quelques industries (Huileries, savonneries, brasseries, cimenteries, tissages, fabriques de chaussures, etc.), installées dans la presqu'île du Cap-Vert envoyaient une partie de leurs produits dans les autres territoires de l'ex-A.O.F.

Enfin, par son ancienne fonction de capitale fédérale, Dakar groupait tous les organes politiques et administratifs fédéraux, ce qui lui permettait de diriger et de coordonner toute la vie politique, administrative et économique de l'ex-A.O.F.

Ainsi, Dakar était devenu la tête de file, la métropole incontestée, dont dépendait un ensemble régional beaucoup plus vaste que celui de Paris. Cette fonction de métropole qui s'est affirmée dès la construction du port de commerce, a précédé et conditionné à Dakar le développement de la ville.

3. *La ville.*

Les courants commerciaux qui faisaient ainsi converger vers le carrefour dakarois produits africains et produits venant de l'extérieur, ne pouvaient manquer d'entraîner avec eux un grand nombre d'hommes. Il s'agit d'abord de Goréens, finalement résignés à leur défaite, et qui accompagnent ou suivent les établissements commerciaux ou administratifs se transportant à Dakar; ensuite, de non Africains, administrateurs, techniciens, commerçants, etc..., arrivant le plus souvent d'Europe par la même route que les produits manufacturés d'importation. Mais il s'agit surtout des masses qui arrivent par route et par rail, par ces voies de l'économie monétaire qui ont fortement ébranlé les institutions traditionnelles villageoises et imprimé ainsi aux hommes une mobilité autrefois inconnue dans le monde rural. De bon gré, ou contre leur gré, des ruraux du Sénégal, du Soudan, de la Haute-Guinée, de la Haute-Volta, prennent la route et le rail pour se lancer dans une

(17) « Le Commerce Africain » a transféré son siège de Dakar à Paris, en juillet 1960.

20:Seck MS37 Senegal

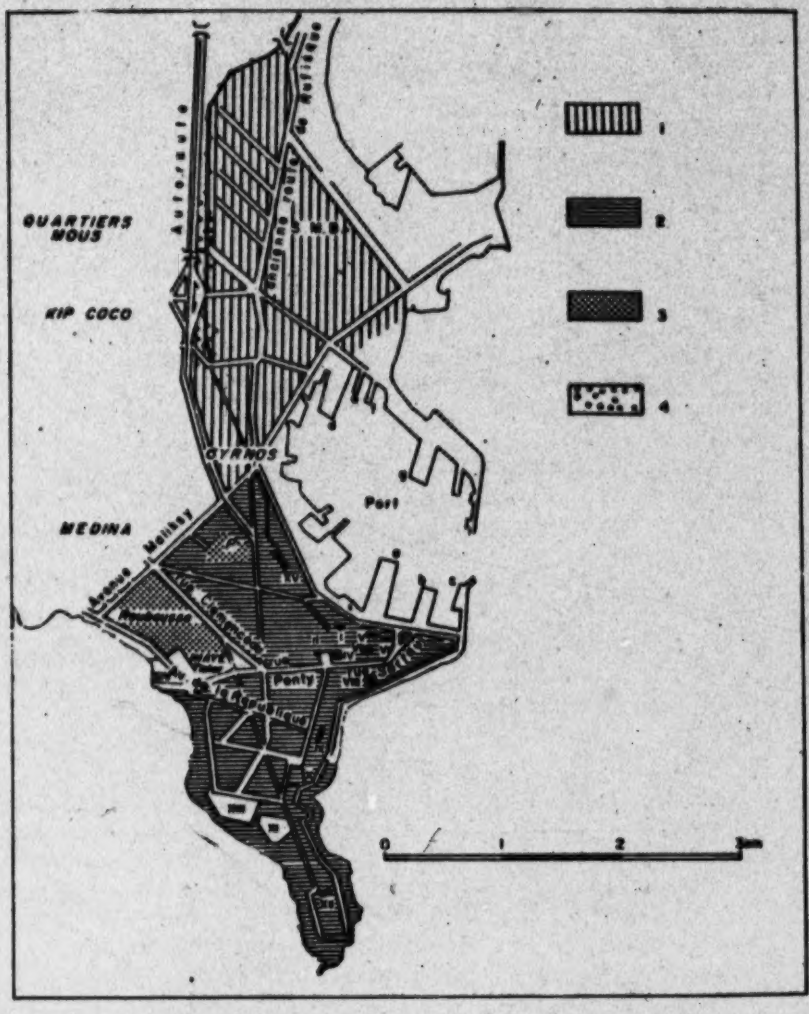


Fig. 3. — Dakar. Le port et la zone industrielle. — 1. La zone industrielle; 2. Les secteurs très urbanisés; 3. Bas quartiers; 4. Quartiers irréguliers.

a - g: les môles. — I. Mairie. — II. Chambre de Commerce. — III. Marché Sandaga (carrefour Ponty-Clemenceau). — IV. ex-Palais de Justice. — V. Grande Poste. — VI. Trésor. — VII. Marché Kermel. — VIII. Cercle militaire. IX. Résidence du Président de la République. — X. Hôpital militaire. — XI. Hôpital africain. — XII. Palais de Justice. — XIII. Camp Bornis. — XIV. Camp Galliéni. — XV. Gare.

existence aventureuse qui conduira et fixera beaucoup d'entre eux à Dakar. Enfin, par mer, arrivent aussi des Africains de Guinée, de Côte-d'Ivoire, du Dahomey, étudiants des grands établissements scolaires et fonctionnaires dont la venue est liée à la fonction de capitale fédérale.

Cette convergence humaine qui, depuis la première décennie du siècle, est allée en s'amplifiant, a provoqué une augmentation vertigineuse de la population. Certes, pour la période antérieure à 1955, on ne possède que des évaluations, d'autant moins sûres que les limites de la commune ont souvent varié, mais les chiffres officiels (18), même s'ils doivent être corrigés ici ou là, donnent cependant une idée acceptable de l'allure du développement de la population dakaroise. Les vingt premières années qui ont suivi la construction du port sont caractérisées par une progression peu spectaculaire, la population n'ayant fait que doubler, passant de 24 900 en 1910 à 54 000 en 1931. Cette lenteur relative de la croissance doit sans doute être imputée à un certain freinage dû à la première guerre mondiale, mais elle s'explique fondamentalement par le caractère encore très incomplet des voies modernes de pénétration, les chemins de fer de Thiès à Kayes et de Louga à Linguère n'ayant été terminés qu'après la guerre. Par contre, la progression a été particulièrement rapide dans les vingt années qui ont suivi et, malgré le freinage opéré, semble-t-il, par la deuxième guerre mondiale, la population a fait plus que quadrupler entre 1931 et 1955, atteignant 230 000 habitants à cette dernière date (19).

Cette population dakaroise, très diverse dans sa formation, se présente comme un échantillonnage presque complet des groupes ethniques du Sénégal auxquels s'ajoutent des éléments venus des autres territoires de l'ex-A.O.F. et aussi des non Africains. Ainsi se coudoient à Dakar, Lebou, Ouolof, Toucouleur, Sérère, Sarakolé, Diola, Socé, etc..., qui sont Sénégalais, mais aussi Mauritaniens, Soudanais, Voltaïques, Guinéens, Ivoiriens, Dahoméens, Capverdiens, Libano-Syriens, Français, etc... Les Lébou qui sont les originaires de Dakar représentent aujourd'hui à peine 1/10 de la population, dépassés en nombre par les Ouolof, les Toucouleur (20) et même par les 30 000 non Africains, parmi lesquels les Français constituent une majorité écrasante, soit près de 23 000 personnes domiciliées. Ce caractère de région d'appel de Dakar est illustré, d'abord par le fait qu'un peu plus de 1/3 seulement de la population y est né,

(18) Synthèse de la situation économique de l'ex-A.O.F. durant la période 1948 à 1956, *op. cit.*, T. I, p. 35: 1910: 24 000; 1921: 32 000; 1931: 54 000; 1945: 132 000; 1955-56: 231 000.

(19) Recensement démographique de Dakar 1955. Résultats définitifs, 1er fascicule. Publication du service de la statistique de l'ex-A.O.F., juillet 1958. Les données chiffrées qui suivent concernant la population de Dakar sont tirées de ce fascicule ou calculées à partir des chiffres qu'il indique.

(20) A. Diop. L'immigration toucouleur à Dakar (enquête (1958-1959). I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 1. L'auteur citant une enquête de la M.I.S.O.E.S., indique le chiffre de 31 000 Toucouleur en 1959.

20:Seck MS37 Senegal

ensuite par l'inégalité assez sensible entre le nombre des hommes et celui des femmes. Avant la guerre, parmi les Européens, il y avait 65 % d'hommes contre 25 % de femmes et 10 % d'enfants (21). Aujourd'hui, la destruction systématique des nids à moustiques des nombreux marais de la presqu'île ayant été menée à bonne fin par les autorités fédérales, on peut mieux apprécier le climat exceptionnellement agréable de Dakar soumis huit mois de l'année aux « influences canariennes » (courant froid et frais, alizé marin du N.E.), et l'équilibre tend à s'établir entre hommes, femmes et enfants, les premiers restant encore cependant les plus nombreux: en 1955, 39 % d'hommes contre 31 % de femmes et 30 % d'enfants pour la population totale non africaine et 35 % d'hommes, 30 % de femmes et 35 % d'enfants pour la population non africaine domiciliée. Chez les Africains, on constate le même phénomène: 36 % d'hommes, 31 % de femmes et 35 % d'enfants de moins de 14 ans pour la population totale, 34 % d'hommes, 31 % de femmes et 35 % d'enfants pour la population domiciliée. Malgré cette tendance à l'équilibre, il demeure que pour l'ensemble de la population dakaroise, les hommes de plus de 14 ans sont nettement plus nombreux que les femmes de plus de 14 ans et que les enfants: le bilan s'établit à 37 % chez les hommes contre 30 % pour les femmes et 35 % pour les enfants.

Cette situation s'explique par le fait que l'immigration à Dakar intéresse d'abord les hommes pour qui elle porte l'espoir d'une situation meilleure, mais elle représente aussi une aventure à laquelle on ne mêle femmes et enfants que lorsqu'il se présente des possibilités certaines d'installation. Le fait est particulièrement net pour la population non domiciliée parmi laquelle la proportion d'hommes est très forte. Ainsi, parmi les Africains non domiciliés, on compte 57 % d'hommes contre 27 % de femmes et 16 % d'enfants. La proportion est encore plus forte chez les étrangers non domiciliés: 77 % d'hommes, contre 12 % de femmes et 11 % d'enfants.

Mais si pour la population non africaine l'installation à Dakar est presque toujours liée à l'emploi, il n'en va pas de même pour les Africains. La destruction des institutions traditionnelles villageoises, les transports modernes, les facilités d'accueil en ville chez un parent, chez un ami ou l'ami ou le parent d'un ami, chez un domicilié originaire du même village ou simplement de la même région, tout cela constitue finalement des facteurs plus déterminants que le salaire. De ce fait, tandis que chez les non Africains domiciliés le nombre de personnes occupant un emploi atteint 43 % du total et 64 % des actifs, chez les Africains domiciliés, la proportion de travailleurs n'est plus que de 27 % du total et 42 %

(21) Monnet Ch. Dakar, op. cit., p. 630.

20:Seck MS37 Senegal

des actifs. Si l'on ajoute à cela les salaires en moyenne beaucoup plus élevés chez les premiers que chez les seconds, on retrouve à Dakar quelques-uns des contrastes caractéristiques des villes ouest-africaines : d'un côté, chez les non Africains, un niveau de vie élevé qui apparaît souvent dans l'aspect de leurs quartiers, de l'autre, l'accumulation de la population africaine dont l'installation en ville n'est liée ni à une augmentation corrélative des possibilités normales d'hébergement, ni à une élévation du niveau par rapport à la brousse, ce qui donne à la ville africaine, tout au moins à certains de ses quartiers, des aspects plus misérables que ceux des villages de l'intérieur.

Cette situation autrefois très nette, classait Dakar dans la catégorie normale des villes ouest-africaines où s'opposent ville blanche et ville noire (22), opposition qui était le résultat d'une ségrégation de fait imposée, non par la loi, mais par les normes de l'urbanisme et de l'hygiène auxquelles il était impossible à la masse des indigènes de se soumettre, et aussi par les prix élevés des loyers — les non Africains étant presque toujours logés par leurs employeurs. En 1936, Charles MORAZÉ écrivait : « Autrefois, Européens et indigènes vivaient mêlés. En de petites pièces vivaient d'innombrables familles, vrais caravansérails englobés dans la ville européenne. Cette promiscuité était déplorable. Européens et indigènes n'étaient pas sujets en effet aux mêmes épidémies : la fièvre jaune, par exemple, mortelle pour le blanc, est bénigne au noir. Le danger d'une population mêlée était que les épidémies se propageaient sans pouvoir être décalées en temps voulu. Le système enfin manquait d'élégance ; aussi, dès 1916, fut décidée la création du village indigène de Médina » (23).

C'était là, en quelque sorte, la théorie de l'urbanisme des villes ouest-africaines ! Cependant les problèmes fonciers étaient si complexes à Dakar (24) entre les deux guerres mondiales que l'immigration libano-syrienne et le Crédit Foncier aidant, il se créa, au contact de la ville européenne et la Médina, un ensemble de quartiers plus mélangés dans leurs contenus et leurs aspects. Jusqu'à la fin de la deuxième guerre mondiale, Dakar a conservé cet aspect de ville triple. Mais après la guerre, une série de facteurs nouveaux provoquent à Dakar une évolution rapide et brutale. La reprise des activités économiques normales après le ralentissement consécutif à la guerre, le réveil et l'amplification de la vie politique et syndicale, la création du Fonds d'Investissement Economique et Social (F.I.D.E.S.), enfin l'afflux de plus en plus considérable des ruraux à Dakar, amènent les autorités fédérales à prendre une série d'initiatives

(22) DEBECH J. Villes d'Afrique occidentale. *Cahiers d'Outre-Mer*, 1950.
(23) MORAZÉ Ch. Dakar, op. cit., p. 630.
(24) Consulter l'ouvrage de A. AMERAND : Les Lébou de la presqu'île du Cap-Vert (Essai sur leur histoire et leurs coutumes). « La Maison du Livre », Dakar.

20:Seck MS37 Senegal

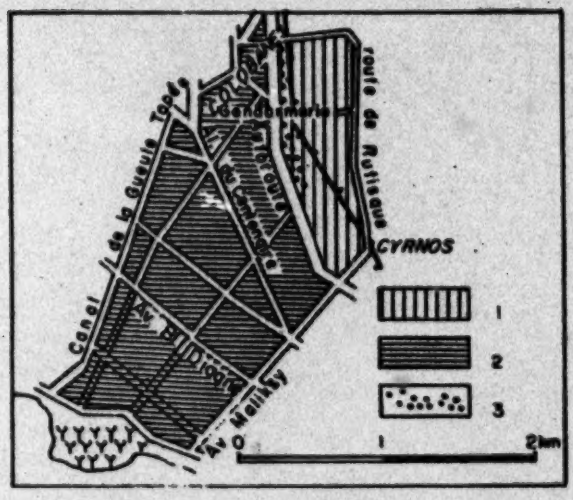


Fig. 4. — Médina. — 1. Zone industrielle; 2. Quartiers plus ou moins urbanisés; 3. Quartiers irréguliers.

heureuses, qui transforment progressivement l'agglomération dakaroise. C'est d'abord la création du S.T.A.G.D. (Service temporaire de l'aménagement du Grand-Dakar) destiné à une urbanisation systématique de la ville. C'est ensuite la décision de promouvoir une politique de logements pour fonctionnaires africains, tandis qu'une Société d'économie mixte, la Société Immobilière du Cap-Vert (S.I.C.A.P.) étudie et réalise des formules d'habitations bon marché destinées à des locations simples ou à des locations-ventes. En même temps, la loi dite « Lamine Gueye » qui égalise par le haut plusieurs éléments des salaires africains et non africains dans le temps où se développe « l'africanisation des cadres », amorce, dans les logements administratifs et dans les nouveaux quartiers pour fonctionnaires, un mélange entre Africains et Européens. Enfin, la loi-cadre d'abord, l'autonomie et l'indépendance ensuite, ont eu pour effet de renforcer ce mélange d'autant plus qu'il s'opère parfois une substitution pure et simple, dans beaucoup de logements, de cadres africains à des cadres européens.

Finalement aujourd'hui, si les quartiers de Dakar se distinguent encore nettement par leurs aspects, la différenciation de leurs contenus est de moins en moins basée sur l'origine et tend à être une différenciation plus sociale que raciale. Aussi, plutôt que la division traditionnelle des villes ouest-africaines en « ville blanche et ville noire », distinguerons-nous quatre secteurs dans l'agglomé-

ration dakaroise: Dakar-ville; la Médina; le Grand-Dakar et la banlieue.

1. *Dakar-ville*. Le plateau du Sud-Est à la tête de la presqu'île et une partie de la plaine, depuis le Cap Manuel jusqu'à l'avenue El Hadji Malick Sy, constituent ce qu'on appelle aujourd'hui Dakar-Ville. La caractéristique essentielle de cette partie de l'agglomération dakaroise est que la presque totalité de ses bâtiments sont construits en dur, à quelques îlots de baraques près. C'est là que se trouvent pratiquement tous les services administratifs, le grand commerce, la majeure partie du commerce libano-syrien et les grands marchés. Mais Dakar-ville se présente sous des aspects très divers (Pl. XXI B) (Pl. XXII A).

Le Plateau est la partie la mieux aménagée de Dakar-ville. C'est là que s'est fixé le premier noyau du Dakar moderne, s'étendant autour du port, de la gare à la place Protet et au Cercle militaire. Peu transformé, ce noyau est resté à peu près ce qu'il était au début du siècle; il est coupé de rues étroites, bordées de vieilles maisons de style colonial, avec magasin au rez-de-chaussée et logement à véranda à l'étage. Ce noyau est demeuré le quartier des affaires, celui du grand commerce dominé par de grandes compagnies et de vieilles maisons bordelaises, C.F.A.O., S.C.O.A., N.O.S. O.C.O., S.O.C.O.P.A.O., Chavanel, Maurel et Prom, etc., entourant le marché Kernel, surmonté de sa coupole style 1900. Quelques vieux immeubles administratifs, la Grande Poste, le Trésor, la Mairie, l'ancienne Délégation, l'ancien Palais de Justice et la Chambre de Commerce y sont englobés. Un phénomène de « Cité » tend à se produire dans ce quartier qui, très animé le jour, se vide presque complètement la nuit. Vers l'Est, ce quartier se continue, le long de la route de Bel-Air et de la vieille route de Rufisque, par le secteur industriel de Dakar où les usines se sont installées surtout depuis la guerre. Au Nord-Ouest, de chaque côté de l'avenue W.-Ponty, s'étend un quartier mixte, commerçant et résidentiel, abritant de vieilles familles Lébou ayant bénéficié des facilités offertes par le Crédit Foncier, des Libano-Syriens et Capverdiens en location ou quasi propriétaires par l'effet de baux de longue durée. C'est aussi un vieux quartier développé surtout après la construction du port de commerce et qui conserve ses rues étroites, toutes à sens unique aujourd'hui, ses maisons basses dominées çà et là par quelque building récent. L'avenue W.-Ponty, au commerce très varié, l'avenue Gambetta dominée par le commerce libano-syrien, l'avenue Roume bordée de beaux immeubles et animée par un commerce de luxe, enfin l'avenue Maginot qui se partage entre grands magasins à l'Ouest et commerce libano-syrien de tissus près du marché de Sandaga, sont les artères les plus complètement transformées de ce secteur du Plateau où de nombreux cafés et restau-

20:Seck MS37 Senegal

A. — Une rue au-delà de l'avenue Blaise-Diagne.

B. — Banlieue éloignée.

Cl. Assane Seck.

[facing p. 388]

20:Seck MS37 Senegal

rants, des cabarets et des cinémas entretiennent tard dans la nuit une animation nonchalante mais gaie succédant au grouillement affairé de la journée.

Au-delà du boulevard de la République qui limite les vieux quartiers à l'Ouest et qui se distingue par ses nombreux buildings, le commerce disparaît presque totalement, faisant place à une zone résidentielle d'allure bourgeoise avec ses villas souvent plus confortables que coquettes. Cette zone résidentielle autrefois totalement européenne, est aujourd'hui mixte, abritant cadres européens et africains. Casernes et hôpitaux séparent ce quartier du Cap Manuel, autrefois zone militaire, aujourd'hui occupé par le monumental Palais de Justice dominant les ambassades nouvellement installées. Mais tout Dakar-ville n'est pas aussi bien aménagé que le Plateau. Les bas quartiers qui bordent l'avenue Malick Sy et que traverse la route de l'Abattoir, diffèrent assez nettement du reste. A Rebeus et à Niayes-Thioker, peu de rues sont bitumées et, pendant l'hivernage, des mares où pourrissent des débris ménagers entourent souvent les maisons basses en dur et les baraques avoisinantes.

Dakar-ville ne compte que 46 000 habitants parmi lesquels on dénombre près des deux tiers des 30 000 non Africains de Dakar.

A ce secteur, se rattache Gorée, capitale déchue devenue annexe militaire, touristique et quelque peu résidentielle de Dakar.

2. *La Médina.* Ne groupant pratiquement que des Africains, la Médina est beaucoup plus peuplée que Dakar-ville. Bloquée à l'Ouest par le cimetière musulman et au Nord par le canal de la Gueule-Tapée, la Médina n'a cessé de s'étendre vers l'Est depuis sa création pendant la première guerre mondiale. Elle présente plusieurs aspects : la partie la plus vieille, à l'Ouest de l'avenue Blaise-Diagne, a toutes ses rues bitumées et plantées d'arbres ; elle comporte peu de baraques et des maisons en dur s'y sont élevées un peu partout ; de nombreux sanitaires et fontaines publics complètent les installations particulières et font que ce quartier est relativement propre et agréable (fig. 4 et Pl. XXII B).

Mais plus on va vers l'Est, au-delà de l'avenue Blaise-Diagne, plus le quartier est récent et plus il fait figure de village misérable. Ainsi, entre l'avenue Blaise-Diagne et la Gendarmerie, si quelques artères principales sont bitumées, les rues les plus nombreuses restent sableuses et encombrées de détritus ménagers. Par ailleurs, on remarque bien ici ou là quelques maisons en dur, mais les baraques sont beaucoup plus nombreuses. A l'Est de la Gendarmerie, Colobane est encore moins bien aménagé, tandis qu'au-delà de l'autoroute, Kip-Coco et Quartier Mous, véritables bidonvilles pour nouveaux arrivés sont dits « quartiers irréguliers », c'est-à-dire des quartiers provisoirement tolérés sans qu'aucun droit d'installation puisse y être reconnu aux habitants (Pl. XXIII A).

20:Seck MS37 Senegal

A. — Yoff: banlieue de pêcheurs.

B. — Thiaroye: banlieue maraîchère.

Cl. Assane Seck.

[facing p. 389]

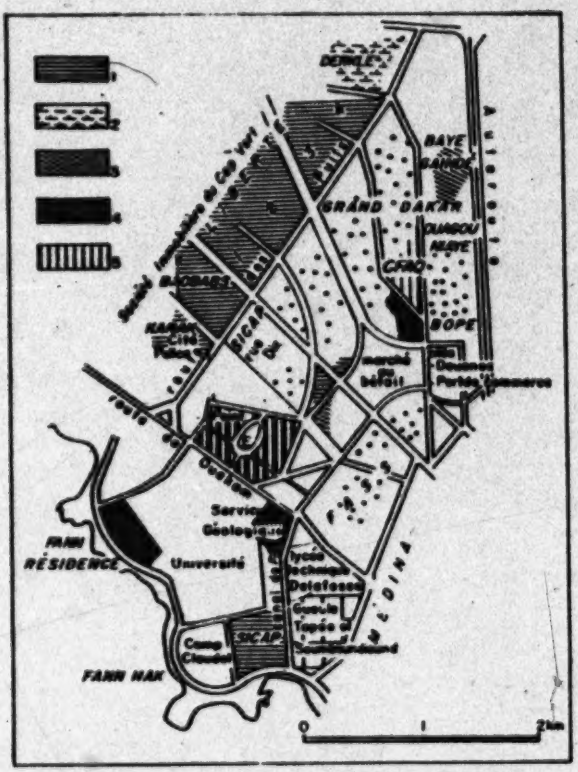


Fig. 5. — Le grand Dakar. — 1. Quartier de fonctionnaires; 2. Derklé; 3. H.L.M.; 4. Maisons de fonctionnaires; 5. Groupement foncier.

3. *Le Grand-Dakar*. De tous les secteurs de l'agglomération dakaroise, le Grand-Dakar est certainement celui qui présente les contrastes les plus saisissants. Le quartier de la « Gueule-Tapée » ressemble à la vieille Médina, tandis que Fass et « Usine Biscuit » rappellent Colobane; mais à côté d'eux se dressent des quartiers modernes aux aspects assez variés, contrastant fortement avec les « Médina », les « Colobane » et les quartiers irréguliers qui les entourent. C'est là, dans ce secteur de Grand-Dakar que se trouve l'Université dressant ses bâtiments majestueux en bordure de la mer. Elle est flanquée au Nord par le quartier riche de Fann-Résidence où se regroupent les résidences pour ministres et membres de leurs cabinets, directeurs de maisons de commerce et hauts fonctionnaires; au Sud des villas militaires et le lotissement de Fann Hock la séparent de la Gueule-Tapée. Le Point E, la Zone A, la Zone B,

la Cité des Douanes et celle du Port de Commerce, sont des quartiers de fonctionnaires, tandis que Bopp, ancien marécage, est devenu, depuis quelques années, un joli petit quartier dont toutes les maisons ont été bâties par des fonctionnaires avec l'aide du Crédit du Sénégal. Les S.I.C.A.P. qui s'étendent le long de la route des Puits (Karacks, Baobabs, Liberté I, Liberté II, Liberté III, etc.) sont de coquets lotissements destinés à faciliter aux Africains l'accession à la propriété (fig. 5).

Enfin, le quartier de Derklé rassemble en plusieurs groupes de maisons, une résidence pour petits fonctionnaires africains, une autre pour employés africains d'entreprises privées et enfin un quartier dit des « Castors » dont les maisons ont été construites avec l'aide des pouvoirs publics par leurs propriétaires associés et groupés.

Le Grand-Dakar est le secteur le plus étendu et le plus peuplé de l'agglomération dakaroise. Il compte plus de 73 000 habitants parmi lesquels on dénombre 1/6 de la population non africaine.

4. *La banlieue.* La banlieue dakaroise est composée de treize villages dont les plus proches de Dakar, Ouakam, N'Gor, Yoff, Hann, Thiaroye et M'Bao ont un aspect de Colobane. Les autres restent des villages traditionnels typiques. Seul Dagoudane-Pikine échappe à l'une et à l'autre catégorie. Créé *ex nihilo* il y a moins de dix ans pour servir d'exutoire aux irréguliers de Dakar qui s'y trouvaient, refoulés au fur et à mesure des progrès de l'urbanisme, il a déjà l'aspect d'une petite ville, avec ses 10 000 habitants. Il dispose d'un centre fonctionnel et de rues larges bien que non encore bitumées. Cependant malgré cet aspect de ville, Pikine est plus étroitement dépendant de Dakar que les autres villages de la banlieue : c'est une banlieue ouvrière dont tout le ravitaillement vient de Dakar tandis que, pratiquement, ses habitants ont tous leurs occupations dans la grande cité. A cette exception près, les villages de la banlieue ont pour rôle essentiel de ravitailler Dakar en poisson et légumes frais. De nombreux services de transports en commun les relient à Dakar-ville, très tôt le matin et jusque vers le milieu de la nuit (Pl. XXIII B, Pl. XXIV A et B).

Ainsi s'ordonnent ou se juxtaposent les divers éléments de l'agglomération dakaroise dont la population actuelle peut bien avoir dépassé 300 000 habitants.

4. *Perspectives.*

Ville inachevée, en pleine organisation, alors que sa fonction de métropole ouest-africaine s'est affirmée depuis longtemps, telle apparaît l'agglomération dakaroise. Il y a dans cette situation de quoi surprendre ceux qui analysent les vieilles civilisations urbaines européennes où l'on voit une ville ancienne existant en tant que

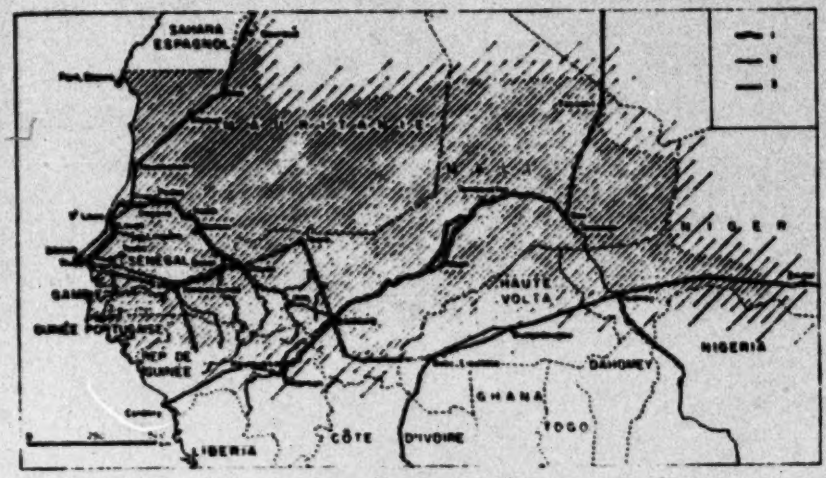


Fig. 6. — Zone d'influence économique de Dakar.
1. Voie navigable; 2. Chemin de fer; 3. Route.

telle qui développe patiemment ses relations pour devenir une métropole et constituer un ensemble solide et dynamique où fonctions urbaines et fonctions métropolitaines se donnent un appui mutuel. Dakar, lui, est avant tout un centre de relations qui a tissé avec son arrière-pays des liens ayant l'apparence de liens de complémentarité, mais qui, en réalité, sont des liens de dépendance. Dépendance en effet parce que dans l'intérieur sénégalais et soudanais le développement des cultures d'exportation est lié aux moyens d'évacuation organisés par Dakar; dépendance aussi parce que les cultures d'exportation, en brisant l'ancienne autarcie villageoise, ont donné à Dakar le rôle d'un grand relais dans l'importation des produits alimentaires de compensation et des produits manufacturés devenus un besoin là où ils étaient hier encore inconnus; dépendance enfin, non seulement pour l'intérieur sénégalais et soudanais, mais aussi pour l'ensemble de l'ex-A.O.F. par le rôle de direction que jouaient à partir de Dakar, les services administratifs, les banques et les grands comptoirs de commerce.

Mais en vérité, cette prééminence de Dakar qui ne repose que sur son rôle de relais, de « station service », qui reçoit pour la redistribution, comporte des faiblesses graves. Et tout d'abord, il faut noter que l'influence de Dakar qui s'étendait souverainement sur un ensemble régional plus vaste que la France n'était en réalité

(23) HUMLAS J.-P. Les hydrocarbures de soute à Dakar; 2e rapport. Éléments d'information sur la position concurrentielle des îles Canaries, 15 nov. 1960, I.F.A.N., Dakar.

20:Seck MS37 Senegal

rien moins qu'un signe de sous-développement pour les régions ainsi dominées. Elle signifiait en effet, pour elles, une économie de traite, sans transformation locale des produits, avec peu de centres urbains jouant un rôle important de direction régionale. Or, précisément, cette influence, en maintenant l'économie de traite empêchait toute nouvelle orientation de l'économie dans un sens national. De ce fait, les liens unissant Dakar à sa zone d'influence apparaissaient comme étant de même nature que ceux qui liaient les colonies à leurs métropoles ou, plus exactement, ils n'en étaient qu'un maillon : le nationalisme des nouveaux Etats les confondra dans une même condamnation.

Ensuite, il faut souligner la fragilité même de ce rôle de relais de Dakar. Déjà fortement concurrencé dans sa fonction d'avitaillement des navires par des ports comme Las Palmas et Santa Cruz de Ténériffe (25), mieux placés sur la route directe Europe-Amérique du Sud, Dakar n'est plus sur l'Atlantique tropical une escale impérative, du fait de l'autonomie plus grande des navires en matière d'avitaillement. D'autre part, l'évolution politique récente qui a amené la « balkanisation » de l'ex-A.O.F. a non seulement rompu tous les liens administratifs et politiques qui étaient parmi les éléments les plus remarquables de la puissance de Dakar, mais encore elle a permis à Conakry, Abidjan et Cotonou, autres relais possibles pour les régions intérieures, de devenir des concurrents limitant de plus en plus la zone d'influence de Dakar. L'éclatement récent de la Fédération du Mali, en détournant d'un seul coup et complètement vers Abidjan surtout et dans une moindre mesure vers Conakry, le trafic qui se faisait entre Sénégal et Soudan, est un exemple particulièrement frappant de la fragilité de la situation de Dakar. Dans l'état actuel des choses, il ne reste donc plus à Dakar que l'intérieur sénégalais et la Mauritanie, encore que ce dernier pays, qui construit son propre port à Port-Etienne cherche à s'en affranchir (fig. 6).

Ainsi de graves menaces pèsent sur la métropole dakaroise. De toute manière, même dans l'éventualité d'une reprise des relations économiques entre Sénégal et Soudan, ou mieux, dans l'éventualité de la constitution d'un marché commun ouest-africain, le rôle de ramassage qui avait consacré la supériorité de Dakar est aujourd'hui menacé de caducité, en raison du nationalisme des Etats et de leur volonté de transformer localement leurs propres productions. Il semble donc que le salut soit, pour cette métropole en crise virtuelle, non pas dans une illusoire renaissance de son rôle ancien, mais dans une orientation nouvelle et sans équivoque de ses activités. Elle ne doit plus être un pôle de succion, mais devenir un pôle de développement de l'arrière-pays.

Assane SECK.

21: Verriere G-5 (1960-1961) 1963 MS37 Senegal MS37

000

The Population of Senegal
/La Population du Senegal/

By Louis Verriere

Dakar: 1963
Ou en Est, Ou Va la Population du Senegal
/Where the Population of Senegal Is Going/,
Institut de Science Economique Appliquée,
pp. 1-5

Translated from the French by Grace W. Moore

Human Relations Area Files
1963

/Title Page/

/1/

125 During the years 1960 and 1961, a demographic investigation by sampling was undertaken over the whole territory, the first one in the history of Senegal. (Administrative counts, city censuses, and an investigation in the central valley of the river /Senegal River/ had been made previously, but never a demographic inquiry covering the whole territory.)

[369] The country has been divided into two large parts: the urban zone, composed of the whole region of Cape Verde and the cities [162] of Thiès, Saint-Louis, Ziguinchor, Diourbel, and Louga; and the rural zone, which includes the rest of the territory. The sampling fraction was 1/50 in the rural zone and 1/20 in the urban zone. Subsequently a sampling to the twentieth was obtained by dividing into two a certain number of maps of the rural zone.

It will be seen merely from the method utilized that it renders illusory the study of small groups /groupes à effectif réduit/. It should be acknowledged from the first that the numbers below 500 (that is, 25 in the sample) are not significant.

II - The Structures:

III - The geographic distribution:

114 The operations in the field begun in the month of April 1960 were terminated in the month of August 1961 (April-June '60 for the rural zone, July '60 to August '61 /2/ for the urban 162 zone). It should be acknowledged that on the whole the numbers indicated below correspond to the situation on the date of 1 July 1960. (Table 1 on following page)

This table shows, on the one hand, the low average density and, on the other hand, its great variability.

[563] The non-African population is made up essentially of French and Lebano-Syrians. It is heavily concentrated in the urban zone and particularly in Cape Verde; 74% of the non-Africans of Senegal 161 are actually in residence there. Moreover, this concentration has 648 become accentuated in recent years for several reasons: the departure of the Senegalese and Mauritanian governments from Saint-Louis; the closing of a number of agencies in the interior following the change in the commercial circuits.

/2 cont./

169

Table 1 - Over-all Results - Resident Population

Region	Africans	Non-Africans	Total	Area (km^2)	Density per km^2
Cape Verde	397,940	45,640	443,580	550	807
Casamance	528,900	960	529,860	28,350	19
Diourbel	500,980	2,180	503,160	33,547	15
River	342,620	2,780	345,400	44,127	8
Senegal-Oriental	151,080	--	151,080	59,602	2.5
Sine-Saloum	721,040	6,060	727,100	23,945	30
Thiès	405,580	4,080	409,660	6,601	62
Senegal	3,048,140	61,700	3,109,840	196,172	16

/2 cont./

change in the commercial circuits.

S 162 /3/ It should not be without interest to give an idea of the peopling of the various regions by ethnic groups. (Table 2 on following pages)

W [167] It is shown that the Ouoloff /Wolof/ constitute more than a third of the total population. This group is abundantly represented in most of the regions, with the exception of Casamance and Senegal-Oriental. It is known that their arrival has determined the growth of the population of Dakar. It is not impossible that persons belonging to other ethnic groups but speaking Ouoloff have been given as Ouoloff.

SR [167] The Sérère /Serer/ are second in rank from a numerical standpoint. They are relatively grouped in Sine-Saloum and in the region ot Thiès.

T [162] /4/ The Toucouleur /Tukolor/, the majority of whom are in the river region, are scattered throughout the territory; they are, however, less numerous in the region of Diourbel.

W [162] One can also note that the Casamance groups scarcely ever wander away from their region of origin except to come to Dakar, and that the Lébou are largely concentrated in Cape Verde.

S [563] Concerning the non-Africans, whose concentration at Dakar has already been mentioned, one will note the presence of a Lebano-Syrian group in the region of Kaolack and a French group in Saint-Louis and Thiès.

S [369] The population of Senegal is still essentially rural, but the urbanization movement, which is noted in all of the regions by reason of the diversification of economic activity and especially the industrial development, is particularly marked there. This factor will greatly modify the geographical distribution of the population during the coming years.

The following table gives the population of the cities which constitute the urban zone. (Table 3 follows Table 2.)

/5/ In sum, the urban population is close to 705,000 inhabitants and represents 23% of the whole. Dakar alone has 12% of the population of Senegal, which is not abnormal. But

21: Verriere--4 G-5 (1960-1961) 1963 MS37 Senegal MS37

Wolof MS30
Serer FA32
Tukolor MS27
Diola FA14
Fulani MS11

/3 cont./

Table 2 - Total Population - Principal Ethnic Groups
Numbers in thousands

Ethnic Group	Cape Verde	Casamance	Diourbel	Senegal-River	Senegal-Orient	Sine-Saloum	Thiès	Senegal
Ouoloff	204	14	367	86	3	253	176	1.103
Sérère.								
Niominka	26	1	73	1	-	316	178	595
Toucouleur	50	56	4	229	22	47	14	422
Peulh.								
Foulah.								
Laobé	25	22	39	13	56	61	14	230
Diola.								
Baïnouk	8	203	0	0	-	4	1	216
Other Casamanceans (Manjacque. Mancagne. Balante)	6	93	0	0	-	1	1	101
Bambara.								
Mandingue.								
Socé.								
Malinké	15	117	1	4	34	22	5	198

(cont.)

21: Verriere--5 G-5 (1960-1961) 1963 MS37 Senegal MS37
Soninke MS21
Wolof MS30
S
SO
W
169
S
563

Table 2 Cont.

/3 cont./

Ethnic Group	Cape Verde	Casamance	Diourbel	River	Senegal-Orient	Sine-Saloum	Thiès	Senegal
Sarakolé	6	17	1	2	32	5	2	65
Moors	8	1	16	6	0	8	9	48
Lébou	37	-	0	-	0	3	2	42
Other Groups of Black Africa	12	5	0	1	5	3	3	29
Europeans	30	1	0	2	-	1	4	38
Lebano-Syrians	10	-	1	-	-	4	0	15
Eurafricans (Cape-Verdeans)	6	0	0	1	-	0	-	7
Misc.	1	-	0	0	-	0	0	1
Total	444	530	503	345	151	727	410	3,110

/4 cont./

162
[563]

Table 3 - Population of the Cities of the Urban Zone (1)

City	Africans	Non-Africans	Total
Dakar	336,580	38,120	374,700
Kaolack	68,160	1,400	69,560
Thiès	66,940	2,200	69,140
Rufisque-Bargny	48,280	1,380	49,660
Saint-Louis	47,700	1,140	48,840
Ziguinchor	29,520	340	29,840
Diourbel	27,820	740	28,560
Louga	16,120	160	16,280

1. The total population of these cities does not correspond exactly to the population of the urban zone given below, because all of the region of Cape Verde, including the cantons of Sangalkam and Sébikotane, has been included in the urban zone.

/5 cont./ it is necessary to take note of the fact that Dakar has been in existence scarcely more than 75 years. Its rate of growth, remarkably stable since 1890, stays at between 6% and 7% per year. At this rate, Dakar will have 1,275,000 inhabitants in 20 years and will contain a quarter of the inhabitants of Senegal.

[161]

The rural population is about 2,390,000 inhabitants distributed in 13,000 communes or villages. The average population of a village is thus less than 200 inhabitants. This fact is not unimportant, because this great dispersion increases the "general expenses" of the nation, if one can use this term. It is obvious that instruction in schools, for example, is more costly when settlements are dispersed, whether the classes have an attendance lower than is normal or whether it is necessary to arrange for collecting the students. There is thus reason for encouraging regroupings as much as possible.

Zl:Verriere MS37 Senegal

INSTITUT DE SCIENCE ECONOMIQUE APPLIQUEE

B.P.5087 Tél.565
DAKAR

OU EN EST, OU VA
LA POPULATION DU SENEGAL

Par M. Louis VERRIERE
Chef du Service de la Statistique
& de la Mécanographie

Exposé fait au Séminaire d'Economie Appliquée
du Vendredi 15 Mars 1953

[title page]

21:Verrière

MS37 Senegal

INSTITUT DE SCIENCE ECONOMIQUE APPLIQUEE

B.P. 5037

DAKAR

Tél. 363-47

SEMINAIRE de SCIENCE ECONOMIQUE APPLIQUEE

Réunion du 15 mars 1963

LA POPULATION DU SENEGAL

Au cours des années 1960 et 1961, s'est déroulée sur tout le territoire une enquête démographique par sondage, la première dans l'histoire du Sénégal.(Avaient déjà été effectués: des comptages administratifs, des recensements de villes, une enquête dans la moyenne vallée du Fleuve,mais jamais d'enquête démographique couvrant l'ensemble du territoire).

Le pays a été divisé en deux grandes parties: la zone urbaine composée de l'ensemble de la Région du Cap-Vert et des villes de Thiès, Saint-Louis, Ziguinchor, Diourbel, Louga; la zone rurale comprenant le reste du territoire. La fraction sondée était 1/50e en zone rural et 1/20e en zone urbaine. On a ensuite obtenu une échantillon au vingtième en dédoublant un certain nombre de cartes de la zone rurale.

On retiendra seulement de la méthode utilisée qu'elle rend illusoire l'étude de groupes à effectif réduit. On peut admettre en première approximation que les nombres inférieurs à 500 (c'est-à-dire à 25 dans l'échantillon) sont dépourvus de signification.

II- LES STRUCTURES :

III- La répartition géographique :

Les opérations sur le terrain commencées au mois d'Avril 1960 se sont terminées au mois d'Août 1961 (Avril-Juin'60 pour la zone rurale, Juillet'60 à Août'61

[P.1]

.../...

pour la zone urbaine). On peut admettre, en gros, que les nombres indiqués plus loin correspondent à la situation à la date du 1er Juillet 1960.

Tableau 1- Résultats d'ensemble- Population de droit

Région	Africains	non Africains	Ensemble	Superficie (km2)	Densité au km2
Cap-Vert	397.940	45.840	443.580	550	807
Casamance	528.900	960	529.860	28.350	19
Diourbel	500.980	2.180	503.160	33.547	15
Fleuve	342.620	2.780	345.400	44.127	8
Sénégal-Oriental	151.080	-	151.080	59.602	2,5
Sine-Saloum	721.010	6.090	727.100	23.945	30
Thiès	405.580	4.080	409.660	6.601	62
Sénégal	3.048.140	61.700	3.109.840	196.172	16

Ce tableau met en évidence, d'une part la faiblesse de la densité moyenne, d'autre part sa grande variabilité.

La population non africaine se compose essentiellement de français et de libano-syriens . Elle est très concentrée dans la zone urbaine et spécialement dans le Cap-Vert : 74% des Non-africains du Sénégal y sont en effet domiciliés. Cette concentration s'est d'ailleurs accentuée au cours des dernières années pour de multiples raisons: départ des Gouvernements sénégalais et mauritaniens de Saint Louis, fermeture d'un certain nombre de comptoirs dans l'intérieur à la suite de la transformation des circuits commerciaux.

.../...

Il n'est peut être pas sans intérêt de donner une idée du peuplement des diverses Régions selon les groupes ethniques.

Tableau 2- Population totale - Principaux Groupes Ethniques

Nombres en milliers

Groupe Ethnique	Cap-Vert	Casamance	Diourbel	Fleuve	Sénégal Orient.	Sine Saloum	Thiès	Sénégal
Ouoloffs	204	14	367	86	3	253	178	1.103
Sérères, Niominkas	26	1	73	1	-	318	178	598
Toucouleurs	50	86	4	229	22	47	14	422
Peulhs, Poulahs, Laobés	25	22	39	13	36	61	14	230
Diolas, Baïnouks	8	203	0	0	-	4	1	216
Autres casamançais (Manjacques, Mancagnes Balantes)	6	93	0	0	-	1	1	101
Bambaras, Mandingues Soocès, Malinkés	15	117	1	4	34	22	5	198
Sarakolés	6	17	1	2	32	5	2	65
Maures	8	1	16	6	0	5	9	46
Lébous	37	-	0	-	0	3	2	42
Autres groupes d'Afrique Noire	12	5	0	1	5	3	3	29
Européens	30	1	0	2	-	1	4	38
Libano-Syriens	10	-	1	-	-	4	0	15
Eurafricains (Cap-Verdiens)	6	0	0	1	-	0	-	7
Divers	1	-	0	0	-	0	0	1
Ensemble	444	830	503	346	181	727	410	3.110

On constate que les Ouoloffs constituent plus du tiers de la population totale. Ce groupe est largement représenté dans la plupart des Régions à l'exception de la Casamance et du Sénégal-Oriental. On sait que c'est leur vomus qui a déterminé la croissance de la population de Dakar. Il n'est pas impossible que se soient déclarées ouoloffs des personnes appartenant à d'autres groupes ethniques mais parlant le ouoloff.

Les Sérères arrivent au deuxième rang au point de vue numérique. Ils sont relativement groupés dans le Sine-Saloum et dans la Région de Thiès.

.../...

Les Toucouleurs, majoritaires dans la Région du Fleuve, sont disperses sur tout le territoire; ils sont toutefois peu nombreux dans la Région de Diourbel.

On peut encore relever que les groupes casamançais ne s'écartent guère de leur Région d'origine sauf pour venir à Dakar et que les Sérères sont largement concentrés dans le Cap-Vert.

En ce qui concerne les Non-africains, dont la concentration sur Dakar a déjà été mentionné, on notera la présence d'un groupe libano-syrien dans la région de Kaolack et d'un groupe français à Saint-Louis et à Thiès.

La population du Sénégal est encore essentiellement rurale, mais le mouvement d'urbanisation qui est enregistré dans tous les pays en raison de la diversification de l'activité économique et, spécialement, du développement industriel y est particulièrement marqué. Ce facteur modifiera largement la répartition géographique de la population au cours des prochaines années.

Le tableau suivant donne la population des villes qui constituent la zone urbaine.

Tableau 3.- Population des villes de la zone urbaine (1)

Ville	Africains	Non-africains	Ensemble
Dakar	336.580	38.120	374.700
Kaolack	68.160	1.400	69.560
Thiès	66.940	2.200	69.140
Rufisque-Bargny	48.290	1.380	49.660
Saint-Louis	47.700	1.140	48.840
Ziguinchor	29.830	340	29.840
Diourbel	27.830	740	28.580
Louga	16.120	160	16.280

(1) Le total de la population de ces villes ne correspond pas exactement avec la population de la zone urbaine donné plus loin, car on a compris dans la zone urbaine toute la Région du Cap-Vert y compris les cantons de Sangalkam et de Sébikotane.

.../...

Au total la population urbaine est voisine de 705.000 habitants et représente 33% de l'ensemble. Dakar, seul, groupe 12% de la population du Sénégal, ce qui n'est pas anormal. Mais il faut tenir compte du fait que Dakar n'a guère plus de 75 ans d'existence. Son taux de croissance, remarquablement stable depuis 1390 se maintient entre 6 et 7% par an. A ce rythme, Dakar compterait 1.375.000 habitants dans 20 ans et regrouperait le quart des habitants du Sénégal.

La population rurale compte environ 2.390.000 habitants répartis dans 13.000 communes ou villages. La population moyenne d'un village est donc inférieure à 200 habitants. Ce fait n'est pas sans importance car cette grande dispersion accroit les "frais généraux" de la Nation si l'on peut employer ce terme. Il est évident que la scolarisation par exemple est plus coûteuse lorsque l'habitat est dispersé, soit que les classes aient un effectif inférieur à la normale, soit que l'on soit obligé d'organiser le ramassage des écoliers. Il y a donc lieu d'encourager les regroupements dans toute la mesure du possible.

112- La répartition par sexe et âge :

Les critères ne présentent ni arbitraire de définition, ni difficultés de principe. Cette répartition est, cependant, l'une des plus riches de signification, l'âge étant l'un des facteurs essentiels de tous les phénomènes démographiques. Malheureusement, au Sénégal, si le principe de l'obligation de la déclaration des naissances, décès... à l'état civil existe, la plus grande partie de ces événements ne sont pas enregistrés et on est mené à estimer l'âge des personnes recensées soit à vue, soit à l'aide de calendriers historiques, ou encore, par recoupement. La répartition obtenue présente, comme on le verra plus loin, un certain nombre de particularités mais il semble qu'il faille les attribuer à des erreurs d'observation.

Sous ces réserves, on trouvera ci-dessous une décomposition en groupes d'âge.

.../...

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

B.R. 512 A (RESTRICTED)

GEOGRAPHICAL HANDBOOK SERIES

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FRENCH WEST AFRICA

VOLUME II

THE COLONIES

DECEMBER 1944

NAVAL INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

[Title Page]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal M537
Gambia FC1

SG
102
103
131
133
361
491
S
496

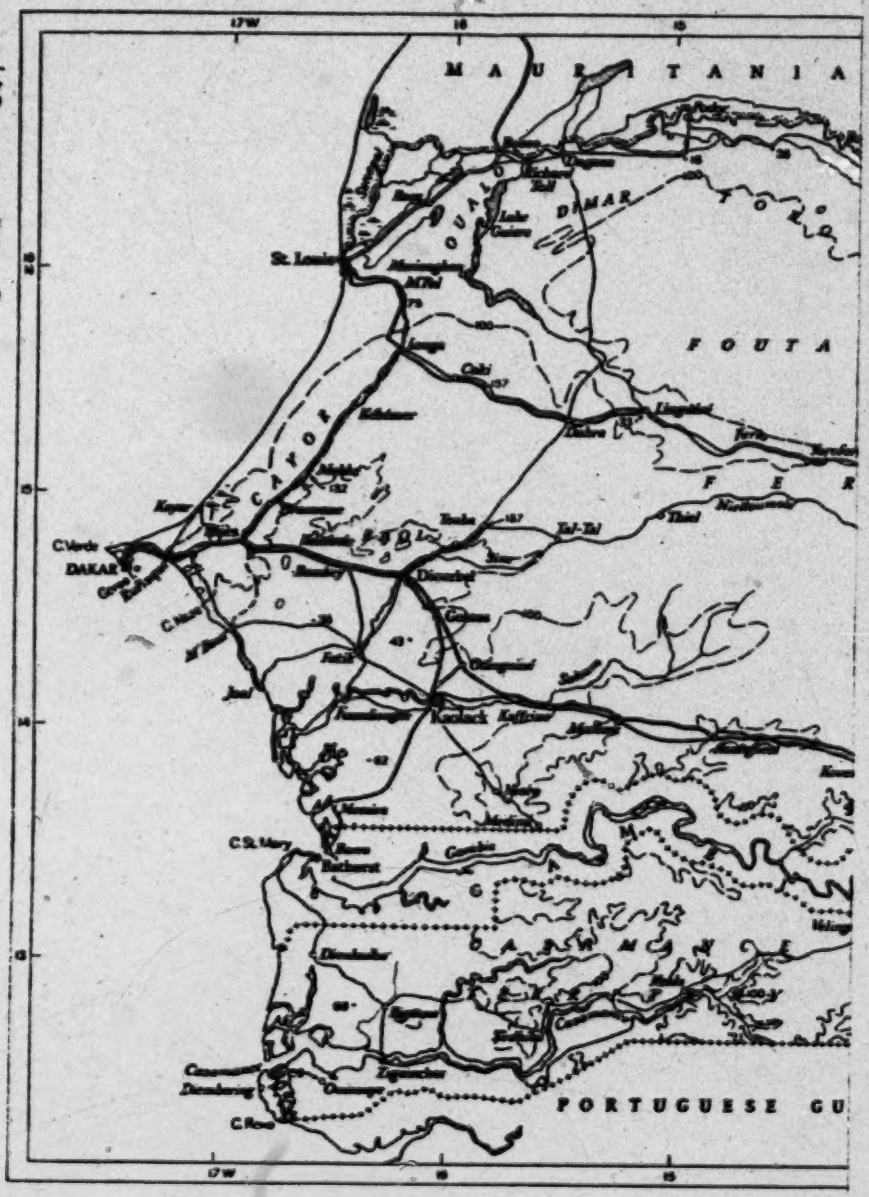


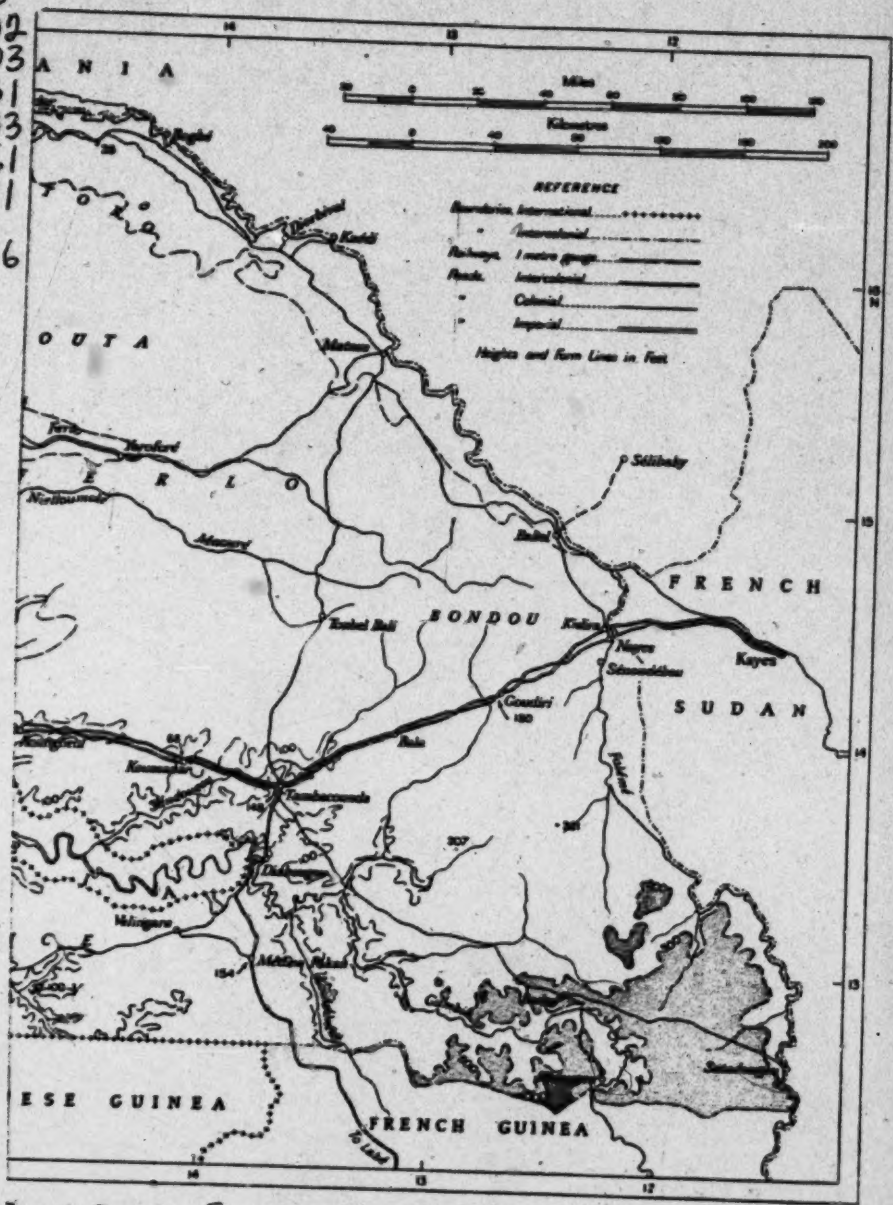
FIG. 47. Senegal

[Facing P. 395 (A)]

[Pp i-xvi and pp. 1-394 not processed]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 39
Gambia FC1

S
G
102
103
131
133
361
491
S
496


Miles
Kilometres
REFERENCE
Boundaries International
Railways 1 metre gauge
Roads International
Colonial
Imperial
Heights and Form Lines in Feet
A N I A
O U T A
E R L O
BONDOU
FRENCH
SUDAN
ESE GUINEA
FRENCH GUINEA
Kayes
Bakel
Kedougou
Mamou
Sélibaby
Gourbri
Mamou
Kouroussa
Tambacounda
Dakar
Bamako
Niagara
Kindia
Kaolack
Ziguinchor
Bissau
Conakry
Freetown
Monrovia
Sierra Leone
Liberia
Ivory Coast
Gambia
Portuguese Guinea
Spanish Guinea
Portuguese Guinea
Sierra Leone
Liberia
Ivory Coast
Gambia
Portuguese Guinea
Spanish

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[p395]

CHAPTER VIII

SENEGAL AND THE DISTRICT OF DAKAR

1. GENERAL

Senegal. Area: 77,220 square miles. Population (1937): 1,666,374. Density per square mile: 21·58. Capital: St. Louis. 161 [131]

District of Dakar. Area: 66 square miles. Population (1937): 126,929. Density per square mile: 1,923·16. Headquarters: Dakar. [162] [633]

ALTHOUGH it has fewer inhabitants than most of the other colonies and a lower density of population than Dahomey or the Ivory Coast, Senegal is the most important of all the members of the Federation. Much of the colony is semi-desert, but the remainder is closely settled by some of the most vigorous and progressive peoples of French West Africa. Most of the native citizens are Senegalese, and the fame of the tirailleurs is known in every land. The colony contains some of the earliest French settlements, and its honourable position is attested by the fact that it alone in the Federation sends a direct representative to the Chamber of Deputies at Paris. [101] 162 648

The full title of the District of Dakar is the *Circonscription de Dakar et Dépendences*. Besides the town of Dakar it includes Goree, Rufisque, the territory round them, and a few small enclaves inside Senegal. One of these enclaves is at Sebikotane, where is situated the William Ponty School. The District has been a separate political entity since 1924, and its Administrator is not responsible to the Governor of Senegal. 633

The British colony of the Gambia has all its land frontiers with Senegal. 131

The greatest distance from north to south in Senegal is 249 miles, and the greatest from west to east is 365 miles. The colony extends from 12° 19′ N. to 16° 42′ N. and from 17° 20′ W. to 11° 20′ W. The extreme west of the Cape Verde peninsula is 17° 32′ W.

Boundaries. The Atlantic Ocean forms the main western boundary. The only exceptions to this are the frontier with the Gambia and the boundary between Senegal and Dakar. The latter leaves the coast at 14° 49′ N. and runs roughly south-south-east until it is 2 miles from Goree bay. There it turns east and afterwards south to strike the bay 1 mile east of Rufisque.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS37
Gambia FC 1

S 131

The intercolonial boundary between Senegal and Mauritania begins at 16° 04′ N., 20° 31′ W. It runs east, then north-east, and then south-east to reach the Senegal river 2 miles above St. Louis. The right bank of the river is followed upstream for more than 500 miles until the confluence with the Falémé. This left-bank tributary is pursued, jointly with French Sudan, upstream for 30 miles, but the boundary is east of it for 64 miles, before rejoining it for a further 130 miles. At the end of this last stretch is the meeting-point of French Sudan, Senegal, and French Guinea, and the boundary between the two latter colonies turns west along the foothills of Fouta Jalon. It is fairly straight for its first 60 miles, but later it bends considerably. It crosses the Gambia river 18 miles above Kédougou. It then follows an even more irregular course westwards, but curves north to avoid Youkounkoun. Nine miles north-north-east of this town it turns almost west, and, using one of the headstreams of the Koulountou, keeps this direction as far as 12° 40′ 30″ N., 12° 42′ 45″ W., the north-eastern corner of Portuguese Guinea. From here the international frontier runs due west for 100 miles, ignoring natural features. It then goes south-west for 37 miles and a little north of west for 22 miles before taking a line almost half-way between the Casamance and the Cacheo. It meets the sea at Cape Roxo.

S G 131

The northern frontier of the Gambia leaves the Atlantic coast at 13° 35′ 40″ N. and runs due east for 72 miles. After this the frontier follows a demarcated line which averages a distance of 6 miles from the right bank of the Gambia river. This continues to be the case as far as a point 22½ miles south-west of Tambacounda. The frontier then turns, crosses the river, and reaches a point 6 miles from the left bank. Owing to the river's meanders this is almost on the bank 6 miles below Diabougou. The right-bank procedure is then followed westwards to 13° 21′ N., 15° 46′ 30″ W. From here the frontier goes due south for 12½ miles to latitude 13° 10′ N. This parallel is followed due west to the Allahine river, which marks the last 15 miles of the frontier.

2. PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION AND GEOLOGY

S 133

Almost the whole colony lies below the level of 200 feet and, except in the province of Haute Gambie, there is a monotonous regularity of feature. Indeed, the coastal dunes north of Dakar afford some of the

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

most striking topography. In spite of this, there are few wide horizons, for much of the surface is covered with high bush. 133 [137]

The Coastal Belt

The Cape Verde peninsula protects the south of the coast from the Canary current and there is a marked contrast between the smooth sandy shoreline to its north and the muddy estuaries to its south. From St. Louis to Dakar no rivers reach the sea. Behind the dunes which back the coast is a depression into which, baulked of their normal goal, many small seasonal streams empty themselves. This depression is marshy during and shortly after the rains, and at certain places shallow lakes persist. A wider and more permanent area of swamps lies east of St. Louis. It is formed by distributaries of the Senegal and replenished each year by its flood. Lake Guiers is a large perennial sheet of water at the eastern edge of this marshland.

The Interior Plain

North and east of the railways and south and west of the great curve of the Senegal there is a broad Tertiary plain. This is, in effect, a southward extension of the Sahara, and, like that of Mauritania, its surface is formed of low fixed dunes and shallow clay depressions. The general direction of these features is north-east and south-west. Immediately west of Thiès is a prominent line of hills running north and south. It is formed by an outcrop of Lower Eocene strata dipping eastward, and it is covered by the Forest of Thiès. For most of the year the rather friable top soil is dry, but the depressions become bands of swamp for a few months. Across this general alinement of relief two major valleys run from east to west. One is that of the Ferlo, which flows into Lake Guiers, and the other is that of the Nielloumolé and the Maouré, which are the upper sections of the Sine. The general pattern is edged by the flood plain of the Senegal and its subsidiary channels. The longest of these latter breaks off just below Diorbivol and does not rejoin the main stream until below Podor. It encloses the Île à Morfil, which averages 8 miles wide and is over 300 miles long. Most of the plain is covered with thornland or poor grass-woodland, but much of the land in the extreme south-west is highly cultivated. [137] [134] [137] [137] [311]

The South

In the Casamance Territory relief is slightly more varied. The valleys are flat and annually flooded, but the country between rises

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

501
133

107. *Fishermen of the Langue de Barbarie*

133

108. *The coast near Yof*

[facing p. 398]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

133 to an average height of some 130 feet. Rocky outcrops frequently break its lateritic surface, and the rise from the valleys is invariably abrupt.

The south-east of the colony is mainly the basin of the Gambia, but some parts are drained to the Falémé. Much land is over 300 feet, and, as the surface rises to the Palaeozoic sandstones and pre-Cambrian quartzites of Fouta Jalon, the valleys of the Gambia and of its tributaries, the Nieri Mango, the Niocolo Koba, and the Koulountou, are proportionately deeper. The side valleys of the first two, indeed, are little more than very narrow gullies. Just east of the 13th meridian steep hills rise on either side of the Gambia itself, and, some 15 miles west of Kédougou, a broken spur strikes north from French Guinea. Upon it heights of over 1,300 feet rise above scarps of 300 or 400 feet, and, although the river now beheads its northern end, it has forced the Gambia to take a great northward loop. East of Kédougou the country is more open, for the intercolonial boundary follows the scarps that mark the northern limits of Fouta Jalon.

3. THE COAST

THE total distance from the Mauritanian boundary to Cape Roxo is 333 miles, but 40 miles of this are in the Gambia. The coast of Senegal may be divided into four unequal parts: the mouth of the Senegal river, the smooth curve that flanks the interior plain, the Cape Verde peninsula, and the creeks and estuaries of the south.

The Canary current sets southward along the northern part of the coast, but south of Cape Verde it varies with the seasons. From January to June it flows south or south-east, from June to August north or north-west, and in late August east. During the rest of the year it is variable.

Swell is strong and surf is heavy.

The Langue de Barbarie to the Cape Verde Peninsula

The Langue de Barbarie is some 27 miles long and has been built by the combined efforts of the Canary current and the Senegal. For its last 15 miles it is nowhere more than half a mile wide and it separates the river from the sea. St. Louis (p. 440) stands on an [361] island in the river, but has three suburbs, two on the Langue de Barbarie and one on the mainland. From this mainland suburb, Sor, [996] the railway begins its journey to Dakar. Across the mouth of the

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

133

109. Yof

[facing p. 399]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

river is a sandy bar which sometimes prevents entry by ships for several weeks on end. After this the coast stretches south-south-westwards in a gentle curve of sandy beach. There are dunes along the shore, and, inland from them, the marshy depression already described on p. 397. There are very few villages and, indeed, very few landmarks of any kind. Seventy-four miles from the mouth of the Senegal the village of Kayar is perceptible from the sea. It is connected to Rufisque (17 miles) by a colonial road, and immediately south of it is Lake M'Baouar, which is seldom or never without water. After Kayar the coast trends more definitely south-west. Lake Retba, whose north-eastern end is 6½ miles from Kayar, is a permanent salt lake fed by the sea. There are other lakes and swamps behind the littoral dunes. On the coast itself stands another village, Cambérène, which is 22½ miles from Kayar and behind which rise the Petites Mamelles. These are three grey, isolated, sandy knolls, and they mark the beginning of the Cape Verde peninsula (Fig. 48).

The Cape Verde Peninsula and Goree Bay

Yof island (Plate 108), 3¼ miles west of Cambérène, stands off the village (Plate 109) of the same name. The beach on the mainland is accessible to surf-boats in all weathers. Just west of the village is a cable hut, where cables are landed, and a tarmac road runs southwards to Ouakam and Dakar. The coast is now more indented, and, 2½ miles south-west of Yof, is a ledge of rocks which joins the shore to Ngor island and behind which is the village of Ngor. Three-quarters of a mile farther west the coast turns almost due south to reach Almadi point (Plate 110), the extreme west of the mainland of Africa. There is a lighthouse on a rock three-quarters of a mile out to sea. Cape Verde itself is 2 miles to the south-east of Almadi point, and behind it are two conical hills called the Mamelles. It was the stunted brushwood on these hills that gave the cape its name. From here to Cape Manuel the coast continues its south-easterly direction, being formed of red cliffs and small sandy beaches. Fann point, 3¾ miles from Cape Verde, marks the north-western end of Madeleines bay, which washes the south-western side of Dakar (p. 444). Some 2 miles south-west are the four Madeleines islands, all of which are rocky and three of which are inaccessible. At Cape Manuel, which is 131 feet high, the coast turns sharply north to form Bernard bay. North of Dakar is Hann bay, and both of these small bays are on the western side of Goree bay. This is generally considered to stretch from Cape Manuel to Cape Rouge, and in it,

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

133 1½ miles off shore from Dakar, is the historic island of Goree (p. 449).
[504] The bay is protected by the Cape Verde peninsula and affords good anchorage at a depth of 11 fathoms, and its beaches provide numerous landing-points for ships' boats.

[361] The village of Hann, in the middle of the shore of Hann bay, is a

102
491
133
361
103

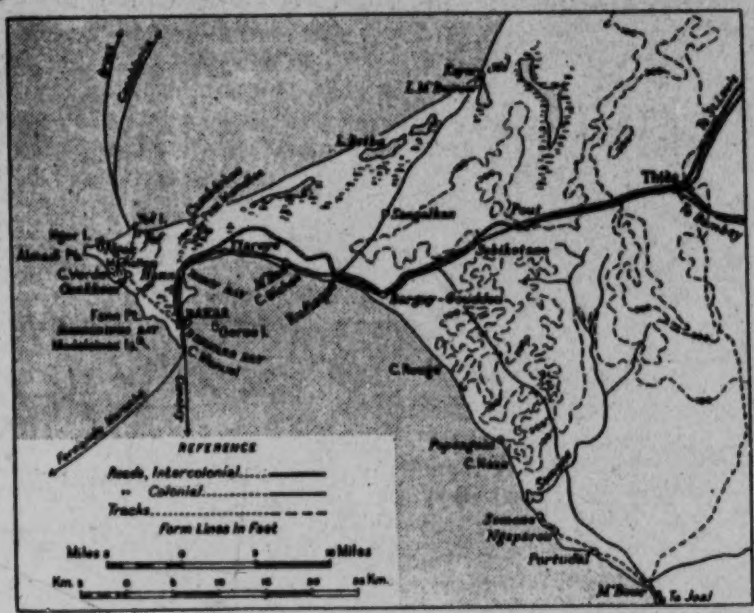


FIG. 48. *The Cape Verde Peninsula*

133
[361] seaside resort for the inhabitants of Dakar. There is also a botanical
[369] garden. The intercolonial road and the railway run near the sea and
[491] are never far from it until they pass Bargny-Gouddou. North-east of
[496] Hann there is a narrow lagoon between the sea and the road, and the coast bears away north-east, east, and east-south-east for the ~~11~~ miles to Rufisque (p. 449). There is much marshland, and the sole feature
[36] of note is Cape Biches, a low promontory 2 miles before the town. Bargny-Gouddou is 3 miles east-south-east of Rufisque, and beyond it the coast is cut up by creeks and lagoons, which have small seasonal rivers running into them. Behind them are scattered sandhills which rise eastwards to hills of 200 and 300 feet. Cape Rouge, which barely projects into the sea, has red cliffs intersected by wooded ravines.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS39

Cape Rouge to Sangomar Point

The hills are near the shore at least as far as the Somone, but the shoreline is fringed with sandy beaches and occasional mangrove swamps. Popenguin, 6 miles from Cape Rouge, has a Roman Catholic church, and, 1½ miles farther, Cape Naze rises to 236 feet. Inland there is a hill of 400 feet. Three miles beyond the cape the river Somone finds its way to the sea through a patch of mangrove-woodland. The coast runs south-eastwards by means of a series of small bays, and the country is more settled and cultivated. A number of sandspits can also be distinguished. These have been built by the prevailing current, and they have either blocked or diverted the short streams and marigots. From the village of Somone, which is a little distance from the river of that name, there is a minor road to Ngaparou, Portudal, and M'Bour (p. 450). Portudal's great days are over, but ships can still anchor about 3½ miles off shore in a depth of 5½ fathoms. There is a reef to seaward of the beach, but west of the village a break allows access to a creek, where landing is possible. There are many other reefs and shoals off this part of the coast. Inland, the road is continued near the shore to Joal, but in many places its surface is very rough indeed. Two miles beyond M'Bour the Balling, a seasonal river, meets the sea, and, 3 miles farther still, is Nianing, a local centre for tracks. From here the coast runs almost due south to Sarène point, a low and sandy promontory. After this the road goes inland a little to avoid a shallow bight, heavily fringed with mangroves and crossed by several marshy streams. South of this, and 1 mile north of Senti point, is the village of Ngazobil, conspicuous by reason of its Roman Catholic church. Joal (p. 450) is 2½ miles farther south-east. From this place onwards the coast is extremely swampy and is cut up by creeks and estuaries. Only the principal features can be noted here.

133 361 [368] [491] [491] [491] [368]

Eleven and a half miles beyond Joal stands the little village of Diakhanor. This marks the northern end of a strip of land which is strongly reminiscent of the Langue de Barbarie. It has been built by the Saloum and the sea, and it separates them for about 10 miles. An old mouth of the river is clearly observable 6 miles south of Diakhanor, and the end of the strip is called Sangomar point.

Sangomar Point to the Frontier of the Gambia

The Saloum is navigable upstream for sea-going vessels for about 100 miles, and on its banks and those of its tributary the Sine

[505] [487]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[p 402]
102
103
133
491
361

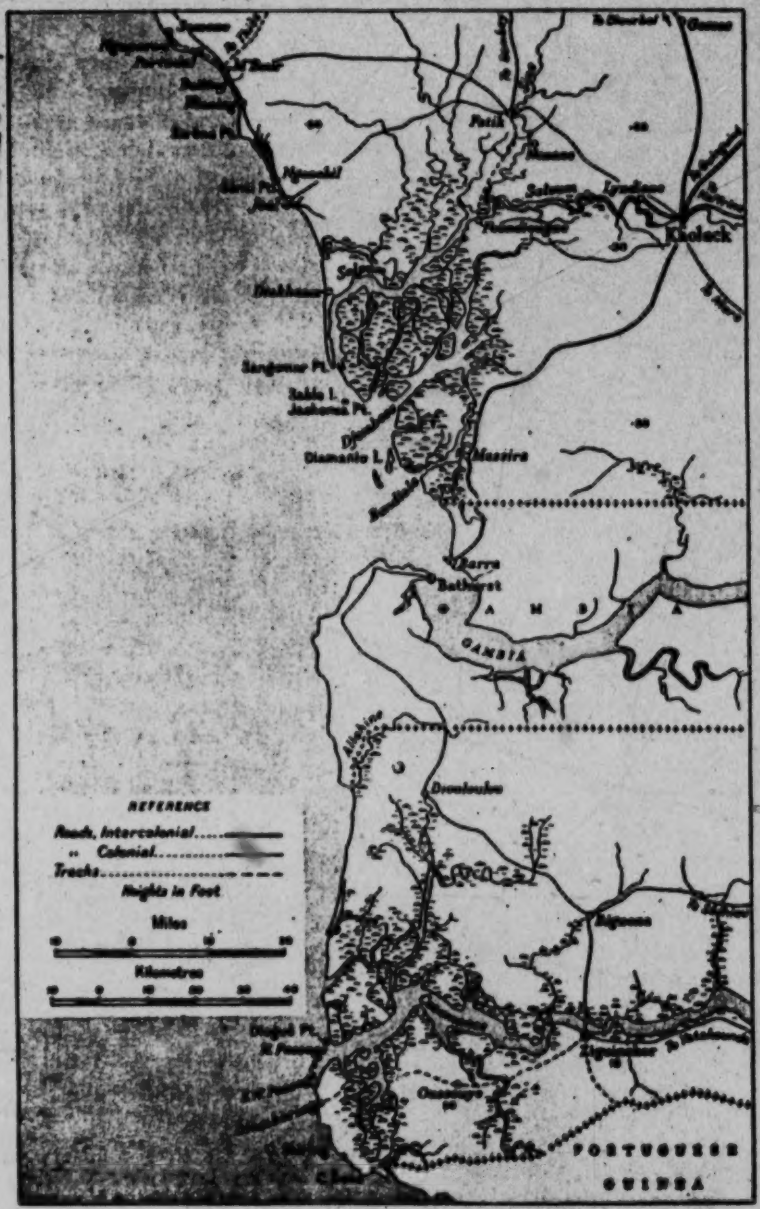


FIG. 49. *Senegal: the Coast from Ngaparou to Cape Roxo*

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

are the ports of Foundiougne (p. 451), Lyndiane, Kaolack (p. 452), and Fatik (p. 451). Its entrance is obstructed by a bar of shifting sandbanks. The principal channel, the New Passage, is immediately east of Sangomar point and has a width of 650 feet and a depth of 11½ feet. Inside the bar the river is rather deeper. Four miles south-south-east of Sangomar point is Sable island, 2¾ miles east of which is Jackonsa point. This marks the west side of the imposing estuary of the Djomboss, which is a distributary of the Saloum, but which is also connected to the Bandiala and the Gambia. Southwards there are many shoals and several islands, and navigation is difficult. The largest of these islands is 3 miles long and its northern tip is 7 miles from Jackonsa point. Its southern tip is almost opposite another wide estuary, the Bandiala, the source or terminus of a score of muddy creeks. Four miles south-east of this estuary is the frontier of the Gambia. The next 40 miles of coast are, therefore, in British territory.

Allahine River to Cape Roxo

It has already been noticed that the Allahine (San Pedro) river forms the international frontier between the Gambia and Senegal. The mouth of this river is blocked by sandbanks, so that it connects with the sea only at high tide. For the next 18 miles the coast is flat and treeless, with white sandy beaches on which the sea breaks heavily. There are no landing-points, and off-shore depths are very shallow. After that there are some minor waterways, and, 33 miles from the Allahine, Diogué point marks the northern shore of the estuary of the Casamance. This river, 2 miles wide at its mouth, is navigable as far as Ziguinchor (p. 453) for vessels drawing 15 feet, and as far as Sedhiou (p. 454) and Kolda for smaller craft; but the last 35 miles of its course are through mangrove swamps. The entrance to the estuary is partly blocked by a bar, but there are two places where this may be crossed. One of these, the North Passage, is off Diogué point and has a depth of 13½ feet, and the other, the South-West Passage, is 1½ feet deeper. The coast that faces this passage has a low sandy beach backed by dunes, and the village of Diembering, 8 miles south-south-west of Diogué point, is behind these dunes. The coast curves gradually south-eastwards, still exhibiting the same features but with a number of shallow bays, and between Cape Skiring and Cape Roxo there are many rocks off shore. The latter cape is also low and sandy, and it marks the international frontier with Portuguese Guinea.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

4. CLIMATE

132
654
361

Meteorological Stations mentioned in Text and Tables

	Latitude N.	Longitude W.	Altitude in feet
Podor	16° 35′	15° 02′	49
St. Louis	16° 01′	16° 30′	25
Matam	15° 38′	13° 13′	c. 70
Linguéré	15° 21′	15° 11′	c. 90
Bakel	14° 53′	12° 24′	c. 90
Thiès	14° 49′	16° 52′	207
Bambey	14° 40′	16° 25′	59
Dakar	14° 39′	17° 25′	105
Kaolack	14° 07′	16° 07′	17
Tambacounda	13° 45′	13° 39′	154
Kédougou	12° 33′	12° 10′	433
Ziguinchor	12° 32′	16° 21′	18

132 LIKE that of French Guinea, the colony's climatic year is divided into two distinct periods: a dry season from October to May, and a wet season from June to September. The former has north-east winds, generally clear skies, and a large range of temperature; and the latter, introduced by tornadoes, is more equable and has south-westerly winds, much cloud, and high humidity. Imposed upon this general pattern is the influence of the trade winds, which, in the dry season, keep the coast north of Dakar cooler and moister than the interior. The weeks immediately preceding the wet season are very oppressive.

Pressure (Fig. 58)

Senegal lies between the belts of northern tropical high pressure and equatorial low pressure. Although the movements of these two are very considerable during the course of a year, the local effect is negligible. Fig. 58 shows that surface pressure lies between 1012 mb. and 1014 mb. all the year, and that seasonal changes are concerned rather with the direction in which it decreases. The gradient in January is from north to south, but in July it is from south-west to north-east. Extreme variations are within 3 mb. on either side of the means.

TABLE I. *Mean Daily Pressure* (1000+ *millibars*) *reduced to sea-level and corrected to* 32° *F. and latitude* 45°

Station	J.	F.	M.	A.	M.	J.	J.	A.	S.	O.	N.	D.	Year	Annual Range
St. Louis	13	12	11	11	10	10	13	11	11	12	12	13	12	3
Dakar	13	12	11	11	12	13	12	12	12	12	12	13	12	2
Kaolack	11	10	09	09	09	10	13	11	11	11	11	11	11	4
Ziguinchor	12	11	11	11	11	13	14	15	13	12	12	13	12	3

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

There is a fairly regular diurnal range, amounting to 2 or 3 mb. near the coast and to 3 or 4 mb. inland. Maxima occur at about 10.00 a.m. and 10.00 p.m. and minima at about 4.00 a.m. and 4.00 p.m., the day extremes being the more marked. Irregular variations are infrequent and slight. 132

Winds (Fig. 50)

Surface Winds. As may be expected, there are two main winds: the north-easterlies and the monsoon. The former are composed of two distinct currents, the trades and the harmattan, and the difference between them has been explained on pp. 314–15. Each of the three currents brings different weather, according as the two systems swing north and south.

In January a strip of country some 40 miles wide along the coast north of Rufisque is under the trades, and the rest of the colony is covered by the harmattan. The monsoon does not appear. This state of affairs continues through February and March, but by April the monsoon is pushing north, and from that time until July the trades and harmattan retire before it. By August the monsoon, then at its strongest, covers the whole country. From September to January the monsoon is retreating and the trades and harmattan are re-establishing themselves.

None of the three currents is very strong or very deep. The annual means at most stations average from 2 to 4 m.p.h. The trades, however, are rather stronger and the annual means along the north-west coast are between 7 and 11 m.p.h., with speeds above the average in the north from January to March and below it from August to October. The mean speed of the harmattan is only about 4 m.p.h., and this fact is very evident in the quieter conditions that obtain when it intervenes in the trades and reaches the coast. The monsoon is also feeble, and, although many stations register their highest speeds as it advances, calms are frequent when it is established. It is always weaker on its northern edge than over the coast. Trades and harmattan are about 3,000 feet deep. The monsoon is the same along its northern border, but over the south in August it attains 6,000 feet. Winds of rather greater force may be met in the upper layers of all three currents.

When the seasonal wind is firmly established there is a fairly regular daily rhythm. Nights are calm except when the trades are blowing at their strongest. Winds are light in the early morning, and

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

132 rise to their maximum in the afternoon or evening. Along the coast sea- and land-breezes frequently alter the direction of the trades and the strength of the monsoon. At St. Louis, for instance, the land-breeze gives the trades a distinct easterly component in the morning, and during the day they are often north-westerly, being sucked inland from the sea. At Dakar observations from the north-east quadrant are, both for each month and for the year, higher at 7.00 a.m. than at 2.00 p.m. and those from the west at 2.00 p.m. than at 7.00 a.m. The land-breeze is the stronger in the dry season, the sea-breeze in the wet. The former strengthens the harmattan, the latter the monsoon.

Since tornadoes occur on the northern edge of the monsoon, the tornado season is from July to October over most of the colony, and the average number is about 20 per annum. In the Casamance Territory they are experienced as early as May. They are accompanied by intense lightning and thunder, and usually by torrential rain; but those which come after the wet season are often dry. Farther north they are less violent. Inland they blow up at any hour and always from the east; but on the coast they frequently occur at night and often move from south to north. The sea-breeze may prevent the formation of those cumulus clouds which are, in the interior, a normal feature of the day preceding a tornado.

Upper Winds. Above the sea- and land-breezes and the three surface currents are easterly winds, and above them again light westerlies. The boundary between the two last is always higher in the south.

During the dry season the upper surface of the easterlies lies above the trades or harmattan at a mean height of from 5,000 to 10,000 feet over the Senegal and about 15,000 feet over the Casamance. When the easterlies lie above the monsoon they extend to very great heights, at least 25,000 feet in the north and 30,000 feet in the south. There are, however, great diurnal and even hourly variations: at times the easterlies form only a very thin belt in the north, and on at least one occasion the westerlies have been noted directly above the trades over Dakar.

The easterlies are continental in origin and carry a dust haze, and for this reason it is difficult to define their base above the harmattan. By some meteorologists, indeed, they are considered to be the same current, but they may easily be distinguished from the other two surface winds. They are some 10°–15° warmer and 15–50 per cent. drier than the trades, but they are several degrees colder and drier

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

than the upper surface of the monsoon. The speed of the easterlies is about 5–15 m.p.h. at their base and 15–25 m.p.h. in their higher levels. A shallow zone of calm air is often found along their junction with the monsoon. 132

Little is known about the westerlies, but at their base their temperature is several degrees lower and their relative humidity higher than

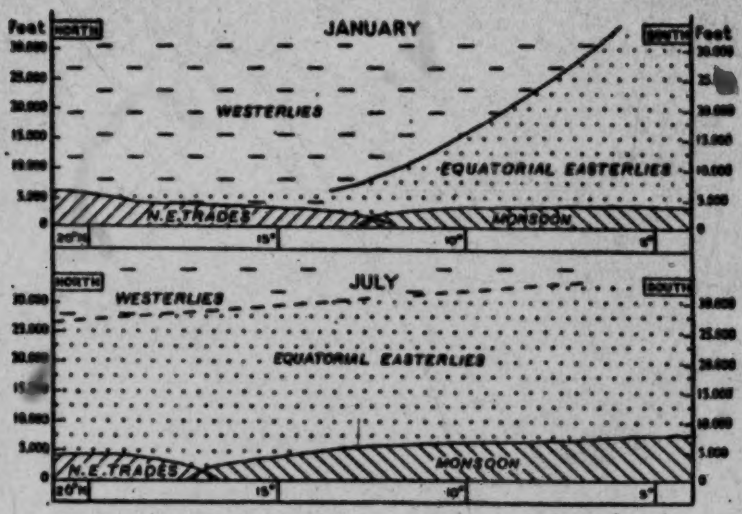


FIG. 50. *Vertical Distribution of Wind: Longitude 16° W.*

those of the top of the easterlies. Their speed is usually less than 15 m.p.h., but above 35,000 feet it is occasionally very much more.

Rainfall, Cloud, and Thunder

Rainfall (Fig. 59). Since rain is brought by the monsoon, the wet season in the south is longer and opens earlier. About one-third of the annual total falls in August. As a general rule, rain is heavier in the south and along the coast. In the north-east of the colony the year's total is received from a few isolated storms, but their effect on rivers, roads, and vegetation is much more pronounced in the interior. Except along the coast, where there is much at night, most rain falls in heavy showers during the afternoon. Amounts for any twenty-four hours may be heavy enough to dislocate communications, but even at the height of the season several fine days normally separate two wet ones.

139

TABLE II. *Mean Rainfall*

R—Rainfall in inches. X—Maximum fall in 24 hours. D—Number of rain-days.

Station	Yrs' obsn.		Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Year.
Coast															
St. Louis	9·00	R	0·05	..	..	..	0·07	0·34	2·18	7·66	4·04	0·96	0·14	0·02	15·46
		X	0·28	0·05	0·02	..	0·30	0·89	2·23	3·31	3·10	1·54	0·55	0·10	3·31
		D	0·7	0·3	0·1	0·1	0·6	1·7	4·6	12·4	8·4	2·7	1·0	0·6	33·0
Dakar	10	R	0·02	0·02	0·02	0	..	1·15	3·31	10·41	5·71	1·65	0·17	0·02	22·68
		X	0·06	0·09	0·15	0	0·03	2·23	3·94	8·42	2·85	3·78	1·00	0·06	8·42
		D	0·6	0·3	0·2	0	0·2	2·4	8·8	15·1	12·6	4·0	0·8	0·4	45·4
Rufisque	10	R	..	0·05	0	..	0·45	5·61	16·03	21·96	13·31	6·27	0·32	..	64·00
		X	0·01	0·47	0	0·06	1·23	2·79	5·95	8·51	5·16	4·68	0·30	..	8·51
		D	0·2	0·1	0	0·1	1·4	10·1	22·0	24·5	20·7	11·0	1·4	0·1	91·5
Interior															
Podor	10	R	0·04	0·03	0·11	0·01	0·19	0·61	3·30	5·77	2·10	0·73	0·21	0·03	13·13
		X	0·16	0·27	0·67	0·08	1·06	1·30	4·35	4·30	1·72	1·11	1·21	0·24	4·35
		D	0·3	0·1	0·4	0·2	0·7	1·6	4·5	8·4	5·5	1·7	0·4	0·3	24·1
Matam	10	R	0·10	0	0·02	0	0·10	2·78	5·53	8·54	4·86	0·59	0·02	..	22·54
		X	0·30	0	0·17	0	1·36	5·32	5·71	7·30	2·26	1·11	0·06	0·01	7·30
		D	0·2	0	0·2	0	0·8	4·8	7·2	10·9	7·8	1·6	0·4	0·1	34·0
Linguéré	10	R	0	0·01	0·25	0	0·10	1·24	4·86	10·63	5·66	2·00	0	0	24·65
		X	0	0·04	1·06	0	0·30	0·92	2·63	4·02	2·91	1·03	0	0	4·02
		D	0	0·2	0·6	0	0·4	4·2	7·8	13·2	10·0	4·6	0	0	41·0
Bakel	10	R	0·06	0	0	0·01	0·22	1·93	4·06	7·11	6·14	1·10	0·08	0·09	20·80
		X	0·30	0	0	0·10	1·28	2·07	3·52	3·45	3·01	1·65	0·12	0·01	3·45
		D	0·2	0	0	0·1	0·8	4·6	7·6	9·1	8·4	2·2	0·2	0·2	33·2
Tambacounda	10	R	0·08	0·03	0·04	0·14	1·11	6·85	7·62	11·96	8·49	3·18	0·11	0·01	39·56
		X	0·28	0·28	0·32	1·13	2·24	3·34	4·00	3·79	4·74	2·21	0·84	0·06	5·79
		D	0·2	0·1	0·3	0·2	2·0	9·3	12·1	17·0	13·2	5·4	0·7	0·2	60·9
Kédougou	10	R	0·02	0·01	0·04	0·06	2·82	7·13	10·30	11·57	12·81	4·71	0·69	..	50·18
		X	0·17	0·06	0·28	0·16	3·19	2·95	3·98	6·26	3·70	1·87	2·21	0·02	6·26
		D	0·1	0·1	0·2	0·6	4·4	12·1	14·1	17·1	16·3	9·6	1·4	0·1	76·3

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

132

Mean [illegible] be used with reserve, for in Senegal, as in the rest of West Africa, variations are considerable. At St. Louis, for example, only 5 inches of rain fell in 1903, but there were 26 inches in 1912. At Dakar the 1937 total was 15 inches, but that of 1938 was 27 inches. The September fall of Tambacounda was 0·71 inch in 1937 and 9·45 inches in 1939.

Hail has been recorded in the colony, but quite irregularly.

Cloud. Although records are only available from stations near the coast, there is always more cloud in the south, and the monsoon brings a general increase. Since the amount of cloud is closely allied to the rainfall, the pall of cloud advances north from April and then retreats.

The mean for the dry season is 2 to 4 tenths of sky covered. The wet has 4 to 8 tenths in the north and 6 to 9 tenths in the south, with higher figures in the morning except along the southern coast. Nights are normally clear. The harmattan is almost cloudless both by day and night, but cirrus and alto-stratus often mark the base of the westerlies during the dry season. The trades usually carry light cumulus clouds by day, but only near the land. The monsoon cumulus, whose base lies at about 1,500 feet, is heavier. Rain falls from nimbus and cumulo-nimbus. At the height of the wet season in the south nights are occasionally as cloudy as days, but even then a uniformly overcast sky is uncommon.

A tendency to greater cloudiness has been noted in two areas: along the coast just south of Dakar and, during the monsoon, on the windward slopes of the northern spurs of Fouta Jalon.

Thunder. Thunderstorms are almost unknown in the dry season, and are rare at sea off the colony at any time of year. They occur during the rains, with a maximum between July and September. In the north there are from 25 to 30 per annum with about 8 in the worst month. They are more numerous in the south, and the annual total varies from 80 or 90 on the coast to 40 or 50 inland. The average for September, their worst month, is 10 at Tambacounda and 20 at Ziguinchor. The first and last storms are often dry, i.e. without rain falling on the ground. Along the coast thunder is associated with a tornado at night but not necessarily by day.

Temperature and Humidity

Throughout the year temperatures are high and rarely fall below 60°. In the dry season the cooler nights and lower humidity are not

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 · MS37 Senegal MS 37

132 unpleasant, but the afternoons are hot. Between July and September the rainfall is sufficient to lower day temperatures except in the north-west. Nights, however, remain hot and the humidity rises, so that this season is most oppressive.

Temperature. Table III indicates clearly the essential points of the seasonal changes: the lower temperatures on the coast as compared with the same latitude inland; the single maxima at St. Louis and Dakar and the secondary rise after the rains at all other places; the greater diurnal range in the dry season; and the smaller seasonal changes in the south, especially on the coast.

The coolest hour is just before dawn and the hottest in mid-afternoon, and the average diurnal range in the dry season is some 25°–30°. Temperatures in the open may be as much as 20° higher or lower than screen figures. Irregular variations are rare, but rain and tornadoes cause an abrupt fall of several degrees, and along the coast when the sea-breeze takes the place of the harmattan temperatures may fall by a dozen degrees in as many minutes.

The level at which freezing-point is reached is rarely below 15,000 feet. Serious icing is only experienced in well-developed cumulo-nimbus clouds.

TABLE III. *Means of Daily Maximum and Minimum Temperatures*

Station	*J.*	*F.*	*M.*	*A.*	*M.*	*J.*	*J.*	*A.*	*S.*	*O.*	*N.*	*D.*	*Year*	*Annual Range*
St. Louis	85	85	83	77	79	86	89	90	91	89	88	85	86	14
	60	61	63	63	66	74	77	77	77	76	70	63	69	17
Linguéré	93	97	100	107	110	107	99	92	93	97	95	93	99	18
	56	59	63	67	72	76	75	74	73	73	63	59	67	20
Dakar	82	83	82	80	82	88	88	87	89	88	87	83	85	8
	65	64	65	65	68	74	77	76	77	76	73	68	71	13
Kaolack	95	98	101	103	104	99	94	91	91	93	97	94	97	16
	61	63	65	66	71	76	75	78	74	73	67	64	69	13
Tambacounda	93	99	100	106	103	97	90	87	89	90	98	93	96	19
	59	61	67	70	76	74	72	72	72	72	63	59	68	17
Ziguinchor	91	94	96	96	95	92	88	85	87	89	90	87	91	11
	62	63	67	68	72	72	74	74	74	74	71	65	70	13

Humidity (Fig. 51). The figures of Table IV show no very great extremes, but both the highest, with the monsoon, and the lowest, with the harmattan, can be very distressing.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS37

132 hand, in September at Ziguinchor, for example, the midday mean rises as high as 48 miles, although at that time of year interference from cloud is greatest. Whatever the season, conditions are better at midday and in the evening than in the morning.

Temporary deterioration is caused by sand storms, fog, bush fires, and rain. The first occur during December and January over dunes such as those in Fouta and Ferlo. In them visibility may drop to less than 100 yards and the ensuing haze persists for several days over large areas. Fog is common before and after the rains and is to be expected over the southern estuaries at any time of the year when winds are light. It rarely extends above 500 feet or lasts after 9.00 a.m. Between February and April there is local interference from the smoke of bush fires, which rises 2,000 or 3,000 feet. In the wet season heavy rain naturally causes temporary deterioration. At this season also low cloud often blots out the tops of the spurs of Fouta Jalon.

Swell and Surf

133 Details of swell at Dakar are given in Appendix II, and they may be taken as typical of conditions along the whole of the coast of the colony. On beaches farther north there is slightly more north-westerly swell and on those to the south rather more from the south-west. Heavy seas are rare.

Surf, on the other hand, is everywhere heavy. On exposed beaches south of Cape Verde, for instance, rollers sometimes curl in 30 feet of water and break in a depth of 10 feet. Surf is especially dangerous at the mouths of estuaries when a strong ebb-tide is running.

Meteorological Services

654 Dakar is the chief meteorological station in French West Africa, and St. Louis, Tambacounda, and Ziguinchor are also fully equipped for recording both surface and upper air conditions. Their reports [207] are included in the synoptic broadcasts from Dakar, which cover the whole of the west coast. Secondary stations are at Bambey, Kaolack, Linguéré, Podor, and Thiès, whose reports are also included. Twenty-six other places record rainfall.

5. VEGETATION

137 Most of the colony falls within two of the main vegetation zones. To the north there is the thornland, while to the south the zone of grass-woodland has two subzones, the Sudan and the Guinea, and

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

132

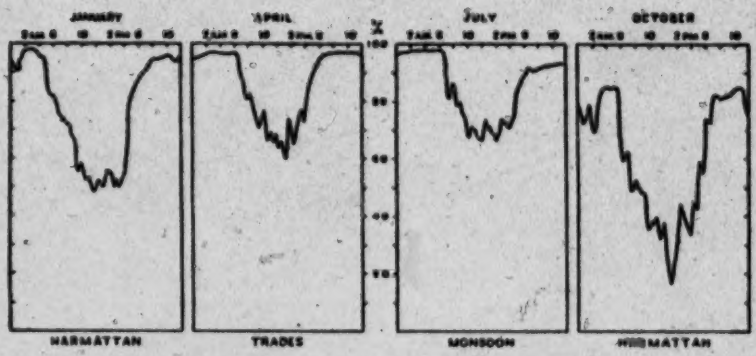


FIG. 51. *Relative Humidity at Dakar*

Relative humidity is always highest in the west and south. Variations from the mean are greatest during the dry season and in the interior. Along the coast the relative humidity rises noticeably in the afternoon, when the sea-breeze displaces the harmattan.

TABLE IV. *Mean Relative Humidity (percentages)*

*Two observations: 8.00 a.m. and 6.00 p.m. Three: 8.00 a.m., 1.00 p.m., and 6.00 p.m.

Station	*J.*	*F.*	*M.*	*A.*	*M.*	*J.*	*J.*	*A.*	*S.*	*O.*	*N.*	*D.*	*Year*	*Annual Range*
St. Louis	59	68	76	87	82	81	81	85	85	82	66	60	76·0	26
	33	44	54	73	69	67	67	70	70	66	46	47	58·8	27
	55	63	68	79	75	74	71	74	73	74	66	61	69·4	24
Dakar	67	76	84	87	84	83	81	86	87	86	78	67	80·5	20
	43	43	53	58	59	63	67	73	72	67	58	44	58·0	30
	50	51	59	65	69	70	70	77	76	72	62	57	64·8	27
Kaolack	59	63	70	76	77	84	88	93	94	92	75	64	77·9	35
	33	29	30	34	43	54	67	79	76	67	43	39	49·5	50
Tambacounda	39	40	42	49	57	76	86	92	92	92	79	59	66·9	53
	16	16	16	16	28	47	65	76	74	70	47	31	41·8	60
Ziguinchor	73	82	86	86	87	90	95	96	96	94	87	77	87·6	21
	40	42	44	42	49	63	76	81	75	72	57	49	57·5	41
	42	44	46	52	56	65	81	86	81	76	63	57	62·4	44

Visibility

Annual means are from 9 to 11 miles at 8.00 a.m., from 12½ to 18 miles at 1.00 p.m., and from 12½ to 16½ miles at 6.00 p.m. with the higher figures in every case to the south. In general, visibility is best in the trades and monsoon and worst in the harmattan and easterlies. In the harmattan it is normally only from 2½ to 5 miles and may be less than 1 mile for several days on end. On the other

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

one coastal area, the Casamancian. Except in these last two belts the climate is deficient in rainfall, and it is the length of the dry season that controls the distribution of plant communities. 137

Along the coast as far south as the Cape Verde peninsula is the southward extension of the sub-Canarian area, a description of which has been given on p. 320.

The Thornland

The thornland occupies the northern part of the colony from a little north-east of Dakar eastwards to Kidira and northwards to the Senegal. This region, it will be recalled, has a rainfall of from 10 to 20 inches. It is a country of spiny shrubs, especially species of *Acacia*, associated with which are the soapberry tree, the African myrrh, and *Combretum aculeatum*. Many of the trees and shrubs are without leaves during the dry season, but some are evergreen. The natural vegetation in this zone has been much devastated by fire, pasturage, and the over-exploitation of the gum-yielding acacias. [314] On the other hand, annual firing of brushwood and grassland plays a subordinate part in modifying the plant life. The more open nature of both the woody and herbaceous vegetation impedes or prevents fires spreading over great extents of country. Tufted grasses are particularly abundant in the open grasslands between, and even under, the trees and bushes.

The Grass-Woodland

If the Casamancian area be considered as a modification of the Guinea subzone, the grass-woodland may be said to occupy the remainder of the colony. The Sudan subzone is, however, the more important. In the western part of the colony the subzones run north-west to south-east, extend across the Gambia, and then turn almost due west and east. The northward bend in the west is due to oceanic climatic influences, and the modified Casamancian area is similarly due to a greater humidity. The vegetation of the zone as a whole consists of a mixture of trees and grasslands, the former either being spaced in clumps or patches or standing as individuals. The grasslands are continuous over wide areas and are fired regularly in the dry season. This firing of brushwoods and grasslands, together with centuries of heavy cultivation, has highly modified the natural [241] vegetation, especially towards the west. This is especially exemplified by forest destruction in the Guinea subzone.

The vegetation of the Sudan subzone corresponds to an annual

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS37

137 rainfall of from 20 to 60 inches. In appearance it is reminiscent of a park or orchard, with well-spaced trees or small clumps of trees projecting well above the herbaceous layer, and the most characteristic trees are from 18 to 45 feet tall. The most frequent in Senegal are the African locust bean, the tallow tree (*Detarium senegalense*), the ginger-bread plum or pomme du cayor (*Parinari macrophylla*), various legumes (*Cassia sieberiana*, *Entada africana*, *Acacia sieberiana*, *Albizzia ferruginea*, *Prosopis africana*, *Cordyla africana*, and *Pterocarpus erinaceus*), the Borassus palm (*Borassus aethiopum*), *Combretum glutinosum*, *Terminalia macroptera*, *Sterculia setigera*, *Cola cordifolia*, and the Meni oil tree. Shrubs and climbing woody plants are locally associated with the trees, but plants growing on the trunks and branches are generally absent. Parasites of the mistletoe family, however, are common. Most of the trees lose their leaves at the advent of the dry season. The grasslands consist mainly of grasses of the tribe Andropogoneae.

Excluding the Casamancian area, the Guinea subzone occupies two small regions north-west and south-east of the Gambia. At one time parts of this subzone were covered by dense forests, but to-day [311] there are only scattered relicts. Much of the country is cultivated, and the rest is subjected to the continued degrading influences of fire, grazing, and shifting cultivation. As a consequence, a degraded brushwood on impoverished soil represents the weed flora of several [241] years' fallow. This is cut down, and the cultivation of ground-nuts and cereals follows for a period of years; after which the ground is again allowed to go fallow. Many of the weeds are of American or Indian origin.

The Casamancian Area. The Casamancian area (Vol. I, p. 101) is the most tropical part of the colony. The Casamance river and the coastal channels are bordered up to tidal limits by thick mangrove-[241] woodland. Behind this there are often marshy clearings, now frequently transformed into rice-fields, and stretches of forest communities. Swamp-forests and thickets have screw-pines, palms (*Raphia*, *Calamus*), and bamboos. There are also frequent clumps of oil palm. In the remnants of high forest legumes are abundant and include species of *Afzelia*, *Dialium*, *Daniellia*, *Erythrophloeum*, *Pentaclethra*, *Parkia*, and *Acacia*. Noteworthy trees of the forest patches are a dragon's tree (*Dracaena*), the pattern wood (*Alstonia congensis*), the African teak (*Chlorophora excelsa*), and the silk-cotton tree (*Ceiba pentandra*). Many of them have a height of more than 60 feet.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 39

7. HISTORY

SENEGAL is the oldest French colony in Africa. From it the Niger basin has been penetrated and the Sudan conquered. On it has been based the modern Federation. For more than two centuries, therefore, its history was that of French West Africa as a whole, and it is not until the close of the Napoleonic era that the domestic history of the colony becomes distinguishable. 175

The Early Nineteenth Century

The Peace of Paris restored the colonial *status quo* of 1 January 1792, but St. Louis was not returned to the French until 1817. The British occupation of Senegal had been purely military, with no attempt to introduce British civil administration. French officials had continued their duties, and, when they had died, had been succeeded by other Frenchmen. The resumption of French rule after the war, therefore, presented no difficulties. The country was fairly well known, and explorers used St. Louis more as a starting-point for distant journeys than to make new discoveries in Senegal itself. The British expedition of 1816 under Peddie and Campbell and the French one of 1818 under Mollien added considerably to European knowledge of Fouta, Ferlo, and Bondou, although their main objects were to penetrate Fouta Jalon. 175 648

Attempts at European Colonization. In 1815 France agreed to the abolition of the slave trade, although the law embodying this decision was not passed for another three years. As the trade had previously been the key to the prosperity of Senegal, a new economy had to be devised. Experiments were consequently made with European settlers, who were to produce cotton and other tropical products. To execute these schemes, Louis XVIII appointed as first post-war Governor Colonel Schmaltz, who had lived for a number of years in the Dutch East Indies. Tragedy attended his voyage out. The ship carrying him, the *Méduse*, was wrecked in Arguin bay on 2 July 1816. The Governor and his wife were saved, but there were many deaths from drowning; and hunger, thirst, and exposure killed many who reached the shore. Out of one party of seventeen only three survived. Another party of 152 persons, including women and children, crowded on to one raft. Many were washed off by waves, many went mad, and many died of thirst. After thirteen days of horror, fifteen survivors were picked up, five of whom died before 175 167 [439] [567]

22:Winterbotham et al. X-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

133

110. *Almadi point*

137

111. *A baobab tree*

[facing p. 416]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS31
wolof MS30
Trarza MS24

S 175 167 reaching St. Louis. This disaster has been made famous by the celebrated painting of Théodore Géricault.

[648] As St. Louis was in British hands until the early months of 1817, Schmaltz established his capital at Cape Verde.

The first settlers from France were sponsored by the Société Coloniale Philanthropique, and consisted of 175 men, 20 women, and 10 children. Their intention was to settle in the Cape Verde peninsula. This was against the advice of Schmaltz, who thought that part of the country unsuitable. The settlers landed at Goree in April 1817, shortly afterwards crossing to the mainland; but, owing to the attitude of the natives, they were unable to obtain land or labour. At the end of two months there were only six left on the peninsula: the remainder had been repatriated to France or had retired to St. Louis, Goree, or the Gambia. Schmaltz was able to prevent the philanthropic but misguided society from sending eighty more colonists to the same place.

W [175] [648] Attempts to establish European colonists met with more success on the Senegal. In 1819 Schmaltz had no difficulty in obtaining from the chiefs of Oualo all the land he wanted on the left bank of the river. S [648] [241] In return, the chiefs were given annual subsidies (*coutumes*) amounting to some 10,000 francs. This arrangement was to lead to endless trouble. Cotton, coffee, indigo, and tobacco were to be the principal crops, and colonists were not lacking.

T [175] [648] The natives of Oualo were peaceable, but the Trarza and Brakna Arabs, who claimed to be suzerains over Oualo, were hostile. At first they raided the colonists, but later they were defeated by troops from St. Louis in a number of skirmishes. Eventually the French recognized nominal Arab suzerainty, and the colonists were allowed to S [648] develop their holdings in relative quiet. Nevertheless, the Trarza Arabs continued to give trouble until 1835, when, after a series of defeats, they entered into a treaty by which they abandoned all S [712] claims to Oualo. The French armed post of Dagana was built for the protection of the settlers, and an experimental station was started at Richard Toll for their instruction. The French Government S [654] [24] supplied seeds and implements and paid a bonus on crops, and some forty European plantations were established. At first they seemed to succeed, but the climate, the labour difficulties, and the hostile attitude of the natives combined against them. In 1830 the home government withdrew its subsidy, and the plantations were soon abandoned. Since that date the French, while not discouraging European enterprise, have relied for agricultural development principally on the native farmer.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS37

133
361

112. *Goree*

[facing p. 417]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Mali MS 35

000
S
175
439
M
[175]
[439]

development principally on the native farmer. Trade, not agriculture, took the French farther up the river. In 1820 the post of Bakel was founded, and, under the auspices of Governor Roger, the Société de Galam established stations at Medine, at Mahina, and on the Falémé. The foundation of the company marked a partial return to the monopolistic policy of the previous century. Trade on the upper Senegal was reserved to the company from 1 January to 1 August each year. This caused much dissatisfaction, and the restriction disappeared with the winding-up of the company in 1840.

Like Brue, his predecessor of 120 years before, Roger explored Bambouk for its mineral wealth, but decided that the soundest method of developing Senegal was to expand its trade and agriculture.

The Gum Trade. After the attempts at European colonization had failed, there developed in the gum trade a boom which reached its maximum in 1838. It will be remembered that, by the Peace of Paris, Great Britain had retained the exclusive right of carrying on this trade along the coast between Portendick and Arguin bay. Elsewhere the French reserved all this trade for their own nationals. Like other trades of the time, that in gum was carried on under a system of subsidies (*coutumes*) to native chiefs and fixed markets (*escales*). This system has been described above on p. 327, and was extremely lucrative to the Arabs. Moreover, the French Government in its treaties usually undertook to pay a subsidy to the chiefs, partly as ground rent for the posts it might establish in their territory, and partly in consideration of the goodwill and protection they were to afford to French trade.

S
[648]

Even so, the years between 1830 and 1860 saw material French extension and development. The following figures (the first two of which represent imports only) show the growth of trade of Senegal from the days of André Brue to those of Faidherbe.

Year	*Thousands of francs*
1700	700
1786	7,260
1821	2,100
1830	3,000
1837	7,000
1838	17,000
1839	13,600
1840	11,800
1845	23,000
1855	14,500
1863	33,100
1869	35,300

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS 30
Trarza MS 24

S 175 439 [648]

From 1836 onwards treaties were made with the chiefs of the Casamance basin, and posts were constructed at Sedhiou, Karaban, and Diembering. These treaties respected Portuguese historic but obsolete rights at Ziguinchor, but effectively guaranteed that the future of the river should be French.

S [567] [427] [464]

The abolition of the status of slavery by France in 1848 deprived the French merchants of a cheap supply of labour, which they had rented from the chiefs, and in 1850 a committee was appointed to consider withdrawal from the colony or, as an alternative, the establishment of French authority. It decided in favour of the latter, and the policy of trade treaties came to an end.

The new French policy, to which Napoleon III was pledged, was summed up as 'absolute freedom of commerce with the suppression of the escales; establishment of security, by force if necessary; the substitution of full and entire authority for the system of treaties and subsidies; methodical organization of expansion towards the interior; and concurrently the development of economic institutions'.

'By Force if Necessary'

S 175 [643]

Faidherbe. It was to carry out this policy that Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in December 1854. He had already had much experience as a soldier and administrator in the colony, and, with a break of eighteen months, he held office till July 1865. His period of office marked a turning-point in the history of Senegal, and he is justly remembered as one of the builders of the modern French Colonial Empire. At first his resources were pitifully small. He had four companies of marine infantry, a company of native infantry formed on the liberation of the slaves in 1848, sixty spahis, and some detachments of artillery and engineers. His naval strength was on a similar scale. Both were substantially strengthened in the next few years.

S [701]

T S W 175 648

The Arabs. Faidherbe decided to deal with the Trarza Arabs. Notwithstanding the treaty of 1835, they had continued their marauding expeditions across the river, and had re-established a supreme influence over the Ouolofs of Oualo. Early in 1855 the Trarza chief Mohammed el Abib insolently demanded the French evacuation of certain islands near the mouth of the Senegal. Faidherbe marched against him and defeated him near St. Louis on 15 February. On 25 February the Ouolofs were defeated near Ross. The French captured more than 2,000 cattle and burned 20 villages.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (nodate) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS 30
Trarza MS 24

T
S
175
648
W
175
648
627
631
635

After another victory in March at Diagane near Merinaghen, Faidherbe annexed Oualo. He divided it into provinces under chiefs nominated by himself, and set up Fara Penda, who remained faithful, as king. In two years many villages destroyed by the Arabs were rebuilt and the population of Oualo rose from 17,000 to 34,000. Faidherbe, who was loath to use force before persuasion had failed, then offered Mohammed el Abib peace if he would renounce the subsidies. The Arab replied by demanding an increase in payments, the destruction of French forts, the prohibition of armed vessels on the Senegal, and the recall of Faidherbe to France. During the absence of Faidherbe in Oualo, Mohammed el Abib advanced in April 1855 to the gates of St. Louis, from which he was beaten back. This marked the limit of Arab successes. In the following January an engagement near Lake Cayar resulted in the capture of 600 tribesmen, and other skirmishes had similar results. Despairing of bringing the main Arab armies to a pitched battle, Faidherbe determined to subdue them by famine, and set himself to destroy or capture their cattle and supplies. By May 1856 these tactics reduced the Arabs to dire straits, and several tribes submitted. The chief's son Ely fled to Diambour. Faidherbe pursued him, and annexed the province which is now Louga. Mohammed el Abib held on, however, and in 1857 invaded Oualo. He was heavily defeated. At last he sued for peace, and on 20 May 1858 signed a treaty (p. 328). A parallel treaty was concluded with the Brakna Arabs at Podor on 10 June.

Although the commercial provisions of these treaties were revised later, they brought to an end, once and for all, the Arab menace to the peace and development of Senegal.

S
175

In 1859 a similar organization to that of Oualo was set up for Dimar, thus extending the colony as far up the river as Podor.

Further Penetrations. Faidherbe's dealings with the Arabs and the Ouolofs have been described in some detail, as they illustrate his abilities as a general, a diplomatist, and an administrator. By the same combination of force and diplomacy he, or his successor Pinet-Laprade, brought Fouta, Toro, the whole Ferlo country, Cayor, Sine, Saloum, and the Casamance under effective French control. He thus completed the outline of the modern colony. In 1859 the fanatically Moslem Toucouleur of Fouta, under their Almami, Mahamadu Birane, submitted to a division into three independent states under French protection: Dagana, Fouta, and Toro. In 1862, while Faidherbe was in France, the Almami revolted and tried to re-establish his paramountcy. This revolt was quelled

S
648
S
669

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
W.O.10.F MS30

S 175 S W 175 648 W [635]

after severe fighting, and in 1863 Fouta and Toro were definitely annexed by the French.

Cayor. The state of Cayor extended from Cape Verde northward along the coast nearly to St. Louis, and at the end of the eighteenth century it had obtained independence of the Ouolofs. Goree had been taken by the French from the Dutch in 1677, and by treaties of 1764 and 1765 the Damel of Cayor had ceded the tip of the Cape Verde peninsula in full sovereignty to France. He had further agreed to restrain his subjects from pillaging the cargoes of wrecks and from imprisoning their crews. In return he was to receive an annual subsidy of 180 bars, one-third in iron and the remainder in merchandise.

These treaties, however, had never been implemented. In 1825 Governor Roger considered them dead, and advised Frenchmen who wished to acquire land in the peninsula to make their own arrangements with the native authorities. At the same time, Roger made a fresh convention regarding wrecks, which was no more observed than the earlier treaties. In 1832 land was purchased for a cemetery on the mainland and in 1846 a mission of the Society of the Sacred Heart, which received a government subsidy until 1906, was established at Dakar.

S W [799] S [162] W [439] S [712] S [712]

The population of Goree, some 5,000 persons, needed wood, water, building materials, and fresh provisions, which they could only purchase at extortionate prices on the mainland. All efforts to conclude agreements with the chiefs on these matters failed, and wreckers' profits were not to be diminished by scraps of paper. Security was needed for the projected railway from St. Louis and it was desirable to give the priests protection. In 1857, therefore, the French Government authorized the construction of a fort on the mainland. Birahima, the reigning Damel of Cayor, at first acquiesced in this occupation, largely because his authority over the Lebous who inhabited the peninsula had long been but nominal. The post was used by Faidherbe for a base for his operations in 1859. In that year, after the battle of Fatik (18 May), the tribesmen of Sine, Saloum, and Baol submitted to French authority, and posts were created at Joal and Kaolack. Trouble arose under the Damel's successor, Makodou, who refused to recognize Birahima's agreement to allow a French road and telegraph line from St. Louis to Goree to be run through Cayor. A French column from St. Louis under Faidherbe met an expedition under Pinet-Laprade from Goree and occupied Makodou's capital, Mekhé, on 12 January 1861. On 1 February he accepted

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
wolof MS 30

S
W
175
648
W
[669]

French protection. Hardly was Faidherbe's back turned when Makodou repudiated his engagements. A fresh expedition was necessary, and on 12 March Makodou's forces were repulsed again at Diati near Mekhé. Faidherbe thereupon encouraged an internal revolt, which resulted in the flight of Makodou and the recognition of Madiodio as Damel. He in his turn was dethroned by Lat Dior, whom the French also recognized. He also failed to observe his predecessor's treaties, and in 1863 Faidherbe marched against him and re-established Madiodio. In the December of that year Lat Dior gathered his forces and fell upon the French garrison of Goumbo Gueoul, when Captain Lorans and almost all his detachment of 140 tirailleurs were killed. This time there were no half measures: Lat Dior's army was cut to pieces by Pinet-Laprade near Pout on 12 January 1864, but he himself escaped to the Gambia. Faidherbe then suppressed the native kingdom, established a French protectorate, and divided Cayor into cantons, each under a chief of his own appointment.

W
[631]

In 1865 Pinet-Laprade, who had succeeded Faidherbe, had to deal with a mallam named Maba, who threatened to involve in a holy war not only Cayor but also the country as far east as Fouta. In 1869 Lat Dior again invaded Cayor, and in 1871 was again recognized by the French as Damel, though shorn of part of his territory. This arrangement worked well for ten years, and when Ahmadu Checkhou, a mallam of Toro, invaded Cayor, the French could not refuse armed aid to Lat Dior. The former was defeated and killed by French forces at Boumdou near Coki in February 1875. In 1881 Lat Dior once more gave trouble by opposing the construction of a railway, and, after military operations, he was replaced by his nephew. Internal unrest followed for some years and Lat Dior tried to take advantage of it; but on 26 October 1886 he was defeated and killed. The protectorate was finally abolished, and Cayor was annexed to the colony.

S
175
643

At the close of Faidherbe's term of office in 1865 modern Senegal may be said to have emerged. It would be a mistake to regard him only as a conqueror, for, though his primary object was to impose French authority, Senegal owes to him the foundation of its civil administration, its education, its banking system, and its Survey Department. Sympathetic to the natives, he tried to preserve their institutions to the utmost extent compatible with his primary object. While not prepared to discourage European colonization under suitable conditions, Faidherbe considered that the main agricultural

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Soninke MS 21

S 175 [643] [439]

development must be by native farmers guided by French instructors and aided by French capital. In 1861 French colonial trade, which had hitherto been restricted to French merchants and the French flag, was thrown open to all nations, though French goods continued to have a preference. This reform was not well received by the conservative merchants of St. Louis, but there can be no doubt that it rapidly proved of benefit to the colony.

S 50 175 648

Mahmadu Lamine. The last challenge to French rule within the boundaries of Senegal arose from a Soninké mallam named Mahmadu Lamine. Having returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca, he set up as a holy man at Medine and proceeded to interfere in the domestic concerns of the natives of Bondou. Rebuffed by their rightful ruler, he installed himself at Sénoudébou early in 1886, proclaimed himself a mahdi and claimed a holy mission to restore the ancient power of the Sarakollé dynasty (Vol. I, p. 168). In March and April he attacked the fort of Bakel, at the head of 12,000 fanatics, but was repulsed. In May Colonel Frey marched out from St. Louis with a strong column which relieved Bakel. Notwithstanding this, Mahmadu again invaded Bondou, where he defeated and killed the king. Then he attacked the French post at Sénoudébou, crossed the Senegal, and endeavoured to cut the French communications between Bakel and Kayes. Galliéni himself, who had been recently appointed to command the troops in Upper Senegal, took the field against him and broke his power in several engagements. The mallam fortified himself at a village 46 miles south-west of Tambacounda. This village was taken by the French on 8 December 1887. Mahmadu escaped; but he was attacked by allies of the French on 9 December, and two days later died of his wounds. All the tribes of the country north of the Gambia boundary then sought French protection. Later disturbances in Senegal had their origin either in internal tribal dissensions or in dislike of closer control by France. In all respects they were minor affairs.

S 175 648 [439]

The Consolidation of French Rule. The original treaties, of which the French negotiated some 130 between 1785 and 1891 with the chiefs of Senegal, dealt with trade only. They fixed the rents and rates payable by each individual trader, and usually gave subsidies to the chiefs in return for their goodwill. These treaties did not attempt to deal with the internal administration of the tribes or with their foreign relations. The next stage was a treaty of friendship and protection, in which the native state was free to conduct its own affairs, subject only to the general guidance of French Residents.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

At this stage no French taxation was imposed. Faidherbe was the first to insist that the election of any chiefs must be subject to his approval, and from this time onwards the French hold gradually grew tighter. As the French historian Sabatié has put it: 175 648

> 'These treaties guaranteed the political organization, the religion, customs, institutions, and laws of the native country concerned. They were designed to ensure the security of our commerce and respect for the property of our nationals and our subjects, and they stipulated, by way of compensation, the collection of certain taxes on cattle and exported products for the benefit of chiefs. As a result of the evolution of the colony and its economic and administrative necessities, the clauses and obligations of these treaties have lapsed.'

The system lasted until towards the end of the nineteenth century; but from that time onwards native powers, especially over judicial matters, land, and tribute, have been gradually curtailed. Native chiefs have become agents appointed by the Government, and native administrative institutions have almost everywhere been deliberately abolished. This policy has its roots not only in administrative convenience but also in a strong sense of duty to the individual native and a desire to protect him from misrule.

The Modern Constitution

Until 1920 the four communes of Dakar, Goree, Rufisque, and St. Louis were described as the territory under direct administration, the remainder of the colony as a protectorate. In that year the distinction, which had long been one without a difference, was formally abolished. 631 633

Senegal, being the oldest colony, contains about a quarter of the whole European population of French West Africa. It also contains a larger proportion of educated and politically minded natives than the other colonies, and its constitution is more democratic. This last fact is mainly due to the equalitarian doctrines of the July Monarchy at the time when the personal status of Senegalese native citizens and their rights as Frenchmen were determined. In 1833 the French Parliament enacted that any person born free, or having legally acquired his liberty, enjoyed in the French colonies both civil and political rights under conditions prescribed by law. In 1848, therefore, when the colony first acquired the right to send a deputy to the French Parliament, natives born in the French settlements of Goree, Rufisque, and St. Louis, the only French soil in Senegal at the time, became entitled to the Parliamentary vote and to all the 641 [162] [648] [633]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

641 other privileges of French citizenship. In due course the same
[633] status was conferred on natives of Dakar, and in 1916 French citizenship was extended not only to natives born in these four communes but to their descendants also. It thus came about that out
[162] of 80,500 native citizens in the whole of French West Africa 78,000 live in Senegal or Dakar. Of these the great bulk resides in the four old communes.

633 Municipal government, on entirely metropolitan lines, was conferred upon St. Louis and Goree in 1872 and upon Rufisque in 1880. In 1887 Dakar, which had hitherto formed part of Goree, was separated from it, receiving its own elected mayor and council, and in 1929 absorbed its parent. The District of Dakar was separated from Senegal in 1924, and received its own Administrator, directly responsible to the Governor-General.

646 Parliamentary representation was suspended under Napoleon III, but restored in 1870. Until 1914 a European had been elected, but the racial issue was deliberately raised in that year, when M. Blaise
[645] Diagne, a Sérère, entered on his long term as Deputy for Senegal. He thoroughly justified his race by heading a campaign for voluntary recruitment in Senegal during the War of 1914–1918, and subsequently held office as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. As early as 1879 the General Council was elected by the citizens of
[633] the four communes. It had certain powers of taxation and legislation over the four communes, powers which, though limited, were more democratic than in other parts of French West Africa. Its greatest influence, however, lay in the criticism of the Government, a function which, withheld from it by law, sprang naturally from the power of taxation. When the formal distinction between colony and protectorate disappeared, the General Council gave place to the existing Colonial Council (p. 432), a body with generally similar powers extending over the whole colony.

648 *Senegal and Federation.* Before 1845 and again from 1859 to 1893
[643] the whole of what is now French West Africa was administered by the Governor of Senegal. It was natural, therefore, that in 1895 he should be appointed Governor-General of the Federation, with its not very precise constitution. This appointment was welcomed in Senegal, as it enhanced the colony's supremacy. In 1902 the Governor-Generalship was made a separate office, and Senegal sank to the level of the other colonies. This new arrangement, although a blow to the pride of the Senegalese, did not touch their pockets. They still
[652] kept control of their own revenues, out of which they voted a sum

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

to the Federal Government. In 1904, however, when the distinct Federal budget was instituted, custom duties were lost to the various colonies. The General Council of Senegal protested vigorously. Its spokesmen said that the Federal Government had taken away 78 per cent. of the colony's revenue and only assumed 39 per cent. of its expenditure. So strongly did the Council feel on the question that it impugned the validity of the federal financial arrangements before the Council of State at Paris. This latter body, as was to be expected, confirmed them in 1908, but the Senegalese have never fully accepted the new system. In 1929, for example, it was stated that Senegal was contributing half the customs revenue of French West Africa, though containing only one-tenth of its population. Moreover, despite its democratic Colonial Council, the colony has no more direct influence in federal affairs than Mauritania. Even to-day protests are still heard periodically against the financial system of the Federation and its alleged encroachments on the sphere of the Colonial Government.

648 652 [651] [651]

Christianity

The first definite record of a Christian mission is that of the French Capuchins, who sailed from Dieppe in 1635. They divided into two parties: one, under Pères Alexis and Bernardin, landed at Rufisque, where they were entertained by Portuguese Christians. During their stay they baptized 27 natives. The other party landed at St. Louis, where there was not yet a permanent French settlement, and met with misfortune. Some of them died, and the survivors joined their brothers at Rufisque. The Protestant Dutch made life impossible for them, and the whole party returned to France. Though from time to time priests of the Society of the Holy Spirit (founded in 1726 to train missionaries for the French colonies) visited Senegal, no serious missionary effort seems to have been made till after the Peace of Paris, when the first Prefect Apostolic was appointed to St. Louis.

797

The first nuns to work in Senegal were of the community of St. Joseph of Cluny. These were sent out in 1819 to St. Louis at the request of the Governor to undertake nursing and education. The community established two schools in St. Louis and one in Goree in 1826.

[871]

In 1846 the first mission was founded at Dakar, which the same year became the seat of the Vicar Apostolic of the Two Guineas. These missionaries belonged to the Society of the Sacred Heart

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS 30

S 797 with which the Society of the Holy Spirit was united in 1848. About the same time a house of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception (the Blue Sisters) was established at Dakar, which has been the Roman Catholic metropolis of French West Africa ever since.

In 1906, on the separation of Church and State in France, the government subsidies to the Roman Catholic missions were withdrawn. In 1930 the Roman Catholics in Senegal had 67 European priests, sisters, and lay workers aided by 175 native catechists and teachers. Professing Roman Catholics numbered 22,300. A magnificent cathedral, the work of many years, was consecrated at Dakar in 1936.

S [162] S [368]

The only Protestant mission in Senegal is that of the Société des Missions Évangéliques de Paris, which began work in the colony in 1863. Its adherents number about a hundred.

S [162]

8. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION AND INLAND TOWNS

Distribution of Population

S *Senegal*

161 Senegal is the third most densely populated colony, with an average of 21·58 persons per square mile and a total population in 1937 of 1,666,374. The distribution, however, varies greatly within the colony itself. The regions of Fouta and Ferlo are almost uninhabitable, while the provinces of Baol, Sine-Saloum, and Thiès have more than 50 persons per square mile. The coastal provinces of Bignona and Ziguinchor, south of the Gambia, are equally closely settled. The left bank of the Senegal, roughly from Bakel to Podor, supports a fairly dense agricultural population.

S [311] [361]

Growth has been steady, the figures for 1921, 1926, and 1931 being 1,225,523, 1,318,287, and 1,584,273 respectively. There is no doubt that the colony is capable of supporting many more inhabitants than it does at present.

S 162 563 W [162] [701]

Natives. More than 580,000 Ouolofs live in Senegal. These are among the most energetic and intelligent peoples of the Federation, and they provide the bulk of the famous Senegalese Tirailleurs. There are about 250,000 each of Sérères, Mandingos, and Fulani, and 150,000 Toucouleur. Broadly speaking, the Ouolofs live north and east of Dakar, the Sérères south-east thereof, the Toucouleur

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

near the Senegal river, the Fulani in the centre of the colony, and the Mandingos in the east of it. 162 [563]

The District of Dakar

The 66 square miles of the District of Dakar contain 126,929 persons; but the figures for density per square mile mean even less than elsewhere, since most of the inhabitants live in the town itself.

In 1937 there were 118,459 natives and 8,470 Europeans, of whom 6,728 were French. This was about a quarter of the total of Europeans in the whole Federation. [563]

Inland Towns

Bakel (14° 52′; 12° 24′ W.) Population, 2,103. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. Daily market. 36 [131] [162]

Bakel is on the left bank of the Senegal (Plate 83) where the river passes between cliffs some 17 miles below the entrance of the Falémé. It is a local market for gum, ground-nuts, grain, gold dust, hides, and ostrich feathers. Most of the inhabitants are Moslems. [438] [162]

By river it is 531 miles from St. Louis and 84 miles from Kayes, and there is a fortnightly steamer service when the water permits. By colonial road Bakel is 386 miles from St. Louis, 93 miles from Matam, and 32 miles from Kidira. A bus service connects all these places. The river can be crossed by ferry, and from the Mauritanian bank a poor track leads to Sélibaby (32 miles). [487] [505] [491] [494]

Bambey (14° 40′; 16° 25′ W.). Altitude, 59 feet. Population, 4,209. Mixed Commune. Dispensary. Police station. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Garage. Agricultural experimental station. Daily market. [131] [162] [654]

Set in the midst of an area of dense population, Bambey is a prosperous market town. The main product of the locality is ground-nuts, and large quantities of these are put on the train each year. They also form the chief speciality of the agricultural experimental station. [438] [654]

Communications. By railway Bambey is 77 miles from Dakar, 33½ miles from Thiès, 17 miles from Diourbel, and 319 miles from Kidira. It is on the intercolonial road, being 49 miles from Thiès and 16 miles from Diourbel. A colonial road goes almost due south to Fatik (27 miles). There is a daily bus service (p. 473) to Fatik, Foundiougne, and Kaolack. [491] [494]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS37

36 [131] [162] BIGNONA (12° 49′; 16° 16′ W.). Altitude, *c.* 60 feet. Population, 1,611. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Military post. Emergency landing-ground. Garage.

Bignona stands on the left bank of a small and marshy tributary of the Casamance. Canoes carry a certain amount of merchandise, as also do lorries. [438] The principal items of trade are ground-nuts, palm kernels, wax, rice, and fruit. [162] Most of the native inhabitants are Dioulas.

Colonial roads lead south to the Casamance opposite Ziguinchor (16 miles), east to Sedhiou (58 miles) and Kolda (120 miles), and [491] north-west to Diouloulou (35 miles) and the frontier of the Gambia (46 miles). There are also several minor roads and tracks.

[131] [162] DAGANA (16° 27′; 15° 34′ W.). Altitude, 13 feet. Population, *c.* 3,500. District headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Race-course.

[439] Dagana is on the left bank of the Senegal, and its chief economic function is as a market for Mauritanian gum. This is shipped down river to St. Louis, 116 miles away. [487] There is also connexion upstream to Podor (61 miles), Bakel (403 miles), and Kayes (487 miles).

By colonial road Dagana is 86 miles from St. Louis and 332 miles [491] from Kidira. It is on the bus service (p. 474) between these two [494] places. Southwards another colonial road leads across sparsely inhabited country to Dahra (89 miles) and Diourbel (162 miles). From the opposite bank of the Senegal a track goes to Mederdra, some 30 miles distant.

[131] [162] DIOURBEL (14° 39′; 16° 10′ W.). Altitude, 39 feet. Population, 15,442. Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Police headquarters. Emergency landing-ground. Power station. Hotel. Garage. Daily market.

This flourishing town lies across the little Sine river in the middle of a well-cultivated shallow valley. To the north the ground rises [438] somewhat. Diourbel owes its prosperity to ground-nuts, and 100,000 tons of them pass through the town every year. There are [258] several factories for the shelling of the nuts and for the expression of their oil. Besides this, Diourbel is the headquarters of the province [162] of Baol and a route centre. Its inhabitants are mainly Moslems, who [871] have a large and important mosque. There is also a special school for sons of chiefs.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

The electric power station is a gas-engine plant that burns the residue from ground-nut presses. 36 [377]

Communications. Diourbel is the railway junction for Routes 3 and 4. By the former it is 50½ miles from Thiès and 302 miles from Kidira, and by the latter it is 31 miles from Touba. The intercolonial road leads westwards to Thiès (65 miles) and Dakar (109 miles) and south-eastwards to Kaolack (40 miles), Tambacounda (230 miles), and Nayes (351 miles). Colonial roads go north-eastwards to Dahra (73 miles) and Dagana (162 miles) and south-westwards to Fatik (25 miles) and Kaolack (53 miles). [496] [491]

LOUGA (15° 37′; 16° 16′ W.). Altitude, 128 feet. Population, 4,390. Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Regional School. Power station. Garage. Race-course. Agricultural experimental station and farm school. Daily market. [131] [162] [654]

Louga is the scene of the most important cattle market in the whole colony. It is this that has made it a route centre. Other local products are ground-nuts, gum, and millet. Administratively, Louga is the headquarters of the province of the same name and also a military headquarters. [438]

Electricity is supplied by an oil-driven plant. [377]

Communications. Louga stands at the junction of railway routes 1 and 2, being 119 miles from Dakar, 44 miles from St. Louis, and 81 miles from Linguéré. It is on the intercolonial road from Dakar (121 miles) to St. Louis (47 miles). A colonial road runs eastwards across the colony to Dahra (59 miles), Linguéré (84 miles), and Matam (242 miles). There are also minor roads and tracks. [496] [491]

PODOR (16° 35′; 15° 02′ W.). Population, 3,168. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. Daily market. [131] [162]

This riverside town is chiefly important for gum arabic. The gum is brought by the Arabs, sold in the market, and shipped down the Senegal to St. Louis. [439]

Communications. By river Podor is 178 miles from St. Louis and 437 miles from Kayes. Throughout the year the Messageries Africaines run a fortnightly service to and from St. Louis. From July to January the boats also go upstream as far as Matam (234 miles) and in August and September to Kayes. Podor is on the colonial road, being 135 miles from St. Louis and 288 miles from Nayes. There is a ferry across the river to connect with tracks to such Mauritanian [487] [505] [491]

36 towns as Boutilimit and Aleg. There is also a track that runs south-
[491] south-westwards to Yang-Yang. For half the year there is a bus
[494] service twice a week to St. Louis in one direction and to Kidira in the other. 1/1

[131] TAMBACOUNDA (13° 45′; 13° 39′ W.). Altitude, 148 feet. Population,
[162] *c.* 4,000. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Hotel. Garage.

On a slight eminence above a marshy tributary of the Sandougou,
[491] Tambacounda is of considerable importance as a route centre. It
[496] is not only a road junction but also the most southerly point in Senegal of the Dakar–Niger railway. Near the town is a sisal
[248] plantation.

The hotel is open only from December to May.

By rail Tambacounda is 285 miles from Dakar, 111 miles from
[496] Kidira, and 170½ miles from Kayes. One intercolonial road runs
[491] westwards to Kaolack (188 miles), Thiès (295 miles), and Dakar (339 miles); another north-eastwards to Nayes (121 miles) and Kayes (176 miles); and a third southwards to Diabougou (25 miles) and ultimately to Labé (288 miles). Before the war Tambacounda was
[509] connected to Dakar and Bamako by a weekly air service operated by Air France.

[131] THIÈS (14° 49′; 16° 52′ W.). Altitude, 207 feet. Population, 15,451.
[162] Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Regional School.
[797] Roman Catholic mission. Power station. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops. Cinemas. Daily market.

Since the opening of the railway in 1885 Thiès has grown from a collection of native huts to a large town. The railway workshops
[498] employ many hundreds of men, and the market handles considerable
[438] quantities of ground-nuts. The town has been built on a slope that declines gently east and north-east to a small stream. The old Fort Faidherbe is still standing, and there is a big Roman Catholic church.

Communications. Thiès is a railway junction, being 43½ miles
[496] from Dakar, 119½ miles from St. Louis, and 352½ miles from Kidira.
[491] It is also a meeting-place of intercolonial roads. One of these comes from Dakar (44 miles) and goes on to St. Louis (124 miles), while the other branches east to Kaolack (107 miles), Nayes (416 miles), and Kayes (471 miles). There are several minor roads, notably one going
[494] south to M'Bour. Along this road there is a regular bus service, with two buses each weekday in either direction.

1/1 [From The Town of Podor-- Analyst]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

9. ADMINISTRATION

DAKAR, the capital of the Federation and the residence of the Governor-General, is geographically in Senegal, and from its foundation in 1863 it was administered by the Governor of Senegal as part of that colony. By the decrees of 25 October and 27 November 1924, however, the District of Dakar was, without prejudice to its municipal institutions, made a separate administrative unit, under an Administrator directly responsible to the Governor-General. Only Dakar and Goree were originally included, with an area of 60 square miles, but the Commune of Rufisque was added by a decree of 9 June 1937. The District now has a population of 127,000, and it has its own budget. 633 [648] [162]

Senegal returns a deputy to the French Chamber of Deputies, who is elected by French citizens (European or native) resident in the colony and in Dakar. The deputy is *ex officio* Senegal's representative on the Supreme Council of the French Colonial Empire. 648

Councils

Executive Councils. The Executive Council of Senegal is composed of the Governor, the Secretary-General, the Attorney-General, the officer commanding the troops, one French citizen elected by the Chamber of Commerce of St. Louis, and one citizen and two subjects nominated for two years by the Governor-General. 645 [648]

It is a purely advisory body, but the Governor is bound to consult it on such matters as the Colonial Budget, proposed changes in taxation, disposal of government property, and concessions. He may indeed, require its advice on any matter he chooses.

The Executive Council for the District of Dakar was at one time composed of the Standing Committee of the Governor-General's Council together with the Administrator. This arrangement, legalized in 1924, was changed by a decree of the 9 June 1937 which gave Dakar its own Executive Council, composed of the Administrator, Deputy-Administrator, the officer commanding the troops at Dakar, the Attorney-General, one member of the Chamber of Commerce appointed by that body, two municipal councillors of Dakar and one of Rufisque appointed by their respective councils, and one French subject appointed by the Governor-General. 633 [648] [648]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

516
291
635

113. *Senegal: a Council of Notables*

[facing p. 432]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 31

633 The Council has the same functions as that of the colony, but its
645 decisions need the approval (usually formal) of the Standing
[648] Committee of the Governor-General's Council.

The Executive Councils of Senegal and of Dakar are known as *conseils privés*, whereas those of the other colonies are known as *conseils d'administration*.

646 *The Colonial Council of Senegal.* The history of the Colonial
633 Council and of its predecessor, the General Council, has been given above. The earlier council had jurisdiction over the four full communes only, but its successor, which dates from 1920, when all distinctions between colony and protectorate were abolished, has jurisdiction over the whole colony. The inhabitants of the District of Dakar still retain their votes for the Colonial Council, and as a corollary the Council can discuss the affairs of the District. The pretext for this decision was afforded by the provision, in the decrees
[652] of 1924, that the Colonial Budget of Senegal should contain a grant in aid of Dakar; but French writers do not disguise the fact that it was thought not desirable entirely to divorce the District from the rest of Senegal. The decrees of 1924, therefore, expresaly left it an integral, though autonomous, part.

646 The Colonial Council is unique in French Africa in that its
666 membership includes Europeans, natives, chiefs, citizens, and sub-
[642] jects. It is, therefore, worthy of detailed mention. Its constitution and powers are laid down in a decree of 4 December 1920, as amended by decrees of 30 March 1925, 13 January 1930, and 8 April 1939. This last added the subjects. The colony is divided into four electoral districts, from which members are elected on a population basis. The Council is elected for a term of six years, but, on the recom-
[648] mendation of the Governor, it may be dissolved by the Governor-General. Should a dissolution occur, a new election must be held within three months. There are 62 members in all: 26 citizens elected by citizens, 18 provincial or canton chiefs elected by those of the same rank, and 18 native subjects. These subjects must either have been born in the colony or be descendants of subjects born in
[641] the colony; they must have completed their military service; and they are elected by all other subjects who fulfil the same conditions. In 1929 the European element only numbered one-fifth of the total membership, and the additions made in 1939 will have had the effect of swamping it.

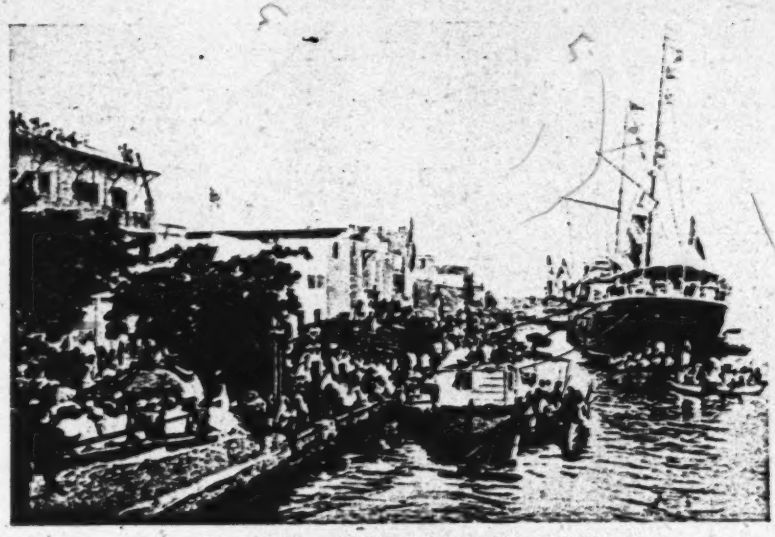
646 The Council meets for a fortnight's session once a year, but it can
643 be summoned by the Governor at any time. It chooses its own

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

133
361

114. *St. Louis*

501
504



115. *St. Louis: the North Quay*

[facing p. 433]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

president, but the Governor has the right of addressing it and of deputing high officials to speak to it of the work of their own departments. It appoints a Standing Committee, which can meet to trans- 646 [643]

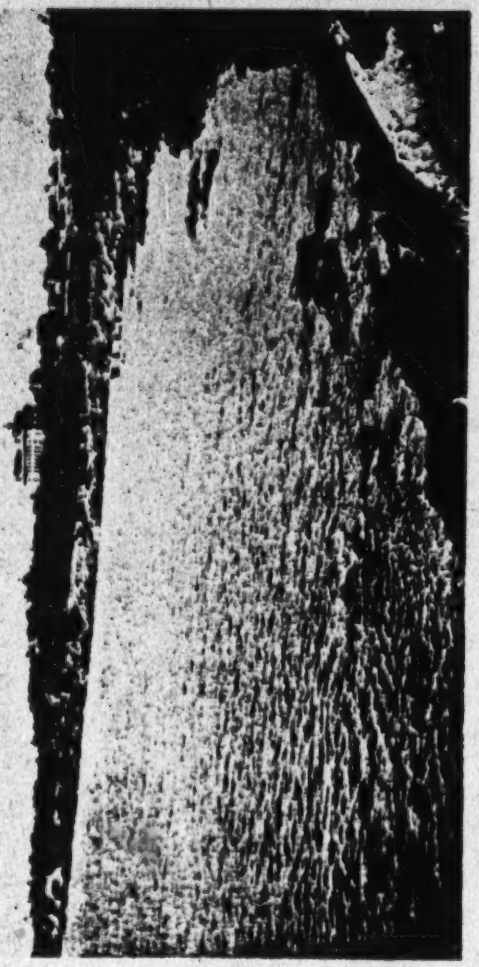
102
103
635
634

FIG. 52. *Senegal: Administrative Divisions*

act business when the full Council is not in session. It is bound, however, to report to its parent body. 646

The Council's powers are wide. It must be consulted on a proposal to create new communes, and it may advise on any matter put before it by the Governor. It may legislate on eight stated topics, which are chiefly concerned with the management of state property and with the colony's financial contributions to the public works of the Federation. This legislation comes into force within two months, unless previously vetoed by the Governor-General. The Council also has the right to deliberate the assessment and collection of [643] [652] [648] [652]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 39



116. *Dakar: Bernard bay*

[facing p. 434]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

646 taxes and all items of the Colonial Budget not fixed by the Governor-
[648] General.
[652] Article 40 of the decree of 1920 forbade any deliberation of political
[642] matters and any resolution concerning them. The power to discuss the budget, however, has nullified this prohibition, and criticism of the Government plays a considerable part in the Council's debates.
[631] The citizens are usually more independent than the chiefs, since the latter owe their appointments to the Governor. It is too early to judge the effect of the recent addition of subjects.

It will be clear from the foregoing that this Colonial Council
[642] performs a very useful function. Although it cannot bring the machinery of government to a standstill, it can seriously hamper the administration. In consequence Senegal has a greater tincture of democracy than any other colony.

Territorial Divisions

635 The colony is divided into fifteen provinces (Fig. 52), some of
634 them subdivided into districts. Their names and the names of their headquarters towns are as follows.

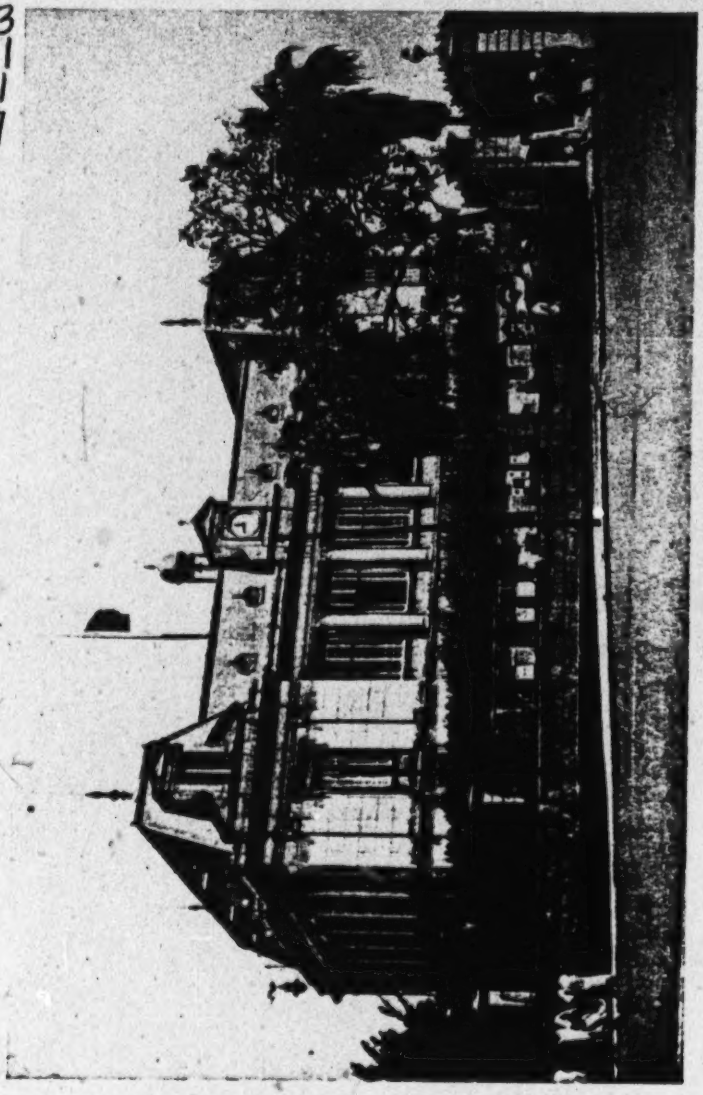
Province	*Headquarters*	*Area in square miles*	*District headquarters*
Bakel	Bakel	8,755	..
Baol	Diourbel	1,714	..
Bas Sénégal	St. Louis	2,351	Dagana
Bignona	Bignona	1,699	Dioulouloulou
Djoloff	Linguéré	6,275	..
Haute Gambie	Kédougou	5,212	..
Kolda	Kolda	5,599	..
Louga	Louga	3,886	..
Matam	Matam	10,116	..
Podor	Podor	4,857	..
Sedhiou	Sedhiou	2,703	..
Sine-Saloum	Kaolack	10,228	Fatik, Foundiougne, Kaffrine
Tambacounda	Tambacounda	9,998	..
Thiès	Thiès	2,707	M'Bour, Tivaouane
Ziguinchor	Ziguinchor	1,120	Oussouye

635 The four provinces of Bignona, Kolda, Sedhiou, and Ziguinchor are grouped together as the Casamance Territory, at the head of which is a Session Administrator, or Chief Commissioner, residing at Ziguinchor.

In almost all provinces the provincial Commissioner is assisted by a Council of Notables (Plate 113).

22: Winterbotham et al. X-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

363
341
351
137



117. *Dakar: the Mairie*

[facing p. 135]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Municipal Government

Full Communes. Dakar (including Goree), St. Louis, and Rufisque are full communes (Vol. I, p. 258), the only ones in the Federation. 633

The Municipal Councils, which choose their own mayors, consist of from fifteen to eighteen members. These are elected for terms of four years by the French citizens of their towns, and since 1910 all the councils have had African majorities. At first these communes had powers as extensive as their counterparts in France, and they were responsible for police, public health, roads, markets, lighting, and elementary education. In 1918, however, the colonial authorities took over public health at St. Louis and at Dakar, and in 1927 at Rufisque. Similarly, in 1924, the creation of the District of Dakar was made the occasion to subtract police and roads from the commune. The same process, without the same excuse, went on in 1927 for St. Louis and for Rufisque. For all these services the municipalities still make financial contributions.

Their revenue comes from direct government grants, from municipal rates, and from municipal undertakings. Altogether they include market dues, liquor licences, lighting, and a proportion of the business licences and other colonial taxes. In normal years the revenue of Dakar averaged some 8,000,000 francs, of St. Louis 7,750,000 francs, and of Rufisque 5,600,000 francs. 652 651 633

In each case the budget is drawn up by the mayor, passed by his council, and submitted to the Governor or Administrator. [643]

Mixed Communes. There are fifteen mixed communes in Senegal, namely Bambey, Bargny-Gouddou, Diourbel, Fatik, Foundiougne, Gossas, Kaolack, Kébémer, Kombole, Louga, M'Bour, Mekhé, Thiès, Tivaouane, and Ziguinchor. Thirteen of them are mixed communes of the first degree, but since 1925 Kaolack and Ziguinchor have been mixed communes of the second degree. 633

Chambers of Commerce. There are Chambers of Commerce at Dakar, Kaolack, St. Louis, Thiès, and Ziguinchor. The one at St. Louis is the successor of a Committee of Commerce which was set up in 1825. The Chamber at Thiès is also known as the Chamber of Cayor-Baol. It was first founded at Rufisque in 1883, but in 1937, when that town was included in the District of Dakar, it was moved to its present headquarters. 441 647

In Senegal there are no separate Chambers of Agriculture and Industry, but the Chamber of Commerce at Dakar has a section, established in 1930, devoted to those two activities.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Courts of Law

692 The Court of Assize sits at Dakar, and the Tribunals of First Instance sit at Dakar, Kaolack, and St. Louis. There is a Magistrate's Court at Ziguinchor, and there are Moslem Courts at Dakar, Rufisque, and St. Louis. In each province and full commune there are the usual native courts, and the Colonial Court of Appeal for Senegal sits at St. Louis. There is a separate one for the District of Dakar.

In addition to the local courts, the West African Court of Appeal and the Supreme Native Court of Appeal are both held at Dakar.

Native Organization

631 177 All the old chiefdoms and kingdoms have now disappeared. On the other hand, owing to their representation on the Colonial Council, chiefs in Senegal to-day exercise greater influence than in other colonies. They are appointed and paid by the Government, and they can usually be relied on to supply an official majority. In 1925 they induced the Government to raise their salaries, which now range from 7,600 francs to 36,500 francs per annum. The chiefs are divided into no less than twelve grades. Most of them have [871] been educated at the École des Fils des Chefs et des Interprètes at St. Louis.

Land Tenure

423 By 31 December 1937 provisional concessions had been granted over an area of 12 square miles and concessions over 15 square miles. By the same date there had been granted under the immatriculation system 9,630 certificates of title, covering 177 square miles. Under the process of Confirmation of Native Land Rights, 40 certificates had been granted, covering 3½ square miles. These figures are very small for the size and population of the colony.

Labour

466 [646] The Colonial Council is responsible for the fact that forced labour has been redeemable by every person since 1921. This reform did not become universal in the Federation till several years later. In 1930 a resolution of the same council compelled owners of motor vehicles to lend them for work under the same system.

In 1935 there were 408,000 persons on the forced labour rolls, 1,415,000 man-days were worked, and 561,300 francs were paid in

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

redemption money. During 1936 official figures showed 1,000 labourers working under written contracts for private concerns, while 31,800 were working on verbal agreements. For public services there were only 20 working with written contracts and 8,900 without. These figures apply only to regular employment, and they take no account of casual labour of any kind. 466 [675]

The fertile provinces of Baol and Sine-Saloum annually attract thousands of immigrant labourers from French Sudan to grow ground-nuts. It is estimated that, in some years, as many as 60,000 Sudanese labourers (*navétanes*) cross the border, encouraged by cheap fares on the railways and advances of pay from the Chambers of Commerce. In 1932 these advances amounted to 300,000 francs. On their arrival they do not work for daily hire, but each labourer takes up a plot for the season. The landowner provides the seeds, and also board and lodging for the labourer. In return the labourer works on the owner's plot for two, three, or four days a week. At the close of the season the proprietor takes either one-tenth of the crop or double the quantity of seeds that he supplied, leaving the rest of the crop to the labourer. Most labourers return to their homes at the end of the harvest, but occasionally they stay on till they have accumulated the sum they set out to acquire. 167 464 [441] [654] 477 465 167 464

Agriculture

The first director of agriculture of Senegal may be said to have been Richard, one of the survivors of the *Méduse*. Under him experimental gardens were founded at Richard Toll about 1820. These are still in existence. The present organization of the Department of Agriculture is laid down by an order of 22 January 1932. Working in close contact with local administrative officers, it manages experimental gardens and farm schools, gives information and instruction to farmers, conducts campaigns against agricultural pests, and organizes agricultural shows. The Department has a laboratory at Hann and an experimental station at Bambey. This was opened in 1924 and is devoted principally to the study and improvement of ground-nuts. Besides these institutions the Department owns various smaller stations for study, experiment, and instruction. 647 654

Forestry. The Department of Agriculture had charge of forestry until an order of 10 February 1937 created a separate Forestry Department and divided the colony into four forestry districts (*inspections*), with headquarters at St. Louis, Thiès, Ziguinchor, and Tambacounda respectively.

22hWinterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS37

647 656 *Produce Inspection.* Produce inspection is entrusted to a board nominated by the Chambers of Commerce, but the Government keeps a tight control by exercising a veto on all important appointments to its staff. The Board's inspectorate has very wide powers of inspection over produce, whether destined for local consumption or for export. No produce to which inspection applies can be sent out [439] of the colony without a certificate of purity.

For this inspection a special tax of 5 francs per ton on ground-nuts [651] and palm kernels, and 20 francs per ton on rubber, is imposed on produce intended for export.

456 654 *Native Provident Societies.* There are 14 Native Provident Societies. Bignona and Ziguinchor have combined, but otherwise [647] there is one to each province. In 1937 they had 1,200,000 members, whose annual subscriptions varied from 2·50 francs to 5·00 francs each, and their expenses were some 25,000,000 francs. They supplied over 44,000 tons of ground-nut seeds to their members.

In earlier days the Sine-Saloum society imported stallions from [232] the Argentine for the breeding of mules, and in 1932 the societies devoted nearly 250,000 francs to the purchase of motor vehicles. In cattle-breeding districts they supply breeding stock and improve water-supply and pasturage. By 1933 it was estimated that the societies had sunk over 1,200 wells, while the society of Thiès had [312] constructed a barrage for irrigation purposes.

In addition to strictly agricultural activities, the Senegal societies [926] help their members by advances of cash, which are made not only to meet failure of crops, but also in cases of individual accident or illness.

Mining

656 316 At the end of 1937 the following permits were in force:

Personal licences		4
The Occupation System		
Exclusive licences	10	
Mining licences	32	
Concessions	18	
		58
Total		62

Education

871 797 The first attempts to educate the natives of French West Africa were made in Senegal, and they were also remarkable for being instituted, not by missionaries, but by the Crown. Colonel Schmaltz

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

took with him a lay schoolmaster, who opened a school for boys at St. Louis in 1817. Its pupils varied in number from 60 to 100, and it continued under state and lay control until 1841. In that year its management was handed over to Roman Catholic priests, while the Government undertook to maintain the school and to pay for its equipment and the salaries of its teachers. 871 797

Girls' education dates from 1826, when the Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny founded schools at St. Louis and Goree.

By 1854 there were four schools in Senegal. They all belonged to Roman Catholic missions supported by government grants, and they counted only 590 pupils on their rolls. There were difficulties regarding the admission of Moslems to these schools and, as Islam was the prevailing faith, the spread of education was hindered. In 1857 Faidherbe opened a Moslem School at St. Louis, and until 1903 this remained the only lay primary school in Senegal. By 1898 there were 9 primary schools in the four communes and about 30 in the protectorate. These were staffed by interpreters and non-commissioned officers, and their existence was spasmodic. At that time elementary education throughout French West Africa was mainly in the hands of the missions, and, so far as the Government took any interest in it at all, it was organized by local regulations in each colony. The Governor-General's order of 24 November 1903 set up a uniform system of state-controlled education throughout the Federation. 872 [797] [648]

In 1938 Senegal and Dakar had 132 European teachers and 337 native in Government schools and 48 teachers in recognized private schools. Pupils were arranged as follows: 875

	Schools	Boys	Girls	Total pupils
Government Schools				
Primary				
Village schools	72	5,946	241	6,187
Regional schools	16	4,590	432	5,022
Urban schools	10	3,392	752	4,144
Higher Primary	2	158	14	172
Technical	4	146	0	146
	104	14,232	1,439	15,671
Private Schools				
Primary	13	1,164	293	1,457
Totals	117	15,396	1,732	17,128

871

There were also 2,295 Moslem schools giving rudimentary instruction to 16,190 pupils.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

874 In 1927 apprentice courses in woodwork and metalwork were started in St. Louis and Kaolack by the Public Works Department for selected schoolboys between the ages of 13 and 16 years.

871 There is a number of educational institutions in Dakar of a higher grade than primary. These are the responsibility of the Federal Government and have been described in Volume I.

Health

743 Senegal is divided into thirteen medical districts, each of which is intended to be under the supervision of a European medical officer. There are 17 medical stations, each under a native auxiliary. There are also 16 maternity centres and 117 posts visited once a week by a medical officer.

In 1937 Senegal and Dakar had 3 major hospitals and 34 minor hospitals and dispensaries. These provided 394 beds for European patients and 1,805 for native. There were 80 European medical officers, 31 native auxiliaries, 30 midwives, 124 male nurses, and 21 female nurses.

[744] In addition there were four travelling parties (*groupes sanitaires mobiles*). One of these specialized in fighting sleeping-sickness in the Casamance Territory, and the other three were concerned with more general sanitary and prophylactic measures.

The Pasteur Institute at Dakar, a federal concern, is justly famous. [747] Some medical work is done by missionaries. Unofficial committees of the Croix-Rouge are concerned with infant welfare at Dakar, Diourbel, St. Louis, and Tivaouane.

[652] In 1937 Senegal voted 12,000,000 francs for medical services and Dakar 11,000,000 francs.

10. PORTS

36 [131] [162] [489] [943] [712] [648] [654] [697]

ST. LOUIS (16° 01′; 16° 30′ W.). Population, 30,586, including 1,231 Europeans. Colonial capital of Senegal and of Mauritania. Full Commune. Headquarters of the province of Bas Sénégal. Custom-house. Law courts. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital and dispensary. Army headquarters and barracks. Police headquarters. Belgian Consulate. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Lycée Faidherbe. École des Fils des Chefs et des Interprètes. Higher Primary and Technical Schools. Protestant and Roman Catholic missions. Bank of West Africa. Power station. Prison. Hotels. Garages. Race-course. Botanical gardens. Experimental plantation. Daily market.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

36
102
491
504
712
133

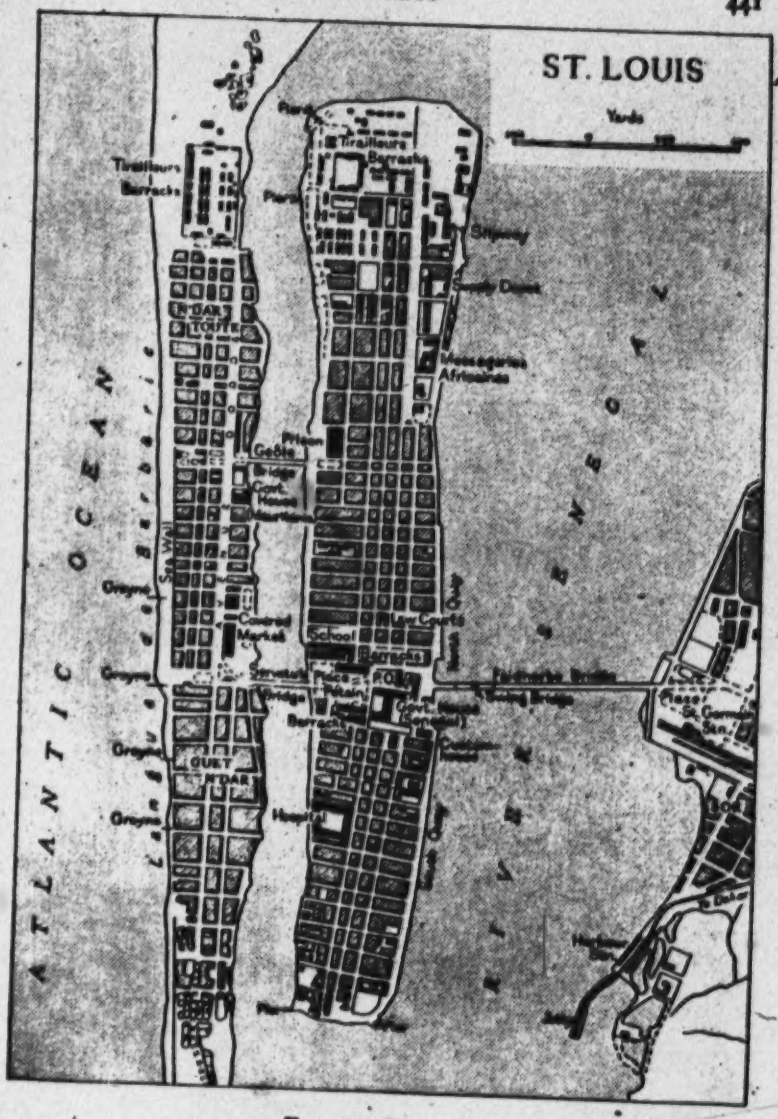


FIG. 53. *St. Louis*

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
ST. LOUIS

361 The oldest part of St. Louis (Fig. 53) stands on an island in the estuary of the Senegal. This island is some 2,400 yards long and averages 350 yards in width, and its southern extremity is 13½ miles from the mouth of the river. It has three main suburbs, N'Dar Toute and Guet N'Dar on the Langue de Barbarie, and Sor on the mainland.

History

361 175 [487] [103] Early navigators in search of the gold of Bambouk used the Senegal as a means of entry to the interior, and in 1658 a settlement was founded. This was the first French post in West Africa, and it was named after the patron saint of King Louis XIV. Its story has largely been told elsewhere, since, from the first, it played a prominent part in the general history of French West Africa as a whole and of Senegal in particular. The main events in the past were its capture by [648] the British in 1759, its recapture in 1779, its second capture in 1809, and its final restoration to the French in 1817. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it steadily grew in size and wealth, but in recent years it has been forced, both commercially and politically, to yield to Dakar.

The Town

361 The original island is now almost completely covered with buildings. These include Government House (Senegal), the Law Courts, the principal barracks, the power station, and the Roman Catholic church in the centre; the prison, two mosques, and another barracks to the north; and the hospital and another mosque to the south. N'Dar Toute has Government House (Mauritania) (Plate 92), the market, and yet another barracks, and Sor has the railway stations [964] and the cemeteries. Guet N'Dar is inhabited almost entirely by natives.

491 361 The western arm of the river is crossed by two bridges. The Geôle Bridge, 150 yards long, connects the main town to N'Dar Toute, and it takes its name from the prison near its eastern end. Five hundred and sixty yards south of it is the Servotuis Bridge, the western end of which marks the dividing line between N'Dar Toute and Guet N'Dar. At the other end of it is an open space at present called Place Pétain. In a line with the Servotuis Bridge is the Faidherbe Bridge across the main stream. Built in 1900, this bridge is 570 yards long and has six fixed spans and a roadway 37 feet wide. Near its western end is a swing bridge with two openings each of 30 yards.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
ST. LOUIS

30 yards. Immediately east of it is the Place St. Germain, on the south-west side of which stands the main railway station. 361

The western side of the Langue de Barbarie has been reinforced by groynes and a sea-wall.

The town as a whole is well planned, and it has many shops and offices.

Trade

The chief exports are oil-seeds and skins. Imports are mainly manufactured goods. In 1937 the former weighed 30,400 tons and were valued at 31,600,000 francs (£253,990), and the latter weighed 8,300 tons and were valued at 11,900,000 francs (£95,640). 439

Description of Port

Anchorages. Outside the bar at the river mouth there is anchorage in 9–11 fathoms. Inside it there is again a depth of 11 fathoms, which gradually decreases until it is 5 fathoms just below Faidherbe Bridge. 504 [133]

Quays. The principal quays are on the east side of the island. North Quay (Plate 115), above Faidherbe Bridge, is 1,050 feet long, and South Quay, below it, is 1,770 feet long with an alongside depth of 12 fathoms. At the harbour station in Sor there is a jetty 600 feet long with a wharf at its head. There are four small piers on the island, whose positions are shown in Fig. 53.

Equipment. There is a steam crane some 600 yards above the North Quay and a slipway a little higher still. Minor repairs can be effected, but facilities are generally poor.

Fuel. A small stock of coal is kept, but no oil.

Communications

Rail. There are three railway stations (p. 467) in Sor, and the main station is the terminus of the line to Dakar (Route 1). 498

Road. The intercolonial road to Thiès (124 miles) and Dakar (168 miles) starts from the Place St. Germain and then turns south when clear of the goods station. At this point the Imperial road branches off north-east to Rosso (66 miles) and ultimately to Tindouf (1,315 miles). There is a bus service twice a week to and from Matam and Nayes. 491 494

Air. The airfield is 3½ miles north-east of Place St. Germain. Its surface is hard clay and it has one hangar. In normal times there is a weekly Air France service to Dakar. 508 509

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS37

[ST. LOUIS]

206 *Wireless.* The wireless station is to the south of Guet N'Dar.

River. Above Faidherbe Bridge the river is closed to all vessels not
505 flying the French flag. Boats drawing 10 feet can ascend to Podor all
[648] the year round, and in the rainy season they can reach Kayes (Vol. I, p. 367). Table V shows how greatly river traffic on the Senegal has declined in recent years.

TABLE V. *Tonnage of Goods from Kayes*

	1928	1929	1930	1934	1935
[497] [494] Sent by rail or road	9,545	9,555	11,456	5,269	6,224
Sent by river	2,520	5,815	3,425	313	260

Shipping. There are no sea-going ships calling regularly, but the Messageries Africaines and the Messageries du Sénégal run services up-river.

36 DAKAR (14° 39′; 17° 25′ W.). Population, 80,052, including *c.* 6,000
[131] Europeans. Capital of the Federation and Headquarters of the
[162] District of Dakar. Full Commune. Custom-house. Law courts.
[489] Chamber of Commerce. Pasteur Institute. Hospitals. Naval base
[712] and dockyard. General Headquarters of the army in French West Africa. Police headquarters. British Consulate-General. Belgian,
[648] Brazilian, Czechoslovakian, Danish, Eireann, Greek, Italian, Netherlands, Norwegian, Swedish, and Swiss Consulates. Argentine, Finnish, Spanish, and Uruguayan Vice-Consulates. Meteoro-
[654] logical station. Airport and seaplane base. Wireless stations.
[508] Colleges and schools. Protestant churches. Roman Catholic Vicariate Apostolic of Guinea and Vicariate General. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Crédit Foncier de l'Ouest Africain. Banque Belge de l'Afrique. Power station.
[697] Prison. Public library. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops.
[498] Cinemas. Race-course. Sports stadium. Botanical gardens.
[654] Agricultural experimental station. Daily market.

Dakar (Fig. 54) is approximately 2,600 miles distant from South-
361 ampton, from Cape Town, and from Rio de Janeiro. It is, therefore, well placed for taking a share in the trade of the South Atlantic, and it
[433] is small wonder that it has become the third port in the French Empire, being surpassed only by Marseilles and Le Havre. It is, moreover, of the first importance strategically.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[445]
36
509
764
206
502
102
743
712
498
133

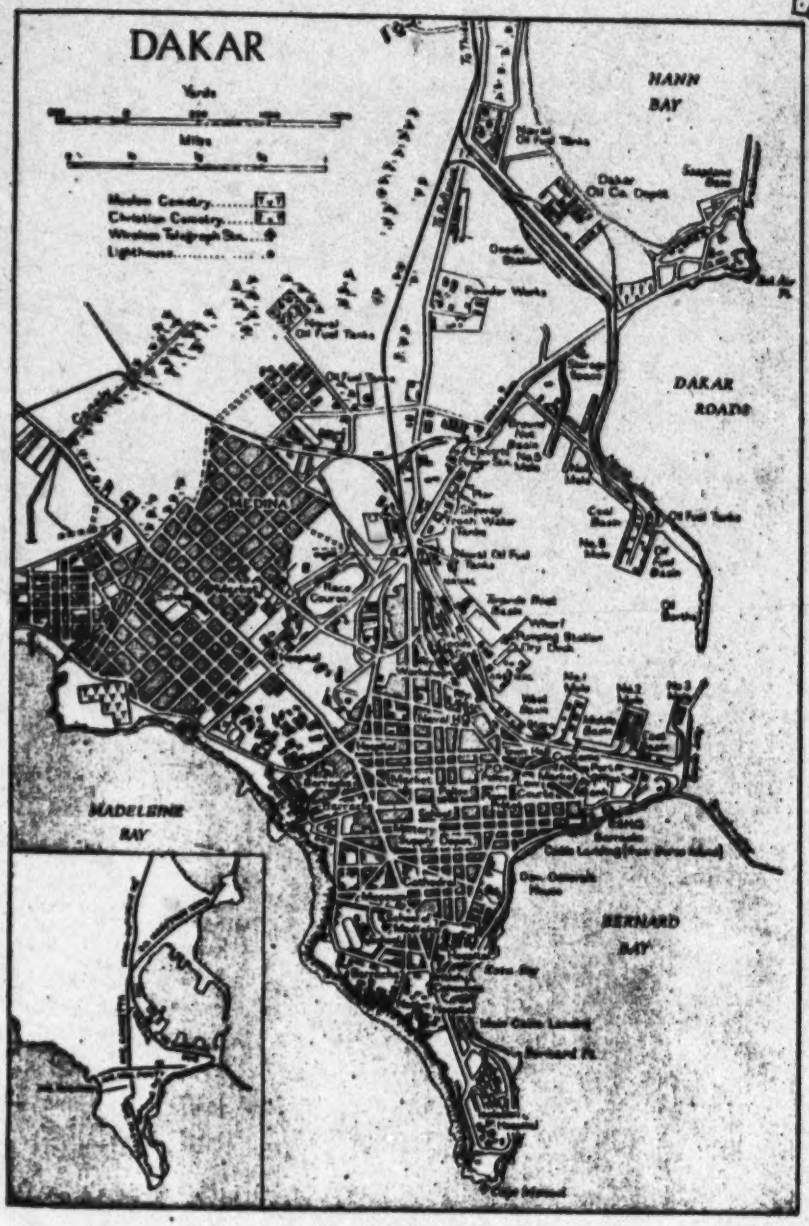


FIG. 54. *Dakar*

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

History

175 361 [997] Until the middle of the nineteenth century Dakar was a Lebou village. In 1846, however, a Roman Catholic convent was built there, and eleven years later the village and the Cape Verde peninsula were officially occupied. In 1858 the French Government signed a contract with the Messageries Impériales (now the Messageries Maritimes) whereby ships sailing between Bordeaux and Rio de Janeiro would call at Dakar. The company acquired 7½ acres of land near Dakar point, and in 1863 a small jetty was built. This was the beginning of the port. In 1864 a lighthouse was constructed near [502] Cape Verde and three years later two others, respectively at Almadi [496] point and at Cape Manuel. In 1885 the railway to St. Louis was opened. It was not, however, until 1898 that the idea was conceived [712] of making Dakar a big naval base, and by 1910 it was capable of accommodating vessels of all types. Further improvements have [504] since been effected, and to-day the dry dock is big enough to take a battleship.

The Town

361 Dakar has grown so as to cover the southern part of the Cape Verde peninsula, but the port is on the east side of the town. On the south-west are the cliffs of Madeleines bay and on the south-east those of Bernard bay. Dakar point marks the northern end of the latter. North of the port is Bel Air point, the southern limit of Hann bay.

The medina or native town, which contains nearly half the population, is to the north-west of the main town. The intercolonial road [491] enters the latter from the north and is continued as the Avenue Gambetta and the Avenue Maginot to an open space where stands [368] the Roman Catholic cathedral. East of the cathedral is the Residence of the Governor-General (Vol. I, Plate 58), magnificently situated on the top of the cliffs overlooking Bernard bay. Farther south are the British Consulate, the Pasteur Institute, the botanical gardens, and, [943] almost at Cape Manuel, the isolation hospital. The buildings of the army headquarters are near Dakar point. West of them are the port offices, the telephone exchange, the principal market, the Mairie (Plate 117), and the law courts. The town contains innumerable shops and offices and many clubs, cafés, hotels, and other amenities of modern civilization.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

Trade

Imports and Exports. Dakar is the outlet for almost the whole of French West Africa north of the forest. In particular it serves the most fertile and prosperous parts of Senegal and French Sudan. The principal export is, of course, ground-nuts, and others are gold, gum, shea butter, kapok, and hides. Imports include manufactured goods of all kinds, coal, oil fuel, wine, sugar, and flour. In 1937 imports totalled 1,298,700 tons to the value of 763,200,000 francs (£6,134,060) and exports 1,284,300 tons to the value of 572,300,000 francs (£4,599,740). This represents some 40 per cent. of the total trade of the Federation. 439 [433] [433]

Manufactures. In or near the town are brickworks, a brewery, candle factories, charcoal furnaces, ice factories, sisal cleaning plants, sack factories, saw-mills, and factories for extracting ground-nut oil. There are also native handicraft workers. West of the town there are two basalt quarries, which are connected to the harbour by a railway line. 438 316

There are several trade unions. 467

Finance. The Port of Dakar has its own budget. In 1938 this balanced at 10,792,486 francs (£66,212). The principal items of revenue were the dues on the loading and discharge of cargo, which brought in 4,150,000 francs, the dues paid by ships, which brought in 1,566,000 francs, and the charges for the use of port equipment, which brought in 1,115,700 francs. The principal items of expenditure were 4,912,166 francs on wages and salaries of employees and 2,551,770 francs on the materials used in the maintenance of the port. 652 [651]

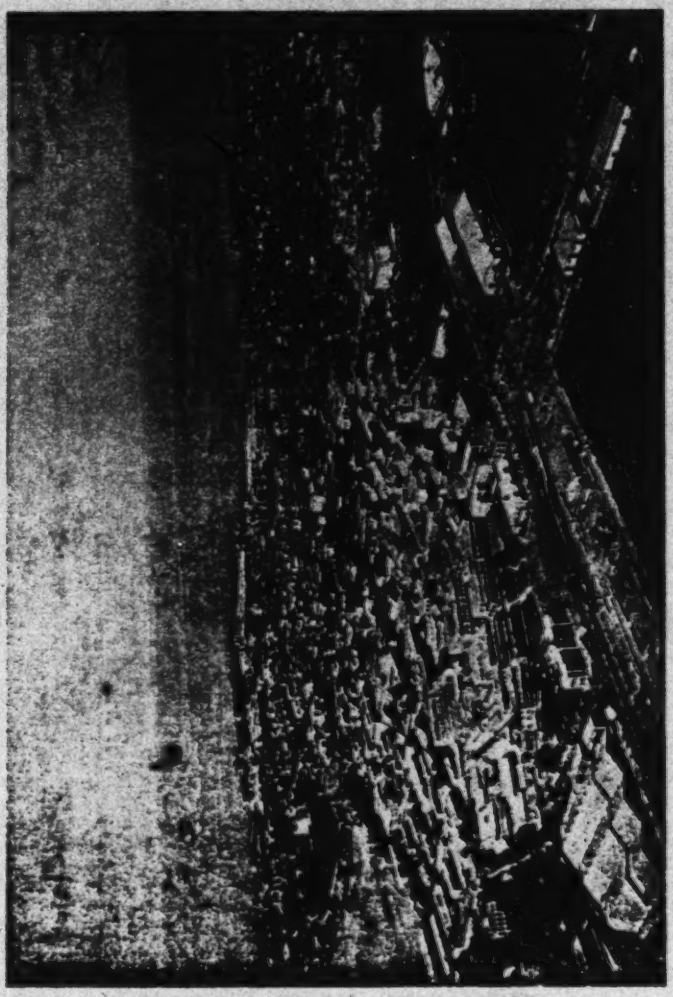
Description of Port

Anchorages. Outside the harbour there is good anchorage in 10 fathoms. Inside depths are greater, and there is space for a large number of vessels. 504

Quays and Wharfs. The main basins of the harbour are divided off from Goree bay and Dakar Roads by the North Jetty. This runs south-eastwards from the shore for nearly 1,200 yards and then turns southwards for its last 550 yards. Here are found the oil berths, and at the end of it is a light. Three moles project from the landward side of the main jetty. Behind No. 5 Mole, the nearest to the land, there is a large open space used for storing dumps of ground-nuts (Vol. I, Plate 84). This end of the harbour is a seaplane base, with a hangar on the shore. On the north-west side there are some [502] [508]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

361
504



118. *Dakar from above the South Jetty*

[facing p 448]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37 Dakar

504 small piers and a slipway. A quarter of a mile south of the slipway are the naval oil-fuel tanks, which are at the northern end of the dockyard. This has, among other works, a large basin and a dry [498] dock, and behind it are the railway goods station and workshops. Just beyond its southern corner is the main station, but extensions of the line run on to the wharfs. On the south side of the harbour are the three principal commercial basins, separated from each other by moles. The easternmost of these is the South Jetty, at the northern [502] end of which is another light, only 275 yards from the end of North Jetty.

From Dakar point a breakwater runs for 1,000 yards south-east and east.

Alongside depths vary from 21 feet at No. 1 Mole to 34 feet at No. 8 Mole, and the total length of quays and oiling berths, apart from those in the dockyard, is 13,861 feet.

Warehouses. There are warehouses on No. 1 Mole, No. 2 Mole, and No. 3 Mole, and all along the south side of the harbour.

Equipment. The dry dock is 656 feet long and 93 feet wide and can be divided into two parts. There are numerous cranes of all types, including floating cranes. The two largest of these are each of 125 tons. Repair facilities are good, and the port is well supplied with tugs, launches, and lighters.

Fuel. The commercial oil-fuel tanks are on the south shore of Hann bay. Behind them is a goods station. Additional naval oil tanks are farther north-west. A pipe-line connects the commercial tanks to the oil berths at the end of North Jetty. Coal is stored on [439] No. 8 Mole. It is very largely imported from South Wales. Good stocks of both fuels are normally held.

Communications

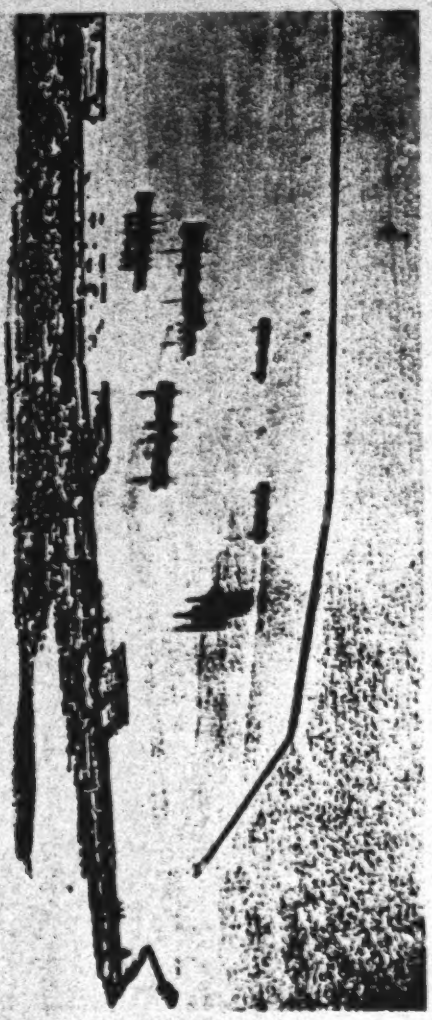
498 *Rail.* Dakar is the terminus of the railway from Thiès and St. Louis (Route 1). From Thiès Route 2 runs to Kidira (396 miles) and ultimately to Koulikoro (801 miles). The main station is at the south-east corner of the harbour, close to the dockyard.

491 *Road.* It has already been stated that the intercolonial road runs north from the end of Avenue Gambetta. It follows the curve of Hann bay to Rufisque (15 miles) before going to Thiès (44 miles). A minor road leads north-westwards to Ouakam (5 miles) and Yof (8 miles). There are also other minor roads.

508 *Air.* The airport lies nearly 5 miles north-west of the main town, 509 and has hangars and workshops. In 1939 Dakar was on the Air France

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

361
504
503



119. *Dakar: the port*

[facing p. 449]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[DAKAR]

route from Paris to Santiago and was also the terminus of local services to Bamako and to St. Louis. The Aéromaritime company used to run flying-boat services to Conakry, Abidjan, Lagos, Douala, and Pointe Noire. 509

Wireless. The broadcasting station is near Madeleines bay, 700 yards north-west of the cathedral. A small station, transmitting to ships, is on Bel Air point. 206

Cable. Dakar is connected by cable to Casablanca, to Brest, to Fernando Noronha (Brazil), and to Conakry. The two latter cables are landed in the south-west of Bernard bay, not far from the Pasteur Institute. There is, however, a telephone cable to Goree island. This is landed on the north-west shore of the same bay.

Shipping. Lines normally serving the port include the following: America West African, Bull, Chargeurs Réunis, Elder Dempster, Fabre, Fraissinet, Gdynia America, Hamburg-Bremen, Holland West Afrika, Italia, Lloyd Triestino, Maurel et Prom, Messageries du Sénégal, Navigazione Generale Italiana, Société Générale des Transports, Société Maritime Belge des Transports, and Société Navale de l'Ouest. 505

Coasting vessels sail regularly for Port Etienne, St. Louis, Kaolack, and Ziguinchor.

GOREE (14° 39′; 17° 23′ W.). Population, 714. Custom-house. Barracks and military hospital. 36 [131] [162] [112]

The rocky island of Goree (Plate 112) has an area of 138 acres. The first Europeans to land on it were the Portuguese in 1445, and since then it has had a chequered history, which has been told elsewhere in these volumes. [175]

Most of the centre of the island is occupied by buildings, and in the south there is the old fort. In the extreme north is a large lime-kiln. [381]

The only source of water is an artesian well in the fort. [312]

Trade. Trade is now limited to the ordinary requirements of the islanders, and traffic to taking them and their goods to and from the mainland. [438]

Harbour. In the north-east of the island there is a little bay where there are three jetties, only one of which (Plate 121) is now in use. The depth at its head is 10 feet. [504]

RUFISQUE (14° 41′; 17° 12′ W.). Population, 19,764, including 180 Europeans. Full Commune. Custom-house. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Power station. Hotel. Garage. [131] [162] [112]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

[RUFISQUE]

439 Rufisque was the first port from which ground-nuts were exported, and to-day ground-nuts are still the main article of trade. In the first quarter of 1939 it exported 25,152 tons of them. On the north side
504 of Goree bay, Rufisque can only handle small ships. There is anchorage off shore in 3–7 fathoms, but from July to November heavy swell makes it almost unusable.

633 Since 1937 the town has been in the District of Dakar.

Jetties and Equipment. There are three jetties with alongside depths
504 of at least 9½ feet. Two of these are of iron, one being 603 feet long and 33 feet wide with an extension by a wharf 65 feet long and 52 feet wide. The third is of concrete and is 656 feet long. Decauville tracks connect these jetties to the railway. There is one 5-ton crane and one 2-ton, besides smaller ones. There are 4 tugs and 2 lighters.

Communications

496 *Rail.* By rail Rufisque is 17 miles from Dakar, 26½ miles from Thiès, 146 miles from St. Louis, and 268 miles from Tambacounda.

Road. The intercolonial road runs from Dakar (15 miles) through
491 to Thiès (29 miles), where it divides. Eight miles beyond Rufisque a colonial road branches off it to go to M'Bour (38 miles), Joal (61 miles), and Fatik (101 miles). Another colonial road goes north-eastwards from the town to Sangalkan (6 miles) and Kayar (17 miles).

36 [131] [162] M'Bour (14° 21′; 16° 57′ W.). Population, *c.* 4,500, including 175 Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-house. Medical post. Police station.

The town of M'Bour stands at the head of a shallow cove which extends for a mile out to sea as a passage between two reefs. Inside
[504] the cove the water is up to 4½ feet deep, and there is a wharf used by surf-boats. Ships anchor 2½ miles off shore, but heavy swell makes
[439] conditions difficult from June to November. Ground-nuts and millet are exported.

[491] M'Bour is on the colonial road from Rufisque (38 miles) to Joal (23 miles) and Fatik (63 miles). Several minor roads lead inland,
[494] notably one to Thiès, along which there is a bus service twice a day. For half the year there is also a service to Joal.

[131] [162] Joal (14° 09′; 16° 51′ W.). Population, *c.* 900. Custom-house. Roman Catholic mission.

Joal was founded by the Norman Company in the middle of the
[175] seventeenth century. It was captured by the Dutch in 1677 and by

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[JOAL]

the British 70 years later, and it did not finally become French until 1763. It is on a sandspit in front of a coastal lagoon. Off shore there is a large sandbank, exposed at low tide. 36 [175]

There is a small wharf, but, owing to the difficulty of access, there is very little trade. In 1937, for example, only 4,600 tons of goods were handled and their value was 4,600,000 francs (£36,970). [504] [439]

The colonial road from Fatik (40 miles) to M'Bour (23 miles) and Rufisque (61 miles) runs through the town. There are also minor roads. From November to June there is a bus service to M'Bour and Thiès four days a week. [491] [494]

FOUNDIOUGNE (14° 06′; 16° 29′ W.). Population, 2,734. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-house. Medical post. [131] [162]

Foundjougne is on an island formed by the Saloum, the Djomboss, and their connecting channels. Much of the district is swampy, but the town itself is on a piece of firm ground on the left bank of the Saloum, 33 miles from the sea.

Anchorage in the river is in 3½ fathoms. There are 8 wharves, of which 1 is owned by the municipality. [504]

The principal export is ground-nuts, but in recent years Foundiougne has declined in prosperity. This is owing to the rise of Kaolack, which is better situated on the north bank of the river and which has much better communications. [439] [433]

There is a ferry across the river, and from its far side a rough road leads to Fatik. South of the river there is a colonial road eastwards to Kaolack (32 miles). Along both these roads there is a bus service, daily in the dry season and fortnightly in the wet. [491] [494]

FATIK (14° 18′; 16° 27′ W.). Population, 3,521, including 128 Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Medical post. Police station. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. [131] [162]

At Nonane, on Marigot de Fatik 14½ miles above its junction with the Saloum, is the site of one of the old *escales*. This is the upper limit for boats drawing 10 feet, but smaller craft can ascend a further 7 miles to Fatik, 58 miles from the sea. The town is on the right bank of the river, which is here called the Sine. [505] [487]

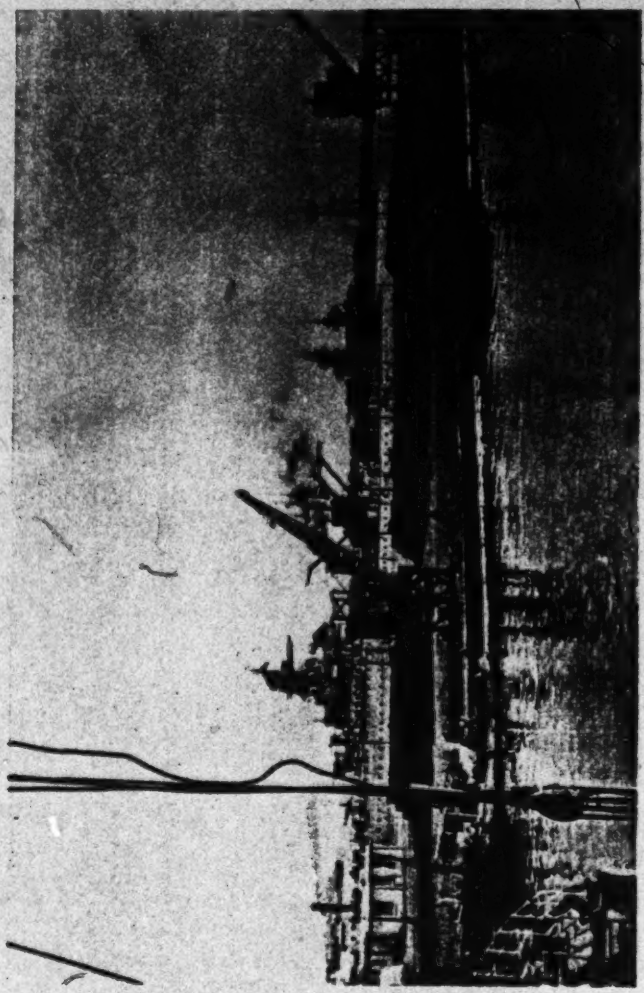
Trade is chiefly in ground-nuts. [439]

Colonial roads lead north to Bambey (27 miles), south-east to Kaolack (28 miles), and south-west to Joal (60 miles), and a minor road south to Foundiougne. [491]

The landing-ground is half a mile west of the town.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS.37

504



120. *Dakar: Mole No. 8*

[facing p 452]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

36 [131] [162] KAOLACK (14° 07′; 16° 07′ W.). Population, 21,973. Mixed Commune. Headquarters of the province of Sine-Saloum. Customhouse. Chamber of Commerce. Medical post. Police headquarters. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Regional School. Roman Catholic mission. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Hotels. Garages. Race-course.

[439] Kaolack exports more ground-nuts than any other port in the Federation. It is a well-planned town with squares and trees, and it is on the right bank of the Saloum, 71 miles above its mouth, where [487] the river is 100 yards wide. It is the limit of navigation for sea-going [505] ships.

[162] In 1904 Kaolack had only 300 inhabitants, but the development of communications in the neighbourhood has caused it to grow to its present size. The figure given above is for the permanent popu- [166] lation only. At the height of the ground-nut season there are an additional 20,000 temporary inhabitants.

Trade

During the first quarter of 1939 Kaolack exported 32,259 tons of [439] ground-nuts (Plate 122), as against 26,832 tons from Dakar. Owing to the bar across the Saloum, however, many ships do not load to their maximum capacity but go on to Dakar to complete their lading. [258] Across the river from the town is a large salt-works.

The Port

[504] On the north bank there are concrete quays with a total length of over 2,000 feet and on the south bank there is a small wharf. At Lyndiane, 9 miles downstream, is a wharf belonging to the firm of Peyrissac et Cie.

Communications

[498] *Rail.* Kaolack is the terminus of Route 5 to Guinguiné (14 miles), and is therefore 142 miles from Dakar. It is also the terminus of Route 6 to Lyndiane (6½ miles). Both stations are close to the river, and there is a line directly on to the quays.

[491] *Road.* Intercolonial roads lead northward to Gossas (25 miles), Thiès (82 miles), and Dakar (126 miles), eastward to Kaffrine (37 miles) and Tambacounda (188 miles), and south-south-westward to Messira (49 miles) and the frontier of the Gambia (57 miles). The last-named road crosses the Saloum by a bridge. A colonial road goes north-west to Fatik (28 miles), another south-east to Nioro

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

121. *The jetty at Goree*

122. *Ground-nut dumps at Kaolack*

504

[facing p. 453]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[KAOLACK]

(33 miles) and Medina (50 miles), and a third west to Foundiougne (32 miles). 36 [491]

Air. The airfield is 1 mile north-east of the town. [508]

Wireless. The wireless station is in the centre of the town. [206]

Shipping. Boats of the Messageries du Sénégal line call regularly, and the Compagnie de Navigation Paquet maintains a weekly service with Foundiougne, Bathurst, and Dakar. [505]

ZIGUINCHOR (12° 32′; 16° 21′ W.). Population, 6,070. Mixed Commune. Headquarters of the Casamance Territory and of the Province of Ziguinchor. Custom-house. Magistrate's Court. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital and maternity home. Police headquarters. Meteorological station. Emergency landing-ground. Wireless station. Roman Catholic mission. Garages. Daily market. [131] [162] [943]

The first large piece of firm ground upstream from the mouth of the Casamance is nearly 42 miles from the sea, and it is here, on the left bank, that Ziguinchor stands. The depth of the river is 6 fathoms. Jetties have been built at right angles to the waterfront, partly to counteract silting, and ships drawing 15 feet can go alongside them. The quays have a total length of over 3,000 feet and the warehouses a total capacity of some 25,000 tons. There are no cranes, all goods being manhandled. [504]

There is a considerable variety of exports, including ground-nuts, fruit, rice, palm oil, palm kernels, cotton, tobacco, sisal, and hides, but imports are chiefly manufactured goods and building materials. In value of trade Ziguinchor comes between Foundiougne and Rufisque. [439]

Communications

Road. The river is crossed by a ferry, and a colonial road leads north to Bignona (16 miles) and then east to Sedhiou (74 miles) and Kolda (136 miles). Another one goes along the south bank of the Casamance, also to Kolda (130 miles). Minor roads lead south to the frontier of Portuguese Guinea and south-west to Ouassouye and Diembering. [491]

Air. Seaplanes can alight in the river, and there is a weekly Aéromaritime service to Bathurst and Dakar. The landing-ground is 1½ miles south of the town. [509]

Wireless. The two wireless stations are housed in the same building. [206]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

36 [131] [162] SEDHIOU (12° 42′; 15° 31′ W.). Population, 1,653. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School.

Sedhiou is on the right bank of the Casamance, 68 miles above [487] Ziguinchor and 110 miles from the sea, and it is only usable by vessels [505] drawing up to 5 feet. Formerly more prosperous than it is to-day, it has some brick buildings and shops. Many of the traders are [439] Syrians, and there is a modest export of ground-nuts, hides, rice, and wax.

[491] By colonial road Sedhiou is 58 miles from Bignona, 74 miles from Ziguinchor, and 62 miles from Kolda.

11. MINERALS

135 [439] THE principal mineral exported from the colony is ilmenite, which is washed from beach sands between Rufisque and Cape Rouge, between Joal and Diakhanor, and at the mouth of the Casamance. Zircon (Vol. I, pp. 295–6) is obtained from the same sands, the ilmenite:zircon ratio being about 3:1. Other minerals of potential value are phosphates and limestone, both of which occur in Lower Eocene strata. Lenticular beds of phosphate, ranging from 30 to 65 per cent. bone phosphate of lime, are found near Matam and near Thiès. Limestones and marls are more widespread than in any other [339] colony, and at Rufisque they have been worked experimentally for the commercial production of cement. Bitumen has been encountered at Dakar in borings for water, but investigations have shown that the [315] geological structure is unsuited to the accumulation of petroleum.

12. AGRICULTURE

241 THE Gambia divides the millet from the manioc zone, but ground-nuts are the chief crop of both. Sisal-growing is an important, though more recent, industry. South of the Gambia the Casamance Territory provides a rich area for fruit and subsistence crops as well as for ground-nuts.

[439] There is far more production for export than in any other colony.

Food Crops

243 262 *Millets.* Millets form the staple diet of the majority of the native population and are grown all over that part of the colony north of the

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Gambia, often in rotation with ground-nuts. Of the quick-maturing 243
varieties *souna* and *senio* are the most popular, the former thriving in [262]
sandy soil, the latter in heavier ground. Several kinds of sorghum are also cultivated. In the river area millet is sown where the floods have subsided and is harvested in April. In other parts it is planted immediately before the rainy season. Production probably averages [433]
about 300,000 tons annually. The export of millet from one province [438]
to another is controlled according to local needs.

Rice. The area flooded by the Casamance is naturally suited for rice cultivation. The rice-fields are handed down from father to [438]
son, each family growing sufficient for its own consumption and to [262]
pay its taxes. A store of rice is always kept to guard against a lean [251]
year or to be exchanged for some other commodity required.

Sugar-cane. This is grown near every village where there is enough 249
water. No attempt has been made to commercialize the crop, and the West African varieties are more woody and contain less juice than those grown elsewhere for export. Sugar-cane (*Saccharum officinarum*) is a perennial plant of the grass family. It is easy to grow, even near the sea, but takes at least a year to mature. When grown for local use, as it is here, sugar is not extracted, but the red or white stems are [263]
chewed.

The Baobab. The baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) is found generally 245
in the thornland (Plate III), and is, therefore, much in evidence in Senegal. It is remarkable for the large girth of its trunk in com- [262]
parison to its branches and leaves. The long green fruit, known as [263]
monkey-bread, is used as a food or as a seasoner. Boiled with water [272]
and then cooled, it also makes a refreshing drink, while the leaves and the young shoots are also good to eat. The inner bark yields a [283]
tough fibre, which can be twisted into rope or woven into a water-proof cloth. About 30 years ago a factory was opened at Dakar to prepare the fibre for export to rope- and paper-making firms in [288]
France. The bark and fibre can be stripped off without causing the death of the tree.

Manioc, beans, and maize are grown generally in the vicinity of 244
villages. In the Cape Verde peninsula these, as well as yams, sweet [243]
potatoes, and melons, are grown for the Dakar markets. [438]

Economic Crops

Ground-nuts. Ground-nuts (*Arachis hypogaea*) require a tropical [433]
climate and an annual rainfall of from 14 to 60 inches. They are the

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

244 sixth crop of Africa, and 43 per cent. of the total continental produc-
[433] tion comes from Senegal. The two main groups cultivated are the 'runner' and the 'erect'. The Rufisque and Cayor varieties, both runners, are those grown generally here and also in British West Africa. The method of cultivation is described in Volume I, p. 321. Ground-nuts were originally grown as a staple native crop, but the
[439] industrial demand for vegetable oils, coupled with the development of transport facilities, opened up a world market for them. Extra
[167] labour for the harvest is provided annually by seasonal immigration
[464] from French Sudan, French Guinea, Portuguese Guinea, and the Gambia. In 1938 the number of outside workers was 69,757. Of these, 56,743 went to the Kaolack area, between 1,000 and 3,500 to Sedhiou, Ziguinchor, Kolda, Tambacounda, and Diourbel, and the remainder to Thiès and Linguéré.

[258] There are numerous shelling factories. Early in 1939 new ones were opened at Kaolack, Ziguinchor, and Koungheul.

In 1938 nearly 2,000,000 acres were under cultivation and the
[654] experimental station at Bambey distributed 5,414 tons of selected seed. In 1939 7,382 tons of seed were sent out, with a corresponding increase in acreage.

[648] During the British blockade of French West Africa after the fall of
[388] France in 1940, ground-nuts were converted into fuel oil. If this practice has been proved worth continuing after the war, cultivation may be greatly extended.

248 *Sisal.* Sisal originated in Mexico, being named after the port of Sisal in Yucatan province, and it was introduced into Senegal at the end of the nineteenth century. The species grown are *Agave rigida sisalana*, *A. rigida elongata*, and *A. rigida zapupe*. The rigid leaves containing the fibre are about 4 feet long and are harvested biennially from the fourth to the eighth or tenth year. When a plant has finished producing it shoots up a tall flower stem, with bulbils or buds on the end, and then withers.

283 The preparation of stem and leaf fibres is lengthy. First the fleshy
288 tissue encasing the fibre is scraped away, and then the fibre is washed, hung out to dry, and brushed. It is now ready for grading. Next it is combed into a continuous sliver of untwisted rope. The final process is the drawing and twisting of the sliver to a uniform thinness for spinning into a rope that is particularly resistant to sea-water. The
248 largest plantation is in French Sudan, and stretches for 12 miles along the bank of the Senegal near Kayes. Other smaller ones are in Tambacounda and on the Cape Verde peninsula. There is oppor-

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

tunity for much development in this industry, particularly in the 248
irrigated areas of the Casamance Territory and Sine-Saloum. Europeans own the majority of the plantations, but co-operate with and [433]
encourage native growers. During the first quarter of 1939 production in Tambacounda province was 152 tons, and the factory at [288]
Kolda treated 165 tons of fibre.

Ginger. The ginger plant (*Zingiber officinale*) is of Asiatic origin, 244
but it has been cultivated in Africa for many centuries. It is grown on a small scale wherever the rainfall is over 30 inches. It does best in a rich soil and requires shade. The ginger of commerce is prepared from the rhizome or underground stem, which is mature when the leaves turn yellow. The best ginger is prepared from immature [251]
rhizomes, which are peeled and preserved in sugar syrup, but in West Africa the coarser, mature stems are also used. Chewed ginger [876]
is reputed to enhance the stimulating effect of kola.

Pimentos. Several species of *Capsicum* or peppers grow in the Federation. In Senegal the most common are *C. annum* and *C. frutescens*, both bearing red fruits. The former was introduced from South America. It is less pungent and has larger fruits, known as 'capsicums'. *C. frutescens* has hotter fruits, known in commerce as 'chillies'. Cayenne or paprika is the red powder obtained from grounding the fruit. Pepper shrubs are grown from seeds, and after three months bear fruit for at least six months. These red peppers should not be confused with the common pepper, which is a climber and does not grow in West Africa.

Henna. This plant (*Lawsonia inermis*), like sugar-cane, maize, 249
ginger, and castor oil, is grown wherever there is enough water. The plant is much revered by Moslems and often grown as a hedge. The powder of the young, dried leaves is the source of henna dye.

Other Crops. Other products of which small quantities are exported 439
are citrus fruits, gum arabic, shea butter, cotton, kapok, and palm 241
kernels.

Livestock

Livestock are fewer here than in any other colony. Sheep and 231
goats, the latter being the more numerous, are kept near the river between Podor and Bakel and number about 100,000. There are some 310,000 cattle, 50,000 donkeys, 6,000 camels, and 14,000 pigs. These last are mainly kept in the Casamance Territory. There are 36,000 horses. These are of two breeds, the M'Bayar and the M'Par, and

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Mali MS 35

S 231

the former provide mounts for the tirailleurs. Apiculture has increased in recent years, and in 1939 over 59,000 beehives were installed in the provinces of Bakel, Baol, Kolda, and Sine-Saloum.

S 654

Experimental Stations

There are agricultural experimental stations at Bambey, Dagana, Kolda, Louga, and Tambacounda, nurseries and botanical gardens at Hann, Richard Toll, and Sor, a livestock experimental station at Makhana (11 miles north-east of St. Louis), and farm schools at Diorbivol and Soringho (near Matam). The stations at Bambey and Louga specialize in ground-nuts, those at Kolda and Tambacounda in sisal, and that at Dagana in gum and Borassus palms (Fig. 8).

13. COMMERCE AND FINANCE

Commerce

S M 439

Official statistics combine Senegal and French Sudan under one head for detailed figures, and, in addition, the general summary of *Commerce Spécial* combines them with Mauritania. These three colonies account for more than 50 per cent. of the total trade of the Federation, and of this percentage Senegal undoubtedly provides a very large proportion.

The Balance of Trade. The value of the imports commonly exceeds that of the exports, but in 1938, the last year for which statistics are available, imports were valued at 1,016,837,000 francs and exports at 1,725,649,000 francs.

Firms. The principal firms are Chavenel et Fils, the Commerce Africain, the Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale, Dèves et Chaumet, Maurel et Prom, the Nouvelle Société Commerciale Africaine, Charles Peyrissac et Cie., the Société Commerciale de l'Ouest Africain, Soucail et Cie., and Vézia et Cie.

Exports. The principal item of export is the ground-nut. The first export of ground-nuts was made from Rufisque to Rouen in 1840, and since 1844 there have been regular shipments to Marseilles. In 1936, 393,485 tons of ground-nuts in shell (28,452 tons from French Sudan) and 60,448 tons of shelled ground-nuts (4,429 tons from French Sudan) were exported, respectively worth 351,674,905 francs and 73,384,546 francs. In 1937 both quantities rose, the nuts in shell to 517,322 tons worth 431,746,036 francs and the shelled nuts to

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37
Mali MS 35

S M 439

117,015 tons worth 126,720,675 francs. The next most valuable export is gold, of which 2,794 lb. Troy were exported in 1937. This was valued at 31,283,505 francs, but the value of the franc itself in that year was beginning to decline. Exports of ground-nut oil increased sharply from 351 tons in 1935 to 5,220 tons in 1937, and those of oilcake from 3,793 tons to 13,015 tons in the same years. Other important exports included gum arabic, sisal, and shea butter and oil.

Imports. The chief import is cotton cloth. Guinées are officially measured in thousand-metre lengths and other cloths in tons. In 1937, 9,662,000 metres (10,566,370 yards) of guinées, valued at 32,197,354 francs, were imported, and 6,825 tons of other cloths, valued at 250,516,890 francs. These amounts represent almost one-third of the total value of all imports for that year, namely 944,766,000 francs. The second most valuable import is oil fuel, and in 1937, 670,344 tons were imported to the value of 133,179,986 francs. Next in value comes rice, of which 115,875 tons worth 110,839,933 francs were imported in 1937. No figures are published for the weight, but machines, machinery, and other metal goods to the value of 93,077,917 francs were imported in the same year. Other imports include wine, coal, sugar, and ready-made clothing; in short, all the products of mine, factory, and farm which French West Africa needs but cannot supply.

Further details of both imports and exports are given in Appendix A.

FINANCE

S 652

Senegal

The budget for 1938 balanced at 120,737,000 francs (£734,583). The details were published as follows:

Revenue

	Francs
I. Ordinary Revenue	
Direct taxes	48,416,000
Customs and excise	35,883,000
Posts, telegraphs, &c.	11,495,000
Grants and subsidies	19,033,000
Receipts from previous financial year	1,200,000
II. Extraordinary Revenue	
Previous withdrawals from the Reserve Bank	4,710,000
TOTAL	120,737,000

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

652

Expenditure

	Essential expenditure Francs	*Optional expenditure Francs*
I. Ordinary Expenditure		
Debt charges	657,000	..
Salaries of administrative staffs	23,403,000	..
Other administrative expenses	3,861,550	1,994,450
Posts, telegraphs, &c. (salaries and wages)	13,239,200	1,234,800
Posts, telegraphs, &c. (plant and materials)	2,246,800	6,431,200
Public works	141,850	12,485,150
Social and economic departments (salaries)	12,967,200	50,800
Social and economic departments (other expenditure)	2,520,730	9,083,270
Sundry disbursements	24,642,013	1,189,987
Secret funds	10,000	..
Unforeseen expenses	1,000	167,000
TOTALS	83,690,343	32,636,657
II. Extraordinary Expenditure		
Previous payments to the Reserve Bank		4,710,000
TOTAL		120,737,000

Two features emerge from an examination of these figures. One is the customary large proportion of the expenditure paid out in salaries, and the other is the division of the expenditure into 'essential' and 'optional' categories. It will also be observed that only a small percentage of the salaries is found in the latter column.

The District of Dakar

633
652

The budget for 1938 balanced at 60,033,000 francs (£386,301). Its form of presentation was the same as for the ordinary colonies, except that there was no Extraordinary Revenue or Expenditure, and its details were as follows:

Revenue

	Francs
Customs and excise	5,306,000
Posts, telegraphs, &c.	5,428,600
Grants and subsidies	49,189,400
Receipts from previous financial year	49,000
TOTAL	60,033,000

Expenditure

	Francs
Debt charges	10,000
Administration of the District (salaries)	508,000
Administration of the District (other expenses)	155,500

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

652
633

	Francs
Federal administration (salaries)	10,206,400
Federal administration (other expenses)	1,656,000
Financial department (salaries)	1,447,000
Financial department (other expenses)	370,000
Posts, telegraphs, &c. (salaries and wages)	6,631,000
Posts, telegraphs, &c. (plant and materials)	3,492,000
Public works	6,782,000
Social and economic departments (salaries)	8,868,000
Social and economic departments (other expenditure)	10,850,000
Sundry disbursements	2,726,000
Secret funds	12,600
Unforeseen expenses	35,000
Water department (salaries)	748,000
Water department (other expenditure)	5,545,500
TOTAL	60,033,000

In 1937, however, Extraordinary Expenditure amounted to 8,445,000 francs (£67,875).

The budget for the Port of Dakar has already been given on p. 447.

14. COMMUNICATIONS

WATERWAYS

133
361

THE navigable rivers and estuaries of the colony have been fully described in Volume I, pp. 366–7. The principal distances from St. Louis up the Senegal river are as follows:

	Miles
St. Louis	0
Rosso	82
Dagana	116
Podor	177
Boghé (Mauritania)	247
Kaédi (Mauritania)	341
Matam	400
Bakel	519
Ambidedi (French Sudan)	574
Kayes (French Sudan)	603

RAILWAYS

496

There are 648 miles (1,043 km.) of railway in the colony, all of metre gauge. For purposes of description six lines may be distinguished.

1. Dakar–St. Louis (163 miles).
2. Louga–Linguéré (81 miles).

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Mali MS35

S 496

3. Thiès–Kidira (352½ miles).
4. Diourbel–Touba (31 miles).
5. Guinguiné–Kaolack (14 miles).
6. Kaolack–Lyndiane (6½ miles).

S M 499 175

History

The first plan for a railway was made by Pinet-Laprade in 1857. It was to connect the head of navigation on the Senegal with a suitable point on the Niger, and in 1863 Mage prospected the country between Medine and Bamako. During the next fifteen years or so various other schemes were proposed. All of them were chiefly concerned with the military conquest of Cayor, of the middle Niger basin, and of the lands between Timbuktu and Algeria. Many of them envisaged a trans-Saharan line, and there seems to have been little thought of economic development.

On 5 February 1880 a Bill was introduced into the French Chamber of Deputies to authorize a line from Dakar to St. Louis with a branch to Medine and the middle Niger. It was considerably amended before being passed, the chief alteration being the excision of the section from St. Louis to Medine.

S 499 175

Surveys of the two other sections were made, and on 21 June 1882 a contract was signed with the Société de Construction des Batignolles to build a line from Dakar to St. Louis. This company remained the owner of the line until it was bought out by the Government in 1933. European labour was largely employed in construction, and this meant that work had to be suspended from July to November each year. In spite of this and other difficulties, the line was opened on 6 July 1885. This was the first railway in West Africa.

It soon became apparent that faulty methods had been used. The wooden sleepers were eaten by termites and the track had been very poorly ballasted. These defects, however, were eventually remedied.

S [433]

The railway achieved its military purpose, but its economic results were of equal value. In particular, it stimulated the production of ground-nuts by providing means for their export. This had important effects on the development of Dakar and of Rufisque.

S M 499 175 [505]

Meanwhile a little progress had been made on the section linking the Senegal with the Niger. In contradistinction to the Dakar-St. Louis line, the work was done by the Government. It had an inauspicious beginning. Medine is 625 miles by river from St. Louis and can only be reached by barge in August and September. Material brought from the port was seldom taken farther than Kayes, and goods

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Mali MS 35

S M 499 175 [505] [164]

were dumped there and at places even farther downstream. These had to be transported upstream in barges drawn by men. Diseases, especially yellow fever, caused many deaths, and there were endless difficulties with workmen, both European and native. Furthermore, the country was not fully known and only half pacified. Work began at Medine in the middle of 1881, but the military post at Kita was less than six months old, and that at Bamako was not set up until 1883. By the end of 1881 precisely one kilometre of the line had been completed. In the following year the ships started from St. Louis too late and could not even reach Kayes. There were several epidemics of typhoid and several fires in the store dumps.

S M [164]

M 499 175

By 1884 there were 34 miles of track, but it was so badly constructed as to be incapable of supporting the weight of a locomotive. There was no ballast, poor local wood was used for sleepers, curves were too sharp, and gradients were too severe. In 1888 the work was handed over to the French Marines, who made some improvements in the existing track and extended it to Mahina, a distance of 66 miles. It was still unusable. In the following year a Commission was appointed, and made various recommendations, some of which showed that the original purpose of the line had become obscured. By 1891 there were 79 miles of metre-gauge track from Kayes to Mahina, a ferry across the Bafing, 24 miles of 60 cm.-gauge track from there to Diouléba, and 3 miles of 50 cm.-gauge track beyond that place. In the same year another Commission was appointed, and in the following year a party of engineers was sent out under the command of Major Joffre. Substantial improvements were rapidly effected, and in 1893 the first train ran from Kayes to Mahina. In 1896 the Bafing was bridged. In May 1904 the line, metre-gauge all the way, reached the Niger at Bamako and on 10 December that year it reached Koulikoro. It has since been considerably improved.

M [491]

M [491]

S M 499 175

In the summer of 1902 the Senegal failed to rise. This prevented any effective provisioning of the posts in French Sudan and also gave a stimulus to railway construction. The original plan for a line from St. Louis to Kayes was dropped, and Thiès was chosen as the junction. The new railway was intended not only to provide a link between existing lines but also to find and attract local traffic. Various routes were discussed, and in 1907 construction began from both ends. The section from Kayes to Ambidedi (26 miles) was opened in December 1908 and that from Thiès to Diourbel (50½ miles) on 16 July 1909. Work on the latter began again in February 1910 and the line reached Guinguinéo in the December of that year. By the middle of 1913 it

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

496
133

123. *Railway bridge across the Falémé at Kidira*

498
496

124. *Diourbel: the railway station*

[facing p 464]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Mali MS 35

S M 499 175

was at Koussanar, and when war came in 1914 it had reached a place called Cotiari Naoudé, 258 miles from Thiès. In 1920 a force of 8,000 labourers was recruited, and the line was completed on 5 August 1923.

S 499 175 [433]

Branch Lines. Work on the branch from Guinguiné to Kaolack began on 6 June 1911, and the line was officially opened on 1 January 1912. This railway, of course, has transformed Kaolack and has been the prime factor in its growth to its present importance. The private line from Kaolack to Lyndiane was built by the firm of Charles Peyrissac et Cie in 1925.

The line from Diourbel was originally planned to go to Tal-Tal and Thiel. Construction began on 1 December 1929, and the line reached Touba on 1 March 1931. Financial difficulties postponed further extension, and nothing more has been done up to the present. This branch has proved valuable to local producers of ground-nuts and has been more successful than its contemporary to Linguéré.

This latter was begun from Louga early in 1929 and reached Coki (18½ miles) on 1 October that year. Railhead was at Dahra on 1 October 1930 and the whole line was finished on 1 October 1931. Results have not been quite as good as had been hoped.

S M 496

Permanent Way, Locomotives, and Rolling-stock

Rails and Sleepers. The section from Dakar to St. Louis has rails weighing 30 kg. per metre (61 lb. per yard) bought second-hand from the Nord Railway of France in 1929, and that from Thiès to Kayes has rails weighing 25 kg. and 26 kg. per metre (50½ lb. and 52½ lb. per yard). The track from Kayes to Koulikoro was originally laid with rails weighing 20 kg. per metre (40 lb. per yard) and was notorious for its numerous rail breakages; but it is now in process of being relaid on a new alinement with rails weighing 30 kg. per metre (61 lb. per yard). The Louga–Linguéré branch was given the old rails from the Dakar–St. Louis line. These weigh 20 kg. per metre (40 lb. per yard).

S 496

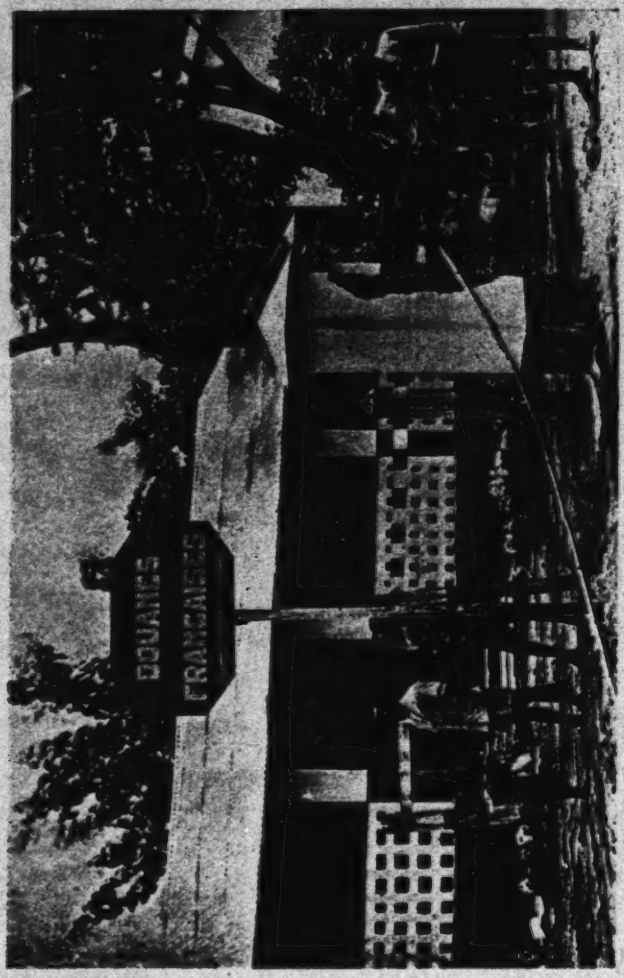
Sleepers are of steel.

Gradients and Curvature. These vary considerably, but there are no gradients steeper than 1: 30, and the minimum radius of curves is 197 yards. It is intended ultimately to reduce these figures to 1: 71 and 219 yards respectively.

Bridges. The principal bridges are noted in the itineraries below. Minor bridges are of steel and concrete, and in many cases old rails are used as reinforcing bars. Culverts are numerous.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal
Togo FA 40
Ghana FE 1

G
T
489
G8



125. *Custom-house at the frontier between French Togo and British Togo*

[facing p. 465]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

Locomotives. In 1939 the following locomotives were in service: 493

Makers and type	*Adhesive weight in tons*	*Number*
Mallet articulated	43–50	10
Mikado 2-8-0	30–40	42
Pignet	29	34
Cail	27	24
Cail, Corpet, Weidknecht, Decauville	13–27	75
	Total	185

Since that date 2 Micheline railcars, 3 Als-Thorn diesel electric locomotives, and 2 Beyer-Garratts have been brought into use. The Beyer-Garratts are 4-4-2+2-4-4 articulated with an adhesive weight of 91 tons.

Fuel. Neither coal nor wood is found locally. Before 1940 some 60,000 tons of briquettes were annually imported. At the present time these are hard to obtain, and they are supplemented by whatever wood is available and by briquetted ground-nut shells. 372

Carriages and Wagons. In 1939 there were 254 passenger coaches and 2,105 goods wagons in service. The passenger coaches included restaurant cars and sleeping cars. At the end of 1939, 177 covered goods wagons were delivered from France. 493

State of Repair. There are excellent workshops at Thiès; but the general standard of upkeep, never very high, has greatly deteriorated as a result of stocks of material becoming almost exhausted. 497 498

Traffic

The following table gives figures for 1937 and 1938: 497

	1937	*1938*
Passengers	2,603,341	2,660,497
Passenger miles	118,433,207	120,620,300
Freight in tons	615,043	501,593
Ton miles	120,570,598	107,970,715
Revenue	£876,411	£684,788

The principal items of freight handled were ground-nuts, shea butter, gum arabic, sisal, and fuel. [438]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

Itineraries

Route 1

DAKAR–ST. LOUIS

496
498
133

Distance from Dakar Km.	Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
0	0	..	DAKAR	The main passenger station is by the Bassin Ouest. Immediately north-west are workshops and a goods station. Numerous tracks run along the sides of the basins, and, ½ mile from the station, there is a branch that connects to the quarries, 3 miles to the west.
4	2½	..	..	At 2½ miles a track turns south-east to the goods station by the oil-fuel depot. At first the main line runs north, but it gradually bends east in conformity with the shape of Hann bay. It is close to the sea across the marigot of Hann, but turns a little inland to reach Tiaroye station. This is 1½ miles from its village. The line continues inland, avoiding plantations of palm trees, and follows a somewhat winding course to Rufisque. The station is on the north side of the town, about ½ mile from the sea. The line keeps parallel to the shore as far as the village of Bargny-Gouddou. Here it swings north-east through wooded undulating country to the brushwood Forest of Thiès. This is on the top and face of a scarp, and the railway makes use of a narrow valley to reach
13	8	33	TIAROYE	
20	12½	..	M'BAÔ (halt)	
27	17	33	RUFISQUE	
32	20	..	..	
46	28½	82	SEBIKOTANE	
55	34	66	POUT	

496
133

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

496
133

Distance from Dakar Km.	Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
70	43½	207	THIÈS	the important junction of Thiès, the highest station of this part of the railway. There are sidings and workshops. The line to Koulikoro continues to the east, but that to St. Louis turns north-east, running parallel with and about 20 miles from the coast. It traverses a sandy and inhospitable region, which is, nevertheless, important for ground-nuts. The line runs in long straight stretches and is never far from the road. At Louga there is a junction with the branch that goes south-east to Linguéré. The main line adopts a more winding course across a thinly vegetated area, descending gently. At M'Pal it turns west over sandy country to reach the coastal marshlands at Leybar. The Leybar marsh itself is crossed by a bridge of 4 spans, respectively of 89 feet, 108 feet, 89 feet, and 108 feet. The line terminates at Sor (Fig. 53), where there are three stations: goods, main, and harbour. The last named is on a branch track, which runs on to the principal jetty. There is no railway bridge across the Senegal.
92	57	164	TIVAOUANE	
104	64½	131	PIRÉ-GOUREYE	
120	74½	132	MEKHÉ	
130	81	125	KELLÉ	
142	88	130	N'DANDÉ	
155	96	133	KÉRÉMER	
171	106	131	GOUMBO GUBOUL	
192	119	128	LOUGA	
217	135	66	SAKAL	
230	143	33	M'PAL	
244	151½	16	RAO	
257	159½	..	LEYBAR (halt)	
258	160	..	..	
262	163	7	ST. LOUIS	

[498]

[498]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS37

496
133

Route 2

LOUGA–LINGUÉRÉ

Distance from Louga Km.	Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
0	0	138	LOUGA	The line branches south-east away from the main line from Dakar to St. Louis. It then turns east to maintain a generally eastwards direction. The country varies little in height and is devoid of features of interest. The line is rarely more than a hundred yards from the road. In its last stages it makes use of a ouadi commonly called the Ferlo Valley.
22	13	151	OUARRAC	
30	18½	157	COKI	
43	27	164	TIAMEN	
57	35½	190	N'DIAO	
68	42	180	BOUTÉNOUÉ	
84	52	131	NIANDOUL	
92	57	98	DAHRA	
104	65	138	SOMME	
116	72	118	OUARKHOR	
131	81	33	LINGUÉRÉ	Linguéré itself is a road junction of considerable local importance.

[491]

Route 3

THIÈS–KIDIRA

Distance from Dakar Km.	Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
70	43½	207	THIÈS	Leaving the route for St. Louis, this line bears south-east and then east to descend to Kombole, passing through densely populated areas. From Kombole it runs almost due east-south-east all the way to Diourbel. It crosses a number of minor valleys. At Diourbel is the junction with the branch to Touba. The main line turns sharply south-east through country covered with brushwood and clumps of trees.
85	53	112	THIENABA (halt)	
96	60	36	KOMBOLE	
110	68	52	DANGALMA (halt)	
124	77	66	BAMBEY	
139	86	72	DIABAYE LAGNAR (halt)	
151	94	39	DIOURBEL	
165	102½	81	TOKI (halt)	
178	110½	82	GOSSAS	
197	122	66	GANIER (halt)	

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

496
133

Distance from Dakar Km.	Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
206	128	65	GUINGUINÉ	The branch line from Kaolack leaves Guinguiné in the same direction as the main line approaches it. The latter curves gently to assume an easterly course. The Saloum, now shrunk to a tiny seasonal stream, is crossed by a culvert shortly after Birkelane. As far as Malème, 4 miles beyond Malème-Hodar station, the line is accompanied by the road, but subsequently runs to its north. The railway comes somewhat south of its most direct route, partly to skirt the arid Ferlo region and partly to divert trade from the Gambia. Most of the villages in this section are the result of the railway. After Sinthiou-Malème the line makes use of the upper part of the valley of the Sandougou, and so reaches Tambacounda, the route's southernmost point in Senegal.
231	143½	33	BIRKELANE	
233	145	..	..	
252	156½	39	KAFFRINE	
280	174	131.	MALÈME-HODAR	
310	193	148	MAKA YOP	
333·5	207	98	KOUNGHEUL	
361	224	79	KOUPENTOUN	
389	242	130	MALÈME-NIANI	
413	257	66	KOUSSANAR	
433	269	39	SINTHIOU-MALÈME	
459	285	148	TAMBACOUNDA	
486	302	72	COTIARI NAOUDÉ	Bearing north-eastwards, the line runs across a marshy but fertile plain, and, beyond Bala, across undulating country. Between Couténabé and Sinthiou Fissa it rises to its highest point, the watershed between the Gambia and the Senegal basins. As far as Couténabé the line keeps in close company with the road, but from this point onwards the two are apart, the road running to Nayes and the railway
521	324	164	BALA	
550	342	223	BOUIGHEUL BAMBA	
573	356	180	GOUDIRI	
592	368	230	COUTÉNABÉ	
607	377	331	..	
620	385	213	SINTHIOU FISSA	

[491]

[361]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal M537

496
133

Distance from Dakar Km.	Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
638	396	98	KIDIRA	to Kidira. The latter is on the Falémé, which is the border of French Sudan, and it is 59½ miles from Kayes and 405 miles from Koulikoro.

Route 4

DIOURBEL-TOUBA

Distance from Diourbel Km.	Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
0	0	39	DIOURBEL	Leaving the main line a little over a mile from Diourbel station, this branch line bears north-east. It maintains this general direction throughout its course, having only gentle curves and gradients. The country on either side of the line is extensively cultivated for groundnuts.
16·5	10	34	DOULO	
29	18	102	DALA	
39	24	161	MBAKÉ	
50	31	167	TOUBA	

Route 5

GUINGUINÉ-KAOLACK

Distance from Guinguiné Km.	Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
0	0	65	GUINGUINÉ	Coming out of Guinguiné by the north-west, the line curves very abruptly to run south-west. It is alongside the road all the way. At Kaolack the main station is almost on the bank of the Saloum, but just before it there is a junction with the line to Lyndiane.
22	14	12	KAOLACK	

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Route 6

KAOLACK–LYNDIANE

496
133

Distance from Kaolack *Km.*	*Miles*	*Elevation in feet*	*Stations*	*Itinerary*
0	0	..	KAOLACK	After leaving the main line, this railway runs through its own station. It turns north-west and then west-north-west to follow the road. Five miles from the town it curves south-west to reach the landing-stage at Lyndiane.
10·5	6½	..	LYNDIANE	

ROADS

There are 984 miles (1,584 km.) of intercolonial roads, 66 miles (106 km.) of an Imperial road, and some 2,000 miles (3,300 km.) of colonial roads. The impression that these figures give, however, needs two qualifications. Firstly, there are considerable areas of the colony without roads, and, secondly, many of the roads are by no means up to the standard of their class. 491

Intercolonial

Intercolonial roads exist as follows: Dakar–St. Louis, Thiès–Nayes, Tambacounda–border of French Guinea, and Kaolack–frontier of the Gambia.

Itineraries. The road from Dakar to St. Louis follows much the same route as the railway. It goes along the coast to Rufisque (15 miles) and then turns inland to Thiès (44 miles). Running roughly parallel to the Atlantic coast, it goes through Tivaouane (57 miles) and Louga (121 miles) to M'Pal (144 miles). It then turns towards the sea to reach St. Louis (168 miles). This road is one of the best in the Federation. Between Dakar and Thiès the surface is tarmac and between Thiès and St. Louis it is firm laterite. A lorry takes about 11 hours to cover the whole distance.

The second road also follows the railway, except between Gossas and Kaffrine. Leaving Thiès by the east, it makes a huge curve through Diourbel (64 miles) and Gossas (80 miles) to Kaolack (107 miles). After that it follows a generally easterly direction by way

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

491 of Kaffrine (144 miles) and Koungheul (204 miles) to Tambacounda (295 miles), an important road junction. From there it turns east-north-east to Bala (338 miles) and Nayes (416 miles). The latter is on the Falémé, which forms the boundary with French Sudan, and 55 miles from Kayes. This road is part of the great highway that connects Dakar with Zinder, but its surface varies from indifferent to bad. The section east of Thiès, for example, is sandy with deep ruts; from Kaolack to Kaffrine sand makes the going heavy and slow; and from Tambacounda to Nayes there are numerous marshes. Many stretches east of Kaolack are impracticable in the wet season.

The third road strikes south from Tambacounda, crosses the Gambia river at Diabougou (25 miles), and reaches the border of French Guinea at 108 miles, 180 miles from Labé. The Gambia is crossed by a temporary bridge, which has been built to replace the ferry that was sunk in April 1941. The surface of this road is fair, being metalled with large pieces of laterite.

The road south-west from Kaolack goes to Messira (49 miles), and then turns south to cross the frontier of the Gambia at 57 miles. From this point a road leads to Barra, 10 miles away, from where there is a ferry to Bathurst.

Imperial

The Imperial road leaves St. Louis by its suburb of Sor and goes north-east through Ross (34 miles). The Senegal river, the boundary of Mauritania, is crossed again at Rosso (66 miles), 38 miles south-west of Mederdra. There is a moderately good laterite surface across [133] level sandy country.

Colonial

There is a long road that provides a connexion along the left bank of the Senegal from near St. Louis to Nayes. Fifty-eight miles from the former town it leaves the Imperial road. From that point it goes to Richard Toll (13 miles), Dagana (28 miles), and Podor (77 miles). After that it does not go through any large town for many miles; but at 127 miles there is a turn for Boghé (Mauritania), 4 miles distant, at 182 miles a turn for Diorbivol, 5 miles distant, and at 186 miles a turn for Kaédi (Mauritania), 16 miles distant. The road then proceeds to Matam (235 miles), an important route centre, and Bakel (328 miles), crosses the railway at Kidira (360 miles), and joins the intercolonial road at Nayes (365 miles). Almost the whole length of this road is liable to flooding.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

491

Two other roads start from Matam. One goes south-westwards to Nelbi (56 miles) and then follows the Ferlo valley westwards to Yoroforé (98 miles), Kagnar (130 miles), and Linguéré (158 miles). It then continues westwards to Ouarkhor (166 miles), Dahra (183 miles), Coki (224 miles), and Louga (242 miles). Although ranked as a colonial road, this is in reality a desert track, much of it being across rough and waterless country. The other road from Matam is little better. It goes southwards through Malandou (31 miles) and Toubel Bali (88 miles) to Tambacounda (155 miles).

Another road that is very poor for its class begins at Dagana and goes southward across the semi-desert to Yang-Yang (68 miles), crosses the Matam-Louga road at Dahra (89 miles), and then goes through Sagata (98 miles) to the railway terminus at Touba (130 miles). From there the road has a rather better surface to Mbaké (138 miles) and Diourbel (162 miles).

The south-east of the colony is served by a road that runs from Tambacounda to Nieriko (42 miles) on the Gambia and then by way of Dialakoto (48 miles) and Badon (128 miles) to Kédougou (160 miles). From Badon a branch runs south-east for 86 miles to Satadougou, which is just over the border of French Sudan.

In the Casamance Territory there is a road from Ziguinchor through Bignona (16 miles), Sedhiou (74 miles), Kolda (136 miles), and Velingara (205 miles) to meet the intercolonial road at Diabougou (245 miles). A branch runs from Velingara to Médina Pakan (32 miles). Another road traverses districts on the left bank of the Casamance from Ziguinchor to Yatakounda (48 miles) and Kolda (130 miles). From Bignona a road runs north-west to Diouloulou (35 miles), crosses the frontier of the Gambia at 46 miles, and provides a connexion with Bathurst, 47 miles farther to the north. This last road is of fairly modern construction and has a tolerable surface, but the others are poor.

494

Bus Services

Table VI shows the bus services in 1939.

TABLE VI. *Bus Services*

Route	*Service*
Bambey–Fatik–Foundiougne–Kaolack	Bambey–Foundiougne: daily; Foundiougne–Kaolack: daily 15 November to 30 April, fortnightly 1 May to 14 November. Service in conjunction with the railway.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

494

Route	*Service*
Thiès-M'Bour-Joal	Thiès-M'Bour: twice each weekday; M'Bour-Joal: 4 days a week 1 November to 30 June only.
St. Louis-Dagana-Matam-Kidira	Twice a week 1 December to 30 June. Journey time: 30 hours.
Ziguinchor-Sedhiou-Kolda	Dry season: daily. Wet season: as practicable and as required. Journey time: 7½ hours. Occasional extensions to Tambacounda.

SIGNALS

Cables

206 Dakar is connected by cable to Conakry, Fernando Noronha (Brazil), Casablanca, and Brest. In 1939 to send a message to France cost 11·70 francs (1*s.* 4*d.*) a word.

Telegraphs and Telephones

Telegraph lines run alongside the railways and the following roads:

St. Louis-Dagana-Matam-Bakel-Kidira.
Thiès-M'Bour-Joal-Fatik-Bambey.
Tambacounda-Diabougou-Médina Pakan-border of French Guinea.
Diabougou-Kolda-Sedhiou-Bignona-Ziguinchor.
Bignona-Bathurst (the Gambia).

There are also connexions across the Senegal into Mauritania.

The colony has more miles of telephone line than all the others combined. Lines are laid alongside the following roads: Dakar-Thiès-St. Louis; Thiès-Diourbel-Kaolack; Rufisque-M'Bour-Joal-Fatik-Kaolack; and Ziguinchor-Bignona-Sedhiou-Kolda. The standard of efficiency is low.

Wireless

207 There are stations at Dakar, Kaolack, Ross, St. Louis, Tambacounda, and Ziguinchor, of which Dakar is the only one to do any broadcasting. Details are given in Table VII. In 1939 radio-telegrams to France cost 9·75 francs (1*s.* 1*d.*) a word.

[206]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

206
207
507

TABLE VII. *Wireless Stations*

Station	*Approx. position*	*Wave-length: long, medium, or short*	*Power in kilowatts*	*Owner and remarks*
Dakar . . .	14° 42′ N. 17° 25′ W.	9 short	Unknown	Naval station. Services with Casablanca, Fort de France, and Toulon; also with flying-boats.
Dakar . . .	14° 40′ N. 17° 27′ W.	3 medium 22 short	20·0 5·0 1·0 0·5 0·2 and unknown	Coast, commercial, and broadcasting stations with service to France, French colonies, and the interior. Broadcasting at 0·35 kW. midday and in the evening, except for one station at 0·2 kW. Meteorological bulletins.
Dakar Aéradio and Aérogonio . .	14° 42′ N. 17° 28′ W.	4 medium 5 short	2·0 0·6	Aeronautical and direction-finding station.
Kaolack . . .	14° 07′ N. 16° 07′ W.	3 short	0·1	Commercial station. Interior service.
Kaolack Aéradio .	14° 07′ N. 16° 07′ W.	2 medium 4 short	0·1	Aeronautical station.
Ross . . .	16° 14′ N. 15° 49′ W.	2 short	0·01 0·01	Commercial station. Interior service.
St. Louis. . .	16° 00′ N. 16° 31′ W.	5 short	0·25 0·05 0·02 and unknown	Commercial and military station. Interior service.
St. Louis Aéradio .	16° 00′ N. 16° 31′ W.	2 medium 5 short	1·0 0·5 and unknown	Aeronautical and direction-finding station.
Tambacounda . .	13° 46′ N. 13° 41′ W.	3 short	0·2 0·08	Commercial station. Interior service.
Tambacounda Aéradio . .	13° 46′ N. 13° 41′ W.	2 medium 4 short	0·1	Aeronautical station.
Ziguinchor . .	12° 32′ N. 16° 21′ W.	3 short	0·02	Commercial station. Interior service.
Ziguinchor Aéradio .	12° 32′ N. 16° 21′ W.	1 medium 3 short	0·1	Aeronautical station.

S M 439

92: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS35 Mali

APPENDIX A

Senegal and French Sudan: Principal Imports and Exports

	Unit	1935 Quantity	1935 Value in francs	1936 Quantity	1936 Value in francs	1937 Quantity	1937 Value in francs
Exports							
Ground-nuts in shell	tons	345,875	313,432,794	393,485	321,674,005	517,322	431,746,036
Shelled ground-nuts	"	28,166	34,333,653	60,448	73,384,546	117,015	126,720,675
Ground-nut oil	"	351	861,751	2,040	5,800,397	3,220	16,040,707
Shea butter and oil	"	2,581	3,626,922	1,462	2,228,042	3,019	5,582,371
Gums	"	3,793	1,312,226	7,230	2,947,197	13,015	6,004,838
Gold	lb. Troy	2,095	8,901,740	1,352	5,805,527	2,704	31,283,595
Gum arabic	tons	4,728	7,136,202	4,891	7,450,869	6,246	15,047,050
Hides	"	3,324	4,704,078	2,839	3,287,966	3,061	4,665,701
Kapok	"	781	3,122,040	589	2,373,178	643	2,458,800
Imports							
Guinées and similar cloths	1,000 m.[1]	9,445	17,259,397	11,692	22,384,097	9,662	32,197,354
Cotton cloths other than guinées	tons	4,635	89,364,648	5,841	124,034,528	6,825	250,516,800
Ready-made clothing	"	212	4,164,653	344	7,089,014	483	21,823,704
Boots and shoes[2]	pairs	78,801	7,364,540	266,787	7,000,120	388,455	19,385,313
Sackcloth, tarpaulin, and rubberoid	tons	2,287	7,988,696	3,067	10,211,697	5,496	27,423,905
Motor vehicles	Nos.	690	8,690,069	856	13,213,870	1,019	19,485,856
Iron goods[3]	tons	4,720	4,468,010	7,371	7,378,240	12,270	16,005,841
Metal goods	"	..	23,529,206	..	38,210,388	..	69,810,487
Machines and machinery	"	..	13,924,073	..	12,827,632	..	23,267,430
Rice	tons	67,076	37,381,225	88,811	49,055,535	115,875	110,830,933
Wine	gallons	1,201,373	16,457,225	1,405,096	16,084,060	1,322,944	21,185,095
Sugar	tons	13,354	16,960,069	16,721	19,877,937	19,504	31,472,641
Wheat flour	"	13,018	9,031,300	12,281	9,395,140	14,873	21,402,576
Tea	"	395	4,590,689	656	7,338,370	534	6,777,110
Oil fuel	"	390,041	53,326,699	474,199	59,813,204	670,744	133,170,986
Coal	"	105,868	13,996,164	206,600	32,327,343	371,085	47,330,724
Soap	"	1,419	3,146,582	1,639	3,800,480	2,067	6,811,761

[1] 1,094 yards. [2] Mainly babouches (Moorish heel-less slippers). [3] Including rails for railway lines.

[SP 417 - 596 not processed]

Senegal MS37

175, 648, 726

[For a discussion of the French relations with the damels of Cayor, a Wolof state, between 1859 and 1864 when this kingdom became part of the colony of Senegal (especially the military operations) see 34:Faidherbe, MS30 Wolof, category 116.]

23: Aujas G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal

000

The Region of Sine-Saloum
The Port of Kaolack
/La Région du Sine-Saloum
Le Port de Kaolack/

by L. Aujas

Paris, 1929

Bulletin du Comité d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques
de l'Afrique Occidentale Française
Vol. 12, pp. 92-132

Translated from the French for the HRAF in connection
with the HRAF Field Project

Human Relations Area Files
1964

/Title page/

/92/

I. General Information

131 634 a) Geographical survey. The circle /cercle, an administrative district/ of Sine-Saloum is a vast region of 26,000 square kilometers in area. It is one of the most important parts of the colony of Senegal. It is a heavily populated region. Finally, it has an economic value greater than that of the other territories which, together with it, constitute the Government of Senegal in French West Africa.

Bounded on the west by the Atlantic Ocean, it touches on the upper basin of the Gambia to the east and therefore on the very borders of the western Sudan, from which it is separated only by the circle of Tambacounda.

To the north, it reaches the desert of the Ferlo and the Djoloff region.

Along the entire southern part, its frontier runs along the territory of the British colony of Gambia, following precisely the parallel 13° 35' 36", conforming to the delimitation of the International Commission of 1891.

Such are its geographic limits.

133 A great navigable route crosses it from east to west, ending at the ocean; this is the Saloum River, which today is no more than a long maritime channel, narrow in its upper part, which the mud ruins by obstructing it, and ending in a vast estuary with a thousand /93/ ramifications, bordered by banks of sand and providing passage for ocean-going vessels at the place called Pointe de Sangomar, where there is a very narrow and not very deep passage. At low tide, in fact, the depths there are only three and a half to four meters. Under the influence of the trade winds and the tide race, the bar is subject to displacements which the hydrographic [502] service rectifies by a series of buoys which is continued even [361] beyond the estuary and up to Kaolack, a port about 100 kilometers from the coast.

[505] In this sea arm of the Saloum, the tide makes its effects felt almost to Birkelane, 130 kilometers from the ocean. The

/93 cont./

133 channel, however, is accessible to ocean-going vessels of
505 4,000 to 6,000 tons (1) only as far as Kaolack, whose im-

1. This is about the tonnage of the vessels of the Compagnie Paquet, of the House of Manrel and Prom, and of the foreign vessels which visit the port of Kaolack.

[439]

portance with respect to navigation we shall discuss below.

The Saloum extends into the interior of the land a series of arms which are so many channels or "marigots" /watercourses/ open to cutters and to the native dugouts.

One of the most important is the Sine, which starts at Foundiougne and runs, after many meanders, to the port of Fatick, coming out from the Sérère /Serer/ region, which, however, only cutters of 40 tons can reach.

Nevertheless, the Sine allows steamers of considerable tonnage to tie up at the wharves of Niamnioroh, a small locality which over the past several years has become the gateway to the regions of Sine and western Baol.

133 The appearance of the part neighboring the ocean up to Bathurst is one of a vast fluvial network encompassing islets of low, clayey or sandy land, bordered by huge mangrove trees; this is the region called Bas-Saloum /Lower Saloum/, a fertile area of the same nature as Basse-Casamance /Lower Casamance/, a region of palm trees and of quite dense forests, where unfortunately the clearing of land has begun its devastating work.

From the orographic viewpoint, the region of Sine-Saloum /94/ is a flat region with very slight undulations of the terrain.

Broad longitudinal valleys in a north-south direction descend from the clayey and semi-desert plateaus of the Ferlo and end at the Gambia.

During the rainy season, these depressions in the vicinity of this river form copious streams which dry up rapidly.

/94 cont./

133 On the right bank of the Saloum, these valleys form a more or less continuous string of ponds during the winter.

One of these valleys bears the name of Bao-Bolon; it is several kilometers wide and is the outlet of the region of Birkelane-Kaffrine. The natives report that 50 years ago [505] cutters from Gambia were able to go up this affluent as far as a passage between Nioro-Rip and Médina, about 20 kilometers to the north upstream from the river.

133 In the lower valley of the Saloum, along the marigots, 134 one finds the "tannes," marshy depressions covered with water during the winter, but where, during the dry season, the mud is covered with a layer of sand, which, with saline efflorescences, hardens to the point of constituting a rather firm soil. Here one finds a composite of lime and salt; this is the "poto-poto," feared by travelers, motorists, and pedestrians, who can very easily be swallowed up by it. Between Sangomar and the Gambia, the marine affluents of the Diomboss and the Bandiala and the marigots of Dionouar, Toubacouta, Sokone, Messira, and Djinnack are disclosed.

The upper valley of the Saloum, oriented from east to west, presents less sandy soil with outcrops of laterite. Some undulations of the terrain are more pronounced toward the west, in the region of Pakalla Mandack and Niani-Ouli, where the ravines are at times very deep. The plain and the bottom of [137] the depressions are wooded or covered with a very flourishing vegetation.

The northern part of the circle, which is traversed by the valley of the Sine, is made up of sandy soil, very propitious for the cultivation of groundnuts. This valley, 133 formerly watered by streams, has been entirely overrun by the /95/ sea. This drying up of the region is moreover characteristic of almost all of Senegal. One sees it there in the diminution of the volume of certain rivers, a diminution that sometimes, as in the Cayor, Ferlo, Baol, Sine, and Saloum, extends to the total disappearance of the water.

Moreover, one notes that, as a result of the evaporation of the waters of the Saloum, the salt content of these waters is greater than that of the ocean.

/95 cont./

134 From the geological viewpoint, the soil of Sine-Saloum is silico-argillaceous, except for the edge of the sea formed by dunes of white sand. Sand predominates in the north. Everywhere else it is mixed with red clay.

135 The subsoil covers ferruginous rock, alluvial laterite, undoubtedly coming from the decomposition of granitic rock; this is the ferruginous fossil layer, following the expression of Henri Hubert, which covers the limestone and marl of the Eocene period.

Numerous outcrops of laterite appear at Kaffrine, Koungheul, in Mandack, and in Rip.

The digging of wells tells us something about the composition of the terrain forming the subsoil in this region. Under a more or less thick layer of sand, one finds laterite, then chalk or soft limestone, and finally hard limestone.

A highly varied and fossilized marine fauna has been discovered in the soft limestone at a depth of about 35, 40, 45 meters.

173 b) Historical survey. The history of the inhabitants consists of more or less confused oral traditions. No account has been handed down in writing. We can therefore only rely on narrations, sometimes contradictory, which the natives hand down orally.

The representatives of the conquering or conquered races have their own versions. It is difficult for the European to tell which part is truth or falsehood. Our penetration into
175 this part of Senegal is /96/ recent. It happened barely 80
438 years ago. At first it was fragmentary; the region was traversed by the merchant or trader at the time of the slave trade; the latter quickly returned to his base from the Petite Côte or from Gorée, the turbulence of the tribes not permitting him to stay in the region or to settle down there. A number of business establishments were founded at the end of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth, but their existence was ephemeral and in any case precarious.
175 The internal struggles between the tribes gave the region little

S /96 cont./
175 security. It took until 1860 to catch sight of a beginning of colonization, an attempt at penetration, supported by arms.

S Two large political groupings and a multitude of petty
SR states, both independent and vassal, divided the region.
175 On the one hand, the kingdom of Sine, peopled by
SR Sérère, was established to the west, on the right bank of the
GBI Saloum, from the ocean to a distance of 20 kilometers from Kaolack.

Neighboring the latter, surrounding Kaolack and extending to the east up to Kaffrine, going north to Kael, and planting its roots to the south of the Saloum River as far as Rip, extended the kingdom of Saloum, peopled by Sérère, Toucouleur /Tukolor/, and Ouoloff /Wolof/.

On the right bank one found the vassal state of N'Doukoumane, subject to the king of Saloum, and the semi-independent state of Koungheul; on the left bank, the now independent, now vassal states of Pakalla and Mandack, Rip, Laghem, and Niombato.

SR Sine and Saloum had a very hierarchical political and
[643] administrative organization. The sovereign authority was held by the "Bour" or king. Powerful and respected, this great chief was surrounded by counselors or ministers with whose help he governed, administered justice, levied taxes, and declared war. It was this organization that we found upon our arrival in the region. It is very old, but the exact time at which it was established cannot be stated.

S It seems certain, however, that the country was originally
SR inhabited by the Sérère, who thus were the first inhabitants. A
173 fetishistic people, they are related /97/, according to their
[144] morphological characteristics, to the Lébou of the peninsula of Cape Verde.

At an undetermined time, the Mandingue /Mandingo/, coming from N'Gabou (Portuguese Guinea), crossed the Gambia, occupied Coular, crossed the Saloum, and overran Sine, capturing M'Bissel, the capital of the Sérère.

Conquered, the latter offered their submission. In con-
SR trast to the other races, they stayed on their ancestral land
[563] without emigrating. The Mandingue invasion did not concern

S /97 cont./
SR the Sérère, a peaceful cultivator. The latter submitted to
173 the yoke calmly and to some extent absorbed the conquerors
SR through marriages which multiplied between the victorious
[563] Guelewar chiefs and the women of the country.

The merging of the races was complete. From the union of the conquering Mandingue chief Maïssa Waldione and a Sérère princess, Ouagana was born. This young warrior dethroned the Sérère Bours and moved the capital from M'Bissel to Diakhao. The Guelewars are thus usurpers. The dethroned Bours, who are still called "Bours Ganieck," never tried to regain their royalty.

A short time later a brother of Ouagana, named Bégana, succeeded in seizing authority in Saloum by stripping of his prerogatives the Bour Saloum, Elibane, of Toucouleur origin, who reigned at Kahone.

At that time, Saloum extended south as far as the Gambia.

S The Mandingue invasion, making an oil stain, de-
173 tached one branch, the Socé, who occupied the southern portion, from Messira to Koungheul.

The Socé a short time later were separated into two sections by the conquering Dabali at the head of the Toucouleur from Fouta-Toro. These invaders occupied Rip and remained there, founding a family with the Socé and the Ouoloff. They
S [771] contributed to the Islamization of the first occupants and were strong enough to shake off the yoke of Saloum. The principality of Rip was very powerful on various occasions.

The Ouoloff race, originally from the north, penetrated /98/ everywhere to some extent, into Saloum, into Sine, and as far as into Rip and Niom-Bato.

The Peuhl /Peul/ or Foulbé /Fulbe/ are not very numerous; they peacefully infiltrated among the other races.

SR We have seen above that the Bour in Sine and Saloum
643 was chosen from the noble caste of the Guelewars. This
[565] royalty was not hereditary. The Bour was selected publicly by
[645] a high personage, the Grand Diaraff, a kind of prime minister
000 taken from the free caste of the Diambours. Next to him,

SR /98 cont./
645 there was the Grand Farba, a slave of the crown, who performed the functions of head of the army. There was also the Farba Birkeur, or court minister, and a series of dignitaries for various jobs, up to the court jester or Bissète.

S The first attempts at French colonization in this part of
SR Senegal date back to 1859, the date of the first military ex-
175 pedition into Sine-Saloum. In 1875, we concluded a treaty
648 of alliance and trade with the king of Saloum, but the provisions were never observed by the native chiefs.

Governor Faidherbe explored the country and carried on reconnaissance as far as Kaolack. Following this demonstration he made a new treaty with the Bour Saloum in 1859. This agreement, like the preceding one, remained a dead letter, and it was necessary to organize an expedition in February 1861. Major Pinet-Laprade was given the command.

The marabout, a warrior of the Toucouleur race, Ma Ba, installed at Nioro-Rip, rose up against our arms.

In 1865 his activities forced us to throw a column into Rip.

Defeated by us, he nevertheless held us in check until 1867, when he was killed in the battle of Somb.

His brother, Mamour Dary, was only able to resist us weakly. Upon his death, Saër Maty resumed hostilities, seizing Kahone, the capital of Saloum.

His power becoming troublesome, an expedition /99/ was deemed necessary. It took place in April 1887, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Coronnat.

Nioro was taken, and on May 14, 1887, a treaty was signed with the chiefs of Saloum, placing Saloum, Niom, and Rip under our protection.

S An administrator was placed at Foundiougne, and a
[634] circle was created.

In 1891, treaties made with the kings of Sine and Saloum secured our authority definitively throughout the country.

The administrative organization was then set up gradually and without difficulties.

/99 cont./

S 162 Population. As we have just seen in this brief historical account, the principal native races occupying the region are: the Sérère, the Socé or Mandingue, the Toucouleur, and the Peuhl.

The population is distributed as follows:

Ouoloff	105,000	inhabitants
Sérère	85,000	"
Mandingue or Socé	50,000	"
Peuhl	10,000	"
Foreigners and miscellaneous	15,000	"
Total	280,000	inhabitants

S [161] In 15 years, the population, which in 1913 numbered 180,000 natives, increased by more than a third. This result is due, not only to the birth rate, but also and above all to the immigrants from neighboring countries (Upper Gambia, Sudan, Guinea, Casamance), who are attracted by the economic development of the region.

S 791 SR [771] Religion. Fetishism is losing ground to the benefit of Islamism. This religion is predominant at present. Only the Sérère still preserves his ancestral customs, but he is attracted to the religion of Islam. Three Moslem sects are represented: the Tidjania, the Kadria, and the Murids.

S [795] Muridism, a new religious sect which has as prophet the venerated marabout, the late Serigne Bamba, has its great mosque at N'Diourbel in Baol.

/100/ The Moslem populations are the Ouoloff, the Toucouleur, and a part of the Socé.

SR [771] The fetishism of the Sérère is a naturistic cult.

SR 105 [611] The customs are derived from the matriarchy. It is a regime of castes. Paternal authority is preserved intact in the family, with, however, respect for the mother and certain prerogatives of the maternal line, notably in the matter of succession. The captive, formerly, was treated gently by his

/100 cont./

SR 105 [643] master. The order of succession to the throne was governed by immutable rules. The Grand Diaraff chose the Bour, while being bound to take him from the princely caste of the Guelwars and from the maternal line. The title of Queen, or Linguère, was borne, not by the wife of the Bour, but by his mother.

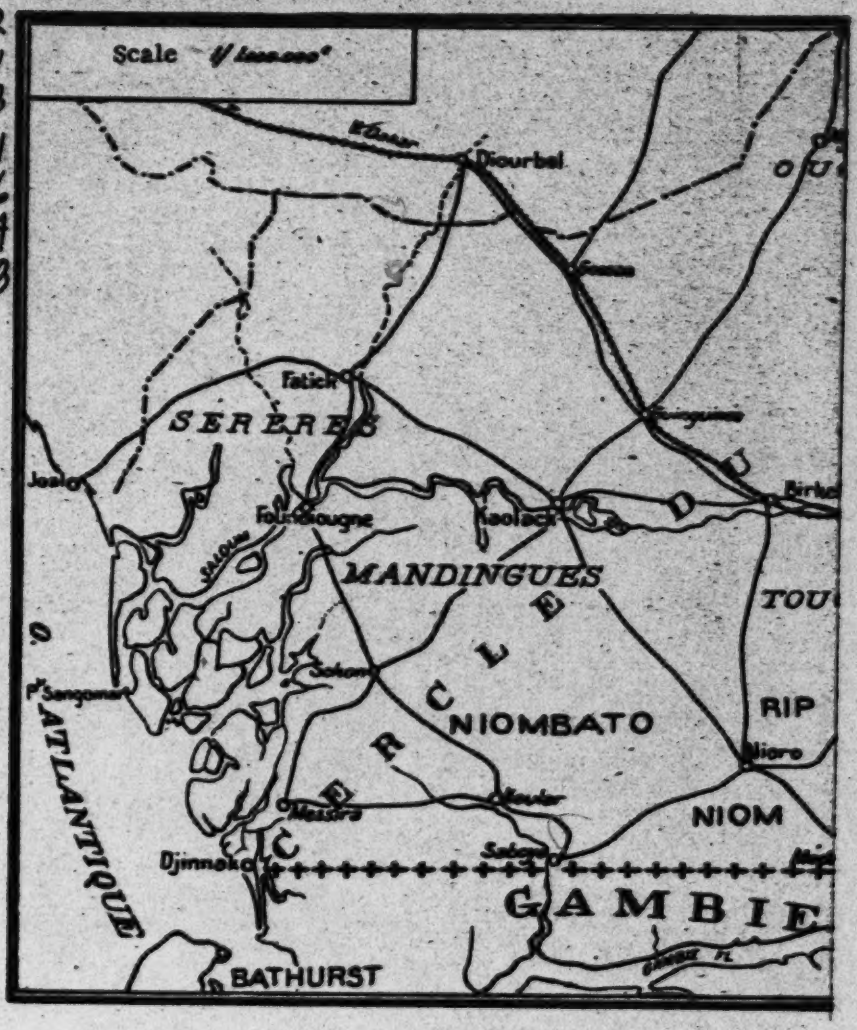
S 132 Climate. Soil. The climate of Sine-Saloum is very hot and dry. It is painful for the European. The thermometer never drops below 12° centigrade at night. During the day it sometimes climbs up to 45° and even 48°. The thermic average is from 28° to 30°. Two seasons sharply contrast: the dry season, which lasts from November to June and during which the east wind, searing and drying, blows; the rainy season or winter, which runs from June to November, an unhealthy period when swamp fever prevails. The atmospheric precipitation is plentiful. It drops on the average one to 1.20 meters of water. This is very little compared to the figures for Lower Guinea (four to five meters); it is less than in Casamance where the annual rainfall is two meters. But the rate of rainfall here is higher than in all the rest of Senegal. At Dakar and Saint-Louis, for example, from 0.45 to 0.55 meters of water falls.

S 133 312 [134] The soil is generally permeable. In certain places drinking water is reached at a shallow depth. By contrast, in other places it is necessary to dig very deep wells. At Fatick, the surface layer of fresh water is at two and a half or three meters. At Kaolack, it is necessary to go more than ten meters, although in some years water has been found at six meters. At Gossas, a deprived area, it has been necessary to dig as far as 90 meters; at Guinguinéo, /map appears here/ /101/ wells are 60 meters deep. It is fitting to mention, as a curious fact, the presence of fresh water on the edge of the marigots of salt water. For example, at Dangana (Sine), the well of the encampment, which is dug one meter from the edge of the river bank and to a depth of 1.5 meters, contains potable water which the inhabitants use.

S 134 The soil is not very rich in humus. It is sandy in the north and silico-argillaceous in the other areas, but very nearly

/Between 100 and 101/

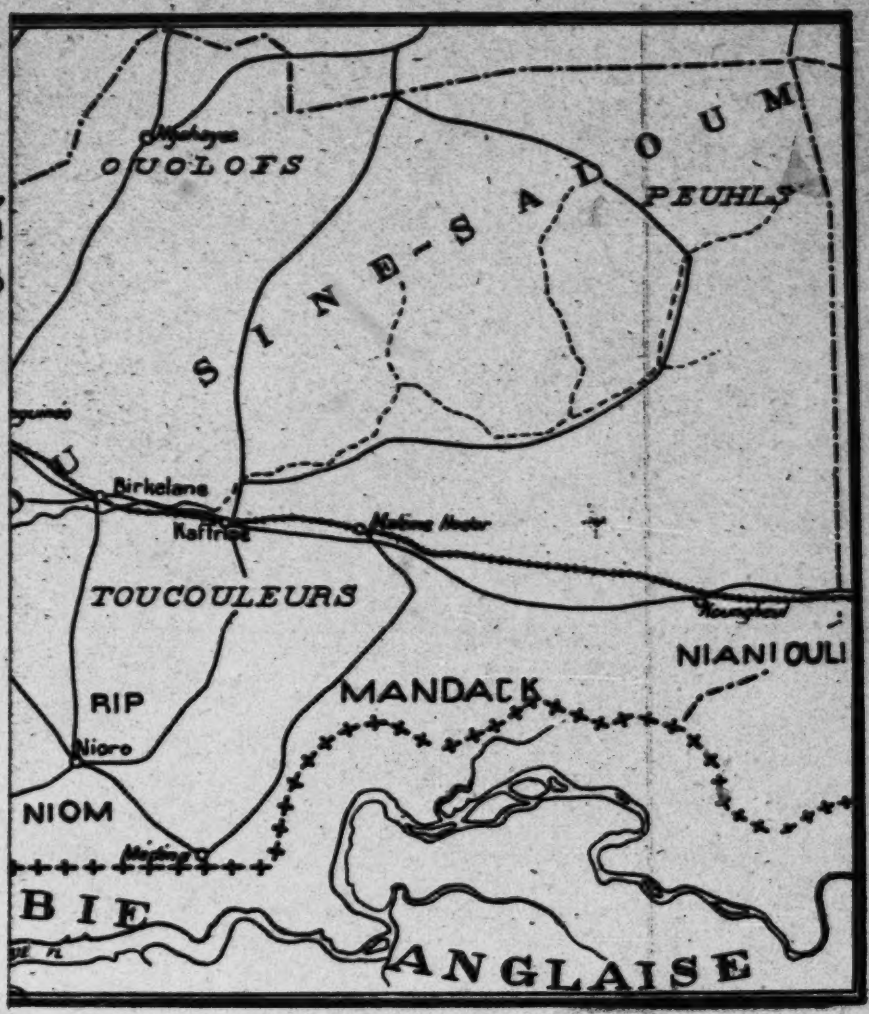
102
131
133
491
496
634
563



Circle of Sine Saloum

/left side of map/

102
131
133
491
496
634
563



Circle of Sine Saloum

/right side of map/

/101 cont./

134 everywhere the terrain is suitable for the cultivation of groundnuts, except in Bas-Saloum.

137 A very dense, thorny, and shrubby vegetation grows in the sandy soil. This is the region of the cades (Acacia albida). In the silico-argillaceous lands of the south and east, the vegetation is more vigorous; one still finds there at the present time interesting forest stocks, vestiges of the great forests of former times. These groves are on the way to disappearing as a result of the abuses of clearing and of the unfortunately too frequent fires. The forests of Patako, between Messira and Coular, and of Dasilamé, between Nioro and Médina, which contain many hardwoods, Gambian mahogany, vène, and hire, are to be protected.

II. Administrative Organization

634 Territorial divisions. The two large native commands of Sine and Saloum have been eliminated, and the title of Bour, which was only honorific in nature, has ceased to exist legally.

632 The circle is divided into three major administrative subdivisions:
634

1st. Subdivision of Sine, chief town Fatick;

2nd. Subdivision of Bas-Saloum, with Foundiougne as the chief town;

3rd. Subdivision of Saloum Oriental, chief town Kaolack.

An administrator is at the head of the circle, and each subdivision is commanded by an official of the corps of administrators or of the corps of civil services.

632 Divided among these three subdivisions are 19 cantons or native commands, each /102/ of which is headed by a canton chief.

The subdivision of Saloum Oriental has 11 cantons:

Kaolack-Laghem,
Kahone,
Diokoul-Gandiaye,
Gossas,
Niom-Rip,
Nioro-Rip,

/102 cont./

632 N'Gahaye.
N'Guer.
Pakalla-Mandack
N'Doukoumane (Kaffrine)
Koungheul.

The subdivision of Sine is divided into five cantons:

Diakhao-Maroutte.
Sanghaye-N'Gayokème.
Diohine.
Diouroup.
Dangana.

The subdivision of Bas-Saloum has three cantons:

Djilor.
Sokone.
Niombato.

162 The population is distributed as follows:

Subdivision of Kaolack	141,000	inhabitants
Subdivision of Sine.....	89,000	"
Subdivision of Bas-Saloum...	50,000	"
Total	280,000	

633 Mixed communes. Mixed communes have been created in certain important localities. There are four of them:

Kaolack.
Fatick.
Foundiougne.
Gossas.

633 /103/ The mixed commune of Kaolack has 700 Europeans
162 and assimilated individuals /assimilés/ and 8,000 natives (20 years ago it had 50 Europeans and 600 natives).

That of Fatick has 2,000 natives and 120 Europeans. Those of Foundiougne and Gossas have 50 Europeans and 800 natives each.

633 The importance of Kaolack comes from the fact that it is the principal port of the Saloum, the terminal point of a branch of the major railroad from the Sudan, and the center of a region that is a great producer of groundnuts.

There is a chamber of commerce, a court of the first

/103 cont./

633 instance, a customs office, and a telegraph, telephone, and
[647] post office. The various administrative services are represented there[1] (public works, treasury, medical aid, education, agriculture, veterinary medicine, etc.).

433 Financial situation. Taxes. The circle of Sine-Saloum is constantly increasing in importance because of its size, population, and economic resources.

[496] Because of its exceptional location, the railway from
[491] the Sudan crosses it over a distance of 190 kilometers. Seven
[505] stations mark it out. Its railroad network and its system of highways and canals permit it to drain to Kaolack and
[439] Foundiougne all of the products of the soil. Thus, the total commerce for 1927 (imports and exports combined) amounted
651 to 350 million francs for the circle. The customs duties collected for the benefit of the general budget of French West Africa reached 13 million francs. The taxes from the tax rolls (personal taxes, patents, licenses, etc.) have risen to 25 million francs, whereas they did not exceed the figure of 4,300,000 francs in 1923. The advance is thus remarkable.

Native personal taxes alone in 1927 provided 3,768,355 francs, whereas in 1921 they brought in only 2,791,000 francs.

Taxes on livestock went from 270,000 francs in 1921 to 425,000 francs in 1927.

871 /104/ Education. Instruction is given to the children
[875] by French and native teachers. There is a regional school
[872] with 500 pupils at Kaolack. Primary schools are operating at Fatick, Foundiougne, Sokone, Gossas, Kaffrine, and Nioro. In all, 1,200 children receive instruction; only an elite goes to school. A need for the creation of new centers of education is felt, especially at Birkelane, Koungheul, Gandiaye, Niakhar, and Tatagnine. Nevertheless, although instruction in French is given only in our schools, the natives also receive some rudiments of instruction in the Koranic schools. The latter are quite numerous.

1 [in KAOLACK - ANALYST]

/104 cont./

749 Medical aid. Medical aid and the struggle against epidemics are assured by the dispensaries set up at Kaolack and Fatick, each directed by a European doctor.

[759] The latter have under their orders native doctors and midwives residing in the chief town or distributed at the medical posts.

[652] The commune of Kaolack also has a municipal dispensary under the direction of a European doctor who is paid out of the funds of the communal budget.

744 Urban hygienic services likewise exist in the principal agglomerations of the circle, especially at Kaolack, Fatick, Foundiougne, Gossas, and Kaffrine.

Anti-variolic vaccination is practiced in even the smallest villages.

III. Economic Development

162 Labor force. The population of the circle is 28,000 natives and 1,300 Europeans and assimilated individuals.

161 The population density is thus 10.8 inhabitants per square kilometer, a proportion higher than the average for the whole of French West Africa, which does not amount to three inhabitants per square kilometer.

464 An employment office operates in the circle.

This does not prevent /Pl. 1 appears here/ /105/ serious difficulties in the recruitment of the labor force. The latter is unstable and inexperienced. Wages are not high at all,
465 especially in the cities.

At the time of the loading of the ships in the port of Kaolack, the wages of the workers sometimes climb to 15 and 20 francs per day. They are set on the average at 12 francs.

In some European operations, as at Latmingué, the agricultural workers have a daily wage of eight francs and in addition receive a ration of rice.

23: Aujas--16 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37

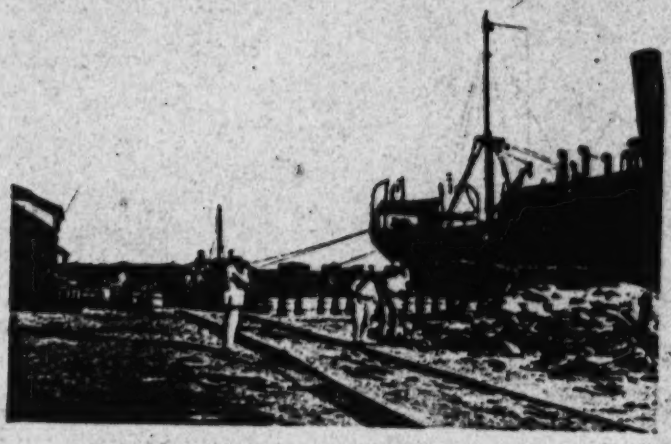
/Between pp. 104 and 105/

Plate I

502

Pilot Station at the Pointe de Sangomar.

504
501



The Port of Kaolack: the quays.

/105 cont./

465 Domestic work is rare and costly. A cook is paid be-
357 tween 200 and 500 francs a month, a houseboy from 100 to 200 francs. These rates are similar to the ones prevailing in Dakar.

463 The native, moreover, is attracted to the cities only
465 by the high wages. Competition does not come into play, as in Europe. There are only rare specialists or artisans. As
[241] for the laborer, most often he prefers to work his field in the countryside or to hire himself out as an agricultural worker for a native employer who will feed him and leave to him a part of the harvest.

In an agricultural region such as Sine-Saloum, the native is primarily a cultivator.

244 Navétanes. Each year at the time of groundnut culti-
166 vation, Sine-Saloum gets many native cultivators coming
167 from the east and south (Sudan, Portuguese Guinea, Casamance, Upper Gambia, and even Guineans from Fouta-Djallon).

These immigrants are called "navétanes," from the word "navet," which means "rainy season," because these foreigners arrive shortly before the first storms and leave as soon as they have sold their harvest.

About 10,000 to 15,000 of them come each year. A
244 local custom called "Lâdyino" governs the relations between the
466 foreigner and his employer.

This is a verbal agreement according to which the em-
[465] ployer assures his co-covenanter food and lodgings for the period of the work and in addition loans him a particular field.

/106/ The navétane works for his employer every morning, except Monday and Thursday. The rest of the time is left to him for his personal crops. The navétane gets seeds from his landlord.

His work consists of the preparation of the field (lougan), sowing, and weeding.

After the harvest has been gathered, the landlord stops feeding him.

At the time of his departure, the navétane must reim-
[465] burse his employer for the cost of his food, which is fixed by

/106 cont./

244 contract, depending on the region, between 100 and 120
466 francs.

[465] The European agricultural concessions should draw inspiration from this custom. In order to retain a labor force, it would be proper to assure the native food and lodgings and leave a small field at his disposal, while at the same time allowing him a day or two a week to work for himself.

This formula is applied in Latmingué by the Société des plantations, which exerts all its efforts on the cultivation of manioc.

433 Economic facilities. The economic facilities of the circle include ports, railroads, highways, inland waterways, and a telegraph, telephone, and postal network.

504 Ports. These are river ports where the tide permits ocean-going steamers, not exceeding a certain tonnage, however, to conduct their operations along the wharves or landings built along the steep banks.

The Saloum has two ports of this type: Kaolack and Foundiougne.

The Sine has one port, Niamnioro.

The Miniminian, an affluent of the Gambia, has one port, Saboya.

On the Saloum, between Foundiougne and Kaolack, two more embarkation points are visited: Kamatane, included in the concession of MM. Civrac frères (left bank), and Lyndiane, included in the concession of the Société des Anciens Etablissements Charles Peyrissac et Cie. (right bank).

On all of the other channels or marigots /107/ embarkation and debarkation points -- with wharves -- accessible only to cutters with a tonnage between 25 to 50 tons have been installed. These cutters make the transit and carry their cargo to the big ports of Kaolack, Foundiougne, and Niamnioroh.

Over the past several years, Kaolack has become an important embarkation and debarkation point. It is also the
[496] natural port of the French Sudan because it has the advantage of being linked to this colony by a branch which connects it

/107 cont./

504 to the Thiès-Niger railroad. The Kayes-Kaolack route saves
[496] about 225 kilometers for the merchandise on the Kayes-Dakar journey, which is appreciable, considering the high cost of the railroad rates.

Exporters, and even importers, therefore have an interest in using the port of Kaolack.

To justify this interest, however, it was necessary: 1st,
[502] to put marker buoys on the Saloum; 2nd, to equip the port.

The buoying was completely redone in 1922; it is examined and repaired each year.

Modern facilities for the port are on the way to being realized.

504 New works at the port of Kaolack. The government of
653 the colony, after having made different studies concerning the arrangements at the port of Kaolack, opened a competition at the beginning of 1927, by means of which it called on the large public-works enterprises to submit proposals for the arrangements on the right bank of the Saloum River for a distance of 350 meters, with the view of enabling ocean-going vessels to load and unload their merchandise directly, without the aid of barges or tenders, and for the construction of a
[491] permanent bridge on the Saloum, about 200 meters long, intended to replace the Noirot bridge, located about two kilometers upstream from the port.

The plans of the Société de constructions Edmond Coignet, of Paris, which were classed No. 1 as being the most adequate for the requirements of commerce and as requiring the least expense, anticipate the following construction and arrangements:

504 A reinforced concrete landing, 350 meters /108/ long and eight meters wide, whose upstream end will be near the Chavanel wharf, and whose downstream end will extend 110 meters toward the present downstream landing of the Thiès-Niger railroad.

The bank of the new work will coincide with the frontage of the approach of the existing landing and in addition will be protected by reinforced concrete pilings every 30 meters.

The landing will be constructed to support a uniformly distributed load of 3,000 kilograms per square meter, as well

/108 cont./

504 as a set of tracks for a five-ton crane and two railroad tracks. At its downstream end, a reinforced concrete bridge will permit connecting the tracks on the landing with the station of Kaolack.

Behind the landing the terrepleins will be embanked in such a way as to constitute a platform about 300 meters deep extending between the new work and the Rue de la Poste. This platform, intended to contain seccos and eventually some sheds, will be cut by five longitudinal streets ten meters wide and four transverse streets 20 meters wide. These streets will be built with concrete and will have special facilities for the drainage of winter rainwater. Tracks connected with the Kaolack station will be embedded in the concrete of the longitudinal streets.

A large maritime station will be built downstream from the terrepleins which have just been described. It will be made up of a number of sections permitting the convoys of cars which have passed through the Kaolack station to be subsequently shunted to the various longitudinal streets of the terrepleins or to the landing.

The assemblage of the works and arrangements schematically described above will permit an important extension of the present port toward the west where three years from now a truly modern port will be built. There the important transfers of goods made between the Thiès-Niger railroad and the ocean-going vessels will be done with the latest types of mechanical manipulations known, which will insure /109/ more and more commercial transport between the Sudan and Europe.

491 [493] The wooden Noirot bridge presently existing, on which the traffic has increased considerably since the introduction of the automobile in French West Africa, will not much longer be able to support with safety the weight of the cars and trucks and should, in accordance with the plan which has been approved, be replaced by a reinforced concrete bridge made up of 13 trusses with a compass of 15 meters, resting on 12 piers based on reinforced concrete piles.

This bridge will be capable of supporting a railroad

/109 cont./

491 line in addition to the normal traffic of pedestrians and vehicles.

653 The colony of Senegal, in concert with the Société Coignet, is currently preparing the agreement, which will be passed immediately and which will require three years for the landing, the embankments of the terrepleins, and the bridge.

The realization of the works and arrangements planned will be an interesting example of close co-operation between the government of the colony, the public works services, the [441] Kaolack Chambre de Commerce, and private enterprise.

433 To demonstrate the importance of the port of Kaolack, it is sufficient to put some figures before the eyes of the reader. One will get an idea of the growth of the commercial movement that the privileged location of Kaolack on the river enabled one to foresee 15 years ago.

433 In 1905, Kaolack was still a small, insignificant vil-
505 lage. Foundiougne was the great port of the Saloum. But Kaolack was the outlet for an entire hinterland much larger; it was the access route of the products from Baol and Haut-Saloum /Upper Saloum/; finally, it was the natural port for the Sudan. Its approach, 120 kilometers from the ocean and made difficult by the passage of the Sangomar channel and [502] the sandbanks of the river, has been facilitated by the buoys. Running aground has become much rarer. Piloting, however, is obligatory.

496 Railroads. The railroad from Thiès to Niger, /110/
433 extended by a branch of 22 kilometers, which starts at Guinguinéo and ends at Kaolack, brought out the full importance of the latter point as the lands located near the railroad were improved. This development will take several years. It is steadily and fully progressing today. Like all railroad lines, the artery of the Thiès-Niger breathes life into formerly deserted regions, which are now being populated and opened for colonization.

648 Undoubtedly Kaolack benefited from the non-application
504 of the Franco-British pact of April 8, 1904. As is known,

/110 cont./

648 504 according to this agreement, Great Britain left to us on the Gambia River, along with the territory of Kantora, the port of Yarboutenda, which she thought was accessible to ocean-going vessels. If this advantage did not exist, the text added, a port would be selected downstream and ceded to France, along with the lands defined by an arc of one kilometer in radius. Later on, Yarboutenda was discovered to be inaccessible to ocean-going vessels. The French government then had the right to select a port on the Gambia which offered the advantages that the agreement consented to give us. After study, the port of Nianimaro was selected by the Government-general of Dakar. But the negotiations between Paris and London were never concluded.

496 504 Because of its natural position on a navigable river, Kaolack has remedied a situation which might have been very disadvantageous for our commerce. The rail line was even extended from Kaolack to Lyndiane, over a distance of 12 kilometers, in order to favor a private enterprise established on the river at this place.

Lyndiane is in fact a point on the right bank of the Saloum where vessels can tie up easily. The Etablissements Ch. Peyrissac et Cie., who own this port and have branches in both Senegal and the Sudan, have a real advantage in this privileged situation.

496 We have given some indication above of the development of the railroad: 190 kilometers in Sine-Saloum. The seven stopping stations are: Gossas, Guinguinéo, /111/ Birkelane, Kaffrine, Malem Hodar, Maka-Yop, and Koungheul, all located at the outlet of trade routes carrying groundnuts.

491 Roads. Branching off from this railroad line, as well as from all the major centers, many highways streak across the country in every direction. These roads, or rather dirt roads, [494] are for the most part accessible to automobiles: tourist cars and transport trucks.

There are more than 3,000 kilometers of dirt roads in the circle, of which 2,000 kilometers are used daily in the dry

/111 cont./

491 season by truckage, the development of which has grown in
[494] considerable proportions since 1920.

The network of roads is on the whole excellent. Every winter, it is subject to deteriorations; the latter are repaired as soon as the dry season arrives. Thousands of workers making
[464] their annual contribution are employed there under the supervision of native chiefs and under the direction of the European administrative authorities. Some artificial works, embankments, bridges, culverts, gutters, and channels have been constructed in the swampy places or to cross spots of water.

363 In the communes, the roads are gradually being paved with paving stones as the urban streets develop. In Kaolack six kilometers of streets have been paved with stones in the past five years.

505 Inland navigation. As we have already seen, the Saloum is the major channel of inland navigation. Steamers enter it by the maritime passage of Sangomar. In the channel, 120 kilometers long, up to Kaolack, there are some bends or passages that are quite difficult to negotiate. A pilot is
[502] necessary. All of the boats have one, whom they take on at Dakar or Rufisque. The Sine is traveled in the same fashion up to Niamnioroh.

There are countless marigots which are accessible to
[501] cutters, small launches, barges, or dugouts. There are several thousand kilometers /112/ of waterways which connect villages, centers of cultivation, and fishing agglomerations.

In the Bas-Saloum in particular, commercial traffic is handled by cutters or by dugouts.

Saboya, on the marigot Miniminian, an affluent of the Gambia, is accessible to ocean-going vessels. Each year boats come to seek the stock of groundnuts produced by this region.

Here are some comparative figures on navigation for the three ports of Kaolack, Foundiougne, and Saboya.

/112 cont./

Port of Kaolack

505 In 1913, the ports of Kaolack and Foundiougne already saw a total of 1,041 incoming and outgoing vessels, but the port of Kaolack did not exceed 200 out of this figure: 100 incoming and 100 outgoing. This was because no customs [651] office existed at Kaolack at that time. Foundiougne was the major center of customs operations. It remained so until 1922. Starting in 1923, Kaolack took flight; Foundiougne then became the second-largest port on the Saloum.

Here are the figures for Kaolack for the years 1922-1927:

(See the following tables.)

23: Aujas--25 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37
505
439
/113/

Port of Kaolack

Years	Vessels		Total	Imports		Exports		Total	
	In-coming	Out-going		Weight	Value	Weight	Value	Weight	Value
				tons	francs	tons	francs	tons	francs
1922	191	183	374	2,773	5,051,568	33,396	15,511,484	36,169	20,563,052
1923	147	581	1,228	44,808	27,954,644	79,721	48,360,455	124,529	76,305,100
1924	516	511	1,027	31,300	43,081,146	94,800	99,230,755	126,107	142,311,901
1925	482	483	965	51,150	71,165,898	121,241	139,292,637	172,391	161,401,932
1926	791	791	1,582	57,245	128,869,032	140,386	218,488,749	197,631	348,357,781
1927	828	829	1,657	60,789	116,138,356	138,664	213,889,002	199,453	330,027,358

23: Aufas--26 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal M937

505
439

/114/

PORT OF FOUNDIOUGNE

Years	Vessels		Total	Imports		Exports		Total	
	In-coming	Out-going		Weight	Value	Weight	Value	Weight	Value
				tons	francs	tons	francs	tons	francs
1922	624	630	1,254	5,741	15,742,749	85,507	45,523,369	91,245	61,275,11a
1923	822	785	1,607	6,292	15,024,623	43,303	27,129,527	49,595	42,154,250
1924	744	739	1,483	10,957	28,304,623	43,422	41,882,147	54,379	70,186,770
1925	650	661	1,311	13,453	32,501,849	59,031	61,006,933	72,484	94,408,782
1926	707	747	1,454	14,644	41,776,166	65,226	90,798,776	79,869	132,574,942
1927	727	753	1,480	10,427	36,343,264	57,471	81,325,445	67,898	117,668,709

23: Aujas--27 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37
/115/.
505
139

PORT OF SABOYA

Years	Vessels		Total	Imports		Exports		Total	
	In-coming	Out-going		Weight	Value	Weight	Value	Weight	Value
				tons	francs	tons	francs	tons	francs
1922	Noth-ing	Noth-ing							
1923	7	7	14	43	78,282	1,657	831,147	1,700	909,429
1924	9	9	18	107	290,000	1,601	6,710,000	4,279	6,810,000
1925	11	8	19	149	331,000	1,609	2,020,011	4,069	2,351,011
1926	6	4	10	75	150,000	3,834	5,443,800	3,909	5,593,800
1927	3	3	6	21	100,000	4,258	6,710,000	4,279	6,810,000

23: Aujas--28 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37
/116/
505
499

Movement of the Ports of Sine-Saloum: Kaolack, Foundiougne, and Saboya

Years	Vessels		Total	Imports		Exports		Total	
	In-coming	Out-going		Weight	Value	Weight	Value	Weight	Value
				tons	francs	tons	francs	tons	francs
1922	815	813	1,628	8,514	20,794,317	118,903	61,043,853	127,417	81,838,170
1923	1,476	1,373	2,849	51,143	42,979,267	124,681	76,321,129	175,824	119,368,779
1924	1,269	1,259	2,528	42,364	71,675,769	139,823	141,112,902	182,194	214,398,421
1925	1,143	1,152	2,295	64,752	103,998,747	182,192	202,319,581	246,944	258,161,725
1926	1,504	1,542	3,046	71,964	170,795,198	209,446	309,287,525	281,409	486,526,523
1927	1,558	1,585	3,143	71,237	152,581,620	200,393	301,924,447	271,630	454,506,067

23: Aujas--29 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37
SINE-SALOUM

Total Traffic for the Circle
(Kaolack, Foundiougne, Saboya)

505

Periods	Tonnage Unloaded	Tonnage Loaded	Tonnage Unloaded and Loaded
1909-1913	12,076 t.	49,189 t.	61, 265 t.
1914-1918	12,333	70,767	83,100
1919-1923	17,438	99,803	17,241
1924	42,288	139,712	182,000
1925	64,668	182,277	246,945
1926	71,964	209,446	281,410
1927	71,237	200,393	271,630

433 The tonnage decreased by about 10,000 tons in 1927,
505 but this was solely due to the fact that the groundnut harvest was slightly deficient as a consequence of an overabundance of rain. On the whole, one can say that there has been constant and uninterrupted progress since the pre-war period. The announcement of this figure indicates the flourishing situation of the region of Sine-Saloum.

433 In 1927 the total value of imports and exports for the
439 circle amounted to 454 million francs, 330 million of which were for Kaolack. With what left by way of the small customs stations along the border with Gambia, one can acknowledge that the value of general commerce in 1927 was almost 500 million, or almost a third of the total commerce of the colony of Senegal, which in 1927 amounted to 1 billion 562 million.

These figures speak for themselves.

Agricultural Resources of the Region: Crops

244 The principal crop of Sine-Saloum is the groundnut.
432 This plant is cultivated everywhere, but the best lands are
[134] in Sine and north of the railroad. The lands of Bas-Saloum

/117 cont./

244 are much less suitable for this crop because of their composi-
433 tion which gives a certain acidity to the nuts, thus rendering
[134] them less suitable for industrial use in /118/ the production
[242] of fine oils. There have been attempts to correct this defect and to improve the quality of Bas-Saloum by means of seed selection and by the continued addition of seed from Sine; this has not yet been successful.

Fallow lands, however, are not lacking in the other regions of the circle.

There are 230,000 hectares planted in groundnuts. This figure represents 0.85 hectares per inhabitant. This is about 1/11 of the total area of the circle.

In 1914 this crop extended over 70,000 hectares. It has thus tripled.

The production, which was 75,000 tons in 1918, is about 140,000 tons today. It has doubled in 10 years. It amounts to almost a third of the harvest of Senegal.

One can determine the production of groundnuts in the circle since 1921 by the following figures (in tons):

Years	1921	1922	1923	1924
Tons	80,000	90,000	110,000	125,000
Years	1925	1926	1927	
Tons	135,000	145,000	140,000	

[167] These results are due in part to the increase in the
[242] population by the influx of foreign workers into the circle, who came to settle there or who hire themselves out, and in part to the selection of seeds and their distribution in ever increasing quantities.

[654] The credit for this work is to be given to the administra-
[441] tion, the Société de Prevoyance /Welfare Society/, and the
[474] Chambre de Commerce of Kaolack, whose combined efforts have made it possible to achieve such a fine result.

/118 cont./

244 There is no doubt, however, that the yield per hectare
433 is diminishing and that on much of the land today it is no
242 more than 500-600 kilograms per hectare, instead of the 700-800 kilograms, and even 900, as has been seen sometimes in Sine. The land is becoming exhausted as a result of the lack of fertilizer and the absence of crop rotation. Two other factors likewise come into play: the too primitive native methods of cultivation and the inadequate selection of seeds. The native cultivator continues to work his land with the
[412] hilaire, a kind /Pl. II appears here/ /119/ of spade with which he contents himself with scratching the soil. He thus reduces his work too much; he does his dressings badly or inadequately.

It has been demonstrated by the experiments made by the Compagnie française de l'Afrique Occidentale at Latmingué that with mechanical farm implements one could easily double the yield per hectare. On newly cleared land and with these methods, the yield has never been less than 1,000 kilograms and at times has reached 1,500 kilograms per hectare. It is necessary to persuade the native that he will profit by working the land with a little better equipment. The agricultural
[654] services are working at this, and it is to be hoped that the more modern cultivation methods will double the yield. This is a critical problem.

243 Millet. Millet is likewise a crop on the road to progress.
433 The types cultivated are: small and great millet, or, according to their native names, souna, sanio, bassi, fehla.

In 1927, the cultivated area was 240,000 hectares, with a total production of 119,000 tons, a little more than the needs of the population. In 1926, for a production of 80,000 tons, the population had sowed 210,000 hectares. The surplus production is consumed in the regions bordering Sine-Saloum.

Rice. Different varieties of rice are cultivated, especially in Sine and Bas-Saloum, where the annual rainfall is greater and where the soil is suitable for this crop. One can estimate that 15,000 hectares are planted to rice with a total

23: Aujas--32 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37

137

Plate II

A Gambian mahogany tree on the Latmingué road.

133

The mouth of the Saloum at Dionouar.

/119 cont./
433 production of about 14,000 tons, which are entirely con-
[243] sumed on the spot.

[244] Manioc. Manioc is the crop grown in some plantings
[474] around the villages. The native Société de Prevoyance distributed many cuttings in most of the cantons in 1925.

About 5,000 hectares are planted to manioc, with a production of 25,000 tons of fresh manioc.

[243] /120/ Maize. Maize is not planted everywhere. It is cultivated in Bas-Saloum and in Sine, a little in Saloum. There are 2,000 hectares of maize and 2,000 tons of production.

[244] Beans (niébés). The bean called "niébé" is planted on about 15,000 hectares, yielding a harvest of 7,000 tons.

Production, however, remains stationary, because the plant is attacked by various insects (weevils).

[245] Bananas. Two banana plantations, established by the
[654] administration, exist at Sangako and Bani in Bas-Saloum. They could be multiplied in this region.

[249] Sugar cane. This product is not cultivated very much -- the soil is not suitable -- with rare exceptions.

[248] Cotton. Native cotton is cultivated only in small stretches. This crop takes up 700 hectares of land.

[249] Indigo. The region that is the principal producer of indigo is Bas-Saloum. This crop has tended to increase for the past several years.

[314] Kapok. The kapok tree lives in the wild state. There are some in the cantons along the railroad (N'Gahaye-Gossas), but especially to the south, starting at Kaffrine and above all in Koungheul. The native does not harvest it or harvests it poorly. The circle could yield 100 tons of kapok, but it provides only 20 tons at the most, used locally or sold abroad.

/120 cont./

433 Truck gardening. Truck gardens exist in the major
244 centers. This is still, however, a European crop, the native
242 consuming very little of our vegetables.

An experimental garden, or rather a nursery, was set up in Kaolack about 20 years ago. This nursery provided many tree plants for the Europeans and natives (eucalyptus, mimosa, flamboyants, Gambia, mahogany, silk-cotton trees, orange trees, lemon trees, and guava trees).

[648] /121/ European crops. Concessions. No agricultural colonization has been undertaken by Europeans, except at Latmingué.

In 1920, the Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale requested a concession of 200 hectares at Latmingué, 20 kilometers southeast of Kaolack, very near the Saloum, in order to conduct experiments on the mechanical cultivation of groundnuts. Improvements were made for four years. Improved agricultural equipment was used (tractors, gang plows, mechanical seeders, pulverizers, harrow-plows, and pickers). The tests made it possible to get an idea of the advantages of mechanical cultivation of the groundnut. The shortage of manpower, however, was an obstacle to extending the cultivation. The Compagnie Française abandoned this concession, which was recovered and expanded by the Société des Plantations of Latmingué, which now exploits it. The latter cultivates manioc exclusively. It has already cleared 200 hectares and planted 270 hectares in manioc. It is trying to cultivate this plant annually in nine months instead of 18. This development should be watched with interest. The needs of the mother country for manioc are considerable, and Senegal would find there another source of economic prosperity.

233 Animal husbandry. Pasturage is abundant, especially during the rainy season. It is sufficient to raise large herds of cattle, sheep, horses, and donkeys. Epidemics, however, decimate the cattle, which vary between 250,000 and 300,000 heads. During the dry season, the problem of animal fodder is doubled by the difficulty of finding water for the

/121 cont./

233 animals to drink. Nevertheless, cattle-raising remains a worthwhile enterprise, a herd doubling in three years.

[232] No serious attempt to improve the breed of cattle has
[654] been made by the administration.

Since the multiplication of automobiles, the horse has
[492] been somewhat forsaken. The breed is small, but sturdy.

/122/ As for sheep and goats, their rustic breed is resistant. This breeding does not require any care.

313 Forests. Forests cover a notable part of the circle. They must be protected because they are on the way to progressive disappearance as a result of the abuses of brush fires and systematic clearing by the native, wishing to increase his crops.

There is no methodical exploitation of the forests. The exploitation is confined to the cutting of palm trees for the production of charcoal. There still exist, however, some beautiful stands of hardwoods, especially of Gambia mahogany, or false mahogany, particularly in Bas-Saloum.

To the east, between Kaffrine and Koungheul, stocks of small bamboos exist, especially in the humid depressions.
[342] These bamboos are cut by the natives who make panels out of them, called "crintings," to serve as closings or veranda par-
[435] titions. The price of these panels, from two to three meters long, varies between 15 and 25 francs.

316 Quarries. There are many laterite quarries, exploited for the most part. The stone is not as hard as at Rufisque or at Dakar.

317 Salt marshes. There is industrial exploitation of the
433 salt marshes at Kaolack. The Société des Salines of Sine-Saloum has exploited the salt marshes at Diorana since 1915. The region of the Saloum is very fortunate from this viewpoint. The constant evaporation of the water of this arm of the sea and its many branches gives the liquid mass a degree of saturation much higher than that of the ocean water.

/122 cont./

317 Current production varies from 20,000 to 30,000 tons, which
433 are consumed in the region and exported to Senegal and the
Sudan. This Société is hampered in its development by the
[651] taxes on salt and by transportation costs which particularly
burden this product.

From time immemorial the natives have been exploiting the salt marshes at Tickat, upstream from Kaolack, and on the arms of the Saloum to the west of Fatick. They produce only what is needed for their consumption. /123/
[651] During the time of the Bours, this exploitation was the occasion for a fee in kind for the benefit of the sovereign.

433 Native industrie. In addition to the native salt marshes,
258 we might also mention the fish-drying industry. The many lagoons, marigots, and watercourses of the region contain an abundance of excellent ocean fish (polynemids, pike, skate, sole, etc.). The Niominka race, accustomed to fishing, draw a remunerative advantage from it. The drying of fish is practiced at Fatick, Foundiougne, and in Bas-Saloum. One can estimate the quantity of dried fish at close to 500
[438] tons per year. The consumption is purely local, and the markets of the circle and of neighboring circles are the usual selling places.

433 The only other local industries are those of the potters,
basket makers, and weavers. Some native blacksmiths set
463 up shop in the villages at the time of cultivation; they are,
[326] moreover, of the Ouoloff or Moorish race.

433 European industries. There is only one European in-
dustry in the circle. An oil factory for the processing of
258 groundnuts has been set up at Kaolack by Engineer Gaudart.
[648] Today this factory belongs to the Société des Huileries et Rizeries Ouest-Africaines /West African Oil Refinery and Rice Company/. Its equipment is modern. Its production is large; it
[439] sells it in the colony, in France, and in the nearby British colonies.

/123 cont./

439 Commerce. Commerce has not stopped progressing since the end of the war, for both imports and exports.

Fabrics constitute the principal part of the imports, along with toys and construction materials.

The groundnut is the principal product exported. It is the one that makes up the wealth of the region.

[471] Commerce is for the most part in the hands of French Sociétés /companies/ or individuals, who have established branches in all the important centers. These branches have been multiplying in the past several years and even extend into the small villages which are disposal centers /124/ for the sought-after agricultural product. Today the truck penetrates into the most remote corners. In other words the farmer no longer has to put himself out in order to sell his products. One comes to him to buy his groundnuts at the very place of the harvest. The petty retail trade is in the hands of native [443] traders or Syrian merchants.

Imports. We saw above the figures for the movement of navigation and the tonnage of the goods unloaded in the various ports. The high prices for fabrics that have been reached in the last three or four years have caused a certain drop in business, from which the wholesale trade and the retail trade have suffered.

439 Exports. We are giving below the figures for the export
505 of groundnuts. As is known, for Senegal the past two years have been calculated at a tonnage of 483,980 tons in 1926 and 485,608 tons in 1927, with a respective value of 740 million and 616 million.

Out of this total, the share of the ports of the Saloum, going back to 1921, is the following:

/124 cont./

439
505

	Kaolack	Foundiougne	Totals (1)
1921	.	73,885 t.	73,885 t.
1922	29,192 t.	79,882	109,074
1923	75,503	36,954	112,457
1924	90,421	39,221	129,633
1925	110,787	52,986	163,773
1926	135,899	58,271	194,170
1927	134,947	51,808	186,755

1. Kaolack, up to 1922, had no customs office. It was Foundiougne which centralized all the operations.

To the above figures must be added those for the port of Saboya which we gave above.

On the whole, the tonnage of groundnuts exported by way of the ports of the circle was 198,000 tons in 1926; in 1927, 191,000 tons, or 40% of the /125/ total exports of groundnuts from Senegal. It should be noted that in 1906 the tonnage exported amounted to only 31,000 tons.

439
505
433

The production of the circle being 140,000 tons, the difference over that comes from the harvest of the regions of Baol, Tambacounda, and the Sudan, which is shipped to Kaolack and Foundiougne. If one compares these figures with the production of 1913, which was 60,000 tons, one sees how much progress has marked the cultivation of groundnuts.

Imports and exports combined make the general commerce of the circle reach close to 300,000 tons at present.

651

Customs receipts. The Kaolack customs office took in as receipts the sum of 13,901,810 francs in 1927.

The one at Foundiougne, 4,001,249 francs.

Or a total of 17,903,059 francs.

If one adds to this the receipts from Saboya and those from the frontier posts of the Gambia, the total receipts exceed 18 million francs. We are far from the figure for 1905: 405,000 francs.

/125 cont./

443 Markets. Fairs. Daily markets have been established in the mixed communes of Kaolack, Foundiougne, Fatick, and Gossas, as well as in the important centers such as Guinguinéo, Birkelane, Kaffrine, Koungheul, Nioro, Saboya, Sokone, and Gandiaye. Those of the mixed communes and important ports are much frequented and have a good trade.

In addition, cattle markets have been held monthly at Kaolack since 1924.

543 Fairs have been instituted in order to familiarize the public with the principal products of the region. A first Fair-Exposition was held at Kaolack in June 1925; it was a great success. It had been organized with the co-operation of the administration and commerce. This happy attempt was renewed in April 1926 with the same success. The governor-general, M. Carde, was present at these two fine manifestations of the economic life of a region in full development.

453 /126/ Banks. The dependable index of the development of commercial transactions is given to us by the banking groups which have been established at Kaolack.

The Banque de l'Afrique Occidentale Française opened a branch in the chief town of the circle in 1927. Moreover, other credit establishments had preceded it. An agency of the Banque française d'Afrique was opened in 1924. The Banque Commerciale africaine followed in 1925.

871 Education. It is necessary to educate the native if we want him later to be our collaborator in the work of colonization. We are realizing this duty by the public schooling which is given at Kaolack in a regional school attended by nearly 500 children; a home economics school is attached to it. Primary schools where the number of pupils is very great are in operation at Fatick, Foundiougne, Gossas, Kaffrine, Nioro, and Sokone.

874 461 It is also necessary to develop vocational education because we lack good workers. We are going to be in want of artisans if we do not remedy a situation which had already appeared in this region several years ago. Unfortunately, the

/126 cont./

874 young people are inclined to seek our courses which prepare
461 them for officialdom. The elite wishes to be instructed doctorally. It disdains manual trades. It is this state of mind that must be changed. Craftmanship is dying out. The governor of Senegal, under the over-all supervision of the governor-general, has understood this. The vocational courses in the capital of the colony, Saint-Louis, have been revised and improved. Agricultural schools have been established. More must be done. It is necessary to add a vocational workshop to each regional school and even to some of the primary schools. The child should become familiar -- before leaving school -- with the handling of the hammer, the chisel, and the plane; he should know how to use a shovel, spade, and rake. All of these skills should be lifted up out of disrepute, which has no reason for existing. Manual work must be put on an equal footing with intellectual work. We need good workers even more than good writers.

/127/ It is the duty of the administration to prepare the younger generation for the task that awaits them.

654 Agricultural mutuality. The Société de Prevoyance.
474 Within this order of ideas, and in order to develop a spirit
244 of mutuality and a sense of foresight among the natives, the administration has created, like Algeria, native welfare and mutual loan societies. A society of this type has been operating in Sine-Saloum for many years. Its founding goes back to 1907. Its beginnings were modest. At first it brought together 718 cultivators. By 1910, the number of members of the society reached the figure of 1,567. This was still very few. The idea had borne fruit, however. The administration soon brought in the majority and then the totality of the cultivators.

[652] In July 1907, at its founding, the governor of Senegal put at the disposal of the administrator of the circle the sum of 20,000 francs in order to promote this effort for mutuality.

Thanks to this advance, 99,700 kilograms of groundnut seed was loaned to the 718 first adherents, who returned them in kind after the harvest with an interest of 30%.

/127 cont./

654 From 1907 to 1910, storehouses were built to shelter the
474 seeds. In 1910, these storehouses were multiplied in order
244 to be more within the reach of the borrowers. On December 6,
[251] 1910, a decree of the governor of Senegal approved the definitive statutes of this society. The latter, on the basis of the experience of several years, have just been supplemented and revised.

The society of Sine-Saloum has 19 sections distributed throughout the circle.

As early as 1911 it had 160,000 members, and its cash on hand amounted to 139,499 francs. Its storehouse stock was 317 tons of selected seed.

Today, the society has property valued at more than 1 million. It has an annual income and expenditure budget of 5 million, including the value of the seeds which it keeps /128/ in its storehouses for the loans that it grants to its members for reimbursement in kind.

Since it demands an interest of 20%, it very rapidly increases its stock of seed. Thus, in 1928 it was holding more than 5,000 tons of seed. By 1929, it will have 7,000 tons. This is the precious guarantee for a fruitful harvest.

[242] Because all of this seed is carefully selected by the native chiefs under the control of the administrator, with methodical rigor. Although some chiefs are less strict in the selection, the majority understand their role. In the cantons of Diokoul Gandiaye, Kahone, Birkelane, and in those of Sine, Sokone, Sanghako, Koungheul, and Kaffrine, the seeds are sorted one by one, and only the shells with two nuts are accepted.

The cultivator quickly yields to these requirements, because he has recognized the necessity for them.

These loans are made in the month of June, before sowing time. They are repayable in kind in the month of December, after the harvest, with an interest of 20%, the said interest likewise payable in kind.

No defaults have been reported. The loans are for two hectoliters per cultivator.

/128 cont./

654 In order to enjoy these advantages the society member
474 pays an assessment of one franc per year.

244 He can also request and obtain loans of food, rice, or
[731] millet, if he is justified by a case of great necessity: scarcity as a result of an unfortunate or calamitous event.

[426] Finally, since last year, he has been able to obtain loans in money on the condition of certain guarantees. These loans are granted for cultivation, and also for the improvement of his agricultural equipment, or for starting or enlarging his herd. These loans may amount to as much as 5,000 francs and are to be paid back within several years.

654 In 1927, the members numbered 240,000.

474 The society has 30 storehouses, more than half of which
[251] are built out of permanent materials: laterite stones or cement.

[343] /129/ It has utilized its resources to make wells out of reinforced concrete in order to procure for the inhabitants the
[312] potable water necessary for their needs and for the needs of their animals.

It gives bonuses to the cultivators who exhibit the best harvests. It also awards bonuses for the capture of animals harmful to agriculture.

The work accomplished is remarkable.

[244] The increase in the production of groundnuts in the circle is due to the Société de Prévoyance, under the control of the administration.

In it, commerce has a valuable organization whose usefulness it recognizes and whose incontestable and uncontested services it moreover appreciates.

312 The water problem. Wells. The serious question of water presents itself in the circle as it does everywhere in Senegal. The economic life of the region depends on the water supply of its inhabitants.

In order to prevent the danger of a water shortage, it has been necessary to dig wells. The séanes, natural reservoirs or pockets dug by man, were too small in number. They received rain water, but their volume was limited, and a few weeks sufficed to empty them after the last rainfall.

/129 cont./

312 The native digs wells. But potable water is sometimes reached at great depths. As a result, the wells that are not shored up collapse, or, even if shored up with wooden boards, landslides are produced. The wells are choked up, and it is necessary to do the work over again.

312 653 In 1904, Captain Friry of the Engineers was put in charge of the study of this problem. This officer made numerous soundings, dug experimental wells, and adopted a system of reinforced concrete tubes built gradually as the hole was deepened, which assured both great safety and great rapidity in the work. A movable shaft, with a diameter slightly smaller than that of the well, makes it possible to isolate, in the layer of aquiferous sand, a volume of water sufficient for drawing.

/130/ Captain Friry dug a certain number of them. He trained well-digging teams. They consisted of European and native personnel. The undertaking was tediously long, because it was sometimes a matter of going 70 to 80 meters deep. At times it was necessary in the end to go through a very thick layer of white and compact clay before reaching the water; it is true that the water rose very high in the well, but the work had to be abandoned in several places, the work becoming impossible at a depth of about 80 meters due to the lack of ventilation equipment. There was also the disagreeable surprise of coming upon a pocket of salt water.

In order to avoid these inconveniences, the natives were urged to dig wells without masonry wherever they could, and a promise was made to them that a reinforced concrete well would be built for them next to their own well whenever they found a good supply of water at an acceptable depth.

This promise, made in 1905, was not kept.

[474] [654] Fortunately, the Société de Prévoyance, created two years later, was able to include in its program as early as 1910-1911 the construction of reinforced concrete wells by the Friry system. A public works supervisor, M. Denis, who had worked under the direction of Captain Friry, was hired for this task under the direction of the administrator.

/130 cont./

312 Thus, in the past 15 years, many wells have been dug
653 in Sine-Saloum.

In 1928, 600 reinforced concrete wells and about 400 native wells were counted in the circle. About 10 or 15 wells are completed each year, and as many are mended, repaired, or put in good order. The expenditures are sometimes great, considering that a reinforced concrete well 70 meters deep comes close to 20,000 francs at the present time. There is
[463] one or two well-digging experts per canton, who make up their own teams. We thus have there about 30 natives perfectly informed about this work. Sine-Saloum has loaned
[648] head well-diggers to the neighboring colonies, especially to Mauritania. The governments there have been very satisfied.

Should the policy of the wells be continued? It /Pl. III appears here/ /131/ has produced results. It has permitted going to what is most pressing. In the villages in the bush, it is the wells that for a long time yet will supply the inhabitant and the herds. In the cities there is the problem of bringing in water. Dakar has been considering this since 1903. Wells have been drilled everywhere in the peninsula of Cape Verde. Potable water has been found in the subsoil, but, until very recently, the quantity was barely sufficient for the needs of the city and the port. Today, the catchment centers at Point B give an abundance of water. It was after the mission of Dr. Moineau that drilling points in the vicinity of large agglomerations, such as Dakar, Thiès, Rufisque, Diourbel, and Kaolack, were proposed by this water-diviner.

For Kaolack, not one attempt has been made by the government of Senegal to verify the hypotheses of Dr. Moineau.

But it has called upon a mining engineer, M. Boyer, to undertake surveys to search it for subterranean waters that could be collected.

This engineer began his investigations at Gossas in Sine-Saloum. They were crowned with success in 1927, with water caught at a depth of 195 meters gushing from the soil; the bringing in of water has begun; the problem appears solved for this trade center.

23: Aujas--45 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37

Plate III

/Between pp. 130 and 131/

312

A cement well in a native village.

Drilling for water at Gossas.

23: Aujas--46 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37
SINE-SALOUM

/131 cont./

312 For Kaolack, M. Boyer found water at a depth of 95
653 meters. Moreover, the municipality of this city had also made investigations whose results were interesting. Excellent water was found at a depth of only 15 meters, with a volume of about 500 cubic meters per day. This quantity is not enough to supply the city of Kaolack. It is necessary to find 1,000 cubic meters, and this is what the government of Senegal and the mixed commune are working on.

/132/

Conclusion

433 Twenty years ago M. Camille Guy, then governor of Senegal, wrote in a study of Sine-Saloum: "There is no doubt but that Sine-Saloum is a rich country which could produce much more than it produces, that ten years ago it entered an era of prosperity which is accentuated year by year, and that, at the expense of the picturesque and original, it has become a region of Senegal for which the future is full of promises, some of which are now on the way to realization and others are incalculable" (1).

1. Cf. La Géographie, 1908. "Le Sine-Saloum," by M. Camille Guy.

The facts have confirmed this appraisal. In fact, in the economic realm, the results reached the forecasts of the most optimistic. The agricultural, commercial, and even industrial development can only be accentuated in the near future. Aided by official business advisors and by the local administrative bodies, the high administration has grasped the importance of the region and the value of the port of Kaolack. The sacrifices authorized by public finances have already borne fruit. They can only accelerate the economic progress of the region as soon as the program of works planned and at present underway is accomplished.

LA RÉGION DU SINE-SALOUM

LE PORT DE KAOLACK

par L. AUJAS
Administrateur en Chef des Colonies

I. Renseignements généraux

a) *Aperçu géographique.* — Le Cercle du Sine-Saloum est une vaste région de 26.000 kilomètres carrés de superficie. Il constitue une des divisions les plus importantes de la Colonie du Sénégal. C'est une contrée très peuplée. Enfin, elle a une valeur économique plus grande que celle des autres territoires qui forment avec elle le Gouvernement du Sénégal en Afrique Occidentale Française.

Bornée à l'Ouest par l'Océan Atlantique, elle touche à l'Est au bassin supérieur de la Gambie et, par là, aux confins même du Soudan occidental dont elle n'est séparée que par le cercle de Tambacounda.

Au Nord, elle atteint le désert du Ferlo et la région du Djoloff.

Sur toute la partie méridionale, sa frontière longe le territoire de la Colonie anglaise de la Gambie, suivant exactement le parallèle 13° 35' 36", conformément à la délimitation de la Commission internationale de 1891.

Telles sont ses limites géographiques.

Une grande voie navigable le traverse de l'Est à l'Ouest, pour aboutir à l'Océan : c'est la rivière Saloum, qui n'est plus, aujourd'hui, qu'un long chenal marin, étroit dans sa partie supérieure que la vase achève d'obstruer et finissant par un vaste estuaire, aux mille

[p.92]

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

ramifications, bordé de bancs de sable et livrant passage aux navires de mer à l'endroit appelé pointe de Sangomar, où existe une passe assez étroite et peu profonde. A marée basse, en effet, les fonds y sont de 3 m. 50 à 4 mètres. Sous l'influence des vents alizés et des raz-de-marée, la barre subit des déplacements que le service hydrographique rectifie par un balisage qui est continué même après l'estuaire et jusqu'à Kaolack, port éloigné de la côte d'environ 100 kilomètres.

Dans ce bras de mer du Saloum, la marée fait sentir ses effets jusque près de Birkelane, soit à 130 kilomètres de l'océan. Mais le chenal n'est accessible aux navires de haute mer de 4 à 6.000 tonnes (1) que jusqu'à Kaolack, dont nous ferons ressortir plus loin l'importance au point de vue de la navigation.

Le Saloum projette dans l'intérieur des terres une série de bras qui sont autant de chenaux ou de « marigots » ouverts aux côtres et aux pirogues indigènes.

Un des plus importantants est le Sine qui prend naissance en face de Foundiougne et dessert, après de nombreuses sinuosités, le port de Fatick, débouché de la région Sérère, où cependant ne peuvent accéder que des côtres de 40 tonnes.

Toutefois, le Sine permet à des navires à vapeur de fort tonnage de s'amarrer aux wharfs de Niamnioroh, petite localité qui est devenue depuis quelques années le point d'accès des régions du Sine et du Baol occidental.

L'aspect de la partie voisine de l'océan jusqu'à Bathurst est celui d'un vaste réseau fluvial enserrant des flots de terres basses argileuses ou sablonneuses, bordées de grands palétuviers : c'est la région dénommée Bas-Saloum, région fertile, de même nature que la Basse-Casamance, région de palmeraies et de bois assez denses, où malheureusement les défrichements commencent leur œuvre dévastatrice.

Au point de vue orographique, la région du Sine-

(1) C'est à peu près le tonnage des bateaux de la Compagnie Paquet, de la Maison Maurel et Prom et des bateaux étrangers qui fréquentent le port de Kaolack.

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

Saloum est un pays plat avec de très faibles ondulations de terrains.

De larges vallées longitudinales en direction nord-sud descendent des plateaux argileux et semi-désertiques du Ferlo et aboutissent à la Gambie.

Ces dépressions constituent dans la voisinage de ce fleuve des cours d'eau abondants en saison des pluies, qui s'assèchent rapidement.

Sur la rive droite du Saloum, ces vallées forment, en période d'hivernage, un chapelet plus ou moins continu de mares.

L'une de ces vallées porte le nom de Bao-Bolon; elle a plusieurs kilomètres de largeur; elle constitue le déversoir de la région Birkelane-Kaffrine. Les indigènes rapportent qu'il y a une cinquantaine d'années les côtres de Gambie remontaient cet affluent jusqu'à un passage situé entre Nioro-Rip et Médina, à une vingtaine de kilomètres au Nord en amont du fleuve.

Dans la basse vallée du Saloum, le long des marigots, on rencontre les « tannes », sortes de dépressions marécageuses recouvertes d'eau en hivernage, mais où, en saison sèche, la vase est recouverte d'une couche de sable qui, aux efflorescences salines, se durcit au point de constituer un sol assez ferme. On y trouve là un composé de limon et de sel: c'est le « poto-poto » redouté des voyageurs, automobilistes ou piétons qui peuvent s'y enliser facilement. Entre Sangomar et la Gambie, s'ouvrent les affluents marins du Diomboss, du Bandiala, les marigots de Dionouar, de Toubacouta, de Sokone, de Messira, de Djinnack.

La haute vallée du Saloum orientée d'est en ouest offre un sol moins sablonneux, avec des affleurements de latérite. Quelques ondulations de terrains vont s'accentuant vers l'Ouest, dans les pays du Pakalla Mandack et du Niani-Ouli, où les ravins sont parfois très profonds. La plaine, le fond des dépressions sont boisés ou couverts d'une végétation très active.

Le nord du cercle, qui est traversé par la vallée du Sine, est composé de terrains sablonneux, très propices à la culture de l'arachide. Cette vallée, autrefois arrosée de cours d'eau, a été totalement envahie par la

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

mer. Cet asséchement du pays est d'ailleurs la caractéristique de presque tout le Sénégal. On y observe la diminution du débit de certains fleuves, diminution qui va parfois, comme dans le Cayor, le Ferlo, le Baol, le Sine et le Saloum, jusqu'à la disparition totale des eaux.

On remarque d'ailleurs que, par suite de l'évaporation des eaux du Saloum, la teneur en sel de ces eaux y est plus forte que dans l'océan.

Au point de vue géologique, le sol du Sine Saloum, part le bord de la mer formé de dunes de sable blanc, est silico-argileux. Dans le Nord, le sable domine. Partout ailleurs, il est mélangé d'argile rouge.

Le sous-sol renferme une roche ferrugineuse, des latérites d'alluvions provenant sans doute de la décomposition d'une roche granitique : c'est le manteau ferrugineux fossile, suivant l'expression de M. Henri Hubert, qui recouvre les calcaires et les marnes de la période éocène.

De nombreux affleurements de latérite se montrent à Kaffrine, à Koungheul, dans le Mandack, dans le Rip.

Le creusement des puits nous renseigne sur la composition des terrains formant le sous-sol de cette région. Sous la couche de sable plus ou moins épaisse, on trouve de la latérite, puis de la craie, ou calcaires tendres, ensuite des calcaires durs.

Dans les calcaires tendres, vers 35, 40, 45 m. de profondeur, on a vu, fossilifiée, une faune marine assez variée.

b) *Aperçu historique.* — L'histoire des habitants est faite de traditions orales plus ou moins confuses. Aucun récit n'a été transmis par l'écriture. Nous ne pouvons donc que nous fier aux narrations, parfois contradictoires, que se transmettent oralement les indigènes.

Les représentants des races conquérantes ou soumises ont chacun leur version. Il est difficile à l'Européen de faire la part de la vérité ou du mensonge. Notre pénétration, dans cette partie du Sénégal, est

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

récente. Elle date de 80 ans à peine. Elle fut d'abord fragmentaire; le pays était parcouru par le commerçant ou traitant, aux époques de trafic; celui-ci regagnait vite sa base de la petite côte ou de Gorée, la turbulence des tribus ne lui permettant pas de séjourner dans le pays ou de s'y fixer. Quelques comptoirs ont été fondés à la fin du XVIIIe siècle et au commencement du XIXe, mais leur existence était éphémère et en tout cas précaire. Les luttes intestines de tribus à tribus rendaient le pays peu sûr. Il faudra arriver à 1860 pour apercevoir un commencement de colonisation, un essai de pénétration, appuyé par les armes.

Deux grands groupements politiques et une multitudes de petits états, soit indépendants soit vassaux, se partageaient le pays.

D'une part, à l'Ouest, sur la rive droite du Saloum, de l'Océan à une distance de vingt kilomètres de Kaolack, était établi le royaume du Sine, peuplé de Sérères.

Limitrophe de celui-ci, englobant Kaolack et s'allongeant vers l'Est jusqu'à Kaffrine, allant au Nord jusqu'au Kael; plongeant ses racines au sud du fleuve Saloum jusqu'au Rip, s'étendait le royaume du Saloum, peuplé de Sérères, de Toucouleurs et de Ouoloffs.

Sur la rive droite, on trouvait l'état vassal du N'Doukoumane soumis au roi du Saloum, l'état semi-indépendant du Koungheul; sur la rive gauche, les états tantôt indépendants, tantôt vassaux, du Pakalla et du Mandack, du Rip, du Laghem, du Niombato.

Le Sine et le Saloum avaient une organisation politique et administrative très hiérarchisée. L'autorité souveraine était détenue par le « Bour » ou roi. Puissant, respecté, ce grand chef était entouré de conseillers ou ministres avec l'appui desquels il gouvernait, rendait la justice, levait les impôts, déclarait la guerre. C'est cette organisation que nous trouvâmes à notre arrivée dans le pays. Elle est très ancienne, sans qu'on puisse préciser l'époque où elle s'établit.

Ce qui semble certain, c'est que le pays fut à l'origine habité par les Sérères, qui seraient ainsi les premiers habitants. Peuplade fétichiste, elle est appa-

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

rentée, d'après ses caractères morphologiques, aux Lébous de la presqu'île du Cap Vert.

A une époque indéterminée, les Mandingues, venant de N'Gabou (Guinée portugaise), traversèrent la Gambie, occupèrent Coular, franchirent le Saloum et envahirent le Sine, s'emparant de M'Bissel, capitale des Sérères.

Vaincus, ceux-ci firent leur soumission. A l'encontre des autres races, ils se maintinrent sur la terre ancestrale sans émigrer. L'invasion mandingue ne troubla pas le Sérère, pacifique cultivateur. Celui-ci subit le joug avec calme et absorba en quelque sorte les conquérants, par les unions qui se multiplièrent entre les chefs guelewars vainqueurs et les femmes du pays.

La fusion des races fut complète. De l'union du chef conquérant mandingue Maïssa Waldione avec une princesse sérère naquit Ouagana. Ce jeune guerrier détrôna les Bours Sérères et transféra la capitale de M'Bissel à Diakhao. Les Guelewars sont donc des usurpateurs. Les Bours détrônés, qu'on nomme encore « Bours Ganieck », n'ont jamais essayé de reconquérir leur royauté.

Un frère de Ouagana, nommé Bégana, réussit peu de temps après à s'emparer de l'autorité dans le Saloum en dépossédant de ses prérogatives le Bour Saloum, Elibane, d'origine toucouleur, qui régnait à Kahone.

A cette époque, le Saloum s'étendait au Sud jusqu'à la Gambie.

L'invasion mandingue, faisant tache d'huile, détacha un rameau, les Socés, qui occupa la partie méridionale, de Messira à Koungheul.

Les Socés furent, peu après, séparés en deux tronçons par le conquérant Dabali, à la tête des Toucouleurs du Fouta-Toro. Ces envahisseurs occupèrent le Rip et s'y maintinrent, en faisant souche aves les Socés et les Ouoloffs. Ils contribuèrent à islaminer les premiers occupants et eurent la force de secouer le joug du Saloum. La principauté du Rip fut, à diverses reprises, très puissante.

La race ouoloff, originaire du Nord, pénétra un peu

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

partout, dans le Saloum, dans le Sine et jusque dans le Rip et le Niom-Bato.

Les Peuhls ou Foulbés sont peu nombreux ; ils s'infiltrèrent pacifiquement auprès des autres races.

Nous avons vu plus haut que le Bour, dans le Sine et dans le Saloum, était choisi dans la caste noble des Guelewars. Cette royauté n'était pas héréditaire. Le Bour était choisi publiquement par un personnage, le grand Diaraff, sorte de premier ministre, pris dans la caste libre des Diambours. A côté de lui, se plaçait le Grand Farba, esclave de la couronne, qui remplissait les fonctions de chef de l'armée. Il y avait aussi le Farba Birkeur ou ministre de la Cour et une série de dignitaires, pour divers emplois, jusqu'au fou royal ou Bissète.

***

Les premières tentatives de colonisation française dans cette partie du Sénégal remontent à 1859, date de la première expédition militaire dans le Sine-Saloum. Nous avions bien conclu, en 1875, un traité d'alliance et de commerce avec le roi du Saloum mais les clauses n'en furent jamais observées par les chefs indigènes.

Le Gouverneur Faidherbe explora le pays et poussa une reconnaissance jusqu'à Kaolack. A la suite de cette démonstration, il passa, en 1859, un nouveau traité avec le Bour Saloum. Cette convention resta, comme la précédente, lettre morte et il fallut organiser une expédition en février 1861. Le chef de bataillon Pinet-Laprade en reçut le commandement.

Le marabout, guerrier de race toucouleur, Ma Ba, installé à Nioro-Rip, s'insurgea contre nos armes.

En 1865, ses agissements nous forcèrent à lancer une colone dans le Rip.

Vaincu par nous, il nous tint cependant en échec jusqu'en 1867, où il fut tué au combat de Somb.

Son frère, Mamour-Dary, ne put nous résister que faiblement. A sa mort, Saër Maty reprit les hostilités, s'emparant de Kahone, capitale du Saloum.

Sa puissance devenant inquiétante, une expédition

23: Aujas M537 Senegal

fut jugée nécessaire. Elle eut lieu en avril 1887, sous le commandement du Lieutenant-Colonel CORONNAT.

Nioro fut pris et, le 14 mai 1887, un traité fut signé avec les chefs du Saloum, plaçant sous notre protectorat le Saloum, le Niom, le Rip.

Un administrateur fut placé à Foundiougne et un cercle fut créé.

En 1891, des traités passés avec les rois du Sine et du Saloum assurèrent définitivement notre autorité dans tout le pays.

L'organisation administrative se fit ensuite sans à-coups, sans troubles.

Population. — Ainsi que nous venons de le voir dans ce rapide exposé historique, les principales races indigènes qui occupent le pays sont : les Sérères, les Socés ou Mandingues, les Toucouleurs, les Peuhls.

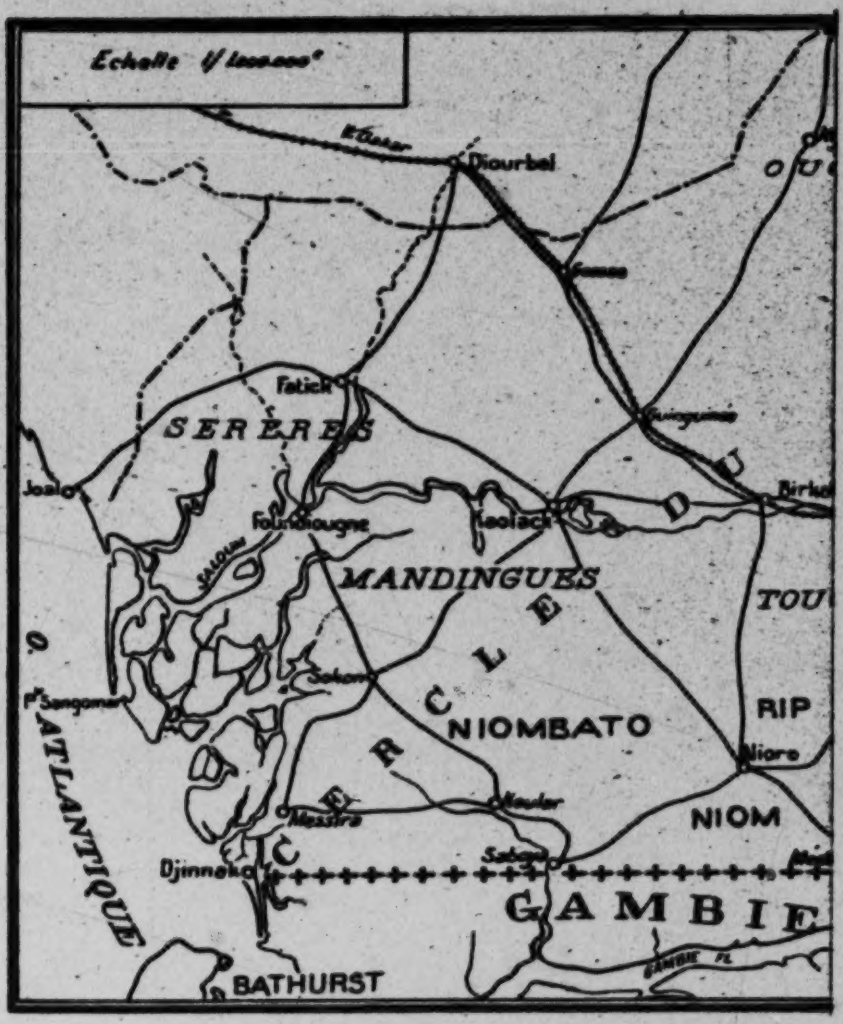
La population se répartit ainsi :

Ouoloffs.....	105.000	habitants
Sérères.....	85.000	—
Mandingues ou Socés...	50.000	—
Peuhls	10.000	—
Etrangers et divers	15.000	—
Soit un total de....	280.000	habitants

En 15 ans, la population, qui comptait en 1913 180.000 indigènes, a augmenté de plus d'un tiers. Ce résultat est dû, non pas seulement à la natalité, mais aussi et surtout aux immigrants des pays voisins (Haute-Gambie, Soudan, Guinée, Casamance) qui sont attirés par le développement économique de la région.

Religion. — Le fétichisme perd du terrain au profit de l'islamisme. Cette religion est actuellement prédominante. Seul, le Sérère conserve encore ses coutumes ancestrales, mais il est gagné par la religion de l'Islam. Trois sectes musulmanes sont représentées : les Tidjania, les Kadria et les Mourides.

Le mouridisme, secte religieuse nouvelle qui a pour prophète le marabout vénéré feu Serigne Bamba, a sa grande mosquée à N'Diourbel, dans le Baol.



CERCLE DU SIN

[Facing p. 100 (1)]

SINE SALOUM

[Facing p. 100 (B)]

Les populations musulmanes sont les Ouoloffs, les Toucouleurs et une partie des Socés.

Le fétichisme des Sérères est un culte naturiste.

Les coutumes dérivent du matriarcat. C'est un régime de castes. L'autorité paternelle s'est conservée intacte dans la famille, avec cependant le respect de la mère et certaines prérogatives de la lignée maternelle, notamment en matière de succession. Le captif, anciennement, était traité avec douceur par son maître. L'ordre de succession au trône était régi par des règles immuables. Le Grand Diaraff choisissait le Bour, tout en étant tenu de le prendre dans la caste princière des Guelwars et dans la ligne maternelle. Le titre de reine ou Linguère était porté, non par la femme du Bour, mais par sa mère.

Climat. Sol. — Le climat du Sine-Saloum est très chaud et sec. Il est pénible à l'Européen. Le thermomètre ne descend jamais au-dessous de 12° centigrades la nuit. Le jour, il monte parfois jusqu'à 45° et même 48°. La moyenne thermique est de 28° à 30°. Deux saisons sont bien tranchées : la saison sèche, qui dure de novembre à juin, et pendant laquelle souffle le vent d'Est brûlant et desséchant ; la saison des pluies ou hivernage, qui va de juin à novembre, période malsaine où règnent les fièvres paludéennes. La précipitation atmosphérique est abondante. Il tombe en moyenne 1 m. à 1 m. 20 d'eau. C'est peu si l'on compare aux chiffres de la Basse-Guinée (4 m. à 5 m.) ; c'est moins que la Casamance, où la chute d'eau annuelle est de 2 m. Mais le régime des pluies y est plus fort que dans tout le reste du Sénégal. A Dakar, à Saint-Louis, par exemple, il tombe de 0 m, 45 à 0 m. 55 d'eau.

Le sol est généralement perméable. Dans certains endroits, l'eau potable est atteinte à une faible profondeur. Par contre, dans d'autres, il faut creuser des puits très profonds. A Fatick, la couche superficielle d'eau douce est à 2 m. 50 ou 3 m. A Kaolack, il faut déjà dépasser 10 m., alors qu'il y a quelques années l'eau était trouvée à 6 m. A Gossas, région déshéritée, on a été obligé de creuser jusqu'à 90 m. ; à Guingui-

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

néo, les puits ont 60 m. de profondeur. Il convient de mentionner, comme un fait curieux, la présence d'eau douce au bord de marigots d'eau salée. Ainsi, à Dangana (Sine), le puits du campement, qui est creusé à 1 m. du bord de la rivière et à 1 m. 50 de profondeur, renferme de l'eau potable dont les habitants se servent.

Le sol n'est pas riche en humus. Il est sablonneux dans le Nord, silico-argileux dans les autres parties; mais, à peu près partout, le terrain convient à la culture de l'arachide, sauf dans le Bas-Saloum.

Dans le sol sablonneux, pousse une végétation arbustive épineuse assez dense. C'est le pays des cades (acacia albida). Dans les terres silico-argileuses du Sud et de l'Est, la végétation est plus vigoureuse; on y trouve encore actuellement des peuplements forestiers intéressants, vestiges des grandes forêts d'autrefois. Ces massifs sont en voie de disparition par suite de l'abus du défrichement et des incendies malheureusement trop fréquents. Les forêts de Patako, entre Messira et Coular, de Dasilamé, entre Nioro et Médina, qui renferment beaucoup de bois durs: caïlcédrat, vène, hire, sont à protéger.

II. — Organisation administrative

Divisions territoriales. — Les deux grands commandements indigènes du Sine et du Saloum ont été supprimés et le titre de Bour, qui n'avait plus d'ailleurs qu'un caractère honorifique, a cessé légalement d'exister.

Le cercle est divisé en trois grandes subdivisions administratives:

1° Subdivision du Sine, chef-lieu Fatick;

2° Subdivision du Bas-Saloum avec pour chef-lieu Foundiougne;

3° Subdivision du Saloum Oriental, chef-lieu Kaolack.

Un administrateur est à la tête du cercle, chaque subdivision est commandée par un fonctionnaire du

corps des administrateurs ou du corps des services civils.

Entre ces trois subdivisions, sont répartis les 19 cantons ou commandements indigènes, à la tête de chacun desquels est placé un chef de canton.

La subdividion du Saloum oriental a 11 cantons :

Koalack-Laghem,
Kahone,
Diokoul-Gandiaye,
Gossas,
Niom-Rip,
Nioro-Rip,
N'Gahaye,
N'Guer,
Pakalla-Mandack,
N'Doukoumane (Kaffrine),
Koungheul.

La subdivision du Sine est divisée en cinq cantons :

Diakhao-Maroutte,
Sanghaye-N'Gayokème,
Diohine,
Diouroup,
Dangana.

La subdivision du Bas-Saloum a trois cantons :

Djilor,
Sokone,
Niombato.

La population se répartit ainsi :

Subdivision de Kaolack	141.000	habitants
— du Sine.....	89.000	—
— du Bas-Saloum...	50.000	—
Total.....	280.000	

Communes mixtes. — Des communes mixtes ont été créées dans certaines localités importantes. Il y en a quatre :

Kaolack,
Fatick,
Foundiougne,
Gossas.

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

La commune mixte de Kaolack a 700 Européens et assimilés et 8.000 indigènes (il y a vingt ans, elle avait 50 Européens et 600 indigènes).

Celle de Fatick a 2.000 indigènes et 120 Européens. Celle de Foundiougne et de Gossas ont chacune 50 Européens et 800 indigènes.

L'importance de Kaolack vient de ce que cette localité est le port principal du Saloum, le point terminus d'un embranchement de la grande voie ferrée du Soudan et le centre d'une région abondamment productrice d'arachides.

Il existe une chambre de commerce, un tribunal de 1re instance, un bureau de douanes, un bureau de postes, de télégraphes et de téléphones. Les divers services administratifs y sont représentés (Travaux publics, Trésor, Assistance médicale, Enseignement, Agriculture, vétérinaire, etc...).

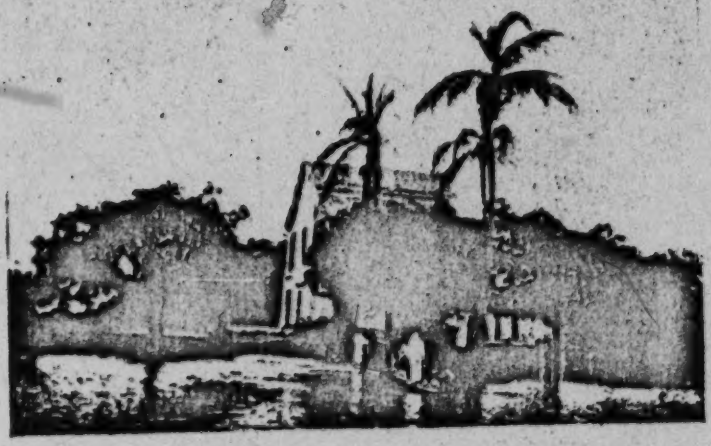
Situation financière. Impôts. — Le cercle du Sine-Saloum, par son étendue, par sa population, par ses ressources économiques, a une importance toujours croissante.

Sa situation exceptionnelle fait que le railway du Soudan le traverse sur un parcours de 190 kilomètres. Sept gares le jalonnent. Son réseau de voie ferrée et son système de routes et de canaux lui permettent de drainer sur Kaolack et sur Foundiougne tous les produits du sol. Aussi le commerce total de 1927 (importations et exportations réunies) a-t-il été, pour le cercle, de 350 millions de francs. Les droits de douane encaissés au profit du budget général de l'A. O. F. ont atteint 13 millions de francs. Les impôts sur rôles (impôts personnel, patentes, licences, etc...) se sont élevés à 25 millions, alors qu'en 1923 ils n'avaient pas dépassé le chiffre de 4.300.000 francs. La progression est donc remarquable.

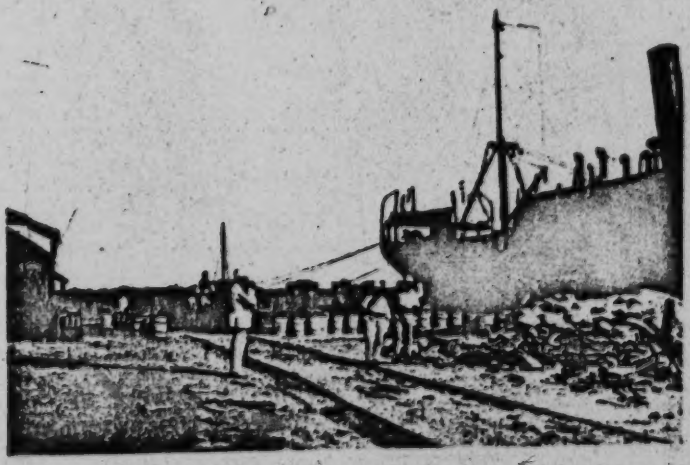
L'impôt personnel indigène à lui seul a fourni, en 1927, 3.768.355 francs, alors qu'en 1921 il n'avait rapporté que 2.791.000 francs.

L'impôt sur le bétail est passé de 270.000 francs en 1921 à 425.000 francs en 1927.

RÉGION DU SINE SALOUM



Poste de pilotage de la pointe de Sangomar.



Le Port de Kaolack : les quais.

[Facing p. 104]

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

Enseignement. — L'instruction est donnée aux enfants par des instituteurs français et indigènes. A Kaolack, il y a une école régionale qui groupe 500 élèves. Des écoles primaires fonctionnent à Fatick, à Foundiougne, à Sokone, à Gossas, à Kaffrine, à Nioro. Au total, 1.200 enfants reçoivent l'instruction; ce n'est qu'une élite qui vient à l'école. Le besoin se fait sentir de la création de nouveaux centres d'enseignement, notamment à Birkelane, à Koungheul, à Gandiaye, à Niakhar, à Tataguine. Au reste, si l'enseignement du français est donné seul dans nos écoles, l'indigène reçoit aussi quelques rudiments d'instruction dans des écoles coraniques. Celles-ci sont assez nombreuses.

Assistance médicale. — L'assistance médicale et la lutte contre les épidémies sont assurées par des dispensaires créés à Kaolack et à Fatick et dirigés chacun par un médecin européen.

Ceux-ci ont sous leurs ordres des médecins indigènes et des sages-femmes résidant au chef-lieu ou répartis dans des postes médicaux.

La commune de Kaolack a, de plus, un Dispensaire municipal dirigé par un médecin européen, rétribué sur les fonds du budget communal.

Des services urbains d'hygiène existent également dans les principales agglomérations du cercle, notamment à Kaolack, à Fatick, à Foundiougne, à Gossas et à Kaffrine.

La vaccination anti-variolique est pratiquée jusque dans les moindres villages.

III. — Développement économique

Main-d'œuvre. —. La population du cercle est de 280.000 indigènes et de 1.300 Européens et assimilés.

La densité de population est donc de 10,8 habitants au kilomètre carré, proportion supérieure à la moyenne de l'ensemble de l'Afrique Occidentale française qui n'atteint pas 3 habitants au kilomètre carré.

Un Office du travail fonctionne dans le cercle.

Cela n'empêche pas le recrutement de la main-

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

d'œuvre d'offrir de sérieuses difficultés. Celle-ci est instable et inexpérimentée. Les salaires n'en sont pas moins élevés, surtout dans les villes.

A l'époque des chargements de bateaux, dans le port de Kaolack, les salaires des manœuvres montent quelquefois à 15 fr. et 20 fr. par jour. Ils s'établissent en moyenne à 12 fr.

L'ouvrier agricole, dans certaines exploitations européennes comme à Latmingué, a un salaire journalier de 8 fr. et touche, en outre, une ration de riz.

La domesticité est rare et coûteuse. Un cuisinier se paye de 200 fr. à 500 fr. par mois. Un boy, de 100 fr. à 200 fr. Ce sont des prix analogues à ceux pratiqués à Dakar.

L'indigène n'est attiré, d'ailleurs, dans les villes que par les hauts salaires. La concurrence ne joue pas, comme en Europe. Il n'y a que de rares spécialistes ou artisans. Quant au manœuvre, il préférera plus souvent travailler à la campagne son champ ou s'employer comme ouvrier agricole pour un employeur indigène qui le nourrira et lui abandonnera une partie de la récolte.

Dans un pays agricole, comme le Sine-Saloum, l'indigène est surtout un cultivateur.

Navétanes. — Le Sine-Saloum reçoit chaque année, à l'époque de la culture de l'arachide, des cultivateurs indigènes venant de l'Est et du Sud (Soudan, Guinée portugaise, Casamance, Haute-Gambie, même Guinéens du Fouta-Djallon).

On appelle ces immigrés des « navétanes », du mot « navet », qui signifie « saison des pluies », parce que ces étrangers arrivent un peu avant les premiers orages et partent dès qu'ils ont vendu leur récolte.

Il en vient, chaque année, 10.000 à 15.000. Une coutume locale appelée « Lâdyino » régit les rapports de l'étranger et de son employeur.

C'est une convention verbale par laquelle l'employeur assure à son co-contractant le logement et la nourriture pendant la durée du travail et lui prête en outre un champ particulier.

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

Le navétane travaille tous les matins, sauf le lundi et le jeudi, pour son employeur. Le reste du temps lui est laissé pour ses cultures personnelles. Le navétane reçoit de son logeur des semences.

Son travail consiste dans la préparation du champ (lougan), dans les semailles et les sarclages.

Quand la récolte est faite, le logeur cesse de le nourrir.

A son départ, le navétane doit rembourser à son employeur le prix de sa nourriture évaluée forfaitairement, suivant les régions, entre 100 fr. et 120 fr.

Les concessions agricoles européennes devront s'inspirer de cette coutume. Pour retenir la main-d'œuvre, il conviendra d'assurer le logement et la nourriture à l'indigène et de laisser à sa disposition un petit champ de culture en même temps qu'on lui permettra un jour ou deux par semaine de travailler pour lui.

Cette formule est appliquée, à Latmingué, par la Société des plantations, qui porte tous ses efforts sur la culture du manioc.

Outillage économique. — L'outillage économique du cercle comprend des ports, des voies ferrées, des routes, des voies de navigation intérieure, un réseau postal télégraphique et téléphonique.

Ports. — Ce sont des ports fluviaux où la marée permet aux navires à vapeur de haute mer ne dépassant cependant pas un certain tonnage de venir effectuer leurs opérations le long des wharfs ou appontements construits sur les berges.

Le Saloum a deux ports de ce genre : Kaolack et Foundiougne.

Le Sine a un port : Niamnioro.

Le Miniminian, affluent de la Gambie, a un port : Saboya.

Sur le Saloum existent encore, entre Foundiougne et Kaolack, deux points d'embarquements fréquentés : Kamatane, inclus dans la concession de MM. Civrac frères (rive gauche), et Lyndiane, inclus dans la concession de la Société des Anciens Etablissements Charles Peyrissac et Cie (rive droite).

Sur tous les autres canaux ou marigots, sont installés

23: Aujas M537 Senegal

des points d'embarquement et de débarquement — avec appontements — accessibles seulement aux côtres de 20 à 50 tonneaux de jauge. Ces côtres font le transit et vont porter leur cargaison aux grands ports de Kaolack, Foundiougne et Niamnioroh.

Kaolack est devenu, depuis quelques années, un point important d'embarquement et de débarquement. C'est aussi le port naturel du Soudan français puisqu'il a cet avantage d'être relié à cette colonie par un embranchement qui le soude au railway du Thiès-Niger. Le parcours Kayes-Kaolack économise à la marchandise, sur le trajet Kayes-Dakar, environ 225 kilomètres, ce qui est appréciable, étant donné le prix élevé des tarifs ferroviaires.

Les exportateurs, et même les importateurs, ont donc intérêt à utiliser le port de Kaolack.

Pour justifier cependant cet intérêt, il était nécessaire : 1° de baliser le Saloum ; 2° d'outiller le port.

Le balisage a été complètement refait en 1922 ; il est revisé et entretenu chaque année.

L'outillage moderne du port est en voie de réalisation.

Les nouveaux travaux du port de Kaolack. — Le Gouvernement de la colonie, après avoir fait différentes études relatives à l'aménagement du port de Kaolack, a ouvert un concours au début de 1927, par lequel il appelait les grandes entreprises de travaux publics à fournir des propositions pour l'aménagement de la rive droite du Saloum sur une longueur de 350 mètres, en vue de permettre aux navires de haute mer d'embarquer et de débarquer directement leurs marchandises, sans l'aide de chalands ou d'allèges, et pour la construction d'un pont définitif, sur le Saloum, de 200 mètres environ de longueur, destiné à remplacer le pont Noirot, situé à 2 kilomètres environ en amont du port.

Les projets de la Société de constructions Edmond Coignet, de Paris, qui ont été classés avec le n° 1 comme étant les plus adéquats aux besoins du commerce et comme comportant les dépenses les moins élevées, prévoient la construction et les aménagements ci-dessous :

Un appontement en ciment armé de 350 mètres de

longueur et de 8 mètres de largeur dont l'extrémité amont se trouvera près du wharf Chavanel et dont l'extrémité aval dépassera de 110 mètres vers l'aval l'appontement actuel du chemin de fer Thiès-Niger.

La rive du nouvel ouvrage coïncidera avec le front d'accostage de l'appontement existant et, de plus, sera protégée de 30 mètres en 30 mètres par des ducs d'albe en ciment armé.

L'appontement sera constitué pour supporter une surcharge uniformément répartie de 3.000 kilogs par mètre carré, ainsi qu'une voie pour grue de 5 tonnes e deux voies pour le chemin de fer. A son extrémité aval, une passerelle en ciment armé permettra le raccordement des voies de l'appontement avec la gare de Kaolack.

En arrière de l'appontement, les terre-pleins seront remblayés de façon à constituer une plateforme d'environ 300 mètres de profondeur régnant entre le nouvel ouvrage et la rue de la Poste. Cette plateforme, destinée à contenir des seccos et éventuellement quelques hangars, sera coupée de cinq rues longitudinales de 10 mètres de largeur et de quatre rues transversales de 20 mètres de largeur. Ces rues seront bétonnées et porteront des dispositions spéciales pour l'écoulement des eaux pluviales d'hivernage. Dans le béton des rues longitudinales, se trouveront encastrées des voies raccordées avec la gare de Kaolack.

Une importante gare maritime sera créée à l'aval des terre-pleins qui viennent d'être définis. Elle se composera d'un faisceau de triage permettant aux rames des wagons qui sont passées par la gare de Kaolack d'être ensuite aiguillées vers les différentes rues longitudinales des terres-pleins ou vers l'appontement.

L'ensemble des travaux et aménagements schématiquement décrits ci-dessus comportera une extension importante de l'escale actuelle vers l'Ouest où sera constitué, d'ici trois années, un véritable port moderne. Là, se pratiqueront avec les manutentions mécaniques des derniers types connus les importants échanges de marchandises, qui se font entre le chemin de fer du Thiès-Niger et les navires de haute mer qui assurent

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

d'une façon de plus en plus dense les transports commerciaux entre le Soudan et l'Europe.

Le pont Noirot en bois actuellement existant et sur lequel le trafic a considérablement augmenté depuis la propagation de l'automobile en Afrique Occidentale Française ne pourra plus longtemps supporter avec sécurité les charges des voitures et des camions et doit, conformément au projet qui a été approuvé, être remplacé par un pont en ciment armé se composant de 13 travées de 15 mètres de portée reposant sur 12 piles fondées sur pieux en ciment armé.

Ce pont sera capable de supporter une voie ferrée en plus du trafic normal des piétons et des véhicules.

La colonie du Sénégal prépare actuellement, de concert avec la Société Coignet, le marché qui sera incessamment passé et qui doit comporter un délai de trois ans pour l'appontement, les remblais des terre-pleins et le pont.

La réalisation des ouvrages et aménagements projetés sera un exemple intéressant de coopération étroite entre le Gouvernement de la colonie, les Services des Travaux publics, la Chambre de Commerce de Kaolack et l'entreprise privée.

Pour démontrer l'importance du port de Kaolack, il suffit de placer sous les yeux du lecteur quelques chiffres. On se rendra compte de l'accroissement du mouvement commercial que la situation privilégiée de Kaolack sur le fleuve faisait prévoir, il y a déjà quinze ans.

Kaolack était encore, en 1905, une petite bourgade insignifiante. Foundiougne était le grand port du Saloum. Mais Kaolack était le débouché de tout un hinterland beaucoup plus vaste, c'était la voie d'accès des produits du Baol et du Haut-Saloum ; c'était, enfin, le port naturel du Soudan. Son accès, à 120 kilomètres de l'Océan, rendu malaisé par le passage du chenal de Sangomar et les bancs de sable de la rivière, a été facilité par le balisage. Les échouements sont devenus beaucoup plus rares. Le pilotage est d'ailleurs obligatoire.

Voies ferrées. — La voie ferrée de Thiès au Niger,

.23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

prolongée par un embranchement de 22 kilomètres qui part de Guinguinéo et aboutit à Kaolack, allait faire ressortir toute l'importance de ce dernier point au fur et à mesure de la mise en valeur des terres situées à proximité du rail. Ce développement demanda plusieurs années. Il est, aujourd'hui, en pleine progression constante. Comme tous les chemins de fer, l'artère du Thiès-Niger insuffle la vie à des régions désertes autrefois qui se peuplent et s'ouvrent actuellement à la colonisation.

Sans doute, Kaolack bénéficie de la non application de la convention franco-anglaise du 8 avril 1904. On sait que, par cet accord, l'Angleterre nous abandonnait sur le fleuve Gambie, avec le territoire de Kantora, le port de Yarboutenda qu'elle croyait accessible aux navires de haute mer. Dans le cas, ajoutait ce texte, où cet avantage n'existerait pas, un port serait choisi en aval et cédé à la France avec les terres déterminées par un arc de un kilomètre de rayon. Yarboutenda fut reconnu, par la suite, inaccessible aux navires de mer. Le Gouvernement français était fondé, dès lors, à faire choix d'un port sur la Gambie qui réalisât les avantages que l'accord avait voulu nous octroyer. Après étude, le port de Nianimaro fut choisi par le Gouvernement général de Dakar. Mais les pourparlers entre Paris et Londres n'aboutirent pas.

Kaolack, par sa position naturelle sur un fleuve navigable, a remédié à une situation qui aurait pu être très désavantageuse à notre commerce. Le rail a même été prolongé de Kaolack à Lyndiane, sur un parcours de 12 kilomètres, pour favoriser une entreprise particulière installée sur le fleuve à cet endroit.

Lyndiane est, en effet, un point sur la rive droite du Saloum où les bateaux peuvent accoster facilement. Les Etablissements Ch. Peyrissac et Cie, qui sont propriétaires de cette escale et ont des comptoirs tant au Sénégal qu'au Soudan, tirent un réel avantage de cette situation privilégiée.

Nous avons donné plus haut l'indication du développement de la voie ferrée : 190 kilomètres dans le Sine-Saloum. Les sept gares d'arrêt sont : Gossas, Guiguinéo,

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

Birkelane, Kaffrine, Malem Hodar, Maka-Yop, Koungheul, toutes situées au débouché de voies commerciales transitant des arachides.

Routes. —A cette voie ferrée, ainsi qu'à tous les grands centres, se ramifient de nombreuses routes sillonnant en tous sens la contrée. Ces routes ou plutôt ces pistes sont, pour la plupart, accessibles aux autos : autos de tourisme, camions de transports.

Il y a, dans le cercle, plus de 3.000 kilomètres de pistes, dont 2.000 kilomètres sont, en saison sèche, journellement parcourus par le camionnage automobile dont le développement s'est accru dans des proportions considérables depuis 1920.

Le réseau routier est, dans l'ensemble, excellent. A chaque hivernage, il subit des dégradations ; celles-ci sont réparées, dès l'arrivée de la saison sèche. Des milliers de travailleurs accomplissant leurs prestations annuelles s'y emploient sous la surveillance des chefs indigènes et sous la direction des autorités administratives européennes. Quelques ouvrages d'art, digues, ponts, ponceaux, dallots, buses ont été construits dans les endroits marécageux ou pour franchir des points d'eau.

Dans les communes, les rues sont empierrées au fur et à mesure du développement de la voirie urbaine. A Kaolack, il a été empierré, depuis cinq ans, 6 kilomètres de rues.

Navigation intérieure. — Le Saloum est, nous l'avons déjà vu, le grand chenal de navigation intérieure. Les bateaux à vapeur y pénètrent par le passe maritime de Sangomar. Dans le chenal, long de 120 kilomètres, jusqu'à Kaolack, il y a quelques coudes ou passages assez difficiles à franchir. Un pilote est nécessaire. Tous les bateaux en ont un, qu'ils prennent à Dakar ou à Rufisque. Le Sine est parcouru de la même façon jusqu'à Niamnioroh.

Quant aux marigots accessibles aux côtres, aux petites chaloupes, aux chalands ou aux pirogues, ils sont innombrables. Il y a plusieurs milliers de kilomètres

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

de voies d'eau, reliant ainsi entre eux les villages, les centres de cultures, les agglomérations de pêche.

Dans le Bas-Saloum, notamment, les trafics commerciaux se font par côtres ou par pirogues.

Saboya, sur le marigot Miniminian, affluent de la Gambie, est accessible aux navires de haute mer. Chaque année, des bateaux viennent chercher le stock d'arachides que la région produit.

Voici les chiffres comparés de la navigation pour les trois ports de Kaolack, Foundiougne et Saboya :

Port de Kaolack

En 1913, les ports de Kaolack et de Foundiougne avaient déjà vu entrer et sortir un total de 1.041 navires, mais le port de Kaolack, dans ce chiffre, n'excédait pas 200 : 100 à l'entrée, 100 à la sortie. Ce fait tenait à ce qu'aucun bureau de douane n'existait à cette époque à Kaolack. Foundiougne était le grand centre des opérations douanières. Il l'est resté jusqu'en 1922. Kaolack, à partir de 1923, prend son essor ; Foundiougne devient alors le second port du Saloum, comme importance.

Voici les chiffres, pour Kaolack, des années 1922 à 1927 :

Voir les tableaux suivants.

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

Port de Kaolack

Années	Navires		Total	Importations		Exportations		Total	
	Entrés	Sortis		Poids	Valeur	Poids	Valeur	Poids	Valeur
				tonnes	francs	tonnes	francs	tonnes	francs
1922	191	183	374	2.778	5.051.568	33.396	15.511.484	36.169	20.563.052
1923	147	581	1.228	44.606	27.954.644	79.721	48.360.455	124.329	76.305.100
1924	516	511	1.027	31.300	43.051.146	94.800	99.230.755	126.107	142.311.901
1925	482	483	965	51.150	71.165.898	121.241	139.292.637	172.391	161.401.962
1926	791	791	1.582	57.245	128.369.032	140.386	218.488.749	197.631	348.357.781
1927	828	829	1.657	60.789	116.138.356	138.664	213.889.002	199.453	330.027.358

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

Port de Foundiougue

ANNÉES	NAVIRES		TOTAL	IMPORTATIONS		EXPORTATIONS		TOTAL	
	ENTRÉS	SORTIS		POIDS	VALEUR	POIDS	VALEUR	POIDS	VALEUR
				tonnes	francs	tonnes	francs	tonnes	francs
1923	624	630	1.254	5.741	15.742.749	85.507	45.523.369	91.245	61.275.118
1923	822	785	1.607	6.292	15.024.623	42.303	27.129.527	49.595	42.154.250
1924	744	739	1.483	10.957	28.304.623	43.422	41.882.147	54.379	70.186.770
1925	650	661	1.311	13.453	32.501.849	59.031	61.006.923	72.484	94.408.782
1926	707	747	1.454	14.644	41.776.166	65.236	90.798.776	79.869	132.574.942
1927	727	753	1.480	10.427	36.343.264	57.471	81.325.445	67.898	117.668.709

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

Port de Saboya

Années	Navires		Total	Importations		Exportations		Total	
	Entrés	Sortis		Poids	Valeur	Poids	Valeur	Poids	Valeur
				tonnes	francs	tonnes	francs	tonnes	francs
1922	Néant	Néant							
1923	7	7	14	43	78.282	1.657	831.147	1.700	909.429
1924	9	9	18	107	290.000	1.601	6.710.00	4.279	6.810.000
1925	11	8	19	149	331.000	1.609	2.020.011	4.069	2.351.011
1926	6	4	10	75	150.000	3.834	5.443.800	3.909	5.593.800
1927	3	3	6	21	100.000	4.258	6.710.000	4.279	6.810.000

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

Mouvement des Ports du Sine-Saloum : Kaolack, Foundiougue et Sabova

Années	Navires		Total	Importations		Exportations		Total	
	Entrés	Sortis		Poids	Valeur	Poids	Valeur	Poids	Valeur
				tonnes	francs	tonnes	francs	tonnes	francs
1922	815	813	1.628	8.514	20.794.317	118.903	61.048.853	127.417	81.838.170
1923	1.476	1.373	2.849	51.148	42.979.267	124.681	76.821.129	175.824	119.388.779
1924	1.269	1.259	2.528	42.364	71.675.769	189.823	141.112.902	182.194	214.893.421
1925	1.143	1.152	2.295	64.752	108.998.747	182.192	202.819.581	246.944	258.161.725
1926	1.504	1.542	3.046	71.964	170.795.198	209.446	309.287.525	281.409	486.526.523
1927	1.558	1.585	3.143	71.237	152.581.620	200.398	301.924.447	271.630	454.506.067

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

TRAFIC D'ENSEMBLE POUR LE CERCLE
(Kaolack, Foundiougne, Saboya)

Périodes	Tonnage débarqué	Tonnage embarqué	Tonnage débarqué et embarqué
1909-1918	12.076 t.	49.189 t	61.265 t.
1914-1918	12.333	70.767	83.100
1919-1923	17.438	99.803	17.241
1924	42.288	139.712	182.000
1925	64.668	182.277	246.945
1926	71.964	209.446	281.410
1927	71.287	200.393	271.680

Si le tonnage a diminué de près de 10.000 tonnes en 1927, cela tient uniquement à la récolte d'arachides qui a été légèrement déficitaire, par suite de la trop grande abondance des pluies. On peut dire, dans l'ensemble, qu'il y a une progression constante ininterrompue depuis la période d'avant-guerre. L'énoncé de ce chiffre indique la situation florissante de la région du Sine-Saloum.

En 1927, la valeur totale des importations et des exportations a été, pour le cercle, de 454 millions de francs, dont 330 millions pour Kaolack. Avec ce qui sort par les petits postes de douanes de la frontière de Gambie, on peut admettre que la valeur du commerce général, en 1927, a été assez près de 500 millions, soit à peu près le tiers du commerce total de la colonie du Sénégal, qui a été, en 1927, de 1 milliard 562 millions.

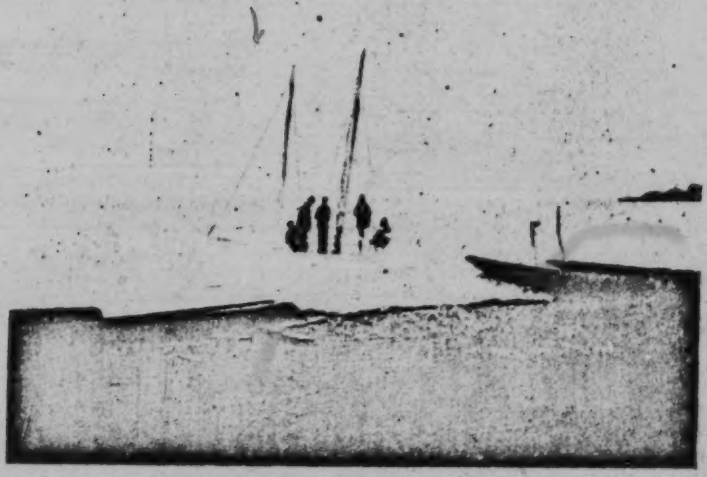
Ces chiffres ont leur éloquence.

RESSOURCES AGRICOLES DU PAYS : CULTURES

La principale production du Sine-Saloum est l'arachide. Cette plante est cultivée partout, mais les terres les plus favorables sont dans le Sine et au nord de la voie ferrée. Les terrains du Bas-Saloum se prêtent beaucoup moins à cette culture, à cause de leur composition qui donne une certaine acidité aux graines les rendant ainsi moins bonnes aux emplois industriels de

RÉGION DU SINE SALOUM

Un cail cédrat sur la route de Latmingué.



L'embouchure du Saloum à Dionoar.

[Facing p. 187]

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

fabrication des huiles fines. On a essayé de corriger ce défaut, d'améliorer la qualité du Bas-Saloum, par une sélection des semences, par un apport continu de semences du Sine, on n'y est pas encore parvenu.

Au reste, les terres en friche, dans les autres régions du cercle, ne manquent pas.

Il y a 230.000 hectares complantés en arachides. Ce chiffre représente 0 hectare 85 ares par tête d'habitant. C'est environ 1/11e de la superficie totale du cercle.

En 1914, cette culture était étendue sur 70.000 hectares. Elle a donc triplé.

La production, qui était de 75.000 tonnes en 1918, est aujourd'hui de 140.000 tonnes environ. Elle a doublé en dix ans. Elle figure à peu près le tiers de la récolte du Sénégal.

On peut fixer aux chiffres suivants la production d'arachides du cercle, depuis 1921 (en tonnes) :

Années.	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tonnes.	80.000	90.000	110.000	125.000	135.000	145.000	140.000

Ces résultats sont dus, pour une part, à l'augmentation de la population par l'afflux de travailleurs étrangers au cercle qui sont venus s'y fixer ou qui y louent leurs bras, pour une autre part, à la sélection des semences et à leur distribution par quantités de plus en plus grandes.

Le mérite de cette œuvre revient à l'Administration, à la Société de Prévoyance et à la Chambre de Commerce de Kaolack, dont les efforts conjugués ont permis d'atteindre un aussi beau résultat.

Mais il n'est pas douteux que le rendement à l'hectare diminue et que sur beaucoup de terres il n'est plus, aujourd'hui, que de 500 à 600 kilogs l'hectare, au lieu de 700 à 800 kilogs, et même 900, comme on l'a vu parfois dans le Sine. Les terres s'épuisent, par suite du manque d'engrais et du défaut d'assolement des cultures. Deux autres facteurs entrent également en jeu : la méthode culturale indigène trop primitive et certaines sélections insuffisantes de semences. Le cultivateur indigène continue de travailler sa terre à l'hilaire, sorte

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

de bêche avec laquelle il se contente de gratter la terre. Il réduit ainsi par trop les labours ; il fait mal ou insuffisamment ses binages.

Il a été démontré, par les essais faits par la Compagnie française de l'Afrique Occidentale à Latmingué, qu'avec des instruments aratoires mécaniques on pouvait facilement doubler le rendement à l'hectare. Sur des terres nouvellement défrichées et avec ces méthodes, le rendement n'a jamais été inférieur à 1.000 kilogs et a atteint parfois 1.500 kilogs à l'hectare. Il faut arriver à persuader à l'indigène qu'il trouverait profit à travailler la terre avec un outillage un peu plus perfectionné. Les services d'agriculture s'y emploient et il faut espérer que des méthodes culturales plus modernes arriveront à doubler le rendement. Le problème est capital.

Mil. — Le mil est également une culture en voie de progression.

Les espèces cultivées sont : le petit et le gros mil ou, suivant leur dénomination indigène : le souna, le sanio, le bassi, le fehla.

La surface cultivée a été, en 1927, de 240.000 hectares, avec une production totale de 119.000 tonnes, un peu supérieure aux besoins de la population. En 1925, pour une production de 80.000 tonnes, la population avait ensemencé 210.000 hectares. L'excédent de production est consommé dans les régions avoisinant le Sine-Saloum.

Riz. — Diverses variétés de riz sont cultivées, surtout dans le Sine et le Bas-Saloum où la chute d'eau annuelle est plus considérable et où le terrain se prête à cette culture. On peut considérer que 15.000 hectares sont plantés en riz avec une production totale d'environ 14.000 tonnes, qui sont entièrement consommées sur place.

Manioc. — Le manioc est l'objet de quelques plantations autour des villages. La Société de Prévoyance indigène a distribué, en 1925, de nombreuses boutures dans la plupart des cantons.

5.000 hectares sont plantés en manioc avec une production de 25.000 tonnes de manioc frais.

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

Maïs. — Le maïs n'est pas planté partout. On le cultive dans le Bas-Saloum et dans le Sine, un peu dans le Saloum. Il y a 2.000 hectares de maïs et 2.000 tonnes de production.

Haricots (niébés). — Le haricot dit « niébé » est planté sur environ 15.000 hectares donnant une récolte de 7.000 tonnes.

Par suite de l'attaque de la plante par divers insectes (charançons), la production reste stationnaire.

Bananes. — Deux bananeraies, créées par l'Administration, existent à Sangako et à Bani, dans le Bas-Saloum. Elles pourraient être multipliées dans cette région.

Canne à sucre. — Ce produit est peu cultivé — le sol ne convenant pas — à de rares exceptions près.

Coton. — Le coton indigène n'est cultivé que sur de petites étendues. 700 hectares de terrains sont pris par cette culture.

Indigo. — La région qui est le principal producteur d'indigo est le Bas-Saloum. Cette culture tend à prendre une certaine extension depuis quelques années.

Kapok. — Le kapokier vit à l'état sauvage. Il y en a dans les cantons au nsad de la voie ferrée (N'Gahaye-Gossas), mais surtout au Sud, à partir de Kaffrine et surtout de Koungheul. L'indigène ne le récolte pas ou le récolte mal. Le cercle pourrait donner 100 tonnes de kapok, il n'en fournit que 20 tonnes au plus, employées sur place ou vendues à l'extérieur.

Cultures maraîchères. — Des jardins potagers existent dans les grands centres. Mais c'est encore une culture européenne, l'indigène consommant peu de nos légumes.

Un jardin d'essais, ou plutôt une pépinière, a été créé à Kaolack il y a une vingtaine d'années. Cette pépinière fournit de nombreux plants d'arbres aux Européens et aux indigènes (eucalyptus, mimosa, flamboyants, caïlcédrats, fromagers, oranger, citronniers, goyaviers).

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

Cultures européennes. Concessions. — Il n'y a pas de colonisation agricole entreprise par des Européens, sauf à Latmingué.

En 1920, la Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale demanda une concession de 200 hectares à Latmingué, à 20 kilomètres au sud-est de Kaolack, tout près du Saloum, pour y faire des essais de culture mécanique de l'arachide. Pendant quatre ans, une mise en valeur fut effectuée. Un matériel agricole perfectionné fut utilisé (tracteurs, charrues polysocs, semoirs mécaniques, pulvériseurs, herses-bineuses et arracheuses). Les essais ont permis de se rendre compte des avantages d'une culture mécanique de l'arachide. La pénurie de main-d'œuvre fut cependant un obstacle à l'extension de la culture. La Compagnie Française abandonna cette concession qui fut reprise et agrandie par la Société des Plantations de Latmingué, qui l'exploite actuellement. Celle-ci cultive exclusivement le manioc. Elle a déjà défriché 200 hectares et planté 270 hectares en manioc. Elle cherche à réaliser la culture annuelle de cette plante en neuf mois au lieu de dix-huit. Il y a lieu d'en suivre le développement avec intérêt. Les besoins de la Métropole en manioc sont considérables et le Sénégal trouverait là un élément encore de prospérité économique.

Elevage. — Les pâturages sont abondants, surtout en saison des pluies. Ils suffisent à élever un cheptel important de bœufs, de moutons, de chèvres, de chevaux et d'ânes. Des épidémies déciment cependant le cheptel bovin qui oscille entre 250 et 300.000 têtes. En saison sèche, la question de l'alimentation du bétail se double de la difficulté de l'eau à trouver pour abreuver les animaux. Néanmoins, l'élevage des bœufs reste une entreprise intéressante, un troupeau doublant en trois ans.

Aucun essai sérieux d'amélioration de l'espèce bovine n'a été tenté par l'Administration.

Depuis la multiplication des automobiles, le cheval est un peu délaissé. L'espèce est de petite taille, mais robuste.

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

Quant aux moutons et chèvres, leur race rustique est résistante. Cet élevage ne demande aucun soin.

Forêts. — Les forêts couvrent une notable partie du cercle. Elles doivent être protégées, car elles sont en voie de disparition progressive, par suite de l'abus des feux de brousse et du défrichement systématique par l'indigène, désireux d'augmenter ses cultures.

Il n'y a aucune exploitation méthodique des forêts. L'exploitation est limitée à la coupe des bois de palétuviers destinés à la fabrication du charbon de bois. Cependant, il subsiste encore de beaux échantillons de bois durs, notamment de caïlcédrats ou faux-acajou, dans le Bas-Saloum spécialement.

A l'Est, entre Kaffrine et Koungheul, existent des peuplements de petits bambous, notamment dans les dépressions humides. Ces bambous sont coupés par les indigènes qui en font des panneaux appelés « crintings » et destinés à servir de clôtures ou de cloisons de vérandah. Le prix de ces panneaux, de 2 m. à 3 m. de longueur, varie entre 15 et 25 francs.

Carrières. — Il y a de nombreuses carrières de latérite, la plupart exploitées. La pierre n'est pas aussi dure qu'à Rufisque ou à Dakar.

Salines. — Une exploitation industrielle de marais-salants existe à Kaolack. La Société des Salines du Sine-Saloum exploite à Diorana des salines depuis 1915. A ce point de vue, la région du Saloum est privilégiée. L'évaporation constante des eaux de ce bras de mer et de ses multiples ramifications donne à la masse liquide un degré de saturation très supérieur à celui des eaux de l'Océan. La production actuelle varie de 20 à 30.000 tonnes, qui sont consommées dans le pays et exportées au Sénégal et au Soudan. Cette Société est gênée dans son développement par les droits sur le sel et les frais de transport qui grèvent notablement ce produit.

Les indigènes exploitent depuis un temps immémorial des salines à Tickat, en amont de Kaolack, et sur les bras du Saloum, à l'ouest de Fatick. Ils en produisent uniquement ce qui est nécessaire à leur consommation.

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

Du temps des Bours, cette exploitation donnait lieu à une redevance en nature au profit du souverain.

Industries indigènes. — En dehors des salines indigènes, nous comptons mentionner l'industrie du séchage du poisson. Les multiples lagunes, marigots, cours d'eau de la région renferment en abondance d'excellents poissons de mer (capitaines, brochets, raies, soles, etc.). La race des Niominka, habituée à la pêche, en tire un parti rémunérateur. Le séchage du poisson se pratique à Fatick, à Foundiougne et dans le Bas-Saloum. On peut estimer à près de 500 tonnes par an la quantité de poisson séché. La consommation en est uniquement locale et les marchés du cercle et des cercles voisins sont les lieux d'écoulement ordinaires.

Il n'y a d'autre industrie locale que celle des potiers, vanniers et tisserands. Quelques forgerons indigènes s'installent dans les villages au moment des cultures; ils sont, d'ailleurs, de race ouoloff ou maure.

Industries européennes. — Il n'y a, dans le cercle, qu'une seule industrie européenne. Une huilerie pour le traitement de l'arachide a été créée à Kaolack, par M. l'ingénieur Gaudart. Cette usine appartient aujourd'hui à la Société des Huileries et Rizeries Ouest-Africaines. Son outillage est moderne. Sa production est importante; elle l'écoule dans la colonie, en France et dans les colonies anglaises voisines.

Commerce. — Le commerce ne cesse de progresser depuis la fin de la guerre, tant pour l'importation que pour l'exportation.

Les tissus constituent la branche principale des importations, avec les articles de bimbeloterie et les matériaux de construction.

L'arachide est le principal produit exporté. C'est celui qui fait la richesse du pays.

Le commerce est aux mains de Sociétés ou de particuliers français pour la majorité, qui ont installé des comptoirs dans tous les centres importants. Ces comptoirs se multiplient depuis quelques années et s'étendent même dans les petits villages qui sont un centre d'écou-

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

lement du produit agricole recherché. Le camion automobile pénètre aujourd'hui dans les coins les plus reculés. Le cultivateur n'a, pour ainsi dire, plus à se déranger pour vendre ses produits. On vient lui acheter son arachide sur le lieu même de la récolte. Le petit commerce de détail est entre les mains de traitants indigènes ou de commerçants syriens.

Importations. — Nous avons vu, plus haut, les chiffres du mouvement de la navigation et le tonnage des marchandises débarquées dans les divers ports. Les hauts prix atteints par les tissus depuis trois ou quatre ans ont causé une certaine mévente dont ont souffert le commerce de gros et le petit détaillant.

Exportations. — Nous donnons ci-dessous les chiffres de l'exportation des arachides. On sait qu'au Sénégal les deux dernières années se sont chiffrées par un tonnage de 483.980 tonnes en 1926 et de 485.608 tonnes en 1927, d'une valeur respective de 740 millions et 616 millions.

Sur ce total, la part des ports du Saloum, en remontant à 1921, est la suivante :

	Kaolack	Foundiougne	TOTAUX (1)
	—	—	—
1921		73.885 t.	73.885 t.
1922	29.192 t.	79.882	109.074
1923	75.503	36.954	112.457
1924	90.481	39.221	129.688
1925	110.787	52.986	163.773
1926	135.899	58.271	194.170
1927	134.947	51.808	186.755

Aux chiffres ci-dessus, doivent s'ajouter ceux du port de Saboya que nous avons donnés plus haut.

Au total, le tonnage en arachides exporté par les ports du cercle fut, en 1926, de 198.000 tonnes ; en 1927, de 191.000 tonnes, soit 40 % des exportations

(1) Kaolack, jusqu'en 1922, n'avait pas de bureau de douanes. C'est Foundiougne qui centralisait toutes les opérations.

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

totales en arachides du Sénégal. A noter qu'en 1906, le tonnage exporté atteignait seulement 31.000 tonnes.

La production du cercle étant de 140.000 tonnes, la différence en plus provient de la récolte des régions du Baol, de Tambacounda et du Soudan qui est expédiée à Kaolack et à Foundiougne. Si l'on compare ces chiffres avec la production de 1913, qui était de 60.000 tonnes, on voit quelle progression a marqué la culture de l'arachide.

Les importations et les exportations réunies font que le commerce général du cercle atteint actuellement près de 300.000 tonnes.

Recettes douanières. — Le bureau des douanes de Kaolack a encaissé, comme recettes, en 1927, la somme de 13.901.810 francs.

Celui de Foundiougne, 4.001.249 francs.

Soit, au total, 17.903.059 francs.

Si l'on y ajoute les recettes de Saboya et celles des postes frontières de la Gambie, les recettes, au total, dépassent 18 millions de francs. Nous sommes loin du chiffre de 1905 : 405.000 francs.

Marchés. Foires. — Des marchés journaliers ont été créés dans les communes mixtes de Kaolack, Foundiougne, Fatick, Gossas, ainsi que dans les centres importants tels que Guinguinéo, Birkelane, Kaffrine, Koungheul, Nioro, Saboya, Sokone, Gandiaye. Ceux des communes mixtes et des escales importantes sont très fréquentés et assez bien achalandés.

Des marchés aux bestiaux se tiennent, en outre, mensuellement à Kaolack depuis 1924.

Des foires ont été instituées pour faire connaître au public les principaux produits de la région. Une première Foire-Exposition se tint à Kaolack au mois de juin 1925 ; elle eut un grand succès. Elle avait été organisée avec le concours de l'administration et du commerce. Cette heureuse tentative fut renouvelée en avril 1926, avec le même succès. Le Gouverneur général, M. Carde avait tenu à assister à ces deux belles manifestations de la vie économique d'une région en plein développement.

Banques. — L'indice certain du développement des transactions commerciales nous est donné par les groupes bancaires qui se sont installés à Kaolack.

La Banque de l'Afrique Occidentale Française a ouvert une succursale au chef-lieu du cercle en 1927. D'autres établissements de crédit l'avaient d'ailleurs précédée. Une agence de la Banque française d'Afrique a été ouverte en 1924. La Banque Commerciale africaine a suivi en 1925.

Enseignement. — Il faut éduquer l'indigène si nous voulons qu'il soit, plus tard, notre collaborateur dans l'œuvre de la colonisation. Ce devoir, nous le réalisons par l'enseignement officiel qui est donné à Kaolack dans une Ecole régionale fréquentée par près de 500 enfants ; une école ménagère y est adjointe. A Fatick, à Foundiougne, à Gossas, à Kaffrine, à Nioro, à Sokone fonctionnent des écoles primaires où l'effectif scolaire est fort nombreux.

Il faut aussi développer l'enseignement professionnel, car nous manquons de bons ouvriers. L'artisan va nous faire défaut si nous ne portons remède à une situation apparue déjà, il y a quelques années, en ce pays. Malheureusement, la jeunesse est portée à rechercher nos cours qui préparent au fonctionnarisme. L'élite veut s'instruire doctoralement. Elle répugne aux métiers manuels. C'est cet état d'esprit qu'il faut changer. L'artisanat se meurt. Le Gouverneur du Sénégal, sous la haute direction du Gouverneur général, l'a compris. Les cours professionnels du chef-lieu de la colonie, à Saint-Louis, ont été transformés et améliorés. Des fermes-écoles ont été créées. Il faut faire plus. Il est nécessaire d'adjoindre à chaque école régionale et même à certaines écoles du 1er degré, un atelier professionnel. L'enfant doit s'habituer à manier — avant de quitter l'école — le marteau, le ciseau, la varlope ; il doit savoir se servir d'une pelle, d'une bêche, d'un rateau. Tous ces métiers doivent être relevés d'une déconsidération qui n'a pas sa raison d'être. Le travail manuel doit être mis sur le même pied d'égalité que le travail intellectuel. Nous avons besoin de bons ouvriers plus encore que de bons écrivains.

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

Il appartient à l'Administration de préparer les jeunes générations à la tâche qui les attend.

Mutualité agricole. La Société de Prévoyance. — Dans cet ordre d'idées, et pour développer chez l'indigène l'esprit de mutualité et le sens de la prévoyance, l'Administration a créé, à l'instar de l'Algérie, des Sociétés indigènes de prévoyance et de prêts mutuels. Une Société de ce genre fonctionne dans le Sine-Saloum depuis de nombreuses années. Sa création remonte à l'année 1907. Les débuts furent modestes. Elle groupa d'abord 718 cultivateurs. Le nombre des sociétaires atteignait, en 1910, le chiffre de 1.567. C'était encore bien peu. Cependant, l'idée avait fructifié. L'Administration groupa bientôt la majorité, puis la totalité des cultivateurs.

En juillet 1907, à sa création, le Gouverneur du Sénégal avait mis à la disposition de l'administrateur du cercle une somme de 20.000 francs pour tenter cet essai de mutualité.

Grâce à cette avance, 99.700 kilogs de semences d'arachides furent prêtés aux 718 premiers adhérents qui les rendirent en nature après la récolte, avec un intérêt de 30 %.

De 1907 à 1910, des magasins furent construits pour abriter les semences. En 1910, ces magasins furent multipliés pour être plus à la portée des emprunteurs. Le 6 décembre 1910, un arrêté du Gouverneur du Sénégal approuva les statuts définitifs de cette Société. Ceux-ci, après l'expérience de plusieurs années, viennent d'être complétés et refondus.

La Société du Sine-Saloum comprend 19 sections, réparties dans tout le cercle.

Dès 1911, elle comptait 160.000 membres et son actif en caisse s'élevait à 139.499 francs. Son avoir en magasin était de 317 tonnes de graines sélectionnées.

Aujourd'hui, la Société a un actif immeubles qui vaut plus d'un million. Elle a un budget annuel de recettes et de dépenses qui s'élève à 5 millions, en y comprenant la valeur des quantités de semences qu'elle détient

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

dans ses magasins pour les prêts qu'elle consent à ses sociétaires, à charge de remboursement en nature.

Comme elle exige un intérêt de 20%, elle augmente très rapidement son stock de graines. C'est ainsi qu'en 1928, elle est détentrice de plus de 5.000 tonnes de semences. Elle aura, en 1929, 27.000 tonnes. C'est la garantie précieuse d'une fructueuse récolte.

Car toutes ces graines sont sélectionnées par les chefs indigènes sour le contrôle de l'administrateur, avec une rigueur méthodique. Si quelques chefs sont moins stricts dans la sélection, la majorité a compris son rôle. Dans les cantons de Diokoul Gandiaye, de Kahone, de Birkelane, dans ceux du Sine, à Sokone, à Sanghako, à Koungheul, à Kaffrine, les semences sont triées graine par graine, les gousses à deux graines étant seules acceptées.

Le cultivateur s'est vite plié à ces exigences, parce qu'il en a reconnu la nécessité.

Ces prêts sont faits au mois de juin, avant l'époque des semailles. Ils sont remboursables en nature au mois de décembre, après la récolte, avec un intérêt de 20%, le dit intérêt payable également en nature.

Aucune défaillance n'a été constatée. Les prêts sont de deux hectolitres par cultivateurs.

Pour jouir de ces avantages, le sociétaire paie 1 franc de cotisation annuelle.

Il peut, en outre, demander et obtenir des prêts de vivres, riz ou mil, s'il justifie d'un cas de force majeure : disette à la suite d'un événement malheureux ou calamiteux.

Enfin, depuis l'année dernière, il peut obtenir des prêts en argent moyennant certaines garanties. Ces prêts sont consentis en vue de la culture, en vue aussi d'une amélioration de son outillage agricole ou de la création, de l'augmentation de son cheptel. Ces prêts peuvent s'élever jusqu'à 5.000 francs et être remboursés en plusieurs annuités.

Les sociétaires étaient, en 1927, au nombre de 240.000.

La Société possède 30 magasins, dont plus de la moitié sont construits en matériaux définitifs : pierres de latérite ou ciment.

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

Elle a utilisé ses ressources à construire des puits en ciment armé, afin de procurer aux habitants l'eau potable nécessaire à leurs besoins et aux besoins de leurs animaux.

Elle alloue des primes aux cultivateurs qui ont présenté les plus belles récoltes. Elle prime également la capture des animaux nuisibles à l'agriculture.

L'œuvre accomplie est remarquable.

C'est à la Société de Prévoyance, contrôlée par l'Administration, qu'est dû l'accroissement de la production d'arachides dans le cercle.

Le commerce a en elle un organisme précieux dont il reconnaît l'utilité et dont il apprécie, d'ailleurs, les services incontestables et incontestés.

Le problème de l'eau. Les puits. — La grave question de l'eau s'est posée dans le cercle comme partout, au Sénégal. La vie économique du pays est sous la dépendance de l'alimentation en eau des habitants.

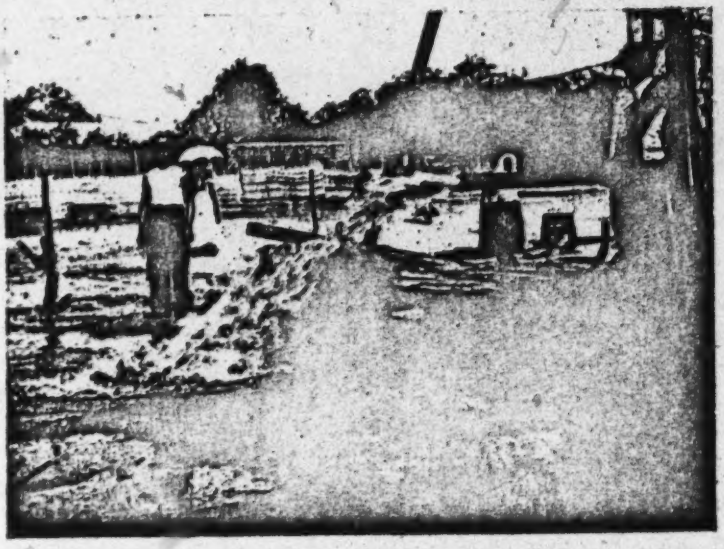
Pour parer au danger de la disette d'eau, il a fallu creuser des puits. Les séanes, sortes de réservoirs naturels ou de poches creusées par l'homme, existaient en trop petit nombre. Ils recevaient l'eau de pluie, mais leur contenance était limitée et quelques semaines suffisaient à les tarir, après les dernières pluies.

L'indigène creuse des puits. Mais l'eau potable est quelquefois atteinte à de grandes profondeurs. Il en résultait que le puits non étayé s'éboulait ou que, même étayé par des poutres de bois, des glissements de terres se produisaient. Le puits se bouchait et il fallait recommencer le travail.

En 1904, le Capitaine du génie Friry fut chargé de l'étude de cette question. Cet officier fit de nombreux sondages, creusa des puits d'expérience et adopta un système de tubes en ciment armé construits au fur et à mesure de l'approfondissement du trou, qui assurent à la fois une grande sécurité et une grande rapidité dans le travail. Une cheminée mobile d'un diamètre légèrement inférieur à celui du puits permet d'isoler dans la couche de sables aquifères un volume d'eau suffisant pour le puisage.

RÉGION DU SINE SALOUM

Un puits en ciment dans un village indigène.



Sondage d'eau à Gossas.

[Facing p. 138]

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

Le capitaine Friry en creusa un certain nombre. Il dressa des équipes de puisatiers. Il forma le personnel européen et indigène. L'entreprise était de longue haleine. Car il s'agissait parfois d'aller jusqu'à 70 ou 80 mètres de profondeur. Il fallait parfois traverser, au fond, une couche très épaisse d'argile blanche et compacte avant d'atteindre la nappe; l'eau remontait, il est vrai, très haut dans le puits, mais les travaux durent être abandonnés sur plusieurs points, le travail vers la profondeur de 80 mètres devenant impossible faute d'appareils de ventilation. Il y avait aussi la désagréable surprise de tomber sur une poche d'eau salée.

Pour éviter ces inconvénients, les indigènes furent invités à creuser des puits non maçonnés partout où ils le pourraient et on leur promit de leur construire, à côté du leur, un puits en ciment armé toutes les fois qu'ils trouveraient à une profondeur acceptable une bonne nappe d'eau.

Cette promesse, faite en 1905, ne fut pas tenue.

Heureusement, la Société de Prévoyance créée deux ans plus tard put mettre à son programme, dès 1910-1911, la construction de puits en ciment armé, système Friry. Un surveillant des travaux publics, M. Denis, qui avait travaillé sous les ordres du capitaine Friry, s'employa à cette tâche sous la direction de l'administrateur.

C'est ainsi que, depuis quinze ans, de nombreux puits furent creusés dans le Sine-Saloum.

En 1928, on compte dans le cercle 600 puits en ciment armé et environ 400 puits indigènes. Chaque année, dix ou quinze puits sont achevés, autant sont réfectionnés, réparés ou entretenus. La dépense est parfois considérable, si l'on songe qu'un puits en ciment armé de 70 mètres de profondeur revient actuellement à près de 20.000 francs. Il y a un ou deux puisatiers par canton qui forment leurs équipes. Nous avons donc là une trentaine d'indigènes parfaitement au courant de ces travaux. Le Sine-Saloum a prêté à des colonies voisines, notamment à la Mauritanie, des chefs puisatiers. Les Gouvernements en ont été très satisfaits.

La politique des puits doit-elle être continuée ? Elle

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

a donné des résultats. Elle a permis d'aller au plus pressé. Dans les villages de la brousse, c'est le puits qui alimentera longtemps encore l'habitant et les troupeaux. Dans les villes, une adduction d'eau s'impose. Dakar y a songé dès 1903. On a foré des puits partout dans la presqu'île du Cap Vert. L'eau potable a été trouvée dans le sous-sol mais, jusqu'à ces derniers temps, la quantité était à peine suffisante aux besoins de la ville et du port. Aujourd'hui, les centres de captage au point B donnent en abondance de l'eau. C'est à la suite de la mission du docteur Moineau que des points de sondage ont été proposés par ce sourcier à proximité des grandes agglomérations, telles que Dakar, Thiès, Rufisque, Diourbel et Kaolack....

Pour Kaolack, aucun essai n'a été tenté par le Gouvernement du Sénégal pour vérifier les hypothèses du docteur Moineau.

Mais il a été fait appel à un ingénieur des mines, M. Boyer, pour entreprendre des prospections en vue de la recherche des eaux souterraines susceptibles d'être captées.

Cet ingénieur a commencé ses recherches à Gossas, dans le Sine-Saloum. Elles ont été couronnées de succès en 1927, une eau captée à 195 mètres de profondeur jaillissait au sol ; une adduction d'eau est commencée ; le problème semble résolu pour cette escale.

Pour Kaolack, M. Boyer a trouvé de l'eau à 95 mètres de profondeur. D'ailleurs, la municipalité de cette ville avait fait, elle aussi, des recherches dont les résultats furent intéressants. De l'eau excellente fut trouvée à 15 mètres seulement de profondeur avec un débit d'environ 500 mètres cubes par jour. La quantité n'est pas suffisante pour alimenter la ville de Kaolack. Il faut arriver à trouver 1.000 mètres cubes, c'est à quoi s'emploient le gouvernement du Sénégal et la commune mixte.

23: Aujas MS37 Senegal

Conclusion

Il y a vingt ans, M. Camille Guy, alors gouverneur du Sénégal, dans une étude sur le Sine-Saloum, écrivait : « Il n'en reste pas moins que le Sine-Saloum est un « pays riche qui pourrait donner beaucoup plus qu'il « ne donne, que depuis dix ans il est entré dans une ère « de prospérité qui s'accentue d'année en année, et « qu'aux dépens du pittoresque et de l'original, il est « devenu une région du Sénégal pour laquelle l'avenir « est plein de promesses dont quelques-unes sont en voie « de réalisation et dont les autres sont incalculables » (1).

Les faits ont confirmé cette appréciation. Dans l'ordre économique, en effet, les résultats ont atteint les prévisions les plus optimistes. Le développement agricole, commercial et même industriel ne fera que s'accentuer dans un avenir prochain. Aiguillée par les conseillers autorisés du commerce et par les organismes administratifs locaux, la haute administration a saisi l'importance de la région et la valeur du port de Kaolack. Les sacrifices consentis par les finances publiques ont déjà porté leurs fruits. Ils ne feront qu'accroître le progrès économique du pays, dès l'accomplissement du programme des travaux prévus et actuellement en cours d'exécution.

---

(1) Cf. *La Géographie*, 1908. *Le Sine-Saloum* par M. Camille Guy.

/371/

121 369

To complement an urban geographical study of Thiès (1),

1. "La ville de Thiès /The City of Thiès/," to appear soon in Études Sénégalaises.

a city located about 60 kilometers as the crow flies from Dakar, we have made an investigation in the villages of its suburbs.

[175 496] The sole object of this investigation was to learn to what extent the presence of a city founded entirely by Europeans as early as 1885 (date of the running of the Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad) may have effects on the neighboring rural groupings.

Consequently, this study will deal only with the relations that may exist between the city and the neighboring villages; agricultural problems will be dealt with only to the extent that they help to clarify certain aspects of the question.

[563] Seven villages were chosen. These agglomerations contain populations that belong to the principal ethnic groups of the region: Sérère-none /Serer/ at Tiali, Thiès-none, and Sapko; Wolof at Diakhaté and Keur-Mamour; Bambara and Wassoulonké at Karamoko and at Keur-Issa-Bambara (see the sketch below). All of these localities are located within a radius of less than ten kilometers around the city.

The presence of a city in a given region may have disturbed rural life in very different ways, depending on the distance from the village to the city and depending on its ethnic composition.

It may have acted on the choice of the site for the village, on its arrangement, on the creation of new rural groupings.

It may have caused modifications in the type of the traditional settlement, in its interior comforts, in its modes and methods of cultivation.

/372/ Finally, and above all, it may have led to more or less profound perturbations in the social and economic organization of the village.

Before developing these three points it seems necessary to

S /372 cont./
121 delineate in broad strokes the natural milieu in which these
369 rural agglomerations were established. /Fig. 1 appears here./

As could be assumed, the environment of each of them differs according to the ethnic group that occupies it.

S The None /Serer/ village is generally divided into sever-
SR al hamlets of varying importance, but definitely separated
361 from one another. They conceal themselves from sight under dense foliage in the heart of an arbored countryside. In the rainy season it is possible to pass near one of them without sus-
SR [412] pecting its existence. Only the noise of the pestle in the millet mortars reveals its presence to us.

SR The fields extend around in a wooded landscape. The
[137] palmyra, with the shape of the leaves reminding one of an
[273] enormous /373/ fan, predominates over the other species. The harvesting of palm wine practiced by the Sérère-none seems to be the primary reason for their impressive number. The "kad" (1)

1. "kad" in Wolof = Faidherbia albida (A. Chev.).

SR
[137] is rarer than in Sine-Saloum; the baobab (with its trunk stripped
[283] for the making of cord) is preserved solely in the village itself.
[241] On the immediate outskirts, the millet fields are numerous; those of the groundnut seem to be less extensive. No plot of ground, except for some ferruginous crusts, seems to have been spared from cultivation.

S The framework of the Wolof village is entirely different.
361 The surrounding countryside is bare. A few rare trees put their
W dark blots on this monotonous countryside. The agglomeration
[361] is easily marked by the darker foliage that surrounds it.

The Bambara villages are sometimes located in a wooded countryside, like Keur-Issa-Bambara, and sometimes in a denuded landscape, like Karamoko. It would seem that this group has patterned its method of cultivation on that practiced in the neighborhood.

Keur-Issa-Bambara reminds one of the None village, not

S
SR
369
438
[234]
[233]
[465]

/380 cont./

to the shepherd as compensation for services rendered. Although lactation is very poor (one to two liters per day per head), this sale practiced in the city at a relatively high price (30 francs per liter) is a source of not inconsiderable profit.

F
[233]
[465]
SR
[231]
[417]
S
[361]

The Sérère, despite the poor food resources he commands, practices for the benefit of Europeans the raising of pigs in the narrow and miry enclosures formed by stakes driven deeply into the ground and close together.

The mode of settlement and the economy of these suburban villages, although they have not had profound modifications, nevertheless are in the process of continual reorganization and adaptation.

These very modest contributions of the urban economy thin out very rapidly as one goes farther from the city. Karamoko and Keur-Mamour, located six and seven kilometers from the escale, and even Diakhaté, which is nearer, give the appearance of wholly rural villages. The women who each morning leave in Indian file /381/ to sell their products in the city make up the single element that enters into the circuit of the new economy offered to them.

S
121
369

Has the social and economic organization, on the other hand, been more profoundly modified? An examination of the ethnic and functional composition of the groups of the villages will permit an understanding of the data on this problem.

For this study we have grouped the villages under three rubrics:

1. The assemblage of Tiali, Thiès-None, and Sapko; near the escale, but having undergone perturbations in their economy by the loss of part of their land.

2. Keur-Mamour and Karamoko form the group farthest from the city.

3. Diakhaté and Keur-Issa-Bambara are the two villages near the escale which have not suffered any loss of territory.

S
SR
369
162

The first assemblage musters a total population of 405

/389 cont./

162
463
[113]

Recensement 1953 /The mixed commune of Thiès. 1953 Census/," Dakar, 1954. We have only converted into percentages the figures given on pp. 25 ff. of this pamphlet.

•121
114

By its very diversity, this population thus constitutes an excellent field of study and experiment for the sociologist and the economist.

A socio-demographic inquiry by questionnaire was made previously, in November and December 1953. The sample chosen contained 900 heads of families questioned (2). We

2. The results of this inquiry, which was supervised by Dr. Massé, will be published in the next issue of this Bulletin.

wished to complete it partially by studying some family budgets in a very limited number, 46, three of which proved to be useless.

114

Under no pretext should any general value be given to the results that are going to be presented. The trends shown will have to be confirmed by other, more extensive inquiries, in conformity with the resolution adopted in 1926 by the Third Conference of the Statisticiens du travail, which specified: "it is better to give up certain details which the inquiry might reveal than to reduce the number of families studied."

/390/ We have almost systematically taken a course opposite to this recommendation, because the information now available on the daily life of the Africans in the cities of Senegal (and in French West Africa in its totality) is still too insufficient for one to be able to undertake broader inquiries. On the other hand, and this was a major obstacle, we did not have at our disposal sufficient means to study a larger number of families. This has saved us from the temptation of looking too far; daily African life is at this point complex, particularly in its economic aspect, so that in certain respects the work accomplished and the documents

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

PREFACE

114 THIS short study of Senegal with particular reference to France's policy of assimilation of her colonial peoples is the result of a number of visits made to Senegal since 1955. However, most of the material was gathered in the months of January, February and March of 1961 while I was in Senegal participating in a major research project sponsored by the Institute of Race Relations and directed by Mr. Guy Hunter, which has resulted in his recently published *The New Societies of Tropical Africa*. I am particularly grateful 121 to Mr. Hunter for indirectly giving me the opportunity to collect material for this book, for there is a great dearth of material in English on the French-speaking states of Africa. I must also thank Mr. Philip Mason who first suggested the idea of writing such a book, which I hope will help to give some idea of the special character of the African country that was most heavily subjected to France's policy of assimilation. I also hope it will clear away some of the current misconceptions about French assimilation and its effects on Africans.

000 Many people have helped, often unwittingly, in the creation of this book. I have acknowledged written sources in a detailed bibliography at the end of the book and I have marked with an asterisk those on which I have drawn particularly heavily. Much of my material was obtained in conversation and I am afraid it would be impossible to thank all those who have helped me in this respect. I am, however, particularly indebted to the following: M. Raymond Mauny, M. Ly Abdoulaye, M. André Hauser, M. Yves Mersadier and M. Diop Abdoulaye of the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire at the University of Dakar; M. Galou Fall, M. Guy Etscheverry, and M. Alain Kocher of the Ministry of Information; of the British Embassy, H. E. Mr. Adam Watson and Mr. Tim Brierley who lent

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

established. Until recent years Senegal was the only territory with an educational system in any way compatible with a policy of assimilation. 648

Thus, with the exception of Senegal, there evolved a mixed policy containing elements of assimilation and separation which came to be known as the policy of association. Even so, as Lord Hailey wrote in his recent *African Survey*, 'the underlying assumption remained that, on a long view, the future of the overseas territories must be one of eventual integration with France in a larger political unit'. And though assimilationist policy was never really successful on the political level, on the personal level, particularly in education where equality of black and white was so frequently demonstrated, it left deep marks. To quote Lord Hailey once again, this time from his 1939 *African Survey*, 'it is not easy to exaggerate the effect on native outlook of a system which permits Africans to sit side by side with French children and to compete with them on equal terms in examinations'.

Since assimilation was only practised in any real measure in Senegal, it is the most interesting of all the French African colonies as the one most marked by contact with the metropolitan power. This book is therefore a study of Senegal with particular reference to a special kind of race relations whereby one people, whilst accepting the fundamental equality of the other, attempts to assimilate it to its own standards in every sphere of life. An attempt will be made to assess to what extent French assimilation was successful in Senegal and why the Senegalese eventually reacted against it; the subsequent marks it was to leave on this newly independent state; the extent to which indigenous culture withstood assimilationist policy; and finally what sort of society the Senegalese, now independent of France, are trying to create for themselves. 121

Senegal becomes even more interesting as a present day case study. For in applying their policy of assimilation, the French Government had to remember that Senegal was the [563]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961)·1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

121 563 only black African territory where there was a sizeable French community. In Dakar alone the French numbered [160] 6,600 in 1931, 17,300 in 1948 and increased to nearly 30,000 in recent years. It is interesting to examine how the *colons* on the spot reacted to the acceptance of Africans as [369] equals in law and political rights and finally how far assimilation, by providing a new common culture, was able to break down traditional indigenous inter-ethnic hostilities.

/157 cont./

175 urbanization. An initial slice was portioned out, and a
369 parcel was allocated to the head of each family that was
[423] expelled. Ownership granted an uncertain title, but it could become definite if the occupant improved his parcel by building a durable dwelling on it. At first the authorities hardly believed in the existence of Pikine; there was no easy communication with Dakar, since the auto road did not yet exist, there was no connection by express bus, no stores, etc. It was believed that the people expelled would return to occupy other lands on the outskirts of Dakar. Contrary to all expectation, /158/ Pikine lived, prospered, and grew by the same process that had given it birth, to the point that today
[435] the parcel which originally had no value costs from 30,000 to 40,000 francs. On the other hand, the dwellings that the Office de l'Habitat has now built in the districts are
[426] sold on credit to those who have the desire and the means to obtain them.

Pikine thus originated through an administrative decision; it is an agglomeration which has no tradition, no past, a city of recent date and entirely created. Moreover, this brief historical account brings to light another difference which has to do with the mode of peopling it: in the districts it is voluntary, while in the quarters it has been more or less imposed by the administration.

121 This assemblage of peculiar traits make Pikine a very interesting city from the sociological point of view. The investigation, which was conducted during the latter half of 1960, pursued a threefold goal: first, to collect a certain number of general data which would complete or confirm those which had already been gathered; then to examine to what extent the difference in housing conditions did or did not produce a perceptible difference in behavior and style of living, especially with regard to the family; finally, in correlation with the preceding problem, to study the evolution of family behavior in an urban environment and to observe the appearance of new familial structures better adapted to an urban environment than the traditional family.

S
WR
462
162

/178 cont./

the jobs most thrust into the modern rhythm, like the last two categories of the saleswomen in the Dakar markets, are held by Wolof of Sérère women. The rate of activity of these last two is generally higher proportionately, since almost 40% of the Wolof or Sérère women are reckoned as having an occupation outside of the household. /179/ while this proportion drops to 13% for the Toucouleur and the other ethnic groups.

S
462
162

A final point deserves to be mentioned: although one finds some women devoted to traditional occupations in the sample of the districts and even though one or two stalls are to be found there, we have, in turn, not found any woman there who works outside as saleswoman, housekeeper, or typist; the female workers of our sample are all found in the stratum of the quarters.

S
369
462

In conclusion one may say that acculturation to the urban environment by means of modern work seems for the time being to have left aside the female world. Except for the Wolof and Sérère sectors of the female population, the rest have remained untouched. It is only under the strong [462] pressure of economic motives that the women become reconciled to going to work, and the Sérère women give proof of more initiative than the others. But when this compulsion ceases and the woman again takes up her traditional behavior: housewife, and nothing but housewife. This return to tradition may seem astonishing; it is explained by the educational level of those whom we have called "literate." It is this point that should now be studied.

IV. Educational Level and Schooling

•171

If belonging to a specific ethnic group constitutes a fundamental conditioning prior to settling in a city, the educational level, on the contrary, is both a sign and a factor of acculturation. On these grounds, therefore, it also has considerable importance when it is a matter of studying the possible variations of behavior, attitudes, and opinions. The initial results have shown that these were in fact, with

/179 cont./

121 the ethnic group, the two principal criteria of miscegenation. But, at the beginning of the investigation, besides the primary distinction between illiterates and literates, we thought that we could distinguish two groups within this last category. In fact, the literate group is too small, the educational status too limited -- among the family heads of the sample none had had any secondary studies -- for one to be able to retain this subdivision. Therefore all those who had had a minimum of schooling, from the second year elementary course up to C.E.P., with an occasional C.A.P., have been considered literate.

125 871

/180/ Nevertheless, by combining schooling and the knowledge of French, we have been able to group the family heads of the sample into three categories. The first is made up of the illiterates who do not understand French, except for a few words; the second is made up of those who have a "summary" knowledge of the language, and in this case it is obviously a matter of a partly subjective criterion which depends on the judgment of the investigator. Actually, the decisive test was the following: those for whom the interview of the second investigation was conducted in French and who only rarely appealed to the interpreter were regarded as having a summary knowledge of French. There are very few cases where the conclusion obtained by the application of this test did not confirm the previous judgment of the investigator.

191 871 125

The third category, finally, includes the "literates" in the sense in which we have defined them above.

The following table represents the grouping, in percentages, of these three categories within each ethnic group; furthermore, the districts have been separated from the quarters, and the last line gives the average for the whole of Pikine. /Table 14 appears here./

871 191

Three principal facts stand out clearly from a reading of this table:

/181/

1) The small number of literates: a little more than one out of five family heads have received a beginning of

[text continues on p. 37--Analysis]

/431/

121 Fashion, from a subjective point of view, represents a fleeting custom that depends on the taste and the whims of individuals. Its range of application is universal. It is thus a social and aesthetic phenomenon of the same order as painting, from which it borrows much.

Like all expressions of art, fashion is a language and a magic. It is also a technique, the different aspects of which may be grouped in three categories: the fabrication of the objects (fabrics and garments), the methods of sale, and the motivations for the purchase.

For the social psychologist the problem of the adaptation of the African to European fashions presents itself.

125 Among the various possible methods of investigation, our choice was directed first of all to direct observations and the method of tests. We have taken into consideration both the ethnic origin and the age of the subjects.

I. Female African Population of Dakar

162 1. Resident population on 6-1-55.

We ascertained:

a) the very distinct predominance of the Wolof group (47.8%).

b) the weak representation of the Sérèr and Diola in relation to the Bambara.

/432/

2. Characteristics of this population:

[191] [212] a) Knowledge of French (14 years old and +):

4.844 women and girls speak our language (2.850 of them write it).

162 463 [294] [386] b) Salaried occupations in crafts and business (14 years old and +):

3.779, of whom: sewing, dressmaking, lingerie, clothing 609

preparation, dyeing..... 142

/436 cont./

291 1 wore 1 Fancy boubou
+ 1 loincloth

/437/

4 women from 20 to 30 years old:

1 wore 1 voile boubou + 1 Fancy loincloth
1 -- 1 dress + 1 loincloth
2 -- 1 dress

4 young girls:

2 wore 1 taille-basse + loincloth
2 -- 1 dress

Corresponding to this evolution of style, there is an evolution in the choice patterns of printed materials and of the quality of these materials.

When it is a matter of a dress, one sees affirmed more and more the abandonment of large patterns of one or 1.20 X 1.20 meters, and, on the contrary, a choice of simple lines, of flowers, leaves, birds, heightened by a harmony of warm but not gaudy colors.

Similarly, the light cotton fabrics (Citec) are more and more in demand.

B. Method of the Tests.

121 1) General remarks.

"Among the objects that determine positive or negative feelings, one particular category consists of those about which it is said that they are 'beautiful' or 'ugly,' that is to say, of those that do or do not satisfy the aesthetic tendencies." (P. Jampolsky.)

We have asked ourselves, following Mr. Jampolsky, to what extent this "projection" can occasion the application of a personality test.

The apparatus utilized was only meant to furnish, by
125 way of correction, a more complete method.
822 It included:

-- a sheet of straight, broken, and curved lines and of rough sketches of figures in black on white,

/441/

822 Results:

Blue and white	22
Violet and white.....	12
Black and white.....	12
Red and black	8
Red and white.....	6

It is necessary to note immediately the presence of white in 56 combinations, namely, 35.8% of the total.

According to ages, the proportions remain identical with those of the final table.

The same is true of the classification according to ethnic groups.

Out of 52 subjects, 9 have repeated 3 times the same combination of 2 colors, 26 have done it 2 times.

[291] Out of these 35 subjects (10 married women and 25 young girls), 25 wore clothes for display of which the dominant notes conformed to the preference expressed at the time of the test.

III. Perspectives.

291 "Color is a more emotional and primitive variable than form. [it] marks the peculiar and significant tendencies in each sex and develops from before adolescence." (P. Jampolsky.)

It would seem, then, more than the design of the motif and the cut of the garment, to be the essential cause of the variability of individual choice in the matter of fashion.

The 1,000 motifs or so (including the variants of the same pattern) put out last year on the Dakar market by the /442/ importers of printed fabrics have brought into play more than 60 different colors, which seems to confirm the preceding point of view.

• 121 How to determine the ecological and cultural influences in the matter of the individual choice of color with both an aesthetic and useful aim? This presupposes a preliminary definition and delimitation of this milieu, which is the object of a study in progress. /Figs. 1-3 appear here on unnumbered pages./

17: Mercier --1 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/11/

There can as yet be no question of making a synthetic report on the results obtained by the various sociological investigations stricto sensu undertaken in the agglomeration of Dakar. Many domains on which we still have only very summary data remain to be explored: the sociography of groupings can only be sketched; important chapters such as the religious sociology, the sociology of leisure, etc., must be made the subject of deeper inquiries. The very broad plan of study that we elaborated at the beginning of 1952 could obviously not be wholly realized (1). The complexity of the composition, /210

1. It was published in the Annual Report of the IFAN for 1953.

racial, ethnic, occupational, etc., of the urban center requires long and diverse investigations. On the other hand, the necessity of comparative studies in other urban centers of Senegal has very rapidly become apparent, studies which favorable circumstances permitted us to undertake as early as the end of 1953 (2). The present article will therefore be limited to a

2. In particular, the basic documentation furnished by recent censuses of the cities of Thiès and Saint-Louis has permitted there the realization of investigations by questionnaires in accordance with the sampling method. We regret that in Dakar the lack of a recent and precise census hinders us in entering upon many aspects of the demography and sociology of this town. And we hope that it may soon be realized.

/11 cont./
very small number of aspects of the social structure; allusions will be made to the others when it is necessary. 121

On the one hand, we shall illustrate certain aspects of the structure of kinship groups in the African population; despite the shrinking of the functions performed by the family in an urban environment, despite the diversification of groupings with specialized functions, which characterize urban social life, their role continues to be of primary importance (3). 121 571 369

3. The demographic account by L. Masse, of course, crosschecks certain aspects of this study. Cf. our preface /untranslated/.

Very /12/ close to it is the one played by the ethnic group, which will only be outlined here. On the other hand, we shall study the role played by certain non-structured de facto groupings: neighborhood units, groups of friends, more or less independent, depending on the case, of traditional, ethnic, and familial ties and structures. The study of structured groupings of a new type will be reserved for another work; we shall only give brief indications on this subject.

The profound interconnection of the social phenomena observable in a defined environment (1) must, however, as

1. Which itself is never closed. Cf., for example, the role of the waves of seasonal immigrants in colonial towns.

always, be emphasized. The first part of this account will therefore be devoted to a very general account of the frameworks into which one must recast any study of the Dakar social complex (2). 121 361

2. These have been, up to the

/12 cont./

present, limited to the Dakar agglomeration proper; the suburbs more or less completely tied to the town have been provisionally left aside (Ouakam, Hann, the recent subdivision of Dagoudane-Pikine, etc.). 121● 361

I

Dakar has known enormous development between the two wars, and especially since 1946. Demographic development, economic development (3). 369x

3. Cf., for example, the accounts of an American geographer after two voyages to Dakar, one before the war (1935-36), the other in 1947: D. Whittlesey, "Dakar and the Other Cape Verde Settlements," The Geographical Review, Oct. 1941, pp. 609-638; "Dakar Revisited," The Geographical Review, Oct. 1948, pp. 626-632. And the changes have accelerated even more. [113]

At the same time, the characteristics of Dakar society, it being well understood that it is broken up into several partial societies, linked organically, but each of which have their particular problems, have undergone important changes. To account for them would exceed the limits of this work; we shall content ourselves with recalling some essential features.

A. -- The towns born of colonization have been established [361]

17: Mercier--19 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

/20 cont./

On the general level of our study, it did not seem indispensable to take into account the details of organization and the traditions peculiar to each ethnic group. These monographic aspects will have their place in a more complete work. The common traits are sufficiently well marked, at least as far as the systems of patrilineal and bilateral kinship are concerned, which are dominant by far in the populations represented in Dakar. 121 369x

There should be noted in passing, however, certain distinctions between: a) the groups which existed prior to the creation of the town, that is to say, in effect, the Lebou; b) the groups which, even if they are /21/ numerically important, arrived in the town in migrations which rarely involved complete kinship groups, the latter having been able later to reconstitute themselves on the spot to a variable extent.

It is necessary to recall here some general features of the African kinship organizations, in order to place better the intervening changes in certain domains (1).

1. Cf. in particular A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and D. Forde, African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, London, 1950.

Kinship is to a certain extent an abstract notion; it does not necessarily coincide with consanguinity, and the obligations in the order of kinship do not spring solely from the latter. These obligations, on the other hand, extend, at least in the line of dominant filiation, as far as the known limits of the kinship group; they are only more precise and more frequently actualized on the level of the closest relatives (2).

2. The limits of the group of relatives considered as close are not everywhere the same,

/21 cont./

as the extremely variable extension of marriage prohibitions shows. 121 369

The local unit coincides more or less completely with the kinship group delineated by the line of dominant filiation; a village quarter is in principle the habitat of a given lineage.

Marriage is not a commitment between two individuals, guaranteed by a state or religious body (3), but the conclusion [581]

3. This guarantee intervenes among the Moslems, but in most cases does not play the essential role.

of an agreement between two kinship groups, an agreement which assumes, directly or indirectly, the form of an exchange of forces. The networks of matrimonial alliances, while permitting each kinship group to maintain and increase its substance, create bonds, constantly reinforced, between diverse groups, thus assuring the cohesion of the ethnic group that their assemblage composes. Therefore, in the vast majority of cases, one does not conceive of marriage outside the ethnic group. [582]

Even in the systems of patrilineal filiation, the maternal line is likewise a source of obligations. In particular, in most populations -- and very especially in Senegal -- the role of the uterine uncle is important (4). [604]

4. Cf., as far as the Lebou are concerned, G. Balandier and P. Mercier, op. cit., passim.

It is important to keep these basic elements in mind in the course of the account that we shall give about the problems that are posed at present.

/22/ We shall first give some figures expressing certain

/22 cont./

salient aspects of the present situation; we shall then turn to some monographic examples. Thus the orientation of our investigations will summarily appear. 369* [121]

A. -- The changes in the organization and the family values form a whole. The correlations that appear between the facts that we have retained for illustration will suffice to indicate it.

We have noted that in town, in most cases, there is topographic dispersion of the ethnic groups and the more restricted kinship groups. It must in no way be concluded that there is a general rupture of the kinship structures; all the ties are not cut. Only the facts of neighborhood and kinship do not reinforce each other any more, in accordance with the typical process of traditional situations. A first examination of the variations in numerical importance of groups of relatives living together will permit one to define the present tendencies. We shall see that the instituting of a new situation where the household /maisonnée/ (1) 621 369* [592] [594]

1. Cf. below for the definition of this idea.

tends to coincide with the restricted family /famille restreinte/ has progressed unequally, depending on the social categories (2).

2. See above (I, B, 4) the brief information given on the socio-occupational categories.

We have said why, especially where marriage is concerned, the considerations of the family structure proper cannot be separated from the problems posed by ethnic affiliation. The multiplication of interethnic marriages is a symptom of important social changes. It must likewise be noted that, the less numerically important an ethnic group is in the town, the more the simple ethnic relationship tends to play the role of ties of closer relationship. [593]

The structure of the restricted family itself is subject to variations. Here in particular the question of polygamy poses 369* 595

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS 30

S 369 563

Arnold was critical of these Colons, for in British West Africa there is no such class. Indeed he seemed almost to resent their presence, though he has no dislike of Europeans. His opinion is shared by a number of Africans who come into competition with whites for jobs.

'In Lagos the counter girls are African. Why shouldn't they be here?' Arnold argued.

On the other hand in Lagos service and shopping facilities are infinitely inferior to those of Dakar. Another thing that struck Arnold was the absence of Africans from the main cafés and hotels. Surely this indicated a subtle colour bar, he argued. However, I had the answer to this from an African whom I invited to have a drink in a café with me. He declined, because as a Muslim it would not do for him to be seen in a café by any of his friends or relations. If they did see him there would be terrible trouble.

S [873] [369]

W [563]

The Jollofs, Dakar's main tribe, are proud of their race and not over-keen on mixing with whites. Nevertheless relations between African and European in Dakar are extremely cordial. France is still aware of the debt that she owes the Senegalese troops for their part in the last war. There is, moreover, none of the patronizing attitude in the French approach to the African. If anything, as many French complain, the Jollof is the one who does the patronizing.

S 123 [815]

We went from the Hotel de Fleurs to some rooms in IFAN, the Institut Français D'Afrique Noire, which were lent us by its Director, Professor Theodore Monod, whom I had met on my last visit to Dakar. Professor Monod is one of the most impressive men I have ever met. He received us both in his large, book-lined office without looking up from his work. We both fumbled and fidgeted nervously studying the pictures on the wall, many of which were religious paintings or texts from the Bible. When I was beginning to feel acutely embarrassed, he looked up from his work revealing a gaunt, hollow face with deep-set piercing eyes, half obscured behind the glass of his horn-rimmed spectacles. I informed him that we had met some two years before, and that I should be grateful for his help on my journey. He looked at me vaguely, smiled, and then suddenly seemed to come into contact with the world we inhabited, and promised to arrange for letters

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

123 of introduction to be sent to the Directors of his Institute in all the towns we should be visiting. We talked for a moment at human level, then a glance at his papers, a distant look in his eyes, indicated it was time for us to leave.

815 Monod is an established expert on the following subjects: geology; geography: physical, climatic, regional and human; archaeology; history; marine biology; ethnography; botany; zoology; pre-history; and languages. He has over 400 publications to his name and has published two best-sellers in France. He went down in the bathyscope with Professor Piccard and with Captain Houot. His real love is the Sahara Desert. He must know it better than any other man alive. His first journey into the unknown wastes of the Sahara was in 1923, and by 1930 he had travelled its length and breadth from Algiers to Timbuktu, from Mauretania to Lake Chad. Friends called the gaunt young man, who rode off into the desert wastes alone with a camel, 'Monod le Fou'. Today he is known more respectfully as 'Monod le Saharien'. In the winter of 1954 he completed a phenomenal trek across the desert over a distance never before dared by another white man. With four camels, two Arabs, and a strict daily ration of half a litre of wine, Monod, aged 52, covered 900 kilometres in 47 days.

Theodore Monod has probably done as much as any European to give dignity to the culture and traditions of the tribes of West Africa, and to preserve these traditions for their future inheritors when the steamroller of Western civilization threatens to obliterate them. The Institut Français D'Afrique Noire, which he directs, has a federal museum in Dakar and a [817] network of museums and research centres throughout French Black Africa. It employs scholars in every field of knowledge concerning Africa, and most important of all, it gives African scholars an opportunity to make research into their own customs, traditions and history.

123 Monsieur Pierre Cros, of the Press Section of the Federal 204 Information Services, who was to help us as much as anyone in [659] our travels in West Africa, received us in his small office on the ninth floor of the vast Federal Administration building. What impressed me most about the Federal Information Services was their very considerable knowledge of British West Africa. Fortnightly they published a resumé of the local press of Nigeria,

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

123
[204]

Ghana and Sierra Leone, together with articles on these territories that had appeared in the major British papers.

Monsieur Cros told us that he was going that evening to a 'lunch' at the Grand Conseil building, which was being held in honour of the Secretary-General of the French National Assembly. He promised to arrange invitations for us.

Every important official and politician in Dakar was present at the 'lunch'. Black and white mingled freely. M. Cros whisked me from Governor to Inspector General, from an African Colonel to the Secretary-General of the National Assembly, to a representative of Agence France Press and a Senegalese Minister I was to meet the next day. The scene was high-powered and bewildering, but after a few drinks had been consumed the party lost much of its formality, a thing the French, especially in Africa, do not believe in, and I was pulled into conversation by an elderly French Administrator with sleek grey hair, a well-preserved figure, piercing grey eyes, and bronzed complexion. He asked me what I was doing in Dakar.

'I am spending six months travelling in West Africa.'

'Where are you going?'

'I hope to visit most of French West Africa, and spend some time in Nigeria, Ghana and Sierra Leone. I've already been to Gambia and Portuguese Guinea.'

'How do you like Dakar?'

'I was here two years ago. But even in my short absence, it's changed so much. This Grand Conseil was just a mass of scaffolding and concrete when I was last here.'

We both looked at the marbled floor, the graceful pillars, at the group of superbly dressed Africans, many of them with better dress sense than the Frenchmen they were talking to.

'Yes,' he said, suddenly giving words to a sequence of thought, 'It's a revolution, a veritable revolution.'

POLITICS AND POWER

Dakar

648

Obviously the young man talking to Arnold did not agree. He told him in English: 'We'll have to drive the French out of

/160 cont./

162 361 2) One often hears figures on the order of 40,000 or 50,000 advanced for the total population of Pikine. It seems that there may be a distinct exaggeration there and that the reason for it is the following: a good many parcels are unoccupied, as they are bare or built up but uninhabited. Out of a sample of 287 parcels, 65 were unoccupied, making 22.6%. One comes across bare lands in all the quarters but the phenomenon is particularly noticeable in one of the first quarters of Pikine, namely, Maka-Kolobane, and naturally in the new subdivisions which are adjacent to Thiaroye-Gare. Here it is normal, elsewhere it is less so, and one may ask 162 423 whether a certain number of owners, although already possessing a residence in Dakar, have not obtained the right to certain parcels in spite of the administration. Be that as [123] it may, it has been impossible for me to investigate this further since the subject is taboo and the mere fact of mentioning it at one time or another has resulted in serious prejudices against carrying out the investigation.

162 3) This figure confirms the one obtained in the investigation conducted in the previous year during the same period by Father Martin, which gave a little more than 22,000 persons. An increase of 6,000 individuals in one year, taking into account the lots divided up in the course of the year or the buildings finished by the Office de l'Habitat in the districts, is nothing extraordinary.

[361] 4) With its 30,000 inhabitants Pikine is to be classed in the first rank of the agglomerations of the suburbs of Dakar, far ahead of the traditional villages of Cambérène, Thiaroye, and others, and the size of its population gives it a place apart; it is no longer a village, but a city.

Let us now examine the structure according to age and ethnic group. The following table shows the division of men and women into their age classes and according to ethnic groups; the pyramid that follows recapitulates the total results.

162 882 The age pyramid makes two phenomena apparent. On the one hand, there is the indentation of the class from 15 to 19 years of age. This gap is characteristic of all the cities of Africa. It probably has two principal causes: first, an

/667 cont./

125 such as caste and the degree of kinship of each actual union [8].
[143] In this region the person questioned, mostly in public, did
[565] not make any difficulty about declaring to which caste he be-
[124] longed. Moreover, this is known by all the inhabitants of the village and has such social importance that if one asks a child in the street, "Who are you?" he replies, "I am of such and such a caste." As for the degree of kinship of the spouses, a previous study among the sedentary Peul of the Fouta Djallon [9] has shown that it was possible to obtain this without a cumbersome demographic investigation; the individuals are well acquainted with the fact in regions where consanguineous unions are the custom.

The investigator asks whether or not the woman is married to a near relative, and, in the case of an affirmative answer, if the spouses have the same grandfather or grandmother (fourth degree) or in what other way they are related. A total number of 6,208 married women were questioned in this manner, and in order to correct possible errors of observation in such a sample, a control was established in a subsample of 382 sedentary couples by noting the names of the parents, grandparents, and eventually great-grandparents. At this stage there is uncertainty, but this can be removed only by laboriously working out genealogies. That is why the proportion of marriages to the sixth degree, which we indicate below and which are beyond the kinship ties known with sufficient accuracy, are perhaps more important in reality.

563 The ethnic groups. The region studied contains 341,000 inhabitants divided into five principal ethnic groups: Moors, Toucouleur [Tukuler], Peul, Saracolé [Sarakole], and Wolof (Table I). The ethnic groups are distinguished by such characteristics as the way of life, social structure, group consciousness,
[186] the name given them by other groups, and language, except for
[199] the Peul and the Toucouleur, who speak the same language, Poular. Aside from the Moors, the population is grouped in five
[361] port cities and 800 villages and communities.

The Toucouleur form the largest aggregate (187,000 per-
[162] sons) and occupy the center of the region on the two rivers. The

/158 cont./

125 Before going into a detailed analysis, let us look briefly at the conditions under which the investigation was conducted. Actually there were two of them, the first by questionnaire with an investigator, the second by interviews conducted through the medium of an interpreter. [124] Since one of the aims was to examine carefully the repercussion of the housing conditions on the social reality, we divided the sample into two strata. The first includes the two districts of the Pépinière and the ICOTAF, which together contain the more important dwellings of durable construction and each of which forms a whole -- this is not the case for the district of the Police, still embryonic. (If we have not added the district of the T.P. of Cape Verde to this stratum as we had originally intended, it is because we were obliged to replace the three dwellings drawn by three others as a result of the ill-will of one of the persons responsible.) This drawing was made for 1/10th in order to obtain a sufficient number of replies. As for the /159/ second stratum, it included all the rest of the quarters, and a drawing of 1/20th sufficed. The sampling frame was furnished by the plan of the division into lots, the statistical unit being the parcel. Each parcel was given a number, and the drawing was done with the aid of a table of random numbers. The second stratum included all the parcels located on this side of the road of the Niayes, with the exception of some ten among them located farther along and already occupied, a total of 5,740, giving a sample of 287 parcels. The sampling frame for the stratum of the districts was made up from the data given by the Office de l'Habitat relating to the parcels which were supposed to be occupied at the time of the investigation. That made 500, hence 50 in the sample; in fact, of these 50 there were eight that were still vacant or not completely finished, leaving 42. As for the second phase of the investigation, we have been obliged, as a result of the insufficient resources at our disposal, to reduce the second stratum by drawing in the second stage two parcels for three out of the original sample. The number of the first, however, has remained intact.

2

/159 cont./

125 The questionnaire of the first investigation pertains to
124 indispensable socio-demographic data and to housing conditions; as for the interviews, although permitting a definite framework, they were conducted in a very flexible way to give the interlocutor the maximum liberty of expression and thus to gather information on attitudes and opinions concerning family problems: education, marriage portion, marriage, polygamy, etc.

128 We shall not present here the complete record of this double investigation, but simply a certain number of results which give a somewhat more precise idea of the social reality at Pikine.

I. Demographic Elements

162 The total population of Pikine during the winter of 1960, not counting visitors and transients, comes to 28,780 inhabitants (1). The first stratum numbers 25,660 persons and the

1. A brief calculation of error shows that the population of Pikine has a 95% chance of being made up of between 26,286 and 31,374, the standard deviation being 1,247.

the second 3,120. This figure calls for the following remarks.

167 1) In winter the seasonal migrants who come to work at
166 Dakar during the dry season have set out again for their homes /160/ in order to farm. Thus it is probable that the population of Pikine, like that of Dakar, is larger during the months from December to April (1).

1. It will suffice to refer to the results of the demographic investigation that took place in March 1961 to verify the magnitude of this event.

17: Mercier--18 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/20 cont./

state of tension between certain sectors of each of the two populations that is much more obvious than it was a few years ago. New facts have intervened in this period (not to speak of the grasp of clearer political perception by certain African elements). The number of European (men and women) workers and subordinate employees has increased, and this coincides with a considerable extension of vocational instruction and general instruction (at all levels) among the Africans, resulting in a much greater frequency of competitive situations in the occupational and economic spheres (1).

369x
563

1. The study of unemployment in Dakar is very revealing. Besides the causes of unemployment which one could call classic, one more and more notices those that are due to this competitive situation.

[464]

Such a glance shows how numerous, important, and entangled are the problems to be studied. A general publication will later give an account of the various investigations in progress. This account will permit one to place the problems that we shall bring up next. It will also permit one to understand the spirit in which our first inquiries were conducted.

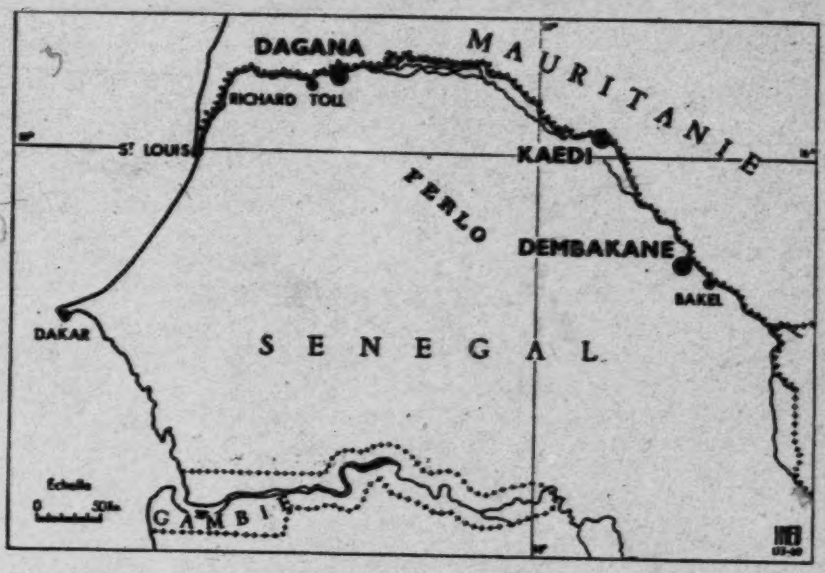
369x

II

The information that we are going to give on the African family structure in the Dakar agglomeration is based, on the one hand, on documentation gathered at the time of the investigation by questionnaires, and, on the other hand, on facts confirmed through broader interviews and applying to a much more restricted number of families. These last have permitted us to observe in a more precise fashion the dynamic aspect of the problem.

125
124

102
103
131
133



Map No. 1. /Mauritanie = Mauritania; Gambie = Gambia; eschelle = scale./

128 and variation of these facts with regard to dates and regions, thanks to
143 various registers which have existed for several generations (Sutter and Tabah [4] and [5], Sutter [6]).

114 In the western part of Africa it is difficult to gather this kind of
143 information, which the administrative censuses do not normally give. The first quantitative study of endogamy by M. de Lestrange in Guinea among the Coniagui [7] has permitted an evaluation of the size of the isolate, one woman /667/ being able to choose her partner from among 400 to 500 men, but does not specify the frequency of consanguineous unions. It deals with a closed population limited to 8,000 persons.

143 The population of the valley of the Senegal itself is much
125 more extensive and, in principle, not closed. In this case a demographic inquiry by sampling, taking one out of ten, has been resorted to, which made it possible to establish, in 1957, not only its classic characteristics of structure (sex, age, ethnic affiliation, place of birth, etc.) and of natural change (fertility, mortality), but also elements permitting precise determination of its degree of endogamy,

/667 cont./

125 such as caste and the degree of kinship of each actual union [8].

[143] In this region the person questioned, mostly in public, did not make any difficulty about declaring to which caste he belonged. Moreover, this is known by all the inhabitants of the village and has such social importance that if one asks a child in the street, "Who are you?" he replies, "I am of such and such a caste." As for the degree of kinship of the spouses, a previous study among the sedentary Peul of the Fouta Djallon [9] has shown that it was possible to obtain this without a cumbersome demographic investigation; the individuals are well acquainted with the fact in regions where consanguineous unions are the custom.

[565] [124]

The investigator asks whether or not the woman is married to a near relative, and, in the case of an affirmative answer, if the spouses have the same grandfather or grandmother (fourth degree) or in what other way they are related. A total number of 6,208 married women were questioned in this manner, and in order to correct possible errors of observation in such a sample, a control was established in a subsample of 382 sedentary couples by noting the names of the parents, grandparents, and eventually great-grandparents. At this stage there is uncertainty, but this can be removed only by laboriously working out genealogies. That is why the proportion of marriages to the sixth degree, which we indicate below and which are beyond the kinship ties known with sufficient accuracy, are perhaps more important in reality.

563 The ethnic groups. The region studied contains 341,000 inhabitants divided into five principal ethnic groups: Moors, Toucouleur [Tukulor], Peul, Saracolé [Sarakole], and Wolof (Table I). The ethnic groups are distinguished by such characteristics as the way of life, social structure, group consciousness, the name given them by other groups, and language, except for the Peul and the Toucouleur, who speak the same language, Poular. Aside from the Moors, the population is grouped in five port cities and 800 villages and communities.

[186] [197] [361]

The Toucouleur form the largest aggregate (187,000 persons) and occupy the center of the region on the two rivers. The

[162]

/667 cont./

563 term Toucouleur often erroneously designates all the inhabitants of the Fouta Toro; we shall use it here in the way the Toucouleur speak of themselves, namely, Halpoularen (speaking the lan-
[197] guage of the Peul), distinct from the Wolof, who have their own language, and from the Saracolé, who speak a Mandé dialect.

/668/ Downstream the boundary between the Wolof and the Toucouleur is not clearly defined and several Wolof villages have been established in the very heart of Toucouleur country and
[186] have preserved their ethnic individuality. They are regarded as foreigners. It is the same upriver on the part of the Saracolé.

The Peul live in the midst of the three groups mentioned
[175] above, and the Peul ethnic group in the valley of the Senegal is itself composed of several waves /nappes/ which have successively spread throughout the region. The oldest are also the most sedentary and the most Islamized (Foulbé walo) and have a way of life very much like that of the Toucouleur, with whom they sometimes intermarry. The others, who have come more re-
[221] cently (Foulbé Diéri), are seminomads and only in winter culti-
[162] vate the sands of the hills which border the valley (Diéri). There
[613] is a total of 47,000 Peul in this region, but we do not know the actual number of each wave, itself divided into relatively
[175] endogamous lineages /lignages/ or pseudo-lineages. The latter, designated by the administration as communities, served as census units for the Peul, while for the others this unit was the village. The location of these communities often changes because of the seminomadic character of the Peul way of life, which is devoted principally to livestock-raising.

Among the 56,000 Moors, although some of them (6,000)
[162] are settled in the river ports, the majority merely meet on the Mauritainian shore and only part of the year; they camp there
[221] during the dry season in order to cultivate the alluvial soil (walo), and they return after the harvest to camps sometimes located several dozen kilometers from there. These farmers for the most part are Haratin of the black race, that is to say, ancient serfs of the Moors, from whom they continue to lease land.

•125 Since they occupy a very marginal position in relation to the totality of the inhabitants of the valley, they will not be studied here. /Table I appears here./

/158 cont./

•125 Before going into a detailed analysis, let us look briefly at the conditions under which the investigation was conducted. Actually there were two of them, the first by [124] questionnaire with an investigator, the second by interviews conducted through the medium of an interpreter. Since one of the aims was to examine carefully the repercussion of the housing conditions on the social reality, we divided the sample into two strata. The first includes the two districts of the Pépinière and the ICOTAF, which together contain the more important dwellings of durable construction and each of which forms a whole -- this is not the case for the district of the Police, still embryonic. (If we have not added the district of the T.P. of Cape Verde to this stratum as we had originally intended, it is because we were obliged to replace the three dwellings drawn by three others as a result of the ill-will of one of the persons responsible.) This drawing was made for 1/10th in order to obtain a sufficient number of replies. As for the /159/ second stratum, it included all the rest of the quarters, and a drawing of 1/20th sufficed. The sampling frame was furnished by the plan of the division into lots, the statistical unit being the parcel. Each parcel was given a number, and the drawing was done with the aid of a table of random numbers. The second stratum included all the parcels located on this side of the road of the Niayes, with the exception of some ten among them located farther along and already occupied, a total of 5,740, giving a sample of 287 parcels. The sampling frame for the stratum of the districts was made up from the data given by the Office de l'Habitat relating to the parcels which were supposed to be occupied at the time of the investigation. That made 500, hence 50 in the sample; in fact, of these 50 there were eight that were still vacant or not completely finished, leaving 42. As for the second phase of the investigation, we have been obliged, as a result of the insufficient resources at our disposal, to reduce the second stratum by drawing in the second stage two parcels for three out of the original sample. The number of the first, however, has remained intact.

/159 cont./

125 124 The questionnaire of the first investigation pertains to indispensable socio-demographic data and to housing conditions; as for the interviews, although permitting a definite framework, they were conducted in a very flexible way to give the interlocutor the maximum liberty of expression and thus to gather information on attitudes and opinions concerning family problems: education, marriage portion, marriage, polygamy, etc.

128 We shall not present here the complete record of this double investigation, but simply a certain number of results which give a somewhat more precise idea of the social reality at Pikine.

I. Demographic Elements

162 The total population of Pikine during the winter of 1960, not counting visitors and transients, comes to 28,780 inhabitants (1). The first stratum numbers 25,660 persons and the

1. A brief calculation of error shows that the population of Pikine has a 95% chance of being made up of between 26,286 and 31,374, the standard deviation being 1,247.

the second 3,120. This figure calls for the following remarks.

162 166 1) In winter the seasonal migrants who come to work at Dakar during the dry season have set out again for their homes /160/ in order to farm. Thus it is probable that the population of Pikine, like that of Dakar, is larger during the months from December to April (1).

1. It will suffice to refer to the results of the demographic investigation that took place in March 1961 to verify the magnitude of this event.

/179 cont./

121 the ethnic group, the two principal criteria of miscegenation.
●125 But, at the beginning of the investigation, besides the primary
871 distinction between illiterates and literates, we thought that we could distinguish two groups within this last category. In fact, the literate group is too small, the educational status too limited -- among the family heads of the sample none had had any secondary studies -- for one to be able to retain this subdivision. Therefore all those who had had a minimum of schooling, from the second year elementary course up to C.E.P., with an occasional C.A.P., have been considered literate.

191 /180/ Nevertheless, by combining schooling and the
871 knowledge of French, we have been able to group the family
125 heads of the sample into three categories. The first is made up of the illiterates who do not understand French, except for a few words; the second is made up of those who have a "summary" knowledge of the language, and in this case it is obviously a matter of a partly subjective criterion which depends on the judgment of the investigator. Actually, the decisive test was the following: those for whom the interview of the second investigation was conducted in French and who only rarely appealed to the interpreter were regarded as having a summary knowledge of French. There are very few cases where the conclusion obtained by the application of this test did not confirm the previous judgment of the investigator.

The third category, finally, includes the "literates" in the sense in which we have defined them above.

The following table represents the grouping, in percentages, of these three categories within each ethnic group; furthermore, the districts have been separated from the quarters, and the last line gives the average for the whole of Pikine. /Table 14 appears here./

871 Three principal facts stand out clearly from a reading
191 of this table:

/181/

1) The small number of literates: a little more than one out of five family heads have received a beginning of

[Text continues on p. 37--Analyst]

/390 cont./

114 collected seemed to us later to lack precision.

●125 The method that we have used is simple. For the seven African investigators (each concerning himself with six or seven families) and for the director of the investigation, it was primarily a matter of being present as often as possible and as long as possible with each family and of noting in a notebook devised for this use all of the financial activities of the family each day during a month of 31 days (1)

1. For detailed information on the method followed for this investigation, cf. Y. Mersadier, "Un essai d'enquête sur le niveau de vie d'une population urbaine /An attempt to investigate the living standard of an urban population/" [communication at the conference of experts on the social consequences of industrialization and the urban problems in Africa, Abidjan, September 1954].

[511] (the month of March 1954). We obtained quite accurate data on the "routine" expenses of the month, principally food, fuel, illumination, and maintenance, and basic elements for the calculation of other categories of expenses, clothing, material, equipment, various familial expenses, religious expenses, etc., which we wanted to estimate for the period of a year. But here we had to rely in part on the statements of the persons investigated. Nevertheless the almost continual presence of the investigator with the families for a month permitted him, in several questionings and by rechecking, to arrive at figures which we believe are quite close to reality.

125 The real income was often quite difficult to estimate.
434 In principle there should have been no difficulties in the case of salaried workers, who willingly show their pay receipt. For the

/390 cont./

125 434 artisans it was necessary, aside from their family accounts, to consider those of their occupational activity; with regard to the cultivators, it is certainly /391/ among them that the greatest percentage of error is found. We have taken into account the proceeds from the sale of their harvest, often underestimated by the one concerned, the portion for home consumption, and the income obtained by supplementary activities practiced in the dry season, in order to arrive at an income figure that could be compared to that for salaried workers.

125 434 462 But, nearly all of the women, almost all of whom declare themselves to be "without occupation," have minor sources of income that permit them to balance a budget, or at least partially to make up a deficit. It is often a matter of small-scale commerce, sometimes domestic work, and sometimes the talents [536] [565] of an actress which attract sympathy and gifts, as we verified for a family of the griot /singer, storyteller/ caste. It was therefore necessary to look closely at each case before setting an exact figure. We nevertheless believe that we have been mistaken in two or three cases, which will reveal themselves below.

125 434 592 Of course, there were often cases where in a family, or rather let us say in the same "unit of consumption," since this is the term that we shall use most often (1), several persons

[104] [594] 1. Each time that we speak of "family," it is actually the unit of consumption that is involved. To designate the familial grouping in the Western sense of the word, we shall use the term "restricted family."

received income. The entire income retained is not always the sum of these incomes. We have studied the budgets of groups and not the budgets of individuals. Now, these groups, these "units of consumption," only rarely correspond to the restricted family of Western type. They often contain individuals who, whether or not they have a kin tie with a member of the restricted family, on the one hand participate in the economic

/391 cont./

125 life of the unit of consumption and, on the other hand, part
434 company with it for other activities.
592 The clearest case is that of the boarder who takes his
[437] meals in the unit of consumption and pays the cost of these meals. Though simple, it is exceptional, as is the extreme case where all the incomes are put together. Between the two, there are many possible situations. For each unit of consumption we have therefore set apart, from among all the incomes received by its members, that which is available to the head of the family to support his restricted family and to fulfill his obligations with regard to the other members of the unit of consumption who are not part of the restricted family.

125 /392/ However limited our sample may be, we have
*511 tried all the same to make it representative of the structure of the population of Thiès, as much from the standpoint of the ethnic group of the unit of consumption as from those of occupational group, income, and number of persons. Therefore, the selection of 45 families (the figure initially anticipated) suitable for us and agreeing to submit to the investigation was diffcult (1). The 43 units of consumption which are of concern

1. In this selection of families, our task was greatly facilitated by the syndical organization , the religious authorities, and the heads of quarters.

125 here are distributed as follows.
592 From the standpoint of income:
434 13 between 5,000 and 10,000 francs per month,
*511 9 between 10,000 and 15,000 francs per month,
5 between 15,000 and 20,000 francs per month,
8 between 20,000 and 30,000 francs per month,
8 above 30,000 francs per month, with one of 81,000 francs.

/392 cont./

125 463 *511 From the standpoint of occupational distribution:

5 cultivators,
8 laborers (one specialist),
3 orderlies,
3 "unskilled" office employees,
2 "skilled office employees,
1 "highly skilled" office employee,
6 "unskilled" workers,
4 "skilled" workers,
2 workers having functions of authority,
1 police sergeant,
4 artisans,
1 truck-gardener,
1 private accountant,
1 teacher,
1 African doctor.

125 162 *511 /393/ From the standpoint of ethnic group (1):

1. According to the census of 1953, the distribution of the population of Thiès by principal ethnic groups is as follows:

Wolof	65.5%	Peul	3%
Toucouleur	9.3%	Sarakolé	1.8%
Bambara	6.8%	Moors	2.4%
Sérère	5.1%	Others	6.1%

26 Wolof,
4 Bambara,
3 Sarakolé,
3 Peul,
3 Toucouleur /Tukolor/,
2 Sérère /Serer/,
2 Moors.

/393 cont./

●125 592 *511 Finally, according to the number of persons making up the unit of consumption:

5 of less than 5 persons.
18 of 5 to 9 persons.
12 of 10 to 14 persons.
5 of 15 to 19 persons.
3 of 20 persons and more.

[434] On all of these points the distribution is nearly normal. Only the group with incomes of 15,000 to 20,000 francs is somewhat scantily represented, the average of the lower group being perhaps, on the contrary, somewhat too high.

125 *511 But this apparent balance presents a problem; every family, or nearly every one, has its own characteristics, and there are no two that are strictly comparable. This is why, in order to facilitate an understanding of certain points concerning the consumption of food commodities, we have had recourse to a device that is a little risky; from the standards utilized for the calculation of theoretical food requirements by the Institut National d'Hygiène de Paris, we have used for men, for women, and for children, according to their age category, a coefficient:

1 for men
0.8 for the women.
0.5 for children from 2 to 6 years old.
0.7 for children from 7 to 12 years old.
0.8 for children from 13 to 20 years old.

/394/ By addition, we have obtained a theoretical composition of the unit of consumption in men alone. We can then calculate the consumption of this theoretical man. Nursing children have been included in the category of 2 to 5 years old, but we have allowed the coefficient of 0.8 for nursing women. This compensates for that.

*511 592 594 Table I,[1] gives the composition of the unit of consumption in men, women, and children, and in the last column its composition in "man units." The column preceding the one for the

[1] [see cat. 116, pp 11-12. -ANALYST]

Thiés
Serer FA32
Wolof MS30
SONINKE MS21
BAMBARA FA8

/397 cont./ Table II (cont.)

W
9R
90
B
511
434
463
S
*511
434

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Expenses
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25,000	15,706
34	Wolof	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	14,715
35	Wolof	Staff employee D.N.	27,000	16,654
36	Wolof	Private accountant	34,000	19,829
37	Wolof	Truck-gardener	36,000	23,680
38	Wolof	Jeweler	50,000	27,397
39	Sarakolé	Teacher	51,000	21,240
40	Wolof	Staffworker D.N.	55,000	31,004
41	Sarakolé	Head employee D.N.	55,500	21,105
42	Bambara	Chief worker, C.D.N.	56,000	24,548
43	Wolof	Doctor	81,000	34,612

S
*511

/398 cont./

deficits of Nos. 24, 25, and 26, which are less significant. The slenderness of the deficit of No. 3 can be explained by the limited number of persons that the unit of consumption contains.

in the care of one of the families having the smallest income.)

S
●125
*511

This deficit is, of course, theoretical. Not having followed these families closely for an entire year, we cannot pretend to present an exact balance-sheet of their budget. It is possible that our percentages would be reduced in the course of a year, or a longer period, either by a reduction in expenses (reduction of consumption, or reduction of the unit of consumption itself) or by the creation of another source of income. The fact remains, however, that they do exist and that they are important.

S
426
*511

It will be easy for us to show where they come from. It is almost impossible to explain rationally their persistence and their

/431/

121 Fashion, from a subjective point of view, represents a fleeting custom that depends on the taste and the whims of individuals. Its range of application is universal. It is thus a social and aesthetic phenomenon of the same order as painting, from which it borrows much.

Like all expressions of art, fashion is a language and a magic. It is also a technique, the different aspects of which may be grouped in three categories: the fabrication of the objects (fabrics and garments), the methods of sale, and the motivations for the purchase.

For the social psychologist the problem of the adaptation of the African to European fashions presents itself.

125 Among the various possible methods of investigation, our choice was directed first of all to direct observations and the method of tests. We have taken into consideration both the ethnic origin and the age of the subjects.

I. Female African Population of Dakar

162 1. Resident population on 6-1-55.

We ascertained:

a) the very distinct predominance of the Wolof group (47.8%),

b) the weak representation of the Sérèr and Diola in relation to the Bambara.

/432/

2. Characteristics of this population:

[191] [212] a) Knowledge of French (14 years old and +):

4,844 women and girls speak our language (2,850 of them write it).

162 463 [294] [386] b) Salaried occupations in crafts and business (14 years old and +):

3,779, of whom: sewing, dressmaking,

lingerie, clothing	609
preparation, dyeing.....	142

S /432 cont. /

162 The 609 individuals who derive a profit from the
463 fashion trades are divided ethnically as follows:

[294]

Cape Verde group	243
Wolof group	157
Diola group	48
Lebou group	31
Sérèr group	29
Others	101

W
[294]

S
W
[386] The majority of the 142 dyers are Toucouleur /Tukolar/ (77) and Wolof (36).

W
[463] Out of 1,455 Wolof women practicing a trade, for their own benefit or salaried, 598 are tradeswomen, 157 in sewing, 110 business employees.

The Lébou women likewise prefer to carry on a business (150 out of 340 counted as workers).

S
125

II. Experimental Research on the Aesthetic Sense of Dakar Women in the Matter of Clothing

For this study, which is only in its beginnings, two methods are used:

-- direct observation of clothing worn for display by a certain number of women,

-- the result of tests conducted among some of them. /Table I appears here on an unnumbered page. /

/433/

A. Direct Observation.

1. Circumstances.

S
[114] a) The investigation was conducted in the Médina of Dakar, in the quarters Sapeurs-pompiers /Firemen/ and Champ de courses /Race course/ -- between 9 and 19 November 1956, at the end of an election.

/433 cont./

125 b) It was concerned with the "outer" garments of 4,772 women 14 years old and + , the majority of them Wolof and Lébou.

291 Except when the principal garment is of transparent material, it is very difficult to distinguish, not the underclothing in the European sense of the term, but masses of draped or fitted material, indispensable elements of feminine dress in tropical Africa.

2. Results.

a) Classical African clothing (boubous):

Table II

Dominant Colors	Voiles Tulles Organdies	Plain	Lace or Open-work	Printed Wax or Fancy	Dyed (Craft)	Woven (Craft)	Totals
Whites	262	117	81	--	--	--	460
Blacks	95	149	23	--	--	--	267
Violets and mauves	115	52	--	244	--	34	445
Indigos	--	106	--	463	426	--	995
Blues	131	15	20	61	--	--	227
Greens	11	24	--	73	--	--	108
Yellows	106	20	--	58	--	--	184
Oranges	11	3	--	100	--	21	135
Reds	20	3	--	28	--	10	61
Pinks	248	3	45	21	--	--	317
Garnets	13	--	--	9	--	--	22
Ochers	3	--	--	6	--	--	9
Maroons	128	16	4	576	--	--	724
Grays	3	--	9	36	--	--	48
Totals	1,146	508	182	1,675	426	65	4,002

/434/

291 177 b) Clothing of European inspiration (tailles-basses and dresses):

/436 cont./

291 1 wore 1 Fancy boubou
+ 1 loincloth

/437/

4 women from 20 to 30 years old:

1 wore 1 voile boubou + 1 Fancy loincloth
1 -- 1 dress + 1 loincloth
2 -- 1 dress

4 young girls:

2 wore 1 taille-basse + loincloth
2 -- 1 dress

Corresponding to this evolution of style, there is an evolution in the choice patterns of printed materials and of the quality of these materials.

When it is a matter of a dress, one sees affirmed more and more the abandonment of large patterns of one or 1.20 X 1.20 meters, and, on the contrary, a choice of simple lines, of flowers, leaves, birds, heightened by a harmony of warm but not gaudy colors.

Similarly, the light cotton fabrics (Citec) are more and more in demand.

B. Method of the Tests.

121 1) General remarks.

"Among the objects that determine positive or negative feelings, one particular category consists of those about which it is said that they are 'beautiful' or 'ugly,' that is to say, of those that do or do not satisfy the aesthetic tendencies." (P. Jampolsky.)

We have asked ourselves, following Mr. Jampolsky, to what extent this "projection" can occasion the application of a personality test.

The apparatus utilized was only meant to furnish, by
125 way of correction, a more complete method.
822 It included:

-- a sheet of straight, broken, and curved lines and of rough sketches of figures in black on white,

/437 cont./

125
822

-- a sheet of simple figures in black on white.

-- 13 colors painted in gouache on cardboards.

Fifty-two women and young girls were subjected to this test. Since they have all been identified among the 4,772 individuals mentioned in the first part of this article, it seemed to us interesting to give here the results of this experiment as far as the color tests are concerned.

/438/ a) Table V

Ethnic Groups Represented by Age

Ages	Wolof (A)	Lebou (B)	Sérèr (C)	Mandjiak (D)	Toucoul. (E)	Peul + Foula (F)	Sarakhulé (G)	Malinké (H)	Sosé (I)	Mandingue (J)	Susu (K)	Totals
14 (1)	1										1	3
15 (2)	4				1				1	1	2	9
16 (3)	6			1				1			1	9
17 (4)	4	1										5
18 (5)								1			1	2
19 (6)	3				1		1					5
20 (7)	4				2							6
21 (8)	1										1	2
22 (9)	1				1							2
25 (12)	2											2
27 (14)	1											1
30 (17)			1		1							2
35 (22)	1											1
36 (23)						1						1
41 (28)								1				1
49 (36)								1				1
	28	1	1	1	6	2	1	4	1	1	6	52

b) Tests used:

/438 cont./

•125
822

Description.

Presented on cardboards of 7 centimeters by 9 centimeters, colored on one side with gouache.

C1 = violet, C2 = indigo, C3 = blue (royal)
C4 = green (Veronese), C5 = yellow (bright gold),
C6 = orange, C7 = red.
C8 = black, C9 = white
C10 = dead leaf, C11 = chocolate
C12 = yellow ochre, C13 = brick red.

/Table VI appears here on an unnumbered page./

/439/ Process

-- The first 7. Questions: a) which are the two colors that you prefer? b) which is the color that you like the least?

-- Add C8 + C9 to the first. The same two questions.

-- It is then asked that two colors be matched (the most beautiful combination possible). Take 1.

-- To the first 9 colors add: C10, C11, C12, C13. Same questions as above.

-- Make a new combination out of the 13 colors: Take 2.

-- With the elements of these 2 combinations make a final combination considered "the best."

It is obvious that this question is not asked when Take 1 = Take 2.

822 3) Results.

a) Simple choice. Rough balance color by color -- out of 52 individuals, each giving six replies in favor (+) and

Dakar
Wolof MS30
Lebu

/16 cont./

to exist by two processes: forced displacement of old quarters at the time of the creation of the Médina, massive settlement of foreign "tenants" in the quarters remaining in place. If the Lebou names of quarters have often been preserved (even after their displacement), if the headships of quarters are still in major part held by Lebou, these soon perhaps will be only historical vestiges. Moreover, the ethnic composition of the quarters and of the "compounds" is constantly being transformed. The numerical importance of the diverse groups cannot be established in any precise fashion because of the lack of detailed censuses. We shall mention as an indication:

S 369* 563 [166] W [369] [563]

S 369* 563 162

a) The official figures, furnished by the way with every reservation, and valid for the whole of the commune of Dakar (the suburban villages included): Lebou, 15%; Wolof, 25%; "Wolof-Lebou," 11%; Sérère, /Serer/, 3%; Bambara, 9%; Toucouleur /Tukolor/, 10%; Peul, 5%; Moors, 4%; Diola, 5%; Soussou /Susu/, 2%; Cape Verdeans (Portugese), 2%; etc. (2).

2. Percentages taken from figures shown in the 1953 report. Not mentioned, by the way, are persons originally from Upper Volta, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey. They do not seem to figure in the total, the headings including only: persons originally from other territories of the A.O.F. /French West Africa/, persons from Cape Verde, persons from Togo, persons from the Cameroun, persons originally from AEF /French Equatorial Africa/ and those from Sierra Leone.

/17/ b) The fragmentary data gathered at the time of the investigation by questionnaires conducted by the Section

S [125]

/17 cont./

de Sociologie in the first half of 1953. The 1,231 persons questioned were divided among 43 different ethnic groups. The groups of small numerical importance, however, were not all represented (1). One found (the few percentages

369*
563
162
[125]

1. Some others, represented in all Dakar by only a few individuals, were encountered in the course of subsequent investigations.

given are only indicative):

-- persons originally from the Senegal-Sudan zone: besides the Lebou (9%), the Wolof (43%)(2), the Toucouleur

[166]
[167]

2. Included here is a certain number of persons who were manifestly of Lebou origin and who nevertheless called themselves Wolof, proof of the crisis of the old Lebou particularism.

(11%), the Sérère (5%), the Bambara (6%), the Sarakolé (3%), the Socé, the Mandingue /Mandingo/, the Khassonké /Kassonke/, the Peul, the Diola (3%) (3), the Mandiaque;

3. The figure furnished by official sources undoubtedly is closer to reality; there is, in fact, among the Diola, a majority of workers, permanent or seasonal, and this is the category that proved to be the most difficult to contact. The proportion of workers in the total number of persons who agreed to answer our questionnaire is much smaller than it should be.

[125]

/20 cont./

state of tension between certain sectors of each of the two populations that is much more obvious than it was a few years ago. New facts have intervened in this period (not to speak of the grasp of clearer political perception by certain African elements). The number of European (men and women) workers and subordinate employees has increased, and this coincides with a considerable extension of vocational instruction and general instruction (at all levels) among the Africans, resulting in a much greater frequency of competitive situations in the occupational and economic spheres (1). 369x 563

1. The study of unemployment in Dakar is very revealing. Besides the causes of unemployment which one could call classic, one more and more notices those that are due to this competitive situation. [464]

Such a glance shows how numerous, important, and entangled are the problems to be studied. A general publication will later give an account of the various investigations in progress. This account will permit one to place the problems that we shall bring up next. It will also permit one to understand the spirit in which our first inquiries were conducted. 369x

II

The information that we are going to give on the African family structure in the Dakar agglomeration is based, on the one hand, on documentation gathered at the time of the investigation by questionnaires, and, on the other hand, on facts confirmed through broader interviews and applying to a much more restricted number of families. These last have permitted us to observe in a more precise fashion the dynamic aspect of the problem. 125 124

/22 cont./// 369x
itself, its variable importance depending on religions, ethnic [595]
groups, socio-occupational categories.

B. -- The numerical importance of the groups of rela- 369x
tives making up a single household is very variable. We have 592
defined the household /maisonnée/: the assemblage of persons [104]
living in a single house or a single group of houses, and putting
together at least a part of their resources.

1. Some remarks are necessary here in order to place conveniently the data gathered.

/23/ Certain households are composed of groups of persons having no ties of kinship between them -- in extreme cases, not even of ethnic relationship. In particular this is the [589]
case for groups of bachelors who rent a room with common funds, a case that is quite frequent among the seasonal workers, but this is a category that has only briefly been studied up to now. The investigation by questionnaires is practically limited [125]
to the permanent population. The elements relating to the composition of the household thus concern kinship groups almost exclusively. We obtain an approximation adequate for our purpose.

There are some facts which we shall be able to take into account only in the statement of qualitative data. On the one hand, a certain number of households are tied by kinship or by marriage with immediately neighboring households. Even though there is no life in common for the whole of the family group, its different parts continue to have constant relations. This aspect will be brought out in the last part of our work. On the other hand, the restricted polygamous family, in a certain [595]
number of cases, is not assembled in one and the same place; each wife, with her children, forms the nucleus of a household, which other members of the kinship group eventually come to join; the head of the family passes from one household to another (1)

1. This fact is less marked, however, than in a town like Saint-Louis.

/1/

125 During the years 1960 and 1961, a demographic investigation by sampling was undertaken over the whole territory, the first one in the history of Senegal. (Administrative counts, city censuses, and an investigation in the central valley of the river /Senegal River/ had been made previously, but never a demographic inquiry covering the whole territory.)

[369] [162] The country has been divided into two large parts: the urban zone, composed of the whole region of Cape Verde and the cities of Thiès, Saint-Louis, Ziguinchor, Diourbel, and Louga; and the rural zone, which includes the rest of the territory. The sampling fraction was 1/50 in the rural zone and 1/20 in the urban zone. Subsequently a sampling to the twentieth was obtained by dividing into two a certain number of maps of the rural zone.

It will be seen merely from the method utilized that it renders illusory the study of small groups /groupes à effectif réduit/. It should be acknowledged from the first that the numbers below 500 (that is, 25 in the sample) are not significant.

II - The Structures:

III - The geographic distribution:

114 The operations in the field begun in the month of April 1960 were terminated in the month of August 1961 (April-June '60 for the rural zone, July '60 to August '61 /2/ for the urban zone). It should be acknowledged that on the whole the numbers indicated below correspond to the situation on the date of 1 July 1960. (Table 1 on following page)

162

This table shows, on the one hand, the low average density and, on the other hand, its great variability.

[563] The non-African population is made up essentially of French and Lebano-Syrians. It is heavily concentrated in the urban zone and particularly in Cape Verde; 74% of the non-Africans of Senegal are actually in residence there. Moreover, this concentration has become accentuated in recent years for several reasons: the departure of the Senegalese and Mauritanian governments from Saint-Louis; the closing of a number of agencies in the interior following the change in the commercial circuits.

161 648

15: Mauny--1 E-5 (1955) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

/72/

On March 15, 1955, the I.F.A.N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noire/ was informed by the administration of the Collège Technique d'Industrie at Fann of the discovery, by students of this establishment, of human skeletons inside a baobab located between this school and the Mandel rest home, at the edge of the Médina of Dakar (1). The next day we went 114 172

1. Discovery announced in the Paris-Dakar of March 22, 1955. February 19 was given erroneously.

to the spot and returned from there on March 19.

This baobab, called "Bok," rises in the middle of a former garden. It is of fine size: 15 meters high, 18.50 meters in circumference, or nearly six meters in diameter (Fig. 1). The trunk is hollow and forms a nearly circular chamber, 3.50 meters in diameter by six meters high, connected to the outside by three orifices: one on the east at ground level, 60 centimeters high by 45 wide, through which there is access to the interior; a sort of dormer window, 0.35 by 0.25 of a meter, on the north face, /73/ 75 centimeters above the ground; and, in the ceiling of the interior cavity, a slit one meter long by about 0.30 of a meter wide (Fig. 2). 137 172 766

Inside, the ground is composed of brownish earth mixed with sand and many human bones. The upper layer had already been excavated by students desirous of procuring skulls for themselves. The first time, we took away the bones found on the surface, not having the means to make excavations. When we came back two days later with the necessary equipment, we noticed that meanwhile new borings and samplings had been made by the students; thus this time it was wise to remove /Fig. 1 appears here/ all the osteological material possible, without being able to proceed with methodical excavations. 126 172 766

We therefore rescued all that we could; the skeletons were tangled up in the most extraordinary fashion without any attempt at orientation. The bodies had, obviously been thrown down 172 766

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

S 563 S W [665] [666]

renominated, the Wolofs created a *Bloc Démocratique du Djollof* which polled 6,000 votes to the 8,000 of the Fula candidate.

A further commentary on the lack of tribalism in Senegal is the ethnic structure of the Government and the national assembly. The Government is composed of the President of the Republic, who is a Serer, a President of the Council of Ministers who is Toucouleur with strong Wolof ancestry, and fourteen Ministers of whom nine are Wolof, two are half-caste, one a Frenchman who has opted for Senegalese nationality, one a Diola and one a Lebou.

S [645]

The ethnic repartition of the Senegalese National Assembly is equally revealing*:

S 563 646 [162]

Tribe	*Percentage of population*	*Number of Deputies*	*Percentage of Deputies*
Wolof	35·0	33	41
Serer	16·0	5	6
Lebou	0·2	10	13
Toucouleur	9·0	10	13
Fula	17·0	5	6
Diola	9·0	5	6
Mandingo/Bambara	7·0	3	4
European	0·1	3	4
Metis	0·1	5	6
Rest	4·7	1	1

The above figures, with the reservations footnoted, show that the National Assembly with one or two exceptions

S [121]

* These figures were supplied to me by William J. Foltz and are based on his own research and ethnic data from the *S.E.R.E.S.A. Rapport General* lère partie, Ch. 1., p. 33. The population figures are based on old administrative censuses, which may be somewhat conservative. The figures for the Lebou seem surprisingly low. Furthermore, placing deputies under a particular ethnic grouping is often an arbitrary process, since it is in the educated classes that the highest rate of inter-ethnic marriage occurs. Furthermore the large number of Wolofs can partly be explained by the fact that anyone of mixed ethnic origin, in which one parent is Wolof, tends to call himself Wolof.

S SR 766 565

/74 cont./

An unpublished source of information is furnished us by the notebooks of vacation homework of pupils of the William-Ponty School, written in 1945, which had as subject "the funeral rites" (11).

11. Let us cite, among others, the studies of MM. Diouf Khar N'Dofène, NDao Ibrahima, Diop Boubacar, N'Diaye N'Diaga, Diop Biram. These notebooks are kept in the Section de Documentation of the I.F.A.N. at Dakar.

S [127]

From these studies several facts stand out from the others:

a) This custom is practiced today only in animist Sérère country.

b) It is tending to disappear because of new ideas (flight of the griots to the cities, where they melt into the masses; hygiene; equalitarianism /75/ preached by Islam, Christianity, schools, etc.

c) The griots of our day are buried with the other "people of caste" (blacksmiths, shoemakers, weavers) in a cemetery near, but different from the one for the noble classes of the society.

This is how, according to these notebooks, a griot interment takes place in animist Sérère country.

The griot in Sérère country, as in a large part of Black Africa, occupies the bottom of the social ladder. An inferior, scorned, and feared being, it is not appropriate for him to be buried; the soil of the land where he would rest "would be rendered sterile forever or at least its yield would diminish from year to year."

After his death one proceeds with his funeral toilet, which is the same as for the other castes: the dead man is clothed in his finest garments, then wrapped in a pagne /Fr., a long strip of cloth/, and then "fastened with palmyra leaves in such a way as to form a solid package."

He is then laid out on a litter and carried to the baobab-cemetery by two strong young men, accompanied by the crowd of griots of the village, men and women.

/10/

*795 793 The brotherhood of the Murids was instituted in Senegal at the end of the last century by a Toucouleur /Tukolor/ marabout named Amadou Bamba M'Backé. He did it, Murid tradition reports, following a vision during which the Angel Gabriel revealed to him his vocation as apostle-restorer of Islam in that country.

Amadou Bamba had studied the Koran thoroughly under Cheikh /Sheik/ Sidi Sidiya, and because of this he had received the wird. He therefore was of Quadria obedience. Nevertheless, by creating his own brotherhood and founding Muridism, he produced a completely original work, and he knew particularly well how to adapt his preaching to the mentality of the Ouolof /Wolof/, among whom it spread rapidly and became firmly established.

The essential trait of the Murid is his blind and fanatical attachment to his marabout and to the Murid doctrine; the primordial characteristic of Muridism is to have made manual [461] labor (generally scorned in Black Africa and in Islam) the equivalent of prayer and, as such, capable of ensuring the eternal salvation of the disciple (talibé).

*795 114 The history of the vocation and the preachings of Amadou Bamba, as well as the circumstances of the birth and first development of the brotherhood are known; Captain Marty in L'Islam au Sénégal /Islam in Senegal/ and A. Gouilly in L'Islam en A. O. F. /Islam in French West Africa/ have spoken about it with authority.

Our purpose, therefore, will not be to repeat what has already been written about the Murids and their brotherhood, but to report some recent observations about them made by the author in the course of a stay at Diourbel during which he was able to approach the current leaders of the brotherhood frequently and to attend several times the pilgrimage that they organize annually in their "capital," Touba, under the name of Magal.

● 128 We shall call to mind, therefore, successively:

— Touba, the holy city of the Murids, its mosque, its Magal;

/10 cont./

128 — the great leaders of Muridism, their present situation, their influence on the movement, their reciprocal rivalries, their relations with the Administration;

— the importance of Muridism and its influence on the economic, social, and political life of Senegal.

/11/ Then we shall try, in conclusion, to envisage the prospects for the future which present themselves to Muridism today.

*795 778 [361] Touba is therefore the center of the Murid brotherhood. Amadou Bamba founded it in 1886, a few kilometers from the village of M'Backé (itself created by his grandfather, M'Balla M'Backé) and about 60 kilometers east of Diourbel, at the edge of Baol and the Ferlo desert, in a vast plain with bleak horizons and a sparse population.

The Murids attribute a holy and miraculous origin to the city, the Angel Gabriel himself having revealed the site to Amadou Bamba after conducting him there in a mysterious and supernatural fashion.

Amadou Bamba's difficulties with the Administration did not permit him to reside in this remote and isolated place where his activities were hard to control, but his body has reposed there since his death in 1927.

The agglomeration Touba-M'Backé-Darou forms the heart of the Murid country, and Touba is the ideal capital; indeed, it is now, for the disciples of Amadou Bamba:

— the headquarters of the brotherhood,

— a center of Koranic studies,

— a sort of monastery,

— a place of pilgrimage.

*795 793 It is at Touba that the Caliph-general resides. All of his collateral relatives and descendants, as well as all of the great Murid marabouts, have residences there, although they do not live there continually. It is there that the administrative council of the brotherhood meets to make important decisions concerning the Murid community.

/665 cont./

143 used in population genetics for the construction of models indicating the mode of evolution of a concentration of genes in the course of time. In this general hypothesis it is postulated that: the population is closed; marriage is random; fertility is the same for all couples. If in this case the population is unlimited, the frequency of the three varieties of zygotes, A/A, A/a, a/a (monohybrid diallel), remains constant from generation to generation (Hardy-Weinberg Law, N.D.L.R.).

/666/ /Map No. 1 appears here./

143 582 The actual situation is entirely different; the social stratification entails very strict endogamy at the ethnic and caste level, endogamy reinforced by preferential marriages as well as by residential proximity. Some authors (1), Soh [1],

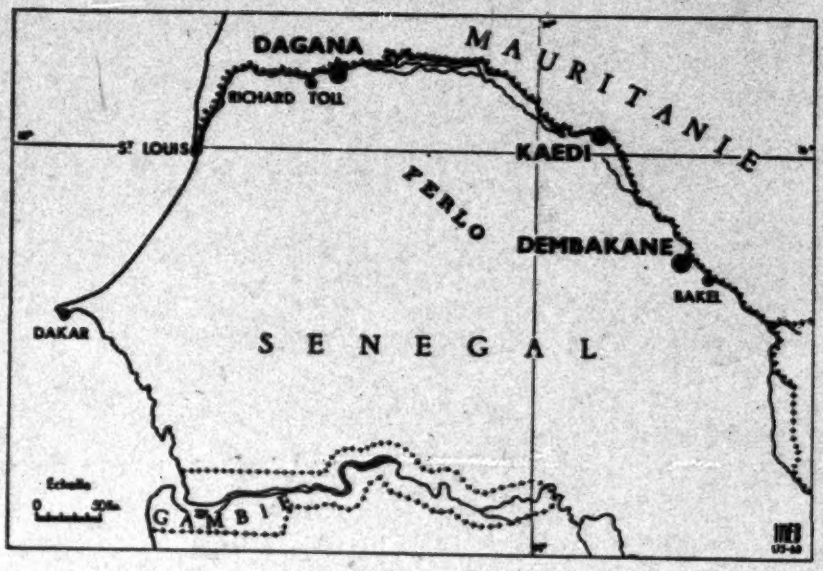
1. The numbers in brackets refer to the bibliographic references at the end of the article.

Gaden [2], M'Bow [3], have already described the origin and causes of these local ethnic and social differences and also the types of marriages, but quantitative observations only permit one to measure endogamy. After reviewing the method of study used, we shall indicate the principal results of these observations.

•128 143 Method of study. In Europe, and notably in France, consanguinity and geographical endogamy have been determined by means of the frequency of marriages from the third to the sixth degree inclusive, that is to say, especially between first and second cousins, and also by studying the distance between the domiciles of future spouses. It is possible to know the frequency

[Text continues middle of P. 3 -- Analyst]

102
103
131
133



Map No. 1. /Mauritanie = Mauritania; Gambie = Gambia; eschelle = scale./

128 and variation of these facts with regard to dates and regions, thanks to
143 various registers which have existed for several generations (Sutter and Tabah [4] and [5], Sutter [6]).

114 In the western part of Africa it is difficult to gather this kind of
143 information, which the administrative censuses do not normally give. The first quantitative study of endogamy by M. de Lestrange in Guinea among the Coniagui [7] has permitted an evaluation of the size of the isolate, one woman /667/ being able to choose her partner from among 400 to 500 men, but does not specify the frequency of consanguineous unions. It deals with a closed population limited to 8,000 persons.

143 The population of the valley of the Senegal itself is much
125 more extensive and, in principle, not closed. In this case a demographic inquiry by sampling, taking one out of ten, has been resorted to, which made it possible to establish, in 1957, not only its classic characteristics of structure (sex, age, ethnic affiliation, place of birth, etc.) and of natural change (fertility, mortality), but also elements permitting precise determination of its degree of endogamy,

S /673 cont./

582
143
565

Table IV. Absolute numbers of consanguineous marriages and their percentage in the principal Toucouleur castes. Value of the mean coefficient of consanguinity

Caste	Number of couples interrogated	Consanguineous Marriages 4th D Nos.	5th D Nos.	6th D Nos.	Total Nos.	%	Coefficient of cansanguinity F X 10^3
Torobé	101	15	6	14	35	35.6	10.9
Fishermen	56	8	4	6	18	32.2	8.2
Artisans	27	7	1	4	12	44.4	13.6
Captives	93	6	0	4	10	10.7	4.2

S
582
143

the mother's brother (19) or the father's brother (15), rather than the daughter of the mother's sister (8) or of the father's sister (4). These consanguineous marriages represent the most strict form of endogamy. The others reflect the same tendency, but are practiced in a larger framework, lineage, clan, the extent of which we have not been able to evaluate. There are also traditional unions between two or more families, which perpetuate themselves from generation to generation.

Actual endogamy. The results observed in the valley of the Senegal cannot be extended to the Sahelo-Sudan region and still less to the western part of Africa. From analogous studies now in progress, we shall soon know whether the situation is comparable in the other regions of the Senegal and the Sudan.

In the valley the frequency of marriages of the fourth to the sixth degree inclusive ranks among the highest yet observed anywhere in the world. Freire-Maia in 1957 [10] collected data on this point, followed by Serra and Soini in 1959 [11] in this same journal. The measure which gives the best

S
114
128

/673 cont./

587 representation of the degree of endogamy in a population is the
143 mean coefficient of consanguinity (1). Its value, multiplied by
[128]

1. The mean coefficient of consanguinity of a population represents the probability that two homologous loci of an individual taken at random in the population under consideration are identical. Two analogous conclusions exist in the literature on genetics: the coefficient F of Wright and the α of Bernstein. For more details, see Serra and Soini, Population, 1959, pp. 70-72 (N.D.L.R.).

1,000, has been reported /674/ here in Tables III and IV for each of the partial populations studied. It is a little less than one would have expected from the frequency of consanguineous marriages. If there is, in fact, a not insignificant number of double cousins among the spouses, one also finds an important
[595] number of cousins descended from half brothers or half sisters. Nearly one-half of the consanguineous unions concern individuals of this category because of the frequency of successive and simultaneous unions (polygamy).

For the whole of the ethnic groups studied (Table III), its value reaches 8.7, and for each of the specific ethnic groups: Toucouleur 7.6; Wolof 9.5; Peul 12.2; Saracolé 12.7. For the Toucouleur castes (Table IV) one finds the following values: captives 4.2; fishermen 8.2; torobé 10.9; artisans 13.6.

143 Comparisons with other countries. The highest coefficient found up to now, 24.08 (Ishikuni and Coll., 1960 [12]) concerns a Japanese island, Hosojima, populated by 125 inhabitants, which thus represents a very small isolate and is mentioned only incidentally with reference to the demographic conditions in which most human populations live.

In order to appreciate the high endogamic level of the valley of the Senegal, let us emphasize that one finds analogous figures for the present day only in Brazil (Freire-Maia,

/159 cont./

125 The questionnaire of the first investigation pertains to
124 indispensable socio-demographic data and to housing conditions; as for the interviews, although permitting a definite framework, they were conducted in a very flexible way to give the interlocutor the maximum liberty of expression and thus to gather information on attitudes and opinions concerning family problems: education, marriage portion, marriage, polygamy, etc.

128 We shall not present here the complete record of this double investigation, but simply a certain number of results which give a somewhat more precise idea of the social reality at Pikine.

I. Demographic Elements

162 The total population of Pikine during the winter of 1960, not counting visitors and transients, comes to 28,780 inhabitants (1). The first stratum numbers 25,660 persons and the

1. A brief calculation of error shows that the population of Pikine has a 95% chance of being made up of between 26,286 and 31,374, the standard deviation being 1,247.

the second 3,120. This figure calls for the following remarks.

167 1) In winter the seasonal migrants who come to work at
166 Dakar during the dry season have set out again for their homes /160/ in order to farm. Thus it is probable that the population of Pikine, like that of Dakar, is larger during the months from December to April (1).

1. It will suffice to refer to the results of the demographic investigation that took place in March 1961 to verify the magnitude of this event.

S /163 cont./
162 it is possible to discover a likely explanation for this phenomenon.

S
162 Let us now turn to the data peculiar to each ethnic group.
128 Let us determine first the classification followed and the reasons which have led to its adoption. The Lebou have been grouped with the Wolof because of their small number and also because, in a city recently created, their traditional particularism has not found the means or the occasion to develop as in the old villages of the peninsula. The few Sarakolé investigated have been grouped with the Toucouleur /Tukolor/ insofar as they are natives of the Valley. By Bambara, both the Bambara proper as well as the Khassonké /Kassonke/ are to be understood. Finally, under the category "Others" we have assembled all the other ethnic groups, primarily the Casamançais /people of Casamance/, Manjack and Diola, Guineans, and the natives of the other African states.

/164/

S
W
162

The Wolof

Numbering almost 16,000, they constitute 55.6% of the population. This majority is close to that of Dakar. The sex ratio is 108 women for 100 men. The age pyramid shows the same anomalies as the general pyramid, with the characteristic gap for the period 15-19 years, and the successive bulge on each side. 52.8% of the population is less than 20 years old, which is the general percentage.

The Sérère

S
SR
162
166

Their total number does not exceed 5.6% of that of the total population; 50% are less than 20 years old. The most characteristic trait which is peculiar to the Sérère /Serer/ is the size of the female population -- hence of the female migration: out of three individuals there are two women and one man. In connection with this fact, the indentation from 15-19 years of age is much less pronounced here on the female side than in the other ethnic groups; the young Sérère women and girls soon leave their village for the city.

/172 cont./

166 369 3) The migrations of the Toucouleur and the Moors show, for each of them, their own peculiarities, which give these two ethnic groups of immigrants an unquestionable originality.

/173/

III. Work, Socio-occupational Structure

162 463 ● 128 Three problems are interesting in this section: the socio-occupational distribution properly speaking, unemployment, and the place of work.

The crude results of the distribution of the occupations are too scattered to show the broad outlines of the structure. It has seemed to us preferable to regroup the various professions into six large categories and to present the table of percentages of each within each ethnic group. Let us specify what each category corresponds to: that without any occupation, we have put the marabouts who do not have any activity, whether they practice full time -- which is rare --, part time, or do not have any students at all. /Table 11 appears here./

It is necessary to add the merchants to the artisans. The category "manual workers" is the largest: it includes the /174/ laborers, orderlies, chauffeurs, in short, all those who do not have an occupational qualifications. By staffs one should understand foremen as well as office employees, accountants, or typists, provided they belong to private enterprises. Under the rubric of "officials" are listed all those who are concerned with public functions from the local or general staff: policemen, government officials, or employees of the municipality. For each ethnic group the first line gives the percentages in the quarters and the second the corresponding percentages in the districts. The bottom line shows the total result, and the two preceding ones the results in the quarters and in the districts.

This table deserves a brief explanation:

162 463 [127] 1st. There are only very few cultivators. One would think that the proximity of the Niayes of Cape Verde and the importance of truck-gardening cultivation would favor

[Text continues on P. 28--Analyst]

/186 cont./
of each sect. /Table 23 appears here./

795
162
191
871

Table 23

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect	Cath.	Av.
Literate	22	8.5	10.3	22.2	11.2	50	21.5
Illiterate	78	91.5	89.7	77.8	88.8	50	78.5
Total	100						100

The number of Moslems declared as without sect is too small to give any valid information. The small number of literates among the Khadres comes from the Moors, and their proportion doubles if one does not take the latter into consideration. Hence there remain only the Murids, among whom the proportion of literates does not come to half /187/ of the average percentage: 10.3 instead of 21.5. If one cannot say that Muridism specifically encourages illiteracy, neither can one say that it develops a taste and desire for learning among its adepts; the foregoing fact would tend rather to show that it plays the role of a curb, voluntary or involuntary, in the same measure that illiteracy constitutes a force of inertia to be conquered and that education, on the contrary, perpetuates itself. In any case, the intellectual elite of the Pikine population prefers to join the other sects. [571]

VI. Habitat and Family

128 After having presented the social framework of the whole society of Pikine, we shall conclude this quick study by showing first the material factors that condition its mode of existence, and then a certain number of general considerations concerning the structure of the urban family.

15: Mauny--3 E-5 (1955) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

/73 cont./

172
766

Ouest sénégalais /Prehistory and Protohistory of the Peninsula of Cape Verde and the Extreme West of Senegal/." Bull. de l'I.F.A.N., /1948/, p. 450.

were mixed with the skeletons, which were found to a depth of 60 centimeters, the soil below, consisting solely of sand, being intact.

In all, about 20 skulls practically in good condition and about ten in bad condition, including one of a child, and hundreds of bones were brought back for study by the Section d'Anthropologie of the I.F.A.N. /Fig. 2 appears here./ [128]

There is no doubt about the meaning of this discovery. We are dealing with a baobab that served as a burial place for griots /musicians, storytellers/ in a recent past (3); the Baobab [565]

3. Probably until the effective Islamization of the peninsula due to the establishment of the theocratic Lébou community about 1795, although isolated cases could have occurred up to a about the founding of Dakar (1857). [175]

of Bok, moreover, is also known in the neighborhood by the name of "goui guevel" (Baobab for Griots).

It is likewise the name of goui guevel (shown, moreover, on the Yof sheet at 1/20,000, 1954) that designates another baobab (24.50 meters in circumference) located west of the village of Ouakam, which I visited April 6, 1955, without being able to get into it, the opening being too small (0.60 x 0.15 of a meter).

A small village bears the same name northeast of Ouayembam (Sangalkam sheet at 1/20,000, 1941). /74/ /Fig. 3 appears here./

The interment of griots in hollow trees has, moreover, 000

17: Mercier--23 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/23 cont./

2. The figures which follow will give a first idea of the size of the groups. They apply to the male heads of ménages (monogamous and polygamous), the bachelors and groups of bachelors being excluded. We made a simple count of the persons belonging to the household outside of the ménage investigated (man, wife or wives, children living with their parents, adopted children) (2). One obtains the following results: 369x 592

2. We will see further on what has to be understood concretely by "adoption" in the Dakar urban context. This only concerns the effectively grouped ménage; if certain wives and their children do not live in the household considered, they are not counted.

a) For the whole of the population studied, or 915 male heads of ménages, 41% of the households coincide with the restricted family, 32% include one person in addition to the restricted family, 14% include two, 5% include three, 2% include four, 1% include five, 1% include more than five (3). [594] [162]

3. These percentages, as well as those that follow, are calculated faultily. They can only be approximations, under the conditions of the investigation. The expression in percentage, however, strikingly illustrates the indications gathered. The tendencies that they show have been corroborated for most of the categories by many subsequent interviews. [128]

/24/ The following table divides this population into socio-occupational categories: [565]

Serer FA32
Wolof MS30

/373 cont./

S
SR
W
102
131
361
S
491
496
712

/372/

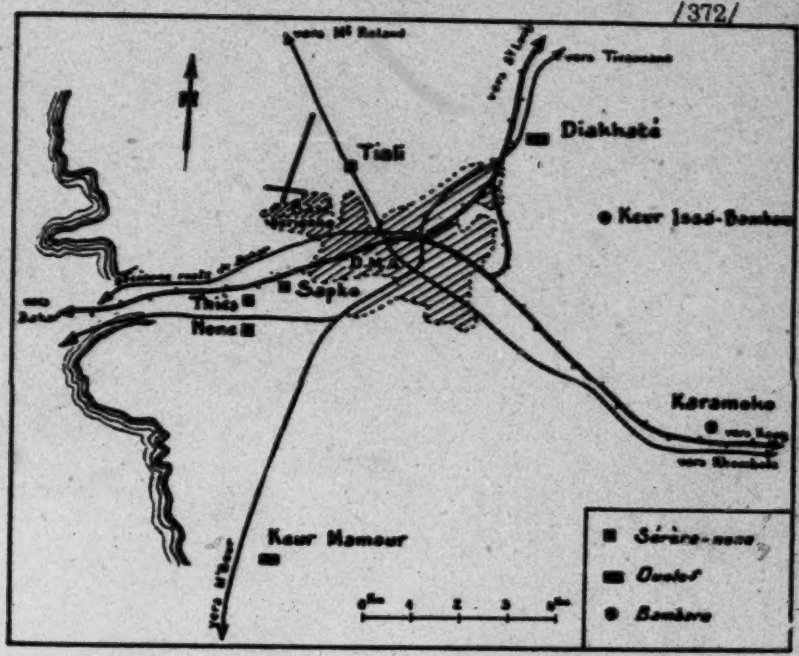


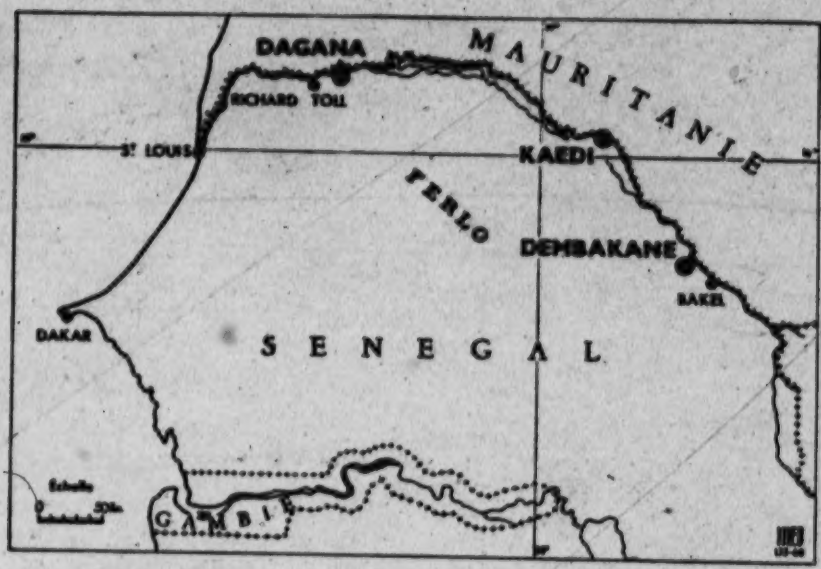
Fig. 1. Thiès, location of the villages mentioned in this study.

S
361 /373 cont./ by its internal plan (it is dispersed in a loose arrangement), but by the arbored countryside that surrounds it.

Karamoko, on the other hand, resembles a Wolof village: few or no trees except around the huts, a monotonous and open countryside.

S
369 The founding and the rapid growth of Thiès seems to have entailed perturbations in the life of the neighboring villages, especially at the end of the last century.

102
103
131
133



Map No. 1. /Mauritanie = Mauritania; Gambie = Gambia; eschelle = scale./

128 and variation of these facts with regard to dates and regions, thanks to
143 various registers which have existed for several generations (Sutter and Tabah [4] and [5], Sutter [6]).

114 In the western part of Africa it is difficult to gather this kind of
143 information, which the administrative censuses do not normally give. The first quantitative study of endogamy by M. de Lestrange in Guinea among the Coniagui [7] has permitted an evaluation of the size of the isolate, one woman /667/ being able to choose her partner from among 400 to 500 men, but does not specify the frequency of consanguineous unions. It deals with a closed population limited to 8,000 persons.

143 The population of the valley of the Senegal itself is much
125 more extensive and, in principle, not closed. In this case a demographic inquiry by sampling, taking one out of ten, has been resorted to, which made it possible to establish, in 1957, not only its classic characteristics of structure (sex, age, ethnic affiliation, place of birth, etc.) and of natural change (fertility, mortality), but also elements permitting precise determination of its degree of endogamy,

/155/

491 [131] At kilometer 13 on the Dakar-Rufisque highway and branching off at a right angle to the latter there is a side road with a sign bearing the notice: Dagoudane-Pikine. Two hundred meters farther on, just beyond the church on the left, the road forks, and the right branch, after passing between two gas stations, in turn divides in two. These three roads, after describing several more or less sinuous meanders, take a northwest direction and traverse the agglomeration from end to end, the east road and the west road being symmetrical in relation to the center one.

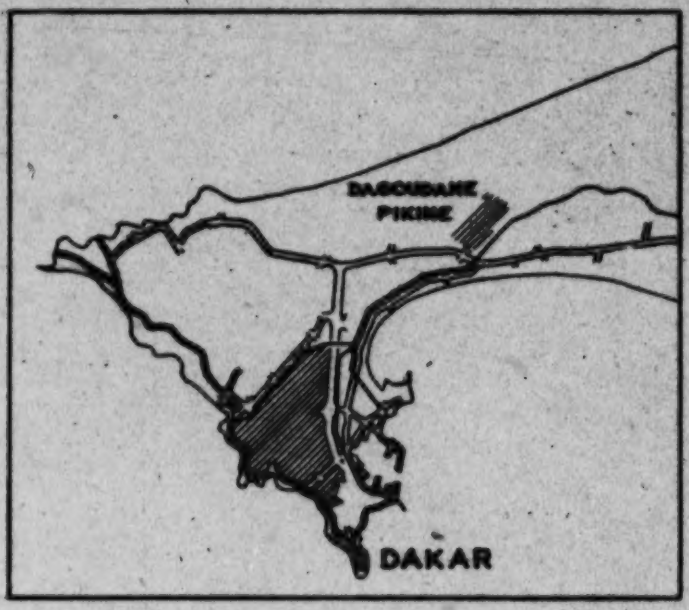
133 361 Viewed from an airplane, the agglomeration has, in general, the shape of a large rectangle laid flat, its length measuring two kilometers and the median width 1,240 meters. This impression of flatness is deceptive, for the ground is slightly hilly, and the 2 CV which ventures into the cross streets may have the disagreeable experience of not being able to climb back up certain sandy slopes. Very schematically the terrain appears thus: the two center streets and the west one extend along the summit of one dune, with a depression between the two. To the west of the west street, the land descends slightly and then rises again before dropping down to the Niayes. The east street, on the contrary, is located halfway up the slope of a dune, the summit of which runs along the center street and is separated from the latter by a depression which sinks down more and more as one turns northward. Finally, to the east, the land rises again slightly before the railway which skirts Pikine and bounds it on the east. On the north it is -- or rather was, for the land was already divided into lots in 1960, the date of the investigation -- the route of the Niayes which forms the line of demarcation, and on the west the Niayes themselves. /156/ On the south, except for the sheds of the ICOTAF in the eastern part, there is no clear boundary.

36 For the visitor who views the agglomeration for the first time, Pikine leaves a contradictory impression: first, of uniformity and monotony. It is undoubtedly easy to orient

/156 cont./

36 oneself once one has grasped the principle of the cutting up of the city into four sections by the three axes of roads, just as it is easy to align the principal landmarks on each of the two extreme axes: on the west road the Chavanel house opposite the first market, then the commissariat, the mosque,

102
131
491
361



36 and on the left, halfway, the / map appears here/ big market with, at the end, the block that houses the cinema El-Karim and a business; on the east road, at the right, the business of the Syrian, then, after the turns, the district /cité/ named after the ICOTAF because it is adjacent to the lands occupied by the factory, a long space as yet unoccupied, and finally, on the left, first the cinema El-Hilal, and, some 200 meters beyond, the second district named after the Pépinière. On the center road, by contrast, there is no notable building, but simply, towards the middle, two large empty spaces on both sides of the road, with a sports field on the right. But if one

/73 cont./

102
131
133
491
496

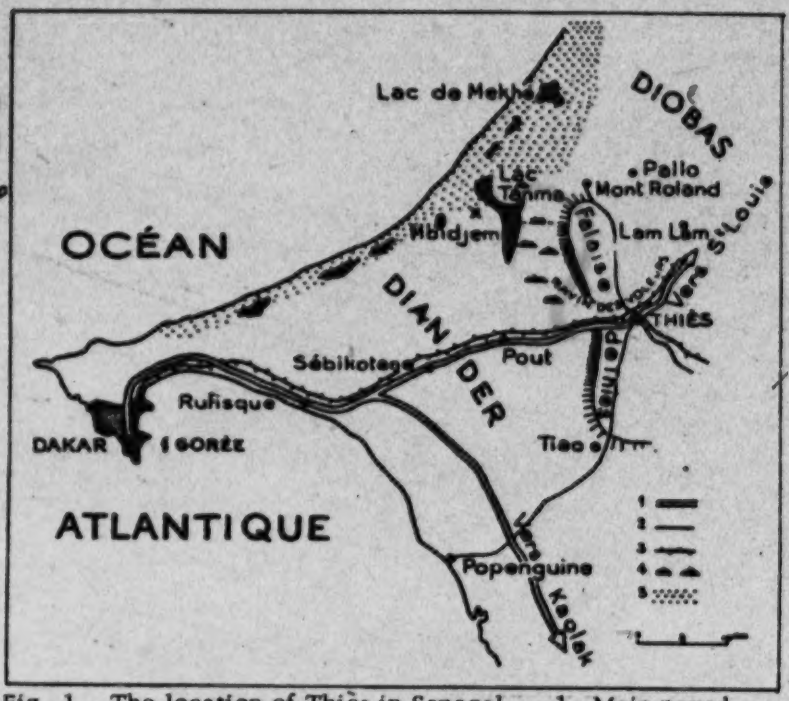


Fig. 1. The location of Thiès in Senegal. 1. Main paved road; 2. secondary road; 3. railroad; 4. swamps; 5. sand.

175 Verde Peninsula. As long ago as this epoch Thiès seems to
369 have been a strategic point and support point of primary im-
361 portance.

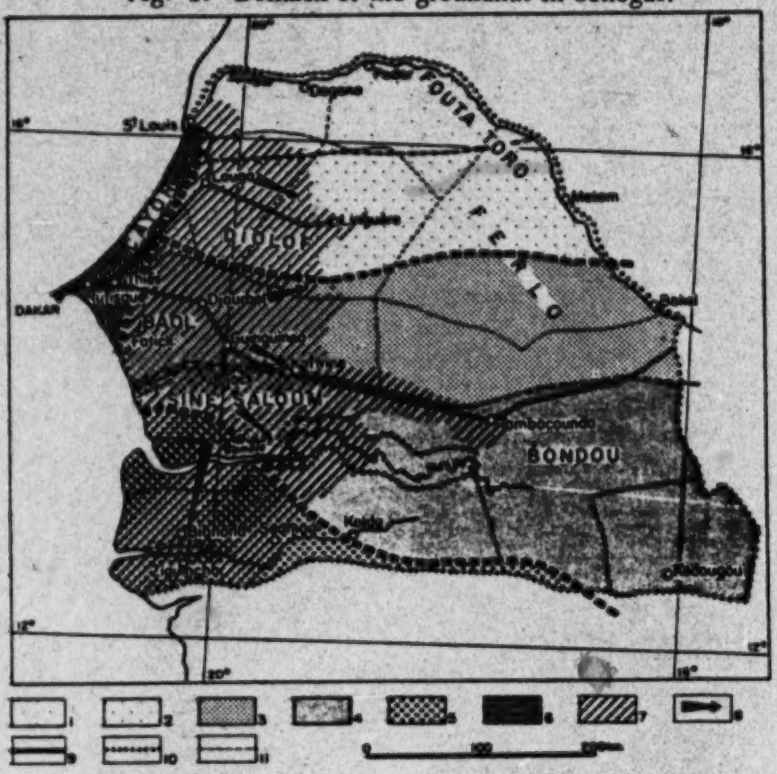
As early as 1880 the provinces of Diander and Diobas were pacified. The military posts lost their importance and were abandoned one after the other, for example, Nguiguis (near Tivaouane) and Mbidjem. Only the one at Thiès, because of its exceptional location, survived and developed.

175 2. The commercial escale (1880-1923).
369 The years of the decade 1880-1890 correspond to the
499 period of the development of groundnut cultivation in Senegal
244 and to the construction of the Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad.

/8 cont./

Fig. 1. Domain of the groundnut in Senegal.

102
103
131
244
311
496



1. Sahelo-Saharan zone:
2. Sahelo-Sudanese zone;
3. Sudano-Sahelian zone .
4. Sudano-Guinea zone.
5. Guinea zone.
6. Coastal zone with relics of the Guinea woodland.
7. Groundnuts.
8. Progression of the domain of the groundnut.
9. Railroad.
10. Boundaries of the states.
11. Boundaries of the circles.

/372 cont./

369 plateaus made up of two volcanic systems of different ages,
133 separated by a small, low plain, the whole tilting toward the east-northeast. This head of the penisula is savagely attacked by oceanic floods which create on these coasts many capes and little bays, as well as some little detached islands not very far away. It is in one of these little bays, the bay called Dakar,
361 the most extensive and the best protected, that the great modern
369 port is located, between Pointe de la Défense and Pointe de Bel-Air (Fig. 1).[1] Incontestably, this head of the peninsula makes a favorable site for a port city, a site whose equal would be sought in vain in West Africa (Fig. 2).[2]

•131 /373/ But even more than the site, it is the location of
361 this forward cape of Africa that constitutes a trump of the first
369 order in the cards of Dakar. Crossed by the north parallel 14°
487 40' and located at the center of curvature of the great western bulge of the African continent, almost halfway between the 30th degree north where the desert begins and the regions of the Bénin, former slave-dealers, the peninsula occupied an interesting position in the former navigational system of the central and southern Atlantic, for both the ships coming from the north and those coming from the south. It was in fact chosen as the first place of easy reprovisioning for the sailors who had traveled for several days along a desert-like coast from south of Morocco, while, for the ships coming from the Gulf of Guinea, it was the last place for provisioning available before the Canaries. Moreover, the tip of the peninsula is the most westerly of all the headlands of the Old World. Cape Dunemore in Ireland, which is the most westerly in Europe, does not go beyond 11° west of Greenwich, whereas the peninsula of Cape Verde goes beyond 17° west, even reaching 17° 32' 16" at Cape Almadies. Dakar is thus more than 500 kilometers west of Casablanca (3); it is

[113] 3. Marcel M. Chartier, "Dakar, Port aérien /Dakar, aerial port/," in Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 1948, p. 87.

[1] [See category 116, p. 5--Analyst]
[2] [See category 116, p. 11--Analyst]

/373/

369 therefore one of the Old World's closest points to South America
36 (4). Dakar and Natal are about 3,000 kilometers apart.
[131
487]

4. Cape Roxo and the region of Freetown are closer from Cape St. Roque by 250 kilometers (cf. J. Richard Molard, in "La presqu'île
[113] du Cap-Vert /The peninsula of Cape Verde/," I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 10).

These advantages of site and location, however, should not make one forget that the tip of the peninsula of Cape Verde did not have easy access. On the one hand, the shallow depths
[133] which border it on its north front caused many shipwrecks, the
369 pillage of which in part supported the riparian populations, and,
175 on the other hand, it did not offer any security for the possible
[579] establishment of a settlement because of the very independent character of the Lébou, who were tightly organized in a geronto-theocratic republic under the authority of the "Great Serigne" (5).

5. Great Marabout.

after being freed from the bondage of the Damel (6) around 1809.

6. King of Cayor.

Thus, one should not be surprised that the actual occupation of the peninsula by France was very late. For a long time the island of Gorée better satisfied the needs of the early navigators. Discovered by the Portuguese at the same time as Cape Verde, in 1444, the island, located off the southeastern cape of the peninsula, was still uninhabited when the Hollanders appeared at Cape Verde in 1588. In 1617 the latter bought it from the chiefs of the coast "for iron and some nails" (7). This island of less than a

[113] 7. Dr. Cariou, note on Gorée in "La

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS537
Gambia FC1

S
G
102
103
131
133
361
491
S
496

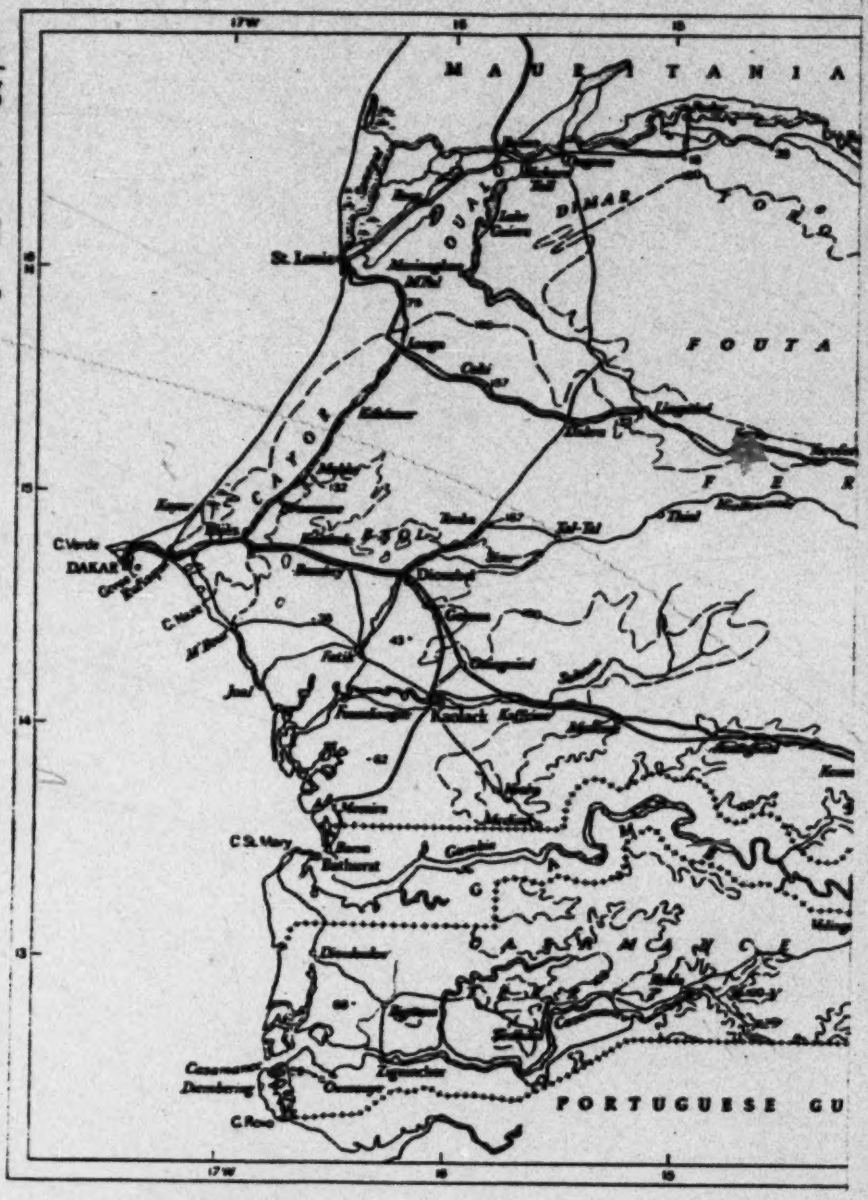


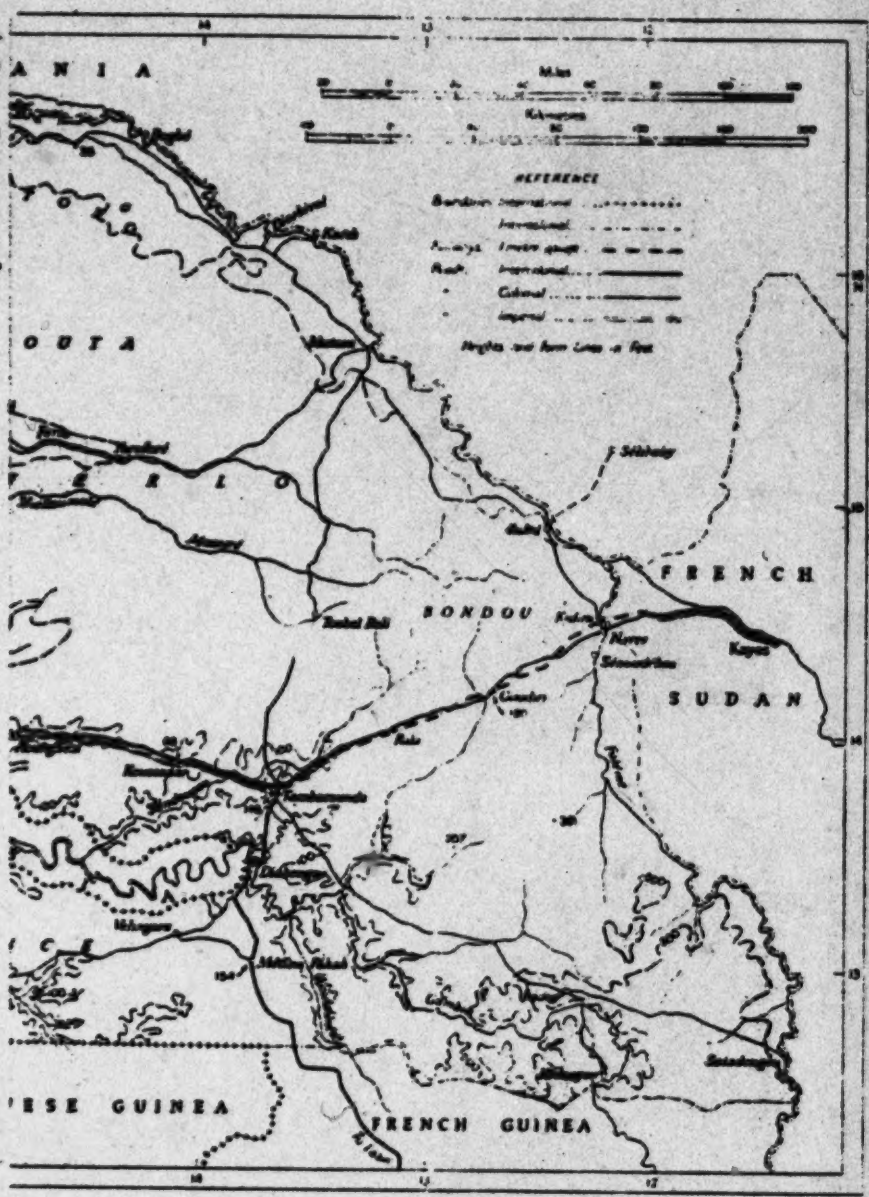
FIG. 47. Senegal

[Facing P. 395 (1)]

[Pp i-xvi and pp. 1-394 not processed]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 39
Gambia FC1

S
G
102
103
131
133
361
491
S
496



No. 47. Senegal

[Facing P. 395(B)]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[+395]

CHAPTER VIII

SENEGAL AND THE DISTRICT OF DAKAR

1. GENERAL

Senegal. Area: 77,220 square miles. Population (1937): 1,666,374. Density per square mile: 21·58. Capital: St. Louis. 16 [31]

District of Dakar. Area: 66 square miles. Population (1937): 126,929. Density per square mile: 1,923·16. Headquarters: Dakar. [62] [633]

ALTHOUGH it has fewer inhabitants than most of the other colonies and a lower density of population than Dahomey or the Ivory Coast, Senegal is the most important of all the members of the Federation. Much of the colony is semi-desert, but the remainder is closely settled by some of the most vigorous and progressive peoples of French West Africa. Most of the native citizens are Senegalese, and the fame of the tirailleurs is known in every land. The colony contains some of the earliest French settlements, and its honourable position is attested by the fact that it alone in the Federation sends a direct representative to the Chamber of Deputies at Paris. [101] 162 648

The full title of the District of Dakar is the *Circonscription de Dakar et Dépendences*. Besides the town of Dakar it includes Goree, Rufisque, the territory round them, and a few small enclaves inside Senegal. One of these enclaves is at Sebikotane, where is situated the William Ponty School. The District has been a separate political entity since 1924, and its Administrator is not responsible to the Governor of Senegal. 633

The British colony of the Gambia has all its land frontiers with Senegal. 131

The greatest distance from north to south in Senegal is 249 miles, and the greatest from west to east is 365 miles. The colony extends from 12° 19′ N. to 16° 42′ N. and from 17° 20′ W. to 11° 20′ W. The extreme west of the Cape Verde peninsula is 17° 32′ W.

Boundaries. The Atlantic Ocean forms the main western boundary. The only exceptions to this are the frontier with the Gambia and the boundary between Senegal and Dakar. The latter leaves the coast at 14° 49′ N. and runs roughly south-south-east until it is 2 miles from Goree bay. There it turns east and afterwards south to strike the bay 1 mile east of Rufisque.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Gambia RC 1

S 131 The intercolonial boundary between Senegal and Mauritania begins at 16° 04′ N., 20° 31′ W. It runs east, then north-east, and then south-east to reach the Senegal river 2 miles above St. Louis. The right bank of the river is followed upstream for more than 500 miles until the confluence with the Falémé. This left-bank tributary is pursued, jointly with French Sudan, upstream for 30 miles, but the boundary is east of it for 64 miles, before rejoining it for a further 130 miles. At the end of this last stretch is the meeting-point of French Sudan, Senegal, and French Guinea, and the boundary between the two latter colonies turns west along the foothills of Fouta Jalon. It is fairly straight for its first 60 miles, but later it bends considerably. It crosses the Gambia river 18 miles above Kédougou. It then follows an even more irregular course westwards, but curves north to avoid Youkounkoun. Nine miles north-north-east of this town it turns almost west, and, using one of the headstreams of the Koulountou, keeps this direction as far as 12° 40′ 30″ N., 12° 42′ 45″ W., the north-eastern corner of Portuguese Guinea. From here the international frontier runs due west for 100 miles, ignoring natural features. It then goes south-west for 37 miles and a little north of west for 22 miles before taking a line almost half-way between the Casamance and the Cacheo. It meets the sea at Cape Roxo.

S G 131 The northern frontier of the Gambia leaves the Atlantic coast at 13° 35′ 40″ N. and runs due east for 72 miles. After this the frontier follows a demarcated line which averages a distance of 6 miles from the right bank of the Gambia river. This continues to be the case as far as a point 22½ miles south-west of Tambacounda. The frontier then turns, crosses the river, and reaches a point 6 miles from the left bank. Owing to the river's meanders this is almost on the bank 6 miles below Diabougou. The right-bank procedure is then followed westwards to 13° 21′ N., 15° 46′ 30″ W. From here the frontier goes due south for 12½ miles to latitude 13° 10′ N. This parallel is followed due west to the Allahine river, which marks the last 15 miles of the frontier.

2. PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION AND GEOLOGY

S 133 ALMOST the whole colony lies below the level of 200 feet and, except in the province of Haute Gambie, there is a monotonous regularity of feature. Indeed, the coastal dunes north of Dakar afford some of the

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

near the Senegal river, the Fulani in the centre of the colony, and the Mandingos in the east of it. 162 [563]

The District of Dakar

The 66 square miles of the District of Dakar contain 126,929 persons; but the figures for density per square mile mean even less than elsewhere, since most of the inhabitants live in the town itself.

In 1937 there were 118,459 natives and 8,470 Europeans, of whom 6,728 were French. This was about a quarter of the total of Europeans in the whole Federation. [563]

Inland Towns

Bakel (14° 52′; 12° 24′ W.) Population, 2,103. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. Daily market. 36 [131] [162]

Bakel is on the left bank of the Senegal (Plate 83) where the river passes between cliffs some 17 miles below the entrance of the Falémé. It is a local market for gum, ground-nuts, grain, gold dust, hides, and ostrich feathers. Most of the inhabitants are Moslems. [438] [162]

By river it is 531 miles from St. Louis and 84 miles from Kayes, and there is a fortnightly steamer service when the water permits. By colonial road Bakel is 386 miles from St. Louis, 93 miles from Matam, and 32 miles from Kidira. A bus service connects all these places. The river can be crossed by ferry, and from the Mauritanian bank a poor track leads to Sélibaby (32 miles). [487] [505] [491] [494]

Bambey (14° 40′; 16° 25′ W.). Altitude, 59 feet. Population, 4,209. Mixed Commune. Dispensary. Police station. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Garage. Agricultural experimental station. Daily market. [131] [162] [654]

Set in the midst of an area of dense population, Bambey is a prosperous market town. The main product of the locality is ground-nuts, and large quantities of these are put on the train each year. They also form the chief speciality of the agricultural experimental station. [438] [654]

Communications. By railway Bambey is 77 miles from Dakar, 33½ miles from Thiès, 17 miles from Diourbel, and 319 miles from Kidira. It is on the intercolonial road, being 49 miles from Thiès and 16 miles from Diourbel. A colonial road goes almost due south to Fatik (27 miles). There is a daily bus service (p. 473) to Fatik, Foundiougne, and Kaolack. [491] [494]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

36 [131] [162] BIGNONA (12° 49′; 16° 16′ W.). Altitude, *c.* 60 feet. Population, 1,611. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Military post. Emergency landing-ground. Garage.

Bignona stands on the left bank of a small and marshy tributary of the Casamance. Canoes carry a certain amount of merchandise, as also do lorries. The principal items of trade are ground-nuts, palm kernels, wax, rice, and fruit. Most of the native inhabitants are Dioulas. [438] [162]

Colonial roads lead south to the Casamance opposite Ziguinchor (16 miles), east to Sedhiou (58 miles) and Kolda (120 miles), and north-west to Diouloulou (35 miles) and the frontier of the Gambia (46 miles). There are also several minor roads and tracks. [491]

[131] [162] DAGANA (16° 27′; 15° 34′ W.). Altitude, 13 feet. Population, *c.* 3,500. District headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Race-course.

Dagana is on the left bank of the Senegal, and its chief economic function is as a market for Mauritanian gum. This is shipped down river to St. Louis, 116 miles away. There is also connexion upstream to Podor (61 miles), Bakel (403 miles), and Kayes (487 miles). [439] [487]

By colonial road Dagana is 86 miles from St. Louis and 332 miles from Kidira. It is on the bus service (p. 474) between these two places. Southwards another colonial road leads across sparsely inhabited country to Dahra (89 miles) and Diourbel (162 miles). From the opposite bank of the Senegal a track goes to Mederdra, some 30 miles distant. [491] [494]

[131] [162] DIOURBEL (14° 39′; 16° 10′ W.). Altitude, 39 feet. Population, 15,442. Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Police headquarters. Emergency landing-ground. Power station. Hotel. Garage. Daily market.

This flourishing town lies across the little Sine river in the middle of a well-cultivated shallow valley. To the north the ground rises somewhat. Diourbel owes its prosperity to ground-nuts, and 100,000 tons of them pass through the town every year. There are several factories for the shelling of the nuts and for the expression of their oil. Besides this, Diourbel is the headquarters of the province of Baol and a route centre. Its inhabitants are mainly Moslems, who have a large and important mosque. There is also a special school for sons of chiefs. [438] [258] [162] [871]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

The electric power station has a gas-engine plant that burns the residue from ground-nut presses. 36 [377]

Communications. Diourbel is the railway junction for Routes 3 and 4. By the former it is 50½ miles from Thiès and 302 miles from Kidira, and by the latter it is 31 miles from Touba. The intercolonial road leads westwards to Thiès (65 miles) and Dakar (109 miles) and south-eastwards to Kaolack (40 miles), Tambacounda (230 miles), and Nayes (351 miles). Colonial roads go north-eastwards to Dahra (73 miles) and Dagana (162 miles) and south-westwards to Fatik (25 miles) and Kaolack (53 miles). [496] [491]

LOUGA (15° 37′; 16° 16′ W.). Altitude, 128 feet. Population, 4,390. Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Regional School. Power station. Garage. Race-course. Agricultural experimental station and farm school. Daily market. [131] [162] [654]

Louga is the scene of the most important cattle market in the whole colony. It is this that has made it a route centre. Other local products are ground-nuts, gum, and millet. Administratively, Louga is the headquarters of the province of the same name and also a military headquarters. [438]

Electricity is supplied by an oil-driven plant. [377]

Communications. Louga stands at the junction of railway routes 1 and 2, being 119 miles from Dakar, 44 miles from St. Louis, and 81 miles from Linguéré. It is on the intercolonial road from Dakar (121 miles) to St. Louis (47 miles). A colonial road runs eastwards across the colony to Dahra (59 miles), Linguéré (84 miles), and Matam (242 miles). There are also minor roads and tracks. [496] [491]

PODOR (16° 35′; 15° 02′ W.). Population, 3,168. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. Daily market. [131] [162]

This riverside town is chiefly important for gum arabic. The gum is brought by the Arabs, sold in the market, and shipped down the Senegal to St. Louis. [439]

Communications. By river Podor is 178 miles from St. Louis and 437 miles from Kayes. Throughout the year the Messageries Africaines run a fortnightly service to and from St. Louis. From July to January the boats also go upstream as far as Matam (234 miles) and in August and September to Kayes. Podor is on the colonial road, being 135 miles from St. Louis and 288 miles from Nayes. There is a ferry across the river to connect with tracks to such Mauritanian [487] [505] [491]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

36 towns as Boutilimit and Aleg. There is also a track that runs south-
[491] south-westwards to Yang-Yang. For half the year there is a bus
[494] service twice a week to St. Louis in one direction and to Kidira in the other. 1/n

[131] TAMBACOUNDA (13° 45′; 13° 39′ W.). Altitude, 148 feet. Population,
[162] c. 4,000. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Hotel. Garage.

On a slight eminence above a marshy tributary of the Sandougou,
[491] Tambacounda is of considerable importance as a route centre. It
[496] is not only a road junction but also the most southerly point in Senegal of the Dakar–Niger railway. Near the town is a sisal
[248] plantation.

The hotel is open only from December to May.

By rail Tambacounda is 285 miles from Dakar, 111 miles from
[496] Kidira, and 170½ miles from Kayes. One intercolonial road runs
[491] westwards to Kaolack (188 miles), Thiès (295 miles), and Dakar (339 miles); another north-eastwards to Nayes (121 miles) and Kayes (176 miles); and a third southwards to Diabougou (25 miles) and ultimately to Labé (288 miles). Before the war Tambacounda was
[509] connected to Dakar and Bamako by a weekly air service operated by Air France.

[131] THIÈS (14° 49′; 16° 52′ W.). Altitude, 207 feet. Population, 15,451.
[162] Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Regional School.
[797] Roman Catholic mission. Power station. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops. Cinemas. Daily market.

Since the opening of the railway in 1885 Thiès has grown from a collection of native huts to a large town. The railway workshops
[498] employ many hundreds of men, and the market handles considerable
[438] quantities of ground-nuts. The town has been built on a slope that declines gently east and north-east to a small stream. The old Fort Faidherbe is still standing, and there is a big Roman Catholic church.

Communications. Thiès is a railway junction, being 43½ miles
[496] from Dakar, 119½ miles from St. Louis, and 352½ miles from Kidira.
[491] It is also a meeting-place of intercolonial roads. One of these comes from Dakar (44 miles) and goes on to St. Louis (124 miles), while the other branches east to Kaolack (107 miles), Nayes (416 miles), and Kayes (471 miles). There are several minor roads, notably one going
[494] south to M'Bour. Along this road there is a regular bus service, with two buses each weekday in either direction.

1/n [From The Town of Podor-- Analyst]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

874 In 1927 apprentice courses in woodwork and metalwork were started in St. Louis and Kaolack by the Public Works Department for selected schoolboys between the ages of 13 and 16 years.

871 There is a number of educational institutions in Dakar of a higher grade than primary. These are the responsibility of the Federal Government and have been described in Volume I.

Health

743 Senegal is divided into thirteen medical districts, each of which is intended to be under the supervision of a European medical officer. There are 17 medical stations, each under a native auxiliary. There are also 16 maternity centres and 117 posts visited once a week by a medical officer.

In 1937 Senegal and Dakar had 3 major hospitals and 34 minor hospitals and dispensaries. These provided 394 beds for European patients and 1,805 for native. There were 80 European medical officers, 31 native auxiliaries, 30 midwives, 124 male nurses, and 21 female nurses.

[744] In addition there were four travelling parties (*groupes sanitaires mobiles*). One of these specialized in fighting sleeping-sickness in the Casamance Territory, and the other three were concerned with more general sanitary and prophylactic measures.

The Pasteur Institute at Dakar, a federal concern, is justly famous. [797] Some medical work is done by missionaries. Unofficial committees of the Croix-Rouge are concerned with infant welfare at Dakar, Diourbel, St. Louis, and Tivaouane.

[652] In 1937 Senegal voted 12,000,000 francs for medical services and Dakar 11,000,000 francs.

10. PORTS

36 St. Louis (16° 01′; 16° 30′ W.). Population, 30,586, including [31] 1,231 Europeans. Colonial capital of Senegal and of Mauritania. [62] Full Commune. Headquarters of the province of Bas Sénégal. [489] Custom-house. Law courts. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital [743] and dispensary. Army headquarters and barracks. Police head- [712] quarters. Belgian Consulate. Meteorological station. Landing- [648] ground. Wireless station. Lycée Faidherbe. École des Fils des [654] Chefs et des Interprêtes. Higher Primary and Technical Schools. Protestant and Roman Catholic missions. Bank of West Africa. [697] Power station. Prison. Hotels. Garages. Race-course. Botanical gardens. Experimental plantation. Daily market.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

[ST. LOUIS]

206 *Wireless.* The wireless station is to the south of Guet N'Dar.

505 *River.* Above Faidherbe Bridge the river is closed to all vessels not
[648] flying the French flag. Boats drawing 10 feet can ascend to Podor all the year round, and in the rainy season they can reach Kayes (Vol. I, p. 367). Table V shows how greatly river traffic on the Senegal has declined in recent years.

TABLE V. *Tonnage of Goods from Kayes*

	1928	1929	1930	1934	1935
[497] Sent by rail or road	9,545	9,555	11,456	5,269	6,224
[494] Sent by river	2,520	5,815	3,425	313	260

Shipping. There are no sea-going ships calling regularly, but the Messageries Africaines and the Messageries du Sénégal run services up-river.

36 DAKAR (14° 39′; 17° 25′ W.). Population, 80,052, including *c.* 6,000
[131] Europeans. Capital of the Federation and Headquarters of the
[162] District of Dakar. Full Commune. Custom-house. Law courts.
[489] Chamber of Commerce. Pasteur Institute. Hospitals. Naval base
[712] and dockyard. General Headquarters of the army in French West Africa. Police headquarters. British Consulate-General. Belgian,
[648] Brazilian, Czechoslovakian, Danish, Eireann, Greek, Italian, Netherlands, Norwegian, Swedish, and Swiss Consulates. Argentine, Finnish, Spanish, and Uruguayan Vice-Consulates. Meteoro-
[654] logical station. Airport and seaplane base. Wireless stations.
[508] Colleges and schools. Protestant churches. Roman Catholic Vicariate Apostolic of Guinea and Vicariate General. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Crédit Foncier de l'Ouest Africain. Banque Belge de l'Afrique. Power station.
[697] Prison. Public library. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops.
[498] Cinemas. Race-course. Sports stadium. Botanical gardens.
[654] Agricultural experimental station. Daily market.

Dakar (Fig. 54) is approximately 2,600 miles distant from South-
361 ampton, from Cape Town, and from Rio de Janeiro. It is, therefore, well placed for taking a share in the trade of the South Atlantic, and it
[433] is small wonder that it has become the third port in the French Empire, being surpassed only by Marseilles and Le Havre. It is, moreover, of the first importance strategically.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

[DAKAR]

route from Paris to Santiago and was also the terminus of local services to Bamako and to St. Louis. The Aéromaritime company used to run flying-boat services to Conakry, Abidjan, Lagos, Douala, and Pointe Noire. 509

Wireless. The broadcasting station is near Madeleines bay, 700 yards north-west of the cathedral. A small station, transmitting to ships, is on Bel Air point. 206

Cable. Dakar is connected by cable to Casablanca, to Brest, to Fernando Noronha (Brazil), and to Conakry. The two latter cables are landed in the south-west of Bernard bay, not far from the Pasteur Institute. There is, however, a telephone cable to Goree island. This is landed on the north-west shore of the same bay.

Shipping. Lines normally serving the port include the following: America West African, Bull, Chargeurs Réunis, Elder Dempster, Fabre, Fraissinet, Gdynia America, Hamburg-Bremen, Holland West Afrika, Italia, Lloyd Triestino, Maurel et Prom, Messageries du Sénégal, Navigazione Generale Italiana, Société Générale des Transports, Société Maritime Belge des Transports, and Société Navale de l'Ouest. 505

Coasting vessels sail regularly for Port Etienne, St. Louis, Kaolack, and Ziguinchor.

GOREE (14° 39′; 17° 23′ W.). Population, 714. Custom-house. Barracks and military hospital. 36 [131] [162]

The rocky island of Goree (Plate 112) has an area of 138 acres. The first Europeans to land on it were the Portuguese in 1445, and since then it has had a chequered history, which has been told elsewhere in these volumes. [712] [175]

Most of the centre of the island is occupied by buildings, and in the south there is the old fort. In the extreme north is a large lime-kiln. [381]

The only source of water is an artesian well in the fort. [312]

Trade. Trade is now limited to the ordinary requirements of the islanders, and traffic to taking them and their goods to and from the mainland. [938]

Harbour. In the north-east of the island there is a little bay where there are three jetties, only one of which (Plate 121) is now in use. The depth at its head is 10 feet. [504]

RUFISQUE (14° 41′; 17° 12′ W.). Population, 19,764, including 180 Europeans. Full Commune. Custom-house. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Power station. Hotel. Garage. [13] [162] [712]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS37

[RUFISQUE]

439 Rufisque was the first port from which ground-nuts were exported, and to-day ground-nuts are still the main article of trade. In the first quarter of 1939 it exported 25,152 tons of them. On the north side
504 of Goree bay, Rufisque can only handle small ships. There is anchorage off shore in 3–7 fathoms, but from July to November heavy swell makes it almost unusable.

633 Since 1937 the town has been in the District of Dakar.

Jetties and Equipment. There are three jetties with alongside depths
504 of at least 9½ feet. Two of these are of iron, one being 603 feet long and 33 feet wide with an extension by a wharf 65 feet long and 52 feet wide. The third is of concrete and is 656 feet long. Decauville tracks connect these jetties to the railway. There is one 5-ton crane and one 2-ton, besides smaller ones. There are 4 tugs and 2 lighters.

Communications

496 *Rail.* By rail Rufisque is 17 miles from Dakar, 26½ miles from Thiès, 146 miles from St. Louis, and 268 miles from Tambacounda.

Road. The intercolonial road runs from Dakar (15 miles) through
491 to Thiès (29 miles), where it divides. Eight miles beyond Rufisque a colonial road branches off it to go to M'Bour (38 miles), Joal (61 miles), and Fatik (101 miles). Another colonial road goes north-eastwards from the town to Sangalkan (6 miles) and Kayar (17 miles).

36 M'Bour (14° 21′; 16° 57′ W.). Population, *c.* 4,500, including 175
[131] Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-
[62] house. Medical post. Police station.

The town of M'Bour stands at the head of a shallow cove which extends for a mile out to sea as a passage between two reefs. Inside
[504] the cove the water is up to 4½ feet deep, and there is a wharf used by surf-boats. Ships anchor 2½ miles off shore, but heavy swell makes
[439] conditions difficult from June to November. Ground-nuts and millet are exported.

[491] M'Bour is on the colonial road from Rufisque (38 miles) to Joal
(23 miles) and Fatik (63 miles). Several minor roads lead inland,
[494] notably one to Thiès, along which there is a bus service twice a day. For half the year there is also a service to Joal.

[131] Joal (14° 09′; 16° 51′ W.). Population, *c.* 900. Custom-house.
[62] Roman Catholic mission.

Joal was founded by the Norman Company in the middle of the
[175] seventeenth century. It was captured by the Dutch in 1677 and by

22: Winterbotham et al, K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

[JOAL]

the British 70 years later, and it did not finally become French until 1763. It is on a sandspit in front of a coastal lagoon. Off shore there is a large sandbank, exposed at low tide. 36 [175]

There is a small wharf, but, owing to the difficulty of access, there is very little trade. In 1937, for example, only 4,600 tons of goods were handled and their value was 4,600,000 francs (£36,970). [504] [439]

The colonial road from Fatik (40 miles) to M'Bour (23 miles) and Rufisque (61 miles) runs through the town. There are also minor roads. From November to June there is a bus service to M'Bour and Thiès four days a week. [491] [494]

FOUNDIOUGNE (14° 06′; 16° 29′ W.). Population, 2,734. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-house. Medical post. [131] [62]

Foundiougne is on an island formed by the Saloum, the Djomboss, and their connecting channels. Much of the district is swampy, but the town itself is on a piece of firm ground on the left bank of the Saloum, 33 miles from the sea.

Anchorage in the river is in 3½ fathoms. There are 8 wharves, of which 1 is owned by the municipality. [504]

The principal export is ground-nuts, but in recent years Foundiougne has declined in prosperity. This is owing to the rise of Kaolack, which is better situated on the north bank of the river and which has much better communications. [439] [433]

There is a ferry across the river, and from its far side a rough road leads to Fatik. South of the river there is a colonial road eastwards to Kaolack (32 miles). Along both these roads there is a bus service, daily in the dry season and fortnightly in the wet. [491] [494]

FATIK (14° 18′; 16° 27′ W.). Population, 3,521, including 128 Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Medical post. Police station. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. [131] [62]

At Nonane, on Marigot de Fatik 14½ miles above its junction with the Saloum, is the site of one of the old *escales*. This is the upper limit for boats drawing 10 feet, but smaller craft can ascend a further 7 miles to Fatik, 58 miles from the sea. The town is on the right bank of the river, which is here called the Sine. [505] [487]

Trade is chiefly in ground-nuts. [439]

Colonial roads lead north to Bambey (27 miles), south-east to Kaolack (28 miles), and south-west to Joal (60 miles), and a minor road south to Foundiougne. [491]

The landing-ground is half a mile west of the town.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M837 Senegal MS 37

36 [13] [162]

KAOLACK (14° 07′; 16° 07′ W.). Population, 21,973. Mixed Commune. Headquarters of the province of Sine-Saloum. Custom-house. Chamber of Commerce. Medical post. Police headquarters. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Regional School. Roman Catholic mission. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Hotels. Garages. Race-course.

[439] Kaolack exports more ground-nuts than any other port in the Federation. It is a well-planned town with squares and trees, and it is on the right bank of the Saloum, 71 miles above its mouth, where the river is 100 yards wide. It is the limit of navigation for sea-going ships.

[487] [505]

[162] In 1904 Kaolack had only 300 inhabitants, but the development of communications in the neighbourhood has caused it to grow to its present size. The figure given above is for the permanent population only. At the height of the ground-nut season there are an additional 20,000 temporary inhabitants.

[166]

Trade

[439] During the first quarter of 1939 Kaolack exported 32,259 tons of ground-nuts (Plate 122), as against 26,832 tons from Dakar. Owing to the bar across the Saloum, however, many ships do not load to their maximum capacity but go on to Dakar to complete their lading.

[258] Across the river from the town is a large salt-works.

The Port

[504] On the north bank there are concrete quays with a total length of over 2,000 feet and on the south bank there is a small wharf. At Lyndiane, 9 miles downstream, is a wharf belonging to the firm of Peyrissac et Cie.

Communications

[498] *Rail.* Kaolack is the terminus of Route 5 to Guinguiné (14 miles), and is therefore 142 miles from Dakar. It is also the terminus of Route 6 to Lyndiane (6½ miles). Both stations are close to the river, and there is a line directly on to the quays.

[491] *Road.* Intercolonial roads lead northward to Gossas (25 miles), Thiès (82 miles), and Dakar (126 miles), eastward to Kaffrine (37 miles) and Tambacounda (188 miles), and south-south-westward to Messira (49 miles) and the frontier of the Gambia (57 miles). The last-named road crosses the Saloum by a bridge. A colonial road goes north-west to Fatik (28 miles), another south-east to Nioro

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

[KAOLACK]

(33 miles) and Medina (50 miles), and a third west to Foundiougne (32 miles). 36 [491]

Air. The airfield is 1 mile north-east of the town. [508]

Wireless. The wireless station is in the centre of the town. [206]

Shipping. Boats of the Messageries du Sénégal line call regularly, and the Compagnie de Navigation Paquet maintains a weekly service with Foundiougne, Bathurst, and Dakar. [505]

ZIGUINCHOR (12° 32′; 16° 21′ W.). Population, 6,070. Mixed Commune. Headquarters of the Casamance Territory and of the Province of Ziguinchor. Custom-house. Magistrate's Court. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital and maternity home. Police headquarters. Meteorological station. Emergency landing-ground. Wireless station. Roman Catholic mission. Garages. Daily market. [131] [162] [743]

The first large piece of firm ground upstream from the mouth of the Casamance is nearly 42 miles from the sea, and it is here, on the left bank, that Ziguinchor stands. The depth of the river is 6 fathoms. Jetties have been built at right angles to the waterfront, partly to counteract silting, and ships drawing 15 feet can go alongside them. The quays have a total length of over 3,000 feet and the warehouses a total capacity of some 25,000 tons. There are no cranes, all goods being manhandled. [504]

There is a considerable variety of exports, including ground-nuts, fruit, rice, palm oil, palm kernels, cotton, tobacco, sisal, and hides, but imports are chiefly manufactured goods and building materials. In value of trade Ziguinchor comes between Foundiougne and Rufisque. [439]

Communications

Road. The river is crossed by a ferry, and a colonial road leads north to Bignona (16 miles) and then east to Sedhiou (74 miles) and Kolda (136 miles). Another one goes along the south bank of the Casamance, also to Kolda (130 miles). Minor roads lead south to the frontier of Portuguese Guinea and south-west to Oussouye and Diembering. [491]

Air. Seaplanes can alight in the river, and there is a weekly Aéromaritime service to Bathurst and Dakar. The landing-ground is 1½ miles south of the town. [509]

Wireless. The two wireless stations are housed in the same building. [206]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M837 Senegal M537

36 SEDHIOU (12° 42′; 15° 31′ W.). Population, 1,653. Provincial head-
[131] quarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional
[167] School.

Sedhiou is on the right bank of the Casamance, 68 miles above
[487] Ziguinchor and 110 miles from the sea, and it is only usable by vessels
[505] drawing up to 5 feet. Formerly more prosperous than it is to-day,
it has some brick buildings and shops. Many of the traders are
[439] Syrians, and there is a modest export of ground-nuts, hides, rice, and
wax.

[491] By colonial road Sedhiou is 58 miles from Bignona, 74 miles from Ziguinchor, and 62 miles from Kolda.

11. MINERALS

135 THE principal mineral exported from the colony is ilmenite, which
[439] is washed from beach sands between Rufisque and Cape Rouge, between Joal and Diakhanor, and at the mouth of the Casamance. Zircon (Vol. I, pp. 295–6) is obtained from the same sands, the ilmenite:zircon ratio being about 3:1. Other minerals of potential value are phosphates and limestone, both of which occur in Lower Eocene strata. Lenticular beds of phosphate, ranging from 30 to 65 per cent. bone phosphate of lime, are found near Matam and near Thiès. Limestones and marls are more widespread than in any other
[339] colony, and at Rufisque they have been worked experimentally for the commercial production of cement. Bitumen has been encountered at Dakar in borings for water, but investigations have shown that the
[315] geological structure is unsuited to the accumulation of petroleum.

12. AGRICULTURE

241 THE Gambia divides the millet from the manioc zone, but ground-nuts are the chief crop of both. Sisal-growing is an important, though more recent, industry. South of the Gambia the Casamance Territory provides a rich area for fruit and subsistence crops as well as for ground-nuts.

[439] There is far more production for export than in any other colony.

Food Crops

243 *Millets.* Millets form the staple diet of the majority of the native
262 population and are grown all over that part of the colony north of the

/92/

I. General Information

131 634 a) Geographical survey. The circle /cercle, an administrative district/ of Sine-Saloum is a vast region of 26,000 square kilometers in area. It is one of the most important parts of the colony of Senegal. It is a heavily populated region. Finally, it has an economic value greater than that of the other territories which, together with it, constitute the Government of Senegal in French West Africa.

Bounded on the west by the Atlantic Ocean, it touches on the upper basin of the Gambia to the east and therefore on the very borders of the western Sudan, from which it is separated only by the circle of Tambacounda.

To the north, it reaches the desert of the Ferlo and the Djoloff region.

Along the entire southern part, its frontier runs along the territory of the British colony of Gambia, following precisely the parallel 13° 35' 36", conforming to the delimitation of the International Commission of 1891.

Such are its geographic limits.

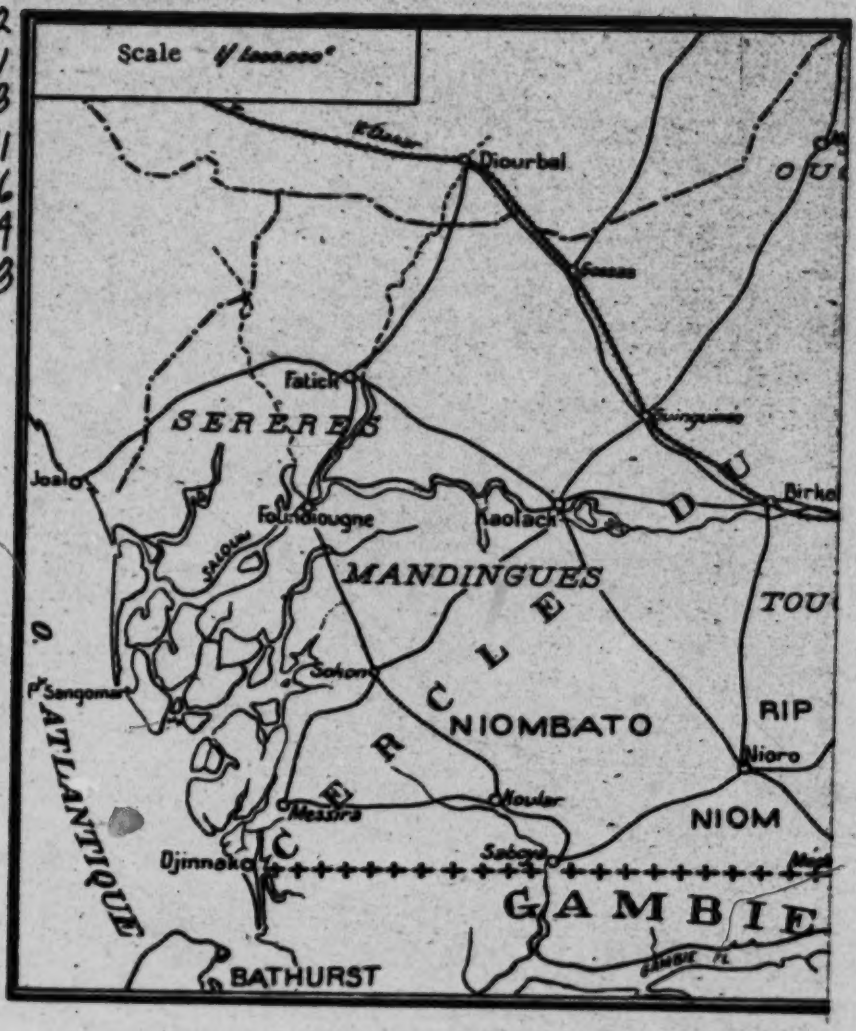
133 A great navigable route crosses it from east to west, ending at the ocean; this is the Saloum River, which today is no more than a long maritime channel, narrow in its upper part, which the mud ruins by obstructing it, and ending in a vast estuary with a thousand /93/ ramifications, bordered by banks of sand and providing passage for ocean-going vessels at the place called Pointe de Sangomar, where there is a very narrow and not very deep passage. At low tide, in fact, the depths there are only three and a half to four meters. Under the influence of the trade winds and the tide race, the bar is subject to displacements which the hydrographic [502] service rectifies by a series of buoys which is continued even [361] beyond the estuary and up to Kaolack, a port about 100 kilometers from the coast.

[505] In this sea arm of the Saloum, the tide makes its effects felt almost to Birkelane, 130 kilometers from the ocean. The

23: Aujas--10 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between 100 and 101/

102
131
133
491
496
634
563

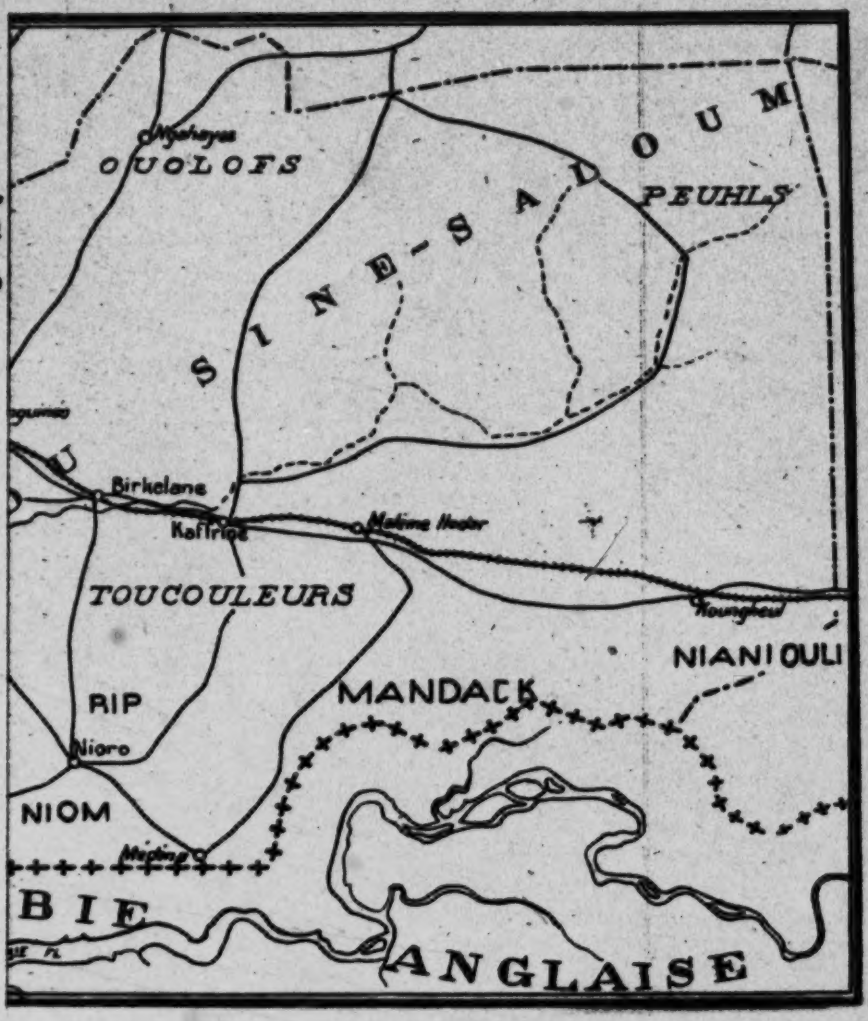


Circle of Sine Saloum

/left side of map/

23: Aujas--11 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37

102
131
133
491
496
634
563



Circle of Sine Saloum

/right side of map/

/5 cont./

177 early as 1560 Alvarez de Almada speaks of the abundant har-
244 vests of mantiga eaten fresh by the Mandingue /Mandingo/. In 1840 a Paris chemist, Rousseau, discovered the wealth of oil in the groundnut. In 1841 the brig "Zénith" transported 70 metric tons of nuts to Rouen. Protêt and Faidherbe encouraged this crop, which, in the framework of the colonial economic system, progressed rapidly from the coast toward the interior, thanks to the possibilities of the natural environment.

• 132 From the Senegal River in the north to the Casamance in the south, the climate of the country changes by successive transitions from Sahelian characteristics to Sudanese aspects. A long dry season of nine months in the north, shorter in the south, from October or December to May-June, contrasts with a "winter season" of three to five months, depending on the region. The frequency and the importance of the precipitations increase from north to south. They go from 350 millimeters in the region of Louga to 1,200 millimeters in that of Ziguinchor. Whereas the coast is moistened by the humid trade wind, the Ferlo to the east is like a desert. These conditions are nearly /6/ ideal for a
244 plant whose vegetative cycle is short -- about 120 days -- and which germinates easily in a slightly moistened soil, develops under heavy rains, and bears fruit best during the dry days that follow.

134 The soil conditions also seem to be wholly favorable.
244 The plant is not very demanding with respect to fertility; essentially it requires a light soil, because the fructification is underground. The silico-argillaceous soils of the center of Senegal (the dek of the Ouoloff /Wolof/) and the sandy soils of the north (the dior of the Ouoloff) suit the groundnut perfectly.

496 The expansion of the area of cultivation, from the coast
244 and the estuaries toward the interior, has been led by the rail-
311 roads. The Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad, built in 1885, explains the essential role of Cayor in groundnut production at the beginning of the century, since it was along the Dakar-Niger line, achieved in 1888, that the groundnut front progressed toward the east. Today this front, which in the south has broken into the

162 /384 cont./
369 breeding-places of mosquitoes in the numerous swamps of the
563 peninsula having been successfully undertaken by the federal
[744] authorities, one can better appreciate the exceptionally pleas-
[192] ant climate of Dakar, subject eight months of the year to the "influences of the Canaries" (cool and brisk current, marine trade-wind from the northeast), and an equilibrium tends to be established between men, women, and children, the first nevertheless still remaining the most numerous; in 1955, 39% men against 31% women and 30% children for the total non-African population; and 35% men, 30% women, and 35% children for the non-African population in residence. Among the Africans, one can verify the same phenomenon: 36% men, 31% women, and 35% children less than 14 years of age for the total population; 34% men, 31% women, and 35% children for the population in residence. Despite this tendency toward equilibrium, the fact remains that for the whole population of Dakar, men over 14 years of age are definitely more numerous than women over 14 years of age and than children; the balance sheet gives 37% for the men as against 30% for the women and 35% for the children.

369 This situation is explained by the fact that immigration
563 to Dakar is first of all of interest to the men, for whom it carries
166 the hope of a better position, but it also represents a daring
162 enterprise on which one does not take women and children until definite opportunities for settling down present themselves. This fact is particularly clear for the non-resident population, among whom the proportion of men is very high. Thus, among the non-resident Africans, there are 57% men as against 27% women and 16% children. The proportion is even higher among non-resident foreigners: 77% men as against 12% women and 11 % children.

[464] But though settling in Dakar is almost always linked to employment for the non-African population, it is not the same for Africans. The destruction of the villagers' traditional institutions, modern transportation, the facilities for hospitality

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

4. CLIMATE

132
654
361

Meteorological Stations mentioned in Text and Tables

	Latitude N.	*Longitude W.*	*Altitude in feet*
Podor	16° 35′	15° 02′	49
St. Louis	16° 01′	16° 30′	25
Matam	15° 38′	13° 13′	c. 70
Linguéré	15° 21′	15° 11′	c. 90
Bakel	14° 53′	12° 24′	c. 90
Thiès	14° 49′	16° 52′	207
Bambey	14° 40′	16° 25′	59
Dakar	14° 39′	17° 25′	105
Kaolack	14° 07′	16° 07′	17
Tambacounda	13° 45′	13° 39′	154
Kédougou	12° 33′	12° 10′	433
Ziguinchor	12° 32′	16° 21′	18

132 LIKE that of French Guinea, the colony's climatic year is divided into two distinct periods: a dry season from October to May, and a wet season from June to September. The former has north-east winds, generally clear skies, and a large range of temperature; and the latter, introduced by tornadoes, is more equable and has south-westerly winds, much cloud, and high humidity. Imposed upon this general pattern is the influence of the trade winds, which, in the dry season, keep the coast north of Dakar cooler and moister than the interior. The weeks immediately preceding the wet season are very oppressive.

Pressure (Fig. 58)

Senegal lies between the belts of northern tropical high pressure and equatorial low pressure. Although the movements of these two are very considerable during the course of a year, the local effect is negligible. Fig. 58 shows that surface pressure lies between 1012 mb. and 1014 mb. all the year, and that seasonal changes are concerned rather with the direction in which it decreases. The gradient in January is from north to south, but in July it is from south-west to north-east. Extreme variations are within 3 mb. on either side of the means.

TABLE I. *Mean Daily Pressure* (1000+*millibars*) *reduced to sea-level and corrected to* 32° *F. and latitude* 45°

Station	*J.*	*F.*	*M.*	*A.*	*M.*	*J.*	*J.*	*A.*	*S.*	*O.*	*N.*	*D.*	*Year*	*Annual Range*
St. Louis	13	12	11	11	10	10	13	11	10	10	10	13	11	3
Dakar	13	12	11	11	11	13	10	10	10	10	10	13	11	3
Kaolack	11	10	09	09	09	10	13	11	11	11	11	11	11	4
Ziguinchor	10	11	11	11	11	13	14	15	15	16	16	15	10	5

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

132

There is a fairly regular diurnal range, amounting to 2 or 3 mb. near the coast and to 3 or 4 mb. inland. Maxima occur at about 10.00 a.m. and 10.00 p.m. and minima at about 4.00 a.m. and 4.00 p.m., the day extremes being the more marked. Irregular variations are infrequent and slight.

Winds (Fig. 50)

Surface Winds. As may be expected, there are two main winds: the north-easterlies and the monsoon. The former are composed of two distinct currents, the trades and the harmattan, and the difference between them has been explained on pp. 314–15. Each of the three currents brings different weather, according as the two systems swing north and south.

In January a strip of country some 40 miles wide along the coast north of Rufisque is under the trades, and the rest of the colony is covered by the harmattan. The monsoon does not appear. This state of affairs continues through February and March, but by April the monsoon is pushing north, and from that time until July the trades and harmattan retire before it. By August the monsoon, then at its strongest, covers the whole country. From September to January the monsoon is retreating and the trades and harmattan are re-establishing themselves.

None of the three currents is very strong or very deep. The annual means at most stations average from 2 to 4 m.p.h. The trades, however, are rather stronger and the annual means along the north-west coast are between 7 and 11 m.p.h., with speeds above the average in the north from January to March and below it from August to October. The mean speed of the harmattan is only about 4 m.p.h., and this fact is very evident in the quieter conditions that obtain when it intervenes in the trades and reaches the coast. The monsoon is also feeble, and, although many stations register their highest speeds as it advances, calms are frequent when it is established. It is always weaker on its northern edge than over the coast. Trades and harmattan are about 3,000 feet deep. The monsoon is the same along its northern border, but over the south in August it attains 6,000 feet. Winds of rather greater force may be met in the upper layers of all three currents.

When the seasonal wind is firmly established there is a fairly regular daily rhythm. Nights are calm except when the trades are blowing at their strongest. Winds are light in the early morning, and

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

•132 rise to their maximum in the afternoon or evening. Along the coast sea- and land-breezes frequently alter the direction of the trades and the strength of the monsoon. At St. Louis, for instance, the land-breeze gives the trades a distinct easterly component in the morning, and during the day they are often north-westerly, being sucked inland from the sea. At Dakar observations from the north-east quadrant are, both for each month and for the year, higher at 7.00 a.m. than at 2.00 p.m. and those from the west at 2.00 p.m. than at 7.00 a.m. The land-breeze is the stronger in the dry season, the sea-breeze in the wet. The former strengthens the harmattan, the latter the monsoon.

Since tornadoes occur on the northern edge of the monsoon, the tornado season is from July to October over most of the colony, and the average number is about 20 per annum. In the Casamance Territory they are experienced as early as May. They are accompanied by intense lightning and thunder, and usually by torrential rain; but those which come after the wet season are often dry. Farther north they are less violent. Inland they blow up at any hour and always from the east; but on the coast they frequently occur at night and often move from south to north. The sea-breeze may prevent the formation of those cumulus clouds which are, in the interior, a normal feature of the day preceding a tornado.

Upper Winds. Above the sea- and land-breezes and the three surface currents are easterly winds, and above them again light westerlies. The boundary between the two last is always higher in the south.

During the dry season the upper surface of the easterlies lies above the trades or harmattan at a mean height of from 5,000 to 10,000 feet over the Senegal and about 15,000 feet over the Casamance. When the easterlies lie above the monsoon they extend to very great heights, at least 25,000 feet in the north and 30,000 feet in the south. There are, however, great diurnal and even hourly variations: at times the easterlies form only a very thin belt in the north, and on at least one occasion the westerlies have been noted directly above the trades over Dakar.

The easterlies are continental in origin and carry a dust haze, and for this reason it is difficult to define their base above the harmattan. By some meteorologists, indeed, they are considered to be the same current, but they may easily be distinguished from the other two surface winds. They are some 10°–15° warmer and 15–50 per cent. drier than the trades, but they are several degrees colder and drier

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

than the upper surface of the monsoon. The speed of the easterlies is about 5–15 m.p.h. at their base and 15–25 m.p.h. in their higher levels. A shallow zone of calm air is often found along their junction with the monsoon. 132

Little is known about the westerlies, but at their base their temperature is several degrees lower and their relative humidity higher than

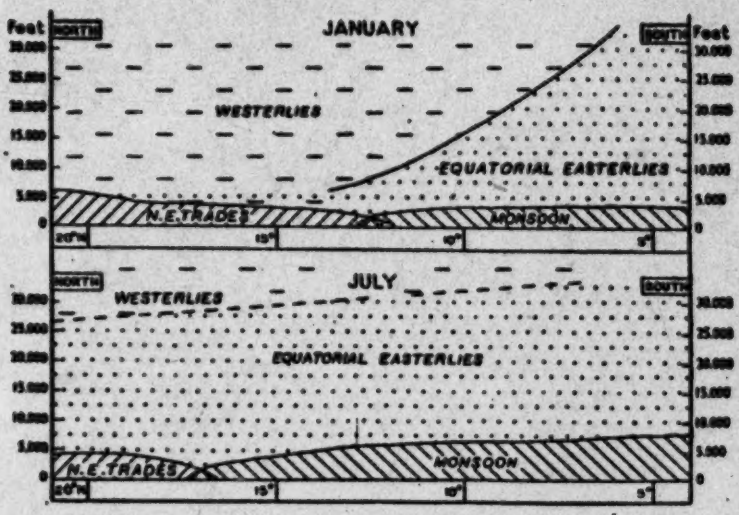


FIG. 50. *Vertical Distribution of Wind: Longitude 16° W.*

those of the top of the easterlies. Their speed is usually less than 15 m.p.h., but above 35,000 feet it is occasionally very much more.

Rainfall, Cloud, and Thunder

Rainfall (Fig. 59). Since rain is brought by the monsoon, the wet season in the south is longer and opens earlier. About one-third of the annual total falls in August. As a general rule, rain is heavier in the south and along the coast. In the north-east of the colony the year's total is received from a few isolated storms, but their effect on rivers, roads, and vegetation is much more pronounced in the interior. Except along the coast, where there is much at night, most rain falls in heavy showers during the afternoon. Amounts for any twenty-four hours may be heavy enough to dislocate communications, but even at the height of the season several fine days normally separate two wet ones.

TABLE II. *Mean Rainfall*

R = Rainfall in inches. X = Maximum fall in 24 hours. D = Number of rain-days.

Station	Yrs' obsn.		Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Year
Coast															
St. Louis	9-20	R	0·05	..	..	..	0·07	0·34	2·18	7·66	4·04	0·96	0·14	0·02	15·46
		X	0·26	0·05	0·02	..	0·30	0·89	2·23	3·21	3·10	1·54	0·53	0·10	3·21
		D	0·7	0·3	0·1	0·1	0·6	1·7	4·6	12·4	8·4	2·7	1·0	0·6	32·6
Dakar	20	R	0·02	0·02	0·02	0	..	1·15	3·51	10·41	5·71	1·65	0·17	0·02	22·68
		X	0·26	0·09	0·15	0	0·03	2·23	5·94	8·42	2·85	3·78	1·00	0·08	8·42
		D	0·6	0·3	0·2	0	0·2	2·4	8·8	15·1	12·6	4·0	0·8	0·4	45·4
Sighalcher	20	R	..	0·05	0	..	0·48	5·61	16·03	21·96	13·31	6·27	0·32	..	64·00
		X	0·02	0·47	0	0·06	1·23	2·70	5·95	8·31	5·16	4·68	0·30	..	8·31
		D	0·2	0·1	0	0·1	1·4	10·1	22·0	24·5	20·7	11·0	1·4	0·1	91·5
Interior															
Podor	20	R	0·04	0·03	0·11	0·01	0·19	0·61	3·30	3·77	2·10	0·73	0·21	0·03	13·23
		X	0·16	0·27	0·67	0·08	1·06	1·30	4·55	4·29	1·72	1·12	1·22	0·24	4·55
		D	0·3	0·1	0·4	0·2	0·7	1·6	4·3	8·4	5·3	1·7	0·4	0·3	24·1
Matam	20	R	0·10	0	0·02	0	0·10	2·78	5·53	8·54	4·86	0·39	0·02	..	22·54
		X	0·50	0	0·17	0	1·36	5·32	5·71	7·50	2·26	1·11	0·08	0·01	7·50
		D	0·2	0	0·2	0	0·8	4·8	7·2	10·9	7·8	1·6	0·4	0·1	34·0
Linguéré	20	R	0	0·01	0·33	0	0·10	1·24	4·86	10·63	5·66	2·00	0	0	24·85
		X	0	0·04	1·06	0	0·30	0·92	2·63	4·02	2·91	1·93	0	0	4·02
		D	0	0·2	0·6	0	0·4	4·2	7·8	13·2	10·0	4·6	0	0	41·0
Bakel	20	R	0·06	0	0	0·01	0·22	1·93	4·06	7·11	6·14	1·10	0·08	0·09	20·60
		X	0·39	0	0	0·10	1·28	2·97	3·52	5·45	3·01	1·65	0·12	0·01	5·45
		D	0·1	0	0	0·1	0·8	4·6	7·6	9·1	8·4	2·2	0·2	0·2	33·3
Tambacounda	20	R	0·02	0·03	0·04	0·14	1·11	6·85	7·62	11·96	8·49	3·18	0·11	0·01	39·56
		X	0·08	0·28	0·32	1·13	2·24	3·54	4·00	5·79	4·74	2·21	0·84	0·06	5·79
		D	0·2	0·1	0·3	0·2	2·0	9·5	12·1	17·0	13·2	5·4	0·7	0·2	60·9
Kédougou	20	R	0·02	0·01	0·04	0·06	2·82	7·13	10·30	11·57	12·81	4·71	0·69	..	50·18
		X	0·17	0·06	0·28	0·16	3·19	2·95	3·96	6·26	3·70	1·87	2·21	0·02	6·26
		D	0·1	0·1	0·2	0·6	4·4	12·1	14·1	17·1	16·5	9·6	1·4	0·1	76·3

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

132

Mean figures should be used with reserve, for in Senegal, as in the rest of West Africa, variations are considerable. At St. Louis, for example, only 5 inches of rain fell in 1903, but there were 26 inches in 1912. At Dakar the 1937 total was 15 inches, but that of 1938 was 27 inches. The September fall of Tambacounda was 0·71 inch in 1937 and 9·45 inches in 1939.

Hail has been recorded in the colony, but quite irregularly.

Cloud. Although records are only available from stations near the coast, there is always more cloud in the south, and the monsoon brings a general increase. Since the amount of cloud is closely allied to the rainfall, the pall of cloud advances north from April and then retreats.

The mean for the dry season is 2 to 4 tenths of sky covered. The wet has 4 to 8 tenths in the north and 6 to 9 tenths in the south, with higher figures in the morning except along the southern coast. Nights are normally clear. The harmattan is almost cloudless both by day and night, but cirrus and alto-stratus often mark the base of the westerlies during the dry season. The trades usually carry light cumulus clouds by day, but only near the land. The monsoon cumulus, whose base lies at about 1,500 feet, is heavier. Rain falls from nimbus and cumulo-nimbus. At the height of the wet season in the south nights are occasionally as cloudy as days, but even then a uniformly overcast sky is uncommon.

A tendency to greater cloudiness has been noted in two areas: along the coast just south of Dakar and, during the monsoon, on the windward slopes of the northern spurs of Fouta Jalon.

Thunder. Thunderstorms are almost unknown in the dry season, and are rare at sea off the colony at any time of year. They occur during the rains, with a maximum between July and September. In the north there are from 25 to 30 per annum with about 8 in the worst month. They are more numerous in the south, and the annual total varies from 80 or 90 on the coast to 40 or 50 inland. The average for September, their worst month, is 10 at Tambacounda and 20 at Ziguinchor. The first and last storms are often dry, i.e. without rain falling on the ground. Along the coast thunder is associated with a tornado at night but not necessarily by day.

Temperature and Humidity

Throughout the year temperatures are high and rarely fall below 60°. In the dry season the cooler nights and lower humidity are not

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 · MS37 Senegal MS 37

●132 unpleasant, but the afternoons are hot. Between July and September the rainfall is sufficient to lower day temperatures except in the north-west. Nights, however, remain hot and the humidity rises, so that this season is most oppressive.

Temperature. Table III indicates clearly the essential points of the seasonal changes: the lower temperatures on the coast as compared with the same latitude inland; the single maxima at St. Louis and Dakar and the secondary rise after the rains at all other places; the greater diurnal range in the dry season; and the smaller seasonal changes in the south, especially on the coast.

The coolest hour is just before dawn and the hottest in mid-afternoon, and the average diurnal range in the dry season is some 25°–30°. Temperatures in the open may be as much as 20° higher or lower than screen figures. Irregular variations are rare, but rain and tornadoes cause an abrupt fall of several degrees, and along the coast when the sea-breeze takes the place of the harmattan temperatures may fall by a dozen degrees in as many minutes.

The level at which freezing-point is reached is rarely below 15,000 feet. Serious icing is only experienced in well-developed cumulo-nimbus clouds.

TABLE III. *Means of Daily Maximum and Minimum Temperatures*

Station	*J.*	*F.*	*M.*	*A.*	*M.*	*J.*	*J.*	*A.*	*S.*	*O.*	*N.*	*D.*	*Year*	*Annual Range*
St. Louis	85	85	83	77	79	86	89	90	91	89	88	85	86	14
	60	61	63	63	66	74	77	77	77	76	70	63	69	17
Linguère	95	97	100	107	110	107	99	92	93	97	95	93	99	18
	56	59	63	67	72	76	75	74	73	73	63	59	67	20
Dakar	82	83	82	80	82	88	88	87	88	88	87	83	85	8
	65	64	65	65	68	74	77	76	77	76	73	68	71	13
Kaolack	95	98	101	105	104	99	94	91	91	93	97	94	97	14
	61	63	65	66	71	76	75	75	74	73	67	64	69	15
Tambacounda	95	99	102	106	103	97	90	87	89	90	93	93	96	19
	59	61	67	70	76	74	72	72	72	72	63	59	68	17
Ziguinchor	91	94	96	96	95	91	88	85	87	89	90	87	91	11
	62	63	67	68	72	75	74	74	74	74	71	63	70	13

Humidity (Fig. 51). The figures of Table IV show no very great extremes, but both the highest, with the monsoon, and the lowest, with the harmattan, can be very distressing.

22: Winterbothain et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

132

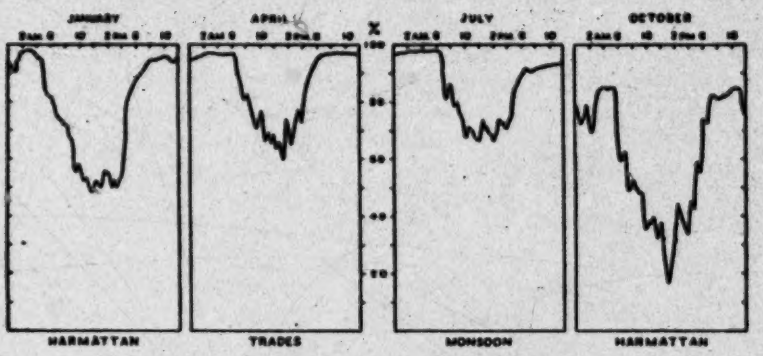


FIG. 51. *Relative Humidity at Dakar*

Relative humidity is always highest in the west and south. Variations from the mean are greatest during the dry season and in the interior. Along the coast the relative humidity rises noticeably in the afternoon, when the sea-breeze displaces the harmattan.

TABLE IV. *Mean Relative Humidity (percentages)*

Two observations: 8.00 a.m. and 6.00 p.m. Three: 8.00 a.m., 1.00 p.m., and 6.00 p.m.

Station	*J.*	*F.*	*M.*	*A.*	*M.*	*J.*	*J.*	*A.*	*S.*	*O.*	*N.*	*D.*	*Year*	*Annual Range*
St. Louis	59	68	76	87	82	81	81	85	85	82	66	60	76·0	26
	33	44	54	73	69	67	67	70	70	66	46	47	58·8	27
	55	63	68	79	75	74	71	74	73	74	66	61	69·4	24
Dakar	67	76	84	87	84	83	81	86	87	86	78	67	80·3	20
	43	45	53	58	59	63	67	73	72	67	51	44	58·0	30
	50	51	59	65	69	70	70	77	76	72	62	57	64·8	27
Kaolack	59	63	70	76	77	84	88	93	94	92	75	64	77·9	35
	33	29	30	34	43	54	67	79	76	67	43	39	49·5	50
Tambacounda	39	40	42	49	57	76	86	92	92	92	79	59	66·9	53
	16	16	16	16	28	47	65	76	74	70	47	31	41·8	60
Ziguinchor	75	82	86	86	87	90	95	96	96	94	87	77	87·6	21
	40	42	44	42	49	63	76	81	73	72	57	49	57·5	41
	42	44	46	52	56	65	81	86	81	76	63	57	62·4	44

Visibility

Annual means are from 9 to 11 miles at 8.00 a.m., from 12½ to 18 miles at 1.00 p.m., and from 12½ to 16½ miles at 6.00 p.m. with the higher figures in every case to the south. In general, visibility is best in the trades and monsoon and worst in the harmattan and easterlies. In the harmattan it is normally only from 2½ to 5 miles and may be less than 1 mile for several days on end. On the other

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

132 hand, in September at Ziguinchor, for example, the midday mean rises as high as 48 miles, although at that time of year interference from cloud is greatest. Whatever the season, conditions are better at midday and in the evening than in the morning.

Temporary deterioration is caused by sand storms, fog, bush fires, and rain. The first occur during December and January over dunes such as those in Fouta and Ferlo. In them visibility may drop to less than 100 yards and the ensuing haze persists for several days over large areas. Fog is common before and after the rains and is to be expected over the southern estuaries at any time of the year when winds are light. It rarely extends above 500 feet or lasts after 9.00 a.m. Between February and April there is local interference from the smoke of bush fires, which rises 2,000 or 3,000 feet. In the wet season heavy rain naturally causes temporary deterioration. At this season also low cloud often blots out the tops of the spurs of Fouta Jalon.

Swell and Surf

133 Details of swell at Dakar are given in Appendix II, and they may be taken as typical of conditions along the whole of the coast of the colony. On beaches farther north there is slightly more north-westerly swell and on those to the south rather more from the south-west. Heavy seas are rare.

Surf, on the other hand, is everywhere heavy. On exposed beaches south of Cape Verde, for instance, rollers sometimes curl in 30 feet of water and break in a depth of 10 feet. Surf is especially dangerous at the mouths of estuaries when a strong ebb-tide is running.

Meteorological Services

654 Dakar is the chief meteorological station in French West Africa, and St. Louis, Tambacounda, and Ziguinchor are also fully equipped for recording both surface and upper air conditions. Their reports [207] are included in the synoptic broadcasts from Dakar, which cover the whole of the west coast. Secondary stations are at Bambey, Kaolack, Linguéré, Podor, and Thiès, whose reports are also included. Twenty-six other places record rainfall.

5. VEGETATION

137 Most of the colony falls within two of the main vegetation zones. To the north there is the thornland, while to the south the zone of grass-woodland has two subzones, the Sudan and the Guinea, and

/100 cont./

SR 105 [643] master. The order of succession to the throne was governed by immutable rules. The Grand Diaraff chose the Bour, while being bound to take him from the princely caste of the Guelwars and from the maternal line. The title of Queen, or Linguère, was borne, not by the wife of the Bour, but by his mother.

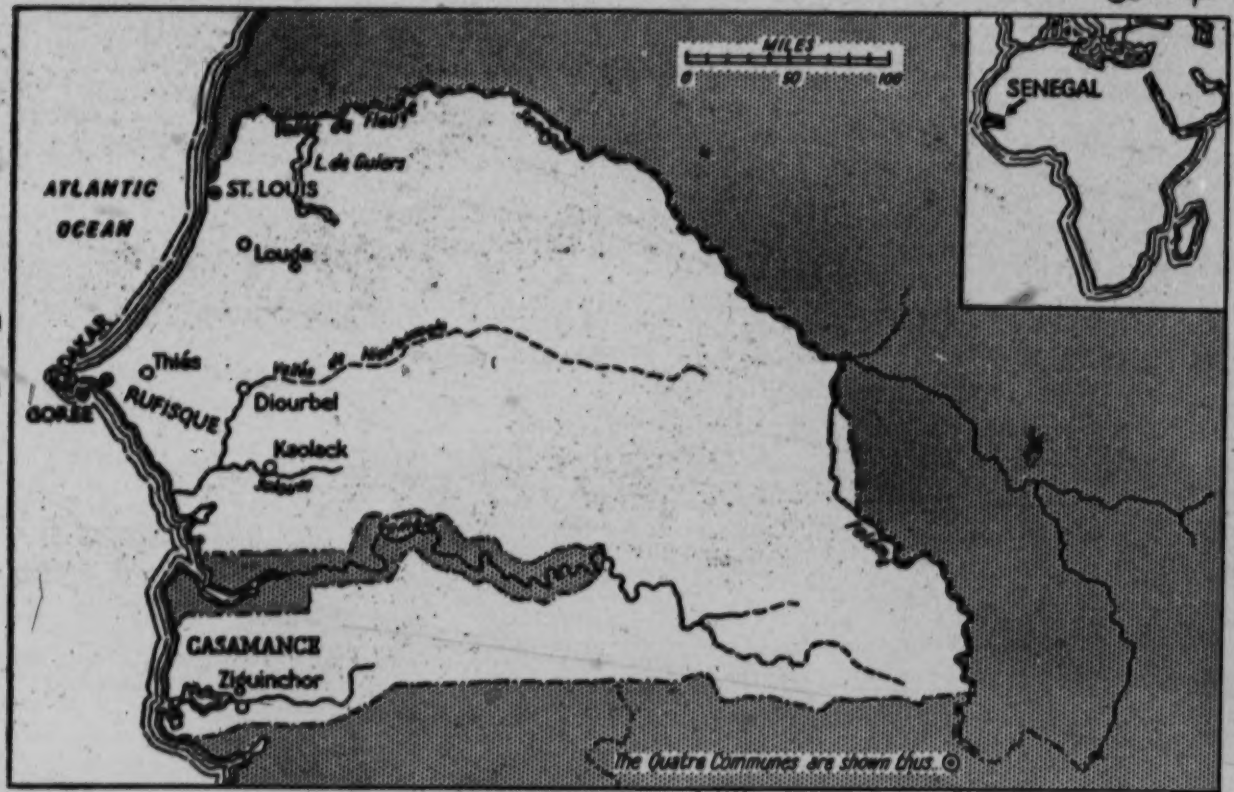
S 132 Climate. Soil. The climate of Sine-Saloum is very hot and dry. It is painful for the European. The thermometer never drops below 12° centigrade at night. During the day it sometimes climbs up to 45° and even 48°. The thermic average is from 28° to 30°. Two seasons sharply contrast: the dry season, which lasts from November to June and during which the east wind, searing and drying, blows; the rainy season or winter, which runs from June to November, an unhealthy period when swamp fever prevails. The atmospheric precipitation is plentiful. It drops on the average one to 1.20 meters of water. This is very little compared to the figures for Lower Guinea (four to five meters); it is less than in Casamance where the annual rainfall is two meters. But the rate of rainfall here is higher than in all the rest of Senegal. At Dakar and Saint-Louis, for example, from 0.45 to 0.55 meters of water falls.

S 133 312 [134] The soil is generally permeable. In certain places drinking water is reached at a shallow depth. By contrast, in other places it is necessary to dig very deep wells. At Fatick, the surface layer of fresh water is at two and a half or three meters. At Kaolack, it is necessary to go more than ten meters, although in some years water has been found at six meters. At Gossas, a deprived area, it has been necessary to dig as far as 90 meters; at Guinguinéo, /map appears here/ /101/ wells are 60 meters deep. It is fitting to mention, as a curious fact, the presence of fresh water on the edge of the marigots of salt water. For example, at Dangana (Sine), the well of the encampment, which is dug one meter from the edge of the river bank and to a depth of 1.5 meters, contains potable water which the inhabitants use.

S 134 The soil is not very rich in humus. It is sandy in the north and silico-argillaceous in the other areas, but very nearly

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

100
361
133



SENEGAL

©1962 EDWARD STANFORD LTD., LONDON

[J-5]

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

2

The Revolution

494 OUR bus had been travelling across monotonous scrub country for several hours. The road was excellent, but the journey uncomfortable in the heat of the afternoon sun. The goats on the roof had not stopped screaming since we left Kaolak and the hair of two Mauretanian women sitting in front of me 302 exuded a suffocating odour of rancid butter, with which it was greased, attracting a large swarm of flies. The bus had a drowsy lethargic atmosphere in which we could neither sleep nor think.

133 After we had been travelling for what seemed an eternity, the skyline was broken by some small hills, covered with lemon-leafed trees. I cannot adequately describe the visual relief those hills afforded. For their significance, they might have been mountains. Towards evening we left these hills behind us and our road quite suddenly came upon the sea, which stretched out before us an undecided compromise between grey and blue. Its [361] shore was skirted by mud huts, from which hung long fishing nets, tied to gaily painted canoes.

361 There was a sudden stir in the front of the bus. A voice cried: 369 'Dakar, ici Dakar.' I looked beyond the fretwork silhouette of the fishing village, beyond the cold grey of the sea to an incredible backdrop: a vast city of giant houses, gleaming in the late sun, rode the horizon like some fantastic flotilla of the future.

'Dakar, ici Dakar.' The voice cried once more and the excited passengers took up the refrain.

Our bus pulled up into a large lorry station, in a part of [498] Dakar whose resemblance to the Motte-Picquet-Grenelle suburb of Paris immediately struck me, except that Africans had been substituted for Algerians. At once there was a mad scramble to get

114 /665/ The study of demography in the countries of Black Africa has made great progress in recent years. Nevertheless, it has often had to be limited to monographs because of the diversity of the ethnic groups and the lack of census statistics.

Among the questions to be studied is that of consanguinity, often in these regions and sometimes responsible for demographic stagnation and an unhealthy condition. It is in this direction that the activity of Dr. Cantrelle of the Institut français d'Afrique noire /French Institute of Black Africa/ is oriented. The high degree of endogamy among the populations that he has studied is given particular attention. The results presented here deal with the Senegalese Fouta and are to be followed by more complete data pertaining to the Fouta Djallon.

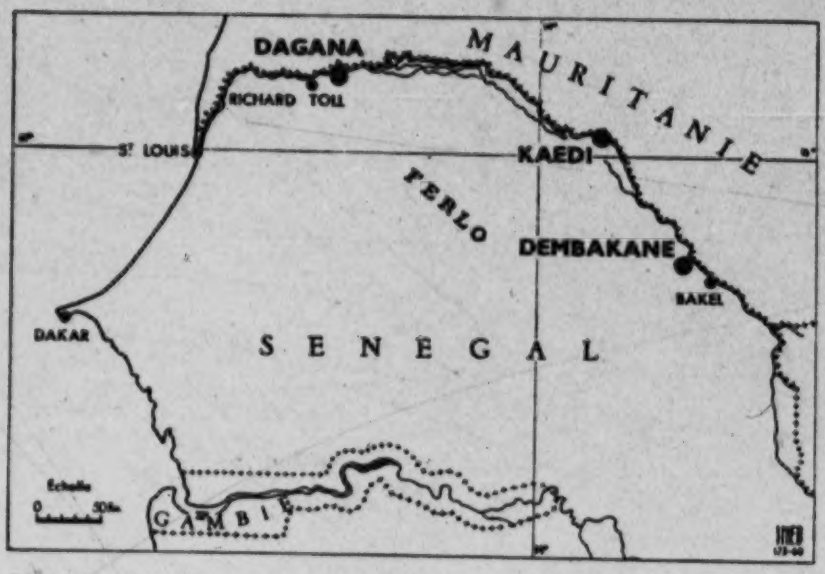
Introduction

●133 The Senegal River separates the republic of Senegal from that of Mauritania. Its central valley, running from east to west, between Dembakané upstream and Dagana downstream, constitutes a region defined by history and geography, the Fouta Toro. This is a long alluvial strip more than 400 kilometers long by ten kilometers wide on the average, hemmed in by two semi-arid regions, the Mauritanian Sahara on the north and the Ferlo of Senegal on the south (Map No. 1). In contrast
161 to these two regions, in which lives a population of nomadic shepherds, very low in density, the fertile valley has a concentration of farmers, fishermen, and livestock-raisers, with a relatively great density of about 20 inhabitants per square kilometer downstream, 35 near the center, and reaching 50 upstream.

143 Like most of the large valleys, it is a zone of passage which in the course of previous centuries has mixed together populations of varied origin, and one can assume that this region of homogeneous appearance, and where Islam is the sole religion, has created conditions favorable to panmixia (1).

1. Panmixia: assemblage of hypotheses

102
103
131
133



Map No. 1. /Mauritanie = Mauritania; Gambie = Gambia; eschelle = scale./

128 and variation of these facts with regard to dates and regions, thanks to
143 various registers which have existed for several generations (Sutter and Tabah [4] and [5], Sutter [6]).

114 In the western part of Africa it is difficult to gather this kind of
143 information, which the administrative censuses do not normally give. The first quantitative study of endogamy by M. de Lestrange in Guinea among the Coniagui [7] has permitted an evaluation of the size of the isolate, one woman /667/ being able to choose her partner from among 400 to 500 men, but does not specify the frequency of consanguineous unions. It deals with a closed population limited to 8,000 persons.

143 The population of the valley of the Senegal itself is much
125 more extensive and, in principle, not closed. In this case a demographic inquiry by sampling, taking one out of ten, has been resorted to, which made it possible to establish, in 1957, not only its classic characteristics of structure (sex, age, ethnic affiliation, place of birth, etc.) and of natural change (fertility, mortality), but also elements permitting precise determination of its degree of endogamy,

/155/

491 [131] At kilometer 13 on the Dakar-Rufisque highway and branching off at a right angle to the latter there is a side road with a sign bearing the notice: Dagoudane-Pikine. Two hundred meters farther on, just beyond the church on the left, the road forks, and the right branch, after passing between two gas stations, in turn divides in two. These three roads, after describing several more or less sinuous meanders, take a northwest direction and traverse the agglomeration from end to end, the east road and the west road being symmetrical in relation to the center one.

133 361 Viewed from an airplane, the agglomeration has, in general, the shape of a large rectangle laid flat, its length measuring two kilometers and the median width 1,240 meters. This impression of flatness is deceptive, for the ground is slightly hilly, and the 2 CV which ventures into the cross streets may have the disagreeable experience of not being able to climb back up certain sandy slopes. Very schematically the terrain appears thus: the two center streets and the west one extend along the summit of one dune, with a depression between the two. To the west of the west street, the land descends slightly and then rises again before dropping down to the Niayes. The east street, on the contrary, is located halfway up the slope of a dune, the summit of which runs along the center street and is separated from the latter by a depression which sinks down more and more as one turns northward. Finally, to the east, the land rises again slightly before the railway which skirts Pikine and bounds it on the east. On the north it is -- or rather was, for the land was already divided into lots in 1960, the date of the investigation -- the route of the Niayes which forms the line of demarcation, and on the west the Niayes themselves. /156/ On the south, except for the sheds of the ICOTAF in the eastern part, there is no clear boundary.

36 For the visitor who views the agglomeration for the first time, Pikine leaves a contradictory impression: first, of uniformity and monotony. It is undoubtedly easy to orient

361 /70/ New countries present the peculiarity that their important cities are established along the coast, for example, in South America and in Australia. West Africa is no exception to this rule; Dakar, Conakry, Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Accra ... are port cities. In contrast, cities in the interior are rarer; Bamako and Bobo-Dioulasso are important centers, but represent exceptions.

Thiès in Senegal does not entirely belong to either one of these categories. Located some 50 kilometers as the crow flies from the nearest port, it benefits from this proximity only in a very imperfect way. Nor is it a city of the interior; its economic relations with the port of Dakar do not permit such an appellation.

361 369 It is of recent creation and cannot, in contrast to Saint-Louis, Rufisque or Dakar, boast of a rich historic past (African or colonial); it no longer possesses that embryo of the old Creole middle class which would have been able to check its evolution toward the rapid formation of a more modern society, more Western in its conception. It is a new city that seems by a stroke of fate to have thrust out from the African bush as a kind of crossroads where the lines of modern communication have come to promote its fortune.

361 133 Before examining the different reasons which governed its implantation on such a site, it is advisable to place the city within the Senegalese countryside that surrounds it. When the traveler, leaving Dakar, takes the road or the railway which leads him to Saint-Louis, he leaves the Atlantic coast at the village of Bargny and then crosses the plain of Cape Verde over some 60 kilometers. A few moderate undulations occasionally break the monotony of the landscape; these are the Ndias "massifs." A little before the village of Pout, the eastern horizon is obstructed by a line of elevations giving the impression of sizable and brutal relief. Very soon, however, some ten kilometers from this village, one reaches the slope of Thiès. Its altitude is very slight; it culminates at 137 meters. The road and railway track ascend /71/ the face by a steep grade that makes use of a narrow defile called "Ravin des Voleurs" /Ravine of Thieves/. One quickly

/71 cont./

361 reaches the summit of the plateau.

[133] [137] The landscape which one then discovers seems more open: few trees or none at all; only a shrubby vegetation in the form of brush from which some baobab tops emerge. In the background there gradually appears the light color of the first houses of Thiès. The contrast between the green foliage of the city and the surrounding countryside, bare and yellow, blinding with light, is striking, especially in the dry season.

The aerial photograph, or better still the flight, makes this contrast appear even sharper. The city, with roughly triangular outlines and divided into large patches of geometrical squares flecked with innumerable dark spots of green foliage, stands out particularly sharply against the grey and deserted bush of the surroundings. The presence of an urban center on this almost unpopulated plateau seems strange, and one might wonder what reasons caused this not very hospitable site to be retained for the establishment of a relatively important city?

1. The History of Thiès

361 133 [104] [443] 1. The site.

The plateau on which the escale (1) has been built

1. "Escale" here means a place where caravans rested after the halt of the day's journey and where small-scale trade was carried on; by extension, a village or city-market generally located on a railway.

slopes slightly toward the east, while its western face forms a steep slope. Plateau and slope belong to geological formations of the same date as those of the Cape Verde Peninsula and consist principally of limestone from the end of the Secondary/Mesozoic/ subsequently overlaid by a ferruginous shell. It is probable that the eastern section rose up and the western one sank in the Tertiary.

135

/71 cont./

●133 The presence of a marl-calcareous horizon at a slight depth, the arrangement of the layers sloping toward the east, has favored the formation of a perpetual phreatic layer close to the surface and capable of supplying all the wells of the Thiès plateau.

The Thiès slope describes a concave line 40 kilometers long which begins in the north at the height of Mont-Rolland and ends abruptly in the south at the height of the village of [361] Tiao. The brow of the slope, with an average altitude of 100 meters, is cut broadly and deeply only by the "Ravin des Voleurs." At the foot of the slope there stretches a depressed, more or less swampy zone, /72/ /Fig. 1 appears here/ which borders it from north to south. Beyond Mont-Rolland, toward the northwest, accumulations of dune sand extend to the ocean (Fig. 1).

369 175 During the period of the pacification of Senegal by Faidherbe, Thiès was only a small village of unruly Sérère-None /Serer/, pillagers of caravans when the occasion presented itself. This village was established near the actual site [361] of the Faidherbe Redoubt, in a shaded and cool spot, hence the name "Diankhène" which was given to it and which means place of repose.

In 1856 Dakar was founded, and Saint-Louis developed. [648] A treaty concluded with the damel of Cayor (2) authorized the

2. Damel, Wolof word meaning sovereign.

[206] installation of a telegraph line to connect these two cities. But the execution of the work came up against the ill-will of the damel and the continual insecurity that prevailed in the region of Thiès.

After the creation of the post of Mbidjem, near Lake Tanma, the /73/ post of Thiès was built in 1863. Its [361] role was to pacify and to cover, in case of necessity, the troops that operated in the region. The latter, coming [487] from Gorée and from Dakar, took the trail /piste/ from Rufisque to Pout and from there reached the post of Thiès and Cayor by way of the "Ravin des Voleurs," the only easy and direct passage that connected Cayor with the Cape Verde Peninsula.

/73 cont./

102
131
133
491
496

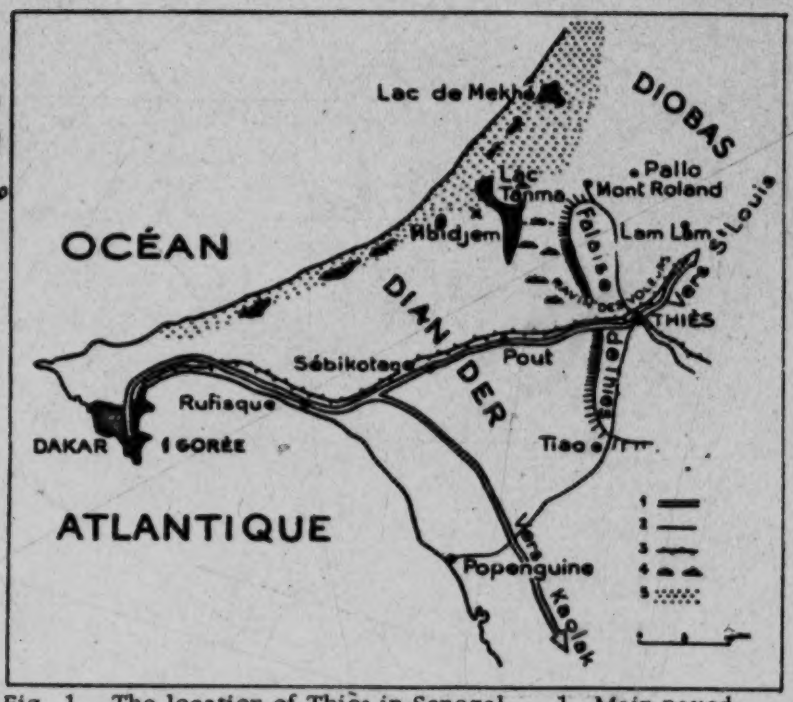


Fig. 1. The location of Thiès in Senegal. 1. Main paved road; 2. secondary road; 3. railroad; 4. swamps; 5. sand.

175 Verde Peninsula. As long ago as this epoch Thiès seems to
369 have been a strategic point and support point of primary im-
361 portance.

As early as 1880 the provinces of Diander and Diobas were pacified. The military posts lost their importance and were abandoned one after the other, for example, Nguiguis (near Tivaouane) and Mbidjem. Only the one at Thiès, because of its exceptional location, survived and developed.

175 2. The commercial escale (1880-1923).
369 The years of the decade 1880-1890 correspond to the
499 period of the development of groundnut cultivation in Senegal
244 and to the construction of the Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad.

/73 cont./

175 369 499 133 The surveys for the future course of this railway revealed that the shortest route would have to follow the Atlantic coast, but since this is bordered by dunes it would necessitate some important construction work. The passage across the slope of Thiès was also a serious obstacle, but the "Ravin des Voleurs" made access to the plateau possible; the line would thus follow the valley which cuts the brow of the hill, then the depression which follows the plateau to the east, and would pass in front of the military fort established at its extremity.

175 369 [361] The fortune of Thiès was made: as early as 1885, the date of the opening of the railroad, the merchants of Rufisque set up branches there; a plan for dividing the future city into lots was outlined. This plan, unfortunately, foresaw the development of the city only north of the line, along the trail connecting Thiès with Rufisque and Dakar. A Catholic [797] mission was established in the vicinity, and in 1893 the first civil administrator occupied the new residence built near the Faidherbe redoubt.

175 369 439 [496] [492] The groundnut policy developed successfully; 20,000 tons of groundnuts were shipped by rail from the Thiès station in 1890 (3). Commerce, however, was not established in

3. Convoys of camels competed with the railway up to 1910 and transported their cargo to the port of Rufisque. Thiès was the last stop before reaching the quays of embarkation 50 kilometers away.

[366] permanent fashion in the escale: only during the period of trading (from November to May) did the European employees [441] sent by the firms of Rufisque live in the city and buy groundnuts, millet, cotton ... at their branches; from May to November they returned to Rufisque, and most of the shops in Thiès were closed, the city seemingly dead.

19: Pehaut--19 K-4 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 16-17/

Plate I

244
133
[291]

A. Harvested field of groundnuts in Wolof country.

B. The groundnut harvest in Sérère country.

/372/

369 "Dakar is the only city, in the European (or Western)
[361] sense, in all of West Africa," wrote D. Wittlesey in 1941 (1).

[113] 1. Derwint Wittlesey, "Dakar and other Cap Verde Settlements," The Geographical Review, 1941, p. 609.

Things have changed since then; Conakry, Bamako, Abidjan, and other centers have become true cities. It is incontestable
[162] that the 230,000 inhabitants counted in the census in 1955, of
[563] whom more than 30,000 were non-Africans, make Dakar the most important city in all of the Black Africa of French expression. In 1957 its port had more traffic than all the other ports
[505] of former French West Africa; in 1960, 8,000 vessels, with a capacity of 21,000,000 tons (2), put it among the most frequented

2. The official figures are 7,948 vessels and 20,992,111 tons.

[162] ports of Africa. But 50 years ago Dakar did not have 25,000 inhabitants. The rhythm of its growth is thus on a level with that of certain mushrooming cities in the United States of America. Dakar does not owe this extraordinarily rapid development solely to favorable natural conditions, as is often said, but also and especially to a complex interaction of historical, economic, and political factors. It is a crossroads born out of the effective integration of the African world and South America in the European economic system, an integration linked with the search for raw materials and markets, made possible and necessary by the great technical progress realized since the middle of the nineteenth century. City-crossroads, all of its vitality depends on the state of its relations.

[133] 1. Birth of Dakar. The head of the peninsula of Cape Verde, on which Dakar was established, is an assemblage of

/372 cont./

369 plateaus made up of two volcanic systems of different ages,
•133 separated by a small, low plain, the whole tilting toward the east-northeast. This head of the penisula is savagely attacked by oceanic floods which create on these coasts many capes and little bays, as well as some little detached islands not very far away. It is in one of these little bays, the bay called Dakar,
361 the most extensive and the best protected, that the great modern
369 port is located, between Pointe de la Défense and Pointe de Bel-Air (Fig. 1).[1] Incontestably, this head of the peninsula makes a favorable site for a port city, a site whose equal would be sought in vain in West Africa (Fig. 2).[2]

131 /373/ But even more than the site, it is the location of
361 this forward cape of Africa that constitutes a trump of the first
369 order in the cards of Dakar. Crossed by the north parallel 14°
487 40' and located at the center of curvature of the great western bulge of the African continent, almost halfway between the 30th degree north where the desert begins and the regions of the Bénin, former slave-dealers, the peninsula occupied an interesting position in the former navigational system of the central and southern Atlantic, for both the ships coming from the north and those coming from the south. It was in fact chosen as the first place of easy reprovisioning for the sailors who had traveled for several days along a desert-like coast from south of Morocco, while, for the ships coming from the Gulf of Guinea, it was the last place for provisioning available before the Canaries. Moreover, the tip of the peninsula is the most westerly of all the headlands of the Old World. Cape Dunemore in Ireland, which is the most westerly in Europe, does not go beyond 11° west of Greenwich, whereas the peninsula of Cape Verde goes beyond 17° west, even reaching 17° 32' 16" at Cape Almadies. Dakar is thus more than 500 kilometers west of Casablanca (3); it is

[113]

3. Marcel M. Chartier, "Dakar, Port aérien /Dakar, aerial port/," in Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 1948, p. 87.

[1] [See category 116, p. 5--Analyst]
[2] [See category 116, p. 11--Analyst]

/373/

369 therefore one of the Old World's closest points to South America
36 (4). Dakar and Natal are about 3,000 kilometers apart.
[131
[487]

4. Cape Roxo and the region of Freetown are closer from Cape St. Roque by 250 kilometers (cf. J. Richard Molard, in "La presqu'île du Cap-Vert /The peninsula of Cape Verde/," I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 10).
[113]

These advantages of site and location, however, should not make one forget that the tip of the peninsula of Cape Verde did not have easy access. On the one hand, the shallow depths
[133] which border it on its north front caused many shipwrecks, the
369 pillage of which in part supported the riparian populations, and,
175 on the other hand, it did not offer any security for the possible
[579] establishment of a settlement because of the very independent character of the Lébou, who were tightly organized in a geronto-theocratic republic under the authority of the "Great Serigne" (5).

5. Great Marabout.

after being freed from the bondage of the Damel (6) around 1809.

6. King of Cayor.

Thus, one should not be surprised that the actual occupation of the peninsula by France was very late. For a long time the island of Gorée better satisfied the needs of the early navigators. Discovered by the Portuguese at the same time as Cape Verde, in 1444, the island, located off the southeastern cape of the peninsula, was still uninhabited when the Hollanders appeared at Cape Verde in 1588. In 1617 the latter bought it from the chiefs of the coast "for iron and some nails" (7). This island of less than a

[113] 7. Dr. Cariou, note on Gorée in "La

/375 cont./

102
133

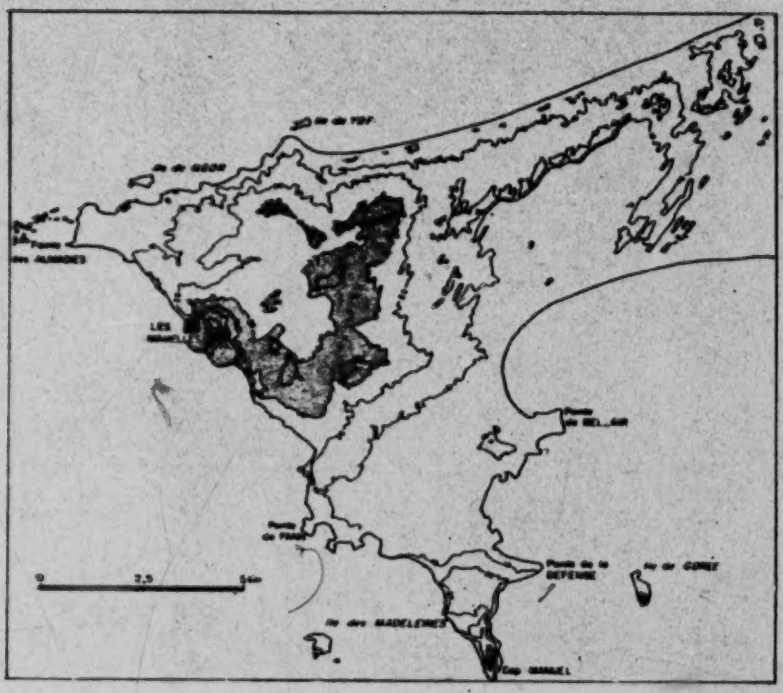


Fig. 1 The site of Dakar.

175
369

of making it a kind of colony (Pl. XXI A). 7 h

But at the same time, with slavery abolished, Europe was instituting new forms of relations with the underdeveloped countries, imposing itself on the populations for the establishment of a new order less cruel than slavery and better suited for profitable improvements that were more diversified, more systematic, and more in accord with the requirements of the European societies which the technical and industrial revolution was more and more transforming. From this perspective, Dakar could become an incomparable point of support: its site was favorable for the establishment of a city; its coves could harbor a military port and a commercial port.

[712] Thus, on 25 May 1857, Dakar was officially occupied in the

7 h [See category 116, P. 15--Analyst]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Gambia FC1

SG
102
103
131
133
361
491
S
496

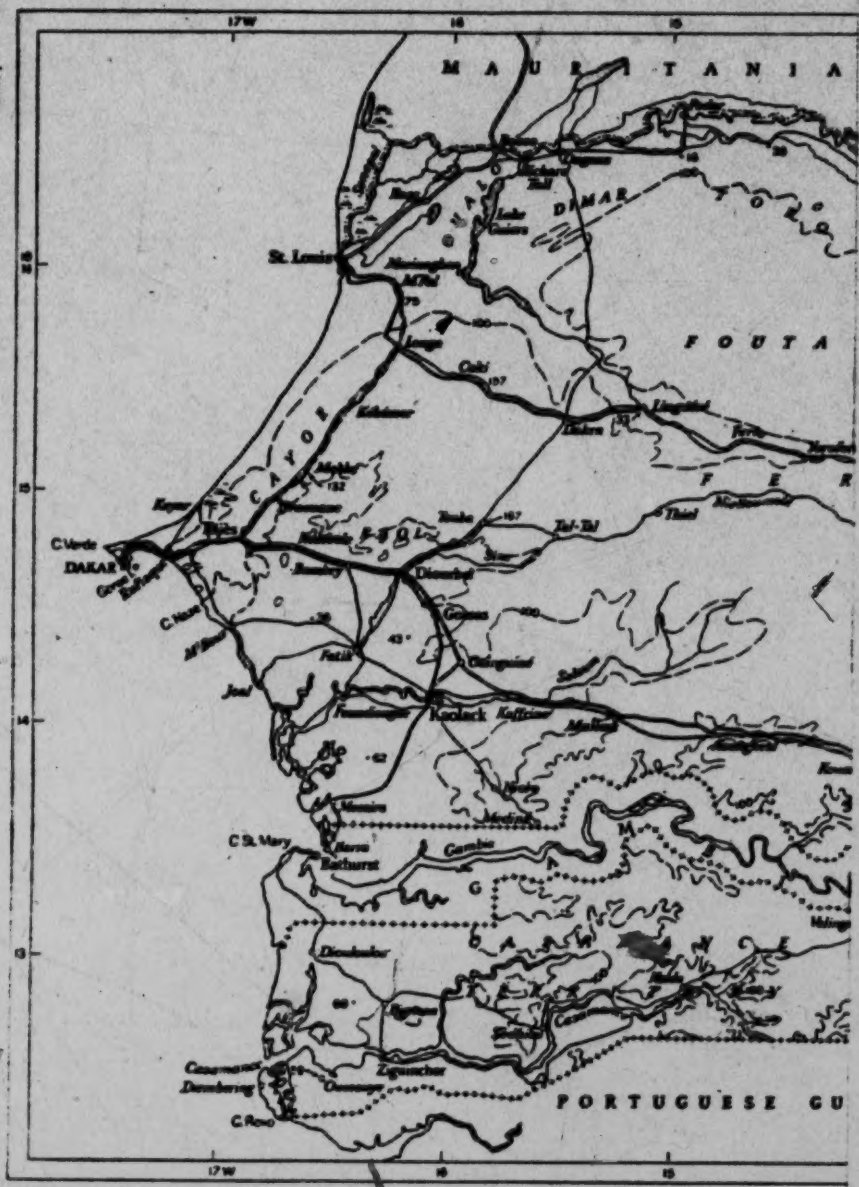


FIG. 47. Senegal

[Facing P. 395 (A)]

[Pp i-xvi and pp. 1-394 not processed]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 39
Gambia FC1

S
G
102
103
[redacted]
133
361
491
S
496

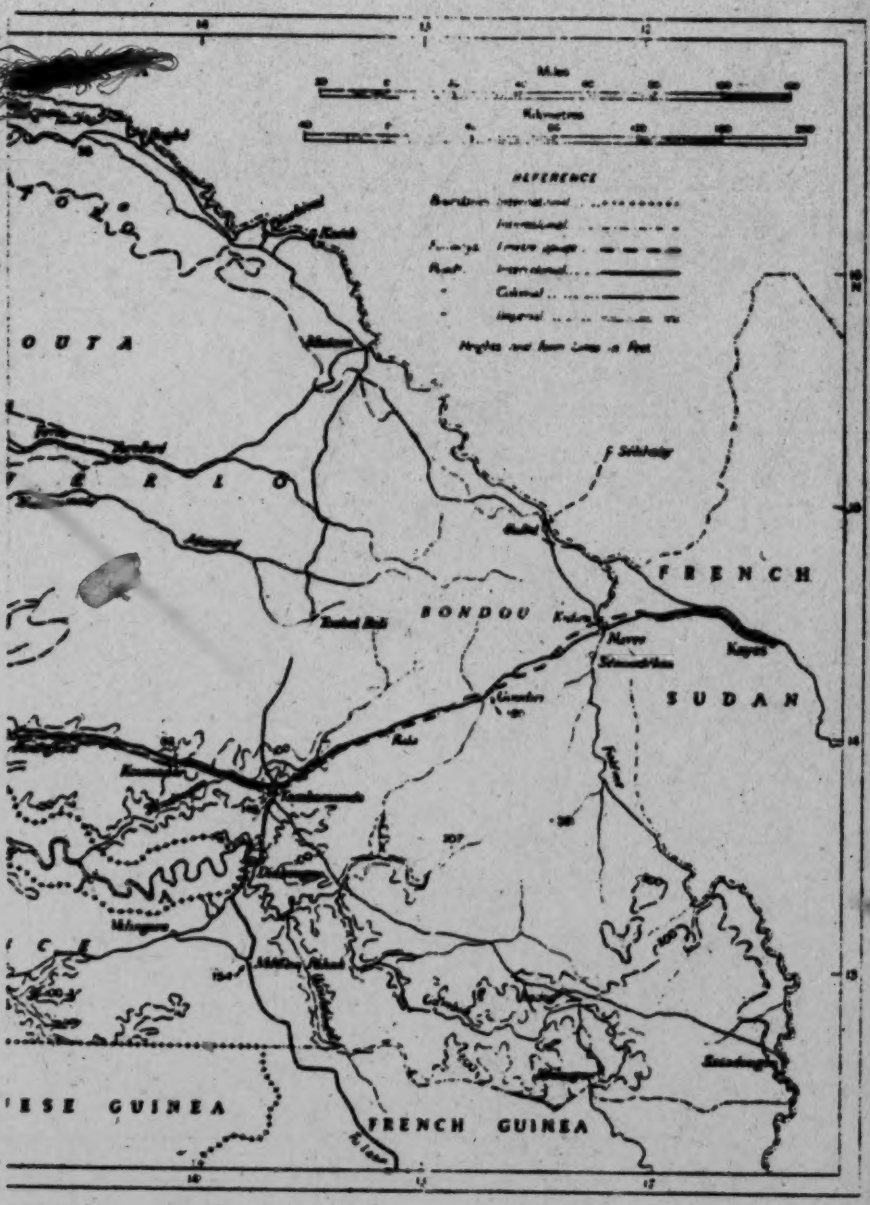


Fig. 47. Senegal

[Facing P. 395(B)]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Gambia FC 1

S 131 The intercolonial boundary between Senegal and Mauritania begins at 16° 04′ N., 20° 31′ W. It runs east, then north-east, and then south-east to reach the Senegal river 2 miles above St. Louis. The right bank of the river is followed upstream for more than 500 miles until the confluence with the Falémé. This left-bank tributary is pursued, jointly with French Sudan, upstream for 30 miles, but the boundary is east of it for 64 miles, before rejoining it for a further 130 miles. At the end of this last stretch is the meeting-point of French Sudan, Senegal, and French Guinea, and the boundary between the two latter colonies turns west along the foothills of Fouta Jalon. It is fairly straight for its first 60 miles, but later it bends considerably. It crosses the Gambia river 18 miles above Kédougou. It then follows an even more irregular course westwards, but curves north to avoid Youkounkoun. Nine miles north-north-east of this town it turns almost west, and, using one of the headstreams of the Koulountou, keeps this direction as far as 12° 40′ 30″ N., 12° 42′ 45″ W., the north-eastern corner of Portuguese Guinea. From here the international frontier runs due west for 100 miles, ignoring natural features. It then goes south-west for 37 miles and a little north of west for 22 miles before taking a line almost half-way between the Casamance and the Cacheo. It meets the sea at Cape Roxo.

S G 131 The northern frontier of the Gambia leaves the Atlantic coast at 13° 35′ 40″ N. and runs due east for 72 miles. After this the frontier follows a demarcated line which averages a distance of 6 miles from the right bank of the Gambia river. This continues to be the case as far as a point 22½ miles south-west of Tambacounda. The frontier then turns, crosses the river, and reaches a point 6 miles from the left bank. Owing to the river's meanders this is almost on the bank 6 miles below Diabougou. The right-bank procedure is then followed westwards to 13° 21′ N., 15° 46′ 30″ W. From here the frontier goes due south for 12½ miles to latitude 13° 10′ N. This parallel is followed due west to the Allahine river, which marks the last 15 miles of the frontier.

2. PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION AND GEOLOGY

S ● 133 ALMOST the whole colony lies below the level of 200 feet and, except in the province of Haute Gambie, there is a monotonous regularity of feature. Indeed, the coastal dunes north of Dakar afford some of the

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

most striking topography. In spite of this, there are few wide horizons, for much of the surface is covered with high bush. 133 [137]

The Coastal Belt

The Cape Verde peninsula protects the south of the coast from the Canary current and there is a marked contrast between the smooth sandy shoreline to its north and the muddy estuaries to its south. From St. Louis to Dakar no rivers reach the sea. Behind the dunes which back the coast is a depression into which, baulked of their normal goal, many small seasonal streams empty themselves. This depression is marshy during and shortly after the rains, and at certain places shallow lakes persist. A wider and more permanent area of swamps lies east of St. Louis. It is formed by distributaries of the Senegal and replenished each year by its flood. Lake Guiers is a large perennial sheet of water at the eastern edge of this marshland.

The Interior Plain

North and east of the railways and south and west of the great curve of the Senegal there is a broad Tertiary plain. This is, in effect, a southward extension of the Sahara, and, like that of Mauritania, its surface is formed of low fixed dunes and shallow clay depressions. The general direction of these features is north-east and south-west. Immediately west of Thiès is a prominent line of hills running north and south. It is formed by an outcrop of Lower Eocene strata dipping eastward, and it is covered by the Forest of Thiès. For most of the year the rather friable top soil is dry, but the depressions become bands of swamp for a few months. Across this general alinement of relief two major valleys run from east to west. One is that of the Ferlo, which flows into Lake Guiers, and the other is that of the Nielloumolé and the Maouré, which are the upper sections of the Sine. The general pattern is edged by the flood plain of the Senegal and its subsidiary channels. The longest of these latter breaks off just below Diorbivol and does not rejoin the main stream until below Podor. It encloses the Île à Morfil, which averages 8 miles wide and is over 300 miles long. Most of the plain is covered with thornland or poor grass-woodland, but much of the land in the extreme south-west is highly cultivated. [137] [134] [137] [311]

The South

In the Casamance Territory relief is slightly more varied. The valleys are flat and annually flooded, but the country between rises

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

501
133

107. *Fishermen of the Langue de Barbarie*

133

108. *The coast near Yof*

[facing p. 398]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

133 to an average height of some 130 feet. Rocky outcrops frequently break its lateritic surface, and the rise from the valleys is invariably abrupt.

The south-east of the colony is mainly the basin of the Gambia, but some parts are drained to the Falémé. Much land is over 300 feet, and, as the surface rises to the Palaeozoic sandstones and pre-Cambrian quartzites of Fouta Jalon, the valleys of the Gambia and of its tributaries, the Nieri Mango, the Niocolo Koba, and the Koulountou, are proportionately deeper. The side valleys of the first two, indeed, are little more than very narrow gullies. Just east of the 13th meridian steep hills rise on either side of the Gambia itself, and, some 15 miles west of Kédougou, a broken spur strikes north from French Guinea. Upon it heights of over 1,300 feet rise above scarps of 300 or 400 feet, and, although the river now beheads its northern end, it has forced the Gambia to take a great northward loop. East of Kédougou the country is more open, for the intercolonial boundary follows the scarps that mark the northern limits of Fouta Jalon.

3. THE COAST

THE total distance from the Mauritanian boundary to Cape Roxo is 333 miles, but 40 miles of this are in the Gambia. The coast of Senegal may be divided into four unequal parts: the mouth of the Senegal river, the smooth curve that flanks the interior plain, the Cape Verde peninsula, and the creeks and estuaries of the south.

The Canary current sets southward along the northern part of the coast, but south of Cape Verde it varies with the seasons. From January to June it flows south or south-east, from June to August north or north-west, and in late August east. During the rest of the year it is variable.

Swell is strong and surf is heavy.

The Langue de Barbarie to the Cape Verde Peninsula

The Langue de Barbarie is some 27 miles long and has been built by the combined efforts of the Canary current and the Senegal. For its last 15 miles it is nowhere more than half a mile wide and it separates the river from the sea. St. Louis (p. 440) stands on an island in the river, but has three suburbs, two on the Langue de Barbarie and one on the mainland. From this mainland suburb, Sor, the railway begins its journey to Dakar. Across the mouth of the

[361]
[496]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

•133

109. Yof

[facing p. 399]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

river is a sandy bar which sometimes prevents entry by ships for several weeks on end. After this the coast stretches south-south-westwards in a gentle curve of sandy beach. There are dunes along the shore, and, inland from them, the marshy depression already described on p. 397. There are very few villages and, indeed, very few landmarks of any kind. Seventy-four miles from the mouth of the Senegal the village of Kayar is perceptible from the sea. It is connected to Rufisque (17 miles) by a colonial road, and immediately south of it is Lake M'Baouar, which is seldom or never without water. After Kayar the coast trends more definitely south-west. Lake Retba, whose north-eastern end is 6½ miles from Kayar, is a permanent salt lake fed by the sea. There are other lakes and swamps behind the littoral dunes. On the coast itself stands another village, Cambérène, which is 22½ miles from Kayar and behind which rise the Petites Mamelles. These are three grey, isolated, sandy knolls, and they mark the beginning of the Cape Verde peninsula (Fig. 48).

The Cape Verde Peninsula and Goree Bay

Yof island (Plate 108), 3½ miles west of Cambérène, stands off the village (Plate 109) of the same name. The beach on the mainland is accessible to surf-boats in all weathers. Just west of the village is a cable hut, where cables are landed, and a tarmac road runs southwards to Ouakam and Dakar. The coast is now more indented, and, 2½ miles south-west of Yof, is a ledge of rocks which joins the shore to Ngor island and behind which is the village of Ngor. Three-quarters of a mile farther west the coast turns almost due south to reach Almadi point (Plate 110), the extreme west of the mainland of Africa. There is a lighthouse on a rock three-quarters of a mile out to sea. Cape Verde itself is 2 miles to the south-east of Almadi point, and behind it are two conical hills called the Mamelles. It was the stunted brushwood on these hills that gave the cape its name. From here to Cape Manuel the coast continues its south-easterly direction, being formed of red cliffs and small sandy beaches. Fann point, 3¾ miles from Cape Verde, marks the north-western end of Madeleines bay, which washes the south-western side of Dakar (p. 444). Some 2 miles south-west are the four Madeleines islands, all of which are rocky and three of which are inaccessible. At Cape Manuel, which is 131 feet high, the coast turns sharply north to form Bernard bay. North of Dakar is Hann bay, and both of these small bays are on the western side of Goree bay. This is generally considered to stretch from Cape Manuel to Cape Rouge, and in it,

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

133 1½ miles off shore from Dakar, is the historic island of Goree (p. 449).
[504] The bay is protected by the Cape Verde peninsula and affords good anchorage at a depth of 11 fathoms, and its beaches provide numerous landing-points for ships' boats.

[361] The village of Hann, in the middle of the shore of Hann bay, is a

102
491
133
361
103

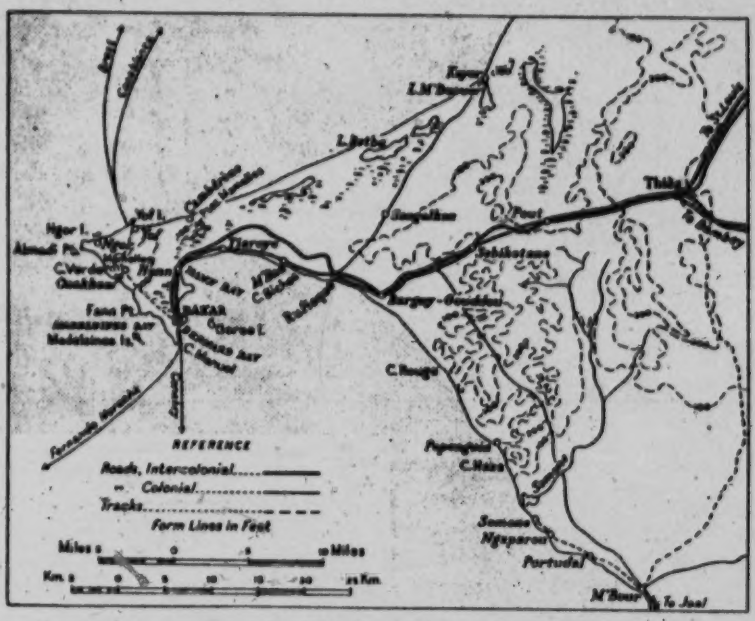


FIG. 48. *The Cape Verde Peninsula*

133
[361] seaside resort for the inhabitants of Dakar. There is also a botanical
[369] garden. The intercolonial road and the railway run near the sea and
[491] are never far from it until they pass Bargny-Gouddou. North-east of
[496] Hann there is a narrow lagoon between the sea and the road, and the coast bears away north-east, east, and east-south-east for the 11 miles to Rufisque (p. 449). There is much marshland, and the sole feature
[36] of note is Cape Biches, a low promontory 2 miles before the town. Bargny-Gouddou is 3 miles east-south-east of Rufisque, and beyond it the coast is cut up by creeks and lagoons, which have small seasonal rivers running into them. Behind them are scattered sandhills which rise eastwards to hills of 200 and 300 feet. Cape Rouge, which barely projects into the sea, has red cliffs intersected by wooded ravines.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

Cape Rouge to Sangomar Point

The hills are near the shore at least as far as the Somone, but the shoreline is fringed with sandy beaches and occasional mangrove swamps. Popenguin, 6 miles from Cape Rouge, has a Roman Catholic church, and, 1½ miles farther, Cape Naze rises to 236 feet. Inland there is a hill of 400 feet. Three miles beyond the cape the river Somone finds its way to the sea through a patch of mangrove-woodland. The coast runs south-eastwards by means of a series of small bays, and the country is more settled and cultivated. A number of sandspits can also be distinguished. These have been built by the prevailing current, and they have either blocked or diverted the short streams and marigots. From the village of Somone, which is a little distance from the river of that name, there is a minor road to Ngaparou, Portudal, and M'Bour (p. 450). Portudal's great days are over, but ships can still anchor about 3½ miles off shore in a depth of 5½ fathoms. There is a reef to seaward of the beach, but west of the village a break allows access to a creek, where landing is possible. There are many other reefs and shoals off this part of the coast. Inland, the road is continued near the shore to Joal, but in many places its surface is very rough indeed. Two miles beyond M'Bour the Balling, a seasonal river, meets the sea, and, 3 miles farther still, is Nianing, a local centre for tracks. From here the coast runs almost due south to Sarène point, a low and sandy promontory. After this the road goes inland a little to avoid a shallow bight, heavily fringed with mangroves and crossed by several marshy streams. South of this, and 1 mile north of Senti point, is the village of Ngazobil, conspicuous by reason of its Roman Catholic church. Joal (p. 450) is 2½ miles farther south-east. From this place onwards the coast is extremely swampy and is cut up by creeks and estuaries. Only the principal features can be noted here.

133 361 [368] [491] [491] [491] [368]

Eleven and a half miles beyond Joal stands the little village of Diakhanor. This marks the northern end of a strip of land which is strongly reminiscent of the Langue de Barbarie. It has been built by the Saloum and the sea, and it separates them for about 10 miles. An old mouth of the river is clearly observable 6 miles south of Diakhanor, and the end of the strip is called Sangomar point.

Sangomar Point to the Frontier of the Gambia

The Saloum is navigable upstream for sea-going vessels for about 100 miles, and on its banks and those of its tributary the Sine

[505] [487]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[p 402]
102
103
133
491
361

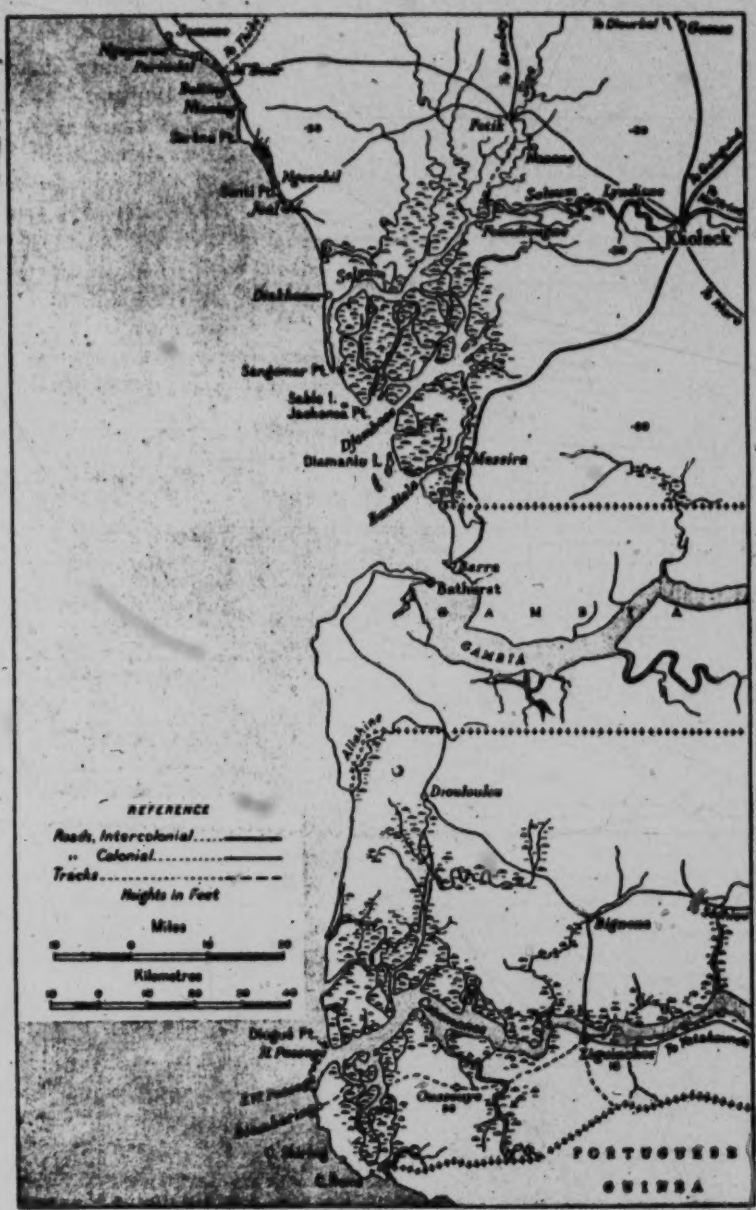


FIG. 49. *Senegal: the Coast from Ngaparou to Cape Roxo*

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

are the ports of Foundiougne (p. 451), Lyndiane, Kaolack (p. 452), and Fatik (p. 451). Its entrance is obstructed by a bar of shifting sandbanks. The principal channel, the New Passage, is immediately east of Sangomar point and has a width of 650 feet and a depth of 11½ feet. Inside the bar the river is rather deeper. Four miles south-south-east of Sangomar point is Sable island, 2¾ miles east of which is Jackonsa point. This marks the west side of the imposing estuary of the Djomboss, which is a distributary of the Saloum, but which is also connected to the Bandiala and the Gambia. Southwards there are many shoals and several islands, and navigation is difficult. The largest of these islands is 3 miles long and its northern tip is 7 miles from Jackonsa point. Its southern tip is almost opposite another wide estuary, the Bandiala, the source or terminus of a score of muddy creeks. Four miles south-east of this estuary is the frontier of the Gambia. The next 40 miles of coast are, therefore, in British territory.

Allahine River to Cape Roxo

It has already been noticed that the Allahine (San Pedro) river forms the international frontier between the Gambia and Senegal. The mouth of this river is blocked by sandbanks, so that it connects with the sea only at high tide. For the next 18 miles the coast is flat and treeless, with white sandy beaches on which the sea breaks heavily. There are no landing-points, and off-shore depths are very shallow. After that there are some minor waterways, and, 33 miles from the Allahine, Diogué point marks the northern shore of the estuary of the Casamance. This river, 2 miles wide at its mouth, is navigable as far as Ziguinchor (p. 453) for vessels drawing 15 feet, and as far as Sedhiou (p. 454) and Kolda for smaller craft; but the last 35 miles of its course are through mangrove swamps. The entrance to the estuary is partly blocked by a bar, but there are two places where this may be crossed. One of these, the North Passage, is off Diogué point and has a depth of 13½ feet, and the other, the South-West Passage, is 1½ feet deeper. The coast that faces this passage has a low sandy beach backed by dunes, and the village of Diembering, 8 miles south-south-west of Diogué point, is behind these dunes. The coast curves gradually south-eastwards, still exhibiting the same features but with a number of shallow bays, and between Cape Skiring and Cape Roxo there are many rocks off shore. The latter cape is also low and sandy, and it marks the international frontier with Portuguese Guinea.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

132 hand, in September at Ziguinchor, for example, the midday mean rises as high as 48 miles, although at that time of year interference from cloud is greatest. Whatever the season, conditions are better at midday and in the evening than in the morning.

Temporary deterioration is caused by sand storms, fog, bush fires, and rain. The first occur during December and January over dunes such as those in Fouta and Ferlo. In them visibility may drop to less than 100 yards and the ensuing haze persists for several days over large areas. Fog is common before and after the rains and is to be expected over the southern estuaries at any time of the year when winds are light. It rarely extends above 500 feet or lasts after 9.00 a.m. Between February and April there is local interference from the smoke of bush fires, which rises 2,000 or 3,000 feet. In the wet season heavy rain naturally causes temporary deterioration. At this season also low cloud often blots out the tops of the spurs of Fouta Jalon.

Swell and Surf

133 Details of swell at Dakar are given in Appendix II, and they may be taken as typical of conditions along the whole of the coast of the colony. On beaches farther north there is slightly more north-westerly swell and on those to the south rather more from the south-west. Heavy seas are rare.

Surf, on the other hand, is everywhere heavy. On exposed beaches south of Cape Verde, for instance, rollers sometimes curl in 30 feet of water and break in a depth of 10 feet. Surf is especially dangerous at the mouths of estuaries when a strong ebb-tide is running.

Meteorological Services

654 Dakar is the chief meteorological station in French West Africa, and St. Louis, Tambacounda, and Ziguinchor are also fully equipped for recording both surface and upper air conditions. Their reports [207] are included in the synoptic broadcasts from Dakar, which cover the whole of the west coast. Secondary stations are at Bambey, Kaolack, Linguéré, Podor, and Thiès, whose reports are also included. Twenty-six other places record rainfall.

5. VEGETATION

137 Most of the colony falls within two of the main vegetation zones. To the north there is the thornland, while to the south the zone of grass-woodland has two subzones, the Sudan and the Guinea, and

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

133

110. *Almadi point*

137

111. *A baobab tree*

[facing p. 416]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

133
361

112. *Goree*

[facing p. 417]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

133
361

114. *St. Louis*

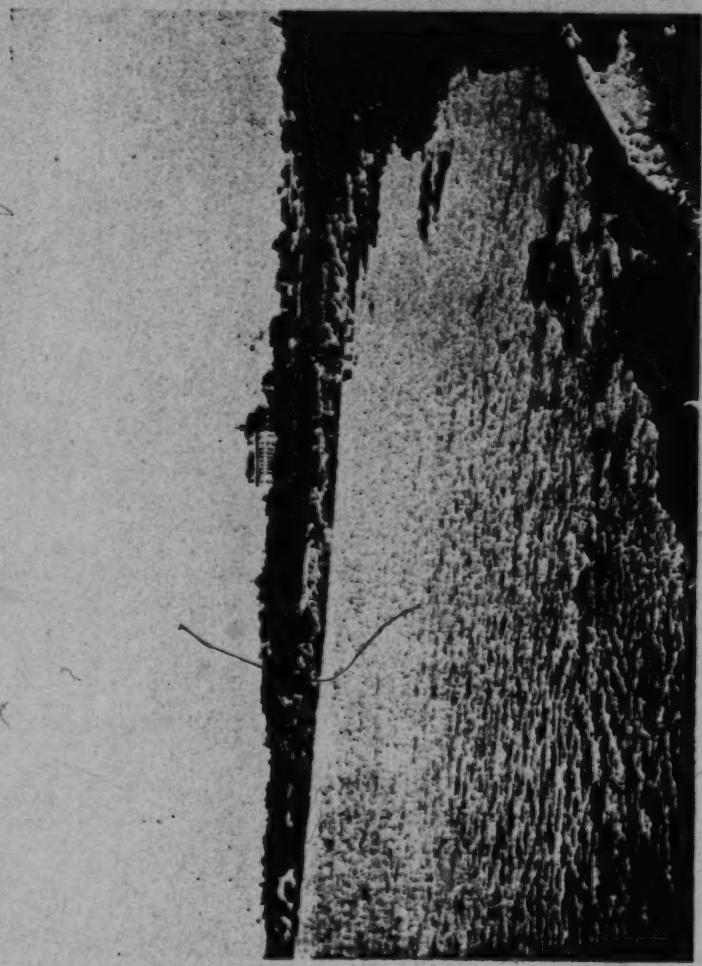
501
504

115. *St. Louis: the North Quay*

[facing p. 433]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 39

133



116. *Dakar: Bernard bay*

[facing p. 434]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

36
102
491
504
712
133

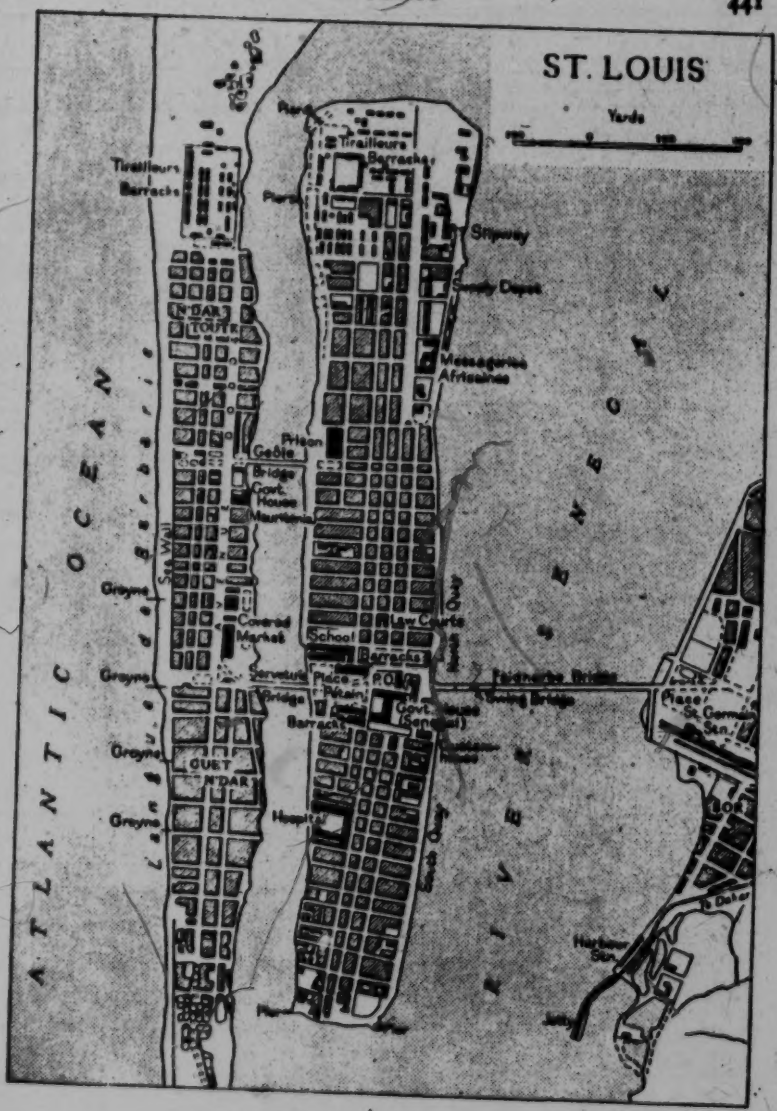


FIG. 53. *St. Louis*

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
St. Louis

30 yards. Immediately east of it is the Place St. Germain, on the south-west side of which stands the main railway station. 361

The western side of the Langue de Barbarie has been reinforced by groynes and a sea-wall.

The town as a whole is well planned, and it has many shops and offices.

Trade

The chief exports are oil-seeds and skins. Imports are mainly manufactured goods. In 1937 the former weighed 30,400 tons and were valued at 31,600,000 francs (£253,990), and the latter weighed 8,300 tons and were valued at 11,900,000 francs (£95,640). 439

Description of Port

Anchorages. Outside the bar at the river mouth there is anchorage in 9–11 fathoms. Inside it there is again a depth of 11 fathoms, which gradually decreases until it is 5 fathoms just below Faidherbe Bridge. 504 [133]

Quays. The principal quays are on the east side of the island. North Quay (Plate 115), above Faidherbe Bridge, is 1,050 feet long, and South Quay, below it, is 1,770 feet long with an alongside depth of 12 fathoms. At the harbour station in Sor there is a jetty 600 feet long with a wharf at its head. There are four small piers on the island, whose positions are shown in Fig. 53.

Equipment. There is a steam crane some 600 yards above the North Quay and a slipway a little higher still. Minor repairs can be effected, but facilities are generally poor.

Fuel. A small stock of coal is kept, but no oil.

Communications

Rail. There are three railway stations (p. 467) in Sor, and the main station is the terminus of the line to Dakar (Route 1). 498

Road. The intercolonial road to Thiès (124 miles) and Dakar (168 miles) starts from the Place St. Germain and then turns south when clear of the goods station. At this point the Imperial road branches off north-east to Rosso (66 miles) and ultimately to Tindouf (1,315 miles). There is a bus service twice a week to and from Matam and Nayes. 491 494

Air. The airfield is 3¼ miles north-east of Place St. Germain. Its surface is hard clay and it has one hangar. In normal times there is a weekly Air France service to Dakar. 508 509

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[p 445]

36
509
764
206
502
102
743
712
498
133

FIG. 54. Dakar

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

	Francs
Federal administration (salaries)	10,206,400
Federal administration (other expenses)	1,656,000
Financial department (salaries)	1,447,000
Financial department (other expenses)	370,000
Posts, telegraphs, &c. (salaries and wages)	6,631,000
Posts, telegraphs, &c. (plant and materials)	3,492,000
Public works	6,782,000
Social and economic departments (salaries)	8,868,000
Social and economic departments (other expenditure)	10,850,000
Sundry disbursements	2,726,000
Secret funds	12,600
Unforeseen expenses	25,000
Water department (salaries)	748,000
Water department (other expenditure)	5,545,500
TOTAL	60,033,000

652
633

In 1937, however, Extraordinary Expenditure amounted to 8,445,000 francs (£67,875).

The budget for the Port of Dakar has already been given on p. 447.

14. COMMUNICATIONS

WATERWAYS

THE navigable rivers and estuaries of the colony have been fully described in Volume I, pp. 366–7. The principal distances from St. Louis up the Senegal river are as follows:

133
361

	Miles
St. Louis	0
Rosso	82
Dagana	116
Podor	177
Boghé (Mauritania)	247
Kaédi (Mauritania)	341
Matam	400
Bakel	519
Ambidedi (French Sudan)	574
Kayes (French Sudan)	[illegible]

RAILWAYS

496

There are 648 miles (1,043 km.) of railway in the colony, all of metre gauge. For purposes of description six lines may be distinguished.

1. Dakar–St. Louis (163 miles).
2. Louga–Linguéré (81 miles).

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS37

496
133

123. *Railway bridge across the Falémé at Kidira*

498
496

124. *Diourbel: the railway station*

[facing p 464]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Itineraries

Route 1

DAKAR-ST. LOUIS

496
498
133

Distance from Dakar Km.	Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
0	0	..	DAKAR	The main passenger station is by the Bassin Ouest. Immediately north-west are workshops and a goods station. Numerous tracks run along the sides of the basins, and, ¾ mile from the station, there is a branch that connects to the quarries, 3 miles to the west.
4	2½	..	..	At 2½ miles a track turns south-east to the goods station by the oil-fuel depot. At first the main line runs north, but it gradually bends east in conformity with the shape of Hann bay. It is close to the sea across the marigot of Hann, but turns a little inland to reach Tiaroye station. This is 1½ miles from its village. The line continues inland, avoiding plantations of palm trees, and follows a somewhat winding course to Rufisque. The station is on the north side of the town, about ½ mile from the sea. The line keeps parallel to the shore as far as the village of Bargny-Gouddou. Here it swings north-east through wooded undulating country to the brushwood Forest of Thiès. This is on the top and face of a scarp, and the railway makes use of a narrow valley to reach
13	8	33	TIAROYE	
20	12½	..	M'BAO (halt)	
27	17	33	RUFISQUE	
32	20	..	..	
46	28½	82	SEBIKOTANE	
55	34	66	POUT	

496
133

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 317

496
133

Distance from Dakar Km.	Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
70	43½	207	THIÈS	the important junction of Thiès, the highest station of this part of the railway. There are sidings and workshops. The line to Koulikoro continues to the east, but that to St. Louis turns north-east, running parallel with and about 20 miles from the coast. It traverses a sandy and inhospitable region, which is, nevertheless, important for ground-nuts. The line runs in long straight stretches and is never far from the road.
92	57	164	TIVAOUANE	
104	64½	131	PIRÉ-GOUREYE	
120	74½	132	MEKHÉ	
130	81	125	KELLÉ	
142	88	130	N'DANDÉ	
155	96	133	KÉBÉMER	
171	106	131	GOUMBO GUBOUL	
192	119	128	LOUGA	At Louga there is a junction with the branch that goes south-east to Linguéré. The main line adopts a more winding course across a thinly vegetated area, descending gently. At M'Pal it turns west over sandy country to reach the coastal marshlands at Leybar. The Leybar marsh itself is crossed by a bridge of 4 spans, respectively of 89 feet, 108 feet, 89 feet, and 108 feet. The line terminates at Sor (Fig. 53), where there are three stations: goods, main, and harbour. The last named is on a branch track, which runs on to the principal jetty. There is no railway bridge across the Senegal.
217	135	66	SAKAL	
230	143	33	M'PAL	
244	151½	16	RAO	
257	159½	..	LEYBAR (halt)	
258	160	..	..	
262	163	7	ST. LOUIS	

[498]

[498]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

Route 2

LOUGA-LINGUÉRÉ

496
133

Distance from Louga Km.	Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
0	0	138	LOUGA	The line branches south-east away from the main line from Dakar to St. Louis. It then turns east to maintain a generally eastwards direction. The country varies little in height and is devoid of features of interest. The line is rarely more than a hundred yards from the road. In its last stages it makes use of a ouadi commonly called the Ferlo Valley.
22	13	151	OUARRÁC	
30	18½	157	COKI	
43	27	164	TIAMEN	
57	35½	190	N'DIAO	
68	42	180	BOUTIÉROBÉ	
84	52	131	NIANDOUL	
92	57	98	DAHRA	
104	65	138	SOMME	
116	72	118	OUARKHOR	
131	81	33	LINGUÉRÉ	Linguéré itself is a road junction of considerable local importance.

[491]

Route 3

THIÈS-KIDIRA

Distance from Dakar Km.	Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
70	43½	207	THIÈS	Leaving the route for St. Louis, this line bears south-east and then east to descend to Kombole, passing through densely populated areas. From Kombole it runs almost due east-south-east all the way to Diourbel. It crosses a number of minor valleys. At Diourbel is the junction with the branch to Touba. The main line turns sharply south-east through country covered with brushwood and clumps of trees.
85	53	112	THIENABA (halt)	
96	60	36	KOMBOLE	
110	68	52	DANGALMA (halt)	
124	77	66	BAMBEY	
139	86	72	DIABAYE LAGNAR (halt)	
151	94	39	DIOURBEL	
165	102½	81	TOKI (halt)	
178	110½	82	GOSSAS	
197	122	66	GANIEK (halt)	

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

496
133

Distance from Dakar Km.	Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
206	128	65	GUINGUINÉ	The branch line from Kaolack leaves Guinguiné in the same direction as the main line approaches it. The latter curves gently to assume an easterly course. The Saloum, now shrunk to a tiny seasonal stream, is crossed by a culvert shortly after Birkelane. As far as Malème, 4 miles beyond Malème-Hodar station, the line is accompanied by the road, but subsequently runs to its north. The railway comes somewhat south of its most direct route, partly to skirt the arid Ferlo region and partly to divert trade from the Gambia. Most of the villages in this section are the result of the railway. After Sinthiou-Malème the line makes use of the upper part of the valley of the Sandougou, and so reaches Tambacounda, the route's southernmost point in Senegal.
231	143½	33	BIRKELANE	
233	145	..	..	
252	156½	39	KAFFRINE	
280	174	131.	MALÈME-HODAR	
310	193	148	MAKA YOP	
333·5	207	98	KOUNGHEUL	
361	224	79	KOUPENTOUN	
389	242	130	MALÈME-NIANI	
413	257	66	KOUSSANAR	
433	269	39	SINTHIOU-MALÈME	
459	285	148	TAMBACOUNDA	
486	302	72	COTIARI NAOUDÉ	Bearing north-eastwards, the line runs across a marshy but fertile plain, and, beyond Bala, across undulating country. Between Couténabé and Sinthiou Fissa it rises to its highest point, the watershed between the Gambia and the Senegal basins. As far as Couténabé the line keeps in close company with the road, but from this point onwards the two are apart, the road running to Nayes and the railway
521	324	164	BALA	
550	342	223	BOUIGHEUL BAMBA	
573	356	180	GOUDIRI	
592	368	230	COUTÉNABÉ	
607	377	331	..	
620	385	213	SINTHIOU FISSA	

[491]

[361]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

496
133

Distance from Dakar Km.	Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
638	396	98	KIDIRA	to Kidira. The latter is on the Falémé, which is the border of French Sudan, and it is 59½ miles from Kayes and 405 miles from Koulikoro.

Route 4

DIOURBEL–TOUBA

Distance from Diourbel Km.	Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
0	0	39	DIOURBEL	Leaving the main line a little over a mile from Diourbel station, this branch line bears north-east. It maintains this general direction throughout its course, having only gentle curves and gradients. The country on either side of the line is extensively cultivated for groundnuts.
16·5	10	34	DOULO	
29	18	102	DALA	
39	24	161	MBAKÉ	
50	31	167	TOUBA	

Route 5

GUINGUINÉ–KAOLACK

Distance from Guinguiné Km.	Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
0	0	65	GUINGUINÉ	Coming out of Guinguiné by the north-west, the line curves very abruptly to run south-west. It is alongside the road all the way. At Kaolack the main station is almost on the bank of the Saloum, but just before it there is a junction with the line to Lyndiane.
22	14	12	KAOLACK	

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Route 6

KAOLACK–LYNDIANE

496
133

Distance from Kaolack Km.	Miles	*Elevation in feet*	*Stations*	*Itinerary*
0	0	..	KAOLACK	After leaving the main line, this railway runs through its own station. It turns north-west and then west-north-west to follow the road. Five miles from the town it curves south-west to reach the landing-stage at Lyndiane.
10·5	6½	..	LYNDIANE	

ROADS

There are 984 miles (1,584 km.) of intercolonial roads, 66 miles (106 km.) of an Imperial road, and some 2,000 miles (3,300 km.) of colonial roads. The impression that these figures give, however, needs two qualifications. Firstly, there are considerable areas of the colony without roads, and, secondly, many of the roads are by no means up to the standard of their class.

491

Intercolonial

Intercolonial roads exist as follows: Dakar–St. Louis, Thiès–Nayes, Tambacounda–border of French Guinea, and Kaolack–frontier of the Gambia.

Itineraries. The road from Dakar to St. Louis follows much the same route as the railway. It goes along the coast to Rufisque (15 miles) and then turns inland to Thiès (44 miles). Running roughly parallel to the Atlantic coast, it goes through Tivaouane (57 miles) and Louga (121 miles) to M'Pal (144 miles). It then turns towards the sea to reach St. Louis (168 miles). This road is one of the best in the Federation. Between Dakar and Thiès the surface is tarmac and between Thiès and St. Louis it is firm laterite. A lorry takes about 11 hours to cover the whole distance.

The second road also follows the railway, except between Gossas and Kaffrine. Leaving Thiès by the east, it makes a huge curve through Diourbel (64 miles) and Gossas (80 miles) to Kaolack (107 miles). After that it follows a generally easterly direction by way

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

491 of Kaffrine (144 miles) and Koungheul (204 miles) to Tambacounda (295 miles), an important road junction. From there it turns east-north-east to Bala (338 miles) and Nayes (416 miles). The latter is on the Falémé, which forms the boundary with French Sudan, and 55 miles from Kayes. This road is part of the great highway that connects Dakar with Zinder, but its surface varies from indifferent to bad. The section east of Thiès, for example, is sandy with deep ruts; from Kaolack to Kaffrine sand makes the going heavy and slow; and from Tambacounda to Nayes there are numerous marshes. Many stretches east of Kaolack are impracticable in the wet season.

The third road strikes south from Tambacounda, crosses the Gambia river at Diabougou (25 miles), and reaches the border of French Guinea at 108 miles, 180 miles from Labé. The Gambia is crossed by a temporary bridge, which has been built to replace the ferry that was sunk in April 1941. The surface of this road is fair, being metalled with large pieces of laterite.

The road south-west from Kaolack goes to Messira (49 miles), and then turns south to cross the frontier of the Gambia at 57 miles. From this point a road leads to Barra, 10 miles away, from where there is a ferry to Bathurst.

Imperial

The Imperial road leaves St. Louis by its suburb of Sor and goes north-east through Ross (34 miles). The Senegal river, the boundary of Mauritania, is crossed again at Rosso (66 miles), 38 miles south-west of Mederdra. There is a moderately good laterite surface across [133] level sandy country.

Colonial

There is a long road that provides a connexion along the left bank of the Senegal from near St. Louis to Nayes. Fifty-eight miles from the former town it leaves the Imperial road. From that point it goes to Richard Toll (13 miles), Dagana (28 miles), and Podor (77 miles). After that it does not go through any large town for many miles; but at 127 miles there is a turn for Boghé (Mauritania), 4 miles distant, at 182 miles a turn for Diorbivol, 5 miles distant, and at 186 miles a turn for Kaédi (Mauritania), 16 miles distant. The road then proceeds to Matam (235 miles), an important route centre, and Bakel (328 miles), crosses the railway at Kidira (360 miles), and joins the intercolonial road at Nayes (365 miles). Almost the whole length of this road is liable to flooding.

/92/

I. General Information

131 634 a) Geographical survey. The circle /cercle, an administrative district/ of Sine-Saloum is a vast region of 26,000 square kilometers in area. It is one of the most important parts of the colony of Senegal. It is a heavily populated region. Finally, it has an economic value greater than that of the other territories which, together with it, constitute the Government of Senegal in French West Africa.

Bounded on the west by the Atlantic Ocean, it touches on the upper basin of the Gambia to the east and therefore on the very borders of the western Sudan, from which it is separated only by the circle of Tambacounda.

To the north, it reaches the desert of the Ferlo and the Djoloff region.

Along the entire southern part, its frontier runs along the territory of the British colony of Gambia, following precisely the parallel 13° 35' 36", conforming to the delimitation of the International Commission of 1891.

Such are its geographic limits.

133 A great navigable route crosses it from east to west, ending at the ocean; this is the Saloum River, which today is no more than a long maritime channel, narrow in its upper part, which the mud ruins by obstructing it, and ending in a vast estuary with a thousand /93/ ramifications, bordered by banks of sand and providing passage for ocean-going vessels at the place called Pointe de Sangomar, where there is a very narrow and not very deep passage. At low tide, in fact, the depths there are only three and a half to four meters. Under the influence of the trade winds and the tide race, the bar is subject to displacements which the hydrographic [502] service rectifies by a series of buoys which is continued even [361] beyond the estuary and up to Kaolack, a port about 100 kilometers from the coast.

[505] In this sea arm of the Saloum, the tide makes its effects felt almost to Birkelane, 130 kilometers from the ocean. The

/93 cont./

133 channel, however, is accessible to ocean-going vessels of
505 4,000 to 6,000 tons (1) only as far as Kaolack, whose im-

1. This is about the tonnage of the vessels of the Compagnie Paquet, of the House of Manrel and Prom, and of the foreign vessels which visit the port of Kaolack.

[439]

portance with respect to navigation we shall discuss below.

The Saloum extends into the interior of the land a series of arms which are so many channels or "marigots" /watercourses/ open to cutters and to the native dugouts.

One of the most important is the Sine, which starts at Foundiougne and runs, after many meanders, to the port of Fatick, coming out from the Sérère /Serer/ region, which, however, only cutters of 40 tons can reach.

Nevertheless, the Sine allows steamers of considerable tonnage to tie up at the wharves of Niamnioroh, a small locality which over the past several years has become the gateway to the regions of Sine and western Baol.

133 The appearance of the part neighboring the ocean up to Bathurst is one of a vast fluvial network encompassing islets of low, clayey or sandy land, bordered by huge mangrove trees; this is the region called Bas-Saloum /Lower Saloum/, a fertile area of the same nature as Basse-Casamance /Lower Casamance/, a region of palm trees and of quite dense forests, where unfortunately the clearing of land has begun its devastating work.

From the orographic viewpoint, the region of Sine-Saloum /94/ is a flat region with very slight undulations of the terrain.

Broad longitudinal valleys in a north-south direction descend from the clayey and semi-desert plateaus of the Ferlo and end at the Gambia.

During the rainy season, these depressions in the vicinity of this river form copious streams which dry up rapidly.

/94 cont./

133 On the right bank of the Saloum, these valleys form a more or less continuous string of ponds during the winter.

One of these valleys bears the name of Bao-Bolon; it is several kilometers wide and is the outlet of the region of Birkelane-Kaffrine. The natives report that 50 years ago [505] cutters from Gambia were able to go up this affluent as far as a passage between Nioro-Rip and Médina, about 20 kilometers to the north upstream from the river.

133 In the lower valley of the Saloum, along the marigots, 134 one finds the "tannes," marshy depressions covered with water during the winter, but where, during the dry season, the mud is covered with a layer of sand, which, with saline efflorescences, hardens to the point of constituting a rather firm soil. Here one finds a composite of lime and salt; this is the "poto-poto," feared by travelers, motorists, and pedestrians, who can very easily be swallowed up by it. Between Sangomar and the Gambia, the marine affluents of the Diomboss and the Bandiala and the marigots of Dionouar, Toubacouta, Sokone, Messira, and Djinnack are disclosed.

The upper valley of the Saloum, oriented from east to west, presents less sandy soil with outcrops of laterite. Some undulations of the terrain are more pronounced toward the west, in the region of Pakalla Mandack and Niani-Ouli, where the ravines are at times very deep. The plain and the bottom of [137] the depressions are wooded or covered with a very flourishing vegetation.

The northern part of the circle, which is traversed by the valley of the Sine, is made up of sandy soil, very propitious for the cultivation of groundnuts. This valley, 133 formerly watered by streams, has been entirely overrun by the /95/ sea. This drying up of the region is moreover characteristic of almost all of Senegal. One sees it there in the diminution of the volume of certain rivers, a diminution that sometimes, as in the Cayor, Ferlo, Baol, Sine, and Saloum, extends to the total disappearance of the water.

Moreover, one notes that, as a result of the evaporation of the waters of the Saloum, the salt content of these waters is greater than that of the ocean.

/100 cont./

SR 105 [643] master. The order of succession to the throne was governed by immutable rules. The Grand Diaraff chose the Bour, while being bound to take him from the princely caste of the Guelwars and from the maternal line. The title of Queen, or Linguère, was borne, not by the wife of the Bour, but by his mother.

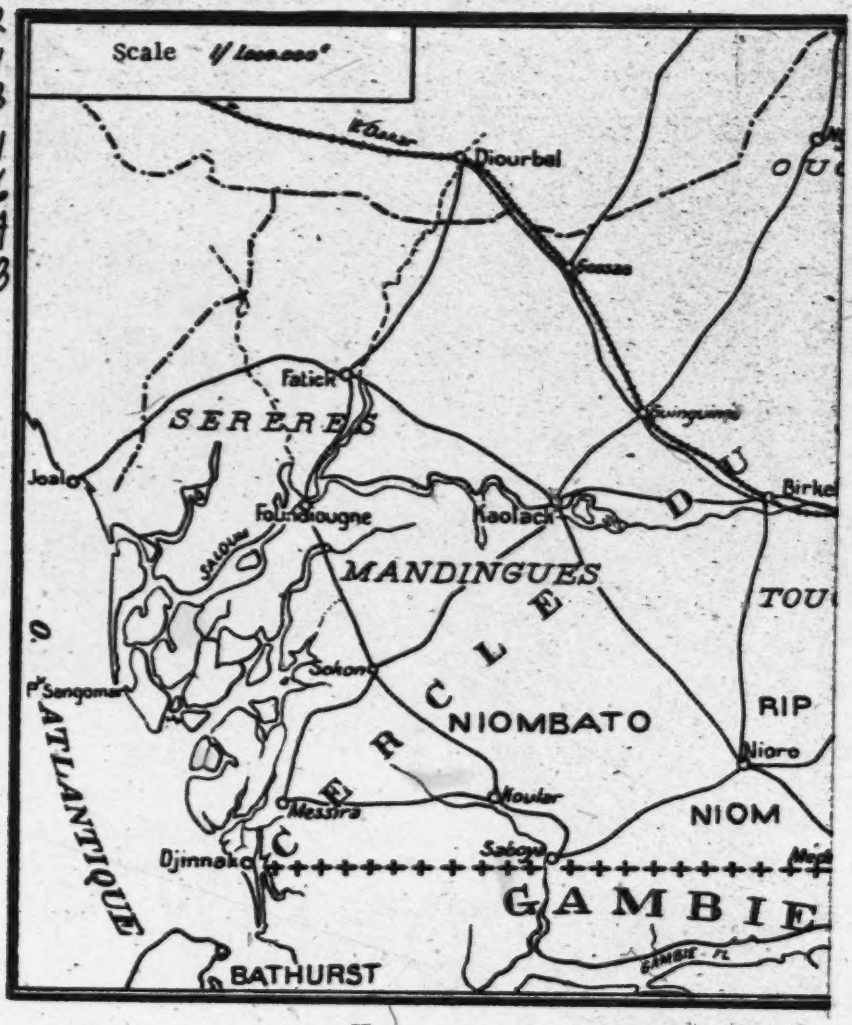
S 132 Climate. Soil. The climate of Sine-Saloum is very hot and dry. It is painful for the European. The thermometer never drops below 12° centigrade at night. During the day it sometimes climbs up to 45° and even 48°. The thermic average is from 28° to 30°. Two seasons sharply contrast: the dry season, which lasts from November to June and during which the east wind, searing and drying, blows; the rainy season or winter, which runs from June to November, an unhealthy period when swamp fever prevails. The atmospheric precipitation is plentiful. It drops on the average one to 1.20 meters of water. This is very little compared to the figures for Lower Guinea (four to five meters); it is less than in Casamance where the annual rainfall is two meters. But the rate of rainfall here is higher than in all the rest of Senegal. At Dakar and Saint-Louis, for example, from 0.45 to 0.55 meters of water falls.

S ● 133 312 [134] The soil is generally permeable. In certain places drinking water is reached at a shallow depth. By contrast, in other places it is necessary to dig very deep wells. At Fatick, the surface layer of fresh water is at two and a half or three meters. At Kaolack, it is necessary to go more than ten meters, although in some years water has been found at six meters. At Gossas, a deprived area, it has been necessary to dig as far as 90 meters; at Guinguinéo, /map appears here/ /101/ wells are 60 meters deep. It is fitting to mention, as a curious fact, the presence of fresh water on the edge of the marigots of salt water. For example, at Dangana (Sine), the well of the encampment, which is dug one meter from the edge of the river bank and to a depth of 1.5 meters, contains potable water which the inhabitants use.

S 134 The soil is not very rich in humus. It is sandy in the north and silico-argillaceous in the other areas, but very nearly

/Between 100 and 101/

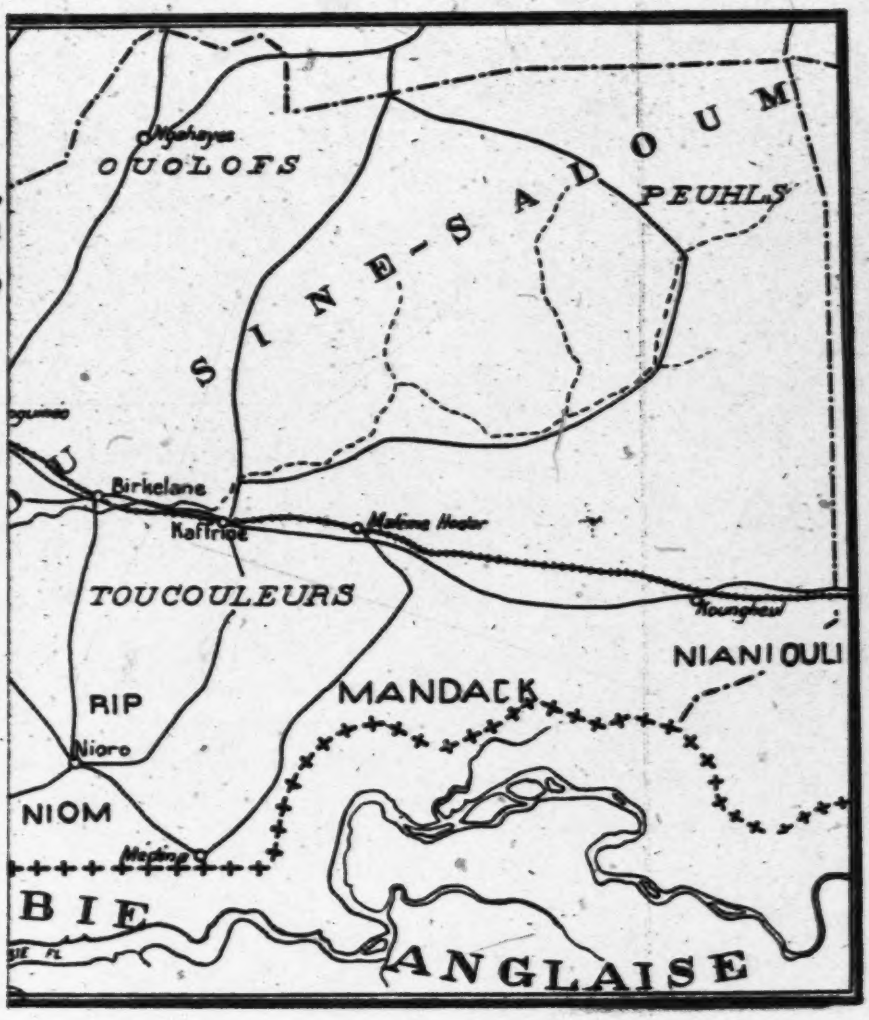
102
131
133
491
496
634
563



Circle of Sine Saloum

/left side of map/

102
131
133
491
496
634
563



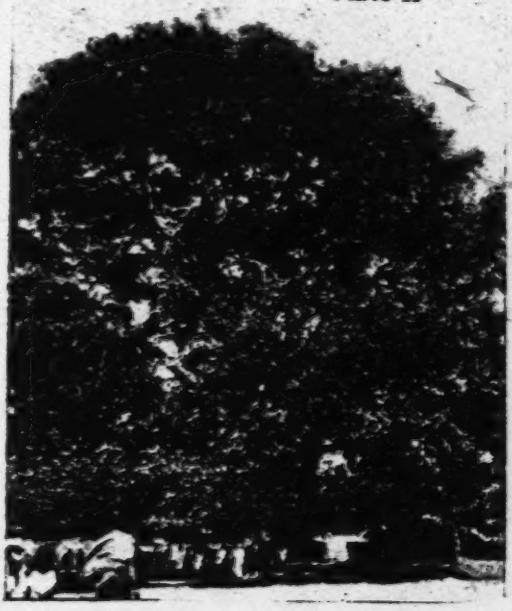
Circle of Sine Saloum

/right side of map/

23: Aujas--32 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37

137

Plate II



A Gambian mahogany tree on the Latmingué road.

133

The mouth of the Saloum at Dionouar.

/5 cont./

177 early as 1560 Alvarez de Almada speaks of the abundant harvests of mantiga eaten fresh by the Mandingue /Mandingo/.
244 In 1840 a Paris chemist, Rousseau, discovered the wealth of oil in the groundnut. In 1841 the brig "Zénith" transported 70 metric tons of nuts to Rouen. Protêt and Faidherbe encouraged this crop, which, in the framework of the colonial economic system, progressed rapidly from the coast toward the interior, thanks to the possibilities of the natural environment.

132 From the Senegal River in the north to the Casamance in the south, the climate of the country changes by successive transitions from Sahelian characteristics to Sudanese aspects. A long dry season of nine months in the north, shorter in the south, from October or December to May-June, contrasts with a "winter season" of three to five months, depending on the region. The frequency and the importance of the precipitations increase from north to south. They go from 350 millimeters in the region of Louga to 1,200 millimeters in that of Ziguinchor. Whereas the coast is moistened by the humid trade wind, the Ferlo to the east is like a desert. These conditions are nearly /6/ ideal for a
244 plant whose vegetative cycle is short -- about 120 days -- and which germinates easily in a slightly moistened soil, develops under heavy rains, and bears fruit best during the dry days that follow.

134 The soil conditions also seem to be wholly favorable.
244 The plant is not very demanding with respect to fertility; essentially it requires a light soil, because the fructification is underground. The silico-argillaceous soils of the center of Senegal (the dek of the Ouoloff /Wolof/) and the sandy soils of the north (the dior of the Ouoloff) suit the groundnut perfectly.

496 The expansion of the area of cultivation, from the coast
244 and the estuaries toward the interior, has been led by the railroads. The Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad, built in 1885, explains
311 the essential role of Cayor in groundnut production at the beginning of the century, since it was along the Dakar-Niger line, achieved in 1888, that the groundnut front progressed toward the east. Today this front, which in the south has broken into the

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

most striking topography. In spite of this, there are few wide horizons, for much of the surface is covered with high bush. 133 [137]

The Coastal Belt

The Cape Verde peninsula protects the south of the coast from the Canary current and there is a marked contrast between the smooth sandy shoreline to its north and the muddy estuaries to its south. From St. Louis to Dakar no rivers reach the sea. Behind the dunes which back the coast is a depression into which, baulked of their normal goal, many small seasonal streams empty themselves. This depression is marshy during and shortly after the rains, and at certain places shallow lakes persist. A wider and more permanent area of swamps lies east of St. Louis. It is formed by distributaries of the Senegal and replenished each year by its flood. Lake Guiers is a large perennial sheet of water at the eastern edge of this marshland.

The Interior Plain

North and east of the railways and south and west of the great curve of the Senegal there is a broad Tertiary plain. This is, in effect, a southward extension of the Sahara, and, like that of Mauritania, its surface is formed of low fixed dunes and shallow clay depressions. The general direction of these features is north-east and south-west. Immediately west of Thiès is a prominent line of hills running north and south. It is formed by an outcrop of Lower Eocene strata dipping eastward, and it is covered by the Forest of Thiès. For most of the year the rather friable top soil is dry, but the depressions become bands of swamp for a few months. Across this general alinement of relief two major valleys run from east to west. One is that of the Ferlo, which flows into Lake Guiers, and the other is that of the Nielloumolé and the Maouré, which are the upper sections of the Sine. The general pattern is edged by the flood plain of the Senegal and its subsidiary channels. The longest of these latter breaks off just below Diorbivol and does not rejoin the main stream until below Podor. It encloses the Île à Morfil, which averages 8 miles wide and is over 300 miles long. Most of the plain is covered with thornland or poor grass-woodland, but much of the land in the extreme south-west is highly cultivated. [137] [134] [137] [311]

The South

In the Casamance Territory relief is slightly more varied. The valleys are flat and annually flooded, but the country between rises

/94 cont./

133 On the right bank of the Saloum, these valleys form a more or less continuous string of ponds during the winter.

One of these valleys bears the name of Bao-Bolon; it is several kilometers wide and is the outlet of the region of Birkelane-Kaffrine. The natives report that 50 years ago [505] cutters from Gambia were able to go up this affluent as far as a passage between Nioro-Rip and Médina, about 20 kilometers to the north upstream from the river.

133 In the lower valley of the Saloum, along the marigots, 134 one finds the "tannes," marshy depressions covered with water during the winter, but where, during the dry season, the mud is covered with a layer of sand, which, with saline efflorescences, hardens to the point of constituting a rather firm soil. Here one finds a composite of lime and salt; this is the "poto-poto," feared by travelers, motorists, and pedestrians, who can very easily be swallowed up by it. Between Sangomar and the Gambia, the marine affluents of the Diomboss and the Bandiala and the marigots of Dionouar, Toubacouta, Sokone, Messira, and Djinnack are disclosed.

The upper valley of the Saloum, oriented from east to west, presents less sandy soil with outcrops of laterite. Some undulations of the terrain are more pronounced toward the west, in the region of Pakalla Mandack and Niani-Ouli, where the ravines are at times very deep. The plain and the bottom of [137] the depressions are wooded or covered with a very flourishing vegetation.

The northern part of the circle, which is traversed by the valley of the Sine, is made up of sandy soil, very propitious for the cultivation of groundnuts. This valley, 133 formerly watered by streams, has been entirely overrun by the /95/ sea. This drying up of the region is moreover characteristic of almost all of Senegal. One sees it there in the diminution of the volume of certain rivers, a diminution that sometimes, as in the Cayor, Ferlo, Baol, Sine, and Saloum, extends to the total disappearance of the water.

Moreover, one notes that, as a result of the evaporation of the waters of the Saloum, the salt content of these waters is greater than that of the ocean.

/95 cont./

134 From the geological viewpoint, the soil of Sine-Saloum is silico-argillaceous, except for the edge of the sea formed by dunes of white sand. Sand predominates in the north. Everywhere else it is mixed with red clay.

135 The subsoil covers ferruginous rock, alluvial laterite, undoubtedly coming from the decomposition of granitic rock; this is the ferruginous fossil layer, following the expression of Henri Hubert, which covers the limestone and marl of the Eocene period.

Numerous outcrops of laterite appear at Kaffrine, Koungheul, in Mandack, and in Rip.

The digging of wells tells us something about the composition of the terrain forming the subsoil in this region. Under a more or less thick layer of sand, one finds laterite, then chalk or soft limestone, and finally hard limestone.

A highly varied and fossilized marine fauna has been discovered in the soft limestone at a depth of about 35, 40, 45 meters.

173 b) Historical survey. The history of the inhabitants consists of more or less confused oral traditions. No account has been handed down in writing. We can therefore only rely on narrations, sometimes contradictory, which the natives hand down orally.

The representatives of the conquering or conquered races have their own versions. It is difficult for the European to tell which part is truth or falsehood. Our penetration into
175 this part of Senegal is /96/ recent. It happened barely 80
438 years ago. At first it was fragmentary; the region was traversed by the merchant or trader at the time of the slave trade; the latter quickly returned to his base from the Petite Côte or from Gorée, the turbulence of the tribes not permitting him to stay in the region or to settle down there. A number of business establishments were founded at the end of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth, but their existence was ephemeral and in any case precarious.
175 The internal struggles between the tribes gave the region little

/100 cont./

SR 105 [643] master. The order of succession to the throne was governed by immutable rules. The Grand Diaraff chose the Bour, while being bound to take him from the princely caste of the Guelwars and from the maternal line. The title of Queen, or Linguère, was borne, not by the wife of the Bour, but by his mother.

S 132 Climate. Soil. The climate of Sine-Saloum is very hot and dry. It is painful for the European. The thermometer never drops below 12° centigrade at night. During the day it sometimes climbs up to 45° and even 48°. The thermic average is from 28° to 30°. Two seasons sharply contrast: the dry season, which lasts from November to June and during which the east wind, searing and drying, blows; the rainy season or winter, which runs from June to November, an unhealthy period when swamp fever prevails. The atmospheric precipitation is plentiful. It drops on the average one to 1.20 meters of water. This is very little compared to the figures for Lower Guinea (four to five meters); it is less than in Casamance where the annual rainfall is two meters. But the rate of rainfall here is higher than in all the rest of Senegal. At Dakar and Saint-Louis, for example, from 0.45 to 0.55 meters of water falls.

S 133 312 [134] The soil is generally permeable. In certain places drinking water is reached at a shallow depth. By contrast, in other places it is necessary to dig very deep wells. At Fatick, the surface layer of fresh water is at two and a half or three meters. At Kaolack, it is necessary to go more than ten meters, although in some years water has been found at six meters. At Gossas, a deprived area, it has been necessary to dig as far as 90 meters; at Guinguinéo, /map appears here/ /101/ wells are 60 meters deep. It is fitting to mention, as a curious fact, the presence of fresh water on the edge of the marigots of salt water. For example, at Dangana (Sine), the well of the encampment, which is dug one meter from the edge of the river bank and to a depth of 1.5 meters, contains potable water which the inhabitants use.

S 134 The soil is not very rich in humus. It is sandy in the north and silico-argillaceous in the other areas, but very nearly

/101 cont./

134 everywhere the terrain is suitable for the cultivation of groundnuts, except in Bas-Saloum.

137 A very dense, thorny, and shrubby vegetation grows in the sandy soil. This is the region of the cades (Acacia albida). In the silico-argillaceous lands of the south and east, the vegetation is more vigorous; one still finds there at the present time interesting forest stocks, vestiges of the great forests of former times. These groves are on the way to disappearing as a result of the abuses of clearing and of the unfortunately too frequent fires. The forests of Patako, between Messira and Coular, and of Dasilamé, between Nioro and Médina, which contain many hardwoods, Gambian mahogany, vène, and hire, are to be protected.

II. Administrative Organization

634 Territorial divisions. The two large native commands of Sine and Saloum have been eliminated, and the title of Bour, which was only honorific in nature, has ceased to exist legally.

632 634 The circle is divided into three major administrative subdivisions:

1st, Subdivision of Sine, chief town Fatick;

2nd, Subdivision of Bas-Saloum, with Foundiougne as the chief town;

3rd, Subdivision of Saloum Oriental, chief town Kaolack.

An administrator is at the head of the circle, and each subdivision is commanded by an official of the corps of administrators or of the corps of civil services.

632 Divided among these three subdivisions are 19 cantons or native commands, each /102/ of which is headed by a canton chief.

The subdivision of Saloum Oriental has 11 cantons:

Kaolack-Laghem,
Kahone,
Diokoul-Gandiaye,
Gossas,
Niom-Rip,
Nioro-Rip,

23: Aujas--29 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37
SINE-SALOUM

/117/

Total Traffic for the Circle
(Kaolack, Foundiougne, Saboya)

505

Periods	Tonnage Unloaded	Tonnage Loaded	Tonnage Unloaded and Loaded
1909-1913	12,076 t.	49,189 t.	61,265 t.
1914-1918	12,333	70,767	83,100
1919-1923	17,438	99,803	17,241
1924	42,288	139,712	182,000
1925	64,668	182,277	246,945
1926	71,964	209,446	281,410
1927	71,237	200,393	271,630

433 The tonnage decreased by about 10,000 tons in 1927,
505 but this was solely due to the fact that the groundnut harvest was slightly deficient as a consequence of an overabundance of rain. On the whole, one can say that there has been constant and uninterrupted progress since the pre-war period. The announcement of this figure indicates the flourishing situation of the region of Sine-Saloum.

433 In 1927 the total value of imports and exports for the
439 circle amounted to 454 million francs, 330 million of which were for Kaolack. With what left by way of the small customs stations along the border with Gambia, one can acknowledge that the value of general commerce in 1927 was almost 500 million, or almost a third of the total commerce of the colony of Senegal, which in 1927 amounted to 1 billion 562 million.

These figures speak for themselves.

Agricultural Resources of the Region: Crops

244 The principal crop of Sine-Saloum is the groundnut.
433 This plant is cultivated everywhere, but the best lands are in Sine and north of the railroad. The lands of Bas-Saloum

[134]

/117 cont./

244 are much less suitable for this crop because of their composition which gives a certain acidity to the nuts, thus rendering
493 [134] [242] them less suitable for industrial use in /118/ the production of fine oils. There have been attempts to correct this defect and to improve the quality of Bas-Saloum by means of seed selection and by the continued addition of seed from Sine; this has not yet been successful.

Fallow lands, however, are not lacking in the other regions of the circle.

There are 230,000 hectares planted in groundnuts. This figure represents 0.85 hectares per inhabitant. This is about 1/11 of the total area of the circle.

In 1914 this crop extended over 70,000 hectares. It has thus tripled.

The production, which was 75,000 tons in 1918, is about 140,000 tons today. It has doubled in 10 years. It amounts to almost a third of the harvest of Senegal.

One can determine the production of groundnuts in the circle since 1921 by the following figures (in tons):

Years	1921	1922	1923	1924
Tons	80,000	90,000	110,000	125,000
Years	1925	1926	1927	
Tons	135,000	145,000	140,000	

[167] [242] These results are due in part to the increase in the population by the influx of foreign workers into the circle, who came to settle there or who hire themselves out, and in part to the selection of seeds and their distribution in ever increasing quantities.

[654] [441] [474] The credit for this work is to be given to the administration, the Société de Prevoyance /Welfare Society/, and the Chambre de Commerce of Kaolack, whose combined efforts have made it possible to achieve such a fine result.

/71 cont./

361 reaches the summit of the plateau.

[133] [137] The landscape which one then discovers seems more open: few trees or none at all; only a shrubby vegetation in the form of brush from which some baobab tops emerge. In the background there gradually appears the light color of the first houses of Thiès. The contrast between the green foliage of the city and the surrounding countryside, bare and yellow, blinding with light, is striking, especially in the dry season.

The aerial photograph, or better still the flight, makes this contrast appear even sharper. The city, with roughly triangular outlines and divided into large patches of geometrical squares flecked with innumerable dark spots of green foliage, stands out particularly sharply against the grey and deserted bush of the surroundings. The presence of an urban center on this almost unpopulated plateau seems strange, and one might wonder what reasons caused this not very hospitable site to be retained for the establishment of a relatively important city?

1. The History of Thiès

361 133 1. The site.

The plateau on which the escale (1) has been built

[104] [443]

1. "Escale" here means a place where caravans rested after the halt of the day's journey and where small-scale trade was carried on; by extension, a village or city-market generally located on a railway.

slopes slightly toward the east, while its western face forms a steep slope. Plateau and slope belong to geological formations of the same date as those of the Cape Verde Peninsula and consist principally of limestone from the end of the Secondary/Mesozoic/ subsequently overlaid by a ferruginous shell. It is probable that the eastern section rose up and the western one sank in the Tertiary.

135

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal M537

36 SEDHIOU (12° 42′; 15° 31′ W.). Population, 1,653. Provincial head-
[131] quarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional
[162] School.

Sedhiou is on the right bank of the Casamance, 68 miles above
[487] Ziguinchor and 110 miles from the sea, and it is only usable by vessels
[505] drawing up to 5 feet. Formerly more prosperous than it is to-day,
it has some brick buildings and shops. Many of the traders are
[439] Syrians, and there is a modest export of ground-nuts, hides, rice, and
wax.

[491] By colonial road Sedhiou is 58 miles from Bignona, 74 miles from Ziguinchor, and 62 miles from Kolda.

11. MINERALS

135 THE principal mineral exported from the colony is ilmenite, which
[439] is washed from beach sands between Rufisque and Cape Rouge, between Joal and Diakhanor, and at the mouth of the Casamance. Zircon (Vol. I, pp. 295–6) is obtained from the same sands, the ilmenite:zircon ratio being about 3:1. Other minerals of potential value are phosphates and limestone, both of which occur in Lower Eocene strata. Lenticular beds of phosphate, ranging from 30 to 65 per cent. bone phosphate of lime, are found near Matam and near Thiès. Limestones and marls are more widespread than in any other
[339] colony, and at Rufisque they have been worked experimentally for the commercial production of cement. Bitumen has been encountered at Dakar in borings for water, but investigations have shown that the
[315] geological structure is unsuited to the accumulation of petroleum.

12. AGRICULTURE

241 THE Gambia divides the millet from the manioc zone, but ground-nuts are the chief crop of both. Sisal-growing is an important, though more recent, industry. South of the Gambia the Casamance Territory provides a rich area for fruit and subsistence crops as well as for ground-nuts.

[439] There is far more production for export than in any other colony.

Food Crops

243 *Millets.* Millets form the staple diet of the majority of the native
262 population and are grown all over that part of the colony north of the

/95 cont./

134 From the geological viewpoint, the soil of Sine-Saloum is silico-argillaceous, except for the edge of the sea formed by dunes of white sand. Sand predominates in the north. Everywhere else it is mixed with red clay.

135 The subsoil covers ferruginous rock, alluvial laterite, undoubtedly coming from the decomposition of granitic rock; this is the ferruginous fossil layer, following the expression of Henri Hubert, which covers the limestone and marl of the Eocene period.

Numerous outcrops of laterite appear at Kaffrine, Koungheul, in Mandack, and in Rip.

The digging of wells tells us something about the composition of the terrain forming the subsoil in this region. Under a more or less thick layer of sand, one finds laterite, then chalk or soft limestone, and finally hard limestone.

A highly varied and fossilized marine fauna has been discovered in the soft limestone at a depth of about 35, 40, 45 meters.

173 b) Historical survey. The history of the inhabitants consists of more or less confused oral traditions. No account has been handed down in writing. We can therefore only rely on narrations, sometimes contradictory, which the natives hand down orally.

The representatives of the conquering or conquered races have their own versions. It is difficult for the European to tell which part is truth or falsehood. Our penetration into
175 this part of Senegal is /96/ recent. It happened barely 80
438 years ago. At first it was fragmentary; the region was traversed by the merchant or trader at the time of the slave trade; the latter quickly returned to his base from the Petite Côte or from Gorée, the turbulence of the tribes not permitting him to stay in the region or to settle down there. A number of business establishments were founded at the end of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth, but their existence was ephemeral and in any case precarious.
175 The internal struggles between the tribes gave the region little

3: Savonnet--10 E-5 (no date) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37
Serer FA32

/378/

S
SR
361
137

Fig. 3. Tiali, entrance of the village: in the foreground, the harvest of millet in stacks; in the background, some permanent houses with a corrugated-metal roof.

/72/

On March 15, 1955, the I.F.A.N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noire/ was informed by the administration of the Collège Technique d'Industrie at Fann of the discovery, by students of this establishment, of human skeletons inside a baobab located between this school and the Mandel rest home, at the edge of the Médina of Dakar (1). The next day we went 114 172

1. Discovery announced in the Paris-Dakar of March 22, 1955. February 19 was given erroneously.

to the spot and returned from there on March 19.

This baobab, called "Bok," rises in the middle of a former garden. It is of fine size: 15 meters high, 18.50 meters in circumference, or nearly six meters in diameter (Fig. 1). The trunk is hollow and forms a nearly circular chamber, 3.50 meters in diameter by six meters high, connected to the outside by three orifices: one on the east at ground level, 60 centimeters high by 45 wide, through which there is access to the interior; a sort of dormer window, 0.35 by 0.25 of a meter, on the north face, /73/ 75 centimeters above the ground; and, in the ceiling of the interior cavity, a slit one meter long by about 0.30 of a meter wide (Fig. 2). 137 172 766

Inside, the ground is composed of brownish earth mixed with sand and many human bones. The upper layer had already been excavated by students desirous of procuring skulls for themselves. The first time, we took away the bones found on the surface, not having the means to make excavations. When we came back two days later with the necessary equipment, we noticed that meanwhile new borings and samplings had been made by the students; thus this time it was wise to remove /Fig. 1 appears here/ all the osteological material possible, without being able to proceed with methodical excavations. 126 172 766

We therefore rescued all that we could; the skeletons were tangled up in the most extraordinary fashion without any attempt at orientation. The bodies had, obviously been thrown down 172 766

/73 cont./

pell-mell. The skulls appeared with the face turned up, down, or to one side. The piling at certain points was hard to believe: in a single space of 80 by 60 centimeters and a depth of 40 centimeters, nearly 20 skulls, without counting other bones, were found! 172 766

No implements accompanied the skeletons, neither iron bracelets, shell necklaces, nor pottery, as in the burials of the

[137]

Fig. 1. The baobab Bok (north side). The persons are standing in front of the entrance hole. In the center, the "dormer window."

beach of Ouakam, for example (2). Only a few basalt pebbles

2. [Monod, Th.] "En attendant l'homme fossile /While awaiting fossil man/," Dakar, Notes Afr., No. 2, April 1939, pp. 8-9; Corbeil, R., Mauny, R., Charbonnier, J., "Préhistoire et Protohistoire de la presqu'île du Cap Vert et de l'extrême

/37/

During the dry season the ground appears bare, but with the first rains it is covered with a lusty vegetation, and it is principally the Gramineae that thus again adorns with verdure this land previously so desolate. S 137

I. -- Gramineae: Food Crops

The petit mil /small millet/, mil chandelle or penicillaire /candle or penicillate millet/ (Pennisetum), is native to Africa. It is also cultivated in India; undoubtedly it was at the time of the slave trade that it was introduced into America. This is the early small millet, or souna of the Wolof. The souna must be sown at the time of the first rains. It shoots up promptly; it grows well in the light, sandy soils (groundnut soils). After the 15th of August it begins to ripen, and one can already eat the unripe ears roasted. When it begins to push out of the ground, the Senegalese and especially the Sérère /Serer/, sow beans between the rows; this is the volet (Phaseolus vulgaris), which will be eaten as green beans from the 15th of August on. The souna root is regarded by the Africans as a poison and, according to them, might be one of the causes of sleeping sickness. S 243 W [243] S [252] S [244] S [753]

Another variety of small millet is the sanio of the Wolof, late millet or bearded millet (Penicillaria spicata). This is a late variety of small millet with the ears covered with very strong beards, which, entering the eyes of birds, prevents them from eating it. It is said that it gives sottiete (eye ailments). The sanio grows in heavy soils. It is sown during the rainy season and harvested at the end of it, at the same time as groundnuts. W [243] S [753]

The gros mil /great millet/, or basi of the Wolof, requires a heavy and clayey soil. It ripens much later than the souna and can be cultivated in the middle of the rainy season. Sometimes it can even be planted again toward the end of the winter season when one sees that the first sowings have failed. The great millet, or basi, is sorghum (Sorghum sudanense). W [243]

Millet reduced to flour and granulated is called "couscous." S 262

/37 cont./

This is the most common preparation, but the native cuisine is acquainted with a host of others. The couscous is light, refreshing, and very nourishing. S 262

Millet is also given to horses. Basi is used the most in this practice, but souna gives them more vigor, although heating them up more. S 231

The Africans, by making millet germinate and putting it in water to boil for several days, obtain a kind of invigorating beer (pouh in Wolof), but one which, if taken in great quantities, produces a very heavy drunkenness. Millet, just like maize, fattens animals quickly, especially poultry. S W 273 S 231

Sorghum is a plant widely cultivated in Senegal. It is necessary to accustom the Senegalese farmer as rapidly as possible to replacing the ordinary variety by that of the sweet sorghum, that is, the saccharatum variety, which would have the advantage of giving sugar and grain. This saccharatum variety is utilized a great deal in the United States for the production of sugar. Then a sugar refinery would be created, which would be one more source of wealth for this country, wealth all the more appreciable because the African is fond of delicacies and a great consumer of sugar (mint tea, Moorish coffee, and infusions). S 243 S [493] [263] [272]

Rice. It is cultivated in Senegal in damp places, on the edges of marigots /watercourses/, in Sine, in Casamance, and at the mouth of the river (Richard-Toll, etc.). A large number of varieties is known, some of which grow in relatively dry and high places; black rice is one of them.

The African rice is Oryza glaberrima, but wild rice grows by itself; this is Oryza latifolia (punctata and sylvestris). The native rice is much more in demand by the Africans and often even by the Europeans than foreign rice. African cooks excel in preparing rice in all kinds of ways. S [137] S 262

Rice is emollient, soothing, very nourishing, and not at all binding or constipating as is sometimes thought. It also gives a beer by fermentation. Rice water renders great service in dysentery, as a beverage, and for bathing. Rice water is also a cooling drink for feverish and inflammatory ailments. Finally, rice powder is useful as an absorbent for skin diseases. S 273 757 [272] [515]

/71 cont./

361 reaches the summit of the plateau.

[133] The landscape which one then discovers seems more
[137] open: few trees or none at all; only a shrubby vegetation in the form of brush from which some baobab tops emerge. In the background there gradually appears the light color of the first houses of Thiès. The contrast between the green foliage of the city and the surrounding countryside, bare and yellow, blinding with light, is striking, especially in the dry season.

The aerial photograph, or better still the flight, makes this contrast appear even sharper. The city, with roughly triangular outlines and divided into large patches of geometrical squares flecked with innumerable dark spots of green foliage, stands out particularly sharply against the grey and deserted bush of the surroundings. The presence of an urban center on this almost unpopulated plateau seems strange, and one might wonder what reasons caused this not very hospitable site to be retained for the establishment of a relatively important city?

1. The History of Thiès

361 1. The site.

133 The plateau on which the escale (1) has been built

[104]
[443]

1. "Escale" here means a place where caravans rested after the halt of the day's journey and where small-scale trade was carried on; by extension, a village or city-market generally located on a railway.

slopes slightly toward the east, while its western face forms a steep slope. Plateau and slope belong to geological forma-
135 tions of the same date as those of the Cape Verde Peninsula and consist principally of limestone from the end of the Secondary/Mesozoic/ subsequently overlaid by a ferruginous shell. It is probable that the eastern section rose up and the western one sank in the Tertiary.

18: Savonnet--16 E-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37
/Between pp. 80 and 81./

342
137
493
363
361

Plate XI

A. Thiès. Quarter of Derrière-la-voie-ferrée. Juxtaposition of houses of mud covered with sheet metal, sheet metal, and of straw.

346

B. The site of one of the oldest mosques of Thiès: quarter of Takhikao.

20: Seck--16 U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 380-381/ Plate XXII

363
493
137

A. The avenue Blaise-Diagne.

363
137

B. A street in the old Médina. Street 13, Corner 6.
Photo. Assane Seck.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

most striking topography. In spite of this, there are few wide horizons, for much of the surface is covered with high bush. 133 [137]

The Coastal Belt

The Cape Verde peninsula protects the south of the coast from the Canary current and there is a marked contrast between the smooth sandy shoreline to its north and the muddy estuaries to its south. From St. Louis to Dakar no rivers reach the sea. Behind the dunes which back the coast is a depression into which, baulked of their normal goal, many small seasonal streams empty themselves. This depression is marshy during and shortly after the rains, and at certain places shallow lakes persist. A wider and more permanent area of swamps lies east of St. Louis. It is formed by distributaries of the Senegal and replenished each year by its flood. Lake Guiers is a large perennial sheet of water at the eastern edge of this marshland.

The Interior Plain

North and east of the railways and south and west of the great curve of the Senegal there is a broad Tertiary plain. This is, in effect, a southward extension of the Sahara, and, like that of Mauritania, its surface is formed of low fixed dunes and shallow clay depressions. The general direction of these features is north-east and south-west. Immediately west of Thiès is a prominent line of hills running north and south. It is formed by an outcrop of Lower Eocene strata dipping eastward, and it is covered by the Forest of Thiès. For most of the year the rather friable top soil is dry, but the depressions become bands of swamp for a few months. Across this general alinement of relief two major valleys run from east to west. One is that of the Ferlo, which flows into Lake Guiers, and the other is that of the Nielloumolé and the Maouré, which are the upper sections of the Sine. The general pattern is edged by the flood plain of the Senegal and its subsidiary channels. The longest of these latter breaks off just below Diorbivol and does not rejoin the main stream until below Podor. It encloses the Île à Morfil, which averages 8 miles wide and is over 300 miles long. Most of the plain is covered with thornland or poor grass-woodland, but much of the land in the extreme south-west is highly cultivated. [137] [134] [137] [311]

The South

In the Casamance Territory relief is slightly more varied. The valleys are flat and annually flooded, but the country between rises

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

river is a sandy bar which sometimes prevents entry by ships for several weeks on end. After this the coast stretches south-south-westwards in a gentle curve of sandy beach. There are dunes along the shore, and, inland from them, the marshy depression already described on p. 397. There are very few villages and, indeed, very few landmarks of any kind. Seventy-four miles from the mouth of the Senegal the village of Kayar is perceptible from the sea. It is connected to Rufisque (17 miles) by a colonial road, and immediately south of it is Lake M'Baouar, which is seldom or never without water. After Kayar the coast trends more definitely south-west. Lake Retba, whose north-eastern end is 6½ miles from Kayar, is a permanent salt lake fed by the sea. There are other lakes and swamps behind the littoral dunes. On the coast itself stands another village, Cambérène, which is 22½ miles from Kayar and behind which rise the Petites Mamelles. These are three grey, isolated, sandy knolls, and they mark the beginning of the Cape Verde peninsula (Fig. 48).

The Cape Verde Peninsula and Goree Bay

Yof island (Plate 108), 3¼ miles west of Cambérène, stands off the village (Plate 109) of the same name. The beach on the mainland is accessible to surf-boats in all weathers. Just west of the village is a cable hut, where cables are landed, and a tarmac road runs southwards to Ouakam and Dakar. The coast is now more indented, and, 2½ miles south-west of Yof, is a ledge of rocks which joins the shore to Ngor island and behind which is the village of Ngor. Three-quarters of a mile farther west the coast turns almost due south to reach Almadi point (Plate 110), the extreme west of the mainland of Africa. There is a lighthouse on a rock three-quarters of a mile out to sea. Cape Verde itself is 2 miles to the south-east of Almadi point, and behind it are two conical hills called the Mamelles. It was the stunted brushwood on these hills that gave the cape its name. From here to Cape Manuel the coast continues its south-easterly direction, being formed of red cliffs and small sandy beaches. Fann point, 3¾ miles from Cape Verde, marks the north-western end of Madeleines bay, which washes the south-western side of Dakar (p. 444). Some 2 miles south-west are the four Madeleines islands, all of which are rocky and three of which are inaccessible. At Cape Manuel, which is 131 feet high, the coast turns sharply north to form Bernard bay. North of Dakar is Hann bay, and both of these small bays are on the western side of Goree bay. This is generally considered to stretch from Cape Manuel to Cape Rouge, and in it,

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

132 hand, in September at Ziguinchor, for example, the midday mean rises as high as 48 miles, although at that time of year interference from cloud is greatest. Whatever the season, conditions are better at midday and in the evening than in the morning.

Temporary deterioration is caused by sand storms, fog, bush fires, and rain. The first occur during December and January over dunes such as those in Fouta and Ferlo. In them visibility may drop to less than 100 yards and the ensuing haze persists for several days over large areas. Fog is common before and after the rains and is to be expected over the southern estuaries at any time of the year when winds are light. It rarely extends above 500 feet or lasts after 9.00 a.m. Between February and April there is local interference from the smoke of bush fires, which rises 2,000 or 3,000 feet. In the wet season heavy rain naturally causes temporary deterioration. At this season also low cloud often blots out the tops of the spurs of Fouta Jalon.

Swell and Surf

133 Details of swell at Dakar are given in Appendix II, and they may be taken as typical of conditions along the whole of the coast of the colony. On beaches farther north there is slightly more north-westerly swell and on those to the south rather more from the south-west. Heavy seas are rare.

Surf, on the other hand, is everywhere heavy. On exposed beaches south of Cape Verde, for instance, rollers sometimes curl in 30 feet of water and break in a depth of 10 feet. Surf is especially dangerous at the mouths of estuaries when a strong ebb-tide is running.

Meteorological Services

654 Dakar is the chief meteorological station in French West Africa, and St. Louis, Tambacounda, and Ziguinchor are also fully equipped for recording both surface and upper air conditions. Their reports [207] are included in the synoptic broadcasts from Dakar, which cover the whole of the west coast. Secondary stations are at Bambey, Kaolack, Linguéré, Podor, and Thiès, whose reports are also included. Twenty-six other places record rainfall.

5. VEGETATION

137 Most of the colony falls within two of the main vegetation zones. To the north there is the thornland, while to the south the zone of grass-woodland has two subzones, the Sudan and the Guinea, and

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

one coastal area, the Casamancian. Except in these last two belts the climate is deficient in rainfall, and it is the length of the dry season that controls the distribution of plant communities. 137

Along the coast as far south as the Cape Verde peninsula is the southward extension of the sub-Canarian area, a description of which has been given on p. 320.

The Thornland

The thornland occupies the northern part of the colony from a little north-east of Dakar eastwards to Kidira and northwards to the Senegal. This region, it will be recalled, has a rainfall of from 10 to 20 inches. It is a country of spiny shrubs, especially species of *Acacia*, associated with which are the soapberry tree, the African myrrh, and *Combretum aculeatum*. Many of the trees and shrubs are without leaves during the dry season, but some are evergreen. The natural vegetation in this zone has been much devastated by fire, pasturage, and the over-exploitation of the gum-yielding acacias. [314] On the other hand, annual firing of brushwood and grassland plays a subordinate part in modifying the plant life. The more open nature of both the woody and herbaceous vegetation impedes or prevents fires spreading over great extents of country. Tufted grasses are particularly abundant in the open grasslands between, and even under, the trees and bushes.

The Grass-Woodland

If the Casamancian area be considered as a modification of the Guinea subzone, the grass-woodland may be said to occupy the remainder of the colony. The Sudan subzone is, however, the more important. In the western part of the colony the subzones run north-west to south-east, extend across the Gambia, and then turn almost due west and east. The northward bend in the west is due to oceanic climatic influences, and the modified Casamancian area is similarly due to a greater humidity. The vegetation of the zone as a whole consists of a mixture of trees and grasslands, the former either being spaced in clumps or patches or standing as individuals. The grasslands are continuous over wide areas and are fired regularly in the dry season. This firing of brushwoods and grasslands, together with centuries of heavy cultivation, has highly modified the natural [241] vegetation, especially towards the west. This is especially exemplified by forest destruction in the Guinea subzone.

The vegetation of the Sudan subzone corresponds to an annual

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

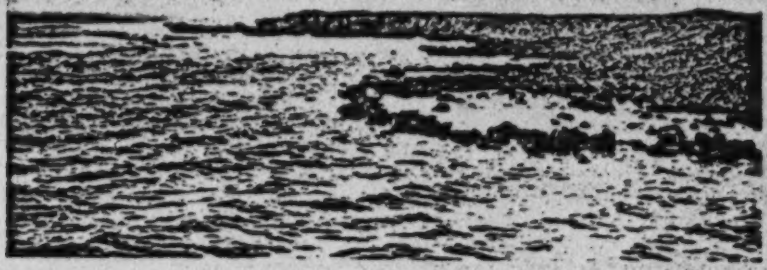
137 rainfall of from 20 to 60 inches. In appearance it is reminiscent of a park or orchard, with well-spaced trees or small clumps of trees projecting well above the herbaceous layer, and the most characteristic trees are from 18 to 45 feet tall. The most frequent in Senegal are the African locust bean, the tallow tree (*Detarium senegalense*), the ginger-bread plum or pomme du cayor (*Parinari macrophylla*), various legumes (*Cassia sieberiana*, *Entada africana*, *Acacia sieberiana*, *Albizzia ferruginea*, *Prosopis africana*, *Cordyla africana*, and *Pterocarpus erinaceus*), the Borassus palm (*Borassus aethiopum*), *Combretum glutinosum*, *Terminalia macroptera*, *Sterculia setigera*, *Cola cordifolia*, and the Meni oil tree. Shrubs and climbing woody plants are locally associated with the trees, but plants growing on the trunks and branches are generally absent. Parasites of the mistletoe family, however, are common. Most of the trees lose their leaves at the advent of the dry season. The grasslands consist mainly of grasses of the tribe Andropogoneae.

Excluding the Casamancian area, the Guinea subzone occupies two small regions north-west and south-east of the Gambia. At one time parts of this subzone were covered by dense forests, but to-day there are only scattered relicts. Much of the country is cultivated, [311] and the rest is subjected to the continued degrading influences of fire, grazing, and shifting cultivation. As a consequence, a degraded brushwood on impoverished soil represents the weed flora of several years' fallow. This is cut down, and the cultivation of ground-nuts [241] and cereals follows for a period of years; after which the ground is again allowed to go fallow. Many of the weeds are of American or Indian origin.

The Casamancian Area. The Casamancian area (Vol. I, p. 101) is the most tropical part of the colony. The Casamance river and the coastal channels are bordered up to tidal limits by thick mangrove-woodland. Behind this there are often marshy clearings, now [241] frequently transformed into rice-fields, and stretches of forest communities. Swamp-forests and thickets have screw-pines, palms (*Raphia*, *Calamus*), and bamboos. There are also frequent clumps of oil palm. In the remnants of high forest legumes are abundant and include species of *Afzelia*, *Dialium*, *Daniellia*, *Erythrophloeum*, *Pentaclethra*, *Parkia*, and *Acacia*. Noteworthy trees of the forest patches are a dragon's tree (*Dracaena*), the pattern wood (*Alstonia congensis*), the African teak (*Chlorophora excelsa*), and the silk-cotton tree (*Ceiba pentandra*). Many of them have a height of more than 60 feet.

22 Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

133



110. *Almadi point*

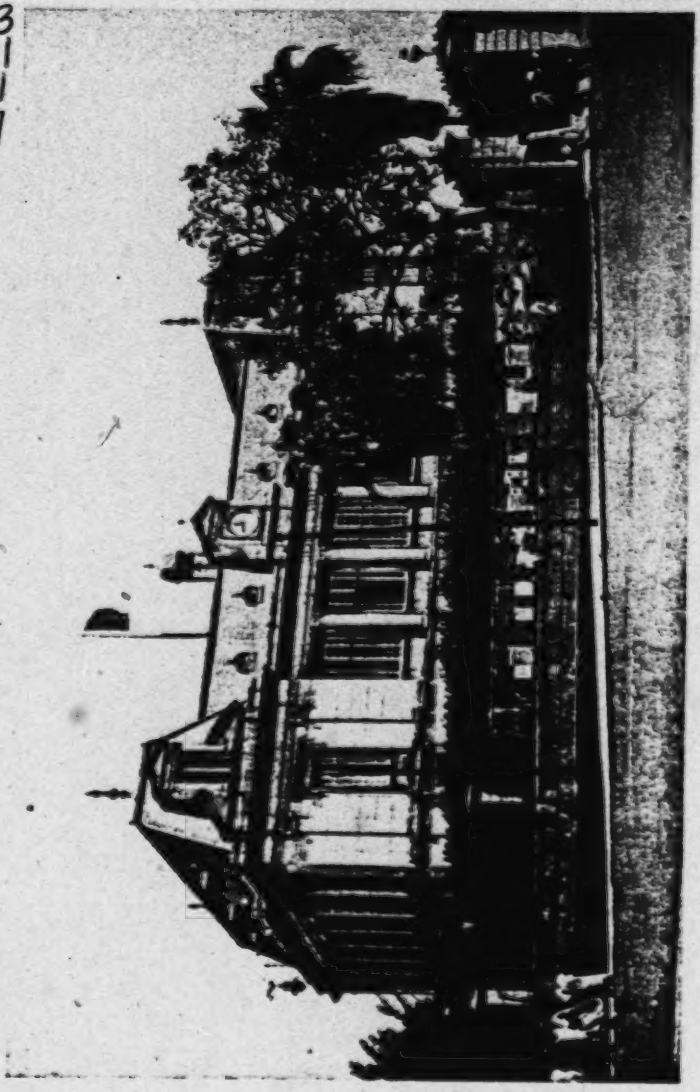
137

111. *A baobab tree*

[facing p. 416]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

363
341
351
137



117. *Dakar: the Mairie*

[facing p. 135]

/94 cont./

133 On the right bank of the Saloum, these valleys form a more or less continuous string of ponds during the winter.

One of these valleys bears the name of Bao-Bolon; it is several kilometers wide and is the outlet of the region of Birkelane-Kaffrine. The natives report that 50 years ago [505] cutters from Gambia were able to go up this affluent as far as a passage between Nioro-Rip and Médina, about 20 kilometers to the north upstream from the river.

133 134 In the lower valley of the Saloum, along the marigots, one finds the "tannes," marshy depressions covered with water during the winter, but where, during the dry season, the mud is covered with a layer of sand, which, with saline efflorescences, hardens to the point of constituting a rather firm soil. Here one finds a composite of lime and salt; this is the "poto-poto," feared by travelers, motorists, and pedestrians, who can very easily be swallowed up by it. Between Sangomar and the Gambia, the marine affluents of the Diomboss and the Bandiala and the marigots of Dionouar, Toubacouta, Sokone, Messira, and Djinnack are disclosed.

The upper valley of the Saloum, oriented from east to west, presents less sandy soil with outcrops of laterite. Some undulations of the terrain are more pronounced toward the west, in the region of Pakalla Mandack and Niani-Ouli, where the ravines are at times very deep. The plain and the bottom of [137] the depressions are wooded or covered with a very flourishing vegetation.

The northern part of the circle, which is traversed by the valley of the Sine, is made up of sandy soil, very propitious for the cultivation of groundnuts. This valley, 133 formerly watered by streams, has been entirely overrun by the /95/ sea. This drying up of the region is moreover characteristic of almost all of Senegal. One sees it there in the diminution of the volume of certain rivers, a diminution that sometimes, as in the Cayor, Ferlo, Baol, Sine, and Saloum, extends to the total disappearance of the water.

Moreover, one notes that, as a result of the evaporation of the waters of the Saloum, the salt content of these waters is greater than that of the ocean.

/101 cont./

134 everywhere the terrain is suitable for the cultivation of groundnuts, except in Bas-Saloum.

137 A very dense, thorny, and shrubby vegetation grows in the sandy soil. This is the region of the cades (Acacia albida). In the silico-argillaceous lands of the south and east, the vegetation is more vigorous; one still finds there at the present time interesting forest stocks, vestiges of the great forests of former times. These groves are on the way to disappearing as a result of the abuses of clearing and of the unfortunately too frequent fires. The forests of Patako, between Messira and Coular, and of Dasilamé, between Nioro and Médina, which contain many hardwoods, Gambian mahogany, vène, and hire, are to be protected.

II. Administrative Organization

634 Territorial divisions. The two large native commands of Sine and Saloum have been eliminated, and the title of Bour, which was only honorific in nature, has ceased to exist legally.

632 634 The circle is divided into three major administrative subdivisions:

1st, Subdivision of Sine, chief town Fatick;

2nd, Subdivision of Bas-Saloum, with Foundiougne as the chief town;

3rd, Subdivision of Saloum Oriental, chief town Kaolack.

An administrator is at the head of the circle, and each subdivision is commanded by an official of the corps of administrators or of the corps of civil services.

632 Divided among these three subdivisions are 19 cantons or native commands, each /102/ of which is headed by a canton chief.

The subdivision of Saloum Oriental has 11 cantons:

Kaolack-Laghem,
Kahone,
Diokoul-Gandiaye,
Gossas,
Niom-Rip,
Nioro-Rip,

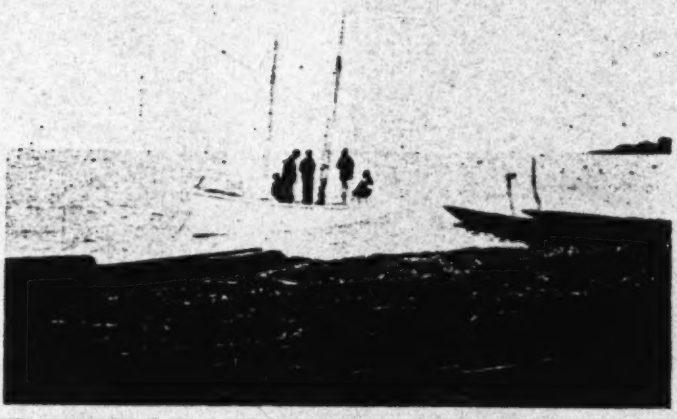
23: Aujas--32 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37

137

Plate II

A Gambian mahogany tree on the Latmingué road.

133



The mouth of the Saloum at Dionouar.

/44 cont./

The city is made up of 150 houses, well built and of 361
attractive appearance. They are embellished with exterior
galleries supported by pilasters.

I noticed the former seat of government (9) where the

> 9. At the back of the present square garden of the rue du Port. A comemorative plaque indicates the site of the former seat of government occupied by de Boufflers.

chevalier de Boufflers, so well known for his light poetry, [175]
lived. Governor of Senegal from 1786 to 1789, he preferred
to stay at Gorée rather than at Saint-Louis.

Today his house is falling into ruins. In front stretches
a splendid esplanade planted with tall trees. In the back, an
abandoned garden. There can still be seen a long avenue of
mimosas, coconut trees, and various other species of palm
trees, which the chevalier took pleasure in cultivating at great [137]
expense on this volcanic rock devoid of vegetable soil.

At the summit of the island, the citadel (10). It, too,

> 10. The present Castel /castle/, fortified anew under the Second Empire.

is falling into ruins. Without an enclosure, without even a
gate, the European cemetery (11) stretches at its feet. Graves 764

> 11. Nothing is left of it today.

lined up side by side inform the traveler that, on this soil, once
spewed forth by fire (12), today devoured by a torrid sun and

> 12. The high part of Gorée (the Castel) is of volcanic origin.

n' [i.e. Gorée -- Analyst]

11: Lèques--20 P-5 (1956) 1957 MS37 Senegal Ms 37

142
516
291

Fig. 3. Taille-Basse (Dakar) (Lèques photo and plate).

114 /665/ The study of demography in the countries of Black Africa has made great progress in recent years. Nevertheless, it has often had to be limited to monographs because of the diversity of the ethnic groups and the lack of census statistics.

Among the questions to be studied is that of consanguinity, often in these regions and sometimes responsible for demographic stagnation and an unhealthy condition. It is in this direction that the activity of Dr. Cantrelle of the Institut français d'Afrique noire /French Institute of Black Africa/ is oriented. The high degree of endogamy among the populations that he has studied is given particular attention. The results presented here deal with the Senegalese Fouta and are to be followed by more complete data pertaining to the Fouta Djallon.

Introduction

133 The Senegal River separates the republic of Senegal from that of Mauritania. Its central valley, running from east to west, between Dembakané upstream and Dagana downstream, constitutes a region defined by history and geography, the Fouta Toro. This is a long alluvial strip more than 400 kilometers long by ten kilometers wide on the average, hemmed in by two semi-arid regions, the Mauritanian Sahara on the north and the Ferlo of Senegal on the south (Map No. 1). In contrast
161 to these two regions, in which lives a population of nomadic shepherds, very low in density, the fertile valley has a concentration of farmers, fishermen, and livestock-raisers, with a relatively great density of about 20 inhabitants per square kilometer downstream, 35 near the center, and reaching 50 upstream.

●143 Like most of the large valleys, it is a zone of passage which in the course of previous centuries has mixed together populations of varied origin, and one can assume that this region of homogeneous appearance, and where Islam is the sole religion, has created conditions favorable to panmixia (1).

1. Panmixia: assemblage of hypotheses

/665 cont./

143 used in population genetics for the construction of models indicating the mode of evolution of a concentration of genes in the course of time. In this general hypothesis it is postulated that: the population is closed; marriage is random; fertility is the same for all couples. If in this case the population is unlimited, the frequency of the three varieties of zygotes, A/A, A/a, a/a (monohybrid diallel), remains constant from generation to generation (Hardy-Weinberg Law, N. D.L.R.).

/666/ /Map No. 1 appears here./

143 582 The actual situation is entirely different; the social stratification entails very strict endogamy at the ethnic and caste level, endogamy reinforced by preferential marriages as well as by residential proximity. Some authors (1), Soh [1],

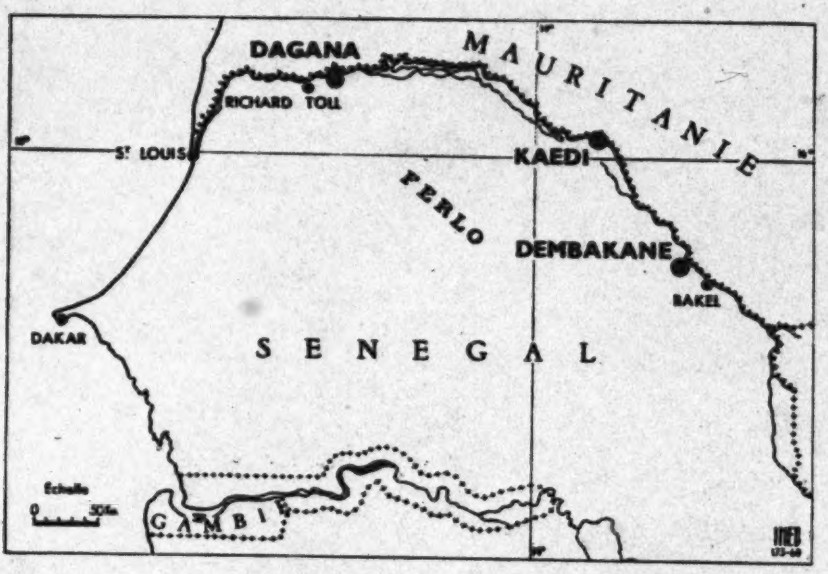
1. The numbers in brackets refer to the bibliographic references at the end of the article.

Gaden [2], M'Bow [3], have already described the origin and causes of these local ethnic and social differences and also the types of marriages, but quantitative observations only permit one to measure endogamy. After reviewing the method of study used, we shall indicate the principal results of these observations.

128 143 Method of study. In Europe, and notably in France, consanguinity and geographical endogamy have been determined by means of the frequency of marriages from the third to the sixth degree inclusive, that is to say, especially between first and second cousins, and also by studying the distance between the domiciles of future spouses. It is possible to know the frequency

[Text continues middle of P. 3 -- Analyst]

102
103
131
133



Map No. 1. /Mauritanie = Mauritania; Gambie = Gambia; eschelle = scale./

128 and variation of these facts with regard to dates and regions, thanks to
143 various registers which have existed for several generations (Sutter and Tabah [4] and [5], Sutter [6]).

114 In the western part of Africa it is difficult to gather this kind of
143 information, which the administrative censuses do not normally give. The first quantitative study of endogamy by M. de Lestrange in Guinea among the Coniagui [7] has permitted an evaluation of the size of the isolate, one woman /667/ being able to choose her partner from among 400 to 500 men, but does not specify the frequency of consanguineous unions. It deals with a closed population limited to 8,000 persons.

143 The population of the valley of the Senegal itself is much
125 more extensive and, in principle, not closed. In this case a demographic inquiry by sampling, taking one out of ten, has been resorted to, which made it possible to establish, in 1957, not only its classic characteristics of structure (sex, age, ethnic affiliation, place of birth, etc.) and of natural change (fertility, mortality), but also elements permitting precise determination of its degree of endogamy,

/667 cont./

125 such as caste and the degree of kinship of each actual union [8].

[143] In this region the person questioned, mostly in public, did

[565] not make any difficulty about declaring to which caste he be-

[124] longed. Moreover, this is known by all the inhabitants of the village and has such social importance that if one asks a child in the street, "Who are you?" he replies, "I am of such and such a caste." As for the degree of kinship of the spouses, a previous study among the sedentary Peul of the Fouta Djallon [9] has shown that it was possible to obtain this without a cumbersome demographic investigation; the individuals are well acquainted with the fact in regions where consanguineous unions are the custom.

The investigator asks whether or not the woman is married to a near relative, and, in the case of an affirmative answer, if the spouses have the same grandfather or grandmother (fourth degree) or in what other way they are related. A total number of 6,208 married women were questioned in this manner, and in order to correct possible errors of observation in such a sample, a control was established in a subsample of 382 sedentary couples by noting the names of the parents, grandparents, and eventually great-grandparents. At this stage there is uncertainty, but this can be removed only by laboriously working out genealogies. That is why the proportion of marriages to the sixth degree, which we indicate below and which are beyond the kinship ties known with sufficient accuracy, are perhaps more important in reality.

563 The ethnic groups. The region studied contains 341,000 inhabitants divided into five principal ethnic groups: Moors, Toucouleur [Tukulor], Peul, Saracolé [Sarakole], and Wolof (Table I). The ethnic groups are distinguished by such characteristics as the way of life, social structure, group consciousness,

[186] the name given them by other groups, and language, except for

[197] the Peul and the Toucouleur, who speak the same language, Poular. Aside from the Moors, the population is grouped in five

[361] port cities and 800 villages and communities.

The Toucouleur form the largest aggregate (187,000 per-

[162] sons) and occupy the center of the region on the two rivers. The

S /670 cont./
565 has been the dominant class since the Islamic revolution. In former times many strangers from neighboring countries would come to follow the teachings of the marabouts, to settle around them, and, thanks above all to Islam, to join this caste, which at present seems more closed and now tends to be less heterogeneous.

The social stratum which comes next is that of the tiédo and the thioubalo. It is believed that their ancestors were the first occupants of the soil, and they have preserved their traditions, the tiédo as farmer and the thioubalo as fisherman. The caste of fishermen is quite closed and has its own hierarchy with its captives, its free men, and its dynasty.

S The tiédo caste sometimes intermarried with the fishermen
582 and the torobé. Also free, but of an inferior social rank, are the
565 trade castes. The general name for them, "gnégno," indicates a relationship of dependence vis-à-vis the above castes. Wood-cutters (labo), blacksmiths (baïlo), shoemakers (saké), and weavers (mabo) in principle intermarry indiscriminately. In contrast, the griots (gaoulo), who specialize in the singing of praises, marry only among themselves and sometimes with the blacksmiths.

S Finally, at the bottom of the social hierarchy is the group
565 of captives and former captives. There is a distinction between
569 the freed (gallounké) and the captive (mathioudo), but they are in fact united by the same prejudice which the other castes have with regard to them.

S The social structure of the other ethnic groups is of the same
565 type as that of the Toucouleur, with the exception of a few details; for instance, the diawando was originally the attendant or the courtier of the large Peul families and seems to form a differentiated caste at present. The caste of fishermen does not exist among
W the Peul, for they do not fish, or among the Wolof all of whom
[565] can engage in fishing.
[006]

S If we limit ourselves to the Toucouleur group, the only
582 one for which we know the actual number in the valley, we shall
●143 be able to estimate the numerical importance of the various endogamous groups and consequently the number of women with whom marriage is possible (Table II). For certain castes, few in number, such as those of the artisans, the results of the sampling,

S T /670 cont./
582 however, permit only an approximation.
143 Be that as it may, an examination of the figures of Table II shows some very important numerical differences between one group and another, since for each of the 11 groups, the actual number varies from 1,100 individuals to 84,200, and that of the women from 15 to 45 years of age from 250 to
S T 18,700. This fragmentation of the population into isolates by
[565] the system of castes is particularly noticeable on the artisan level where the average actual number does not exceed 2,000 persons. By this mechanism a high degree of endogamy is maintained, which determines some important phenomena. It is easily seen, for example, that the phenomena /671/ /Table II appears here/ of genetic drift (1) have acted in the course of time

1. Genetic drift: in the case of a population of limited number the frequency of a given gene may drift randomly, in the course of generations, within the range of possible values, contrary to that which occurs in panmixia, where this frequency remains constant (N.D.L.R.).

so as to promote the disappearance or, on the contrary, the appearance of certain morphological characters and their retention in these partial populations.

Proximity of residence. The conditions noted above are
S 582 aggravated by the fact that the Toucouleur country stretches in
143 a strip of land of about 300 kilometers; such a great distance greatly decreases the chances of marriage between individuals from distant residences, and the figures we have just given are therefore reduced to those of surrounding villages.

S This is perhaps in part the reason for the regrouping in
[565] certain regions of a less numerous endogamous group such as that of the griots.

As in all countries, distance actually plays an important
S part in the possibilities for marriage. We shall not study this
[565] phenomenon here, for within a given caste the radius of marriage

[Text continues on P. 11--Analyst]

/671 cont./

S
T
582
565
143
162

Table II. Actual number of the endogamous Toucouleur groups, with, for each one, their percentage in relation to the total population, and the number of women from 15 to 45 years of age

Caste	Actual Number	%		Number of women from 15 to 45 years of age	
Torodo	84,200	45.0	74.0	18,700	
Tiédo	13,700	10.0		7,150	
Thioubalo	32,200	17.2		4,150	
Diawando	3,400	1.8			
Labo	2,100	1.1	4.5	450	1,850
Saké	1,100	0.6		250	
Mabo	2,300	1.2		500	
Baïlo	2,200	1.6		650	
Gaoulo	2,100	1.1	1.1	450	1,100
Gallounké	5,800	3.2	20.4	1,300	8,450
Matioudo	32,200	17.2		7,150	
Total	187,000	100.0		41,900	

S /671 cont./

582 does not actually express the probability of a union between two
143 individuals of a given domicile, since this schema is distorted
[565] by preferential marriages. Nevertheless, in a rural environment, the census according to place of birth shows that 84.2% of the women from /672/ /Table III appears here/ 15 to 45 years of age, most of whom were married, were born in the village of their residence. The men, therefore, in the majority, marry women from their own village.

Preferential marriages. To the probability of unions between individuals of a close degree of kinship in the groups already restricted is added the preference for these same marriages, which extends the endogamic system of castes. But if the ethnic group and the caste determine a negative choice, certain variables bring about on the contrary, a positive choice, chief of which is the customary preference for unions between close relatives, in particular between first cousins. The inquiry showed that in the whole of the zone studied (Maratin Moors not included) the proportion of marriages of the fourth, fifth, and sixth degrees rises to almost 28% of the total. The figure varies according to the ethnic groups, as is indicated in Table III.

W [582] The percentage of marriages between first cousins (fourth degree) in fact extends from 10.1 among the Wolof to 16.8 among the Saracolé; between cousins of an uneven degree (fifth
W [582] degree) the percentage goes from 2.2 among the Saracolé to 7.1 among the Wolof, and between first cousins (sixth degree) from
T [582] 10.5 among the Toucouleur to 14.5 among the Peul. Among the Toucouleur and the Peul there are practically as many marriages between first cousins as between second cousins: 10.4% as against 10.5% in the one case, 14.5% and 14.5% in the other.
W [582] Only the Wolof have more marriages between second cousins, 13% as against 10.1%. Among the Saracolé, the more numerous unions between first cousins (16.8%) than between second cousins (10.9%)
S T confirm what is known about family cohesion in this group.

582 Within each ethnic group the frequency of cansanguineous
143 marriages varies more noticeably according to the castes. In
565 Table IV we have assembled the absolute numbers of consanguineous

[Text continues middle of P. 12 -- Analyst]

S /672 cont./
T
582
143

Table III. Percentage of consanguineous marriages according to the degree of kinship in the different ethnic groups in the valley of the Senegal. Value of the mean coefficient of consanguinity

Ethnic Group	Number of women interrogated	% of consanguineous marriages according to degree of kinship			Total	Mean Coefficient of consanguinity F X 10^3
		4th D	5th D	6th D		
Toucouleur	3,865	10.4	4.2	10.5	25.1	7.6
Peul	1,135	14.5	6.8	14.5	35.9	12.2
Wolof	731	10.1	7.1	13.0	30.2	9.5
Saracolé	270	16.8	2.2	10.9	29.9	12.7
Total	6,208	11.3	5.0	11.3	27.6	8.7

S
T
582 marriages and their percentages in the four principal castes of
143 the Toucouleur. The percentage of these marriages /673/ /Table
565 IV appears here/ varies from 10.7 among the captives to 44.4 among the artisans; the figure increases among the fishermen to
S 32.2 and to 35.6 among the Torobé. The relatively weak pro-
T portion observed among the captives (10.7%) is due to the fact
[567] that the latter came from different regions, according to the accident of wars, but it shows that they have nevertheless adopted the custom of their masters.

S The customary nature of these marriages is shown by the
582 fact that certain types of unions between cousins are preferred
143 to others. The number of marriages of the fourth degree, the type of which we have noted, although small (47), nevertheless tends to confirm the preference for marriages with the daughter of either

[Text continues middle of P.13--Analyst]

S /673 cont./

582
143
565

Table IV. Absolute numbers of consanguineous marriages and their percentage in the principal Toucouleur castes. Value of the mean coefficient of consanguinity

Caste	Number of couples interrogated	Consanguineous Marriages 4th D Nos.	5th D Nos.	6th D Nos.	Total Nos.	%	Coefficient of cansanguinity F X 10^3
Torobé	101	15	6	14	35	35.6	10.9
Fishermen	56	8	4	6	18	32.2	8.2
Artisans	27	7	1	4	12	44.4	13.6
Captives	93	6	0	4	10	10.7	4.2

S
582
143

the mother's brother (19) or the father's brother (15), rather than the daughter of the mother's sister (8) or of the father's sister (4). These consanguineous marriages represent the most strict form of endogamy. The others reflect the same tendency, but are practiced in a larger framework, lineage, clan, the extent of which we have not been able to evaluate. There are also traditional unions between two or more families, which perpetuate themselves from generation to generation.

Actual endogamy. The results observed in the valley of the Senegal cannot be extended to the Sahelo-Sudan region and still less to the western part of Africa. From analogous studies now in progress, we shall soon know whether the situation is comparable in the other regions of the Senegal and the Sudan.

In the valley the frequency of marriages of the fourth to the sixth degree inclusive ranks among the highest yet observed anywhere in the world. Freire-Maia in 1957 [10] collected data on this point, followed by Serra and Soini in 1959 [11] in this same journal. The measure which gives the best

S
[114]
[128]

/673 cont./

582 representation of the degree of endogamy in a population is the
143 mean coefficient of consanguinity (1). Its value, multiplied by
[128]

1. The mean coefficient of consanguinity of a population represents the probability that two homologous loci of an individual taken at random in the population under consideration are identical. Two analogous conclusions exist in the literature on genetics: the coefficient F of Wright and the α of Bernstein. For more details, see Serra and Soini, Population, 1959, pp. 70-72 (N.D.L.R.).

1,000, has been reported /674/ here in Tables III and IV for each of the partial populations studied. It is a little less than one would have expected from the frequency of consanguineous marriages. If there is, in fact, a not insignificant number of double cousins among the spouses, one also finds an important
[595] number of cousins descended from half brothers or half sisters. Nearly one-half of the consanguineous unions concern individuals of this category because of the frequency of successive and simultaneous unions (polygamy).

For the whole of the ethnic groups studied (Table III), its value reaches 8.7, and for each of the specific ethnic groups: Toucouleur 7.6; Wolof 9.5; Peul 12.2; Saracolé 12.7. For the Toucouleur castes (Table IV) one finds the following values: captives 4.2; fishermen 8.2; torobé 10.9; artisans 13.6.

143 Comparisons with other countries. The highest coefficient found up to now, 24.08 (Ishikuni and Coll., 1960 [12]) concerns a Japanese island, Hosojima, populated by 125 inhabitants, which thus represents a very small isolate and is mentioned only incidentally with reference to the demographic conditions in which most human populations live.

In order to appreciate the high endogamic level of the valley of the Senegal, let us emphasize that one finds analogous figures for the present day only in Brazil (Freire-Maia,

/674 cont./

143 1957 [13]): diocese of Oeiras in the state of Piauí, 9.67 for 1,931 marriages in 1954; diocese of Petrolina in the state of Pernambuco, 8.3 for 3,063 marriages in 1950, etc. These figures are exceptional for this country. Very often the value of the coefficient in each diocese is below 1.

Even the castes of India do not furnish comparable figures: 1.3 among the Desasth Rigvedi Brahmans; 2.8 among the Gaud Saraswat Brahmans; 6.35 among the Marathas. Nor even a closed tribe like the Ramah Navaho of the United States: 6.6. In Japan where a strong endogamy persists, the figures found so far are between 2.8 and 3.6.

In the countries of Europe, since the breakup of the isolates took place, the value of the coefficient is everywhere less than the unit. In the French provinces it varies at the present time between 0.1 and 0.9.

For the African populations the data are still very scarce. As far as we know, only Roberts, 1956 [14], has given figures for three Dinka groups from the valley of the Nile to the Sudan: 1.53, 0.96, 0.49. These figures are very far from those for the valley of the Senegal. Nevertheless, Tanner, 1958 [15], in an Islamic community of Tanganyika, has found a rate of 37.8% for marriages between cousins, which should correspond to a mean coefficient of consanguinity bordering on those reported here.

582 143 Evolution. The inaccuracy of historical knowledge makes it impossible to say whether the endogamic state described has always been so important, but one may assume that the present situation will be modified in the years /675/ to come. Several factors could play a part in an evolution toward exogamy, for example, migrations, the size of families, social barriers.

The role of migration is negligible here, for even though [166] the Wolof and the Saracolé have founded some villages of foreigners within Toucouleur country, the Fouta is now a country of active emigration toward urban centers like Dakar. The average size [162] of families is probably increasing because of the prolongation of the average length of life, which tends to increase the possibilities

S /675 cont./
582 of consanguineous marriages. More important, undoubtedly than the
143 above two will be the factors of the decrease of endogamy by the
[162] dissolution of social barriers, although the prejudice against misalliances seems as long-lived as the human species.

Whether sudden or progressive, this social revolution, furthered by education, will sooner or later bring about the development of means of communication and the emancipation
S of the woman as well as of the man, for its is often the parents who
[584] choose the bride, rather than the future bridegroom.

W In addition, one notes among the Wolof a smaller propor-
[582 tion of consanguineous marriages in the ports than in the villages.
369] As in Europe, but for different reasons, this evolution will result in the "breakup of the isolates," the social and ethnic frontiers going back to those of the nation.

Conclusion

S
143 The demographic inquiry by sampling carried out in the valley of the Senegal has made it possible to measure endogamy on the basis of the frequency of consanguineous marriages and the mean coefficient of consanguinity. The figures obtained are by far the highest that are now known for populations of such numerical importance. This peculiarity causes the populations concerned to evolve under very special biological circumstances which are not without reverberations on their demographic condition. (See Sutter [16].) An investigation in this direction is being pursued.

The genetic aspect of the situation should no longer be ignored, and anthropologists concerned with the mechanism of the differentiation of human types will find the material for taking into consideration the intervention of a factor which is also important.

Pierre Cantrelle
(Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, Dakar)

/See the foreign text for the bibliography on p. 676 of the original text./

S /96 cont./
175 security. It took until 1860 to catch sight of a beginning of colonization, an attempt at penetration, supported by arms.

S Two large political groupings and a multitude of petty
SR states, both independent and vassal, divided the region.
175 On the one hand, the kingdom of Sine, peopled by
SR Sérère, was established to the west, on the right bank of the
631 Saloum, from the ocean to a distance of 20 kilometers from Kaolack.

Neighboring the latter, surrounding Kaolack and extending to the east up to Kaffrine, going north to Kael, and planting its roots to the south of the Saloum River as far as Rip, extended the kingdom of Saloum, peopled by Sérère, Toucouleur /Tukolor/, and Ouoloff /Wolof/.

On the right bank one found the vassal state of N'Doukoumane, subject to the king of Saloum, and the semi-independent state of Koungheul; on the left bank, the now independent, now vassal states of Pakalla and Mandack, Rip, Laghem, and Niombato.

SR Sine and Saloum had a very hierarchical political and
[643] administrative organization. The sovereign authority was held by the "Bour" or king. Powerful and respected, this great chief was surrounded by counselors or ministers with whose help he governed, administered justice, levied taxes, and declared war. It was this organization that we found upon our arrival in the region. It is very old, but the exact time at which it was established cannot be stated.

S It seems certain, however, that the country was originally
SR inhabited by the Sérère, who thus were the first inhabitants. A
173 fetishistic people, they are related /97/, according to their
[144] morphological characteristics, to the Lébou of the peninsula of Cape Verde.

At an undetermined time, the Mandingue /Mandingo/, coming from N'Gabou (Portuguese Guinea), crossed the Gambia, occupied Coular, crossed the Saloum, and overran Sine, capturing M'Bissel, the capital of the Sérère.

Conquered, the latter offered their submission. In con-
SR trast to the other races, they stayed on their ancestral land
[563] without emigrating. The Mandingue invasion did not concern

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 that belongs to us, our occupation should be limited to those parts necessary for assuring the suppression of brigandage, the freedom of trade and the tranquillity of an industrious population.

The land cultivated by them will provide produce which will become the object of lucrative trade for the European, the only kind of work he can undertake in this climate.

648 641 [161] [160] [563] By 1865 the colony of Senegal comprised 150,000 inhabitants of whom only some 15,000, living in the original French settlements of St. Louis and Gorée-Dakar, were French citizens. Indeed this number was not to increase noticeably until the end of the century, since the privileges granted to those Africans under French rule in 1848 were never extended to the interior. For whilst Faidherbe pursued a policy of assimilation in the main centres like St. Louis, Gorée and Dakar, he initiated the basis of a system of administration for what was to become the rest of modern Senegal and French black Africa as a whole that was distinctly non-assimilationist. The laws for the *sujets* or those who did not enjoy the rights of French citizens were particularly harsh. [167] They were not allowed to leave the colony, they had no right of meeting or association, and they [466] were subjected to the corvée or forced labour on the maintenance of roads. [653] To obtain this forced labour Faidherbe relied on the chiefs, and indeed one of the main criticisms [631] of him as an exponent of assimilationism is that he leaned so heavily on both the chiefs and Islam. The treaty made by Jauréguiberry (acting-Governor whilst Faidherbe was on leave in 1865) with Abdoul Boubaker of Toro was far removed from the principles of assimilation: 'Art. 2—The Toro will continue to administer itself according to its own laws, traditions and customs.'

The overthrow of the Second Empire and the establishment of the Third Republic in 1870 was to see lukewarm reaffirmation of principles of the revolution and a consequent return to assimilationist principles at least in the [646] political field. In 1871 Senegal regained her deputy. More

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Africans. Indeed only very small scale trading is in the hands of Africans, otherwise large scale commercial enterprises are run by Europeans, and most of their managerial staff being European. Between these large scale organisations, the whole range of middleman trade is dominated by Lebanese and the so-called *petit blancs*. Small shopkeeping is predominantly in the hands of the Mauritanians, though larger shops particularly in Dakar, are run by Lebanese and Europeans. At first sight this would seem to be an unhealthy situation, and it would be foolish to ignore the inherent dangers in it. But the most ardent critics of this state of affairs are as often as not visiting Africans, not the Senegalese themselves. When a Nigerian shops in Printania or goes to the local bank in Dakar, he is shocked by the number of Frenchwomen employed in jobs he is accustomed to seeing held by Africans in Lagos. But in considering the rather special case of Dakar one must take into account a number of factors that are often overlooked by would-be critics.

Senegal is a territory of only 3,100,000 people and in the normal run of education in French-speaking African states, even taking into account Senegal's special position among them, the percentage of the population available to fill managerial and sub-managerial posts or indeed any 'European-style' job in all sectors of the economy, can hardly match up to the requirements of the most highly industrialised city in West Africa. In addition Dakar has a large international airport and a port that was the third largest in the French Union. It is also the centre of government for Senegal and the terminus of a railway. It is not surprising therefore that Senegal finds it more difficult to find the appropriate number of Africans to fill its senior posts in commerce and industry than Lagos which has a Nigerian population of over 36 million to draw on. Furthermore Lagos is in the centre of an area where missionaries have been active for over a hundred years and consequently

114 /665/ The study of demography in the countries of Black Africa has made great progress in recent years. Nevertheless, it has often had to be limited to monographs because of the diversity of the ethnic groups and the lack of census statistics.

Among the questions to be studied is that of consanguinity, often in these regions and sometimes responsible for demographic stagnation and an unhealthy condition. It is in this direction that the activity of Dr. Cantrelle of the Institut français d'Afrique noire /French Institute of Black Africa/ is oriented. The high degree of endogamy among the populations that he has studied is given particular attention. The results presented here deal with the Senegalese Fouta and are to be followed by more complete data pertaining to the Fouta Djallon.

Introduction

133 The Senegal River separates the republic of Senegal from that of Mauritania. Its central valley, running from east to west, between Dembakané upstream and Dagana downstream, constitutes a region defined by history and geography, the Fouta Toro. This is a long alluvial strip more than 400 kilometers long by ten kilometers wide on the average, hemmed in by two semi-arid regions, the Mauritanian Sahara on the north and the Ferlo of Senegal on the south (Map No. 1). In contrast
161 to these two regions, in which lives a population of nomadic shepherds, very low in density, the fertile valley has a concentration of farmers, fishermen, and livestock-raisers, with a relatively great density of about 20 inhabitants per square kilometer downstream, 35 near the center, and reaching 50 upstream.

143 Like most of the large valleys, it is a zone of passage which in the course of previous centuries has mixed together populations of varied origin, and one can assume that this region of homogeneous appearance, and where Islam is the sole religion, has created conditions favorable to panmixia (1).

1. Panmixia: assemblage of hypotheses

/18 cont./ 369x
the Lebano-Syrians at least 2%. Let us consider in this brief 563
glance only the problem of the relations between Africans and [162]
Europeans.

a) The increase in the number of Europeans -- which
has increased at least sixfold since 1939, while the African popu- [161]
lation has undoubtedly not even tripled -- has been accompanied
by qualitative changes: development of the categories of tech- [463]
nicians, workers, artisans, petty employees, petty merchants.
This population, despite the sense of a strong solidarity (which
is admitted in time of crisis) vis-à-vis the African population,
has seen a division /19/ into classes inherited from the society [565]
of origin become marked. At the same time, the European
community has withdrawn into itself, developing its own ser-
vices (specialized merchants, etc.).

b) The evolution of habitat zones reflects these trans- 369x
formations. The close checkerwork of the original plan of 563
Pinet-Laprade still encompasses multi-racial quarters (where 361
the Lebano-Syrians have taken a greater and greater place).
But, in the course of the development of the town, the Médina,
almost exclusively African (1), has been added to them in the

1. Some Europeans live there, [362]
however; the general housing
crisis largely accounts for this.

north, while purely European residential quarters developed
in the south. The recent zones set up on the other side of the
Médina for the residences of functionaries likewise allow for
little mixing. Finally, with the reconstruction of new build-
ings, the European town, starting from the southern zone,
gained on the mixed quarters, and a movement toward a clearer
segregation of the habitat zones is taking shape, segregation
which is in no way official, but which is considered desirable
by the majority of the European population (2) and is based in

2. Differences in way of life,

/90 cont./

369 As one may well imagine, the most populated zones are
563 the ones located near the railroad workshops; Derrière-la-
[161] voie-ferrée, Randoulène, and Bambara have densities from
102 to 125 inhabitants per hectare (14). These quarters are

14. In French Equatorial Africa, in the quarters of Brazzaville (Poto-Poto and Bacongo), it reaches 100 inhabitants per hectare. Information taken from Documents and Statistics, Ministry of the F.O.M., No. XI, March 1954, p. 25.

at the same time the places of the most complete intermingling; almost 40% of the population is made up of elements foreign to the region of Thiès where Wolof and Sérère live.

We quote these figures, of course, in order to pose the problem of contacts between the various ethnic groups and of the relations between individuals.

369 Nevertheless, we should set apart the Moor group,
563 whose conduct clearly differs from that of its colored neigh-
573 bors. The Moors do not have any relations with the Blacks,
except for purely commercial reasons. They meet only among themselves, travel only accompanied by one of their fellows. Their sobriety, their sense of thrift (often carried to excess), and their frigid calm estrange them from the often expansive temperament of the Blacks. Perhaps a certain feeling of superiority toward the population which they dominated before our arrival is the origin of this profound gap between people of identical material circumstances.

369 /91/ The Black masses seem at first estimate to form
563 a homogeneous whole. Nevertheless, among the elements
which compose it there exist traditional distinctions of
customary, ethnic, and religious origin, and social distinc-
[182] tions linked to recent structures: a new hierarchy in the

/91 cont./

369 177 563 [584] [593] [182] families in which the father imposes on the child the spouse of his choice. The spread of the teaching of the Moslem and Christian religions count for much in this loosening of the too confining ties of family tradition. This breaking up of ancient, too narrow social structures is not a strictly /92/ urban phenomenon; it also occurs in the countryside, but with less force and with a certain delay.

369 565 178 The presence of the industrial bloc of the Dakar-Niger, on the other hand, has had as an effect the formation of a working class, which is a specifically urban phenomenon. Although the ancient system of castes does exist in human contacts, that of social class is little by little being substituted for it. In sum, there actually exists a superposition of the two systems, but the pre-eminence of the second is already being affirmed. Through daily contacts and the rapid diffusion of social ideas coming from the West, the mass of workers is organized, it is grouped by syndicates, it has set up consumer co-operatives. Because of the great number of the members of this worker group, the workshops of the Dakar-Niger and, through repercussion, the city of Thiès itself have become the most active and the busiest centers of French West Africa. The strike that in 1948 paralyzed railroad traffic on the two lines (Dakar-Bamako and Dakar--Saint-Louis) for several months is certainly proof of the influence of a powerful and organized grouping, and a typical urban phenomenon.

[177] [467] [474] [468]

369 563 578 Thus there exists in Thiès a somewhat special social climate that sometimes makes the relations between Whites and Blacks strained. Chiefly during these periods of social crises. But these tensions are always temporary and automatically disappear as soon as the conflict is settled.

369 161 A much more important problem that seems general in all of the cities of Black Africa is that of the too rapid, if not excessive, swelling of the urban population. We have seen that the population of Thiès has almost doubled from 1945 (24,000 inhabitants) to 1953 (40,000 inhabitants). Dakar, Conakry, and Abidjan have grown in the same proportions.

[162]

/1/

125 During the years 1960 and 1961, a demographic investigation by sampling was undertaken over the whole territory, the first one in the history of Senegal. (Administrative counts, city censuses, and an investigation in the central valley of the river /Senegal River/ had been made previously, but never a demographic inquiry covering the whole territory.)

[369] [162] The country has been divided into two large parts: the urban zone, composed of the whole region of Cape Verde and the cities of Thiès, Saint-Louis, Ziguinchor, Diourbel, and Louga; and the rural zone, which includes the rest of the territory. The sampling fraction was 1/50 in the rural zone and 1/20 in the urban zone. Subsequently a sampling to the twentieth was obtained by dividing into two a certain number of maps of the rural zone.

It will be seen merely from the method utilized that it renders illusory the study of small groups /groupes à effectif réduit/. It should be acknowledged from the first that the numbers below 500 (that is, 25 in the sample) are not significant.

II - The Structures:

III - The geographic distribution:

114 The operations in the field begun in the month of April 1960 were terminated in the month of August 1961 (April-June '60 for the rural zone, July '60 to August '61 /2/ for the urban zone). It should be acknowledged that on the whole the numbers indicated below correspond to the situation on the date of 1 July 1960. (Table 1 on following page)

162

This table shows, on the one hand, the low average density and, on the other hand, its great variability.

[563] The non-African population is made up essentially of French and Lebano-Syrians. It is heavily concentrated in the urban zone and particularly in Cape Verde: 74% of the non-Africans of Senegal are actually in residence there. Moreover, this concentration has become accentuated in recent years for several reasons: the departure of the Senegalese and Mauritanian governments from Saint-Louis; the closing of a number of agencies in the interior following the change in the commercial circuits.

161 648

/4 cont./

162
[563]

Table 3 - Population of the Cities of the Urban Zone (1)

City	Africans	Non-Africans	Total
Dakar	336,580	38,120	374,700
Kaolack	68,160	1,400	69,560
Thiès	66,940	2,200	69,140
Rufisque-Bargny	48,280	1,380	49,660
Saint-Louis	47,700	1,140	48,840
Ziguinchor	29,520	340	29,840
Diourbel	27,820	740	28,560
Louga	16,120	160	16,280

1. The total population of these cities does not correspond exactly to the population of the urban zone given below, because all of the region of Cape Verde, including the cantons of Sangalkam and Sébikotane, has been included in the urban zone.

/5 cont./ it is necessary to take note of the fact that Dakar has been in existence scarcely more than 75 years. Its rate of growth, remarkably stable since 1890, stays at between 6% and 7% per year. At this rate, Dakar will have 1,275,000 inhabitants in 20 years and will contain a quarter of the inhabitants of Senegal.

[161]

The rural population is about 2,390,000 inhabitants distributed in 13,000 communes or villages. The average population of a village is thus less than 200 inhabitants. This fact is not unimportant, because this great dispersion increases the "general expenses" of the nation, if one can use this term. It is obvious that instruction in schools, for example, is more costly when settlements are dispersed, whether the classes have an attendance lower than is normal or whether it is necessary to arrange for collecting the students. There is thus reason for encouraging regroupings as much as possible.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[+395]

CHAPTER VIII

SENEGAL AND THE DISTRICT OF DAKAR

1. GENERAL

Senegal. Area: 77,220 square miles. Population (1937): 1,666,374. Density per square mile: 21·58. Capital: St. Louis. 161 [131]

District of Dakar. Area: 66 square miles. Population (1937): 126,929. Density per square mile: 1,923·16. Headquarters: Dakar. [162] [633]

ALTHOUGH it has fewer inhabitants than most of the other colonies and a lower density of population than Dahomey or the Ivory Coast, Senegal is the most important of all the members of the Federation. Much of the colony is semi-desert, but the remainder is closely settled by some of the most vigorous and progressive peoples of French West Africa. Most of the native citizens are Senegalese, and the fame of the tirailleurs is known in every land. The colony contains some of the earliest French settlements, and its honourable position is attested by the fact that it alone in the Federation sends a direct representative to the Chamber of Deputies at Paris. [101] 162 648

The full title of the District of Dakar is the *Circonscription de Dakar et Dépendences*. Besides the town of Dakar it includes Goree, Rufisque, the territory round them, and a few small enclaves inside Senegal. One of these enclaves is at Sebikotane, where is situated the William Ponty School. The District has been a separate political entity since 1924, and its Administrator is not responsible to the Governor of Senegal. 633

The British colony of the Gambia has all its land frontiers with Senegal. 131

The greatest distance from north to south in Senegal is 249 miles, and the greatest from west to east is 365 miles. The colony extends from 12° 19′ N. to 16° 42′ N. and from 17° 20′ W. to 11° 20′ W. The extreme west of the Cape Verde peninsula is 17° 32′ W.

Boundaries. The Atlantic Ocean forms the main western boundary. The only exceptions to this are the frontier with the Gambia and the boundary between Senegal and Dakar. The latter leaves the coast at 14° 49′ N. and runs roughly south-south-east until it is 2 miles from Goree bay. There it turns east and afterwards south to strike the bay 1 mile east of Rufisque.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 1797 with which the Society of the Holy Spirit was united in 1848. About the same time a house of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception (the Blue Sisters) was established at Dakar, which has been the Roman Catholic metropolis of French West Africa ever since.

In 1906, on the separation of Church and State in France, the government subsidies to the Roman Catholic missions were withdrawn. In 1930 the Roman Catholics in Senegal had 67 European S [162] priests, sisters, and lay workers aided by 175 native catechists and teachers. Professing Roman Catholics numbered 22,300. A mag- S [368] nificent cathedral, the work of many years, was consecrated at Dakar in 1936.

The only Protestant mission in Senegal is that of the Société des Missions Évangéliques de Paris, which began work in the colony in S [162] 1863. Its adherents number about a hundred.

8. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION AND INLAND TOWNS

Distribution of Population

S *Senegal*

● 161 Senegal is the third most densely populated colony, with an average of 21·58 persons per square mile and a total population in 1937 of 1,666,374. The distribution, however, varies greatly within the colony itself. The regions of Fouta and Ferlo are almost uninhabitable, while the provinces of Baol, Sine-Saloum, and Thiès have more than 50 persons per square mile. The coastal provinces of Bignona and Ziguinchor, south of the Gambia, are equally closely S settled. The left bank of the Senegal, roughly from Bakel to Podor, [311] supports a fairly dense agricultural population. [36]

Growth has been steady, the figures for 1921, 1926, and 1931 being 1,225,523, 1,318,287, and 1,584,273 respectively. There is no doubt that the colony is capable of supporting many more inhabitants than S it does at present.

162 *Natives.* More than 580,000 Ouolofs live in Senegal. These are 563 among the most energetic and intelligent peoples of the Federation, W and they provide the bulk of the famous Senegalese Tirailleurs. [162] There are about 250,000 each of Sérères, Mandingos, and Fulani, [701] and 150,000 Toucouleur. Broadly speaking, the Ouolofs live north and east of Dakar, the Sérères south-east thereof, the Toucouleur

/99 cont./

S 162 Population. As we have just seen in this brief historical account, the principal native races occupying the region are: the Sérère, the Socé or Mandingue, the Toucouleur, and the Peuhl.

The population is distributed as follows:

Ouoloff	105,000	inhabitants
Sérère	85,000	"
Mandingue or Socé	50,000	"
Peuhl	10,000	"
Foreigners and miscellaneous	15,000	"
Total	280,000	inhabitants

S [161] In 15 years, the population, which in 1913 numbered 180,000 natives, increased by more than a third. This result is due, not only to the birth rate, but also and above all to the immigrants from neighboring countries (Upper Gambia, Sudan, Guinea, Casamance), who are attracted by the economic development of the region.

S 791 SR [771] S [795] Religion. Fetishism is losing ground to the benefit of Islamism. This religion is predominant at present. Only the Sérère still preserves his ancestral customs, but he is attracted to the religion of Islam. Three Moslem sects are represented: the Tidjania, the Kadria, and the Murids.

Muridism, a new religious sect which has as prophet the venerated marabout, the late Serigne Bamba, has its great mosque at N'Diourbel in Baol.

/100/ The Moslem populations are the Ouoloff, the Toucouleur, and a part of the Socé.

SR [771] The fetishism of the Sérère is a naturistic cult.

SR 105 [611] The customs are derived from the matriarchy. It is a regime of castes. Paternal authority is preserved intact in the family, with, however, respect for the mother and certain prerogatives of the maternal line, notably in the matter of succession. The captive, formerly, was treated gently by his

/104 cont./

743 Medical aid. Medical aid and the struggle against epidemics are assured by the dispensaries set up at Kaolack and Fatick, each directed by a European doctor.

[759] The latter have under their orders native doctors and midwives residing in the chief town or distributed at the medical posts.

[652] The commune of Kaolack also has a municipal dispensary under the direction of a European doctor who is paid out of the funds of the communal budget.

744 Urban hygienic services likewise exist in the principal agglomerations of the circle, especially at Kaolack, Fatick, Foundiougne, Gossas, and Kaffrine.

Anti-variolic vaccination is practiced in even the smallest villages.

III. Economic Development

162 Labor force. The population of the circle is 28,000 natives and 1,300 Europeans and assimilated individuals.

● 161 The population density is thus 10.8 inhabitants per square kilometer, a proportion higher than the average for the whole of French West Africa, which does not amount to three inhabitants per square kilometer.

464 An employment office operates in the circle.

This does not prevent /Pl. 1 appears here/ /105/ serious difficulties in the recruitment of the labor force. The latter is unstable and inexperienced. Wages are not high at all,
465 especially in the cities.

At the time of the loading of the ships in the port of Kaolack, the wages of the workers sometimes climb to 15 and 20 francs per day. They are set on the average at 12 francs.

In some European operations, as at Latmingué, the agricultural workers have a daily wage of eight francs and in addition receive a ration of rice.

[14 cont.]

W
*795
162
S
795
●162

2. Circle of Baol (Diourbel)

The circle of Baol is at the present time the area par excellence of Muridism, the area where, owing to favorable circumstances, it has developed widely since 1887. It includes today 33,000 persons affiliated with the sect (cf. Appendix No. 5), that is to say, two-fifths of the Moslems [15] and one-fifth of the total population of the circle. The adepts are not distributed evenly throughout the circle. Nearly all of them being of the Ouolof race, they are found especially in the region to the north of the Thiès-Kayes railroad. They also travel in small groups along the railroad. The cantons with the most Murids are those of Guéoul, Thièpe, Diette-Salao, and La.

W
*795

Special note will be made of the centers of 1) Diourbel, 2) Moaké-Darou-Touba, 3) Gaouane, 4) Bambey and environs.

W
793

Diourbel. Of very special interest at the present day as far as the Muridism of Amadou Bamba is concerned, owing to the presence of the Grand Master of the confession in this railroad stop.

The Sérigne -- about 60 years old -- lives in a compound in the same town. His establishment, to this day, is quite curtailed. This state of affairs, which he has prolonged, was evidently a clear indication of his intention to show everyone that his stay there was only temporary.

At the moment things seem to be changing. Since his last promises to the local administration, he has had erected, under the direction of his disciple Ibra Fal, a large and spacious house on a large plot of ground next to the town. He wishes to prove by this gesture, as he has pointed out, that his submission to French authority is unqualified and that his settlement at Diourbel is to be regarded by all as permanent. For the same purpose he has had two of his four wives, who up to now lived at Touba with the rest of his family, come to Diourbel.

Amadou Bamba teaches about 50 pupils at Diourbel itself.

[25 cont.]

*795 Penda Lo and his disciples for practicing charlatanism, swindles, breach of trust, and various disturbances have cooled the zealots to a considerable extent. In this residence at the present time there are said to be six marabouts followed by 40 talibés. Of these six marabouts, two are attached directly to Amadou Bamba, one is connected to him through his brother, Amadou Mbaké, and the others through his lieutenants.

The number of sérignes and talibés in the circle of Sine-Saloum is 281. Counting three or four women and children per man, one obtains a total figure of about a thousand persons affiliated with the sect of Amadou Bamba, which would represent 1.3 per cent of the Moslems and 0.5 per cent of the total population of the circle.

The following are attached:

Appendix No. 7. Circle of Sine-Saloum:

Enumeration by residence and canton of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Appendix No. 8. Circle of Sine-Saloum:

List by residence and canton of the principal Murid marabouts, their origin, their residence, their spiritual father, and the number of their talibés.

Appendix No. 9.

Letter from Amadou Bamba, dated 9 February 1913, disowning the marabout-agitator, Assane Touré.

4. Circle of Thies

*795 The Murid confession, which since 1910 has very sharply drawn to Thiés not only the attention of the local administration, but even that of the European traders in the railroad stops, [26] seems today to be on the wane in this circle.

S
Sr [30 cont.]
795 new "brother" finally succumbs to the influences around him and,
W after entrusting to the sheik his immortal interests, finally places
*795 into his hands the direction of his material life as well. This is the first breach made by Islam in the fetishistic block.

Let us hasten to add that it is very small because, as has already been mentioned, of the two residences of Thiès established in Sérère territory, one, that of the Petite Côte, has only a handful of Murids, while the other, that of Fissel, contains a strong Murid group only in the canton of Diobas. [31] This group consists almost entirely of a vanguard of Ouolof immigrants from Baol. There are only 200 Muridized Sérère, among whom there is but one important personnage.

W
*795 The total number of Murids in the circle[1] seems to be 5,080,
S which represents one-fifth of the number of Moslems and one-
●162 seventeenth of the total population of the circle.
795

ooo The following are attached:

Appendix No. 10. Circle of Thiès:
Genealogy of the Fal family (Sheik Ibra Fal).

Appendix No. 11. Circle of Thiès:
Enumeration by residence and canton of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Appendix No. 12. Circle of Thiès:
List by residence of the principal Murid marabouts, their origin, their residence; their spiritual father, and the number of their talibés.

5. Circle of Cayor (Tivaouane)

W
*795 The circle of Cayor (Tivaouane) constitutes, along with Baol (Diourbel) and the canton of Diobas (Thiès, Residence of Fissel), the center par excellence of the Muridism of Amadou Bamba.

At the present time, the circle is very nearly Islamized in its entirety. This Islamization was effected some 50 years ago

[1] [i.e., Circle of Thies --Analyst]

W *795 [31 cont.]
through the preachings of marabouts who came from Toucouleur
W territory via Diambour. These persons, whose names still live
[793] in the memories of scholars, [32] are: Mokhtar Doumbé, teacher
of Momar Antasali (the latter being the father and teacher of
Amadou Bamba);

Mamaka Kane, from his village of Sine Lèye Kane, and Semba
Cor, from Tivaouane, spread Islam in Saniakhor;

Aboulaye Si, apostle of the Mboul.

It was especially the influence of Ma Ba, elimane of Saloum, that was decisive, however. His fiery preaching and his calls to holy war drew many natives to him. The triumph was complete on the day when the damel Lat Dior sought the support of Islam for the sake of his cause. His conversion was followed by that of his subjects, whom he commanded, like all Black rulers, to embrace his religion.

W At the present day the circle is divided between Tidiania and
[798] Qadria, and the adepts of these two Moslem religious orders regard each other more as mutual heretics than as co-religionists
W belonging to two orthodox brotherhoods.
793

The Tidiania are subject to Si El-Hadj Malik, a marabout well disposed towards our influence.

The Qadria, in small numbers, are attached to Sheik Sidia (brotherhood of the Qadria-Lessidia), to Sheik Saad Bouh (brotherhood of Qadria-Fadelia), to a very influential local marabout, Sheik Bou Kounta, who resides at Keur Bou Kounta, six kilometers from Tivaouane, but in major part especially to the Qadri Muridism of Amadou Bamba.

W The circle of Cayor seems to merit special attention as far as
*795 Islam is concerned, first of all, because of the number of Moslems,
S 134,000 out of 140,000 inhabitants, or 27/28ths of the total popu-
795 lation, but especially because of the budding efflorescence of
●[162] Muridisms which await only a favorable occasion in order to develop to the same extent as that of Amadou Bamba, and also because of the nature of the religious sentiments of these newly
W Islamized people. It [33] would seem that in this Cayor area,
[668] which was the center of the stubborn resistance of the Ouolof race

[33 cont.]

*W 795 668 to our domination, the natives became converted to Islam merely in order to find a basis for passive resistance on different grounds. S 795 The most loyal among them, the Tidiania of El-Hadj Mali or the Qadria of Sheik Bou Kounta, remain neutral; the indomitable ones hasten to join the Muridism of Amadou Bamba, because this religious leader, friend and marabout of the former damels and obviously aspiring to succeed them, has been set up as a kind of representative of the sentiment for the former independence.

S 795 The approaching loss of Sheik Bou Kounta will raise the problem of spiritual succession and a declassing of members. It *W 795 would be well to watch this brotherhood from now on and to have a very clear political course. It seemingly would not be advantageous if the Qadria Murids of Bou Kounta, upon his death, were to augment the number of the Qadria Murids of Amadou Bamba.

S [162] The number of the Bamba Murids in the circle[1] is about 28,000 out of 134,000 Moslems and 140,000 inhabitants, which represents one-fifth of the total population, and obviously one-fifth of the Islamized population.

*W 795 793 Province of Saniakhor. The principal Murid villages are: Maummou, near Piré; Ngouï and Médina in the canton of Mbar. Médina is under the spiritual leadership of an aged and influential marabout: Mabèye Bèye. This sheik, the son of a sérigne who was formerly influential himself, Ibra Bèye, and of a Lebbou mother, joined the Bamba brotherhood some six years ago. He had formerly met Amadou Bamba in the entourage of Lat Dior and Semba Laobé, where he was a marabout. He is a rich farmer who has brought together 200 or 300 disciples and followers in the Mekhé area. A friend of Ibra Fal, he maintains close relations with this sheik.

[34] Keur Momar Ovarka, the village of the sérigne Momar Ouarka Khan. The latter gathers about 60 talibés around him, half of whom follow his Koranic teachings.

[1] [i.e., circle of Cayor -- Analyst]

[36 cont.]

6. Circle of Louga

W *795 S 795 ●[162] The circle of Louga is now completely Islamized. Four peoples, Ouolof, Peul, Toucouleur, and Moors, share its territory. Each of these peoples, in conformity with sociological laws, understands the doctrine and prescriptions of the Prophet according to the peculiar spirit of its race, and adapts them to its traditional institutions, but all claim to be Moslems in the religious realm.

Up to the end of 1911, the circle, or more specifically the province of Diolof, was an ardent seat of Muridism. The reason for this, however, was factitious. It was simply the presence of Amadou Bamba at Thiéène which provoked this unusual unrest.

When the Master left (January 1912), the disciples followed him. No more pilgrims were seen, and it can be stated that the influence acquired over the local populations was practically null. Today in the entire circle one could hardly point out 300 Murid sérignes and talibés, who represent a thousand persons affiliated with the brotherhood of Amadou Bamba. If it is noted that the circle contains 106,000 inhabitants, or [37] 106,000 Moslems (cf. Appendix No. 15), it will be seen that the proportion of the Murids is 1/106 of the Moslem and total population of the circle.

W [793] S [162] W 793

Only a few of the marabouts merit special mention in each of the five provinces which comprise the circle.

Province of Diolof. The province of Diolof is headed by a remarkably intelligent and energetic chief, Bouna N'diaye, who understands perfectly how to obtain the allegiance of all his subjects, no matter what their Islamic confession may be. The most important sérigne in this province is Khali N'diaye of Ouolof origin, who has a hundred talibés-workers at N'diayène and dispenses Koranic teaching to a dozen students.

W [871]

Province of North Diambour [Diambour septentrional]. North Diambour is no longer of much interest. There are about

W 793 [38 cont.]
brother is a source of worry to Amadou Bamba, who nevertheless shows him great partiality and gives him large sums of money, which are soon spent. This Murid of fancy, however, this Sheik Thioro, is still not content. He puts on airs, flirts with the businessmen and traders of Senegal, and offers his services to the administration. All this bustling in a vacuum is quite harmless, for no one takes Sheik Thioro seriously.

W *795 Provinces of N'guick-Mérina and Gandiolais. As one draws away from the Murid crescent which borders the Ferlo on the west, southwest, and south, [39] Amadou Bamba's influence vanishes. Thus, the provinces of N'guick-Mérina and Gandiolais are almost W [793] free of it. There is said to be a total of 80 sérignes and talibés in these two provinces, which represents a maximum of 250 persons under the spiritual authority of Amadou Bamba. No personality merits special mention.

ooo The appendices attached are:

Appendix No. 15. Circle of Louga:
Enumeration by province of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Appendix No. 16. Circle of Louga:
List by province of the principal Murid marabouts, their origin, their residence, their spiritual father, and the number of their talibés.

7. Dakar and Saint-Louis

W *795 369 S 795 369 [62] [66]
For the sake of completeness, the small number of Murids living in Dakar and Saint-Louis should be pointed out. There are about 140 in Dakar and 130 in Saint-Louis.

These Murids are not even inhabitants of the city, but immigrants from Baol, Cayor, and Diambour; Dakar, indeed, is too

W 793 [40 cont.]
The sheiks and sérignes who have some influence were given in special listings by circles. (Cf. Appendices No. 6, 8, 12, 14, 16.)

W *795 To summarize, the number of persons affiliated [41] with the order of Amadou Bamba may be set at 68,350. (Cf. Appendix No. 2: General enumeration of the Murids by circle.)

S ●162 If one deducts from this number the wives, children, and old people who are Murids because the head of the family is Murid, there remain some 10,000 adepts, mature men who are voluntarily attached to the Sérigne or to his lieutenants.

W [871] As for the number of students of all ages who are actually receiving some sort of instruction, it does not seem to exceed a thousand.

W *795 The Murids, except for some who, as has been said, are gathered in Dakar and Saint-Louis, are concentrated in a zone of habitation that is shaped like a crescent. (Cf. Appendix No. 1: Geographic schema of the Murid confession of Amadou Bamba.) This Murid crescent follows the Ferlo on the west and south, with its lower point in East Saloum, and its thickest part formed by the circles of Cayor (Tivaouane) and Baol (Diourbel) and a fraction of the circle of Thiès. The inner curve follows the line of demarcation between the steppes of the Ferlo and the cultivated areas; the outer curve follows roughly the Dakar -- Saint-Louis and Thiès-Kayes railroads and overlaps only slightly to the west and south of these lines.

In conclusion it should be added that this word Murids, as used to designate the talibés of Amadou Bamba, is not liked very much by the Sérigne. He himself likes to call them the "Bakïïn," meaning both the people of M'baké (his zaouïa) and the disciples of M'baki (himself). In French we would say "Bakïïtes."

1: Marty--124 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

/144/

S
W
795
S
162

Appendix No. 2

General enumeration by circles of all the Murids of Amadou Bamba.

Circle of Baol	33,000
Circle of Sine Saloum	1,000
Circle of Thiès	5,080
Circle of Cayor	28,000
Circle of Louga	1,000
Dakar	140
Saint-Louis	150
Total	68,[illegible]50

W
601
793

Appendix No. 3

Genealogy of the M'baké family.

- Mballa.
  - Diara Bousso.
    - Momar Diara.
      - Mohammed.
      - Amadou Bousso.
      - Sheik Abd El-Qader
      - Mohammed Lamine.
    - Amadou Bamba.
      - Mohammed Mostafa.
      - Mohammed Fadel.
      - Mohammed Lamine.
      - Mohammed Bachir.
  - Momar.
    - Ibra Fati
      - Ibrahim.
      - Mohammed El-Habib.
  - Fatia Diop
- Mbaké.
  - Antasali.
    - Sheik Anta.
      - Mohammed Mostafa.
      - Ibrahim.
      - Sérigne.
  - Anta N'Diaye.
    - Amadou Mbaké.
    - Niang.
      - Amadou.
  - Thioro Diop.
    - Sheik Tioro.
      - Mohammed.
    - Mballa Mbaké
      - Mohammed.
  - Hafsa Diahhaté.
    - Sheik Hafsa.
      - Fati Benta (daughter)
  - Issa Dièye.
    - Masemba.
      - Mohammed.
  - Ibra Mbaké.
    - Amor M'baké.

1: Marty--125 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

W
601
793

/145/

Appendix No. 4

Genealogy of the Bousso Family.

Sérigne Mohammed Bousso.

- M'baké Bousso (Wife: Kadia, half sister of Amadou Bamba).
  - Amadou-
  - Alioune.
- (Wife: Sheik El-Hadj Bousso Rokiata, full sister of Amadou Bamba.)
  - Momar Bousso.
  - Bou Baker.

Appendix No. 5

Circle of Baol (Diourbel.)

Enumeration by cantons of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

S
162
795
W
795

Names or cantons	Number of Murids	Number of Islamized	Number of Total Population	Races that Inhabit the Canton
Diack	785		15,980	Sérère
Fandène	1,513		11,117	Ouolof
Guéoul	9,528		16,441	--
Dondolle	378		13,492	Sérère
Pègue	1,768		12,918	Ouolof
Thiépe	4,097		14,929	---
Ndadène	861		9,551	Sérère
Kontor	809		3,438	Peul
Diette Salao	6,142		12,185	Ouolof
Ngoye	760		13,507	Sérère
La	5,645		16,221	Ouolof and Peul
Mbayar-Bidiar	633		26,051	Sérère
Total	32,919	86,000	161,830	

1: Marty--128 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS30

/148/

S
162
795
W
795

Appendix No. 7
Circle of Sine-Saloum
Enumeration by residences and canton of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

		Murids Sérignes[1]	Murids Talibés[2]	Islamized	Total population
Residence of Saloum. Cantons of:	Kaolack				
	Laghem	4	36		
	Kahone	4	9		
	Nguer	1	4		
	Diokoul				
	Goudiaye	5	5		
	Total	14	54	18,193	42,668
Residence of Sine Cantons of:	Diakhao	2	18		
	Dioine	6	0		
	Diouroup Djilas	0	0		
	Songhaï	0	0		
	Maroutte	11	91		
	Gayokèime	2	11		
	Total	21	120	12,697	86,616
		0	0		
Residence of Lower Saloum	Nimbato				
	Djilor	0	0		
	Total			15,419	19,508
Residence of Rip	Oualo-Kayemor	2	0		
	Saback-Rip	1	5		
	Niom-Rip	2	16		
	Total	5	21	19,301	20,850

[1] [i.e., one followed by disciples--Analyst]
[2] [i.e., disciples--Analyst]

1: Marty--129 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS39
Wolof MS30

/148 cont./

(Appendix No. 7 cont.)

S
162
795
W
795

		Murids Sérignes	Murids Talibés	Islamilized	Total population
Residence of East Saloum	Ndoukoumane-Pakalla	4	18		
	Koungheul	2	22		
	Total	6	40	10,742	13,284
General Total		281		76,352	182,926

/149/

S
W
793

Appendix No. 8

Circle of Sine-Saloum

List by residences and cantons of the principal Murid marabouts, their origins, their residences, their spiritual fathers, and the number of their talibés. 1/n

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	No. of Talibés
Residence of Saloum (Kaolack).				
Canton of Kaolack-Laghem.				
Tamsir Moussa Paté	Ouolof.	Pakatia.	Amadou Bamba.	11
Omar Diouf	"	Mbadiou.	Tamsir Moussa.	
Babakar N'Diaye	"	Mbouma.	Amadou Bamba.	4
Massakho Sakho	"	Tahoua.	Ibra Fati.	21
Canton of Kahone.				
Amadou Cissé.	"	Bill.	Amadou Fadiame.	7

1/n [i.e. disciples --Analyst]

1: Marty--134 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS30

/153/

Appendix No. 11

Circle of Thiès

Enumeration by residences and cantons of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

S
162
795
W
795

Residences and Cantons	Number of Murids	Number of Islamized	Total of the General Population	Observations
Residence of Thiès:				
Canton of Thiès	490	3,120	5,400	K. Ibra Fal.
" of Thor-Diander.	10	5,230	10,030	Darou.
Residence of the Sérère provinces:				
Canton of M'Badane Sadsal	30	540	12,120	Sassal.
Canton of Sandoc Diaganiao	"	920	8,540	
Canton of Sao Dimack	"	410	9,260	
Canton of the Diebas	4,300	5,580	13,850	Khaban Tassette.
Residence of the Petite Côte				
Canton of Nianing	50	4,410	7,200	Thiombologe.
Canton of Joal-N'Gohé	200	2,200	5,350	Thiadiaye.
		3,900	11,300	
Totals	5,080	26,400	83,050	

1: Marty--136 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

/154 cont./

S
W
793

(Appendix No. 12 cont.)

Names	Origins	Residences	Number of Talibés	Observations
Manik Diop.	Ouolof.	Malamsone.		
Momar Touré.	"	Tassette.	20	at Touré.
Abdou N'Doye.	"	"	20	at N'Doyène.
Sheik Madiop.	"	"	30	at Keur Madiop.
Sérigne Momar Senne	"	Pout.	10	
Laman Malik.	Sérère.	Pognom.		newly converted.
Residence of the Petite Côte (Nianing).				
Alioune Sal.	Ouolof.	Guélor.	50	imprisoned in 1910 for disturbances.

/155/

Appendix No. 13

Circle of Cayor

Enumeration by provinces of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

S
162
[795]
W
[795]

Provinces	Number of Murids	Number of Islamized	Total Population
Saniakhor.	6,000		
Mbakhol-Mboul.	10,000		
Guet.	12,000		
Total	28,000	133,400	139,150

Note. - The circle of Cayor contains 5,750 inhabitants who are not Islamized.

This number is made up of: about 5,000 Sérère, scattered in the cantons of N'Doute and M'Bar in the province of Saniakhor; 500 Laobé, scattered in the province of Guet; 200 Akou, in the railroad stops; and 50 Mandiago, distributed throughout the circle.

1: Marty--142 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS39
Wolof MS30

/160/

S
162
795
W
795

Appendix No. 15
Circle of Louga
Enumeration of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Provinces	Total Number of Murids	Moslems	General Total	Observations
Djolof.	300	36,895	36,895	
North Diambour	300	32,800	32,800	
South Diambour	150	14,678	14,678	
N'Guick Merina	150	14,582	14,582	
Gandiolais.	100	7,073	7,073	
	1,000	106,028	106,028	

/161/

S
W
793

Appendix No. 16
Circle of Louga
List by provinces of the principal Murid marabouts, their origins, their residence, their spiritual fathers, and the number of their talibés.

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Province of Diolof:				
Abdou Kamara.	Onolof.	Kamara.	Amadou Bamba	2
Alioun M'Baye.	"	Nboundiane.	"	2
Modo Sankhe.	"	Tiankhé.	"	2
Khali N'Diaye.	"	N'Diayène.	"	110
Diadé N'Dao.	"	Iagne Sagata.	"	8
Baba Fati M'Baye.	"	Mbaïène.	"	6
Alle Khari.	"	"	"	5

/23 cont./

793 way to a frank and full collaboration between the representatives
*795 of authority and the Murid leaders of all ranks.

*795 The effective and efficient discipline which prevails in the
631 brotherhood permits exercising over those under its jurisdiction
793 a kind of indirect administration, always easier to achieve than direct administration. This formula was used especially from 1940 to 1946 when it was a question of producing the utmost quantities of groundnuts. This collaboration between the Murid marabouts and the Governors did away with many reticences and prejudices and had the result of increasing the prestige and influence of the former, not only within the brotherhood, but also in all of Senegal.

793 Today this collaboration perhaps has a few more nuances,
*795 but it remains important. Relations between the heads of ad-
652 ministrative divisions and the Murid marabouts are always very
631 polite and very close; the marabouts receive sizable economic and financial aid from the Administration. The Sociétés de
[654] Prévoyance /Welfare Societies/ advance them large tonnages of groundnut seed. Then again, short-term and long-term agricultural credits are granted to them, either for putting into good condition each of the agricultural fields (wintering credits) or to allow them to modernize or mechanize their cultivation; finally, administrative subsidies are also given for the construction of the Mosque of Touba. On the other hand, the marabouts preach to their talibés respect for established authority /24/ and call upon them to do their duty vis-à-vis Administration, notably in whatever concerns the payment of taxes and the reimbursements for the seed to the Sociétés de Prévoyance.

*795 The Murids thus have an important place in the life of
● 162 Senegal. Their number is estimated at 400,000, which represents a quarter of the Islamized population of the territory. One quarter of the brotherhood is established in the circle of Diourbel and two other quarters are distributed in the regions adjacent to the circles of Kaolack, Thiés, Louga, and Linguère, that is to say, the Murids have remained closely grouped around
[793] their land of origin, Baol. They live there for the most part in

/24 cont./

* 795 793 [162] farming villages (dara) which the marabouts have established in the bush, sometimes at the expense of non-Murid native villages. The tonnages of groundnuts which they produce there can bring their marabout more than a million CFA francs a year, provided that each one has about a hundred talibés (which is not out of the ordinary) to work for him. If one remembers that the talibés who do not work directly for the marabout pay him a tithe from their salaries and their income, one can easily realize the financial facilities which a Murid religious leader can enjoy.

The faithful do not object at all to thus feeding the treasury of their Sérigne ... on the contary!

Here is a little anecdote which will prove that even the poorest do it readily and willingly:

One day, a "Great Marabout" crossing Diourbel in his Chrysler stopped in an avenue of the city to greet the subdivision head whom he had just passed and to exchange a few words with him. Just beside them, at the foot of a mango tree on the edge of the avenue, an old woman was settled, selling fruit on a wretched basket. As soon as the "commander" had left, this old woman approached the car, whose occupant she had recognized, and at the same time as she paid her respects to him gave him the money that she had with her, perhaps all of her meager receipts for the morning.

This explains why it is that the representatives of the marabouts who go from city to city collecting from the disciples who do not till the soil for the benefit of their patrons never come back empty-handed, and that the Murid officials would never go to the Magal without bringing to their marabouts substantial gifts, in money or in kind, to allow them to organize the receptions they give on this occasion in their Touba residences.

As a consequence of this, one will not be surprised at the lavishness of the way of life that at least some, if not all, of the Murid "Great Marabouts" can lead. They live in /25/ modern, in truth luxurious establishments, a permanent house,

S
SR
369
438
[234]
[233]
[465]

/380 cont./

to the shepherd as compensation for services rendered. Although lactation is very poor (one to two liters per day per head), this sale practiced in the city at a relatively high price (30 francs per liter) is a source of not inconsiderable profit.

F
[233]
[465]
SR
[231]
[417]

The Sérère, despite the poor food resources he commands, practices for the benefit of Europeans the raising of pigs in the narrow and miry enclosures formed by stakes driven deeply into the ground and close together.

S
[361]

The mode of settlement and the economy of these suburban villages, although they have not had profound modifications, nevertheless are in the process of continual reorganization and adaptation.

These very modest contributions of the urban economy thin out very rapidly as one goes farther from the city. Karamoko and Keur-Mamour, located six and seven kilometers from the escale, and even Diakhaté, which is nearer, give the appearance of wholly rural villages. The women who each morning leave in Indian file /381/ to sell their products in the city make up the single element that enters into the circuit of the new economy offered to them.

S
121
369

Has the social and economic organization, on the other hand, been more profoundly modified? An examination of the ethnic and functional composition of the groups of the villages will permit an understanding of the data on this problem.

For this study we have grouped the villages under three rubrics:

1. The assemblage of Tiali, Thiès-None, and Sapko; near the escale, but having undergone perturbations in their economy by the loss of part of their land.

2. Keur-Mamour and Karamoko form the group farthest from the city.

3. Diakhaté and Keur-Issa-Bambara are the two villages near the escale which have not suffered any loss of territory.

S
SR
369
162

The first assemblage musters a total population of 405

S SR 369 [162] /381 cont./ inhabitants. These three villages are located less than two kilometers from the first urban quarters, consequently a favorable location for the daily departure of workers for the escale.

S SR 369 162 [563] The ethnic composition of these agglomerations, despite the urban proximity (favorable for the mixing of peoples), has remained homogeneous. At Sapko there is no foreign element; at Tiali two Wolof and one Sérère-Sine were working there temporarily at the time of the time of the inquiry; by contrast, nearly a tenth of the population of Thiès-None is made up of individuals belonging to non-Sérère ethnic groups (Wolof, Toucouleur, Peul). A parallel must be drawn between this quite relative heterogeneity and the almost total Islamization of the locality. Nearly four-fifths of the population of Thiès-None has embraced this religion; Sapko and Tiali, by contrast, remain essentially Catholic or fetishistic, the Moslems living there generally being transient elements.

S SR [771]

S SR 582 794 [563] A kind of self-defense by the Catholic group that lives in a region largely Islamized seems to be one of the primary reasons for this ethnic integrity. Under the influence of the fathers, who possess, it seems, a profound authority over every Christian agglomeration, marriages occur from None village to None village and between Catholics (1).

S SR [177]

1. The woman seems to be the element through which the transition from the Catholic religion to the Moslem religion occurs. The young Christian who marries a Moslem no longer practices and quickly abjures her first religion; her children and the whole line will become Islamized under the paternal influence.

S SR 162 369 /382/ An examination of the male and economically active population of these three agglomerations gives the result that 38% of its elements have remained essentially

S /382 cont./
SR agricultural, 27% work wholly at Thiès, and 31% divide
162 their activity between the city and the country, depending
369 on the season and the labor market.

S Thus, the decrease in the cultivable area has brought
SR about a decrease in the number of cultivators. But the None
241 is above all a man of the soil, a peasant. Even as a laborer, he will not give up his bit of land which will give him a harvest. Each evening upon his return from work, he will take up his iler (1) and go to cultivate his lougan of millet

S
SR
[412]

1. Hilaire or iler: implement par excellence of the Senegalese cultivator, made up of a metal blade in the shape of a heart fixed to a long handle.

S or groundnuts. And if he has an occupation that suits him in
SR the city and in addition personally owns good land? He will
241 hire the services of a navétane (2) to whom he will relinquish
369
427

2. Seasonal agricultural worker.

a portion of his land and to whom he will grant some free time for his personal crops. This navétane will work his fields, and, through this procedure, he will be able to sell or amass a considerable harvest at the end of the year.

S An examination of the occupation of temporary or
SR permanent workers shows an important number of laborers,
162 19, of masons, 12, and a more modest number of boys
463 /domestic workers/ and shopkeepers, 8, out of a total of 71 workers. These results corroborate those given in the human study of the escale of Thiès.

S In spite of a relatively close urban neighborhood, the
SR number of inhabitants understanding French is very modest:
162 only 33 understand our language; 15 children out of a hundred
191 go to the nearby French school. These results may appear
[871] deceptive if one considers that all the conditions of the milieu seem favorable for closer contact with the European element.

/382 cont./

S 162 An examination of the suburban villages farthest from Thiès will give even lower figures.

S 162 563 Karamoko, located seven kilometers from the city, musters 106 inhabitants. Its ethnic composition is clearly different from that of the above None villages. Very great heterogeneity prevails there; it is made up of 30% Bambara, 30% Wassoulonké, and 25% Peul-Toucouleur. The Bambara and Wassoulonké form the ethnic base of the village, of which they were the creators. The other elements through the play of marriages have superimposed themselves on these groups.

W [563] /383/ Keur-Mamour, by contrast, has remained Wolof; only a few Peul shepherds have infiltrated into the village.

S 162 369 463 The distance from the urban center has considerably reduced the relations with Thiès. They have both remained rural: less than [illegible]% of the economically active male population have non-agricultural work; more than 60% have remained wholly faithful to the land.

S W 369 463 317 At Keur-Mamour, although some elements were formerly employed in the escale itself, at the time of the inquiry only one-tenth were employed as laborers at the Péchiney phosphate quarries located in the vicinity of their village. (We have here an indirect effect of the urban presence: the opening of extra-urban yards offering extra-rural work to the neighboring villages.) As a consequence no worker was employed in the city itself.

S 369 Karamoko and Keur-Mamour thus present limited characteristics of the urban suburbs.

Keur-Issa-Bambara and Diakhaté, located in the vicinity of the escale (about one kilometer from the first outskirts), would have to form the type proper of the suburb.

S 369 563 162 W [563] The ethnic composition is essentially Wolof at Diakhaté, composite at Keur-Issa-Bambara. In this latter agglomeration the Bambara, the Peul, and the Toucouleur respectively account for 30% in the composition of the group. The remainder is made up of Wassoulonké, Wolof, Malinké, and Sarakolé. Consequently the heterogeneity seems to be greater there than

/383 cont./

369 563 162 at Karamoko. This leads to the supposition that there is great instability on the part of the families who, coming from the Sudan, for example, momentarily settle in the village before being integrated into the urban population of Thiès.

An examination of the table below[1] will permit a comparison of the structure of the four non-None villages (the None villages are homogeneous, as we have seen above).

/384/ In the predominately rural villages, the number 369 563 162 166 of individuals born in the village almost balances the number of those born outside: Karamoko, 34 as against 35; Keur-Mamour, 28 as against 22. It should be emphasized that at Keur-Mamour most of the men were born in the village itself, 21 as against 3, but by contrast most of the women are of outside origin, 19 as against 7. At Karamoko, on the other hand, an equal number of men and women leave their village of birth to settle elsewhere.

In the predominately urban agglomerations, the individuals who come from the outside are clearly in the majority. At Diakhaté, 31 are natives of the village as against 48 from the outside. At Keur-Issa-Bambara, only 23 are natives of the village as against 51 from the outside. Let us note that the number of men and the number of women born outside of the village are nearly identical: 22 men as against 29 women at Keur-Issa-Bambara, 23 as against 25 at Diakhaté.

These comparative figures emphasize a greater ethnic mixture in the villages whose economy is marked by the presence of the city.

The villages of Sudanese origin in particular require complementary data concerning the place of origin of the emigration. 563 162 166 To what extent do these villages maintain relations with their country of origin? Does the emigration movement toward Senegal, primed at the end of the last century, continue with as much strength in our day?

An examination of the place of birth of individuals belonging to the over-40 age group (early emigration) and the individuals not having reached this age (recent emigration) will illuminate

[1] [see cat 116, p 18 - ANALYST]

3: Savonnet--18 E-5 (no date) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

Wolof MS30

/383/

S
W
162
166

Persons Over 15 Years of Age	Karamoko = 106 persons (Bambara)			K. I. Bambara = 116 persons (Bambara)			K. Mamour = 86 persons (Wolof)			Diakhaté = 121 persons (Wolof)		
	M	W	Total	M	W	Total	M	W	Total	M	W	Total
Born in the village	15	19	34	18	5	23	21	7	28	18	13	31
Born outside of the village	16	19	35	22	29	51	3	19	22	23	25	48

/384 cont./

S 563 162 166 this problem.

At Keur-Issa-Bambara, out of 37 individuals born in the Sudan, 20 are over 40 years of age. At Karamoko, 28 are natives of the Sudan, but 18 have reached 40 years of age. Out of 65 individuals of Sudanese origin, only 27 are young elements. Over half of those classed under the rubric "emigrant" were aged persons, some of whom perhaps assisted in the creation of the village in Senegal.

These few figures are an index of the mediocrity of the present immigration of the Sudanese to the region of Thiès. The unions and the displacements of families or of familial elements seem to occur now between relatively close villages.

S 162 463 369 An examination of the division of activities at Diakhaté and at Keur-Issa-Bambara will permit to some extent "gauging" their index of urbanization.

W [162] [463] [369] At Diakhaté, 20% of the economically active male population work /385/ at Thiès, 60% have remained agriculturalists, and the remainder, 20%, is composed of workers of mixed activities, half-rural, half-urban. Keur-Issa-Bambara shows only a very low percentage of workers in mixed activities: 60% are rural; more than 30% work in the city (one sees that this latter figure is slightly higher than that for the None villages, 27%).

S [498] The workshops of the Dakar-Niger employ a considerable number of permanent or temporary workers from these two villages. These two localities in fact furnish 19 permanent city workers, 15 of whom are employed on the Dakar-Niger; among the four temporary workers from Keur-Issa-Bambara, three have worked in this enterprise. In addition, Diakhaté furnishes temporarily for the city: four tailors, one mason, and one carpenter.

W [463]

S 162 [191] [871] Let us add that a minority of natives, despite the contacts that they can have with Europeans, understand our language, a little less than 5%. The number of children who go to the European school is almost null, scarcely 1%.

S 369 After this quick study of some types of villages in the vicinity

/388/

369 The city of Thiès, 60 kilometers east of Dakar, contains
433 36,000 inhabitants, according to a recent census. All of its
[162] activity seems to be centered around four principal poles: commercial, industrial, administrative, and military.

Its commercial activity is due to its position at the cross-
[487] roads of important paths of communication: railroad lines from Dakar to Saint-Louis, from Dakar to Bamako, and from Thiès to Kaolack, and roads from Dakar to Saint-Louis and from Dakar to Diourbel, Tambacounda, and the Sudan and Guinea.

It also owes the essential part of its industrial activity to
[498] this implantation at an important rail crossroads; the repair
[464] shops of the Dakar-Niger rail system, where nearly 1,000 workers of all grades are employed, have been set up there.

Apart from the workshops of the Dakar-Niger, it must not
[497] be forgotten that Thiès is also where the management of this
[634] system resides. And it is also the principal administrative point of a circle /cercle, an administrative district/. We will thus find, besides the workers, a rather large proportion of office employees, managers, and executives.

[712] Finally, the military function of Thiès is due to the presence of two important camps: the "DMA" (Détachement Motorisé Autonome), and an air base.

Besides these four centers of activities which give this city a modern character (economically speaking, at least), a fifth
[166] one intervenes in a not inconsiderable proportion. A rather large
[241] population of cultivators, who in winter cultivate groundnuts and millet in nearby fields, has settled on the periphery of Thiès. And the city is the point to which, at the time of the groundnut trade, all of the agricultural activity of the circle comes to assert itself. Its commercial importance is thereby further increased.

162 /389/ Here is some numerical information concerning
463 the occupational distribution of the population of Thiès.

Out of an economically active population of 11,040 inhabitants at the date of the census, there were counted:

/389 cont./

162
463

11.6%	in the primary sector,	
	of whom: agriculturalists	10.9%
44.5%	in the secondary sector,	
	of whom: unskilled workers	0.7%
	skilled workers in construction	10%
	skilled modern workers	14.6%
	staffs and supervisors	1.1%
41.9%	in the tertiary sector,	
	of whom: domestics	2.7%
	commerce, transport and repair	11.4%
	sweepers, orderlies, porters	1.6%
	unskilled office employees	3.3%
	skilled office employees	1.8%
	highly skilled office employees and administrative staffs	1.1%
	public force	16.4% (1)

[113]

1. This information is taken from the publication drawn up by the Service de la statistique générale du Haut Commissariat de l'A.O.F., "Commune mixte de Thiès.

/389 cont./

162 463 [113]

Recensement 1953 /The mixed commune of Thiès. 1953 Census/." Dakar, 1954. We have only converted into percentages the figures given on pp. 25 ff. of this pamphlet.

121 114 By its very diversity, this population thus constitutes an excellent field of study and experiment for the sociologist and the economist.

A socio-demographic inquiry by questionnaire was made previously, in November and December 1953. The sample chosen contained 900 heads of families questioned (2). We

2. The results of this inquiry, which was supervised by Dr. Massé, will be published in the next issue of this Bulletin.

wished to complete it partially by studying some family budgets in a very limited number, 46, three of which proved to be useless.

114 Under no pretext should any general value be given to the results that are going to be presented. The trends shown will have to be confirmed by other, more extensive inquiries, in conformity with the resolution adopted in 1926 by the Third Conference of the Statisticiens du travail, which specified: "it is better to give up certain details which the inquiry might reveal than to reduce the number of families studied."

/390/ We have almost systematically taken a course opposite to this recommendation, because the information now available on the daily life of the Africans in the cities of Senegal (and in French West Africa in its totality) is still too insufficient for one to be able to undertake broader inquiries. On the other hand, and this was a major obstacle, we did not have at our disposal sufficient means to study a larger number of families. This has saved us from the temptation of looking too far; daily African life is at this point complex, particularly in its economic aspect, so that in certain respects the work accomplished and the documents

/392 cont./

125 From the standpoint of occupational distribution:
463
*511
5 cultivators,
8 laborers (one specialist),
3 orderlies,
3 "unskilled" office employees,
2 "skilled office employees,
1 "highly skilled" office employee,
6 "unskilled" workers,
4 "skilled" workers,
2 workers having functions of authority,
1 police sergeant,
4 artisans,
1 truck-gardener,
1 private accountant,
1 teacher,
1 African doctor.

125 /393/ From the standpoint of ethnic group (1):
●162
*511

1. According to the census of 1953, the distribution of the population of Thiès by principal ethnic groups is as follows:

Wolof	65.5%	Peul	3%
Toucouleur	9.3%	Sarakolé	1.8%
Bambara	6.8%	Moors	2.4%
Sérère	5.1%	Others	6.1%

26 Wolof,
4 Bambara,
3 Sarakolé,
3 Peul,
3 Toucouleur /Tukolor/,
2 Sérère /Serer/,
2 Moors.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

171 only black African territory where there was a sizeable
563 French community. In Dakar alone the French numbered
[160] 6,600 in 1931, 17,300 in 1948 and increased to nearly
30,000 in recent years. It is interesting to examine how the
colons on the spot reacted to the acceptance of Africans as
[369] equals in law and political rights and finally how far
assimilation, by providing a new common culture, was able
to break down traditional indigenous inter-ethnic hostilities.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

175 small island of Gorée further down the coast. However this did not mean that the French lacked interest in the interior. From 1749-53 Michel Adanson explored the Senegalese coast and undertook the first really scientific description of West Africa. His writings were largely responsible for the later hope that European colonisation of this part of Africa would be possible. But for the rest of the eighteenth century France's hold on St. Louis was too tenuous for anything of this nature to be undertaken. Indeed during the Seven Years' War the town fell to the British and was only returned
175 in 1779. By the end of the eighteenth century St. Louis
563 with a population of 7,000, had a European colony number-
369 ing 600, the largest on the whole of the West Coast. It also
[162] had an important assimilated mulatto community, whose descendants are known today as St. Louisiens. Indeed there had been a very high degree of *métissage* by the end of the eighteenth century, since most Frenchmen there took permanent African mistresses known as *signares*, and ensured the education of any children they had by them. Indeed in all but legal status these *signares* were wives and their 'marriages' were celebrated by their families with all the pomp of a normal wedding. However, with the improvement of communications between Senegal and France and the arrival of larger numbers of soldiers in the middle of the nineteenth century, mistresses were much more temporary in nature and the number of Frenchmen prepared to educate resulting offspring was considerably reduced.

175 In 1789 St. Louis sent its *cahier* of grievances to the States-
567 General on the eve of the French Revolution, demanding the end of the monopoly of the great companies, freedom of
[439] trade and the abolition of slavery, which had hitherto formed the main item of export from St. Louis. These grievances were heeded. Slavery was abolished and the companies had their charters withdrawn. But the position of slaves and slave-trading in the colonies was not in fact settled until the end of the wars that followed the French Revolution.

175 During these wars St. Louis once again fell to the British
648

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

9,000,000 most of whom were illiterate. Balzac, in 1845, wrote in his book *Les paysans*: 648

> For twenty million beings in France the law is merely a piece of white paper stuck on the door of the Church or the Town Hall . . . Many mayors of cantons turn their copies of the *Bulletin des Lois* into bags for holding raisins and seeds. As for the mere mayors of communes you would be shocked by the number who cannot read or write and by the way in which the civil registers are kept.

Most remarkable of the innovations of the short lived French Second Republic of 1848-52, in which the Revolution once more came into its own, was the granting of the right to Senegal of sending a deputy to the National Assembly in France. Grandly it was announced, 'The Colonies purified of slavery . . . will be represented in the National Assembly'. Effectively, such a deputy would be representing an overwhelming majority of African 'citizens' for metropolitan Frenchmen numbered then only some 500. However it was to take some time before the African citizens were to use this newly acquired right to elect one of their own number to the Assembly. [162] [563] [666]

The 1848 Revolution thus embroidered on the 1833 ordinance of the French monarchy by introducing a full scale assimilationist policy for the colonies of France. In Senegal it affected only a small number of people. And never again would France in her expansion through Africa apply this trend in her colonial policy so liberally to her newly acquired territories. Thereafter there was to be a tussle with those administrators who either felt that the inhabitants of the colonial territories were different and should be treated as such, or were overwhelmed by the practical problems involved in applying an assimilationist policy to a largely illiterate population spread over an area eight times the size of France.

The reaction to the liberal thinking of the second republic soon came with Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* by which an authoritarian Second Empire was established. In 1854 the right of electing a deputy was withdrawn from all

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 colonies other than Martinique, Guadeloupe and Réunion and at the same time they were subjected to rule by direct decree of the Emperor.

[167] It was under the Second Empire that the first great period of French colonial expansion in black Africa took place. It was during that regime that Faidherbe, who was to Senegal what Lugard was to Nigeria, first embarked on his African conquests. Faidherbe himself embodied this dichotomy in French colonial policy: an authoritarian agent of an authoritarian regime, he was often found introducing reforms and innovations that conformed with the most liberal application of an assimilationist policy.

[643] 360 [162] [563] [872] [797] [361] Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in 1854. At the time St. Louis, according to Abbé Boilaut in his *Esquisses sénégalaises* was a city of 12,336 inhabitants with only 177 Europeans. There were two primary schools run by Catholic missionaries. A full scale administration had succeeded in imposing on a town otherwise consisting mainly of single storey houses, a governor's palace, a 'very elegant Palace of Justice', a large naval hospital, a fine church and an army barracks.

648 643 From his base at St. Louis, Faidherbe, in a series of brilliant campaigns, notably against the powerful emir of Trarza and the Muslim reformist and Toucouleur leader, El Hadj Omar, was to lay the foundations of France's West African empire. To do this he organised the now famous *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, since Europeans did not stand up well to the climate and the prevalent diseases. By conquest or by treaty he brought most of modern Senegal and much of 643 Soudan (Mali) under French rule. He installed an efficient military administration, and even published an official [004] newspaper the *Moniteur du Sénégal*. Altogether Faidherbe was a remarkable man. He was a firm believer in the equality of races, and did much to increase the educational [871] facilities of the colony. He established a school for the sons of chiefs, and lay schools for Muslims, who objected to [797] attending the mission schools. Whilst Faidherbe wanted to

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 that belongs to us, our occupation should be limited to those parts necessary for assuring the suppression of brigandage, the freedom of trade and the tranquillity of an industrious population.

The land cultivated by them will provide produce which will become the object of lucrative trade for the European, the only kind of work he can undertake in this climate.

648 641 [161] [160] [563] By 1865 the colony of Senegal comprised 150,000 inhabitants of whom only some 15,000, living in the original French settlements of St. Louis and Gorée-Dakar, were French citizens. Indeed this number was not to increase noticeably until the end of the century, since the privileges granted to those Africans under French rule in 1848 were never extended to the interior. For whilst Faidherbe pursued a policy of assimilation in the main centres like St. Louis, Gorée and Dakar, he initiated the basis of a system of administration for what was to become the rest of modern Senegal and French black Africa as a whole that was distinctly non-assimilationist. The laws for the *sujets* or those who did not enjoy the rights of French citizens were particularly harsh. They were not allowed to leave the colony, they had no right of meeting or association, and they were subjected to the corvée or forced labour on the maintenance of roads. To obtain this forced labour Faidherbe relied on the chiefs, and indeed one of the main criticisms of him as an exponent of assimilationism is that he leaned so heavily on both the chiefs and Islam. The treaty made by Jauréguiberry (acting-Governor whilst Faidherbe was on leave in 1865) with Abdoul Boubaker of Toro was far removed from the principles of assimilation: 'Art. 2—The Toro will continue to administer itself according to its own laws, traditions and customs.'

[167] [466] [653] [631]

The overthrow of the Second Empire and the establishment of the Third Republic in 1870 was to see lukewarm reaffirmation of principles of the revolution and a consequent return to assimilationist principles at least in the political field. In 1871 Senegal regained her deputy. More

[646]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

VII. THE FRENCH IN SENEGAL

The less intelligent the white man, the more stupid the black man seems to him.

ANDRÉ GIDE

563 369 THE first thing that strikes the casual visitor to Dakar is the large number of Europeans and the apparent absence of any colour problem. Senegal in fact has an exceptionally good record of race relations, especially when one considers that the proportion of Europeans to Africans is much higher than in many countries with acute racial problems. The French in Senegal today probably [162] number some 40,000 of which nearly 30,000 live in Dakar alone. In comparison with other territories of French speaking Africa, Senegal has always had a large European minority, and this has increased rapidly since the war. Thus in Senegal the policy of assimilation was not applied in the abstract by the metropolitan Government to a people who, with the exception of administrative officials, had practically no daily contact with Frenchmen. In the major towns the Senegalese have been used to the presence of a substantial French community for well over seventy years. But, as we shall see, it was one thing for the metropolitan Government to initiate a policy of assimilation and quite another to expect its citizens to apply it on a personal level in their relations with the people who were being assimilated.

Though the French community in Senegal is relatively [162] large and in Dakar constitutes at least a tenth of the population, it must not be confused in character with the settler communities of Kenya and Rhodesia.

563 The great majority of Frenchmen have no intention of remaining in Senegal after their retirement. On independence few Frenchman opted for Senegalese nationality

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 369 [463] for which no trained African staff is available. There is a wide range of professional occupations, but private enterprise by individuals is largely restricted to higher-class shopkeeping and the running of bars and restaurants. Most of the export and import trade is still in the hands of [439] the large commercial houses controlled from France as distinct from individual Frenchmen in Dakar.

Relations between the African and European communities have been remarkably good. There have been no really significant racial conflicts in Dakar since the war. But relations are *negatively* good. That is to say that there is almost no contact between the two groups outside work. The French in Dakar, despite the official assimilationist policy of the mother country, have shown little inclination to extend it on a personal plane during their sojourn in Dakar. On the other hand when they were officially representatives of the colonial Power they rarely attempted to enforce discrimination against Africans. Apart from the time of the unfortunate Vichy episode there has never been any open discrimination in Dakar. Africans always had legal access to all places the French had, though inevitably there were a number of private associations such as the *Amicales des Provinces Françaises* which excluded Africans by definition though never by statute. A visitor might be tempted to think that the absence of Africans from the French-style cafés in the main streets of Dakar indicated some subtle form of discrimination, but in fact any African entering would be served, and the sparseness of African clientele is determined by economic and social reasons. Drinks are enormously expensive in such bistros, and few [162] Muslims, who form the majority of the population in Dakar, [779] care to be seen drinking in public. Nevertheless it is true that proprietors of certain bars do their best to maintain a white clientele.

There is a certain residential separation, once more largely determined by economics. The expensive European

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

463 fact a family concern where it is considered more economical
563 to employ the daughter of the family in menial work than a Senegalese. To counter this the Senegalese Government has studiously avoided any open declaration on the undesirability of this situation, but by a series of discriminatory
[651] taxes hopes to make the position of the marginal *petit blanc* untenable. In this way it is hoped that European employment will be reduced by half within the next four years. Thus whilst the European population of Senegal was given
[162] as 46,500 in 1956, about 40,000 in 1960, the Government hopes to have it reduced to about 30,000 by 1965.

[655] One of the ways in which the Government is attempting to overcome the twin problem of European domination of
[471] commerce and the lack of private indigenous capital, is the establishment of state trading companies and co-operatives to compete in the marketing of ground-nuts and other basic Senegalese products. Also in order to reduce Senegal's dependence on expatriate technicians and minor
[874] functionaries it is expanding technical education and spending considerable sums on the training of Africans overseas. In the initial stages this will only remove those Europeans who were doing jobs that can easily be taken over by Senegalese once they have received basic training. There is no reason to suppose that the European Community will diminish by much more than the numbers cited above envisaged by the planners, since the anticipated expansion of the Senegalese economy under the four-year plan should be able to absorb the marginal cases who might otherwise have been forced to return to France. Nor indeed is it the intention of the Senegalese to get rid of the Europeans for the sake of getting rid of them, since the Government still maintains that the two groups can co-exist to their mutual benefit but that it must prevent the seeds of racial tension from germinating.

563 There is of course amongst the young and particularly among students some difference of opinion over this matter.
[208] Not all of them hold such liberal views, particularly

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

those who have been influenced by the barrage of anti-colonial and especially anti-French propaganda that has been current in Africa during the last two years. Many young men declare that the best thing they can do is to get rid of the French since the economy is being strangled or alternatively dominated by their former colonial masters. But this does not reflect a deep-seated dislike for France as such, indeed the opposite is nearer the case. The young man who is demanding the expulsion of the French in a heated moment today, may well be packing his bag to go and find work in France tomorrow. Once again, this division is removed when one suggests that the young Senegalese may be against the French as such in Dakar, but this does not imply that he is against either individual Frenchmen—he may well count a number amongst his personal friends—or against France and what France stands for from the point of view of culture and civilisation. Like all those who have led the anti-assimilationist campaign since the war, he is also aware of the dominating role French culture still plays in his daily life. And the wish to remove the French from Dakar may be considered an attempt to compensate for a psychological domination he resents rather than as a reaction against the French community for anything they may have done.

The real danger will come if the younger generation becomes economically frustrated by the French community, a situation which could lead to real racial tension. And it is this again that the Senegalese Government in its present planning intends to avert. The Senegalese leaders at present in power believe that it is their role to show how various racial groups can live together in harmony. Here it is essential to remember that Senegal has three other substantial racial minorities, the Cape Verdians, Lebanese, and Mauretanians of Arab stock, but they are not important for the purposes of this study which is primarily concerned with the effects of assimilation on the indigenous Senegalese.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

VIII. THE SENEGALESE

563 The case of the one and only Senegalese is interesting. There you have a man no longer designated by his tribe, but by his colony. We are not told what tribe in Senegal he belongs to, Serer, Wolof or Lebu. That he comes from the Colony of Senegal is enough to give him some sort of status, and for native policy to know whom it is dealing with. He is not a *déracini* from a small isolated Africa; in Bobo *cercle* he is son of the mother colony of all the colonies of the Federation. He is settled in Bobo as he might elsewhere, as a man of the new African world that has got beyond race, where natives of all races give life to the colonial structure and break it open from within.

ROBERT DELAVIGNETTE: *Freedom and Authority in French West Africa*

If the first thing that strikes the visitor to Dakar is the large number of Europeans, the second is the homogeneous character of Senegalese society itself. It is not possible, as it is in Lagos or Leopoldville, to tell from a glance at a man or a woman's clothes from which ethnic group he or she comes. Senegal not only has an excellent record of race relations between Europeans and Africans but between the various indigenous ethnic groups. This happy position is typified by the President of the Republic, Léopold Sédar Senghor, who comes neither from the majority tribe nor the dominant religion of the country, but is a Serer and Catholic. Furthermore he is married to a French woman.

[369] [292]

563 162 Senegal has six major ethnic groups accounting for all but 130,000 of its population of 3,100,000. The last census figures gave the Wolof as the largest ethnic group with 35 per cent, followed by the Fula with 17 per cent, the Serer, 16 per cent, Toucouleur, 9 per cent, Diola, 9 per cent, and the Mandingo 7 per cent.

[p 76]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

of inter-ethnic marriages in the towns is indicative of a major social change and a reflection of the effects of an assimilationist policy on the Senegalese. S 369 563 [582]

Though many communities in Dakar are based on ethnic and family ties, particularly amongst the immigrant Toucouleurs from the Vallée du Fleuve, Dakar is on the whole a heterogeneous city. Mercier has observed that inter-ethnic habitation is particularly frequent among young bachelors, who often club together to hire a room. This is still relatively rare in Africa except amongst educated élites. But in Senegal many young men resent being asked the question whether they are Wolof or Serer, answering only to the name Senegalese. As far as friendship outside the ethnic group and in particular living with someone from another tribe is concerned, one great advantage is the existence of a common cuisine for Wolof, Serer, Toucouleur and Lebou. There is even a national dish known as *riz sénégalais*, known further down the coast as Jollof rice. This means that not only can friends share the same plate, but a man is not frustrated in his desire to marry outside his ethnic group by fear of a foreign cuisine. S [589] [591] S [619] S [262] W [262]

Another important factor in the breakdown of tribal barriers has been the urbanisation of Senegal. Over 25 per cent of the population live in towns, the bulk in Dakar, Rufisque and St. Louis and Kaolack. This represents a higher rate of urbanisation than in any other West African territory except the Western Region of Nigeria, where, it must be pointed out, urbanisation was intense long before the arrival of the Europeans and therefore does not owe its origin to colonisation as it does in Senegal. It is difficult in the present stage of research to measure the results of the inter-mixing of races in urban agglomerations. But in an environment whose *raison d'être* is completely different from that of the tribal village, the individual is subjected to so many pressures that his ethnic individuality has to be extremely strong for him not to assimilate both ideas and customs from his neighbours and above all from the S 369 [619] [162] S [563]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 369 563

French. The Moors are an obvious exception to this, as P. Dubié has pointed out. Though they work in all the major towns of Senegal they have retained complete identity of tribal customs, even maintaining abroad the traditional hostilities between their own tribal subdivisions. The tribal structure of Dakar, which is the most heavily industrialised single city in West Africa, gives an idea of the common melting pot that the new cities and towns in Senegal represent: Wolof constitute 25 per cent; Lebou, the original inhabitants, 15 per cent; mixed Wolof-Lebou, 11 per cent; Serer, 3 per cent; Bambara, 9 per cent; Toucouleur, 10 per cent; Fula, 5 per cent; Moors, 4 per cent; Diola, 5 per cent; Soussou, 2 per cent; Cape Verdians 2 per cent. The result is that the inhabitants of Dakar are forced to learn some form of *lingua franca*, in this case Wolof or French, if they are to live in the city.

W [369] S [162] S [197]

In the modern economy of the city, where one seeks work where work is and where housing is short and expensive, it is difficult for any of these groups to keep up any pretence at tribal solidarity. However, as Schapera has shown, it is possible for the African migrant working in industry 'to maintain two quite distinct spheres of human relations. The African who leaves his tribe to go and work in the town will take part in the social organisations, e.g. trade unions, he finds there, but these will affect him only as a factory worker, and will have no place in the subsistence economy which is governed by traditional tribal and social relationships. The two spheres are distinct spatially as wellas socially, and despite the exchange of ideas between them they remain none the less parallel.'

In Dakar this is particularly true of the immigrant Toucouleur from the Vallée du Fleuve, as A. Diop shows in his excellent study of Toucouleur immigration to Dakar. But it should be noted here that the Toucouleur are not permanent emigrants from their areas, and have only come to Dakar temporarily to supplement the low incomes of the Vallée du Fleuve. Permanent settlers without the ultimate

S [164]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

S 563 S W [665] [666]

renominated, the Wolofs created a *Bloc Démocratique du Djollof* which polled 6,000 votes to the 8,000 of the Fula candidate.

A further commentary on the lack of tribalism in Senegal is the ethnic structure of the Government and the national assembly. The Government is composed of the President of the Republic, who is a Serer, a President of the Council of Ministers who is Toucouleur with strong Wolof ancestry, and fourteen Ministers of whom nine are Wolof, two are half-caste, one a Frenchman who has opted for Senegalese nationality, one a Diola and one a Lebou.

S [645]

The ethnic repartition of the Senegalese National Assembly is equally revealing*:

S 563 646 [162]

Tribe	*Percentage of population*	*Number of Deputies*	*Percentage of Deputies*
Wolof	35·0	33	41
Serer	16·0	5	6
Lebou	0·2	10	13
Toucouleur	9·0	10	13
Fula	17·0	5	6
Diola	9·0	5	6
Mandingo/Bambara	7·0	3	4
European	0·1	3	4
Metis	0·1	5	6
Rest	4·7	1	1

The above figures, with the reservations footnoted, show that the National Assembly with one or two exceptions

S [127]

* These figures were supplied to me by William J. Foltz and are based on his own research and ethnic data from the *S.E.R.E.S.A. Rapport General* lère partie, Ch. 1., p. 38. The population figures are based on old administrative censuses, which may be somewhat conservative. The figures for the Lebou seem surprisingly low. Furthermore, placing deputies under a particular ethnic grouping is often an arbitrary process, since it is in the educated classes that the highest rate of inter-ethnic marriage occurs. Furthermore the large number of Wolofs can partly be explained by the fact that anyone of mixed ethnic origin, in which one parent is Wolof, tends to call himself Wolof.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 C46 is excellently balanced from a tribal point of view. The large number of Lebou deputies is accounted for by the fact that the Lebou were the original inhabitants of Dakar, and therefore had greater facilities for education than other groups. The relatively small number of Serer deputies can be explained by the fact that the distinction between Wolof and Serer is not very pronounced. Again, the small number of Fula deputies in proportion to their size as an ethnic group is partly the result of the fact that they are a nomadic people, and partly because they are very close to the Toucouleur who have a relatively high representation. The only grossly under-represented group are the Mande, for though the Mandingo-Bambara peoples make up 7 per cent of the population and have 4 per cent of the deputies, only one of the three deputies in this group is actually Mande, who make up the greater part of this 7 per cent. Both in Senegal and neighbouring Gambia the Mandingo seem to have fared badly as a group in politics. Though only 5 per cent of Senegal is Christian, five members of the [162] [771] Government and nearly a fifth of the National Assembly are Christian. Nor does one have to be a member of the majority tribe in a constituency to be elected by it*.

563 [771] A source of possible conflict in Senegal is the existence of a large Muslim majority and a small Christian minority representing only 5 per cent of the population. The French as the colonial power, despite their policy of assimilation, were unable to establish a strong Catholic Church in Senegal since Islam had been with the Toucouleur since the eleventh century and had already embraced most of the country by the time Faidherbe extended his protectorate. Islam in Senegal is peculiarly tolerant, not only in its concessions to traditional beliefs among more recently converted groups, but also towards Christians. In few other predominantly Muslim countries would it be possible not only to have a Catholic President but to have such a

* I am indebted to Mr. W. J. Foltz for supplying me with most of the data on which this paragraph is based.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 them strict enough Muslims, the main distinguishing
[433] feature of their homeland, the Vallée du Fleuve du Sénégal,
[735] is its poverty compared with that of other parts of Senegal. Diop Abdoulaye in his study of Toucouleur immigration into Dakar estimates that the average *per capita* income of a Toucouleur of that region is little more than 4,000 *C.F.A.*
[434] per annum, i.e. about £6 a year. It is this rather than any real tribal differences that makes the Vallée a special problem, and this as much as any ethnic factor accounted
[665] for the existence of the *Union Générale de la Vallée du Fleuve.*

563 The only real minority area in the Senegal is the Casa-
619 mance, whose special position is further emphasised by its separation from the main block of Senegal by the Gambia. In the past it has been thought of as geographically, economically, socially and even religiously separate from the rest of Senegal. A forest zone closer to its neighbours Portuguese Guinea and the Republic of Guinea, it remained very underdeveloped by the French, though the present Government is taking this fact into account with a special development programme for the area. This separateness was emphasised by the very name Casamance. The people describe themselves to this day as *Casamançais* rather than Senegalese, though this could well be accepted on the same terms as a Briton describing himself as Scots or Welsh. It is fortunate that the tendency is to talk in terms of regional rather than tribal origin. However one of the important factors in the Casamance has been tribal. The Diolas were until very recently an animist people with an entirely different social organisation from that of the main groups of Senegal, though as we have already pointed out they had traditional ties with the Serer which went as far as the injunction that a Diola should never spill the blood of a Serer. But today the Diola are being drawn into the main socio-religious pattern of Senegal. In the most recent estimate of the religious
[162] adherence of the population of Casamance, estimated at
[771] 327,500, 284,000 were Muslims, only 28,000 Christians and

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

the rest animists. Of course this includes the exclusively Muslim Mandingo inhabitants of the Casamance who have been largely responsible for this proselytisation. The Diola too is inclined more and more to imitate his Mandingo and Wolof neighbours. L. V. Thomas, who has written a monumental study on the Diola, fears: 'Soon the Diola country may be, at least in its landscape, like Senegal if no power intervenes to limit the extension of the bushfire; it will certainly become, in its people, just another African country, where only a few anthropological remains fixed by heredity will enable us to distinguish the Diola from the Wolof or the Mandingo.'

The Casamance may well be coming closer to the rest of the Senegal, but it still remains a seat of opposition to the Government of Senghor and Dia, and votes heavily for the opposition *P.R.A.-Sénégal.* However neither of the leaders of this party, Ly Abdoulaye or Assane Seck, is *Casamançais*, and there is strong support in many towns for the *U.P.S.*, which indicates that Diola-Casamance politics are not necessarily either regional or tribal, though these are important factors.

The main social problem of the Senegal, and one which both assimilation and religion seem to have been unable to break down, is that of caste or a class structure very similar to caste. All the main Senegalese tribes—the Wolof, Lebou, Toucouleur, Serer—are divided into a series of endogamous castes. These castes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but roughly they are divided thus:

Nobles and Freeborn
Artisans (jewellers, smiths, weavers, leatherworkers)
Griots or minstrels
Liberated slaves
Slaves

(Of course domestic slaves no longer exist as such in Senegal, but families know who their slaves were.)

It is certainly easier in Senegal for a Toucouleur noble to marry a Wolof noble than to marry a woman of inferior

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

standing in the modern context does not often completely redeem a traditional inferiority. The latter obviously does not prevent accession to such rank, but it does prevent a man from reaping the full benefit of the prestige which it confers. We shall have to revert to the ambiguity which thus characterizes individual situations, because it is an important aspect of the problem of the modernist elites. The old political organizations have either been destroyed or considerably weakened, though the prestige of the aristocratic families who hold the chefferies or are closely connected with them has not completely disappeared. But an important change has occurred: the power and influence of the traditional political chiefs has to a large extent been transferred to the khalifas of the great Islamic sects;[1] the latter represent today the principal force capable of resisting the modernist elite, and the one with which the latter and the political movements identified with it must to some extent come to terms.[2]

The changes due to the new economic conditions resulting from the colonial period can be discerned at several levels. The rural economy has been radically transformed—progressive abandonment of subsistence farming in favour of a single cash crop throughout a large part of the territory.[3] In contrast with regions where a plantation economy has developed, the average farmer's income has remained extremely low. Consequently, what has elsewhere been termed a 'rural bourgeoisie' has not emerged, and the most favoured economic categories coincide, by and large, with the upper strata of the traditional or semi-traditional type (heads of sects),[4] or with those artificially created on the same model by the colonial administration. Again, the group to which the name 'commercial bourgeoisie' has been given is still too small to have much influence;[5] almost all African traders are small shopkeepers and make no appreciable impact on the affairs of the community as a whole. The most significant changes are found at another level: urbanization and industrialization. Senegal is the most highly urbanized territory of French West Africa; about a quarter of the population live in the big towns and the administrative and trading centres. A very large wage-earning class with a steadily growing nucleus of stable labour has developed.[6] A workers' elite has appeared, and intensive trade union activity in the big towns has brought this class into touch with the educated elite (the administrative bourgeoisie, etc.).

This educated elite deserves special attention; in Senegal more than elsewhere, it represents the dominant element among the modernist elites. The educational policy was definitely conceived and organized at the beginning of the colonial period in the context of a policy and a ideology of assimilation. The educational curriculum introduced in the French establishments in Senegal at the beginning of the nineteenth century was essentially foreign to the tradition and culture of the autochthonous societies. Thus, in a recent paper, the author made much of the point that 'it was not a factor making for integration of the individual in his group, but rather—at any rate in the first historical phase—one making for a break. The adaptation of the curriculum and even of teaching methods

1. Their functions are hereditary.
2. Cf. below, remarks on the political parties of the traditional type.
3. In this case, groundnuts.
4. The economic role of the Mouride brotherhood is particularly important: colonization of new lands, experiments in mechanization, etc.
5. The middle-men trade is practically monopolized by the Lebanese colony; in the town of Dakar alone there are more than 5,000 Lebanese.
6. The region of Dakar alone has more than 30,000 wage earners in the private sector.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

178 571 The reason is not to be sought solely in the increase in numbers of this intellectual elite though that was quite substantial. Trained in Europe and remaining in touch with the world outside, it was the first section of the population to become consciously aware of the 'colonial situation',[1] and it immediately made an attempt to build up ideological systems which soon acquired crucial influence. Next, the changed pattern in the relations between Europeans and Africans speeded up the development of situations in which conflicts became inevitable, and encouraged the maintenance of close contact between the new [578] and the colonial elites. I shall revert to this point later. True, tension existed, especially between generations, the older strata of the colonial elite having sometimes to defend the positions they had won.[2] But the younger people tended to identify themselves with the new elite, to accept its guidance and to share, more or less confusedly, in the same awakening to the colonial situation. Thus, the intellectual elite, in the broadest sense of the term, embarked in a new direction, and the political consequences of this change are now beginning to be seen. The problem of relations with the workers' elite which has emerged in the past few years is more complex; I shall come back to it in connexion with trade union activity.

In the typical pre-war situation, the African elite had little chance of competing with the European managing class, which was much less numerous that it is now.[3] It was trained to be what might be called an auxiliary elite. The new elite, on the contrary—notwithstanding the administrative and economic expansion of the past 10 years—will inevitably find itself in competition with Europeans in the managing and supervisory grades in an ever growing number of specific cases. Though still few in numbers, it has difficulty in finding a place in the territory's administrative and technological machine. It is a paradox that in a country immensely in need of responsible personnel, both managers and technicians, demand seems somewhat to exceed supply. [464] In French West Africa, and particularly in Senegal, the government officially recognizes the existence of an 'employment problem for holders of diplomas'. One of the causes of this situation is no doubt the total absence of planning in the training of elites.[4] But the real explanation must be found in political circumstances and race relations.[5] The effort to 'Africanize' the upper grades encounters firm resistance, and so the rise of the elites is apparently seriously checked by the growing number of situations in which Africans and Europeans compete and which the two groups explain in diametrically opposite ways.[6] It is a significant fact that several Senegalese who have completed their studies in France have remained there, because they would be unable to find jobs for which they could apply at home. The problem is obviously even more acute in the private sector than in the administration.[7] Also, the European [162] population has considerably increased in the past 10 years:[8] it has more than [563] doubled in Senegal, tripled at Dakar—where it now represents about 10 per cent of the population.

[113] 1. Cf. the studies of G. Balandier, and in particular: *Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique Noire* (Present sociology of Negro Africa), Paris, 1955.

2. Especially in the administration.

[113] 3. Cf. P. Mercier, 'Le Groupement Européen de Dakar: Orientations d'une Enquête' (The European group at Dakar: Suggested lines for a survey), *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, XIX, 1955.

4. An effort is now being made in this direction.

5. Cf. P. Mercier, 'Le Groupement Européen de Dakar . . .', op. cit.

6. Patterns of thought based on the pre-war situation play a fundamental role here.

7. Where the trend, as yet timid, towards 'Africanization' of the upper grades can be discerned.

8. A general phenomenon in French West Africa which involves important changes in relations between Africans and Europeans.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

369 all the accoutrements of a Montmartre bistro, together with a
275 large, bad painting of the Sacré Coeur above the bar. Drinks were served by a tall barmaid, with long flaxen hair and make-up applied so that she looked like a German-doll. The clientele was mainly composed of soldiers from the barracks by the sea-front, but at our table sat two elegant Jollof girls, both very drunk.
[548] They made it fairly clear they were prostitutes and it was not long before a policeman came to arrest the more intoxicated of the two. She spat, screamed furiously and struggled to break away. Just as she was about to enter the car, she demanded: 'Let me finish my drink.' She was allowed to return to her table, where she drank her beer slowly, eyeing us all as if we were vermin. Then just as slowly, with the comic dignity that comes so naturally to a drunk, she swept to her feet, stood with her henna'd hands on her hips, spat with incredible accuracy at the feet of a nearby soldier and shouted in a voice ringing with anger, and looking at us with contempt: 'Salauds.'

Then an African sergeant came in, asked for a drink, which
[563] the flaxen doll served him. She served African and European alike. I found this hard to believe after the Gambia, where no white woman could serve drinks behind a bar to Europeans, let alone to Africans.

369 Next morning, I was even more surprised when Arnold took
563 me into a large department store and pointed to the counter-girls. Seventy-five per cent of them were white. Outside a French-woman was selling vegetables at a small stall. Of course, in this respect Dakar is exceptional for West Africa. It is the only city with a large population of Colons. Over 25,000 Europeans live
[162] there. They came from every walk of life and have more affinity with the Colons of Algeria than anything else one can cite on the Coast. You can walk into the most ramshackle bar and yet be served by a Parisienne. You will find poor whites living in the Médina, as the African quarter is known. Each year, 'Les Girls' from a Paris night club do a season at the *Bodega*. The N'Gor Hotel and the 'Croix du Sud' are as fine as you will find in France. Dakar's Colons have re-created Paris in Africa. Most of them have never ventured out of the city, and if they had to go into 'the bush' they would probably prepare for it as though they were Mungo Park setting out to discover the Niger.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 Metropolis. Until recently the African élite has always come from
[571] St. Louis. It is a sort of spiritual centre of Black Africa. It had the
[873] first school—Lycée Faidherbe. And in 1866 it was given the first Hotel de Ville of the French Union. It is the cradle of the French Union. It would be a tragedy if it died.'

369 To such men as these it seems scandalous that St. Louis with
175 its great history and traditions should give way to a parvenue like Dakar. Of all West African cities St. Louis is the one with the most illustrious and fascinating history. It was called St. Louis after the great French King, Louis XIII, in the middle of the seventeenth century. However, in the following century it began to expand into a town whose inhabitants were a distinct race, comparable
[563] to the Creoles of Sierra Leone. White and black intermarried to form a group known as the St. Louisians. During the eighteenth
[591] and nineteenth centuries these were the great families of the
[554] Senegal, though today they are losing importance. Names like Carpot, Descanet, Deves, Guillabert and Crespin are still remembered with respect in St. Louis.

[162] By the end of the eighteenth century the town had more than 7,000 inhabitants and in 1778 a mayor, who had to be chosen
[633] from the local population, was charged with the maintenance of good relations between the people and the Governor. In 1833
[641] all inhabitants of St. Louis were given the status of French citizens.

Perhaps the most important date for St. Louis and for West Africa was 1854, when General Faidherbe was appointed Governor. Today his mark is still firmly on St. Louis. The
[361] ordered layout of the city and its streets were his work. The large
[491] bridge connecting the island on which St. Louis stands to the mainland is named after him. The city's most important and famous school is the Lycée Faidherbe. And even now one can listen to old folk sitting on the benches of the park, in which his statue stands, telling tales of the great General, who had fought against the famous Toucouleur chief, El Hadj Omar and brought Senegal, Soudan and Mauretania into the French orbit. Perhaps some of these old people are his own descendants, for he is reputed to have been a prolific father.

[162] By 1878 St. Louis had grown to a city of 16,000 inhabitants, and despite the rapid expansion of Dakar and Rufisque farther down the Coast, there was little to worry about the future.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 we plan to build a modern port; and there in the Soudan we hope to develop livestock for export. For that we would need a number of large refrigeration units here in Dakar.'

Thus he continued in detail all over the vast area of French West Africa stretching from St. Louis to the Chad, from the Sahara to the Guinea Coast, with an area of nearly 1,840,000 square miles, and a meagre population of 18 millions. I pointed to Nigeria and Ghana.

'I am afraid we British took the best bits of West Africa. Yet we haven't put nearly as much money into it by comparison. I wonder what Nigeria would be like if you French had got it?'

His eyes looked longingly at the large chunk of red.

471 'That would be something marvellous!' he said. Since the war the French have poured money into West Africa. Private funds have accounted for a lot, but FIDES, the equivalent of our Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, has contributed more than £175,000,000 to these territories, and together with other public funds the total of capital investment (not from private sources) is more than £300,000,000, for a large, but poor and underpopulated territory.

369 This heavy capital investment has created large cities like Dakar, Abidjan and Conakry. The Africans have come into contact not only with urban life, but with industry. In Dakar there has been a minor industrial revolution. In the past six years, largely because of this, the city's population has swollen to nearly 300,000. Africans have flooded into the city seeking work, [162] attracted by tales of its gay life or lured by its glamour and the prospect of easy money.

274 463 I went down to the large brewery in Dakar, to see a modern industry with Africans as employees.

One of the managers there replied to my question, why weren't there any Africans in senior positions in the brewery. 'We have great difficulty in finding Africans to fill our managerial vacancies. You see, though many go to Paris they nearly all want to become lawyers, doctors, and officials. Very few are interested in becoming technicians. We would pay for their studies if we could find suitable candidates—you know, all part of the *Loi Cadre*. We must Africanize!'

'But haven't you found any good enough?'

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

Political Development In The Cities of Senegal

369 361 In all of West Africa, the phenomenon of urbanization has been most extensive and the variety of its forms most striking in Senegal. The area has about ten communities with more than 10,000 inhabitants each; five of these have well over 30,000 inhabitants and the major urban center, Dakar, has almost 250,000 inhabitants. The urban population exceeds 500,000, about one quarter of the total population. The present urban pattern has no link with a pre-European tradition. Some of the cities wield influence over extensive suburban zones, and the distances separating them are relatively short, so that the western half of Senegal is covered by a close network of urban centers.

[167]

633 Partial administration of municipal affairs and familiarity with electoral machinery are by no means recent acquisitions. The first African communes "with full powers"[11] were created in Senegal, in the second half of the 19th century, and there the first "mixed communes"[12] were developed, at the beginning of the 20th century. Among all the French West African territories, Senegal contained the largest number of constituted communes, and alone had almost a quarter of the communes with full powers created in all French Overseas Territories by the law of 1956. As early as 1925 there were 18 communes, of which four had full autonomy. The exercise of political rights in modern form dates back more than 75 years for some cities, and by 1953 there were elected municipal councils in 14 of the 20 mixed communes in Senegal.

[p.6 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

"The Four Communes of Senegal"

369 633 175 The four coastal cities have had the longest experience with political rights. All are fairly old; Dakar was founded most recently, in 1857. St. Louis of Senegal, founded in the time of the slave-trade, is the oldest, and a typical example of the "old colonial city." In 1659 a warehouse of the Company of the Senegal was built on the site, the first French settlement in the region. It was a commercial post oriented toward the river, and a small military outpost; it became the jumping-off place for the conquest of the African territories. The general traits of the old African city may still be found in St. Louis' central section, despite recent changes. In such a center the African population was relatively stable.[13] A few European families established residence, and a rather important [563] mixed-blood population developed. By the mid-19th century an urban community with a homogeneous way of life had emerged.

The Isle of Gorée, which became the second commune in Senegal, was occupied in 1677; it was oriented toward the Petite-Cote and the factories of Rufisque, Joal, and Portudal. Of these, only Rufisque developed; it became the third commune. St. Louis and Gorée underwent many vicissitudes before 1815, when they were restored to France. They then returned to "legal" commerce, which was centered in the valley of the Senegal. St. Louis retained its dominance. By the end of the 18th century it had had nearly [162] 7,000 inhabitants, about half of whom [563] were free and almost a tenth European. In the 1870's its population was about 15,000, while Gorée had but 3,000; Rufisque was growing as was Dakar. Finally, the interior back of the Petite-Cote was opening up, and Thiès was founded. In the following period St.

[P.7A]

369 Louis stagnated[14] and Gorée declined,
633 losing people at the expense of Dakar and
175 Rufisque; Rufisque grew rapidly, as the
port for the ground-nut. Dakar entered
[162] a period of prosperity at the turn of the
[439] century.[15] During the late 19th century
the composition of the population already
was beginning to change fairly rapidly,
especially in the expanding centers, but
the old core of urban population continued to hold a dominant place, not
only in urban life but also in the colony
of Senegal as a whole, whose constitution
had come into effect. The people of
St. Louis most notably served as essential
instruments of the colonization effort.

This dominance was expressed very
clearly in the political realm. The coastal
cities, in contrast to the interior cities
and rural areas, had been introduced to
the structure and organization through
which modern political life is conducted
long before the reforms of 1946. Political
activity of the modern type was first
limited to the European settlers but was
soon extended to the mixed-blood element
[563] and then to the Negro population. Beginning in the late 18th century, St. Louis
had a mayor, always a mixed-blood, who
served as intermediary between the gov-
ernor and the populace. In 1789 the
[668] colony participated in metropolitan polit-
ical activities, sending to the States-
General a petition of grievances that de-
manded commercial freedom — *i.e.*,
abolition of the Company monopoly —
and the end of slavery. A satisfactory
agreement was reached among employees
of the Company, European businessmen,
and mixed-blood businessmen, but it was
never brought to fruition; a period of
disorder set in and persisted until the
rebirth of the colony in 1815.

[641] In 1833 French citizenship was con-
ferred upon all free inhabitants of St.
Louis and Gorée by royal decree. Citizen-
ship was extended to all inhabitants of

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[13] We have observed that in such cases a "people belonging to the city" emerged. Their ties with their birthplaces were more or less completely severed.
[14] It had scarcely 20,000 inhabitants in 1920, but its growth resumed in the 1930's. In 1954 it had a population of 39,000.
[15] With the creation of a harbor, which captured the trade of Rufisque, whose modernization appeared impossible, and the installation of the government-general of French West Africa, established in 1895.

[p.9c]

175
369
633
[69]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 633 175 [641] the two cities with the abolition of slavery in 1848.[16] The four coastal cities were elevated to the status of communes with full powers between 1872 and 1887, and the organization of political life on a European pattern in the four communes crystalized the opposition between the citizens of the old settlements and the subjects of the territories in the newly conquered interior. The cities alone provided apprenticeship in public life and in the representative system. Beginning in 1871 they elected a deputy to the French Parliament. In 1879 they [646] elected a Council-general patterned after those in France, supposedly to represent all Senegal. It actually represented only the few urban centers, whose interests at the time diverged widely from those of the rest of Senegal. An effort was subsequently made to repair this breach by transforming the Council-general into a colonial council, consisting of representatives elected by the citizens and representatives for the non-citizens appointed by the *notables*.[17] This reduced conflicts scarcely at all. Meanwhile, citizenship [641] acquired new importance. At first it was established by local law and had no effect in other French territories. Not until 1916 did the "natives of the four communes" receive full French citizenship while still being able to retain their personal status. These citizens were few in [668] number: scarcely 80,000 in 1939, about 100,000 in the 1950's. The cities tended to include more non-citizens than citizens as they grew. Actual participation in politics developed only gradually. At [666] the first legislative elections, in 1871, only a third of those registered voted, and the rate dropped to less than a fifth

[P. 8A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 633 175 [666] in some years. Since the beginning of the 20th century, however, urban citizens have taken an increasingly lively interest in political matters.[18]

In this restricted political system the relative importance of the roles played by 563 668 different ethnic groupings and different cities varied continuously. Ethnic dominance, first held by the old European families, passed gradually to mixed-blood society, which came into being in the 18th century and rapidly acquired wealth, education, and influence. By the mid-19th century mixed-bloods made up the majority of the westernized population. But the entry of the emancipated slaves, the first sizable migration toward the [166] cities, quickly reduced the mixed-bloods to a minority. In 1900 they numbered [162] less than 5,000 in the four communes together, though for several decades their economic and political influence remained quite disproportionate to their numbers. 668 Among the cities, St. Louis was [369] predominant until WW I. At the beginning of the century it practically controlled the deputation to the French legislature and the Council-general — and hence the economic life of the territory. Then Gorée-Dakar came to the fore;[19] in 1914 a citizen of Gorée, Blaise Diagne, was elected deputy, followed by Galandou Diouf and Lebou. These men were the first elected Senegalese to win [645] broad support at Paris; Diagne himself was appointed a Secretary of State [a subministerial post, equivalent to a U.S. Under-Secretary]. In Senegal, the authority of elected officials — deputies and [642] Councillors-general — increased, and clashes with the civil administration were frequent.[20]

[P. 8 B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[30] But it could remain attached more or less firmly to the political activities of the place of its origin.
[31] It included elements from St. Louis and Gorée, Lebou elements that had become urbanized "on the spot," etc. The population of Dakar tripled 1936-1956, from 80,000 to nearly 250,000.
[32] To be precise, 52,250. These elections are used as an example because the new organization for the city government involved a revision of the electoral lists, the most extensive in many years; and, also, a comparison with recent census figures (compiled in 1955) was possible for the first time.
[33] The facts of the split between the latent ideological content of judgments and opinions of a political sort, and that of the party programs, are noted below. Of course, there were probably distinctions according to level of schooling.
[34] Roughly, between old and new city-dwellers.

[P. 11c]

369
625
[664]
[777]

/667 cont./

125 such as caste and the degree of kinship of each actual union [8].
[143] In this region the person questioned, mostly in public, did
[565] not make any difficulty about declaring to which caste he be-
[124] longed. Moreover, this is known by all the inhabitants of the village and has such social importance that if one asks a child in the street, "Who are you?" he replies, "I am of such and such a caste." As for the degree of kinship of the spouses, a previous study among the sedentary Peul of the Fouta Djallon [9] has shown that it was possible to obtain this without a cumbersome demographic investigation; the individuals are well acquainted with the fact in regions where consanguineous unions are the custom.

The investigator asks whether or not the woman is married to a near relative, and, in the case of an affirmative answer, if the spouses have the same grandfather or grandmother (fourth degree) or in what other way they are related. A total number of 6,208 married women were questioned in this manner, and in order to correct possible errors of observation in such a sample, a control was established in a subsample of 382 sedentary couples by noting the names of the parents, grandparents, and eventually great-grandparents. At this stage there is uncertainty, but this can be removed only by laboriously working out genealogies. That is why the proportion of marriages to the sixth degree, which we indicate below and which are beyond the kinship ties known with sufficient accuracy, are perhaps more important in reality.

563 The ethnic groups. The region studied contains 341,000 inhabitants divided into five principal ethnic groups: Moors, Toucouleur [Tukuler], Peul, Saracolé [Sarakole], and Wolof (Table I). The ethnic groups are distinguished by such characteristics as the way of life, social structure, group consciousness,
[186] the name given them by other groups, and language, except for
[199] the Peul and the Toucouleur, who speak the same language, Poular. Aside from the Moors, the population is grouped in five
[361] port cities and 800 villages and communities.

[162] The Toucouleur form the largest aggregate (187,000 persons) and occupy the center of the region on the two rivers. The

/667 cont./

563 term Toucouleur often erroneously designates all the inhabitants of the Fouta Toro; we shall use it here in the way the Toucouleur speak of themselves, namely, Halpoularen (speaking the lan-
[197] guage of the Peul), distinct from the Wolof, who have their own language, and from the Saracolé, who speak a Mandé dialect.

/668/ Downstream the boundary between the Wolof and the Toucouleur is not clearly defined and several Wolof villages have been established in the very heart of Toucouleur country and
[186] have preserved their ethnic individuality. They are regarded as foreigners. It is the same upriver on the part of the Saracolé.

The Peul live in the midst of the three groups mentioned
[175] above, and the Peul ethnic group in the valley of the Senegal is itself composed of several waves /nappes/ which have successively spread throughout the region. The oldest are also the most sedentary and the most Islamized (Foulbé walo) and have a way of life very much like that of the Toucouleur, with whom they sometimes intermarry. The others, who have come more re-
[221] cently (Foulbé Diéri), are seminomads and only in winter culti-
[162] vate the sands of the hills which border the valley (Diéri). There is a total of 47,000 Peul in this region, but we do not know the
[613] actual number of each wave, itself divided into relatively
[175] endogamous lineages /lignages/ or pseudo-lineages. The latter, designated by the administration as communities, served as census units for the Peul, while for the others this unit was the village. The location of these communities often changes because of the seminomadic character of the Peul way of life, which is devoted principally to livestock-raising.

[162] Among the 56,000 Moors, although some of them (6,000) are settled in the river ports, the majority merely meet on the Mauritainian shore and only part of the year; they camp there
[221] during the dry season in order to cultivate the alluvial soil (walo), and they return after the harvest to camps sometimes located several dozen kilometers from there. These farmers for the most part are Haratin of the black race, that is to say, ancient serfs of the Moors, from whom they continue to lease land.

125 Since they occupy a very marginal position in relation to the totality of the inhabitants of the valley, they will not be studied here. /Table I appears here./

/668 cont./

162 Table I. Division of the population of the Senegalese Fouta according to ethnic groups.

Ethnic Group	Actual Number	Percentage
Toucouleur	187,000	54.8
Wolof	36,000	10.6
Saracolé	13,000	3.8
Peul	47,000	13.8
Moor	56,000	16.4
Miscellaneous	2,000	0.6
Total	341,000	100.0

582 563 The ethnic groups are relatively endogamous, because marriages between persons of different ethnic groups are very rare, except perhaps, as we have seen, between Toucouleur and Peul (Foulbé walo). The Toucouleur /669/ are the only group entirely 563 within the Fouta, aside from some fractions that emigrated in the [166] course of religious crusades into Macina, Boundou, and elsewhere.

Each of the other ethnic groups is merely an extension into the valley of a group whose bulk occupies the neighboring regions, the Wolof in the northern part of Senegal, the Saracolé in western Sudan, the Peul near the Ferlo and the Assaba. But each of these ethnic groups is itself divided into several populations: the castes.

565 Castes and social conditions. The castes, in reality, present [582] a matrimonial barrier more difficult to overcome than that of ethnic affiliation. The term "caste" is used here in the general sense of social class, exclusive in nature, and not in the sense [564] that is given it in the valley where the term is reserved for artisan castes.

[567] Social conditions first of all distinguish the captives from [422] the free men. The captives are regarded as the personal property

/671 cont./

S
T
582
565
143
162

Table II. Actual number of the endogamous Toucouleur groups, with, for each one, their percentage in relation to the total population, and the number of women from 15 to 45 years of age

Caste	Actual Number	%		Number of women from 15 to 45 years of age	
Torodo	84,200	45.0	74.0	18,700	
Tiédo	13,700	10.0		7,150	
Thioubalo	32,200	17.2		4,150	
Diawando	3,400	1.8			
Labo	2,100	1.1	4.5	450	1,850
Saké	1,100	0.6		250	
Mabo	2,300	1.2		500	
Baïlo	2,200	1.6		650	
Gaoulo	2,100	1.1	1.1	450	1,100
Gallounké	5,800	3.2	20.4	1,300	8,450
Matioudo	32,200	17.2		7,150	
Total	187,000	100.0		41,900	

/674 cont./

143 1957 [13]): diocese of Oeiras in the state of Piauí, 9.67 for 1,931 marriages in 1954; diocese of Petrolina in the state of Pernambuco, 8.3 for 3,063 marriages in 1950, etc. These figures are exceptional for this country. Very often the value of the coefficient in each diocese is below 1.

Even the castes of India do not furnish comparable figures: 1.3 among the Desasth Rigvedi Brahmans; 2.8 among the Gaud Saraswat Brahmans; 6.35 among the Marathas. Nor even a closed tribe like the Ramah Navaho of the United States: 6.6. In Japan where a strong endogamy persists, the figures found so far are between 2.8 and 3.6.

In the countries of Europe, since the breakup of the isolates took place, the value of the coefficient is everywhere less than the unit. In the French provinces it varies at the present time between 0.1 and 0.9.

For the African populations the data are still very scarce. As far as we know, only Roberts, 1956 [14], has given figures for three Dinka groups from the valley of the Nile to the Sudan: 1.53, 0.96, 0.49. These figures are very far from those for the valley of the Senegal. Nevertheless, Tanner, 1958 [15], in an Islamic community of Tanganyika, has found a rate of 37.8% for marriages between cousins, which should correspond to a mean coefficient of consanguinity bordering on those reported here.

582 143 Evolution. The inaccuracy of historical knowledge makes it impossible to say whether the endogamic state described has always been so important, but one may assume that the present situation will be modified in the years /675/ to come. Several factors could play a part in an evolution toward exogamy, for example, migrations, the size of families, social barriers.

The role of migration is negligible here, for even though the Wolof and the Saracolé have founded some villages of foreigners [166] within Toucouleur country, the Fouta is now a country of active emigration toward urban centers like Dakar. The average size of families is probably increasing because of the prolongation of [162] the average length of life, which tends to increase the possibilities

S /675 cont./
582 of consanguineous marriages. More important, undoubtedly than the
143 above two will be the factors of the decrease of endogamy by the
[162] dissolution of social barriers, although the prejudice against misalliances seems as long-lived as the human species.

Whether sudden or progressive, this social revolution, furthered by education, will sooner or later bring about the development of means of communication and the emancipation
S of the woman as well as of the man, for its is often the parents who
[584] choose the bride, rather than the future bridegroom.

W In addition, one notes among the Wolof a smaller propor-
[582] tion of consanguineous marriages in the ports than in the villages.
[369] As in Europe, but for different reasons, this evolution will result in the "breakup of the isolates," the social and ethnic frontiers going back to those of the nation.

Conclusion

S
143 The demographic inquiry by sampling carried out in the valley of the Senegal has made it possible to measure endogamy on the basis of the frequency of consanguineous marriages and the mean coefficient of consanguinity. The figures obtained are by far the highest that are now known for populations of such numerical importance. This peculiarity causes the populations concerned to evolve under very special biological circumstances which are not without reverberations on their demographic condition. (See Sutter [16].) An investigation in this direction is being pursued.

The genetic aspect of the situation should no longer be ignored, and anthropologists concerned with the mechanism of the differentiation of human types will find the material for taking into consideration the intervention of a factor which is also important.

Pierre Cantrelle
(Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, Dakar)

/See the foreign text for the bibliography on p. 676 of the original text./

/159 cont./

125 124 The questionnaire of the first investigation pertains to indispensable socio-demographic data and to housing conditions; as for the interviews, although permitting a definite framework, they were conducted in a very flexible way to give the interlocutor the maximum liberty of expression and thus to gather information on attitudes and opinions concerning family problems: education, marriage portion, marriage, polygamy, etc.

128 We shall not present here the complete record of this double investigation, but simply a certain number of results which give a somewhat more precise idea of the social reality at Pikine.

I. Demographic Elements

162 The total population of Pikine during the winter of 1960, not counting visitors and transients, comes to 28,780 inhabitants (1). The first stratum numbers 25,660 persons and the

1. A brief calculation of error shows that the population of Pikine has a 95% chance of being made up of between 26,286 and 31,374, the standard deviation being 1,247.

the second 3,120. This figure calls for the following remarks.

162 166 1) In winter the seasonal migrants who come to work at Dakar during the dry season have set out again for their homes /160/ in order to farm. Thus it is probable that the population of Pikine, like that of Dakar, is larger during the months from December to April (1).

1. It will suffice to refer to the results of the demographic investigation that took place in March 1961 to verify the magnitude of this event.

/160 cont./

162 361 2) One often hears figures on the order of 40,000 or 50,000 advanced for the total population of Pikine. It seems that there may be a distinct exaggeration there and that the reason for it is the following: a good many parcels are unoccupied, as they are bare or built up but uninhabited. Out of a sample of 287 parcels, 65 were unoccupied, making 22.6%. One comes across bare lands in all the quarters but the phenomenon is particularly noticeable in one of the first quarters of Pikine, namely, Maka-Kolobane, and naturally in the new subdivisions which are adjacent to Thiaroye-Gare. 162 423 Here it is normal, elsewhere it is less so, and one may ask whether a certain number of owners, although already possessing a residence in Dakar, have not obtained the right to certain parcels in spite of the administration. Be that as [123] it may, it has been impossible for me to investigate this further since the subject is taboo and the mere fact of mentioning it at one time or another has resulted in serious prejudices against carrying out the investigation.

162 3) This figure confirms the one obtained in the investigation conducted in the previous year during the same period by Father Martin, which gave a little more than 22,000 persons. An increase of 6,000 individuals in one year, taking into account the lots divided up in the course of the year or the buildings finished by the Office de l'Habitat in the districts, is nothing extraordinary.

[361] 4) With its 30,000 inhabitants Pikine is to be classed in the first rank of the agglomerations of the suburbs of Dakar, far ahead of the traditional villages of Cambérène, Thiaroye, and others, and the size of its population gives it a place apart; it is no longer a village, but a city.

Let us now examine the structure according to age and ethnic group. The following table shows the division of men and women into their age classes and according to ethnic groups; the pyramid that follows recapitulates the total results.

162 882 The age pyramid makes two phenomena apparent. On the one hand, there is the indentation of the class from 15 to 19 years of age. This gap is characteristic of all the cities of Africa. It probably has two principal causes: first, an

/160 cont./

162 882 erroneous estimate of the age /161/ /Table 1 appears here/ /162/ of young people, which is of a psycho-sociological order. The adolescents are either very much children, and one then gives them less than 15 years -- or they are already considered adults, thus more than 20 years old. /Diagrams appear here./ Without commenting on this error, let us nevertheless note that this fact is correlative to a global situation in which youth is difficult to recognize as such in the society, and where passage from childhood to adulthood is accomplished without the transition of adolescence.

162 [166] /163/ The other cause is of an objective order: Pikine is a city composed largely of migrants coming from their villages, as we shall see farther on, and the most favorable age for rural migration is between 20 and 30.

The other phenomenon clearly perceptible on the pyramid is the successive bulge of each of the two sides of the pyramid; in the city the old women are proportionately less numerous than the men of the same age. Despite the possibility of errors of estimation on the part of the persons concerned, the subjective impressions of an investigator confirm this fact: in Pikine one finds fewer old women than old men.

The percentage of persons more than 60 years old is, moreover, low: only 3%. The population as a whole is very young. It is calculated that 53.6% are less than 20 years old, which leaves 43.4% adults.

Another remarkable fact is a slight imbalance of the sex ratio in favor of women; 47.5% men as against 52.3% women. We observe an inverse structure in Dakar; the census of 1955 shows that the percentage of women increases as one goes from the center to the periphery. Ouakam, Yof, Cambérène, Thiaroye, Yembeul, and Mbao, like Pikine, have a female population larger than the male population. Only the first are old villages, and this fact is not surprising. On the contrary, the building of Pikine is of very recent date and it is a matter of a city. Let us note, finally, that in the districts the sex ratio is slightly higher than in the rest of the quarters: 54% women as against 46% men, and then again one finds 52.3% and 47.7%. We shall see later whether

10: Thoré--9 S-5 (1960) 1962 M337 Senegal MS37
Pikine MS30
Wolof MS32
Serer FA32
Fulani MS11
S
E
SR
F
162

/161/

Table 1. Population by sex, age, and ethnic group.

TOTAL		Age Groups	WOLOF		SÉRÈRE		TOUCOULEUR		PEUL		Moors		BAMBARA		Others		TOTAL
M	W		M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	
900	640	0 à* 1	490	340	70	40	190	140	60	40	40	20	30	20	20	40	1 540
2 630	2 070	1 à 4	1 440	1 250	70	100	560	370	160	60	140	40	170	80	90	170	4 700
2 120	2 740	5 à 9	1 200	1 520	100	160	470	610	40	120	80	100	110	120	120	110	4 860
1 400	1 280	10 à 14	770	560	0	120	220	390	60	40	80	60	130	60	140	50	2 680
590	1 070	15 à 19	350	520	20	120	60	210	30	40	60	20	60	90	10	70	1 660
570	1 420	20 à 24	290	770	40	130	60	260	40	90	80	40	0	80	60	50	1 990
520	1 680	25 à 29	320	950	40	140	100	420	10	60	20	60	30	40	0	10	2 200
850	1 240	30 à 34	420	720	80	80	160	260	50	40	80	40	30	40	30	60	2 090
960	1 080	35 à 39	440	660	70	80	200	230	80	50	20	20	90	0	60	40	2 040
900	580	40 à 44	540	380	30	10	210	100	30	20	20	40	70	20	0	10	1 480
710	420	45 à 49	430	220	0	20	110	130	60	20	40	20	40	0	30	10	1 130
650	400	50 à 54	310	270	10	0	60	70	20	20	100	0	50	40	100	0	1 050
370	150	55 à 59	170	90	0	40	100	0	20	0	20	0	0	20	60	0	520
510	330	60 et +	310	260	20	20	100	30	20	0	0	20	20	0	40	0	840
13 680	15 100		7 480	8 510	550	1 060	2 600	3 220	680	600	780	480	830	610	760	620	28 780
28 780			15 990		1 610		5 820		1 280		1 260		1 440		1 380		

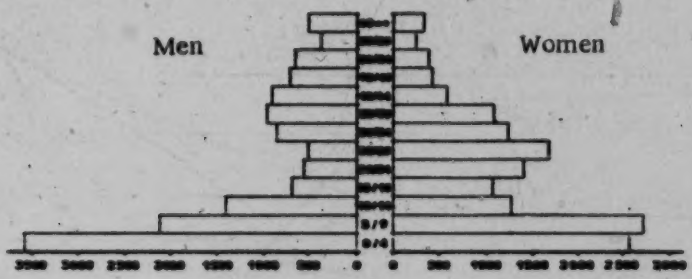
*à = to; et = and.

10: Thoré--10 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37
Pikine
Wolof MS30

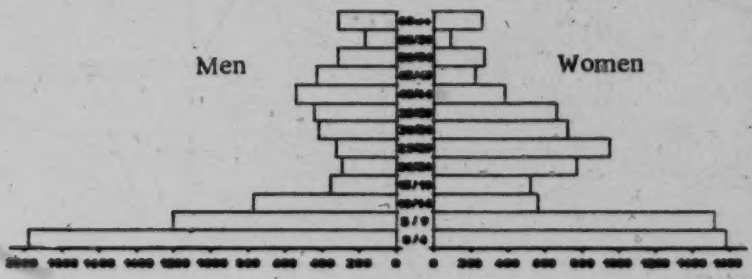
/162/

S
W
162

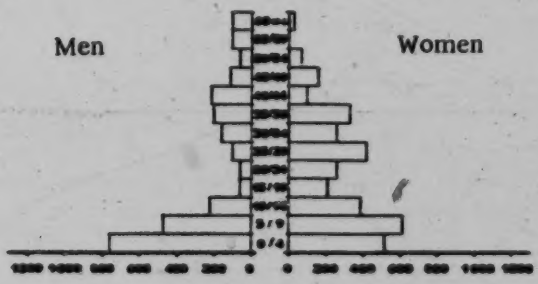
Total Population



Wolof



Toucouleur



S /163 cont./
162 it is possible to discover a likely explanation for this phenomenon.

S 162 128 Let us now turn to the data peculiar to each ethnic group. Let us determine first the classification followed and the reasons which have led to its adoption. The Lebou have been grouped with the Wolof because of their small number and also because, in a city recently created, their traditional particularism has not found the means or the occasion to develop as in the old villages of the peninsula. The few Sarakolé investigated have been grouped with the Toucouleur /Tukolor/, insofar as they are natives of the Valley. By Bambara, both the Bambara proper as well as the Khassonké /Kassonke/ are to be understood. Finally, under the category "Others" we have assembled all the other ethnic groups, primarily the Casamançais /people of Casamance/, Manjack and Diola, Guineans, and the natives of the other African states.

/164/

S W 162

The Wolof

Numbering almost 16,000, they constitute 55.6% of the population. This majority is close to that of Dakar. The sex ratio is 108 women for 100 men. The age pyramid shows the same anomalies as the general pyramid, with the characteristic gap for the period 15-19 years, and the successive bulge on each side. 52.8% of the population is less than 20 years old, which is the general percentage.

The Sérère

S SR 162 166

Their total number does not exceed 5.6% of that of the total population; 50% are less than 20 years old. The most characteristic trait which is peculiar to the Sérère /Serer/ is the size of the female population -- hence of the female migration: out of three individuals there are two women and one man. In connection with this fact, the indentation from 15-19 years of age is much less pronounced here on the female side than in the other ethnic groups; the young Sérère women and girls soon leave their village for the city.

/164 cont./
and girls soon leave their village for the city.

The Toucouleur

162 This is the second ethnic group in order of importance, since they make up 20.22% of the population. The young people less than 20 years old constitute 55.3%, and the sex ratio is 123 women to 100 men, clearly higher than that of the Wolof. But the remarkable phenomenon which appears on the above pyramid and distinguishes it from the Wolof pyramid is that this imbalance is much more pronounced between the ages of five and 20 than at other ages; if the number of boys from 0 to five years old is much larger than that of girls (68 girls for 100 boys), the sex ratio between five and 20 years is 161 girls as against 100 boys, and subsequently drops again to 136 as against 100. The same phenomenon is observable in Dakar according to the census of 1955, and this demographic structure is peculiar to the city, since the census made in the Fouta by the MISOES shows an inverse structure: in the Valley
162 the boys are more numerous than the girls. Why? The answers
166 that were given in the Toucouleur households questioned on the subject oriented the explanation in the following direction: on the one hand, the girls are reared by their mother and remain with her in the city; on the other hand, when his sons have come of age, /165/ the father likes to send them back to the country so that they may attend the Koranic school.

162 For the remainder of the ethnic groups we shall limit ourselves to presenting the same data in the table below, which at the same time sums up the total results. /Table 2 appears here./

This recapitulative table, besides the information already given, shows clearly the difference which distinguishes the first three ethnic groups from the last three, the Peul being at the extremity: among the latter the sex ratio is below 100 and the percentage of adult women clearly drops below 50%, whereas it is the reverse among the others. This
[166] is easily explained if one notes that the Moors, the Bambara,

/165/

SSR
TE
162

Table 2

% of the total population	Wolof	Sérère	Toucouleur	Peul	Moors	Bambara	Others	Total
	55.5	5.6	20.2	4.5	4.4	5	4.8	100
% of young people less than 20 years old	55.6	50	55.3	50.8	50.8	65	59.4	Av. 53.6
Sex ratio (number of women per 100 men)	108	200	123	88	61	73	81	110
% of women out of the group less than 20 years old	49.7	67.5	52.9	44.4	37.5	42.5	53.7	50.5
% of women between 5 and 20 years old	55	78	71	60.6	45	47.3	46	61.9
% of adult women	57.2	64.2	58.4	49.5	38.7	42.1	32.1	54.3
Average % of women (in each ethnic group)	53.2	66.6	53.3	46.9	38.1	42.4	45	54

/165 cont./

162 and the Others (some Manjack and Diola are an exception)
166 come from a distance and that it is therefore normal to see the men emigrate to Dakar and the women remain in the country. On the other hand, one can expect the native Wolof or Sérère women to accompany their husbands, fathers, or brothers to join them when they are settled in the city. An anomaly already pointed out exists no less in this case: Pikine appears somewhat if not altogether like a city reservoir of women, at least like a refuge for them.

/166/ II. Place of Origin and Date of Arrival

166 If one considers the history of Pikine, a preliminary question arises which does not bear on the "where-did-you-come-from" or "when-did-you-arrive?" and which is this: "why did you come to Pikine?" Indeed, let us not forget that in the beginning the Pikine population consisted only of the people who were expelled from the irregular quarters of Dakar, to whom a parcel of land was granted in compensation. The problem is to know whether in 1960 the situation had not changed. Here is the average percentage of the heads of families expelled out of the total, and within each ethnic group. /Table 3 appears here./

In the districts one does not count any family head expelled, since, upon their request, they have all been housed by the following results for the other quarters: 45% of the heads of families have been expelled, and 46% have not. This test is important because it proves that in eight years the mode of the peopling of Pikine has radically changed: from being forced to depart, it has today become voluntary. Another fact is significant for this evolution and its meaning: one finds in our sample a score of families, say 8.2%, who came directly from their former residence to Pikine without going by way of Dakar, and all except one arrived in the course of the year preceding the investigation. The village migrants come to Pikine for the same reasons that impel
[369] them to come to Dakar, and the inhabitants of Rufisque or of Thiès do not think of leaving the city to settle in Pikine.

[Text continues on p. 16 -- Analyst]

/172 cont./

166 369 3) The migrations of the Toucouleur and the Moors show, for each of them, their own peculiarities, which give these two ethnic groups of immigrants an unquestionable originality.

/173/

III. Work, Socio-occupational Structure

●162 463 128 Three problems are interesting in this section: the socio-occupational distribution properly speaking, unemployment, and the place of work.

The crude results of the distribution of the occupations are too scattered to show the broad outlines of the structure. It has seemed to us preferable to regroup the various professions into six large categories and to present the table of percentages of each within each ethnic group. Let us specify what each category corresponds to: that without any occupation, we have put the marabouts who do not have any activity, whether they practice full time -- which is rare --, part time, or do not have any students at all. /Table 11 appears here./

It is necessary to add the merchants to the artisans. The category "manual workers" is the largest: it includes the /174/ laborers, orderlies, chauffeurs, in short, all those who do not have an occupational qualifications. By staffs one should understand foremen as well as office employees, accountants, or typists, provided they belong to private enterprises. Under the rubric of "officials" are listed all those who are concerned with public functions from the local or general staff: policemen, government officials, or employees of the municipality. For each ethnic group the first line gives the percentages in the quarters and the second the corresponding percentages in the districts. The bottom line shows the total result, and the two preceding ones the results in the quarters and in the districts.

This table deserves a brief explanation:

162 463 [127] 1st. There are only very few cultivators. One would think that the proximity of the Niayes of Cape Verde and the importance of truck-gardening cultivation would favor

[Text continues on p. 28--Analyst]

EWSR
162
463
S
46A

/173/

Table 11. Occupations in % within each ethnic group.*

		Without	Cultivators	Artisans	Manual Workers	Teachers	Officials	Total
W	Q	7.6	1.8	28.8	44.1	8.5	9.2	100
	D			5.8	17.6	17.8	58.8	100
S	Q		9.1	27.2	63.7			100
	D					33.3	66.7	100
T	Q	2.6	0	21	47.4	13.2	15.8	100
	D				8.5	16.5	75	100
P	Q			20	60	10	10	100
	D				50		50	100
M	Q			64.2	35.8			100
	D							
B	Q				71.4		28.6	100
	D					20	80	100
O	Q		6.5	18.75	62.5		12.5	100
	D					64.7	33.3	100
	Q	4.7	1.9	27.6	48.1	7.5	10.2	100
	D	0	0	2.4	11.9	21.4	64.3	100
Av.		4.3	1.7	25.3	44.9	8.7	15.1	100

* [For explanation of Table 11, see category 116, pp. 26 and 28--Analyst]

/174 cont./

162 463 [427] the development of agricultural work; there has been none of this. Indeed, the lands are the property of the Lebou of neighboring villages and the cost of renting is high. Gardening therefore remains the privileged domain of the old villages of the peninsula, Keur-Massar, Thiaroye-sur-Mer, and Cambérène.

2nd. The great majority of the labor force is made up of non-specialized workers: almost 45% manual workers without occupational qualifications.

3rd. The Moors have a special place: two-thirds are merchants who keep shop, and the last third is made up almost exclusively of butchers who have been classed among the "manual workers."

4th. The most interesting feature is the difference which distinguishes the occupational structure of the districts from that of the quarters: in the first, no shop, either Moorish or Wolof, and practically no artisan; in the second, practically one worker out of two has no occupational qualifications, whereas this proportion drops to 12% in the districts; finally, and above all, out of three heads of families in the former, two are officials, whereas there is no more than one official out of ten in the latter.

362 463 [427] [426] [465] The reason for this recruitment is solely of an economic nature. Almost all the inhabitants of the districts are owners of their dwellings or will become such after they have made their payments. Now, these are spread over five years and have been calculated in such a way that the monthly payment does not exceed a quarter of the salary received. For the cheapest dwellings this is equal to a payment of 5,000, therefore to a monthly salary of about 20,000. A /175/ guard, houseboy, or a laborer does not earn this sum and is incapable of procuring a dwelling of this type. The dwellings of the districts are thus principally reserved for the officials, and then for the staffs, who have an adequate and 571 an assured salary. We therefore witness here the appearance of this phenomenon of social differentiation observable in many other African countries; it consists of the existence

/176 cont. /

464 and by A. Diop have shown, is connected with the effective solidarity of the ethnic group; certain occupations are their monopoly, and when a Toucouleur occupying a position wishes to go back to the Fouta, he will see to it that one of his "brothers" succeeds him. No doubt there is the same solidarity with regard to work everywhere, but it does not seem to have the same effectiveness.

464 484 A final point remains to be discussed: where do the residents of Pikine go to work? They rely on two principal places of work: Dakar, and Pikine itself. Furthermore, a certain number of persons are employed either in the Niayes or in the concerns located on the route from Rufisque outside of Dakar to the interior of the peninsula of Cape Verde, and some go still farther, especially some cattle traders or some peddlers whose permanent residence is in Pikine. Here are the respective percentages, by quarters, of workers employed in the different places: /Table 13 appears here. /

Table 13

	Quarters	Districts	General Av.
Dakar	66.4	95.2	70.4
Pikine	26.7	4.8	23.7
Cape Verde	6.1	0	5.3
Elsewhere	0.8	0	0.6
Total	100	100	100

464 484 162 The people of Pikine who work locally should be divided into two categories: on the one hand, the employees of the ICOTAF (Industrie /177/ Cotonnière africaine/ African Cotton Industry/); on the other hand, the merchants and artisans. Those who are over fifty have more difficulty in leaving their homes, as a comparison of the three following rates shows:

/177 cont./

464 Proportion of persons over 50 out of the active labor
484 force 25.3%
162 Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers
in Pikine 37%
Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers
in Dakar 16%

[463] Thus, old people prefer the traditional trades, jewelers, tailors, merchants, which can be carried on locally.

If one considers the fact that the active male labor force numbers 5,530 individuals and that about 70% of this labor force goes to Dakar to work, one can estimate the number of workers whose place of employment is located in Dakar at
464 about 2,800. Another question pertaining to the frequency of
484 journeys to Dakar shows that 62% of the total labor force, that is to say, about 3,700, make the trip at least once a day. This means that not only the workers but the unemployed as well go to Dakar daily. Dakar thus has a double attraction for the workers of Pikine: as an actual place of employment, and as a place of possible hiring. The two principal means of
494 transportation are: for the officials, the cars called "G.G.,"
484 thanks to which they can return for lunch at noon, and for the great majority of others the express buses; only a few have
[493] personal means of transportation, mobylettes /bicycles with motors/ or vehicles. The length of the automobile trip from
484 Pikine to the Sandaga market varies from 20 minutes to more than half an hour depending on traffic difficulties. One must add to this the time required to go on foot through the sand from the concession to the bus stop. In a very general way one can say that the worker leaves his house in the morning about seven o'clock and returns to it in the evening between 6:45 and seven o'clock, provided that he does not have errands on
[369] the way. This quick analysis therefore shows the role of
[361] "bedroom community" that Pikine plays to a certain extent in relation to Dakar.

After the male labor force, it is necessary to say a word
463 about female work. The great majority of the women do not
162 have any occupation other than that of housework: more than two thirds. The 32% who draw monetary income from their

S /177 cont./
462 work are divided into very different groups; here is the
463 distribution of female occupations by percentages:
162 /178/ Hairdressers (occupation often held by the griotes)...4.5

Silent partners of weavers	2.2
Dyers	3.7
Saleswomen in markets or stalls	15.5
Cleaning women, laundresses	4.5
Laborer	0.8
Others	68.8
Total	100

S 305 Hairdressing is more an ordinary service than remunera-
565 tive work; it is most often done by the caste women, griotes
463 or jewelers, in exchange for money or for presents which they receive from "free" or "noble" families -- the Wolof term is "guer" -- for whom they are the appointed griotes. It is not unusual, along one of the sandy streets in the shade of a wall, to come across a group of women, one of whom will be braiding the hair of another stretched out flat on her stomach, her head on the knees of her hairdresser.

S 462 Equally traditional are the occupations of dyer or silent
463 partner of a weaver. At the extreme opposite is the laborer of the CAFAL who works daily at fixed hours for a definite
SR [462] salary. There are only a few of them in our sample, all of whom are Sérère. The women who do housework or who are laundresses must likewise be classed under this rubric of modern work. The way they use their time is indeed much less whimsical than in the case of the first categories. Between the two one must place the most important occupation, S that of saleswoman. And here it is again necessary to dis-
[443] tinguish several categories of saleswomen: those who keep a shop or a stall by the side of their houses, those who go to sell at the market of Pikine, and finally those who every day go from Pikine to Dakar to sell their vegetables and their produce S W at Kermel or at Sandaga.

SR On the other hand, the positive replies are too numerous
462 to be profitably discussed by ethnic groups and thus to separate
162 out the principal ethnic behaviors. At best it is possible that

S
W
SR
462
162

/178 cont./

the jobs most thrust into the modern rhythm, like the last two categories of the saleswomen in the Dakar markets, are held by Wolof of Sérère women. The rate of activity of these last two is generally higher proportionately, since almost 40% of the Wolof or Sérère women are reckoned as having an occupation outside of the household, /179/ while this proportion drops to 13% for the Toucouleur and the other ethnic groups.

S
462
162

A final point deserves to be mentioned: although one finds some women devoted to traditional occupations in the sample of the districts and even though one or two stalls are to be found there, we have, in turn, not found any woman there who works outside as saleswoman, housekeeper, or typist; the female workers of our sample are all found in the stratum of the quarters.

S
369
462

In conclusion one may say that acculturation to the urban environment by means of modern work seems for the time being to have left aside the female world. Except for the Wolof and Sérère sectors of the female population, the rest have remained untouched. It is only under the strong pressure of economic motives that the women become reconciled to going to work, and the Sérère women give proof of more initiative than the others. But when this compulsion ceases and the woman again takes up her traditional behavior: housewife, and nothing but housewife. This return to tradition may seem astonishing; it is explained by the educational level of those whom we have called "literate." It is this point that should now be studied.

[462]

IV. Educational Level and Schooling

121

If belonging to a specific ethnic group constitutes a fundamental conditioning prior to settling in a city, the educational level, on the contrary, is both a sign and a factor of acculturation. On these grounds, therefore, it also has considerable importance when it is a matter of studying the possible variations of behavior, attitudes, and opinions. The initial results have shown that these were in fact, with

/182 cont. /

Table 15

191
871

Age Class	20-30	30-50	50 +
Illiterate	38.7	34.1	60.2
Summary knowledge	6.5	41.9	30.6
Literate	54.8	24	9.2
Total	100	100	100

people than old who have received a beginning of academic training. Besides, the young people from 20 to 30 years old have either been to school or do not know French because they have not had occasion to learn it outside of school. Thus the generations show a distinct difference, and this can only become more pronounced as an examination of the actual number of pupils enrolled shows.

871
162

Here is first the table of the attendance ratio; it refers to children from seven to 14 years old, divided by ethnic groups and sex. /Table 16 appears here. /

A comparison with the results of the same inquiry, conducted the preceding year, despite the possible variations of the sampling, indicates distinct progress for the girls, from 62.5% to 82.6% for the boys, and an average of from 45.3 to 63.9. Nevertheless, a great effort must still be made, especially on the part of the female population, since one girl out of two still does not go to school. Let us now distinguish the attendance ratios in the districts and in the quarters. /Table 17 appears here. /

/183/ The difference is great between the school behavior of the districts and that of the quarters. First the total: almost all of the children in the districts go to school, nine out of ten, while this proportion drops to three out of five in the quarters.

10: Thoré--39 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30
Serer FA32
Fulani MS11
Peul
S
EU
SR
F
162
871

/182/

Table 16 [1]

Ethnic Groups	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Total
Girls	32.65	88.6	46.9	50	100	75	61.54	47.32
Boys	92.5	64.7	79.16	66.6	44.4	72.2	75.86	82.6
Girls + boys	52.58	75	56.16	55.5	68.7	73.5	69	63.9

[1] /school attendance ratio of children 7-14 years old in the city of Pikine. See cat. 116 pp 38 and 41 for explanation — AN/

10: Thoré--40 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30
Serer FA37
Fulani MS11
Peul
SU SR F 162 801
/182/

Table 17 [7]

Ethnic Groups	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Total
Q	25.75	71.74	39	50	100	66.6	58.33	40.69
Girls								
D	93.33	100	75	--	--	100	100	89.13
Q	91.66	63.5	76.2	50	44.44	75	76.9	81.2
Boys								
D	100	100	100	100	--	100	66.6	96.9
Q	60.1	66.6	51.6	50	68.7	71.4	68	60
Total G. + B								
D	99	100	81.8	100	--	100	80	91

[1] /school attendance ratio of children 7-14 years old in the city of Pikine — by districts and quarters — see cat. 116 pp 38 and 41 for explanation — AN/

/183 cont./

871 On the other hand, the backwardness of the girls, which was particularly marked among the Wolof and the Toucouleur, disappears almost completely among the Wolof of the districts, whereas one Toucouleur girl out of four in the districts still does not go to school.

191 871 In all respects one observes a radical change which distinguishes the generations: the one of the present parents is, in the majority, illiterate and knows only a little French. The situation is reversed with the rising generation, thanks to the effort toward educational equipment. This upset will be even more noticeable in the female population, for in 20 years more than half the mothers of families living in Pikine will have been to school, while at present one finds scarcely any.

V. Religion

771 795 162 A final factor should be studied because of its considerable cultural influence: that of religion. In Pikine the vast majority of inhabitants are Moslems, so that, in addition to membership in a religious confession properly speaking, we have differentiated membership in a definite Islamic sect. This leads to five different categories within Islam: two of these are sects of wide geographic scope, the Tidjanes and the Khadres, one is peculiar to the Senegal, Muridism, and one is encountered above all in the region of Cape Verde, the Layens; finally, some individuals, while calling themselves Moslems, declare that they do not belong to any sect.

795 162 Here (p.43) is the table of the various sects or religious confessions into which the inhabitants of Pikine are divided, first in absolute figures and then in percentages.

It suffices to underline the points that these tables clearly bring to light. First, the numerical preponderance of the Tidjanes over the assemblage of the other confessions.

/183 cont./

1795 162 In itself alone, the sect accounts for more than half of the population. It is only among the Sérère that Muridism predominates; in all the other ethnic groups it is either non-existant or occupies second place, as among the Wolof.

In the second place, although Tidjanism predominates among the Wolof /184/ /Tables 18 and 19 appear here/ and by a large majority among the Toucouleur, the Peul, and the Sarakolé (1), the Khadres are the ones who are preponderant

1. We have separated the Sarakolé from the Toucouleur because there is a slight difference of religious behavior between them.

in the other groups.

Finally, Pikine is not a city in which the Christian element holds an important place. Unquestionably it is difficult to judge by starting from such a limited sample of Catholics. Nevertheless, the percentage obtained corresponds to that which Father Martin found last year: 2.36% instead of 2%. The Christian minority /185/ is represented above all by the Sérère and Casamançais element. We note simply that this percentage is slightly higher in the districts than in the quarters: 13.7% instead of 0.9%.

The table of the distribution of the heads of households -- comprised of women this time -- by ethnic group and religion offers a useful point of comparison. /Table 20 appears here./

Let us compare the average percentage of this table with that of the preceding one: we see that the proportion of Tidjanes and of Khadres decreases as one passes from the total population to the category of heads of households, while this proportion increases in the case of the Murids. This phenomenon indicates simply that the Tidjane and Khadre homes are relatively more numerous than the Murid homes, as is confirmed by the following table where we give the average number of individuals by homes, according to religious affiliation: /Table 21 appears here./

[Text continues on P. 46--Analyst]

Pikine
Soninke MS21
Wolof MS30
Serer FA32
Fulani MS11
Tukolor MS21

/184/

Table 18. Religions

Religion	Wolof	Sérère	Toucouleur	Sarakolé	Peul	Moors	Bambara	Other	Total
Tidjanes	8,790	340	3,990	680	1,000	40	460	120	15,420
Khadres	1,070	280	170	280	280	1,120	940	810	4,950
Murids	5,760	740	480	---	---	20	---	80	7,080
Layens	200	0	100	---	---	0	---	--	300
Without sect	130	20	120	---	---	80	---	--	350
Catholics	40	230	0	---	---	0	40	370	680
Total	15,990	1,610	4,860	960	1,280	1,260	1,440	1,380	28,780

Pikine
Wolof MS30
Serer FA32
Fulani MS11
Tukolor MS20
Soninke MS21

SEC SRT
SO
1692
1965

/184/

Table 19

Religion	Wolof	Sérère	Toucouleur	Sarakolé	Peul	Moors	Bambara	Other	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Tidjanes	54.97	21.11	82.1	70.8	78.1	3.1	31.9	8.7	53.58
Khadres	6.7	17.39	3.5	29.2	21.9	89	65.3	58.7	17.2
Murids	36.02	45.96	9.87			1.5		5.8	24.6
Layens	1.25	0	2.06						1
Without sect	0.81	1.24	2.47			6.4			1.22
Cathol.	0.25	14.3	0				2.8	26.8	2.36
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

10: Thoré--45 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS39

795
162

/185/

Table 20

Religion \ Ethnic Group	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Tidjanes	48.2	27	74.5	78.6	7.1	22.2	11.4	47.4
Khadres	3.6	13.5	11.2	14.3	85.8	74.1	54.3	16.9
Murids	45.3	43.3	10.1	--	--	--	5.7	29.7
Layens	2.3	--	2.1	--	--	--	--	1.6
Without sect	0.3	5.4	2.1	7.1	7.1	--	--	1.6
Catholics	0.3	10.8	--	--	--	3.7	28.6	2.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

/185 cont./

795
162

Table 21

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect.	Cath.
Average number of individuals per home	5.86	5.27	4.29	3.33	3.88	4.25

Let us note that this remark applies to the Wolof, for the difference of percentage in the case of the Sérère or the Toucouleur is too slight to enable one to draw any valid indications from it.

/186/ Let us now compare the religious affiliation of the districts and the quarters. We have the following table, always in percentages, for the male heads of families within each of these two categories. /Table 22 appears here./

Table 22

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect	Cath.	Total
% Quarters	46.6	16	32.3	1.6	1.6	1.9	100
% Districts	54.8	19	7.1	2.4	2.4	14.3	100

Thus one observes two opposite movements: on the one hand, the percentage of all the sects increases as one passes from the quarters to the districts; on the other, this percentage decreases in the case of the Murids who are relatively and absolutely much more numerous in the quarters than in the districts. On the basis of this one could comment on the incompatability of Muridism and durable construction. Rather than launching ourselves on risky interpretations, let us content ourselves with observing the fact and noting that it runs in the same direction as the following observation obtained from the respective percentages of the literates and illiterates

795
162
191
871

/186 cont./
of each sect. /Table 23 appears here./

795
162
191
871

Table 23

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect	Cath.	Av.
Literate	22	8.5	10.3	22.2	11.2	50	21.5
Illiterate	78	91.5	89.7	77.8	88.8	50	78.5
Total	100						100

The number of Moslems declared as without sect is too small to give any valid information. The small number of literates among the Khadres comes from the Moors, and their proportion doubles if one does not take the latter into consideration. Hence there remain only the Murids, among whom the proportion of literates does not come to half /187/ of the average percentage: 10.3 instead of 21.5. If one cannot say that Muridism specifically encourages illiteracy, neither can one say that it develops a taste and desire for learning among its adepts; the foregoing fact would tend rather to show that it plays the role of a curb, voluntary or involuntary, in the same measure that illiteracy constitutes a force of inertia to be conquered and that education, on the contrary, perpetuates itself. In any case, the intellectual elite of the Pikine population prefers to join the other sects.

[571]

VI. Habitat and Family

128

After having presented the social framework of the whole society of Pikine, we shall conclude this quick study by showing first the material factors that condition its mode of existence, and then a certain number of general considerations concerning the structure of the urban family.

/191 cont./

511 limit of reasonable occupancy has been passed when one
362 figures an average of more than two persons per room. Thus at the left of this line are the households which do not exceed this relation of one room for two persons, at the right those for whom occupancy becomes crowded. Now let us add all the figures at the right of the line of separation, and let us refer this total of "crowded" homes in each table to the general total. One finds that this result, which one may call the "index of occupancy," is much higher in the districts
162 than in the quarters: 26.4% as against 45.2%. This phenome-
592 non indicates that the families are much more /192/ /Table
511 25 appears here/ numerous in the districts. It is possible to
362 verify this in two ways: first, by comparing the average number of persons per household, which gives 7.43 as against 4.86; or else by constructing from the preceding tables the histogram of the various families in percentages. One then finds that in the first case the median runs between seven and eight persons, and in the second between four and five; in other words, that 47% of the homes in the districts have at least eight persons, while in the quarters one counts only 47% of the homes with five or more persons.

511 The same tendency is shown in the matter of the rela-
352 tion of the furnishings to the number of persons. We have therefore drawn up a table identical to the preceding one and substituted the number of beds for the number of rooms, for it is the bed that constitutes the principal article of furniture. Obviously the data obtained do not have the same value, since it has not been possible /193/ /Table 26 appears here/ to distinguish the various kinds of beds: beds in one or two places, wooden or metal springs. Nevertheless, it is shown that the ratio of the number of persons to the number of beds is higher in the districts than in the quarters. The total result is the following: in the former 47, in the latter 38 beds per 100 persons. One finds only five or six instances where the bed is nothing but a simple mat thrown on the beaten earth in the huts of the quarters.

/195 cont./

511 exist in the districts, where the parcel is individual, one can
592 see in it one of the reasons why the average number of individuals per home is higher there than elsewhere.

592 The analysis of the qualitative composition of the
162 family group discloses another reason. Schematically one may distinguish four principal kinds of family, if one considers its qualitative composition: the lone adult; the adult living with one or more children, where it is a matter of his own or of young brothers; the family called "elementary," composed of the husband, his wife or wives, and their children; finally, the elementary family to which are added either the collateral relatives, or outsiders, or both.

Here (p. 60) is the table of the percentages of these different types listed by ethnic groups; the first is that of the quarters, the second that of the districts.

When one goes from the quarters to the districts, the total shows that:

1st. The number of elementary families increases.

2nd. The proportion of the "extended" families -- in the very broad sense of the term -- remains the same in the two cases.

/196/ 3rd. This increase in the rate of the conjugal family is thus due to the almost total disappearance in the districts of single persons living alone or in the company of children who are in their charge, especially divorced women. /Table 28 appears here./

592 One may ask whether this factor suffices in itself to
162 explain this increase in the number of individuals per household
595 which we have listed above. There is another difference between the districts and the quarters which may likewise contribute to this explanation: it is the rate of polygamy. We mean by that the number of household heads who are polygamists in relation to the total number of male heads of households. Out of 100 family heads 21 are polygamists in the quarters and 31 in the districts. The difference is notable.

592
162

/196 cont./

Table 28

Ethnic Group	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Type 1	8.4	17.6	7	7.7	21.4	9.1	12.5	9.7
2	9.1	17.6	2.3	7.7	0	9.1	0	7.4
3	39.9	35.3	48.8	61.5	50	54.5	62.5	44.7
4	42.6	29.5	41.9	23.1	28.6	27.3	25	38.2
Total	100							100
Type 1	5.9							2.4
2	0					20		2.4
3	70.6	33.3	50	50	--	60	33.3	57.1
4	23.5	66.7	50	50		20	66.7	38.1
Total	100							100

/431/

121 Fashion, from a subjective point of view, represents a fleeting custom that depends on the taste and the whims of individuals. Its range of application is universal. It is thus a social and aesthetic phenomenon of the same order as painting, from which it borrows much.

Like all expressions of art, fashion is a language and a magic. It is also a technique, the different aspects of which may be grouped in three categories: the fabrication of the objects (fabrics and garments), the methods of sale, and the motivations for the purchase.

For the social psychologist the problem of the adaptation of the African to European fashions presents itself.

125 Among the various possible methods of investigation, our choice was directed first of all to direct observations and the method of tests. We have taken into consideration both the ethnic origin and the age of the subjects.

I. Female African Population of Dakar

162 1. Resident population on 6-1-55.

We ascertained:

a) the very distinct predominance of the Wolof group (47.8%),

b) the weak representation of the Sérèr and Diola in relation to the Bambara.

/432/

2. Characteristics of this population:

[191] [212] a) Knowledge of French (14 years old and +):

4,844 women and girls speak our language (2,850 of them write it).

162 463 b) Salaried occupations in crafts and business (14 years old and +):

[294] [386] 3,779, of whom: sewing, dressmaking,

lingerie, clothing	609
preparation, dyeing.....	142

S /432 cont. /

162 The 609 individuals who derive a profit from the
463 fashion trades are divided ethnically as follows:

[294]

Cape Verde group	243
Wolof group	157
Diola group	48
Lebou group	31
Sérèr group	29
Others	101

W
[294]

S
W
[386] The majority of the 142 dyers are Toucouleur /Tukolar/ (77) and Wolof (36).

W
[463] Out of 1,455 Wolof women practicing a trade, for their own benefit or salaried, 598 are tradeswomen, 157 in sewing, 110 business employees.

The Lébou women likewise prefer to carry on a business (150 out of 340 counted as workers).

S
125

II. Experimental Research on the Aesthetic Sense of Dakar Women in the Matter of Clothing

For this study, which is only in its beginnings, two methods are used:

-- direct observation of clothing worn for display by a certain number of women,

-- the result of tests conducted among some of them. /Table I appears here on an unnumbered page. /

/433/

A. Direct Observation.

1. Circumstances.

S
[114] a) The investigation was conducted in the Médina of Dakar, in the quarters Sapeurs-pompiers /Firemen/ and Champ de courses /Race course/ -- between 9 and 19 November 1956, at the end of an election.

/Between pp. 432 and 433. /

S
W
162

Table I. Female Population of Dakar on 6-1-55.

Ethnic Groups	1-9 yrs. old	10/14	15/19	20/24	25/29	30/34	35/39
West Atlantic Gr.							
Wolof	12 830	2 654	3 629	4 630	5 260	3 561	2 555
Lébou	3 980	912	929	1 181	1 263	865	722
Sérer	1 093	251	495	662	678	389	237
Diola	302	106	231	226	173	109	65
Mandjiak	174	26	101	111	74	34	30
Susu	261	69	90	76	71	37	29
Kisi	39	2	34	26	8	3	1
Kpellé	19	3	13	21	14	3	2
Mankagne	23	11	11	11	7	1	2
Others	146	30	48	57	48	12	16
	18 877	4 064	5 581	7 001	7 596	5 014	3 659
Peul Gr. (N and NE)							
Toucouleur	2 954	545	1 033	1 191	1 366	882	616
Peul	702	142	292	359	348	234	173
Foula	385	61	247	208	168	54	49
Others	614	125	187	257	310	219	146
	4 655	873	1 759	2 015	2 192	1 389	984
Sudanese Gr.							
Bambara	1 045	206	299	290	308	205	158
Sarakholé	568	105	190	207	240	150	102
Soné	227	39	45	71	66	37	24
Malinké	260	46	109	77	74	36	23
Khassonké	147	33	38	40	50	29	24
Mandingue	133	17	30	39	30	19	10
Others	39	6	18	19	14	6	8
	2 419	452	729	743	782	482	329
Others							
CI + Bénin	242	38	52	52	63	35	16
Voltaics	122	14	32	44	31	13	5
Haoussa	26	11	11	11	10	4	1
Af., not Fr. W. Af.	71	16	27	25	21	23	11
Cape Verdians	502	159	180	209	188	127	117
Misc.	13	1	1	8	5	1	—
	986	239	303	349	318	203	150
Totals							

/Left half of table/

11: Lèques--4 P-5 (1956) 1957 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

/Between pp. 432 and 433./

S
W
162

30/34	35/39	40/44	45/49	50/54	55/59	60/64	65 +	Totals
3 561	3 555	2 007	1 063	1 036	611	608	1 184	41 628
865	722	635	416	370	258	260	496	12 297
389	237	141	78	62	41	34	51	4 212
109	65	47	25	25	10	9	13	1 341
34	30	13	13	1	2	3	1	583
37	29	22	11	7	7	3	5	683
3	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	114
3	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	80
1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	69
12	16	5	4	4	1	—	1	372
5 014	3 659	2 870	1 610	1 505	940	918	1 751	61 379
882	616	452	231	137	85	86	127	9 705
224	173	130	60	56	20	29	50	2 595
54	49	22	19	3	12	2	2	1 232
219	146	112	63	58	34	34	84	2 243
1 389	984	716	373	254	151	151	263	15 775
205	158	138	76	54	40	32	82	2 933
150	102	67	43	34	22	21	23	1 772
37	34	28	14	6	4	6	5	572
36	23	17	4	5	1	1	6	669
29	34	3	6	4	8	2	2	386
19	10	6	5	6	2	5	3	305
6	8	3	1	—	—	—	3	117
482	229	262	149	109	77	67	124	6 754
35	16	8	7	4	2	3	3	535
13	5	3	3	3	4	1	—	285
4	1	2	1	1	—	1	1	80
23	11	14	11	7	12	4	7	249
127	117	136	141	81	82	33	61	2 016
1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	30
203	150	164	163	96	100	42	72	3 195
								87 103

/Right half of table/

17: Mercier--7 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30
Lebu

/14 cont./

(occupational structure, class structure, etc.). It seems that there are certain numerical thresholds beyond which important qualitative changes make themselves felt, for example, in the area of race relations. We shall return to this.

S
369x
563

B. -- Dakar is one of the most complex cases. It has some aspects of an old colonial town, and in fact it is one of the oldest in West Africa (2). But this one has been

2. Counting only the colonial towns; the pre-European towns, with specific characteristics, are excluded here.

covered in a way by a town of the second type (3). The

3. Cf. above, I, A, 1, b.

mixture of the social characteristics of the one town and of the other permits one to understand certain features of evolution of Dakar. On the other hand, the dominant original ethnic group, the Lebou group, has progressively lost its importance. Finally, a last phase of the development of the town makes it seem like a center of European population, still unstable.

S
369x
563
W
369
563

1. Considering only the African population, one ascertains that the elements that are old and stabilized -- unequally and under diverse conditions -- (Goréean "old families," Lebou community) have been submerged by a heterogeneous mass. It is nevertheless necessary to specify:

S
W
[162]
[113]

a) The Lebou, despite the contributions received from the nearby suburb which is their traditional habitat zone (4), undoubtedly represent hardly more than 10% of

4. Cf. G. Balandier and P. Mercier, "Particularisme et évolution: les pêcheurs

Dakar
Wolof MS30
Lebu

/14 cont./

Lebou /Particularism and evolution: the Lebou Fishermen/," Etudes Sénégalaises, No. 3, 1952. Result of investigations made in 1946.

S 369^
W 369
S W 563
[113]
[162]

the population.(5). Their /15/ customary organization,

5. The estimates, furnished by the way with every reservation by the Dakar Délégation, give 15% Lebou, but for the whole of the commune (suburban villages included); in the town itself the proportion is not as high. We consider only this one, without forgetting, however, that many Lebou living in the villages, and even Rufisque, work in Dakar. In the investigation by questionnaires conducted in Dakar, which gives, if not a true ethnic representation, at least some valuable indications, we encountered a little less than 10% Lebou.

S
W
[484]

moreover, continues to exist (1), but becomes more and

1. On this subject, cf. C. Michel, "L'organisation coutumière (sociale et politique) de la collectivité Leboue de Dakar /The customary organization (social and political) of the Lebou community of Dakar/," Bull. du Comité d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques de l'A.O.F., XXII,

S
W
[113]

17: Mercier--9 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS90
Lebu

/15 cont./

3, 1934; G.-J. Duchemin, "La République Lebou et le peuplement actuel /The Lebou republic and the present pupulation/," in "La presqu'île du Cap-Vert /The Cape Verde peninsula/," Etudes Sénégalaises, No. 1, 1949.

S 369x
S 369
S W 563
[113]

more formal, and its efficacy is reduced besides by the new political cleavages (2). Their role as holders of the landed

2. This goes as far as a splitting up of the traditional functions and those of the heads of quarters between the supporters of the two large present-day parties (SFIO and BDS).

property has progressively shrunk and remains important only in the suburbs (3). Finally, the Lebou particularism (4)

3. On this subject cf. the indications furnished by J. Dresch, op. cit., pp. 219-220.

4. Cf. G. Balandier and P. Mercier, op. cit., passim.

is tending to be obliterated, and the boundaries between Lebou and Wolof become more blurred (5).

5. In the figures furnished by the Dakar Délégation, one sees accounting for 11% a category

S W [162]

17: Mercier-- 10 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30
Lebu

/15 cont./

called Wolof-Lebou, for which one cannot know to what extent it is the result of mixtures between the two groups and to what extent it is the effect of a "Wolofization" of the Lebou.

S 369x W 369 S W [162] [563]

b) As far as the Lebou and the Wolof are concerned, and to a lesser extent certain other groups, contacts with the regions and kinship groups of origin remain important. Let us add that for a population in large majority Moslem, the religious centers attracting pilgrims are in the interior of Senegal. A large proportion of the population is therefore not at all completely uprooted, and the phenomena of "destructurization" which generally accompany the rural exoduses are less marked than in most of the recent towns. Therefore the fact that only 22% of the persons questioned during our investigation were born in Dakar is less significant than it seems at first glance (6).

S 369x [788]
S [162]

6. Compare with the figures given by G. Balandier for Poto-Poto: 90 to 98% for persons born outside of the town (op. cit., p. 25). On the other hand it must not be forgotten that even in the "old towns" in France the proportion of persons born in the town where they live may be very low, for example, 25% at Auxerre (cf. C. Bettelheim and S. Frère, Une ville française moyenne, Auxerre en 1950, Etude de structure sociale et urbaine /An average French town, Auxerre in 1950; Study of social and urban structure/, Paris, 1950).

17: Mercier--12 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30
Lebu

/16 cont./ S 369x 563 [166] W [369] [563]

to exist by two processes: forced displacement of old quarters at the time of the creation of the Médina, massive settlement of foreign "tenants" in the quarters remaining in place. If the Lebou names of quarters have often been preserved (even after their displacement), if the headships of quarters are still in major part held by Lebou, these soon perhaps will be only historical vestiges. Moreover, the ethnic composition of the quarters and of the "compounds" is constantly being transformed. The numerical importance of the diverse groups cannot be established in any precise fashion because of the lack of detailed censuses. We shall mention as an indication: S 369x 563 162

a) The official figures, furnished by the way with every reservation, and valid for the whole of the commune of Dakar (the suburban villages included): Lebou, 15%; Wolof, 25%; "Wolof-Lebou," 11%; Sérère, /Serer/, 3%; Bambara, 9%; Toucouleur /Tukolor/, 10%; Peul, 5%; Moors, 4%; Diola, 5%; Soussou /Susu/, 2%; Cape Verdeans (Portugese), 2%; etc. (2).

2. Percentages taken from figures shown in the 1953 report. Not mentioned, by the way, are persons originally from Upper Volta, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey. They do not seem to figure in the total, the headings including only: persons originally from other territories of the A.O.F. /French West Africa/, persons from Cape Verde, persons from Togo, persons from the Cameroun, persons originally from AEF /French Equatorial Africa/ and those from Sierra Leone.

/17/ b) The fragmentary data gathered at the time of the investigation by questionnaires conducted by the Section S [125]

/17 cont./ 369*
563
162
[125]

de Sociologie in the first half of 1953. The 1,231 persons questioned were divided among 43 different ethnic groups. The groups of small numerical importance, however, were not all represented (1). One found (the few percentages

1. Some others, represented in all Dakar by only a few individuals, were encountered in the course of subsequent investigations.

given are only indicative):

-- persons originally from the Senegal-Sudan zone: [166] besides the Lebou (9%), the Wolof (43%)(2), the Toucouleur [167]

2. Included here is a certain number of persons who were manifestly of Lebou origin and who nevertheless called themselves Wolof, proof of the crisis of the old Lebou particularism.

(11%), the Sérère (5%), the Bambara (6%), the Sarakolé (3%), the Socé, the Mandingue /Mandingo/, the Khassonké /Kassonke/, the Peul, the Diola (3%) (3), the Mandiaque;

3. The figure furnished by official sources undoubtedly is closer to reality; there is, in fact, among the Diola, a majority of workers, permanent or seasonal, and this is the category that proved to be the most difficult to contact. The proportion of workers in the total number of persons who agreed to answer our questionnaire is much smaller than it should be. [125]

/17 cont./

-- persons originally from French Guinea: Malinké (3%), Peul, Soussou, Kissi; 369x 563 162

-- persons from the Ivory Coast: Agni, Appollonien, Attié, Baoulé /Baule/, Bété /Betie/, Dida, Krou, Wobé; [167]

-- persons originally from the Togo-Dahomey zone: Aizo, Ewe, Fon, Goun /Gun/, Nago, Popo, Mina;

-- persons originally from the Upper Volta-Niger zone: Mossi, Sonray;

-- miscellaneous: Moors (3%), Cape Verdeans (2%), Yoruba, Boulama, Congolese, etc.

Those for whom we have indicated no percentage are for the most part of little importance numerically in relation to the total population. Their situation, however, is very variable: the consequences of uprooting, the degree of cohesion which preserves small groups very far from their region of origin, the degree of integration in the urban society, vary according to the level at which they are located in the new social stratification which takes shape in the towns.

3. Indeed, another feature of the sociology of colonial towns -- and which is, as we mentioned above, very conspicuous in the "old towns" -- is the progressive differentiation into strata definable by socio-occupational criteria. It assumes, as the investigation on Dakar showed, a /18/ greater and greater importance in the stabilized population; there, the domains where behavior continues to be determined by the ethnic, religious, etc. situation are limited. We posed the problem in this manner in a recent article, to which we allow ourselves to refer (1): "It appears ... that our categories only 369x 565

1. P. Mercier, "Un essai d'enquête par questionnaires dans la ville de Dakar /An attempt at investigation by questionnaires in the town of Dakar/" (Paper given at the conference on the Consequences of Industrialization [113]

/18 cont./

and Urbanization in Africa, Abidjan, 1954). 369x 565 [113]

tendentially have the character of social classes. They are distinguished by the living standard and way of life and by a certain number of specific behaviors, but the characteristics of colonial society, on the one hand, and, on the other, the persistence of traditional values do not permit them to assume the character of clear-cut classes." We shall return to this account, where we noted the absence of close correlations [182] between socio-occupational category, ethnic group, and religion, but, on the other hand, the existence of very clear correlations between the socio-occupational categories and facts such as level of French studies, the importance of intermarriages between different ethnic groups, that of the role played by the groupings and associations of a new type (political parties, syndicates, etc.). Also the ethnic affiliation plays a role of variable importance, although it is very rarely obliterated completely.

4. The new structures which characterize the towns 369x give a large place to grouping of a political, syndical, cultural, sportive, etc. order. 571 We shall not discuss this problem here. It must be noted, however, that in Dakar the importance of some of them is considerably reinforced by the function that Dakar performs as the federal capital; it is valid for the syndicates and to a lesser degree for the political parties.

5. Finally, an important fact in every colonial town, 369x but particularly in Dakar is the juxtaposition of racially and 563 culturally different groups. For Dakar, the European population undoubtedly represents 10% of the total population (2), and 162

2. In the census of the non-autochthonous population of 1951, close to 22,000.

/18 cont./ 369x
the Lebano-Syrians at least 2%. Let us consider in this brief 563
glance only the problem of the relations between Africans and [162]
Europeans.

a) The increase in the number of Europeans -- which
has increased at least sixfold since 1939, while the African popu- [161]
lation has undoubtedly not even tripled -- has been accompanied
by qualitative changes: development of the categories of tech- [463]
nicians, workers, artisans, petty employees, petty merchants.
This population, despite the sense of a strong solidarity (which
is admitted in time of crisis) vis-à-vis the African population,
has seen a division /19/ into classes inherited from the society [565]
of origin become marked. At the same time, the European
community has withdrawn into itself, developing its own ser-
vices (specialized merchants, etc.).

b) The evolution of habitat zones reflects these trans- 369x
formations. The close checkerwork of the original plan of 563
Pinet-Laprade still encompasses multi-racial quarters (where 361
the Lebano-Syrians have taken a greater and greater place).
But, in the course of the development of the town, the Médina,
almost exclusively African (1), has been added to them in the

1. Some Europeans live there, [362]
however; the general housing
crisis largely accounts for this.

north, while purely European residential quarters developed
in the south. The recent zones set up on the other side of the
Médina for the residences of functionaries likewise allow for
little mixing. Finally, with the reconstruction of new build-
ings, the European town, starting from the southern zone,
gained on the mixed quarters, and a movement toward a clearer
segregation of the habitat zones is taking shape, segregation
which is in no way official, but which is considered desirable
by the majority of the European population (2) and is based in

2. Differences in way of life,

/23 cont./

2. The figures which follow will give a first idea of the size of the groups. They apply to the male heads of ménages (monogamous and polygamous), the bachelors and groups of bachelors being excluded. We made a simple count of the persons belonging to the household outside of the ménage investigated (man, wife or wives, children living with their parents, adopted children) (2). One obtains the following results: 369* 592

2. We will see further on what has to be understood concretely by "adoption" in the Dakar urban context. This only concerns the effectively grouped ménage; if certain wives and their children do not live in the household considered, they are not counted.

a) For the whole of the population studied, or 915 male heads of ménages, 41% of the households coincide with the restricted family, 32% include one person in addition to the restricted family, 14% include two, 5% include three, 2% include four, 1% include five, 1% include more than five (3). [594] [162]

3. These percentages, as well as those that follow, are calculated faultily. They can only be approximations, under the conditions of the investigation. The expression in percentage, however, strikingly illustrates the indications gathered. The tendencies that they show have been corroborated for most of the categories by many subsequent interviews. [128]

/24/ The following table divides this population into socio-occupational categories: [565]

17: Mercier--31 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/28 cont./

369*
595
565
[183]

demographic structure of the population (number of available women).

position (3).

3. Let us recall the problems raised by the "marriage portion" and the accessory expenses of marriage. The reactions of the young people and certain Moslem elements in favor of a "matrimonial pact" have to some extent stabilized the situation.

3. The numerical data on the de facto situation seem to lead to a grouping of our categories different from that shown in the preceding paragraphs. But let us consider the first results of an investigation -- which is in progress -- on the attitudes of the young elements of the population (4). We shall again find

4. Below 30-35 years of age.

a similar grouping: dominance of attitudes in favor of polygamy among the farmers, laborers, workers, master workmen, merchants; a dominance still, but much less clear, among the subordinate functionaries and employees; a dominance on the contrary in favor of monogamy among the superior functionaries and employees (although it is not yet actualized for the whole category) and among the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc. (where it has already clearly become fact) (5). A strong correlation appears between these data and

5. Less, however, than the total figures would let be foreseen. The Christians, who are only 11% of the whole of our population, are 20% of the superior functionaries and

[162]

/28 cont./

employees and 15% of the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc.

369x
595
565
[162]

those concerning the extent of the family.

/29/ E. -- In the same general sense, the variations in the percentage of interethnic marriages are according to socio-occupational categories. For the whole of our population, we find: among the monogamous (696 families), 71% ménages where the wife is of the same ethnic group as the husband, 29% where she is from a different ethnic group; among the polygamous with two and three wives (228 families), 43% ménages where all the wives are of the same ethnic group as the husband, 57% ménages where at least one wife is from a different ethnic group. The following tables give the distribution by socio-occupational categories:
(tables on following pages)

369x
563
565

/74/

175 The major part of the commerce was then concentrated
369 north of the railway; nevertheless, as early as 1895 some
[366] shops were established to the south, near the residence.

In 1890 Thiès had a permanent population of 1,200
[162] inhabitants. Some native quarters were established in the
175 vicinity of the commercial escale. The little village of
369 Thiès-None was shifted from the other side of the railway.
361 A native quarter was attached to the western part of the commercial zone; it was moved toward the south after the plague of 1911 and took the name of Randoulème (a word meaning in Wolof: remove yourself). Takhikao (storied house in Wolof), established originally near the first storied house belonging to Maurel and Prom, was ultimately pushed back along the route to Saint-Louis (Fig. 2).

175 Little by little, while the military function fell asleep,
369 the development of commerce brought stable economic
[366] activity to the city. Until 1914 the city grew very little,
[162] and its population amounted to only 2,400 inhabitants at that date; from 1885 to 1914 the city gained only 1,400 souls in all.

The military function of the city recovered part of its former importance during the war of 1914. The base of Thiès
[712] became a center of military training for new recruits. The quarter of Diakhao adjoining the camp was enlarged by the arrival of the families of the military. On the other hand, commerce was threatened during this period. The French
175 personnel, which since the beginning of the century had been
369 permanently established, was summoned to the colors. In
441 order to avoid shutting up shop, the Levantines were called
563 upon. The latter had made their appearance in Senegal as early as 1895 and up to that time had played only a very secondary role in the market of the city: selling candles, matches, beads... The war of 1914 facilitated their entry into the lucrative activity of trade.

/74 cont./

369 3. The establishment of industries (1923-1945).

498 The event which gave a decisive impulsion to the
[175] commercial escale and which brought Thiès to the rank of a city was without question the establishment of the railroad repair shops in 1923. As early as 1907 the first work had been undertaken to connect Thiès to Bamako directly by rail; difficulties of all kinds and then the war impeded it. In 1923 only the junction of the two sections had been made at Kidira on the Falémé. There was some concern to have the repair shops of the Thiès-Niger established in the center nearest the coast. Thiès, head of the line, was chosen as
[162] the center. In a few years the city grew by 10,000 souls, going from 3,000 inhabitants in 1921 to 13,000 in 1929.

369 The opening of the railroad yards not only brought about
441 the arrival of many workers and their families, but at the same /75/ /Fig. 2 appears here/ time gave a strong impulsion to commerce. The regular injection of credits by this new industry brought about a renewal of commercial activity which showed in the expansion of the firms already established and the creation of new stores. The Africans, who up
[472] to that time worked solely for the profit of firms under European management and who had been kept out of the re-
[563] tail business, opened small shops for their own profit (4).

[177]

> 4. It is the military, it seems, who brought back from France this idea of establishing for themselves small grocery stores copied from those encountered in the villages of the mother country.

The latter, appealing to an essentially native clientele, multiplied as soon as the economic scope of the city increased. At the same time the number of artisans increased.

[563] After the war, the Levantines, who had been the only ones able to carry on commerce in complete tranquility for four years, set up businesses for themselves. Their experience

/76 cont./

369 441 563 443

local products (groundnuts, millet ...) are bought or bartered for.

still almost empty quarter of the residence.

Already the economic equilibrium of the city was no longer essentially based on the commerce of trade, subject to price fluctuations, but also on the budding industry which assured it a certain stability. It is true that the latter, barely acquired, was put to a harsh test during the world crisis from 1930 to 1934. In the course of this difficult period the price of the groundnut slumped. The old commercial firms which depended solely on the trading were no longer able to meet their payments and liquidate their stock: Société Française du Sénégal, the firms Lacombe, Latrille... The sounder establishments were themselves obliged to close their city branches temporarily, for example, Peyrissac, Maurel Frères. Nevertheless one did not see here a complete slump in commerce with spectacular failures such as occurred in Dakar, but rather commercial liquidations, sales of stocks that were repurchased by Levantines and wholesale companies.

369 433 458

The effects of the crisis, which ended in 1934, resulted in a redistribution of commercial ownership, a readaptation of commerce to the new requirements, along with the definitive establishment of the Levantines.

[471] [563]

At this date the fusion of the two railroad companies, the Dakar--Saint-Louis and Thiès-Niger, stimulated an expansion of the industrial quarter by regrouping at Thiès the workshops originally installed at Dakar for the Dakar--Saint-Louis railway.

369 498 433

On the eve of the Second World War the city reached the figure of 22,000 inhabitants, 1,200 of them Europeans. The almost complete disappearance of epidemics, the better food supply, the construction of comfortable houses (Ballabey district created as early as 1925 for the railway workers, villas for officers) permit metropolitan families to settle in a permanent fashion. In a parallel manner, the native

369 [162] [511] [361]

/77 cont./

369 and attempted as far as possible to renovate the lines of its
361 architecture and to offer to its clientele pleasant salesrooms with tastefully arranged windows and displays.

The native quarters for their part were enlarged and improved, penetrating deeply into the neighboring bush. The quarters of "Randoulène-Sud" /South Randoulene/, of "Grand Thiès" /Greater Thiès/, and of "Médina" were new creations. Diakhao and Takhikao develop. Some African officials and [342] merchants have since begun some construction of small villas in durable material that replace the traditional straw hut or the simple plank hut.

● [162] The growth of the population was considerable; from 24,000 in 1945, it reached 40,000 inhabitants in 1953, 2,700 of whom were Europeans.

369 Thus, from the founding of the first military post near
433 the village of Thiès-None up to our time, the growth of Thiès has been accomplished without any shocks. It has not known the great hopes of Dakar, the depressions, the failures of Rufisque and Saint-Louis. The /78/ wars, the crises are shown in the graph of its evolution only as simple plateaus (7).

7. G. Savonnet, "Evolution démographique de la ville de Thiès /Demographic Evolution of the City of Thies/, "Notes africaines, pp. 122-124.

369 Its fortune, as we have tried to show, comes from its
361 exceptional site at the entrance of the sole path of access to
433 the plateau of Thiès, along with the relative proximity of Dakar. Through the action of these three essential functions, commercial, industrial, and military, it enjoys an economic equilibrium that seems more stable than that of the other cities of Senegal.

/83 cont./

3. The Activities of the City

1. Commerce.

433 If we except the period of conquest, during which a handful of troops established themselves in the entrenched camp, the primary function of Thiès was commerce.

441 An escale of trade in its beginnings, Thiès has remained that up to our times. Almost 25,000 tons of groundnuts are commercialized each year in spite of the opening of important points of trade in the vicinity, Tivaouane, Khombole, located some 30 kilometers from there. This commerce demands a certain taste for risk; if in certain years it offers appreciable profits, it sometimes renders the balance sheet of the merchants who practice it very precarious. The groundnut trade, as far as purchase from the producer is concerned, is almost entirely in the hands of the Levantines and a few Moors and Blacks. The important establishments, N. O. S. O. C. O. (8) and the Soucail firm,

433

[563] [442]

8. N. O. S. O. C. O. Nouvelle Société Commerciale.

engage only in wholesale trade.

443 The factorerie run by a Levantine (9) next to the

[162] [563]

9. The Levantines are 48 in number, namely, 23 Syrians and 25 Lebanese (figures of 1952).

courtyard of the secco (10) has kept all its picturesqueness

[257]

10. Secco: mass of groundnuts stored in the courtyard of the merchant and destined for export.

[438] up to our day. /84/ Everything is sold there, from the piece of trade cloth in vivid colors to cheap perfume; kerosene by the liter and millet by the kilo or sack are retailed there.

/84 cont./

442 iron for cement, tires...piled loosely together. The activity
443 of these branches is based on three elements: retail with a sales store open to the average customers, wholesale granted to the important factoreries (Levantines...), and wholesale to the small shopkeepers for retail. Each is furthermore an implement dealer with exclusive right of sale granted to them: frigidaires, motor fuel, automobiles...The figure
[433] for the monthly business of one of them fluctuated between 20 and 25 million in 1953.

443 An intermediate type of commerce was established a
[563] short time ago with the arrival of the Moroccans; they
[162] numbered 25 in 1952. /85/ Some among them attempt to corner both the European and native clientele. They special-
[438] ize in the sale of fabrics and fancy articles for Africans:
[191] babouches, fezzes, cheap watches. They speak the native language fluently and sometimes French extremely well.

The Africans, as we have seen, have launched into private business since 1920. Some of them have a factorerie of the Levantine type, but most of them have opened a shop in the outlying quarters. The Moors and the Blacks share this small-scale commerce: in 1952 the former reached the figure of 120; the Blacks were perhaps as numerous. They
[347] are installed in the small shops of boards or mud roofed with straw or with corrugated metal. On the counter, made up of a simple board, stands a Roberval scale, some jars of large multicolored bonbons, a pasteboard box filled with dry biscuits. The bag of charcoal on the floor stands beside a tin of kerosene. Some cola nuts kept fresh in a wrapping of leaves still green, a kilo of sugar broken open, which is sold by the lump, some packages of cigarettes sold by the unit, and small cans of condensed milk give a glimpse of the small volume of their business.

To complete this picture, let us add the innumerable small "doorstep" merchants who on a piece of cloth or in a calabash display a few handfuls of roasted peanuts and cola nuts, a package of cigarettes, or millet fritters. These small stalls are all located in front of the door of the hut;

/85 cont./

443 while the housewife attends to her tasks, the oldest child makes the sale (12).

12. According to an economic investigation made by Mr. Mersadier in Thiès, the returns from these sales[1] do not exceed ten francs profit per day (Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N., July-Oct., 1955, series B, p. 411).

[434] [433]

Thus, the commerce in Thiès (and certainly in most of the cities of French West Africa) is diffused among all of the layers of the society and at the same time has adapted itself extremely well there. The branches of important commercial houses, which in the beginning were violently opposed to this diffusion not controlled directly by them, quickly understood all the benefits that they could draw from this new situation.

463 Paralleling this extension of commerce, the working class, to a more limited extent, has also taken on much greater importance. To the traditional artisans, potters, jewelers, and smiths have been added activities more modern in inspiration: photographers, clockmakers, repairers of phonographs, bicycles, or even trucks, and, in another category of enterprises, small restaurant keepers and /86/ proprietors of drink shops. Finally, the establishment of European artisans (hairdressers, pastry cooks, etc.) is a specific phenomenon of the social evolution in African cities since the last war, and Thiès is not escaping it.

[265] [275] [178]

2. Industry.

498 The industrial activity of Thiès gravitates principally around the repair shops of the Dakar-Niger (13). The

[317] [464] [162]

13. The two phosphate quarries opened by the Société Péchiney some 15 kilometers from the city (Pallo and Lam-Lam)

[1] [ie, by "doorstep" merchants - ANALYST]

/86 cont./

498
[317]
[464]
[162]

hardly affect its economy because of the limited number of its workers (200 to 300) and above all the distance from the urban center.

concession of the Dakar-Niger located a short distance from the city would actually form the most important industrial center of French West Africa in terms of the number of its operatives (around 2,500 in 1952). It groups within its enclosure a series of the most diverse workshops: woodworking shop, sawmill, assembly shops for railroad cars, tinsmith shop, and even a foundry. Putting new Diesel tractors into service has brought about the recent creation of new shops where manifold improved machines operate. Power is taken from a high tension line of 30,000 volts coming from Dakar. The enterprise annually consumes 1,700,000 kilowatt-hours, that is to say, more than the total consumption of the city itself. The much smaller consumption of coke and of fuel oil used in the furnace and cupolas of the foundries should be added here.

[162]

[317]

The workshops of the Dakar-Niger present themselves in the form of an industry with vertical integration of an incomplete type. The distance from the mother country, the expenses and above all the slowness of shipments (principally during the last World War) have brought about the installation of an industrial complex that makes it possible to satisfy the greater part of the demands of the work required for the smooth functioning of the service. All the woodworking is carried out in the sawmill-carpentry section; the cars are assembled from imported chassis, wheels, and bogies. Most of the parts of the locomotives can be smelted in Thiès, except when it is a matter of special alloys. Certain elements demanding a machine-finishing precision of 1/100 of a millimeter for Diesel tractors have already been manufactured by the enterprise. Only the parts requiring very special techniques or machines for their manufacture, or whose

S /86 cont./
498 manufacturing cost would be high if they were smelted
S in Senegal, are bought on the outside.
498 Originally the repair work, the machining of loco-
463 motive parts or of rolling stock, necessitated only the
563 presence of good mechanics. But putting into service more powerful engines that no longer run on charcoal but on fuel oil requires /87/ precise inspection and minute repairs made by experienced specialists. Most of them are still Europeans, but already some Africans have the technical training required for this delicate work.

S The enterprise, however, has only a small percentage
[162] of Whites: out of 2,500 railway workers there were only 140 Europeans in 1953. And most of them worked in the offices (one European to eight natives); in the workshops this proportion reached only one to 40. While most of the metropolitan specialists are taken from the staffs of the S.N.C.F., the African specialists are recruited from among the students
S [874] coming from the technical schools of Terrasson-de-Fougères in Bamako or William-Ponty in Dakar and from among the former mechanics of the arsenals of the national marine. They constitute the supervisory staffs in the different shops.

The ordinary workers, founders, hammermen, carpenters ...., have generally been trained in the very workshops of the Dakar-Niger where they work for a number of years. Finally, the non-specialized work is done by newcomers from the bush.

S An investigation carried out in 1952 on a quarter of
498 the total number (834) enables one to learn the ethnic
563 composition of all the workshops. One can note a pre-
W eminence of the number of Wolof (301); the Peul and
498 Toucouleur /Tukolor/ number 189; the Bambara come
162 third with 115 individuals. It is necessary to add 39
463 Sarakolé, 40 Khassonké /Kassonke/, and 79 workers belonging to different groups. This list gives an idea of the important mingling of individuals that make up this industrial center. One observes, nevertheless, that the

/88 cont./

871 Education has developed in a remarkable fashion; each year more than 2,000 school children attend the public and private schools. The number of young pupils also has increased steadily, but only for the past dozen years. The modern college, because of its inadequate size, refuses numerous requests for admission every year. In spite of the annual opening of new classes, it can be estimated that only one child out of three of school age attends school.

369 4. The Social Structure of the City

563 1. The Whites.

In 1955 we are far from the heroic epoch when Thiès was considered an unhealthy place and when the mortality was very high. The arrival of the first European families at the beginning of this century could be considered an important event. It marked the possibility of permanently implanting a white colony in the escale.

The climate has been made more bearable by the many improvements in comfort that have created a propitious atmosphere for the establishment of family life. [162] In 1953 there were almost 1,200 women out of 2,700 Whites.

369 The European population is divided into a certain number of "milieus": army, operatives of the Dakar-Niger, 563 officials, merchants. Contact between any of these assem- 573 blages is very loose: with few exceptions the relations between individuals belonging to different groups are not very frequent; there is visiting only among people of the same background. The transfer of personnel, which is repeated every two years, has the result that the time of residence is not ordinarily long enough for a newcomer to break away from his milieu. A certain apathy and a lack of curiosity limit these human contacts with neighboring groupings.

The armed forces, and Dakar-Niger, because of the very conception of their internal organization, live in isolation. Each of them has its co-operative, its club, its

S /89 cont./
369 not left Africa for 30 or 40 years. Others, more favored by
563 business, take a trip each year to France or western Asia.
573 Generally, the children pursue their studies in their parents'
[484] land of origin and speak French and English fluently. This
[191] new generation of Levantines, to whom one must add a few
[529] Moroccans, is becoming integrated little by little in the
[578] metropolitan milieu through the medium of sports associa-
[477] tions and hunting parties. These amicable relations will perhaps favor to a certain degree a closer relationship between these groups which are so often antagonistic on the commercial level.

/90/

2. The Africans.

S According to the census statistics gathered in 1953, the
369 ethnic composition of the city was the following: out of an
563 African population of 36,050 inhabitants, the Wolof appeared
162 as the most numerous and, with 23,624 individuals, made
W up 65.5% of the population; the Toucouleur, numbering
[162] 3,356, represent 9.3% of the total; the Bambara (Sudanese,
[369] rather) attained third place and accounted for 6.8% of the population with 2,447 individuals; the Sérère, although settled in the vicinity of Thiès, included only 1,856 persons, namely, 5.1% of the total. The Peul and the Moors, respectively 1,074 and 843 individuals, made up 3% and 2.4% of the total. The Sarakolé and the various other groups, represented, respectively, by 650 and 2,190 members, formed 1.8% and 6.1% of the population.

W These details speak eloquently of the ethnic hetero-
[162] geneity of the Thiès population. Still, it should be empha-
[369] sized that the number of true Wolof is certainly less than the
[563] statistical figure given; after a stay of some ten years spent in Thiès, the Khassonké or the Sarakolé, who will have lost almost all contact with his country of origin, who will have married a woman not of his race, who will have adopted the language, the food, the corresponding Wolof name, will speak of himself as belonging to this group.

/91 cont./

369 177 563 [584] [593] [182] families in which the father imposes on the child the spouse of his choice. The spread of the teaching of the Moslem and Christian religions count for much in this loosening of the too confining ties of family tradition. This breaking up of ancient, too narrow social structures is not a strictly /92/ urban phenomenon; it also occurs in the countryside, but with less force and with a certain delay.

369 565 178 The presence of the industrial bloc of the Dakar-Niger, on the other hand, has had as an effect the formation of a working class, which is a specifically urban phenomenon. Although the ancient system of castes does exist in human contacts, that of social class is little by little being substituted for it. In sum, there actually exists a superposition of the two systems, but the pre-eminence of the second is already being affirmed. Through daily contacts and the rapid diffusion of social ideas coming from the West, the mass of workers is organized, it is grouped by syndicates, it has set up consumer co-operatives. Because of the great number of the members of this worker group, the workshops of the Dakar-Niger and, through repercussion, the city of Thiès itself have become the most active and the busiest centers of French West Africa. The strike that in 1948 paralyzed railroad traffic on the two lines (Dakar-Bamako and Dakar--Saint-Louis) for several months is certainly proof of the influence of a powerful and organized grouping, and a typical urban phenomenon.

[177] [467] [474] [468]

369 563 578 Thus there exists in Thiès a somewhat special social climate that sometimes makes the relations between Whites and Blacks strained. Chiefly during these periods of social crises. But these tensions are always temporary and automatically disappear as soon as the conflict is settled.

369 161 A much more important problem that seems general in all of the cities of Black Africa is that of the too rapid, if not excessive, swelling of the urban population. We have seen that the population of Thiès has almost doubled from 1945 (24,000 inhabitants) to 1953 (40,000 inhabitants). Dakar, Conakry, and Abidjan have grown in the same proportions.

[162]

/92 cont./

369 - All of the new elements that swell the urban quarters
166 are young elements coming from the country; 32% of the
[162] population is made up of young people less than 14 years of age (15) whom the so-called facilities of the city have

15. In France this percentage is 24%, the figure estimated according to the census statistics given in the review Population, Oct.-Dec. 1954, p. 718.

attracted. The countryside is being drained of its energetic elements and the city does not have enough work to give to
[464] those who come to settle there. A class of idlers and para-
[574] sites is forming little by little, living on either the generous African hospitality or by expedients. This aspect of the social problem of the large African cities is one of the more urgent to be solved.

369 The public authorities are disturbed by this enormous
168 swelling of the urban populations, which far exceeds the actual needs. It seems that none of the methods adopted up to now for decreasing them /93/ have given appreciable results. Perhaps the efforts that are now being made to improve the conditions of rural life and promote some modernization of agricultural techniques will allow the economic capacity of the countryside to increase and will curb the rural exodus. Greater stability among the urban population would then permit the establishment of more coherent and better balanced social structures.

Georges Savonnet.

/22 cont./

258 product, usually crude, each year leaves the Senegalese
[433] factories, which thus operate under their productive capacity.
[439] About 110,000 metric tons are exported. The traditional technique of manufacture by pressure, with recovery of the oil cake, or "expellers," is being replaced more and more by the procedure with solvents, slightly increasing the rate of extraction of oil, but providing poor oil-cake.

This industry of the oil-factory if now localized in five urban centers: Dakar, Lyndiane, Djourbel, Kaolack, and
[464] Ziguinchor. It employs more than 3,000 wage earners, nearly
[563] 300 of whom are European technicians; on the basis of this it is the primary industry /23/ of Senegal, and the more so since
[388] it has had annexed to it the complementary industry of soap-making, which produced more than 15,000 metric tons of soap from the neutralization paste.

258 The development of the Sengalese industry of oil-making
433 represents a considerable evolution of the economy of the country, since the groundnut has ceased to be a product of
[439] trade in the colonial sense of the term. In fact, the product that traditionally constitutes the great agricultural resource has become the principal raw material of local industry; more than ever, the groundnut keeps Senegal alive.

433 3. The essential position of the groundnut in the economy
241 of Senegal. "Whether or not it is desirable, the economy of Senegal can revolve only with the help of the production of groundnuts." This phrase by M. Portères sums up the essential position of the product in the local economy. In 1957, for the
[439] whole of former Mali, the total value of the exports rose to 21,085 billions of francs C.F.A., the products of the groundnut accounting for 18,257 billions of this sum, of which more than 15 billions was for Senegal alone. At the same time, of
[162] 2,230,000 inhabitants of Senegal, only 58,700 were non-agricul-
433 tural workers, that is, non-producers of groundnuts. Actually, however, many of them are supported by them indirectly, in trade, transport, or industry. It is not exaggerated to affirm

/372/

369 [361] "Dakar is the only city, in the European (or Western) sense, in all of West Africa," wrote D. Wittlesey in 1941 (1).

[113] 1. Derwint Wittlesey, "Dakar and other Cap Verde Settlements," The Geographical Review, 1941, p. 609.

Things have changed since then; Conakry, Bamako, Abidjan, and other centers have become true cities. It is incontestable [162] that the 230,000 inhabitants counted in the census in 1955, of whom more than 30,000 were non-Africans, make Dakar the [563] most important city in all of the Black Africa of French expression. In 1957 its port had more traffic than all the other ports [505] of former French West Africa; in 1960, 8,000 vessels, with a capacity of 21,000,000 tons (2), put it among the most frequented

2. The official figures are 7,948 vessels and 20,992,111 tons.

[162] ports of Africa. But 50 years ago Dakar did not have 25,000 inhabitants. The rhythm of its growth is thus on a level with that of certain mushrooming cities in the United States of America. Dakar does not owe this extraordinarily rapid development solely to favorable natural conditions, as is often said, but also and especially to a complex interaction of historical, economic, and political factors. It is a crossroads born out of the effective integration of the African world and South America in the European economic system, an integration linked with the search for raw materials and markets, made possible and necessary by the great technical progress realized since the middle of the nineteenth century. City-crossroads, all of its vitality depends on the state of its relations.

[133] 1. Birth of Dakar. The head of the peninsula of Cape Verde, on which Dakar was established, is an assemblage of

369
175
[113]

/373 cont./

presqu'île du Cap-Vert,"
op. cit., p. 274

square kilometer nevertheless satisfied a double /374/ /Fig. 1 appears here / concern of the Hollanders, security and commerce: security first for the ships, which could find an excellent anchorage in the bay on the northeast of the island, immediately so appreciated that its excellence -- Goede reede, "the good roadstead" in Dutch -- served to designate the establishment under the name of Gorée (8) in distinguishing

[103]

8. Nora and Ch. Toupet,
"L'origine du nom de Gorée,"
in Notes Africaines, January 1959,
pp. 17-20, I.F.A.N., Dakar.

[113]

it from the other islands of the peninsula; and then, security for the occupants. From this point of view, the insularity would have been a great advantage for the site of Dakar. Finally, with regard to commerce, the island of Gorée, although minuscule, sufficed for barter with the natives of the coast and could well fill its role as a warehouse for products and slaves. As soon as these views were confirmed by the facts, Gorée became the object of competition among the Hollanders, French, and British, finally coming to the French. In spite of this changing of hands, the establishment of Gorée, thanks to the slave trade, /375/ prospered, and around 1845 it harbored more than 5,000 persons. The abolition of the trade, and then that of slavery, around the middle of the century dealt it a mortal blow, bringing about a crisis from which Gorée did not recover. There was indeed an attempt at adaptation to the new conditions, the Goréans trying to make the island a place for commerce with the continent, where the cultivation of the groundnut had already developed, but on this point Gorée could not rival the peninsula. The inhabitants understood it; there were those who encouraged the occupation of Dakar with the idea

[439]
[162]
[567]

/377 cont./

369 that Dakar is designated above all as a port d'escale, "a service
439 station," of the tropical Atlantic, provisioning the ships with
504 water and, above all, combustibles; the latter, represented in former times by coal in particular, are now almost entirely made up of hydrocarbides, the export and import traffic of which sometimes represents more than double that of merchandise: 211.1% in 1954, 233.6% in 1955, 186% in 1959.

369 But, beyond this role as a port d'escale, Dakar thrust ahead
439 as a metropolis, governing a large region. In fact it is via Dakar
487 that food products (rice, flour, sugar, etc.), cloth and thread, industrial products, etc. come in, principally destined for Senegal, Mauritania, and the Sudan, which, in return, send groundnuts, gum, hides wax, etc. to it for export. This situation is the result of struggles in the recent past between Dakar and the old mari-
[505] time or river ports which shared the light traffic of former times. The construction of the port and modern means of communication with the interior permitted Dakar to eliminate its rivals very quickly.

369 The establishment of Gorée, caught in a crisis since the
[505] abolition of slavery, despite the resistance, at first active and then passive, of its municipality (13), has been practically

[113] 13. In the work by J. Charpy (La Fondation de Dakar /The Founding of Dakar/, Larose, Paris, 1958), there is a series of documents on the various aspects of this resistance.

eliminated from the economic circuit since the accomplishment of the great work of the commercial port. Business then emigrated
[162] to the continent, while the city went to sleep, losing more and more of its population; from 3,200 inhabitants in 1872, it went to 2,068 in 1891, 1,249 in 1910, 998 in 1921, so that the com-
[633] mune was abolished and attached to Dakar in 1929, and then the entire island was classified as a historical monument in 1944.

/381 cont./

369 larger than that of Paris. In Dakar, this function as a metrop-
648 olis, which has been confirmed since the construction of the
633 commercial port, preceded and conditioned the development of the city.

369 3. The city. The commercial affairs which thus make
166 African products and products from the outside converge toward
167 the Dakar crossroads could not fail to bring with them a great
[487] number of people. First, there are the Goréans, finally resigned to their fate, who accompany or follow the commercial or administrative establishments being transferred to Dakar; then, non-Africans, administrators, technicians, merchants, etc., usually arriving from Europe by the same route as that of the imported manufactured products. But above all there are the masses who arrive by road and by rail, by these paths of a money economy which have greatly disturbed the villagers' traditional institutions and thus communicated to the people a mobility formerly unknown in the rural world. Willingly or unwillingly, the rural people of Senegal, of the Sudan, of Upper Guinea, and of the Upper Volta take to the road and rails to cast themselves into an /382/ /Fig. 3 appears here/ /383/ adventurous existence which will lead many of them to Dakar and to settle there. Finally, Africans from Guinea, the Ivory Coast, and Dahomey, students at the large educational institutions and officials who come in connection with the functions of the federal capital, also arrive by sea.

369 This human convergence, which since the last decade of
•162 the century has continued to grow, has caused a vertiginous in-
[633] crease in the population. To be sure, for the period before 1955 there were only estimations, all the less certain because the boundaries of the commune have often changed, but the official figures (18), even though they should be corrected here or

[113] 18. Synthèse de la situation économique de l'ex-A.O.F. durant la période 1948 à

/383 cont./

369
162
[113]

1958, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 35: 1910, 24,000; 1921, 32,000; 1931, 54,000; 1945, 132,000; 1955-56, 231,000.

[633] there, nevertheless give an acceptable idea of the direction of the development of the population of Dakar. The first 20 years that followed the construction of the port were characterized by a not very spectacular progression, the population merely having doubled, going from 24,900 in 1910 to 54,000 in 1931. This relative slowness of growth should undoubedly be attributed to some check due to the First World War, but it is basically explained by the then very imcomplete [496] character of the modern paths of penetration, the railroads from Thiès to Kayes and from Louga to Linguère not having been finished until after the war. By contrast, the progression has been particularly rapid in the 20 years that followed, and, in spite of the checks that would seemingly have been put into operation by the Second World War, the population has more than quadrupled between 1931 and 1955, reaching 230,000 inhabitants at the latter date (19).

[113]

19. Recensement démographique de Dakar 1955. Résultats définitifs, 1er fascicule /Demographic census of Dakar for 1955. Final Results, No. 1/. Publication of the Service de la statistique de l'ex-A.O.F., July 1958. The following figures given for the population of Dakar have been taken from this number or have been calculated from the figures that it gives.

369
563
162

This Dakar population, very diverse in its make-up, is an almost complete sampling of the ethnic groups of Senegal, to which are added elements from the other territories of former French West Africa and also some non-Africans. Thus, jostling

[Text continues on P. 20--Analyst]

/Fig. 3 Caption cont./

36 102 491 496 504 712 743

a-g. The piers. -- I. Town Hall. -- II. Chambre de Commerce. -- III. Sandaga Market (Ponty-Clemenceau crossroads). -- IV. Former Palace of Justice. -- V. General Postoffice. -- VI. Treasury. -- VII. Kermel Market. -- VIII. Military Circle. -- IX. Residence of the President of the Republic. -- X. Military Hospital. -- XI. African Hospital. -- XII. Palace of Justice. -- XIII. Camp Bornis. -- XIV. Camp Galliéni. -- XV. Station.

369 563 162

/383 cont./ one another in Dakar are Lébou, Ouolof /Wolof/, Toucouleur /Tukolor/, Sérère /Serer/, Sarakolé, Diola, Socé, etc., who are Senegalese, but there are also Mauritanians, Sudanese, Voltaics, Guineans, Ivorians /persons from the Ivory Coast/, Dahomeans, Cape Verdeans, Lebano-Syrians, French, etc. The Lébou, who are the original population of Dakar, today represent scarcely one-tenth of the population, exceeded in number by the Oulof, the Toucouleur (20), and even by the 30,000 non-Africans,

[113]

20. A. Diop, "L'immigration toucouleur à Dakar (enquête /investigation/ 1958-1959)," I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 1. The author, citing an investigation by the M.I.S.O.E.S., gives the figure of 31,000 Toucouleur in 1959.

among whom the French constitute a great majority of close to 23,000 persons in residence. This character of Dakar as a [166] region of call is illustrated first by the fact that only a little more than one-third of the population was born there, /384/ and then by the quite obvious inequality between the number of men and that of women. Before the war, among the Europeans, there were 65% men as against 25% women and 10% [744] children (21). Today the systematic destruction of the

21. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar," op. cit., p. 630.

162 /384 cont./
369 breeding-places of mosquitoes in the numerous swamps of the
563 peninsula having been successfully undertaken by the federal
[744] authorities, one can better appreciate the exceptionally pleas-
[192] ant climate of Dakar, subject eight months of the year to the "influences of the Canaries" (cool and brisk current, marine trade-wind from the northeast), and an equilibrium tends to be established between men, women, and children, the first nevertheless still remaining the most numerous; in 1955, 39% men against 31% women and 30% children for the total non-African population; and 35% men, 30% women, and 35% children for the non-African population in residence. Among the Africans, one can verify the same phenomenon: 36% men, 31% women, and 35% children less than 14 years of age for the total population; 34% men, 31% women, and 35% children for the population in residence. Despite this tendency toward equilibrium, the fact remains that for the whole population of Dakar, men over 14 years of age are definitely more numerous than women over 14 years of age and than children; the balance sheet gives 37% for the men as against 30% for the women and 35% for the children.

369 This situation is explained by the fact that immigration
563 to Dakar is first of all of interest to the men, for whom it carries
166 the hope of a better position, but it also represents a daring
162 enterprise on which one does not take women and children until definite opportunities for settling down present themselves. This fact is particularly clear for the non-resident population, among whom the proportion of men is very high. Thus, among the non-resident Africans, there are 57% men as against 27% women and 16% children. The proportion is even higher among non-resident foreigners: 77% men as against 12% women and 11 % children.

[464] But though settling in Dakar is almost always linked to employment for the non-African population, it is not the same for Africans. The destruction of the villagers' traditional institutions, modern transportation, the facilities for hospitality

/384 cont./

369 in the city at the home of a relative, at the home of a friend
563 or the friend or relative of a friend, or at the home of a resi-
166 dent originally from the same village or merely from the same
•162 region -- all of this ultimately makes up the factors that are
464 more decisive than the salary. Because of this, while among the resident non-Africans the number of persons employed amounts to 43 % of the total and 64% of the economically active, among the resident Africans, the proportion of workers is no more than 27% of the total and 42% /385/ of the economically active. If one adds to that the salaries, on the average
369 much higher among the first than among the second, one finds
511 in Dakar some of the contrasts characteristic of West African
563 cities: on the one hand, among the non-Africans, a high standard of living which is often shown in the appearance of their quarters, and, on the other hand, the mass of the African population whose settling in the city is tied neither to a correlative augmentation of the normal opportunities for lodgings nor to a higher living standard in relation to the bush, which gives to the African city, or at least to some of its quarters, an appearance more wretched than that of the villages of the interior.

369 This situation, formerly very clear, put Dakar in the
563 normal category of West African cities, where a white city and
[361] a black city stand in contrast (22), a contrast that was the result

[113] 22. Dresh, J., "Villes d'Afrique occidentale /Cities of West Africa/," Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 1950.

of a de facto segregation imposed, not by law, but by the norms of urbanism and of hygiene, to which it was impossible for the bulk of the natives to subject themselves, and also by the high
[465] price of rent -- the non-Africans being nearly always lodged by their employers. In 1936 Charles Morazé wrote: "Formerly Europeans and natives lived mixed. Innumerable families lived

/388 cont./

369 361 as the Plateau. The low quarters that border the avenue Malick Sy and which are crossed by the route de l'Abbattoir /Slaughter-
[363] house Road/ quite obviously differ from the rest. In Rebeus and in Niayes-Thioker, few of the streets are paved, and, during
[364] winter, ponds where household debris rots often surround the low permanent houses and the neighboring huts.

[162] Dakar-ville has only 46,000 inhabitants, among whom
[563] are almost two-thirds of the 30,000 non-Africans of Dakar.

Gorée, the fallen capital, which has become a military, tourist, and, to a slight extent, residential annex of Dakar, is attached to this section.

[563] 2. The Médina. Containing practically only Africans, the Médina is much more densely populated than Dakar-ville.
[764] Blocked on the west by the Moslem cemetery and on the north by the canal of the Gueule-Tapée, the Médina has not ceased stretching toward the east since its creation during the First World War. It presents several aspects: the oldest part, east
[363] of the avenue Blaise-Diagne, has all of its streets paved and planted with trees; it has few huts, and permanent houses are
[364] erected almost everywhere there; many sanitary facilities and public fountains complement the private establishments and make this quarter relatively clean and pleasant (Fig. 4 and Pl. XXII B).[7]

The farther one goes toward the east, however, beyond the avenue Blaise-Diagne, the newer the quarter is and the more it gives the appearance of a wretched village. Thus, between
[363] the avenue Blaise-Diagne and the Gendarmerie, although some
[364] principal arteries are paved, most of the streets remain sandy and obstructed with household rubbish. Moreover, one notes some permanent houses here and there, to be sure, but huts are much more numerous. East of the Gendarmerie, Colobane is even less well arranged, while, beyond the automobile road, Kip-Coco and Quartier Mous, veritable camp cities for new arrivals, are called "irregular quarters," that is to say, quarters temporarily tolerated, although no right of the inhabitants to settle there can be recognized (Pl. XXIII A).[2] /Pl. XXIII and

[7] [See category 116, p.16 -- Analyst]
[2] [See category 116, p.29 -- Analyst]

/388 cont./

369 Pl. XXIV appear here on unnumbered pages/. /389/ /Fig. 5
361 appears here./

3. Greater Dakar. Of all the sectors of the Dakar agglomeration, Greater Dakar is certainly the one that presents the sharpest contrasts. The quarter of the "Gueule-Tapée" resembles the old Médina, while Fass and "Usine Biscuit" /Biscuit Factory/ remind one of Colobane, but aside from these there stand some modern quarters that are quite varied in appearance, contrasting strongly with the "Médinas," the "Colobanes," and the irregular quarters that surround them. It is in this sector of Greater Dakar [873] that the University is found, raising its majestic buildings on the edge of the sea. It is flanked on the north by the rich quarter of Fann-Résidence where the residences of ministers and members of their cabinets, directors of houses of commerce, and high officials are grouped; to the south military villas and the allotment of Fann Hock separate it from the Gueule-Tapée. Point E, Zone A, Zone B, /390/ the Cité des Douanes /customs/, and that of the Port de Commerce are officials' quarters, while Bopp, formerly a swamp, has in recent years become a pretty little quarter, all the houses of which were built by officials [452] with the aid of the Crédit du Sénégal /Local Association of Senegal/. The S.I.C.A.P. which extend along the route des Puits /Roads of the Wells/ (Karacks, Baobabs, Liberté I, Liberté II, Liberté III, etc.) are pleasant lots intended to facilitate for Africans the acquisition of property (Fig. 5).

Finally, the quarter of Derklé forms, in several groupings of houses, a residence for petty African officials, another one for the African employees of private enterprises, and finally a quarter called the "Castors," the houses of which have been built by their associated and grouped owners with the aid of the public authorities.

Greater Dakar is the most extensive and the heaviest popu- [162] lated sector in the Dakar agglomeration. It includes more than [563] 73,000 inhabitants, among whom is numbered one-sixth of the non-African population.

[Text continues bottom of P. 31--Analyst]

/389/

102
361
363
873
712

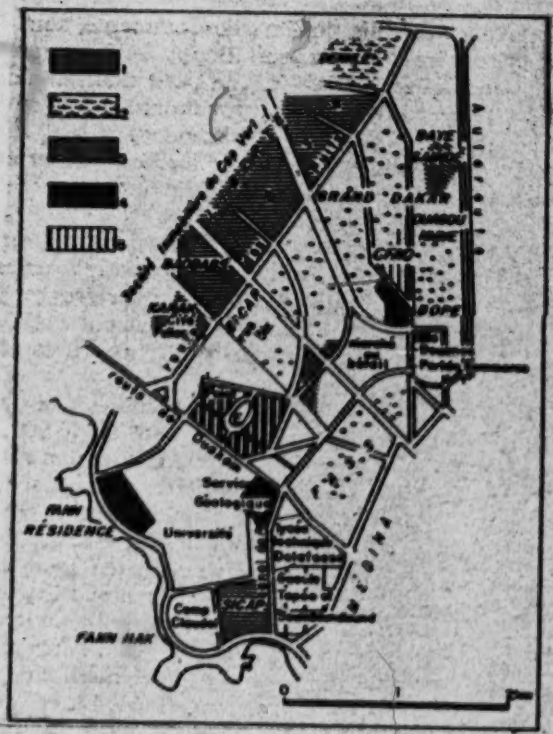


Fig. 5. Greater Dakar. -- 1. Officials' quarter; 2. Derklé; 3. H.L.M.; 4. houses of officials; 5. loan grouping.

/390 cont./

361
369

4. The suburbs. The suburbs of Dakar are composed of 13 villages, of which those closest to Dakar, Ouakam, N'Gor, Yoff, Hann, Thiaroye, and M'Bao resemble Colobane. The others remain typical traditional villages. Only Dagoudane-Pikime escapes either category. Created ex nihilo less than ten years ago to serve as an outlet for the irregulars of Dakar who were to be found there, driven back as urbanism progressed, it already has the appearance of a little city with its 10,000 inhabitants.

[62]

/390 cont./

361 inhabitants. It had an official center and wide streets, which,
369 however, are not yet paved. Despite this city appearance,
[363] however, Pikine is more intimately dependent on Dakar than the other villages of the suburbs; it is a workman's suburb, and all of its provisioning comes from Dakar, while practically all of its inhabitants are employed in the great city. With this exception, the villages of the suburbs have as their essential
[438] role the provisioning of Dakar with fish and fresh vegetables. Many transportation facilities in common connect them with
[489] Dakar-ville from very early in the morning until around the middle of the night (Pl. XXIII B, Pl. XXIV A and B).

This is the arrangement or juxtaposition of the various elements of the Dakar agglomeration, whose present popula-
[162] tion may well have exceeded 300,000 inhabitants.

369 4. Perspectives. The Dakar agglomeration has the appearance of an unfinished city in the process of being organized, even though its function as a West African metropolis has been confirmed for a long time. There are surprises in this situation for those who analyze the old European urban civilizations, where one sees an ancient city existing as /391/ /Fig. 6 appears here/ one that patiently developed its relations in order to become a metropolis and to constitute a solid and dynamic assemblage where urban and metropolitan functions mutually support one another. Dakar, however, is above
369 all a center of relations which has woven with its hinterland
439 connections that have the appearance of complementary ties,
433 but which actually are ties of dependence: dependence in fact because in the Senegalese and Sudanese interior the development of export crops is tied up with the means of evacuation organized by Dakar; dependence also because the export crops, in breaking up the former village autarchy, have given Dakar the role of a great relay-station in the importation of food products in compensation and manufactured products which have become a necessity there where formerly they were unknown; dependence, finally, not only for the Senegalese and

/1/

125 During the years 1960 and 1961, a demographic investigation by sampling was undertaken over the whole territory, the first one in the history of Senegal. (Administrative counts, city censuses, and an investigation in the central valley of the river /Senegal River/ had been made previously, but never a demographic inquiry covering the whole territory.)

[369] [162] The country has been divided into two large parts: the urban zone, composed of the whole region of Cape Verde and the cities of Thiès, Saint-Louis, Ziguinchor, Diourbel, and Louga; and the rural zone, which includes the rest of the territory. The sampling fraction was 1/50 in the rural zone and 1/20 in the urban zone. Subsequently a sampling to the twentieth was obtained by dividing into two a certain number of maps of the rural zone.

It will be seen merely from the method utilized that it renders illusory the study of small groups /groupes à effectif réduit/. It should be acknowledged from the first that the numbers below 500 (that is, 25 in the sample) are not significant.

II - The Structures:

III - The geographic distribution:

114 The operations in the field begun in the month of April 1960 were terminated in the month of August 1961 (April-June '60 for the rural zone, July '60 to August '61 /2/ for the urban zone). It should be acknowledged that on the whole the numbers indicated below correspond to the situation on the date of 1 July 1960. (Table 1 on following page)

162

This table shows, on the one hand, the low average density and, on the other hand, its great variability.

[563] The non-African population is made up essentially of French and Lebano-Syrians. It is heavily concentrated in the urban zone and particularly in Cape Verde; 74% of the non-Africans of Senegal are actually in residence there. Moreover, this concentration has become accentuated in recent years for several reasons: the departure of the Senegalese and Mauritanian governments from Saint-Louis; the closing of a number of agencies in the interior following the change in the commercial circuits.

161 648

/2 cont./

169

Table 1 - Over-all Results - Resident Population

Region	Africans	Non-Africans	Total	Area (km^2)	Density per km^2
Cape Verde	397,940	45,640	443,580	550	807
Casamance	528,900	960	529,860	28,350	19
Diourbel	500,980	2,180	503,160	33,547	15
River	342,620	2,780	345,400	44,127	8
Senegal-Oriental	151,080	--	151,080	59,602	2.5
Sine-Saloum	721,040	6,060	727,100	23,945	30
Thiès	405,580	4,080	409,660	6,601	62
Senegal	3,048,140	61,700	3,109,840	196,172	16

/2 cont./

change in the commercial circuits.

S 162 /3/ It should not be without interest to give an idea of the peopling of the various regions by ethnic groups. (Table 2 on following pages)

W [162] It is shown that the Ouoloff /Wolof/ constitute more than a third of the total population. This group is abundantly represented in most of the regions, with the exception of Casamance and Senegal-Oriental. It is known that their arrival has determined the growth of the population of Dakar. It is not impossible that persons belonging to other ethnic groups but speaking Ouoloff have been given as Ouoloff.

SR [162] The Sérère /Serer/ are second in rank from a numerical standpoint. They are relatively grouped in Sine-Saloum and in the region ot Thiès.

T [162] /4/ The Toucouleur /Tukolor/, the majority of whom are in the river region, are scattered throughout the territory; they are, however, less numerous in the region of Diourbel.

W [162] One can also note that the Casamance groups scarcely ever wander away from their region of origin except to come to Dakar, and that the Lébou are largely concentrated in Cape Verde.

S [563] Concerning the non-Africans, whose concentration at Dakar has already been mentioned, one will note the presence of a Lebano-Syrian group in the region of Kaolack and a French group in Saint-Louis and Thiès.

S [369] The population of Senegal is still essentially rural, but the urbanization movement, which is noted in all of the regions by reason of the diversification of economic activity and especially the industrial development, is particularly marked there. This factor will greatly modify the geographical distribution of the population during the coming years.

The following table gives the population of the cities which constitute the urban zone. (Table 3 follows Table 2.)

/5/ In sum, the urban population is close to 705,000 inhabitants and represents 23% of the whole. Dakar alone has 12% of the population of Senegal, which is not abnormal. But

Wolof MS30
Seret FA32
Tukolor MS27
Diola FA14
Fulani MS11

/3 cont./

Table 2 - Total Population - Principal Ethnic Groups
Numbers in thousands

Ethnic Group	Cape Verde	Casamance	Diourbel	Senegal-River	Senegal-Orient	Sine-Saloum	Thiès	Senegal
Ouoloff	204	14	367	86	3	253	176	1.103
Sérère.								
Niominka	26	1	73	1	-	316	178	595
Toucouleur	50	56	4	229	22	47	14	422
Peulh.								
Foulah.								
Laobé	25	22	39	13	56	61	14	230
Diola.								
Baïnouk	8	203	0	0	-	4	1	216
Other Casamanceans (Manjacque. Mancagne. Balante)	6	93	0	0	-	1	1	101
Bambara.								
Mandingue.								
Socé.								
Malinké	15	117	1	4	34	22	5	198

(cont.)

21: Verriere--5 G-5 (1960-1961) 1963 MS37 Senegal MS37
Soninke MS21
Wolof MS30
S
SO
W
●167
S
563

Table 2 Cont.

/3 cont./

Ethnic Group	Cape Verde Verde	Casamance	Diourbel	River	Senegal-Orient	Sine-Saloum	Thiès	Senegal
Sarakolé	6	17	1	2	32	5	2	65
Moors	8	1	16	6	0	8	9	48
Lébou	37	-	0	-	0	3	2	42
Other Groups of Black Africa	12	5	0	1	5	3	3	29
Europeans	30	1	0	2	-	1	4	38
Lebano-Syrians	10	-	1	-	-	4	0	15
Eurafricans (Cape-Verdeans)	6	0	0	1	-	0	-	7
Misc.	1	-	0	0	-	0	0	1
Total	444	530	503	345	151	727	410	3,110

/4 cont./

162 [563]

Table 3 - Population of the Cities of the Urban Zone (1)

City	Africans	Non-Africans	Total
Dakar	336,580	38,120	374,700
Kaolack	68,160	1,400	69,560
Thiès	66,940	2,200	69,140
Rufisque-Bargny	48,280	1,380	49,660
Saint-Louis	47,700	1,140	48,840
Ziguinchor	29,520	340	29,840
Diourbel	27,820	740	28,560
Louga	16,120	160	16,280

1. The total population of these cities does not correspond exactly to the population of the urban zone given below, because all of the region of Cape Verde, including the cantons of Sangalkam and Sébikotane, has been included in the urban zone.

/5 cont./ it is necessary to take note of the fact that Dakar has been in existence scarcely more than 75 years. Its rate of growth, remarkably stable since 1890, stays at between 6% and 7% per year. At this rate, Dakar will have 1,275,000 inhabitants in 20 years and will contain a quarter of the inhabitants of Senegal.

[161]

The rural population is about 2,390,000 inhabitants distributed in 13,000 communes or villages. The average population of a village is thus less than 200 inhabitants. This fact is not unimportant, because this great dispersion increases the "general expenses" of the nation, if one can use this term. It is obvious that instruction in schools, for example, is more costly when settlements are dispersed, whether the classes have an attendance lower than is normal or whether it is necessary to arrange for collecting the students. There is thus reason for encouraging regroupings as much as possible.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[p395]

CHAPTER VIII

SENEGAL AND THE DISTRICT OF DAKAR

1. GENERAL

Senegal. Area: 77,220 square miles. Population (1937): 1,666,374. Density per square mile: 21·58. Capital: St. Louis. 161

District of Dakar. Area: 66 square miles. Population (1937): 126,929. Density per square mile: 1,923·16. Headquarters: Dakar. [131] [162] [633]

ALTHOUGH it has fewer inhabitants than most of the other colonies and a lower density of population than Dahomey or the Ivory Coast, Senegal is the most important of all the members of the Federation. Much of the colony is semi-desert, but the remainder is closely settled by some of the most vigorous and progressive peoples of French West Africa. Most of the native citizens are Senegalese, and the fame of the tirailleurs is known in every land. The colony contains some of the earliest French settlements, and its honourable position is attested by the fact that it alone in the Federation sends a direct representative to the Chamber of Deputies at Paris. [101] 162 648

The full title of the District of Dakar is the *Circonscription de Dakar et Dépendences*. Besides the town of Dakar it includes Goree, Rufisque, the territory round them, and a few small enclaves inside Senegal. One of these enclaves is at Sebikotane, where is situated the William Ponty School. The District has been a separate political entity since 1924, and its Administrator is not responsible to the Governor of Senegal. 633

The British colony of the Gambia has all its land frontiers with Senegal. 131

The greatest distance from north to south in Senegal is 249 miles, and the greatest from west to east is 365 miles. The colony extends from 12° 19′ N. to 16° 42′ N. and from 17° 20′ W. to 11° 20′ W. The extreme west of the Cape Verde peninsula is 17° 32′ W.

Boundaries. The Atlantic Ocean forms the main western boundary. The only exceptions to this are the frontier with the Gambia and the boundary between Senegal and Dakar. The latter leaves the coast at 14° 49′ N. and runs roughly south-south-east until it is 2 miles from Goree bay. There it turns east and afterwards south to strike the bay 1 mile east of Rufisque.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M837 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

after severe fighting, and in 1863 Fouta and Toro were definitely annexed by the French.

Cayor. The state of Cayor extended from Cape Verde northward along the coast nearly to St. Louis, and at the end of the eighteenth century it had obtained independence of the Ouolofs. Goree had been taken by the French from the Dutch in 1677, and by treaties of 1764 and 1765 the Damel of Cayor had ceded the tip of the Cape Verde peninsula in full sovereignty to France. He had further agreed to restrain his subjects from pillaging the cargoes of wrecks and from imprisoning their crews. In return he was to receive an annual subsidy of 180 bars, one-third in iron and the remainder in merchandise.

These treaties, however, had never been implemented. In 1825 Governor Roger considered them dead, and advised Frenchmen who wished to acquire land in the peninsula to make their own arrangements with the native authorities. At the same time, Roger made a fresh convention regarding wrecks, which was no more observed than the earlier treaties. In 1832 land was purchased for a cemetery on the mainland and in 1846 a mission of the Society of the Sacred Heart, which received a government subsidy until 1906, was established at Dakar.

The population of Goree, some 5,000 persons, needed wood, water, building materials, and fresh provisions, which they could only purchase at extortionate prices on the mainland. All efforts to conclude agreements with the chiefs on these matters failed, and wreckers' profits were not to be diminished by scraps of paper. Security was needed for the projected railway from St. Louis and it was desirable to give the priests protection. In 1857, therefore, the French Government authorized the construction of a fort on the mainland. Birahima, the reigning Damel of Cayor, at first acquiesced in this occupation, largely because his authority over the Lebous who inhabited the peninsula had long been but nominal. The post was used by Faidherbe for a base for his operations in 1859. In that year, after the battle of Fatik (18 May), the tribesmen of Sine, Saloum, and Baol submitted to French authority, and posts were created at Joal and Kaolack. Trouble arose under the Damel's successor, Makodou, who refused to recognize Birahima's agreement to allow a French road and telegraph line from St. Louis to Goree to be run through Cayor. A French column from St. Louis under Faidherbe met an expedition under Pinet-Laprade from Goree and occupied Makodou's capital, Mekhé, on 12 January 1861. On 1 February he accepted

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

At this stage no French taxation was imposed. Faidherbe was the first 175
to insist that the election of any chiefs must be subject to his approval, 648
and from this time onwards the French hold gradually grew tighter. As the French historian Sabatié has put it:

> 'These treaties guaranteed the political organization, the religion, customs, institutions, and laws of the native country concerned. They were designed to ensure the security of our commerce and respect for the property of our nationals and our subjects, and they stipulated, by way of compensation, the collection of certain taxes on cattle and exported products for the benefit of chiefs. As a result of the evolution of the colony and its economic and administrative necessities, the clauses and obligations of these treaties have lapsed.'

The system lasted until towards the end of the nineteenth century; but from that time onwards native powers, especially over judicial matters, land, and tribute, have been gradually curtailed. Native chiefs have become agents appointed by the Government, and native administrative institutions have almost everywhere been deliberately abolished. This policy has its roots not only in administrative convenience but also in a strong sense of duty to the individual native and a desire to protect him from misrule.

The Modern Constitution

Until 1920 the four communes of Dakar, Goree, Rufisque, and 631
St. Louis were described as the territory under direct administration, 633
the remainder of the colony as a protectorate. In that year the distinction, which had long been one without a difference, was formally abolished.

Senegal, being the oldest colony, contains about a quarter of the 641
whole European population of French West Africa. It also contains
a larger proportion of educated and politically minded natives than [162]
the other colonies, and its constitution is more democratic. This last fact is mainly due to the equalitarian doctrines of the July Monarchy at the time when the personal status of Senegalese native citizens and their rights as Frenchmen were determined. In 1833 the French Parliament enacted that any person born free, or having legally
acquired his liberty, enjoyed in the French colonies both civil and [648]
political rights under conditions prescribed by law. In 1848, therefore, when the colony first acquired the right to send a deputy to the French Parliament, natives born in the French settlements of
Goree, Rufisque, and St. Louis, the only French soil in Senegal at [633]
the time, became entitled to the Parliamentary vote and to all the

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

641 other privileges of French citizenship. In due course the same
[633] status was conferred on natives of Dakar, and in 1916 French citizenship was extended not only to natives born in these four communes but to their descendants also. It thus came about that out
[162] of 80,500 native citizens in the whole of French West Africa 78,000 live in Senegal or Dakar. Of these the great bulk resides in the four old communes.

633 Municipal government, on entirely metropolitan lines, was conferred upon St. Louis and Goree in 1872 and upon Rufisque in 1880. In 1887 Dakar, which had hitherto formed part of Goree, was separated from it, receiving its own elected mayor and council, and in 1929 absorbed its parent. The District of Dakar was separated from Senegal in 1924, and received its own Administrator, directly responsible to the Governor-General.

646 Parliamentary representation was suspended under Napoleon III, but restored in 1870. Until 1914 a European had been elected, but the racial issue was deliberately raised in that year, when M. Blaise
[645] Diagne, a Sérère, entered on his long term as Deputy for Senegal. He thoroughly justified his race by heading a campaign for voluntary recruitment in Senegal during the War of 1914–1918, and subsequently held office as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. As early as 1879 the General Council was elected by the citizens of
[633] the four communes. It had certain powers of taxation and legislation over the four communes, powers which, though limited, were more democratic than in other parts of French West Africa. Its greatest influence, however, lay in the criticism of the Government, a function which, withheld from it by law, sprang naturally from the power of taxation. When the formal distinction between colony and protectorate disappeared, the General Council gave place to the existing Colonial Council (p. 432), a body with generally similar powers extending over the whole colony.

648 *Senegal and Federation.* Before 1845 and again from 1859 to 1893
[643] the whole of what is now French West Africa was administered by the Governor of Senegal. It was natural, therefore, that in 1895 he should be appointed Governor-General of the Federation, with its not very precise constitution. This appointment was welcomed in Senegal, as it enhanced the colony's supremacy. In 1902 the Governor-Generalship was made a separate office, and Senegal sank to the level of the other colonies. This new arrangement, although a blow to the pride of the Senegalese, did not touch their pockets. They still
[652] kept control of their own revenues, out of which they voted a sum

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS 30

S 797 with which the Society of the Holy Spirit was united in 1848. About the same time a house of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception (the Blue Sisters) was established at Dakar, which has been the Roman Catholic metropolis of French West Africa ever since.

In 1906, on the separation of Church and State in France, the government subsidies to the Roman Catholic missions were withdrawn. In 1930 the Roman Catholics in Senegal had 67 European S [162] priests, sisters, and lay workers aided by 175 native catechists and S [368] teachers. Professing Roman Catholics numbered 22,300. A magnificent cathedral, the work of many years, was consecrated at Dakar in 1936.

The only Protestant mission in Senegal is that of the Société des S Missions Évangéliques de Paris, which began work in the colony in [162] 1863. Its adherents number about a hundred.

8. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION AND INLAND TOWNS

Distribution of Population

S *Senegal*

161 Senegal is the third most densely populated colony, with an average of 21·58 persons per square mile and a total population in 1937 of 1,666,374. The distribution, however, varies greatly within the colony itself. The regions of Fouta and Ferlo are almost uninhabitable, while the provinces of Baol, Sine-Saloum, and Thiès have more than 50 persons per square mile. The coastal provinces of Bignona and Ziguinchor, south of the Gambia, are equally closely S settled. The left bank of the Senegal, roughly from Bakel to Podor, [311] supports a fairly dense agricultural population. [361]

Growth has been steady, the figures for 1921, 1926, and 1931 being 1,225,523, 1,318,287, and 1,584,273 respectively. There is no doubt that the colony is capable of supporting many more inhabitants than S it does at present.

162 *Natives.* More than 580,000 Ouolofs live in Senegal. These are 563 among the most energetic and intelligent peoples of the Federation, W and they provide the bulk of the famous Senegalese Tirailleurs. [162] There are about 250,000 each of Sérères, Mandingos, and Fulani, [901] and 150,000 Toucouleur. Broadly speaking, the Ouolofs live north and east of Dakar, the Sérères south-east thereof, the Toucouleur

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

near the Senegal river, the Fulani in the centre of the colony, and the Mandingos in the east of it. 162 [563]

The District of Dakar

The 66 square miles of the District of Dakar contain 126,929 persons; but the figures for density per square mile mean even less than elsewhere, since most of the inhabitants live in the town itself.

In 1937 there were 118,459 natives and 8,470 Europeans, of whom 6,728 were French. This was about a quarter of the total of Europeans in the whole Federation. [563]

Inland Towns

Bakel (14° 52′; 12° 24′ W.) Population, 2,103. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. Daily market. 36 [131] [162]

Bakel is on the left bank of the Senegal (Plate 83) where the river passes between cliffs some 17 miles below the entrance of the Falémé. It is a local market for gum, ground-nuts, grain, gold dust, hides, and ostrich feathers. Most of the inhabitants are Moslems. [438] [162]

By river it is 531 miles from St. Louis and 84 miles from Kayes, and there is a fortnightly steamer service when the water permits. By colonial road Bakel is 386 miles from St. Louis, 93 miles from Matam, and 32 miles from Kidira. A bus service connects all these places. The river can be crossed by ferry, and from the Mauritanian bank a poor track leads to Sélibaby (32 miles). [487] [505] [491] [494]

Bambey (14° 40′; 16° 25′ W.). Altitude, 59 feet. Population, 4,209. Mixed Commune. Dispensary. Police station. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Garage. Agricultural experimental station. Daily market. [131] [162] [654]

Set in the midst of an area of dense population, Bambey is a prosperous market town. The main product of the locality is ground-nuts, and large quantities of these are put on the train each year. They also form the chief speciality of the agricultural experimental station. [438] [654]

Communications. By railway Bambey is 77 miles from Dakar, 33½ miles from Thiès, 17 miles from Diourbel, and 319 miles from Kidira. It is on the intercolonial road, being 49 miles from Thiès and 16 miles from Diourbel. A colonial road goes almost due south to Fatik (27 miles). There is a daily bus service (p. 473) to Fatik, Foundiougne, and Kaolack. [491] [494]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS37

36 [131] [162] BIGNONA (12° 49′; 16° 16′ W.). Altitude, *c.* 60 feet. Population, 1,611. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Military post. Emergency landing-ground. Garage.

Bignona stands on the left bank of a small and marshy tributary of the Casamance. Canoes carry a certain amount of merchandise, as also do lorries. The principal items of trade are ground-nuts, palm kernels, wax, rice, and fruit. Most of the native inhabitants are Dioulas. [438] [162]

Colonial roads lead south to the Casamance opposite Ziguinchor (16 miles), east to Sedhiou (58 miles) and Kolda (120 miles), and north-west to Diouloulou (35 miles) and the frontier of the Gambia (46 miles). There are also several minor roads and tracks. [491]

[131] [162] DAGANA (16° 27′; 15° 34′ W.). Altitude, 13 feet. Population, *c.* 3,500. District headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Race-course.

Dagana is on the left bank of the Senegal, and its chief economic function is as a market for Mauritanian gum. This is shipped down river to St. Louis, 116 miles away. There is also connexion upstream to Podor (61 miles), Bakel (403 miles), and Kayes (487 miles). [439] [487]

By colonial road Dagana is 86 miles from St. Louis and 332 miles from Kidira. It is on the bus service (p. 474) between these two places. Southwards another colonial road leads across sparsely inhabited country to Dahra (89 miles) and Diourbel (162 miles). From the opposite bank of the Senegal a track goes to Mederdra, some 30 miles distant. [491] [494]

[131] [162] DIOURBEL (14° 39′; 16° 10′ W.). Altitude, 39 feet. Population, 15,442. Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Police headquarters. Emergency landing-ground. Power station. Hotel. Garage. Daily market.

This flourishing town lies across the little Sine river in the middle of a well-cultivated shallow valley. To the north the ground rises somewhat. Diourbel owes its prosperity to ground-nuts, and 100,000 tons of them pass through the town every year. There are several factories for the shelling of the nuts and for the expression of their oil. Besides this, Diourbel is the headquarters of the province of Baol and a route centre. Its inhabitants are mainly Moslems, who have a large and important mosque. There is also a special school for sons of chiefs. [438] [258] [162] [871]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

The electric power station has a gas-engine plant that burns the residue from ground-nut presses. 36 [377]

Communications. Diourbel is the railway junction for Routes 3 and 4. By the former it is 50½ miles from Thiès and 302 miles from Kidira, and by the latter it is 31 miles from Touba. The intercolonial road leads westwards to Thiès (65 miles) and Dakar (109 miles) and south-eastwards to Kaolack (40 miles), Tambacounda (230 miles), and Nayes (351 miles). Colonial roads go north-eastwards to Dahra (73 miles) and Dagana (162 miles) and south-westwards to Fatik (25 miles) and Kaolack (53 miles). [496] [491]

LOUGA (15° 37′; 16° 16′ W.). Altitude, 128 feet. Population, 4,390. Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Regional School. Power station. Garage. Race-course. Agricultural experimental station and farm school. Daily market. [131] [162] [654]

Louga is the scene of the most important cattle market in the whole colony. It is this that has made it a route centre. Other local products are ground-nuts, gum, and millet. Administratively, Louga is the headquarters of the province of the same name and also a military headquarters. [438]

Electricity is supplied by an oil-driven plant. [377]

Communications. Louga stands at the junction of railway routes 1 and 2, being 119 miles from Dakar, 44 miles from St. Louis, and 81 miles from Linguéré. It is on the intercolonial road from Dakar (121 miles) to St. Louis (47 miles). A colonial road runs eastwards across the colony to Dahra (59 miles), Linguéré (84 miles), and Matam (242 miles). There are also minor roads and tracks. [496] [491]

PODOR (16° 35′; 15° 02′ W.). Population, 3,168. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. Daily market. [131] [162]

This riverside town is chiefly important for gum arabic. The gum is brought by the Arabs, sold in the market, and shipped down the Senegal to St. Louis. [439]

Communications. By river Podor is 178 miles from St. Louis and 437 miles from Kayes. Throughout the year the Messageries Africaines run a fortnightly service to and from St. Louis. From July to January the boats also go upstream as far as Matam (234 miles) and in August and September to Kayes. Podor is on the colonial road, being 135 miles from St. Louis and 288 miles from Nayes. There is a ferry across the river to connect with tracks to such Mauritanian [487] [505] [491]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

36 towns as Boutilimit and Aleg. There is also a track that runs south-
[491] south-westwards to Yang-Yang. For half the year there is a bus
[494] service twice a week to St. Louis in one direction and to Kidira in the other. 1/n

[131] TAMBACOUNDA (13° 45′; 13° 39′ W.). Altitude, 148 feet. Population,
[162] c. 4,000. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Hotel. Garage.

On a slight eminence above a marshy tributary of the Sandougou,
[491] Tambacounda is of considerable importance as a route centre. It
[496] is not only a road junction but also the most southerly point in Senegal of the Dakar–Niger railway. Near the town is a sisal
[248] plantation.

The hotel is open only from December to May.

By rail Tambacounda is 285 miles from Dakar, 111 miles from
[496] Kidira, and 170½ miles from Kayes. One intercolonial road runs
[491] westwards to Kaolack (188 miles), Thiès (295 miles), and Dakar (339 miles); another north-eastwards to Nayes (121 miles) and Kayes (176 miles); and a third southwards to Diabougou (25 miles) and ultimately to Labé (288 miles). Before the war Tambacounda was
[509] connected to Dakar and Bamako by a weekly air service operated by Air France.

[131] THIÈS (14° 49′; 16° 52′ W.). Altitude, 207 feet. Population, 15,451.
[162] Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Regional School.
[197] Roman Catholic mission. Power station. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops. Cinemas. Daily market.

Since the opening of the railway in 1885 Thiès has grown from a collection of native huts to a large town. The railway workshops
[498] employ many hundreds of men, and the market handles considerable
[438] quantities of ground-nuts. The town has been built on a slope that declines gently east and north-east to a small stream. The old Fort Faidherbe is still standing, and there is a big Roman Catholic church.

Communications. Thiès is a railway junction, being 43½ miles
[496] from Dakar, 119½ miles from St. Louis, and 352½ miles from Kidira.
[491] It is also a meeting-place of intercolonial roads. One of these comes from Dakar (44 miles) and goes on to St. Louis (124 miles), while the other branches east to Kaolack (107 miles), Nayes (416 miles), and Kayes (471 miles). There are several minor roads, notably one going
[494] south to M'Bour. Along this road there is a regular bus service, with two buses each weekday in either direction.

1/n [From The Town of Podor-- Analyst]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

9. ADMINISTRATION

DAKAR, the capital of the Federation and the residence of the Governor-General, is geographically in Senegal, and from its foundation in 1863 it was administered by the Governor of Senegal as part of that colony. By the decrees of 25 October and 27 November 1924, however, the District of Dakar was, without prejudice to its municipal institutions, made a separate administrative unit, under an Administrator directly responsible to the Governor-General. Only Dakar and Goree were originally included, with an area of 60 square miles, but the Commune of Rufisque was added by a decree of 9 June 1937. The District now has a population of 127,000, and it has its own budget. 633 [648] [162]

Senegal returns a deputy to the French Chamber of Deputies, who is elected by French citizens (European or native) resident in the colony and in Dakar. The deputy is *ex officio* Senegal's representative on the Supreme Council of the French Colonial Empire. 648

Councils

Executive Councils. The Executive Council of Senegal is composed of the Governor, the Secretary-General, the Attorney-General, the officer commanding the troops, one French citizen elected by the Chamber of Commerce of St. Louis, and one citizen and two subjects nominated for two years by the Governor-General. 645 [648]

It is a purely advisory body, but the Governor is bound to consult it on such matters as the Colonial Budget, proposed changes in taxation, disposal of government property, and concessions. He may indeed, require its advice on any matter he chooses.

The Executive Council for the District of Dakar was at one time composed of the Standing Committee of the Governor-General's Council together with the Administrator. This arrangement, legalized in 1924, was changed by a decree of the 9 June 1937 which gave Dakar its own Executive Council, composed of the Administrator, Deputy-Administrator, the officer commanding the troops at Dakar, the Attorney-General, one member of the Chamber of Commerce appointed by that body, two municipal councillors of Dakar and one of Rufisque appointed by their respective councils, and one French subject appointed by the Governor-General. 633 [648] [648]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

874 In 1927 apprentice courses in woodwork and metalwork were started in St. Louis and Kaolack by the Public Works Department for selected schoolboys between the ages of 13 and 16 years.

871 There is a number of educational institutions in Dakar of a higher grade than primary. These are the responsibility of the Federal Government and have been described in Volume I.

Health

743 Senegal is divided into thirteen medical districts, each of which is intended to be under the supervision of a European medical officer. There are 17 medical stations, each under a native auxiliary. There are also 16 maternity centres and 117 posts visited once a week by a medical officer.

In 1937 Senegal and Dakar had 3 major hospitals and 34 minor hospitals and dispensaries. These provided 394 beds for European patients and 1,805 for native. There were 80 European medical officers, 31 native auxiliaries, 30 midwives, 124 male nurses, and 21 female nurses.

[744] In addition there were four travelling parties (*groupes sanitaires mobiles*). One of these specialized in fighting sleeping-sickness in the Casamance Territory, and the other three were concerned with more general sanitary and prophylactic measures.

The Pasteur Institute at Dakar, a federal concern, is justly famous. [797] Some medical work is done by missionaries. Unofficial committees of the Croix-Rouge are concerned with infant welfare at Dakar, Diourbel, St. Louis, and Tivaouane.

[652] In 1937 Senegal voted 12,000,000 francs for medical services and Dakar 11,000,000 francs.

10. PORTS

36 [131] [162] [489] [743] [712] [648] [654] [697]

ST. LOUIS (16° 01′; 16° 30′ W.). Population, 30,586, including 1,231 Europeans. Colonial capital of Senegal and of Mauritania. Full Commune. Headquarters of the province of Bas Sénégal. Custom-house. Law courts. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital and dispensary. Army headquarters and barracks. Police headquarters. Belgian Consulate. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Lycée Faidherbe. École des Fils des Chefs et des Interprètes. Higher Primary and Technical Schools. Protestant and Roman Catholic missions. Bank of West Africa. Power station. Prison. Hotels. Garages. Race-course. Botanical gardens. Experimental plantation. Daily market.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

[ST. LOUIS]

206 *Wireless.* The wireless station is to the south of Guet N'Dar.

River. Above Faidherbe Bridge the river is closed to all vessels not
505 flying the French flag. Boats drawing 10 feet can ascend to Podor all
[648] the year round, and in the rainy season they can reach Kayes (Vol. I, p. 367). Table V shows how greatly river traffic on the Senegal has declined in recent years.

TABLE V. *Tonnage of Goods from Kayes*

	1928	1929	1930	1934	1935
[497] Sent by rail or road	9,545	9,555	11,456	5,269	6,224
[494] Sent by river	2,520	5,815	3,425	313	260

Shipping. There are no sea-going ships calling regularly, but the Messageries Africaines and the Messageries du Sénégal run services up-river.

36 DAKAR (14° 39′; 17° 25′ W.). Population, 80,052, including *c.* 6,000
[131] Europeans. Capital of the Federation and Headquarters of the
[162] District of Dakar. Full Commune. Custom-house. Law courts.
[489] Chamber of Commerce. Pasteur Institute. Hospitals. Naval base
[712] and dockyard. General Headquarters of the army in French West Africa. Police headquarters. British Consulate-General. Belgian,
[648] Brazilian, Czechoslovakian, Danish, Eireann, Greek, Italian, Netherlands, Norwegian, Swedish, and Swiss Consulates. Argentine, Finnish, Spanish, and Uruguayan Vice-Consulates. Meteoro-
[654] logical station. Airport and seaplane base. Wireless stations.
[508] Colleges and schools. Protestant churches. Roman Catholic Vicariate Apostolic of Guinea and Vicariate General. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Crédit Foncier de l'Ouest Africain. Banque Belge de l'Afrique. Power station.
[697] Prison. Public library. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops.
[498] Cinemas. Race-course. Sports stadium. Botanical gardens.
[654] Agricultural experimental station. Daily market.

Dakar (Fig. 54) is approximately 2,600 miles distant from South-
361 ampton, from Cape Town, and from Rio de Janeiro. It is, therefore, well placed for taking a share in the trade of the South Atlantic, and it
[433] is small wonder that it has become the third port in the French Empire, being surpassed only by Marseilles and Le Havre. It is, moreover, of the first importance strategically.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[DAKAR]

route from Paris to Santiago and was also the terminus of local services to Bamako and to St. Louis. The Aéromaritime company used to run flying-boat services to Conakry, Abidjan, Lagos, Douala, and Pointe Noire. 509

Wireless. The broadcasting station is near Madeleines bay, 700 yards north-west of the cathedral. A small station, transmitting to ships, is on Bel Air point. 206

Cable. Dakar is connected by cable to Casablanca, to Brest, to Fernando Noronha (Brazil), and to Conakry. The two latter cables are landed in the south-west of Bernard bay, not far from the Pasteur Institute. There is, however, a telephone cable to Goree island. This is landed on the north-west shore of the same bay.

Shipping. Lines normally serving the port include the following: America West African, Bull, Chargeurs Réunis, Elder Dempster, Fabre, Fraissinet, Gdynia America, Hamburg-Bremen, Holland West Afrika, Italia, Lloyd Triestino, Maurel et Prom, Messageries du Sénégal, Navigazione Generale Italiana, Société Générale des Transports, Société Maritime Belge des Transports, and Société Navale de l'Ouest. 505

Coasting vessels sail regularly for Port Etienne, St. Louis, Kaolack, and Ziguinchor.

GOREE (14° 39′; 17° 23′ W.). Population, 714. Custom-house. Barracks and military hospital. 36 [131]

The rocky island of Goree (Plate 112) has an area of 138 acres. The first Europeans to land on it were the Portuguese in 1445, and since then it has had a chequered history, which has been told elsewhere in these volumes. [162] [712] [175]

Most of the centre of the island is occupied by buildings, and in the south there is the old fort. In the extreme north is a large lime-kiln. [381]

The only source of water is an artesian well in the fort. [312]

Trade. Trade is now limited to the ordinary requirements of the islanders, and traffic to taking them and their goods to and from the mainland. [938]

Harbour. In the north-east of the island there is a little bay where there are three jetties, only one of which (Plate 121) is now in use. The depth at its head is 10 feet. [504]

RUFISQUE (14° 41′; 17° 12′ W.). Population, 19,764, including 180 Europeans. Full Commune. Custom-house. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Power station. Hotel. Garage. [131] [162] [712]

2h Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS37

[RUFISQUE]

439 Rufisque was the first port from which ground-nuts were exported, and to-day ground-nuts are still the main article of trade. In the first quarter of 1939 it exported 25,152 tons of them. On the north side
504 of Goree bay, Rufisque can only handle small ships. There is anchorage off shore in 3–7 fathoms, but from July to November heavy swell makes it almost unusable.

633 Since 1937 the town has been in the District of Dakar.

Jetties and Equipment. There are three jetties with alongside depths
504 of at least 9½ feet. Two of these are of iron, one being 603 feet long and 33 feet wide with an extension by a wharf 65 feet long and 52 feet wide. The third is of concrete and is 656 feet long. Decauville tracks connect these jetties to the railway. There is one 5-ton crane and one 2-ton, besides smaller ones. There are 4 tugs and 2 lighters.

Communications

496 *Rail.* By rail Rufisque is 17 miles from Dakar, 26½ miles from Thiès, 146 miles from St. Louis, and 268 miles from Tambacounda.

Road. The intercolonial road runs from Dakar (15 miles) through
491 to Thiès (29 miles), where it divides. Eight miles beyond Rufisque a colonial road branches off it to go to M'Bour (38 miles), Joal (61 miles), and Fatik (101 miles). Another colonial road goes north-eastwards from the town to Sangalkan (6 miles) and Kayar (17 miles).

36 [131] [62] M'Bour (14° 21′; 16° 57′ W.). Population, *c.* 4,500, including 175 Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-house. Medical post. Police station.

The town of M'Bour stands at the head of a shallow cove which extends for a mile out to sea as a passage between two reefs. Inside
[504] the cove the water is up to 4½ feet deep, and there is a wharf used by surf-boats. Ships anchor 2½ miles off shore, but heavy swell makes
[439] conditions difficult from June to November. Ground-nuts and millet are exported.

[491] M'Bour is on the colonial road from Rufisque (38 miles) to Joal (23 miles) and Fatik (63 miles). Several minor roads lead inland,
[494] notably one to Thiès, along which there is a bus service twice a day. For half the year there is also a service to Joal.

[131] [62] Joal (14° 09′; 16° 51′ W.). Population, *c.* 500. Custom-house. Roman Catholic mission.

Joal was founded by the Norman Company in the middle of the
[175] seventeenth century. It was captured by the Dutch in 1677 and by

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M837 Senegal MS 37

[JOAL]

the British 70 years later, and it did not finally become French until 1763. It is on a sandspit in front of a coastal lagoon. Off shore there is a large sandbank, exposed at low tide. 36 [175]

There is a small wharf, but, owing to the difficulty of access, there is very little trade. In 1937, for example, only 4,600 tons of goods were handled and their value was 4,600,000 francs (£36,970). [504] [439]

The colonial road from Fatik (40 miles) to M'Bour (23 miles) and Rufisque (61 miles) runs through the town. There are also minor roads. From November to June there is a bus service to M'Bour and Thiès four days a week. [491] [494]

FOUNDIOUGNE (14° 06′; 16° 29′ W.). Population, 2,734. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-house. Medical post. [131] [62]

Foundiougne is on an island formed by the Saloum, the Djomboss, and their connecting channels. Much of the district is swampy, but the town itself is on a piece of firm ground on the left bank of the Saloum, 33 miles from the sea.

Anchorage in the river is in 3½ fathoms. There are 8 wharves, of which 1 is owned by the municipality. [504]

The principal export is ground-nuts, but in recent years Foundiougne has declined in prosperity. This is owing to the rise of Kaolack, which is better situated on the north bank of the river and which has much better communications. [439] [433]

There is a ferry across the river, and from its far side a rough road leads to Fatik. South of the river there is a colonial road eastwards to Kaolack (32 miles). Along both these roads there is a bus service, daily in the dry season and fortnightly in the wet. [491] [494]

FATIK (14° 18′; 16° 27′ W.). Population, 3,521, including 128 Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Medical post. Police station. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. [131] [62]

At Nonane, on Marigot de Fatik 14½ miles above its junction with the Saloum, is the site of one of the old *escales*. This is the upper limit for boats drawing 10 feet, but smaller craft can ascend a further 7 miles to Fatik, 58 miles from the sea. The town is on the right bank of the river, which is here called the Sine. [505] [487]

Trade is chiefly in ground-nuts. [439]

Colonial roads lead north to Bambey (27 miles), south-east to Kaolack (28 miles), and south-west to Joal (60 miles), and a minor road south to Foundiougne. [491]

The landing-ground is half a mile west of the town.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M837 Senegal MS 37

3/6 [131] [162]

KAOLACK (14° 07′; 16° 07′ W.). Population, 21,973. Mixed Commune. Headquarters of the province of Sine-Saloum. Custom-house. Chamber of Commerce. Medical post. Police headquarters. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Regional School. Roman Catholic mission. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Hotels. Garages. Race-course.

[439] Kaolack exports more ground-nuts than any other port in the Federation. It is a well-planned town with squares and trees, and it is on the right bank of the Saloum, 71 miles above its mouth, where the river is 100 yards wide. It is the limit of navigation for sea-going ships.

[487] [505]

[162] In 1904 Kaolack had only 300 inhabitants, but the development of communications in the neighbourhood has caused it to grow to its present size. The figure given above is for the permanent population only. At the height of the ground-nut season there are an additional 20,000 temporary inhabitants.

[166]

Trade

[439] During the first quarter of 1939 Kaolack exported 32,259 tons of ground-nuts (Plate 122), as against 26,832 tons from Dakar. Owing to the bar across the Saloum, however, many ships do not load to their maximum capacity but go on to Dakar to complete their lading.

[258] Across the river from the town is a large salt-works.

The Port

[504] On the north bank there are concrete quays with a total length of over 2,000 feet and on the south bank there is a small wharf. At Lyndiane, 9 miles downstream, is a wharf belonging to the firm of Peyrissac et Cie.

Communications

[498] *Rail.* Kaolack is the terminus of Route 5 to Guinguiné (14 miles), and is therefore 142 miles from Dakar. It is also the terminus of Route 6 to Lyndiane (6½ miles). Both stations are close to the river, and there is a line directly on to the quays.

[491] *Road.* Intercolonial roads lead northward to Gossas (25 miles), Thiès (82 miles), and Dakar (126 miles), eastward to Kaffrine (37 miles) and Tambacounda (188 miles), and south-south-westward to Messira (49 miles) and the frontier of the Gambia (57 miles). The last-named road crosses the Saloum by a bridge. A colonial road goes north-west to Fatik (28 miles), another south-east to Nioro

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[KAOLACK]

(33 miles) and Medina (50 miles), and a third west to Foundiougne (32 miles). 36 [491]

Air. The airfield is 1 mile north-east of the town. [508]

Wireless. The wireless station is in the centre of the town. [206]

Shipping. Boats of the Messageries du Sénégal line call regularly, and the Compagnie de Navigation Paquet maintains a weekly service with Foundiougne, Bathurst, and Dakar. [505]

ZIGUINCHOR (12° 32′; 16° 21′ W.). Population, 6,070. Mixed Commune. Headquarters of the Casamance Territory and of the Province of Ziguinchor. Custom-house. Magistrate's Court. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital and maternity home. Police headquarters. Meteorological station. Emergency landing-ground. Wireless station. Roman Catholic mission. Garages. Daily market. [131] [162] [743]

The first large piece of firm ground upstream from the mouth of the Casamance is nearly 42 miles from the sea, and it is here, on the left bank, that Ziguinchor stands. The depth of the river is 6 fathoms. Jetties have been built at right angles to the waterfront, partly to counteract silting, and ships drawing 15 feet can go alongside them. The quays have a total length of over 3,000 feet and the warehouses a total capacity of some 25,000 tons. There are no cranes, all goods being manhandled. [504]

There is a considerable variety of exports, including ground-nuts, fruit, rice, palm oil, palm kernels, cotton, tobacco, sisal, and hides, but imports are chiefly manufactured goods and building materials. In value of trade Ziguinchor comes between Foundiougne and Rufisque. [939]

Communications

Road. The river is crossed by a ferry, and a colonial road leads north to Bignona (16 miles) and then east to Sedhiou (74 miles) and Kolda (136 miles). Another one goes along the south bank of the Casamance, also to Kolda (130 miles). Minor roads lead south to the frontier of Portuguese Guinea and south-west to Oussouye and Diembering. [491]

Air. Seaplanes can alight in the river, and there is a weekly Aéromaritime service to Bathurst and Dakar. The landing-ground is 1½ miles south of the town. [509]

Wireless. The two wireless stations are housed in the same building. [206]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal [537]

36 SEDHIOU (12° 42′; 15° 31′ W.). Population, 1,653. Provincial head-
[131] quarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional
[162] School.

Sedhiou is on the right bank of the Casamance, 68 miles above
[487] Ziguinchor and 110 miles from the sea, and it is only usable by vessels
[505] drawing up to 5 feet. Formerly more prosperous than it is to-day,
it has some brick buildings and shops. Many of the traders are
[439] Syrians, and there is a modest export of ground-nuts, hides, rice, and
wax.

[491] By colonial road Sedhiou is 58 miles from Bignona, 74 miles from Ziguinchor, and 62 miles from Kolda.

11. MINERALS

135 THE principal mineral exported from the colony is ilmenite, which
[439] is washed from beach sands between Rufisque and Cape Rouge, between Joal and Diakhanor, and at the mouth of the Casamance. Zircon (Vol. I, pp. 295–6) is obtained from the same sands, the ilmenite:zircon ratio being about 3:1. Other minerals of potential value are phosphates and limestone, both of which occur in Lower Eocene strata. Lenticular beds of phosphate, ranging from 30 to 65 per cent. bone phosphate of lime, are found near Matam and near Thiès. Limestones and marls are more widespread than in any other
[339] colony, and at Rufisque they have been worked experimentally for the commercial production of cement. Bitumen has been encountered at Dakar in borings for water, but investigations have shown that the
[315] geological structure is unsuited to the accumulation of petroleum.

12. AGRICULTURE

241 THE Gambia divides the millet from the manioc zone, but ground-nuts are the chief crop of both. Sisal-growing is an important, though more recent, industry. South of the Gambia the Casamance Territory provides a rich area for fruit and subsistence crops as well as for ground-nuts.

[439] There is far more production for export than in any other colony.

Food Crops

243 *Millets.* Millets form the staple diet of the majority of the native
262 population and are grown all over that part of the colony north of the

/99 cont./

S 162 Population. As we have just seen in this brief historical account, the principal native races occupying the region are: the Sérère, the Socé or Mandingue, the Toucouleur, and the Peuhl.

The population is distributed as follows:

Ouoloff	105,000	inhabitants
Sérère	85,000	"
Mandingue or Socé	50,000	"
Peuhl	10,000	"
Foreigners and miscellaneous	15,000	"
Total	280,000	inhabitants

S [161] In 15 years, the population, which in 1913 numbered 180,000 natives, increased by more than a third. This result is due, not only to the birth rate, but also and above all to the immigrants from neighboring countries (Upper Gambia, Sudan, Guinea, Casamance), who are attracted by the economic development of the region.

S 791 Religion. Fetishism is losing ground to the benefit of Islamism. This religion is predominant at present. Only the SR [771] Sérère still preserves his ancestral customs, but he is attracted to the religion of Islam. Three Moslem sects are represented: the Tidjania, the Kadria, and the Murids.

S [795] Muridism, a new religious sect which has as prophet the venerated marabout, the late Serigne Bamba, has its great mosque at N'Diourbel in Baol.

/100/ The Moslem populations are the Ouoloff, the Toucouleur, and a part of the Socé.

SR [771] The fetishism of the Sérère is a naturistic cult.

SR 105 [611] The customs are derived from the matriarchy. It is a regime of castes. Paternal authority is preserved intact in the family, with, however, respect for the mother and certain prerogatives of the maternal line, notably in the matter of succession. The captive, formerly, was treated gently by his

/102 cont./

632 N'Gahaye,
N'Guer,
Pakalla-Mandack
N'Doukoumane (Kaffrine)
Koungheul.

The subdivision of Sine is divided into five cantons:

Diakhao-Maroutte,
Sanghaye-N'Gayokème,
Diohine,
Diouroup,
Dangana.

The subdivision of Bas-Saloum has three cantons:

Djilor,
Sokone,
Niombato.

162 The population is distributed as follows:

Subdivision of Kaolack	141,000	inhabitants
Subdivision of Sine.....	89,000	"
Subdivision of Bas-Saloum...	50,000	"
Total	280,000	

633 Mixed communes. Mixed communes have been created in certain important localities. There are four of them:

Kaolack,
Fatick,
Foundiougne,
Gossas.

633 /103/ The mixed commune of Kaolack has 700 Europeans
162 and assimilated individuals /assimilés/ and 8,000 natives (20 years ago it had 50 Europeans and 600 natives).

That of Fatick has 2,000 natives and 120 Europeans. Those of Foundiougne and Gossas have 50 Europeans and 800 natives each.

633 The importance of Kaolack comes from the fact that it is the principal port of the Saloum, the terminal point of a branch of the major railroad from the Sudan, and the center of a region that is a great producer of groundnuts.

There is a chamber of commerce, a court of the first

/104 cont./

743 Medical aid. Medical aid and the struggle against epidemics are assured by the dispensaries set up at Kaolack and Fatick, each directed by a European doctor.

[759] The latter have under their orders native doctors and midwives residing in the chief town or distributed at the medical posts.

[652] The commune of Kaolack also has a municipal dispensary under the direction of a European doctor who is paid out of the funds of the communal budget.

744 Urban hygienic services likewise exist in the principal agglomerations of the circle, especially at Kaolack, Fatick, Foundiougne, Gossas, and Kaffrine.

Anti-variolic vaccination is practiced in even the smallest villages.

III. Economic Development

162 Labor force. The population of the circle is 28,000 natives and 1,300 Europeans and assimilated individuals.

161 The population density is thus 10.8 inhabitants per square kilometer, a proportion higher than the average for the whole of French West Africa, which does not amount to three inhabitants per square kilometer.

464 An employment office operates in the circle.

This does not prevent /Pl. 1 appears here/ /105/ serious difficulties in the recruitment of the labor force. The latter is unstable and inexperienced. Wages are not high at all,
465 especially in the cities.

At the time of the loading of the ships in the port of Kaolack, the wages of the workers sometimes climb to 15 and 20 francs per day. They are set on the average at 12 francs.

In some European operations, as at Latmingué, the agricultural workers have a daily wage of eight francs and in addition receive a ration of rice.

F 342 [91 cont.]
interior, according to some occupants, from [92] the wind, and, according to others, from prying eyes; the second explanation seems more likely to us, except perhaps in exceptional situations. The Peuhl is very superstitious, and, above all, we have not noted any systematic orientation with respect to such and such a wind. These Peuhl cabins are made of a light framework of branches, on which are put some mats or some grass fastened by bindings of plant material.

III. The Characteristics of the Rural Ouolof Habitat

W 621 S 162 W [127]

Does the Ouolof village represent a concentrated or dispersed form of habitat? The only statistics that we have been able to establish are based on the tax rolls. Although these rolls sometimes separate the places inhabited by the Laobé and the Peuhl from the Ouolof keurs, they make no distinction between the different agglomerations of the same village occupied by one and the same population. These statistics permit one to calculate the average number of inhabitants per administrative village, apart from those who are considered of different race. Subtracting the agglomerations that must be considered urban, Senegal contains 8,266 villages with a total population of 1,297,424 inhabitants; the average is 157.

These same tax rolls permit us to be precise in that they sometimes characterize the villages by the race that inhabits them; we have been able to note there 64 Ouolof villages, with a total of 6,049 inhabitants, an average of 95 inhabitants per village. Some other reliable documents, the village fiches (1),

W [127]

1. We were able to consult them thanks to the kindness of the head of the Service Géographique de l'A. O. F. [French West Africa].

give for 81 villages an average of 111 inhabitants. These

W [92 cont.]
G21 numbers suggest that the Ouolof villages have fewer inhabitants
S than the average in Senegal and, consequently, represent a
162 relatively dispersed element. Granting an average of three or four keurs per village, these agglomerations barely muster a few dozen inhabitants. Thus it can be said that the rural habitat in Ouolof country is characterized by a scattering of little agglomerations united in loose groupings of three or four. In the south of the circle [cercle, an administrative unit] of Sine-Saloum, however, the average number of inhabitants per village reaches 195.

W
361 In fact, the geographical conditions are such that one can distinguish regional varieties in this type of habitat, and it is interesting to compare, for example, Cayor and Saloum.

The rural Ouolof habitat in Cayor. Cayor (and Djoloff) is sandy country, with little water, where millet is the basic
W
[312] foodstuff; nothing opposes the dispersal of the inhabitants except the lack of water, which is scarce. Millet, however, is a food that fills more than it nourishes; it can provide for the consumption of many inhabitants only if it is cultivated over great areas, and the little that we have said about the arrangement and the extent of the fields in relation to the habitations shows that an augmentation of the area cultivated could be made only by a multiplication of the keurs, that is, by an ever greater dispersion of the elementary groupings. When all the bush easily cleared has been put under cultivation, the number of inhabitants cannot
W increase further, except by finding [93] other food resources or
[146] by being undernourished. It is known that the Blacks of Cayor
[164] are undernourished, and one proof of this is the recrudescence
[161] of the plague when the harvests are gathered [la soudure des récoltes]. Thus, with a density of 20 to 40 inhabitants per square
[166] kilometer, three to seven times the average for Senegal, it is
[731] an overpopulated country in relation to its food-producing capacity, and the sole remedy available to the Blacks is migration, that is, an ever greater dispersal. The plague itself is helping to drive them to it; since the Blacks perceived some years ago that the scourge was circumscribed by their moving their compounds away

/385 cont./

369 in small apartments, the caravansaries contained within the
563 European city. This promiscuity was deplorable. Europeans and natives were not in fact subject to the same epidemics;
[164] yellow fever, for example, fatal for the white, is benign to the black. The danger of a mixed population was that the epidemics would spread without being stamped out in time.
[361] Finally, the system lacked style; therefore as early as 1916 the creation of the native village of Médina was decided upon" (23).

23. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar," op. cit., p. 630.

There it was, in a way, the theory of the urbanism of the West African cities ! Nevertheless the problems of land were so complicated at Dakar (24) between the two world wars

[113] 24. See the work by A. Angrand, Les Lébou de la presqu'île du Cap-Vert (Essai sur leur histoire et leurs coutumes) /The Lébou of the peninsula of Cape Verde (essay on their history and their customs)/. "La Maison du Livre," Dakar.

[167] that, with the Lebano-Syrian immigration and the Crédit
[452] Foncier /Mortgage-loan Society/ helping, there was created, in contact with the European city and the Médina, a collection
[361] of quarters more mixed in their contents and in their appearance. Up to the end of the Second World War Dakar preserved this appearance of a threefold city. But after the war a series of new factors caused a rapid and brutal evolution in Dakar. The return to normal economic activities after the slack period following the war, the awakening and amplification of political and syndical life, the creation of the Fonds d'Investissement Economique et Social (F.I.D.E.S.), and, finally, the ever greater influx of rural people into Dakar led the federal authorities to take a series of fortunate initiatives, /386//Fig. 4 appears here/

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Mali MS 35

were dumped there and at places even farther downstream. These had to be transported upstream in barges drawn by men. Diseases, especially yellow fever, caused many deaths, and there were endless difficulties with workmen, both European and native. Furthermore, the country was not fully known and only half pacified. Work began at Medine in the middle of 1881, but the military post at Kita was less than six months old, and that at Bamako was not set up until 1883. By the end of 1881 precisely one kilometre of the line had been completed. In the following year the ships started from St. Louis too late and could not even reach Kayes. There were several epidemics of typhoid and several fires in the store dumps.

By 1884 there were 34 miles of track, but it was so badly constructed as to be incapable of supporting the weight of a locomotive. There was no ballast, poor local wood was used for sleepers, curves were too sharp, and gradients were too severe. In 1888 the work was handed over to the French Marines, who made some improvements in the existing track and extended it to Mahina, a distance of 66 miles. It was still unusable. In the following year a Commission was appointed, and made various recommendations, some of which showed that the original purpose of the line had become obscured. By 1891 there were 79 miles of metre-gauge track from Kayes to Mahina, a ferry across the Bafing, 24 miles of 60 cm.-gauge track from there to Diouléba, and 3 miles of 50 cm.-gauge track beyond that place. In the same year another Commission was appointed, and in the following year a party of engineers was sent out under the command of Major Joffre. Substantial improvements were rapidly effected, and in 1893 the first train ran from Kayes to Mahina. In 1896 the Bafing was bridged. In May 1904 the line, metre-gauge all the way, reached the Niger at Bamako and on 10 December that year it reached Koulikoro. It has since been considerably improved.

In the summer of 1902 the Senegal failed to rise. This prevented any effective provisioning of the posts in French Sudan and also gave a stimulus to railway construction. The original plan for a line from St. Louis to Kayes was dropped, and Thiès was chosen as the junction. The new railway was intended not only to provide a link between existing lines but also to find and attract local traffic. Various routes were discussed, and in 1907 construction began from both ends. The section from Kayes to Ambidedi (26 miles) was opened in December 1908 and that from Thiès to Diourbel (50½ miles) on 16 July 1909. Work on the latter began again in February 1910 and the line reached Guinguiné in the December of that year. By the middle of 1913 it

W
793 [38 cont.]
brother is a source of worry to Amadou Bamba, who nevertheless shows him great partiality and gives him large sums of money, which are soon spent. This Murid of fancy, however, this Sheik Thioro, is still not content. He puts on airs, flirts with the businessmen and traders of Senegal, and offers his services to the administration. All this bustling in a vacuum is quite harmless, for no one takes Sheik Thioro seriously.

W
*795 Provinces of N'guick-Mérina and Gandiolais. As one draws away from the Murid crescent which borders the Ferlo on the west, southwest, and south, [39] Amadou Bamba's influence vanishes. Thus, the provinces of N'guick-Mérina and Gandiolais are almost
W
[793] free of it. There is said to be a total of 80 sérignes and talibés in these two provinces, which represents a maximum of 250 persons under the spiritual authority of Amadou Bamba. No personality merits special mention.

ooo The appendices attached are:

Appendix No. 15. Circle of Louga:
Enumeration by province of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Appendix No. 16. Circle of Louga:
List by province of the principal Murid marabouts, their origin, their residence, their spiritual father, and the number of their talibés.

7. Dakar and Saint-Louis

W
*795 For the sake of completeness, the small number of Murids
369 living in Dakar and Saint-Louis should be pointed out. There
S are about 140 in Dakar and 130 in Saint-Louis.
795
369 These Murids are not even inhabitants of the city, but im-
[62] migrants from Baol, Cayor, and Diambour; Dakar, indeed, is too
[66]

W *795 369 S 795 369 [166] W [463] S W [166] W 793

[39 cont.]

busy a city to lend itself to religious propaganda, and Saint-Louis is too enlightened a Moslem center to accept the doctrinal fancies of the Murids.

They are there as laborers, usually without their families, sent by their sheik to earn money. They work as porters on the quays and especially as makers and sellers of mats for the use of the natives. [40] In Dakar, they also work as water vendors in the Black quarters, and in Saint-Louis as vendors of firewood or of fodder for the many cows fed in the city.

When winter draws near, most of these talibés return to their country of origin to engage in the tasks of preparing the land and of sowing.

In general they are under the spiritual authority of Sheik Ibra Fal. He himself goes to Dakar. He is represented in Saint-Louis by Amadou Guèye.

Sheik Ibra Fal owns several compounds and various buildings in both Dakar and Saint-Louis.

Sheik Anta owns a handsome house in Dakar, in the Rue Raffenel, purchased for 28,000 francs from a native and now rented to a Moroccan trader named Madani El-Qtiri.

Conclusion

In this study of the cadres and the faithful of the Murid order, there ought to be included, aside from Amadou Bamba and the principal lieutenants already mentioned, a large number of local marabouts who have not all been taught by Amadou Bamba, but who, some of them possibly out of personal conviction, others out of self-interest and in order to keep their believers who were drawn to the new movement, have joined the order of the Sérigne and have become his vicars. To these should be added the chiefs of villages or factions, notables in quest of authority or prestige, clever traders who skillfully manage their commercial affairs and their spiritual interests.

/374 cont./

369 [438] became a relatively flourishing commercial center; each year more than 20,000 metric tons of groundnuts were handled by the traders of the place and sent by railroad to the ports of Rufisque or Dakar. As early as 1907 the first work on the Thiès-[496] Kayes railroad was begun. All of this new economic activity [464] required the employment of many laborers, who were in part recruited on the spot, but also in the neighboring villages.

369 During the dry season, work in the fields is reduced. A 166 number of rural people in the vicinity come to offer their serv- [464] ices as workers in the factoreries (2) or in the newly opened

[443] 2. Factorerie: shop where everything is sold.

[461] yards /chantiers, dockyards, woodyards, etc./. Some of these villagers feel that this kind of work is less arduous and more remunerative than that of agriculture. They become definitively attached to urban life and come to swell the population of the native quarters previously established.

[484] Others return every evening to the village. During the [22] rainy season they leave their urban job and devote all their activity to work in the fields.

During this whole period prior to the Great War the suburban village seems to have played the role of intermediary or rather of relay-station between the hamlet in the bush and the city. [464] The call for non-specialized labor had echos not only in the outskirts /375/ of the city itself, but also in the more distant villages. Curiosity about new things, the opportunity to escape familial tutelage, and especially the promise of relatively high earnings stimulated some immigration movement toward the escales.

[574] By means of the great hospitality that he knows will be shown him by relatives or friends who live in Diakhaté or Keur-Issa-Bambara, the rural person settles in these agglomerations.

/375 cont./

369 He works the lougan (1) of his host; after a few months he
166
[574]
425
[622]

1. Lougan; a Wolof term signifying a cultivated field.

obtains a little grant of land from the head of the village; he builds a hut, and often his family joins him and comes to share his life. Diakhaté and Keur-Issa-Bambara grow. The new settler takes advantage of the inactivity that the dry season imposes on him by offering his services temporarily to the urban establishments. Each year he divides his activities, which become half-urban, half-rural. If stable employment is offered to him in the city, he leaves the care of his lougan to his family and devotes himself entirely to his new activity. For a few months he will accept this daily [484] travel, but he has no deep attachment in the village that welcomed him earlier; tired of his long daily journeys, perhaps also pushed by a kind of pride in becoming a city dweller, he will finally, he and his family, leave the rural life and settle in the huts of the native quarters of Thiés.

369 Perhaps he retained a little lougan in the village?
241 His family will come to maintain it each year. Perhaps he exchanged it for a field located in the vicinity of his new establishment? In general, because of a kind of peasant atavism, he always keeps a little bit of ground near his quarter. The harvest will give some protection against possi- [454] ble shortages; the sale of the products of the soil will be a considerable balance when enforced idleness or lack of money occurs.

369 The period of the maximum development of Keur-
621 Issa-Bambara is set by the old people in the decade 1910-1920. This swelling of the population often required splitting the village in two. For reasons of familial misunderstandings or the necessity of being nearer to fields too far away, this disassociation was brought about in several hamlets (at

/383 cont./

369 at Karamoko. This leads to the supposition that there is great
563 instability on the part of the families who, coming from the
162 Sudan, for example, momentarily settle in the village before being integrated into the urban population of Thiès.

An examination of the table below[2] will permit a comparison of the structure of the four non-None villages (the None villages are homogeneous, as we have seen above).

/384/ In the predominately rural villages, the number
369 of individuals born in the village almost balances the number
563 of those born outside: Karamoko, 34 as against 35; Keur-Mamour,
162 28 as against 22. It should be emphasized that at Keur-Mamour
166 most of the men were born in the village itself, 21 as against 3, but by contrast most of the women are of outside origin, 19 as against 7. At Karamoko, on the other hand, an equal number of men and women leave their village of birth to settle elsewhere.

In the predominately urban agglomerations, the individuals who come from the outside are clearly in the majority. At Diakhaté, 31 are natives of the village as against 48 from the outside. At Keur-Issa-Bambara, only 23 are natives of the village as against 51 from the outside. Let us note that the number of men and the number of women born outside of the village are nearly identical: 22 men as against 29 women at Keur-Issa-Bambara, 23 as against 25 at Diakhaté.

These comparative figures emphasize a greater ethnic mixture in the villages whose economy is marked by the presence of the city.

The villages of Sudanese origin in particular require complementary data concerning the place of origin of the emigration.
563 To what extent do these villages maintain relations with their
162 country of origin? Does the emigration movement toward Senegal,
166 primed at the end of the last century, continue with as much strength in our day?

An examination of the place of birth of individuals belonging to the over-40 age group (early emigration) and the individuals not having reached this age (recent emigration) will illuminate

[2] [see cat 116, p 18 - ANALYST]

3: Savonnet--18 E-5 (no date) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30
S W 162 166
/383/

Persons Over 15 Years of Age	Karamoko = 106 persons (Bambara)			K. I. Bambara = 116 persons (Bambara)			K. Mamour = 86 persons (Wolof)			Diakhaté = 121 persons (Wolof)		
	M	W	Total	M	W	Total	M	W	Total	M	W	Total
Born in the village	15	19	34	18	5	23	21	7	28	18	13	31
Born outside of the village	16	19	35	22	29	51	3	19	22	23	25	48

/384 cont./

S 563 162 166 this problem.

At Keur-Issa-Bambara, out of 37 individuals born in the Sudan, 20 are over 40 years of age. At Karamoko, 28 are natives of the Sudan, but 18 have reached 40 years of age. Out of 65 individuals of Sudanese origin, only 27 are young elements. Over half of those classed under the rubric "emigrant" were aged persons, some of whom perhaps assisted in the creation of the village in Senegal.

These few figures are an index of the mediocrity of the present immigration of the Sudanese to the region of Thiès. The unions and the displacements of families or of familial elements seem to occur now between relatively close villages.

S 162 463 369 An examination of the division of activities at Diakhaté and at Keur-Issa-Bambara will permit to some extent "gauging" their index of urbanization.

W [162] [463] [369] At Diakhaté, 20% of the economically active male population work /385/ at Thiès, 60% have remained agriculturalists, and the remainder, 20%, is composed of workers of mixed activities, half-rural, half-urban. Keur-Issa-Bambara shows only a very low percentage of workers in mixed activities: 60% are rural; more than 30% work in the city (one sees that this latter figure is slightly higher than that for the Nóne villages, 27%).

S [498] The workshops of the Dakar-Niger employ a considerable number of permanent or temporary workers from these two villages. These two localities in fact furnish 19 permanent city workers, 15 of whom are employed on the Dakar-Niger; among the four temporary workers from Keur-Issa-Bambara, three have worked in this enterprise. In addition, Diakhaté furnishes temporarily for the city: four tailors, one mason, and one carpenter.

W [463]

S 162 [191] [871] Let us add that a minority of natives, despite the contacts that they can have with Europeans, understand our language, a little less than 5%. The number of children who go to the European school is almost null, scarcely 1%.

S 369 After this quick study of some types of villages in the vicinity

369 /385 cont./
of Thiès. it clearly appears that the characteristics of the suburbs of the African cities noticeably differ from those of the cities of the mother country. Can one use the term suburb /banlieue/ for these types of suburban villages? Sapko, Thiès-none, Tiali, and Keur-Issa-Bambara, on the one hand, can be regarded as suburb villages; in fact they possess the essential characteristics: proximity to the city, relatively high percentage of workers traveling daily to the enterprises of Thiès, a considerable number of mixed workers, sale of truck-gardening products in the city, relatively high percentage of improved dwellings...

Keur-Mamour and Karamoko already appear to be outside of the economy of the city and cannot be regarded as suburb villages. Diakhaté would be a marginal type; despite its proximity to the first urban quarters, its economy seems to be little influenced by that of the city (only a fifth of the economically active population works in the city).

On the mother-country plan, a city such as Thiès would
[498] have an important industrial suburb. Let us not forget that the workshops of the Dakar-Niger engage nearly 2,500 native workers.

369 The agrarian economy plays an essential role in these
241 villages, but it has remained traditional. The introduction of new crops and the extension of the zones of gardening and orchards are very slight. The woman has perhaps extended by a few square meters the /386/ area of her vegetable garden for the cultivation of vegetables intended for sale at the market, but no serious systematic arrangement has been made. Traditional cultivation, with its archaic methods, prevails everywhere. If
369 the need for money stimulates the rural person to offer his services
464 in the city, he seems to choose the place of work nearest to his
166 home. Is it truly out of liking that the Wolof of Diakhaté hire themselves out to the workshops of the Dakar-Niger? Is it out of liking that the None near the mercantile quarters hire themselves out as laborers or boys? The proximity of the place of work seems to enter considerably into the choice of urban occupation.

The suburban village, as we have noted several times, has

/386 cont./

369 two important roles in the economy of the escale: it is a re-
464 serve of workers who can be employed temporarily; it is also
166 the position of withdrawal when enforced idleness and strikes interdict work in the city.

[463] A functional examination of the different human groups has in fact revealed that an important proportion of the male elements has a hybrid occupation: half-agricultural, half-laborer. These workers fluctuating between two activities seem like a shock troop of laborers who are employed on the occasion of great undertakings: embankments for the laying of the road from Dakar to Thiès, putting through and establishing new streets, the installation of the military camps, the extraction of phosphate in the Péchiney quarries... The yard closed, they temporarily return to the land.

These villages are also withdrawal points in case of prolonged work stoppages. If the worker is discharged from his establishment, if he suffers from enforced idleness in his occupation, is he totally deprived of money? He knows that he will [574] be able to wait for better times thanks to the hospitality that he will find in the neighboring agglomeration. Settled near the escale, it will be possible for him to look for work every day.

369 Reserve of manpower, reserve of food products intended principally for the native, these are the two points that justify the term suburb given to these few villages.

Their external appearance and their internal organization as we have described it scarcely correspond to our Western view of the suburban phenomenon. But we should place this problem in its African milieu where the conceptions of the city, animal breeding, agriculture... profoundly differ from ours.

How long will this type of suburb of the African cities preserve this rural appearance? Evolution in the modes /387/ of settlement, in interior comfort, in the extension of new crops..., already primed in some villages, will progressively continue in the neighboring agglomerations.

In spite of appearances, modifications occur rapidly

/388/

369 The city of Thiès, 60 kilometers east of Dakar, contains
433 36,000 inhabitants, according to a recent census. All of its
[162] activity seems to be centered around four principal poles: commercial, industrial, administrative, and military.

Its commercial activity is due to its position at the cross-
[487] roads of important paths of communication: railroad lines from Dakar to Saint-Louis, from Dakar to Bamako, and from Thiès to Kaolack, and roads from Dakar to Saint-Louis and from Dakar to Diourbel, Tambacounda, and the Sudan and Guinea.

It also owes the essential part of its industrial activity to
[498] this implantation at an important rail crossroads; the repair
[464] shops of the Dakar-Niger rail system, where nearly 1,000 workers of all grades are employed, have been set up there.

Apart from the workshops of the Dakar-Niger, it must not
[497] be forgotten that Thiès is also where the management of this
[634] system resides. And it is also the principal administrative point of a circle /cercle, an administrative district/. We will thus find, besides the workers, a rather large proportion of office employees, managers, and executives.

[712] Finally, the military function of Thiès is due to the presence of two important camps: the "DMA" (Détachement Motorisé Autonome), and an air base.

Besides these four centers of activities which give this city a modern character (economically speaking, at least), a fifth
[166] one intervenes in a not inconsiderable proportion. A rather large
[241] population of cultivators, who in winter cultivate groundnuts and millet in nearby fields, has settled on the periphery of Thiès. And the city is the point to which, at the time of the groundnut trade, all of the agricultural activity of the circle comes to assert itself. Its commercial importance is thereby further increased.

162 /389/ Here is some numerical information concerning
463 the occupational distribution of the population of Thiès.

Out of an economically active population of 11,040 inhabitants at the date of the census, there were counted:

/398 cont./

426 near generality. A continual deficit of 20% of the monthly
*511 income soon creates, for an individual or a group of individuals, an enormous liability inconceivable in a society economically organized according to Western standards. To be loaded with debts is a disgrace in Europe. The non-payment of purchases on credit is sanctioned. Most of the heads of families that we investigated did not hide the sums that they owed, whether because of purchases on credit among the merchants or directly as a consequence of borrowing money. To the extent that they remembered them. And, when a debt is paid, it is often because a sum perhaps larger was borrowed a few moments before.

*511 Only the importance of the practice of selling and buying
452 on credit permits the system to endure. About 80% of the Africans of the cities, in Senegal at least, buy what they need on credit. Little more than the daily marketing for the household (vegetables, condiments, fish and meat) is done with cash. Of course, the costs of buying on credit are overly high: 5, 10, 15% depending on the products, up to 50% sometimes (for cloth, for example). And the merchants who consent to
[443] these practices are for the most part resellers at second or third hand; the cash price itself is higher. But they sell sugar by lumps and matches by the unit...

*511 The African salaried worker, when he receives his salary,
426 in practice pays his debts for the month, and begins to go into
452 debt until the end of the following month. In many cases, as is proved by the debts shown, /399/ /Table III appears here/ /400/ the total of this salary is quite inferior to the sums to
[166] be reimbursed. If then a merchant does not consent to any more credit (in general they are patient), it is always possible to go to another one by changing quarter.

*511 The merchant himself does not lose anything; his prices
452 are sufficiently high so that, even though not paid in full, the sums received permit him to make his own purchases. And he always has some customers with higher incomes who pay their

/400 cont./

*511 452 debts in full. The latter pay for the others, and, if they know it, they are not surprised. It is a deep-rooted survival of the traditional, essentially collective funds in a system based on an institution of individualistic character, being salaried. Likewise, [166] [602] [592] the salaried person who is one day obliged to pay back more debts than he can meet will be able to send his family to spend a few months among relatives whom he has kept in the natal village, and they will see nothing abnormal in it. He himself will live as a "parasite" in a more favored unit of consumption, and no one will be surprised by it (1).

[114]

1. The problems of credit, complex and not very well known, the elements of which are often imperceptible, have not been followed systematically in the course of this investigation. We hope to make them the subject of a series of investigations which will be devoted especially to them.

*511 592 Is it a sign of evolution that, out of the five units of consumption that have not admitted into their midst any element foreign to the restricted family, two are among the youngest, thus capable of being more strongly influenced by ideas of [452] emancipation? Among these two, we have likewise found a lower percentage of purchases on credit. A broader investigation would perhaps confirm this tendency.

*511 Let us return to the 43 families to ascertain that the first balanced budget appears with the first income of 15,000 francs. The next three again have a deficit, but a smaller one. Taking account of the possible margin of error, one can infer, not a deficit, but a certain difficulty in "making ends meet."

This experiment, however, is too limited for one to be able to conclude with certainty that 15,000 francs is the indispensable minimum monthly income.

All of the budgets following No. 27 clearly have a surplus. We previously noted that the "hole" of No. 34 is due to the cost

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 369 563 French. The Moors are an obvious exception to this, as P. Dubié has pointed out. Though they work in all the major towns of Senegal they have retained complete identity of tribal customs, even maintaining abroad the traditional hostilities between their own tribal subdivisions. The tribal structure of Dakar, which is the most heavily W [369] industrialised single city in West Africa, gives an idea of the common melting pot that the new cities and towns in S [162] Senegal represent: Wolof constitute 25 per cent; Lebou, the original inhabitants, 15 per cent; mixed Wolof-Lebou, 11 per cent; Serer, 3 per cent; Bambara, 9 per cent; Toucouleur, 10 per cent; Fula, 5 per cent; Moors, 4 per cent; Diola, 5 per cent; Soussou, 2 per cent; Cape Verdians 2 per cent. The result is that the inhabitants S [197] of Dakar are forced to learn some form of *lingua franca*, in this case Wolof or French, if they are to live in the city.

In the modern economy of the city, where one seeks work where work is and where housing is short and expensive, it is difficult for any of these groups to keep up any pretence at tribal solidarity. However, as Schapera has shown, it is possible for the African migrant working in industry 'to maintain two quite distinct spheres of human relations. The African who leaves his tribe to go and work in the town will take part in the social organisations, e.g. trade unions, he finds there, but these will affect him only as a factory worker, and will have no place in the subsistence economy which is governed by traditional tribal and social relationships. The two spheres are distinct spatially as wellas socially, and despite the exchange of ideas between them they remain none the less parallel.'

In Dakar this is particularly true of the immigrant Toucouleur from the Vallée du Fleuve, as A. Diop shows in his excellent study of Toucouleur immigration to Dakar. S [164] But it should be noted here that the Toucouleur are not permanent emigrants from their areas, and have only come to Dakar temporarily to supplement the low incomes of the Vallée du Fleuve. Permanent settlers without the ultimate

369 in some years. Since the beginning of the
633 20th century, however, urban citizens
175 have taken an increasingly lively interest
[666] in political matters.[18]

In this restricted political system the relative importance of the roles played by
563 different ethnic groupings and different
668 cities varied continuously. Ethnic dominance, first held by the old European families, passed gradually to mixed-blood society, which came into being in the 18th century and rapidly acquired wealth, education, and influence. By the mid-19th century mixed-bloods made up the majority of the westernized population. But the entry of the emancipated slaves, the first sizable migration toward the
[166] cities, quickly reduced the mixed-bloods to a minority. In 1900 they numbered
[162] less than 5,000 in the four communes together, though for several decades their economic and political influence remained quite disproportionate to their num-
668 bers. Among the cities, St. Louis was
[369] predominant until WW I. At the beginning of the century it practically controlled the deputation to the French legislature and the Council-general — and hence the economic life of the territory. Then Gorée-Dakar came to the fore;[19] in 1914 a citizen of Gorée, Blaise Diagne, was elected deputy, followed by Galandou Diouf and Lebou. These men were the first elected Senegalese to win
[645] broad support at Paris; Diagne himself was appointed a Secretary of State [a subministerial post, equivalent to a U.S. Under-Secretary]. In Senegal, the au-
[642] thority of elected officials — deputies and Councillors-general — increased, and clashes with the civil administration were frequent.[20]

[P. 8 B]

/668 cont./

162 Table I. Division of the population of the Senegalese Fouta according to ethnic groups.

Ethnic Group	Actual Number	Percentage
Toucouleur	187,000	54.8
Wolof	36,000	10.6
Saracolé	13,000	3.8
Peul	47,000	13.8
Moor	56,000	16.4
Miscellaneous	2,000	0.6
Total	341,000	100.0

587 563 The ethnic groups are relatively endogamous, because marriages between persons of different ethnic groups are very rare, except perhaps, as we have seen, between Toucouleur and Peul (Foulbé walo). The Toucouleur /669/ are the only group entirely 563 within the Fouta, aside from some fractions that emigrated in the [166] course of religious crusades into Macina, Boundou, and elsewhere.

Each of the other ethnic groups is merely an extension into the valley of a group whose bulk occupies the neighboring regions, the Wolof in the northern part of Senegal, the Saracolé in western Sudan, the Peul near the Ferlo and the Assaba. But each of these ethnic groups is itself divided into several populations: the castes.

565 Castes and social conditions. The castes, in reality, present [582] a matrimonial barrier more difficult to overcome than that of ethnic affiliation. The term "caste" is used here in the general sense of social class, exclusive in nature, and not in the sense [564] that is given it in the valley where the term is reserved for artisan castes.

[567] Social conditions first of all distinguish the captives from [422] the free men. The captives are regarded as the personal property

/674 cont./

143 1957 [13]): diocese of Oeiras in the state of Piauí, 9.67 for 1,931 marriages in 1954; diocese of Petrolina in the state of Pernambuco, 8.3 for 3,063 marriages in 1950, etc. These figures are exceptional for this country. Very often the value of the coefficient in each diocese is below 1.

Even the castes of India do not furnish comparable figures: 1.3 among the Desasth Rigvedi Brahmans; 2.8 among the Gaud Saraswat Brahmans; 6.35 among the Marathas. Nor even a closed tribe like the Ramah Navaho of the United States: 6.6. In Japan where a strong endogamy persists, the figures found so far are between 2.8 and 3.6.

In the countries of Europe, since the breakup of the isolates took place, the value of the coefficient is everywhere less than the unit. In the French provinces it varies at the present time between 0.1 and 0.9.

For the African populations the data are still very scarce. As far as we know, only Roberts, 1956 [14], has given figures for three Dinka groups from the valley of the Nile to the Sudan: 1.53, 0.96, 0.49. These figures are very far from those for the valley of the Senegal. Nevertheless, Tanner, 1958 [15], in an Islamic community of Tanganyika, has found a rate of 37.8% for marriages between cousins, which should correspond to a mean coefficient of consanguinity bordering on those reported here.

582 143 Evolution. The inaccuracy of historical knowledge makes it impossible to say whether the endogamic state described has always been so important, but one may assume that the present situation will be modified in the years /675/ to come. Several factors could play a part in an evolution toward exogamy, for example, migrations, the size of families, social barriers.

The role of migration is negligible here, for even though the Wolof and the Saracolé have founded some villages of foreigners [166] within Toucouleur country, the Fouta is now a country of active emigration toward urban centers like Dakar. The average size of families is probably increasing because of the prolongation of [162] the average length of life, which tends to increase the possibilities

/156 cont./

36 leaves the principal streets, the landmarks disappear, /157/ all the parcels resemble one another, crossroads at angles succeed crossroads, wooden structures are lined up one after the other, different and yet similar. The contrast is therefore great between Pikine and the so-called irregular quarters of Dakar, Wakhinane or Baye Gayndé. One is easily lost in both cases; in the second, it is because of the disordered jumble of lanes that wind in every direction, whereas in the first it is because of the geometrical regularity of the streets and the almost perfect alignment of enclosures and walls, which finally eliminate all originality and every distinctive sign. It is impossible, on the other hand, to compare Pikine with the Médina or the new quarters. In the latter, the streets are paved, sometimes lighted, electricity is common in the windows of the houses, and the buildings of durable material far outweigh the wooden huts. In the former, on the contrary, only the broad axes are tarred, while elsewhere sand is king, and although here and there one finds some durable buildings outside the two districts, the great majority of the huts are of wood, sometimes of straw. Village, shantytown, or city? One does not know how to answer this question. Moreover, another contrast, to which reference has already been made, complicates it: the difference which distinguishes the two districts of the ICOTAF and the Pépinière, on the one hand, from the other quarters of Pikine on the other. The former are actually comparable to Ouagouniaye or Bopp, and therefore this duality of habitat, and consequently of living conditions, leads to a modification of the initial question: Is Pikine not made up of a city and a village? Is not the unity of the Pikine agglomeration merely artificial?

175 One is more inclined to believe this if one considers
369 the origin and history of the district. Before 1952 Pikine did
423 not exist, and instead the bush stretched out, with monkeys, jackals, etc. Only this bush belonged to the state, and it
[166] was on these government lands that it was decided to relocate the inhabitants of the irregular quarters who had to be expelled from Dakar, in order to realize the planned works of urbanization.

/159 cont./

125 The questionnaire of the first investigation pertains to
124 indispensable socio-demographic data and to housing conditions; as for the interviews, although permitting a definite framework, they were conducted in a very flexible way to give the interlocutor the maximum liberty of expression and thus to gather information on attitudes and opinions concerning family problems: education, marriage portion, marriage, polygamy, etc.

128 We shall not present here the complete record of this double investigation, but simply a certain number of results which give a somewhat more precise idea of the social reality at Pikine.

I. Demographic Elements

162 The total population of Pikine during the winter of 1960, not counting visitors and transients, comes to 28,780 inhabitants (1). The first stratum numbers 25,660 persons and the

1. A brief calculation of error shows that the population of Pikine has a 95% chance of being made up of between 26,286 and 31,374, the standard deviation being 1,247.

the second 3,120. This figure calls for the following remarks.

167 1) In winter the seasonal migrants who come to work at
166 Dakar during the dry season have set out again for their homes /160/ in order to farm. Thus it is probable that the population of Pikine, like that of Dakar, is larger during the months from December to April (1).

1. It will suffice to refer to the results of the demographic investigation that took place in March 1961 to verify the magnitude of this event.

/160 cont./

162 erroneous estimate of the age /161/ /Table 1 appears here/
882 /162/ of young people, which is of a psycho-sociological order. The adolescents are either very much children, and one then gives them less than 15 years -- or they are already considered adults, thus more than 20 years old. /Diagrams appear here./ Without commenting on this error, let us nevertheless note that this fact is correlative to a global situation in which youth is difficult to recognize as such in the society, and where passage from childhood to adulthood is accomplished without the transition of adolescence.

162 /163/ The other cause is of an objective order: Pikine
[166] is a city composed largely of migrants coming from their villages, as we shall see farther on, and the most favorable age for rural migration is between 20 and 30.

The other phenomenon clearly perceptible on the pyramid is the successive bulge of each of the two sides of the pyramid; in the city the old women are proportionately less numerous than the men of the same age. Despite the possibility of errors of estimation on the part of the persons concerned, the subjective impressions of an investigator confirm this fact: in Pikine one finds fewer old women than old men.

The percentage of persons more than 60 years old is, moreover, low: only 3%. The population as a whole is very young. It is calculated that 53.6% are less than 20 years old, which leaves 43.4% adults.

Another remarkable fact is a slight imbalance of the sex ratio in favor of women; 47.5% men as against 52.3% women. We observe an inverse structure in Dakar; the census of 1955 shows that the percentage of women increases as one goes from the center to the periphery. Ouakam, Yof, Cambérène, Thiaroye, Yembeul, and Mbao, like Pikine, have a female population larger than the male population. Only the first are old villages, and this fact is not surprising. On the contrary, the building of Pikine is of very recent date and it is a matter of a city. Let us note, finally, that in the districts the sex ratio is slightly higher than in the rest of the quarters: 54% women as against 46% men, and then again one finds 52.3% and 47.7%. We shall see later whether

S /163 cont./
162 it is possible to discover a likely explanation for this phenomenon.

S
162 Let us now turn to the data peculiar to each ethnic group.
128 Let us determine first the classification followed and the reasons which have led to its adoption. The Lebou have been grouped with the Wolof because of their small number and also because, in a city recently created, their traditional particularism has not found the means or the occasion to develop as in the old villages of the peninsula. The few Sarakolé investigated have been grouped with the Toucouleur /Tukolor/ insofar as they are natives of the Valley. By Bambara, both the Bambara proper as well as the Khassonké /Kassonke/ are to be understood. Finally, under the category "Others" we have assembled all the other ethnic groups, primarily the Casamançais /people of Casamance/, Manjack and Diola, Guineans, and the natives of the other African states.

/164/

S
W
162

The Wolof

Numbering almost 16,000, they constitute 55.6% of the population. This majority is close to that of Dakar. The sex ratio is 108 women for 100 men. The age pyramid shows the same anomalies as the general pyramid, with the characteristic gap for the period 15-19 years, and the successive bulge on each side. 52.8% of the population is less than 20 years old, which is the general percentage.

S
SR
162
166

The Sérère

Their total number does not exceed 5.6% of that of the total population; 50% are less than 20 years old. The most characteristic trait which is peculiar to the Sérère /Serer/ is the size of the female population -- hence of the female migration: out of three individuals there are two women and one man. In connection with this fact, the indentation from 15-19 years of age is much less pronounced here on the female side than in the other ethnic groups; the young Sérère women and girls soon leave their village for the city.

/164 cont./

000 and girls soon leave their village for the city.

The Toucouleur

162 This is the second ethnic group in order of importance, since they make up 20.22% of the population. The young people less than 20 years old constitute 55.3%, and the sex ratio is 123 women to 100 men, clearly higher than that of the Wolof. But the remarkable phenomenon which appears on the above pyramid and distinguishes it from the Wolof pyramid is that this imbalance is much more pronounced between the ages of five and 20 than at other ages; if the number of boys from 0 to five years old is much larger than that of girls (68 girls for 100 boys), the sex ratio between five and 20 years is 161 girls as against 100 boys, and subsequently drops again to 136 as against 100. The same phenomenon is observable in Dakar according to the census of 1955, and this demographic structure is peculiar to the city, since the census made in the Fouta by the MISOES shows an inverse structure: in the Valley the boys are more numerous than the girls. Why? The answers that were given in the Toucouleur households questioned on the subject oriented the explanation in the following direction: on the one hand, the girls are reared by their mother and remain with her in the city; on the other hand, when his sons have come of age, /165/ the father likes to send them back to the country so that they may attend the Koranic school.

162 For the remainder of the ethnic groups we shall limit ourselves to presenting the same data in the table below, which at the same time sums up the total results. /Table 2 appears here./

This recapitulative table, besides the information already given, shows clearly the difference which distinguishes the first three ethnic groups from the last three, the Peul being at the extremity: among the latter the sex ratio is below 100 and the percentage of adult women clearly drops below 50%, whereas it is the reverse among the others. This is easily explained if one notes that the Moors, the Bambara,

/165 cont./

162 and the Others (some Manjack and Diola are an exception)
166 come from a distance and that it is therefore normal to see the men emigrate to Dakar and the women remain in the country. On the other hand, one can expect the native Wolof or Sérère women to accompany their husbands, fathers, or brothers to join them when they are settled in the city. An anomaly already pointed out exists no less in this case: Pikine appears somewhat if not altogether like a city reservoir of women, at least like a refuge for them.

/166/ II. Place of Origin and Date of Arrival

166 If one considers the history of Pikine, a preliminary question arises which does not bear on the "where-did-you-come-from" or "when-did-you-arrive?" and which is this: "why did you come to Pikine?" Indeed, let us not forget that in the beginning the Pikine population consisted only of the people who were expelled from the irregular quarters of Dakar, to whom a parcel of land was granted in compensation. The problem is to know whether in 1960 the situation had not changed. Here is the average percentage of the heads of families expelled out of the total, and within each ethnic group. /Table 3 appears here./

In the districts one does not count any family head expelled, since, upon their request, they have all been housed by the following results for the other quarters: 45% of the heads of families have been expelled, and 46% have not. This test is important because it proves that in eight years the mode of the peopling of Pikine has radically changed: from being forced to depart, it has today become voluntary. Another fact is significant for this evolution and its meaning: one finds in our sample a score of families, say 8.2%, who came directly from their former residence to Pikine without going by way of Dakar, and all except one arrived in the course of the year preceding the investigation. The village migrants come to Pikine for the same reasons that impel
[369] them to come to Dakar, and the inhabitants of Rufisque or of Thiès do not think of leaving the city to settle in Pikine.

[Text continues on p. 16 -- Analyst]

Table 3

	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Expelled	48	52.9	44.2	30.2	35.7	54.6	31.2	45
Non-expelled	52	47.1	55.8	69.2	64.3	45.4	58.8	55

/166 cont./

166 369 Coming to Pikine means coming to the city, and that is an indication of urban maturity which shows that Pikine is tending toward a relative sociological autonomy with respect to Dakar (1). /167/ /Table 4 appears here./

1. Autonomy does not mean independence, and it is quite certain that Pikine is a result of Dakar and that without Dakar there would be no Pikine. We wish to say simply this: migration to Pikine effectively brings about insertion into an urban environment through its distance from the Dakar agglomeration, and permits a migrant to participate in the economic and social advantages of the city.

166 /168/ As for the high percentages of non-expelled among the Peul, Moors, and the other ethnic groups, it is difficult to give a reason for them. All that one can suggest as far as the Moors are concerned is that they are chiefly [563] merchants and that they establish their shops where the population is to be found. It is therefore normal that their presence in Pikine is the result, not of compulsion born of expulsion, but of choice for commercial motives.

Except for several hundred children less than five years old, no resident was born in Pikine. Two things are interesting to know:

1) Where do they come from, what is the respective proportion of their region of origin?

2) When did they arrive in Dakar?

Here is first, for the male heads of families, a detailed table, in absolute figures, for the places of birth divided according to age classes, and then the table in percentages from the principal regions, regrouped this time into only five categories in order to make the principal tendencies more apparent. /Table 5 appears here./

Table 4. — Place of birth by age class of the family heads (man).

AGE \ REGION	1 Cap Vert	2 Thiès	3 Saint-Louis	4 Diagana	5 Podor	6 Matam	7 Bambey	8 Diourbel	9 Louga	10 Sine-Saloum	11 Tambacounda	12 Casamance	13 Mauritanie	14 Mali	15 Guinée	16 ex-A. O. F.*	17 Elsewhere	TOTAL
20	9	8	0	2	2	3	0	2	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	31
30	13	17	2	0	7	0	1	4	4	6	1	4	8	3	3	0	2	75
35	5	10	5	2	3	4	4	15	9	8	0	2	2	5	2	2	0	78
40	12	10	0	6	6	4	2	6	20	2	0	0	0	5	3	3	0	79
45	6	17	4	2	4	3	6	4	10	3	0	1	6	2	4	0	0	72
50	3	6	0	2	2	0	0	4	10	8	0	6	4	4	0	1	2	52
55	4	4	7	2	4	0	2	2	2	2	0	4		4	0	2	0	39
60 +	2	10	2	2	2	4	0	0	2	4	0	2		4	2	0	2	38
Total	54	82	20	18	30	18	15	37	57	36	1	19	22	27	14	8	6	464

*Formerly French West Africa

Table 5. — Percentage from places of origin in each age class.

Age	Cape Verde	Thiés	Saint-Louis	River	Baol	Sine-Saloum	Casamance	Mauritania	Mali	Elsewhere	Total
20	29	25.8	0	22.6	6.4	9.8		6.4			100
30 to 39	11.7	17.6	4.6	10.5	24.2	9.9	3.9	6.6	5.2	5.8	100
40 to 49	12	17.9	2.6	16.6	31.8	3.2	0.7	4	4.6	6.6	100
50 to 59	7.7	11	7.7	11	22	11	11	4.4	8.8	5.4	100
60 +	5.3	26.3	5.3	21	5.3	10.5	5.3	0	10.5	10.5	100
Total	11.6	17.7	4.3	14.3	23.5	8	4.1	4.7	5.8	3	100

/168 cont./

166 From this, it is shown that:

1) The Senegalese naturally make up the great majority [167] of the population: 86%. The rest is divided between the Mauritanians and the Mali.

/169/ 2) The Cape Verde Peninsula includes only 11.6% of the family heads, which indirectly confirms the fact that more than 90% of them are emigrants. The region which stands at the head is that of Baol, then Thiès and the River.

3) The significant figures which have been underlined make it appear that: the young people from 20 to 30 years old come either from neighboring regions or from the Valley.

-- The adult men from 30 to 50 years old are originally from there.

-- The majority of elderly men are again either from Thiès or the Valley, or from the outside. It is to be noted [167] that the percentage of 10.5 for the Mali or outsiders more than 60 years old, as well as that of 11 for the Casamançais from 50 to 60 years old, is distinctly higher than their average percentage.

One may perhaps answer the second of the above questions in two ways by indicating either the date of their arrival in Dakar or their age at the present time. In the table for the dates of arrival we have grouped together the secondary ethnic groups while separating them from the Moors who are too special a case to be included with the others, and we have divided the time into five-year periods. /Table 6 appears here./

The period during which the arrivals were the most important is the one after the war. It seems that the war may also have somewhat slowed up a movement which was already weakened before 1940 and which continued even after 1950 for the Toucouleur.

Let us now see the average age at which the migrant arrived in Dakar: /170/ /Table 7 appears here./

Table 6

Ethnic Group Date	W	S	T	M	O	Av.
55-60	5.9	12.9	6.6	16.7	3.7	6
50-55	12.3	13.1	19	16.7	13.9	14
45-50	27.2	32	29	0	13.9	25
40-45	16.1	13	10	8.3	16.7	15
35-40	17.2	6.5	14.4	25	17.6	16
30-35	5.2	0	10	8.3	14	8
25-30	7.4	10	4.4	25	16.5	9
20-25	3	0	2.2	0	0	2
Before 20	5.7	12.7	4.4	0	3.7	5
	100	100	100	100	100	100

10: Thoré--21 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS 37

/170 cont./

Table 7

•166

Ethnic Group	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Age	28.1	25	28.9	25.5	28.9	25.6	27.2	27.9

The Sérère leave their homes at a younger age than the others, whereas the Toucouleur and the Moors are the oldest.

If we compare this last result with the tables of the places of origin in each age class, we may reasonably suppose that the first wave of migration toward Dakar set out from Thiès and from the Valley and in a lesser proportion from the outside. A second wave followed it, coming from Baol, and in recent years Thiès and the Valley have again recovered first place. The Diola in Pikine are too few in number to enable one to obtain valid data on the subject of their migrations.

166
369

A final point merits examination: what does their arrival in Pikine mean for the people of Pikine? Or, what experience of the urban environment have they had before this date? For that we have divided the replies into seven categories: those who, before Pikine, lived in only one city, for example, Dakar or Rufisque, and those who have always lived in a city but have known several residences. Then we took as a criterion for the others the age of their arrival in Dakar: before 15 years, between 15 and 30, between 30 and 50, and over 50. A final category is made up of those who come directly from the bush to Pikine. Here (p. 23) are the results in percentages and by ethnic groups:

It is certain that the age at which one arrives in the city has a considerable influence on the facility of adaptation to the urban environment, and that the difference is great between the citizen who has always lived in the city and the peasant who comes there looking for work at the age of 40 or 50. The preceding table therefore permits one to understand from a certain point of view the degree of acculturation to an urban environment of the Pikine population.

/170 cont./

166 369 It will suffice to regroup together the first three categories -- since one can combine with the citizens those who arrived in the city when they were still children -- as well as the last three, and to leave the fourth intact. /171/ /Tables 8 and 9 appear here./

A third of the family heads are therefore original citizens, a little more than a third is made up of people who arrived in the city between the ages of 15 and 30, and a little less than a third arrived after the age of 30.

On the other hand, if one considers the differentiation by ethnic group, one finds that the Sérère come ahead of the [167] Wolof, whereas the Moors rob the Toucouleur of last place.

A comparison of the respective rates of urbanization in the districts and in the quarters is very instructive: /172/ /Table 10 appears here./

The contrast between the two lines is very distinct: the proportion of citizens which is close to 60% in the districts is reduced to one-fourth in the quarters, whereas one sees the opposite phenomenon for the category of the Pikine people who arrived in Dakar after the age of 30. Another indication is worth keeping in mind: the Toucouleur are the only ethnic group among whom this difference disappears almost completely, and among whom the peopling of the districts shows the same structure as that of the quarters.

One may sum up the preceding results in the three following remarks:

1) Two-thirds of the adult population of Pikine are country people, the majority of whom arrived in Dakar at the age of about 30, the most important period of immigration being the one after the war.

2) A clear difference distinguishes the districts from the other quarters: in the former, the mode of peopling is solely voluntary and one counts three citizens out of five family heads; in the quarters close to half of the families were originally forced to leave Dakar where they first sought lodgings, and one finds there only one citizen out of five.

[Text continues on p. 26 --Analyst]

10: Thoré-23 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS 37

/171/

Table 8

Have lived \ Ethnic Group	W	S	T	M	O	Av.
Only one city	6.5	26.3	4.7	7.1	3	6.6
Always in the city but in several places	27.1	10.5	10.5	14.2	25.8	21.9
Arrived in Dakar before the age of 15	2.8	5.3	7	0	4.5	3.8
Arrived in Dakar between 15 and 30	34.4	52.6	40.6	28.5	42,4	38.3
Arrived in Dakar between 30 and 50	17.8	5.3	30.2	43	18.2	20.4
Arrived in Dakar after 50 years of age	5.7	0	2.3	0	0	3.6
Arrived in Pikine directly from the village	5.7	0	4.7	7.2	6.1	5.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

10: Thoré--24 S-5 (1960) 1962 M337 Senegal MS37

/171/

166 369

Table 9. Rate of urbanization

	W	S	T	M	O	Av.
Citizens	36.4	42.1	22.2	21.3	33.3	32.3
Migrants to the city between 15 and 30 years of age	34.4	56.6	40.6	28.5	42.4	38.3
Migrants to the city after 30 years of age	29.2	5.3	37.2	50.2	24.3	29.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

10: Thoré--25 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS 37

/172/

166 369

Table 10

Ethnic Group		W	S	T (1)	O	Av.
Citizens	Q.....	32.2	37.5	21.6	32.1	24.3
	D.....	94	66.7	25	40	59.5
To Dakar between 15 and 30 years of age	Q.....	30.5	62.5	40.5	39.3	39.1
	D.....	6	0	41.7	60	28.6
To Dakar after 30 years of age	Q.....	31.3	0	37.9	28.6	36.6
	D.....	0	33.3	33.3	0	11.9
Total	Q.....	100	100	100	100	100
	D.....	100	100	100	100	100

1. We have not mentioned the Moors since there is no Moorish family head in the districts.

/172 cont./

●166 369 3) The migrations of the Toucouleur and the Moors show, for each of them, their own peculiarities, which give these two ethnic groups of immigrants an unquestionable originality.

/173/

III. Work, Socio-occupational Structure

162 463 128 Three problems are interesting in this section: the socio-occupational distribution properly speaking, unemployment, and the place of work.

The crude results of the distribution of the occupations are too scattered to show the broad outlines of the structure. It has seemed to us preferable to regroup the various professions into six large categories and to present the table of percentages of each within each ethnic group. Let us specify what each category corresponds to: that without any occupation, we have put the marabouts who do not have any activity, whether they practice full time -- which is rare -- part time, or do not have any students at all. /Table 11 appears here./

It is necessary to add the merchants to the artisans. The category "manual workers" is the largest: it includes the /174/ laborers, orderlies, chauffeurs, in short, all those who do not have an occupational qualifications. By staffs one should understand foremen as well as office employees, accountants, or typists, provided they belong to private enterprises. Under the rubric of "officials" are listed all those who are concerned with public functions from the local or general staff: policemen, government officials, or employees of the municipality. For each ethnic group the first line gives the percentages in the quarters and the second the corresponding percentages in the districts. The bottom line shows the total result, and the two preceding ones the results in the quarters and in the districts.

This table deserves a brief explanation:

162 463 [127] 1st. There are only very few cultivators. One would think that the proximity of the Niayes of Cape Verde and the importance of truck-gardening cultivation would favor

[Text continues on P. 28--Analyst]

/13 cont./

this differentiation of functions has only taken shape in the last three decades (op. cit., p. 609)." This differentiation has been greatly accentuated in recent years.

369x [361]

2. The time and variable possibilities that the colonial towns have had to crystalize new social behavior and forms permit one to place them on a scale between two extreme types. There are old towns, this with respect to the measure of time that one must adopt in order to place the colonial towns, the majority of which date from only a few decades ago and very few of which have reached a century of existence; there are absolutely new towns.

a) The old town has already had time to structure itself. The original ethnic differences are being obliterated; one could say that there is being created from multiple contributions a new ethos peculiar to the city.

369x 563

The European and African elements have contacts of variable amplitude and partially mingle in the habitat. Some Europeans found families. A sizable mixed society is formed. A proportion of higher schooling and in certain cases landed wealth have favored the creation of a leading African stratum. Some political traditions have been created there. The African population has become stabilized; the "family home" is in town and no longer in the bush. This extreme case is rare; one finds an example of it in the central part of Saint-Louis of the Senegal, the island. Still a new town, with an unstable population, little urbanized up to now, it is juxtaposed there, and the contribution of new layers of European population has changed certain data of the problem.

b) The recent town on the other hand, has very few stabilized Europeans. The mass of Africans is not

[166]

/13 cont./

stabilized either. Most of them were not born in town. There is no mixed society of any importance. The structures adapted to the new environment in which the rural people, recently settled, or seasonal people, who stream toward the town and salaried work, find themselves placed are hardly delineated yet. A relative "social amorphism" prevails. The European town and the African town, on the other hand are more clearly separated. This is the case, in part, for a town such as Brazzaville (2).

369x
563
[166]

2. Cf. G. Balandier, "Approche sociologique des 'Brazzavilles noires'; Etude préliminaire /Sociological Approach to the 'Black Brazzavilles': Preliminary Study/," Africa, XXII, 1, January 1952, pp. 23-34.

/14/ 3. Among the colonial towns, some have received an African population that is ethnically homogeneous or characterized by a well-marked dominant ethnic group; others have been populated by waves of immigrants of very diverse origin. The role that the traditional structures and values retain is therefore of unequal importance. Thus the clear contrast between the two "Black Brazzavilles" pointed out by G. Balandier (1). Thus the contrast between the two

1. Ibid.

western and eastern annexes of Saint-Louis, Guet-Ndar and Sor, neither of which, however, can be regarded as completely urbanized.

4. The numerical importance of the European population, in absolute value and in relative value, is quite variable. Its growth is accompanied by modifications of structure

/15 cont./

c) It must be noted also that not all of the immigrant population is of rural origin. Many persons questioned by us, especially among the functionaries, were originally from "old towns" /16/ (Saint-Louis, Rufisque, etc.). It is then a matter of elements already strongly urbanized, for which, in any case, the question of uprooting would not pose itself in the same manner as for the rural people. The percentage of persons born in the town thus does not express exactly the degree of urbanization of the population. S 369x [166]

2. Under these conditions, the ethnic heterogeneity of the Dakar agglomeration does not signify, as in other centers presenting the same character, that social "amorphism" prevails (1). S 369x 563

1. Likewise, in a town such as Cotonou, the proximity of the big traditional centers of Dahomey counterbalances in part the facts of dissociation which one would suppose more important in view of the considerable ethnic mixtures that are produced there (cf. J. Lombard, "Cotonou, ville africaine /Cotonou, African town/," Etudes Dahoméennes, X, 1954).

It only reveals itself at certain levels and in certain sectors of the population (seasonal workers, members of ethnic groups represented by a very low number of persons, etc.). The topographic regrouping of people of the same origin however, is far from being systematic, as we shall see in the study of neighborhood groups. At the very most one can mention some dominant ethnic groups in certain quarters (Sarakolé sector of the quarter of Nyaye-Thioker, for example), and the tendency to the least dispersion which characterizes certain groups (Moors, for example). The purely Lebou quarters have ceased W [369] [563]

Dakar
Wolof MS30
Lebu

/16 cont./

to exist by two processes: forced displacement of old quarters at the time of the creation of the Médina, massive settlement of foreign "tenants" in the quarters remaining in place. If the Lebou names of quarters have often been preserved (even after their displacement), if the headships of quarters are still in major part held by Lebou, these soon perhaps will be only historical vestiges. Moreover, the ethnic composition of the quarters and of the "compounds" is constantly being transformed. The numerical importance of the diverse groups cannot be established in any precise fashion because of the lack of detailed censuses. We shall mention as an indication:

S 369x 563 [166] W [369] [563]

S 369x 563 162

a) The official figures, furnished by the way with every reservation, and valid for the whole of the commune of Dakar (the suburban villages included): Lebou, 15%; Wolof, 25%; "Wolof-Lebou," 11%; Sérère, /Serer/, 3%; Bambara, 9%; Toucouleur /Tukolor/, 10%; Peul, 5%; Moors, 4%; Diola, 5%; Soussou /Susu/, 2%; Cape Verdeans (Portugese), 2%; etc. (2).

2. Percentages taken from figures shown in the 1953 report. Not mentioned, by the way, are persons originally from Upper Volta, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey. They do not seem to figure in the total, the headings including only: persons originally from other territories of the A.O.F. /French West Africa/, persons from Cape Verde, persons from Togo, persons from the Cameroun, persons originally from AEF /French Equatorial Africa/ and those from Sierra Leone.

/17/ b) The fragmentary data gathered at the time of the investigation by questionnaires conducted by the Section

S [125]

/17 cont./ 369* 563 162 [125]

de Sociologie in the first half of 1953. The 1,231 persons questioned were divided among 43 different ethnic groups. The groups of small numerical importance, however, were not all represented (1). One found (the few percentages

1. Some others, represented in all Dakar by only a few individuals, were encountered in the course of subsequent investigations.

given are only indicative):

-- persons originally from the Senegal-Sudan zone: [166] [167] besides the Lebou (9%), the Wolof (43%)(2), the Toucouleur

2. Included here is a certain number of persons who were manifestly of Lebou origin and who nevertheless called themselves Wolof, proof of the crisis of the old Lebou particularism.

(11%), the Sérère (5%), the Bambara (6%), the Sarakolé (3%), the Socé, the Mandingue /Mandingo/, the Khassonké /Kassonke/, the Peul, the Diola (3%) (3), the Mandiaque;

3. The figure furnished by official sources undoubtedly is closer to reality; there is, in fact, among the Diola, a majority of workers, permanent or seasonal, and this is the category that proved to be the most difficult to contact. The proportion of workers in the total number of persons who agreed to answer our questionnaire is much smaller than it should be. [125]

17: Mercier--27 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/26 cont./

intermediate character of this category, very mixed concerning the level of studies, way of life, etc., is found again in various domains. 369x 565

C. -- The old familial institutions do not always adapt themselves easily to the environment of the new life into which they are transplanted. They were linked with a collective work organization, all the members of the group being assured of enjoying (under the authority of the family head) the revenue of the latter. The notion of individual work, with individual remuneration, has not been introduced without shock. We shall set aside the categories where the work has remained in the family framework despite the necessary transpositions: farmers and fishermen on the one hand, merchants on the other. In the others, the vigor preserved by the traditional familial institutions is sometimes a curb on the raising of the living standard of urbanized elements. There is the problem, commonly called "familial parasitism," which poses itself in all of the African towns; the obligation to come to the aid of all the members of the kinship group is still strongly felt. We shall not proceed here to a detailed examination of the data gathered on the number of salaried persons, and persons practicing a non-salaried occupation, in relation to the total number of adults in the household. But it is necessary to give a survey of them. 369x 59 [476] [461] [602]

1. When questioned about the reasons for their coming to town, less than 10% of those questioned say that they came to rejoin relatives. But subsequent interviews have permitted it to be confirmed that among those persons who had come, according to their statements, to look for work (58%), there were many who would not have been able to subsist except by joining, upon their arrival, a group of relatives already settled. The process has already been described several times, and we shall not return to it (1). 369x 602 166

1. Cf., for example, G. Balandier, op. cit., one of the latest accounts to date.

/92 cont./

369 All of the new elements that swell the urban quarters
166 are young elements coming from the country; 32% of the
[162] population is made up of young people less than 14 years of age (15) whom the so-called facilities of the city have

15. In France this percentage is 24%, the figure estimated according to the census statistics given in the review Population, Oct.-Dec. 1954, p. 718.

attracted. The countryside is being drained of its energetic elements and the city does not have enough work to give to
[464] those who come to settle there. A class of idlers and para-
[574] sites is forming little by little, living on either the generous African hospitality or by expedients. This aspect of the social problem of the large African cities is one of the more urgent to be solved.

369 The public authorities are disturbed by this enormous
168 swelling of the urban populations, which far exceeds the actual needs. It seems that none of the methods adopted up to now for decreasing them /93/ have given appreciable results. Perhaps the efforts that are now being made to improve the conditions of rural life and promote some modernization of agricultural techniques will allow the economic capacity of the countryside to increase and will curb the rural exodus. Greater stability among the urban population would then permit the establishment of more coherent and better balanced social structures.

Georges Savonnet.

/9 cont./

244 shows no regard for it. Finally, the navétane eats millet
407 and does not produce any, which in certain regions aggravates the problem of the supply. Before 1939, in the period of the full development of groundnut cultivation, there were up to 70,000 navétanes in some years. The system of the authoritative organization of labor during the hostilities could by no means support these effectives; therefore, with the return to freedom in 1946, the number of navétanes had fallen to about 12,000. In order to attract them, they were given free travel going and returning. The suppression of these facilities in 1956 and
[648] the closing of the Guinea frontier at the end /10/of 1958 have
[167] considerably diminished the importance of these temporary migrations, which, in sum, were not very profitable for the
[433] economy of Senegal.

Other seasonal movements of labor take place in the
244 framework of groundnut cultivation. The sourga come from
•166 the city and take their place among their relatives under the
464 same conditions as the navétanes. The baraguini are laborers
[427] who, in the regions of Tambacounda and Kédougou, offer their assistance to the cultivators during the harvest. They dig up the groundnut stalks, dry them, and detach and clean the seeds.

244 All of these types[1] of groundnut cultivation are charac-
433 terized by small yields: 830 kilograms per hectare on the average in Senegal. These yields, a consequence of the poorness of the traditional technical contrivances, can hardly be improved. In recent decades the increase in volume of the harvest has been linked with that of the area cultivated, which is not without grave dangers: abuses of cultivation on soils that are unstable, and a falling off of food production. After some attempts without results in the years 1920-1930, it is mechanized cultivation which, at the end of the Second World War, seems most capable of increasing production for the benefit of the mother country, which suffered from a grave shortage of fatty substances.

[1] [See Category 116, pp. 3-8 for types of autochthonous cultivation--Analyst]

/381 cont./

369 larger than that of Paris. In Dakar, this function as a metrop-
648 olis, which has been confirmed since the construction of the
633 commercial port, preceded and conditioned the development of the city.

369 3. The city. The commercial affairs which thus make
●166 African products and products from the outside converge toward
167 the Dakar crossroads could not fail to bring with them a great
[487] number of people. First, there are the Goréans, finally resigned to their fate, who accompany or follow the commercial or administrative establishments being transferred to Dakar; then, non-Africans, administrators, technicians, merchants, etc., usually arriving from Europe by the same route as that of the imported manufactured products. But above all there are the masses who arrive by road and by rail, by these paths of a money economy which have greatly disturbed the villagers' traditional institutions and thus communicated to the people a mobility formerly unknown in the rural world. Willingly or unwillingly, the rural people of Senegal, of the Sudan, of Upper Guinea, and of the Upper Volta take to the road and rails to cast themselves into an /382/ /Fig. 3 appears here/ /383/ adventurous existence which will lead many of them to Dakar and to settle there. Finally, Africans from Guinea, the Ivory Coast, and Dahomey, students at the large educational institutions and officials who come in connection with the functions of the federal capital, also arrive by sea.

369 This human convergence, which since the last decade of
162 the century has continued to grow, has caused a vertiginous increase in the population. To be sure, for the period before 1955
[633] there were only estimations, all the less certain because the boundaries of the commune have often changed, but the official figures (18), even though they should be corrected here or

[113] 18. Synthèse de la situation économique de l'ex-A.O.F. durant la période 1948 à

/Fig. 3 Caption cont./

36
102
491
496
504
712
743

a-g. The piers. -- I. Town Hall. -- II. Chambre de Commerce. -- III. Sandaga Market (Ponty-Clemenceau crossroads). -- IV. Former Palace of Justice. -- V. General Postoffice. -- VI. Treasury. -- VII. Kermel Market. -- VIII. Military Circle. -- IX. Residence of the President of the Republic. -- X. Military Hospital. -- XI. African Hospital. -- XII. Palace of Justice. -- XIII. Camp Bornis. -- XIV. Camp Galliéni.. -- XV. Station.

369
563
162

/383 cont./ one another in Dakar are Lébou, Ouolof /Wolof/, Toucouleur /Tukolor/, Sérère /Serer/, Sarakolé, Diola, Socé, etc., who are Senegalese, but there are also Mauritanians, Sudanese, Voltaics, Guineans, Ivorians /persons from the Ivory Coast/, Dahomeans; Cape Verdeans, Lebano-Syrians, French, etc. The Lébou, who are the original population of Dakar, today represent scarcely one-tenth of the population, exceeded in number by the Oulof, the Toucouleur (20), and even by the 30,000 non-Africans,

[113]

20. A. Diop, "L'immigration toucouleur à Dakar (enquête /investigation/ 1958-1959)," I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 1. The author, citing an investigation by the M.I.S.O.E.S., gives the figure of 31,000 Toucouleur in 1959.

among whom the French constitute a great majority of close to 23,000 persons in residence. This character of Dakar as a region of call is illustrated first by the fact that only a little more than one-third of the population was born there, /384/ and then by the quite obvious inequality between the number of men and that of women. Before the war, among the Europeans, there were 65% men as against 25% women and 10% children (21). Today the systematic destruction of the

[166]

[744]

21. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar," op. cit., p. 630.

162 /384 cont./
369 breeding-places of mosquitoes in the numerous swamps of the
563 peninsula having been successfully undertaken by the federal
[744] authorities, one can better appreciate the exceptionally pleas-
[192] ant climate of Dakar, subject eight months of the year to the "influences of the Canaries" (cool and brisk current, marine trade-wind from the northeast), and an equilibrium tends to be established between men, women, and children, the first nevertheless still remaining the most numerous; in 1955, 39% men against 31% women and 30% children for the total non-African population; and 35% men, 30% women, and 35% children for the non-African population in residence. Among the Africans, one can verify the same phenomenon: 36% men, 31% women, and 35% children less than 14 years of age for the total population; 34% men, 31% women, and 35% children for the population in residence. Despite this tendency toward equilibrium, the fact remains that for the whole population of Dakar, men over 14 years of age are definitely more numerous than women over 14 years of age and than children; the balance sheet gives 37% for the men as against 30% for the women and 35% for the children.

369 This situation is explained by the fact that immigration
563 to Dakar is first of all of interest to the men, for whom it carries
•166 the hope of a better position, but it also represents a daring
162 enterprise on which one does not take women and children until definite opportunities for settling down present themselves. This fact is particularly clear for the non-resident population, among whom the proportion of men is very high. Thus, among the non-resident Africans, there are 57% men as against 27% women and 16% children. The proportion is even higher among non-resident foreigners: 77% men as against 12% women and 11 % children.

[464] But though settling in Dakar is almost always linked to employment for the non-African population, it is not the same for Africans. The destruction of the villagers' traditional institutions, modern transportation, the facilities for hospitality

/384 cont./

369 in the city at the home of a relative, at the home of a friend
563 or the friend or relative of a friend, or at the home of a resi-
166 dent originally from the same village or merely from the same
162 region -- all of this ultimately makes up the factors that are
464 more decisive than the salary. Because of this, while among the resident non-Africans the number of persons employed amounts to 43 % of the total and 64% of the economically active, among the resident Africans, the proportion of workers is no more than 27% of the total and 42% /385/ of the economically active. If one adds to that the salaries, on the average
369 much higher among the first than among the second, one finds
511 in Dakar some of the contrasts characteristic of West African
563 cities: on the one hand, among the non-Africans, a high standard of living which is often shown in the appearance of their quarters, and, on the other hand, the mass of the African population whose settling in the city is tied neither to a correlative augmentation of the normal opportunities for lodgings nor to a higher living standard in relation to the bush, which gives to the African city, or at least to some of its quarters, an appearance more wretched than that of the villages of the interior.

369 This situation, formerly very clear, put Dakar in the
563 normal category of West African cities, where a white city and
[361] a black city stand in contrast (22), a contrast that was the result

[113] 22. Dresh, J., "Villes d'Afrique occidentale /Cities of West Africa/," Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 1950.

of a de facto segregation imposed, not by law, but by the norms of urbanism and of hygiene, to which it was impossible for the bulk of the natives to subject themselves, and also by the high
[465] price of rent -- the non-Africans being nearly always lodged by their employers. In 1936 Charles Morazé wrote: "Formerly Europeans and natives lived mixed. Innumerable families lived

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M837 Senegal MS 37

36 [131] [162] KAOLACK (14° 07′; 16° 07′ W.). Population, 21,973. Mixed Commune. Headquarters of the province of Sine-Saloum. Custom-house. Chamber of Commerce. Medical post. Police headquarters. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Regional School. Roman Catholic mission. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Hotels. Garages. Race-course.

[439] Kaolack exports more ground-nuts than any other port in the Federation. It is a well-planned town with squares and trees, and it is on the right bank of the Saloum, 71 miles above its mouth, where [487] [505] the river is 100 yards wide. It is the limit of navigation for sea-going ships.

[162] In 1904 Kaolack had only 300 inhabitants, but the development of communications in the neighbourhood has caused it to grow to its present size. The figure given above is for the permanent population only. [166] At the height of the ground-nut season there are an additional 20,000 temporary inhabitants.

Trade

[439] During the first quarter of 1939 Kaolack exported 32,259 tons of ground-nuts (Plate 122), as against 26,832 tons from Dakar. Owing to the bar across the Saloum, however, many ships do not load to their maximum capacity but go on to Dakar to complete their lading. [258] Across the river from the town is a large salt-works.

The Port

[504] On the north bank there are concrete quays with a total length of over 2,000 feet and on the south bank there is a small wharf. At Lyndiane, 9 miles downstream, is a wharf belonging to the firm of Peyrissac et Cie.

Communications

[498] *Rail.* Kaolack is the terminus of Route 5 to Guinguiné (14 miles), and is therefore 142 miles from Dakar. It is also the terminus of Route 6 to Lyndiane (6½ miles). Both stations are close to the river, and there is a line directly on to the quays.

[491] *Road.* Intercolonial roads lead northward to Gossas (25 miles), Thiès (82 miles), and Dakar (126 miles), eastward to Kaffrine (37 miles) and Tambacounda (188 miles), and south-south-westward to Messira (49 miles) and the frontier of the Gambia (57 miles). The last-named road crosses the Saloum by a bridge. A colonial road goes north-west to Fatik (28 miles), another south-east to Nioro

/105 cont./

465 Domestic work is rare and costly. A cook is paid be-
957 tween 200 and 500 francs a month, a houseboy from 100 to 200 francs. These rates are similar to the ones prevailing in Dakar.

463 The native, moreover, is attracted to the cities only
465 by the high wages. Competition does not come into play, as in Europe. There are only rare specialists or artisans. As
[241] for the laborer, most often he prefers to work his field in the countryside or to hire himself out as an agricultural worker for a native employer who will feed him and leave to him a part of the harvest.

In an agricultural region such as Sine-Saloum, the native is primarily a cultivator.

244 Navétanes. Each year at the time of groundnut culti-
166 vation, Sine-Saloum gets many native cultivators coming
167 from the east and south (Sudan, Portuguese Guinea, Casamance, Upper Gambia, and even Guineans from Fouta-Djallon).

These immigrants are called "navétanes," from the word "navet," which means "rainy season," because these foreigners arrive shortly before the first storms and leave as soon as they have sold their harvest.

About 10,000 to 15,000 of them come each year. A
244 local custom called "Lâdyino" governs the relations between the
466 foreigner and his employer.

[465] This is a verbal agreement according to which the employer assures his co-covenanter food and lodgings for the period of the work and in addition loans him a particular field.

/106/ The navétane works for his employer every morning, except Monday and Thursday. The rest of the time is left to him for his personal crops. The navétane gets seeds from his landlord.

His work consists of the preparation of the field (lougan), sowing, and weeding.

After the harvest has been gathered, the landlord stops feeding him.

At the time of his departure, the navétane must reim-
[465] burse his employer for the cost of his food, which is fixed by

/402 cont./

*262 Table IV,[1] shows, in percentages in proportion to the total
*511 income, the portion for rice and that for millet. We have shown in the last column the proportion, always in relation to 100, of the quantity of millet to the quantity of rice consumed, in order to eliminate the price differences and to make certain facts more obvious.

Let us state first that all of the families without exception consume rice, although four of them never have millet; these are Nos. 18, 26, 36, and, finally, No. 43. For this last one, we have explained the reason for this. Among the other three, one is a Peul family originally from central Guinea, rice country
• [167] par excellence, which has simply retained its habits even though its settling in Thiès goes back to the previous generation. The other is a family reduced to three persons who can simply permit themselves such a luxury. The only one that makes itself stand out is thus No. 36, for which one can give no other reason than a concern about originality, which is also manifested, as we shall see below, by the fact that the rice eaten exclusively is never accompanied by meat, but always by fish.

Only 15 families consume a larger quantity of millet than of rice. In order to discover the reasons, let us compare Table IV with Table V.[2] The latter gives us, for rice and millet, the total quantities consumed and the consumption of one of our "theoretical men" for each unit of consumption. It also gives the number of persons which this unit of consumption contains and its theoretical composition in men.

In the case of No. 1, there is an excess of 39.5% in weight of millet over the weight of rice, the purchase of these two commodities utilizing 42.9% of the income. If all of the millet were replaced by rice, on the basis of 32 francs per kilogram, we would reach 57.6%. But the unit of consumption is 13 persons (equivalent to 10 men). Group No. 2 consumes the same quantity of rice, for 10 persons equivalent to 5.5 men; it may be satisfied with 30 kilograms of millet instead of 60, entirely by putting itself on a higher food standard: in one case 4.3 kilograms of rice and 6 kilograms of millet per man per month; in the other 7.9 and 5.4

1 [see cat 116, pp 22-24 - ANALYST]
2 [see cat 116, pp 25-27 - ANALYST]

54 Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 colonies other than Martinique, Guadeloupe and Réunion and at the same time they were subjected to rule by direct decree of the Emperor.

[167] It was under the Second Empire that the first great period of French colonial expansion in black Africa took place. It was during that regime that Faidherbe, who was to Senegal what Lugard was to Nigeria, first embarked on his African conquests. Faidherbe himself embodied this dichotomy in French colonial policy: an authoritarian agent of an authoritarian regime, he was often found introducing reforms and innovations that conformed with the most liberal application of an assimilationist policy.

[643] 369 [162] [563] [872] [797] [361] Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in 1854. At the time St. Louis, according to Abbé Boilaut in his *Esquisses sénégalaises* was a city of 12,336 inhabitants with only 177 Europeans. There were two primary schools run by Catholic missionaries. A full scale administration had succeeded in imposing on a town otherwise consisting mainly of single storey houses, a governor's palace, a 'very elegant Palace of Justice', a large naval hospital, a fine church and an army barracks.

648 643 From his base at St. Louis, Faidherbe, in a series of brilliant campaigns, notably against the powerful emir of Trarza and the Muslim reformist and Toucouleur leader, El Hadj Omar, was to lay the foundations of France's West African empire. To do this he organised the now famous *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, since Europeans did not stand up well to the climate and the prevalent diseases. By conquest or by treaty he brought most of modern Senegal and much of 643 Soudan (Mali) under French rule. He installed an efficient military administration, and even published an official [804] newspaper the *Moniteur du Sénégal*. Altogether Faidherbe was a remarkable man. He was a firm believer in the equality of races, and did much to increase the educational [871] facilities of the colony. He established a school for the sons of chiefs, and lay schools for Muslims, who objected to [797] attending the mission schools. Whilst Faidherbe wanted to

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 that belongs to us, our occupation should be limited to those parts necessary for assuring the suppression of brigandage, the freedom of trade and the tranquillity of an industrious population.

The land cultivated by them will provide produce which will become the object of lucrative trade for the European, the only kind of work he can undertake in this climate.

648 641 [161] [162] [563] By 1865 the colony of Senegal comprised 150,000 inhabitants of whom only some 15,000, living in the original French settlements of St. Louis and Gorée-Dakar, were French citizens. Indeed this number was not to increase noticeably until the end of the century, since the privileges granted to those Africans under French rule in 1848 were never extended to the interior. For whilst Faidherbe pursued a policy of assimilation in the main centres like St. Louis, Gorée and Dakar, he initiated the basis of a system of administration for what was to become the rest of modern Senegal and French black Africa as a whole that was distinctly non-assimilationist. The laws for the *sujets* or those who did not enjoy the rights of French citizens were particularly harsh. [167] They were not allowed to leave the colony, they had no right of meeting or association, and they [466] were subjected to the corvée or forced labour on the maintenance of roads. [653] To obtain this forced labour Faidherbe relied on the chiefs, and indeed one of the main criticisms [631] of him as an exponent of assimilationism is that he leaned so heavily on both the chiefs and Islam. The treaty made by Jauréguiberry (acting-Governor whilst Faidherbe was on leave in 1865) with Abdoul Boubaker of Toro was far removed from the principles of assimilation: 'Art. 2—The Toro will continue to administer itself according to its own laws, traditions and customs.'

The overthrow of the Second Empire and the establishment of the Third Republic in 1870 was to see lukewarm reaffirmation of principles of the revolution and a consequent return to assimilationist principles at least in the [646] political field. In 1871 Senegal regained her deputy. More

/167/

166
167

Table 4. — Place of birth by age class of the family heads (man).

AGE \ REGION	1 Cap Vert	2 Thiès	3 Saint-Louis	4 Dagana	5 Podor	6 Matam	7 Bambey	8 Diourbel	9 Louga	10 Sine-Saloum	11 Tambacounda	12 Casamance	13 Mauritanie	14 Mali	15 Guinée	16 ex-A. O. F.*	17 Elsewhere	TOTAL
20	9	8	0	2	2	3	0	2	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	31
30	13	17	2	0	7	0	1	4	4	6	1	4	8	3	3	0	2	75
35	5	10	5	2	3	4	4	15	9	8	0	2	2	5	2	2	0	78
40	12	10	0	6	6	4	2	6	20	2	0	0	0	5	3	3	0	79
45	6	17	4	2	4	3	6	4	10	3	0	1	6	2	4	0	0	72
50	3	6	0	2	2	0	0	4	10	8	0	6	4	4	0	1	2	52
55	4	4	7	2	4	0	2	2	2	2	0	4		4	0	2	0	39
60 +	2	10	2	2	2	4	0	0	2	4	0	2		4	2	0	2	38
Total	54	82	20	18	30	18	15	37	57	36	1	19	22	27	14	8	6	464

*Formerly French West Africa

/168/

Table 5. — Percentage from places of origin in each age class.

Age	Cape Verde	Thiés	Saint-Louis	River	Baol	Sine-Saloum	Casamance	Mauritania	Mali	Elsewhere	Total
20	29	25.8	0	22.6	6.4	9.8		6.4			100
30 to 39	11.7	17.6	4.6	10.5	24.2	9.9	3.9	6.6	5.2	5.8	100
40 to 49	12	17.9	2.6	16.6	31.8	3.2	0.7	4	4.6	6.6	100
50 to 59	7.7	11	7.7	11	22	11	11	4.4	8.8	5.4	100
60 +	5.3	26.3	5.3	21	5.3	10.5	5.3	0	10.5	10.5	100
Total	11.6	17.7	4.3	14.3	23.5	8	4.1	4.7	5.8	3	100

/168 cont./

166 From this, it is shown that:

1) The Senegalese naturally make up the great majority of the population: 86%. The rest is divided between the Mauritanians and the Mali. [167]

/169/ 2) The Cape Verde Peninsula includes only 11.6% of the family heads, which indirectly confirms the fact that more than 90% of them are emigrants. The region which stands at the head is that of Baol, then Thiès and the River.

3) The significant figures which have been underlined make it appear that: the young people from 20 to 30 years old come either from neighboring regions or from the Valley.

-- The adult men from 30 to 50 years old are originally from there.

-- The majority of elderly men are again either from Thiès or the Valley, or from the outside. It is to be noted that the percentage of 10.5 for the Mali or outsiders more than 60 years old, as well as that of 11 for the Casamançais from 50 to 60 years old, is distinctly higher than their average percentage. [167]

One may perhaps answer the second of the above questions in two ways by indicating either the date of their arrival in Dakar or their age at the present time. In the table for the dates of arrival we have grouped together the secondary ethnic groups while separating them from the Moors who are too special a case to be included with the others, and we have divided the time into five-year periods. /Table 6 appears here./

The period during which the arrivals were the most important is the one after the war. It seems that the war may also have somewhat slowed up a movement which was already weakened before 1940 and which continued even after 1950 for the Toucouleur.

Let us now see the average age at which the migrant arrived in Dakar: /170/ /Table 7 appears here./

/170 cont./

166 369 It will suffice to regroup together the first three categories -- since one can combine with the citizens those who arrived in the city when they were still children -- as well as the last three, and to leave the fourth intact. /171/ /Tables 8 and 9 appear here./

A third of the family heads are therefore original citizens, a little more than a third is made up of people who arrived in the c[illegible] between the ages of 15 and 30, and a little less than a t[illegible] arrived after the age of 30.

On the other hand, if one considers the differentiation by ethnic group, one finds that the Sérère come ahead of the [167] Wolof, whereas the Moors rob the Toucouleur of last place.

A comparison of the respective rates of urbanization in the districts and in the quarters is very instructive: /172/ /Table 10 appears here./

The contrast between the two lines is very distinct: the proportion of citizens which is close to 60% in the districts is reduced to one-fourth in the quarters, whereas one sees the opposite phenomenon for the category of the Pikine people who arrived in Dakar after the age of 30. Another indication is worth keeping in mind: the Toucouleur are the only ethnic group among whom this difference disappears almost completely, and among whom the peopling of the districts shows the same structure as that of the quarters.

One may sum up the preceding results in the three following remarks:

1) Two-thirds of the adult population of Pikine are country people, the majority of whom arrived in Dakar at the age of about 30, the most important period of immigration being the one after the war.

2) A clear difference distinguishes the districts from the other quarters: in the former, the mode of peopling is solely voluntary and one counts three citizens out of five family heads; in the quarters close to half of the families were originally forced to leave Dakar where they first sought lodgings, and one finds there only one citizen out of five.

[Text continues on p. 26 --Analyst]

/17 cont./

de Sociologie in the first half of 1953. The 1,231 persons questioned were divided among 43 different ethnic groups. The groups of small numerical importance, however, were not all represented (1). One found (the few percentages

369*
563
162
[125]

1. Some others, represented in all Dakar by only a few individuals, were encountered in the course of subsequent investigations.

given are only indicative):

-- persons originally from the Senegal-Sudan zone: besides the Lebou (9%), the Wolof (43%)(2), the Toucouleur

[166]
[167]

2. Included here is a certain number of persons who were manifestly of Lebou origin and who nevertheless called themselves Wolof, proof of the crisis of the old Lebou particularism.

(11%), the Sérère (5%), the Bambara (6%), the Sarakolé (3%), the Socé, the Mandingue /Mandingo/, the Khassonké /Kassonke/, the Peul, the Diola (3%) (3), the Mandiaque;

3. The figure furnished by official sources undoubtedly is closer to reality; there is, in fact, among the Diola, a majority of workers, permanent or seasonal, and this is the category that proved to be the most difficult to contact. The proportion of workers in the total number of persons who agreed to answer our questionnaire is much smaller than it should be.

[125]

/17 cont./

-- persons originally from French Guinea: Malinké (3%), Peul, Soussou, Kissi; 369x 563 162

-- persons from the Ivory Coast: Agni, Appollonien, Attié, Baoulé /Baule/, Bété /Betie/, Dida, Krou, Wobé; [167]

-- persons originally from the Togo-Dahomey zone: Aizo, Ewe, Fon, Goun /Gun/, Nago, Popo, Mina;

-- persons originally from the Upper Volta-Niger zone: Mossi, Sonray;

-- miscellaneous: Moors (3%), Cape Verdeans (2%), Yoruba, Boulama, Congolese, etc.

Those for whom we have indicated no percentage are for the most part of little importance numerically in relation to the total population. Their situation, however, is very variable: the consequences of uprooting, the degree of cohesion which preserves small groups very far from their region of origin, the degree of integration in the urban society, vary according to the level at which they are located in the new social stratification which takes shape in the towns.

3. Indeed, another feature of the sociology of colonial towns -- and which is, as we mentioned above, very conspicuous in the "old towns" -- is the progressive differentiation into strata definable by socio-occupational criteria. It assumes, as the investigation on Dakar showed, a /18/ greater and greater importance in the stabilized population; there, the domains where behavior continues to be determined by the ethnic, religious, etc. situation are limited. We posed the problem in this manner in a recent article, to which we allow ourselves to refer (1): "It appears ... that our categories only 369x 565

1. P. Mercier, "Un essai d'enquête par questionnaires dans la ville de Dakar /An attempt at investigation by questionnaires in the town of Dakar/" (Paper given at the conference on the Consequences of Industrialization [113]

/9 cont./

795 have a moral obligation to deliver the products of their labor to the marabouts. With a remarkable ardor for clearing, these 244 Murids have improved new lands and have thus made a "groundnut front" 311 progressing toward the east, especially on both sides 795 of the Dakar-Niger railroad. This cultivation, however, presents grave dangers, because the Murids essentially concern themselves with groundnuts at the expense of millet; they use the cleared lands in the average proportion of 60% of the area for groundnuts and only 40% for millet. Crop rotation and fallowing are all too rarely respected, and the lands put under cultivation are all the more unstable since the groundnut front now abuts on the zone of the lateritic cuirasses of the east, ushering in the Sudan.

244 427 [464] [167] [113] The navétanes (4) are the seasonal workers who come

4. Fouquet, J., La traite des arachides dans le pays de Kaolack et ses conséquences économiques, sociales et juridiques /The trade of groundnuts in the region of Kaolack and its economic, social, and legal consequences/. Law thesis, Montpellier, 1951, 262 pp.

from the Sudan in particular and, up to 1958, from the north of Guinea. They cultivate the groundnut for the benefit of [466] the employer, or diatigui, according to the clauses of a verbal contract. The employer furnishes the cleared ground, the [465] seed, lodgings, and food. The navétane prepares the land, sows, weeds, and gathers the harvest. Actually, he devotes scarcely three to four half-days per week in work for the benefit of the diatigui. He utilizes the rest of his time for clearing and cultivating for himself. This labor is very costly for the employer, who is often obliged to borrow at prohibitive rates in order to feed the navétane. Moreover, this system presents grave dangers, because the temporary immigrant, clearing and cultivating land for which he feels no attachment,

/9 cont./

244 shows no regard for it. Finally, the navétane eats millet
407 and does not produce any, which in certain regions aggravates the problem of the supply. Before 1939, in the period of the full development of groundnut cultivation, there were up to 70,000 navétanes in some years. The system of the authoritative organization of labor during the hostilities could by no means support these effectives; therefore, with the return to freedom in 1946, the number of navétanes had fallen to about 12,000. In order to attract them, they were given free travel going and returning. The suppression of these facilities in 1956 and
[648] the closing of the Guinea frontier at the end /10/of 1958 have
[167] considerably diminished the importance of these temporary
[433] migrations, which, in sum, were not very profitable for the economy of Senegal.

Other seasonal movements of labor take place in the
244 framework of groundnut cultivation. The sourga come from
166 the city and take their place among their relatives under the
464 same conditions as the navétanes. The baraguini are laborers
[427] who, in the regions of Tambacounda and Kédougou, offer their assistance to the cultivators during the harvest. They dig up the groundnut stalks, dry them, and detach and clean the seeds.

244 All of these types[1] of groundnut cultivation are charac-
433 terized by small yields: 830 kilograms per hectare on the average in Senegal. These yields, a consequence of the poorness of the traditional technical contrivances, can hardly be improved. In recent decades the increase in volume of the harvest has been linked with that of the area cultivated, which is not without grave dangers: abuses of cultivation on soils that are unstable, and a falling off of food production. After some attempts without results in the years 1920-1930, it is mechanized cultivation which, at the end of the Second World War, seems most capable of increasing production for the benefit of the mother country, which suffered from a grave shortage of fatty substances.

[1] [See category 116, pp. 3-8 for types of autochthonous cultivation--Analyst]

/381 cont./

369 larger than that of Paris. In Dakar, this function as a metrop-
648 olis, which has been confirmed since the construction of the
633 commercial port, preceded and conditioned the development of the city.

369 3. The city. The commercial affairs which thus make
166 African products and products from the outside converge toward
• 167 the Dakar crossroads could not fail to bring with them a great
[487] number of people. First, there are the Goréans, finally resigned to their fate, who accompany or follow the commercial or administrative establishments being transferred to Dakar; then, non-Africans, administrators, technicians, merchants, etc., usually arriving from Europe by the same route as that of the imported manufactured products. But above all there are the masses who arrive by road and by rail, by these paths of a money economy which have greatly disturbed the villagers' traditional institutions and thus communicated to the people a mobility formerly unknown in the rural world. Willingly or unwillingly, the rural people of Senegal, of the Sudan, of Upper Guinea, and of the Upper Volta take to the road and rails to cast themselves into an /382/ /Fig. 3 appears here/ /383/ adventurous existence which will lead many of them to Dakar and to settle there. Finally, Africans from Guinea, the Ivory Coast, and Dahomey, students at the large educational institutions and officials who come in connection with the functions of the federal capital, also arrive by sea.

369 This human convergence, which since the last decade of
162 the century has continued to grow, has caused a vertiginous increase in the population. To be sure, for the period before 1955
[633] there were only estimations, all the less certain because the boundaries of the commune have often changed, but the official figures (18), even though they should be corrected here or

[113] 18. Synthèse de la situation économique de l'ex-A.O.F. durant la période 1948 à

/385 cont./

369 in small apartments, true caravansaries contained within the
563 European city. This promiscuity was deplorable. Europeans and natives were not in fact subject to the same epidemics;
[164] yellow fever, for example, fatal for the white, is benign to the black. The danger of a mixed population was that the epidemics would spread without being stamped out in time.
[361] Finally, the system lacked style; therefore as early as 1916 the creation of the native village of Médina was decided upon" (23).

23. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar," op. cit., p. 630.

There it was, in a way, the theory of the urbanism of the West African cities ! Nevertheless the problems of land were so complicated at Dakar (24) between the two world wars

[113] 24. See the work by A. Angrand, Les Lébou de la presqu'île du Cap-Vert (Essai sur leur histoire et leurs coutumes) /The Lébou of the peninsula of Cape Verde (essay on their history and their customs)/. "La Maison du Livre," Dakar.

[167] that, with the Lebano-Syrian immigration and the Crédit
[452] Foncier /Mortgage-loan Society/ helping, there was created, in contact with the European city and the Médina, a collection
[361] of quarters more mixed in their contents and in their appearance. Up to the end of the Second World War Dakar preserved this appearance of a threefold city. But after the war a series of new factors caused a rapid and brutal evolution in Dakar. The return to normal economic activities after the slack period following the war, the awakening and amplification of political and syndical life, the creation of the Fonds d'Investissement Economique et Social (F.I.D.E.S.), and, finally, the ever greater influx of rural people into Dakar led the federal authorities to take a series of fortunate initiatives, /386//Fig. 4 appears here/

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 39

7. HISTORY

SENEGAL is the oldest French colony in Africa. From it the Niger basin has been penetrated and the Sudan conquered. On it has been based the modern Federation. For more than two centuries, therefore, its history was that of French West Africa as a whole, and it is not until the close of the Napoleonic era that the domestic history of the colony becomes distinguishable. 175

The Early Nineteenth Century

The Peace of Paris restored the colonial *status quo* of 1 January 1792, but St. Louis was not returned to the French until 1817. The British occupation of Senegal had been purely military, with no attempt to introduce British civil administration. French officials had continued their duties, and, when they had died, had been succeeded by other Frenchmen. The resumption of French rule after the war, therefore, presented no difficulties. The country was fairly well known, and explorers used St. Louis more as a starting-point for distant journeys than to make new discoveries in Senegal itself. The British expedition of 1816 under Peddie and Campbell and the French one of 1818 under Mollien added considerably to European knowledge of Fouta, Ferlo, and Bondou, although their main objects were to penetrate Fouta Jalon. 175 648

Attempts at European Colonization. In 1815 France agreed to the abolition of the slave trade, although the law embodying this decision was not passed for another three years. As the trade had previously been the key to the prosperity of Senegal, a new economy had to be devised. Experiments were consequently made with European settlers, who were to produce cotton and other tropical products. To execute these schemes, Louis XVIII appointed as first post-war Governor Colonel Schmaltz, who had lived for a number of years in the Dutch East Indies. Tragedy attended his voyage out. The ship carrying him, the *Méduse*, was wrecked in Arguin bay on 2 July 1816. The Governor and his wife were saved, but there were many deaths from drowning; and hunger, thirst, and exposure killed many who reached the shore. Out of one party of seventeen only three survived. Another party of 152 persons, including women and children, crowded on to one raft. Many were washed off by waves, many went mad, and many died of thirst. After thirteen days of horror, fifteen survivors were picked up, five of whom died before 175 167 [439] [567]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1844 MS37 Senegal MS31
Wolof MS30
Trarza MS24

S 175 reaching St. Louis. This disaster has been made famous by the
● 167 celebrated painting of Théodore Géricault.

As St. Louis was in British hands until the early months of 1817,
[648] Schmaltz established his capital at Cape Verde.

The first settlers from France were sponsored by the Société Coloniale Philanthropique, and consisted of 175 men, 20 women, and 10 children. Their intention was to settle in the Cape Verde peninsula. This was against the advice of Schmaltz, who thought that part of the country unsuitable. The settlers landed at Goree in April 1817, shortly afterwards crossing to the mainland; but, owing to the attitude of the natives, they were unable to obtain land or labour. At the end of two months there were only six left on the peninsula: the remainder had been repatriated to France or had retired to St. Louis, Goree, or the Gambia. Schmaltz was able to prevent the philanthropic but misguided society from sending eighty more colonists to the same place.

W Attempts to establish European colonists met with more success on
[175] the Senegal. In 1819 Schmaltz had no difficulty in obtaining from the
[648] chiefs of Oualo all the land he wanted on the left bank of the river.
S In return, the chiefs were given annual subsidies (*coutumes*) amount-
[648] ing to some 10,000 francs. This arrangement was to lead to endless
[241] trouble. Cotton, coffee, indigo, and tobacco were to be the principal crops, and colonists were not lacking.

T The natives of Oualo were peaceable, but the Trarza and Brakna
[175] Arabs, who claimed to be suzerains over Oualo, were hostile. At first
[648] they raided the colonists, but later they were defeated by troops from St. Louis in a number of skirmishes. Eventually the French recognized nominal Arab suzerainty, and the colonists were allowed to
S develop their holdings in relative quiet. Nevertheless, the Trarza
[648] Arabs continued to give trouble until 1835, when, after a series of defeats, they entered into a treaty by which they abandoned all
S claims to Oualo. The French armed post of Dagana was built for
[712] the protection of the settlers, and an experimental station was started at Richard Toll for their instruction. The French Government
S supplied seeds and implements and paid a bonus on crops, and
[654] some forty European plantations were established. At first they
[241] seemed to succeed, but the climate, the labour difficulties, and the hostile attitude of the natives combined against them. In 1830 the home government withdrew its subsidy, and the plantations were soon abandoned. Since that date the French, while not discouraging European enterprise, have relied for agricultural development principally on the native farmer.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

redemption money. During 1936 official figures showed 1,000 labourers working under written contracts for private concerns, while 31,800 were working on verbal agreements. For public services there were only 20 working with written contracts and 8,900 without. These figures apply only to regular employment, and they take no account of casual labour of any kind.

The fertile provinces of Baol and Sine-Saloum annually attract thousands of immigrant labourers from French Sudan to grow ground-nuts. It is estimated that, in some years, as many as 60,000 Sudanese labourers (*navétanes*) cross the border, encouraged by cheap fares on the railways and advances of pay from the Chambers of Commerce. In 1932 these advances amounted to 300,000 francs. On their arrival they do not work for daily hire, but each labourer takes up a plot for the season. The landowner provides the seeds, and also board and lodging for the labourer. In return the labourer works on the owner's plot for two, three, or four days a week. At the close of the season the proprietor takes either one-tenth of the crop or double the quantity of seeds that he supplied, leaving the rest of the crop to the labourer. Most labourers return to their homes at the end of the harvest, but occasionally they stay on till they have accumulated the sum they set out to acquire.

Agriculture

The first director of agriculture of Senegal may be said to have been Richard, one of the survivors of the *Méduse*. Under him experimental gardens were founded at Richard Toll about 1820. These are still in existence. The present organization of the Department of Agriculture is laid down by an order of 22 January 1932. Working in close contact with local administrative officers, it manages experimental gardens and farm schools, gives information and instruction to farmers, conducts campaigns against agricultural pests, and organizes agricultural shows. The Department has a laboratory at Hann and an experimental station at Bambey. This was opened in 1924 and is devoted principally to the study and improvement of ground-nuts. Besides these institutions the Department owns various smaller stations for study, experiment, and instruction.

Forestry. The Department of Agriculture had charge of forestry until an order of 10 February 1937 created a separate Forestry Department and divided the colony into four forestry districts (*inspections*), with headquarters at St. Louis, Thiès, Ziguinchor, and Tambacounda respectively.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

244 sixth crop of Africa, and 43 per cent. of the total continental produc-
[233] tion comes from Senegal. The two main groups cultivated are the 'runner' and the 'erect'. The Rufisque and Cayor varieties, both runners, are those grown generally here and also in British West Africa. The method of cultivation is described in Volume I, p. 321. Ground-nuts were originally grown as a staple native crop, but the
[439] industrial demand for vegetable oils, coupled with the development of transport facilities, opened up a world market for them. Extra
[167] labour for the harvest is provided annually by seasonal immigration
[464] from French Sudan, French Guinea, Portuguese Guinea, and the Gambia. In 1938 the number of outside workers was 69,757. Of these, 56,743 went to the Kaolack area, between 1,000 and 3,500 to Sedhiou, Ziguinchor, Kolda, Tambacounda, and Diourbel, and the remainder to Thiès and Linguéré.

[258] There are numerous shelling factories. Early in 1939 new ones were opened at Kaolack, Ziguinchor, and Koungheul.

In 1938 nearly 2,000,000 acres were under cultivation and the
[654] experimental station at Bambey distributed 5,414 tons of selected seed. In 1939 7,382 tons of seed were sent out, with a corresponding increase in acreage.

[648] During the British blockade of French West Africa after the fall of
[388] France in 1940, ground-nuts were converted into fuel oil. If this practice has been proved worth continuing after the war, cultivation may be greatly extended.

248 *Sisal.* Sisal originated in Mexico, being named after the port of Sisal in Yucatan province, and it was introduced into Senegal at the end of the nineteenth century. The species grown are *Agave rigida sisalana*, *A. rigida elongata*, and *A. rigida zapupe*. The rigid leaves containing the fibre are about 4 feet long and are harvested biennially from the fourth to the eighth or tenth year. When a plant has finished producing it shoots up a tall flower stem, with bulbils or buds on the end, and then withers.

283 The preparation of stem and leaf fibres is lengthy. First the fleshy
288 tissue encasing the fibre is scraped away, and then the fibre is washed, hung out to dry, and brushed. It is now ready for grading. Next it is combed into a continuous sliver of untwisted rope. The final process is the drawing and twisting of the sliver to a uniform thinness for spinning into a rope that is particularly resistant to sea-water. The
248 largest plantation is in French Sudan, and stretches for 12 miles along the bank of the Senegal near Kayes. Other smaller ones are in Tambacounda and on the Cape Verde peninsula. There is oppor-

/105 cont./

465 Domestic work is rare and costly. A cook is paid be-
357 tween 200 and 500 francs a month, a houseboy from 100 to 200 francs. These rates are similar to the ones prevailing in Dakar.

463 The native, moreover, is attracted to the cities only
465 by the high wages. Competition does not come into play, as in Europe. There are only rare specialists or artisans. As
[241] for the laborer, most often he prefers to work his field in the countryside or to hire himself out as an agricultural worker for a native employer who will feed him and leave to him a part of the harvest.

In an agricultural region such as Sine-Saloum, the native is primarily a cultivator.

244 Navétanes. Each year at the time of groundnut culti-
166 vation, Sine-Saloum gets many native cultivators coming
167 from the east and south (Sudan, Portuguese Guinea, Casamance, Upper Gambia, and even Guineans from Fouta-Djallon).

These immigrants are called "navétanes," from the word "navet," which means "rainy season," because these foreigners arrive shortly before the first storms and leave as soon as they have sold their harvest.

About 10,000 to 15,000 of them come each year. A
244 local custom called "Lâdyino" governs the relations between the
466 foreigner and his employer.

[465] This is a verbal agreement according to which the employer assures his co-covenanter food and lodgings for the period of the work and in addition loans him a particular field.

/106/ The navétane works for his employer every morning, except Monday and Thursday. The rest of the time is left to him for his personal crops. The navétane gets seeds from his landlord.

His work consists of the preparation of the field (lougan), sowing, and weeding.

After the harvest has been gathered, the landlord stops feeding him.

At the time of his departure, the navétane must reim-
[465] burse his employer for the cost of his food, which is fixed by

/117 cont./

244 493 are much less suitable for this crop because of their composition which gives a certain acidity to the nuts, thus rendering [134 242] them less suitable for industrial use in /118/ the production of fine oils. There have been attempts to correct this defect and to improve the quality of Bas-Saloum by means of seed selection and by the continued addition of seed from Sine; this has not yet been successful.

Fallow lands, however, are not lacking in the other regions of the circle.

There are 230,000 hectares planted in groundnuts. This figure represents 0.85 hectares per inhabitant. This is about 1/11 of the total area of the circle.

In 1914 this crop extended over 70,000 hectares. It has thus tripled.

The production, which was 75,000 tons in 1918, is about 140,000 tons today. It has doubled in 10 years. It amounts to almost a third of the harvest of Senegal.

One can determine the production of groundnuts in the circle since 1921 by the following figures (in tons):

Years	1921	1922	1923	1924
Tons	80,000	90,000	110,000	125,000
Years	1925	1926	1927	
Tons	135,000	145,000	140,000	

[167 242] These results are due in part to the increase in the population by the influx of foreign workers into the circle, who came to settle there or who hire themselves out, and in part to the selection of seeds and their distribution in ever increasing quantities.

[654 441 474] The credit for this work is to be given to the administration, the Société de Prevoyance /Welfare Society/, and the Chambre de Commerce of Kaolack, whose combined efforts have made it possible to achieve such a fine result.

/92 cont./

369 All of the new elements that swell the urban quarters
166 are young elements coming from the country; 32% of the
[162] population is made up of young people less than 14 years of age (15) whom the so-called facilities of the city have

15. In France this percentage is 24%, the figure estimated according to the census statistics given in the review Population, Oct.-Dec. 1954, p. 718.

attracted. The countryside is being drained of its energetic elements and the city does not have enough work to give to
[464] those who come to settle there. A class of idlers and para-
[574] sites is forming little by little, living on either the generous African hospitality or by expedients. This aspect of the social problem of the large African cities is one of the more urgent to be solved.

369 The public authorities are disturbed by this enormous
168 swelling of the urban populations, which far exceeds the actual needs. It seems that none of the methods adopted up to now for decreasing them /93/ have given appreciable results. Perhaps the efforts that are now being made to improve the conditions of rural life and promote some modernization of agricultural techniques will allow the economic capacity of the countryside to increase and will curb the rural exodus. Greater stability among the urban population would then permit the establishment of more coherent and better balanced social structures.

Georges Savonnet.

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[P. 3-A]
[P.2 contains no textual material]

Political Life in the Urban Centers of Senegal: A Study of a Period of Transition

Senegal and Sudan presently comprise the Mali Federation, which is in the process of achieving sovereignty within the French Community. Senegal itself is one of the most urbanized West African regions, and its cities have been characterized by a gradual growth of modern political life. The author presents some major findings on its urban political activity, based on extensive interviews made in the mid-1950's. The oldest urban elite, almost entirely assimilated into the French way of life, has been only partially successful in developing party organizations that satisfy the interests of the newer urban residents. As a consequence, the most active and radical post-war political activity has been centered in "non-political" bodies, notably labor unions. Also, urban political activity has been increasingly challenged by rural political developments, which have drawn their framework from urban politics. African specialists will note that Senegalese political development has much in common with such development elsewhere in Africa; it also has a number of distinctive features.

The article originally appeared in CAHIERS INTERNATIONAL DE SOCIOLOGIE, *XXVII (July-December, 1959), pp. 55-84, under the title,* "La vie politique dans les centres urbains du Sénégal." *It was translated by T. H. Stevenson.*

369
668
[114
665
467
1011]

/72/

On March 15, 1955, the I.F.A.N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noire/ was informed by the administration of the Collège Technique d'Industrie at Fann of the discovery, by students of this establishment, of human skeletons inside a baobab located between this school and the Mandel rest home, at the edge of the Médina of Dakar (1). The next day we went 114 172

1. Discovery announced in the Paris-Dakar of March 22, 1955. February 19 was given erroneously.

to the spot and retumed from there on March 19.

This baobab, called "Bok," rises in the middle of a former garden. It is of fine size: 15 meters high, 18.50 meters in circumference, or nearly six meters in diameter (Fig. 1). The trunk is hollow and forms a nearly circular chamber, 3.50 meters in diameter by six meters high, connected to the outside by three orifices: one on the east at ground level, 60 centimeters high by 45 wide, through which there is access to the interior; a sort of dormer window, 0.35 by 0.25 of a meter, on the north face, /73/ 75 centimeters above the ground; and, in the ceiling of the interior cavity, a slit one meter long by about 0.30 of a meter wide (Fig. 2). 137 172 766

Inside, the ground is composed of brownish earth mixed with sand and many human bones. The upper layer had already been excavated by students desirous of procuring skulls for themselves. The first time, we took away the bones found on the surface, not having the means to make excavations. When we came back two days later with the necessary equipment, we noticed that meanwhile new borings and samplings had been made by the students; thus this time it was wise to remove /Fig. 1 appears here/ all the osteological material possible, without being able to proceed with methodical excavations. 126 172 766

We therefore rescued all that we could; the skeletons were tangled up in the most extraordinary fashion without any attempt at orientation. The bodies had, obviously been thrown down 172 766

/73 cont./

pell-mell. The skulls appeared with the face turned up, down, or to one side. The piling at certain points was hard to believe: in a single space of 80 by 60 centimeters and a depth of 40 centimeters, nearly 20 skulls, without counting other bones, were found! 172 766

No implements accompanied the skeletons, neither iron bracelets, shell necklaces, nor pottery, as in the burials of the

[137]

Fig. 1. The baobab Bok (north side). The persons are standing in front of the entrance hole. In the center, the "dormer window."

beach of Ouakam, for example (2). Only a few basalt pebbles

2. [Monod, Th.] "En attendant l'homme fossile /While awaiting fossil man/." Dakar. Notes Afr., No. 2, April 1939, pp. 8-9; Corbeil, R., Mauny, R., Charbonnier, J., "Préhistoire et Protohistoire de la presqu'île du Cap Vert et de l'extrême

15: Mauny--3 E-5 (1955) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

/73 cont. /

172
766

Ouest sénégalais /Prehistory and Protohistory of the Peninsula of Cape Verde and the Extreme West of Senegal/." Bull. de l'I. F. A. N., /1948/, p. 450.

were mixed with the skeletons, which were found to a depth of 60 centimeters, the soil below, consisting solely of sand, being intact.

In all, about 20 skulls practically in good condition and about ten in bad condition, including one of a child, and hundreds of bones were brought back for study by the Section d'Anthropologie of the I. F. A. N. /Fig. 2 appears here. / [128]

There is no doubt about the meaning of this discovery. We are dealing with a baobab that served as a burial place for griots /musicians, storytellers/ in a recent past (3); the Baobab [565]

3. Probably until the effective Islamization of the peninsula due to the establishment of the theocratic Lébou community about 1795, although isolated cases could have occurred up to a about the founding of Dakar (1857). [175]

of Bok, moreover, is also known in the neighborhood by the name of "goui guevel" (Baobab for Griots).

It is likewise the name of goui guevel (shown, moreover, on the Yof sheet at 1/20,000, 1954) that designates another baobab (24.50 meters in circumference) located west of the village of Ouakam, which I visited April 6, 1955, without being able to get into it, the opening being too small (0.60 x 0.15 of a meter).

A small village bears the same name northeast of Ouayembam (Sangalkam sheet at 1/20,000, 1941). /74/ /Fig. 3 appears here. /

The interment of griots in hollow trees has, moreover, 000

15: Mauny--4 E-5 (1955) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

/73/

172
766

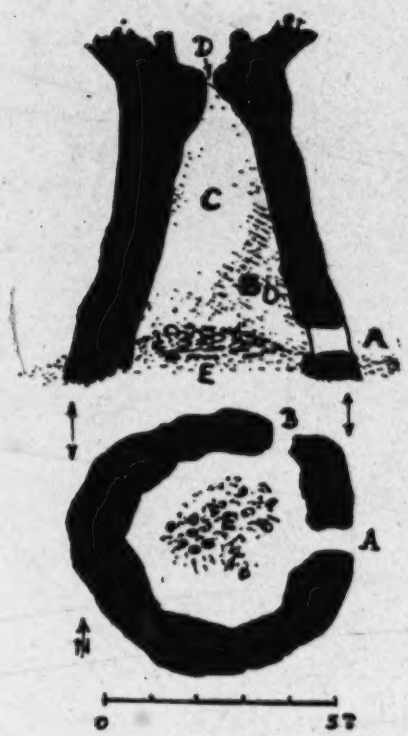


Fig. 2. Cross-section and ground plan of Bok: A. Entrance orifice; B. Window; C. Interior chamber; D. Ceiling orifice; E. Layer of bones.

/75 cont./

SR 766 565

The hollow baobab chosen has an opening obstructed by brambles to keep out hyenas and jackals.

When the procession arrives in front of the baobab, the young men rush and jostle one another to be the first to enter the tree. They are armed and engage in a savage struggle with this aim, spurred on by the cries of the women, who appeal to their bravery and sing their praises.

Finally, one of them succeeds; henceforth he will do his utmost, with the help of his weapons, to prevent the others from entering in their turn. The candidates fight from the outside with the winner on the inside. The combat stops only when a second fighter has conquered the winner; then both bring the corpse into the tree amidst the applause and songs of those present. They lay the dead man on the pile of previous corpses without other ceremony. The two winners are regarded as heroes by the girls, while the other young men beaten in the course of this struggle "have lost their honor and degraded their families," cruel shame in Senegal; they will find it difficult to marry...

This custom from other ages is obviously destined to disappear rapidly in the face of the evolution of customs; the land already lost (Lébou country, part of the Wolof and even Sérère country) allows it to be clearly foreseen, although the interested persons themselves, the Sérère griots, continue to practice it in many places in Sine-Saloum and Baol.

Therefore it was necessary to describe it in a little more detail than the previous authors have done, before it is no more than a memory.

By a fair reversal of things, it is provocative to note concerning the Bok discovery that the skeletons of the most despised caste have been almost perfectly preserved in these very special conditions of inhumation in a baobab, while absolutely nothing of the bones of the great of the country, the guers, remains after perhaps less than a century; the Senegalese sand, moistened by the winter rains, reduces them to impalpable dust or bony splinters which do not withstand being touched (12).

S 172

12. Corbeil, R., Mauny, R., and Charbonnier, J., op. cit., 1948, p. 442.

/95 cont./

134 From the geological viewpoint, the soil of Sine-Saloum is silico-argillaceous, except for the edge of the sea formed by dunes of white sand. Sand predominates in the north. Everywhere else it is mixed with red clay.

135 The subsoil covers ferruginous rock, alluvial laterite, undoubtedly coming from the decomposition of granitic rock; this is the ferruginous fossil layer, following the expression of Henri Hubert, which covers the limestone and marl of the Eocene period.

Numerous outcrops of laterite appear at Kaffrine, Koungheul, in Mandack, and in Rip.

The digging of wells tells us something about the composition of the terrain forming the subsoil in this region. Under a more or less thick layer of sand, one finds laterite, then chalk or soft limestone, and finally hard limestone.

A highly varied and fossilized marine fauna has been discovered in the soft limestone at a depth of about 35, 40, 45 meters.

173 b) Historical survey. The history of the inhabitants consists of more or less confused oral traditions. No account has been handed down in writing. We can therefore only rely on narrations, sometimes contradictory, which the natives hand down orally.

The representatives of the conquering or conquered races have their own versions. It is difficult for the European to tell which part is truth or falsehood. Our penetration into
175 this part of Senegal is /96/ recent. It happened barely 80
438 years ago. At first it was fragmentary; the region was traversed by the merchant or trader at the time of the slave trade; the latter quickly returned to his base from the Petite Côte or from Gorée, the turbulence of the tribes not permitting him to stay in the region or to settle down there. A number of business establishments were founded at the end of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth, but their existence was ephemeral and in any case precarious.
175 The internal struggles between the tribes gave the region little

S /96 cont./
175 security. It took until 1860 to catch sight of a beginning of colonization, an attempt at penetration, supported by arms.

S Two large political groupings and a multitude of petty
SR states, both independent and vassal, divided the region.
175 On the one hand, the kingdom of Sine, peopled by
SR Sérère, was established to the west, on the right bank of the
631 Saloum, from the ocean to a distance of 20 kilometers from Kaolack.

Neighboring the latter, surrounding Kaolack and extending to the east up to Kaffrine, going north to Kael, and planting its roots to the south of the Saloum River as far as Rip, extended the kingdom of Saloum, peopled by Sérère, Toucouleur /Tukolor/, and Ouoloff /Wolof/.

On the right bank one found the vassal state of N'Doukoumane, subject to the king of Saloum, and the semi-independent state of Koungheul; on the left bank, the now independent, now vassal states of Pakalla and Mandack, Rip, Laghem, and Niombato.

SR Sine and Saloum had a very hierarchical political and
[643] administrative organization. The sovereign authority was held by the "Bour" or king. Powerful and respected, this great chief was surrounded by counselors or ministers with whose help he governed, administered justice, levied taxes, and declared war. It was this organization that we found upon our arrival in the region. It is very old, but the exact time at which it was established cannot be stated.

S It seems certain, however, that the country was originally
SR inhabited by the Sérère, who thus were the first inhabitants. A
173 fetishistic people, they are related /97/, according to their
[144] morphological characteristics, to the Lébou of the peninsula of Cape Verde.

At an undetermined time, the Mandingue /Mandingo/, coming from N'Gabou (Portuguese Guinea), crossed the Gambia, occupied Coular, crossed the Saloum, and overran Sine, capturing M'Bissel, the capital of the Sérère.

Conquered, the latter offered their submission. In con-
SR trast to the other races, they stayed on their ancestral land
[563] without emigrating. The Mandingue invasion did not concern

S /97 cont./
SR the Sérère, a peaceful cultivator. The latter submitted to
173 the yoke calmly and to some extent absorbed the conquerors
SR through marriages which multiplied between the victorious
[563] Guelewar chiefs and the women of the country.

The merging of the races was complete. From the union of the conquering Mandingue chief Maïssa Waldione and a Sérère princess, Ouagana was born. This young warrior dethroned the Sérère Bours and moved the capital from M'Bissel to Diakhao. The Guelewars are thus usurpers. The dethroned Bours, who are still called "Bours Ganieck," never tried to regain their royalty.

A short time later a brother of Ouagana, named Bégana, succeeded in seizing authority in Saloum by stripping of his prerogatives the Bour Saloum, Elibane, of Toucouleur origin, who reigned at Kahone.

At that time, Saloum extended south as far as the Gambia.

S The Mandingue invasion, making an oil stain, de-
173 tached one branch, the Socé, who occupied the southern portion, from Messira to Koungheul.

The Socé a short time later were separated into two sections by the conquering Dabali at the head of the Toucouleur from Fouta-Toro. These invaders occupied Rip and remained there, founding a family with the Socé and the Ouoloff. They
S [771] contributed to the Islamization of the first occupants and were strong enough to shake off the yoke of Saloum. The principality of Rip was very powerful on various occasions.

The Ouoloff race, originally from the north, penetrated /98/ everywhere to some extent, into Saloum, into Sine, and as far as into Rip and Niom-Bato.

The Peuhl /Peul/ or Foulbé /Fulbe/ are not very numerous; they peacefully infiltrated among the other races.

SR We have seen above that the Bour in Sine and Saloum
643 was chosen from the noble caste of the Guelewars. This
[565] royalty was not hereditary. The Bour was selected publicly by
[645] a high personage, the Grand Diaraff, a kind of prime minister
000 taken from the free caste of the Diambours. Next to him,

/251 cont./

II. The Population

In the most remote epoch that tradition envisages, the country is said to have been populated by primitive people living in pits, whose principal activities were hunting and fishing. More specifically this small tribe is supposed to have formed a village called Sedor near the site of the present village of Bokkol. Our information about it stops there. S 173

The region was later the scene of immigrations from the north (Gannar). Tradition distinguishes three of these: the first, made up of Sose, Serer, and Peul elements inextricably mixed; the second, made up of Wolof who, leaving the Peul undisturbed, are supposed to have pushed the Serer and Sose to the south without, however, uprooting them from Walo, where the Serer element in particular remained important; the third is that of the Moors, who came to a halt in the valley of the river and forced no one to the south, but all the same played a role in the genesis of present-day Walo. W [173]

The first was the subject of a legend, the humor of which is rather delightful.

After the destruction of the empire of Ghana by the Almoravides, the Serer, the Sose, and the Peul, refusing to let themselves be Islamized, are supposed to have emigrated under the leadership of the Peul and reached the western part of the territory of present-day Mauritania, where they settled near the ocean. One fine day, the Serer and Sose noticed camel tracks in the vicinity of their village and understood from that that the Almoravides were pursuing them and had spotted their location. The fetishes were consulted, and a new migration was decided upon. A bird was captured, /252/ plucked, and attached by a string on its foot to the center tree of the village; on a branch of the same tree was hung a "Kalamba," a small calabash that is used as a unit of measure. The tracks of the camels were covered with calabashes, and the Serer and Sose departed in the night, leaving to the Peul, who were absent at that moment, the trouble of finding out the reason for their departure. The Peul upon their return, after having examined

/252 cont./

the tracks of the camels that had been preserved intact thanks to the calabashes which covered them, understood very well the reason for the exodus; the kalamba and the plucked bird were the symbol of tributes to be paid and the tax of the inhabitants. They followed the Serer and Sose in their exodus toward the south. 173

The Peul, Serer, and Sose remain indissolubly associated in the legends that refer to the sites of ancient villages. This is the case concerning the site of Diallowali, located three kilometers east of Dagana, about which Notes Africaines published an article in the number of January 1945. It is the same for the sites of Gandong near the village of M'Billor, of Khew several kilometers north of Dagana on the right bank of the river, of Tiedde and of N'Dör on the right bank.

Strictly speaking, it is primarily the Peul and Serer elements that seem closely bound, in spite of or by reason of their distinct way of life, the one pastoral and nomadic, the other agricultural and sedentary. Local tradition attributes a Berber origin to the Peul; they are said to be descended from Zenaga Moors, and their ancestor is supposed to have been banished from this tribe for having had a natural child from a misalliance; the word "Fula" would mean "thrown out" in the "tandakha" dialect. Their presence in the country has been continuous since a remote epoch. Some black and sedentary farmers bear Peul names, such as Sey (from the Peul "Sy") or Dial (from the Peul "Diallo"); the princely family of the M'Bodj gets its name from the Peul "Ba" or "Bo." On the other hand, the Peul clan of the Ururbe, whose pasturelands are located west of Lake Dier, claims to be connected through the women to the Serer family of the Bul.

The marigot of Djös and the region surrounding it northeast of Saint-Louis had a Serer name. Most of the clans of the country, moreover, bear Serer names, but particularly those whose home is east of Lake Dier, hence the Diaw (from the Serer "Tiaw"), the Fay, the Gay, the Dius, the Boy, the Sek, the Diey or Gey, the M'Beng, the N'Gom, the N'Diuk. The family of the Sise, on the contrary, is one of the few to bear a name of Sose origin.

33: Robin--6 G-4 (no date) 1946 MS30 Wolof MS30
Senegal MS37

/252 cont./

S 173 W [173]

The Wolof, too, are supposed to have come from the north (Gannar). Relatively few clans -- it is true, they are important -- bear purely Wolof names, and one comes across them especially in the east. These are the Fall (village of Gaya), the Diopa, the N'Diay, the Niâg (Dagana). It is said that they were widespread particularly in Cayor and Djolof, from where some of them have returned to Walo; this is true of the Niâg. How it could have happened that they gave their language to the entire country is not known.

The Wad are the principal clan of Moorish origin; Wad is supposed to come from the Moorish "Wahad" or Awat." The Han are of Touleur /Toucouleur (Tukolor)/ origin. The Diak and the Yag are peculiar to Walo, and one does not know to whom to link them. The Sar are of recent settlement; they are members of a clan of fishermen from Fouta.

May one risk the hypothesis that the physical environment, whose amphibious character makes communication and pursuits by horse or camel difficult, has assured the perpetuity of a Serer population by permitting it to cling better to the land?

III. The Political Organization

The political organization was terribly complicated; one should be prepared for it after having reviewed the data on the environment and population, as we have rapidly done. The unity and the internal equilibrium of Walo could be maintained only by perpetual compromise, for which all the credit goes to the clan of the Diaw.

These Diaw could have been the last vestiges of the Peul dynasty of the Dyago, about whom Gaden writes: "The Dyago are the oldest chiefs about whom any memory has been preserved, both in Fouta /253/ and in Wolof country. They were supposed to have been Peul and white, and the clan that calls itself Dyag (Diak) or Dyao (Diaw) in Senegal, Tyao (Tiaw) among the Sérère, and Dya in Fouta, owes its origin to them. Except for some who have remained nomads, for example, the

/253 cont./

Dyaobé Peul, the families of this clan are sedentary and have blended into the black population... The Dyago chiefs are said to have brought with them the iron industry and the cultivation of great millet." There are Dyaobé Peul who have been settled in Walo for a long time, and this strangely reminds us of the legend of the Serer, Sose, and Peul fleeing together before the Almoravides. Be that as it may, Serer or Peul, tradition distinctly affirms the fact that in the Serer epoch the country was ruled by a "laman," or master of the land, whose "saint" (clan) name was Diaw. S 173

The Seb-ak-Bawar. Throughout the chronicle of Walo we discover the Diaw in connection with a system, under the name of Seb-ak-Bawar, which is said to have been the pivot of the kingdom in the course of centuries. W 646

The word "Bawar" is generally used by the Wolof to designate an association or assembly. Here it means the complete assembly of the three leading noble families of the country. It is the uterine filiation which confers nobility, as among the Serer, the Peul, the Messoufa of Walata observed by Ibn B Battouta, as Gaden notes. The three leading noble families in this case are supposed to go back to a woman named Farmata Diawandu who was the "laman" spouse; they described themselves as the descendants of Yoro Diogomay, of Yasin Paté, and of Bakka Bul, or simply Bul, all three of whom were granddaughters of Farmata Diawandu. W 565 646 [171]

It was from among the Bawar that the Seb were recruited. The latter, apart from the fact that they had to belong to the Bawar and hence by uterine filiation to the "houses" of Yore Diogomay, Yasin Paté, or Bul, furthermore had to belong to the clan of the Diaw through their father. The Seb were three in number: the Diawdin, the Diogomay, and the Malo. These were high dignitaries whose functions were very important and upon whose initiative the Bawar could be convened in order to proceed to the nomination or the deposition of the king or "Brak." W 646 W [643]

Gaden gives an etymological definition of the Seb-ak-Bawar which does not agree with the information that we ourselves have obtained. The word "seb" in Wolof, as far

/371/

121
369

To complement an urban geographical study of Thiès (1),

1. "La ville de Thiès /The City of Thiès/," to appear soon in Études Sénégalaises.

a city located about 60 kilometers as the crow flies from Dakar, we have made an investigation in the villages of its suburbs.

[175 496] The sole object of this investigation was to learn to what extent the presence of a city founded entirely by Europeans as early as 1885 (date of the running of the Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad) may have effects on the neighboring rural groupings.

Consequently, this study will deal only with the relations that may exist between the city and the neighboring villages; agricultural problems will be dealt with only to the extent that they help to clarify certain aspects of the question.

[563] Seven villages were chosen. These agglomerations contain populations that belong to the principal ethnic groups of the region: Sérère-none /Serer/ at Tialj, Thiès-none, and Sapko; Wolof at Diakhaté and Keur-Mamour; Bambara and Wassoulonké at Karamoko and at Keur-Issa-Bambara (see the sketch below). All of these localities are located within a radius of less than ten kilometers around the city.

The presence of a city in a given region may have disturbed rural life in very different ways, depending on the distance from the village to the city and depending on its ethnic composition.

It may have acted on the choice of the site for the village, on its arrangement, on the creation of new rural groupings.

It may have caused modifications in the type of the traditional settlement, in its interior comforts, in its modes and methods of cultivation.

/372/ Finally, and above all, it may have led to more or less profound perturbations in the social and economic organization of the village.

Before developing these three points it seems necessary to

/373 cont./

S Sr W 175 648 Before the arrival of the French garrison in 1865, the Sérère-none ruled supreme over the region. He was established as the traditional enemy of the Wolof, and from time to time he suffered from the incursions of his "tiédos" (2).

W [624] 2. Tiédos: name given to the Wolof war chiefs of Cayor.

After the definitive installation of our troops at Thiès and especially after the running of the Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad in 1885, many Wolof came to settle near our fortified post; at the same time they benefited from our pacificatory presence by being able to create farm villages in the heart of W [464] None country. Diakhaté was established about 1875-1880 (some of its founders worked on the construction of the railroad line in 1884); Keur-Mamour was created at about the same time.

The Bambara villages are more recent: 1890-1895. These were the /374/ terrible years when Samory sacked the southern Sudan and the region of the Wassoulou (east of Beyla in Upper Guinea). Through the authorities, it seems, some of the Bambara and Wassoulonké freed by our troops were sent to Senegal where the policy of groundnut cultivation was in full development. Keur-Issa-Bambara and Karamoko were founded at this time.

S [369] The city of Thiès was not very important at that time; it had hardly more than a thousand inhabitants. Nevertheless, it began to play a primary role; its presence imposed peace in the region formerly so disturbed by the None brigandage or the incursions of Wolof warriors. Its presence facilitated the founding of villages, the number of which would cease to grow in the S 369 [311] [438] subsequent period; all of the land capable of supporting crops was utilized at the beginning of the century.

In the years preceding the Great War, the escale (1)

1. Escale: by extension signifies a stopping place, a commercial agglomeration.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

II. FRENCH ASSIMILATION IN PRACTICE

. . . that France above all should understand this great mission which the Lord has entrusted to her . . . by sending missions composed of men of clear courage and integrity and of superior intelligence . . . to serve as intermediaries and interpreters between these more or less savage people on the one hand and the civilisation and institutions of Europe on the other . . .

HEINRICH BARTH

IN a few short words the great German explorer Heinrich Barth summed up the ideals of French assimilationist policy in Africa. But as we have seen these ideals were to be tempered not only by the realities of colonial administration but also by the failure of the French ever to accept the full implications of an assimilationist policy. Nowhere was this clearer than in Senegal, where France carried out in one part of the country what may be described in terms of nineteenth-century colonial administration as a very advanced policy of assimilation whilst subjecting the rest of the country to an authoritarian rule unknown in British West Africa.

Senegal came into contact with the French in the early seventeenth century when French commercial companies started trading at the mouth of the river Senegal, first entered by Europeans in 1445. In 1659 Caullier founded the town of St. Louis on an island at the mouth of the river. For the rest of the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth century, the fort he built there, around which grew up a prosperous trading town dominated by the great chartered companies, was to be the centre of French commercial activity on the west coast of Africa.

Though the French did explore the Senegal river and even established a fort at Podor in 1745, they had no control of the hinterland; their sphere of influence was strictly limited to the island on which St. Louis was built and to the

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

175 small island of Gorée further down the coast. However this did not mean that the French lacked interest in the interior. From 1749-53 Michel Adanson explored the Senegalese coast and undertook the first really scientific description of West Africa. His writings were largely responsible for the later hope that European colonisation of this part of Africa would be possible. But for the rest of the eighteenth century France's hold on St. Louis was too tenuous for anything of this nature to be undertaken. Indeed during the Seven Years' War the town fell to the British and was only returned in 1779. By the end of the eighteenth century St. Louis with a population of 7,000, had a European colony numbering 600, the largest on the whole of the West Coast. It also had an important assimilated mulatto community, whose descendants are known today as St. Louisiens. Indeed there had been a very high degree of *métissage* by the end of the eighteenth century, since most Frenchmen there took permanent African mistresses known as *signares*, and ensured the education of any children they had by them. Indeed in all but legal status these *signares* were wives and their 'marriages' were celebrated by their families with all the pomp of a normal wedding. However, with the improvement of communications between Senegal and France and the arrival of larger numbers of soldiers in the middle of the nineteenth century, mistresses were much more temporary in nature and the number of Frenchmen prepared to educate resulting offspring was considerably reduced.

175 563 369 [167]

175 567 [439]

In 1789 St. Louis sent its *cahier* of grievances to the States-General on the eve of the French Revolution, demanding the end of the monopoly of the great companies, freedom of trade and the abolition of slavery, which had hitherto formed the main item of export from St. Louis. These grievances were heeded. Slavery was abolished and the companies had their charters withdrawn. But the position of slaves and slave-trading in the colonies was not in fact settled until the end of the wars that followed the French Revolution.

175 648

During these wars St. Louis once again fell to the British

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 648 [175]

and only under the terms of the Treaty of Paris which ended the Napoleonic Wars was it finally returned to the French in 1817. Under King Louis XVIII, France embarked on a policy of European colonisation of Senegal. Colonel Schmaltz negotiated with Moctar Diop, the Lebou chief of the small village of Dakar, for land to settle 200 emigrants to be despatched from France under the auspices of the *Société Coloniale Philanthropique*. But climate and disease soon put an end to this venture. Nevertheless Schmaltz persisted with his schemes in St. Louis so that Senegal could by its products enrich the mother country. He made agreements with local chiefs for the agricultural settlement of part of the Oualo or hinterland of St. Louis and in 1819 a model farm was established to experiment in the growing of cotton, olives, dates, coconuts and coffee. This policy was pursued enthusiastically by his successor, Baron Roger, and a number of experiments, mainly concerned with cotton, were undertaken in the next few years. By 1822 nearly fifty concessions had been granted to the French by local chiefs and for the next five years further experiments were carried out by Monsieur Richard who started a full scale research station at what is now called Richard-Toll or Richard's field. But his efforts were not crowned with success, and later governors influenced by the reaction against colonialism in France lost interest in agricultural settlement. This was perhaps fortunate for modern Senegal, since had these first experiments been fruitful she might have been saddled with a settler problem today.

S W 648

S 648

France was already working towards an assimilationist policy. A governmental despatch to Schmaltz informed him that his political aim should be 'to introduce gradually among the blacks of Senegal a civilisation based on free labour . . . education, and public peace . . .' It continued: 'A mulatto is now mayor of the capital of our possessions, and a black could become so too.' Two years later Baron Roger was informed that since most of the free population of St. Louis was mulatto or African it was 'very important

S [563] [369]

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

571 178 preserve much of their prestige;[1] they are sometimes in diametrical opposition to the modernist elites and sometimes try to come to terms with them; occasionally, as the result of historical conditions, the two elites are closely interlocked.[2]

4. Types and degree of tension between the African modernist elites and the European groups. The latter occupy the position of ruling class in the whole community represented by each territorial unit. The conflict is fundamental, yet a balance, however temporary and precarious, between the two groups may sometimes be discerned, though it varies enormously in degree from one region to another and at different times.[3]

The situation in Senegal, compared with that in other parts of French West Africa, exhibits certain special features. Senegal was the first of these territories to be colonized.[4] At the beginning of the new phase which opened after the war, it had the largest number of educated and partly Westernized persons, and it has for several decades had a political life modelled on the West, though of a summary and limited character.[5] At this level of political life, the course of events during the past 10 years affords us a first glimpse of regional diver-
[668] gencies. It is a significant fact that Senegal was not the first French West African territory in which a movement making political demands of some magnitude arose. The acute crises of the immediate post-war period developed elsewhere—in the Ivory Coast—with the founding and expansion of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain, the first political party in French
[665] Africa (Black) with nationalistic tendencies. The Rassemblement Démocratique Africain never succeeded in establishing itself firmly in Senegal, either before or after its change of policy in the 1950's.[6] There is no space here to describe in detail the historical and social background of such events, though I shall have to refer to it several times later in this paper. Some of the basic traits will suffice for mention: aspects of the traditional structures, of contemporary economic development, of the schools' endeavour to promote assimilation.

[563] The principal racial groups inhabiting Senegal,[7] whatever their cultural differences, and whatever their traditional hostility to one another (which has still by no means completely disappeared) all had the same type of social and political organization. They were strictly graded societies divided into endogamous castes, each with its special economic, political, ritual and other functions. In the present context, inter-caste antagonisms and incompatibilities are as a rule more important than racial antagonisms, since several racial groups may have equivalent social gradings or one may have borrowed and adapted another's gradings. This is a fundamental feature; it indicates the framework within which we can explain the problem of relations between
[554] the traditional and the modernist elites. For instance, prestige due to education may be superimposed on prestige based on tradition, in particular prestige due to caste; or else the two may be completely separate.[8] Even today a high

1. Either officially or more or less 'clandestinely'.
2. E.g. in South Dahomey.
3. In the Ivory Coast, for example, a period of calm and co-operation followed when the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain dropped certain extreme claims.
[175] 4. Trade centers have existed for more than three centuries and the more specifically colonial period began more than a hundred years ago.
5. It had four municipalities with full privileges which sent a deputy to the French Parliament.
6. It broke off its alliance with the French Communist party.
7. The Ouolof, the Toucouleur and the Serer.
[177] 8. The resistance of the traditional ruling strata to foreign influence explains why, in certain cases, the lower castes were the first to go to school.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 little misguided. He handed me a copy of the party manifesto.
648 On the front it read:

> 'At the historic moment of Bandung and of the Colonial and Imperialist system, at the moment when political confusion submerges Black Africa under French domination, our duty as Africans obliges us to bring before the masses of our country the problem of national independence and the transformation of our economy into a socialist economy.'

[204] He also handed me a copy of the party newspaper, *La Lutte*, 'The Battle', which is surprisingly well produced at an intellectual level. It even had an article explaining why Sputnik stayed up. On another page a cartoon demonstrated party feeling towards France: Picture I. Thin, Belsen figure, in casque colonial, sucks from straw the lifeblood of Africa—Picture II. Fatter version of this Frenchman leaves for home, a small Africa behind him.

But the magazine was directed not only against France. Jibes were made at the Minister of the Interior of the Senegal, and at the high wages paid to Ministers. Mahjemout Diop was later arrested on the orders of the Minister of the Interior.

OLD SENEGAL

Dakar—Gorée—St. Louis

369 [491] [361] [175] Our third afternoon in Dakar, Arnold and I took the afternoon ferry to Gorée, a tiny island embraced by the bay of Dakar. This island, which until the turn of the century was better known than Dakar itself, was discovered in 1444 by Dinis Dias, one of the early Portuguese explorers, and commands the entrance to the port of Dakar, so that for long it was prized as the most strategic of islands on the Guinea Coast. Today it is no more than an historical relic, but whether against a clear blue sky or of dark grey rain clouds massing for an assault on the mainland, it serves as a reminded that though in Africa the revolution has taken place largely over the last ten years, its groundwork has been prepared by centuries of contact with Europeans and their way of life.

The small ferry was crammed with trippers, armed with

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Goree

369 'That must be the Batterie Nord.'

[699] As we passed a gang of prisoners shuffled through its main gates outside which lay rusting cannons, their barrels stopped with cement. In the shade of palm trees at the entrance to the fort a guard played draughts with one of the local inhabitants, whilst the wives of the prisoners washed clothes or prepared their evening meal. Only the grim bars set deep into the dark stonework of the fort indicated that it was used as a prison: otherwise the entrance to the fort was more like the gate of a Moslem city, such was the coming and going.

I took some photographs and remembered with amusement an account of a former Earl of Scarborough's visit to Gorée in his diary, *The Cruise of the African Witch, 1890*:

> 'As I was taking a photo of a part of the island a nigger had the audacity to tell me that no one was allowed to photograph in the neighbourhood of the fort, and when I asked him who he was, he said: "Je suis Français". I sent him about his business and he ran to tell the guard in the fort. Europeanized niggers are obnoxious and often intolerable.'

Eighteen-ninety is a long time ago for Dakar and Gorée, though unhappily in East Africa such sentiments are still not out of date.

As I walked down the rubble-filled streets of the island, the occasional perfectly preserved balcony or heavy wooden shutters conjured up vivid memories of the old colonial society that used to inhabit Gorée. Today fat black mammies lean over the balustrades to hang out their washing whilst their naked children play on the rusty cannons encased in the mud and sand of the pavements. From the Rue de Dakar, with its crumbling houses and elegant street lamps, I could see the skyscrapers of the mainland. Above the harbour, fish hawks glided lazily, swooping suddenly with outstretched talons and amazing precision on their prey, whilst in the water bronzed Frenchmen with underwater diving equipment conducted the same operation with less success. In Europe one rarely remarks upon the contrast between [175] history and the present: the two are so constantly juxtaposed as to [633] be unworthy of comment. Yet in West Africa, where nearly

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Goree

everything seems to have been built within the last half-century, an island like Gorée, full of historical sites, stands to remind one how long Africa and Europe have been in contact. Gorée itself has been controlled by many masters: the Portuguese from 1444–1595, the Dutch 1597–1677; the French and British at intervals from 1677–1817, when the island was finally ceded to the French by the Treaty of Paris. Many famous explorers including Nuno Tristão, Fernando Po, Bartholomew Dias and Vasco da Gama and Christopher Columbus, as well as scholars like Camoens and St. Francis Xavier, stayed on the island. A small church was built by Diogo d'Azembuja, the architect of the fort of Elmina on the Gold Coast. The Dutch used Gorée for their trade with the Gold Coast and India, though later it became to its various owners important as a slaving post, as the gracious Maison des Esclaves, built between 1776–1778, witnesses. I was taken there two years ago by an African guide, through a low, damp tunnel into some squalid little cells whose only source of light was from a small grille facing on to the sea; below was a sheer drop on to Atlantic breakers. Into those cells slavers bundled hundreds of miserable wretches, seized from their villages, as often as not by other Africans. There they were imprisoned, their feet held by the heavy balls and chains that still littered the floor, until a ship was ready to take them to the New World. Often more than half of them died on the Middle Passage, and many died waiting in this house because of cold and damp, or just the lack of will to live.

However, in 1794, when Gorée was in French hands, the Revolutionary Convention abolished slavery, and accordingly deprived Gorée of its main source of income. But in 1802 the law was repealed, only to be reinforced again in 1817, so that ironically Gorée, which had been built into a naval base and the administration headquarters of French West Africa, became a major centre for the suppression of the slave trade.

Towards the end of the century Gorée declined at Dakar's expense. By 1929, from having been one of the Quatre Communes, the others being St. Louis, Rufisque and Dakar, sending representatives to the French National Assembly and enjoying equal rights with Frenchmen, it had so declined in importance that it was incorporated into the Municipality of Dakar.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 Metropolis. Until recently the African élite has always come from
[571] St. Louis. It is a sort of spiritual centre of Black Africa. It had the
[873] first school—Lycée Faidherbe. And in 1866 it was given the first Hotel de Ville of the French Union. It is the cradle of the French Union. It would be a tragedy if it died.'

369 To such men as these it seems scandalous that St. Louis with
175 its great history and traditions should give way to a parvenue like Dakar. Of all West African cities St. Louis is the one with the most illustrious and fascinating history. It was called St. Louis after the great French King, Louis XIII, in the middle of the seventeenth century. However, in the following century it began to expand into a town whose inhabitants were a distinct race, comparable
[563] to the Creoles of Sierra Leone. White and black intermarried to form a group known as the St. Louisians. During the eighteenth
[591] and nineteenth centuries these were the great families of the
[554] Senegal, though today they are losing importance. Names like Carpot, Descanet, Deves, Guillabert and Crespin are still remembered with respect in St. Louis.

[162] By the end of the eighteenth century the town had more than 7,000 inhabitants and in 1778 a mayor, who had to be chosen
[633] from the local population, was charged with the maintenance of good relations between the people and the Governor. In 1833
[641] all inhabitants of St. Louis were given the status of French citizens.

Perhaps the most important date for St. Louis and for West Africa was 1854, when General Faidherbe was appointed Governor. Today his mark is still firmly on St. Louis. The
[361] ordered layout of the city and its streets were his work. The large bridge connecting the island on which St. Louis stands to the
[491] mainland is named after him. The city's most important and famous school is the Lycée Faidherbe. And even now one can listen to old folk sitting on the benches of the park, in which his statue stands, telling tales of the great General, who had fought against the famous Toucouleur chief, El Hadj Omar and brought Senegal, Soudan and Mauretania into the French orbit. Perhaps some of these old people are his own descendants, for he is reputed to have been a prolific father.

[162] By 1878 St. Louis had grown to a city of 16,000 inhabitants, and despite the rapid expansion of Dakar and Rufisque farther down the coast, there was little to worry about the future.

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

"The Four Communes of Senegal"

369
633
•175

The four coastal cities have had the longest experience with political rights. All are fairly old; Dakar was founded most recently, in 1857. St. Louis of Senegal, founded in the time of the slave-trade, is the oldest, and a typical example of the "old colonial city." In 1659 a warehouse of the Company of the Senegal was built on the site, the first French settlement in the region. It was a commercial post oriented toward the river, and a small military outpost; it became the jumping-off place for the conquest of the African territories. The general traits of the old African city may still be found in St. Louis' central section, despite recent changes. In such a center the African population was relatively stable.[13] A few European families established residence, and a rather important mixed-blood population developed. By the mid-19th century an urban community with a homogeneous way of life had emerged.

[563]

The Isle of Gorée, which became the second commune in Senegal, was occupied in 1677; it was oriented toward the Petite-Cote and the factories of Rufisque, Joal, and Portudal. Of these, only Rufisque developed; it became the third commune. St. Louis and Gorée underwent many vicissitudes before 1815, when they were restored to France. They then returned to "legal" commerce, which was centered in the valley of the Senegal. St. Louis retained its dominance. By the end of the 18th century it had had nearly 7,000 inhabitants, about half of whom were free and almost a tenth European. In the 1870's its population was about 15,000, while Gorée had but 3,000; Rufisque was growing as was Dakar. Finally, the interior back of the Petite-Cote was opening up, and Thiès was founded. In the following period St.

[162]
[563]

[P.7A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 Louis stagnated[14] and Gorée declined,
633 losing people at the expense of Dakar and
Rufisque; Rufisque grew rapidly, as the
•175 port for the ground-nut. Dakar entered
[162] a period of prosperity at the turn of the
[439] century.[15] During the late 19th century
the composition of the population already
was beginning to change fairly rapidly,
especially in the expanding centers, but
the old core of urban population continued to hold a dominant place, not
only in urban life but also in the colony
of Senegal as a whole, whose constitution
had come into effect. The people of
St. Louis most notably served as essential
instruments of the colonization effort.

This dominance was expressed very
clearly in the political realm. The coastal
cities, in contrast to the interior cities
and rural areas, had been introduced to
the structure and organization through
which modern political life is conducted
long before the reforms of 1946. Political
activity of the modern type was first
limited to the European settlers but was
soon extended to the mixed-blood element
[563] and then to the Negro population. Beginning in the late 18th century, St. Louis
had a mayor, always a mixed-blood, who
served as intermediary between the gov-
ernor and the populace. In 1789 the
[668] colony participated in metropolitan polit-
ical activities, sending to the States-
General a petition of grievances that de-
manded commercial freedom — *i.e.*,
abolition of the Company monopoly —
and the end of slavery. A satisfactory
agreement was reached among employees
of the Company, European businessmen,
and mixed-blood businessmen, but it was
never brought to fruition; a period of
disorder set in and persisted until the
rebirth of the colony in 1815.

[641] In 1833 French citizenship was con-
ferred upon all free inhabitants of St.
Louis and Gorée by royal decree. Citizen-
ship was extended to all inhabitants of

[P.7B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[13] We have observed that in such cases a "people belonging to the city" emerged. Their ties with their birthplaces were more or less completely severed.
[14] It had scarcely 20,000 inhabitants in 1920, but its growth resumed in the 1930's. In 1954 it had a population of 39,000.
[15] With the creation of a harbor, which captured the trade of Rufisque, whose modernization appeared impossible, and the installation of the government-general of French West Africa, established in 1895.

[p.7c]

1755
3669
633
[168]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 633 175 [641] the two cities with the abolition of slavery in 1848.[16] The four coastal cities were elevated to the status of communes with full powers between 1872 and 1887, and the organization of political life on a European pattern in the four communes crystalized the opposition between the citizens of the old settlements and the subjects of the territories in the newly-conquered interior. The cities alone provided apprenticeship in public life and in the representative system. Beginning in 1871 they elected a deputy to the French Parliament. In 1879 they [646] elected a Council-general patterned after those in France, supposedly to represent all Senegal. It actually represented only the few urban centers, whose interests at the time diverged widely from those of the rest of Senegal. An effort was subsequently made to repair this breach by transforming the Council-general into a colonial council, consisting of representatives elected by the citizens and representatives for the non-citizens appointed by the *notables*.[17] This reduced conflicts scarcely at all. Meanwhile, citizenship [641] acquired new importance. At first it was established by local law and had no effect in other French territories. Not until 1916 did the "natives of the four communes" receive full French citizenship while still being able to retain their personal status. These citizens were few in [667] number: scarcely 80,000 in 1939, about 100,000 in the 1950's. The cities tended to include more non-citizens than citizens as they grew. Actual participation in politics developed only gradually. At [666] the first legislative elections, in 1871, only a third of those registered voted, and the rate dropped to less than a fifth

[P. 8A]

369 in some years. Since the beginning of the
633 20th century, however, urban citizens
175 have taken an increasingly lively interest
[666] in political matters.[18]

In this restricted political system the relative importance of the roles played by
563 different ethnic groupings and different
668 cities varied continuously. Ethnic dominance, first held by the old European families, passed gradually to mixed-blood society, which came into being in the 18th century and rapidly acquired wealth, education, and influence. By the mid-19th century mixed-bloods made up the majority of the westernized population. But the entry of the emancipated slaves, the first sizable migration toward the
[166] cities, quickly reduced the mixed-bloods to a minority. In 1900 they numbered
[162] less than 5,000 in the four communes together, though for several decades their economic and political influence remained quite disproportionate to their num-
668 bers. Among the cities, St. Louis was
[369] predominant until WW I. At the beginning of the century it practically controlled the deputation to the French legislature and the Council-general — and hence the economic life of the territory. Then Gorée-Dakar came to the fore;[19] in 1914 a citizen of Gorée, Blaise Diagne, was elected deputy, followed by Galandou Diouf and Lebou. These men were the first elected Senegalese to win
[645] broad support at Paris; Diagne himself was appointed a Secretary of State [a subministerial post, equivalent to a U.S. Under-Secretary]. In Senegal, the au-
[642] thority of elected officials — deputies and Councillors-general — increased, and clashes with the civil administration were frequent.[20]

[P. 8 B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[16] Which nearly tripled the number of citizens, who henceforth comprised a body that was more heterogeneous but less completely "assimilated."
[17] Translator's note: the *notables* were influential residents appointed to high political offices in the interior by the local representative of French government.
[18] Especially after 1914, when there appeared a particularly dynamic personnage, Blaise Diagne, whose popularity was widespread.
[19] Dakar absorbed Gorée in 1929. The latter was reestablished as a separate commune in 1956.
[20] At first — at the end of the 19th century — these were conflicts between the merchants, upholding the interests of their agencies, and the civil administration, then engaged in an expansionist policy in West Africa, whose advantages the former could not see. Not until recent years did these conflicts change very much in character.

[666] [646] [642] [641] [115] 9998 6333 369

/667 cont./

563 term Toucouleur often erroneously designates all the inhabitants of the Fouta Toro; we shall use it here in the way the Toucouleur speak of themselves, namely, Halpoularen (speaking the lan-
[197] guage of the Peul), distinct from the Wolof, who have their own language, and from the Saracolé, who speak a Mandé dialect.

/668/ Downstream the boundary between the Wolof and the Toucouleur is not clearly defined and several Wolof villages have been established in the very heart of Toucouleur country and
[186] have preserved their ethnic individuality. They are regarded as foreigners. It is the same upriver on the part of the Saracolé.

The Peul live in the midst of the three groups mentioned
[175] above, and the Peul ethnic group in the valley of the Senegal is itself composed of several waves /nappes/ which have successively spread throughout the region. The oldest are also the most sedentary and the most Islamized (Foulbé walo) and have a way of life very much like that of the Toucouleur, with whom they sometimes intermarry. The others, who have come more re-
[221] cently (Foulbé Diéri), are seminomads and only in winter culti-
[162] vate the sands of the hills which border the valley (Diéri). There
[613] is a total of 47,000 Peul in this region, but we do not know the actual number of each wave, itself divided into relatively
[175] endogamous lineages /lignages/ or pseudo-lineages. The latter, designated by the administration as communities, served as census units for the Peul, while for the others this unit was the village. The location of these communities often changes because of the seminomadic character of the Peul way of life, which is devoted principally to livestock-raising.

[162] Among the 56,000 Moors, although some of them (6,000) are settled in the river ports, the majority merely meet on the Mauritainian shore and only part of the year; they camp there
[221] during the dry season in order to cultivate the alluvial soil (walo), and they return after the harvest to camps sometimes located several dozen kilometers from there. These farmers for the most part are Haratin of the black race, that is to say, ancient serfs of the Moors, from whom they continue to lease land.

125 Since they occupy a very marginal position in relation to the totality of the inhabitants of the valley, they will not be studied here. /Table I appears here./

/156 cont./

36 leaves the principal streets, the landmarks disappear, /157/ all the parcels resemble one another, crossroads at angles succeed crossroads, wooden structures are lined up one after the other, different and yet similar. The contrast is therefore great between Pikine and the so-called irregular quarters of Dakar, Wakhinane or Baye Gayndé. One is easily lost in both cases; in the second, it is because of the disordered jumble of lanes that wind in every direction, whereas in the first it is because of the geometrical regularity of the streets and the almost perfect alignment of enclosures and walls, which finally eliminate all originality and every distinctive sign. It is impossible, on the other hand, to compare Pikine with the Médina or the new quarters. In the latter, the streets are paved, sometimes lighted, electricity is common in the windows of the houses, and the buildings of durable material far outweigh the wooden huts. In the former, on the contrary, only the broad axes are tarred, while elsewhere sand is king, and although here and there one finds some durable buildings outside the two districts, the great majority of the huts are of wood, sometimes of straw. Village, shantytown, or city? One does not know how to answer this question. Moreover, another contrast, to which reference has already been made, complicates it: the difference which distinguishes the two districts of the ICOTAF and the Pépinière, on the one hand, from the other quarters of Pikine on the other. The former are actually comparable to Ouagouniaye or Bopp, and therefore this duality of habitat, and consequently of living conditions, leads to a modification of the initial question: Is Pikine not made up of a city and a village? Is not the unity of the Pikine agglomeration merely artificial?

175 One is more inclined to believe this if one considers
369 the origin and history of the district. Before 1952 Pikine did
423 not exist, and instead the bush stretched out, with monkeys, jackals, etc. Only this bush belonged to the state, and it
[166] was on these govemment lands that it was decided to relocate the inhabitants of the irregular quarters who had to be expelled from Dakar, in order to realize the planned works of urbanization.

/157 cont./

175 urbanization. An initial slice was portioned out, and a
369 parcel was allocated to the head of each family that was
[423] expelled. Ownership granted an uncertain title, but it could become definite if the occupant improved his parcel by building a durable dwelling on it. At first the authorities hardly believed in the existence of Pikine; there was no easy communication with Dakar, since the auto road did not yet exist, there was no connection by express bus, no stores, etc. It was believed that the people expelled would return to occupy other lands on the outskirts of Dakar. Contrary to all expectation, /158/ Pikine lived, prospered, and grew by the same process that had given it birth, to the point that today
[435] the parcel which originally had no value costs from 30,000 to 40,000 francs. On the other hand, the dwellings that the Office de l'Habitat has now built in the districts are
[426] sold on credit to those who have the desire and the means to obtain them.

Pikine thus originated through an administrative decision; it is an agglomeration which has no tradition, no past, a city of recent date and entirely created. Moreover, this brief historical account brings to light another difference which has to do with the mode of peopling it: in the districts it is voluntary, while in the quarters it has been more or less imposed by the administration.

121 This assemblage of peculiar traits make Pikine a very interesting city from the sociological point of view. The investigation, which was conducted during the latter half of 1960, pursued a threefold goal: first, to collect a certain number of general data which would complete or confirm those which had already been gathered; then to examine to what extent the difference in housing conditions did or did not produce a perceptible difference in behavior and style of living, especially with regard to the family; finally, in correlation with the preceding problem, to study the evolution of family behavior in an urban environment and to observe the appearance of new familial structures better adapted to an urban environment than the traditional family.

[17]

The Village of Cambérène (Dakar)

361 175 The village of Cambérène was founded about 1885 by the gathering of tabilés [disciples] around their teacher, Li Mamou Laye Thiaw, who had set up his dwelling near the watercourse Der Gui N'Dargou to the northeast of Yoff (east of the present gardens of the Government).

731 175 622 Li Mamou died in 1909, and his brother, Seydina Issa Laye Thiaw, succeeded him at the head of the small zaouïa, which in 1914 was the victim of an epidemic of the plague.

Seydina Issa decided, as is generally done in such cases, to change the location of the little village.

361 Considering his first location unfavorable, being too near the Niaye, he decided to establish it in the open air in front of the heights of the string of littoral dunes on the very edge of the sea, which should, he thought, be healthier.

[369] Having ascertained that in Dakar an effort was made to align the houses and to put straight and wide streets between them, he resolved to order that, in establishing the new village, the center of the site was to be the mosque, which, first constructed [346] of wood and straw, was replaced in 1939 by a handsome edifice of masonry.

To the north and south of the mosque, Seydina Issa laid out two parallel avenues east to west. He placed the dwellings of his family facing the entrance of the mosque, leaving open a large space which he had reserved to the east; at right angles to the principal streets, some north-south streets were laid out, and each family put its dwellings in the form of a U opening on the principal streets.

[18] [Fig. 1. appears here.]

The arrangement was subsequently respected, and the most recent of the 28 land-grants open on a third east-west avenue.

The curious fact of this very precise outline is not noted when one arrives at Cambérène by the road, nor when one goes about on foot within the village, and even the diagram on the map on a scale of 1/50,000 does not make it stand out. Thus, it was a

/73 cont./

172
766

Ouest sénégalais /Prehistory and Protohistory of the Peninsula of Cape Verde and the Extreme West of Senegal/." Bull. de l'I.F.A.N., /1948/, p. 450.

were mixed with the skeletons, which were found to a depth of 60 centimeters, the soil below, consisting solely of sand, being intact.

In all, about 20 skulls practically in good condition and about ten in bad condition, including one of a child, and hundreds of bones were brought back for study by the Section d'Anthropologie of the I.F.A.N. /Fig. 2 appears here./ [128]

There is no doubt about the meaning of this discovery. We are dealing with a baobab that served as a burial place for griots /musicians, storytellers/ in a recent past (3); the Baobab [565]

3. Probably until the effective Islamization of the peninsula due to the establishment of the theocratic Lébou community about 1795, although isolated cases could have occurred up to a about the founding of Dakar (1857). [M5]

of Bok, moreover, is also known in the neighborhood by the name of "goui guevel" (Baobab for Griots).

It is likewise the name of goui guevel (shown, moreover, on the Yof sheet at 1/20,000, 1954) that designates another baobab (24.50 meters in circumference) located west of the village of Ouakam, which I visited April 6, 1955, without being able to get into it, the opening being too small (0.60 x 0.15 of a meter).

A small village bears the same name northeast of Ouayembam (Sangalkam sheet at 1/20,000, 1941). /74/ /Fig. 3 appears here./

The interment of griots in hollow trees has, moreover, 000

/71 cont./

133 The presence of a marl-calcareous horizon at a slight depth, the arrangement of the layers sloping toward the east, has favored the formation of a perpetual phreatic layer close to the surface and capable of supplying all the wells of the Thiès plateau.

The Thiès slope describes a concave line 40 kilometers long which begins in the north at the height of Mont-Rolland and ends abruptly in the south at the height of the village of [361] Tiao. The brow of the slope, with an average altitude of 100 meters, is cut broadly and deeply only by the "Ravin des Voleurs." At the foot of the slope there stretches a depressed, more or less swampy zone, /72/ /Fig. 1 appears here/ which borders it from north to south. Beyond Mont-Rolland, toward the northwest, accumulations of dune sand extend to the ocean (Fig. 1).

369 During the period of the pacification of Senegal by ●175 Faidherbe, Thiès was only a small village of unruly Sérère-None /Serer/, pillagers of caravans when the occasion presented itself. This village was established near the actual site [361] of the Faidherbe Redoubt, in a shaded and cool spot, hence the name "Diankhène" which was given to it and which means place of repose.

In 1856 Dakar was founded, and Saint-Louis developed. [648] A treaty concluded with the damel of Cayor (2) authorized the

2. Damel, Wolof word meaning sovereign.

[206] installation of a telegraph line to connect these two cities. But the execution of the work came up against the ill-will of the damel and the continual insecurity that prevailed in the region of Thiès.

After the creation of the post of Mbidjem, near Lake Tanma, the /73/ post of Thiès was built in 1863. Its [361] role was to pacify and to cover, in case of necessity, [487] the troops that operated in the region. The latter, coming from Gorée and from Dakar, took the trail /piste/ from Rufisque to Pout and from there reached the post of Thiès and Cayor by way of the "Ravin des Voleurs," the only easy and direct passage that connected Cayor with the Cape Verde Peninsula.

/73 cont./

102
131
133
491
496

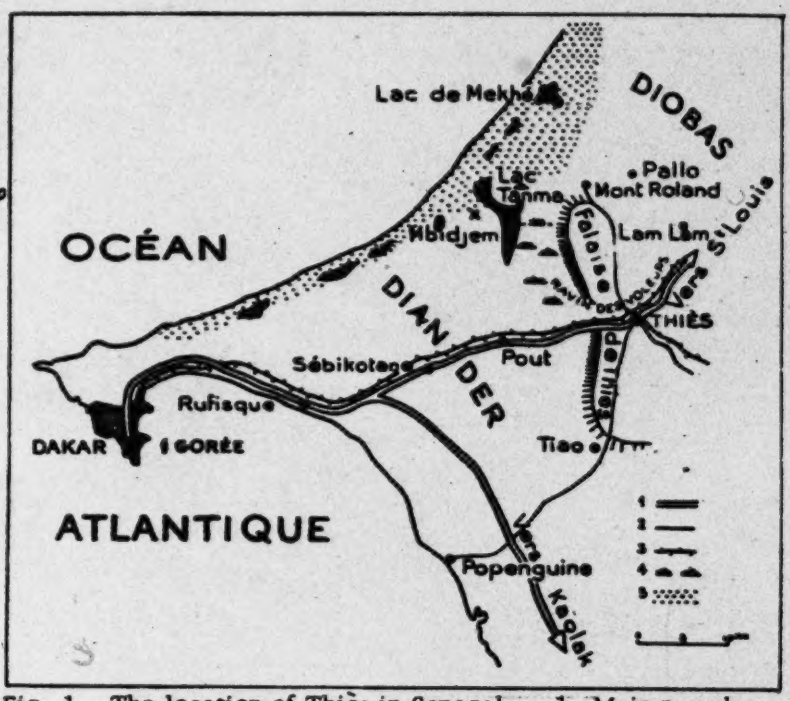


Fig. 1. The location of Thiès in Senegal. 1. Main paved road; 2. secondary road; 3. railroad; 4. swamps; 5. sand.

175 Verde Peninsula. As long ago as this epoch Thiès seems to
369 have been a strategic point and support point of primary im-
361 portance.

As early as 1880 the provinces of Diander and Diobas were pacified. The military posts lost their importance and were abandoned one after the other, for example, Nguiguis (near Tivaouane) and Mbidjem. Only the one at Thiès, because of its exceptional location, survived and developed.

175 2. The commercial escale (1880-1923).
369 The years of the decade 1880-1890 correspond to the
499 period of the development of groundnut cultivation in Senegal
244 and to the construction of the Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad.

/73 cont./

175 369 499 133 The surveys for the future course of this railway revealed that the shortest route would have to follow the Atlantic coast, but since this is bordered by dunes it would necessitate some important construction work. The passage across the slope of Thiès was also a serious obstacle, but the "Ravin des Voleurs" made access to the plateau possible; the line would thus follow the valley which cuts the brow of the hill, then the depression which follows the plateau to the east, and would pass in front of the military fort established at its extremity.

175 369 [361] The fortune of Thiès was made: as early as 1885, the date of the opening of the railroad, the merchants of Rufisque set up branches there; a plan for dividing the future city into lots was outlined. This plan, unfortunately, foresaw the development of the city only north of the line, along the trail connecting Thiès with Rufisque and Dakar. A Catholic [797] mission was established in the vicinity, and in 1893 the first civil administrator occupied the new residence built near the Faidherbe redoubt.

175 369 439 [496] [492] The groundnut policy developed successfully; 20,000 tons of groundnuts were shipped by rail from the Thiès station in 1890 (3). Commerce, however, was not established in

3. Convoys of camels competed with the railway up to 1910 and transported their cargo to the port of Rufisque. Thiès was the last stop before reaching the quays of embarkation 50 kilometers away.

[366] permanent fashion in the escale: only during the period of trading (from November to May) did the European employees [441] sent by the firms of Rufisque live in the city and buy groundnuts, millet, cotton ... at their branches; from May to November they returned to Rufisque, and most of the shops in Thiès were closed, the city seemingly dead.

/74/

175 The major part of the commerce was then concentrated
369 north of the railway; nevertheless, as early as 1895 some
[366] shops were established to the south, near the residence.

In 1890 Thiès had a permanent population of 1,200
[162] inhabitants. Some native quarters were established in the
175 vicinity of the commercial escale. The little village of
369 Thiès-None was shifted from the other side of the railway.
361 A native quarter was attached to the western part of the commercial zone; it was moved toward the south after the plague of 1911 and took the name of Randoulème (a word meaning in Wolof: remove yourself). Takhikao (storied house in Wolof), established originally near the first storied house belonging to Maurel and Prom, was ultimately pushed back along the route to Saint-Louis (Fig. 2).

175 Little by little, while the military function fell asleep,
369 the development of commerce brought stable economic
[366] activity to the city. Until 1914 the city grew very little,
[162] and its population amounted to only 2,400 inhabitants at that date; from 1885 to 1914 the city gained only 1,400 souls in all.

The military function of the city recovered part of its former importance during the war of 1914. The base of Thiès
[712] became a center of military training for new recruits. The quarter of Diakhao adjoining the camp was enlarged by the arrival of the families of the military. On the other hand, commerce was threatened during this period. The French
175 personnel, which since the beginning of the century had been
369 permanently established, was summoned to the colors. In
441 order to avoid shutting up shop, the Levantines were called
563 upon. The latter had made their appearance in Senegal as early as 1895 and up to that time had played only a very secondary role in the market of the city: selling candles, matches, beads... The war of 1914 facilitated their entry into the lucrative activity of trade.

/74 cont./

369 3. The establishment of industries (1923-1945).

498 The event which gave a decisive impulsion to the commercial escale and which brought Thiès to the rank of a [175] city was without question the establishment of the railroad repair shops in 1923. As early as 1907 the first work had been undertaken to connect Thiès to Bamako directly by rail; difficulties of all kinds and then the war impeded it. In 1923 only the junction of the two sections had been made at Kidira on the Falémé. There was some concern to have the repair shops of the Thiès-Niger established in the center nearest the coast. Thiès, head of the line, was chosen as [162] the center. In a few years the city grew by 10,000 souls, going from 3,000 inhabitants in 1921 to 13,000 in 1929.

369 The opening of the railroad yards not only brought about 441 the arrival of many workers and their families, but at the same /75/ /Fig. 2 appears here/ time gave a strong impulsion to commerce. The regular injection of credits by this new industry brought about a renewal of commercial activity which showed in the expansion of the firms already established and the creation of new stores. The Africans, who up [472] to that time worked solely for the profit of firms under European management and who had been kept out of the re- [563] tail business, opened small shops for their own profit (4).

[177] 4. It is the military, it seems, who brought back from France this idea of establishing for themselves small grocery stores copied from those encountered in the villages of the mother country.

The latter, appealing to an essentially native clientele, multiplied as soon as the economic scope of the city increased. At the same time the number of artisans increased.

[563] After the war, the Levantines, who had been the only ones able to carry on commerce in complete tranquility for four years, set up businesses for themselves. Their experience

/373/

369 therefore one of the Old World's closest points to South America
36 (4). Dakar and Natal are about 3,000 kilometers apart.
[131]
[487]

4. Cape Roxo and the region of Freetown are closer from Cape St. Roque by 250 kilometers (cf. J. Richard Molard, in "La presqu'île du Cap-Vert /The peninsula of Cape Verde/," I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 10).

[113]

These advantages of site and location, however, should not make one forget that the tip of the peninsula of Cape Verde did not have easy access. On the one hand, the shallow depths
[133] which border it on its north front caused many shipwrecks, the
369 pillage of which in part supported the riparian populations, and,
175 on the other hand, it did not offer any security for the possible
[579] establishment of a settlement because of the very independent character of the Lébou, who were tightly organized in a geronto-theocratic republic under the authority of the "Great Serigne" (5).

5. Great Marabout.

after being freed from the bondage of the Damel (6) around 1809.

6. King of Cayor.

Thus, one should not be surprised that the actual occupation of the peninsula by France was very late. For a long time the island of Gorée better satisfied the needs of the early navigators. Discovered by the Portuguese at the same time as Cape Verde, in 1444, the island, located off the southeastern cape of the peninsula, was still uninhabited when the Hollanders appeared at Cape Verde in 1588. In 1617 the latter bought it from the chiefs of the coast "for iron and some nails" (7). This island of less than a

[113] 7. Dr. Cariou, note on Gorée in "La

369
175
[113]

/373 cont./

presqu'île du Cap-Vert,"
op. cit., p. 274

square kilometer nevertheless satisfied a double /374/ /Fig. 1 appears here / concern of the Hollanders, security and commerce: security first for the ships, which could find an excellent anchorage in the bay on the northeast of the island, immediately so appreciated that its excellence -- Goede reede, "the good roadstead" in Dutch -- served to designate the establishment under the name of Gorée (8) in distinguishing

[103]

8. Nora and Ch. Toupet,
"L'origine du nom de Gorée,"
in Notes Africaines, January 1959,
pp. 17-20, I.F.A.N., Dakar.

[113]

it from the other islands of the peninsula; and then, security for the occupants. From this point of view, the insularity would have been a great advantage for the site of Dakar. Finally, with regard to commerce, the island of Gorée, although minuscule, sufficed for barter with the natives of the coast and could well fill its role as a warehouse for products and slaves. As soon as these views were confirmed by the facts, Gorée became the object of competition among the Hollanders, French, and British, finally coming to the French. In spite of this changing of hands, the establishment of Gorée, thanks to the slave trade, /375/ prospered, and around 1845 it harbored more than 5,000 persons. The abolition of the trade, and then that of slavery, around the middle of the century dealt it a mortal blow, bringing about a crisis from which Gorée did not recover. There was indeed an attempt at adaptation to the new conditions, the Goréans trying to make the island a place for commerce with the continent, where the cultivation of the groundnut had already developed, but on this point Gorée could not rival the peninsula. The inhabitants understood it; there were those who encouraged the occupation of Dakar with the idea

[439]
[162]
[567]

/375 cont./

102
133

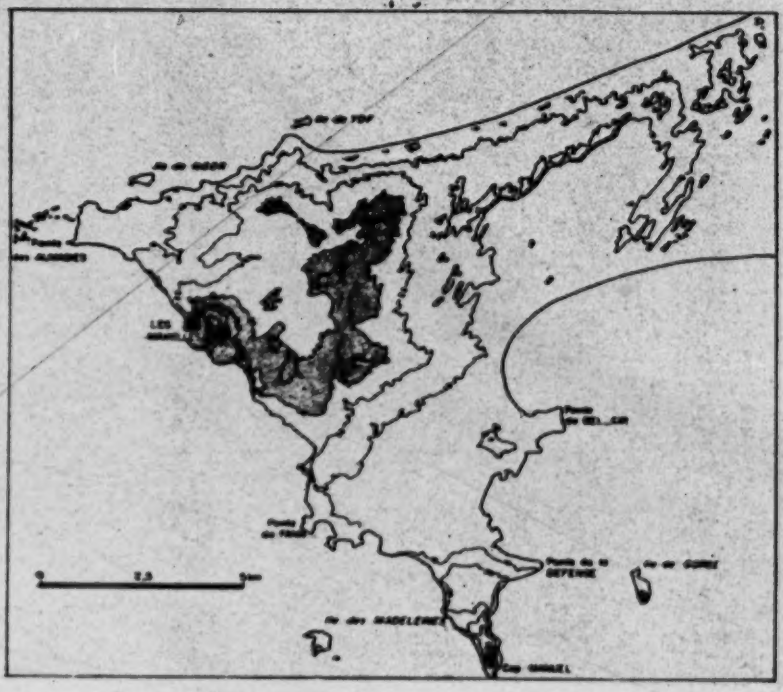


Fig. 1 The site of Dakar.

175
369

of making it a kind of colony (Pl. XXI A). 7

But at the same time, with slavery abolished, Europe was instituting new forms of relations with the underdeveloped countries, imposing itself on the populations for the establishment of a new order less cruel than slavery and better suited for profitable improvements that were more diversified, more systematic, and more in accord with the requirements of the European societies which the technical and industrial revolution was more and more transforming. From this perspective, Dakar could become an incomparable point of support: its site was favorable for the establishment of a city; its coves could harbor a military port and a commercial port.

[912] Thus, on 25 May 1857, Dakar was officially occupied in the

7 [See category 116, P. 15--Analyst]

/375 cont./

175 369 [712] name of France by the post-captain Protet, who materialized this taking of possession by the construction of a protective fort, from which outfitting soon began. Work on the port[1] began in [505] 1862, and, on 4 November 1866, the first accomplishments were inaugurated by the first passage of a packet-boat. As early [500] as the first of April 1864, the lighthouse of the Grande-Mamelle was lighted, followed two years later, on the first of December 1866, by the two lighthouses with fixed lights at Cape Manuel and the Pointe des Almadies /Cape Almadies/. A first plan for the future city was approved by the decree of 1 July 1862, while from this time on a plan for a railroad to link Dakar and Saint-Louis agitated opinion.

Nevertheless, despite these efforts, the launching of Dakar, put under the administrative guidance of Gorée, was difficult; the city was unpopulated, the Goréans monopolizing the lands without wanting to leave their island. Moreover, Rufisque, closer to the regions where groundnuts were cultivated, was better located for commerce with the interior and, because of this, contributed to blocking the development of Dakar. But [633] the decree of 17 June 1887 separating Dakar from Gorée marked a decisive turning point (1885) in the life of the new creation.

369 2. Dakar, metropolis before being a city. Having become an autonomous center as a result of the Conference of Berlin, at a period when the colonial rivalries between the great powers were accentuated, Dakar benefited from the effective support /376/ of a mother country determined to make it a base for its expansion in West Africa.

504 369 It was the port in particular that was to be the essential instrument of the launching and of the power of Dakar. Its first elements constructed shortly after the occupation were clearly insufficient, and as early as 1892 it was necessary to extend the old embankment by 200 meters and to add on to it a pier of 280 meters (present Pier III). But it was especially from 1899 that [712] the great works began. The military port, which had to serve as

[1] [i.e., the port of Dakar--Analyst]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M337 Senegal MS 39

7. HISTORY

SENEGAL is the oldest French colony in Africa. From it the Niger basin has been penetrated and the Sudan conquered. On it has been based the modern Federation. For more than two centuries, therefore, its history was that of French West Africa as a whole, and it is not until the close of the Napoleonic era that the domestic history of the colony becomes distinguishable. 175●

The Early Nineteenth Century

The Peace of Paris restored the colonial *status quo* of 1 January 1792, but St. Louis was not returned to the French until 1817. The British occupation of Senegal had been purely military, with no attempt to introduce British civil administration. French officials had continued their duties, and, when they had died, had been succeeded by other Frenchmen. The resumption of French rule after the war, therefore, presented no difficulties. The country was fairly well known, and explorers used St. Louis more as a starting-point for distant journeys than to make new discoveries in Senegal itself. The British expedition of 1816 under Peddie and Campbell and the French one of 1818 under Mollien added considerably to European knowledge of Fouta, Ferlo, and Bondou, although their main objects were to penetrate Fouta Jalon. 175 648

Attempts at European Colonization. In 1815 France agreed to the abolition of the slave trade, although the law embodying this decision was not passed for another three years. As the trade had previously been the key to the prosperity of Senegal, a new economy had to be devised. Experiments were consequently made with European settlers, who were to produce cotton and other tropical products. To execute these schemes, Louis XVIII appointed as first post-war Governor Colonel Schmaltz, who had lived for a number of years in the Dutch East Indies. Tragedy attended his voyage out. The ship carrying him, the *Méduse*, was wrecked in Arguin bay on 2 July 1816. The Governor and his wife were saved, but there were many deaths from drowning; and hunger, thirst, and exposure killed many who reached the shore. Out of one party of seventeen only three survived. Another party of 152 persons, including women and children, crowded on to one raft. Many were washed off by waves, many went mad, and many died of thirst. After thirteen days of horror, fifteen survivors were picked up, five of whom died before 175 167 [439] [567]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30
Trarza MS24

S 175 162 reaching St. Louis. This disaster has been made famous by the celebrated painting of Théodore Géricault.

[648] As St. Louis was in British hands until the early months of 1817, Schmaltz established his capital at Cape Verde.

The first settlers from France were sponsored by the Société Coloniale Philanthropique, and consisted of 175 men, 20 women, and 10 children. Their intention was to settle in the Cape Verde peninsula. This was against the advice of Schmaltz, who thought that part of the country unsuitable. The settlers landed at Goree in April 1817, shortly afterwards crossing to the mainland; but, owing to the attitude of the natives, they were unable to obtain land or labour. At the end of two months there were only six left on the peninsula: the remainder had been repatriated to France or had retired to St. Louis, Goree, or the Gambia. Schmaltz was able to prevent the philanthropic but misguided society from sending eighty more colonists to the same place.

W [175] [648] Attempts to establish European colonists met with more success on the Senegal. In 1819 Schmaltz had no difficulty in obtaining from the chiefs of Oualo all the land he wanted on the left bank of the river. S [648] [241] In return, the chiefs were given annual subsidies (*coutumes*) amounting to some 10,000 francs. This arrangement was to lead to endless trouble. Cotton, coffee, indigo, and tobacco were to be the principal crops, and colonists were not lacking.

T [175] [648] The natives of Oualo were peaceable, but the Trarza and Brakna Arabs, who claimed to be suzerains over Oualo, were hostile. At first they raided the colonists, but later they were defeated by troops from St. Louis in a number of skirmishes. Eventually the French recognized nominal Arab suzerainty, and the colonists were allowed to S [648] develop their holdings in relative quiet. Nevertheless, the Trarza Arabs continued to give trouble until 1835, when, after a series of defeats, they entered into a treaty by which they abandoned all S [712] claims to Oualo. The French armed post of Dagana was built for the protection of the settlers, and an experimental station was started at Richard Toll for their instruction. The French Government S [654] [241] supplied seeds and implements and paid a bonus on crops, and some forty European plantations were established. At first they seemed to succeed, but the climate, the labour difficulties, and the hostile attitude of the natives combined against them. In 1830 the home government withdrew its subsidy, and the plantations were soon abandoned. Since that date the French, while not discouraging European enterprise, have relied for agricultural development principally on the native farmer.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Mali MS 35

000
S
175
439
M
[175]
[439]

development principally on the native farmer. Trade, not agriculture, took the French farther up the river. In 1820 the post of Bakel was founded, and, under the auspices of Governor Roger, the Société de Galam established stations at Medine, at Mahina, and on the Falémé. The foundation of the company marked a partial return to the monopolistic policy of the previous century. Trade on the upper Senegal was reserved to the company from 1 January to 1 August each year. This caused much dissatisfaction, and the restriction disappeared with the winding-up of the company in 1840.

Like Brue, his predecessor of 120 years before, Roger explored Bambouk for its mineral wealth, but decided that the soundest method of developing Senegal was to expand its trade and agriculture.

The Gum Trade. After the attempts at European colonization had failed, there developed in the gum trade a boom which reached its maximum in 1838. It will be remembered that, by the Peace of Paris, Great Britain had retained the exclusive right of carrying on this trade along the coast between Portendick and Arguin bay. Elsewhere the French reserved all this trade for their own nationals. Like other trades of the time, that in gum was carried on under a system of subsidies (*coutumes*) to native chiefs and fixed markets (*escales*). This system has been described above on p. 327, and was extremely lucrative to the Arabs. Moreover, the French Government in its treaties usually undertook to pay a subsidy to the chiefs, partly as ground rent for the posts it might establish in their territory, and partly in consideration of the goodwill and protection they were to afford to French trade.

S
[648]

Even so, the years between 1830 and 1860 saw material French extension and development. The following figures (the first two of which represent imports only) show the growth of trade of Senegal from the days of André Brue to those of Faidherbe.

Year	*Thousands of francs*
1700	700
1786	7,260
1821	2,100
1830	3,000
1837	7,000
1838	17,000
1839	13,600
1840	11,800
1845	23,000
1855	14,500
1863	33,100
1869	35,900

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS 30
Trarza MS 24

S 175 439 [648]

From 1836 onwards treaties were made with the chiefs of the Casamance basin, and posts were constructed at Sedhiou, Karaban, and Diembering. These treaties respected Portuguese historic but obsolete rights at Ziguinchor, but effectively guaranteed that the future of the river should be French.

S [567] [429] [464]

The abolition of the status of slavery by France in 1848 deprived the French merchants of a cheap supply of labour, which they had rented from the chiefs, and in 1850 a committee was appointed to consider withdrawal from the colony or, as an alternative, the establishment of French authority. It decided in favour of the latter, and the policy of trade treaties came to an end.

The new French policy, to which Napoleon III was pledged, was summed up as 'absolute freedom of commerce with the suppression of the escales; establishment of security, by force if necessary; the substitution of full and entire authority for the system of treaties and subsidies; methodical organization of expansion towards the interior; and concurrently the development of economic institutions'.

'By Force if Necessary'

S 175 [643]

Faidherbe. It was to carry out this policy that Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in December 1854. He had already had much experience as a soldier and administrator in the colony, and, with a break of eighteen months, he held office till July 1865. His period of office marked a turning-point in the history of Senegal, and he is justly remembered as one of the builders of the modern French Colonial Empire. At first his resources were pitifully small. He had four companies of marine infantry, a company of native infantry formed on the liberation of the slaves in 1848, sixty spahis, and some detachments of artillery and engineers. His naval strength was on a similar scale. Both were substantially strengthened in the next few years.

S [701]

T S W 175 648

The Arabs. Faidherbe decided to deal with the Trarza Arabs. Notwithstanding the treaty of 1835, they had continued their marauding expeditions across the river, and had re-established a supreme influence over the Ouolofs of Oualo. Early in 1855 the Trarza chief Mohammed el Abib insolently demanded the French evacuation of certain islands near the mouth of the Senegal. Faidherbe marched against him and defeated him near St. Louis on 15 February. On 25 February the Ouolofs were defeated near Ross. The French captured more than 2,000 cattle and burned 20 villages.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS 30
Trarza MS 24

After another victory in March at Diagane near Merinaghen, Faidherbe annexed Oualo. He divided it into provinces under chiefs nominated by himself, and set up Fara Penda, who remained faithful, as king. In two years many villages destroyed by the Arabs were rebuilt and the population of Oualo rose from 17,000 to 34,000. Faidherbe, who was loath to use force before persuasion had failed, then offered Mohammed el Abib peace if he would renounce the subsidies. The Arab replied by demanding an increase in payments, the destruction of French forts, the prohibition of armed vessels on the Senegal, and the recall of Faidherbe to France. During the absence of Faidherbe in Oualo, Mohammed el Abib advanced in April 1855 to the gates of St. Louis, from which he was beaten back. This marked the limit of Arab successes. In the following January an engagement near Lake Cayar resulted in the capture of 600 tribesmen, and other skirmishes had similar results. Despairing of bringing the main Arab armies to a pitched battle, Faidherbe determined to subdue them by famine, and set himself to destroy or capture their cattle and supplies. By May 1856 these tactics reduced the Arabs to dire straits, and several tribes submitted. The chief's son Ely fled to Diambour. Faidherbe pursued him, and annexed the province which is now Louga. Mohammed el Abib held on, however, and in 1857 invaded Oualo. He was heavily defeated. At last he sued for peace, and on 20 May 1858 signed a treaty (p. 328). A parallel treaty was concluded with the Brakna Arabs at Podor on 10 June.

Although the commercial provisions of these treaties were revised later, they brought to an end, once and for all, the Arab menace to the peace and development of Senegal.

In 1859 a similar organization to that of Oualo was set up for Dimar, thus extending the colony as far up the river as Podor.

Further Penetrations. Faidherbe's dealings with the Arabs and the Ouolofs have been described in some detail, as they illustrate his abilities as a general, a diplomatist, and an administrator. By the same combination of force and diplomacy he, or his successor Pinet-Laprade, brought Fouta, Toro, the whole Ferlo country, Cayor, Sine, Saloum, and the Casamance under effective French control. He thus completed the outline of the modern colony. In 1859 the fanatically Moslem Toucouleur of Fouta, under their Almami, Mahamadu Birane, submitted to a division into three independent states under French protection: Dagana, Fouta, and Toro. In 1862, while Faidherbe was in France, the Almami revolted and tried to re-establish his paramountcy. This revolt was quelled

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

after severe fighting, and in 1863 Fouta and Toro were definitely annexed by the French.

Cayor. The state of Cayor extended from Cape Verde northward along the coast nearly to St. Louis, and at the end of the eighteenth century it had obtained independence of the Ouolofs. Goree had been taken by the French from the Dutch in 1677, and by treaties of 1764 and 1765 the Damel of Cayor had ceded the tip of the Cape Verde peninsula in full sovereignty to France. He had further agreed to restrain his subjects from pillaging the cargoes of wrecks and from imprisoning their crews. In return he was to receive an annual subsidy of 180 bars, one-third in iron and the remainder in merchandise.

These treaties, however, had never been implemented. In 1825 Governor Roger considered them dead, and advised Frenchmen who wished to acquire land in the peninsula to make their own arrangements with the native authorities. At the same time, Roger made a fresh convention regarding wrecks, which was no more observed than the earlier treaties. In 1832 land was purchased for a cemetery on the mainland and in 1846 a mission of the Society of the Sacred Heart, which received a government subsidy until 1906, was established at Dakar.

The population of Goree, some 5,000 persons, needed wood, water, building materials, and fresh provisions, which they could only purchase at extortionate prices on the mainland. All efforts to conclude agreements with the chiefs on these matters failed, and wreckers' profits were not to be diminished by scraps of paper. Security was needed for the projected railway from St. Louis and it was desirable to give the priests protection. In 1857, therefore, the French Government authorized the construction of a fort on the mainland. Birahima, the reigning Damel of Cayor, at first acquiesced in this occupation, largely because his authority over the Lebous who inhabited the peninsula had long been but nominal. The post was used by Faidherbe for a base for his operations in 1859. In that year, after the battle of Fatik (18 May), the tribesmen of Sine, Saloum, and Baol submitted to French authority, and posts were created at Joal and Kaolack. Trouble arose under the Damel's successor, Makodou, who refused to recognize Birahima's agreement to allow a French road and telegraph line from St. Louis to Goree to be run through Cayor. A French column from St. Louis under Faidherbe met an expedition under Pinet-Laprade from Goree and occupied Makodou's capital, Mekhé, on 12 January 1861. On 1 February he accepted

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
wolof MS 30

S
W
175
648

French protection. Hardly was Faidherbe's back turned when Makodou repudiated his engagements. A fresh expedition was necessary, and on 12 March Makodou's forces were repulsed again at Diati near Mekhé. Faidherbe thereupon encouraged an internal revolt, which resulted in the flight of Makodou and the recognition of Madiodio as Damel. He in his turn was dethroned by Lat Dior, whom the French also recognized. He also failed to observe his predecessor's treaties, and in 1863 Faidherbe marched against him and re-established Madiodio. In the December of that year Lat Dior gathered his forces and fell upon the French garrison of Goumbo Gueoul, when Captain Lorans and almost all his detachment of 140 tirailleurs were killed. This time there were no half measures: Lat Dior's army was cut to pieces by Pinet-Laprade near Pout on 12 January 1864, but he himself escaped to the Gambia. Faidherbe then suppressed the native kingdom, established a French protectorate, and divided Cayor into cantons, each under a chief of his own appointment.

W
[669]
W
[631]

In 1865 Pinet-Laprade, who had succeeded Faidherbe, had to deal with a mallam named Maba, who threatened to involve in a holy war not only Cayor but also the country as far east as Fouta. In 1869 Lat Dior again invaded Cayor, and in 1871 was again recognized by the French as Damel, though shorn of part of his territory. This arrangement worked well for ten years, and when Ahmadu Checkhou, a mallam of Toro, invaded Cayor, the French could not refuse armed aid to Lat Dior. The former was defeated and killed by French forces at Boumdou near Coki in February 1875. In 1881 Lat Dior once more gave trouble by opposing the construction of a railway, and, after military operations, he was replaced by his nephew. Internal unrest followed for some years and Lat Dior tried to take advantage of it; but on 26 October 1886 he was defeated and killed. The protectorate was finally abolished, and Cayor was annexed to the colony.

S
175
643

At the close of Faidherbe's term of office in 1865 modern Senegal may be said to have emerged. It would be a mistake to regard him only as a conqueror, for, though his primary object was to impose French authority, Senegal owes to him the foundation of its civil administration, its education, its banking system, and its Survey Department. Sympathetic to the natives, he tried to preserve their institutions to the utmost extent compatible with his primary object. While not prepared to discourage European colonization under suitable conditions, Faidherbe considered that the main agricultural

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Soninke MS 21

S 175 [643] [439]

development must be by native farmers guided by French instructors and aided by French capital. In 1861 French colonial trade, which had hitherto been restricted to French merchants and the French flag, was thrown open to all nations, though French goods continued to have a preference. This reform was not well received by the conservative merchants of St. Louis, but there can be no doubt that it rapidly proved of benefit to the colony.

S 50 175 648

Mahmadu Lamine. The last challenge to French rule within the boundaries of Senegal arose from a Soninké mallam named Mahmadu Lamine. Having returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca, he set up as a holy man at Medine and proceeded to interfere in the domestic concerns of the natives of Bondou. Rebuffed by their rightful ruler, he installed himself at Sénoudébou early in 1886, proclaimed himself a mahdi, and claimed a holy mission to restore the ancient power of the Sarakollé dynasty (Vol. I, p. 168). In March and April he attacked the fort of Bakel, at the head of 12,000 fanatics, but was repulsed. In May Colonel Frey marched out from St. Louis with a strong column which relieved Bakel. Notwithstanding this, Mahmadu again invaded Bondou, where he defeated and killed the king. Then he attacked the French post at Sénoudébou, crossed the Senegal, and endeavoured to cut the French communications between Bakel and Kayes. Galliéni himself, who had been recently appointed to command the troops in Upper Senegal, took the field against him and broke his power in several engagements. The mallam fortified himself at a village 46 miles south-west of Tambacounda. This village was taken by the French on 8 December 1887. Mahmadu escaped; but he was attacked by allies of the French on 9 December, and two days later died of his wounds. All the tribes of the country north of the Gambia boundary then sought French protection. Later disturbances in Senegal had their origin either in internal tribal dissensions or in dislike of closer control by France. In all respects they were minor affairs.

S 175 648 [439]

The Consolidation of French Rule. The original treaties, of which the French negotiated some 130 between 1785 and 1891 with the chiefs of Senegal, dealt with trade only. They fixed the rents and rates payable by each individual trader, and usually gave subsidies to the chiefs in return for their goodwill. These treaties did not attempt to deal with the internal administration of the tribes or with their foreign relations. The next stage was a treaty of friendship and protection, in which the native state was free to conduct its own affairs, subject only to the general guidance of French Residents.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

At this stage no French taxation was imposed. Faidherbe was the first to insist that the election of any chiefs must be subject to his approval, and from this time onwards the French hold gradually grew tighter. As the French historian Sabatié has put it: 175 648

'These treaties guaranteed the political organization, the religion, customs, institutions, and laws of the native country concerned. They were designed to ensure the security of our commerce and respect for the property of our nationals and our subjects, and they stipulated, by way of compensation, the collection of certain taxes on cattle and exported products for the benefit of chiefs. As a result of the evolution of the colony and its economic and administrative necessities, the clauses and obligations of these treaties have lapsed.'

The system lasted until towards the end of the nineteenth century; but from that time onwards native powers, especially over judicial matters, land, and tribute, have been gradually curtailed. Native chiefs have become agents appointed by the Government, and native administrative institutions have almost everywhere been deliberately abolished. This policy has its roots not only in administrative convenience but also in a strong sense of duty to the individual native and a desire to protect him from misrule.

The Modern Constitution

Until 1920 the four communes of Dakar, Goree, Rufisque, and St. Louis were described as the territory under direct administration, the remainder of the colony as a protectorate. In that year the distinction, which had long been one without a difference, was formally abolished. 631 633

Senegal, being the oldest colony, contains about a quarter of the whole European population of French West Africa. It also contains a larger proportion of educated and politically minded natives than the other colonies, and its constitution is more democratic. This last fact is mainly due to the equalitarian doctrines of the July Monarchy at the time when the personal status of Senegalese native citizens and their rights as Frenchmen were determined. In 1833 the French Parliament enacted that any person born free, or having legally acquired his liberty, enjoyed in the French colonies both civil and political rights under conditions prescribed by law. In 1848, therefore, when the colony first acquired the right to send a deputy to the French Parliament, natives born in the French settlements of Goree, Rufisque, and St. Louis, the only French soil in Senegal at the time, became entitled to the Parliamentary vote and to all the 641 [162] [648] [633]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
ST. LOUIS

361 The oldest part of St. Louis (Fig. 53) stands on an island in the estuary of the Senegal. This island is some 2,400 yards long and averages 350 yards in width, and its southern extremity is 13½ miles from the mouth of the river. It has three main suburbs, N'Dar Toute and Guet N'Dar on the Langue de Barbarie, and Sor on the mainland.

History

361 Early navigators in search of the gold of Bambouk used the Senegal
175 as a means of entry to the interior, and in 1658 a settlement was
[487] founded. This was the first French post in West Africa, and it was
[103] named after the patron saint of King Louis XIV. Its story has largely been told elsewhere, since, from the first, it played a prominent part in the general history of French West Africa as a whole and of Senegal in particular. The main events in the past were its capture by
[648] the British in 1759, its recapture in 1779, its second capture in 1809, and its final restoration to the French in 1817. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it steadily grew in size and wealth, but in recent years it has been forced, both commercially and politically, to yield to Dakar.

The Town

361 The original island is now almost completely covered with buildings. These include Government House (Senegal), the Law Courts, the principal barracks, the power station, and the Roman Catholic church in the centre; the prison, two mosques, and another barracks to the north; and the hospital and another mosque to the south. N'Dar Toute has Government House (Mauritania) (Plate 92), the market, and yet another barracks, and Sor has the railway stations
[964] and the cemeteries. Guet N'Dar is inhabited almost entirely by natives.

491 The western arm of the river is crossed by two bridges. The
361 Geôle Bridge, 150 yards long, connects the main town to N'Dar Toute, and it takes its name from the prison near its eastern end. Five hundred and sixty yards south of it is the Servotuis Bridge, the western end of which marks the dividing line between N'Dar Toute and Guet N'Dar. At the other end of it is an open space at present called Place Pétain. In a line with the Servotuis Bridge is the Faidherbe Bridge across the main stream. Built in 1900, this bridge is 570 yards long and has six fixed spans and a roadway 37 feet wide. Near its western end is a swing bridge with two openings each of 30 yards.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

History

175 361 [997] Until the middle of the nineteenth century Dakar was a Lebou village. In 1846, however, a Roman Catholic convent was built there, and eleven years later the village and the Cape Verde peninsula were officially occupied. In 1858 the French Government signed a contract with the Messageries Impériales (now the Messageries Maritimes) whereby ships sailing between Bordeaux and Rio de Janeiro would call at Dakar. The company acquired 7½ acres of land near Dakar point, and in 1863 a small jetty was built. This was the beginning of the port. In 1864 a lighthouse was constructed near [502] Cape Verde and three years later two others, respectively at Almadi [496] point and at Cape Manuel. In 1885 the railway to St. Louis was opened. It was not, however, until 1898 that the idea was conceived [712] of making Dakar a big naval base, and by 1910 it was capable of accommodating vessels of all types. Further improvements have [504] since been effected, and to-day the dry dock is big enough to take a battleship.

The Town

361 Dakar has grown so as to cover the southern part of the Cape Verde peninsula, but the port is on the east side of the town. On the south-west are the cliffs of Madeleines bay and on the south-east those of Bernard bay. Dakar point marks the northern end of the latter. North of the port is Bel Air point, the southern limit of Hann bay.

The medina or native town, which contains nearly half the population, is to the north-west of the main town. The intercolonial road [491] enters the latter from the north and is continued as the Avenue Gambetta and the Avenue Maginot to an open space where stands [368] the Roman Catholic cathedral. East of the cathedral is the Residence of the Governor-General (Vol. I, Plate 58), magnificently situated on the top of the cliffs overlooking Bernard bay. Farther south are the British Consulate, the Pasteur Institute, the botanical gardens, and, [943] almost at Cape Manuel, the isolation hospital. The buildings of the army headquarters are near Dakar point. West of them are the port offices, the telephone exchange, the principal market, the Mairie (Plate 117), and the law courts. The town contains innumerable shops and offices and many clubs, cafés, hotels, and other amenities of modern civilization.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[DAKAR]

route from Paris to Santiago and was also the terminus of local services to Bamako and to St. Louis. The Aéromaritime company used to run flying-boat services to Conakry, Abidjan, Lagos, Douala, and Pointe Noire. 509

Wireless. The broadcasting station is near Madeleines bay, 700 yards north-west of the cathedral. A small station, transmitting to ships, is on Bel Air point. 206

Cable. Dakar is connected by cable to Casablanca, to Brest, to Fernando Noronha (Brazil), and to Conakry. The two latter cables are landed in the south-west of Bernard bay, not far from the Pasteur Institute. There is, however, a telephone cable to Goree island. This is landed on the north-west shore of the same bay.

Shipping. Lines normally serving the port include the following: America West African, Bull, Chargeurs Réunis, Elder Dempster, Fabre, Fraissinet, Gdynia America, Hamburg-Bremen, Holland West Afrika, Italia, Lloyd Triestino, Maurel et Prom, Messageries du Sénégal, Navigazione Generale Italiana, Société Générale des Transports, Société Maritime Belge des Transports, and Société Navale de l'Ouest. 505

Coasting vessels sail regularly for Port Etienne, St. Louis, Kaolack, and Ziguinchor.

GOREE (14° 39′; 17° 23′ W.). Population, 714. Custom-house. Barracks and military hospital. 36 [131] [162] [712]

The rocky island of Goree (Plate 112) has an area of 138 acres. The first Europeans to land on it were the Portuguese in 1445, and since then it has had a chequered history, which has been told elsewhere in these volumes. [175]

Most of the centre of the island is occupied by buildings, and in the south there is the old fort. In the extreme north is a large lime-kiln. [381]

The only source of water is an artesian well in the fort. [312]

Trade. Trade is now limited to the ordinary requirements of the islanders, and traffic to taking them and their goods to and from the mainland. [938]

Harbour. In the north-east of the island there is a little bay where there are three jetties, only one of which (Plate 121) is now in use. The depth at its head is 10 feet. [504]

RUFISQUE (14° 41′; 17° 12′ W.). Population, 19,764, including 180 Europeans. Full Commune. Custom-house. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Power station. Hotel. Garage. [131] [162] [712]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

[RUFISQUE]

439 Rufisque was the first port from which ground-nuts were exported, and to-day ground-nuts are still the main article of trade. In the first quarter of 1939 it exported 25,152 tons of them. On the north side
504 of Goree bay, Rufisque can only handle small ships. There is anchorage off shore in 3–7 fathoms, but from July to November heavy swell makes it almost unusable.

633 Since 1937 the town has been in the District of Dakar.

Jetties and Equipment. There are three jetties with alongside depths
504 of at least 9½ feet. Two of these are of iron, one being 603 feet long and 33 feet wide with an extension by a wharf 65 feet long and 52 feet wide. The third is of concrete and is 656 feet long. Decauville tracks connect these jetties to the railway. There is one 5-ton crane and one 2-ton, besides smaller ones. There are 4 tugs and 2 lighters.

Communications

496 *Rail.* By rail Rufisque is 17 miles from Dakar, 26½ miles from Thiès, 146 miles from St. Louis, and 268 miles from Tambacounda.

Road. The intercolonial road runs from Dakar (15 miles) through
491 to Thiès (29 miles), where it divides. Eight miles beyond Rufisque a colonial road branches off it to go to M'Bour (38 miles), Joal (61 miles), and Fatik (101 miles). Another colonial road goes north-eastwards from the town to Sangalkan (6 miles) and Kayar (17 miles).

36 M'Bour (14° 21′; 16° 57′ W.). Population, *c.* 4,500, including 175
[131] Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-
[162] house. Medical post. Police station.

The town of M'Bour stands at the head of a shallow cove which extends for a mile out to sea as a passage between two reefs. Inside
[504] the cove the water is up to 4½ feet deep, and there is a wharf used by surf-boats. Ships anchor 2½ miles off shore, but heavy swell makes
[439] conditions difficult from June to November. Ground-nuts and millet are exported.

[491] M'Bour is on the colonial road from Rufisque (38 miles) to Joal (23 miles) and Fatik (63 miles). Several minor roads lead inland,
[494] notably one to Thiès, along which there is a bus service twice a day. For half the year there is also a service to Joal.

[131] Joal (14° 09′; 16° 51′ W.). Population, *c.* 900. Custom-house.
[162] Roman Catholic mission.

Joal was founded by the Norman Company in the middle of the
[175] seventeenth century. It was captured by the Dutch in 1677 and by

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

[JOAL]

the British 70 years later, and it did not finally become French until 1763. It is on a sandspit in front of a coastal lagoon. Off shore there is a large sandbank, exposed at low tide. 36 [175]

There is a small wharf, but, owing to the difficulty of access, there is very little trade. In 1937, for example, only 4,600 tons of goods were handled and their value was 4,600,000 francs (£36,970). [504] [439]

The colonial road from Fatik (40 miles) to M'Bour (23 miles) and Rufisque (61 miles) runs through the town. There are also minor roads. From November to June there is a bus service to M'Bour and Thiès four days a week. [491] [494]

FOUNDIOUGNE (14° 06′; 16° 29′ W.). Population, 2,734. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-house. Medical post. [131] [162]

Foundiougne is on an island formed by the Saloum, the Djomboss, and their connecting channels. Much of the district is swampy, but the town itself is on a piece of firm ground on the left bank of the Saloum, 33 miles from the sea.

Anchorage in the river is in 3½ fathoms. There are 8 wharves, of which 1 is owned by the municipality. [504]

The principal export is ground-nuts, but in recent years Foundiougne has declined in prosperity. This is owing to the rise of Kaolack, which is better situated on the north bank of the river and which has much better communications. [A39] [433]

There is a ferry across the river, and from its far side a rough road leads to Fatik. South of the river there is a colonial road eastwards to Kaolack (32 miles). Along both these roads there is a bus service, daily in the dry season and fortnightly in the wet. [491] [494]

FATIK (14° 18′; 16° 27′ W.). Population, 3,521, including 128 Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Medical post. Police station. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. [131] [162]

At Nonane, on Marigot de Fatik 14½ miles above its junction with the Saloum, is the site of one of the old *escales*. This is the upper limit for boats drawing 10 feet, but smaller craft can ascend a further 7 miles to Fatik, 58 miles from the sea. The town is on the right bank of the river, which is here called the Sine. [505] [487]

Trade is chiefly in ground-nuts. [439]

Colonial roads lead north to Bambey (27 miles), south-east to Kaolack (28 miles), and south-west to Joal (60 miles), and a minor road south to Foundiougne. [491]

The landing-ground is half a mile west of the town.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Mali MS35

S 496

3. Thiès–Kidira (352½ miles).
4. Diourbel–Touba (31 miles).
5. Guinguiné–Kaolack (14 miles).
6. Kaolack–Lyndiane (6½ miles).

S M 499 175

History

The first plan for a railway was made by Pinet-Laprade in 1857. It was to connect the head of navigation on the Senegal with a suitable point on the Niger, and in 1863 Mage prospected the country between Medine and Bamako. During the next fifteen years or so various other schemes were proposed. All of them were chiefly concerned with the military conquest of Cayor, of the middle Niger basin, a[illegible] of the lands between Timbuktu and Algeria. Many of them envisage[illegible] a trans-Saharan line, and there seems to have been little thought of economic development.

On 5 February 1880 a Bill was introduced into the French Chamber of Deputies to authorize a line from Dakar to St. Louis with a branch to Medine and the middle Niger. It was considerably amended before being passed, the chief alteration being the excision of the section from St. Louis to Medine.

S 499 175

Surveys of the two other sections were made, and on 21 June 1882 a contract was signed with the Société de Construction des Batignolles to build a line from Dakar to St. Louis. This company remained the owner of the line until it was bought out by the Government in 1933. European labour was largely employed in construction, and this meant that work had to be suspended from July to November each year. In spite of this and other difficulties, the line was opened on 6 July 1885. This was the first railway in West Africa.

It soon became apparent that faulty methods had been used. The wooden sleepers were eaten by termites and the track had been very poorly ballasted. These defects, however, were eventually remedied.

S [433]

The railway achieved its military purpose, but its economic results were of equal value. In particular, it stimulated the production of ground-nuts by providing means for their export. This had important effects on the development of Dakar and of Rufisque.

S M 499 175 [505]

Meanwhile a little progress had been made on the section linking the Senegal with the Niger. In contradistinction to the Dakar–St. Louis line, the work was done by the Government. It had an insuspicious beginning. Medine is 625 miles by river from St. Louis and can only be reached by barge in August and September. Material brought from the port was seldom taken farther than Kayes, and goods

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Mali MS 35

were dumped there and at places even farther downstream. These had to be transported upstream in barges drawn by men. Diseases, especially yellow fever, caused many deaths, and there were endless difficulties with workmen, both European and native. Furthermore, the country was not fully known and only half pacified. Work began at Medine in the middle of 1881, but the military post at Kita was less than six months old, and that at Bamako was not set up until 1883. By the end of 1881 precisely one kilometre of the line had been completed. In the following year the ships started from St. Louis too late and could not even reach Kayes. There were several epidemics of typhoid and several fires in the store dumps.

By 1884 there were 34 miles of track, but it was so badly constructed as to be incapable of supporting the weight of a locomotive. There was no ballast, poor local wood was used for sleepers, curves were too sharp, and gradients were too severe. In 1888 the work was handed over to the French Marines, who made some improvements in the existing track and extended it to Mahina, a distance of 66 miles. It was still unusable. In the following year a Commission was appointed, and made various recommendations, some of which showed that the original purpose of the line had become obscured. By 1891 there were 79 miles of metre-gauge track from Kayes to Mahina, a ferry across the Bafing, 24 miles of 60 cm.-gauge track from there to Diouléba, and 3 miles of 50 cm.-gauge track beyond that place. In the same year another Commission was appointed, and in the following year a party of engineers was sent out under the command of Major Joffre. Substantial improvements were rapidly effected, and in 1893 the first train ran from Kayes to Mahina. In 1896 the Bafing was bridged. In May 1904 the line, metre-gauge all the way, reached the Niger at Bamako and on 10 December that year it reached Koulikoro. It has since been considerably improved.

In the summer of 1902 the Senegal failed to rise. This prevented any effective provisioning of the posts in French Sudan and also gave a stimulus to railway construction. The original plan for a line from St. Louis to Kayes was dropped, and Thiès was chosen as the junction. The new railway was intended not only to provide a link between existing lines but also to find and attract local traffic. Various routes were discussed, and in 1907 construction began from both ends. The section from Kayes to Ambidedi (26 miles) was opened in December 1908 and that from Thiès to Diourbel (50½ miles) on 16 July 1909. Work on the latter began again in February 1910 and the line reached Guinguiné in the December of that year. By the middle of 1913 it

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Mali MS 35

S M 499 175

was at Koussanar, and when war came in 1914 it had reached a place called Cotiari Naoudé, 258 miles from Thiès. In 1920 a force of 8,000 labourers was recruited, and the line was completed on 5 August 1923.

S 499 175 [433]

Branch Lines. Work on the branch from Guinguiné to Kaolack began on 6 June 1911, and the line was officially opened on 1 January 1912. This railway, of course, has transformed Kaolack and has been the prime factor in its growth to its present importance. The private line from Kaolack to Lyndiane was built by the firm of Charles Peyrissac et Cie in 1925.

The line from Diourbel was originally planned to go to Tal-Tal and Thiel. Construction began on 1 December 1929, and the line reached Touba on 1 March 1931. Financial difficulties postponed further extension, and nothing more has been done up to the present. This branch has proved valuable to local producers of ground-nuts and has been more successful than its contemporary to Linguéré.

This latter was begun from Louga early in 1929 and reached Coki (18½ miles) on 1 October that year. Railhead was at Dahra on 1 October 1930 and the whole line was finished on 1 October 1931. Results have not been quite as good as had been hoped.

S M 496

Permanent Way, Locomotives, and Rolling-stock

Rails and Sleepers. The section from Dakar to St. Louis has rails weighing 30 kg. per metre (61 lb. per yard) bought second-hand from the Nord Railway of France in 1929, and that from Thiès to Kayes has rails weighing 25 kg. and 26 kg. per metre (50½ lb. and 52½ lb. per yard). The track from Kayes to Koulikoro was originally laid with rails weighing 20 kg. per metre (40 lb. per yard) and was notorious for its numerous rail breakages; but it is now in process of being relaid on a new alinement with rails weighing 30 kg. per metre (61 lb. per yard). The Louga–Linguéré branch was given the old rails from the Dakar–St. Louis line. These weigh 20 kg. per metre (40 lb. per yard).

S 496

Sleepers are of steel.

Gradients and Curvature. These vary considerably, but there are no gradients steeper than 1: 30, and the minimum radius of curves is 197 yards. It is intended ultimately to reduce these figures to 1: 71 and 219 yards respectively.

Bridges. The principal bridges are noted in the itineraries below. Minor bridges are of steel and concrete, and in many cases old rails are used as reinforcing bars. Culverts are numerous.

/95 cont./

134 From the geological viewpoint, the soil of Sine-Saloum is silico-argillaceous, except for the edge of the sea formed by dunes of white sand. Sand predominates in the north. Everywhere else it is mixed with red clay.

135 The subsoil covers ferruginous rock, alluvial laterite, undoubtedly coming from the decomposition of granitic rock; this is the ferruginous fossil layer, following the expression of Henri Hubert, which covers the limestone and marl of the Eocene period.

Numerous outcrops of laterite appear at Kaffrine, Koungheul, in Mandack, and in Rip.

The digging of wells tells us something about the composition of the terrain forming the subsoil in this region. Under a more or less thick layer of sand, one finds laterite, then chalk or soft limestone, and finally hard limestone.

A highly varied and fossilized marine fauna has been discovered in the soft limestone at a depth of about 35, 40, 45 meters.

173 b) Historical survey. The history of the inhabitants consists of more or less confused oral traditions. No account has been handed down in writing. We can therefore only rely on narrations, sometimes contradictory, which the natives hand down orally.

The representatives of the conquering or conquered races have their own versions. It is difficult for the European to tell which part is truth or falsehood. Our penetration into
175 this part of Senegal is /96/ recent. It happened barely 80
438 years ago. At first it was fragmentary; the region was traversed by the merchant or trader at the time of the slave trade; the latter quickly returned to his base from the Petite Côte or from Gorée, the turbulence of the tribes not permitting him to stay in the region or to settle down there. A number of business establishments were founded at the end of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth, but their existence was ephemeral and in any case precarious.
175 The internal struggles between the tribes gave the region little

S /96 cont./
175 security. It took until 1860 to catch sight of a beginning of colonization, an attempt at penetration, supported by arms.

S Two large political groupings and a multitude of petty
SR states, both independent and vassal, divided the region.
175 On the one hand, the kingdom of Sine, peopled by
SR Sérère, was established to the west, on the right bank of the
631 Saloum, from the ocean to a distance of 20 kilometers from Kaolack.

Neighboring the latter, surrounding Kaolack and extending to the east up to Kaffrine, going north to Kael, and planting its roots to the south of the Saloum River as far as Rip, extended the kingdom of Saloum, peopled by Sérère, Toucouleur /Tukolor/, and Ouoloff /Wolof/.

On the right bank one found the vassal state of N'Doukoumane, subject to the king of Saloum, and the semi-independent state of Koungheul; on the left bank, the now independent, now vassal states of Pakalla and Mandack, Rip, Laghem, and Niombato.

SR Sine and Saloum had a very hierarchical political and
[643] administrative organization. The sovereign authority was held by the "Bour" or king. Powerful and respected, this great chief was surrounded by counselors or ministers with whose help he governed, administered justice, levied taxes, and declared war. It was this organization that we found upon our arrival in the region. It is very old, but the exact time at which it was established cannot be stated.

S It seems certain, however, that the country was originally
SR inhabited by the Sérère, who thus were the first inhabitants. A
173 fetishistic people, they are related /97/, according to their
[144] morphological characteristics, to the Lébou of the peninsula of Cape Verde.

At an undetermined time, the Mandingue /Mandingo/, coming from N'Gabou (Portuguese Guinea), crossed the Gambia, occupied Coular, crossed the Saloum, and overran Sine, capturing M'Bissel, the capital of the Sérère.

Conquered, the latter offered their submission. In con-
SR trast to the other races, they stayed on their ancestral land
[563] without emigrating. The Mandingue invasion did not concern

SR 645 /98 cont./

there was the Grand Farba, a slave of the crown, who performed the functions of head of the army. There was also the Farba Birkeur, or court minister, and a series of dignitaries for various jobs, up to the court jester or Bissète.

S SR 175 648 - The first attempts at French colonization in this part of Senegal date back to 1859, the date of the first military expedition into Sine-Saloum. In 1875, we concluded a treaty of alliance and trade with the king of Saloum, but the provisions were never observed by the native chiefs.

Governor Faidherbe explored the country and carried on reconnaissance as far as Kaolack. Following this demonstration he made a new treaty with the Bour Saloum in 1859. This agreement, like the preceding one, remained a dead letter, and it was necessary to organize an expedition in February 1861. Major Pinet-Laprade was given the command.

The marabout, a warrior of the Toucouleur race, Ma Ba, installed at Nioro-Rip, rose up against our arms.

In 1865 his activities forced us to throw a column into Rip.

Defeated by us, he nevertheless held us in check until 1867, when he was killed in the battle of Somb.

His brother, Mamour Dary, was only able to resist us weakly. Upon his death, Saër Maty resumed hostilities, seizing Kahone, the capital of Saloum.

His power becoming troublesome, an expedition /99/ was deemed necessary. It took place in April 1887, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Coronnat.

Nioro was taken, and on May 14, 1887, a treaty was signed with the chiefs of Saloum, placing Saloum, Niom, and Rip under our protection.

S [634] An administrator was placed at Foundiougne, and a circle was created.

In 1891, treaties made with the kings of Sine and Saloum secured our authority definitively throughout the country.

The administrative organization was then set up gradually and without difficulties.

22: Poix--1 G.T-5 (1822) 1955 MS30 Wolof MS30
Senegal MS37

/41/

Foreword

A curious figure, Christophe Paulin de la Poix, Chevalier de Fréminville, captain of the frigates of the king. W 114

There were three different persons in him: the sailor, the writer and natural scientist, and the eccentric (his custom of dressing as a woman caused him to be nicknamed "la chevalière").

Born in 1787, he served under Napoleon, then under the Restoration. It was in 1822 that he made the voyage to Senegal aboard "la Néreide" which is reported here.

Unfortunately we have only extracts from the memoirs of the Chevalier; the picturesque recollection of Dakar that he relates to us makes us regret that we do not possess the complete work, but we do not know who has it.

We hereby thank the Librairie Champion for having kindly authorized us to reproduce the following pages (pages 107-125) taken from the Mémoires du Chevalier de Fréminville (1787-1849), collected by E. Herpin, Paris, Champion, 1913. We have added to it some short notes intended to clarify the text. (N. D. L. R.).

/42/ On the fourth of April (1822), in the morning, the sea had manifestly changed color. We made ready to strike for the coast of Saint-Louis, a little to the north of the Senegal River. We did not reach it until the next day. W 123

We were scarcely at anchor when the lighter la Cauchoise, commanded by the chevalier de Missielly, post lieutenant /lieutenant de vaisseau/, passed our stern. Its whole crew, gathered at the side, saluted us three times with the shout of "Long live the King!" We returned the salute with three similar shouts.

Not until the seventh did the state of the bar permit a pilot from Saint-Louis to come on board. This pilot brought us, on behalf of M. Roger (1), governor of the colony, the most S 505

1. Baron Roger, governor of Senegal from 1822 to 1827, a

S [175] [654]

/42 cont./

remarkable man -- in spite of the estimation of Fréminville. Aided by the gardener Richard, he gave a vigorous push to agronomic research in Senegal.

S 505 [175] [654]

singular letter. M. Roger, ex-barrister, then housing administrator, and subsequently having become -- nobody knows how -- governor, was asking us what our tonnage was, the nature of our cargo, the name of our firm...

Wanting to laugh at his expense, our commander answered him that the frigate of the King of France, la Néreide, was sent from Brest by M. Louis, citizen of Paris, foremost merchant of the kingdom; that she carried a load of powder and balls, as well as 325 soldiers destined for the colony; that therefore he requested him to send us as soon as possible some small boats in order to transport our passengers to land.

W 123

The debarkation of our troops dragged on until the fourteenth under the most deplorable conditions.

Just at that date 130 men arrived for us, coming from Africa and destined for Gorée. They were commanded by M. de Lâge, battalion chief and chevalier de Saint-Louis. This officer was accompanied by his wife, his son, and his daughter. The latter, 15 years old, was very pretty.

W 439

We also received a multitude of parrots, parakeets, and monkeys brought by Negroes, and everyone amused himself by buying some of them. As a result, there was an unendurable concert on board.

Much more welcome than all this menagerie, abundant provisions of oranges, lemons, coconuts, and bananas were also brought to us by a schooner which arrived from Cape Verde.

W 123 [136]

We got under way on the eighteenth. All day long we hugged the shore of a low, sandy land. Night brought us a very strange concert. It was given for us by lions who were bathing in the waves near the shore. In the darkness of the evening these roars reminded one of the noise of thunder, but had a much more curious and frightening character.

/44 cont./

The city is made up of 150 houses, well built and of 361
attractive appearance. They are embellished with exterior
galleries supported by pilasters.

I noticed the former seat of government (9) where the

9. At the back of the present square garden of the rue du Port. A comemorative plaque indicates the site of the former seat of government occupied by de Boufflers.

chevalier de Boufflers, so well known for his light poetry, [175]
lived. Governor of Senegal from 1786 to 1789, he preferred
to stay at Gorée rather than at Saint-Louis.

Today his house is falling into ruins. In front stretches
a splendid esplanade planted with tall trees. In the back, an
abandoned garden. There can still be seen a long avenue of
mimosas, coconut trees, and various other species of palm
trees, which the chevalier took pleasure in cultivating at great [137]
expense on this volcanic rock devoid of vegetable soil.

At the summit of the island, the citadel (10). It, too,

10. The present Castel /castle/, fortified anew under the Second Empire.

is falling into ruins. Without an enclosure, without even a
gate, the European cemetery (11) stretches at its feet. Graves 764

11. Nothing is left of it today.

lined up side by side inform the traveler that, on this soil, once
spewed forth by fire (12), today devoured by a torrid sun and

12. The high part of Gorée (the Castel) is of volcanic origin.

n' [i.e. Gorée -- Analyst]

175, 648, 726

[For a discussion of the French relations with the damels of Cayor, a Wolof state, between 1859 and 1864 when this kingdom became part of the colony of Senegal (especially the military operations) see 34:Faidherbe, MS30 Wolof, category 116.]

S SR /379 cont./
369 and at Diakhaté where the hut of straw or purely of mud
[342] prevails. Could it be that the occupation of mason to which
W some None seem to devote themselves is a factor in this
[342] modernization of their settlements?

SR A certain "coquetry" absent in the bush villages leads
[463] some autochthones to lay out a little flower garden near their
S hut (Tiali, Keur-Issa-Bambara)..
[351]

The presence of the city is also reflected in the equip-
S ment used by the rural people. The furniture is always sum-
369 mary, but more and more the iron bed is replacing the lat-
352 tice of wood or the mat put on the ground itself. A mattress,
[513] a military blanket, and commonly a mosquito net of a very light fabric complete this relative comfort. Often a little table of unpainted wood, a chair made of old boxes, a bit
S of mirror hung on the wall, and sometimes an impressive
[353] number of photographs, or, lacking them, pages cut out of an illustrated magazine pasted to the walls, give a special stamp to this interior, which is no longer typically rural. Sometimes one even has the surprise of encountering in these modest interiors a wardrobe and a little buffet, which adorn, the more since they are not utilized, the room of a privileged native. But this comfort is an exception.

S The calabash, which is the very foundation of the
369 kitchen utensils, is still commonly utilized for household
415 tasks and for the common meals. Nevertheless the cast-iron or aluminum saucepan is no longer a luxury; the glass and above all the bottle are in common use.

S The clothing, too, has been modified. The loincloth
369 in bright colors, laboriously woven by the Toucouleur
291 /Tukolor/ weaver, durable but expensive, has become a
177 luxury. Imported printed cloth of moderate price has sup-
planted it everywhere. The white robe with embroidery has
S become the festive garment par excellence; the shorts, the
[292] trousers, and the jacket, often furnished by the European, are now the clothes utilized for work.

S SR 369 [162] /381 cont./ inhabitants. These three villages are located less than two kilometers from the first urban quarters, consequently a favorable location for the daily departure of workers for the escale.

S SR 369 162 [563] The ethnic composition of these agglomerations, despite the urban proximity (favorable for the mixing of peoples), has remained homogeneous. At Sapko there is no foreign element; at Tiali two Wolof and one Sérère-Sine were working there temporarily at the time of the time of the inquiry; by contrast, nearly a tenth of the population of Thiès-None is made up of individuals belonging to non-Sérère ethnic groups (Wolof, Toucouleur, Peul). A parallel must be drawn between this quite relative heterogeneity and the almost total Islamization of the locality. Nearly four-fifths of the population of Thiès-None has embraced this religion; Sapko and Tiali, by contrast, remain essentially Catholic or fetishistic, the Moslems living there generally being transient elements.

S SR [771]

S SR 582 794 [563] A kind of self-defense by the Catholic group that lives in a region largely Islamized seems to be one of the primary reasons for this ethnic integrity. Under the influence of the fathers, who possess, it seems, a profound authority over every Christian agglomeration, marriages occur from None village to None village and between Catholics (1).

S SR [177] 1. The woman seems to be the element through which the transition from the Catholic religion to the Moslem religion occurs. The young Christian who marries a Moslem no longer practices and quickly abjures her first religion; her children and the whole line will become Islamized under the paternal influence.

S SR 162 369 /382/ An examination of the male and economically active population of these three agglomerations gives the result that 38% of its elements have remained essentially

/401 cont./

178 occupation may be. Imported products appear only at breakfast:
*262 bread, sweetened condensed milk, lumps of sugar. The other
[264 two meals are still always composed of four products, rice,
439] millet, fish, and meat, which may be combined in different
ways, and a fifth that is always present, oil. The single element
of diversity comes from the more or less great variety and the
more or less great quantity of vegetables and manioc that are
incorporated into the traditional dishes, and, of course, the
skillful proportion of condiments of all sorts.

*511 With a few exceptions (1), the study of the expenses of
*262
●[177]

1. The more important exceptions are Nos. 39 and 43. These two units of consumption have entirely adopted European food habits, and are otherwise not comparable with the others. This is why we neglect them a little on this point.

our families for food is very nearly limited, aside from bread, milk, and sugar, to a description of the variations ascertained in the consumption of these few essential products.

One can state that in general all of our families consume rice by liking and millet by necessity. Rice is the food of choice, millet entering in only when the financial situation of the family demands it, or in order all the same to provide a little variety.

243 Rice is 30 to 35% more expensive than millet. It is culti-
311 vated on a small scale in a few wet zones in the countryside
[435 around Thiès, whereas millet grows nearly everywhere. The
*[511 truly productive rice zones closest to Thiès are the Casamance
to the south and the lower course of the Senegal to the north.
On the east it appears only with the upper course of this river
and in the region /402/ drained by the Niger and its tributaries,
*262 in Guinea, and in the Sudan. In reality, it is an imported
177 product. The traditional diet of this region was primarily based
on millet.

/415 cont./

*511 263 Most of them are very close to the average. There is thus a kind of uniformity in the consumption of sugar, and it is probably that here, too, we are in the presence of an upper limit.

/416/ The portion of the income devoted to sugar is thus going to vary according to the size of the income and the composition of the unit of consumption. The maximum noted is 10% for No. 4, the minimum 0.3 for No. 43 (1.2 for No. 42).

*511 272 [177] The same uniformity does not exist for sweetened condensed milk. Its use is spreading more and more, but all the same there are ten families who do not consume it at all.

The average consumption was established, for one man, at 589 grams per month for the 43 families, at 767 if one eliminates those that do not consume any.

Fourteen families out of 33 are above this average, only four of whom are in the top of the table. And, as in the case of vegetables, these 24 families are precisely the least numerous. The largest theoretical composition of the unit of consumption among these 24 families is that of No. 38, 10.5. But this is for an income of 50,000 francs per month. The next maximum is 8.6 for No. 29. Here, too, the size of the unit of consumption is essential.

Twenty-seven families utilize fresh milk besides or ~~to~~ supplement the condensed milk. Only two did not consume either one. But this consumption of fresh milk is quite limited; the average, solely for the utilizers, is 1.1 liters. It is habitual in only one case, No. 42, where a liter is bought every day. Moreover there is no periodicity anywhere. Fresh milk is therefore not used systematically for only breakfast. It is preferably [264] utilized for the rice mush that many families like to eat in the [855] afternoon. It is then reserved for women and children. This is the only point where we found a special diet for children, except from time to time when a mango or guava is bought solely for them.

Fresh milk costs more proportionally than condensed milk: [435] 40 francs a liter as against 40 francs for a case of 400 grams of Nestlé milk.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

571
178

preserve much of their prestige;[1] they are sometimes in diametrical opposition to the modernist elites and sometimes try to come to terms with them; occasionally, as the result of historical conditions, the two elites are closely interlocked.[2]

4. Types and degree of tension between the African modernist elites and the European groups. The latter occupy the position of ruling class in the whole community represented by each territorial unit. The conflict is fundamental, yet a balance, however temporary and precarious, between the two groups may sometimes be discerned, though it varies enormously in degree from one region to another and at different times.[3]

The situation in Senegal, compared with that in other parts of French West Africa, exhibits certain special features. Senegal was the first of these territories to be colonized.[4] At the beginning of the new phase which opened after the war, it had the largest number of educated and partly Westernized persons, and it has for several decades had a political life modelled on the West, though of a summary and limited character.[5] At this level of political life, the course of events during the past 10 years affords us a first glimpse of regional divergencies. It is a significant fact that Senegal was not the first French West [668] African territory in which a movement making political demands of some magnitude arose. The acute crises of the immediate post-war period developed elsewhere—in the Ivory Coast—with the founding and expansion of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain, the first political party in French [665] Africa (Black) with nationalistic tendencies. The Rassemblement Démocratique Africain never succeeded in establishing itself firmly in Senegal, either before or after its change of policy in the 1950's.[6] There is no space here to describe in detail the historical and social background of such events, though I shall have to refer to it several times later in this paper. Some of the basic traits will suffice for mention: aspects of the traditional structures, of contemporary economic development, of the schools' endeavour to promote assimilation.

[563] The principal racial groups inhabiting Senegal,[7] whatever their cultural differences, and whatever their traditional hostility to one another (which has still by no means completely disappeared) all had the same type of social and political organization. They were strictly graded societies divided into endogamous castes, each with its special economic, political, ritual and other functions. In the present context, inter-caste antagonisms and incompatibilities are as a rule more important than racial antagonisms, since several racial groups may have equivalent social gradings or one may have borrowed and adapted another's gradings. This is a fundamental feature; it indicates the framework within which we can explain the problem of relations between [554] the traditional and the modernist elites. For instance, prestige due to education may be superimposed on prestige based on tradition, in particular prestige due to caste; or else the two may be completely separate.[8] Even today a high

2. Either officially or more or less 'clandestinely'.
3. E.g. in South Dahomey.
4. In the Ivory Coast, for example, a period of calm and co-operation followed when the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain dropped certain extreme claims.
[175] 5. Trade centres have existed for more than three centuries and the more specifically colonial period began more than a hundred years ago.
5. It had four municipalities with full privileges which sent a deputy to the French Parliament.
6. It broke off its alliance with the French Communist party.
7. The Ouolof, the Toucouleur and the Serer.
8. The resistance of the traditional ruling strata to foreign influence explains why, in certain cases, the lower castes were the first to go to school.

[179]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 problems arising from political activities. Cities founded in the slave-trade period have traits that distinguish them from the more recent colonial cities, and any discussion of Senegalese cities must take full account of such a distinction.

[177] To be sure, "old cities" and "recent cities"[1] have one fundamental trait in common: both are entirely the products of external compulsion. In the rural districts, the controls introduced by the colonial power impinged on integrated, settled societies, whose solidarity and coherence often enabled them at least to check and moderate external influences, and to confine them to given channels. In the colonial cities, however, foreign activity itself created the framework in which it operated. Its principal effect was to bring together a conglomerate and poorly-integrated population, which from the outset was confronted by novel problems and upon which the agencies of change acted with maximum intensity. This condition is essential in the consideration of problems of political life in an urban milieu.

[P. 3 C]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

The New Political Life

369 More importantly, the urban centers
668 deserve attention because of the role they have played in the development of a radically new type of political life, one
[177] whose forms have been largely borrowed from outside Africa. The first attempts at political organization and activity were born in the cities. More recently some political movements have appeared in a rural context, as a reflection of rural conditions, but they have drawn much of their pattern from the cities, or from among elements subject to urban influences.

The modern African city presents a set of conditions favorable to the development of especially intense political reac-
369 tions. The position of the colonizing power is most sharply apparent in the city, and the instruments of its power are concentrated there. The rootless condition of the African population seems at its extreme; the masses that gather in the city are unsettled, poorly established in their occupations, and suffer from
[571] every form of insecurity. The new elites created and shaped by urban life feel restricted and disappointed in their desires for social advancement and for a share in authority and in modern symbols of prestige.[5] Finally, the city brings to-
[563] gether a white society and a Negro society, though often clearly separated by topography. In these circumstances racial tensions can develop to their maximum. Moreover, they assume varied aspects, *e.g.*, competitive situations in various spheres, official or unofficial discrimination.[6] Intense reactions to such conditions may take no organized form and may not manifest themselves except after some delay, however. Here the

[P. 5A]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[41] At first these were merely decorated lanterns. The custom 1 certainly has a European origin; it is typical of the "old cities" of Senegal.
[42] In 1954 the parades of "lanterns" were prohibited by administrative edict.
[43] The results at Dakar and at Thiès cannot be compared in detail. However, the informative value of these general results could, in each case, be verified at other stages in the research.
[44] It should be noted that in the case of Thiès the category of unskilled workers was much closer to that of semi-skilled workers. The unskilled workers, largely employed by the railroad, comprise a more stable group than at Dakar.

[P. 14C]

7 [i.e, an exhibition of "lanterns" at the end of the year accompanied by recreational activities — See category 1/6, P. 14 A -- Analyst]

665 [578] 462 [1111] 534 [1] 262

/433 cont./

125 b) It was concerned with the "outer" garments of 4,772 women 14 years old and + , the majority of them Wolof and Lébou.

291 Except when the principal garment is of transparent material, it is very difficult to distinguish, not the underclothing in the European sense of the term, but masses of draped or fitted material, indispensable elements of feminine dress in tropical Africa.

2. Results.

a) Classical African clothing (boubous):

Table II

Dominant Colors	Voiles Tulles Organdies	Plain	Lace or Open-work	Printed Wax or Fancy	Dyed (Craft)	Woven (Craft)	Totals
Whites	262	117	81	--	--	--	460
Blacks	95	149	23	--	--	--	267
Violets and mauves	115	52	--	244	--	34	445
Indigos	--	106	--	463	426	--	995
Blues	131	15	20	61	--	--	227
Greens	11	24	--	73	--	--	108
Yellows	106	20	--	58	--	--	184
Oranges	11	3	--	100	--	21	135
Reds	20	3	--	28	--	10	61
Pinks	248	3	45	21	--	--	317
Garnets	13	--	--	9	--	--	22
Ochers	3	--	--	6	--	--	9
Maroons	128	16	4	576	--	--	724
Grays	3	--	9	36	--	--	48
Totals	1,146	508	182	1,675	426	65	4,002

/434/

291 177 b) Clothing of European inspiration (tailles-basses and dresses):

11: Léques--6 P-5 (1956) 1957 MS37 Senegal MS37
/434/
DAKAR
291
177

Table III

	Tailles-basses			Voiles, Tulles, Organdies, Lace	Dresses						
	Printed	Others	Total		Plain	Printed Cotton	Printed W. and F.	Dyed	Fibranne	Nylon	Total
Whites	--	16	16	17	24	--	--	--	--	3	44
Blacks	--	--	--	21	22	--	--	--	--	--	43
Violets, mauves	11	--	11	19	5	--	50	--	--	--	74
Indigos	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	33	--	--	33
Blues	11	--	11	31	28	14	37	--	6	12	128
Greens	--	--	--	--	--	26	39	--	--	--	65
Yellows	--	--	--	--	--	--	38	--	7	--	45
Oranges	3	--	3	--	--	--	23	--	--	--	23
Reds	--	--	--	--	--	14	--	--	--	--	14
Pinks	3	--	3	12	5	--	34	--	--	10	61
Garnets	5	--	5	--	--	--	17	--	3	--	20
Ochers	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Marons	49	--	49	--	--	--	87	--	9	--	96
Grays	--	--	--	--	--	--	26	--	--	--	26
	82	16	98	100	84	54	351	33	25	25	672

/Fibranne designates various artificial or synthetic fabrics whose fibers are short and connected by twisting, in contrast to rayon made of continuous fibers./

/435 cont. /

291 in vivid and distinct colors on an indigo background, without overlappings.

[288] -- the presence in Dakar of an industry which manufactures "guinées" /cotton cloth/ and "sucretons";

[386] -- the survival of a traditional craft of dyers that still had 142 representatives in 1955.

The family of maroons takes second place (18.09% of the boubous and 18.21% of the whole).

In third place we find the violets and mauves, and in practically the same place the whites (about 11% in each category).

b) Classical African style:

-- Clothing for display, the mboubeu (1), or boubou,

[192]

1. Boubou is an incorrect pronunciation of the Wolof term mboubeu = woman's clothing in general, a full simple tunic.

[177] is always in favor (4,002 as against 770 garments of European inspiration, 83.86% as against 16.14%).

-- But in this category the Wax and Fancy printed fabrics are in regression (1,675 = 41,85% as against 2,412 = 56.52%).

291
177

c) Style of European inspiration:

-- The taille-basse, a kind of blouse that terminates at the waist in a circular flounce 20 to 25 centimeters wide, is combined either with a draped loincloth /pagne, a long strip of material/ or a sewed skirt. Most often the two pieces are made of the same material.

It is worn especially by the young girls (out of 52 women tested, 40 young girls, 25 of whom habitually wore tailles-basses).

-- The dress, worn by women of fashion in African life, is long in 99% of the cases.

/435 cont./

291 It is sometimes difficult to differentiate it from the
177 boubou when it is merely a long, sewed tunic.

It presents different variations (straight, pleated at the waist; round neck, square, etc.; its sleeves plain, puffed .... not reaching below the elbow).

/486/

291 d) Evolution:

In observing the different styles of clothing worn by women of different ages, one has a history of the evolution of the cut in the course of the last 20 years.

Among these 4,772 subjects, we have in fact noted at random: 4 women (from 50 to 55 years old), of whom:

2 wore 1 Fancy print boubou
+ 1 camisole
+ 3 loincloths, of which 1 was made by a weaver
+ 1 Jacquard
+ 1 cotton print

2 -- 1 voile boubou
+ 1 camisole
+ 3 loincloths, of which 1 was from a weaver
1 Jacquard
1 Fancy

4 women from 40 to 50 years old:

2 wore 1 voile boubou
+ 1 cotton-print loincloth
+ 1 Fancy loincloth

1 -- 1 voile boubou
+ 1 Fancy dress
1 Fancy loincloth

1 -- 1 voile boubou
+ 1 Fancy dress
+ 1 Jacquard loincloth

4 women from 30 to 40 years old:

2 wore 1 voile boubou
+ 1 dress

1 -- 1 Fancy boubou
+ 1 dress

[8]

787 177 All of the methods currently used in the different regions of Senegal to promote dreaming bear traces of the influence of Moslem beliefs, often distorted by local superstitions.

For centuries the work of Mohamed Ibn-Sirina (died in 110 A.H.), an Arab scholar of old regarded as the foremost of [791] the great mou'abbirs (interpreters of dreams) in the whole Moslem world, has served as the basis for this science. This work, supplied with few examples, brings together the most common types of interpretations and establishes universal rules that are still valid today.

Later, another Arab scholar (Cheïka Abdoul Khaniyou of Nabili Chiyou) revised and completed the work of Ibn Sirina; he collected and classified the various dreams in logical categories according to their subject (things, animals, persons, supernatural beings ...) in an important work: Taatire El-Ana mbitâbir El-Manam (= To make the world happier by the interpretation of dreams). Subsequently, Eddemiri in his great work entitled Hayatou el-Hayaouan (in two volumes) has given precise and exhaustive interpretations concerning the dreams in which animals figure.

[791] These are the two sources of classical information most often utilized by the interpreters of Senegalese dreams. The traditional religion, however, continues to exert an indisputable influence upon them.

Some of the practices that we are going to point out [9] by means of examples show this same influence. Utilized to evoke dreams, one finds them throughout Senegal.

Place: It is always essential that the place where one lies down is the most suitable one possible. In a place where a Moslem may not pray, one cannot hope to have a dream.

In the canton of Kahône (Bas-Saloum [Lower Saloum]), a region little Islamized, the women go at night to lie down near the ancient tombs.

The Ouolof [Wolof] of Cayor, with the same aim, visit [778] the tomb of the great marabout El Hadj Malick Sy at Tivaouane; the people of Baol go to the one of Sérigne Amadou Bamba M'Backé at Touba in the region north of Diourbel.

/24 cont./

369x
b) These simplified data call for some commentary. 592
What is the significance of the sometimes important differences 565
that we affirm between the situations that prevail in the different strata? 594

The high proportion, among the farmers, of households that coincide with the restricted family -- a proportion clearly higher than the average -- is explained by the fact that we are dealing more with market-gardeners than with farmers of the traditional type (as are found in the suburban villages). [241]
In any case, the problem has not been studied for a sufficient number of cases for us to draw definitive conclusions here.

/25/ Besides this category, for which we lack certain explanatory factors, only two others noticeably exceed the average established for the whole population: on the one hand, the superior employees and functionaries; on the other hand, members of the teaching profession, doctors, etc. The important factor here is the degree of Westernization (1). [177] [871]

1. The only categories whose members have all been to the French school.

It is only on this level that we have ascertained facts not only on the topological dispersion of the group of relatives, but also on the very clear loosening of the obligations flowing from kinship ties. Let us add that in reality the number of restricted families is much more important. In the majority of households which include one person in addition to the restricted family, this person is a domestic lodging with the family (who is sometimes a distant relative). The change in structure is therefore clearer than it would seem in view of the raw figures. [357]

c) This first general view shows, as in other domains -- 369x
we shall see this soon for the structure of even the restricted 565
family -- that the characteristics of the socio-occupational

/25 cont./

strata which we have defined do not depend on a single factor or on a series of factors in close correlation; it would be a simplification to establish a hierarchy based on certain criteria. There are in fact several scales. There is more or less complete participation in several socio-cultural contexts. We are dealing here with three principal groups: 369x 565

On the one hand, the categories of laborers and domestics, workers and artisans, master workmen, merchants, and, to a lesser degree, farmers and fishermen (2), where the

2. See above.

tendency toward familial regrouping is still very much alive. The extent of the familial group is as a whole a function of the possibilities for housing and of available finances (the maximum number of persons which a given number of salaried persons can support). It must likewise be noted that, in the case of autochthonous groups or groups originally from nearby regions, the frequency of neighboring and related households is much greater, and the tendency towards a reconstitution of the extended family /famille etendue/ manifests itself in a considerable number of cases. [596]

On the other hand, the categories of the superior functionaries and employees and the teaching and intellectual professions, in which, if one keeps in mind the preceding remarks, one sees that the household tends in permanent fashion to include only the restricted family. [594]

Finally, the category of subordinate employees and functionaries, intermediate between the two preceding groups, which is explained in particular by the composite character of this category; there, one /26/ finds elements (orderlies, beneficiaries of reserved employment in the administrative sector, etc.) clearly less Westernized, but their very superior living standard does not permit placing them in the category of laborers, whom they approximate in many aspects. The [177]

/74 cont./

369 3. The establishment of industries (1923-1945).

498 The event which gave a decisive impulsion to the
[175] commercial escale and which brought Thiès to the rank of a city was without question the establishment of the railroad repair shops in 1923. As early as 1907 the first work had been undertaken to connect Thiès to Bamako directly by rail; difficulties of all kinds and then the war impeded it. In 1923 only the junction of the two sections had been made at Kidira on the Falémé. There was some concern to have the repair shops of the Thiès-Niger established in the center nearest the coast. Thiès, head of the line, was chosen as
[162] the center. In a few years the city grew by 10,000 souls, going from 3,000 inhabitants in 1921 to 13,000 in 1929.

369 The opening of the railroad yards not only brought about
441 the arrival of many workers and their families, but at the same /75/ /Fig. 2 appears here/ time gave a strong impulsion to commerce. The regular injection of credits by this new industry brought about a renewal of commercial activity which showed in the expansion of the firms already established and the creation of new stores. The Africans, who up
[472] to that time worked solely for the profit of firms under
[563] European management and who had been kept out of the retail business, opened small shops for their own profit (4).

[177] 4. It is the military, it seems, who brought back from France this idea of establishing for themselves small grocery stores copied from those encountered in the villages of the mother country.

The latter, appealing to an essentially native clientele, multiplied as soon as the economic scope of the city increased. At the same time the number of artisans increased.

[563] After the war, the Levantines, who had been the only ones able to carry on commerce in complete tranquility for four years, set up businesses for themselves. Their experience

/91 cont./

369 industrial enterprises and in the public function. Even in a
563 professional category a certain hierarchy of a traditional
[182] order survives and is always respected. In the workshops of
[565] the Dakar-Niger, for example, the higher supervisory staffs
are made up of workers belonging to superior castes: free
[466] men, descendants of chiefs' families... Operatives coming
from families of griots or former captives, in spite of their
skill at the work and their training, would have only very
weak authority over their subordinates.

[578] The animosities between individuals belonging to
formerly hostile groups or to opposed religious sects may
sometimes reappear in the course of contacts between in-
dividuals or groups of individuals. Along the same line
[466] of thought, a certain favoritism may creep into the relations
between foreman and subordinates belonging to the same
ethnic category or the same religion.

Within each ethnic minority scattered through the
369 city spontaneous associations spring up, led by the oldest
563 among them. These friendly groups meet periodically. They
573 are at the bottom of the mutual aid to the newcomer, to the
workman who lives temporarily without funds in the escale.
Each of these gatherings is at the same time the occasion for
"folkloristic" celebrations, reminding the members of the
group of their customs and their country of origin.

The traditions which have been able to survive by
369 being adapted to the new conditions of the society lose
177 their importance to a certain extent in contact with new
563 ideas and Western influence. We have already remarked
that the notion of ethnic group is rapidly obliterated when the
individual is transplanted for a long time in a city very far
from his natal village. The family ties, and above all the
[593] authority of the head of the family over each of its members,
become extremely loose in the city. We see a breaking up
of the subordination that subjected each of the members of a
family to the paternal authority. The child is no longer
compelled to adopt the trade of his father; he may choose
the work that he thinks will suit him. The young girl is
[584] rapidly becoming emancipated, and rare are the Thiès

/91 cont./

369 177 563 [584] [593] [182] families in which the father imposes on the child the spouse of his choice. The spread of the teaching of the Moslem and Christian religions count for much in this loosening of the too confining ties of family tradition. This breaking up of ancient, too narrow social structures is not a strictly /92/ urban phenomenon; it also occurs in the countryside, but with less force and with a certain delay.

369 565 178 The presence of the industrial bloc of the Dakar-Niger, on the other hand, has had as an effect the formation of a working class, which is a specifically urban phenomenon. Although the ancient system of castes does exist in human contacts, that of social class is little by little being substituted for it. In sum, there actually exists a superposition of the two systems, but the pre-eminence of the second is already being affirmed. Through daily contacts and the rapid diffusion of social ideas coming from the West, the mass of workers is organized, it is grouped by syndicates, it has set up consumer co-operatives. Because of the great number of the members of this worker group, the workshops of the Dakar-Niger and, through repercussion, the city of Thiès itself have become the most active and the busiest centers of French West Africa. The strike that in 1948 paralyzed railroad traffic on the two lines (Dakar-Bamako and Dakar--Saint-Louis) for several months is certainly proof of the influence of a powerful and organized grouping, and a typical urban phenomenon.

[177] [467] [474] [468]

369 563 578 Thus there exists in Thiès a somewhat special social climate that sometimes makes the relations between Whites and Blacks strained. Chiefly during these periods of social crises. But these tensions are always temporary and automatically disappear as soon as the conflict is settled.

369 161 A much more important problem that seems general in all of the cities of Black Africa is that of the too rapid, if not excessive, swelling of the urban population. We have seen that the population of Thiès has almost doubled from 1945 (24,000 inhabitants) to 1953 (40,000 inhabitants). Dakar, Conakry, and Abidjan have grown in the same proportions.

[162]

/5/

244 433 Since the "campaign" of 1959-60, the commercial production of groundnuts in Senegal has reached 720,000 metric tons of groundnuts in the shell. In 1957-58, there was a record year with 830,000 metric tons. Since for these recent years the total production of food products can be estimated at about 550,000 metric tons, the proportion of 1,800 kilograms of groundnuts harvested per metric ton of food products, advanced in 1951 by M. Portères, is very close to the Senegalese economic reality (1).

[113]

1. For this information we have consulted: Barbier, J., "L'économie de l'arachide au Sénégal, Contribution à l'Étude du marché français des huiles alimentaires /The economy of the groundnut in Senegal, Contribution to the study of the French marketing of food oils/," typewritten thesis for the doctorate in law, Lille, 20 May 1960, 475 pp.

A.O.F. 57: Tableaux économiques /French West Africa 57: Economic Tables/. Haut-Commissariat de la République en A.O.F. Direction des Services économiques et du plan, 412 pp.

Outre-Mer 58: Service statistique d'Outre-Mer /Oversea 58: Oversea Statistical Service/, P.U.F. 1960.

177 244 The groundnut is originally from America; Jean de Léry, a French clergyman, described this plant around 1855, under the name of "manoki," as a crop of the region of Rio. In the seventeenth century Père Plumier noted it for the Antilles. The Portuguese slave-dealers seem to have imported it to Africa around the middle of the sixteenth century. The natives of Senegambia were soon cultivating it around their huts, and as

/5 cont./

177 244 early as 1560 Alvarez de Almada speaks of the abundant harvests of mantiga eaten fresh by the Mandingue /Mandingo/. In 1840 a Paris chemist, Rousseau, discovered the wealth of oil in the groundnut. In 1841 the brig "Zénith" transported 70 metric tons of nuts to Rouen. Protêt and Faidherbe encouraged this crop, which, in the framework of the colonial economic system, progressed rapidly from the coast toward the interior, thanks to the possibilities of the natural environment.

132 From the Senegal River in the north to the Casamance in the south, the climate of the country changes by successive transitions from Sahelian characteristics to Sudanese aspects. A long dry season of nine months in the north, shorter in the south, from October or December to May-June, contrasts with a "winter season" of three to five months, depending on the region. The frequency and the importance of the precipitations increase from north to south. They go from 350 millimeters in the region of Louga to 1,200 millimeters in that of Ziguinchor. Whereas the coast is moistened by the humid trade wind, the Ferlo to the east is like a desert. These conditions are nearly /6/ ideal for a 244 plant whose vegetative cycle is short -- about 120 days -- and which germinates easily in a slightly moistened soil, develops under heavy rains, and bears fruit best during the dry days that follow.

134 The soil conditions also seem to be wholly favorable. 244 The plant is not very demanding with respect to fertility; essentially it requires a light soil, because the fructification is underground. The silico-argillaceous soils of the center of Senegal (the dek of the Ouoloff /Wolof/) and the sandy soils of the north (the dior of the Ouoloff) suit the groundnut perfectly.

496 The expansion of the area of cultivation, from the coast 244 and the estuaries toward the interior, has been led by the railroads. The Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad, built in 1885, explains 311 the essential role of Cayor in groundnut production at the beginning of the century, since it was along the Dakar-Niger line, achieved in 1888, that the groundnut front progressed toward the east. Today this front, which in the south has broken into the

/11 cont./

244 tasks by hand; they promise to respect the rotations prescribed
654 by the experimental section.

b) The experience of the C. G. O. T. in Casamance began in 1948. Within the framework of the first plan, the Compagnie générale des oléagineux tropicaux /General Company of Tropical Oily Substances/ acquired vast areas of land in the region of Séfa, upstream from Sedhiou. Powerful equipment permitted this society of mixed economy to clear 4,000 hectares of woodland. At great expense the company
[177] recruited some European technicians and local labor receiving wages higher than the average. The experience of total mechanization met very grave difficulties: clearing woodland is very ticklish, because carapaces are found at a shallow depth, the equipment wears out very quickly, and the administrative
[433] expenses are very high; and then, when yields of 2,000 kilograms of groundnuts per hectare are anticipated, only 1,200 are obtained. The company had to modify its policy. The lands were divided among the "colonists," who promised to respect a millet or rice-groundnut rotation. The company cultivated the rice mechanically and kept the harvest. It proceeded to the more difficult tasks in connection with the groundnuts and collected in exchange 450 kilograms of shells per hectare thus cultivated. The millet went to the colonists.

795 c) The Murid chiefs of the region of Djourbel also had
244 an experience with mechanization. In fact some of them, enriched by the "gifts" from the faithful, acquired equipment and in the new lands undertook mechanized cultivation of the groundnut in imitation of the example of Boulel. This system, without considering the dangers of the deterioration of the soil, seems dangerous from the social point of view, because it may strengthen the hold of the marabouts on the faithful, who become ordinary laborers.

244 In fact the experiences with mechanized cultivation have been dismissed because of a check on how much one could anticipate a generalized use of machinery. Nevertheless,
[654] in sum, these modest attempts have not been as catastrophic

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Courts of Law

692 The Court of Assize sits at Dakar, and the Tribunals of First Instance sit at Dakar, Kaolack, and St. Louis. There is a Magistrate's Court at Ziguinchor, and there are Moslem Courts at Dakar, Rufisque, and St. Louis. In each province and full commune there are the usual native courts, and the Colonial Court of Appeal for Senegal sits at St. Louis. There is a separate one for the District of Dakar.

In addition to the local courts, the West African Court of Appeal and the Supreme Native Court of Appeal are both held at Dakar.

Native Organization

631 All the old chiefdoms and kingdoms have now disappeared. On
● 177 the other hand, owing to their representation on the Colonial Council, chiefs in Senegal to-day exercise greater influence than in other colonies. They are appointed and paid by the Government, and they can usually be relied on to supply an official majority. In 1925 they induced the Government to raise their salaries, which now range from 7,600 francs to 36,500 francs per annum. The chiefs are divided into no less than twelve grades. Most of them have
[871] been educated at the École des Fils des Chefs et des Interprêtes at St. Louis.

Land Tenure

423 By 31 December 1937 provisional concessions had been granted over an area of 12 square miles and concessions over 15 square miles. By the same date there had been granted under the immatriculation system 9,630 certificates of title, covering 177 square miles. Under the process of Confirmation of Native Land Rights, 40 certificates had been granted, covering 3½ square miles. These figures are very small for the size and population of the colony.

Labour

466 The Colonial Council is responsible for the fact that forced
[646] labour has been redeemable by every person since 1921. This reform did not become universal in the Federation till several years later. In 1930 a resolution of the same council compelled owners of motor vehicles to lend them for work under the same system.

In 1935 there were 408,000 persons on the forced labour rolls, 1,415,000 man-days were worked, and 561,300 francs were paid in

Thiès
Wolof MS30
Serer FA32
SONINKE MS21
BAMBARA FA8

/399/ Table III (cont.)

W
SR
So
B
426
511
S
426
511*

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Monthly Surplus or Deficit	% in Relation to Income
32	Wolof	Cultivator	25,000	+ 1,442	5.7
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25,000	+ 1,128	4.5
34	Wolof	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	+ 977	3.7
35	Wolof	Staff employee D.N.	27,000	+ 2,117	7.8
36	Wolof	Private accountant	34,000	+ 751	2.2
37	Wolof	Truck-gardener	36,000	+ 1,237	3.4
38	Wolof	Jeweler	50,000	+ 2,555	5.1
39	Sarakolé	Teacher	51,000	+12,894	25.2
40	Wolof	Staff worker	55,000	+ 2,494	4.5
41	Sarakolé	Head employee D.N.	55,500	+ 5,599	10.0
42	Bambara	Chief worker C.D.N.	56,000	+ 4,726	8.4
43	Wolof	Doctor	81,000	+ 847	1.0

S
*511 /400 cont./ of supporting a second wife in another city on an income that is not very high. Nos. 36 and 43 have a lower percentage of surplus, but here we were able to get quite precise information on the utilization of the /401/ surplus and were able to include these sums in the total expenses.

S
● 178 It has become banal to state that the diet of Africans
*262 lacks variety. The food habits remain the most deep-rooted,
[369] and although one sees imported food products appear more and more among the African families of the cities, it is striking to verify that almost all are merely superimposed on the old ones.
[264] The food base, the meals at noon and in the evening, rarely evolves, no matter what the ethnic group, the income, or the

/401 cont./

178 occupation may be. Imported products appear only at breakfast:
*262 bread, sweetened condensed milk, lumps of sugar. The other
[264] two meals are still always composed of four products, rice,
[439] millet, fish, and meat, which may be combined in different ways, and a fifth that is always present, oil. The single element of diversity comes from the more or less great variety and the more or less great quantity of vegetables and manioc that are incorporated into the traditional dishes, and, of course, the skillful proportion of condiments of all sorts.

*511 With a few exceptions (1), the study of the expenses of
*262
[177]

1. The more important exceptions are Nos. 39 and 43. These two units of consumption have entirely adopted European food habits, and are otherwise not comparable with the others. This is why we neglect them a little on this point.

our families for food is very nearly limited, aside from bread, milk, and sugar, to a description of the variations ascertained in the consumption of these few essential products.

One can state that in general all of our families consume rice by liking and millet by necessity. Rice is the food of choice, millet entering in only when the financial situation of the family demands it, or in order all the same to provide a little variety.

243 Rice is 30 to 35% more expensive than millet. It is culti-
311 vated on a small scale in a few wet zones in the countryside
[435] around Thiès, whereas millet grows nearly everywhere. The
*[511] truly productive rice zones closest to Thiès are the Casamance to the south and the lower course of the Senegal to the north. On the east it appears only with the upper course of this river and in the region /402/ drained by the Niger and its tributaries,
*262 in Guinea, and in the Sudan. In reality, it is an imported
177 product. The traditional diet of this region was primarily based on millet.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

EVOLUTION OF SENEGALESE ELITES

P. Mercier

The increasingly rapid development of elites[1] of a non-traditional type is a conspicuous feature of the social change now occurring in all African territories. It is a sign of the most recent phase of the crisis through which colonized societies are passing. The problems connected with the crystallization[2] of such elites vary considerably in different regions and in different economic, political and social contexts. Even inside the group of territories composing French West Africa appreciable local variations can be observed. But everywhere these elites exert ever stronger and more united pressure on existing politico-social organizations in the hope of attaining to the leadership they feel to be their destiny. Wherever we study them, we find the same situation—fraught with conflict: conflict with the existing African social system imposed by colonization; conflict with the traditional ruling classes or what remains of them; internal conflict, when the elites do not—as yet, at any rate—form a homogeneous group, or, alternatively, when divergent trends appear. The same phenomena can be found everywhere, and go to make up a general pattern.

571
178
[578]

If, however, we wish to understand the discrepancies observed in the pace at which the new elites developed, their composition, their methods and capacity for self-expression, their ambitions, etc., we must study the differences between them. Among the criteria applicable in a first attempt to classify the various regional situations, the following appear to me to be the most important:

1. Extension of education. We have to take into account both a territory's crude school rate and, among other facts: any divergencies between the rates reached by different regions of the same territory; inequalities in the distribution of school facilities on racial, religious or other grounds, the distribution of the school population classified according to the various kinds and degrees of education, the distribution of the school population classified by sex, etc.
2. Types and degree of economic development, i.e. whether or not it has permitted the emergence of social categories well-integrated in modern economic life, and, in particular, with the capacity for investing money: rich farmers (mainly planters), merchants, entrepreneurs, etc.;[3] whether or not an embryonic working class has emerged in urban centres (an elite of manual workers more or less closely linked to the intellectual elite and anxious to assume leadership of a pseudo-proletariat[4] of casual labourers).[5]
3. Role of the traditional structures and social grades. The traditional political, religious and other systems have more or less succeeded in holding their own and the governing classes which made them work have been able to

1. The word 'elite' is used here in a very broad sense. It does not mean a ruling class, but a social category more or less enjoying prestige status and exerting influence, by its example, over the whole or large sections of the population.
2. Crystallization which does not necessarily result in the formation of well-knit groups.
3. The Ivory Coast offers the most typical example of such development.
4. In most cases, it maintains close ties with the district or the group from which it came.
5. The classic example is that of the Senegalese towns.

[369]

6: Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

571 178

preserve much of their prestige;[1] they are sometimes in diametrical opposition to the modernist elites and sometimes try to come to terms with them; occasionally, as the result of historical conditions, the two elites are closely interlocked.[2]

4. Types and degree of tension between the African modernist elites and the European groups. The latter occupy the position of ruling class in the whole community represented by each territorial unit. The conflict is fundamental, yet a balance, however temporary and precarious, between the two groups may sometimes be discerned, though it varies enormously in degree from one region to another and at different times.[3]

The situation in Senegal, compared with that in other parts of French West Africa, exhibits certain special features. Senegal was the first of these territories to be colonized.[4] At the beginning of the new phase which opened after the war, it had the largest number of educated and partly Westernized persons, and it has for several decades had a political life modelled on the West, though of a summary and limited character.[5] At this level of political life, the course of events during the past 10 years affords us a first glimpse of regional diver-
[668] gencies. It is a significant fact that Senegal was not the first French West African territory in which a movement making political demands of some magnitude arose. The acute crises of the immediate post-war period developed elsewhere—in the Ivory Coast—with the founding and expansion of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain, the first political party in French
[665] Africa (Black) with nationalistic tendencies. The Rassemblement Démocratique Africain never succeeded in establishing itself firmly in Senegal, either before or after its change of policy in the 1950's.[6] There is no space here to describe in detail the historical and social background of such events, though I shall have to refer to it several times later in this paper. Some of the basic traits will suffice for mention: aspects of the traditional structures, of contemporary economic development, of the schools' endeavour to promote assimilation.

[563] The principal racial groups inhabiting Senegal,[7] whatever their cultural differences, and whatever their traditional hostility to one another (which has still by no means completely disappeared) all had the same type of social and political organization. They were strictly graded societies divided into endogamous castes, each with its special economic, political, ritual and other functions. In the present context, inter-caste antagonisms and incompatibilities are as a rule more important than racial antagonisms, since several racial groups may have equivalent social gradings or one may have borrowed and adapted another's gradings. This is a fundamental feature; it indicates the framework within which we can explain the problem of relations between
[554] the traditional and the modernist elites. For instance, prestige due to education may be superimposed on prestige based on tradition, in particular prestige due to caste; or else the two may be completely separate.[8] Even today a high

1. Either officially or more or less 'clandestinely'.
2. E.g. in South Dahomey.
3. In the Ivory Coast, for example, a period of calm and co-operation followed when the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain dropped certain extreme claims.
[175] 4. Trade centers have existed for more than three centuries and the more specifically colonial period began more than a hundred years ago.
5. It had four municipalities with full privileges which sent a deputy to the French Parliament.
6. It broke off its alliance with the French Communist party.
7. The Ouolof, the Toucouleur and the Seren.
[177] 8. The resistance of the traditional ruling strata to foreign influence explains why, in certain cases, the lower castes were the first to go to school.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

standing in the modern context does not often completely redeem a traditional inferiority. The latter obviously does not prevent accession to such rank, but it does prevent a man from reaping the full benefit of the prestige which it confers. We shall have to revert to the ambiguity which thus characterizes individual situations, because it is an important aspect of the problem of the modernist elites. The old political organizations have either been destroyed or considerably weakened, though the prestige of the aristocratic families who hold the chefferies or are closely connected with them has not completely disappeared. But an important change has occurred: the power and influence of the traditional political chiefs has to a large extent been transferred to the khalifas of the great Islamic sects;[1] the latter represent today the principal force capable of resisting the modernist elite, and the one with which the latter and the political movements identified with it must to some extent come to terms.[2]

The changes due to the new economic conditions resulting from the colonial period can be discerned at several levels. The rural economy has been radically transformed—progressive abandonment of subsistence farming in favour of a single cash crop throughout a large part of the territory.[3] In contrast with regions where a plantation economy has developed, the average farmer's income has remained extremely low. Consequently, what has elsewhere been termed a 'rural bourgeoisie' has not emerged, and the most favoured economic categories coincide, by and large, with the upper strata of the traditional or semi-traditional type (heads of sects),[4] or with those artificially created on the same model by the colonial administration. Again, the group to which the name 'commercial bourgeoisie' has been given is still too small to have much influence;[5] almost all African traders are small shopkeepers and make no appreciable impact on the affairs of the community as a whole. The most significant changes are found at another level: urbanization and industrialization. Senegal is the most highly urbanized territory of French West Africa; about a quarter of the population live in the big towns and the administrative and trading centres. A very large wage-earning class with a steadily growing nucleus of stable labour has developed.[6] A workers' elite has appeared, and intensive trade union activity in the big towns has brought this class into touch with the educated elite (the administrative bourgeoisie, etc.).

This educated elite deserves special attention; in Senegal more than elsewhere, it represents the dominant element among the modernist elites. The educational policy was definitely conceived and organized at the beginning of the colonial period in the context of a policy and a ideology of assimilation. The educational curriculum introduced in the French establishments in Senegal at the beginning of the nineteenth century was essentially foreign to the tradition and culture of the autochthonous societies. Thus, in a recent paper, the author made much of the point that 'it was not a factor making for integration of the individual in his group, but rather—at any rate in the first historical phase—one making for a break. The adaptation of the curriculum and even of teaching methods

1. Their functions are hereditary.
2. Cf. below, remarks on the political parties of the traditional type.
3. In this case, groundnuts.
4. The economic role of the Mouride brotherhood is particularly important: colonization of new lands, experiments in mechanization, etc.
5. The middle-man trade is practically monopolized by the Lebanese colony; in the town of Dakar alone there are more than 5,000 Lebanese.
6. The region of Dakar alone has more than 30,000 wage earners in the private sector.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

to the African social environment was scarcely taken into consideration. The fact that the African languages were, and still are, totally excluded, even in the lowest school classes, brings out this tendency quite clearly, whatever the justification that may have been offered on practical grounds. The original policy has of course been relaxed in certain points; the principle of adjusting the French educational system to local conditions has been accepted—the adaptations being concerned however more with the physical than with the social and human framework. But the basic tendency remains.'

However, the schools could reach—and still reach—only a fraction of the population. And so the training of an 'elite' came soon to be regarded as a necessary first stage in the process of assimilation. The two ideas emerge closely intertwined in Faidherbe's famous declaration of 1860: 'Everyone can reach the same goal when he satisfies the conditions required of all of you alike, conditions which we are today putting within your reach. You see young men from the Christian families of Saint-Louis, who after a good start in the mission schools, go and continue their studies in a secondary school in France, come back fit for filling the highest positions in the colony. That road is open to you all alike. We are ready to facilitate access to the liberal professions for every child who shows exceptional talent at school. . . .' As a matter of fact, those, as yet few in number, who at the start of the colonial period received instruction on Western lines were supposed to be the answer to immediate, limited needs. The main object was to train interpreters, lower grade civil servants, clerks, etc., as the indispensable auxiliaries in the establishment of a colonial administrative and commercial system. Their role was a humble one, but they shared in the prestige of the European group and also, to some extent, in its privileged economic position. The notion of an elite rapidly acquired a wider and hazier signification; it came to cover all those who were thought to serve as a link between the colonizers, the bearers of civilization, and the untaught masses who were destined gradually to acquire it. In fact, the eager adoption of European values, and the acceptance of assimilationist policies characteristic of the period up to the last war, accentuated the trend towards a rift between the indigenous elite and the masses who still adhered to their traditional cultural and social systems.[1] A point deserving emphasis is the considerable attraction exerted by the centres of assimilation, notably the 'four communes',[2] the natives of which very soon received French citizenship, and in which education developed much more rapidly than elsewhere.[3] These events in the recent history of Senegal explain why prestige in modern times was focused on the 'intellectual' elite,[4] and why the latter made a considerable impact on that colony sooner than they did on the other French West African territories.

Intensive investigations have been made in the principal urban centres of Senegal[5] to ascertain the aspirations of the various population classes and the models they adopt. They cover adults as well as children. More summary samplings taken in rural surroundings show that there is less difference in this matter between the city and the country than might have been supposed.

1. Firm links subsisted, however, as will be seen later on.
2. Dakar, Gorée, Saint-Louis, Rufisque.
3. Multiplication of primary schools, introduction of secondary education, etc.
4. Taken in a very broad sense; for a long time, the mean type of this new intellectual elite was the *certifié* (the holder of the primary school certificate).
5. By the sociology section of the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

This is a significant fact; high prestige, more or less definitely acknowledged by the whole population, crystallizes around professions, functions or situations which are considered to be 'intellectual'—implying in fact a minimum of Western-type learning. Prestige on economic grounds seems to be definitely on the decline.[1] At Dakar, Thiès and Saint-Louis du Sénégal, adults were questioned about the trade or occupation they would like their children to take up. A vast majority of the socio-vocational categories (unskilled and skilled workers, traders, clerks, civil servants, etc.) from which the population sample under study was taken gave the same answer. Between 65 and 80 per cent mentioned an intellectual profession. Those most frequently cited were teaching (primary or secondary school teacher) and the liberal professions (lawyer, doctor, etc.); the technological professions (engineer etc.) were much more rarely specified.[2] One of the commonest answers was that vague but highly significant term, 'civil servant'. The fact is that the trend of education in the period before 1945 helped to establish a very close link between education and a job in the administration; this is still the case, despite the changes effected in the last few years. Similar attitudes are found in the results of surveys among children in the primary schools at Dakar. Among those who replied specifically[3]—about three-quarters of the children questioned—more than 80 per cent expressed a preference for an occupation considered to be intellectual, irrespective of their father's occupation; next came certain manual trades, with commerce far behind. The choice of an unspecified administrative job was less frequent than among the adults. It follows that the view generally taken about education—including primary education—viz. that it will lead almost inevitably to an intellectual occupation,[4] however modest, remains very stable; but it is less and less in keeping with the realities of the situation.

A brief study of the facts in the development of the educational system will allow us to make a first evaluation of the system. The crude school rate rose rapidly from 1946 to 1953 and has since continued to rise pretty regularly (16 per cent in 1953, 18 per cent in 1954, about 20 per cent in 1955). Senegal's early advance in this respect explains why the increase is less steep there than in most of the other French West African territories.[5] True, the school rate is still relatively low (and a fairly large proportion of the children do not complete even the primary course and will probably soon lose such learning as they have acquired), but a plateau was reached several years ago: primary education turns out many more pupils than the 'administrative bourgeoisie'—characteristic of the colonial period—or its equivalent in private enterprise can absorb. Formerly, the surplus of the educated population could be absorbed by the manual trades or by migration to other territories. But this second door is gradually closing now that these other territories are catching up in education. Moreover, the slow pace of economic expansion precludes any big increase in the number of openings for technical workers or in the supervisory grades in industry.[6] This is the justification for the talk about the educational over-

1. Material security (e.g. that enjoyed by civil servants) seems to be desired more often than actual wealth.
2. They are only beginning to acquire some prestige; the number of students choosing this branch has risen considerably in recent years.
3. Children from 10 to 14, in the 'intermediate' classes.
4. A job in the bureaucracy was for years the standard aim.
5. The school rate in the Ivory Coast almost trebled between 1946 and 1955.
6. Limited, but chronic unemployment, already exists in Dakar.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

571 equipment of Senegal in relation to the existing employment market. These
198 facts must, however, be considered from another angle. The real problems
871 are those of the true integration of education into a developing social environment, its adaptation to various local situations, and the adjustments which must be made in the Senegalese people's conception of education. These problems look, of course, more acute in the big towns, particularly in the former 'centres of assimilation',[1] which have often reached a relatively high school rate (sometimes more than 50 per cent); in many rural districts the [369] critical phase is still a long way off. Recent changes in the position are marked by another important feature to which I shall revert at greater length: the difference in the distribution of the school population classified according to the various kinds of education. The past 10 years have been marked by the development of secondary and technical education, and the introduction of local higher education. At the beginning of 1955, pupils and students were distributed approximately as follows among the different types of education: 87 per cent in primary schools, 9 per cent in secondary schools, 2 per cent in vocational training schools, 2 per cent in higher education and its various equivalents.[2] At the same time education in French West Africa ceased to be an almost isolated system providing degrees and diplomas which were not recognized in metropolitan France and qualified their holders only for subordinate positions in most occupations.[3] The intellectual elite is becoming steadily more diversified. Its ideals are being noticeably modified; some of its prestige values are being revised; the masses are beginning to change their idea of what they mean by the elite. This is a transitional stage, with its own special tensions.

198 At this stage in the development of education—the outstanding fact in
571 which is that, particularly in the urban primary schools, the demand exceeds
369 the supply[4]—the signs are already fairly evident of a trend towards less mobility
[871] in the social scale. The prospects of reaching the ranks conferring most prestige differ in the towns and the rural zones, for the reasons already indicated. They are also tending to be less evenly distributed among the various sections of the urban population as the latter becomes more diversified. It is not, however, a case of the urban population breaking up into closed or nearly closed groups; none of the discernible social categories are of this character, nor can they be in any way likened to social classes.[5] In particular, relations based on kinship in the widest sense of the term continue to play a fundamental [602] role, and maintain in being close ties among all the individuals composing the family group. Severance of these relations occurs only in extreme cases. Nevertheless, a trend towards the crystallization of social categories does appear, through the mere accumulation of circumstances.[6] The problem has been studied in a recent work the principal points of which I will venture to [963] recall.[7] A survey of the urban district of Dakar—confirmed by later research in other cities—showed certain significant differences in the social origins of

1. The 'four communes' mentioned above.
2. Including young people studying in France.
3. Even in teaching, medicine, etc.
4. In Dakar it became necessary to establish part-time classes to meet an over-rapid increase in demand.
5. Cf. P. Mercier, 'Aspects de la Stratification Sociale dans l'Ouest Africain' (Aspects of social stratification in West Africa), *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, XVII, 1954.
6. Studied, e.g. by G. Balandier, in *Sociologie des Brazzavilles Noires* (Sociology of the coloured population of Brazzaville), Paris, 1955.
7. Cf. P. Mercier, op. cit.

6;Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

the individuals questioned; and these differences are likely to become sharper—45 per cent were farmers' sons, but considerable variations appeared according to the socio-vocational category. The proportion of unskilled workers was 80 per cent; it was only 42 per cent for skilled workers and craftsmen; still lower (33 per cent) for civil servants and subordinate office employees (the widest category of the 'administrative bourgeoisie' characteristic of the colonial period), 28 per cent for senior clerks and civil servants;[1] for members of the liberal professions in the widest sense[2] it was no more than 21 per cent. These last three categories taken as a whole represent the 'intellectual professions', according to the meaning still ascribed by the great majority of Senegalese to that phrase. Of those who had a father already in one of these professions, three-quarters were engaged in the same work. The same process of stabilization can, however, be observed, though less clearly, among specialized workers; of those whose father was a worker, nearly two-thirds still belonged to the same class; most of the others had been absorbed into the 'administrative bourgeoisie'. These, moreover, are the two chief categories,[3] from which there has emerged a new type of elite which really began to grow in size only after the last war.

Important changes in outlook, not only in Senegal, but in the whole of French West Africa, have accompanied this most recent historical phase. From the elite of the strictly colonial type as defined above there has begun to emerge—and even to take on separate existence—a new intellectual elite, still a relatively small group.[4] This elite, which might be termed that of the liberal professions—this time in the strict sense of the phrase—having a distinctly higher level of education and more definite professional competence, is able to lay claim to a quantity of posts until now almost exclusively held by Europeans. The category was not completely non-existent during the pre-war period; it developed earlier in Senegal than in the other French West African territories as a result of Senegal's possession of an embryonic system of secondary education.[5] Being numerically weak, this elite had an opportunity of associating, to a certain extent, with the European population, a fact which manifestly lessened its prospects of playing an active role and assuming the leadership of the African masses. Furthermore, it continued to follow the policy of assimilation and was the only element in the 'colonial elite' which succeeded in achieving it. It could find only a limited field of action in the political life of the 'four communes'. It consisted mainly of lawyers, a few members of the teaching profession and doctors and even a few administrators. It doubtless set an example for a colonial elite of a far inferior grade from which it was not entirely cut off; it showed them the road to be taken by the seeker after modern knowledge. Prestige of the kind hitherto enjoyed only by Europeans was transferred to them and was thus seen to be no longer out of reach and so engendered ideas of power—a share, even if limited, of political and administrative powers—and wealth, or material security, at the lowest. This role continued to develop after the war, though with a rather abrupt change of direction.

1. In those holding posts of responsibility, regardless of their educational level.
2. Medicine, teaching, medicine, etc.
3. The first, especially.
4. Only a few hundred individuals, including members of the 'colonial elite' who were belatedly given fresh opportunities for completing their studies and reaching a higher status.
5. Lycées at Saint-Louis, later at Dakar.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

●178 571 The reason is not to be sought solely in the increase in numbers of this intellectual elite though that was quite substantial. Trained in Europe and remaining in touch with the world outside, it was the first section of the population to become consciously aware of the 'colonial situation',[1] and it immediately made an attempt to build up ideological systems which soon acquired crucial influence. Next, the changed pattern in the relations between Europeans and Africans speeded up the development of situations in which conflicts became inevitable, and encouraged the maintenance of close contact between the new [578] and the colonial elites. I shall revert to this point later. True, tension existed, especially between generations, the older strata of the colonial elite having sometimes to defend the positions they had won.[2] But the younger people tended to identify themselves with the new elite, to accept its guidance and to share, more or less confusedly, in the same awakening to the colonial situation. Thus, the intellectual elite, in the broadest sense of the term, embarked in a new direction, and the political consequences of this change are now beginning to be seen. The problem of relations with the workers' elite which has emerged in the past few years is more complex; I shall come back to it in connexion with trade union activity.

In the typical pre-war situation, the African elite had little chance of competing with the European managing class, which was much less numerous that it is now.[3] It was trained to be what might be called an auxiliary elite. The new elite, on the contrary—notwithstanding the administrative and economic expansion of the past 10 years—will inevitably find itself in competition with Europeans in the managing and supervisory grades in an ever growing number of specific cases. Though still few in numbers, it has difficulty in finding a place in the territory's administrative and technological machine. It is a paradox that in a country immensely in need of responsible personnel, both managers and technicians, demand seems somewhat to exceed supply. [464] In French West Africa, and particularly in Senegal, the government officially recognizes the existence of an 'employment problem for holders of diplomas'. One of the causes of this situation is no doubt the total absence of planning in the training of elites.[4] But the real explanation must be found in political circumstances and race relations.[5] The effort to 'Africanize' the upper grades encounters firm resistance, and so the rise of the elites is apparently seriously checked by the growing number of situations in which Africans and Europeans compete and which the two groups explain in diametrically opposite ways.[6] It is a significant fact that several Senegalese who have completed their studies in France have remained there, because they would be unable to find jobs for which they could apply at home. The problem is obviously even more [162] acute in the private sector than in the administration.[7] Also, the European [563] population has considerably increased in the past 10 years:[8] it has more than doubled in Senegal, tripled at Dakar—where it now represents about 10 per cent of the population.

[113] 1. Cf. the studies of G. Balandier, and in particular: *Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique Noire* (Present sociology of Negro Africa), Paris, 1955.

2. Especially in the administration.

[113] 3. Cf. P. Mercier, 'Le Groupement Européen de Dakar: Orientations d'une Enquête' (The European group at Dakar: Suggested line for a survey), *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, XIX, 1955.

4. An effort is now being made in this direction.

5. Cf. P. Mercier, 'Le Groupement Européen de Dakar . . .', op. cit.

6. Patterns of thought based on the pre-war situation play a fundamental role here.

7. Where the trend, as yet timid, towards 'Africanization' of the upper grades can be discerned.

8. A general phenomenon in French West Africa which involves important changes in relations between Africans and Europeans.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

cent of the population. Thus, the number of Europeans in intermediate or subordinate posts has substantially increased and the range of competitive situations, instead of growing less is being regularly extended. This affects not only the new elite, but a large segment of the old 'administrative bourgeoisie', and even, to some extent, the workers and lower supervisory grades in industry. And so, while—in theory—opportunities for reaching the highest ranks and simultaneously entering the European group (a consequence foreseen by assimilationist ideology) have increased with the development of education, in reality a radical change in the whole social structure has multiplied the causes of conflict. New factors have cropped up abruptly; further assimilation is gainsaid, Europeans and Africans become more and more sensitive to the realities of race, etc. Obviously, the political consequences of such conflicts are considerable.

I have mentioned cases in which a rift occurred between the elites and the masses, in the early years, at any rate, of the 'colonial elite'. This fact needs some further explanation, while the question of the relations between the 'educated' and the 'traditional' categories calls for re-examination on a wider basis. The stereotyped patterns maintained by the European administration underline the points of divergence. The administration has besides had a tendency—and not only in Senegal—to underestimate the influence of modernist elites and to depreciate their impact upon the population as a whole. True, important tensions can be observed, and some antagonism developed between the citizens (those of the 'four communes'), from whom the major part of the 'colonial élite' came, and the subjects in the other parts of the territory; but such tensions virtually disappeared with the legal changes introduced immediately after the war, a fact which is proof enough how superficial the points of divergence were. The 'educated' classes, moreover, sought to reap all possible profit from the power they acquired in their administrative functions, or in their role of intermediary between producers and the big commercial companies; and that attitude naturally set up a great many local conflicts. Sometimes they sought compensation for their inferior standing in the traditional framework by asserting themselves in the exercise of their new functions. As we have already shown, however, the population as a whole recognized the prestige of the new intellectual elite. True, their prestige did not necessarily displace the traditional prestige, but the two can coexist, a circumstance which stands out most clearly in rural districts. So, even if the 'educated' African has difficulty in fitting into the traditional system or even the family group, even if he is often a maladjusted element, he is rarely the fish out of water whom so many colonial observers considered him. All the elements of the population are still continually in touch.[1] There are two basic reasons for this. First, the range of family relationships is still a very wide one and they themselves are still effective; they maintain their hold on the 'educated' African even when he has left his birthplace. Secondly, religion—chiefly Islam in Senegal—and above all, membership of a sect, which is practically hereditary, continue to be important. The fact that tension between elites and masses led to nothing but quite limited and temporary breaks explains why the recent and entirely conscious effort to retie loose bonds was carried through with comparative ease. It was the new elite that, with political aims in view, inspired this effort. Usually too far removed from the

1. The vitality of racial or regional associations is significant in this respect.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

p. 450

178 571 masses, it found in the 'colonial elite' the go-between it needed for the resumption of contact to which it aspired.

The activity of this new elite is beginning to be discernible in its political and trade union work, and its basic aspirations can be defined. As has already been said, a Western-type political life was introduced fairly early in one part of Senegal. Political parties were formed; after 1946, their influence extended throughout the territory. In a recent paper[1] we stated that they had become, in the 'four communes', an almost traditional part of the social system. Once they reached the whole of Senegal, they acquired an enormous body of followers, the divisions among whom reflected successively—or simultaneously, according to the district—a number of historical, social, ethnic and family rifts. Thus, the antagonism between the Socialist party and the Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais, which has been a salient factor over recent years, did but reproduce according to time and place, the antagonism between former 'citizens' and former 'subjects', Ouolof and non-Ouolof, Moslems and Catholics, one Moslem sect and another, etc. On the whole, the 'colonial elite' has assumed the leadership of these parties.[2] But recent surveys have shown that, in the urban centres at any rate, membership in a political party might be commoner among the illiterate elements than among the 'educated'. This is a clear indication of the gap between the political parties and the present ambitions of the elites. A strongly held local position or the prestige of certain leaders is the reason why the traditional parties, though ill adapted to the present situation, have succeeded in keeping afloat. However, the waning influence of the Socialist party (the oldest organized party) was the sign after 1950 of the start of a new phase. The young elite from the liberal professions, followed by numerous young members of the 'colonial elite', remained markedly aloof from these movements, which seemed to efford no opportunity for the political action in which they intended to engage. Their sympathies went to a movement of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain type, although they were unable to impose it because of the strong positions held by the traditional parties. Yet some of the more influential members of this young elite finally decided to join the Senegalese party which seemed to have the strongest hold over the popular masses, the Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais.[3] There, they will doubtless play an important role. The point has been reached at which the new elite is seeking to take over the torch from the 'colonial elite', but with political ambitions of a much more radical nature; I shall consider later the ideological aspects of the problem. In the case of the trade unions, the position is slightly different. Their activity,[4] of recent origin, soon acquired deeper significance. The more energetic elements of the 'administrative bourgeoisie', in alliance with the still small working-class elite, embarked in the trade unions on a course of action which was more directly effective than that of the political parties.[5] The climate of thought, directly or indirectly influenced by theories of Marxist origin, favoured the growth of an awareness of the 'colonial situation'. In this respect, however, the new intellectual elite played

665 178 571 [369] 460 178 571

[13]

1. Cf. P. Mercier, *An Experimental Investigation conducted by means of Questionnaires in the town of Dakar*, report presented to the Conference on the Social Impact of Industrialisation and Urban Problems, organized by Unesco at Abidjan, 1954.
2. As here, needless to say, certain members of an elite formed from the liberal professions, which had already emerged before the war.
3. In which they represent the 'left' wing.
4. Most of the unions are affiliated to the trade union federations in France.
5. And more resolutely moderate in its outlook.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

only a limited, and very indirect, part. Between this group and the working-class elite certain persisting tensions can be descried; a survey among the younger members—students, young workers—has brought to light more or less radical divergencies. However, the new elite is trying to extend its activity to the trade union sphere. A confederation of African workers independent of the organizations in metropolitan France has recently been founded, in which the young intellectual elite will apparently be extremely influential. This would be the counterpart of its entry into organized political action. In another domain, significant changes are occurring: the 'cultural associations' have a much more important role than their name would imply.[1] These are made up of the intellectual elite (in the widest sense in which I have used this term), which seeks by these means to avoid being relegated to a position of isolation, to acquire greater influence in the education of the people—e.g. through theatrical representations in one of the local languages—and to rediscover the highways of traditional African culture.

It is the new elite that has given expression to this desire for a 'return to the fountain-head'. A reaction, against assimilationist policies has appeared.[2] From the acceptance of assimilation characteristic of he preceding generation opinion turned first to less sharply defined positions—typified by the slogan 'assimilate, don't be assimilated'—and then to attitudes of refusal, the details of which are still not very clear. Such attitudes accompany a lush ideological growth, to which only a very brief reference can be given here. It is not exempt from inconsistency; it is intertwined with growths of very different origin, sometimes hostile to each other. The only point at which all these ideologies concur is that they one and all are the expression of an intense reaction against colonialism—and obviously against the policy of assimilation—and serve as a basis for a growing 'nationalism'.[3] I will mention only the following points: the revival of African cultures and the affirmation of the common elements in a pan-African or, more generally, a Negro culture; the development of a veritable mythology around the notion of 'Negrohood'[3] and of a sort of 'counter-racism', the end-result of which is to shut the door on the outside world—i.e. primarily the Western world; the reinterpretation of history through a reversal of the perspective, a method applied not only to the history of the slave trade and the colonial period, but to the whole history of Africa as well;[4] the forging from Marxist theories of an ideological battering ram, to be used in a specifically African anti-colonial drive. The results of all these efforts make rapid headway throughout the 'educated' classes.[5]

The above picture is unavoidably only an incomplete outline. I have merely sought to bring out the importance of the present transitional phase and its characteristic processes. A new intellectual elite is taking up the torch from the 'colonial elite' which in Senegal had already succeeded in gaining appreciably greater influence than in the other French West African territories; there has been no break between them. And yet tensions and possibilities of conflict exist. Nevertheless, the conscious search for points of contact with

1. The study of political problems is a particularly important part of their activity.
2. In the African context, this term is used very broadly, to cover all anti-colonial movements.
3. The review *Présence Africaine* offers many examples of articles showing the influence of this idea.
4. The recent book by Cheikh Anta Diop, *Nations Nègres et Culture* (Negro nations and culture), Paris, 1955, is a highly significant example of what is being done on these lines.
5. There are still more trends, but they indicate a change of outlook which will probably become deeper with time.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

•178 571 the masses which are still partly traditionalists helps to strengthen the ties between the masses and the elite—ties never completely broken. General acceptance of the example set by the elite testifies at another level to the permanence of those ties (despite frequent conflicts, misunderstanding, and failures at adaptation). However, certain traditional factors making for heterogeneity still enter into the picture. Tensions can most easily degenerate into conflicts when relations between members of different racial groups, or different castes, are involved. That is a problem which cannot be studied in detail here. But [578] the survival of such rifts (other examples in Negro Africa show that they may reappear after being temporarily suppressed) is a basic fact. A long time will probably be needed before the obstacle they represent to the growth of a homogeneous elite wielding universal influence can be overcome in Senegal. But only when that has been done can the broad general trends briefly described above find their complete expression.

[p 452]

[10 cont.]

369 consequences with regard to celibacy and the orientation of
581 manners and customs? This will be the last part of this too brief sketch.

What is the origin of the expenses?

It is in large part in the social organization of the Senegalese Blacks before the introduction of Islam and before the French peace.

584 Marriage then depended upon the wishes of the fathers and mothers of the spouses. The marriage portion imposed was
583 enormous, even though proportional to the social rank of the fiancé and to his wealth. It was made up of captives and animals. In return, the wife, in order to maintain her dignity in the eyes of the husband and the co-spouses, joined her new residence with often as much wealth as she had received. This per-
[582] haps is the origin of the frequent unions between cousins, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew. The purpose of this for the family was to keep its wealth concentrated.

As Moslems, we have introduced the Koran and the Koranic marriage portion, different for a slave and for a free woman, with an assessment proportional to the wealth of the husband, but which is principle requires no costly pomp and which is not preoccupied with griots [singers, poets, storytellers].

With the French peace, the captives have been withdrawn from the exchanges, and the idea of replacing them with gold, money, or animals (now very vulgar property) prevails.

369 But with freedom the horizon was also widened. The
584 suitors, formerly localized and nearly always known in advance,
178 have multiplied. One originally from the Fouta is quickly transported to Sène and, without bloodshed, without abduction, can marry a girl whom many young men dream of winning. The rivalries, which not long ago were settled on the field of battle or by thrusts of daggers, have perpetuated themselves under the indifferent eyes of the Whites, but on the field of marriage and by thrusts of gold or banknotes (diamalé, rivalry for a woman).

[12 cont.]

369 of humiliation, they must, as must he, show proof of generosity.
585 How does one go about "decorating these persons"?
565 There are the griots, the jewelers, the cobblers, and also ... the captives; the husband gives 1,000 francs or more to each grouping, and his relatives a supplementary sum, always distinct from that given by the husband, of such a nature that each caste receives 10,000 or 20,000 francs or more. This sum will be divided under the direction of the caste head.

585 This ceremony concludes the marriage, because im-
369 mediately, for three streets around, there is nothing but hysteria and hubbub, with griots coming and going, as well as drivers (3).

3. We have not said anything about the expense for the food. Each morning during the whole period of the nuptials, the husband must give a sum large enough to provide food for all of his guests and those of the wife. It is obligatory for the parents of the wife to send supper to the mother of the husband on the first day. I have seen a case that merits being noted. On the occasion of a recent marriage, the parents-in-law sent from Saint-Louis to Louga a wagon of food, 25 large basins, "tolis," containing 25 foods estimated in 1939 at 4,000 francs, deducted from the meals of the mother, which were, it was said, transported by five or six carts.

Consequences of the high price of marriage on the manners and customs

369
178
584 Such expenses greatly hinder young people from marrying.
581 Most of them, if they do not wish to remain single, are obliged to leave their city to contract bush marriages, which are almost

[12 cont.]

369 always temporary marriages, so great is the attachment of the
178 Saint-Louis man for his city and for the girls of his city. Al-
[584] though this situation is very unfortunate for the boys, it is less
[681] so for the girls. Although some of them are still sacrificed very
[562] young to rich old men, many wait to meet the young man of their choice before marrying. The marriages of infant girls
[587] have become very rare: the girls of Saint-Louis now marry at a reasonable age, at about 20, much like French girls. It is a
369 profound change. Convinced of being obliged to wait a long
178 time for a husband, they are acquiring an independence that
562 their mothers have not known; they go out, they go to dances
[191] where they dance European dances, they dare to sit at a table in a café, they dress according to their taste, they speak French. They go to school without constraint, which is also a revolution, and they, like the boys, look for a salaried position, which allows them a very broad life, like single persons, and which, within the household, frees them from the guardianship of the
[595] husband. Polygamy, which the modern [evoluées] women generally refuse, is more and more rare in Saint-Louis (4).

4. A polygamous husband most often shuns the modern women for the sake of peace in his household, because the personal earnings of these women permit them to buy finery other than that which he periodi-
[598] cally distributes to his spouses, and this provokes jealousy and quarrels. Recently a young female official was supposed to enter the home of a Saint-Louis official as the third or fourth wife. She opposed her parents and married according to her inclination.

Educated girls have long been judged quite harshly, but this is passing. Many of the young girls who married against the wishes of their parents have been quickly forgiven when the latter saw the good appearance of the household and the affluence

[12 cont.]

369 that [13] prevailed there. This has been made obvious by the
178 war; the modern households have suffered from economic diffi-
562 culties much less than the others, because the women proved to
[511] be much more skillful in getting out of difficulties with the little that could be obtained.

369 Will the custom of such sumptuous expenses with regard
581 to marriage last? It is difficult to tell. It evidently greatly satisfies the pride of the man of Saint-Louis by exhibiting his
[556] wealth and his generosity. If it makes marriage difficult for young people, this is very regrettable, because the precious years of youth are lost and the children will come too late; it makes marriage the great affair of one's life, which is good,
[562] and it has contributed in a very large measure to the freeing of the girls, which, except for some extravagances, is a great benefit.

Diagne Oumar Syr

Instructor at N'Dioum
(Circle of Podor)

/85 cont./

443 while the housewife attends to her tasks, the oldest child makes the sale (12).

12. According to an economic investigation made by Mr. Mersadier in Thiès, the returns from these sales[1] do not exceed ten francs profit per day (Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N., July-Oct., 1955, series B, p. 411).

[434]
[433]

Thus, the commerce in Thiès (and certainly in most of the cities of French West Africa) is diffused among all of the layers of the society and at the same time has adapted itself extremely well there. The branches of important commercial houses, which in the beginning were violently opposed to this diffusion not controlled directly by them, quickly understood all the benefits that they could draw from this new situation.

463 Paralleling this extension of commerce, the working class, to a more limited extent, has also taken on much greater importance. To the traditional artisans, potters, jewelers, and smiths have been added activities more modern in inspiration: photographers, clockmakers, repairers of phonographs, bicycles, or even trucks, and, in another category of enterprises, small restaurant keepers and /86/ proprietors of drink shops. Finally, the establishment of European artisans (hairdressers, pastry cooks, etc.) is a specific phenomenon of the social evolution in African cities since the last war, and Thiès is not escaping it.

[265]
[275]
[178]

2. Industry.

498 The industrial activity of Thiès gravitates principally around the repair shops of the Dakar-Niger (13). The

[317]
[464]
[162]

13. The two phosphate quarries opened by the Société Péchiney some 15 kilometers from the city (Pallo and Lam-Lam)

[1] [ie, by "door step" merchants - ANALYST]

/91 cont./

369 177 563 [584] [593] [182] families in which the father imposes on the child the spouse of his choice. The spread of the teaching of the Moslem and Christian religions count for much in this loosening of the too confining ties of family tradition. This breaking up of ancient, too narrow social structures is not a strictly /92/ urban phenomenon; it also occurs in the countryside, but with less force and with a certain delay.

369 565 178 The presence of the industrial bloc of the Dakar-Niger, on the other hand, has had as an effect the formation of a working class, which is a specifically urban phenomenon. Although the ancient system of castes does exist in human contacts, that of social class is little by little being substituted for it. In sum, there actually exists a superposition of the two systems, but the pre-eminence of the second is al- [177] [467] [474] ready being affirmed. Through daily contacts and the rapid diffusion of social ideas coming from the West, the mass of workers is organized, it is grouped by syndicates, it has set up consumer co-operatives. Because of the great number of the members of this worker group, the workshops of the Dakar-Niger and, through repercussion, the city of Thiès itself have become the most active and the busiest centers of French West Africa. The strike that in 1948 paralyzed [468] railroad traffic on the two lines (Dakar-Bamako and Dakar--Saint-Louis) for several months is certainly proof of the influence of a powerful and organized grouping, and a typical urban phenomenon.

369 563 578 Thus there exists in Thiès a somewhat special social climate that sometimes makes the relations between Whites and Blacks strained. Chiefly during these periods of social crises. But these tensions are always temporary and automatically disappear as soon as the conflict is settled.

369 161 A much more important problem that seems general in all of the cities of Black Africa is that of the too rapid, if not excessive, swelling of the urban population. We have [162] seen that the population of Thiès has almost doubled from 1945 (24,000 inhabitants) to 1953 (40,000 inhabitants). Dakar, Conakry, and Abidjan have grown in the same proportions.

244 /14/
242 of training. This is one of the essential preoccupations of
654 the present Sengalese government.

II. The "Trade" of Groundnuts

433 For a century the total volume of production has pro-
244 gressed in spectacular fashion. Actually, no statistics are available at the harvesting stage. Only the commercial figures are known with any accuracy. In any case they differ little from the total figure of production because local consumption seems to be of little importance. It is estimated that the average production of groundnuts from 1900 to 1904 was 123,000 metric tons. The more recent figures are the following: 1938-1939 campaign, 584,000 metric tons; 1942-1943 compaign, 183,000 metric tons; 1943-1944 campaign, 281,000 metric tons; 1957-1958 campaign, 808,000 metric tons; 1958-1959 campaign, 653,000 metric tons; 1959-1960 campaign, 720,000 metric tons.

Except for the period of the war, when the production of
[939] groundnuts, difficult to export, decreased to the profit of that of millet, progress was continuous, the 1957-1958 campaign being exceptionally favorable.

439 This production enters into the circuit of commercialization or "trade," which today is very strictly regulated.

[178] 1. The organization of "trade." The commercialization of the groundnut has replaced the "trade" in gum, slaves, and gold of the former colonial system. Although the term is still often used, its present context is very different from the
439 acceptation of the era of the colonial pact. Trade is no longer,
441 as Littré wished it to be, an exchange trade organized almost
438 exclusively for the benefit of the European "trader"; today it is a commercial activity that is strictly regulated as to time and place and open only to approved intermediaries.

442 1.) The "campaign." "The campaign" is the period
654
438

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 369 563 immense impact of the town. They live in small villages made up of relations and fellow villagers. They even club together, subscribing to a common fund to receive their fellows from the Fleuve, and as far as work is concerned they S [463] virtually monopolise certain jobs such as bootboys, waiters, and newspaper sellers. This maintenance of tribal cohesion is a difficult task in this city of French creation, where a new community of Dakarois is rapidly coming into existence.

S 665 563 [619] [182] An important factor in the breakdown of tribal ties has been the creation of political parties and the creation of a new political élite that thinks in national terms. Experience in Africa has shown, however, that this can [illegible] two ways, for many political parties are in effect organisations intended to defend ethnic interests. Senegalese politics have on the whole been remarkably free from tribalism, though Senghor did in fact achieve much of his success in the early days of the *B.D.S.* though the emphasis he laid on ethnic considerations in the organisations of his party, and certainly there have existed specifically regional and ethnic parties like *Le Mouvement Démocratique Casamançais* and the *Union Générale de la Vallée du Fleuve.* But, as Kenneth Robinson pointed out in his study of Senegalese politics in *Five Elections in Africa*, these ethnic and regional aspects were compensated for by the federal aspect of the major party, *Le Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais.* In 1954, in fact, all ethnic and regional sub-sections of the *B.D.S.* were abolished and individual membership was insisted on. But though this led to the breaking-away of certain elements in the Casamance, it would be fair to say that the party has been much less dominated by those regional differences that normally influence political parties in West Africa. Nevertheless, as Robinson found in the 1957 S [666] election, there were a number of constituencies where ethnic rivalries were more important than political issues. W [666] [665] At Linguère, a single member constituency, the population was divided between Fula and Wolof in the proportion of three to two. When the sitting member, a Fula, was

[i.e., The Moors and Toucouleurs in Dakar--Analyst]

/18 cont./

and Urbanization in Africa,. Abidjan, 1954). 369x 565 [113]

tendentially have the character of social classes. They are distinguished by the living standard and way of life and by a certain number of specific behaviors, but the characteristics of colonial society, on the one hand, and, on the other, the persistence of traditional values do not permit them to assume the character of clear-cut classes." We shall return to this account, where we noted the absence of close correlations [182] between socio-occupational category, ethnic group, and religion, but, on the other hand, the existence of very clear correlations between the socio-occupational categories and facts such as level of French studies, the importance of intermarriages between different ethnic groups, that of the role played by the groupings and associations of a new type (political parties, syndicates, etc.). Also the ethnic affiliation plays a role of variable importance, although it is very rarely obliterated completely.

4. The new structures which characterize the towns give a large place to grouping of a political, syndical, cultural, sportive, etc. order. We shall not discuss this problem here. It must be noted, however, that in Dakar the importance of some of them is considerably reinforced by the function that Dakar performs as the federal capital; it is valid for the syndicates and to a lesser degree for the political parties. 369x 571

5. Finally, an important fact in every colonial town, but particularly in Dakar is the juxtaposition of racially and culturally different groups. For Dakar, the European population undoubtedly represents 10% of the total population (2), and 369x 563 162

2. In the census of the non-autochthonous population of 1951, close to 22,000.

17: Mercier--40 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/33 cont./ 369x 592

and then four adults living on one salary, and subsequently four adults living on two salaries.

G. -- One sees by these examples how a "snapshot" of the situation only furnishes an approximate picture of the totality of the facts. The preceding pages have shown, however, that it does draw an outline of it; it is therefore possible to put down some remarks in the guise of conclusions.

1. The situation is not fixed. The restricted family clearly tends to constitute a milieu of life more closed than [594] in the traditional framework, and to coincide with the household. But this tendency, even in the most Westernized categories, is far from having caused the traditional forms to retreat everywhere. [182] The obligations founded on kinship in the [602] broad sense are still strongly felt. But one has seen that a first step toward their gradual weakening has already been made with the transformation of the character of the de facto groupings (extent, structure, etc.). Doubtlessly for a long time yet there will continue to be a gap between the values recognized by the members of these societies and the new structures born out of the transformations imposed from the outside. As for the structure of the restricted family, the proportion of polygamists, for all the cases studied, seems to be [595] at the average level which it attains in a demographically normal population. A regression of polygamy, however, appears to have started in the categories which represent a new type of elite with Western instruction.

2. The variations in the extent and the structure of both the broad group of relatives and the restricted family are not linked in a constant manner to the differences in living standard. [182] The situations /34/ can be extremely variable with equal resources (1). The relation is well marked (2) only in the

1. As the investigations on family budgets conducted in Thiès have indeed shown.

17: Mercier--41 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/34 cont./ 369x

2. And much less, as we have seen, with regard to the facts of "familial parasitism."

categories that on the whole have the same way of life. The distinction which has imposed itself between two groups of categories corresponds to this last fact. The boundary, however, is unequally clear, depending on the phenomena considered. One finds the problem of cultural persistences cutting across the changes of structure and way of life in the course of consolidation.

3. The at least partial entry into the western "technical milieu" appears to be a factor of transformation much less important than schooling. The majority of the specialized workers are still in the most traditionalist group, with only the master workmen approaching, in certain forms of their average behavior, an intermediate position. The level of schooling itself, however, is still only weakly decisive, except in the category of members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc. The relation between level of studies and the way of life, even though it tends to assert itself, is not direct in every case. [182]

III

The group of relatives no longer coincides with the local unit. Neither the quarter, the sector, the block, nor in certain cases the "compound" are ethnically homogeneous any longer. In this case, what is the social role of the neighborhood? Under what conditions does it create relationships of a new type which are to be integrated into the new urban "pattern"? The groups of friends were formed essentially in the framework of the age class (3) as a consequence of the ethnic group (and often of the group of relatives in the broad sense). 369x 621 571 [563]

3. See, for example, G. Balandier and P. Mercier, op. cit.

17: Mercier--48 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/39 cont./

unequally. The scrutiny of the data concerning the neighborhood factor furnished by this same investigation is not finished; the first results seem to confirm those obtained in our monographic investigations: it in itself only plays a reduced role, only reinforcing the ties of some other origin. On the contrary, memberships in the same occupational milieu, in the same association, syndical, cultural, sportive, etc. (1), are important [572]

369x 621 571 563

1. The study of the role of associations is reserved for another work.

factors in the formation of groups of friends. Finally, let us add that the average behaviors of ethnic groups are extremely variable. Their distribution, however, does not coincide exactly with the one that we have indicated in the domain of interethnic marriages. Only groups among whom the importance of the ethnic factor is clearly greater than the average, the Moors, the Peul, the Toucouleur, the Sarakolé; on the other hand it is slightly less among the Wolof and the Bambara, average among the Sérère, the Diola, the Soussou, the Cape Verdeans. The partial divergences between these two orders of data (2) pose in themselves a problem which will be the

2. Cf. II, E, 4.

subject of subsequent investigations.

We have studied essentially the permanent population of the town, moreover unequally stabilized. It remains to complete these data by the examination of the problems posed by the seasonal population, and, more generally, by the population without fixed residence. It is in this minority that one can really speak of facts of detribalization, in the sense of pure deterioration of the former social frameworks. On the contrary, we [182]

/39 cont./

182●
369x
[621]
[571]
[563]

have seen that in the permanent population the kinship structures and ethnic membership (3) played a considerable

3. It would also be necessary to examine the role played by the associations formed on an ethnic or regional basis.

role. Certainly, a new equilibrium has not been achieved everywhere, and we have noted that the kinship structures were not always adapted to the conditions of urban life. But one is far from dealing with an amorphous mass. Where one can speak /40/ of detribalization, among the elites of a new type, it is not in a purely negative sense. The crisis phase of traditional institutions has not completely passed. But the phase of reconstruction of institutions has begun; some average behavior which implies a certain equilibrium in new frameworks can already be disclosed. /Figs. 1-4 appear here./

18: Savonnet--31 E-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37
Thies

/90 cont./

369 As one may well imagine, the most populated zones are
563 the ones located near the railroad workshops; Derrière-la-
[161] voie-ferrée, Randoulène, and Bambara have densities from
102 to 125 inhabitants per hectare (14). These quarters are

14. In French Equatorial Africa, in the quarters of Brazzaville (Poto-Poto and Bacongo), it reaches 100 inhabitants per hectare. Information taken from Documents and Statistics, Ministry of the F.O.M., No. XI, March 1954, p. 25.

at the same time the places of the most complete intermingling; almost 40% of the population is made up of elements foreign to the region of Thiès where Wolof and Sérère live.

We quote these figures, of course, in order to pose the problem of contacts between the various ethnic groups and of the relations between individuals.

369 Nevertheless, we should set apart the Moor group,
563 whose conduct clearly differs from that of its colored neigh-
573 bors. The Moors do not have any relations with the Blacks, except for purely commercial reasons. They meet only among themselves, travel only accompanied by one of their fellows. Their sobriety, their sense of thrift (often carried to excess), and their frigid calm estrange them from the often expansive temperament of the Blacks. Perhaps a certain feeling of superiority toward the population which they dominated before our arrival is the origin of this profound gap between people of identical material circumstances.

369 /91/ The Black masses seem at first estimate to form
563 a homogeneous whole. Nevertheless, among the elements which compose it there exist traditional distinctions of customary, ethnic, and religious origin, and social distinc-
[182] tions linked to recent structures: a new hierarchy in the

/91 cont./

369 industrial enterprises and in the public function. Even in a
563 professional category a certain hierarchy of a traditional
[182] order survives and is always respected. In the workshops of
[565] the Dakar-Niger, for example, the higher supervisory staffs
[466] are made up of workers belonging to superior castes: free men, descendants of chiefs' families...Operatives coming from families of griots or former captives, in spite of their skill at the work and their training, would have only very weak authority over their subordinates.

[578] The animosities between individuals belonging to formerly hostile groups or to opposed religious sects may sometimes reappear in the course of contacts between individuals or groups of individuals. Along the same line
[466] of thought, a certain favoritism may creep into the relations between foreman and subordinates belonging to the same ethnic category or the same religion.

369 Within each ethnic minority scattered through the
563 city spontaneous associations spring up, led by the oldest
573 among them. These friendly groups meet periodically. They are at the bottom of the mutual aid to the newcomer, to the workman who lives temporarily without funds in the escale. Each of these gatherings is at the same time the occasion for "folkloristic" celebrations, reminding the members of the group of their customs and their country of origin.

369 The traditions which have been able to survive by
177 being adapted to the new conditions of the society lose
563 their importance to a certain extent in contact with new ideas and Western influence. We have already remarked that the notion of ethnic group is rapidly obliterated when the individual is transplanted for a long time in a city very far from his natal village. The family ties, and above all the
[593] authority of the head of the family over each of its members, become extremely loose in the city. We see a breaking up of the subordination that subjected each of the members of a family to the paternal authority. The child is no longer compelled to adopt the trade of his father; he may choose the work that he thinks will suit him. The young girl is
[584] rapidly becoming emancipated, and rare are the Thiès

/91 cont./

369 177 563 [584] [593] [182] families in which the father imposes on the child the spouse of his choice. The spread of the teaching of the Moslem and Christian religions count for much in this loosening of the too confining ties of family tradition. This breaking up of ancient, too narrow social structures is not a strictly /92/ urban phenomenon; it also occurs in the countryside, but with less force and with a certain delay.

369 565 178 The presence of the industrial bloc of the Dakar-Niger, on the other hand, has had as an effect the formation of a working class, which is a specifically urban phenomenon. Although the ancient system of castes does exist in human contacts, that of social class is little by little being substituted for it. In sum, there actually exists a superposition of the two systems, but the pre-eminence of the second is already being affirmed. Through daily contacts and the rapid diffusion of social ideas coming from the West, the mass of workers is organized, it is grouped by syndicates, it has set up consumer co-operatives. Because of the great number of the members of this worker group, the workshops of the Dakar-Niger and, through repercussion, the city of Thiès itself have become the most active and the busiest centers of French West Africa. The strike that in 1948 paralyzed railroad traffic on the two lines (Dakar-Bamako and Dakar--Saint-Louis) for several months is certainly proof of the influence of a powerful and organized grouping, and a typical urban phenomenon.

[177] [467] [474] [468]

369 563 578 Thus there exists in Thiès a somewhat special social climate that sometimes makes the relations between Whites and Blacks strained. Chiefly during these periods of social crises. But these tensions are always temporary and automatically disappear as soon as the conflict is settled.

369 161 A much more important problem that seems general in all of the cities of Black Africa is that of the too rapid, if not excessive, swelling of the urban population. We have seen that the population of Thiès has almost doubled from 1945 (24,000 inhabitants) to 1953 (40,000 inhabitants). Dakar, Conakry, and Abidjan have grown in the same proportions.

[162]

/425 cont./

*511 reach it, by ignoring the tradition that one should have new
291 clothing for the celebration of Tabaski. Some expenses seem
[292] slightly exaggerated. The head of family No. 11, who dresses
[796] very modestly himself, each year presents a sumptuous new gown to his wife, who moreover demands it, although she can rarely wear it. The 8,000 francs for No. 1, on the contrary, are justified by the size of his restricted family: seven persons.

Nevertheless it is surely possible to reduce these expenses.
[183] But opinion requires that one have new clothing to show at times, and it is difficult to pass unnoticed in an African city of average size.

*511 After this threshold of 15,000 francs of monthly income, we encounter figures for impressive expenses. No. 27 devotes as much as 48,000 francs to his clothing. No. 30, 65,000 francs, the same as No. 36. From No. 34 on, all exceed 40,000 francs per year. For some, that may be justified by the size of the family; No. 36 has 15 persons under his care, for whom practically all of this is necessary. The restricted family alone of No. 40 contains 15 persons; that of No. 42, 11. For the others we could only verify the facts, leaving to the psychologists and sociologists the task of explaining them; No. 34 earns 25,000 francs per month and devotes 65,000 francs to the clothing of four persons, 22.5% of his income. This budget nevertheless has a surplus, but only of 3.7%, in the midst of a series where they are much greater. We now have the explanation for it.

/426/ We have grouped under the rubric "Equipment" (Table XIV) dissimilar elements which have the common character of being of some utility and, if not purchased once and for all, at least not needing to be renewed for a rather long period, for example, furniture, kitchen equipment, bedding, etc. ... The sums that are devoted to them are generally of little importance. The purchase of a Madagascar stove or of some glasses, however, is a heavy burden on an income below 10,000 francs. These things are generally not purchased on
[452] credit.

[352] The piece of furniture that we found most often in our

/27 cont./
daughters who are pursuing their studies figure much more frequently. While among the laborers, the workers, and to a lesser degree the master workmen, it is above all a matter of relatives -- in the majority close relatives, cousins, nephews -- who are unemployed or without an occupation. We shall thus again find the same grouping of categories, although here the differences are more blurred than in the other domains considered. 369* 565 602

D. -- For numerical data on the dimensions of the restricted family, thus on the extension of polygamy, we refer to the account by L. Massé in the present collection. We shall only add certain comments based on complementary studies.

/28/ 1. Religious affiliation divides our population into two groups, one Christian, almost exclusively monogamous (1), 369* 595 565 [771]

1. There are cases of polygamy, but they are rarely admitted.

the other Moslem, where the tendency toward polygamy is very deep-rooted, but where differences make themselves felt according to the socio-occupational category. It is only on the level of the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc., that this distinction based on religion disappears, and that we ascertain, common to Christians and Moslems, a value set on monogamy.

2. It is in fact on the level of values more than on that of de facto situations that this question must be studied. The progression of the number of polygamous men in going from the laborers to the master workmen, passing through the workers, and, in a different sector, going from the subordinate functionaries and employees to the superior functionaries and employees, is found again in going from the petty to the large-scale merchants. Polygamy may be, by the same token, an ideal for all the members of these categories, but it is only realized on occasion (2) starting from a certain material [183 ●

2. It is obviously limited by the

17: Mercier--31 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/28 cont./

demographic structure of the population (number of available women).

369*
595
565
[183]

position (3).

3. Let us recall the problems raised by the "marriage portion" and the accessory expenses of marriage. The reactions of the young people and certain Moslem elements in favor of a "matrimonial pact" have to some extent stabilized the situation.

3. The numerical data on the de facto situation seem to lead to a grouping of our categories different from that shown in the preceding paragraphs. But let us consider the first results of an investigation -- which is in progress -- on the attitudes of the young elements of the population (4). We shall again find

4. Below 30-35 years of age.

a similar grouping: dominance of attitudes in favor of polygamy among the farmers, laborers, workers, master workmen, merchants; a dominance still, but much less clear, among the subordinate functionaries and employees; a dominance on the contrary in favor of monogamy among the superior functionaries and employees (although it is not yet actualized for the whole category) and among the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc. (where it has already clearly become fact) (5). A strong correlation appears between these data and

5. Less, however, than the total figures would let be foreseen. The Christians, who are only 11% of the whole of our population, are 20% of the superior functionaries and

[162]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S
The French sociologist Mercier has already remarked the 563
fundamental homogeneity of Senegal's main ethnic groups, [184]
which 'Whatever their cultural differences and whatever their traditional hostility to one another (which has by no means completely disappeared) all had the same type of social and political organisation.'

W
Of the major groups the Wolof and the Lebou are for all [101]
intents and purposes indistinguishable, the Lebou being the Wolof-speaking inhabitants of the Cape Verde peninsula. The Serer are also very closely related to the Wolof, being considered as tribal cousins. The Toucouleur, Serer and Fula are traditionally connected, it being held that the Toucouleur are the result of an ancient mixing between the Serers, with whom they have a strong joke-relationship, and the Fulas whose language is very close to their own. Thus nearly three-quarters of the population have closer historical and ethnic connexions than exist in any other area of West Africa save Hausaland in Northern Nigeria. g
With the exception of the Serers, of whom a substantial [771]
minority is Christian, these people are almost exclusively Muslim. They also tend today to use Wolof as a lingua S
franca. Even the Diola, from the Casamance, which is [197]
in many ways a minority area of Senegal, especially because it is cut off from the north by the Gambia, have strong traditional connexions with the Serer and assert in effect that they are descended from the same ancestor. This leaves only the Mandingo people out of the pattern and as we shall see they do tend to be a minority group in Senegal.

S
There is thus at the basis of Senegalese society an in- 184
digenous homegeneity that is nothing to do with the 563
French policy of assimilation, and which has been greatly S
encouraged by a common adherence to Islam, where [192]
Marabouts or religious leaders of one tribe have considerable influence over Muslims of other ethnic origins.

S
The French administration, however, through its policy of [631]
direct rule did in fact make one major contribution towards

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

184 563 [631] this homogeneity by reducing the traditional authority of the chiefs who more than anyone else are responsible for the preservation of ethnic differences, in being the repositories of tribal customs.

For Senegal as a whole, this homogeneity does not go beyond similarities in socio-political structure, a common adherence to Islam, uniformity in styles of dress, a tradition of common relationship and a growing use of Wolof as a lingua franca. Only in the larger towns has there been 563 [369] any general break-down of traditional tribal barriers and only in the town does one find a high incidence of inter-ethnic habitation and, more important still, inter-ethnic marriage. And since it was mainly in the towns that the French applied their policy of assimilation it is reasonable to assume that there is probably some correlation between the two. In the first place the French in Senegal have always tended to think of the local inhabitants as Senegalese rather than Wolof or Serer, which runs contrary to the common European attitude to ethnic divisions, particularly in British territories where the tendency was always to emphasise the tribal origin of an African rather than the colony in which he lived. Indeed the British administrators, as Lord Lugard himself observed, were always great partisans of particular ethnic groups. Such an attitude, however, has not always been absent in Senegal. For instance Mercier has remarked that certain European foremen in factories tended to choose workers of the same ethnic group in order to avoid possible friction, but he adds that this was not always justified.

563 619 [369] In the *Quatre Communes*, which for a long time *were* Senegal as far as the French were concerned, the inhabitants came to accept from early on the idea of being Senegalese as well as Wolof and Serers. Or they might have thought of themselves parochially as St. Louisiens or Dakarois. With their elected deputy, their *Conseil-Général*, and their municipal councils, the Senegalese crossed early on the barrier between tribalism and nationalism, a result for which other African

/667 cont./

125 such as caste and the degree of kinship of each actual union [8].
[143] In this region the person questioned, mostly in public, did
[565] not make any difficulty about declaring to which caste he be-
[124] longed. Moreover, this is known by all the inhabitants of the village and has such social importance that if one asks a child in the street, "Who are you?" he replies, "I am of such and such a caste." As for the degree of kinship of the spouses, a previous study among the sedentary Peul of the Fouta Djallon [9] has shown that it was possible to obtain this without a cumbersome demographic investigation; the individuals are well acquainted with the fact in regions where consanguineous unions are the custom.

The investigator asks whether or not the woman is married to a near relative, and, in the case of an affirmative answer, if the spouses have the same grandfather or grandmother (fourth degree) or in what other way they are related. A total number of 6,208 married women were questioned in this manner, and in order to correct possible errors of observation in such a sample, a control was established in a subsample of 382 sedentary couples by noting the names of the parents, grandparents, and eventually great-grandparents. At this stage there is uncertainty, but this can be removed only by laboriously working out genealogies. That is why the proportion of marriages to the sixth degree, which we indicate below and which are beyond the kinship ties known with sufficient accuracy, are perhaps more important in reality.

563 The ethnic groups. The region studied contains 341,000 inhabitants divided into five principal ethnic groups: Moors, Toucouleur [Tukuler], Peul, Saracolé [Sarakole], and Wolof (Table I). The ethnic groups are distinguished by such characteristics as the way of life, social structure, group consciousness,
[186] the name given them by other groups, and language, except for
[197] the Peul and the Toucouleur, who speak the same language,
[361] Poular. Aside from the Moors, the population is grouped in five port cities and 800 villages and communities.

[162] The Toucouleur form the largest aggregate (187,000 persons) and occupy the center of the region on the two rivers. The

/667 cont./

563 term Toucouleur often erroneously designates all the inhabitants of the Fouta Toro; we shall use it here in the way the Toucouleur speak of themselves, namely, Halpoularen (speaking the lan-
[197] guage of the Peul), distinct from the Wolof, who have their own language, and from the Saracolé, who speak a Mandé dialect.

/668/ Downstream the boundary between the Wolof and the Toucouleur is not clearly defined and several Wolof villages have been established in the very heart of Toucouleur country and
[186] have preserved their ethnic individuality. They are regarded as foreigners. It is the same upriver on the part of the Saracolé.

The Peul live in the midst of the three groups mentioned
[175] above, and the Peul ethnic group in the valley of the Senegal is itself composed of several waves /nappes/ which have successively spread throughout the region. The oldest are also the most sedentary and the most Islamized (Foulbé walo) and have a way of life very much like that of the Toucouleur, with whom they sometimes intermarry. The others, who have come more re-
[221] cently (Foulbé Diéri), are seminomads and only in winter culti-
[162] vate the sands of the hills which border the valley (Diéri). There
[613] is a total of 47,000 Peul in this region, but we do not know the actual number of each wave, itself divided into relatively
[175] endogamous lineages /lignages/ or pseudo-lineages. The latter, designated by the administration as communities, served as census units for the Peul, while for the others this unit was the village. The location of these communities often changes because of the seminomadic character of the Peul way of life, which is devoted principally to livestock-raising.

[162] Among the 56,000 Moors, although some of them (6,000) are settled in the river ports, the majority merely meet on the Mauritainian shore and only part of the year; they camp there
[221] during the dry season in order to cultivate the alluvial soil (walo), and they return after the harvest to camps sometimes located several dozen kilometers from there. These farmers for the most part are Haratin of the black race, that is to say, ancient serfs of the Moors, from whom they continue to lease land.

125 Since they occupy a very marginal position in relation to the totality of the inhabitants of the valley, they will not be studied here. /Table I appears here./

S /382 cont./
SR agricultural, 27% work wholly at Thiès, and 31% divide
162 their activity between the city and the country, depending
369 on the season and the labor market.

S Thus, the decrease in the cultivable area has brought
SR about a decrease in the number of cultivators. But the None
241 is above all a man of the soil, a peasant. Even as a laborer, he will not give up his bit of land which will give him a harvest. Each evening upon his return from work, he will take up his iler (1) and go to cultivate his lougan of millet

S
SR
[412]

1. Hilaire or iler: implement par excellence of the Senegalese cultivator, made up of a metal blade in the shape of a heart fixed to a long handle.

S or groundnuts. And if he has an occupation that suits him in
SR the city and in addition personally owns good land? He will
241 hire the services of a navétane (2) to whom he will relinquish
369
427

2. Seasonal agricultural worker.

a portion of his land and to whom he will grant some free time for his personal crops. This navétane will work his fields, and, through this procedure, he will be able to sell or amass a considerable harvest at the end of the year.

S An examination of the occupation of temporary or
SR permanent workers shows an important number of laborers,
162 19, of masons, 12, and a more modest number of boys
463 /domestic workers/ and shopkeepers, 8, out of a total of 71 workers. These results corroborate those given in the human study of the escale of Thiès.

S In spite of a relatively close urban neighborhood, the
SR number of inhabitants understanding French is very modest:
162 only 33 understand our language; 15 children out of a hundred
191 go to the nearby French school. These results may appear
[871] deceptive if one considers that all the conditions of the milieu seem favorable for closer contact with the European element.

/384 cont./

S this problem.

563 162 166 At Keur-Issa-Bambara, out of 37 individuals born in the Sudan, 20 are over 40 years of age. At Karamoko, 28 are natives of the Sudan, but 18 have reached 40 years of age. Out of 65 individuals of Sudanese origin, only 27 are young elements. Over half of those classed under the rubric "emigrant" were aged persons, some of whom perhaps assisted in the creation of the village in Senegal.

These few figures are an index of the mediocrity of the present immigration of the Sudanese to the region of Thiès. The unions and the displacements of families or of familial elements seem to occur now between relatively close villages.

S 162 463 369 An examination of the division of activities at Diakhaté and at Keur-Issa-Bambara will permit to some extent "gauging" their index of urbanization.

W [162] [463] [369] At Diakhaté, 20% of the economically active male population work /385/ at Thiès, 60% have remained agriculturalists, and the remainder, 20%, is composed of workers of mixed activities, half-rural, half-urban. Keur-Issa-Bambara shows only a very low percentage of workers in mixed activities: 60% are rural; more than 30% work in the city (one sees that this latter figure is slightly higher than that for the None villages, 27%).

S [498] The workshops of the Dakar-Niger employ a considerable number of permanent or temporary workers from these two villages. These two localities in fact furnish 19 permanent city workers, 15 of whom are employed on the Dakar-Niger; among the four temporary workers from Keur-Issa-Bambara, three have worked in this enterprise. In addition, Diakhaté furnishes temporarily for the city: four tailors, one mason, and one carpenter. W [463]

S 162 [191] [871] Let us add that a minority of natives, despite the contacts that they can have with Europeans, understand our language, a little less than 5%. The number of children who go to the European school is almost null, scarcely 1%.

S 369 After this quick study of some types of villages in the vicinity

/179 cont./

171 the ethnic group, the two principal criteria of miscegenation. But, at the beginning of the investigation, besides the primary 125 871 distinction between illiterates and literates, we thought that we could distinguish two groups within this last category. In fact, the literate group is too small, the educational status too limited -- among the family heads of the sample none had had any secondary studies -- for one to be able to retain this subdivision. Therefore all those who had had a minimum of schooling, from the second year elementary course up to C.E.P., with an occasional C.A.P., have been considered literate.

191 /180/ Nevertheless, by combining schooling and the 871 knowledge of French, we have been able to group the family 125 heads of the sample into three categories. The first is made up of the illiterates who do not understand French, except for a few words; the second is made up of those who have a "summary" knowledge of the language, and in this case it is obviously a matter of a partly subjective criterion which depends on the judgment of the investigator. Actually, the decisive test was the following: those for whom the interview of the second investigation was conducted in French and who only rarely appealed to the interpreter were regarded as having a summary knowledge of French. There are very few cases where the conclusion obtained by the application of this test did not confirm the previous judgment of the investigator.

The third category, finally, includes the "literates" in the sense in which we have defined them above.

The following table represents the grouping, in percentages, of these three categories within each ethnic group; furthermore, the districts have been separated from the quarters, and the last line gives the average for the whole of Pikine. /Table 14 appears here./

871 Three principal facts stand out clearly from a reading 191 of this table:

/181/

1) The small number of literates: a little more than one out of five family heads have received a beginning of

[text continues on p. 37--Analyst]

191 871

Table 14

Ethnic Group		W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Quarters	Il.	45.7	9.1	31.6	20	21.4	37.5	31.5	43.3
	S.	33	27.3	50	60	78.6	50	50	39.5
	L.	21.3	63.6	18.4	20	0	12.5	18.7	17.2
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Districts	Il.	17.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.9
	S.	23.6	0	50	50	--	20	0	28.5
	L.	64.7	100	50	50	--	80	100	66.6
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
General average	Il.	43.8	56	27.28	9.1	78.6	28.5	28.5	40
	S.	32.8	24	50	77	21.4	43	45.8	38.5
	L.	23.4	20	22.72	13.9	0	28.5	25.7	21.5
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: Il. = illiterates; S. = summary knowledge of French.

/181 cont./

191 871 academic training.

2) The great difference between the districts and the other quarters: the percentage of literates in the districts is almost four times the corresponding percentage in the quarters.

191 871 563 3) The very special situation of the Moors: they seem distinctly refractory with regard to modern education and do not show any more evidence of an aptitude or a very urgent desire for the study of French. This trait is characteristic of the originality of the Moorish community. It is not merely a sign, however, but is also a factor, and, as such, it contributes strongly to the withdrawal of this community and to its cultural isolation in the midst of the nascent urban civilization. The Moor has managed to integrate himself in the city -- it would be more accurate to say thrust himself into the city -- without changing his habits of life very much and by keeping intact the compact homogeneity of the group.

191 It is likewise necessary to note another tendency, although less obvious than the preceding ones: the Wolof and Sérère family heads who do not speak French are superior in number to those who speak it; this proportion is, on the contrary, reversed in the other ethnic groups. One must probably seek the cause of this variation in the fact that Pikine is a city close to the Wolof regions and that Wolof is the lingua franca there. The Toucouleur, Bambara, Soussou /Susu/, or Mossi come from much farther away, they have often "labored" in several places before ending up in Dakar, and this experience has not failed to give them some rudiments of French acquired in the course of their previous migrations.

191 871 The evaluation of the preceding results, no longer according to ethnic group but according to age class, gives other indications which at the same time indirectly confirm the above remark. /Table 15 appears here./

/182/ The percentage of literates in proportion to the whole of an age class decreases in proportion to the increase in age. There are proportionately six times more young

/182 cont. /

Table 15

191
871

Age Class	20-30	30-50	50 +
Illiterate	38.7	34.1	60.2
Summary knowledge	6.5	41.9	30.6
Literate	54.8	24	9.2
Total	100	100	100

people than old who have received a beginning of academic training. Besides, the young people from 20 to 30 years old have either been to school or do not know French because they have not had occasion to learn it outside of school. Thus the generations show a distinct difference, and this can only become more pronounced as an examination of the actual number of pupils enrolled shows.

871
162

Here is first the table of the attendance ratio; it refers to children from seven to 14 years old, divided by ethnic groups and sex. /Table 16 appears here. /

A comparison with the results of the same inquiry, conducted the preceding year, despite the possible variations of the sampling, indicates distinct progress for the girls, from 62.5% to 82.6% for the boys, and an average of from 45.3 to 63.9. Nevertheless, a great effort must still be made, especially on the part of the female population, since one girl out of two still does not go to school. Let us now distinguish the attendance ratios in the districts and in the quarters. /Table 17 appears here. /

/183/ The difference is great between the school behavior of the districts and that of the quarters. First the total: almost all of the children in the districts go to school, nine out of ten, while this proportion drops to three out of five in the quarters.

/183 cont./

871 On the other hand, the backwardness of the girls, which was particularly marked among the Wolof and the Toucouleur, disappears almost completely among the Wolof of the districts, whereas one Toucouleur girl out of four in the districts still does not go to school.

191 871 In all respects one observes a radical change which distinguishes the generations: the one of the present parents is, in the majority, illiterate and knows only a little French. The situation is reversed with the rising generation, thanks to the effort toward educational equipment. This upset will be even more noticeable in the female population, for in 20 years more than half the mothers of families living in Pikine will have been to school, while at present one finds scarcely any.

V. Religion

771 795 162 A final factor should be studied because of its considerable cultural influence: that of religion. In Pikine the vast majority of inhabitants are Moslems, so that, in addition to membership in a religious confession properly speaking, we have differentiated membership in a definite Islamic sect. This leads to five different categories within Islam: two of these are sects of wide geographic scope, the Tidjanes and the Khadres, one is peculiar to the Senegal, Muridism, and one is encountered above all in the region of Cape Verde, the Layens; finally, some individuals, while calling themselves Moslems, declare that they do not belong to any sect.

795 162 Here (p.43) is the table of the various sects or religious confessions into which the inhabitants of Pikine are divided, first in absolute figures and then in percentages.

It suffices to underline the points that these tables clearly bring to light. First, the numerical preponderance of the Tidjanes over the assemblage of the other confessions.

/185 cont. /

795
162

Table 21

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect.	Cath.
Average number of individuals per home	5.86	5.27	4.29	3.33	3.88	4.25

Let us note that this remark applies to the Wolof, for the difference of percentage in the case of the Sérère or the Toucouleur is too slight to enable one to draw any valid indications from it.

/186/ Let us now compare the religious affiliation of the districts and the quarters. We have the following table, always in percentages, for the male heads of families within each of these two categories. /Table 22 appears here./

Table 22

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect	Cath.	Total
% Quarters	46.6	16	32.3	1.6	1.6	1.9	100
% Districts	54.8	19	7.1	2.4	2.4	14.3	100

Thus one observes two opposite movements: on the one hand, the percentage of all the sects increases as one passes from the quarters to the districts; on the other, this percentage decreases in the case of the Murids who are relatively and absolutely much more numerous in the quarters than in the districts. On the basis of this one could comment on the incompatability of Muridism and durable construction. Rather than launching ourselves on risky interpretations, let us content ourselves with observing the fact and noting that it runs in the same direction as the following observation obtained from the respective percentages of the literates and illiterates

795
162
191
871

/186 cont./
of each sect. /Table 23 appears here./

795
162
191
871

Table 23

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect	Cath.	Av.
Literate	22	8.5	10.3	22.2	11.2	50	21.5
Illiterate	78	91.5	89.7	77.8	88.8	50	78.5
Total	100						100

The number of Moslems declared as without sect is too small to give any valid information. The small number of literates among the Khadres comes from the Moors, and their proportion doubles if one does not take the latter into consideration. Hence there remain only the Murids, among whom the proportion of literates does not come to half /187/ of the average percentage: 10.3 instead of 21.5. If one cannot say that Muridism specifically encourages illiteracy, neither can one say that it develops a taste and desire for learning among its adepts; the foregoing fact would tend rather to show that it plays the role of a curb, voluntary or involuntary, in the same measure that illiteracy constitutes a force of inertia to be conquered and that education, on the contrary, perpetuates itself. In any case, the intellectual elite of the Pikine population prefers to join the other sects.

[571]

VI. Habitat and Family

128 After having presented the social framework of the whole society of Pikine, we shall conclude this quick study by showing first the material factors that condition its mode of existence, and then a certain number of general considerations concerning the structure of the urban family.

/431/

121 Fashion, from a subjective point of view, represents a fleeting custom that depends on the taste and the whims of individuals. Its range of application is universal. It is thus a social and aesthetic phenomenon of the same order as painting, from which it borrows much.

Like all expressions of art, fashion is a language and a magic. It is also a technique, the different aspects of which may be grouped in three categories: the fabrication of the objects (fabrics and garments), the methods of sale, and the motivations for the purchase.

For the social psychologist the problem of the adaptation of the African to European fashions presents itself.

125 Among the various possible methods of investigation, our choice was directed first of all to direct observations and the method of tests. We have taken into consideration both the ethnic origin and the age of the subjects.

I. Female African Population of Dakar

162 1. Resident population on 6-1-55.

We ascertained:

a) the very distinct predominance of the Wolof group (47.8%).

b) the weak representation of the Sérèr and Diola in relation to the Bambara.

/432/

2. Characteristics of this population:

[191] [212] a) Knowledge of French (14 years old and +):

4,844 women and girls speak our language (2,850 of them write it).

162 463 [294] [386] b) Salaried occupations in crafts and business (14 years old and +):

3,779, of whom: sewing, dressmaking,

lingerie, clothing	609
preparation, dyeing.....	142

[12 cont.]

369 always temporary marriages, so great is the attachment of the
178 Saint-Louis man for his city and for the girls of his city. Al-
[584] though this situation is very unfortunate for the boys, it is less
[581] so for the girls. Although some of them are still sacrificed very
[562] young to rich old men, many wait to meet the young man of
their choice before marrying. The marriages of infant girls
have become very rare: the girls of Saint-Louis now marry at a
[587] reasonable age, at about 20, much like French girls. It is a
369 profound change. Convinced of being obliged to wait a long
178 time for a husband, they are acquiring an independence that
562 their mothers have not known; they go out, they go to dances
where they dance European dances, they dare to sit at a table
[191] in a café, they dress according to their taste, they speak French.
They go to school without constraint, which is also a revolution,
and they, like the boys, look for a salaried position, which
allows them a very broad life, like single persons, and which,
within the household, frees them from the guardianship of the
[595] husband. Polygamy, which the modern [evoluées] women
generally refuse, is more and more rare in Saint-Louis (4).

4. A polygamous husband most often shuns the modern women for the sake of peace in his household, because the personal earnings of these women permit them to buy finery other than that which he periodically distributes to his spouses, and this provokes jealousy and quarrels. Recently a young female official was supposed to enter the home of a Saint-Louis official as the third or fourth wife. She opposed her parents and married according to her inclination.

[578]

Educated girls have long been judged quite harshly, but this is passing. Many of the young girls who married against the wishes of their parents have been quickly forgiven when the latter saw the good appearance of the household and the affluence

/84 cont./

442 iron for cement, tires...piled loosely together. The activity
443 of these branches is based on three elements: retail with a sales store open to the average customers, wholesale granted to the important factoreries (Levantines...), and wholesale to the small shopkeepers for retail. Each is furthermore an implement dealer with exclusive right of sale granted to them: frigidaires, motor fuel, automobiles...The figure
[433] for the monthly business of one of them fluctuated between 20 and 25 million in 1953.

443 An intermediate type of commerce was established a
[563] short time ago with the arrival of the Moroccans; they
[162] numbered 25 in 1952. /85/ Some among them attempt to corner both the European and native clientele. They special-
[438] ize in the sale of fabrics and fancy articles for Africans: babouches, fezzes, cheap watches. They speak the native
[191] language fluently and sometimes French extremely well.

The Africans, as we have seen, have launched into private business since 1920. Some of them have a factorerie of the Levantine type, but most of them have opened a shop in the outlying quarters. The Moors and the Blacks share this small-scale commerce: in 1952 the former reached the figure of 120; the Blacks were perhaps as numerous. They
[347] are installed in the small shops of boards or mud roofed with straw or with corrugated metal. On the counter, made up of a simple board, stands a Roberval scale, some jars of large multicolored bonbons, a pasteboard box filled with dry biscuits. The bag of charcoal on the floor stands beside a tin of kerosene. Some cola nuts kept fresh in a wrapping of leaves still green, a kilo of sugar broken open, which is sold by the lump, some packages of cigarettes sold by the unit, and small cans of condensed milk give a glimpse of the small volume of their business.

To complete this picture, let us add the innumerable small "doorstep" merchants who on a piece of cloth or in a calabash display a few handfuls of roasted peanuts and cola nuts, a package of cigarettes, or millet fritters. These small stalls are all located in front of the door of the hut;

/88 cont./

369 bar, and sometimes its cinema and its swimming pool; /89/
563 they form a small city that is self-sufficient. The officers
573 of the administration by their very functions seem to have more extensive relations in the different milieus.

Among the merchants and artisans, the problem is different because of the very stability of their work and the length of their stay. In this commercial and artisan milieu one could define three very distinct "groupings": the "old ones" who have lived in Thiès for several decades; the "newcomers" from after the war; the Levantine-Moroccan grouping.

The first are not very numerous; they live in their old factorerie, which, in spite of recently added arrangements, preserves something old-fashioned about it. They are able to [191] talk to the native in his own language. Their life, while it has become more comfortable, is lived modestly; they go out little and entertain only among themselves. Every two [484] or three years they take a few months' rest in France during the season of cultivation in Senegal. As a result, their life is quite withdrawn.

The second group, made up of recent emigrants, is entirely different. It primarily contains bachelors or young married people more or less in love with adventure perhaps, but above all seeking a broader existence. They generally [427] live in one or two rooms rented from a Levantine or Moroccan. [265] Since it is difficult for them to cook at home, the restaurant provides for them. In general they adopt a careless attitude, [484] are restless, and speak loudly; their first savings are intended [493] for the purchase of a motorcycle or a small car which will enable them to escape from the city. Moreover, they are per- [546] sistent spectators at the four local cinemas, which have a new program every day.

The group of Levantines is different from the two preceding ones; their life is spent between their shop and their [484] apartment. Rare changes take them to Dakar on business. [353] Their interior is comfortable, arranged according to Oriental taste; they love vivid colors and pile up cushions. They [484] rarely go back to their country of origin; some of them have

S /89 cont. /
369 not left Africa for 30 or 40 years. Others, more favored by
563 business, take a trip each year to France or western Asia.
573 Generally, the children pursue their studies in their parents'
[484] land of origin and speak French and English fluently. This
[191] new generation of Levantines, to whom one must add a few
[529] Moroccans, is becoming integrated little by little in the
[578] metropolitan milieu through the medium of sports associa-
[477] tions and hunting parties. These amicable relations will
perhaps favor to a certain degree a closer relationship between
these groups which are so often antagonistic on the commercial level.

/90/

2. The Africans.

S According to the census statistics gathered in 1953, the
369 ethnic composition of the city was the following: out of an
563 African population of 36,050 inhabitants, the Wolof appeared
162 as the most numerous and, with 23,624 individuals, made
W up 65.5% of the population; the Toucouleur, numbering
[162] 3,356, represent 9.3% of the total; the Bambara (Sudanese,
[369] rather) attained third place and accounted for 6.8% of the
population with 2,447 individuals; the Sérère, although settled in the vicinity of Thiès, included only 1,856 persons, namely, 5.1% of the total. The Peul and the Moors, respectively 1,074 and 843 individuals, made up 3% and 2.4% of the total. The Sarakolé and the various other groups, represented, respectively, by 650 and 2,190 members, formed 1.8% and 6.1% of the population.

W These details speak eloquently of the ethnic hetero-
[162] geneity of the Thiès population. Still, it should be empha-
[369] sized that the number of true Wolof is certainly less than the
[563] statistical figure given; after a stay of some ten years spent in Thiès, the Khassonké or the Sarakolé, who will have lost almost all contact with his country of origin, who will have married a woman not of his race, who will have adopted the language, the food, the corresponding Wolof name, will speak of himself as belonging to this group.

/435 cont./

291 in vivid and distinct colors on an indigo background, without overlappings.

[288] -- the presence in Dakar of an industry which manufactures "guinées" /cotton cloth/ and "sucretons";

[386] -- the survival of a traditional craft of dyers that still had 142 representatives in 1955.

The family of maroons takes second place (18.09% of the boubous and 18.21% of the whole).

In third place we find the violets and mauves, and in practically the same place the whites (about 11% in each category).

b) Classical African style:

-- Clothing for display, the mboubeu (1), or boubou,

[192] 1. Boubou is an incorrect pronunciation of the Wolof term mboubeu = woman's clothing in general, a full simple tunic.

[177] is always in favor (4,002 as against 770 garments of European inspiration, 83.86% as against 16.14%).

-- But in this category the Wax and Fancy printed fabrics are in regression (1,675 = 41.85% as against 2,412 = 56.52%).

291 177 c) Style of European inspiration:

-- The taille-basse, a kind of blouse that terminates at the waist in a circular flounce 20 to 25 centimeters wide, is combined either with a draped loincloth /pagne, a long strip of material/ or a sewed skirt. Most often the two pieces are made of the same material.

It is worn especially by the young girls (out of 52 women tested, 40 young girls, 25 of whom habitually wore tailles-basses).

-- The dress, worn by women of fashion in African life, is long in 99% of the cases.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S
The French sociologist Mercier has already remarked the 563
fundamental homogeneity of Senegal's main ethnic groups, [184]
which 'Whatever their cultural differences and whatever their traditional hostility to one another (which has by no means completely disappeared) all had the same type of social and political organisation.'

W
Of the major groups the Wolof and the Lebou are for all [101]
intents and purposes indistinguishable, the Lebou being the Wolof-speaking inhabitants of the Cape Verde peninsula. The Serer are also very closely related to the Wolof, being considered as tribal cousins. The Toucouleur, Serer and Fula are traditionally connected, it being held that the Toucouleur are the result of an ancient mixing between the Serers, with whom they have a strong joke-relationship, and the Fulas whose language is very close to their own. Thus nearly three-quarters of the population have closer historical and ethnic connexions than exist in any other area of West Africa save Hausaland in Northern Nigeria. S
With the exception of the Serers, of whom a substantial [771]
minority is Christian, these people are almost exclusively Muslim. They also tend today to use Wolof as a lingua S
franca. Even the Diola, from the Casamance, which is [197]
in many ways a minority area of Senegal, especially because it is cut off from the north by the Gambia, have strong traditional connexions with the Serer and assert in effect that they are descended from the same ancestor. This leaves only the Mandingo people out of the pattern and as we shall see they do tend to be a minority group in Senegal.

S
There is thus at the basis of Senegalese society an in- 184
digenous homegeneity that is nothing to do with the 563
French policy of assimilation, and which has been greatly S
encouraged by a common adherence to Islam, where [092]
Marabouts or religious leaders of one tribe have considerable influence over Muslims of other ethnic origins.

S
The French administration, however, through its policy of [631]
direct rule did in fact make one major contribution towards

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 369 563 French. The Moors are an obvious exception to this, as P. Dubié has pointed out. Though they work in all the major towns of Senegal they have retained complete identity of tribal customs, even maintaining abroad the traditional hostilities between their own tribal subdivisions. The tribal structure of Dakar, which is the most heavily W [369] industrialised single city in West Africa, gives an idea of the common melting pot that the new cities and towns in S [162] Senegal represent: Wolof constitute 25 per cent; Lebou, the original inhabitants, 15 per cent; mixed Wolof-Lebou, 11 per cent; Serer, 3 per cent; Bambara, 9 per cent; Toucouleur, 10 per cent; Fula, 5 per cent; Moors, 4 per cent; Diola, 5 per cent; Soussou, 2 per cent; Cape Verdians 2 per cent. The result is that the inhabitants S of Dakar are forced to learn some form of *lingua franca*, [197] in this case Wolof or French, if they are to live in the city.

In the modern economy of the city, where one seeks work where work is and where housing is short and expensive, it is difficult for any of these groups to keep up any pretence at tribal solidarity. However, as Schapera has shown, it is possible for the African migrant working in industry 'to maintain two quite distinct spheres of human relations. The African who leaves his tribe to go and work in the town will take part in the social organisations, e.g. trade unions, he finds there, but these will affect him only as a factory worker, and will have no place in the subsistence economy which is governed by traditional tribal and social relationships. The two spheres are distinct spatially as wellas socially, and despite the exchange of ideas between them they remain none the less parallel.'

In Dakar this is particularly true of the immigrant Toucouleur from the Vallée du Fleuve, as A. Diop shows in his excellent study of Toucouleur immigration to Dakar. S But it should be noted here that the Toucouleur are not [166] permanent emigrants from their areas, and have only come to Dakar temporarily to supplement the low incomes of the Vallée du Fleuve. Permanent settlers without the ultimate

/667 cont./

125 such as caste and the degree of kinship of each actual union [8].

[43] In this region the person questioned, mostly in public, did

[565] not make any difficulty about declaring to which caste he be-

[124] longed. Moreover, this is known by all the inhabitants of the village and has such social importance that if one asks a child in the street, "Who are you?" he replies, "I am of such and such a caste." As for the degree of kinship of the spouses, a previous study among the sedentary Peul of the Fouta Djallon [9] has shown that it was possible to obtain this without a cumbersome demographic investigation; the individuals are well acquainted with the fact in regions where consanguineous unions are the custom.

The investigator asks whether or not the woman is married to a near relative, and, in the case of an affirmative answer, if the spouses have the same grandfather or grandmother (fourth degree) or in what other way they are related. A total number of 6,208 married women were questioned in this manner, and in order to correct possible errors of observation in such a sample, a control was established in a subsample of 382 sedentary couples by noting the names of the parents, grandparents, and eventually great-grandparents. At this stage there is uncertainty, but this can be removed only by laboriously working out genealogies. That is why the proportion of marriages to the sixth degree, which we indicate below and which are beyond the kinship ties known with sufficient accuracy, are perhaps more important in reality.

563 The ethnic groups. The region studied contains 341,000 inhabitants divided into five principal ethnic groups: Moors, Toucouleur [Tukuler], Peul, Saracolé [Sarakole], and Wolof (Table I). The ethnic groups are distinguished by such characteristics as the way of life, social structure, group consciousness,

[186] the name given them by other groups, and language, except for

[197] the Peul and the Toucouleur, who speak the same language, Poular. Aside from the Moors, the population is grouped in five

[361] port cities and 800 villages and communities.

The Toucouleur form the largest aggregate (187,000 per-

[162] sons) and occupy the center of the region on the two rivers. The

/667 cont./

563 term Toucouleur often erroneously designates all the inhabitants of the Fouta Toro; we shall use it here in the way the Toucouleur speak of themselves, namely, Halpoularen (speaking the lan-
[197] guage of the Peul), distinct from the Wolof, who have their own language, and from the Saracolé, who speak a Mandé dialect.

/668/ Downstream the boundary between the Wolof and the Toucouleur is not clearly defined and several Wolof villages have been established in the very heart of Toucouleur country and
[186] have preserved their ethnic individuality. They are regarded as foreigners. It is the same upriver on the part of the Saracolé.

The Peul live in the midst of the three groups mentioned
[175] above, and the Peul ethnic group in the valley of the Senegal is itself composed of several waves /nappes/ which have successively spread throughout the region. The oldest are also the most sedentary and the most Islamized (Foulbé walo) and have a way of life very much like that of the Toucouleur, with whom they sometimes intermarry. The others, who have come more re-
[221] cently (Foulbé Diéri), are seminomads and only in winter culti-
[162] vate the sands of the hills which border the valley (Diéri). There
[613] is a total of 47,000 Peul in this region, but we do not know the
[175] actual number of each wave, itself divided into relatively endogamous lineages /lignages/ or pseudo-lineages. The latter, designated by the administration as communities, served as census units for the Peul, while for the others this unit was the village. The location of these communities often changes because of the seminomadic character of the Peul way of life, which is devoted principally to livestock-raising.

[162] Among the 56,000 Moors, although some of them (6,000) are settled in the river ports, the majority merely meet on the Mauritainian shore and only part of the year; they camp there
[221] during the dry season in order to cultivate the alluvial soil (walo), and they return after the harvest to camps sometimes located several dozen kilometers from there. These farmers for the most part are Haratin of the black race, that is to say, ancient serfs of the Moors, from whom they continue to lease land.

125 Since they occupy a very marginal position in relation to the totality of the inhabitants of the valley, they will not be studied here. /Table I appears here./

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

with her restricted notions about the family, to integrate successfully into the extended family, especially in a territory like Senegal where family relations are of such importance that it is practically forbidden to refer to the economic burden they cause. The European wife often insists on her husband breaking with the extended family and restricting the family to the usual European size. Instances of marriage between European male and African females are rare because of the small number of well educated African females. 563 [596]

This all builds up to a picture of a French community with little interest in assimilating the Senegalese to their own standards. But a number of points must be stressed. On the whole the French have always accepted the Senegalese as equals. There is a strict code of mutual courtesy between Senegalese and all but the most uncouth Frenchmen. As Claude Duchemin of the *Institut Francais d'Afrique Noire* has written: 'A genuine "niceness" was apparent in their daily contacts, simply and with no ostentation, as if it were quite natural. It seemed that each wanted to prove to the other his wish to play the game loyally, without complexes.' Also there has been remarkably little use of 'pidgin' in Senegal, a debased form of French which by implication infers an inferior recipient. [576] [198]

But most important of all is the fact that a small minority of Frenchmen, fortunately usually in positions of authority have followed personally an assimilationist policy. This has been most marked in the political sphere. Though the great majority of Frenchmen who were interviewed by Mercier had nothing to do with local politics and even talked in terms of maintaining 'white solidarity' a few were militant politicians alongside men like Senghor and Lamine Guèye. Men like Maître Paul Bonifay, until recently deputy Mayor of Dakar, who was Secretary of the *S.F.I.O.* in Dakar for many years, or André Peytavin, who worked closely with Senghor in the early days of the *B.D.S.* and was chosen as Minister of Finance in the Government [645]

/18 cont./

788 to it out of curiosity, but do not fail to be touched by the strength
*795 and cohesion of Muridism, and sometimes some of them become disciples of Amadou Bamba.

Besides, the repercussions of the pilgrimage go beyond the bounds of Touba and the brotherhood. The local press, the
[204] official information services, and Radio-Dakar attend and par-
[207] ticipate in it. Radio reporting, newspapers, and films spread sonorous echoes and vivid images of the Magal, not only throughout the Territory, /19/ but throughout the Federation, and this contributes no little toward increasing the glory and prestige of the brotherhood and its leaders in Senegal.

793 If the Magal has assured this character and this importance,
*795 it is thanks to the present head of the brotherhood, Falilou M'Backé, and, reciprocally, the aspect thus assumed by this pilgrimage has been one of the elements which have established the second Caliph at the head of the brotherhood.

Actually, at the time of his nomination as Caliph-general, he had to overcome the opposition of his nephew, Cheikh M'Backé, son of Moustapha (who aspired to succeed the latter as he had succeeded his father, Amadou Bamba), whom the council of the Murids had removed from the succession for his benefit.

By directly tying again the tradition of the Magal to the first intentions of Amadou Bamba, he brought about the unity of the Murids around himself.

He has also devoted himself to the building of the mosque, to which he applies all his attention. Not only does he collect for this purpose considerable sums at the time of the Magal, but he also seizes every opportunity to make collections or to have collections made for the benefit of this work. In particular he
[533] has his representatives organize throughout the territory night sessions of religious singing in the course of which funds for the mosque are collected.

Thus he has appeared, in the eyes of the Murids, less as the successor to Amadou Moustapha than as the direct continuater

/430 cont./

*511 Finally, eight families more or less regularly devote
517 a part of their incomes to the heading "Diversions"; ex-
[541] cluding No. 36 /431/ (he attends the horse races), all go to
[546] the cinema or send their children there. They are the numbers:

No. 16:	1%	No. 36:	1%
No. 22:	3.5%	No. 39:	0.6%
No. 26:	0.9%	No. 40:	0.2%
No. 33:	0.6%	No. 43:	0.6%

[204] There must be added to that five families who read and buy newspapers:

No. 34:	Employee...	0.3%	of the income
No. 36:	Accountant..	0.7%	--
No. 39:	Teacher.....	1.6%	--
No. 41:	Employee...	0.4%	--
No. 43:	Doctor.....	2.5%	--

*511 A final question presents itself. How, when there is
423 any, are the surpluses utilized.

We have been able to get precise data in only two cases: No. 36 built a house to which he devoted in one year, from March 1952 to March 1953, 80,000 francs. On the
[427] other hand, No. 43 has taken in rent-sale a villa in Dakar, and for that he pays 12,300 francs per month.

Moreover, the ambition of many, as we have said, is
[556] to become the owner of their dwelling. Some look further and want some gardens besides. Several already possess one or the other and are only trying to improve or enlarge them. One of them claimed that he had had a well dug, but he was unable or did not want to remember the sums put into this undertaking.

*511 One of the family heads succeeded in starting a trans-
[472] portation business after having purchased two carts and a horse.
[494] Some hoard. We believed that a cultivator had a good-sized
[454] bank account and loaned the money at usurious rates. We have
[426]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 colonies other than Martinique, Guadeloupe and Réunion and at the same time they were subjected to rule by direct decree of the Emperor.

[167] It was under the Second Empire that the first great period of French colonial expansion in black Africa took place. It was during that regime that Faidherbe, who was to Senegal what Lugard was to Nigeria, first embarked on his African conquests. Faidherbe himself embodied this dichotomy in French colonial policy: an authoritarian agent of an authoritarian regime, he was often found introducing reforms and innovations that conformed with the most liberal application of an assimilationist policy.

[643] 360 [162] [563] [872] [797] [361] Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in 1854. At the time St. Louis, according to Abbé Boilaut in his *Esquisses sénégalaises* was a city of 12,336 inhabitants with only 177 Europeans. There were two primary schools run by Catholic missionaries. A full scale administration had succeeded in imposing on a town otherwise consisting mainly of single storey houses, a governor's palace, a 'very elegant Palace of Justice', a large naval hospital, a fine church and an army barracks.

648 643 From his base at St. Louis, Faidherbe, in a series of brilliant campaigns, notably against the powerful emir of Trarza and the Muslim reformist and Toucouleur leader, El Hadj Omar, was to lay the foundations of France's West African empire. To do this he organised the now famous *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, since Europeans did not stand up well to the climate and the prevalent diseases. By conquest or by treaty he brought most of modern Senegal and much of Soudan (Mali) under French rule. He installed an efficient military administration, and even published an official newspaper the *Moniteur du Sénégal*. Altogether Faidherbe was a remarkable man. He was a firm believer in the equality of races, and did much to increase the educational facilities of the colony. He established a school for the sons of chiefs, and lay schools for Muslims, who objected to attending the mission schools. Whilst Faidherbe wanted to

643 [804] [871] [797]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

 668

In the country where the houses touch the sky
but where the heart is not touched [539]
In the country where the hand is placed on the Bible
but where the Bible remains closed.*

The forum for this great re-examination of the African 204
past was to be *Présence Africaine*, a bi-monthly review of 668
Negro African culture, founded by a Senegalese called Alioune Diop in 1947 and open 'to all contributors of good-will (white, yellow or black), who might be able to help define African originality and to hasten its introduction into the modern world'. Although the review was Pan-Negro in outlook, its original inspiration came from a small group of Senegalese intellectuals in association [571] with West Indians like Césaire and Haitians like Price-Mars. There was of course nothing parochial about this. It was only that the Senegalese were the first, for the reasons outlined above, to feel really strongly about the reassertion of African culture. And when in 1956 *Présence Africaine's* efforts culminated in the first Congress of Negro Writers and Artists, the Senegalese were to play a dominant role. In his opening speech to the conference Alioune 668
Diop, the secretary and backbone of the organisation, made a moving protest against the myth of a people without culture, a protest that earned the support of all delegates. But his attacks on assimilation can have had relatively little meaning for delegates from the English-speaking territories; whilst some of the American Negro delegates like Richard Wright felt that as far as they were concerned it was impossible to return to a past from which they had been physically and culturally removed for over three centuries. Replying to a brilliant discourse by Senghor on 'The Laws of the Negro African Culture', he asked: 'I wonder where do I, an American Negro, conditioned by the harsh industrial, abstract force of the Western world that has used stern, political prejudices

* Translated by Ulli Beier.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

in this sense, it had to be agreed by everyone and the discussion would not end until agreement was reached. Thus in the modern African society there would be real justification for a one-party state, for in theory no one could be against the Government, since by adopting traditional African methods, all would be agreed to any given course of action. Furthermore Africans already had their own built-in socialism. In the village no one could go hungry. And by an elaborate set of social laws and customs he who had invariably ended by sharing his possessions with those who had not. Above all, Africans could bring to the world this harmony of traditional African society where agreement was reached by all on every political decision, and where a voluntary socialism was already practised—what Senghor described as 'la sagesse africaine'. If Africa had something to bring to the modern world, it was this special political experience. 668

Despite this intense reaction to France's assimilationist policy by the Senegalese élite, for long no one openly voiced the logical conclusion of such attacks—the demand for total independence. Up until 1958 the most extreme official demand was for a federal constitution in which the African territories could develop along their own lines and have equal political rights with France. But in France, African students were impatient of constitutional niceties which seemed to them to avoid the one and only issue—that of putting an end to colonialism. In 1952 *Présence Africaine* published a special supplement in which African students, mostly Senegalese, made themselves more than clear on this issue. And whilst it is true that students tend to be much more extreme in their political attitudes than those actually exercising power, amongst the writers in this special supplement were some who were to have considerable influence on the political situation in Senegal as representatives of the young anti-colonialist generation, such as Assane Seck and Majhemout Diop. The latter in his call for immediate, unequivocal and absolute independence was in fact not 648 668 [204]

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

123 of introduction to be sent to the Directors of his Institute in all the towns we should be visiting. We talked for a moment at human level, then a glance at his papers, a distant look in his eyes, indicated it was time for us to leave.

815 Monod is an established expert on the following subjects: geology; geography: physical, climatic, regional and human; archaeology; history; marine biology; ethnography; botany; zoology; pre-history; and languages. He has over 400 publications to his name and has published two best-sellers in France. He went down in the bathyscope with Professor Piccard and with Captain Houot. His real love is the Sahara Desert. He must know it better than any other man alive. His first journey into the unknown wastes of the Sahara was in 1923, and by 1930 he had travelled its length and breadth from Algiers to Timbuktu, from Mauretania to Lake Chad. Friends called the gaunt young man, who rode off into the desert wastes alone with a camel, 'Monod le Fou'. Today he is known more respectfully as 'Monod le Saharien'. In the winter of 1954 he completed a phenomenal trek across the desert over a distance never before dared by another white man. With four camels, two Arabs, and a strict daily ration of half a litre of wine, Monod, aged 52, covered 900 kilometres in 47 days.

Theodore Monod has probably done as much as any European to give dignity to the culture and traditions of the tribes of West Africa, and to preserve these traditions for their future inheritors when the steamroller of Western civilization threatens to obliterate them. The Institut Français D'Afrique Noire, which he directs, has a federal museum in Dakar and a [217] network of museums and research centres throughout French Black Africa. It employs scholars in every field of knowledge concerning Africa, and most important of all, it gives African scholars an opportunity to make research into their own customs, traditions and history.

123 Monsieur Pierre Cros, of the Press Section of the Federal 204 Information Services, who was to help us as much as anyone in [659] our travels in West Africa, received us in his small office on the ninth floor of the vast Federal Administration building. What impressed me most about the Federal Information Services was their very considerable knowledge of British West Africa. Fortnightly they published a resumé of the local press of Nigeria,

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

123
[204]

Ghana and Sierra Leone, together with articles on these territories that had appeared in the major British papers.

Monsieur Cros told us that he was going that evening to a 'lunch' at the Grand Conseil building, which was being held in honour of the Secretary-General of the French National Assembly. He promised to arrange invitations for us.

Every important official and politician in Dakar was present at the 'lunch'. Black and white mingled freely. M. Cros whisked me from Governor to Inspector General, from an African Colonel to the Secretary-General of the National Assembly, to a representative of Agence France Press and a Senegalese Minister I was to meet the next day. The scene was high-powered and bewildering, but after a few drinks had been consumed the party lost much of its formality, a thing the French, especially in Africa, do not believe in, and I was pulled into conversation by an elderly French Administrator with sleek grey hair, a well-preserved figure, piercing grey eyes, and bronzed complexion. He asked me what I was doing in Dakar.

'I am spending six months travelling in West Africa.'

'Where are you going?'

'I hope to visit most of French West Africa, and spend some time in Nigeria, Ghana and Sierra Leone. I've already been to Gambia and Portuguese Guinea.'

'How do you like Dakar?'

'I was here two years ago. But even in my short absence, it's changed so much. This Grand Conseil was just a mass of scaffolding and concrete when I was last here.'

We both looked at the marbled floor, the graceful pillars, at the group of superbly dressed Africans, many of them with better dress sense than the Frenchmen they were talking to.

'Yes,' he said, suddenly giving words to a sequence of thought, 'It's a revolution, a veritable revolution.'

POLITICS AND POWER

Dakar

648

Obviously the young man talking to Arnold did not agree. He told him in English: 'We'll have to drive the French out of

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 little misguided. He handed me a copy of the party manifesto.
648 On the front it read:

> 'At the historic moment of Bandung and of the Colonial and Imperialist system, at the moment when political confusion submerges Black Africa under French domination, our duty as Africans obliges us to bring before the masses of our country the problem of national independence and the transformation of our economy into a socialist economy.'

[204] He also handed me a copy of the party newspaper, *La Lutte*, 'The Battle', which is surprisingly well produced at an intellectual level. It even had an article explaining why Sputnik stayed up. On another page a cartoon demonstrated party feeling towards France: Picture I. Thin, Belsen figure, in casque colonial, sucks from straw the lifeblood of Africa—Picture II. Fatter version of this Frenchman leaves for home, a small Africa behind him.

But the magazine was directed not only against France. Jibes were made at the Minister of the Interior of the Senegal, and at the high wages paid to Ministers. Mahjemout Diop was later arrested on the orders of the Minister of the Interior.

OLD SENEGAL

Dakar—Gorée—St. Louis

369 [491] [361] [175] Our third afternoon in Dakar, Arnold and I took the afternoon ferry to Gorée, a tiny island embraced by the bay of Dakar. This island, which until the turn of the century was better known than Dakar itself, was discovered in 1444 by Dinis Dias, one of the early Portuguese explorers, and commands the entrance to the port of Dakar, so that for long it was prized as the most strategic of islands on the Guinea Coast. Today it is no more than an historical relic, but whether against a clear blue sky or of dark grey rain clouds massing for an assault on the mainland, it serves as a reminded that though in Africa the revolution has taken place largely over the last ten years, its groundwork has been prepared by centuries of contact with Europeans and their way of life.

The small ferry was crammed with trippers, armed with

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

was a borrower, only to have other people borrowing from him.

The morning after I had lunch with Diop I went to a Conference in the High Commission on Alcoholism. This, it appeared, was a grave problem in Dakar. The creation of the new Africa has its ugly sides, and this was perhaps one of its most ugly. A favourite drink, named after the local bus service, was the 'Car Rapide'. To make it you mix beer, methylated spirits and a drop of petrol. It is guaranteed to knock you out in one go. In Zuiginchor a more potent drink was made by adding a well-known Parisian perfume to beer.

A day before the Conference *Paris-Dakar*, the local daily newspaper, published an article on alcoholism in M'Backé, a large Senegalese town:

ALCOHOLISM MUST BE FOUGHT

An all out police attack is needed and would be appreciated to seek out and rid our town of a gang of drunks of both sexes who spend their time in the small shops and sordid bars which are hidden all over the town in the guise of restaurants and small eating places.

Most of the proprietors of these cafés add to their miserable occupations that of pimping. Favouring alcoholism, they nevertheless indulge in all revolting forms of debauchery.

In most parts of our town one finds these small cafés nicely divided, serving as homes and places of business.

A few posts in the ground, a roof of polished tiles, a wooden fence and there you have the ideal café.

The interior of these hovels is divided into small compartments with no ventilation and on the ground a few mattresses covered with dirty blankets. The decoration consists of a few old newspapers pasted here and there to keep out the sun. The bar stock lies among packing cases and hidden under the mattresses. In holes made for the purpose are bottles of wine, red, rosé and white, and beer.

To cover up this business known to be officially disliked, the café proprietors keep a kitchen where periodically they prepare meals, hygienically leaving a lot to be desired.

In these sordid places, the atmosphere heavy with noxious smells, they give themselves up to their anti-social pastimes. Debauchery has been given a home here. These are also the rendezvous of scoundrels and receivers of stolen goods.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

536 theatre. But the writing was powerful and distinguished. My most vivid memory of Ka at that time was an ear-shattering torrent of abuse directed at his leading lady: 'Pas de Fred Astaire ici. Çe n'est pas le Music Hall.'

Today that play is a thing of the past, which nevertheless brought him fame. Now he is engrossed in a piece about a young schoolteacher who is sent to a pagan animist village in the south of the Senegal, to found its first school. The play centres on the conflict between the educated teacher and the local witchdoctor who opposes the school. Deep in Ka's intellect is a striking preoccupation with the conflict of occidental reason with the seemingly irrational metaphysics of the forest and the bush.

Ka was seized by numerous other friends so we agreed to meet the following day at a café in the Avenue William Ponty, Dakar's main thoroughfare.

[547] The small café was crowded. Across the street the Café de Paris with its large, bad painting of Montmartre, was half empty and its clientele, sitting at the iron street tables, stared at us with vague interest. Ka was talking animatedly about nineteenth-century Russian novelists and the decline of Russian literature today. He was very typically '*rive gauche*' and indeed we might well have been in St. Germain des Prés.

'Of course, I think that Huxley is more essentially English than Graham Greene,' my companion continued in a new vein.

Later I went with Ka to his room in a small, dingy hotel in the back streets of Dakar. 'I prefer living here, away from my relations. At least one is free.' I wondered whether it wasn't because it reminded him of his life in Paris.

Together we read his latest play about Chaka, in which he treats the great Zulu as a narcissist. Once again I was struck by the power of his writing, the economy of his style. We fingered through copies of *Présence Africaine*, *Traits d'Union* and *Afrique* [204] *en Marche* where he and his fellow intellectuals have their works published.

668 Most striking of all is the cultural revolution, so marked in
571 Dakar, but gaining momentum from all parts of the French West African Federation. Ka Abdou Anta is a part of this revolution, which has produced a generation, albeit small, of intellectuals who can vie on equal terms with their counterparts in Europe.

/71 cont./

133 The presence of a marl-calcareous horizon at a slight depth, the arrangement of the layers sloping toward the east, has favored the formation of a perpetual phreatic layer close to the surface and capable of supplying all the wells of the Thiès plateau.

The Thiès slope describes a concave line 40 kilometers long which begins in the north at the height of Mont-Rolland
[361] and ends abruptly in the south at the height of the village of Tiao. The brow of the slope, with an average altitude of 100 meters, is cut broadly and deeply only by the "Ravin des Voleurs." At the foot of the slope there stretches a depressed, more or less swampy zone. /72/ /Fig. 1 appears here/ which borders it from north to south. Beyond Mont-Rolland, toward the northwest, accumulations of dune sand extend to the ocean (Fig. 1).

369 During the period of the pacification of Senegal by
175 Faidherbe, Thiès was only a small village of unruly Sérère-None /Serer/, pillagers of caravans when the occasion presented itself. This village was established near the actual site
[361] of the Faidherbe Redoubt, in a shaded and cool spot, hence the name "Diankhène" which was given to it and which means place of repose.

In 1856 Dakar was founded, and Saint-Louis developed.
[648] A treaty concluded with the damel of Cayor (2) authorized the

2. Damel, Wolof word meaning sovereign.

[206] installation of a telegraph line to connect these two cities. But the execution of the work came up against the ill-will of the damel and the continual insecurity that prevailed in the region of Thiès.

After the creation of the post of Mbidjem, near Lake Tanma, the /73/ post of Thiès was built in 1863. Its
[361] role was to pacify and to cover, in case of necessity,
[487] the troops that operated in the region. The latter, coming from Gorée and from Dakar, took the trail /piste/ from Rufisque to Pout and from there reached the post of Thiès and Cayor by way of the "Ravin des Voleurs," the only easy and direct passage that connected Cayor with the Cape Verde Peninsula.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

river is a sandy bar which sometimes prevents entry by ships for several weeks on end. After this the coast stretches south-south-westwards in a gentle curve of sandy beach. There are dunes along the shore, and, inland from them, the marshy depression already described on p. 397. There are very few villages and, indeed, very few landmarks of any kind. Seventy-four miles from the mouth of the Senegal the village of Kayar is perceptible from the sea. It is connected to Rufisque (17 miles) by a colonial road, and immediately south of it is Lake M'Baouar, which is seldom or never without water. After Kayar the coast trends more definitely south-west. Lake Retba, whose north-eastern end is 6½ miles from Kayar, is a permanent salt lake fed by the sea. There are other lakes and swamps behind the littoral dunes. On the coast itself stands another village, Cambérène, which is 22½ miles from Kayar and behind which rise the Petites Mamelles. These are three grey, isolated, sandy knolls, and they mark the beginning of the Cape Verde peninsula (Fig. 48).

The Cape Verde Peninsula and Goree Bay

Yof island (Plate 108), 3¼ miles west of Cambérène, stands off the village (Plate 109) of the same name. The beach on the mainland is accessible to surf-boats in all weathers. Just west of the village is a cable hut, where cables are landed, and a tarmac road runs southwards to Ouakam and Dakar. The coast is now more indented, and, 2½ miles south-west of Yof, is a ledge of rocks which joins the shore to Ngor island and behind which is the village of Ngor. Three-quarters of a mile farther west the coast turns almost due south to reach Almadi point (Plate 110), the extreme west of the mainland of Africa. There is a lighthouse on a rock three-quarters of a mile out to sea. Cape Verde itself is 2 miles to the south-east of Almadi point, and behind it are two conical hills called the Mamelles. It was the stunted brushwood on these hills that gave the cape its name. From here to Cape Manuel the coast continues its south-easterly direction, being formed of red cliffs and small sandy beaches. Fann point, 3¾ miles from Cape Verde, marks the north-western end of Madeleines bay, which washes the south-western side of Dakar (p. 444). Some 2 miles south-west are the four Madeleines islands, all of which are rocky and three of which are inaccessible. At Cape Manuel, which is 131 feet high, the coast turns sharply north to form Bernard bay. North of Dakar is Hann bay, and both of these small bays are on the western side of Goree bay. This is generally considered to stretch from Cape Manuel to Cape Rouge, and in it,

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 39

[ST. LOUIS]

206 *Wireless.* The wireless station is to the south of Guet N'Dar.

River. Above Faidherbe Bridge the river is closed to all vessels not 505 flying the French flag. Boats drawing 10 feet can ascend to Podor all [648] the year round, and in the rainy season they can reach Kayes (Vol. I, p. 367). Table V shows how greatly river traffic on the Senegal has declined in recent years.

TABLE V. *Tonnage of Goods from Kayes*

[497] [494]

	1928	1929	1930	1934	1935
Sent by rail or road . .	9,545	9,555	11,456	5,269	6,224
Sent by river	2,520	5,815	3,425	313	260

Shipping. There are no sea-going ships calling regularly, but the Messageries Africaines and the Messageries du Sénégal run services up-river.

36 DAKAR (14° 39′; 17° 25′ W.). Population, 80,052, including *c.* 6,000 [131] Europeans. Capital of the Federation and Headquarters of the [162] District of Dakar. Full Commune. Custom-house. Law courts. [489] Chamber of Commerce. Pasteur Institute. Hospitals. Naval base [712] and dockyard. General Headquarters of the army in French West Africa. Police headquarters. British Consulate-General. Belgian, [648] Brazilian, Czechoslovakian, Danish, Eireann, Greek, Italian, Netherlands, Norwegian, Swedish, and Swiss Consulates. Argentine, Finnish, Spanish, and Uruguayan Vice-Consulates. Meteoro- [654] logical station. Airport and seaplane base. Wireless stations. [508] Colleges and schools. Protestant churches. Roman Catholic Vicariate Apostolic of Guinea and Vicariate General. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Crédit Foncier de l'Ouest Africain. Banque Belge de l'Afrique. Power station. [697] Prison. Public library. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops. [498] Cinemas. Race-course. Sports stadium. Botanical gardens. [654] Agricultural experimental station. Daily market.

Dakar (Fig. 54) is approximately 2,600 miles distant from South- 361 ampton, from Cape Town, and from Rio de Janeiro. It is, therefore, well placed for taking a share in the trade of the South Atlantic, and it [433] is small wonder that it has become the third port in the French Empire, being surpassed only by Marseilles and Le Havre. It is, moreover, of the first importance strategically.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[p 445]

36
504
764
206
502
102
743
712
498
133

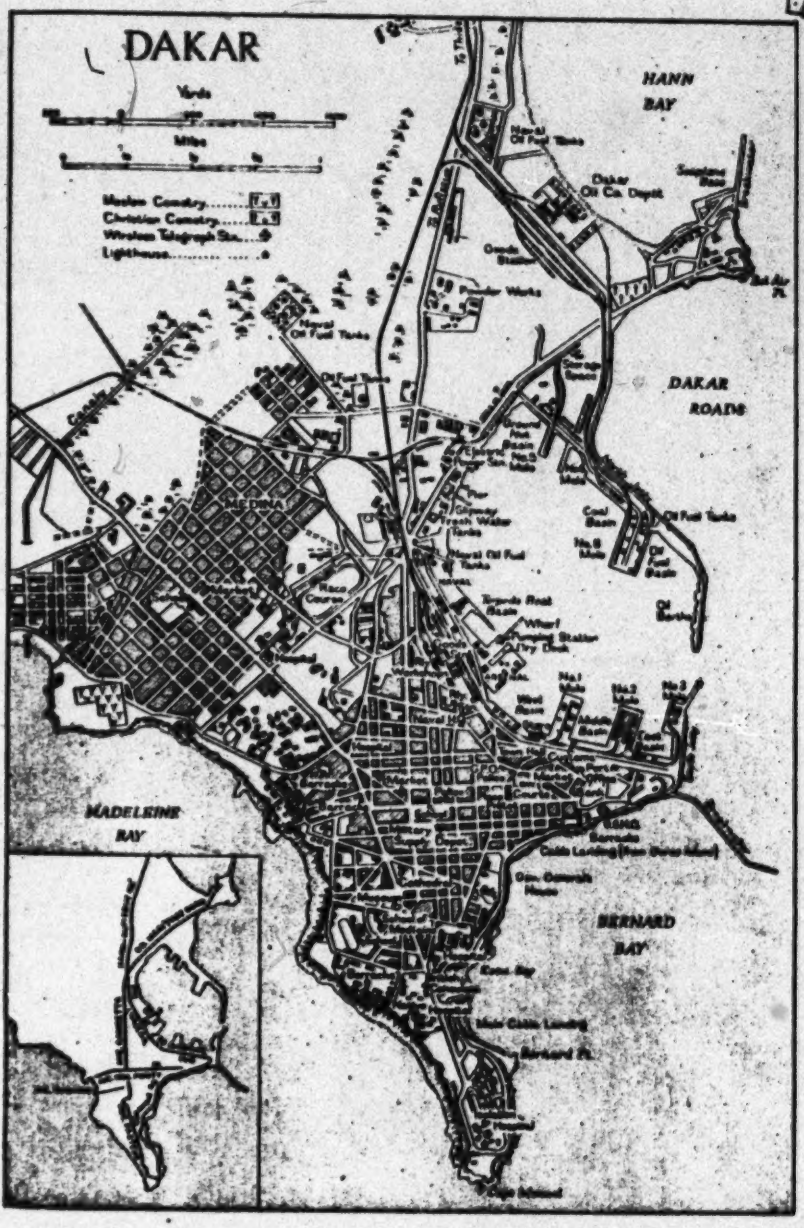


FIG. 54. *Dakar*

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[DAKAR]

route from Paris to Santiago and was also the terminus of local services to Bamako and to St. Louis. The Aéromaritime company used to run flying-boat services to Conakry, Abidjan, Lagos, Douala, and Pointe Noire. 509

Wireless. The broadcasting station is near Madeleines bay, 700 yards north-west of the cathedral. A small station, transmitting to ships, is on Bel Air point. 206

Cable. Dakar is connected by cable to Casablanca, to Brest, to Fernando Noronha (Brazil), and to Conakry. The two latter cables are landed in the south-west of Bernard bay, not far from the Pasteur Institute. There is, however, a telephone cable to Goree island. This is landed on the north-west shore of the same bay.

Shipping. Lines normally serving the port include the following: America West African, Bull, Chargeurs Réunis, Elder Dempster, Fabre, Fraissinet, Gdynia America, Hamburg-Bremen, Holland West Afrika, Italia, Lloyd Triestino, Maurel et Prom, Messageries du Sénégal, Navigazione Generale Italiana, Société Générale des Transports, Société Maritime Belge des Transports, and Société Navale de l'Ouest. 505

Coasting vessels sail regularly for Port Etienne, St. Louis, Kaolack, and Ziguinchor.

GOREE (14° 39′; 17° 23′ W.). Population, 714. Custom-house. Barracks and military hospital. 36 [131] [162] [712]

The rocky island of Goree (Plate 112) has an area of 138 acres. The first Europeans to land on it were the Portuguese in 1445, and since then it has had a chequered history, which has been told elsewhere in these volumes. [175]

Most of the centre of the island is occupied by buildings, and in the south there is the old fort. In the extreme north is a large lime-kiln. [381]

The only source of water is an artesian well in the fort. [312]

Trade. Trade is now limited to the ordinary requirements of the islanders, and traffic to taking them and their goods to and from the mainland. [438]

Harbour. In the north-east of the island there is a little bay where there are three jetties, only one of which (Plate 121) is now in use. The depth at its head is 10 feet. [504]

RUFISQUE (14° 41′; 17° 12′ W.). Population, 19,764, including 180 Europeans. Full Commune. Custom-house. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Power station. Hotel. Garage. [131] [162] [712]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[KAOLACK]

(33 miles) and Medina (50 miles), and a third west to Foundiougne (32 miles). 36 [491]

Air. The airfield is 1 mile north-east of the town. [508]

Wireless. The wireless station is in the centre of the town. [206]

Shipping. Boats of the Messageries du Sénégal line call regularly, and the Compagnie de Navigation Paquet maintains a weekly service with Foundiougne, Bathurst, and Dakar. [505]

ZIGUINCHOR (12° 32′; 16° 21′ W.). Population, 6,070. Mixed Commune. Headquarters of the Casamance Territory and of the Province of Ziguinchor. Custom-house. Magistrate's Court. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital and maternity home. Police headquarters. Meteorological station. Emergency landing-ground. Wireless station. Roman Catholic mission. Garages. Daily market. [131] [162] [743]

The first large piece of firm ground upstream from the mouth of the Casamance is nearly 42 miles from the sea, and it is here, on the left bank, that Ziguinchor stands. The depth of the river is 6 fathoms. Jetties have been built at right angles to the waterfront, partly to counteract silting, and ships drawing 15 feet can go alongside them. The quays have a total length of over 3,000 feet and the warehouses a total capacity of some 25,000 tons. There are no cranes, all goods being manhandled. [504]

There is a considerable variety of exports, including ground-nuts, fruit, rice, palm oil, palm kernels, cotton, tobacco, sisal, and hides, but imports are chiefly manufactured goods and building materials. In value of trade Ziguinchor comes between Foundiougne and Rufisque. [939]

Communications

Road. The river is crossed by a ferry, and a colonial road leads north to Bignona (16 miles) and then east to Sedhiou (74 miles) and Kolda (136 miles). Another one goes along the south bank of the Casamance, also to Kolda (130 miles). Minor roads lead south to the frontier of Portuguese Guinea and south-west to Oussouye and Diembering. [491]

Air. Seaplanes can alight in the river, and there is a weekly Aéromaritime service to Bathurst and Dakar. The landing-ground is 1½ miles south of the town. [509]

Wireless. The two wireless stations are housed in the same building. [206]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M837 Senegal MS 37

494

Route	*Service*
Thiès–M'Bour–Joal	Thiès–M'Bour: twice each weekday; M'Bour–Joal: 4 days a week 1 November to 30 June only.
St. Louis–Dagana–Matam–Kidira	Twice a week 1 December to 30 June. Journey time: 50 hours.
Ziguinchor–Sedhiou–Kolda	Dry season: daily. Wet season: as practicable and as required. Journey time: 7½ hours. Occasional extensions to Tambacounda.

SIGNALS

Cables

206 Dakar is connected by cable to Conakry, Fernando Noronha (Brazil), Casablanca, and Brest. In 1939 to send a message to France cost 11·70 francs (1*s.* 4*d.*) a word.

Telegraphs and Telephones

Telegraph lines run alongside the railways and the following roads:

St. Louis–Dagana–Matam–Bakel–Kidira.
Thiès–M'Bour–Joal–Fatik–Bambey.
Tambacounda–Diabougou–Médina Pakan–border of French Guinea.
Diabougou–Kolda–Sedhiou–Bignona–Ziguinchor.
Bignona–Bathurst (the Gambia).

There are also connexions across the Senegal into Mauritania. The colony has more miles of telephone line than all the others combined. Lines are laid alongside the following roads: Dakar–Thiès–St. Louis; Thiès–Diourbel–Kaolack; Rufisque–M'Bour–Joal–Fatik–Kaolack; and Ziguinchor–Bignona–Sedhiou–Kolda. The standard of efficiency is low.

Wireless

207 There are stations at Dakar, Kaolack, Ross, St. Louis, Tambacounda, and Ziguinchor, of which Dakar is the only one to do any broadcasting. Details are given in Table VII. In 1939 radio-telegrams to France cost 9·75 francs (1*s.* 1*d.*) a word.

[206]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

TABLE VII. *Wireless Stations*

206
207
507

Station	*Approx. position*	*Wave-length: long, medium, or short*	*Power in kilowatts*	*Owner and remarks*
Dakar . . .	14° 42′ N. 17° 25′ W.	9 short	Unknown	Naval station. Services with Casablanca, Fort de France, and Toulon; also with flying-boats.
Dakar . . .	14° 40′ N. 17° 27′ W.	3 medium 22 short	20·0 5·0 1·0 0·5 0·2 and unknown	Coast, commercial, and broadcasting stations with service to France, French colonies, and the interior. Broadcasting at 0·35 kW. midday and in the evening, except for one station at 0·2 kW. Meteorological bulletins.
Dakar Aéradio and Aérogonio . .	14° 42′ N. 17° 28′ W.	4 medium 5 short	2·0 0·6	Aeronautical and direction-finding station.
Kaolack . . .	14° 07′ N. 16° 07′ W.	3 short	0·1	Commercial station. Interior service.
Kaolack Aéradio .	14° 07′ N. 16° 07′ W.	2 medium 4 short	0·1	Aeronautical station.
Ross . . .	16° 14′ N. 15° 49′ W.	2 short	0·01 0·01	Commercial station. Interior service.
St. Louis. . .	16° 00′ N. 16° 31′ W.	5 short	0·25 0·05 0·02 and unknown	Commercial and military station. Interior service.
St. Louis Aéradio .	16° 00′ N. 16° 31′ W.	2 medium 5 short	1·0 0·5 and unknown	Aeronautical and direction-finding station.
Tambacounda . .	13° 46′ N. 13° 41′ W.	3 short	0·2 0·08	Commercial station. Interior service.
Tambacounda Aéradio . .	13° 46′ N. 13° 41′ W.	2 medium 4 short	0·1	Aeronautical station.
Ziguinchor . .	12° 32′ N. 16° 21′ W.	3 short	0·02	Commercial station. Interior service.
Ziguinchor Aéradio .	12° 32′ N. 16° 21′ W.	1 medium 3 short	0·1	Aeronautical station.

/18 cont./

788 *795 to it out of curiosity, but do not fail to be touched by the strength and cohesion of Muridism, and sometimes some of them become disciples of Amadou Bamba.

Besides, the repercussions of the pilgrimage go beyond the bounds of Touba and the brotherhood. The local press, the [204] [207] official information services, and Radio-Dakar attend and participate in it. Radio reporting, newspapers, and films spread sonorous echoes and vivid images of the Magal, not only throughout the Territory, /19/ but throughout the Federation, and this contributes no little toward increasing the glory and prestige of the brotherhood and its leaders in Senegal.

793 *795 If the Magal has assured this character and this importance, it is thanks to the present head of the brotherhood, Falilou M'Backé, and, reciprocally, the aspect thus assumed by this pilgrimage has been one of the elements which have established the second Caliph at the head of the brotherhood.

Actually, at the time of his nomination as Caliph-general, he had to overcome the opposition of his nephew, Cheikh M'Backé, son of Moustapha (who aspired to succeed the latter as he had succeeded his father, Amadou Bamba), whom the council of the Murids had removed from the succession for his benefit.

By directly tying again the tradition of the Magal to the first intentions of Amadou Bamba, he brought about the unity of the Murids around himself.

He has also devoted himself to the building of the mosque, to which he applies all his attention. Not only does he collect for this purpose considerable sums at the time of the Magal, but he also seizes every opportunity to make collections or to have collections made for the benefit of this work. In particular he [533] has his representatives organize throughout the territory night sessions of religious singing in the course of which funds for the mosque are collected.

Thus he has appeared, in the eyes of the Murids, less as the successor to Amadou Moustapha than as the direct continuater

/426 cont./

*511 352 lists is the bed (1). In nearly all of the African lodgings we

1. The 13.3% of the cultivator, No. 32, arose from the purchase of a cart and a horse.

find at least a bed, but there is rarely one for everyone. And [319] to sleep in a bed has become the best proof that one can give of his acclimatization to the city.

If the income is higher, one may be able to buy more important pieces of furniture. Then, in the order of their urgency, the armchairs, the rugs, and then the tables and wardrobes appear.

*511 Then we come to the rubric "Exceptional Expenses," those for which no absolute necessity is felt. Moreover they are rarer at the top of the table, only three, and then they multiply (Table XIV).

[405] The first thing that we find here is the watch or the alarm [301] clock, closely followed by the jewelry of the wife or wives. [493] There follow, but only in the highest incomes, the bicycle, [207] or, depending on the possibilities, the bicycle with a motor [301] on it or the motorcycle, then the battery radio. There is nothing very original in all this, and, except perhaps for the importance given to the jewelry of the women, we would find similar pretensions among European families having equivalent incomes.

*511 794 [771] In the last table (Table XV)[1] we have grouped a series of expenses that have a common origin, the religion of the families investigated, all Moslems except one. Two Moslem holidays are involved, Tabaski and Korité, religious assessments, /427/ /Table XIV appears here/ /428/ offerings to the marabouts, and, finally, expenses arising from sending children to the Koranic school.

*511 796 For Tabaski, each family slaughters a sheep. There

[1] [See cat 116, pp 69-71. ANALYST]

/190 cont./

511 Nevertheless, ingenuity and mutual helpfulness make up for
207 the poverty of the equipment, and if one comes across well over 10% of owners of radio sets, it is because in a number of cases the owner attaches his radio to the current which comes into the house of his immediate -- or distant -- neighbor.

364 A very serious inconvenience, as much from the point of
514 view of hygiene as from the point of view of comfort, results from the total absence of sanitary equipment. Without doubt, an enclosure on the parcel has its particular spot, but this little corner cannot serve everyone, and for those who are on the edge of the agglomeration it is the bush which serves as a comfort station; for the others whose parcel is located far from the outskirts it is the vacant land within Pikine. This state of affairs is unfortunate for many reasons: first of all, for a good many inhabitants it is a veritable expedition, in a word, to go to the toilet; one can imagine what this means for the old people or for the sick. Besides, it is unhealthy, and to get an idea of this it will suffice to go out one winter evening after a tornado and breathe this nauseous odor which the wind blows from the vacant land over the rest of the agglomeration (1).

[515] [653] 1. At the beginning of 1961 the public authorities undertook the construction of several groups of "showers" in 12 places. One can only wish for the extension of the anticipated program and its rapid completion.

511 In the districts, while all are not the owners of a
364 septic tank, the situation is better. Only 12% of the homes
354 are counted as not having either water, electricity, or w.c.,
312 12% have electricity in addition to w.c. without a water line in the concession, 21% have water and electricity, and the remainder, some 34%, have complete modern equipment.

[331] It should also be noted that the Office de l'Habitat no longer builds structures without a septic tank in its subdivisions.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

132 hand, in September at Ziguinchor, for example, the midday mean rises as high as 48 miles, although at that time of year interference from cloud is greatest. Whatever the season, conditions are better at midday and in the evening than in the morning.

Temporary deterioration is caused by sand storms, fog, bush fires, and rain. The first occur during December and January over dunes such as those in Fouta and Ferlo. In them visibility may drop to less than 100 yards and the ensuing haze persists for several days over large areas. Fog is common before and after the rains and is to be expected over the southern estuaries at any time of the year when winds are light. It rarely extends above 500 feet or lasts after 9.00 a.m. Between February and April there is local interference from the smoke of bush fires, which rises 2,000 or 3,000 feet. In the wet season heavy rain naturally causes temporary deterioration. At this season also low cloud often blots out the tops of the spurs of Fouta Jalon.

Swell and Surf

133 Details of swell at Dakar are given in Appendix II, and they may be taken as typical of conditions along the whole of the coast of the colony. On beaches farther north there is slightly more north-westerly swell and on those to the south rather more from the south-west. Heavy seas are rare.

Surf, on the other hand, is everywhere heavy. On exposed beaches south of Cape Verde, for instance, rollers sometimes curl in 30 feet of water and break in a depth of 10 feet. Surf is especially dangerous at the mouths of estuaries when a strong ebb-tide is running.

Meteorological Services

654 Dakar is the chief meteorological station in French West Africa, and St. Louis, Tambacounda, and Ziguinchor are also fully equipped for recording both surface and upper air conditions. Their reports [207] are included in the synoptic broadcasts from Dakar, which cover the whole of the west coast. Secondary stations are at Bambey, Kaolack, Linguéré, Podor, and Thiès, whose reports are also included. Twenty-six other places record rainfall.

5. VEGETATION

137 Most of the colony falls within two of the main vegetation zones. To the north there is the thornland, while to the south the zone of grass-woodland has two subzones, the Sudan and the Guinea, and

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

494

Route	*Service*
Thiès-M'Bour-Joal	Thiès-M'Bour: twice each weekday; M'Bour-Joal: 4 days a week 1 November to 30 June only.
St. Louis-Dagana-Matam-Kidira	Twice a week 1 December to 30 June. Journey time: 30 hours.
Ziguinchor-Sedhiou-Kolda	Dry season: daily. Wet season: as practicable and as required. Journey time: 7½ hours. Occasional extensions to Tambacounda.

SIGNALS

Cables

206 Dakar is connected by cable to Conakry, Fernando Noronha (Brazil), Casablanca, and Brest. In 1939 to send a message to France cost 11·70 francs (1*s.* 4*d.*) a word.

Telegraphs and Telephones

Telegraph lines run alongside the railways and the following roads:

St. Louis-Dagana-Matam-Bakel-Kidira.
Thiès-M'Bour-Joal-Fatik-Bambey.
Tambacounda-Diabougou-Médina Pakan-border of French Guinea.
Diabougou-Kolda-Sedhiou-Bignona-Ziguinchor.
Bignona-Bathurst (the Gambia).

There are also connexions across the Senegal into Mauritania. The colony has more miles of telephone line than all the others combined. Lines are laid alongside the following roads: Dakar-Thiès-St. Louis; Thiès-Diourbel-Kaolack; Rufisque-M'Bour-Joal-Fatik-Kaolack; and Ziguinchor-Bignona-Sedhiou-Kolda. The standard of efficiency is low.

Wireless

207 There are stations at Dakar, Kaolack, Ross, St. Louis, Tambacounda, and Ziguinchor, of which Dakar is the only one to do any broadcasting. Details are given in Table VII. In 1939 radio-telegrams to France cost 9·75 francs (1*s.* 1*d.*) a word.

[206]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

TABLE VII. *Wireless Stations*

Station	*Approx. position*	*Wave-length: long, medium, or short*	*Power in kilowatts*	*Owner and remarks*
Dakar	14° 42′ N. 17° 25′ W.	9 short	Unknown	Naval station. Services with Casablanca, Fort de France, and Toulon; also with flying-boats.
Dakar	14° 40′ N. 17° 27′ W.	3 medium 22 short	20·0 5·0 1·0 0·5 0·2 and unknown	Coast, commercial, and broadcasting stations with service to France, French colonies, and the interior. Broadcasting at 0·35 kW. midday and in the evening, except for one station at 0·2 kW. Meteorological bulletins.
Dakar Aéradio and Aérogonio	14° 42′ N. 17° 28′ W.	4 medium 5 short	2·0 0·6	Aeronautical and direction-finding station.
Kaolack	14° 07′ N. 16° 07′ W.	3 short	0·1	Commercial station. Interior service.
Kaolack Aéradio	14° 07′ N. 16° 07′ W.	2 medium 4 short	0·1	Aeronautical station.
Ross	16° 14′ N. 15° 49′ W.	2 short	0·01 0·01	Commercial station. Interior service.
St. Louis	16° 00′ N. 16° 31′ W.	5 short	0·25 0·05 0·02 and unknown	Commercial and military station. Interior service.
St. Louis Aéradio	16° 00′ N. 16° 31′ W.	2 medium 5 short	1·0 0·5 and unknown	Aeronautical and direction-finding station.
Tambacounda	13° 46′ N. 13° 41′ W.	3 short	0·2 0·08	Commercial station. Interior service.
Tambacounda Aéradio	13° 46′ N. 13° 41′ W.	2 medium 4 short	0·1	Aeronautical station.
Ziguinchor	12° 32′ N. 16° 21′ W.	3 short	0·02	Commercial station. Interior service.
Ziguinchor Aéradio	12° 32′ N. 16° 21′ W.	1 medium 3 short	0·1	Aeronautical station.

206
207
507

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

463 fact a family concern where it is considered more economical
563 to employ the daughter of the family in menial work than a Senegalese. To counter this the Senegalese Government has studiously avoided any open declaration on the undesirability of this situation, but by a series of discriminatory
[651] taxes hopes to make the position of the marginal *petit blanc* untenable. In this way it is hoped that European employment will be reduced by half within the next four years. Thus whilst the European population of Senegal was given
[162] as 46,500 in 1956, about 40,000 in 1960, the Government hopes to have it reduced to about 30,000 by 1965.

[655] One of the ways in which the Government is attempting to overcome the twin problem of European domination of
[471] commerce and the lack of private indigenous capital, is the establishment of state trading companies and co-operatives to compete in the marketing of ground-nuts and other basic Senegalese products. Also in order to reduce Senegal's dependence on expatriate technicians and minor
[874] functionaries it is expanding technical education and spending considerable sums on the training of Africans overseas. In the initial stages this will only remove those Europeans who were doing jobs that can easily be taken over by Senegalese once they have received basic training. There is no reason to suppose that the European Community will diminish by much more than the numbers cited above envisaged by the planners, since the anticipated expansion of the Senegalese economy under the four-year plan should be able to absorb the marginal cases who might otherwise have been forced to return to France. Nor indeed is it the intention of the Senegalese to get rid of the Europeans for the sake of getting rid of them, since the Government still maintains that the two groups can co-exist to their mutual benefit but that it must prevent the seeds of racial tension from germinating.

563 There is of course amongst the young and particularly among students some difference of opinion over this matter.
[208] Not all of them hold such liberal views, particularly

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

those who have been influenced by the barrage of anti-colonial and especially anti-French propaganda that has been current in Africa during the last two years. Many young men declare that the best thing they can do is to get rid of the French since the economy is being strangled or alternatively dominated by their former colonial masters. But this does not reflect a deep-seated dislike for France as such, indeed the opposite is nearer the case. The young man who is demanding the expulsion of the French in a heated moment today, may well be packing his bag to go and find work in France tomorrow. Once again, this division is removed when one suggests that the young Senegalese may be against the French as such in Dakar, but this does not imply that he is against either individual Frenchmen—he may well count a number amongst his personal friends—or against France and what France stands for from the point of view of culture and civilisation. Like all those who have led the anti-assimilationist campaign since the war, he is also aware of the dominating role French culture still plays in his daily life. And the wish to remove the French from Dakar may be considered an attempt to compensate for a psychological domination he resents rather than as a reaction against the French community for anything they may have done.

The real danger will come if the younger generation becomes economically frustrated by the French community, a situation which could lead to real racial tension. And it is this again that the Senegalese Government in its present planning intends to avert. The Senegalese leaders at present in power believe that it is their role to show how various racial groups can live together in harmony. Here it is essential to remember that Senegal has three other substantial racial minorities, the Cape Verdians, Lebanese, and Mauretanians of Arab stock, but they are not important for the purposes of this study which is primarily concerned with the effects of assimilation on the indigenous Senegalese.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 not to let the same discriminations and prejudices such as
[563] exist in other colonies be introduced among them.' At
[369] the same time the metropolitan Government was asking whether Africans would make suitable corporals and under-officers. Furthermore Schmaltz, whilst advocating a system of economic exploitation that seemed to be entirely to the advantage of France, maintained that the Senegalese were not merely to be auxiliaries and that they would be encouraged by fixed prices for their crops to produce more and become 'civilised' by their contact with Europe.

648 So far France had made no definition of the position of
567 non-French inhabitants of her colonies. Even though France
641 by the decree of 16 Pluviose Year II (1792) had abolished slavery and declared that 'all men, without distinction of colour, domiciled in French colonies, are French citizens, and enjoy all the rights assured by the Constitution', and even though the slave trade had been outlawed in 1818, until 1833 freed slaves had uncertain status in law, and domestic slaves still existed in large numbers. A royal ordinance of that year proclaimed that 'Any person born free or having legally acquired his liberty enjoys in the French colonies: (1) civil rights; (2) political rights under conditions prescribed by law'. But only in 1848 was the status of *captif* or domestic slave abolished, though the majority of *captifs* continued to serve with their former masters. Naturally this law only affected inhabitants of St. Louis and Gorée and the other French posts like Dagana and Richard-Toll.

648 The most important result of these two laws was to give
[641] about 12,000 Africans, mostly illiterate, the full rights of
[818] French citizens. Of these less than a thousand had been
[799] converted to Christianity by their French, mulatto or Christian African masters. Educational facilities, which would have to accompany any effective conversion of illiterates into full scale French citizens were still rudimentary. But it must be remembered that in France, at the time, the electorate was suddenly increased from 200,000 to

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

upon to play a historic role will be neither Negro, Berber, nor Arab nations, nor Christian, Muslim, nor animist nations. They will surely be strongly marked by the influence of different biological factors, and by the influence of different philosophies of their environment; but they will be nothing if not a synthesis, if not a civilisation. It is under this condition that they will be truly active element in the post-Marxian revolution of the twentieth century. 668

Reading the political philosophy of both Senghor and Mamadou Dia, one is tempted to say this humanism is all very admirable but what have such high-flown ideas got to do with a nation of three million poor people still living [433] barely above subsistence level and of whom the majority [412] of adults are still illiterate? Indeed, Senghor the philosopher and poet comes in for criticism by some students of African politics for his advocacy of this cultural cross breeding, for his apparent excessive attachment to the West. Will not, they ask, someone more African, more a politician and less a poet, be more typical of the African politicians of the future? This is perhaps not only to misunderstand Senghor, but also the Senegalese. Senghor may seem to live in the clouds, uttering fine phrases in enviable French, but the last fifteen [665] years have shown him as a masterly political tactician. He broke away from Lamine Guèye and the *S.F.I.O.* to form his own party at just the right psychological moment. And when he felt an end had to be brought to the Mali Federation he accomplished it without shedding one drop of blood, to the surprise not only of foreign observers but particularly of his Soudanese partners. Today opposition to Senghor comes mainly from fellow intellectuals, whilst his standing with the people of the countryside remains high. His opposition is no less inclined to lengthy discourses on the philosophical foundations of the state. Ly Abdoulaye and Assane Seck of the *P.R.A.* are both of the University of [665] Dakar; Majhemout Diop of the *P.A.I.* is a doctrinaire Communist; and Cheikh Anta Diop, as we have seen, has spent most of his time on the rehabilitation of African history.

/431/

121 Fashion, from a subjective point of view, represents a fleeting custom that depends on the taste and the whims of individuals. Its range of application is universal. It is thus a social and aesthetic phenomenon of the same order as painting, from which it borrows much.

Like all expressions of art, fashion is a language and a magic. It is also a technique, the different aspects of which may be grouped in three categories: the fabrication of the objects (fabrics and garments), the methods of sale, and the motivations for the purchase.

For the social psychologist the problem of the adaptation of the African to European fashions presents itself.

125 Among the various possible methods of investigation, our choice was directed first of all to direct observations and the method of tests. We have taken into consideration both the ethnic origin and the age of the subjects.

I. Female African Population of Dakar

162 1. Resident population on 6-1-55.

We ascertained:

a) the very distinct predominance of the Wolof group (47.8%),

b) the weak representation of the Sérèr and Diola in relation to the Bambara.

/432/

2. Characteristics of this population:

[191] [212] a) Knowledge of French (14 years old and +):

4,844 women and girls speak our language (2,850 of them write it).

162 463 [294] [386] b) Salaried occupations in crafts and business (14 years old and +):

3,779, of whom: sewing, dressmaking, lingerie, clothing 609

preparation, dyeing..... 142

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

of introduction to be sent to the Directors of his Institute in all the towns we should be visiting. We talked for a moment at human level, then a glance at his papers, a distant look in his eyes, indicated it was time for us to leave.

Monod is an established expert on the following subjects: geology; geography: physical, climatic, regional and human; archaeology; history; marine biology; ethnography; botany; zoology; pre-history; and languages. He has over 400 publications to his name and has published two best-sellers in France. He went down in the bathyscope with Professor Piccard and with Captain Houot. His real love is the Sahara Desert. He must know it better than any other man alive. His first journey into the unknown wastes of the Sahara was in 1923, and by 1930 he had travelled its length and breadth from Algiers to Timbuktu, from Mauretania to Lake Chad. Friends called the gaunt young man, who rode off into the desert wastes alone with a camel, 'Monod le Fou'. Today he is known more respectfully as 'Monod le Saharien'. In the winter of 1954 he completed a phenomenal trek across the desert over a distance never before dared by another white man. With four camels, two Arabs, and a strict daily ration of half a litre of wine, Monod, aged 52, covered 900 kilometres in 47 days.

Theodore Monod has probably done as much as any European to give dignity to the culture and traditions of the tribes of West Africa, and to preserve these traditions for their future inheritors when the steamroller of Western civilization threatens to obliterate them. The Institut Français D'Afrique Noire, which he directs, has a federal museum in Dakar and a network of museums and research centres throughout French Black Africa. It employs scholars in every field of knowledge concerning Africa, and most important of all, it gives African scholars an opportunity to make research into their own customs, traditions and history.

Monsieur Pierre Cros, of the Press Section of the Federal Information Services, who was to help us as much as anyone in our travels in West Africa, received us in his small office on the ninth floor of the vast Federal Administration building. What impressed me most about the Federal Information Services was their very considerable knowledge of British West Africa. Fortnightly they published a resumé of the local press of Nigeria,

/374 cont./

369 [438] became a relatively flourishing commercial center; each year more than 20,000 metric tons of groundnuts were handled by the traders of the place and sent by railroad to the ports of Rufisque or Dakar. As early as 1907 the first work on the Thiès-[496] Kayes railroad was begun. All of this new economic activity [464] required the employment of many laborers, who were in part recruited on the spot, but also in the neighboring villages.

369 162 During the dry season, work in the fields is reduced. A number of rural people in the vicinity come to offer their serv-[464] ices as workers in the factoreries (2) or in the newly opened

[443] 2. Factorerie: shop where everything is sold.

[461] yards /chantiers, dockyards, woodyards, etc./. Some of these villagers feel that this kind of work is less arduous and more remunerative than that of agriculture. They become definitively attached to urban life and come to swell the population of the native quarters previously established.

[484] [22] Others return every evening to the village. During the rainy season they leave their urban job and devote all their activity to work in the fields.

During this whole period prior to the Great War the suburban village seems to have played the role of intermediary or rather of relay-station between the hamlet in the bush and the city. [464] The call for non-specialized labor had echos not only in the outskirts /375/ of the city itself, but also in the more distant villages. Curiosity about new things, the opportunity to escape familial tutelage, and especially the promise of relatively high earnings stimulated some immigration movement toward the escales.

[574] By means of the great hospitality that he knows will be shown him by relatives or friends who live in Diakhaté or Keur-Issa-Bambara, the rural person settles in these agglomerations.

/667 cont./

563 term Toucouleur often erroneously designates all the inhabitants of the Fouta Toro; we shall use it here in the way the Toucouleur speak of themselves, namely, Halpoularen (speaking the lan-
[197] guage of the Peul), distinct from the Wolof, who have their own language, and from the Saracolé, who speak a Mandé dialect.

/668/ Downstream the boundary between the Wolof and the Toucouleur is not clearly defined and several Wolof villages have been established in the very heart of Toucouleur country and
[186] have preserved their ethnic individuality. They are regarded as foreigners. It is the same upriver on the part of the Saracolé.

The Peul live in the midst of the three groups mentioned
[175] above, and the Peul ethnic group in the valley of the Senegal is itself composed of several waves /nappes/ which have successively spread throughout the region. The oldest are also the most sedentary and the most Islamized (Foulbé walo) and have a way of life very much like that of the Toucouleur, with whom they sometimes intermarry. The others, who have come more re-
[221] cently (Foulbé Diéri), are seminomads and only in winter culti-
[162] vate the sands of the hills which border the valley (Diéri). There
[613] is a total of 47,000 Peul in this region, but we do not know the actual number of each wave, itself divided into relatively
[175] endogamous lineages /lignages/ or pseudo-lineages. The latter, designated by the administration as communities, served as census units for the Peul, while for the others this unit was the village. The location of these communities often changes because of the seminomadic character of the Peul way of life, which is devoted principally to livestock-raising.

[162] Among the 56,000 Moors, although some of them (6,000) are settled in the river ports, the majority merely meet on the Mauritainian shore and only part of the year; they camp there
[221] during the dry season in order to cultivate the alluvial soil (walo), and they return after the harvest to camps sometimes located several dozen kilometers from there. These farmers for the most part are Haratin of the black race, that is to say, ancient serfs of the Moors, from whom they continue to lease land.

125 Since they occupy a very marginal position in relation to the totality of the inhabitants of the valley, they will not be studied here. /Table I appears here./

/379 cont./

S 369 [262] Only food seems to have undergone only slight improvement: the couscous of millet or rice (a little fish or meat during periods of abundance) are basic in their diet. Bread, rarely eaten during the meal, is reserved for children; S [271] it takes the place of cake. Water remains the essential drink of the Moslem; water, palm wine (during the harvest), [273] and grape wine (on feast days) are consumed by the non-SR [273] Islamized None.

The frugal housewife profits from the proximity of the S 369 241 438 escale for /380/ the daily sale in the market of the products of her personal garden. She cultivates tomatoes, beans, pumpkins, and okra. At Keur-Issa-Bambara she has tried, with greater or lesser success, to cultivate potatoes and salad greens; the gathering of mangoes also procures a little profit S [372] for her. When the harvest from the garden is exhausted, the collection of dead wood which she will take to sell in the market in the form of little bundles will yield a few coins for her.

In parallel fashion, the husband-cultivator harvests on a plot of his lougan products that are easy to sell on the Thiès market; at Keur-Issa-Bambara he lays out flooded rice-fields and cultivates the sweet potato and manioc, part of which is S SR 369 438 offered to the clientele of the escale.

During the dry season the None principally works at gathering palmyra leaves; they will be sold, as bundles of [314] thatch, for making roofs for the huts of the urban quarters; [342] after the harvest he carries dried groundnut leaves to the city [231] for fodder for the little horses harnessed to the taxicabs.

S SR 369 234 438 S SR F [233] [465] Despite the ready sale that can be made with cattle, they are not very numerous. When the epizootic diseases have spared them, they give an appreciable profit to their owner through the sale of milk. At Tiali, the only herd in the village, which contains about 30 animals, belongs to a single breeder. It is guarded by Peul shepherds who lead it to graze in the neighboring woodlands. The morning milk and the calves belong to the owner; the evening milk goes

/37 cont./

This is the most common preparation, but the native cuisine is acquainted with a host of others. The couscous is light, refreshing, and very nourishing. S 262

Millet is also given to horses. Basi is used the most in this practice, but souna gives them more vigor, although heating them up more. S 231

The Africans, by making millet germinate and putting it in water to boil for several days, obtain a kind of invigorating beer (pouh in Wolof), but one which, if taken in great quantities, produces a very heavy drunkenness. Millet, just like maize, fattens animals quickly, especially poultry. S W 273 S 231

Sorghum is a plant widely cultivated in Senegal. It is necessary to accustom the Senegalese farmer as rapidly as possible to replacing the ordinary variety by that of the sweet sorghum, that is, the saccharatum variety, which would have the advantage of giving sugar and grain. This saccharatum variety is utilized a great deal in the United States for the production of sugar. Then a sugar refinery would be created, which would be one more source of wealth for this country, wealth all the more appreciable because the African is fond of delicacies and a great consumer of sugar (mint tea, Moorish coffee, and infusions). S 243 S [493] [263] [272]

Rice. It is cultivated in Senegal in damp places, on the edges of marigots /watercourses/, in Sine, in Casamance, and at the mouth of the river (Richard-Toll, etc.). A large number of varieties is known, some of which grow in relatively dry and high places; black rice is one of them.

The African rice is Oryza glaberrima, but wild rice grows by itself; this is Oryza latifolia (punctata and sylvestris). The native rice is much more in demand by the Africans and often even by the Europeans than foreign rice. African cooks excel in preparing rice in all kinds of ways. S [137] S 262

Rice is emollient, soothing, very nourishing, and not at all binding or constipating as is sometimes thought. It also gives a beer by fermentation. Rice water renders great service in dysentery, as a beverage, and for bathing. Rice water is also a cooling drink for feverish and inflammatory ailments. Finally, rice powder is useful as an absorbent for skin diseases. S 273 757 [272] [515]

/38 cont./

eaten as couscous in the south of the Sahara.

824

Some Gramineae give very fine hay, but one must hurry to harvest them before the dryness is well established, for then the Gramineae quickly lose their leaves and become not very nourishing. Besides, these hays are worth far less than those of Europe, even comparing plants of the same species with each other. Finally, the best local hay is still groundnut straw. [262] [231]

J. B. Faur.
(Dakar.)

/12 cont./

242 trade and the beginning of cultivation, at an interest of 20%
244 on a base of about 100 kilograms per cultivator. Reimburse-
654 ment takes place before the opening of trade, the greatness of the loss explaining the high rate of interest. The seeds stocked by these Mutuelles are disinfected, and samples are sent to Bambey for analysis.

2) Improvement in the techniques of cultivation. An agricultural calendar restricted to four months and demanding hard labor, very rudimentary implements, and the absence of fertilizers explain in large part the lack of efficiency of the traditional methods.

The example of Koutiala in the Sudan, where some plows were distributed, has shown that the use of this implement is often prohibited in a tropical environment. In contrast, Bambey and Boulel have successfully experimented with small equipment, hoes and drills /semoirs/, in mixed /attelée/cultivation. These light implements can greatly facilitate the work of the peasant. A great obstacle remains in the mediocrity of the
[231] animal husbandry, inasmuch as it is divorced from agriculture. The donkeys throughout the country, the camels in the north, and the cattle entrusted to the Peul have never been regarded as draft animals. Today 20,000 light drills, sold on credit by the S.M.D.R., are in service. Up to now the hoes have not had the same success.

/13/ Mixed cultivation also has the advantage of linking cultivation and animal husbandry and of permitting the agriculturalist to utilize the manure, as the Sérère know how to do. The experiences of Bambey have shown that manuring is to be done for millet, but not for groundnuts, under penalty of harvesting many empty shells. The use of millet as green manure seems very beneficial on these unstable lands; the application of the fertilizer compound N.P.K., in the form of tablets to avoid rapid leaching, assures returns 30% higher. At the present time the Mutuelles are distributing about 6,000 metric tons of fertilizer a year. The high price of these imported products is an obstacle to their popularization, but some

/17/

438 2. The "circuit" of groundnuts. The purchase of the
442 groundnuts in the escale and storing them in the secco of the trader constitute only one step in the complicated circuit that the groundnuts take from the place of production to the port of exportation or to the oil-factories.

492 1) The means of transport. From the place of production
438 to the escale, the groundnuts essentially utilize the traditional modes of transport, donkeys throughout the country and camels
[656] in the north. The decree of 4 September 1935 has forbidden the use of trucks. Its aims were to avoid bulky hauls, purchases at a low price at the place of production, and, above all, to en-
[231] courage local animal-husbandry. This system, however, carries with it grave defects. Most often transport on the back of a donkey is more expensive for the producer than transport by truck because the camel-drivers and donkey-drivers impose their own price on the peasants who do not have animals. Moreover, the transporter guides the seller to a trader whom the seller did not choose. Today, however, more and more derogations are permitted, because in the south, where the groundnut is progressing, the tsetse interdicts animal husbandry, and in the other regions the overworked animals are incapable of doing the transporting at the end of trade. Finally, certain
[874] co-operatives which pretend "to collect" and not to buy do send trucks to the places of production.

494 From the secco of the trader to the port nearby or to the
438 railroad station, transport is handled by trucks. It is essentially the commercial firms, the traders, or the local oil-makers who use them. There are few professional transporters because the traffic is essentially seasonal. The generally bad
[491] condition of the unpaved roads, except for the "Transgambienne" from Dakar to Ziguinchor, causes a rapid wearing-out of equipment, whose amortization is a heavy burden on the budget of the merchants.

497 The Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad and especially the Dakar-
438 Niger transport more than 200,000 metric tons of groundnuts

[Text continues on p. 21--Analyst]

22 Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

tunity for much development in this industry, particularly in the irrigated areas of the Casamance Territory and Sine-Saloum. Europeans own the majority of the plantations, but co-operate with and encourage native growers. During the first quarter of 1939 production in Tambacounda province was 152 tons, and the factory at Kolda treated 165 tons of fibre. 248 [433] [288]

Ginger. The ginger plant (*Zingiber officinale*) is of Asiatic origin, but it has been cultivated in Africa for many centuries. It is grown on a small scale wherever the rainfall is over 30 inches. It does best in a rich soil and requires shade. The ginger of commerce is prepared from the rhizome or underground stem, which is mature when the leaves turn yellow. The best ginger is prepared from immature rhizomes, which are peeled and preserved in sugar syrup, but in West Africa the coarser, mature stems are also used. Chewed ginger is reputed to enhance the stimulating effect of kola. 244 [251] [276]

Pimentos. Several species of *Capsicum* or peppers grow in the Federation. In Senegal the most common are *C. annum* and *C. frutescens*, both bearing red fruits. The former was introduced from South America. It is less pungent and has larger fruits, known as 'capsicums'. *C. frutescens* has hotter fruits, known in commerce as 'chillies'. Cayenne or paprika is the red powder obtained from grounding the fruit. Pepper shrubs are grown from seeds, and after three months bear fruit for at least six months. These red peppers should not be confused with the common pepper, which is a climber and does not grow in West Africa.

Henna. This plant (*Lawsonia inermis*), like sugar-cane, maize, ginger, and castor oil, is grown wherever there is enough water. The plant is much revered by Moslems and often grown as a hedge. The powder of the young, dried leaves is the source of henna dye. 249

Other Crops. Other products of which small quantities are exported are citrus fruits, gum arabic, shea butter, cotton, kapok, and palm kernels. 439 241

Livestock

Livestock are fewer here than in any other colony. Sheep and goats, the latter being the more numerous, are kept near the river between Podor and Bakel and number about 100,000. There are some 310,000 cattle, 50,000 donkeys, 6,000 camels, and 14,000 pigs. These last are mainly kept in the Casamance Territory. There are 36,000 horses. These are of two breeds, the M'Bayar and the M'Par, and 231

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37
Mali MS 35

S 231

the former provide mounts for the tirailleurs. Apiculture has increased in recent years, and in 1939 over 59,000 beehives were installed in the provinces of Bakel, Baol, Kolda, and Sine-Saloum.

S 654

Experimental Stations

There are agricultural experimental stations at Bambey, Dagana, Kolda, Louga, and Tambacounda, nurseries and botanical gardens at Hann, Richard Toll, and Sor, a livestock experimental station at Makhana (11 miles north-east of St. Louis), and farm schools at Diorbivol and Soringho (near Matam). The stations at Bambey and Louga specialize in ground-nuts, those at Kolda and Tambacounda in sisal, and that at Dagana in gum and Borassus palms (Fig. 8).

13. COMMERCE AND FINANCE

Commerce

S M 439

Official statistics combine Senegal and French Sudan under one head for detailed figures, and, in addition, the general summary of *Commerce Spécial* combines them with Mauritania. These three colonies account for more than 50 per cent. of the total trade of the Federation, and of this percentage Senegal undoubtedly provides a very large proportion.

The Balance of Trade. The value of the imports commonly exceeds that of the exports, but in 1938, the last year for which statistics are available, imports were valued at 1,016,837,000 francs and exports at 1,725,649,000 francs.

Firms. The principal firms are Chavenel et Fils, the Commerce Africain, the Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale, Dèves et Chaumet, Maurel et Prom, the Nouvelle Société Commerciale Africaine, Charles Peyrissac et Cie., the Société Commerciale de l'Ouest Africain, Soucail et Cie., and Vézia et Cie.

Exports. The principal item of export is the ground-nut. The first export of ground-nuts was made from Rufisque to Rouen in 1840, and since 1844 there have been regular shipments to Marseilles. In 1936, 393,485 tons of ground-nuts in shell (28,452 tons from French Sudan) and 60,448 tons of shelled ground-nuts (4,429 tons from French Sudan) were exported, respectively worth 351,674,905 francs and 73,384,546 francs. In 1937 both quantities rose, the nuts in shell to 517,322 tons worth 431,746,036 francs and the shelled nuts to

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

647 656 *Produce Inspection.* Produce inspection is entrusted to a board nominated by the Chambers of Commerce, but the Government keeps a tight control by exercising a veto on all important appointments to its staff. The Board's inspectorate has very wide powers of inspection over produce, whether destined for local consumption or for export. No produce to which inspection applies can be sent out [439] of the colony without a certificate of purity.

For this inspection a special tax of 5 francs per ton on ground-nuts [651] and palm kernels, and 20 francs per ton on rubber, is imposed on produce intended for export.

456 654 *Native Provident Societies.* There are 14 Native Provident Societies. Bignona and Ziguinchor have combined, but otherwise there is one to each province. In 1937 they had 1,200,000 members, [647] whose annual subscriptions varied from 2·50 francs to 5·00 francs each, and their expenses were some 25,000,000 francs. They supplied over 44,000 tons of ground-nut seeds to their members.

In earlier days the Sine-Saloum society imported stallions from [232] the Argentine for the breeding of mules, and in 1932 the societies devoted nearly 250,000 francs to the purchase of motor vehicles. In cattle-breeding districts they supply breeding stock and improve water-supply and pasturage. By 1933 it was estimated that the societies had sunk over 1,200 wells, while the society of Thiès had [312] constructed a barrage for irrigation purposes.

In addition to strictly agricultural activities, the Senegal societies [426] help their members by advances of cash, which are made not only to meet failure of crops, but also in cases of individual accident or illness.

Mining

656 316 At the end of 1937 the following permits were in force:

Personal licences		4
The Occupation System		
Exclusive licences	10	
Mining licences	32	
Concessions	16	
	—	58
Total		62

Education

871 797 The first attempts to educate the natives of French West Africa were made in Senegal, and they were also remarkable for being instituted, not by missionaries, but by the Crown. Colonel Schmaltz

/121 cont./

233 animals to drink. Nevertheless, cattle-raising remains a worthwhile enterprise, a herd doubling in three years.

[232] No serious attempt to improve the breed of cattle has
[654] been made by the administration.

Since the multiplication of automobiles, the horse has
[492] been somewhat forsaken. The breed is small, but sturdy.

/122/ As for sheep and goats, their rustic breed is resistant. This breeding does not require any care.

313 Forests. Forests cover a notable part of the circle. They must be protected because they are on the way to progressive disappearance as a result of the abuses of brush fires and systematic clearing by the native, wishing to increase his crops.

There is no methodical exploitation of the forests. The exploitation is confined to the cutting of palm trees for the production of charcoal. There still exist, however, some beautiful stands of hardwoods, especially of Gambia mahogany, or false mahogany, particularly in Bas-Saloum.

To the east, between Kaffrine and Koungheul, stocks of small bamboos exist, especially in the humid depressions.
[342] These bamboos are cut by the natives who make panels out of them, called "crintings," to serve as closings or veranda par-
[435] titions. The price of these panels, from two to three meters long, varies between 15 and 25 francs.

316 Quarries. There are many laterite quarries, exploited for the most part. The stone is not as hard as at Rufisque or at Dakar.

317 Salt marshes. There is industrial exploitation of the
433 salt marshes at Kaolack. The Société des Salines of Sine-Saloum has exploited the salt marshes at Diorana since 1915. The region of the Saloum is very fortunate from this viewpoint. The constant evaporation of the water of this arm of the sea and its many branches gives the liquid mass a degree of saturation much higher than that of the ocean water.

/379 cont./

S 369 [263] Only food seems to have undergone only slight improvement: the couscous of millet or rice (a little fish or meat during periods of abundance) are basic in their diet. Bread, rarely eaten during the meal, is reserved for children; S [271] it takes the place of cake. Water remains the essential drink of the Moslem; water, palm wine (during the harvest), [273] and grape wine (on feast days) are consumed by the non-SR [273] Islamized None.

The frugal housewife profits from the proximity of the S 369 241 438 escale for /380/ the daily sale in the market of the products of her personal garden. She cultivates tomatoes, beans, pumpkins, and okra. At Keur-Issa-Bambara she has tried, with greater or lesser success, to cultivate potatoes and salad greens; the gathering of mangoes also procures a little profit for her. When the harvest from the garden is exhausted, the S [372] collection of dead wood which she will take to sell in the market in the form of little bundles will yield a few coins for her.

In parallel fashion, the husband-cultivator harvests on a plot of his lougan products that are easy to sell on the Thiès market; at Keur-Issa-Bambara he lays out flooded rice-fields and cultivates the sweet potato and manioc, part of which is S SR 369 438 offered to the clientele of the escale.

During the dry season the None principally works at gathering palmyra leaves; they will be sold, as bundles of [314] thatch, for making roofs for the huts of the urban quarters; [342] after the harvest he carries dried groundnut leaves to the city [231] for fodder for the little horses harnessed to the taxicabs.

S SR 369 234 438 S SR F Despite the ready sale that can be made with cattle, they are not very numerous. When the epizootic diseases have spared them, they give an appreciable profit to their owner through the sale of milk. At Tiali, the only herd in the village, which contains about 30 animals, belongs to a single breeder. It is guarded by Peul shepherds who lead it [239] to graze in the neighboring woodlands. The morning milk [465] and the calves belong to the owner; the evening milk goes

S
SR
369
438
[234]
[233]
[465]

/380 cont./

to the shepherd as compensation for services rendered. Although lactation is very poor (one to two liters per day per head), this sale practiced in the city at a relatively high price (30 francs per liter) is a source of not inconsiderable profit.

F
[233]
[465]
SR
[231]
[417]

The Sérère, despite the poor food resources he commands, practices for the benefit of Europeans the raising of pigs in the narrow and miry enclosures formed by stakes driven deeply into the ground and close together.

S
[361]

The mode of settlement and the economy of these suburban villages, although they have not had profound modifications, nevertheless are in the process of continual reorganization and adaptation.

These very modest contributions of the urban economy thin out very rapidly as one goes farther from the city. Karamoko and Keur-Mamour, located six and seven kilometers from the escale, and even Diakhaté, which is nearer, give the appearance of wholly rural villages. The women who each morning leave in Indian file /381/ to sell their products in the city make up the single element that enters into the circuit of the new economy offered to them.

S
121
369

Has the social and economic organization, on the other hand, been more profoundly modified? An examination of the ethnic and functional composition of the groups of the villages will permit an understanding of the data on this problem.

For this study we have grouped the villages under three rubrics:

1. The assemblage of Tiali, Thiès-None, and Sapko; near the escale, but having undergone perturbations in their economy by the loss of part of their land.

2. Keur-Mamour and Karamoko form the group farthest from the city.

3. Diakhaté and Keur-Issa-Bambara are the two villages near the escale which have not suffered any loss of territory.

S
SR
369
162

The first assemblage musters a total population of 405

/120 cont./

433 Truck gardening. Truck gardens exist in the major
244 centers. This is still, however, a European crop, the native
242 consuming very little of our vegetables.

An experimental garden, or rather a nursery, was set up in Kaolack about 20 years ago. This nursery provided many tree plants for the Europeans and natives (eucalyptus, mimosa, flamboyants, Gambia, mahogany, silk-cotton trees, orange trees, lemon trees, and guava trees).

[648] /121/ European crops. Concessions. No agricultural colonization has been undertaken by Europeans, except at Latmingué.

In 1920, the Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale requested a concession of 200 hectares at Latmingué, 20 kilometers southeast of Kaolack, very near the Saloum, in order to conduct experiments on the mechanical cultivation of groundnuts. Improvements were made for four years. Improved agricultural equipment was used (tractors, gang plows, mechanical seeders, pulverizers, harrow-plows, and pickers). The tests made it possible to get an idea of the advantages of mechanical cultivation of the groundnut. The shortage of manpower, however, was an obstacle to extending the cultivation. The Compagnie Française abandoned this concession, which was recovered and expanded by the Société des Plantations of Latmingué, which now exploits it. The latter cultivates manioc exclusively. It has already cleared 200 hectares and planted 270 hectares in manioc. It is trying to cultivate this plant annually in nine months instead of 18. This development should be watched with interest. The needs of the mother country for manioc are considerable, and Senegal would find there another source of economic prosperity.

233 Animal husbandry. Pasturage is abundant, especially during the rainy season. It is sufficient to raise large herds of cattle, sheep, horses, and donkeys. Epidemics, however, decimate the cattle, which vary between 250,000 and 300,000 heads. During the dry season, the problem of animal fodder is doubled by the difficulty of finding water for the

/121 cont./

233 animals to drink. Nevertheless, cattle-raising remains a worthwhile enterprise, a herd doubling in three years.

[232] No serious attempt to improve the breed of cattle has [654] been made by the administration.

Since the multiplication of automobiles, the horse has [492] been somewhat forsaken. The breed is small, but sturdy.

/122/ As for sheep and goats, their rustic breed is resistant. This breeding does not require any care.

313 Forests. Forests cover a notable part of the circle. They must be protected because they are on the way to progressive disappearance as a result of the abuses of brush fires and systematic clearing by the native, wishing to increase his crops.

There is no methodical exploitation of the forests. The exploitation is confined to the cutting of palm trees for the production of charcoal. There still exist, however, some beautiful stands of hardwoods, especially of Gambia mahogany, or false mahogany, particularly in Bas-Saloum.

To the east, between Kaffrine and Koungheul, stocks of small bamboos exist, especially in the humid depressions. [342] These bamboos are cut by the natives who make panels out of them, called "crintings," to serve as closings or veranda par- [435] titions. The price of these panels, from two to three meters long, varies between 15 and 25 francs.

316 Quarries. There are many laterite quarries, exploited for the most part. The stone is not as hard as at Rufisque or at Dakar.

317 Salt marshes. There is industrial exploitation of the 433 salt marshes at Kaolack. The Société des Salines of Sine-Saloum has exploited the salt marshes at Diorana since 1915. The region of the Saloum is very fortunate from this viewpoint. The constant evaporation of the water of this arm of the sea and its many branches gives the liquid mass a degree of saturation much higher than that of the ocean water.

/379 cont./

S 369 [262] Only food seems to have undergone only slight improvement: the couscous of millet or rice (a little fish or meat during periods of abundance) are basic in their diet. Bread, rarely eaten during the meal, is reserved for children; S [271] it takes the place of cake. Water remains the essential drink of the Moslem; water, palm wine (during the harvest), [273] and grape wine (on feast days) are consumed by the non-SR [273] Islamized None.

The frugal housewife profits from the proximity of the S 369 241 438 escale for /380/ the daily sale in the market of the products of her personal garden. She cultivates tomatoes, beans, pumpkins, and okra. At Keur-Issa-Bambara she has tried, with greater or lesser success, to cultivate potatoes and salad greens; the gathering of mangoes also procures a little profit S [372] for her. When the harvest from the garden is exhausted, the collection of dead wood which she will take to sell in the market in the form of little bundles will yield a few coins for her.

In parallel fashion, the husband-cultivator harvests on a plot of his lougan products that are easy to sell on the Thiès market; at Keur-Issa-Bambara he lays out flooded rice-fields and cultivates the sweet potato and manioc, part of which is S SR 369 438 offered to the clientele of the escale.

During the dry season the None principally works at gathering palmyra leaves; they will be sold, as bundles of [314] thatch, for making roofs for the huts of the urban quarters; [342] after the harvest he carries dried groundnut leaves to the city [231] for fodder for the little horses harnessed to the taxicabs.

S SR 369 234 438 S SR F [239] [465] Despite the ready sale that can be made with cattle, they are not very numerous. When the epizootic diseases have spared them, they give an appreciable profit to their owner through the sale of milk. At Tiali, the only herd in the village, which contains about 30 animals, belongs to a single breeder. It is guarded by Peul shepherds who lead it to graze in the neighboring woodlands. The morning milk and the calves belong to the owner; the evening milk goes

Serer FA32
Fulani MS11

S
SR
369
438
/380 cont./
to the shepherd as compensation for services rendered. Although lactation is very poor (one to two liters per day per head), this sale practiced in the city at a relatively high price (30 francs per liter) is a source of not inconsiderable profit.

[234]
[233]
[465]

F
[233]
[465]
SR
[231]
[417]

The Sérère, despite the poor food resources he commands, practices for the benefit of Europeans the raising of pigs in the narrow and miry enclosures formed by stakes driven deeply into the ground and close together.

The mode of settlement and the economy of these suburban villages, although they have not had profound modifications, nevertheless are in the process of continual reorganization and adaptation.

S
[361]

These very modest contributions of the urban economy thin out very rapidly as one goes farther from the city. Karamoko and Keur-Mamour, located six and seven kilometers from the escale, and even Diakhaté, which is nearer, give the appearance of wholly rural villages. The women who each morning leave in Indian file /381/ to sell their products in the city make up the single element that enters into the circuit of the new economy offered to them.

S
121
369
Has the social and economic organization, on the other hand, been more profoundly modified? An examination of the ethnic and functional composition of the groups of the villages will permit an understanding of the data on this problem.

For this study we have grouped the villages under three rubrics:

1. The assemblage of Tiali, Thiès-None, and Sapko; near the escale, but having undergone perturbations in their economy by the loss of part of their land.

2. Keur-Mamour and Karamoko form the group farthest from the city.

3. Diakhaté and Keur-Issa-Bambara are the two villages near the escale which have not suffered any loss of territory.

S
SR
369
162
The first assemblage musters a total population of 405

/21 cont./

793 of Cheikh, supporting the S. F. I. O., having gone so far as
*795 to throw stones into the "carré" of the Caliph-general. Cheikh
[666] had to restrain the socialist ardor of his talibés, who had gone too far. Such actions risk alienating from him the brotherhood /22/ and even the Administration, but he needs both in order to continue to carry on his policy.

His residence in Touba is located near the mosque, but on the opposite side from that of the Caliph-general. On the day of the Magal he tries to assemble there the greatest possible number of talibés in order to show his influence.

The cultivation of groundnuts is for him, too, an important source of revenue. His principal plantations are located at Taïf in the subdivision of Gossas, not far from the limits of that of M'Backé.

The other members of the M'Backé family have less influence on the life of the brotherhood. Nevertheless, they hold positions on the Murid Administrative Council, and they are settled around Touba and M'Backé.

[871] M'Backé Bousso heads an important Koranic school at Darou-Salam, just beside M'Backé. Abdoulaye M'Backé has settled at Boulel-Mody, at the extremity of the former valley of the
[312] Sine where, thanks to the permanent waterholes that exist at certain places in this dried-up thalweg, he has created rice-
[241] fields and orchards which complement his groundnut plantations, in the midst of which he lives. Modest and self-effacing in appearance, this M'Backé is in reality very rich and very influential, for he has as talibés principally salaried workers and city employees who send him a tithe from their salaries or their income.

Following the example of the direct descendants and collateral relatives of Amadou Bamba, his distant relatives, his allies, the descendants of his first collaborators have made themselves "Great Murid Marabouts." Spiritual and temporal leaders at the same time, instructing their disciples in the doctrine of the founder, and above all having them till the soil for them, these Sérignes have created in Baol and in adjacent

/27 cont./

*795 These political rivalries which are being outlined are in part caused by the social consequences of Muridism.

It has often been reproached (in the Senegalese world) for turning the young people, not only against traditional cults and brotherhoods, but also against their families and, in a general way, against their customary framework. As a matter of fact, all of the talibés who work on behalf of the Murid marabouts are young men who have, properly speaking, deserted their villages and their families in order to be Murids and only Murids. If they later return to their natal villages, it is to act as a kind of militant, missionaries, who wish absolutely to convert these villages to the Murid faith.

If one adds to this that the way in which the talibés are treated and trained is not very educative, if one notes that the organization of the work of the plantations and of its productivity is effectively very close to pure and simple exploitation of the Murid workers, one will admit that the social organization of Muridism is not exempt from all criticism.

*795 244 241 One might think that, even if Murid fanaticism has drawbacks from the social point of view, it gives, at least on the economic level, some remarkable results. It has given a taste for agricultural work to a large part of the Senegalese population, and it has opened great areas, previously uncultivated, for the cultivation of the groundnut. Unfortunately, a more thorough study of /28/ this question makes us fear that the way in which the Murids exploit their groundnut planting nowadays may be a danger for the economic future of the country.

An important report of an agricultural mission devoted to this problem an entire chapter which shows all the drawbacks of this extensive and destructive single-crop cultivation aimed solely toward an immediate material profit, and which it does not hesitate to call "pillage economy." Indeed, in his desire to harvest groundnuts for the profit of his marabout, the talibé, who is not a peasant, spoils the land. He clears land without any consideration at all; he destroys the trees and especially the caddes, so precious for the land of Senegal. He exhausts

/28 cont./

*795 the soil, since he practices neither rotation nor fallowing, since
244 he does not utilize either animal fertilizers (he is not at all a
241 stock-breeder), chemical fertilizers, or green fertilizer... and
each time that he abandons lands which he has completely (and for a long time to come) exhausted, in order to bring new lands into this devastating cycle, the desert advances behind him. All this is all the more serious because the cultivation undertaken by the Murid talibés has a yield 30 per cent lower than that of the cultivation done by the Black true peasants, and notably the Sérère /Serer/ peasants.

In short, this report regards the Murid as "a ravager of forests and land, and a squanderer of the riches of the territory."

*795 The author of the report does not stop, however, at these violent criticisms and pessimistic conclusions. According to him (and he is right), the Murid fact does exist and will exist for a long time to come, even if the brotherhood were to split up for reasons of personal and internal rivalries. The different fragments would retain the same spirit and the same methods; one would not see the end of Muridism, but its continuation in different and rival sects.

So he proposes channeling the Murid fanaticism, reforming it, and improving its methods of work and production by acting upon the great Murid leaders themselves and by making them understand the necessity of these reforms and improvements. He adds that Falilou M'Backé is an "intelligent man" who willingly recognizes that many improvements could be made in the present agricultural technique of the Murids and who even thinks that this modernization could only strengthen the vitality of the brotherhood.

Besides, there is every reason to believe that the other leaders of Muridism and most of the "Great Marabouts" will follow the example of the Caliph-general and will understand very quickly (if it can be demonstrated to them) the necessity of avoiding thoughtless clearing /29/ and of replanting caddes where they have been cut down, of using green and chemical fertilizers, indeed of taking an interest in stock-raising and

/375 cont./

369 He works the lougan (1) of his host; after a few months he

166

[574]

[425]

[622]

1. Lougan: a Wolof term signifying a cultivated field.

obtains a little grant of land from the head of the village; he builds a hut, and often his family joins him and comes to share his life. Diakhaté and Keur-Issa-Bambara grow. The new settler takes advantage of the inactivity that the dry season imposes on him by offering his services temporarily to the urban establishments. Each year he divides his activities, which become half-urban, half-rural. If stable employment is offered to him in the city, he leaves the care of his lougan to his family and devotes himself entirely to his new activity. For a few months he will accept this daily [484] travel, but he has no deep attachment in the village that welcomed him earlier; tired of his long daily journeys, perhaps also pushed by a kind of pride in becoming a city dweller, he will finally, he and his family, leave the rural life and settle in the huts of the native quarters of Thiés.

369 Perhaps he retained a little lougan in the village? His family will come to maintain it each year. Perhaps he 241 exchanged it for a field located in the vicinity of his new establishment? In general, because of a kind of peasant atavism, he always keeps a little bit of ground near his quarter. The harvest will give some protection against possi- [451] ble shortages; the sale of the products of the soil will be a considerable balance when enforced idleness or lack of money occurs.

369 The period of the maximum development of Keur-Issa-Bambara is set by the old people in the decade 1910- 621 1920. This swelling of the population often required splitting the village in two. For reasons of familial misunderstandings or the necessity of being nearer to fields too far away, this disassociation was brought about in several hamlets (at

/379 cont./

S 369 [262] Only food seems to have undergone only slight improvement: the couscous of millet or rice (a little fish or meat during periods of abundance) are basic in their diet. Bread, rarely eaten during the meal, is reserved for children; S [271] it takes the place of cake. Water remains the essential drink of the Moslem; water, palm wine (during the harvest), [273] and grape wine (on feast days) are consumed by the non-SR [273] Islamized None.

S 369 241 438 The frugal housewife profits from the proximity of the escale for /380/ the daily sale in the market of the products of her personal garden. She cultivates tomatoes, beans, pumpkins, and okra. At Keur-Issa-Bambara she has tried, with greater or lesser success, to cultivate potatoes and salad greens; the gathering of mangoes also procures a little profit for her. S [372] When the harvest from the garden is exhausted, the collection of dead wood which she will take to sell in the market in the form of little bundles will yield a few coins for her.

In parallel fashion, the husband-cultivator harvests on a plot of his lougan products that are easy to sell on the Thiès market; at Keur-Issa-Bambara he lays out flooded rice-fields and cultivates the sweet potato and manioc, part of which is offered to the clientele of the escale.

S SR 369 438 [314] During the dry season the None principally works at gathering palmyra leaves; they will be sold, as bundles of [342] thatch, for making roofs for the huts of the urban quarters; [231] after the harvest he carries dried groundnut leaves to the city for fodder for the little horses harnessed to the taxicabs.

S SR 369 234 438 S SR F [239] [465] Despite the ready sale that can be made with cattle, they are not very numerous. When the epizootic diseases have spared them, they give an appreciable profit to their owner through the sale of milk. At Tiali, the only herd in the village, which contains about 30 animals, belongs to a single breeder. It is guarded by Peul shepherds who lead it to graze in the neighboring woodlands. The morning milk and the calves belong to the owner; the evening milk goes

S /382 cont./
SR agricultural, 27% work wholly at Thiès, and 31% divide
162 their activity between the city and the country, depending
369 on the season and the labor market.

S Thus, the decrease in the cultivable area has brought
SR about a decrease in the number of cultivators. But the None
241 is above all a man of the soil, a peasant. Even as a laborer, he will not give up his bit of land which will give him a harvest. Each evening upon his return from work, he will take up his iler (1) and go to cultivate his lougan of millet

S
SR
[412]

1. Hilaire or iler: implement par excellence of the Senegalese cultivator, made up of a metal blade in the shape of a heart fixed to a long handle.

S or groundnuts. And if he has an occupation that suits him in
SR the city and in addition personally owns good land? He will
241 hire the services of a navétane (2) to whom he will relinquish
369
427

2. Seasonal agricultural worker.

a portion of his land and to whom he will grant some free time for his personal crops. This navétane will work his fields, and, through this procedure, he will be able to sell or amass a considerable harvest at the end of the year.

S An examination of the occupation of temporary or
SR permanent workers shows an important number of laborers,
162 19, of masons, 12, and a more modest number of boys
463 /domestic workers/ and shopkeepers, 8, out of a total of 71 workers. These results corroborate those given in the human study of the escale of Thiès.

S In spite of a relatively close urban neighborhood, the
SR number of inhabitants understanding French is very modest:
162 only 33 understand our language; 15 children out of a hundred
191 go to the nearby French school. These results may appear
[871] deceptive if one considers that all the conditions of the milieu seem favorable for closer contact with the European element.

369 /385 cont./
of Thiès. it clearly appears that the characteristics of the suburbs of the African cities noticeably differ from those of the cities of the mother country. Can one use the term suburb /banlieue/ for these types of suburban villages? Sapko, Thiès-none, Tiali, and Keur-Issa-Bambara, on the one hand, can be regarded as suburb villages; in fact they possess the essential characteristics: proximity to the city, relatively high percentage of workers traveling daily to the enterprises of Thiès, a considerable number of mixed workers, sale of truck-gardening products in the city, relatively high percentage of improved dwellings...

Keur-Mamour and Karamoko already appear to be outside of the economy of the city and cannot be regarded as suburb villages. Diakhaté would be a marginal type; despite its proximity to the first urban quarters, its economy seems to be little influenced by that of the city (only a fifth of the economically active population works in the city).

On the mother-country plan, a city such as Thiès would
[498] have an important industrial suburb. Let us not forget that the workshops of the Dakar-Niger engage nearly 2,500 native workers.

369 The agrarian economy plays an essential role in these
241 villages, but it has remained traditional. The introduction of new crops and the extension of the zones of gardening and orchards are very slight. The woman has perhaps extended by a few square meters the /386/ area of her vegetable garden for the cultivation of vegetables intended for sale at the market, but no serious systematic arrangement has been made. Traditional cultivation, with its archaic methods, prevails everywhere. If
369 the need for money stimulates the rural person to offer his services
464 in the city, he seems to choose the place of work nearest to his
166 home. Is it truly out of liking that the Wolof of Diakhaté hire themselves out to the workshops of the Dakar-Niger? Is it out of liking that the None near the mercantile quarters hire themselves out as laborers or boys? The proximity of the place of work seems to enter considerably into the choice of urban occupation.

The suburban village, as we have noted several times, has

/388/

369 The city of Thiès, 60 kilometers east of Dakar, contains
433 36,000 inhabitants, according to a recent census. All of its
[162] activity seems to be centered around four principal poles: commercial, industrial, administrative, and military.

Its commercial activity is due to its position at the cross-
[487] roads of important paths of communication: railroad lines from Dakar to Saint-Louis, from Dakar to Bamako, and from Thiès to Kaolack, and roads from Dakar to Saint-Louis and from Dakar to Diourbel, Tambacounda, and the Sudan and Guinea.

It also owes the essential part of its industrial activity to
[498] this implantation at an important rail crossroads; the repair
[464] shops of the Dakar-Niger rail system, where nearly 1,000 workers of all grades are employed, have been set up there.

Apart from the workshops of the Dakar-Niger, it must not
[497] be forgotten that Thiès is also where the management of this
[634] system resides. And it is also the principal administrative point of a circle /cercle, an administrative district/. We will thus find, besides the workers, a rather large proportion of office employees, managers, and executives.

[712] Finally, the military function of Thiès is due to the presence of two important camps: the "DMA" (Détachement Motorisé Autonome), and an air base.

Besides these four centers of activities which give this city a modern character (economically speaking, at least), a fifth one intervenes in a not inconsiderable proportion. A rather large
[166] population of cultivators, who in winter cultivate groundnuts and
[241] millet in nearby fields, has settled on the periphery of Thiès. And the city is the point to which, at the time of the groundnut trade, all of the agricultural activity of the circle comes to assert itself. Its commercial importance is thereby further increased.

162 /389/ Here is some numerical information concerning
463 the occupational distribution of the population of Thiès.

Out of an economically active population of 11,040 inhabitants at the date of the census, there were counted:

/24 cont./

b) These simplified data call for some commentary. What is the significance of the sometimes important differences that we affirm between the situations that prevail in the different strata? 369x 592 565 594

The high proportion, among the farmers, of households that coincide with the restricted family -- a proportion clearly higher than the average -- is explained by the fact that we are dealing more with market-gardeners than with farmers of the traditional type (as are found in the suburban villages). In any case, the problem has not been studied for a sufficient number of cases for us to draw definitive conclusions here. [241]

/25/ Besides this category, for which we lack certain explanatory factors, only two others noticeably exceed the average established for the whole population: on the one hand, the superior employees and functionaries; on the other hand, members of the teaching profession, doctors, etc. The important factor here is the degree of Westernization (1). [177] [871]

1. The only categories whose members have all been to the French school.

It is only on this level that we have ascertained facts not only on the topological dispersion of the group of relatives, but also on the very clear loosening of the obligations flowing from kinship ties. Let us add that in reality the number of restricted families is much more important. In the majority of households which include one person in addition to the restricted family, this person is a domestic lodging with the family (who is sometimes a distant relative). The change in structure is therefore clearer than it would seem in view of the raw figures. [357]

c) This first general view shows, as in other domains -- we shall see this soon for the structure of even the restricted family -- that the characteristics of the socio-occupational 369x 565

S 244 /7/ generally at the end of October or the beginning of November. Harvesting is done by cutting the stalks with the hilaire four or five centimeters under the ground. They are collected into little piles, sometimes protected by a shelter of plant material for drying, and then heaped into stacks to await the detachment S [462] of the shells several weeks later by threshing or by hand. This last operation is entrusted to the women and children. All of these tasks require great effort, and the more so since during the S [243] same brief period one must busy himself with the food crops, millet, niébés /Vigna/, etc.

S 241 244 W 244 The ways in which the groundnut is associated with the food crops are quite variable and put their mark on the agrarian landscape.

1) The lougan of the Ouoloff peasant. The Ouoloff peasant of Cayor or of Siné-Saloum represents the most traditional type of cultivator of groundnuts. He still practices shifting cultivation on his lougan /cultivated field/ cleared by fire in the open bush. Although he does practice a millet-groundnut rotation, often with very little strictness, he does not know the virtues of fertilization. He cultivates the soil until it is exhausted and then abandons it for 15 or 20 years, which allows it to go back to bush. Today, however, demographic pressure does not always permit him to dispose of the vast areas of land required for this long rest. S W [433] The soil is rapidly being exhausted; the yields are diminishing. In Cayor the latter have fallen off at least 700 kilograms per hectare. The cultivation of the groundnut is very obviously regressing.

S SR 241 2) The organized ground of the Sérère /Serer/ peasantry (2). The Sérère are a group of Sudanese origin, driven back

S [113] 2. Pelissier, P. "Les paysans sérère, essai sur la formation d'un terroir au Sénégal /The Serer peasants, an essay on the formation of a ground in Senegal/." Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, Vol. VI, 1953, No. 22, pp. 105-127.

S
SR
241
[244]

/7 cont./

by the Mandingue and settled in Siné-Saloum. They are above all millet farmers; on the average they cultivate a hectare of this cereal to 70 acres of groundnuts. The groundnut, having entered the agricultural cycle quite recently, has contributed to the formation of a ground of specialized sectors. Around the village, surrounding it, are located the fields of small millet, cotton, and manioc. Beyond this pombod, under the Faidherbia, the ground is divided into three areas /soles/ corresponding to a system of triennial rotation, small millet, groundnuts, and fallowing, where, after cultivation, the animals graze and manure the soil for the next cultivation. Each family has its shares in each /8/ /Fig. 1 appears here/ area.

SR
[423]

The separation between these three large sectors of the ground is maintained by living hedges or barriers of cut thorns. In Sérère country a permanent ground is delineated, and land ownership stands out. The peasant takes care of managing the land and only wants a little money for the groundnuts, a secondary crop.

S
244

3) "Speculative" or "extractive" cultivation. In contrast to the Sérère example, this is a type of cultivation where the cultivator, often occasional, is attracted solely by the immediate profit that groundnuts may bring. It is practiced by the group of Murids on the one hand, and, on the other, by the navétanes /seasonal workers/.

S
795

/9/ Muridism (3) is a Moslem movement founded by Sheik

S
[113]

3. Pelissier, P. "L'arachide au Sénégal, rationalisation et modernisation de la culture," Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, Vol. IV, 1951, No. 13, pp. 80-85.

Amadou Bamba, who died in 1927. The brotherhood has many adepts, especially in Siné-Saloum near the Ouoloff. For the Murids, Islam is a religion based on renouncement. Agricultural work becomes a holy thing if it is done for the benefit of the pious man who prays. The adepts of Muridism, or talibés, thus

[Text continues on p.7--Analyst]

/22 cont./

258 product, usually crude, each year leaves the Senegalese
[433] factories, which thus operate under their productive capacity.
[439] About 110,000 metric tons are exported. The traditional technique of manufacture by pressure, with recovery of the oil cake, or "expellers," is being replaced more and more by the procedure with solvents, slightly increasing the rate of extraction of oil, but providing poor oil-cake.

This industry of the oil-factory if now localized in five urban centers: Dakar, Lyndiane, Djourbel, Kaolack, and
[464] Ziguinchor. It employs more than 3,000 wage earners, nearly
[563] 300 of whom are European technicians; on the basis of this it is the primary industry /23/ of Senegal, and the more so since
[388] it has had annexed to it the complementary industry of soap-making, which produced more than 15,000 metric tons of soap from the neutralization paste.

258 The development of the Sengalese industry of oil-making
433 represents a considerable evolution of the economy of the country, since the groundnut has ceased to be a product of
[439] trade in the colonial sense of the term. In fact, the product that traditionally constitutes the great agricultural resource has become the principal raw material of local industry; more than ever, the groundnut keeps Senegal alive.

433 3. The essential position of the groundnut in the economy of Senegal. "Whether or not it is desirable, the economy of
● 241 Senegal can revolve only with the help of the production of groundnuts." This phrase by M. Porteres sums up the essential position of the product in the local economy. In 1957, for the
[439] whole of former Mali, the total value of the exports rose to 21,085 billions of francs C.F.A., the products of the groundnut accounting for 18,257 billions of this sum, of which more than 15 billions was for Senegal alone. At the same time, of
[162] 2,230,000 inhabitants of Senegal, only 58,700 were non-agricultural workers, that is, non-producers of groundnuts. Actually,
433 however, many of them are supported by them indirectly, in trade, transport, or industry. It is not exaggerated to affirm

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

one coastal area, the Casamancian. Except in these last two belts the climate is deficient in rainfall, and it is the length of the dry season that controls the distribution of plant communities. 137

Along the coast as far south as the Cape Verde peninsula is the southward extension of the sub-Canarian area, a description of which has been given on p. 320.

The Thornland

The thornland occupies the northern part of the colony from a little north-east of Dakar eastwards to Kidira and northwards to the Senegal. This region, it will be recalled, has a rainfall of from 10 to 20 inches. It is a country of spiny shrubs, especially species of *Acacia*, associated with which are the soapberry tree, the African myrrh, and *Combretum aculeatum*. Many of the trees and shrubs are without leaves during the dry season, but some are evergreen. The natural vegetation in this zone has been much devastated by fire, pasturage, and the over-exploitation of the gum-yielding acacias. [314] On the other hand, annual firing of brushwood and grassland plays a subordinate part in modifying the plant life. The more open nature of both the woody and herbaceous vegetation impedes or prevents fires spreading over great extents of country. Tufted grasses are particularly abundant in the open grasslands between, and even under, the trees and bushes.

The Grass-Woodland

If the Casamancian area be considered as a modification of the Guinea subzone, the grass-woodland may be said to occupy the remainder of the colony. The Sudan subzone is, however, the more important. In the western part of the colony the subzones run north-west to south-east, extend across the Gambia, and then turn almost due west and east. The northward bend in the west is due to oceanic climatic influences, and the modified Casamancian area is similarly due to a greater humidity. The vegetation of the zone as a whole consists of a mixture of trees and grasslands, the former either being spaced in clumps or patches or standing as individuals. The grasslands are continuous over wide areas and are fired regularly in the dry season. This firing of brushwoods and grasslands, together with centuries of heavy cultivation, has highly modified the natural [241] vegetation, especially towards the west. This is especially exemplified by forest destruction in the Guinea subzone.

The vegetation of the Sudan subzone corresponds to an annual

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37.

137 rainfall of from 20 to 60 inches. In appearance it is reminiscent of a park or orchard, with well-spaced trees or small clumps of trees projecting well above the herbaceous layer, and the most characteristic trees are from 18 to 45 feet tall. The most frequent in Senegal are the African locust bean, the tallow tree (*Detarium senegalense*), the ginger-bread plum or pomme du cayor (*Parinari macrophylla*), various legumes (*Cassia sieberiana*, *Entada africana*, *Acacia sieberiana*, *Albizzia ferruginea*, *Prosopis africana*, *Cordyla africana*, and *Pterocarpus erinaceus*), the Borassus palm (*Borassus aethiopum*), *Combretum glutinosum*, *Terminalia macroptera*, *Sterculia setigera*, *Cola cordifolia*, and the Meni oil tree. Shrubs and climbing woody plants are locally associated with the trees, but plants growing on the trunks and branches are generally absent. Parasites of the mistletoe family, however, are common. Most of the trees lose their leaves at the advent of the dry season. The grasslands consist mainly of grasses of the tribe Andropogoneae.

Excluding the Casamancian area, the Guinea subzone occupies two small regions north-west and south-east of the Gambia. At one time parts of this subzone were covered by dense forests, but to-day [311] there are only scattered relicts. Much of the country is cultivated, and the rest is subjected to the continued degrading influences of fire, grazing, and shifting cultivation. As a consequence, a degraded brushwood on impoverished soil represents the weed flora of several years' fallow. This is cut down, and the cultivation of ground-nuts [241] and cereals follows for a period of years; after which the ground is again allowed to go fallow. Many of the weeds are of American or Indian origin.

The Casamancian Area. The Casamancian area (Vol. I, p. 101) is the most tropical part of the colony. The Casamance river and the coastal channels are bordered up to tidal limits by thick mangrove-woodland. Behind this there are often marshy clearings, now [241] frequently transformed into rice-fields, and stretches of forest communities. Swamp-forests and thickets have screw-pines, palms (*Raphia*, *Calamus*), and bamboos. There are also frequent clumps of oil palm. In the remnants of high forest legumes are abundant and include species of *Afzelia*, *Dialium*, *Daniellia*, *Erythrophloeum*, *Pentaclethra*, *Parkia*, and *Acacia*. Noteworthy trees of the forest patches are a dragon's tree (*Dracaena*), the pattern wood (*Alstonia congensis*), the African teak (*Chlorophora excelsa*), and the silk-cotton tree (*Ceiba pentandra*). Many of them have a height of more than 60 feet.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
wolof MS30
Trarza MS24

S 175 167 reaching St. Louis. This disaster has been made famous by the celebrated painting of Théodore Géricault.

[648] As St. Louis was in British hands until the early months of 1817, Schmaltz established his capital at Cape Verde.

The first settlers from France were sponsored by the Société Coloniale Philanthropique, and consisted of 175 men, 20 women, and 10 children. Their intention was to settle in the Cape Verde peninsula. This was against the advice of Schmaltz, who thought that part of the country unsuitable. The settlers landed at Goree in April 1817, shortly afterwards crossing to the mainland; but, owing to the attitude of the natives, they were unable to obtain land or labour. At the end of two months there were only six left on the peninsula: the remainder had been repatriated to France or had retired to St. Louis, Goree, or the Gambia. Schmaltz was able to prevent the philanthropic but misguided society from sending eighty more colonists to the same place.

W [175] [648] Attempts to establish European colonists met with more success on the Senegal. In 1819 Schmaltz had no difficulty in obtaining from the chiefs of Oualo all the land he wanted on the left bank of the river. S [648] [241] In return, the chiefs were given annual subsidies (*coutumes*) amounting to some 10,000 francs. This arrangement was to lead to endless trouble. Cotton, coffee, indigo, and tobacco were to be the principal crops, and colonists were not lacking.

T [175] [648] The natives of Oualo were peaceable, but the Trarza and Brakna Arabs, who claimed to be suzerains over Oualo, were hostile. At first they raided the colonists, but later they were defeated by troops from St. Louis in a number of skirmishes. Eventually the French recognized nominal Arab suzerainty, and the colonists were allowed to S develop their holdings in relative quiet. Nevertheless, the Trarza [648] Arabs continued to give trouble until 1835, when, after a series of defeats, they entered into a treaty by which they abandoned all S claims to Oualo. The French armed post of Dagana was built for [712] the protection of the settlers, and an experimental station was started at Richard Toll for their instruction. The French Government S [654] supplied seeds and implements and paid a bonus on crops, and [241] some forty European plantations were established. At first they seemed to succeed, but the climate, the labour difficulties, and the hostile attitude of the natives combined against them. In 1830 the home government withdrew its subsidy, and the plantations were soon abandoned. Since that date the French, while not discouraging European enterprise, have relied for agricultural development principally on the native farmer.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

36 SEDHIOU (12° 42′; 15° 31′ W.). Population, 1,653. Provincial head-
[131] quarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional
[162] School.

Sedhiou is on the right bank of the Casamance, 68 miles above
[487] Ziguinchor and 110 miles from the sea, and it is only usable by vessels
[505] drawing up to 5 feet. Formerly more prosperous than it is to-day,
it has some brick buildings and shops. Many of the traders are
[439] Syrians, and there is a modest export of ground-nuts, hides, rice, and
wax.

[491] By colonial road Sedhiou is 58 miles from Bignona, 74 miles from
Ziguinchor, and 62 miles from Kolda.

11. MINERALS

135 THE principal mineral exported from the colony is ilmenite, which
[439] is washed from beach sands between Rufisque and Cape Rouge,
between Joal and Diakhanor, and at the mouth of the Casamance.
Zircon (Vol. I, pp. 295–6) is obtained from the same sands, the
ilmenite:zircon ratio being about 3:1. Other minerals of potential
value are phosphates and limestone, both of which occur in Lower
Eocene strata. Lenticular beds of phosphate, ranging from 30 to 65
per cent. bone phosphate of lime, are found near Matam and near
Thiès. Limestones and marls are more widespread than in any other
[339] colony, and at Rufisque they have been worked experimentally for
the commercial production of cement. Bitumen has been encountered
at Dakar in borings for water, but investigations have shown that the
[315] geological structure is unsuited to the accumulation of petroleum.

12. AGRICULTURE

241 THE Gambia divides the millet from the manioc zone, but ground-
nuts are the chief crop of both. Sisal-growing is an important, though
more recent, industry. South of the Gambia the Casamance Territory
provides a rich area for fruit and subsistence crops as well as for
ground-nuts.

[439] There is far more production for export than in any other colony.

Food Crops

243 *Millets.* Millets form the staple diet of the majority of the native
262 population and are grown all over that part of the colony north of the

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

tunity for much development in this industry, particularly in the irrigated areas of the Casamance Territory and Sine-Saloum. Europeans own the majority of the plantations, but co-operate with and encourage native growers. During the first quarter of 1939 production in Tambacounda province was 152 tons, and the factory at Kolda treated 165 tons of fibre. 248 [433] [288]

Ginger. The ginger plant (*Zingiber officinale*) is of Asiatic origin, but it has been cultivated in Africa for many centuries. It is grown on a small scale wherever the rainfall is over 30 inches. It does best in a rich soil and requires shade. The ginger of commerce is prepared from the rhizome or underground stem, which is mature when the leaves turn yellow. The best ginger is prepared from immature rhizomes, which are peeled and preserved in sugar syrup, but in West Africa the coarser, mature stems are also used. Chewed ginger is reputed to enhance the stimulating effect of kola. 244 [251] [276]

Pimentos. Several species of *Capsicum* or peppers grow in the Federation. In Senegal the most common are *C. annum* and *C. frutescens*, both bearing red fruits. The former was introduced from South America. It is less pungent and has larger fruits, known as 'capsicums'. *C. frutescens* has hotter fruits, known in commerce as 'chillies'. Cayenne or paprika is the red powder obtained from grounding the fruit. Pepper shrubs are grown from seeds, and after three months bear fruit for at least six months. These red peppers should not be confused with the common pepper, which is a climber and does not grow in West Africa.

Henna. This plant (*Lawsonia inermis*), like sugar-cane, maize, ginger, and castor oil, is grown wherever there is enough water. The plant is much revered by Moslems and often grown as a hedge. The powder of the young, dried leaves is the source of henna dye. 249

Other Crops. Other products of which small quantities are exported are citrus fruits, gum arabic, shea butter, cotton, kapok, and palm kernels. 439 241

Livestock

Livestock are fewer here than in any other colony. Sheep and goats, the latter being the more numerous, are kept near the river between Podor and Bakel and number about 100,000. There are some 310,000 cattle, 50,000 donkeys, 6,000 camels, and 14,000 pigs. These last are mainly kept in the Casamance Territory. There are 36,000 horses. These are of two breeds, the M'Bayar and the M'Par, and 231

/105 cont./

465 Domestic work is rare and costly. A cook is paid be-
357 tween 200 and 500 francs a month, a houseboy from 100 to 200 francs. These rates are similar to the ones prevailing in Dakar.

463 The native, moreover, is attracted to the cities only
465 by the high wages. Competition does not come into play, as in Europe. There are only rare specialists or artisans. As
[241] for the laborer, most often he prefers to work his field in the countryside or to hire himself out as an agricultural worker for a native employer who will feed him and leave to him a part of the harvest.

In an agricultural region such as Sine-Saloum, the native is primarily a cultivator.

244 Navétanes. Each year at the time of groundnut culti-
166 vation, Sine-Saloum gets many native cultivators coming
167 from the east and south (Sudan, Portuguese Guinea, Casamance, Upper Gambia, and even Guineans from Fouta-Djallon).

These immigrants are called "navétanes," from the word "navet," which means "rainy season," because these foreigners arrive shortly before the first storms and leave as soon as they have sold their harvest.

About 10,000 to 15,000 of them come each year. A
244 local custom called "Lâdyino" governs the relations between the
466 foreigner and his employer.

This is a verbal agreement according to which the em-
[465] ployer assures his co-covenanter food and lodgings for the period of the work and in addition loans him a particular field.

/106/ The navétane works for his employer every morning, except Monday and Thursday. The rest of the time is left to him for his personal crops. The navétane gets seeds from his landlord.

His work consists of the preparation of the field (lougan), sowing, and weeding.

After the harvest has been gathered, the landlord stops feeding him.

At the time of his departure, the navétane must reim-
[465] burse his employer for the cost of his food, which is fixed by

/11 cont./

244 654 as the one of the famous "groundnut scheme" of Tanganyika. Moreover, they have greatly contributed to the rationalization of the traditional techniques, also studied since 1924 at the experimental center of Bambey.

242 244 654 3. Improvements in the traditional methods of cultivation. The center of Bambey, administered by the Institut de recherche des huiles /12/ et oléagineux (I.R.H.O.) /Institute for Research on Oils and Oily Substances/ has made great efforts, especially since the end of the last war, in the selection of seed, instituting new methods of cultivation, and protection of the soil and the natural environment. These studies, together with the information furnished by Boulel and Séfa, have given very encouraging results.

1) The selection of seed. In traditional cultivation, the cultivator had to take the seed for the next season from his own harvest. This system was not very satisfactory: the seeds were often of mediocre quality, and they did not keep well; finally, very often the cultivator improvidently sold part of his stock before the end of trading and consequently had [426] to resort to usurious loans.

Since 1924 the center of Bambey has introduced seed selected for high yield, adapted to the natural conditions of each productive region. The adoption of creeping varieties for the dry regions of the north and of erect plants for the more moist and compact soils of the south assures an increase of 20% in yields. In 1935 26 metric tons of selected seed had been distributed; in 1951 this figure exceeded 35,000. Since then more than 90% of the seed used has been selected seed. The popularization and the distribution of these seeds are handled by the satellite centers, but above all by the sociétés de prévoyance /welfare societies/, which in 1958 became the Sociétés mutuelles de développement rural (S.M.D.R.). The distribution of the seed takes place between the closing of

/12 cont./

242 trade and the beginning of cultivation, at an interest of 20%
244 on a base of about 100 kilograms per cultivator. Reimburse-
654 ment takes place before the opening of trade, the greatness of the loss explaining the high rate of interest. The seeds stocked by these Mutuelles are disinfected, and samples are sent to Bambey for analysis.

2) Improvement in the techniques of cultivation. An agricultural calendar restricted to four months and demanding hard labor, very rudimentary implements, and the absence of fertilizers explain in large part the lack of efficiency of the traditional methods.

The example of Koutiala in the Sudan, where some plows were distributed, has shown that the use of this implement is often prohibited in a tropical environment. In contrast, Bambey and Boulel have successfully experimented with small equipment, hoes and drills /semoirs/, in mixed /attelée/cultivation. These light implements can greatly facilitate the work of the peasant. A great obstacle remains in the mediocrity of the
[231] animal husbandry, inasmuch as it is divorced from agriculture. The donkeys throughout the country, the camels in the north, and the cattle entrusted to the Peul have never been regarded as draft animals. Today 20,000 light drills, sold on credit by the S.M.D.R., are in service. Up to now the hoes have not had the same success.

/13/ Mixed cultivation also has the advantage of linking cultivation and animal husbandry and of permitting the agriculturalist to utilize the manure, as the Sérère know how to do. The experiences of Bambey have shown that manuring is to be done for millet, but not for groundnuts, under penalty of harvesting many empty shells. The use of millet as green manure seems very beneficial on these unstable lands; the application of the fertilizer compound N.P.K., in the form of tablets to avoid rapid leaching, assures returns 30% higher. At the present time the Mutuelles are distributing about 6,000 metric tons of fertilizer a year. The high price of these imported products is an obstacle to their popularization, but some

/13 cont./

242 specialists envisage the utilization of the phosphates of Thiès.

244 654 3) Protection of the environment. The cultivation of the groundnut with the traditional techniques carries with it grave dangers for the soil. The abusive burning of brush denudes it and facilitates the erosive action of the dry harmattan which blows at the end of the dry season, from the month of March. The cultivation, most often improvident, leads to the rapid deterioration of very unstable soils. In the west the sands are impoverished, the salts are rising to the surface; in the east the lateritic cuirass appears at a shallow depth.

[313] [656] Legislation is intervening in defense of the natural environment; the decree of 4 July 1935 has interdicted the cutting of trees without authorization and has regulated the burning of brush and clearing. The most effective remedies, however, have been introduced by experimentation and recommended after a serious inventory of the soils. The example of Boulel has shown that bands of natural vegetation separating the clearings by passages perpendicular to the roads are an effective remedy against the action of the wind. The instability of the soils requires a strict system of rotation. Bambey and Boulel have proved that the sequence of millet, groundnuts, and fallowing is the best for preserving them. Fallowing for two years, recommended in the south, is insufficient in the north, where six years of rest seems to be indispensable. It is undeniable that for several years these crop rotations have been followed more and more, especially in the pilot sectors. Finally, the rearrangement of the map of the groundnut, amply primed, may have beneficial consequences. The circles /cercles, administrative districts/ bordering the Senegal River have practically abandoned this crop (Podor, Matam, etc.); northern Cayor, with a dry climate, impoverished soils, and a large population, has had a very marked decline in groundnuts to the profit of millet. In contrast, the new regions in Siné-Saloum and Tambacounda typically become groundnut-producers.

All of these innovations can actually bear fruit only with the acceptance of the peasant masses, which poses the problem

244 /14/
242 of training. This is one of the essential preoccupations of
654 the present Sengalese government.

II. The "Trade" of Groundnuts

433 For a century the total volume of production has pro-
244 gressed in spectacular fashion. Actually, no statistics are available at the harvesting stage. Only the commercial figures are known with any accuracy. In any case they differ little from the total figure of production because local consumption seems to be of little importance. It is estimated that the average production of groundnuts from 1900 to 1904 was 123,000 metric tons. The more recent figures are the following: 1938-1939 campaign, 584,000 metric tons; 1942-1943 compaign, 183,000 metric tons; 1943-1944 campaign, 281,000 metric tons; 1957-1958 campaign, 808,000 metric tons; 1958-1959 campaign, 653,000 metric tons; 1959-1960 campaign, 720,000 metric tons.

Except for the period of the war, when the production of
[439] groundnuts, difficult to export, decreased to the profit of that of millet, progress was continuous, the 1957-1958 campaign being exceptionally favorable.

439 This production enters into the circuit of commercialization or "trade," which today is very strictly regulated.

[178] 1. The organization of "trade." The commercialization of the groundnut has replaced the "trade" in gum, slaves, and gold of the former colonial system. Although the term is still often used, its present context is very different from the
439 acceptation of the era of the colonial pact. Trade is no longer,
441 as Littré wished it to be, an exchange trade organized almost
438 exclusively for the benefit of the European "trader"; today it is a commercial activity that is strictly regulated as to time and place and open only to approved intermediaries.

442 1.) The "campaign." "The campaign" is the period
654
438

/117 cont./

244 are much less suitable for this crop because of their composi-
433 tion which gives a certain acidity to the nuts, thus rendering
[134] them less suitable for industrial use in /118/ the production
[242] of fine oils. There have been attempts to correct this defect and to improve the quality of Bas-Saloum by means of seed selection and by the continued addition of seed from Sine; this has not yet been successful.

Fallow lands, however, are not lacking in the other regions of the circle.

There are 230,000 hectares planted in groundnuts. This figure represents 0.85 hectares per inhabitant. This is about 1/11 of the total area of the circle.

In 1914 this crop extended over 70,000 hectares. It has thus tripled.

The production, which was 75,000 tons in 1918, is about 140,000 tons today. It has doubled in 10 years. It amounts to almost a third of the harvest of Senegal.

One can determine the production of groundnuts in the circle since 1921 by the following figures (in tons):

Years	1921	1922	1923	1924
Tons	80,000	90,000	110,000	125,000
Years	1925	1926	1927	
Tons	135,000	145,000	140,000	

[167] These results are due in part to the increase in the
[242] population by the influx of foreign workers into the circle, who came to settle there or who hire themselves out, and in part to the selection of seeds and their distribution in ever increasing quantities.

[654] The credit for this work is to be given to the administra-
[441] tion, the Société de Prevoyance /Welfare Society/, and the
[474] Chambre de Commerce of Kaolack, whose combined efforts have made it possible to achieve such a fine result.

/118 cont./

244 There is no doubt, however, that the yield per hectare
433 is diminishing and that on much of the land today it is no
242 more than 500-600 kilograms per hectare, instead of the 700-800 kilograms, and even 900, as has been seen sometimes in Sine. The land is becoming exhausted as a result of the lack of fertilizer and the absence of crop rotation. Two other factors likewise come into play: the too primitive native methods of cultivation and the inadequate selection of seeds. The native cultivator continues to work his land with the
[412] hilaire, a kind /Pl. II appears here/ /119/ of spade with which he contents himself with scratching the soil. He thus reduces his work too much; he does his dressings badly or inadequately.

It has been demonstrated by the experiments made by the Compagnie française de l'Afrique Occidentale at Latmingué that with mechanical farm implements one could easily double the yield per hectare. On newly cleared land and with these methods, the yield has never been less than 1,000 kilograms and at times has reached 1,500 kilograms per hectare. It is necessary to persuade the native that he will profit by working the land with a little better equipment. The agricultural
[654] services are working at this, and it is to be hoped that the more modern cultivation methods will double the yield. This is a critical problem.

243 Millet. Millet is likewise a crop on the road to progress.
433 The types cultivated are: small and great millet, or, according to their native names, souna, sanio, bassi, fehla.

In 1927, the cultivated area was 240,000 hectares, with a total production of 119,000 tons, a little more than the needs of the population. In 1925, for a production of 80,000 tons, the population had sowed 210,000 hectares. The surplus production is consumed in the regions bordering Sine-Saloum.

Rice. Different varieties of rice are cultivated, especially in Sine and Bas-Saloum, where the annual rainfall is greater and where the soil is suitable for this crop. One can estimate that 15,000 hectares are planted to rice with a total

/120 cont./

433 Truck gardening. Truck gardens exist in the major
244 centers. This is still, however, a European crop, the native
242 consuming very little of our vegetables.

An experimental garden, or rather a nursery, was set up in Kaolack about 20 years ago. This nursery provided many tree plants for the Europeans and natives (eucalyptus, mimosa, flamboyants, Gambia, mahogany, silk-cotton trees, orange trees, lemon trees, and guava trees).

[648] /121/ European crops. Concessions. No agricultural colonization has been undertaken by Europeans, except at Latmingué.

In 1920, the Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale requested a concession of 200 hectares at Latmingué, 20 kilometers southeast of Kaolack, very near the Saloum, in order to conduct experiments on the mechanical cultivation of groundnuts. Improvements were made for four years. Improved agricultural equipment was used (tractors, gang plows, mechanical seeders, pulverizers, harrow-plows, and pickers). The tests made it possible to get an idea of the advantages of mechanical cultivation of the groundnut. The shortage of manpower, however, was an obstacle to extending the cultivation. The Compagnie Française abandoned this concession, which was recovered and expanded by the Société des Plantations of Latmingué, which now exploits it. The latter cultivates manioc exclusively. It has already cleared 200 hectares and planted 270 hectares in manioc. It is trying to cultivate this plant annually in nine months instead of 18. This development should be watched with interest. The needs of the mother country for manioc are considerable, and Senegal would find there another source of economic prosperity.

233 Animal husbandry. Pasturage is abundant, especially during the rainy season. It is sufficient to raise large herds of cattle, sheep, horses, and donkeys. Epidemics, however, decimate the cattle, which vary between 250,000 and 300,000 heads. During the dry season, the problem of animal fodder is doubled by the difficulty of finding water for the

/127 cont./

654 From 1907 to 1910, storehouses were built to shelter the
474 seeds. In 1910, these storehouses were multiplied in order
244 to be more within the reach of the borrowers. On December 6,
[251] 1910, a decree of the governor of Senegal approved the definitive statutes of this society. The latter, on the basis of the experience of several years, have just been supplemented and revised.

The society of Sine-Saloum has 19 sections distributed throughout the circle.

As early as 1911 it had 160,000 members, and its cash on hand amounted to 139,499 francs. Its storehouse stock was 317 tons of selected seed.

Today, the society has property valued at more than 1 million. It has an annual income and expenditure budget of 5 million, including the value of the seeds which it keeps /128/ in its storehouses for the loans that it grants to its members for reimbursement in kind.

Since it demands an interest of 20%, it very rapidly increases its stock of seed. Thus, in 1928 it was holding more than 5,000 tons of seed. By 1929, it will have 7,000 tons. This is the precious guarantee for a fruitful harvest.

[242] Because all of this seed is carefully selected by the native chiefs under the control of the administrator, with methodical rigor. Although some chiefs are less strict in the selection, the majority understand their role. In the cantons of Diokoul Gandiaye, Kahone, Birkelane, and in those of Sine, Sokone, Sanghako, Koungheul, and Kaffrine, the seeds are sorted one by one, and only the shells with two nuts are accepted.

The cultivator quickly yields to these requirements, because he has recognized the necessity for them.

These loans are made in the month of June, before sowing time. They are repayable in kind in the month of December, after the harvest, with an interest of 20%, the said interest likewise payable in kind.

No defaults have been reported. The loans are for two hectoliters per cultivator.

/401 cont./

178 occupation may be. Imported products appear only at breakfast:
*262 bread, sweetened condensed milk, lumps of sugar. The other
[264] two meals are still always composed of four products, rice,
[439] millet, fish, and meat, which may be combined in different ways, and a fifth that is always present, oil. The single element of diversity comes from the more or less great variety and the more or less great quantity of vegetables and manioc that are incorporated into the traditional dishes, and, of course, the skillful proportion of condiments of all sorts.

*511 With a few exceptions (1), the study of the expenses of
*262
[177]

1. The more important exceptions are Nos. 39 and 43. These two units of consumption have entirely adopted European food habits, and are otherwise not comparable with the others. This is why we neglect them a little on this point.

our families for food is very nearly limited, aside from bread, milk, and sugar, to a description of the variations ascertained in the consumption of these few essential products.

One can state that in general all of our families consume rice by liking and millet by necessity. Rice is the food of choice, millet entering in only when the financial situation of the family demands it, or in order all the same to provide a little variety.

243 Rice is 30 to 35% more expensive than millet. It is culti-
311 vated on a small scale in a few wet zones in the countryside
[435] around Thiès, whereas millet grows nearly everywhere. The
*[511] truly productive rice zones closest to Thiès are the Casamance to the south and the lower course of the Senegal to the north. On the east it appears only with the upper course of this river and in the region /402/ drained by the Niger and its tributaries,
*262 in Guinea, and in the Sudan. In reality, it is an imported
177 product. The traditional diet of this region was primarily based on millet.

/402 cont./
262* kilograms, respectively.
511* The number of consumers, in conjunction with the lowness of the incomes, seems to be determinant here. It always is in the category of the high incomes: No. 37, excess of millet 25%, unit of consumption 24; No. 41, excess of millet 50%, unit of consumption 14. /403/ /Table IV appears here./ /404/ Table V appears here./ /405/ And for a stronger reason in the case of families 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, and 27, composed respectively of 10, 12, 18, 21, and 15 persons, the incomes of which are still very average.

There is another obvious reason for this greater consumption of millet: it is the case of the cultivators, who, producing millet, consume it almost entirely. Nos. 6, 12, 14, 20, 23,
[243] and 32 consume millet that they have cultivated themselves; all are not cultivators, but own a few fields in the vicinity of Thiès. Cultivator No. 10, whom we mentioned above, preferred to sell his millet immediately after the harvest.

As for the harvest of No. 24, it is not sufficient to feed 21 persons; it is sometimes necessary to buy a few kilograms to supplement it.

262* These few statements prove what we said above: it is in
511* large part by necessity that the Thiès people eat millet instead of rice. If they do not do it, it will almost always be to the detriment of balancing their budget. Consuming two times less rice as against two times more millet, families 2 and 4 save sums equivalent to 4.5 % and 4.1% of their incomes.

The portion of the income devoted to the purchase of rice is by far, on the whole, the greatest for the small incomes. For incomes lower than 10,000 francs, it is exceeded in three cases by the portion for meat (1) (in six cases for the incomes

1. In two cases by that for bread.

higher than 15,000 francs).

The quantities consumed, however, are low, even very low. A man of family 6 consumes 14.6 kilograms of rice and 11.6

[Text continues on p.28]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

progress. This he then transmits to the village, and in Casamance *animation* has worked to the extent of building a thirty-five kilometre road which cut the journey between two important villages by nearly fifty kilometres. In the Vallée du Fleuve, people who never grew rice before have now quadrupled their incomes by producing rice under a rural animation scheme. 433 668 654 [491] [243] [434]

All this President Dia hopes will raise the standard of living of each man by 3.5 per cent each year, doubling it by the fourth four year plan in 1975.

The plan is an ambitious one, an attempt to create a new Senegal synthesising the best of Africa and Europe. If it works, and the political future of both Senghor and Dia may well depend on this, then Senegal may become a pilot nation for Africa both economically and culturally. Senegal will then be in a sense a justification for the French assimilation policy, for although it failed in its attempts to assimilate the Senegalese both culturally and politically it has left profound marks on Senegalese society. And even if the experience of assimilation in Senegal has demonstrated the immense difficulties not only of one group trying to assimilate the other to its own standards, but of even getting the assimilating group to accept the other group as political and cultural equals, the end result may be the production of an African society which, whilst maintaining its own national identity, may prove a bridge between Africa and Europe and their two cultures. 668

/37/

During the dry season the ground appears bare, but with the first rains it is covered with a lusty vegetation, and it is principally the Gramineae that thus again adorns with verdure this land previously so desolate. S 137

I. -- Gramineae: Food Crops

The petit mil /small millet/, mil chandelle or penicillaire /candle or penicillate millet/ (Pennisetum), is native to Africa. It is also cultivated in India; undoubtedly it was at the time of the slave trade that it was introduced into America. This is the early small millet, or souna of the Wolof. The souna must be sown at the time of the first rains. It shoots up promptly; it grows well in the light, sandy soils (groundnut soils). After the 15th of August it begins to ripen, and one can already eat the unripe ears roasted. When it begins to push out of the ground, the Senegalese and especially the Sérère /Serer/, sow beans between the rows; this is the volet (Phaseolus vulgaris), which will be eaten as green beans from the 15th of August on. The souna root is regarded by the Africans as a poison and, according to them, might be one of the causes of sleeping sickness. S 243 W [243] S [252] S [244] S [753]

Another variety of small millet is the sanio of the Wolof, late millet or bearded millet (Penicillaria spicata). This is a late variety of small millet with the ears covered with very strong beards, which, entering the eyes of birds, prevents them from eating it. It is said that it gives sottiete (eye ailments). The sanio grows in heavy soils. It is sown during the rainy season and harvested at the end of it, at the same time as groundnuts. W [243] S [753]

The gros mil /great millet/, or basi of the Wolof, requires a heavy and clayey soil. It ripens much later than the souna and can be cultivated in the middle of the rainy season. Sometimes it can even be planted again toward the end of the winter season when one sees that the first sowings have failed. The great millet, or basi, is sorghum (Sorghum sudanense). W [243] S

Millet reduced to flour and granulated is called "couscous." 262

/37 cont./

This is the most common preparation, but the native cuisine is acquainted with a host of others. The couscous is light, refreshing, and very nourishing. S 262

Millet is also given to horses. Basi is used the most in this practice, but souna gives them more vigor, although heating them up more. S 231

The Africans, by making millet germinate and putting it in water to boil for several days, obtain a kind of invigorating beer (pouh in Wolof), but one which, if taken in great quantities, produces a very heavy drunkenness. Millet, just like maize, fattens animals quickly, especially poultry. S W 273 S 231

Sorghum is a plant widely cultivated in Senegal. It is necessary to accustom the Senegalese farmer as rapidly as possible to replacing the ordinary variety by that of the sweet sorghum, that is, the saccharatum variety, which would have the advantage of giving sugar and grain. This saccharatum variety is utilized a great deal in the United States for the production of sugar. Then a sugar refinery would be created, which would be one more source of wealth for this country, wealth all the more appreciable because the African is fond of delicacies and a great consumer of sugar (mint tea, Moorish coffee, and infusions). S 243 S [493] [263] [272]

Rice. It is cultivated in Senegal in damp places, on the edges of marigots /watercourses/, in Sine, in Casamance, and at the mouth of the river (Richard-Toll, etc.). A large number of varieties is known, some of which grow in relatively dry and high places; black rice is one of them.

The African rice is Oryza glaberrima, but wild rice grows by itself; this is Oryza latifolia (punctata and sylvestris). The native rice is much more in demand by the Africans and often even by the Europeans than foreign rice. African cooks excel in preparing rice in all kinds of ways. S [137] S 262

Rice is emollient, soothing, very nourishing, and not at all binding or constipating as is sometimes thought. It also gives a beer by fermentation. Rice water renders great service in dysentery, as a beverage, and for bathing. Rice water is also a cooling drink for feverish and inflammatory ailments. Finally, rice powder is useful as an absorbent for skin diseases. S 273 757 [272] [515]

/38/

Maize (Zea mays L.): Succeeds well when sown at the beginning of the winter season. The native species sown under these conditions is very beautiful and gives large yellow ears, very well filled out. The Africans eat fresh roasted corn, and, when it is hard, they make couscous of it. The infusion prepared with the fruit is emollient and diuretic. The styles or stigmas of maize are famous as diuretics and cure several ailments of the urinary tract (cystitis, gravel, dysuria, etc.); the young kernels, when cooked, constitute an excellent vegetable and replace peas; the flour gives a beer and an alcoholic extract. The husks of the ears serve to make quite springy mattresses. 243 262 757 [273] [513]

II. -- Useful Gramineae

(not being subject to any cultivation)

Bamboo. -- Grows in the wild state in the Ravin des Voleurs /Ravine of Thieves/ near Thiès. The native species is rather small. Stakes, frames, masts of dugouts, huts, and fences, but especially clinting (constructions of bamboo filled in with lime) are made of it. The young shoots are said to be edible, and the sweet sap is supposed to be an agreeable drink. In Casamance a small species of bamboo grows in shady places; pipestems are made of it. 824 [313] [342] [262] [272] [276]

Begnefala (Andropogon shirensis). -- A tall gramineous plant with a penetrating aromatic odor. It is used in African medicine and the old colonials used it with success at the time of the great epidemic of yellow fever at Dakar in 1927. For fevers, one pounds the floral heads mixed with lemon or vinegar and energetically rubs the body with this mixture. [757]

Hada (Imperata cylindrica). -- A gramineous plant with a very hard leaf and whitish ear, which is used for covering the roofs of huts. [342]

Hat (Andropogon gayanus). -- Tall grass whose stem is used in making fences around huts. [351]

Haham or cram-cram (Cenchrus biflorus). -- Its seeds fasten themselves to clothing and are very disagreeable. Is gathered and [262]

S 244 /7/ generally at the end of October or the beginning of November. Harvesting is done by cutting the stalks with the hilaire four or five centimeters under the ground. They are collected into little piles, sometimes protected by a shelter of plant material for drying, and then heaped into stacks to await the detachment S [462] of the shells several weeks later by threshing or by hand. This last operation is entrusted to the women and children. All of these tasks require great effort, and the more so since during the S [243] same brief period one must busy himself with the food crops, millet, niébés /Vigna/, etc.

S 241 244 W 244 The ways in which the groundnut is associated with the food crops are quite variable and put their mark on the agrarian landscape.

1) The lougan of the Ouoloff peasant. The Ouoloff peasant of Cayor or of Siné-Saloum represents the most traditional type of cultivator of groundnuts. He still practices shifting cultivation on his lougan /cultivated field/ cleared by fire in the open bush. Although he does practice a millet-groundnut rotation, often with very little strictness, he does not know the virtues of fertilization. He cultivates the soil until it is exhausted and then abandons it for 15 or 20 years, which allows it to go back to bush. Today, however, demographic pressure does not always permit him to dispose of the vast areas of land required for this long rest. S W [433] The soil is rapidly being exhausted; the yields are diminishing. In Cayor the latter have fallen off at least 700 kilograms per hectare. The cultivation of the groundnut is very obviously regressing.

S SR 241 2) The organized ground of the Sérère /Serer/ peasantry (2). The Sérère are a group of Sudanese origin, driven back

S [113] 2. Pelissier, P. "Les paysans sérère, essai sur la formation d'un terroir au Sénégal /The Serer peasants, an essay on the formation of a ground in Senegal/." Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, Vol. VI, 1953, No. 22, pp. 105-127.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal M537

36 SEDHIOU (12° 42′; 15° 31′ W.). Population, 1,653. Provincial head-
[131] quarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional
[167] School.

Sedhiou is on the right bank of the Casamance, 68 miles above
[487] Ziguinchor and 110 miles from the sea, and it is only usable by vessels
[505] drawing up to 5 feet. Formerly more prosperous than it is to-day,
it has some brick buildings and shops. Many of the traders are
[439] Syrians, and there is a modest export of ground-nuts, hides, rice, and
wax.

[491] By colonial road Sedhiou is 58 miles from Bignona, 74 miles from
Ziguinchor, and 62 miles from Kolda.

11. MINERALS

135 THE principal mineral exported from the colony is ilmenite, which
[439] is washed from beach sands between Rufisque and Cape Rouge,
between Joal and Diakhanor, and at the mouth of the Casamance.
Zircon (Vol. I, pp. 295–6) is obtained from the same sands, the
ilmenite:zircon ratio being about 3:1. Other minerals of potential
value are phosphates and limestone, both of which occur in Lower
Eocene strata. Lenticular beds of phosphate, ranging from 30 to 65
per cent. bone phosphate of lime, are found near Matam and near
Thiès. Limestones and marls are more widespread than in any other
[339] colony, and at Rufisque they have been worked experimentally for
the commercial production of cement. Bitumen has been encountered
at Dakar in borings for water, but investigations have shown that the
[315] geological structure is unsuited to the accumulation of petroleum.

12. AGRICULTURE

241 THE Gambia divides the millet from the manioc zone, but ground-
nuts are the chief crop of both. Sisal-growing is an important, though
more recent, industry. South of the Gambia the Casamance Territory
provides a rich area for fruit and subsistence crops as well as for
ground-nuts.

[439] There is far more production for export than in any other colony.

Food Crops

243 *Millets.* Millets form the staple diet of the majority of the native
262 population and are grown all over that part of the colony north of the

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Gambia, often in rotation with ground-nuts. Of the quick-maturing 243
varieties *souna* and *sanio* are the most popular, the former thriving in [262]
sandy soil, the latter in heavier ground. Several kinds of sorghum are also cultivated. In the river area millet is sown where the floods have subsided and is harvested in April. In other parts it is planted immediately before the rainy season. Production probably averages [433]
about 300,000 tons annually. The export of millet from one province [438]
to another is controlled according to local needs.

Rice. The area flooded by the Casamance is naturally suited for rice cultivation. The rice-fields are handed down from father to [428]
son, each family growing sufficient for its own consumption and to [262]
pay its taxes. A store of rice is always kept to guard against a lean [251]
year or to be exchanged for some other commodity required.

Sugar-cane. This is grown near every village where there is enough 249
water. No attempt has been made to commercialize the crop, and the West African varieties are more woody and contain less juice than those grown elsewhere for export. Sugar-cane (*Saccharum officinarum*) is a perennial plant of the grass family. It is easy to grow, even near the sea, but takes at least a year to mature. When grown for local use, as it is here, sugar is not extracted, but the red or white stems are [263]
chewed.

The Baobab. The baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) is found generally 245
in the thornland (Plate III), and is, therefore, much in evidence in Senegal. It is remarkable for the large girth of its trunk in com- [262]
parison to its branches and leaves. The long green fruit, known as [263]
monkey-bread, is used as a food or as a seasoner. Boiled with water [272]
and then cooled, it also makes a refreshing drink, while the leaves and the young shoots are also good to eat. The inner bark yields a [283]
tough fibre, which can be twisted into rope or woven into a water-proof cloth. About 30 years ago a factory was opened at Dakar to prepare the fibre for export to rope- and paper-making firms in [288]
France. The bark and fibre can be stripped off without causing the death of the tree.

Manioc, beans, and maize are grown generally in the vicinity of 244
villages. In the Cape Verde peninsula these, as well as yams, sweet [243]
potatoes, and melons, are grown for the Dakar markets. [438]

Economic Crops

Ground-nuts. Ground-nuts (*Arachis hypogaea*) require a tropical climate and an annual rainfall of from 14 to 60 inches. They are the [433]

/118 cont./

244 There is no doubt, however, that the yield per hectare
433 is diminishing and that on much of the land today it is no
242 more than 500-600 kilograms per hectare, instead of the 700-800 kilograms, and even 900, as has been seen sometimes in Sine. The land is becoming exhausted as a result of the lack of fertilizer and the absence of crop rotation. Two other factors likewise come into play: the too primitive native methods of cultivation and the inadequate selection of seeds. The native cultivator continues to work his land with the
[412] hilaire, a kind /Pl. II appears here/ /119/ of spade with which he contents himself with scratching the soil. He thus reduces his work too much; he does his dressings badly or inadequately.

It has been demonstrated by the experiments made by the Compagnie française de l'Afrique Occidentale at Latmingué that with mechanical farm implements one could easily double the yield per hectare. On newly cleared land and with these methods, the yield has never been less than 1,000 kilograms and at times has reached 1,500 kilograms per hectare. It is necessary to persuade the native that he will profit by working the land with a little better equipment. The agricultural
[654] services are working at this, and it is to be hoped that the more modern cultivation methods will double the yield. This is a critical problem.

243 Millet. Millet is likewise a crop on the road to progress.
433 The types cultivated are: small and great millet, or, according to their native names, souna, sanio, bassi, fehla.

In 1927, the cultivated area was 240,000 hectares, with a total production of 119,000 tons, a little more than the needs of the population. In 1925, for a production of 80,000 tons, the population had sowed 210,000 hectares. The surplus production is consumed in the regions bordering Sine-Saloum.

Rice. Different varieties of rice are cultivated, especially in Sine and Bas-Saloum, where the annual rainfall is greater and where the soil is suitable for this crop. One can estimate that 15,000 hectares are planted to rice with a total

/119 cont./
433 production of about 14,000 tons, which are entirely con-
[243] sumed on the spot.

[244] Manioc. Manioc is the crop grown in some plantings
[474] around the villages. The native Société de Prevoyance distributed many cuttings in most of the cantons in 1925.

About 5,000 hectares are planted to manioc, with a production of 25,000 tons of fresh manioc.

[243] /120/ Maize. Maize is not planted everywhere. It is cultivated in Bas-Saloum and in Sine, a little in Saloum. There are 2,000 hectares of maize and 2,000 tons of production.

[244] Beans (niébés). The bean called "niébé" is planted on about 15,000 hectares, yielding a harvest of 7,000 tons.

Production, however, remains stationary, because the plant is attacked by various insects (weevils).

[245] Bananas. Two banana plantations, established by the
[654] administration, exist at Sangako and Bani in Bas-Saloum. They could be multiplied in this region.

[249] Sugar cane. This product is not cultivated very much -- the soil is not suitable -- with rare exceptions.

[248] Cotton. Native cotton is cultivated only in small stretches. This crop takes up 700 hectares of land.

[249] Indigo. The region that is the principal producer of indigo is Bas-Saloum. This crop has tended to increase for the past several years.

[314] Kapok. The kapok tree lives in the wild state. There are some in the cantons along the railroad (N'Gahaye-Gossas), but especially to the south, starting at Kaffrine and above all in Koungheul. The native does not harvest it or harvests it poorly. The circle could yield 100 tons of kapok, but it provides only 20 tons at the most, used locally or sold abroad.

/119 cont./

433 production of about 14,000 tons, which are entirely con-
[243] sumed on the spot.

[244] Manioc. Manioc is the crop grown in some plantings
[474] around the villages. The native Société de Prevoyance distributed many cuttings in most of the cantons in 1925.

About 5,000 hectares are planted to manioc, with a production of 25,000 tons of fresh manioc.

[243] /120/ Maize. Maize is not planted everywhere. It is cultivated in Bas-Saloum and in Sine, a little in Saloum. There are 2,000 hectares of maize and 2,000 tons of production.

[244] Beans (niébés). The bean called "niébé" is planted on about 15,000 hectares, yielding a harvest of 7,000 tons.

Production, however, remains stationary, because the plant is attacked by various insects (weevils).

[245] Bananas. Two banana plantations, established by the
[654] administration, exist at Sangako and Bani in Bas-Saloum. They could be multiplied in this region.

[249] Sugar cane. This product is not cultivated very much -- the soil is not suitable -- with rare exceptions.

[248] Cotton. Native cotton is cultivated only in small stretches. This crop takes up 700 hectares of land.

[249] Indigo. The region that is the principal producer of indigo is Bas-Saloum. This crop has tended to increase for the past several years.

[314] Kapok. The kapok tree lives in the wild state. There are some in the cantons along the railroad (N'Gahaye-Gossas), but especially to the south, starting at Kaffrine and above all in Koungheul. The native does not harvest it or harvests it poorly. The circle could yield 100 tons of kapok, but it provides only 20 tons at the most, used locally or sold abroad.

/25 cont./

*795 refrigerator, radio, power plant, powerful American cars, etc
793 .... Certain ones even own real estate in Dakar which they rent for a good price, increasing their revenues by that much more.

If this standard of living is the result of the attachment and the fanatical work of the talibés, reciprocally this luxury increases their prestige in the eyes of these same talibés. These simple people see in this exterior wealth a sign of the greatness, power, and glory of their marabout. They are proud to see him rich and influential, as if they themselves participated in this wealth and influence.

Still another anecdote will underline, it seems, this blind admiration of the faithful for their religious leaders in spite of (and perhaps because of) the exterior signs of their wealth.

The domestic servant of a European official had accompanied his employer to Touba, to the home of Failou M'Backé. Thus he could enter the carré of "his" marabout (for he was a Murid). Upon returning, he said to his employer in a tone of sincere admiration and without a critical afterthought: "My
[352] marabout is a great marabout; his carré has many bedrooms and in each bedroom there is a good bed." When one knows
[513] that the majority of the Blacks usually sleep on wretched pallets or even on mats, and that to possess a good bed is one of the first objectives of the African who advances, one will appreciate the full value of this remark...

793 After that no one will be surprised that some people have
*795 labeled as "servitude" the situation which the Murid marabouts
●244 reserve for the talibés who work on their plantations. They are,
555 in fact, grouped in teams of ten to 20, and each team has a piece of land to cultivate. Of course the teams compete zealously to bring to the marabout the handsomest harvest. The zeal of the teams is all the greater because each member can hope, if the marabout notices his own zeal, to be initiated at the end of several years to the Murid dikr and to have in his turn a Murid village to superintend. He can even hope to have assigned to him a new area to be attached to the brotherhood

/25 cont./

793 and to receive the title of Cheikh, with the advantages which
* 795 that confers. While waiting, he works at hoeing and clearing
244 land without counting or measuring all the lands capable of pro-
[555] ducing the groundnuts which make up the fortune of his mara-
bout.

It is this way of colonizing the lands, and more particularly the new lands, which has made the brotherhood play an important role in the economy of Senegal in recent years. The Murid marabouts have been and remain clearers /26/ of land and large-
[433] scale producers of groundnuts. It can be estimated that they alone produce a little more than half of the total harvest of the Territory.

793 This brilliant picture is nevertheless not without shadows.
* 795 Even though the influence of the Murid leaders is not dangerous
578 on the political level as a consequence of the good understanding which exists between them and the Administration, even though there is no reason to fear that they may incite the members of the brotherhood to insubordination, their presence in the villages does pose problems. There are problems when they have settled in villages whose chiefs are not Murids (if not, sometimes, anti-Murid). In these cases it often happens that there are collisions
[622] between the customary chiefs and the Murid marabouts, principally since the reforms of 1945 which diminished considerably the powers of the chiefs and their prestige in the eyes of the people at a time when the influence and glory of the marabouts were increasing. Many times the Murids of a canton want to obey
[632] only their religious leader and willfully ignore the canton chief. In addition, in the face of the invading agricultural activity of the Murids, the non-Murid populations stiffen themselves more and more and try to resist their agrarian encroachments. That sometimes creates quarrels; indeed it even provokes violent disorders which have to be arbitrated or stopped.

793 On the other hand, the recent political evolution which is
* 795 resulting in giving the right to vote to all Senegalese men and
666 all Senegalese women has prompted the politicians to seek the collaboration and friendship of the Murid leaders... so that they

/27 cont./

*795 These political rivalries which are being outlined are in part caused by the social consequences of Muridism.

It has often been reproached (in the Senegalese world) for turning the young people, not only against traditional cults and brotherhoods, but also against their families and, in a general way, against their customary framework. As a matter of fact, all of the talibés who work on behalf of the Murid marabouts are young men who have, properly speaking, deserted their villages and their families in order to be Murids and only Murids. If they later return to their natal villages, it is to act as a kind of militant, missionaries, who wish absolutely to convert these villages to the Murid faith.

If one adds to this that the way in which the talibés are treated and trained is not very educative, if one notes that the organization of the work of the plantations and of its productivity is effectively very close to pure and simple exploitation of the Murid workers, one will admit that the social organization of Muridism is not exempt from all criticism.

*795 ● 244 241 One might think that, even if Murid fanaticism has drawbacks from the social point of view, it gives, at least on the economic level, some remarkable results. It has given a taste for agricultural work to a large part of the Senegalese population, and it has opened great areas, previously uncultivated, for the cultivation of the groundnut. Unfortunately, a more thorough study of /28/ this question makes us fear that the way in which the Murids exploit their groundnut planting nowadays may be a danger for the economic future of the country.

An important report of an agricultural mission devoted to this problem an entire chapter which shows all the drawbacks of this extensive and destructive single-crop cultivation aimed solely toward an immediate material profit, and which it does not hesitate to call "pillage economy." Indeed, in his desire to harvest groundnuts for the profit of his marabout, the talibé, who is not a peasant, spoils the land. He clears land without any consideration at all; he destroys the trees and especially the caddes, so precious for the land of Senegal. He exhausts

/28 cont./

* 795 the soil, since he practices neither rotation nor fallowing, since
• 244 he does not utilize either animal fertilizers (he is not at all a
241 stock-breeder), chemical fertilizers, or green fertilizer... and each time that he abandons lands which he has completely (and for a long time to come) exhausted, in order to bring new lands into this devastating cycle, the desert advances behind him. All this is all the more serious because the cultivation undertaken by the Murid talibés has a yield 30 per cent lower than that of the cultivation done by the Black true peasants, and notably the Sérère /Serer/ peasants.

In short, this report regards the Murid as "a ravager of forests and land, and a squanderer of the riches of the territory."

* 795 The author of the report does not stop, however, at these violent criticisms and pessimistic conclusions. According to him (and he is right), the Murid fact does exist and will exist for a long time to come, even if the brotherhood were to split up for reasons of personal and internal rivalries. The different fragments would retain the same spirit and the same methods; one would not see the end of Muridism, but its continuation in different and rival sects.

So he proposes channeling the Murid fanaticism, reforming it, and improving its methods of work and production by acting upon the great Murid leaders themselves and by making them understand the necessity of these reforms and improvements. He adds that Falilou M'Backé is an "intelligent man" who willingly recognizes that many improvements could be made in the present agricultural technique of the Murids and who even thinks that this modernization could only strengthen the vitality of the brotherhood.

Besides, there is every reason to believe that the other leaders of Muridism and most of the "Great Marabouts" will follow the example of the Caliph-general and will understand very quickly (if it can be demonstrated to them) the necessity of avoiding thoughtless clearing /29/ and of replanting caddes where they have been cut down, of using green and chemical fertilizers, indeed of taking an interest in stock-raising and

/414 cont./

*511 procedure, certainly less valuable for a nutritionist, offers
*262 another advantage for us: the costs for vegetables noted during the investigation are among the most precise, whereas the quantities, merely estimated, were sometimes very fantastic. The operation was thus worth the trouble of doing it.

The portion of the income devoted to vegetables is relatively not very important; it exceeded 10% in only one case (No. 16). It is sometimes less than that devoted to condiments. On the other hand, we prove that it does not decrease very noticeably as one approaches the high incomes. The consumption of vegetables seems to vary precisely as the incomes do, increasing with them in almost parallel fashion.

This is the first product that we have encountered where this parallelism begins to be revealed.

The average consumption of vegetables for the 43 families is seven kilograms per man per month. With two exceptions, Nos. 11 and 16, one begins to find it frequently beginning with No. 20, whose income is 12,000 francs. From No. 24 on, most of the consumption is higher than 10 kilograms.

Pushing the investigation further, one sees that No. 11, which is an exception among the small incomes, is a unit of consumption composed of only six persons (4.5 men). Family No. 16, 22 kilograms of vegetables, contains four persons (3.2 men). And then:

No. 21: 16.2 kilograms, 5 persons (3.8)
No. 26: 30.0 kilograms, 3 persons (2.8)
No. 30: 14.0 kilograms, 7 persons (5.1)
No. 34: 11.0 kiloyrams, 4 persons (3.3)
No. 35: 26.0 kilograms, 6 persons (4.6)
No. 43: 19.7 kilograms, 5 persons (4)

[244] /415/ Nos. 31, 36, and 38 remain. No. 31 has large gardens and does not buy vegetables. Its greater consumption is thus explicable (1).

1. Moreover, for this family this is only an estimation; we

/37/

During the dry season the ground appears bare, but with the first rains it is covered with a lusty vegetation, and it is principally the Gramineae that thus again adorns with verdure this land previously so desolate. S 137

I. -- Gramineae: Food Crops

The petit mil /small millet/, mil chandelle or penicillaire /candle or penicillate millet/ (Pennisetum), is native to Africa. It is also cultivated in India; undoubtedly it was at the time of the slave trade that it was introduced into America. This is the early small millet, or souna of the Wolof. The souna must be sown at the time of the first rains. It shoots up promptly; it grows well in the light, sandy soils (groundnut soils). After the 15th of August it begins to ripen, and one can already eat the unripe ears roasted. When it begins to push out of the ground, the Senegalese, and especially the Sérère /Serer/, sow beans between the rows; this is the volet (Phaseolus vulgaris), which will be eaten as green beans from the 15th of August on. The souna root is regarded by the Africans as a poison and, according to them, might be one of the causes of sleeping sickness. S 243 W [243] S [252] S [244] S [753]

Another variety of small millet is the sanio of the Wolof, late millet or bearded millet (Penicillaria spicata). This is a late variety of small millet with the ears covered with very strong beards, which, entering the eyes of birds, prevents them from eating it. It is said that it gives sottiete (eye ailments). The sanio grows in heavy soils. It is sown during the rainy season and harvested at the end of it, at the same time as groundnuts. W [243] S [753]

The gros mil /great millet/, or basi of the Wolof, requires a heavy and clayey soil. It ripens much later than the souna and can be cultivated in the middle of the rainy season. Sometimes it can even be planted again toward the end of the winter season when one sees that the first sowings have failed. The great millet, or basi, is sorghum (Sorghum sudanense). W [243]

Millet reduced to flour and granulated is called "couscous." S 262

/73 cont./

102
131
133
491
496

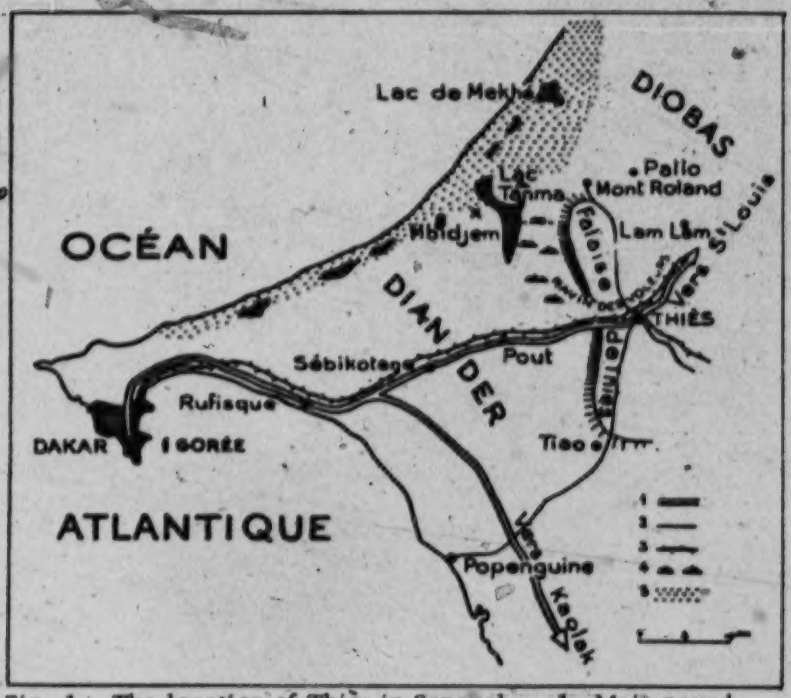


Fig. 1. The location of Thiès in Senegal. 1. Main paved road; 2. secondary road; 3. railroad; 4. swamps; 5. sand.

175 Verde Peninsula. As long ago as this epoch Thiès seems to
369 have been a strategic point and support point of primary im-
361 portance.

As early as 1880 the provinces of Diander and Diobas were pacified. The military posts lost their importance and were abandoned one after the other, for example, Nguiguis (near Tivaouane) and Mbidjem. Only the one at Thiès, because of its exceptional location, survived and developed.

175 2. The commercial escale (1880-1923).
369 The years of the decade 1880-1890 correspond to the
499 period of the development of groundnut cultivation in Senegal
244 and to the construction of the Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad.

/5/

244
433

Since the "campaign" of 1959-60, the commercial production of groundnuts in Senegal has reached 720,000 metric tons of groundnuts in the shell. In 1957-58, there was a record year with 830,000 metric tons. Since for these recent years the total production of food products can be estimated at about 550,000 metric tons, the proportion of 1,800 kilograms of groundnuts harvested per metric ton of food products, advanced in 1951 by M. Portères, is very close to the Senegalese economic reality (1).

[113]

1. For this information we have consulted: Barbier, J., "L'économie de l'arachide au Sénégal, Contribution à l'Étude du marché français des huiles alimentaires /The economy of the groundnut in Senegal, Contribution to the study of the French marketing of food oils/," typewritten thesis for the doctorate in law, Lille, 20 May 1960, 475 pp.

A.O.F. 57: Tableaux économiques /French West Africa 57: Economic Tables/. Haut-Commissariat de la République en A.O.F. Direction des Services économiques et du plan, 412 pp.

Outre-Mer 58: Service statistique d'Outre-Mer /Oversea 58: Oversea Statistical Service/, P.U.F. 1960.

177
244

The groundnut is originally from America; Jean de Léry, a French clergyman, described this plant around 1855, under the name of "manoki," as a crop of the region of Rio. In the seventeenth century Père Plumier noted it for the Antilles. The Portuguese slave-dealers seem to have imported it to Africa around the middle of the sixteenth century. The natives of Senegambia were soon cultivating it around their huts, and as

/5 cont./

177 early as 1560 Alvarez de Almada speaks of the abundant harvests of mantiga eaten fresh by the Mandingue /Mandingo/.
244 In 1840 a Paris chemist, Rousseau, discovered the wealth of oil in the groundnut. In 1841 the brig "Zénith" transported 70 metric tons of nuts to Rouen. Protêt and Faidherbe encouraged this crop, which, in the framework of the colonial economic system, progressed rapidly from the coast toward the interior, thanks to the possibilities of the natural environment.

132 From the Senegal River in the north to the Casamance in the south, the climate of the country changes by successive transitions from Sahelian characteristics to Sudanese aspects. A long dry season of nine months in the north, shorter in the south, from October or December to May-June, contrasts with a "winter season" of three to five months, depending on the region. The frequency and the importance of the precipitations increase from north to south. They go from 350 millimeters in the region of Louga to 1,200 millimeters in that of Ziguinchor. Whereas the coast is moistened by the humid trade wind, the Ferlo to the east is like a desert. These conditions are nearly /6/ ideal for a
244 plant whose vegetative cycle is short -- about 120 days -- and which germinates easily in a slightly moistened soil, develops under heavy rains, and bears fruit best during the dry days that follow.

134 The soil conditions also seem to be wholly favorable.
244 The plant is not very demanding with respect to fertility; essentially it requires a light soil, because the fructification is underground. The silico-argillaceous soils of the center of Senegal (the dek of the Ouoloff /Wolof/) and the sandy soils of the north (the dior of the Ouoloff) suit the groundnut perfectly.

496 The expansion of the area of cultivation, from the coast
244 and the estuaries toward the interior, has been led by the railroads. The Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad, built in 1885, explains
311 the essential role of Cayor in groundnut production at the beginning of the century, since it was along the Dakar-Niger line, achieved in 1888, that the groundnut front progressed toward the east. Today this front, which in the south has broken into the

/6/
496 edges of the woodlands of Casamance, has reached the Ferlo
244 and the zone of the lateritic cuirasses of the east.
311

I. The Types of Groundnut Cultivation in Senegal

244 The very symbol of the product of "trade," the groundnut
[433] is essentially cultivated by the autochthonous peasants, who devote to it an important part of their activities.

1. The types of autochthonous cultivation. Whatever the place of the groundnut may be in the system of crops, one always finds, within the framework of the very short agricultural cycle of winter, the same techniques for the preparation of the soil, the same kinds of tillage.

Everywhere in Senegal the traditional technical contrivances are primitive and permit only rather crude tillage. The
[412] lopping tool, the rhock, a kind of fork with two prongs, the hilaire, formed by a quite long handle and a flat blade in the shape of an ace of hearts, and the hoe, or daba, constitute the essential equipment.

In the spring, at the end of the dry season, the trees and bushes are topped with the lopping tool to 60 or 70 centimeters from the ground. Only the "Faidherbia," stripped of their leaves in winter, are spared. The branches are burned on the spot; their ashes are the sole fertilizer for the field recovered from the bush. The mutilated and burned trunks, the stumps left in place, give it an unfinished and disorderly appearance. Soon after the first rains, generally in June, one proceeds with the sowing. In the holes /7/ four to five centimeters deep, made with the daba or with the handle of the rhock, the cultivator puts one or two groundnut seeds and then, with the heel, covers them with soil. These holes, made in a row, are generally 30 centimeters apart. In July and August, one proceeds with several weedings and dressings with the daba in order to mellow the soil. In September the last cleaning out of foul grasses is done by hand. When the stalks wither, the shells have reached maturity,

/7/

S 244 generally at the end of October or the beginning of November. Harvesting is done by cutting the stalks with the hilaire four or five centimeters under the ground. They are collected into little piles, sometimes protected by a shelter of plant material for drying, and then heaped into stacks to await the detachment S [462] of the shells several weeks later by threshing or by hand. This last operation is entrusted to the women and children. All of these tasks require great effort, and the more so since during the S [243] same brief period one must busy himself with the food crops, millet, niébés /Vigna/, etc.

S 241 244 The ways in which the groundnut is associated with the food crops are quite variable and put their mark on the agrarian landscape.

W 244 1) The lougan of the Ouoloff peasant. The Ouoloff peasant of Cayor or of Siné-Saloum represents the most traditional type of cultivator of groundnuts. He still practices shifting cultivation on his lougan /cultivated field/ cleared by fire in the open bush. Although he does practice a millet-groundnut rotation, often with very little strictness, he does not know the virtues of fertilization. He cultivates the soil until it is exhausted and then abandons it for 15 or 20 years, which allows it to go back to bush. Today, however, demographic pressure does not always permit him to dispose of the vast areas of land required for this long rest. S W [433] The soil is rapidly being exhausted; the yields are diminishing. In Cayor the latter have fallen off at least 700 kilograms per hectare. The cultivation of the groundnut is very obviously regressing.

S SR 241 2) The organized ground of the Sérère /Serer/ peasantry (2). The Sérère are a group of Sudanese origin, driven back

S [113] 2. Pelissier, P. "Les paysans sérère, essai sur la formation d'un terroir au Sénégal /The Serer peasants, an essay on the formation of a ground in Senegal/." Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, Vol. VI, 1953, No. 22, pp. 105-127.

S
SR
241
[244]

/7 cont./

by the Mandingue and settled in Siné-Saloum. They are above all millet farmers; on the average they cultivate a hectare of this cereal to 70 acres of groundnuts. The groundnut, having entered the agricultural cycle quite recently, has contributed to the formation of a ground of specialized sectors. Around the village, surrounding it, are located the fields of small millet, cotton, and manioc. Beyond this pombod, under the Faidherbia, the ground is divided into three areas /soles/ corresponding to a system of triennial rotation, small millet, groundnuts, and fallowing, where, after cultivation, the animals graze and manure the soil for the next cultivation. Each family has its shares in each /8/ /Fig. 1 appears here/ area.

SR
[423]

The separation between these three large sectors of the ground is maintained by living hedges or barriers of cut thorns. In Sérère country a permanent ground is delineated, and land ownership stands out. The peasant takes care of managing the land and only wants a little money for the groundnuts, a secondary crop.

S
244

3) "Speculative" or "extractive" cultivation. In contrast to the Sérère example, this is a type of cultivation where the cultivator, often occasional, is attracted solely by the immediate profit that groundnuts may bring. It is practiced by the group of Murids on the one hand, and, on the other, by the navétanes /seasonal workers/.

S
795
S
[113]

/9/ Muridism (3) is a Moslem movement founded by Sheik

3. Pelissier, P. "L'arachide au Sénégal, rationalisation et modernisation de la culture," Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, Vol. IV, 1951, No. 13, pp. 80-85.

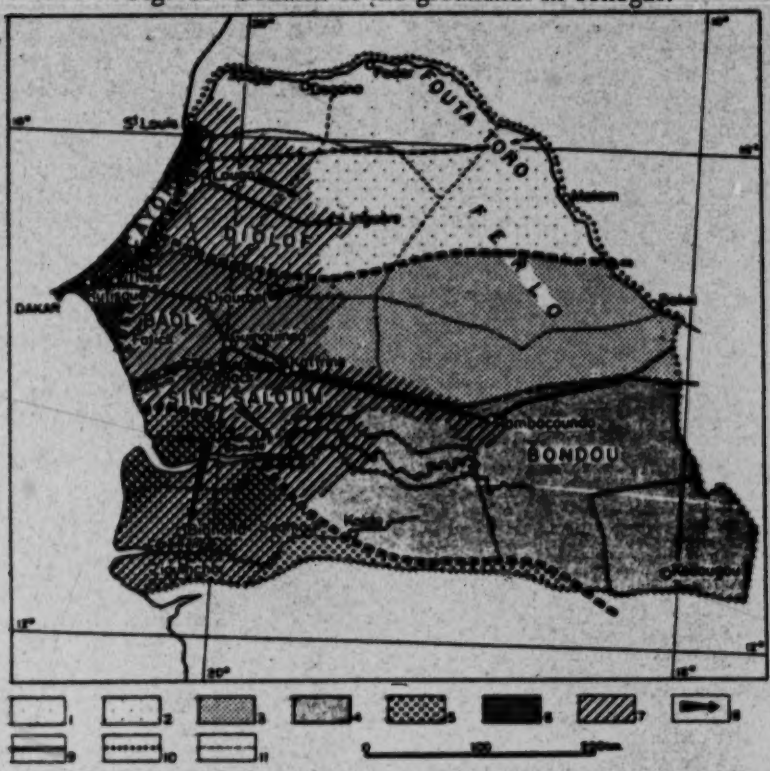
Amadou Bamba, who died in 1927. The brotherhood has many adepts, especially in Siné-Saloum near the Ouoloff. For the Murids, Islam is a religion based on renouncement. Agricultural work becomes a holy thing if it is done for the benefit of the pious man who prays. The adepts of Muridism, or talibés, thus

[Text continues on p.7--Analyst]

/8 cont./

102
103
131
244
311
496

Fig. 1. Domain of the groundnut in Senegal.



1. Sahelo-Saharan zone;
2. Sahelo-Sudanese zone;
3. Sudano-Sahelian zone .
4. Sudano-Guinea zone.
5. Guinea zone.
6. Coastal zone with relics of the Guinea woodland.
7. Groundnuts.
8. Progression of the domain of the groundnut.
9. Railroad.
10. Boundaries of the states.
11. Boundaries of the circles.

/9 cont./

795 have a moral obligation to deliver the products of their labor to the marabouts. With a remarkable ardor for clearing, these
244 Murids have improved new lands and have thus made a "groundnut front" progressing toward the east, especially on both sides
311 of the Dakar-Niger railroad. This cultivation, however, pre-
795 sents grave dangers, because the Murids essentially concern themselves with groundnuts at the expense of millet; they use the cleared lands in the average proportion of 60% of the area for groundnuts and only 40% for millet. Crop rotation and fallowing are all too rarely respected, and the lands put under cultivation are all the more unstable since the groundnut front now abuts on the zone of the lateritic cuirasses of the east, ushering in the Sudan.

244 The navétanes (4) are the seasonal workers who come
427
[464]
[167]
[113]

4. Fouquet, J., La traite des arachides dans le pays de Kaolack et ses conséquences économiques, sociales et juridiques /The trade of groundnuts in the region of Kaolack and its economic, social, and legal consequences/. Law thesis, Montpellier, 1951, 262 pp.

from the Sudan in particular and, up to 1958, from the north of Guinea. They cultivate the groundnut for the benefit of
[466] the employer, or diatigui, according to the clauses of a ver-
[465] bal contract. The employer furnishes the cleared ground, the seed, lodgings, and food. The navétane prepares the land, sows, weeds, and gathers the harvest. Actually, he devotes scarcely three to four half-days per week in work for the benefit of the diatigui. He utilizes the rest of his time for clearing and cultivating for himself. This labor is very costly for the employer, who is often obliged to borrow at prohibitive rates in order to feed the navétane. Moreover, this system presents grave dangers, because the temporary immigrant, clearing and cultivating land for which he feels no attachment,

/9 cont./

244 407 shows no regard for it. Finally, the navétane eats millet and does not produce any, which in certain regions aggravates the problem of the supply. Before 1939, in the period of the full development of groundnut cultivation, there were up to 70,000 navétanes in some years. The system of the authoritative organization of labor during the hostilities could by no means support these effectives; therefore, with the return to freedom in 1946, the number of navétanes had fallen to about 12,000. In order to attract them, they were given free travel going and returning. The suppression of these facilities in 1956 and the closing of the Guinea frontier at the end /10/of 1958 have [648] [167] [433] considerably diminished the importance of these temporary migrations, which, in sum, were not very profitable for the economy of Senegal.

Other seasonal movements of labor take place in the 244 166 464 [427] framework of groundnut cultivation. The sourga come from the city and take their place among their relatives under the same conditions as the navétanes. The baraguini are laborers who, in the regions of Tambacounda and Kédougou, offer their assistance to the cultivators during the harvest. They dig up the groundnut stalks, dry them, and detach and clean the seeds.

244 433 All of these types[1] of groundnut cultivation are characterized by small yields: 830 kilograms per hectare on the average in Senegal. These yields, a consequence of the poorness of the traditional technical contrivances, can hardly be improved. In recent decades the increase in volume of the harvest has been linked with that of the area cultivated, which is not without grave dangers: abuses of cultivation on soils that are unstable, and a falling off of food production. After some attempts without results in the years 1920-1930, it is mechanized cultivation which, at the end of the Second World War, seems most capable of increasing production for the benefit of the mother country, which suffered from a grave shortage of fatty substances.

[1] [See Category 116, pp. 3-8 for types of autochthonous cultivation--Analyst]

/10 cont./

244
654

2. Experiences with mechanized cultivation. The experiences with mechanized cultivation proceeded from the arrangements of the law of 30 April 1946 on the first plan for "social and economic development of the oversea territories."

a) The first experience was that of the "bloc de l'arachide /bloc of the groundnut/:" In 1947 the "Bloc de l'arachide" was created at Boulel, 21 kilometers north of Kaffrine, in the region of new lands. It had at its disposal 15,000 hectares of bush in a single holding and was endowed with powerful equipment. A labor force of 360 Murids, directed by 160 technicians, proceeded with the clearing, which in 1954 reached about 3,000 hectares. The aims of the enterprise are multiple. It is a matter of: 1. testing the equipment to be used in the preparation of the soil plowing, [795] seeding, weeding, and harvesting; 2. initiating the Murid labor force in the handling of mechanical machines; 3. procuring contrivances for certain jobs, such as decortication for the sowing, deherbaging before the harvest; 4. instituting methods of cultivation that can give the highest yields while protecting the soil.

The practical results have been rather mediocre. The expenses are very high, and amortization of the equipment is scarcely possible. Moreover, the Murid colonists have [795] adapted themselves poorly. In 1953 the latter were eliminated, and in 1955 the Bloc became the "Secteur expérimental de modernisation agricole" (S.E.M.A.) /Experimental Section for Agricultural Modernization/. Its activities were henceforth to be divided /11/ into three sections: a management section which supervises the clearing; an experimental section determining the most suitable techniques of cultivation and instructing the labor force; a section of exploitation, which applies the results of experimentation. The S.E.M.A. "admitted" 155 families for its work. It furnishes the lands prepared by machine, assures certain methods, loans food and seed without interest. Those admitted must take care of the complementary

/11 cont./

244 654 tasks by hand; they promise to respect the rotations prescribed by the experimental section.

b) The experience of the C. G. O. T. in Casamance began in 1948. Within the framework of the first plan, the Compagnie générale des oléagineux tropicaux /General Company of Tropical Oily Substances/ acquired vast areas of land in the region of Séfa, upstream from Sedhiou. Powerful equipment permitted this society of mixed economy to clear 4,000 hectares of woodland. At great expense the company [177] recruited some European technicians and local labor receiving wages higher than the average. The experience of total mechanization met very grave difficulties: clearing woodland is very ticklish, because carapaces are found at a shallow depth, the equipment wears out very quickly, and the administrative [433] expenses are very high; and then, when yields of 2,000 kilograms of groundnuts per hectare are anticipated, only 1,200 are obtained. The company had to modify its policy. The lands were divided among the "colonists," who promised to respect a millet or rice-groundnut rotation. The company cultivated the rice mechanically and kept the harvest. It proceeded to the more difficult tasks in connection with the groundnuts and collected in exchange 450 kilograms of shells per hectare thus cultivated. The millet went to the colonists.

795 244 c) The Murid chiefs of the region of Djourbel also had an experience with mechanization. In fact some of them, enriched by the "gifts" from the faithful, acquired equipment and in the new lands undertook mechanized cultivation of the groundnut in imitation of the example of Boulel. This system, without considering the dangers of the deterioration of the soil, seems dangerous from the social point of view, because it may strengthen the hold of the marabouts on the faithful, who become ordinary laborers.

244 In fact the experiences with mechanized cultivation have been dismissed because of a check on how much one could anticipate a generalized use of machinery. Nevertheless, [654] in sum, these modest attempts have not been as catastrophic

/11 cont./

244 654 as the one of the famous "groundnut scheme" of Tanganyika. Moreover, they have greatly contributed to the rationalization of the traditional techniques, also studied since 1924 at the experimental center of Bambey.

242 244 654 3. Improvements in the traditional methods of cultivation. The center of Bambey, administered by the Institut de recherche des huiles /12/ et oléagineux (I.R.H.O.) /Institute for Research on Oils and Oily Substances/ has made great efforts, especially since the end of the last war, in the selection of seed, instituting new methods of cultivation, and protection of the soil and the natural environment. These studies, together with the information furnished by Boulel and Séfa, have given very encouraging results.

1) The selection of seed. In traditional cultivation, the cultivator had to take the seed for the next season from his own harvest. This system was not very satisfactory: the seeds were often of mediocre quality, and they did not keep well; finally, very often the cultivator improvidently sold part of his stock before the end of trading and consequently had [426] to resort to usurious loans.

Since 1924 the center of Bambey has introduced seed selected for high yield, adapted to the natural conditions of each productive region. The adoption of creeping varieties for the dry regions of the north and of erect plants for the more moist and compact soils of the south assures an increase of 20% in yields. In 1935 26 metric tons of selected seed had been distributed; in 1951 this figure exceeded 35,000. Since then more than 90% of the seed used has been selected seed. The popularization and the distribution of these seeds are handled by the satellite centers, but above all by the sociétés de prévoyance /welfare societies/, which in 1958 became the Sociétés mutuelles de développement rural (S.M.D.R.). The distribution of the seed takes place between the closing of

/12 cont./

292 trade and the beginning of cultivation, at an interest of 20%
244 on a base of about 100 kilograms per cultivator. Reimburse-
654 ment takes place before the opening of trade, the greatness of the loss explaining the high rate of interest. The seeds stocked by these Mutuelles are disinfected, and samples are sent to Bambey for analysis.

2) Improvement in the techniques of cultivation. An agricultural calendar restricted to four months and demanding hard labor, very rudimentary implements, and the absence of fertilizers explain in large part the lack of efficiency of the traditional methods.

The example of Koutiala in the Sudan, where some plows were distributed, has shown that the use of this implement is often prohibited in a tropical environment. In contrast, Bambey and Boulel have successfully experimented with small equipment, hoes and drills /semoirs/, in mixed /attelée/cultivation. These light implements can greatly facilitate the work of the peasant. A great obstacle remains in the mediocrity of the
[231] animal husbandry, inasmuch as it is divorced from agriculture. The donkeys throughout the country, the camels in the north, and the cattle entrusted to the Peul have never been regarded as draft animals. Today 20,000 light drills, sold on credit by the S.M.D.R., are in service. Up to now the hoes have not had the same success.

/13/ Mixed cultivation also has the advantage of linking cultivation and animal husbandry and of permitting the agriculturalist to utilize the manure, as the Sérère know how to do. The experiences of Bambey have shown that manuring is to be done for millet, but not for groundnuts, under penalty of harvesting many empty shells. The use of millet as green manure seems very beneficial on these unstable lands; the application of the fertilizer compound N.P.K., in the form of tablets to avoid rapid leaching, assures returns 30% higher. At the present time the Mutuelles are distributing about 6,000 metric tons of fertilizer a year. The high price of these imported products is an obstacle to their popularization, but some

/13 cont./

242 specialists envisage the utilization of the phosphates of Thiès.

244 654 3) Protection of the environment. The cultivation of the groundnut with the traditional techniques carries with it grave dangers for the soil. The abusive burning of brush denudes it and facilitates the erosive action of the dry harmattan which blows at the end of the dry season, from the month of March. The cultivation, most often improvident, leads to the rapid deterioration of very unstable soils. In the west the sands are impoverished, the salts are rising to the surface; in the east the lateritic cuirass appears at a shallow depth.

[313] [656] Legislation is intervening in defense of the natural environment; the decree of 4 July 1935 has interdicted the cutting of trees without authorization and has regulated the burning of brush and clearing. The most effective remedies, however, have been introduced by experimentation and recommended after a serious inventory of the soils. The example of Boulel has shown that bands of natural vegetation separating the clearings by passages perpendicular to the roads are an effective remedy against the action of the wind. The instability of the soils requires a strict system of rotation. Bambey and Boulel have proved that the sequence of millet, groundnuts, and fallowing is the best for preserving them. Fallowing for two years, recommended in the south, is insufficient in the north, where six years of rest seems to be indispensable. It is undeniable that for several years these crop rotations have been followed more and more, especially in the pilot sectors. Finally, the rearrangement of the map of the groundnut, amply primed, may have beneficial consequences. The circles /cercles, administrative districts/ bordering the Senegal River have practically abandoned this crop (Podor, Matam, etc.); northern Cayor, with a dry climate, impoverished soils, and a large population, has had a very marked decline in groundnuts to the profit of millet. In contrast, the new regions in Siné-Saloum and Tambacounda typically become groundnut-producers.

All of these innovations can actually bear fruit only with the acceptance of the peasant masses, which poses the problem

244 /14/
242 of training. This is one of the essential preoccupations of
654 the present Sengalese government.

II. The "Trade" of Groundnuts

433 For a century the total volume of production has pro-
244 gressed in spectacular fashion. Actually, no statistics are available at the harvesting stage. Only the commercial figures are known with any accuracy. In any case they differ little from the total figure of production because local consumption seems to be of little importance. It is estimated that the average production of groundnuts from 1900 to 1904 was 123,000 metric tons. The more recent figures are the following: 1938-1939 campaign, 584,000 metric tons; 1942-1943 compaign, 183,000 metric tons; 1943-1944 campaign, 281,000 metric tons; 1957-1958 campaign, 808,000 metric tons; 1958-1959 campaign, 653,000 metric tons; 1959-1960 campaign, 720,000 metric tons.

Except for the period of the war, when the production of
[439] groundnuts, difficult to export, decreased to the profit of that of millet, progress was continuous, the 1957-1958 campaign being exceptionally favorable.

439 This production enters into the circuit of commercialization or "trade," which today is very strictly regulated.

[178] 1. The organization of "trade." The commercialization of the groundnut has replaced the "trade" in gum, slaves, and gold of the former colonial system. Although the term is still often used, its present context is very different from the
439 acceptation of the era of the colonial pact. Trade is no longer,
441 as Littré wished it to be, an exchange trade organized almost
438 exclusively for the benefit of the European "trader"; today it is a commercial activity that is strictly regulated as to time and place and open only to approved intermediaries.

442 1.) The "campaign." "The campaign" is the period
654
438

/14 cont./

442 during which commercial operations in groundnuts are authorized.
654 It is opened and closed each year by governmental decree. In
438 general it begins at the end of November or the beginning of December and closes at the end of April. The date of opening the campaign is set about two months after the beginning of the harvest, in order to avoid premature uprooting and to favor
438 the reimbursement of the seed advanced. This system never-
442 theless leads to some smuggling in the south, because the
[439] navétanes, anxious to return home, and the peasants, without any money, are tempted to sell in Gambia. At the time of the close, the transactions have been over for a long time, but this decision prevents the eventual sale /15/ of the seed distributed by the Mutuelles. In order to have the commodity brought in gradually and to avoid heavy transactions at the beginning of trade, operations are suspended from Friday to Monday. Nevertheless by the end of the month of January nearly all of the harvest has been negotiated.

366 2) The "points of trade." Since 1932 the operations of
442 selling must take place in the localities called points of trade
438 or "escales" located on the railroad or a road (Circular of 13 July 1932). These points of trade, which were 175 in number in 1935, now number more than 300. The limitation, in 1932, on the number of the points of trade was a response to the desire to moderate the rhythm of the selling and to avoid the proliferation of intermediaries. The recent creation of new escales is
[244] devoted to the conquest of new lands and is an attempt to avoid the abuses of cultivation on the lands near the former points of trade.

The accession of a locality to the rank of escale makes
[369] it legally an urban center, with the obligation of division into lots /lotissement/ and, for the merchants, permanent buildings. The campaign is a period of great animation for the escale.
442 The merchants or traders open their bank of purchase or "factory."
437 Traditionally, intermediaries, or "masters of language," conduct
[492] the producer to the factory. The groundnuts, transported by don-
[488] keys and in bags loaned by the trader, are weighed and emptied

19: Pehaut--19 K-4 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 16-17/

Plate I

244
133
[291]

A. Harvested field of groundnuts in Wolof country.

B. The groundnut harvest in Sérère country.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Gambia, often in rotation with ground-nuts. Of the quick-maturing 243
varieties *souna* and *sanio* are the most popular, the former thriving in [262]
sandy soil, the latter in heavier ground. Several kinds of sorghum
are also [illegible] the river area millet is sown where the floods
have [illegible] and is harvested in April. In other parts it is planted
immediately before the rainy season. Production probably averages [433]
about 300,000 tons annually. The export of millet from one province [438]
to another is controlled according to local needs.

Rice. The area flooded by the Casamance is naturally suited for
rice cultivation. The rice-fields are handed down from father to [428]
son, each family growing sufficient for its own consumption and to [262]
pay its taxes. A store of rice is always kept to guard against a lean [251]
year or to be exchanged for some other commodity required.

Sugar-cane. This is grown near every village where there is enough 249
water. No attempt has been made to commercialize the crop, and the
West African varieties are more woody and contain less juice than
those grown elsewhere for export. Sugar-cane (*Saccharum officinarum*)
is a perennial plant of the grass family. It is easy to grow, even near
the sea, but takes at least a year to mature. When grown for local use,
as it is here, sugar is not extracted, but the red or white stems are [263]
chewed.

The Baobab. The baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) is found generally 245
in the thornland (Plate III), and is, therefore, much in evidence in
Senegal. It is remarkable for the large girth of its trunk in com- [262]
parison to its branches and leaves. The long green fruit, known as [263]
monkey-bread, is used as a food or as a seasoner. Boiled with water [272]
and then cooled, it also makes a refreshing drink, while the leaves
and the young shoots are also good to eat. The inner bark yields a [283]
tough fibre, which can be twisted into rope or woven into a water-
proof cloth. About 30 years ago a factory was opened at Dakar to
prepare the fibre for export to rope- and paper-making firms in [288]
France. The bark and fibre can be stripped off without causing the
death of the tree.

Manioc, beans, and maize are grown generally in the vicinity of 244
villages. In the Cape Verde peninsula these, as well as yams, sweet [243]
potatoes, and melons, are grown for the Dakar markets. [438]

Economic Crops

Ground-nuts. Ground-nuts (*Arachis hypogaea*) require a tropical
climate and an annual rainfall of from 14 to 60 inches. They are the [433]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

244 [433] sixth crop of Africa, and 43 per cent. of the total continental production comes from Senegal. The two main groups cultivated are the 'runner' and the 'erect'. The Rufisque and Cayor varieties, both runners, are those grown generally here and also in British West Africa. The method of cultivation is described in Volume I, p. 321. Ground-nuts were originally grown as a staple native crop, but the [439] industrial demand for vegetable oils, coupled with the development of transport facilities, opened up a world market for them. Extra [167] labour for the harvest is provided annually by seasonal immigration from French Sudan, French Guinea, Portuguese Guinea, and the [464] Gambia. In 1938 the number of outside workers was 69,757. Of these, 56,743 w[illegible] to the Kaolack area, between 1,000 and 3,500 to Sedhiou, Ziguinchor, Kolda, Tambacounda, and Diourbel, and the remainder to Thiès and Linguéré.

[258] There are numerous shelling factories. Early in 1939 new ones were opened at Kaolack, Ziguinchor, and Koungheul.

In 1938 nearly 2,000,000 acres were under cultivation and the [654] experimental station at Bambey distributed 5,414 tons of selected seed. In 1939 7,382 tons of seed were sent out, with a corresponding increase in acreage.

[648] During the British blockade of French West Africa after the fall of France in 1940, ground-nuts were converted into fuel oil. If this [388] practice has been proved worth continuing after the war, cultivation may be greatly extended.

248 *Sisal.* Sisal originated in Mexico, being named after the port of Sisal in Yucatan province, and it was introduced into Senegal at the end of the nineteenth century. The species grown are *Agave rigida sisalana*, *A. rigida elongata*, and *A. rigida zapupe*. The rigid leaves containing the fibre are about 4 feet long and are harvested biennially from the fourth to the eighth or tenth year. When a plant has finished producing it shoots up a tall flower stem, with bulbils or buds on the end, and then withers.

283 The preparation of stem and leaf fibres is lengthy. First the fleshy 288 tissue encasing the fibre is scraped away, and then the fibre is washed, hung out to dry, and brushed. It is now ready for grading. Next it is combed into a continuous sliver of untwisted rope. The final process is the drawing and twisting of the sliver to a uniform thinness for spinning into a rope that is particularly resistant to sea-water. The 248 largest plantation is in French Sudan, and stretches for 12 miles along the bank of the Senegal near Kayes. Other smaller ones are in Tambacounda and on the Cape Verde peninsula. There is oppor-

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

tunity for much development in this industry, particularly in the irrigated areas of the Casamance Territory and Sine-Saloum. Europeans own the majority of the plantations, but co-operate with and encourage native growers. During the first quarter of 1939 production in Tambacounda province was 152 tons, and the factory at Kolda treated 165 tons of fibre.

Ginger. The ginger plant (*Zingiber officinale*) is of Asiatic origin, but it has been cultivated in Africa for many centuries. It is grown on a small scale wherever the rainfall is over 30 inches. It does best in a rich soil and requires shade. The ginger of commerce is prepared from the rhizome or underground stem, which is mature when the leaves turn yellow. The best ginger is prepared from immature rhizomes, which are peeled and preserved in sugar syrup, but in West Africa the coarser, mature stems are also used. Chewed ginger is reputed to enhance the stimulating effect of kola.

Pimentos. Several species of *Capsicum* or peppers grow in the Federation. In Senegal the most common are *C. annum* and *C. frutescens*, both bearing red fruits. The former was introduced from South America. It is less pungent and has larger fruits, known as 'capsicums'. *C. frutescens* has hotter fruits, known in commerce as 'chillies'. Cayenne or paprika is the red powder obtained from grounding the fruit. Pepper shrubs are grown from seeds, and after three months bear fruit for at least six months. These red peppers should not be confused with the common pepper, which is a climber and does not grow in West Africa.

Henna. This plant (*Lawsonia inermis*), like sugar-cane, maize, ginger, and castor oil, is grown wherever there is enough water. The plant is much revered by Moslems and often grown as a hedge. The powder of the young, dried leaves is the source of henna dye.

Other Crops. Other products of which small quantities are exported are citrus fruits, gum arabic, shea butter, cotton, kapok, and palm kernels.

Livestock

Livestock are fewer here than in any other colony. Sheep and goats, the latter being the more numerous, are kept near the river between Podor and Bakel and number about 100,000. There are some 310,000 cattle, 50,000 donkeys, 6,000 camels, and 14,000 pigs. These last are mainly kept in the Casamance Territory. There are 36,000 horses. These are of two breeds, the M'Bayar and the M'Par, and

/105 cont./

465 Domestic work is rare and costly. A cook is paid be-
357 tween 200 and 500 francs a month, a houseboy from 100 to 200 francs. These rates are similar to the ones prevailing in Dakar.

463 The native, moreover, is attracted to the cities only
465 by the high wages. Competition does not come into play, as in Europe. There are only rare specialists or artisans. As
[241] for the laborer, most often he prefers to work his field in the countryside or to hire himself out as an agricultural worker for a native employer who will feed him and leave to him a part of the harvest.

In an agricultural region such as Sine-Saloum, the native is primarily a cultivator.

● 244 Navétanes. Each year at the time of groundnut culti-
166 vation, Sine-Saloum gets many native cultivators coming
167 from the east and south (Sudan, Portuguese Guinea, Casamance, Upper Gambia, and even Guineans from Fouta-Djallon).

These immigrants are called "navétanes," from the word "navet," which means "rainy season," because these foreigners arrive shortly before the first storms and leave as soon as they have sold their harvest.

About 10,000 to 15,000 of them come each year. A
244 local custom called "Lâdyino" governs the relations between the
466 foreigner and his employer.

[465] This is a verbal agreement according to which the employer assures his co-covenanter food and lodgings for the period of the work and in addition loans him a particular field.

/106/ The navétane works for his employer every morning, except Monday and Thursday. The rest of the time is left to him for his personal crops. The navétane gets seeds from his landlord.

His work consists of the preparation of the field (lougan), sowing, and weeding.

After the harvest has been gathered, the landlord stops feeding him.

At the time of his departure, the navétane must reim-
[465] burse his employer for the cost of his food, which is fixed by

/106 cont./

244 contract, depending on the region, between 100 and 120
466 francs.
[465] The European agricultural concessions should draw inspiration from this custom. In order to retain a labor force, it would be proper to assure the native food and lodgings and leave a small field at his disposal, while at the same time allowing him a day or two a week to work for himself.

This formula is applied in Latmingué by the Société des plantations, which exerts all its efforts on the cultivation of manioc.

433 Economic facilities. The economic facilities of the circle include ports, railroads, highways, inland waterways, and a telegraph, telephone, and postal network.

504 Ports. These are river ports where the tide permits ocean-going steamers, not exceeding a certain tonnage, however, to conduct their operations along the wharves or landings built along the steep banks.

The Saloum has two ports of this type: Kaolack and Foundiougne.

The Sine has one port, Niamnioro.

The Miniminian, an affluent of the Gambia, has one port, Saboya.

On the Saloum, between Foundiougne and Kaolack, two more embarkation points are visited: Kamatane, included in the concession of MM. Civrac frères (left bank), and Lyndiane, included in the concession of the Société des Anciens Etablissements Charles Peyrissac et Cie. (right bank).

On all of the other channels or marigots /107/ embarkation and debarkation points -- with wharves -- accessible only to cutters with a tonnage between 25 to 50 tons have been installed. These cutters make the transit and carry their cargo to the big ports of Kaolack, Foundiougne, and Niamnioroh.

Over the past several years, Kaolack has become an important embarkation and debarkation point. It is also the
[496] natural port of the French Sudan because it has the advantage of being linked to this colony by a branch which connects it

23: Aujas--29 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37
SINE-SALOUM

/117/

Total Traffic for the Circle
(Kaolack, Foundiougne, Saboya)

505

Periods	Tonnage Unloaded	Tonnage Loaded	Tonnage Unloaded and Loaded
1909-1913	12,076 t.	49,189 t.	61, 265 t.
1914-1918	12,333	70,767	83,100
1919-1923	17,438	99,803	117,241
1924	42,288	139,712	182,000
1925	64,668	182,277	246,945
1926	71,964	209,446	281,410
1927	71,237	200,393	271,630

433 The tonnage decreased by about 10,000 tons in 1927,
505 but this was solely due to the fact that the groundnut harvest was slightly deficient as a consequence of an overabundance of rain. On the whole, one can say that there has been constant and uninterrupted progress since the pre-war period. The announcement of this figure indicates the flourishing situation of the region of Sine-Saloum.

433 In 1927 the total value of imports and exports for the
439 circle amounted to 454 million francs, 330 million of which were for Kaolack. With what left by way of the small customs stations along the border with Gambia, one can acknowledge that the value of general commerce in 1927 was almost 500 million, or almost a third of the total commerce of the colony of Senegal, which in 1927 amounted to 1 billion 562 million.

These figures speak for themselves.

Agricultural Resources of the Region: Crops

244 The principal crop of Sine-Saloum is the groundnut.
433 This plant is cultivated everywhere, but the best lands are
[134] in Sine and north of the railroad. The lands of Bas-Saloum

/117 cont./

244 493 are much less suitable for this crop because of their composition which gives a certain acidity to the nuts, thus rendering [134 242] them less suitable for industrial use in /118/ the production of fine oils. There have been attempts to correct this defect and to improve the quality of Bas-Saloum by means of seed selection and by the continued addition of seed from Sine; this has not yet been successful.

Fallow lands, however, are not lacking in the other regions of the circle.

There are 230,000 hectares planted in groundnuts. This figure represents 0.85 hectares per inhabitant. This is about 1/11 of the total area of the circle.

In 1914 this crop extended over 70,000 hectares. It has thus tripled.

The production, which was 75,000 tons in 1918, is about 140,000 tons today. It has doubled in 10 years. It amounts to almost a third of the harvest of Senegal.

One can determine the production of groundnuts in the circle since 1921 by the following figures (in tons):

Years	1921	1922	1923	1924
Tons	80,000	90,000	110,000	125,000
Years	1925	1926	1927	
Tons	135,000	145,000	140,000	

[167 242] These results are due in part to the increase in the population by the influx of foreign workers into the circle, who came to settle there or who hire themselves out, and in part to the selection of seeds and their distribution in ever increasing quantities.

[654 441 474] The credit for this work is to be given to the administration, the Société de Prevoyance /Welfare Society/, and the Chambre de Commerce of Kaolack, whose combined efforts have made it possible to achieve such a fine result.

/118 cont./

244 433 242 There is no doubt, however, that the yield per hectare is diminishing and that on much of the land today it is no more than 500-600 kilograms per hectare, instead of the 700-800 kilograms, and even 900, as has been seen sometimes in Sine. The land is becoming exhausted as a result of the lack of fertilizer and the absence of crop rotation. Two other factors likewise come into play: the too primitive native methods of cultivation and the inadequate selection of seeds. The native cultivator continues to work his land with the [412] hilaire, a kind /Pl. II appears here/ /119/ of spade with which he contents himself with scratching the soil. He thus reduces his work too much; he does his dressings badly or inadequately.

It has been demonstrated by the experiments made by the Compagnie française de l'Afrique Occidentale at Latmingué that with mechanical farm implements one could easily double the yield per hectare. On newly cleared land and with these methods, the yield has never been less than 1,000 kilograms and at times has reached 1,500 kilograms per hectare. It is necessary to persuade the native that he will profit by working the land with a little better equipment. The agricultural [654] services are working at this, and it is to be hoped that the more modern cultivation methods will double the yield. This is a critical problem.

243 433 Millet. Millet is likewise a crop on the road to progress. The types cultivated are: small and great millet, or, according to their native names, souna, sanio, bassi, fehla.

In 1927, the cultivated area was 240,000 hectares, with a total production of 119,000 tons, a little more than the needs of the population. In 1925, for a production of 80,000 tons, the population had sowed 210,000 hectares. The surplus production is consumed in the regions bordering Sine-Saloum.

Rice. Different varieties of rice are cultivated, especially in Sine and Bas-Saloum, where the annual rainfall is greater and where the soil is suitable for this crop. One can estimate that 15,000 hectares are planted to rice with a total

/119 cont./

433 production of about 14,000 tons, which are entirely con-
[243] sumed on the spot.

[244] Manioc. Manioc is the crop grown in some plantings
[474] around the villages. The native Société de Prevoyance distributed many cuttings in most of the cantons in 1925.

About 5,000 hectares are planted to manioc, with a production of 25,000 tons of fresh manioc.

[243] /120/ Maize. Maize is not planted everywhere. It is cultivated in Bas-Saloum and in Sine, a little in Saloum. There are 2,000 hectares of maize and 2,000 tons of production.

[244] Beans (niébés). The bean called "niébé" is planted on about 15,000 hectares, yielding a harvest of 7,000 tons.

Production, however, remains stationary, because the plant is attacked by various insects (weevils).

[245] Bananas. Two banana plantations, established by the
[654] administration, exist at Sangako and Bani in Bas-Saloum. They could be multiplied in this region.

[249] Sugar cane. This product is not cultivated very much -- the soil is not suitable -- with rare exceptions.

[248] Cotton. Native cotton is cultivated only in small stretches. This crop takes up 700 hectares of land.

[249] Indigo. The region that is the principal producer of indigo is Bas-Saloum. This crop has tended to increase for the past several years.

[314] Kapok. The kapok tree lives in the wild state. There are some in the cantons along the railroad (N'Gahaye-Gossas), but especially to the south, starting at Kaffrine and above all in Koungheul. The native does not harvest it or harvests it poorly. The circle could yield 100 tons of kapok, but it provides only 20 tons at the most, used locally or sold abroad.

/120 cont./

433 Truck gardening. Truck gardens exist in the major
244 centers. This is still, however, a European crop, the native
242 consuming very little of our vegetables.

An experimental garden, or rather a nursery, was set up in Kaolack about 20 years ago. This nursery provided many tree plants for the Europeans and natives (eucalyptus, mimosa, flamboyants, Gambia, mahogany, silk-cotton trees, orange trees, lemon trees, and guava trees).

[648] /121/ European crops. Concessions. No agricultural colonization has been undertaken by Europeans, except at Latmingué.

In 1920, the Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale requested a concession of 200 hectares at Latmingué, 20 kilometers southeast of Kaolack, very near the Saloum, in order to conduct experiments on the mechanical cultivation of groundnuts. Improvements were made for four years. Improved agricultural equipment was used (tractors, gang plows, mechanical seeders, pulverizers, harrow-plows, and pickers). The tests made it possible to get an idea of the advantages of mechanical cultivation of the groundnut. The shortage of manpower, however, was an obstacle to extending the cultivation. The Compagnie Française abandoned this concession, which was recovered and expanded by the Société des Plantations of Latmingué, which now exploits it. The latter cultivates manioc exclusively. It has already cleared 200 hectares and planted 270 hectares in manioc. It is trying to cultivate this plant annually in nine months instead of 18. This development should be watched with interest. The needs of the mother country for manioc are considerable, and Senegal would find there another source of economic prosperity.

233 Animal husbandry. Pasturage is abundant, especially during the rainy season. It is sufficient to raise large herds of cattle, sheep, horses, and donkeys. Epidemics, however, decimate the cattle, which vary between 250,000 and 300,000 heads. During the dry season, the problem of animal fodder is doubled by the difficulty of finding water for the

/126 cont./

874 young people are inclined to seek our courses which prepare
461 them for officialdom. The elite wishes to be instructed doctorally. It disdains manual trades. It is this state of mind that must be changed. Craftmanship is dying out. The governor of Senegal, under the over-all supervision of the governor-general, has understood this. The vocational courses in the capital of the colony, Saint-Louis, have been revised and improved. Agricultural schools have been established. More must be done. It is necessary to add a vocational workshop to each regional school and even to some of the primary schools. The child should become familiar -- before leaving school -- with the handling of the hammer, the chisel, and the plane; he should know how to use a shovel, spade, and rake. All of these skills should be lifted up out of disrepute, which has no reason for existing. Manual work must be put on an equal footing with intellectual work. We need good workers even more than good writers.

/127/ It is the duty of the administration to prepare the younger generation for the task that awaits them.

654 Agricultural mutuality. The Société de Prevoyance.
474 Within this order of ideas, and in order to develop a spirit of mutuality and a sense of foresight among the natives, the
● 244 administration has created, like Algeria, native welfare and mutual loan societies. A society of this type has been operating in Sine-Saloum for many years. Its founding goes back to 1907. Its beginnings were modest. At first it brought together 718 cultivators. By 1910, the number of members of the society reached the figure of 1,567. This was still very few. The idea had borne fruit, however. The administration soon brought in the majority and then the totality of the cultivators.

[652] In July 1907, at its founding, the governor of Senegal put at the disposal of the administrator of the circle the sum of 20,000 francs in order to promote this effort for mutuality.

Thanks to this advance, 99,700 kilograms of groundnut seed was loaned to the 718 first adherents, who returned them in kind after the harvest with an interest of 30%.

/127 cont./

From 1907 to 1910, storehouses were built to shelter the seeds. In 1910, these storehouses were multiplied in order to be more within the reach of the borrowers. On December 6, 1910, a decree of the governor of Senegal approved the definitive statutes of this society. The latter, on the basis of the experience of several years, have just been supplemented and revised.

654 474 244 [251]

The society of Sine-Saloum has 19 sections distributed throughout the circle.

As early as 1911 it had 160,000 members, and its cash on hand amounted to 139,499 francs. Its storehouse stock was 317 tons of selected seed.

Today, the society has property valued at more than 1 million. It has an annual income and expenditure budget of 5 million, including the value of the seeds which it keeps /128/ in its storehouses for the loans that it grants to its members for reimbursement in kind.

Since it demands an interest of 20%, it very rapidly increases its stock of seed. Thus, in 1928 it was holding more than 5,000 tons of seed. By 1929, it will have 7,000 tons. This is the precious guarantee for a fruitful harvest.

[242] Because all of this seed is carefully selected by the native chiefs under the control of the administrator, with methodical rigor. Although some chiefs are less strict in the selection, the majority understand their role. In the cantons of Diokoul Gandiaye, Kahone, Birkelane, and in those of Sine, Sokone, Sanghako, Koungheul, and Kaffrine, the seeds are sorted one by one, and only the shells with two nuts are accepted.

The cultivator quickly yields to these requirements, because he has recognized the necessity for them.

These loans are made in the month of June, before sowing time. They are repayable in kind in the month of December, after the harvest, with an interest of 20%, the said interest likewise payable in kind.

No defaults have been reported. The loans are for two hectoliters per cultivator.

/128 cont./

654 474 In order to enjoy these advantages the society member pays an assessment of one franc per year.

● 244 [731] He can also request and obtain loans of food, rice, or millet, if he is justified by a case of great necessity: scarcity as a result of an unfortunate or calamitous event.

[426] Finally, since last year, he has been able to obtain loans in money on the condition of certain guarantees. These loans are granted for cultivation, and also for the improvement of his agricultural equipment, or for starting or enlarging his herd. These loans may amount to as much as 5,000 francs and are to be paid back within several years.

654 474 In 1927, the members numbered 240,000.

The society has 30 storehouses, more than half of which are built out of permanent materials: laterite stones or cement.

[251] [343] [312] /129/ It has utilized its resources to make wells out of reinforced concrete in order to procure for the inhabitants the potable water necessary for their needs and for the needs of their animals.

It gives bonuses to the cultivators who exhibit the best harvests. It also awards bonuses for the capture of animals harmful to agriculture.

The work accomplished is remarkable.

[244] The increase in the production of groundnuts in the circle is due to the Société de Prévoyance, under the control of the administration.

In it, commerce has a valuable organization whose usefulness it recognizes and whose incontestable and uncontested services it moreover appreciates.

312 The water problem. Wells. The serious question of water presents itself in the circle as it does everywhere in Senegal. The economic life of the region depends on the water supply of its inhabitants.

In order to prevent the danger of a water shortage, it has been necessary to dig wells. The séanes, natural reservoirs or pockets dug by man, were too small in number. They received rain water, but their volume was limited, and a few weeks sufficed to empty them after the last rainfall.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Gambia, often in rotation with ground-nuts. Of the quick-maturing 243
varieties *souna* and *sanio* are the most popular, the former thriving in [262]
sandy soil, the latter in heavier ground. Several kinds of sorghum are also cultivated. In the river area millet is sown where the floods have subsided and is harvested in April. In other parts it is planted immediately before the rainy season. Production probably averages [433]
about 300,000 tons annually. The export of millet from one province [438]
to another is controlled according to local needs.

Rice. The area flooded by the Casámance is naturally suited for rice cultivation. The rice-fields are handed down from father to [428]
son, each family growing sufficient for its own consumption and to [262]
pay its taxes. A store of rice is always kept to guard against a lean [251]
year or to be exchanged for some other commodity required.

Sugar-cane. This is grown near every village where there is enough 249
water. No attempt has been made to commercialize the crop, and the West African varieties are more woody and contain less juice than those grown elsewhere for export. Sugar-cane (*Saccharum officinarum*) is a perennial plant of the grass family. It is easy to grow, even near the sea, but takes at least a year to mature. When grown for local use, as it is here, sugar is not extracted, but the red or white stems are [263]
chewed.

The Baobab. The baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) is found generally 245
in the thornland (Plate III), and is, therefore, much in evidence in Senegal. It is remarkable for the large girth of its trunk in com- [262]
parison to its branches and leaves. The long green fruit, known as [263]
monkey-bread, is used as a food or as a seasoner. Boiled with water [277]
and then cooled, it also makes a refreshing drink, while the leaves and the young shoots are also good to eat. The inner bark yields a [283]
tough fibre, which can be twisted into rope or woven into a water-proof cloth. About 30 years ago a factory was opened at Dakar to prepare the fibre for export to rope- and paper-making firms in [288]
France. The bark and fibre can be stripped off without causing the death of the tree.

Manioc, beans, and maize are grown generally in the vicinity of 244
villages. In the Cape Verde peninsula these, as well as yams, sweet [243]
potatoes, and melons, are grown for the Dakar markets. [438]

Economic Crops

Ground-nuts. Ground-nuts (*Arachis hypogaea*) require a tropical climate and an annual rainfall of from 14 to 60 inches. They are the [433]

/119 cont./
433 production of about 14,000 tons, which are entirely con-
[243] sumed on the spot.

[244] Manioc. Manioc is the crop grown in some plantings
[474] around the villages. The native Société de Prevoyance distributed many cuttings in most of the cantons in 1925.

About 5,000 hectares are planted to manioc, with a production of 25,000 tons of fresh manioc.

[243] /120/ Maize. Maize is not planted everywhere. It is cultivated in Bas-Saloum and in Sine, a little in Saloum. There are 2,000 hectares of maize and 2,000 tons of production.

[244] Beans (niébés). The bean called "niébé" is planted on about 15,000 hectares, yielding a harvest of 7,000 tons.

Production, however, remains stationary, because the plant is attacked by various insects (weevils).

[245
654] Bananas. Two banana plantations, established by the administration, exist at Sangako and Bani in Bas-Saloum. They could be multiplied in this region.

[249] Sugar cane. This product is not cultivated very much -- the soil is not suitable -- with rare exceptions.

[248] Cotton. Native cotton is cultivated only in small stretches. This crop takes up 700 hectares of land.

[249] Indigo. The region that is the principal producer of indigo is Bas-Saloum. This crop has tended to increase for the past several years.

[314] Kapok. The kapok tree lives in the wild state. There are some in the cantons along the railroad (N'Gahaye-Gossas), but especially to the south, starting at Kaffrine and above all in Koungheul. The native does not harvest it or harvests it poorly. The circle could yield 100 tons of kapok, but it provides only 20 tons at the most, used locally or sold abroad.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

36 towns as Boutilimit and Aleg. There is also a track that runs south-
[491] south-westwards to Yang-Yang. For half the year there is a bus
[494] service twice a week to St. Louis in one direction and to Kidira in the other. 1/1

[131] [162] TAMBACOUNDA (13° 45′; 13° 39′ W.). Altitude, 148 feet. Population, c. 4,000. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Hotel. Garage.

On a slight eminence above a marshy tributary of the Sandougou,
[491] Tambacounda is of considerable importance as a route centre. It
[496] is not only a road junction but also the most southerly point in Senegal of the Dakar–Niger railway. Near the town is a sisal
[248] plantation.

The hotel is open only from December to May.

By rail Tambacounda is 285 miles from Dakar, 111 miles from
[496] Kidira, and 170½ miles from Kayes. One intercolonial road runs
[491] westwards to Kaolack (188 miles), Thiès (295 miles), and Dakar (339 miles); another north-eastwards to Nayes (121 miles) and Kayes (176 miles); and a third southwards to Diabougou (25 miles) and ultimately to Labé (288 miles). Before the war Tambacounda was
[509] connected to Dakar and Bamako by a weekly air service operated by Air France.

[131] [162] THIÈS (14° 49′; 16° 52′ W.). Altitude, 207 feet. Population, 15,451. Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Regional School.
[797] Roman Catholic mission. Power station. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops. Cinemas. Daily market.

Since the opening of the railway in 1885 Thiès has grown from a collection of native huts to a large town. The railway workshops
[498] employ many hundreds of men, and the market handles considerable
[438] quantities of ground-nuts. The town has been built on a slope that declines gently east and north-east to a small stream. The old Fort Faidherbe is still standing, and there is a big Roman Catholic church.

Communications. Thiès is a railway junction, being 43½ miles
[496] from Dakar, 119½ miles from St. Louis, and 352½ miles from Kidira.
[491] It is also a meeting-place of intercolonial roads. One of these comes from Dakar (44 miles) and goes on to St. Louis (124 miles), while the other branches east to Kaolack (107 miles), Nayes (416 miles), and Kayes (471 miles). There are several minor roads, notably one going
[494] south to M'Bour. Along this road there is a regular bus service, with two buses each weekday in either direction.

1/1 [From The Town of Podor-- Analyst]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

244 [233] sixth crop of Africa, and 43 per cent. of the total continental production comes from Senegal. The two main groups cultivated are the 'runner' and the 'erect'. The Rufisque and Cayor varieties, both runners, are those grown generally here and also in British West Africa. The method of cultivation is described in Volume I, p. 321. Ground-nuts were originally grown as a staple native crop, but the [439] industrial demand for vegetable oils, coupled with the development of transport facilities, opened up a world market for them. Extra [167] labour for the harvest is provided annually by seasonal immigration [464] from French Sudan, French Guinea, Portuguese Guinea, and the Gambia. In 1938 the number of outside workers was 69,757. Of these, 56,743 went to the Kaolack area, between 1,000 and 3,500 to Sedhiou, Ziguinchor, Kolda, Tambacounda, and Diourbel, and the remainder to Thiès and Linguéré.

[258] There are numerous shelling factories. Early in 1939 new ones were opened at Kaolack, Ziguinchor, and Koungheul.

In 1938 nearly 2,000,000 acres were under cultivation and the [654] experimental station at Bambey distributed 5,414 tons of selected seed. In 1939 7,382 tons of seed were sent out, with a corresponding increase in acreage.

[648] During the British blockade of French West Africa after the fall of [388] France in 1940, ground-nuts were converted into fuel oil. If this practice has been proved worth continuing after the war, cultivation may be greatly extended.

248 *Sisal.* Sisal originated in Mexico, being named after the port of Sisal in Yucatan province, and it was introduced into Senegal at the end of the nineteenth century. The species grown are *Agave rigida sisalana*, *A. rigida elongata*, and *A. rigida zapupe*. The rigid leaves containing the fibre are about 4 feet long and are harvested biennially from the fourth to the eighth or tenth year. When a plant has finished producing it shoots up a tall flower stem, with bulbils or buds on the end, and then withers.

283 The preparation of stem and leaf fibres is lengthy. First the fleshy 288 tissue encasing the fibre is scraped away, and then the fibre is washed, hung out to dry, and brushed. It is now ready for grading. Next it is combed into a continuous sliver of untwisted rope. The final process is the drawing and twisting of the sliver to a uniform thinness for spinning into a rope that is particularly resistant to sea-water. The 248 largest plantation is in French Sudan, and stretches for 12 miles along the bank of the Senegal near Kayes. Other smaller ones are in Tambaccounda and on the Cape Verde peninsula. There is oppor-

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

tunity for much development in this industry, particularly in the irrigated areas of the Casamance Territory and Sine-Saloum. Europeans own the majority of the plantations, but co-operate with and encourage native growers. During the first quarter of 1939 production in Tambacounda province was 152 tons, and the factory at Kolda treated 165 tons of fibre.

Ginger. The ginger plant (*Zingiber officinale*) is of Asiatic origin, but it has been cultivated in Africa for many centuries. It is grown on a small scale wherever the rainfall is over 30 inches. It does best in a rich soil and requires shade. The ginger of commerce is prepared from the rhizome or underground stem, which is mature when the leaves turn yellow. The best ginger is prepared from immature rhizomes, which are peeled and preserved in sugar syrup, but in West Africa the coarser, mature stems are also used. Chewed ginger is reputed to enhance the stimulating effect of kola.

Pimentos. Several species of *Capsicum* or peppers grow in the Federation. In Senegal the most common are *C. annum* and *C. frutescens*, both bearing red fruits. The former was introduced from South America. It is less pungent and has larger fruits, known as 'capsicums'. *C. frutescens* has hotter fruits, known in commerce as 'chillies'. Cayenne or paprika is the red powder obtained from grounding the fruit. Pepper shrubs are grown from seeds, and after three months bear fruit for at least six months. These red peppers should not be confused with the common pepper, which is a climber and does not grow in West Africa.

Henna. This plant (*Lawsonia inermis*), like sugar-cane, maize, ginger, and castor oil, is grown wherever there is enough water. The plant is much revered by Moslems and often grown as a hedge. The powder of the young, dried leaves is the source of henna dye.

Other Crops. Other products of which small quantities are exported are citrus fruits, gum arabic, shea butter, cotton, kapok, and palm kernels.

Livestock

Livestock are fewer here than in any other colony. Sheep and goats, the latter being the more numerous, are kept near the river between Podor and Bakel and number about 100,000. There are some 310,000 cattle, 50,000 donkeys, 6,000 camels, and 14,000 pigs. These last are mainly kept in the Casamance Territory. There are 36,000 horses. These are of two breeds, the M'Bayar and the M'Par, and

/119 cont./

433 production of about 14,000 tons, which are entirely con-
[243] sumed on the spot.

[244] Manioc. Manioc is the crop grown in some plantings
[474] around the villages. The native Société de Prevoyance distributed many cuttings in most of the cantons in 1925.

About 5,000 hectares are planted to manioc, with a production of 25,000 tons of fresh manioc.

[243] /120/ Maize. Maize is not planted everywhere. It is cultivated in Bas-Saloum and in Sine, a little in Saloum. There are 2,000 hectares of maize and 2,000 tons of production.

[244] Beans (niébés). The bean called "niébé" is planted on about 15,000 hectares, yielding a harvest of 7,000 tons.

Production, however, remains stationary, because the plant is attacked by various insects (weevils).

[245] Bananas. Two banana plantations, established by the
[654] administration, exist at Sangako and Bani in Bas-Saloum. They could be multiplied in this region.

[249] Sugar cane. This product is not cultivated very much -- the soil is not suitable -- with rare exceptions.

[248] Cotton. Native cotton is cultivated only in small stretches. This crop takes up 700 hectares of land.

[249] Indigo. The region that is the principal producer of indigo is Bas-Saloum. This crop has tended to increase for the past several years.

[314] Kapok. The kapok tree lives in the wild state. There are some in the cantons along the railroad (N'Gahaye-Gossas), but especially to the south, starting at Kaffrine and above all in Koungheul. The native does not harvest it or harvests it poorly. The circle could yield 100 tons of kapok, but it provides only 20 tons at the most, used locally or sold abroad.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Gambia, often in rotation with ground-nuts. Of the quick-maturing 243
varieties *souna* and *sanio* are the most popular, the former thriving in [262]
sandy soil, the latter in heavier ground. Several kinds of sorghum are also cultivated. In the river area millet is sown where the floods have subsided and is harvested in April. In other parts it is planted immediately before the rainy season. Production probably averages [433]
about 300,000 tons annually. The export of millet from one province [438]
to another is controlled according to local needs.

Rice. The area flooded by the Casamance is naturally suited for rice cultivation. The rice-fields are handed down from father to [428]
son, each family growing sufficient for its own consumption and to [262]
pay its taxes. A store of rice is always kept to guard against a lean [251]
year or to be exchanged for some other commodity required.

Sugar-cane. This is grown near every village where there is enough 249
water. No attempt has been made to commercialize the crop, and the West African varieties are more woody and contain less juice than those grown elsewhere for export. Sugar-cane (*Saccharum officinarum*) is a perennial plant of the grass family. It is easy to grow, even near the sea, but takes at least a year to mature. When grown for local use, as it is here, sugar is not extracted, but the red or white stems are [263]
chewed.

The Baobab. The baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) is found generally 245
in the thornland (Plate III), and is therefore, much in evidence in Senegal. It is remarkable for the large girth of its trunk in com- [262]
parison to its branches and leaves. The long green fruit, known as [263]
monkey-bread, is used as a food or as a seasoner. Boiled with water [272]
and then cooled, it also makes a refreshing drink, while the leaves [283]
and the young shoots are also good to eat. The inner bark yields a tough fibre, which can be twisted into rope or woven into a water-proof cloth. About 30 years ago a factory was opened at Dakar to prepare the fibre for export to rope- and paper-making firms in [288]
France. The bark and fibre can be stripped off without causing the death of the tree.

Manioc, beans, and maize are grown generally in the vicinity of 244
villages. In the Cape Verde peninsula these, as well as yams, sweet [293]
potatoes, and melons, are grown for the Dakar markets. [438]

Economic Crops

Ground-nuts. Ground-nuts (*Arachis hypogaea*) require a tropical [433]
climate and an annual rainfall of from 14 to 60 inches. They are the

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

tunity for much development in this industry, particularly in the irrigated areas of the Casamance Territory and Sine-Saloum. Europeans own the majority of the plantations, but co-operate with and encourage native growers. During the first quarter of 1939 production in Tambacounda province was 152 tons, and the factory at Kolda treated 165 tons of fibre.

Ginger. The ginger plant (*Zingiber officinale*) is of Asiatic origin, but it has been cultivated in Africa for many centuries. It is grown on a small scale wherever the rainfall is over 30 inches. It does best in a rich soil and requires shade. The ginger of commerce is prepared from the rhizome or underground stem, which is mature when the leaves turn yellow. The best ginger is prepared from immature rhizomes, which are peeled and preserved in sugar syrup, but in West Africa the coarser, mature stems are also used. Chewed ginger is reputed to enhance the stimulating effect of kola.

Pimentos. Several species of *Capsicum* or peppers grow in the Federation. In Senegal the most common are *C. annum* and *C. frutescens*, both bearing red fruits. The former was introduced from South America. It is less pungent and has larger fruits, known as 'capsicums'. *C. frutescens* has hotter fruits, known in commerce as 'chillies'. Cayenne or paprika is the red powder obtained from grounding the fruit. Pepper shrubs are grown from seeds, and after three months bear fruit for at least six months. These red peppers should not be confused with the common pepper, which is a climber and does not grow in West Africa.

Henna. This plant (*Lawsonia inermis*), like sugar-cane, maize, ginger, and castor oil, is grown wherever there is enough water. The plant is much revered by Moslems and often grown as a hedge. The powder of the young, dried leaves is the source of henna dye.

Other Crops. Other products of which small quantities are exported are citrus fruits, gum arabic, shea butter, cotton, kapok, and palm kernels.

Livestock

Livestock are fewer here than in any other colony. Sheep and goats, the latter being the more numerous, are kept near the river between Podor and Bakel and number about 100,000. There are some 310,000 cattle, 50,000 donkeys, 6,000 camels, and 14,000 pigs. These last are mainly kept in the Casamance Territory. There are 36,000 horses. These are of two breeds, the M'Bayar and the M'Par, and

/119 cont./

433 production of about 14,000 tons, which are entirely con-
[243] sumed on the spot.

[244] Manioc. Manioc is the crop grown in some plantings
[474] around the villages. The native Société de Prevoyance distributed many cuttings in most of the cantons in 1925.

About 5,000 hectares are planted to manioc, with a production of 25,000 tons of fresh manioc.

[243] /120/ Maize. Maize is not planted everywhere. It is cultivated in Bas-Saloum and in Sine, a little in Saloum. There are 2,000 hectares of maize and 2,000 tons of production.

[244] Beans (niébés). The bean called "niébé" is planted on about 15,000 hectares, yielding a harvest of 7,000 tons.

Production, however, remains stationary, because the plant is attacked by various insects (weevils).

[245] Bananas. Two banana plantations, established by the
[654] administration, exist at Sangako and Bani in Bas-Saloum. They could be multiplied in this region.

[249] Sugar cane. This product is not cultivated very much -- the soil is not suitable -- with rare exceptions.

[248] Cotton. Native cotton is cultivated only in small stretches. This crop takes up 700 hectares of land.

[249] Indigo. The region that is the principal producer of indigo is Bas-Saloum. This crop has tended to increase for the past several years.

[314] Kapok. The kapok tree lives in the wild state. There are some in the cantons along the railroad (N'Gahaye-Gossas), but especially to the south, starting at Kaffrine and above all in Koungheul. The native does not harvest it or harvests it poorly. The circle could yield 100 tons of kapok, but it provides only 20 tons at the most, used locally or sold abroad.

/83 cont./

3. The Activities of the City

1. Commerce.

433 If we except the period of conquest, during which a handful of troops established themselves in the entrenched camp, the primary function of Thiès was commerce.

441 An escale of trade in its beginnings, Thiès has remained that up to our times. Almost 25,000 tons of groundnuts are commercialized each year in spite of the opening of important points of trade in the vicinity, Tivaouane, Khombole, located some 30 kilometers from there. This commerce demands a certain taste for risk; if in certain years it offers appreciable profits, it sometimes renders the balance sheet of the merchants who practice it very precarious. The groundnut trade, as far as purchase from the producer is concerned, is almost entirely in the hands of the Levantines and a few Moors and Blacks. The important establishments, N. O. S. O. C. O. (8) and the Soucail firm,

433

[563] [442]

8. N. O. S. O. C. O. Nouvelle Société Commerciale.

engage only in wholesale trade.

443 The factorerie run by a Levantine (9) next to the

[162] [563]

9. The Levantines are 48 in number, namely, 23 Syrians and 25 Lebanese (figures of 1952).

courtyard of the secco (10) has kept all its picturesqueness

[257]

10. Secco: mass of groundnuts stored in the courtyard of the merchant and destined for export.

[438] up to our day. /84/ Everything is sold there, from the piece of trade cloth in vivid colors to cheap perfume; kerosene by the liter and millet by the kilo or sack are retailed there.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Gambia, often in rotation with ground-nuts. Of the quick-maturing 243
varieties *souna* and *sanio* are the most popular, the former thriving in [262]
sandy soil, the latter in heavier ground. Several kinds of sorghum are also cultivated. In the river area millet is sown where the floods have subsided and is harvested in April. In other parts it is planted immediately before the rainy season. Production probably averages [433]
about 300,000 tons annually. The export of millet from one province [438]
to another is controlled according to local needs.

Rice. The area flooded by the Casamance is naturally suited for rice cultivation. The rice-fields are handed down from father to [428]
son, each family growing sufficient for its own consumption and to [262]
pay its taxes. A store of rice is always kept to guard against a lean [251]
year or to be exchanged for some other commodity required.

Sugar-cane. This is grown near every village where there is enough 249
water. No attempt has been made to commercialize the crop, and the West African varieties are more woody and contain less juice than those grown elsewhere for export. Sugar-cane (*Saccharum officinarum*) is a perennial plant of the grass family. It is easy to grow, even near the sea, but takes at least a year to mature. When grown for local use, as it is here, sugar is not extracted, but the red or white stems are [263]
chewed.

The Baobab. The baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) is found generally 245
in the thornland (Plate III), and is, therefore, much in evidence in Senegal. It is remarkable for the large girth of its trunk in comparison to its branches and leaves. The long green fruit, known as [262]
monkey-bread, is used as a food or as a seasoner. Boiled with water [263]
and then cooled, it also makes a refreshing drink, while the leaves [272]
and the young shoots are also good to eat. The inner bark yields a [283]
tough fibre, which can be twisted into rope or woven into a waterproof cloth. About 30 years ago a factory was opened at Dakar to prepare the fibre for export to rope- and paper-making firms in [288]
France. The bark and fibre can be stripped off without causing the death of the tree.

Manioc, beans, and maize are grown generally in the vicinity of 244
villages. In the Cape Verde peninsula these, as well as yams, sweet [243]
potatoes, and melons, are grown for the Dakar markets. [438]

Economic Crops

Ground-nuts. Ground-nuts (*Arachis hypogaea*) require a tropical [433]
climate and an annual rainfall of from 14 to 60 inches. They are the

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

tunity for much development in this industry, particularly in the irrigated areas of the Casamance Territory and Sine-Saloum. Europeans own the majority of the plantations, but co-operate with and encourage native growers. During the first quarter of 1939 production in Tambacounda province was 152 tons, and the factory at Kolda treated 165 tons of fibre.

Ginger. The ginger plant (*Zingiber officinale*) is of Asiatic origin, but it has been cultivated in Africa for many centuries. It is grown on a small scale wherever the rainfall is over 30 inches. It does best in a rich soil and requires shade. The ginger of commerce is prepared from the rhizome or underground stem, which is mature when the leaves turn yellow. The best ginger is prepared from immature rhizomes, which are peeled and preserved in sugar syrup, but in West Africa the coarser, mature stems are also used. Chewed ginger is reputed to enhance the stimulating effect of kola.

Pimentos. Several species of *Capsicum* or peppers grow in the Federation. In Senegal the most common are *C. annum* and *C. frutescens*, both bearing red fruits. The former was introduced from South America. It is less pungent and has larger fruits, known as 'capsicums'. *C. frutescens* has hotter fruits, known in commerce as 'chillies'. Cayenne or paprika is the red powder obtained from grounding the fruit. Pepper shrubs are grown from seeds, and after three months bear fruit for at least six months. These red peppers should not be confused with the common pepper, which is a climber and does not grow in West Africa.

Henna. This plant (*Lawsonia inermis*), like sugar-cane, maize, ginger, and castor oil, is grown wherever there is enough water. The plant is much revered by Moslems and often grown as a hedge. The powder of the young, dried leaves is the source of henna dye.

Other Crops. Other products of which small quantities are exported are citrus fruits, gum arabic, shea butter, cotton, kapok, and palm kernels.

Livestock

Livestock are fewer here than in any other colony. Sheep and goats, the latter being the more numerous, are kept near the river between Podor and Bakel and number about 100,000. There are some 310,000 cattle, 50,000 donkeys, 6,000 camels, and 14,000 pigs. These last are mainly kept in the Casamance Territory. There are 36,000 horses. These are of two breeds, the M'Bayar and the M'Par, and

/127 cont./

654 From 1907 to 1910, storehouses were built to shelter the
474 seeds. In 1910, these storehouses were multiplied in order
244 to be more within the reach of the borrowers. On December 6,
[251] 1910, a decree of the governor of Senegal approved the definitive statutes of this society. The latter, on the basis of the experience of several years, have just been supplemented and revised.

The society of Sine-Saloum has 19 sections distributed throughout the circle.

As early as 1911 it had 160,000 members, and its cash on hand amounted to 139,499 francs. Its storehouse stock was 317 tons of selected seed.

Today, the society has property valued at more than 1 million. It has an annual income and expenditure budget of 5 million, including the value of the seeds which it keeps /128/ in its storehouses for the loans that it grants to its members for reimbursement in kind.

Since it demands an interest of 20%, it very rapidly increases its stock of seed. Thus, in 1928 it was holding more than 5,000 tons of seed. By 1929, it will have 7,000 tons. This is the precious guarantee for a fruitful harvest.

[242] Because all of this seed is carefully selected by the native chiefs under the control of the administrator, with methodical rigor. Although some chiefs are less strict in the selection, the majority understand their role. In the cantons of Diokoul Gandiaye, Kahone, Birkelane, and in those of Sine, Sokone, Sanghako, Koungheul, and Kaffrine, the seeds are sorted one by one, and only the shells with two nuts are accepted.

The cultivator quickly yields to these requirements, because he has recognized the necessity for them.

These loans are made in the month of June, before sowing time. They are repayable in kind in the month of December, after the harvest, with an interest of 20%, the said interest likewise payable in kind.

No defaults have been reported. The loans are for two hectoliters per cultivator.

/128 cont./

654 In order to enjoy these advantages the society member
474 pays an assessment of one franc per year.

244 He can also request and obtain loans of food, rice, or
[731] millet, if he is justified by a case of great necessity: scarcity as a result of an unfortunate or calamitous event.

[426] Finally, since last year, he has been able to obtain loans in money on the condition of certain guarantees. These loans are granted for cultivation, and also for the improvement of his agricultural equipment, or for starting or enlarging his herd. These loans may amount to as much as 5,000 francs and are to be paid back within several years.

654 In 1927, the members numbered 240,000.

474 The society has 30 storehouses, more than half of which
[251] are built out of permanent materials: laterite stones or cement.

[343] /129/ It has utilized its resources to make wells out of
[312] reinforced concrete in order to procure for the inhabitants the potable water necessary for their needs and for the needs of their animals.

It gives bonuses to the cultivators who exhibit the best harvests. It also awards bonuses for the capture of animals harmful to agriculture.

The work accomplished is remarkable.

[244] The increase in the production of groundnuts in the circle is due to the Société de Prévoyance, under the control of the administration.

In it, commerce has a valuable organization whose usefulness it recognizes and whose incontestable and uncontested services it moreover appreciates.

312 The water problem. Wells. The serious question of water presents itself in the circle as it does everywhere in Senegal. The economic life of the region depends on the water supply of its inhabitants.

In order to prevent the danger of a water shortage, it has been necessary to dig wells. The séanes, natural reservoirs or pockets dug by man, were too small in number. They received rain water, but their volume was limited, and a few weeks sufficed to empty them after the last rainfall.

/417 cont. /

*511 [272]

We likewise noted the purchase of cacao in the cases of No. 6 (1.2%) and No. 20 (0.7%).

We have thus surveyed the principal food expenses of our families. Is there truly nothing else?

There is, of course, a quantity of products that are incidentally represented in running over the questionnaires. They are sometimes of some importance in the units of consumption with high incomes.

*511 *262 [264]

The groundnut is most often represented. This is not surprising; we are in Senegal. But the groundnut is a product that is sold more than it is consumed. Some are bought in amounts worth a five-franc bill in order to satisfy hunger while awaiting mealtime. In the form of a paste, it is put into certain dishes. In extreme cases the housewife buys the groundnut if she truly does not have enough money to do suitable marketing for other products. But though one often sees the groundnut in the shell between the hands of the women, it is only when she is shelling it, before roasting it, to sell it then at a very slight profit. /418/ /Table X appears here. / /419/ /Table XI appears here. /

[252] [438]

/420/ Here are the percentages of the income that have been devoted to it:

No. 2: 1.8	No. 17: 0.6	No. 29: 0.4
No. 4: 1.2	No. 18: 1.5	No. 31: 0.3
No. 5: 2.4	No. 19: 2.0	No. 33: 0.4
No. 6: 0.6	No. 20: 3.8	No. 37: 0.2
No. 8: 2.8	No. 21: 0.2	No. 38: 0.4
No. 13:: 1.0	No. 22: 0.8	No. 39: 0.2
No. 16:: 0.6	No. 25: 0.6	No. 40: 1.2

This last percentage expresses the greatest quantity; the cook has simply made a specialty of a dish based on groundnuts.

/37/

During the dry season the ground appears bare, but with the first rains it is covered with a lusty vegetation, and it is principally the Gramineae that thus again adorns with verdure this land previously so desolate. S 137

I. -- Gramineae: Food Crops

The petit mil /small millet/, mil chandelle or penicillaire /candle or penicillate millet/ (Pennisetum), is native to Africa. It is also cultivated in India; undoubtedly it was at the time of the slave trade that it was introduced into America. This is the early small millet, or souna of the Wolof. The souna must be sown at the time of the first rains. It shoots up promptly; it grows well in the light, sandy soils (groundnut soils). After the 15th of August it begins to ripen, and one can already eat the unripe ears roasted. When it begins to push out of the ground, the Senegalese and especially the Sérère /Serer/, sow beans between the rows; this is the volet (Phaseolus vulgaris), which will be eaten as green beans from the 15th of August on. The souna root is regarded by the Africans as a poison and, according to them, might be one of the causes of sleeping sickness. S 243 W [243] S [252] S [244] S [753]

Another variety of small millet is the sanio of the Wolof, late millet or bearded millet (Penicillaria spicata). This is a late variety of small millet with the ears covered with very strong beards, which, entering the eyes of birds, prevents them from eating it. It is said that it gives sottiete (eye ailments). The sanio grows in heavy soils. It is sown during the rainy season and harvested at the end of it, at the same time as groundnuts. W [243] S [753]

The gros mil /great millet/, or basi of the Wolof, requires a heavy and clayey soil. It ripens much later than the souna and can be cultivated in the middle of the rainy season. Sometimes it can even be planted again toward the end of the winter season when one sees that the first sowings have failed. The great millet, or basi, is sorghum (Sorghum sudanense). W [243]

Millet reduced to flour and granulated is called "couscous." S 262

/81 cont./

361 millet. The old people assemble in the evening under the
[517] large silk-cotton tree that shades the old crumbling mosque of
Takhikao. The women chatter while awaiting their turn to
[312] draw water at the common well, while the children play in
[342] the sand. Gent stands out because of a series of small, low
houses with a rectangular base and a roof of corrugated metal,
all identical and set along the trail that leads to the marigot
[351] /watercourse/ of the mission. A garden and a courtyard, al-
ways littered with laundry, characterize each concession. It
[563] is the quarter of Portuguese half-breeds called "portugalais"
(Plates XI B and XII A).

Diakhao-Nord /North Diakhao/, quiet, airy, arranged
[363] according to a strict plan of lots, contrasts with Diakhao-Sud
w ith narrow, winding lanes bordered on all sides by tapades
of millet stalks and noisy in the evening. The proximity of
[275] the two military bases has made it a place where one amuses
himself with all that this includes in the way of drinking
[525] shops and more or less clandestine gambling dens. Brawls be-
[579] tween drunken men are not rare in these places.

Randoulène, Derrière-la-voie-ferrée, and Bambara, which form a unique quarter, homogeneous in its density and in the heterogeneity of its dwellings, have become established in the immediate vicinity of the railroad repair shops. The
[342] huts of planks, mud, or straw stand one against the other along
[363] the winding lanes laid out according to the desire of the
moment and not without some imagination. These lanes are
[373] noisy with people, and even late at night they walk between
the small shopkeepers' stalls lighted with smoking candle ends.
351 The dense crowd flows over the edges of the street and enters
the interior of the courtyards. The latter, covering barely
[463] a few square meters, often serve as a workshop for the
weaver, the blacksmith, or the jeweler, and as a kitchen for
[252] the housewives of the neighboring huts; it is not rare to see
half a dozen millet pounders there, pounding their mortars
in rhythm in groups of two or three. This is also the gathering
[517] place /82/ /Fig. 4 appears here/ of workers, where, after
[524] work, sitting in the sand amidst the dust and the noise, in a

/16 cont./

438 their establishments the manufactured products that the firm
442 delivers to them. They[1] are most often linked with the pro-
[443] ducers by the system of loans that they authorize in cash and
[452] especially in kind during the difficult period of low supplies before the harvest.

The African "sub-traders" most often play the role of
[441] intermediary between the producers and the traders; they very often are transporters and guide the seller to the weighing-machine of a friend.

Since the last war this system has been greatly perturbed by the appearance of new purchasers who more and more com-
[258] pete with the traditional commerce. The local oil-makers scarcely ever appeal to the large firms. They do business with the traders of the escales, or, more often, they have their
438 own buyers. Since 1952 some pilot co-operatives have made
442 the collection in many escales at little expense; they utilize
474 the personnel and equipment of the S.M.D.R. Moreover, the
656 law of 13 January 1960, creating an "Office de commercialisation agricole" (O.C.A.), has assigned to this body the responsibility of selling the products collected by the co-operatives (Art. 6) and has granted it license to create purchase points for the direct collection of local agricultural products in the sectors where there are as yet no co-operatives (Art. 7). The decree of 20 May 1960, which more precisely relates to the marketing of groundnuts, grants purchasing permits only to organismes stockeurs (O.S.) /storage bodies/, private or co-operative, properly approved by the decision of a Comité régional d'agrément /Regional Committee of Approval/, and to the purchasing posts of the O.C.A. One might ask if these decisions do not constitute a step toward the creation of an "Office de l'arachide" /Office for Groundnuts/, which would have exclusivity of the trade and could normalize a "circuit of groundnuts," now very complex. /Pl. I and II appear here on unnumbered pages./

[1] [The Lebano-Syrian traders--Analyst]

/20 cont./

435 439 the maximum price in periods of shortages. On the other hand this body supports the market prices when they are under the minimum price in a period of overproduction, thanks to a maintenance fund provided for by a tax of 2.50 N.F. per metric ton of decorticated groundnuts imported.

Nevertheless, apart from the quota absorbed by the mother country and the satisfaction of local needs, during certain campaigns, 1957-1958, for example, there is a problem of the disposal of large surpluses. At the beginning of 1958, 102,000 metric tons of decorticated groundnuts were available, unpledged by the S.I.O.F.A. In order to ensure disposal, while respecting the price at production, the public authorities created at Dakar, in February 1958, a stabilization body such as exists for coffee and cacao. This body, taking a sixth of the export duty on groundnuts and oil, and a professional assessment, could make good a part of the difference between the world price and that of the franc zone, the remainder being taken care of by the mother country. This body is still far from possessing the financial power of the "Marketing Boards" of Nigeria.

/21/ Just as the public authorities could intervene effectively in a period of abundance, they also had occasion to settle provisionally a dispute between purchasers during the deficient campaign of 1954-1955.

258 435 439 3) Competition between purchasers and the agreement of January 1956. The Senegalese oil-factories, having become very powerful after the war, are prone to acquire great tonnages, which could only lead to competition and conflict with the traditional purchasers for the mother country in a year of shortage. This is what happened during the 1954-1955 campaign, when the harvest amounted to only 390,000 metric tons. Not bound to respect the price set by the intervention of the S.I.O.F.A., the local oil-makers made the price rise. The protests of the buyers for the mother country let to the intervention of the Haut-Commissariat, which fixed 330,000 metric tons of

/21 cont./
258 groundnuts in shells as the quota assigned to local industries,
435 with the distribution among them to be based on their activi-
439 ties of the previous years.

In order to avoid any repetition of such conflicts, the oil-makers of the mother country and their colleagues in Senegal on 17 January 1956 reached an agreement valid for five years. The local oil-makers can buy 420,000 metric tons of groundnuts in the shell. On the other hand, they can forward to France, under exemption, within the framework of the quota of 225,000 metric tons, only 10,000 metric tons of refined oil. The greatest part of their exports is represented by crude oil, exported in accordance with bipartisan agreements by manufacturers of the mother country, on the basis of a price C.F.A. established according to the market price of oil for consumption in France.

III. The Place of the Groundnut in the Present-day Senegalese Economy

258 The above reference to the activity of the Senegalese
439 oil-makers now permits the groundnut to be placed in the frame-
work of an economy which has ceased to be solely colonial and which is employed to valorize the product exported.

1. The valorization of exports: decortication. A comparison of the details of the exports of 1935 with those of 1958 is truly eloquent: in fact the exports of groundnuts in shells, which represented 335,000 metric tons in 1935, have disappeared in 1958, while those of the decorticated product have gone from 16,000 to 330,000 metric tons during the same period. At export the transport of the crude product signified that of 28% of the weight in sterile matter, and the attempts to utilize this as fertilizer or for the making of paper were unsuccessful. After the war the acute shortage of maritime tonnage made the practice of decortication general. It is done today at different /22/ stages in the circuit of the groundnut: the place of production, the points of trade, and the

/22 cont./

258 439 ports, especially Kaolack. It is practiced by semi-industrial enterprises, usually dependent on the great commercial houses or the oil-factories, which utilize the decortication frame or tray, shaking tables, and blowers. This operation, which employs many laborers, permits a charge of about one franc C.F.A. per kilo of groundnuts in shells. It nevertheless imposes some problems: that of the rate of decortication, which varies from one campaign to another, around 71%, and that of the risk of acidification. The decorticated product deteriorates quite quickly, and, depending on the [435] times of the campaign, a rate of acidification of more than 3% or 5% causes a reduction in price.

258 Decortication is in fact only a preparation of the raw material. It is the presence today of the powerful oil-factories, constituting the essential part of its industry, that symbolizes the anxiety of Senegal to valorize on its soil its greatest wealth.

2. The Senegalese oil-factory. The industry of the oil-factory is a recent industry in Senegal. The first factory established was that of the Société életrique et industrielle du Baol at Djourbel in 1920. Then, after 1930, with the factory of the Huileries et Savonneries de l'Ouest Africain [388] /West African Oil and Soap Factories/, and especially the Etablissements Petersen, this industry came to Dakar. Nevertheless, until the war, its development was impeded by the protective measures taken at the demand of the oil-factories in the mother country: an export duty of 187 francs per quintal of oil in 1936; and a quota of only 5,800 metric tons, admitted free of import duty, in 1938. The war caused this regulation to disappear, and in 1942-1944 the great factory "Lesieur-Afrique" was established in Dakar.

258 433 After the war, the oil industry modernized its equipment and added to its capacity for trituration, which today amounts to about 500,000 metric tons of peanuts in shells, corresponding to a maximum production of about 165,000 metric tons of oil. Today, 125,000 metric tons of the

/22 cont./

258 product, usually crude, each year leaves the Senegalese
[433] factories, which thus operate under their productive capacity.
[439] About 110,000 metric tons are exported. The traditional technique of manufacture by pressure, with recovery of the oil cake, or "expellers," is being replaced more and more by the procedure with solvents, slightly increasing the rate of extraction of oil, but providing poor oil-cake.

This industry of the oil-factory if now localized in five urban centers: Dakar, Lyndiane, Djourbel, Kaolack, and
[464] Ziguinchor. It employs more than 3,000 wage earners, nearly
[563] 300 of whom are European technicians; on the basis of this it is the primary industry /23/ of Senegal, and the more so since
[388] it has had annexed to it the complementary industry of soap-making, which produced more than 15,000 metric tons of soap from the neutralization paste.

258 The development of the Sengalese industry of oil-making
433 represents a considerable evolution of the economy of the country, since the groundnut has ceased to be a product of
[439] trade in the colonial sense of the term. In fact, the product that traditionally constitutes the great agricultural resource has become the principal raw material of local industry; more than ever, the groundnut keeps Senegal alive.

433 3. The essential position of the groundnut in the economy
241 of Senegal. "Whether or not it is desirable, the economy of Senegal can revolve only with the help of the production of groundnuts." This phrase by M. Portères sums up the essential position of the product in the local economy. In 1957, for the
[439] whole of former Mali, the total value of the exports rose to 21,085 billions of francs C.F.A., the products of the groundnut accounting for 18,257 billions of this sum, of which more than 15 billions was for Senegal alone. At the same time, of
[162] 2,230,000 inhabitants of Senegal, only 58,700 were non-agricultural workers, that is, non-producers of groundnuts. Actually,
433 however, many of them are supported by them indirectly, in trade, transport, or industry. It is not exaggerated to affirm

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

36 [131] [162] BIGNONA (12° 49′; 16° 16′ W.). Altitude, *c.* 60 feet. Population, 1,611. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Military post. Emergency landing-ground. Garage.

Bignona stands on the left bank of a small and marshy tributary of the Casamance. Canoes carry a certain amount of merchandise, as also do lorries. [438] The principal items of trade are ground-nuts, palm kernels, wax, rice, and fruit. [162] Most of the native inhabitants are Dioulas.

Colonial roads lead south to the Casamance opposite Ziguinchor [491] (16 miles), east to Sedhiou (58 miles) and Kolda (120 miles), and north-west to Diouloulou (35 miles) and the frontier of the Gambia (46 miles). There are also several minor roads and tracks.

[131] [162] DAGANA (16° 27′; 15° 34′ W.). Altitude, 13 feet. Population, *c.* 3,500. District headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Race-course.

[439] Dagana is on the left bank of the Senegal, and its chief economic function is as a market for Mauritanian gum. This is shipped down river to St. Louis, 116 miles away. [187] There is also connexion upstream to Podor (61 miles), Bakel (403 miles), and Kayes (487 miles).

By colonial road Dagana is 86 miles from St. Louis and 332 miles [491] from Kidira. It is on the bus service (p. 474) between these two [494] places. Southwards another colonial road leads across sparsely inhabited country to Dahra (89 miles) and Diourbel (162 miles). From the opposite bank of the Senegal a track goes to Mederdra, some 30 miles distant.

[131] [162] DIOURBEL (14° 39′; 16° 10′ W.). Altitude, 39 feet. Population, 15,442. Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Police headquarters. Emergency landing-ground. Power station. Hotel. Garage. Daily market.

This flourishing town lies across the little Sine river in the middle of a well-cultivated shallow valley. To the north the ground rises [438] somewhat. Diourbel owes its prosperity to ground-nuts, and 100,000 tons of them pass through the town every year. There are [258] several factories for the shelling of the nuts and for the expression of their oil. Besides this, Diourbel is the headquarters of the province [162] of Baol and a route centre. Its inhabitants are mainly Moslems, who [87] have a large and important mosque. There is also a special school for sons of chiefs.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M837 Senegal MS 37

36 [131] [162] KAOLACK (14° 07′; 16° 07′ W.). Population, 21,973. Mixed Commune. Headquarters of the province of Sine-Saloum. Customhouse. Chamber of Commerce. Medical post. Police headquarters. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Regional School. Roman Catholic mission. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Hotels. Garages. Race-course.

[439] Kaolack exports more ground-nuts than any other port in the Federation. It is a well-planned town with squares and trees, and it is on the right bank of the Saloum, 71 miles above its mouth, where [487] [505] the river is 100 yards wide. It is the limit of navigation for sea-going ships.

[162] In 1904 Kaolack had only 300 inhabitants, but the development of communications in the neighbourhood has caused it to grow to its present size. The figure given above is for the permanent population only. [166] At the height of the ground-nut season there are an additional 20,000 temporary inhabitants.

Trade

[439] During the first quarter of 1939 Kaolack exported 32,259 tons of ground-nuts (Plate 122), as against 26,832 tons from Dakar. Owing to the bar across the Saloum, however, many ships do not load to their maximum capacity but go on to Dakar to complete their lading. [258] Across the river from the town is a large salt-works.

The Port

[504] On the north bank there are concrete quays with a total length of over 2,000 feet and on the south bank there is a small wharf. At Lyndiane, 9 miles downstream, is a wharf belonging to the firm of Peyrissac et Cie.

Communications

[498] *Rail.* Kaolack is the terminus of Route 5 to Guinguiné (14 miles), and is therefore 142 miles from Dakar. It is also the terminus of Route 6 to Lyndiane (6½ miles). Both stations are close to the river, and there is a line directly on to the quays.

[491] *Road.* Intercolonial roads lead northward to Gossas (25 miles), Thiès (82 miles), and Dakar (126 miles), eastward to Kaffrine (37 miles) and Tambacounda (188 miles), and south-south-westward to Messira (49 miles) and the frontier of the Gambia (57 miles). The last-named road crosses the Saloum by a bridge. A colonial road goes north-west to Fatik (28 miles), another south-east to Nioro

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

244 [233] sixth crop of Africa, and 43 per cent. of the total continental production comes from Senegal. The two main groups cultivated are the 'runner' and the 'erect'. The Rufisque and Cayor varieties, both runners, are those grown generally here and also in British West Africa. The method of cultivation is described in Volume I, p. 321. Ground-nuts were originally grown as a staple native crop, but the [139] industrial demand for vegetable oils, coupled with the development of transport facilities, opened up a world market for them. Extra [167] labour for the harvest is provided annually by seasonal immigration [464] from French Sudan, French Guinea, Portuguese Guinea, and the Gambia. In 1938 the number of outside workers was 69,757. Of these, 56,743 went to the Kaolack area, between 1,000 and 3,500 to Sedhiou, Ziguinchor, Kolda, Tambacounda, and Diourbel, and the remainder to Thiès and Linguéré.

[258] There are numerous shelling factories. Early in 1939 new ones were opened at Kaolack, Ziguinchor, and Koungheul.

In 1938 nearly 2,000,000 acres were under cultivation and the [654] experimental station at Bambey distributed 5,414 tons of selected seed. In 1939 7,382 tons of seed were sent out, with a corresponding increase in acreage.

[648] During the British blockade of French West Africa after the fall of [388] France in 1940, ground-nuts were converted into fuel oil. If this practice has been proved worth continuing after the war, cultivation may be greatly extended.

248 *Sisal.* Sisal originated in Mexico, being named after the port of Sisal in Yucatan province, and it was introduced into Senegal at the end of the nineteenth century. The species grown are *Agave rigida sisalana*, *A. rigida elongata*, and *A. rigida zapupe*. The rigid leaves containing the fibre are about 4 feet long and are harvested biennially from the fourth to the eighth or tenth year. When a plant has finished producing it shoots up a tall flower stem, with bulbils or buds on the end, and then withers.

283 288 The preparation of stem and leaf fibres is lengthy. First the fleshy tissue encasing the fibre is scraped away, and then the fibre is washed, hung out to dry, and brushed. It is now ready for grading. Next it is combed into a continuous sliver of untwisted rope. The final process is the drawing and twisting of the sliver to a uniform thinness for spinning into a rope that is particularly resistant to sea-water. The 248 largest plantation is in French Sudan, and stretches for 12 miles along the bank of the Senegal near Kayes. Other smaller ones are in Tambacounda and on the Cape Verde peninsula. There is oppor-

/122 cont./

317 Current production varies from 20,000 to 30,000 tons, which
433 are consumed in the region and exported to Senegal and the
Sudan. This Société is hampered in its development by the
[651] taxes on salt and by transportation costs which particularly
burden this product.

From time immemorial the natives have been exploiting the salt marshes at Tickat, upstream from Kaolack, and on the arms of the Saloum to the west of Fatick. They produce only what is needed for their consumption. /123/
[651] During the time of the Bours, this exploitation was the occasion for a fee in kind for the benefit of the sovereign.

433 Native industrie. In addition to the native salt marshes,
258 we might also mention the fish-drying industry. The many lagoons, marigots, and watercourses of the region contain an abundance of excellent ocean fish (polynemids, pike, skate, sole, etc.). The Niominka race, accustomed to fishing, draw a remunerative advantage from it. The drying of fish is practiced at Fatick, Foundiougne, and in Bas-Saloum. One can estimate the quantity of dried fish at close to 500
[438] tons per year. The consumption is purely local, and the markets of the circle and of neighboring circles are the usual selling places.

433 The only other local industries are those of the potters,
basket makers, and weavers. Some native blacksmiths set
463 up shop in the villages at the time of cultivation; they are,
[326] moreover, of the Ouoloff or Moorish race.

433 European industries. There is only one European in-
dustry in the circle. An oil factory for the processing of
258 groundnuts has been set up at Kaolack by Engineer Gaudart.
[648] Today this factory belongs to the Société des Huileries et Rizeries Ouest-Africaines /West African Oil Refinery and Rice Company/. Its equipment is modern. Its production is large; it
[439] sells it in the colony, in France, and in the nearby British colonies.

/379 cont./

S 369 [262] Only food seems to have undergone only slight improvement: the couscous of millet or rice (a little fish or meat during periods of abundance) are basic in their diet. Bread, rarely eaten during the meal, is reserved for children; S [271] [273] it takes the place of cake. Water remains the essential drink of the Moslem; water, palm wine (during the harvest), and grape wine (on feast days) are consumed by the non-Islamized None.

SR [273] The frugal housewife profits from the proximity of the S 369 241 438 escale for /380/ the daily sale in the market of the products of her personal garden. She cultivates tomatoes, beans, pumpkins, and okra. At Keur-Issa-Bambara she has tried, with greater or lesser success, to cultivate potatoes and salad greens; the gathering of mangoes also procures a little profit for her. S [372] When the harvest from the garden is exhausted, the collection of dead wood which she will take to sell in the market in the form of little bundles will yield a few coins for her.

In parallel fashion, the husband-cultivator harvests on a plot of his lougan products that are easy to sell on the Thiès market; at Keur-Issa-Bambara he lays out flooded rice-fields and cultivates the sweet potato and manioc, part of which is S SR 369 438 offered to the clientele of the escale.

During the dry season the None principally works at gathering palmyra leaves; they will be sold, as bundles of [314] [342] [231] thatch, for making roofs for the huts of the urban quarters; after the harvest he carries dried groundnut leaves to the city for fodder for the little horses harnessed to the taxicabs.

S SR 369 234 438 S SR F [239] [465] Despite the ready sale that can be made with cattle, they are not very numerous. When the epizootic diseases have spared them, they give an appreciable profit to their owner through the sale of milk. At Tiali, the only herd in the village, which contains about 30 animals, belongs to a single breeder. It is guarded by Peul shepherds who lead it to graze in the neighboring woodlands. The morning milk and the calves belong to the owner; the evening milk goes

/427 cont./ Table XIV (cont.)

*511

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Clothing	Equipment	Exceptional Expenses
30	Wolof	Weigher	24,000	22.5	1.0	--
31	Wolof	Carpenter	25,000	5.0	1.0	--
32	Wolof	Cultivator	25,000	2.6	13.3	--
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25,000	9.3	5.0	--
34	Wolof	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	16.0	8.7	0.6
35	Wolof	Managerial employee	27,000	9.2	3.7	2.6
36	Wolof	Private accountant	34,000	15.9	0.4	1.9
37	Wolof	Truck-gardener	36,000	9.2	1.3	3.4
38	Wolof	Jeweler	50,000	9.5	4.1	4.2
39	Sarakolé	Teacher	51,000	11.4	2.0	--
40	Wolof	Chief worker	55,000	12.1	2.2	--
41	Sarakolé	Head employee	55,500	9.0	5.2	--
42	Bambara	Chief worker	56,000	13.2	8.1	15.0
43	Wolof	Doctor	81,000	6.1	1.0	3.0

/428 cont./

*511 would have to be truly exceptional circumstances for this rule
796 to be derogated. A sheep is worth 1,500 to 3,000 francs. And,
[435] of course, it is not interdicted to kill several of them. The
[262] mutton must be accompanied by various dishes, also as copious
[426] as possible.[1] All of this adds up to large outlays and often indebtedness for several months. The percentages in proportion to the monthly incomes are low, but it is in one month that all these expenses occur, and also many devoted to clothing. It is difficult not to go into debt.

[1] [for the Moslem holiday - Tabaski - ANALYST]

/428 cont./

*511 796 [262] [735] For Korité, although meals more copious than usual are often provided, nevertheless the essential thing is the alms in millet or money that one gives to the poor through the marabout.

For these two celebrations, the percentages stated are not noticeably higher at the top of the table than in the lower part. If, for the first incomes, the family heads are often obliged to do more than their means allow, each seems to adapt himself subsequently to his possibilities (1).

1. For No. 43, the information given concerns the celebrations for Christmas and the first of January.

*511 794 The religious assessments are less numerous than the syndical assessments, but harder to bear. They exist in only three cases above No. 20, but represent 2% of the incomes, and 0.8%. They again noticeably increase in the lower part of the table. As for the gifts to the marabouts, they are perhaps more frequent than we have shown. Many families must have wanted to conceal them. Added to the payment for the [875] teacher at the Koranic school (10 francs per week), these religious obligations end up by noticeably increasing the deficits that already existed at the start.

*511 871 Just as certain products are encountered in only a few families in the case of the routine expenses, we are also going to find here some of another order, but often more important.

There is first the cost of sending the children to school; 13 families send their children to school, public or private, and the outlays made for this can be evaluated as follows:

/429/ /Table XV appears here/ /430/

No. 8: 0.8%	No. 17: 1.8%
No. 10: 0.5%	No. 20: 0.5%
No. 16: 0.5%	No. 28: 0.4%

[Text continues on p. 72]

● 262

/For specific information on the proportion of various foods consumed in the city of Thiès based on a study of 43 families, see category 116, pp. 18-47, 50-53, and 57./

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

of inter-ethnic marriages in the towns is indicative of a major social change and a reflection of the effects of an assimilationist policy on the Senegalese.

Though many communities in Dakar are based on ethnic and family ties, particularly amongst the immigrant Toucouleurs from the Vallée du Fleuve, Dakar is on the whole a heterogeneous city. Mercier has observed that inter-ethnic habitation is particularly frequent among young bachelors, who often club together to hire a room. This is still relatively rare in Africa except amongst educated élites. But in Senegal many young men resent being asked the question whether they are Wolof or Serer, answering only to the name Senegalese. As far as friendship outside the ethnic group and in particular living with someone from another tribe is concerned, one great advantage is the existence of a common cuisine for Wolof, Serer, Toucouleur and Lebou. There is even a national dish known as *riz sénégalais*, known further down the coast as Jollof rice. This means that not only can friends share the same plate, but a man is not frustrated in his desire to marry outside his ethnic group by fear of a foreign cuisine.

Another important factor in the breakdown of tribal barriers has been the urbanisation of Senegal. Over 25 per cent of the population live in towns, the bulk in Dakar, Rufisque and St. Louis and Kaolack. This represents a higher rate of urbanisation than in any other West African territory except the Western Region of Nigeria, where, it must be pointed out, urbanisation was intense long before the arrival of the Europeans and therefore does not owe its origin to colonisation as it does in Senegal. It is difficult in the present stage of research to measure the results of the inter-mixing of races in urban agglomerations. But in an environment whose *raison d'être* is completely different from that of the tribal village, the individual is subjected to so many pressures that his ethnic individuality has to be extremely strong for him not to assimilate both ideas and customs from his neighbours and above all from the

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

for no-one would undertake his work unless he belonged to that caste. But the laws of supply and demand do not respect hereditary caste-rights. Mass-production and cheaper shoes dictate the old leather-worker's redundance. Soon he will fade into the obscurity of a rural industry, a supplier of goods for the local arts and crafts store.

This was nowhere more evident than in Dakar which has a large number of factories. Here one can see the new Africa rising up. The young negro comes from the bush, illiterate and half naked, living much as his ancestors before him. Soon he is caught up in the revolution. At first his house may be a small wooden shed, shared with members of his family or tribe on whom he is sponging. But soon he may earn thirteen pounds a month as an unskilled labourer, so that he can afford to take rooms with one of his richer brothers, whose weekly pay packet as a cook is six pounds. And so in Dakar people of all tribes meet in the great metropolis, live next to each other in the crowded Medina, and help to create a new town-life as different from that of the bush as city life in nineteenth-century industrial England was from that of the countryside.

In Dakar I met Diop, a young Jollof, well-educated, but out of work. I asked him how he lived and he told me that he just went from relation to relation each day borrowing money. He had had a job before, but after a quarrel with his employer, an African lawyer, he had had to leave. Each morning he left his wife, pretending to go to work. He deceived her into thinking he still had his job, by bringing home money lent him by relations. He 'borrowed' the equivalent of ten shillings from me, and to my astonishment promptly asked me to lunch the next day. His house, or rather room, was made of wood. Inside, the walls and the floor were covered with a gaily patterned lino. A large double bed and a small divan provided seats. A chest of drawers hung with all the crockery was the only other piece of furniture. On the walls was a large array of photos of friends and relations, all slightly over-exposed to give the effect of a lighter skin. Diop's wife, a ravishing, beautiful girl of nineteen, had spent all morning preparing Jollof rice for us, consisting of rice done in a sort of tomato purée, to which a delicious white fish with a variety of vegetables and a hot pepper sauce were added. A bottle of wine was produced for me.

/37/

During the dry season the ground appears bare, but with the first rains it is covered with a lusty vegetation, and it is principally the Gramineae that thus again adorns with verdure this land previously so desolate. S 137

I. -- Gramineae: Food Crops

The petit mil /small millet/, mil chandelle or penicillaire /candle or penicillate millet/ (Pennisetum), is native to Africa. It is also cultivated in India; undoubtedly it was at the time of the slave trade that it was introduced into America. This is the early small millet, or souna of the Wolof. The souna must be sown at the time of the first rains. It shoots up promptly; it grows well in the light, sandy soils (groundnut soils). After the 15th of August it begins to ripen, and one can already eat the unripe ears roasted. When it begins to push out of the ground, the Senegalese, and especially the Sérère /Serer/, sow beans between the rows; this is the volet (Phaseolus vulgaris), which will be eaten as green beans from the 15th of August on. The souna root is regarded by the Africans as a poison and, according to them, might be one of the causes of sleeping sickness. S 243 W [243] S [252] S [244] S [753]

Another variety of small millet is the sanio of the Wolof, late millet or bearded millet (Penicillaria spicata). This is a late variety of small millet with the ears covered with very strong beards, which, entering the eyes of birds, prevents them from eating it. It is said that it gives sottiete (eye ailments). The sanio grows in heavy soils. It is sown during the rainy season and harvested at the end of it, at the same time as groundnuts. W [243] S [753]

The gros mil /great millet/, or basi of the Wolof, requires a heavy and clayey soil. It ripens much later than the souna and can be cultivated in the middle of the rainy season. Sometimes it can even be planted again toward the end of the winter season when one sees that the first sowings have failed. The great millet, or basi, is sorghum (Sorghum sudanense). W [243] S 262

Millet reduced to flour and granulated is called "couscous."

/37 cont./

This is the most common preparation, but the native cuisine is acquainted with a host of others. The couscous is light, refreshing, and very nourishing. S 262

Millet is also given to horses. Basi is used the most in this practice, but souna gives them more vigor, although heating them up more. S 231

The Africans, by making millet germinate and putting it in water to boil for several days, obtain a kind of invigorating beer (pouh in Wolof), but one which, if taken in great quantities, produces a very heavy drunkenness. Millet, just like maize, fattens animals quickly, especially poultry. S W 273 S 231

Sorghum is a plant widely cultivated in Senegal. It is necessary to accustom the Senegalese farmer as rapidly as possible to replacing the ordinary variety by that of the sweet sorghum, that is, the saccharatum variety, which would have the advantage of giving sugar and grain. This saccharatum variety is utilized a great deal in the United States for the production of sugar. Then a sugar refinery would be created, which would be one more source of wealth for this country, wealth all the more appreciable because the African is fond of delicacies and a great consumer of sugar (mint tea, Moorish coffee, and infusions). S 243 S [493] [263] [272]

Rice. It is cultivated in Senegal in damp places, on the edges of marigots /watercourses/, in Sine, in Casamance, and at the mouth of the river (Richard-Toll, etc.). A large number of varieties is known, some of which grow in relatively dry and high places; black rice is one of them.

The African rice is Oryza glaberrima, but wild rice grows by itself; this is Oryza latifolia (punctata and sylvestris). The native rice is much more in demand by the Africans and often even by the Europeans than foreign rice. African cooks excel in preparing rice in all kinds of ways. S [137] S 262

Rice is emollient, soothing, very nourishing, and not at all binding or constipating as is sometimes thought. It also gives a beer by fermentation. Rice water renders great service in dysentery, as a beverage, and for bathing. Rice water is also a cooling drink for feverish and inflammatory ailments. Finally, rice powder is useful as an absorbent for skin diseases. S 273 757 [272] [515]

/38/

Maize (Zea mays L.): Succeeds well when sown at the beginning of the winter season. The native species sown under these conditions is very beautiful and gives large yellow ears, very well filled out. The Africans eat fresh roasted corn, and, when it is hard, they make couscous of it. The infusion prepared with the fruit is emollient and diuretic. The styles or stigmas of maize are famous as diuretics and cure several ailments of the urinary tract (cystitis, gravel, dysuria, etc.); the young kernels, when cooked, constitute an excellent vegetable and replace peas; the flour gives a beer and an alcoholic extract. The husks of the ears serve to make quite springy mattresses. 243 262 757 [273] [513]

II. -- Useful Gramineae

(not being subject to any cultivation)

Bamboo. -- Grows in the wild state in the Ravin des Voleurs /Ravine of Thieves/ near Thiès. The native species is rather small. Stakes, frames, masts of dugouts, huts, and fences, but especially clinting (constructions of bamboo filled in with lime) are made of it. The young shoots are said to be edible, and the sweet sap is supposed to be an agreeable drink. In Casamance a small species of bamboo grows in shady places; pipestems are made of it. 824 [313] 342 262 272 276

Begnefala (Andropogon shirensis). -- A tall gramineous plant with a penetrating aromatic odor. It is used in African medicine and the old colonials used it with success at the time of the great epidemic of yellow fever at Dakar in 1927. For fevers, one pounds the floral heads mixed with lemon or vinegar and energetically rubs the body with this mixture. [757]

Hada (Imperata cylindrica). -- A gramineous plant with a very hard leaf and whitish ear, which is used for covering the roofs of huts. [342]

Hat (Andropogon gayanus). -- Tall grass whose stem is used in making fences around huts. [351]

Haham or cram-cram (Cenchrus biflorus). -- Its seeds fasten themselves to clothing and are very disagreeable. Is gathered and [262]

/38 cont./

eaten as couscous in the south of the Sahara.

Some Gramineae give very fine hay, but one must hurry to harvest them before the dryness is well established, for then the Gramineae quickly lose their leaves and become not very nourishing. Besides, these hays are worth far less than those of Europe, even comparing plants of the same species with each other. Finally, the best local hay is still groundnut straw.

824 [262] [231]

J. B. Faur.
(Dakar.)

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

36 SEDHIOU (12° 42′; 15° 31′ W.). Population, 1,653. Provincial head-
[131] quarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional
[162] School.

Sedhiou is on the right bank of the Casamance, 68 miles above
[487] Ziguinchor and 110 miles from the sea, and it is only usable by vessels
[505] drawing up to 5 feet. Formerly more prosperous than it is to-day,
it has some brick buildings and shops. Many of the traders are
[439] Syrians, and there is a modest export of ground-nuts, hides, rice, and
wax.

[491] By colonial road Sedhiou is 58 miles from Bignona, 74 miles from Ziguinchor, and 62 miles from Kolda.

11. MINERALS

135 THE principal mineral exported from the colony is ilmenite, which
[439] is washed from beach sands between Rufisque and Cape Rouge, between Joal and Diakhanor, and at the mouth of the Casamance. Zircon (Vol. I, pp. 295–6) is obtained from the same sands, the ilmenite:zircon ratio being about 3:1. Other minerals of potential value are phosphates and limestone, both of which occur in Lower Eocene strata. Lenticular beds of phosphate, ranging from 30 to 65 per cent. bone phosphate of lime, are found near Matam and near Thiès. Limestones and marls are more widespread than in any other
[339] colony, and at Rufisque they have been worked experimentally for the commercial production of cement. Bitumen has been encountered at Dakar in borings for water, but investigations have shown that the
[315] geological structure is unsuited to the accumulation of petroleum.

12. AGRICULTURE

241 THE Gambia divides the millet from the manioc zone, but ground-nuts are the chief crop of both. Sisal-growing is an important, though more recent, industry. South of the Gambia the Casamance Territory provides a rich area for fruit and subsistence crops as well as for ground-nuts.

[439] There is far more production for export than in any other colony.

Food Crops

243 *Millets.* Millets form the staple diet of the majority of the native
262 population and are grown all over that part of the colony north of the

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Gambia, often in rotation with ground-nuts. Of the quick-maturing 243
varieties *souna* and *sanio* are the most popular, the former thriving in [262]
sandy soil, the latter in heavier ground. Several kinds of sorghum are also cultivated. In the river area millet is sown where the floods have subsided and is harvested in April. In other parts it is planted immediately before the rainy season. Production probably averages [433]
about 300,000 tons annually. The export of millet from one province [438]
to another is controlled according to local needs.

Rice. The area flooded by the Casamance is naturally suited for rice cultivation. The rice-fields are handed down from father to [428]
son, each family growing sufficient for its own consumption and to [262]
pay its taxes. A store of rice is always kept to guard against a lean [251]
year or to be exchanged for some other commodity required.

Sugar-cane. This is grown near every village where there is enough 249
water. No attempt has been made to commercialize the crop, and the West African varieties are more woody and contain less juice than those grown elsewhere for export. Sugar-cane (*Saccharum officinarum*) is a perennial plant of the grass family. It is easy to grow, even near the sea, but takes at least a year to mature. When grown for local use, as it is here, sugar is not extracted, but the red or white stems are [263]
chewed.

The Baobab. The baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) is found generally 245
in the thornland (Plate III), and is, therefore, much in evidence in Senegal. It is remarkable for the large girth of its trunk in com- [262]
parison to its branches and leaves. The long green fruit, known as [263]
monkey-bread, is used as a food or as a seasoner. Boiled with water [272]
and then cooled, it also makes a refreshing drink, while the leaves and the young shoots are also good to eat. The inner bark yields a [283]
tough fibre, which can be twisted into rope or woven into a water-proof cloth. About 30 years ago a factory was opened at Dakar to prepare the fibre for export to rope- and paper-making firms in [288]
France. The bark and fibre can be stripped off without causing the death of the tree.

Manioc, beans, and maize are grown generally in the vicinity of 244
villages. In the Cape Verde peninsula these, as well as yams, sweet [243]
potatoes, and melons, are grown for the Dakar markets. [438]

Economic Crops

Ground-nuts. Ground-nuts (*Arachis hypogaea*) require a tropical [433]
climate and an annual rainfall of from 14 to 60 inches. They are the

/410 cont./

*511 is a high average, but does not seem excessive to us. Still,
*262 one must consider the six families where more of it is consumed: from 5 to 7.5 liters per person per month. This is indeed a great deal. With these families eliminated, the average falls to 1.9 liters, and it is reached or exceeded by 25 families. Only two figures for consumption are low: those for Nos. 1 (0.5 and 19 (0.1).

[435] But oil is expensive, 100 francs a liter on the average, and its consumption /411/ is therefore limited; thus, No. 4 in our series, with the purchase of 15 liters monthly, 2.8 per man, devotes 21.1% of his income to it (Table VIII).[1] An individual of No. 2, who consumes 1 1/2 liters of it each month, uses 12.6% of his income for it. And what would become of the budget of No. 1 if all the members of the unit of consumption picked up the notion of consuming the average two and a half liters; the purchase of the 25 liters required would take 42.8% of the family income.

Moreover, it is significant to see that the quantities of oil consumed do not increase with the incomes. Among the last nine families there is no figure higher than four liters per man per month.

*511 We have grouped under the rubric "Condiments" (Table
*262 VIII) commodities that in fact are quite dissimilar. Their
263 caloric value is of little importance. Nevertheless the height of misery for the Africans would be to be unable to relieve their diets, first, with condiments properly speaking, pepper, salt, vinegar, pimentos, then with small quantities of vegetables, properly qualifying as condiments because they are bought in only very small quantities, and finally with dried fish, whose flavor is infinitely superior to that of fresh fish; it often replaces the latter in the rice with fish, if not in quantity, at least in quality.

The percentages given in this column of Table VIII thus refer to a whole group of minor products, from the crushed baobab leaf to the slices of dried fish: parsley, onions, garlic, bits of sugar beets and cabbage, ground tomatoes, various

[1] [See cat 116, pp 40-42 - ANALYST]

*511 *262 263 /411 cont./

products of gathering. All, let us repeat, in very small daily quantities. Moreover, these are the products[1] that are the 443 objects involved in the small-scale commerce of the women; 434 quite often buying two or three times more than they need, *511 they set up a little flat basket before the door of their con- 438 cession and suggest to the passers-by that they spare themselves the fatigue of going all the way to the market. They can make very small profits in this way, from five to ten francs a day.

*511 Nevertheless, with one thing added to another, the costs *262 of these various condiments end up by absorbing another rela- 263 tively important part of the familial income (1).

1. The portion for dried fish is generally very close to 1/5 of the figures given.

The size of this income thus acts as a check on their consumption, but ultimately only the taste and the habits of each are truly determinative. /412/ /Table VIII appears here./ /413/ /Table IX appears here./

/414/ We mentioned under the rubric "Vegetables" only the truly important purchases. It is the housewife herself who calls them either vegetables or condiments, according to the importance that they will have in the meal that she is going to prepare; a greater quantity of vegetables will permit reducing the quantity of rice or millet. If the latter does not change, they are condiments. The nuance is understandable. Our investigators themselves made it, and it was subsequently difficult for us not to take it into account.

*511 The quantities given in Table IX[2] are not actual quantities. *262 We have again in this case eliminated the factor of quality, the differences in quality being replaced by differences in quantity. The "standard vegetable" chosen was the cabbage, [435] which in March 1953 was worth 20 francs a kilogram. This

[1] [i.e. - various condiments - ANALYST]

[2] [see cat 116, pp 43-45 - ANALYST]

[Text continues on p. 46]

/412/

*511
*262
263

Table VIII

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	% of Income for Condiments	% of Income for Vegetables	% of Income for Manioc	% of Income for Oil
1	Sarakolé	Laborer	5,800	1.9	2.3	0.2	6.8
2	Peul	Orderly	6,100	3.1	5.8	--	12.6
3	Wolof	Laborer	6,500	2.0	3.4	0.6	8.1
4	Sérère	Laborer	6,700	4.5	8.1	2.1	21.1
5	Toucouleur	Orderly	6,745	8.5	5.0	1.3	7.7
6	Wolof	Mattress-maker	7,000	6.5	3.1	1.9	8.2
7	Wolof	Laborer	7,000	8.2	2.7	3.5	13.2
8	Wolof	Orderly	7,410	3.5	6.3	1.4	8.7
9	Wolof	Baker	7,500	7.7	2.7	1.5	12.6
10	Wolof	Cultivator	8,150	4.9	1.7	--	5.7
11	Moor	Auxiliary	8,950	5.4	7.4	1.0	12.0
12	Peul	Laborer	9,000	4.1	1.0	1.3	14.0
13	Wolof	Laborer	9,800	2.6	5.3	1.3	20.4
14	Wolof	Cultivator	10,000	6.2	1.9	2.9	9.9
15	Bambara	Laborer	10,000	6.5	2.0	2.6	14.3

/412 cont./

*511
*262
263

Table VIII (cont.)

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	% of Income for Condiments	% of Income for Vegetables	% of Income for Manioc	% of Income for Oil
16	Bambara	Auxiliary	10,675	9.0	13.5	2.0	5.2
17	Moor	Auxiliary	10,800	3.2	5.6	0.8	9.7
18	Peul	Spec. laborer	11,000	4.6	5.2	1.3	18.1
19	Toucouleur	Accountant	11,950	3.8	3.8	1.0	5.6
20	Bambara	Auxiliary	12,000	7.7	8.3	2.2	9.3
21	Wolof	Clerk	13,000	7.6	9.4	1.0	7.6
22	Wolof	Auxiliary	14,000	5.9	9.2	0.9	10.7
23	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	4.5	1.6	2.2	7.3
24	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	2.4	1.4	2.2	8.9
25	Wolof	Auxiliary	15,630	3.9	5.7	0.7	5.7
26	Wolof	Employee P. T. T.	15,800	7.7	8.7	--	8.9
27	Wolof	Shoemaker	16,200	2.7	1.3	1.0	2.8
28	Wolof	Worker	22,000	3.7	6.0	1.1	12.4
29	Toucouleur	Police sergeant	22,000	2.0	2.9	--	11.8
30	Wolof	Weigher	24,000	3.1	5.9	0.4	7.6
31	Wolof	Carpenter	25,000	2.0	--	1.3	9.6

/412 cont./

* 511
* 262
263

Table VIII (cont.)

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	% of Income for Condiments	% of Income for Vegetables	% of Income for Manioc	% of Income for Oil
32	Wolof	Cultivator	25,000	2.2	0.8	1.1	3.9
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25,000	1.7	2.6	0.6	9.1
34	Wolof	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	1.8	3.0	--	6.7
35	Wolof	Managerial Employee	27,000	5.7	8.9	2.5	5.6
36	Wolof	Private accountant	34,000	2.6	7.7	0.1	13.3
37	Wolof	Truck gardener	36,000	1.5	5.2	1.0	3.3
38	Wolof	Jeweler	50,000	3.8	5.1	0.1	6.5
39	Sarakolé	Teacher	51,000	0.8	2.6	--	1.7
40	Wolof	Chief worker	55,000	0.7	3.0	0.5	6.5
41	Sarakolé	Head employee	55,500	1.0	2.3	--	2.0
42	Bambara	Chief worker	56,000	2.3	1.8	0.2	2.4
43	Wolof	Doctor	81,000	1.7	1.9	--	0.3

/413 cont./ *511 *262 263

Table IX (cont.)

No.	Income	U.C.	Theor. Comp.	Vegetables Qt. (kg.) (kg.)	Vegetables I.M. (kg.)	Manioc Qt. (kg.)	Manioc I.M. (kg.)
34	25,900	4	3.3	39.0	11.0	1.0	0.3
35	27,000	6	4.6	121.1	26.0	8.2	1.7
36	34,000	15	12.6	132.4	10.5	3.1	0.2
37	36,000	24	19.8	94.6	5.0	21.0	1.0
38	50,000	13	10.5	129.7	12.8	4.7	0.5
39	51,000	11	8.0	66.5	8.3	--	--
40	55,000	24	17.5	84.7	4.8	15.8	9.3
41	55,500	14	10.0	65.0	6.2	12.0	1.2
42	56,000	11	8.6	53.2	6.1	7.3	0.9
43	81,000	5	4.0	79.3	19.7	--	--

/415 cont./

*511
*262

have no purchase price from which we could have obtained a valid weight in "cabbage unit."

No. 36, which consumes neither meat nor millet, normally makes up for this with vegetables. With No. 38 we are in the category of higher incomes where no restriction is envisaged by reason of size of family. It is undoubtedly with this family that we reach the upper limit of the consumption of vegetables.

Let us recall once more that though the costs are the actual costs, the quantities are fictive. Hence, it is not 19.7 kilograms of cabbage that an individual of family 36 consumes each month. For the latter in particular (the only one where we saw the housewife shell peas) it is the highness of the quality, hence of the price, that has led us to a figure likewise high. The observation is valid for the other families that we shall cite; the reduction of the composition of the unit of consumption permits improvement not only in the quantity but also in the quality of the products consumed.

Beside the columns "Vegetables" we have put the information received concerning manioc. Cheap food (from 14 to 17 [435] francs a kilogram), it is not greatly liked by the Africans. But it has spread widely; its cultivation requires almost no care, and the yields are high.

It is therefore used especially as a food to tide one over; it is to be noted that, with one exception, the families consuming the most are never those who uniformly consume more than ten kilograms of vegetables per individual. In only one case was more than 3% of the income devoted to it.

We shall have finished the study of the principal food commodities after having mentioned sugar and milk (Tables X and XI).[1]

*511
263 The average consumption of sugar per individual is 1.7 kilograms for one month. But we find only a few figures that are very far below this average. The highest figure is 2.7.

[1] [see ant 116, pp 51-56 - ANALYST]

/415 cont./

*511 Most of them are very close to the average. There is thus a
263 kind of uniformity in the consumption of sugar, and it is probably that here, too, we are in the presence of an upper limit.

/416/ The portion of the income devoted to sugar is thus going to vary according to the size of the income and the composition of the unit of consumption. The maximum noted is 10% for No. 4, the minimum 0.3 for No. 43 (1.2 for No. 42).

*511 The same uniformity does not exist for sweetened condensed
272 milk. Its use is spreading more and more, but all the same
[177] there are ten families who do not consume it at all.

The average consumption was established, for one man, at 589 grams per month for the 43 families, at 767 if one eliminates those that do not consume any.

Fourteen families out of 33 are above this average, only four of whom are in the top of the table. And, as in the case of vegetables, these 24 families are precisely the least numerous. The largest theoretical composition of the unit of consumption among these 24 families is that of No. 38, 10.5. But this is for an income of 50,000 francs per month. The next maximum is 8.6 for No. 29. Here, too, the size of the unit of consumption is essential.

Twenty-seven families utilize fresh milk besides or to supplement the condensed milk. Only two did not consume either one. But this consumption of fresh milk is quite limited; the average, solely for the utilizers, is 1.1 liters. It is habitual in only one case, No. 42, where a liter is bought every day. Moreover there is no periodicity anywhere. Fresh milk is therefore not used systematically for only breakfast. It is preferably
[264] utilized for the rice mush that many families like to eat in the
[855] afternoon. It is then reserved for women and children. This is the only point where we found a special diet for children, except from time to time when a mango or guava is bought solely for them.

Fresh milk costs more proportionally than condensed milk:
[435] 40 francs a liter as against 40 francs for a case of 400 grams of Nestlé milk.

*511 *262 ● 263 272 /418/

Table X

No.	Occupation	Income	U. C. Theor. Comp.	% of Income for Condensed Milk	% of Income for Fresh Milk	% of Income for Coffee	% of Income for Sugar	% of Income for Bread
1	Laborer	5,800	10	3.4	0	--	5.6	11.0
2	Orderly	6,100	5.5	--	2.3	0.2	7.0	6.2
3	Laborer	6,500	2.8	0.6	3.9	0.3	5.5	2.7
4	Laborer	6,700	5.10	4.1	1.4	3.5	10.0	2.6
5	Orderly	6,745	5.6	4.1	4.5	3.2	3.5	5.9
6	Mattress-maker	7,000	4.8	9.5	9.5	3.0	9.5	7.9
7	Laborer	7,000	3.8	--	3.1	--	6.1	10.1
8	Orderly	7,410	4.4	6.1	3.0	1.3	4.7	7.9
9	Baker	7,500	4.4	--	2.7	--	4.3	11.8
10	Cultivator	8,150	9.6	1.4	6.0	2.2	6.2	6.6
11	Auxiliary	8,950	4.5	--	--	--	1.5	1.1
12	Laborer	9,000	6.3	0.1	2.0	--	3.8	3.3
13	Laborer	9,800	4.4	0.8	1.1	1.0	5.2	4.1
14	Cultivator	10,000	8.9	--	1.9	--	5.5	10.3
15	Laborer	10,000	5.5	--	1.3	--	3.8	6.9
16	Auxiliary	10,675	1.8	1.1	0.7	2.5	2.0	6.0

/418 cont./

*511
*262
263
272

Table X (cont.)

No.	Occupation	Income	U. C. Theor. Comp.	% of Income for Condensed Milk	% of Income for Fresh Milk	% of Income for Coffee	% of Income for Sugar	% of Income for Bread
17	Auxiliary	10,800	6.9	--	0.7	--	5.1	3.1
18	Spec. laborer	11,000	3.6	0.7	0.3	0.2	2.5	3.3
19	Accountant	11,950	7.1	6.1	--	2.5	2.8	5.1
20	Auxiliary	12,000	7.6	3.0	0.4	1.2	5.5	10.2
21	Clerk	13,000	3.8	9.4	1.8	1.9	4.8	6.2
22	Auxiliary	14,000	9.2	0.9	1.0	--	3.0	7.7
23	Cultivator	15,000	13.4	--	1.7	--	9.8	9.9
24	Cultivator	15,000	14.4	0.1	0.9	2.0	4.0	6.6
25	Auxiliary	15,630	11.9	0.7	3.2	2.7	2.2	2.0
26	Employee P. T. T.	15,800	2.3	3.1	--	3.4	2.8	2.4
27	Shoemaker	16,200	9.1	0.1	2.2	0.9	2.6	3.4
28	Worker	22,000	14.7	--	--	1.3	9.0	4.8
29	Police sergeant	22,000	8.6	6.0	3.0	2.5	3.8	9.7
30	Weigher	24,000	5.1	2.3	--	1.3	3.4	4.5

*511
*262
263
272

/418 cont./

Table X (cont.)

No.	Occupation	Income	U. C. Theor. Comp.	% of Income for Condensed Milk	% of Income for Fresh Milk	% of Income for Coffee	% of Income for Sugar	% of Income for Bread
31	Carpenter	25,000	14.4	3.8	--	4.6	2.5	3.2
32	Cultivator	25,000	4.8	--	1.7	--	2.2	3.9
33	Chauffeur	25,000	5.1	0.8	--	3.9	2.2	3.2
34	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	3.3	1.1	0.7	1.0	11.9	3.3
35	Managerial employee	27,000	4.6	1.6	0.9	1.2	2.2	3.0
36	Private accountant	34,000	12.5	0.9	0.6	1.0	1.3	1.9
37	Truck-gardener	36,000	19.8	3.1	--	6.7	2.5	3.3
38	Jeweler	50,000	10.5	2.3	00	1.1	1.7	3.3
39	Teacher	51,000	8	1.7	--	--	2.5	2.5
40	Chief worker	55,000	17.5	1.6	--	2.9	2.2	2.0
41	Head employee	55,500	10.4	2.5	--	--	2.0	2.5
42	Chief worker	56,000	8.6	1.2	2.4	--	1.2	3.5
43	Doctor	81,000	4	0.5	--	1.2	0.3	1.7

/419/ * 511 263 272

Table XI

No.	Income	Ethnic Group	Sugar Qt. (kg.)	Sugar I. M. (kg.)	Condensed Milk Qt. (gr.)	Condensed Milk I. M. (gr.)	Fresh Milk Qt. (l.)	Fresh Milk I. M. (L.)
1	5,800	Sarakolé	6.2	0.6	2,000	200	--	--
2	6,100	Peul	7.2	1.3	--	--	3.4	0.6
3	6,500	Wolof	7.4	2.6	400	142	6.3	2.2
4	6,700	Sérère	11.7	2.3	2,800	549	2.2	0.4
5	6,745	Toucouleur	4.0	0.7	2,800	500	7.4	1.3
6	7,000	Wolof	12.4	2.6	6,650	1,380	16.6	3.4
7	7,000	Wolof	9.7	1.2	--	--	5.5	1.4
8	7,410	Wolof	6.0	1.3	4,550	1,034	5.5	1.2
9	7,500	Wolof	5.0	1.1	--	--	5.1	1.1
10	8,150	Wolof	10.0	1.1	1,200	125	14.2	1.4
11	8,940	Moor	2.5	0.6	--	--	--	--
12	9,000	Peul	6.3	1.0	150	238	4.6	0.7
13	9,800	Wolof	7.5	1.8	600	136	2.5	0.5
14	10,000	Wolof	11.5	1.3	--	--	4.6	0.5
15	10,000	Bambara	8.0	1.5	--	--	3.3	0.6
16	10,675	Bambara	4.0	1.2	1,200	370	1.8	0.5

*511
263
272

/419 cont./

Table XI (cont.)

No.	Income	Ethnic Group	Sugar Qt. (kg.)	Sugar I. M. (kg.)	Condensed Milk Qt. (gr.)	Condensed Milk I. M. (gr.)	Fresh Milk Qt. (l.)	Fresh Milk I. M. (l.)
17	10,800	Moor	7.7	1.1	--	--	1.8	0.2
18	11,000	Peul	2.0	0.5	800	222	--	--
19	11,950	Toucouleur	4.5	0.7	7,400	1,098	--	--
20	12,000	Bambara	10.2	1.4	3,600	470	1.2	0.1
21	13,000	Wolof	10.0	2.6	12,370	3,255	6.1	1.6
22	14,000	Wolof	7.0	0.7	1,350	148	3.2	0.3
23	15,000	Wolof	12.6	0.9	--	--	6.4	0.4
24	15,000	Wolof	12.0	0.8	200	138	3.5	0.2
25	15,630	Wolof	6.0	0.5	1,140	95	12.6	1.0
26	15,800	Wolof	4.0	1.7	5,000	2,173	--	--
27	16,200	Wolof	8.7	1.0	300	329	9.1	1.0
28	22,000	Wolof	8.0	0.5	--	--	--	--
29	22,000	Toucouleur	15.0	1.7	15,000	1,744	16.7	1.9
30	24,000	Wolof	15.0	2.9	5,600	1,100	--	--
31	25,000	Wolof	11.0	0.7	9,660	670	--	--
32	25,000	Wolof	11.6	2.5	--	--	11.1	2.3

*511
263
272

/419 cont./

Table XI (cont.)

No.	Income	Ethnic Group	Sugar Qt. (kg.)	Sugar I.M. (kg.)	Condensed Milk Qt. (gr.)	Condensed Milk I.M. (gr.)	Fresh Milk Qt. (l.)	Fresh Milk I.M. (l.)
33	25.000	Sérère	8.5	1.7	2,000	400	--	--
34	25,900	Wolof	9.0	2.7	3,000	910	4.9	1.4
35	27,000	Wolof	10.5	2.3	4,400	950	0.5	--
36	34,000	Wolof	8.6	0.7	3,150	252	5.5	0.4
37	36,000	Wolof	6.2	0.3	11,400	575	--	--
38	50,000	Wolof	14.7	1.4	11,500	1,100	--	--
39	51,000	Sarakolé	20.0	2.5	8,400	1,050	--	--
40	55,000	Wolof	20.0	1.1	8,800	500	--	--
41	55,500	Sarakolé	20.0	1.9	14,400	1,380	--	--
42	56,000	Bambara	13.5	1.6	6,900	802	34.7	4.0
43	81,000	Wolof	5.0	1.2	4,200	1,300	--	--

/37 cont./

This is the most common preparation, but the native cuisine is acquainted with a host of others. The couscous is light, refreshing, and very nourishing. S 262

Millet is also given to horses. Basi is used the most in this practice, but souna gives them more vigor, although heating them up more. S 231

The Africans, by making millet germinate and putting it in water to boil for several days, obtain a kind of invigorating beer (pouh in Wolof), but one which, if taken in great quantities, produces a very heavy drunkenness. Millet, just like maize, fattens animals quickly, especially poultry. S W 273 S 231

Sorghum is a plant widely cultivated in Senegal. It is necessary to accustom the Senegalese farmer as rapidly as possible to replacing the ordinary variety by that of the sweet sorghum, that is, the saccharatum variety, which would have the advantage of giving sugar and grain. This saccharatum variety is utilized a great deal in the United States for the production of sugar. Then a sugar refinery would be created, which would be one more source of wealth for this country, wealth all the more appreciable because the African is fond of delicacies and a great consumer of sugar (mint tea, Moorish coffee, and infusions). S 243 S [493] [263] [272]

Rice. It is cultivated in Senegal in damp places, on the edges of marigots /watercourses/, in Sine, in Casamance, and at the mouth of the river (Richard-Toll, etc.). A large number of varieties is known, some of which grow in relatively dry and high places; black rice is one of them.

The African rice is Oryza glaberrima, but wild rice grows by itself; this is Oryza latifolia (punctata and sylvestris). The native rice is much more in demand by the Africans and often even by the Europeans than foreign rice. African cooks excel in preparing rice in all kinds of ways. S [137] S 262

Rice is emollient, soothing, very nourishing, and not at all binding or constipating as is sometimes thought. It also gives a beer by fermentation. Rice water renders great service in dysentery, as a beverage, and for bathing. Rice water is also a cooling drink for feverish and inflammatory ailments. Finally, rice powder is useful as an absorbent for skin diseases. S 273 757 [272] [515]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Gambia, often in rotation with ground-nuts. Of the quick-maturing 243
varieties *souna* and *sanio* are the most popular, the former thriving in [262]
sandy soil, the latter in heavier ground. Several kinds of sorghum are also cultivated. In the river area millet is sown where the floods have subsided and is harvested in April. In other parts it is planted immediately before the rainy season. Production probably averages [433]
about 300,000 tons annually. The export of millet from one province [438]
to another is controlled according to local needs.

Rice. The area flooded by the Casamance is naturally suited for rice cultivation. The rice-fields are handed down from father to [428]
son, each family growing sufficient for its own consumption and to [262]
pay its taxes. A store of rice is always kept to guard against a lean [251]
year or to be exchanged for some other commodity required.

Sugar-cane. This is grown near every village where there is enough 249
water. No attempt has been made to commercialize the crop, and the West African varieties are more woody and contain less juice than those grown elsewhere for export. Sugar-cane (*Saccharum officinarum*) is a perennial plant of the grass family. It is easy to grow, even near the sea, but takes at least a year to mature. When grown for local use, as it is here, sugar is not extracted, but the red or white stems are [263] chewed.

The Baobab. The baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) is found generally 245
in the thornland (Plate 111), and is, therefore, much in evidence in Senegal. It is remarkable for the large girth of its trunk in com- [262]
parison to its branches and leaves. The long green fruit, known as [263]
monkey-bread, is used as a food or as a seasoner. Boiled with water [272]
and then cooled, it also makes a refreshing drink, while the leaves and the young shoots are also good to eat. The inner bark yields a [283]
tough fibre, which can be twisted into rope or woven into a water-proof cloth. About 30 years ago a factory was opened at Dakar to prepare the fibre for export to rope- and paper-making firms in [288]
France. The bark and fibre can be stripped off without causing the death of the tree.

Manioc, beans, and maize are grown generally in the vicinity of 244
villages. In the Cape Verde peninsula these, as well as yams, sweet [243]
potatoes, and melons, are grown for the Dakar markets. [438]

Economic Crops

Ground-nuts. Ground-nuts (*Arachis hypogaea*) require a tropical climate and an annual rainfall of from 14 to 60 inches. They are the [433]

Thie's
Wolof MS30
Serer FA32
SONINKE MS21
BAMBARA FA8

/399/ Table III (cont.)

W
SR
So
B
426
511
S
426
511*

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Monthly Surplus or Deficit	% in Relation to Income
32	Wolof	Cultivator	25,000	+ 1,442	5.7
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25,000	+ 1,128	4.5
34	Wolof	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	+ 977	3.7
35	Wolof	Staff employee D.N.	27,000	+ 2,117	7.8
36	Wolof	Private accountant	34,000	+ 751	2.2
37	Wolof	Truck-gardener	36,000	+ 1,237	3.4
38	Wolof	Jeweler	50,000	+ 2,555	5.1
39	Sarakolé	Teacher	51,000	+12,894	25.2
40	Wolof	Staff worker	55,000	+ 2,494	4.5
41	Sarakolé	Head employee D.N.	55,500	+ 5,599	10.0
42	Bambara	Chief worker C.D.N.	56,000	+ 4,726	8.4
43	Wolof	Doctor	81,000	+ 847	1.0

S
*511 /400 cont./ of supporting a second wife in another city on an income that is not very high. Nos. 36 and 43 have a lower percentage of surplus, but here we were able to get quite precise information on the utilization of the /401/ surplus and were able to include these sums in the total expenses.

S
178 It has become banal to state that the diet of Africans lacks variety. The food habits remain the most deep-rooted,
*262 and although one sees imported food products appear more and
[369] more among the African families of the cities, it is striking to verify that almost all are merely superimposed on the old ones.
● [264] The food base, the meals at noon and in the evening, rarely evolves, no matter what the ethnic group, the income, or the

/401 cont./

178 occupation may be. Imported products appear only at breakfast:
*262 bread, sweetened condensed milk, lumps of sugar. The other
[264] two meals are still always composed of four products, rice,
[439] millet, fish, and meat, which may be combined in different ways, and a fifth that is always present, oil. The single element of diversity comes from the more or less great variety and the more or less great quantity of vegetables and manioc that are incorporated into the traditional dishes, and, of course, the skillful proportion of condiments of all sorts.

*511 With a few exceptions (1), the study of the expenses of
*262
[177]

1. The more important exceptions are Nos. 39 and 43. These two units of consumption have entirely adopted European food habits, and are otherwise not comparable with the others. This is why we neglect them a little on this point.

our families for food is very nearly limited, aside from bread, milk, and sugar, to a description of the variations ascertained in the consumption of these few essential products.

One can state that in general all of our families consume rice by liking and millet by necessity. Rice is the food of choice, millet entering in only when the financial situation of the family demands it, or in order all the same to provide a little variety.

243 Rice is 30 to 35% more expensive than millet. It is culti-
311 vated on a small scale in a few wet zones in the countryside
[435] around Thiès, whereas millet grows nearly everywhere. The
* [511] truly productive rice zones closest to Thiès are the Casamance to the south and the lower course of the Senegal to the north. On the east it appears only with the upper course of this river and in the region /402/ drained by the Niger and its tributaries,
*262 in Guinea, and in the Sudan. In reality, it is an imported
177 product. The traditional diet of this region was primarily based on millet.

/405 cont./

511 * kilograms of millet. This is a good deal, but not excessive.
262 *The following greatest consumption is that of No. 9, a Peul who purchases the rice that he eats in large quantity by liking and by tradition, but also consumes the little millet that he cultivates, 21.5 and 2.8 kilograms, respectively. This is nearly normal for a Peul from Fouta-Djalon. And the very low figures of consumption are in the majority. We give them as information, leaving the task of judging them to the specialists (2).

> 2. The average consumption of rice for all the families is 8.2 kilograms. The average consumption of millet is 5.8 kilograms.

We have put alongside our quantities of rice and millet those of bread. Let us state on this subject that, except for the baker, all consumption higher than four kilograms per man per month is /406/ found among the workers and employees (with the exception of No. 6 and No. 38, the latter having a more varied diet in other respects). All of our families habitually [264] eat bread, and all except three only for breakfast.

The portion of the income devoted to bread (Table X)[1] is far from being negligible and sometimes exceeds 10%. Bread is regarded as a luxury product; it is even more expensive than [435] rice! And it is certainly because of its utility (it requires no [264] preparation before being consumed) that it is utilized, but only for the first meal of the day. The average consumption of our families is in any case quite low: 3.5 kilograms per man per month, or 113 grams per day. At the time of rationing in France, the average ration amounted to 300 grams.

Eighteen families in all exceed this average of 113 grams per day per month. This greater consumption was noted, logically, among the largest incomes (11 out of 18) where its purchase rarely requires more than 5% of the income. This percentage reaches 6.9 for family 29, and, for the lower incomes exceeding

1 [see cat 116 pp 51-53 - ANALYST]

/415 cont./

*511 Most of them are very close to the average. There is thus a
263 kind of uniformity in the consumption of sugar, and it is probably that here, too, we are in the presence of an upper limit.

/416/ The portion of the income devoted to sugar is thus going to vary according to the size of the income and the composition of the unit of consumption. The maximum noted is 10% for No. 4, the minimum 0.3 for No. 43 (1.2 for No. 42).

*511 The same uniformity does not exist for sweetened condensed
272 milk. Its use is spreading more and more, but all the same
[177] there are ten families who do not consume it at all.

The average consumption was established, for one man, at 589 grams per month for the 43 families, at 767 if one eliminates those that do not consume any.

Fourteen families out of 33 are above this average, only four of whom are in the top of the table. And, as in the case of vegetables, these 24 families are precisely the least numerous. The largest theoretical composition of the unit of consumption among these 24 families is that of No. 38, 10.5. But this is for an income of 50,000 francs per month. The next maximum is 8.6 for No. 29. Here, too, the size of the unit of consumption is essential.

Twenty-seven families utilize fresh milk besides or to supplement the condensed milk. Only two did not consume either one. But this consumption of fresh milk is quite limited; the average, solely for the utilizers, is 1.1 liters. It is habitual in only one case, No. 42, where a liter is bought every day. Moreover there is no periodicity anywhere. Fresh milk is therefore not used systematically for only breakfast. It is preferably
[264] utilized for the rice mush that many families like to eat in the
[855] afternoon. It is then reserved for women and children. This is the only point where we found a special diet for children, except from time to time when a mango or guava is bought solely for them.

Fresh milk costs more proportionally than condensed milk:
[435] 40 francs a liter as against 40 francs for a case of 400 grams of Nestlé milk.

/417 cont./

*511
[272]

We likewise noted the purchase of cacao in the cases of No. 6 (1.2%) and No. 20 (0.7%).

We have thus surveyed the principal food expenses of our families. Is there truly nothing else?

There is, of course, a quantity of products that are incidentally represented in running over the questionnaires. They are sometimes of some importance in the units of consumption with high incomes.

*511
*262
[264]

The groundnut is most often represented. This is not surprising; we are in Senegal. But the groundnut is a product that is sold more than it is consumed. Some are bought in amounts worth a five-franc bill in order to satisfy hunger while awaiting mealtime. In the form of a paste, it is put into certain dishes. In extreme cases the housewife buys the groundnut if she truly does not have enough money to do suitable marketing for other products. But though one often sees the groundnut in the shell between the hands of the women, it is only when she is shelling it, before roasting it, to sell it then at a very slight profit. /418/ /Table X appears here./ /419/ /Table XI appears here./

[252]
[438]

/420/ Here are the percentages of the income that have been devoted to it:

No. 2: 1.8	No. 17: 0.6	No. 29: 0.4
No. 4: 1.2	No. 18: 1.5	No. 31: 0.3
No. 5: 2.4	No. 19: 2.0	No. 33: 0.4
No. 6: 0.6	No. 20: 3.8	No. 37: 0.2
No. 8: 2.8	No. 21: 0.2	No. 38: 0.4
No. 13:: 1.0	No. 22: 0.8	No. 39: 0.2
No. 16:: 0.6	No. 25: 0.6	No. 40: 1.2

This last percentage expresses the greatest quantity; the cook has simply made a specialty of a dish based on groundnuts.

/15 cont./

788 style, violently colored like our Épinal pictures and representing
*795 the holy places of Islam or personages of Koranic tradition.

[438] Finally, to complete this immense and noisy fair over which
[443] floats an impalpable dust, there, in a corner of the city not far from the mosque, are the keepers of the cook-shops: they cook
[265] in the open the appetizing dishes which they will offer at modest prices to the famished pilgrims.

Evening does not slow down these activities; on the contrary, the pilgrims regroup at the homes of the various marabouts, and sessions of religious songs are organized there. They will
[533] last far into the night, which will resound until dawn with these litanies amplified by numerous loud-speakers.

/16/ In the course of this pilgrimage, the believers have several obligations to fulfill:

1) to call on the Caliph-general,

2) to go to meditate at the tomb of Amadou Bamba and that of Amadou Moustapha,

3) to visit the mosque,

4) to go to see their own marabout,

[778] 5) to visit at the cemetery the Sacred Tree and the graves of certain deceased notables of the brotherhood.

At the entrance to the carré of the Caliph, the faithful, in a long line, patiently await their turn to go into the residence of their supreme spiritual leader.

After passing through several walls (at the gate of which are talibé-cashiers who claim their offerings from them), they arrive at the hut in which the Caliph receives.

The circle guards maintaining order have them enter one by one into the straw hut where Falilou awaits them, assisted by his secretary and some of his close collaborators. Each pilgrim kneels before the Caliph while presenting to him his offering (hadia), which the sérigne will immediately have passed on to one of his followers. The pilgrim then rises and goes out in order to give his place to another.

His visit to the Caliph ended, he goes to the sacred tombs
[778] of Amadou Bamba and Amadou Moustapha.

/85 cont./

443 while the housewife attends to her tasks, the oldest child makes the sale (12).

12. According to an economic investigation made by Mr. Mersadier in Thiès, the returns from these sales[1] do not exceed ten francs profit per day (Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N., July-Oct., 1955, series B, p. 411).

[434] [433]

Thus, the commerce in Thiès (and certainly in most of the cities of French West Africa) is diffused among all of the layers of the society and at the same time has adapted itself extremely well there. The branches of important commercial houses, which in the beginning were violently opposed to this diffusion not controlled directly by them, quickly understood all the benefits that they could draw from this new situation.

463 Paralleling this extension of commerce, the working class, to a more limited extent, has also taken on much greater importance. To the traditional artisans, potters, jewelers, and smiths have been added activities more modern in inspiration: photographers, clockmakers, repairers of phonographs, bicycles, or even trucks, and, in another category of enterprises, small restaurant keepers and /86/ proprietors of drink shops. Finally, the establishment of European artisans (hairdressers, pastry cooks, etc.) is a specific phenomenon of the social evolution in African cities since the last war, and Thiès is not escaping it.

[265] [275] [178]

2. Industry.

498 The industrial activity of Thiès gravitates principally around the repair shops of the Dakar-Niger (13). The

[317] [464] [162]

13. The two phosphate quarries opened by the Société Péchiney some 15 kilometers from the city (Pallo and Lam-Lam)

[1] [ie, by "doorstep" merchants - ANALYST]

/88 cont./

369 bar, and sometimes its cinema and its swimming pool; /89/
563 they form a small city that is self-sufficient. The officers
573 of the administration by their very functions seem to have more extensive relations in the different milieus.

Among the merchants and artisans, the problem is different because of the very stability of their work and the length of their stay. In this commercial and artisan milieu one could define three very distinct "groupings": the "old ones" who have lived in Thiès for several decades; the "newcomers" from after the war; the Levantine-Moroccan grouping.

The first are not very numerous; they live in their old factorerie, which, in spite of recently added arrangements, preserves something old-fashioned about it. They are able to [191] talk to the native in his own language. Their life, while it has become more comfortable, is lived modestly; they go out little and entertain only among themselves. Every two [484] or three years they take a few months' rest in France during the season of cultivation in Senegal. As a result, their life is quite withdrawn.

The second group, made up of recent emigrants, is entirely different. It primarily contains bachelors or young married people more or less in love with adventure perhaps, but above all seeking a broader existence. They generally [427] live in one or two rooms rented from a Levantine or Moroccan. Since it is difficult for them to cook at home, the restaurant [265] provides for them. In general they adopt a careless attitude, [484] are restless, and speak loudly; their first savings are intended [493] for the purchase of a motorcycle or a small car which will enable them to escape from the city. Moreover, they are per- [546] sistent spectators at the four local cinemas, which have a new program every day.

The group of Levantines is different from the two preceding ones; their life is spent between their shop and their [484] apartment. Rare changes take them to Dakar on business. [353] Their interior is comfortable, arranged according to Oriental taste; they love vivid colors and pile up cushions. They [484] rarely go back to their country of origin; some of them have

/379 cont./

S 369 [262] Only food seems to have undergone only slight improvement: the couscous of millet or rice (a little fish or meat during periods of abundance) are basic in their diet. Bread, rarely eaten during the meal, is reserved for children; it takes the place of cake. Water remains the essential S [271] drink of the Moslem; water, palm wine (during the harvest), [273] and grape wine (on feast days) are consumed by the non-Islamized None. SR [273]

The frugal housewife profits from the proximity of the S escale for /380/ the daily sale in the market of the products 369 of her personal garden. She cultivates tomatoes, beans, 241 pumpkins, and okra. At Keur-Issa-Bambara she has tried, 438 with greater or lesser success, to cultivate potatoes and salad greens; the gathering of mangoes also procures a little profit for her. When the harvest from the garden is exhausted, the S [372] collection of dead wood which she will take to sell in the market in the form of little bundles will yield a few coins for her.

In parallel fashion, the husband-cultivator harvests on a plot of his lougan products that are easy to sell on the Thiès market; at Keur-Issa-Bambara he lays out flooded rice-fields and cultivates the sweet potato and manioc, part of which is S offered to the clientele of the escale.

SR During the dry season the None principally works at 369 gathering palmyra leaves; they will be sold, as bundles of 438 [314] thatch, for making roofs for the huts of the urban quarters; [342] after the harvest he carries dried groundnut leaves to the city [231] for fodder for the little horses harnessed to the taxicabs.

S Despite the ready sale that can be made with cattle, SR they are not very numerous. When the epizootic diseases 369 have spared them, they give an appreciable profit to their 234 owner through the sale of milk. At Tiali, the only herd in 438 the village, which contains about 30 animals, belongs to a S SR single breeder. It is guarded by Peul shepherds who lead it F to graze in the neighboring woodlands. The morning milk [239] and the calves belong to the owner; the evening milk goes [465]

/421 cont./

*511 said, it is the best stimulant to counteract the effects of
[276] undernourishment.

There are three categories of "routine" expenses, those that we noted from day to day, which we still have to mention. They hold our attention less, because in a way they are obligatory. They are those relating to fuel, illumination, and the upkeep of clothing, laundry (Table XII).

[372] The most important one, in terms of the sums that it is necessary to devote to it, is fuel: wood and charcoal. It ordinarily represents 6 to 7% of the small incomes, then becomes smaller, decreasing as the income increases.

[354] By contrast, the percentage of the expenses devoted to illumination, much less important, does not show any great variation from one income to another, because there are various means of illumination, from the candle to the oil and electric lamps, not forgetting the battery lamp. The more modern the illumination is, the more onerous it becomes. It is modern to the degree that the incomes increase, just as a more comfortable dwelling, where there is a greater number of rooms to illuminate, corresponds to the increase in incomes.

As for the expenses devoted to the laundry of the family linen, they are proportional to the number of persons making up this family. Sometimes the portage expenses for the water,
[271] which is also used in the kitchen, are added to them. Otherwise it would not be necessary to include the column "Water" in Table XII.

This concludes the survey of the principal routine expenses of our 43 families. For nearly half of them, totaling the percentages in proportion to the incomes obtained, we reach or exceed the figure 100. Nevertheless it is not enough to be fed and to have one's linen washed. Other expenses will have to figure, little or much, in the budget of these families. This is when the deficits are going to increase in very great proportions.

/415 cont./

*511 Most of them are very close to the average. There is thus a
263 kind of uniformity in the consumption of sugar, and it is probably that here, too, we are in the presence of an upper limit.

/416/ The portion of the income devoted to sugar is thus going to vary according to the size of the income and the composition of the unit of consumption. The maximum noted is 10% for No. 4, the minimum 0.3 for No. 43 (1.2 for No. 42).

*511 The same uniformity does not exist for sweetened condensed
272 milk. Its use is spreading more and more, but all the same
[177] there are ten families who do not consume it at all.

The average consumption was established, for one man, at 589 grams per month for the 43 families, at 767 if one eliminates those that do not consume any.

Fourteen families out of 33 are above this average, only four of whom are in the top of the table. And, as in the case of vegetables, these 24 families are precisely the least numerous. The largest theoretical composition of the unit of consumption among these 24 families is that of No. 38, 10.5. But this is for an income of 50,000 francs per month. The next maximum is 8.6 for No. 29. Here, too, the size of the unit of consumption is essential.

Twenty-seven families utilize fresh milk besides or to supplement the condensed milk. Only two did not consume either one. But this consumption of fresh milk is quite limited; the average, solely for the utilizers, is 1.1 liters. It is habitual in only one case, No. 42, where a liter is bought every day. Moreover there is no periodicity anywhere. Fresh milk is therefore not used systematically for only breakfast. It is preferably
[264] utilized for the rice mush that many families like to eat in the
[855] afternoon. It is then reserved for women and children. This is the only point where we found a special diet for children, except from time to time when a mango or guava is bought solely for them.

Fresh milk costs more proportionally than condensed milk:
[435] 40 francs a liter as against 40 francs for a case of 400 grams of Nestlé milk.

/416 cont./

*511 Above all it is infinitely less practical, keeping less
272 long. Besides, condensed milk has the advantage in that it
[452] can be purchased in quantity at the beginning of the month and on credit.

Nevertheless it is in the group of small incomes that one finds the most regularity in its consumption; in the group of 5,000 to 8,000 francs in income, only two families have a consumption per man lower than one liter per month. From No. 12 to No. 24, up to incomes higher than 15,000 francs, it is always below one liter. In the group of incomes higher than 15,000 francs, out of seven represented, in six it is higher than one liter.

There are thus few points of comparison between these two categories /417/ of milk. Their use is different, and they do not seem to be complementary.

We cannot speak of milk without saying a word about its breakfast complement, coffee. Its consumption is extremely variable. A product of the country, the quinquéliba, practically free, often substitutes for it, no matter what the income or occupational group. Coffee is perhaps a little more common in the group of incomes higher than 15,000 francs. The percentage, in proportion to the income, of the sums which are devoted to it is in general higher. Consumption thus increases in great proportions. Unfortunately it is impossible here to
[435] speak of quantities; coffee is sold ground, by pinches, and at variable prices. We therefore only have elements for judging the outlays made for this product. Be that as it may, milk and coffee are important fixtures in the budget of African families; often 8 to 14% of the income is devoted to them (1).

1. Nos. 11 and 17 are Moors and thus traditionally drink tea. No. 11 devotes 1.3% of his income to it; No. 17, 4.4%. No. 39 takes cacao at breakfast; 0.7% of the income.

/417 cont. /

*511
[272]

We likewise noted the purchase of cacao in the cases of No. 6 (1.2%) and No. 20 (0.7%).

We have thus surveyed the principal food expenses of our families. Is there truly nothing else?

There is, of course, a quantity of products that are incidentally represented in running over the questionnaires. They are sometimes of some importance in the units of consumption with high incomes.

*511
*262

The groundnut is most often represented. This is not surprising; we are in Senegal. But the groundnut is a product that is sold more than it is consumed. Some are bought in amounts worth a five-franc bill in order to satisfy hunger [264] while awaiting mealtime. In the form of a paste, it is put into certain dishes. In extreme cases the housewife buys the groundnut if she truly does not have enough money to do suitable marketing for other products. But though one often sees the groundnut in the shell between the hands of the women, it is only when she is shelling it, before roasting [252] it, to sell it then at a very slight profit. /418/ /Table X [438] appears here. / /419/ /Table XI appears here. /

/420/Here are the percentages of the income that have been devoted to it:

No. 2: 1.8	No. 17: 0.6	No. 29: 0.4
No. 4: 1.2	No. 18: 1.5	No. 31: 0.3
No. 5: 2.4	No. 19: 2.0	No. 33: 0.4
No. 6: 0.6	No. 20: 3.8	No. 37: 0.2
No. 8: 2.8	No. 21: 0.2	No. 38: 0.4
No. 13:: 1.0	No. 22: 0.8	No. 39: 0.2
No. 16:: 0.6	No. 25: 0.6	No. 40: 1.2

This last percentage expresses the greatest quantity; the cook has simply made a specialty of a dish based on groundnuts.

*511 *262 263 272 /1418/

Table X

No.	Occupation	Income	U. C. Theor. Comp.	% of Income for Condensed Milk	% of Income for Fresh Milk	% of Income for Coffee	% of Income for Sugar	% of Income for Bread
1	Laborer	5,800	10	3.4	0	--	5.6	11.0
2	Orderly	6,100	5.5	--	2.3	0.2	7.0	6.2
3	Laborer	6,500	2.8	0.6	3.9	0.3	5.5	2.7
4	Laborer	6,700	5.10	4.1	1.4	3.5	10.0	2.6
5	Orderly	6,745	5.6	4.1	4.5	3.2	3.5	5.9
6	Mattress-maker	7,000	4.8	9.5	9.5	3.0	9.5	7.9
7	Laborer	7,000	3.8	--	3.1	--	6.1	10.1
8	Orderly	7,410	4.4	6.1	3.0	1.3	4.7	7.9
9	Baker	7,500	4.4	--	2.7	--	4.3	11.8
10	Cultivator	8,150	9.6	1.4	6.0	2.2	6.2	6.6
11	Auxiliary	8,950	4.5	--	--	--	1.5	1.1
12	Laborer	9,000	6.3	0.1	2.0	--	3.8	3.3
13	Laborer	9,800	4.4	0.8	1.1	1.0	5.2	4.1
14	Cultivator	10,000	8.9	--	1.9	--	5.5	10.3
15	Laborer	10,000	5.5	--	1.3	--	3.8	6.9
16	Auxiliary	10,675	1.8	1.1	0.7	2.5	2.0	6.0

/418 cont./

* 511
*262
263
272

Table X (cont.)

No.	Occupation	Income	U. C. Theor. Comp.	% of Income for Condensed Milk	% of Income for Fresh Milk	% of Income for Coffee	% of Income for Sugar	% of Income for Bread
17	Auxiliary -	10,800	6.9	--	0.7	--	5.1	3.1
18	Spec. laborer	11,000	3.6	0.7	0.3	0.2	2.5	3.3
19	Accountant	11,950	7.1	6.1	--	2.5	2.8	5.1
20	Auxiliary	12,000	7.6	3.0	0.4	1.2	5.5	10.2
21	Clerk	13,000	3.8	9.4	1.8	1.9	4.8	6.2
22	Auxiliary	14,000	9.2	0.9	1.0	--	3.0	7.7
23	Cultivator	15,000	13.4	--	1.7	--	9.8	9.9
24	Cultivator	15,000	14.4	0.1	0.9	2.0	4.0	6.6
25	Auxiliary	15,630	11.9	0.7	3.2	2.7	2.2	2.0
26	Employee P.T.T.	15,800	2.3	3.1	--	3.4	2.8	2.4
27	Shoemaker	16,200	9.1	0.1	2.2	0.9	2.6	3.4
28	Worker	22,000	14.7	--	--	1.3	9.0	4.8
29	Police sergeant	22,000	8.6	6.0	3.0	2.5	3.8	9.7
30	Weigher	24,000	5.1	2.3	--	1.3	3.4	4.5

/418 cont./

*511
*262
263
272

Table X (cont.)

No.	Occupation	Income	U. C. Theor. Comp.	% of Income for Condensed Milk	% of Income for Fresh Milk	% of Income for Coffee	% of Income for Sugar	% of Income for Bread
31	Carpenter	25,000	14.4	3.8	--	4.6	2.5	3.2
32	Cultivator	25,000	4.8	--	1.7	--	2.2	3.9
33	Chauffeur	25,000	5.1	0.8	--	3.9	2.2	3.2
34	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	3.3	1.1	0.7	1.0	11.9	3.3
35	Managerial employee	27,000	4.6	1.6	0.9	1.2	2.2	3.0
36	Private accountant	34,000	12.5	0.9	0.6	1.0	1.3	1.9
37	Truck-gardener	36,000	19.8	3.1	--	6.7	2.5	3.3
38	Jeweler	50,000	10.5	2.3	00	1.1	1.7	3.3
39	Teacher	51,000	8	1.7	--	--	2.5	2.5
40	Chief worker	55,000	17.5	1.6	--	2.9	2.2	2.0
41	Head employee	55,500	10.4	2.5	--	--	2.0	2.5
42	Chief worker	56,000	8.6	1.2	2.4	--	1.2	3.5
43	Doctor	81,000	4	0.5	--	1.2	0.3	1.7

4: Meradier--54 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

/419/ * 511 243 272

Table XI

No.	Income	Ethnic Group	Sugar Qt. (kg.)	Sugar I. M. (kg.)	Condensed Milk Qt. (gr.)	Condensed Milk I. M. (gr.)	Fresh Milk Qt. (l.)	Fresh Milk I. M. (L.)
1	5,800	Sarakolé	6.2	0.6	2,000	200	--	--
2	6,100	Peul	7.2	1.3	--	--	3.4	0.6
3	6,500	Wolof	7.4	2.6	400	142	6.3	2.2
4	6,700	Sérère	11.7	2.3	2,800	549	2.2	0.4
5	6,745	Toucouleur	4.0	0.7	2,800	500	7.4	1.3
6	7,000	Wolof	12.4	2.6	6,650	1,380	16.6	3.4
7	7,000	Wolof	9.7	1.2	--	--	5.5	1.4
8	7,410	Wolof	6.0	1.3	4,550	1,034	5.5	1.2
9	7,500	Wolof	5.0	1.1	--	--	5.1	1.1
10	8,150	Wolof	10.0	1.1	1,200	125	14.2	1.4
11	8,940	Moor	2.5	0.6	--	--	--	--
12	9,000	Peul	6.3	1.0	150	238	4.6	0.7
13	9,800	Wolof	7.5	1.8	600	136	2.5	0.5
14	10,000	Wolof	11.5	1.3	--	--	4.6	0.5
15	10,000	Bambara	8.0	1.5	--	--	3.3	0.6
16	10,675	Bambara	4.0	1.2	1,200	370	1.8	0.5

/419 cont./

*511
263
272

Table XI (cont.)

No.	Income	Ethnic Group	Sugar Qt. (kg.)	Sugar I. M. (kg.)	Condensed Milk Qt. (gr.)	Condensed Milk I. M. (gr.)	Fresh Milk Qt. (l.)	Fresh Milk I. M. (l.)
17	10,800	Moor	7.7	1.1	--	--	1.8	0.2
18	11,000	Peul	2.0	0.5	800	222	--	--
19	11,950	Toucouleur	4.5	0.7	7,400	1,098	--	--
20	12,000	Bambara	10.2	1.4	3,600	470	1.2	0.1
21	13,000	Wolof	10.0	2.6	12,370	3,255	6.1	1.6
22	14,000	Wolof	7.0	0.7	1,350	148	3.2	0.3
23	15,000	Wolof	12.6	0.9	--	--	6.4	0.4
24	15,000	Wolof	12.0	0.8	200	138	3.5	0.2
25	15,630	Wolof	6.0	0.5	1,140	95	12.6	1.0
26	15,800	Wolof	4.0	1.7	5,000	2,173	--	--
27	16,200	Wolof	8.7	1.0	300	329	9.1	1.0
28	22,000	Wolof	8.0	0.5	--	--	--	--
29	22,000	Toucouleur	15.0	1.7	15,000	1,744	16.7	1.9
30	24,000	Wolof	15.0	2.9	5,600	1,100	--	--
31	25,000	Wolof	11.0	0.7	9,660	670	--	--
32	25,000	Wolof	11.6	2.5	--	--	11.1	2.3

4: Mersadier--56 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

/419 cont./

*511
263
272

Table XI (cont.)

No.	Income	Ethnic Group	Sugar Qt. (kg.)	Sugar I.M. (kg.)	Condensed Milk Qt. (gr.)	Condensed Milk I.M. (gr.)	Fresh Milk Qt. (l.)	Fresh Milk I.M. (l.)
33	25.000	Sérère	8.5	1.7	2,000	400	--	--
34	25,900	Wolof	9.0	2.7	3,000	910	4.9	1.4
35	27,000	Wolof	10.5	2.3	4,400	950	0.5	--
36	34,000	Wolof	8.6	0.7	3,150	252	5.5	0.4
37	36,000	Wolof	6.2	0.3	11,400	575	--	--
38	50,000	Wolof	14.7	1.4	11,500	1,100	--	--
39	51,000	Sarakolé	20.0	2.5	8,400	1,050	--	--
40	55,000	Wolof	20.0	1.1	8,800	500	--	--
41	55,500	Sarakolé	20.0	1.9	14,400	1,380	--	--
42	56,000	Bambara	13.5	1.6	6,900	802	34.7	4.0
43	81,000	Wolof	5.0	1.2	4,200	1,300	--	--

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

called 'Les Ballets Sereres du Sine Saloum,' a group of dancers who had won the Territorial Cup in 1957. 545

The theatre was packed. I was sitting next to an ample Jollof matron, a small child strapped to her back, its tiny nose buried in the pink muslin of her dress. Another child sat on her knee, beturbanned and clothed just like its mother. From the woman's forehead dangled three shining American dollars. Unfortunately a similar Jollof woman sat immediately in front of me, her black horsehair wig and tall tulle turban almost totally obscuring my view. A strong scent of 'Bint El Sudan' manufactured in East London perfumed the room as the curtains rose to the first dance, 'Love and its Caprices', which was to be the theme of the evening. The variations, the programme told me, were to include '*Allo M'Bissine*'—'My fiancée has beaten me because a boy who loves me told me "Hello M'Bissine" ', and later '*Khodia Kha Lola*'—'Why do you cry Khodia? Only the Gods understand what a tear says'. Ending with an initiation dance of future circumcision candidates. One of the most memorable dances was a solo by a woman with a baby strapped to her back, its head swaying backwards and forwards like a punch ball. The child uttered not a murmur as its mother danced into a frenzy, singing at the top of her voice, and in the background a corps of drums beat an hysterical rhythm. It was an entertaining evening, with a beautiful dance of a slight youth, his black-brown body shining sleekly in the glow of the footlights, contrasting with the powdered copper of his lissom partner, a girl of singular beauty with entrancing opalescent eyes. [854] [291] [302]

After the performance there was a cast party to which Faye, the young secretary of the theatre, invited me. The dancers, various guests, European and African, drank bottles of Coca-Cola and orange squash. Amongst them was Ka Abdou Anta. 536 [517] [212]

He was a handsome young man, but he dragged continuously at a cigarette and his teeth were discoloured with nicotine. His jacket, once well cut, was misshapen by papers stuffed into the pockets. My first meeting with Ka had been two years before but we had not been introduced. He was rehearsing a scene from his play *La Fille des Dieux*, which he was producing for the Théâtre du Palais. It was highly symbolic: a somewhat uneasy compromise between tribal metaphysics and the classical French

/37 cont./

This is the most common preparation, but the native cuisine is acquainted with a host of others. The couscous is light, refreshing, and very nourishing. S 262

Millet is also given to horses. Basi is used the most in this practice, but souna gives them more vigor, although heating them up more. S 231

The Africans, by making millet germinate and putting it in water to boil for several days, obtain a kind of invigorating beer (pouh in Wolof), but one which, if taken in great quantities, produces a very heavy drunkenness. Millet, just like maize, fattens animals quickly, especially poultry. S W 273 S 231

Sorghum is a plant widely cultivated in Senegal. It is necessary to accustom the Senegalese farmer as rapidly as possible to replacing the ordinary variety by that of the sweet sorghum, that is, the saccharatum variety, which would have the advantage of giving sugar and grain. This saccharatum variety is utilized a great deal in the United States for the production of sugar. Then a sugar refinery would be created, which would be one more source of wealth for this country, wealth all the more appreciable because the African is fond of delicacies and a great consumer of sugar (mint tea, Moorish coffee, and infusions). S 243 S [493] [263] [272]

Rice. It is cultivated in Senegal in damp places, on the edges of marigots /watercourses/, in Sine, in Casamance, and at the mouth of the river (Richard-Toll, etc.). A large number of varieties is known, some of which grow in relatively dry and high places; black rice is one of them.

The African rice is Oryza glaberrima, but wild rice grows by itself; this is Oryza latifolia (punctata and sylvestris). The native rice is much more in demand by the Africans and often even by the Europeans than foreign rice. African cooks excel in preparing rice in all kinds of ways. S [137] S 262

Rice is emollient, soothing, very nourishing, and not at all binding or constipating as is sometimes thought. It also gives a beer by fermentation. Rice water renders great service in dysentery, as a beverage, and for bathing. Rice water is also a cooling drink for feverish and inflammatory ailments. Finally, rice powder is useful as an absorbent for skin diseases. S 273 757 [272] [515]

/38/

Maize (Zea mays L.): Succeeds well when sown at the beginning of the winter season. The native species sown under these conditions is very beautiful and gives large yellow ears, very well filled out. The Africans eat fresh roasted corn, and, when it is hard, they make couscous of it. The infusion prepared with the fruit is emollient and diuretic. The styles or stigmas of maize are famous as diuretics and cure several ailments of the urinary tract (cystitis, gravel, dysuria, etc.); the young kernels, when cooked, constitute an excellent vegetable and replace peas; the flour gives a beer and an alcoholic extract. The husks of the ears serve to make quite springy mattresses. 243 262 757 [273] [513]

II. -- Useful Gramineae

(not being subject to any cultivation)

Bamboo. -- Grows in the wild state in the Ravin des Voleurs /Ravine of Thieves/ near Thiès. The native species is rather small. Stakes, frames, masts of dugouts, huts, and fences, but especially clinting (constructions of bamboo filled in with lime) are made of it. The young shoots are said to be edible, and the sweet sap is supposed to be an agreeable drink. In Casamance a small species of bamboo grows in shady places; pipestems are made of it. 824 [313] [342] [262] [272] [276]

Begnefala (Andropogon shirensis). -- A tall gramineous plant with a penetrating aromatic odor. It is used in African medicine, and the old colonials used it with success at the time of the great epidemic of yellow fever at Dakar in 1927. For fevers, one pounds the floral heads mixed with lemon or vinegar and energetically rubs the body with this mixture. [757]

Hada (Imperata cylindrica). -- A gramineous plant with a very hard leaf and whitish ear, which is used for covering the roofs of huts. [342]

Hat (Andropogon gayanus). -- Tall grass whose stem is used in making fences around huts. [351]

Haham or cram-cram (Cenchrus biflorus). -- Its seeds fasten themselves to clothing and are very disagreeable. Is gathered and [262]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 39

Gambia, often in rotation with ground-nuts. Of the quick-maturing 243
varieties *souna* and *sanio* are the most popular, the former thriving in [262]
sandy soil, the latter in heavier ground. Several kinds of sorghum are also cultivated. In the river area millet is sown where the floods have subsided and is harvested in April. In other parts it is planted immediately before the rainy season. Production probably averages [433]
about 300,000 tons annually. The export of millet from one province [438]
to another is controlled according to local needs.

Rice. The area flooded by the Casamance is naturally suited for rice cultivation. The rice-fields are handed down from father to [428]
son, each family growing sufficient for its own consumption and to [262]
pay its taxes. A store of rice is always kept to guard against a lean [251]
year or to be exchanged for some other commodity required.

Sugar-cane. This is grown near every village where there is enough 249
water. No attempt has been made to commercialize the crop, and the West African varieties are more woody and contain less juice than those grown elsewhere for export. Sugar-cane (*Saccharum officinarum*) is a perennial plant of the grass family. It is easy to grow, even near the sea, but takes at least a year to mature. When grown for local use, as it is here, sugar is not extracted, but the red or white stems are [263]
chewed.

The Baobab. The baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) is found generally 245
in the thornland (Plate III), and is, therefore, much in evidence in Senegal. It is remarkable for the large girth of its trunk in com- [262]
parison to its branches and leaves. The long green fruit, known as [263]
monkey-bread, is used as a food or as a seasoner. Boiled with water [272]
and then cooled, it also makes a refreshing drink, while the leaves and the young shoots are also good to eat. The inner bark yields a [283]
tough fibre, which can be twisted into rope or woven into a water-proof cloth. About 30 years ago a factory was opened at Dakar to prepare the fibre for export to rope- and paper-making firms in [288]
France. The bark and fibre can be stripped off without causing the death of the tree.

Manioc, beans, and maize are grown generally in the vicinity of 244
villages. In the Cape Verde peninsula these, as well as yams, sweet [243]
potatoes, and melons, are grown for the Dakar markets. [438]

Economic Crops

Ground-nuts. Ground-nuts (*Arachis hypogaea*) require a tropical [433]
climate and an annual rainfall of from 14 to 60 inches. They are the

/379 cont./

S 369 [262] Only food seems to have undergone only slight improvement: the couscous of millet or rice (a little fish or meat during periods of abundance) are basic in their diet. Bread, rarely eaten during the meal, is reserved for children; S [271] it takes the place of cake. Water remains the essential drink of the Moslem; water, palm wine (during the harvest), [273] and grape wine (on feast days) are consumed by the non-SR [273] Islamized None.

The frugal housewife profits from the proximity of the S 369 241 438 escale for /380/ the daily sale in the market of the products of her personal garden. She cultivates tomatoes, beans, pumpkins, and okra. At Keur-Issa-Bambara she has tried, with greater or lesser success, to cultivate potatoes and salad greens; the gathering of mangoes also procures a little profit S [372] for her. When the harvest from the garden is exhausted, the collection of dead wood which she will take to sell in the market in the form of little bundles will yield a few coins for her.

In parallel fashion, the husband-cultivator harvests on a plot of his lougan products that are easy to sell on the Thiès market; at Keur-Issa-Bambara he lays out flooded rice-fields and cultivates the sweet potato and manioc, part of which is S SR 369 438 offered to the clientele of the escale.

During the dry season the None principally works at gathering palmyra leaves; they will be sold, as bundles of [314] thatch, for making roofs for the huts of the urban quarters; [342] after the harvest he carries dried groundnut leaves to the city [231] for fodder for the little horses harnessed to the taxicabs.

S SR 369 234 438 S SR F Despite the ready sale that can be made with cattle, they are not very numerous. When the epizootic diseases have spared them, they give an appreciable profit to their owner through the sale of milk. At Tiali, the only herd in the village, which contains about 30 animals, belongs to a single breeder. It is guarded by Peul shepherds who lead it [239] to graze in the neighboring woodlands. The morning milk [465] and the calves belong to the owner; the evening milk goes

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS 30

S
Arnold was critical of these Colons, for in British West Africa 369
there is no such class. Indeed he seemed almost to resent their 563
presence, though he has no dislike of Europeans. His opinion is shared by a number of Africans who come into competition with whites for jobs.

'In Lagos the counter girls are African. Why shouldn't they be here?' Arnold argued.

On the other hand in Lagos service and shopping facilities are infinitely inferior to those of Dakar. Another thing that struck Arnold was the absence of Africans from the main cafés and hotels. Surely this indicated a subtle colour bar, he argued. However, I had the answer to this from an African whom I S
invited to have a drink in a café with me. He declined, because as [873]
a Muslim it would not do for him to be seen in a café by any of [369]
his friends or relations. If they did see him there would be terrible trouble.

W
The Jollofs, Dakar's main tribe, are proud of their race and [563]
not over-keen on mixing with whites. Nevertheless relations between African and European in Dakar are extremely cordial. France is still aware of the debt that she owes the Senegalese troops for their part in the last war. There is, moreover, none of the patronizing attitude in the French approach to the African. If anything, as many French complain, the Jollof is the one who does the patronizing.

S
We went from the Hotel de Fleurs to some rooms in IFAN, 123
the Institut Français D'Afrique Noire, which were lent us by its [815]
Director, Professor Theodore Monod, whom I had met on my last visit to Dakar. Professor Monod is one of the most impressive men I have ever met. He received us both in his large, book-lined office without looking up from his work. We both fumbled and fidgeted nervously studying the pictures on the wall, many of which were religious paintings or texts from the Bible. When I was beginning to feel acutely embarrassed, he looked up from his work revealing a gaunt, hollow face with deep-set piercing eyes, half obscured behind the glass of his horn-rimmed spectacles. I informed him that we had met some two years before, and that I should be grateful for his help on my journey. He looked at me vaguely, smiled, and then suddenly seemed to come into contact with the world we inhabited, and promised to arrange for letters

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

was a borrower, only to have other people borrowing from him.

The morning after I had lunch with Diop I went to a Conference in the High Commission on Alcoholism. This, it appeared, was a grave problem in Dakar. The creation of the new Africa has its ugly sides, and this was perhaps one of its most ugly. A favourite drink, named after the local bus service, was the 'Car Rapide'. To make it you mix beer, methylated spirits and a drop of petrol. It is guaranteed to knock you out in one go. In Zuiginchor a more potent drink was made by adding a well-known Parisian perfume to beer.

A day before the Conference *Paris-Dakar*, the local daily newspaper, published an article on alcoholism in M'Backé, a large Senegalese town:

ALCOHOLISM MUST BE FOUGHT

An all out police attack is needed and would be appreciated to seek out and rid our town of a gang of drunks of both sexes who spend their time in the small shops and sordid bars which are hidden all over the town in the guise of restaurants and small eating places.

Most of the proprietors of these cafés add to their miserable occupations that of pimping. Favouring alcoholism, they nevertheless indulge in all revolting forms of debauchery.

In most parts of our town one finds these small cafés nicely divided, serving as homes and places of business.

A few posts in the ground, a roof of polished tiles, a wooden fence and there you have the ideal café.

The interior of these hovels is divided into small compartments with no ventilation and on the ground a few mattresses covered with dirty blankets. The decoration consists of a few old newspapers pasted here and there to keep out the sun. The bar stock lies among packing cases and hidden under the mattresses. In holes made for the purpose are bottles of wine, red, rosé and white, and beer.

To cover up this business known to be officially disliked, the café proprietors keep a kitchen where periodically they prepare meals, hygienically leaving a lot to be desired.

In these sordid places, the atmosphere heavy with noxious smells, they give themselves up to their anti-social pastimes. Debauchery has been given a home here. These are also the rendezvous of scoundrels and receivers of stolen goods.

/37 cont./

This is the most common preparation, but the native cuisine is acquainted with a host of others. The couscous is light, refreshing, and very nourishing. S 262

Millet is also given to horses. Basi is used the most in this practice, but souna gives them more vigor, although heating them up more. S 231

The Africans, by making millet germinate and putting it in water to boil for several days, obtain a kind of invigorating beer (pouh in Wolof), but one which, if taken in great quantities, produces a very heavy drunkenness. Millet, just like maize, fattens animals quickly, especially poultry. S W 273 S 231

Sorghum is a plant widely cultivated in Senegal. It is necessary to accustom the Senegalese farmer as rapidly as possible to replacing the ordinary variety by that of the sweet sorghum, that is, the saccharatum variety, which would have the advantage of giving sugar and grain. This saccharatum variety is utilized a great deal in the United States for the production of sugar. Then a sugar refinery would be created, which would be one more source of wealth for this country, wealth all the more appreciable because the African is fond of delicacies and a great consumer of sugar (mint tea, Moorish coffee, and infusions). S 243 S [433] [263] [272]

Rice. It is cultivated in Senegal in damp places, on the edges of marigots /watercourses/, in Sine, in Casamance, and at the mouth of the river (Richard-Toll, etc.). A large number of varieties is known, some of which grow in relatively dry and high places; black rice is one of them.

The African rice is Oryza glaberrima, but wild rice grows by itself; this is Oryza latifolia (punctata and sylvestris). The native rice is much more in demand by the Africans and often even by the Europeans than foreign rice. African cooks excel in preparing rice in all kinds of ways. S [137] S 262

Rice is emollient, soothing, very nourishing, and not at all binding or constipating as is sometimes thought. It also gives a beer by fermentation. Rice water renders great service in dysentery, as a beverage, and for bathing. Rice water is also a cooling drink for feverish and inflammatory ailments. Finally, rice powder is useful as an absorbent for skin diseases. S 273 757 [272] [515]

/38/

Maize (Zea mays L.): Succeeds well when sown at the beginning of the winter season. The native species sown under these conditions is very beautiful and gives large yellow ears, very well filled out. The Africans eat fresh roasted corn, and, when it is hard, they make couscous of it. The infusion prepared with the fruit is emollient and diuretic. The styles or stigmas of maize are famous as diuretics and cure several ailments of the urinary tract (cystitis, gravel, dysuria, etc.); the young kernels, when cooked, constitute an excellent vegetable and replace peas; the flour gives a beer and an alcoholic extract. The husks of the ears serve to make quite springy mattresses. 243 262 757 [273] [513]

II. -- Useful Gramineae

(not being subject to any cultivation)

Bamboo. -- Grows in the wild state in the Ravin des Voleurs /Ravine of Thieves/ near Thiès. The native species is rather small. Stakes, frames, masts of dugouts, huts, and fences, but especially clinting (constructions of bamboo filled in with lime) are made of it. The young shoots are said to be edible, and the sweet sap is supposed to be an agreeable drink. In Casamance a small species of bamboo grows in shady places; pipestems are made of it. 824 [313] [342] [262] [272] [276]

Begnefala (Andropogon shirensis). -- A tall gramineous plant with a penetrating aromatic odor. It is used in African medicine and the old colonials used it with success at the time of the great epidemic of yellow fever at Dakar in 1927. For fevers, one pounds the floral heads mixed with lemon or vinegar and energetically rubs the body with this mixture. [757]

Hada (Imperata cylindrica). -- A gramineous plant with a very hard leaf and whitish ear, which is used for covering the roofs of huts. [342]

Hat (Andropogon gayanus). -- Tall grass whose stem is used in making fences around huts. [351]

Haham or cram-cram (Cenchrus biflorus). -- Its seeds fasten themselves to clothing and are very disagreeable. Is gathered and [262]

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 we plan to build a modern port; and there in the Soudan we hope to develop livestock for export. For that we would need a number of large refrigeration units here in Dakar.'

Thus he continued in detail all over the vast area of French West Africa stretching from St. Louis to the Chad, from the Sahara to the Guinea Coast, with an area of nearly 1,840,000 square miles, and a meagre population of 18 millions. I pointed to Nigeria and Ghana.

'I am afraid we British took the best bits of West Africa. Yet we haven't put nearly as much money into it by comparison. I wonder what Nigeria would be like if you French had got it?'

His eyes looked longingly at the large chunk of red.

471 'That would be something marvellous!' he said. Since the war the French have poured money into West Africa. Private funds have accounted for a lot, but FIDES, the equivalent of our Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, has contributed more than £175,000,000 to these territories, and together with other public funds the total of capital investment (not from private sources) is more than £300,000,000, for a large, but poor and underpopulated territory.

369 This heavy capital investment has created large cities like Dakar, Abidjan and Conakry. The Africans have come into contact not only with urban life, but with industry. In Dakar there has been a minor industrial revolution. In the past six years, largely because of this, the city's population has swollen to nearly 300,000. Africans have flooded into the city seeking work, [162] attracted by tales of its gay life or lured by its glamour and the prospect of easy money.

• 279 463 I went down to the large brewery in Dakar, to see a modern industry with Africans as employees.

One of the managers there replied to my question, why weren't there any Africans in senior positions in the brewery. 'We have great difficulty in finding Africans to fill our managerial vacancies. You see, though many go to Paris they nearly all want to become lawyers, doctors, and officials. Very few are interested in becoming technicians. We would pay for their studies if we could find suitable candidates—you know, all part of the *Loi Cadre*. We must Africanize!'

'But haven't you found any good enough?'

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

'Oh yes, our sister company in Abidjan has sent a young African to train in a large brewery in France.'

'What is your labour like?'

'Not so good. They don't seem to have much interest in their work.'

I remembered my discussion with Babacar Saye, Mayor of St. Louis, who told me that though he was a Socialist, he believed that at the present time capitalism had an essential role in the country. 'If we are to improve the conditions of the proletariat capitalism is a necessity, but this improvement cannot be speeded up except to the extent that the profit from capital is used towards the satisfying of the indispensable needs of the workers. Therefore it is necessary that the worker feels that he is complementary to the capitalist—it is up to the capitalist to make him understand this.'

To me this seems one of the most important factors in the industrialization of West Africa. The African from the tribal background is essentially an individual with a distinct position in his tribal group or village. Though he appreciates the money he earns in industry, psychologically he does not like being treated as a mere cog in a machine, losing his identity. If he could be given some indication that he is as indispensable to the firm as the manager, he would work hard. As Mr. C. O. Van der Plas, the United Nations Official in the Gambia, once observed: 'It is curious that the African running his own little enterprise works literally like a black, and takes on enormous responsibilities.' Yet if he is taken on as a cog in a vast machine, he becomes slack and Europeans call him the most inefficient and expensive labour in the world. It seems to me that a lot depends on the relations between the worker and the managerial staff.

Two years before I had visited a large shoe factory in neighbouring Rufisque with Mr. David Pearson, the British Consul responsible for liaison between British and French territories in West Africa. The factory was sited on the outskirts of the town opposite a huge cement works which belched forth pastel smoke at an angry sky. We entered a courtyard where hides of every colour were lying in the sun to dry. A Czech employee of the firm, which has its origins in Czechoslovakia, met us and led us into a gloomy shed where flabby hides, a hideous grey green in

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30

out of the bus and it was only with difficulty that Arnold and I managed to extricate ourselves. We took a taxi, at almost greater cost than the journey from Kaolak to Dakar, to a dingy little hotel, in the old quarter of the city. To reach it we passed through the centre of Dakar. Trees lined the streets and the architecture of both offices and houses was admirably suited to its tropical setting. It was at once evident that Dakar was a city and not just a town that had, like Lagos, rambled and sprawled and got too big. With its statuesque young skyscrapers and its wide streets, Dakar seemed a model city for the new West Africa. It was neither distinctly African nor European, but had its affinity with the modern cities of South America.

Arnold, accustomed to the higgledy-piggledy, chaotic sprawl of Lagos, and the quiet Victorian dignity of Freetown, could not quite take this in. He seemed almost to resent it as an imposition on Africa, as something that was not African. True, I found that against this background the African appeared, at first, to be an intruder. Nothing seemed more incongruous than a vast Jollof belle, dressed in her traditional robes of lace and muslin, sweeping past the more outrageous examples of *cinema moderna* architecture, or standing pensively beneath a marble plaque depicting a naked African surrounded by the fruits of progress. More incongruous still was the sight of them being spooned in and out of fast American cars or staring into patisserie windows—just imagine one of those muslin cocoons tackling a chocolate éclair. Yet the Africans seemed to have accepted their surroundings with such aplomb that very soon I was to feel that it was the Europeans who were out of place. There seemed nothing unnatural in half a dozen Africans making up their bed for the night on the pavement outside a twelve-story bank, or the young men in tight jeans standing on the street corners eyeing passing girls, just like Saturday night back at the Buildings.

We stayed one night in the Hotel des Fleurs, the cheapest I could find in Dakar. It was owned by a Lebanese, and for Dakar, a city which is almost prohibitive in price for an Englishman, it was remarkably cheap. A haircut in Dakar is 12s., and it has one of the highest cost of living indices in the world.

That night when I entered a bar called appropriately 'Café de Paris', I was unable to believe that we were still in Africa. It had

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

369 all the accoutrements of a Montmartre bistro, together with a
275 large, bad painting of the Sacré Coeur above the bar. Drinks were served by a tall barmaid, with long flaxen hair and make-up applied so that she looked like a German-doll: The clientele was mainly composed of soldiers from the barracks by the sea-front, but at our table sat two elegant Jollof girls, both very drunk.
[548] They made it fairly clear they were prostitutes and it was not long before a policeman came to arrest the more intoxicated of the two. She spat, screamed furiously and struggled to break away. Just as she was about to enter the car, she demanded: 'Let me finish my drink.' She was allowed to return to her table, where she drank her beer slowly, eyeing us all as if we were vermin. Then just as slowly, with the comic dignity that comes so naturally to a drunk, she swept to her feet, stood with her henna'd hands on her hips, spat with incredible accuracy at the feet of a nearby soldier and shouted in a voice ringing with anger, and looking at us with contempt: 'Salauds.'

Then an African sergeant came in, asked for a drink, which
[563] the flaxen doll served him. She served African and European alike. I found this hard to believe after the Gambia, where no white woman could serve drinks behind a bar to Europeans, let alone to Africans.

369 Next morning, I was even more surprised when Arnold took
563 me into a large department store and pointed to the counter-girls. Seventy-five per cent of them were white. Outside a Frenchwoman was selling vegetables at a small stall. Of course, in this respect Dakar is exceptional for West Africa. It is the only city with a large population of Colons. Over 25,000 Europeans live
[162] there. They came from every walk of life and have more affinity with the Colons of Algeria than anything else one can cite on the Coast. You can walk into the most ramshackle bar and yet be served by a Parisienne. You will find poor whites living in the Médina, as the African quarter is known. Each year, 'Les Girls' from a Paris night club do a season at the *Bodega*. The N'Gor Hotel and the 'Croix du Sud' are as fine as you will find in France. Dakar's Colons have re-created Paris in Africa. Most of them have never ventured out of the city, and if they had to go into 'the bush' they would probably prepare for it as though they were Mungo Park setting out to discover the Niger.

/81 cont./

361 millet. The old people assemble in the evening under the
[517] large silk-cotton tree that shades the old crumbling mosque of
Takhikao. The women chatter while awaiting their turn to
[312] draw water at the common well, while the children play in
the sand. Gent stands out because of a series of small, low
[342] houses with a rectangular base and a roof of corrugated metal,
all identical and set along the trail that leads to the marigot
/watercourse/ of the mission. A garden and a courtyard, al-
[351] ways littered with laundry, characterize each concession. It
[563] is the quarter of Portuguese half-breeds called "portugalais"
(Plates XI B and XII A).

Diakhao-Nord /North Diakhao/, quiet, airy, arranged
[363] according to a strict plan of lots, contrasts with Diakhao-Sud
with narrow, winding lanes bordered on all sides by tapades
of millet stalks and noisy in the evening. The proximity of
[275] the two military bases has made it a place where one amuses
himself with all that this includes in the way of drinking
[525] shops and more or less clandestine gambling dens. Brawls be-
[579] tween drunken men are not rare in these places.

Randoulène, Derrière-la-voie-ferrée, and Bambara,
which form a unique quarter, homogeneous in its density and
in the heterogeneity of its dwellings, have become established
in the immediate vicinity of the railroad repair shops. The
[342] huts of planks, mud, or straw stand one against the other along
[363] the winding lanes laid out according to the desire of the
moment and not without some imagination. These lanes are
[373] noisy with people, and even late at night they walk between
the small shopkeepers' stalls lighted with smoking candle ends.
351 The dense crowd flows over the edges of the street and enters
the interior of the courtyards. The latter, covering barely
[463] a few square meters, often serve as a workshop for the
weaver, the blacksmith, or the jeweler, and as a kitchen for
[252] the housewives of the neighboring huts; it is not rare to see
half a dozen millet pounders there, pounding their mortars
in rhythm in groups of two or three. This is also the gathering
[517] place /82/ /Fig. 4 appears here/ of workers, where, after
[524] work, sitting in the sand amidst the dust and the noise, in a

/84 cont./

443 One corner of the plank counter, polished by the hands of
[275] customers, is often reserved for the sale of beverages that are drunk from the bottle itself. Boards and piles of sacks block the passage of the customers. There is a constant coming and going of possible customers who pass the shop fully open to the street. Some stay there for hours without buying, solely to feast their eyes. The patient Levantine,
[437] arguing about the price in the native language, supervises the weights and inspects the sacks of groundnuts in order to take out the stones that may have slipped into them. The factorerie type makes it possible to imagine exactly what the commerce of the escale must have been in the first years of its establishment in the city.

European commerce is totally different. To be sure, there are still some factoreries of the type that we have just described, but for some years a real effort at modernization has changed their appearance; they are becoming metropoli-
tan-type stores with counters of plywood, shelves of canned
[438] goods, novelties from Paris... A luxury store was opened in 1950, offering buyers the latest goods from the capital: gowns, shorts, suits for men, curios of all sorts. But the nearness of Dakar, the ease of access to it, its attraction seem to be seriously limiting its sales potential.

442 The branches of the large commercial houses, N.O.
443 S.O.C.O., Maurel and Prom, C.F.A.O. (11), are eight in

11. C.F.A.O.: Compagnie Française d'Afrique Occidentale.

number and practically control the local market. Each is still established in its original concession in the interior of the old escale. The courtyard that formerly held the groundnuts has been remodeled into a warehouse; the retail store has been modernized: tiling, frigidaire, and cold rooms, as well as huge shop windows that replace the small windows of former times. The wholesale store, on the other hand, has preserved its disorder: bags of cement, boards,

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

was a borrower, only to have other people borrowing from him.

The morning after I had lunch with Diop I went to a Conference in the High Commission on Alcoholism. This, it appeared, was a grave problem in Dakar. The creation of the new Africa has its ugly sides, and this was perhaps one of its most ugly. A favourite drink, named after the local bus service, was the 'Car Rapide'. To make it you mix beer, methylated spirits and a drop of petrol. It is guaranteed to knock you out in one go. In Zuiginchor a more potent drink was made by adding a well-known Parisian perfume to beer.

A day before the Conference *Paris-Dakar*, the local daily newspaper, published an article on alcoholism in M'Backé, a large Senegalese town:

ALCOHOLISM MUST BE FOUGHT

An all out police attack is needed and would be appreciated to seek out and rid our town of a gang of drunks of both sexes who spend their time in the small shops and sordid bars which are hidden all over the town in the guise of restaurants and small eating places.

Most of the proprietors of these cafés add to their miserable occupations that of pimping. Favouring alcoholism, they nevertheless indulge in all revolting forms of debauchery.

In most parts of our town one finds these small cafés nicely divided, serving as homes and places of business.

A few posts in the ground, a roof of polished tiles, a wooden fence and there you have the ideal café.

The interior of these hovels is divided into small compartments with no ventilation and on the ground a few mattresses covered with dirty blankets. The decoration consists of a few old newspapers pasted here and there to keep out the sun. The bar stock lies among packing cases and hidden under the mattresses. In holes made for the purpose are bottles of wine, red, rosé and white, and beer.

To cover up this business known to be officially disliked, the café proprietors keep a kitchen where periodically they prepare meals, hygienically leaving a lot to be desired.

In these sordid places, the atmosphere heavy with noxious smells, they give themselves up to their anti-social pastimes. Debauchery has been given a home here. These are also the rendezvous of scoundrels and receivers of stolen goods.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

After the great Magal de Touba[1] our town inherited bands of homeless among whom were notorious criminals.

Alcoholism was not the only form of moral decadence in a city like Dakar. Actually crimes of violence, robbing and murder were almost unknown. There were rarely any reference to them in the papers, and a police officer assured me that this was true. However, one read frequently of crimes of passion, such as a man stabbing his friend to death in the course of a quarrel.

There was, I was told, an enormous amount of prostitution in Dakar. I was shown one of the city's more notorious brothels in Rebeusse suburb, a rambling shack that had been raided more than once by police. On the whole prostitution is not organized because of legal difficulties. A number of prostitutes were white women, who receive patronage mainly from Lebanese and Syrians. I was told of one who went around the Médina in a small car, serving the local population.

On the other hand homosexuality had a much freer rein, being prevalent amongst Africans, Mauretanians and Europeans alike. In Place Prôtet, the main square of Dakar, young African boys, more often than not Jollofs, could be seen waiting to be picked up. Under the Code Napoleon it is, of course, legal, and in theory presents no problem, though many people are worried by its spread in the city.

Of course, to many of these boys with no work, it is one way of making money. But amongst the Jollofs it seems to be more deeply rooted. Contact with Frenchmen in St. Louis, who often preferred black boys to black mistresses and contact with the Mauretanians may provide an explanation.

Today one can even see Jollof men dressed in women's clothes. I once met one in a small bar outside Dakar. He was obviously pathetically feminine. The Jollof must be used to this since they even have a word for them—Gor-Digen. The elders and faithful Muslims condemn men for this, but it is typical of African tolerance that they are left very much alone by the rest of the people.

One reason for the growing tendency of Jollof men to remain bachelors to an age much older than is usual in Africa, if not for their homosexuality, is the character of the Jollof women.

[1] Celebration of Birth of Prophet.

/85 cont./

443 while the housewife attends to her tasks, the oldest child makes the sale (12).

[434] [433] 12. According to an economic investigation made by Mr. Mersadier in Thiès, the returns from these sales[1] do not exceed ten francs profit per day (Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N., July-Oct., 1955, series B, p. 411).

Thus, the commerce in Thiès (and certainly in most of the cities of French West Africa) is diffused among all of the layers of the society and at the same time has adapted itself extremely well there. The branches of important commercial houses, which in the beginning were violently opposed to this diffusion not controlled directly by them, quickly understood all the benefits that they could draw from this new situation.

463 Paralleling this extension of commerce, the working class, to a more limited extent, has also taken on much greater importance. To the traditional artisans, potters, jewelers, and smiths have been added activities more modern in inspiration: photographers, clockmakers, repairers of phonographs, bicycles, or even trucks, and, in another [265] [275] [178] category of enterprises, small restaurant keepers and /86/ proprietors of drink shops. Finally, the establishment of European artisans (hairdressers, pastry cooks, etc.) is a specific phenomenon of the social evolution in African cities since the last war, and Thiès is not escaping it.

2. Industry.

498 The industrial activity of Thiès gravitates principally around the repair shops of the Dakar-Niger (13). The

[317] [464] [162] 13. The two phosphate quarries opened by the Société Péchiney some 15 kilometers from the city (Pallo and Lam-Lam)

1 [ie, by "doorstep" merchants - ANALYST]

/420 cont./

*511 *262 We sometimes found butter, but only once in an important amount, again in the case of No. 40, who devotes 2.5% of his income to it. The same No. 40 devotes another 2% of his 55,000 francs monthly for cheese. Two others copy him on this point: No. 34, 0.9%; No. 38, 0.3%.

Eggs appeared in five cases, all among the incomes over 15,000 francs and in small quantities, except fot No. 41 (2.8%). Likewise we sometimes found very small quantities of flour, sometimes potatoes: 0.8% of the income for No. 16; 1.7% for No. 21; 2.2% for No. 26; 1.9% for No. 35; and "traces" for a few others. Macaroni in two cases: No. 35, 0.5% of the income; No. 38, 0.1%. Fruits in two cases; No. 34, 3.1%; No. 39, 1.1%.

There are also quantities of little fancy articles that our families provide for themselves: a can of sardines, a bottle of mineral water, a package of bonbons, etc., always in too negligible a quantity for us to consider them seriously in this study of budgets.

*511 276 The only product that is quite generally consumed but that we hesitate to put in the category of "food" is the kola nut, which is chewed by habit, a habit which is difficult to break, like tobacco among others. In the case of some it can absorb an important part of the income (see Table XI).[1] Our five cultivators have a large consumption of it. Others say that this is because in the dry season they have nothing else to do. Let us note that for No. 10, who moreover has the lowest food standard, 5% of the total income is devoted to it.

Incidentally we can compare these figures with those obtained for tobacco (five cases).

/421/

No. 11:	3.9% of the income		(worker)
No. 16:	5.7%	--	(worker)
No. 17:	0.1%	--	(worker
No. 19:	6.7%	--	(accountant)
No. 36:	4.2%	--	(accountant)

For No. 11 we have 1.3% for kola; for No. 19, 0.6%.

[435] All the same, kola is less expensive than tobacco. And, it is

1 [apparently Table XII is meant, see cat 116, pp 59-60 - ANALYST]

/421 cont./

*511 said, it is the best stimulant to counteract the effects of
[276] undernourishment.

There are three categories of "routine" expenses, those that we noted from day to day, which we still have to mention. They hold our attention less, because in a way they are obligatory. They are those relating to fuel, illumination, and the upkeep of clothing, laundry (Table XII).

[372] The most important one, in terms of the sums that it is necessary to devote to it, is fuel: wood and charcoal. It ordinarily represents 6 to 7% of the small incomes, then becomes smaller, decreasing as the income increases.

[354] By contrast, the percentage of the expenses devoted to illumination, much less important, does not show any great variation from one income to another, because there are various means of illumination, from the candle to the oil and electric lamps, not forgetting the battery lamp. The more modern the illumination is, the more onerous it becomes. It is modern to the degree that the incomes increase, just as a more comfortable dwelling, where there is a greater number of rooms to illuminate, corresponds to the increase in incomes.

As for the expenses devoted to the laundry of the family linen, they are proportional to the number of persons making up this family. Sometimes the portage expenses for the water,
[271] which is also used in the kitchen, are added to them. Otherwise it would not be necessary to include the column "Water" in Table XII.

This concludes the survey of the principal routine expenses of our 43 families. For nearly half of them, totaling the percentages in proportion to the incomes obtained, we reach or exceed the figure 100. Nevertheless it is not enough to be fed and to have one's linen washed. Other expenses will have to figure, little or much, in the budget of these families. This is when the deficits are going to increase in very great proportions.

4: Mersadier--59 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

/422/

*511
276

Table XII

No.	Income	In Proportion to Income				
		Fuel	Illumination	Maintenance	Water	Kola
1	5,800	0.2	1.2	5.6	0.9	--
2	6,100	1.9	0.5	4.5	--	1.6
3	6,500	3.8	0.5	1.0	1.3	0.8
4	6,700	7.3	0.5	1.4	--	0.1
5	6,745	6.3	0.9	4.0	--	0.3
6	7,000	7.5	1.1	1.5	--	2.0
7	7,000	3.7	2.2	2.5	--	3.7
8	7,410	3.5	0.6	1.6	--	0.2
9	7,500	4.3	0.5	1.6	1.0	4.7
10	8,150	6.5	2.3	2.2	0.6	5.0
11	9,940	7.8	0.2	1.9	--	1.3
12	9,000	4.6	0.7	1.1	2.2	0.1
13	9,800	7.1	0.7	5.8	--	--
14	10,000	2.9	2.5	1.2	0.4	2.9
15	10,000	2.9	2.1	0.6	--	3.1
16	10,675	7.2	0.3	5.1	--	--
17	10,800	6.0	1.0	4.4	--	--
18	11,000	5.1	0.9	1.4	--	--
19	11,950	2.9	1.8	2.0	--	0.6
20	12,000	11.4	1.8	4.7	--	--
21	13,000	5.3	1.3	2.3	1.6	0.9
22	14,000	8.1	1.1	3.9	0.3	0.2
23	15,000	2.0	1.7	2.0	0.3	2.6
24	15,000	4.0	0.7	1.0	3.2	1.5
25	15,630	6.6	0.9	1.8	--	0.2
26	15,800	3.1	1.6	4.0	--	--
27	16,200	2.5	0.7	2.2	0.9	0.7
28	22,000	3.9	1.7	2.7	--	0.1
29	22,000	1.3	1.6	1.3	--	--
30	24,000	3.7	0.7	1.0	--	0.1
31	25,000	3.2	0.3	0.6	--	0.4

/422 cont./ Table XII (cont.)

*511
276

No.	Income	In Proportion to Income				
		Fuel	Illumination	Maintenance	Water	Kola
32	25,000	1.2	0.8	1.0	--	1.3
33	25,000	3.2	0.8	1.0	--	--
34	25,900	1.5	0.4	1.1	--	0.2
35	27,000	2.8	0.2	1.5	--	--
36	34,000	2.0	0.9	1.6	--	--
37	36,000	3.5	0.7	1.1	--	0.1
38	50,000	0.8	0.5	1.4	--	--
39	51,000	1.3	2.5	0.5	1.1	--
40	55,000	3.6	1.2	1.5	--	0.1
41	55,500	2.5	0.5	1.0	--	1.3
42	56,000	1.6	0.5	1.1	--	--
43	81,000	0.4	--	0.6	--	--

/423/

*511 Let us begin with the most obligatory of all, those from which it is most difficult to escape: taxes and the rent of the dwelling (Table XIII).[1]

*511 651 Two of our families do not pay taxes. Nearly all of the others devote at least 1% of their income to them. The tax paid would normally be proportional to the number of adults that the restricted family contains. It is quite often lower; [659] [602] one may succeed in escaping the fiscal census. It is sometimes higher: specifically, in three cases where the salaried worker in the city pays the taxes for his relatives who remained in the village.

*511 427 Only 13 families pay rent for the dwelling. Two are given free lodgings by the owner; three are lodged by their [466] [423] [342] employer. The others are "owners." This ownership is often limited to a straw hut, or better a plank hut, constructed on an administrative concession. The most favored build a true house of mud; up to now only one of our family heads has undertaken a "permanent" building.

[1] [see cat 116, pp 62-63. ANALYST]

/38/

Maize (Zea mays L.): Succeeds well when sown at the beginning of the winter season. The native species sown under these conditions is very beautiful and gives large yellow ears, very well filled out. The Africans eat fresh roasted corn, and, when it is hard, they make couscous of it. The infusion prepared with the fruit is emollient and diuretic. The styles or stigmas of maize are famous as diuretics and cure several ailments of the urinary tract (cystitis, gravel, dysuria, etc.); the young kernels, when cooked, constitute an excellent vegetable and replace peas; the flour gives a beer and an alcoholic extract. The husks of the ears serve to make quite springy mattresses. 243 262 757 [273] [513]

II. -- Useful Gramineae

(not being subject to any cultivation)

Bamboo. -- Grows in the wild state in the Ravin des Voleurs /Ravine of Thieves/ near Thiès. The native species is rather small. Stakes, frames, masts of dugouts, huts, and fences, but especially clinting (constructions of bamboo filled in with lime) are made of it. The young shoots are said to be edible, and the sweet sap is supposed to be an agreeable drink. In Casamance a small species of bamboo grows in shady places; pipestems are made of it. 824 [313] [342] [262] [272] [276]

Begnefala (Andropogon shirensis). -- A tall gramineous plant with a penetrating aromatic odor. It is used in African medicine and the old colonials used it with success at the time of the great epidemic of yellow fever at Dakar in 1927. For fevers, one pounds the floral heads mixed with lemon or vinegar and energetically rubs the body with this mixture. [757]

Hada (Imperata cylindrica). -- A gramineous plant with a very hard leaf and whitish ear, which is used for covering the roofs of huts. [342]

Hat (Andropogon gayanus). -- Tall grass whose stem is used in making fences around huts. [351]

Haham or cram-cram (Cenchrus biflorus). -- Its seeds fasten themselves to clothing and are very disagreeable. Is gathered and [262]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

tunity for much development in this industry, particularly in the irrigated areas of the Casamance Territory and Sine-Saloum. Europeans own the majority of the plantations, but co-operate with and encourage native growers. During the first quarter of 1939 production in Tambacounda province was 152 tons, and the factory at Kolda treated 165 tons of fibre.

Ginger. The ginger plant (*Zingiber officinale*) is of Asiatic origin, but it has been cultivated in Africa for many centuries. It is grown on a small scale wherever the rainfall is over 30 inches. It does best in a rich soil and requires shade. The ginger of commerce is prepared from the rhizome or underground stem, which is mature when the leaves turn yellow. The best ginger is prepared from immature rhizomes, which are peeled and preserved in sugar syrup, but in West Africa the coarser, mature stems are also used. Chewed ginger is reputed to enhance the stimulating effect of kola.

Pimentos. Several species of *Capsicum* or peppers grow in the Federation. In Senegal the most common are *C. annum* and *C. frutescens*, both bearing red fruits. The former was introduced from South America. It is less pungent and has larger fruits, known as 'capsicums'. *C. frutescens* has hotter fruits, known in commerce as 'chillies'. Cayenne or paprika is the red powder obtained from grounding the fruit. Pepper shrubs are grown from seeds, and after three months bear fruit for at least six months. These red peppers should not be confused with the common pepper, which is a climber and does not grow in West Africa.

Henna. This plant (*Lawsonia inermis*), like sugar-cane, maize, ginger, and castor oil, is grown wherever there is enough water. The plant is much revered by Moslems and often grown as a hedge. The powder of the young, dried leaves is the source of henna dye.

Other Crops. Other products of which small quantities are exported are citrus fruits, gum arabic, shea butter, cotton, kapok, and palm kernels.

Livestock

Livestock are fewer here than in any other colony. Sheep and goats, the latter being the more numerous, are kept near the river between Podor and Bakel and number about 100,000. There are some 310,000 cattle, 50,000 donkeys, 6,000 camels, and 14,000 pigs. These last are mainly kept in the Casamance Territory. There are 36,000 horses. These are of two breeds, the M'Bayar and the M'Par, and

[9 cont.]

787 After having recited the required prayers, one expresses his particular desire in a whisper while shielding the mouth with the right hand.

Then one lies down in a quiet and suitable place, on the right side, placing the right hand under the ear.

787 Drugs and substances: Many drugs are provided for facilitating dreaming, sometimes by the mou'abbirs (who are relatively very rare in Senegal) and sometimes by other experienced persons.

The use of the roots of bakis or of sindiègne (a kind of creeping plant common in the western part of Senegal) is very widespread; if one falls asleep with a toothpick of bakis or sindiègne in his mouth, he will have frightful visions in which demons, the dead, and supernatural beings appear.

The same result is obtained if, before lying down, one takes a solution of salted water in which roots of sindiègne have fermented for quite a long time, the effect of which is both purgative and stimulative.

Among other substances, the extract called kaoulâne (sometimes used in the form of a lotion for the face), liquid myrrh, opium, etc. should be mentioned.

787 More rarely, fumigation is practiced in a sealed and isolated hut, in which honey or incense is burned. Obviously, in this case, the procedure may be completed by one of the above practices.

Magical means: Throughout Senegal (as is well-known) one finds an enormous number of talismans (for example, the khâtim, magical designs made up of names, characters, and figures which possess a kind of supernatural power), the aim of which is to evoke favorable dreams; their form varies according to the desire that the believer wants to realize.

Bohumil Holas

(Ifan, Dakar)

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

'Oh yes, our sister company in Abidjan has sent a young African to train in a large brewery in France.' 274 463

'What is your labour like?'

'Not so good. They don't seem to have much interest in their work.'

I remembered my discussion with Babacar Saye, Mayor of St. Louis, who told me that though he was a Socialist, he believed that at the present time capitalism had an essential role in the country. 'If we are to improve the conditions of the proletariat capitalism is a necessity, but this improvement cannot be speeded up except to the extent that the profit from capital is used towards the satisfying of the indispensable needs of the workers. Therefore it is necessary that the worker feels that he is complementary to the capitalist—it is up to the capitalist to make him understand this.' 829

To me this seems one of the most important factors in the industrialization of West Africa. The African from the tribal background is essentially an individual with a distinct position in his tribal group or village. Though he appreciates the money he earns in industry, psychologically he does not like being treated as a mere cog in a machine, losing his identity. If he could be given some indication that he is as indispensable to the firm as the manager, he would work hard. As Mr. C. O. Van der Plas, the United Nations Official in the Gambia, once observed: 'It is curious that the African running his own little enterprise works literally like a black, and takes on enormous responsibilities.' Yet if he is taken on as a cog in a vast machine, he becomes slack and Europeans call him the most inefficient and expensive labour in the world. It seems to me that a lot depends on the relations between the worker and the managerial staff. 461

Two years before I had visited a large shoe factory in neighbouring Rufisque with Mr. David Pearson, the British Consul responsible for liaison between British and French territories in West Africa. The factory was sited on the outskirts of the town opposite a huge cement works which belched forth pastel smoke at an angry sky. We entered a courtyard where hides of every colour were lying in the sun to dry. A Czech employee of the firm, which has its origins in Czechoslovakia, met us and led us into a gloomy shed where flabby hides, a hideous grey green in 295 282 [339]

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 295 882 colour, flopped on the floor like lumps of spittle. Others, like them, were being cured in evil vats or stripped in heavy mangles. I examined one of the skins stretched out on the floor. The Czech pointed to three large holes in its surface.

'They are not good, these skins. Very stiff. They come from the North Senegal and the Fula herdsmen will not learn that the cow must be looked after if you want to make good shoes from it. They are only good for cheap shoes. We have to get the better models from our European factories.'

We emerged from the foetid gloom of the curing section into the dyeing room, full of sheets of leather, which an African was busy spraying scarlet, yellow, grey or blue. Another was trimming the coloured hides before they were sent to dry.

S 295 [463] We followed our guide into a long hall, which reverberated to the rat-ti-tat of a hundred sewing machines, manned exclusively by Africans.

'Are most of your employees Africans?' I asked.

'On this work, yes. But not in the executive. And on some of the more skilled jobs we have to have Europeans.'

'Are they good workers?'

'Very good, though they cannot tackle the more difficult jobs. I believe they are better farther down the Coast. But we have nothing to complain about.'

And from the rate those shoes were coming off the production line, I was sure they hadn't.

'How many shoes do you produce a year?'

'About 300,000. Most of them are sandals,' he said, pointing to some scarlet slippers which an African was packing into boxes.

'These we also produce in great quantities.'

S W [291] He showed me a pink, green and sky blue slipper with a large plastic pompom where the big toe would be. These were wildly popular with the fashion-mad Jollof women at the time. Bata's are very much at the mercy of their whims, though they have the consolation that supply rarely exceeds demand.

S [294] [565] As I watched one African youth deftly turning a leather sandal on a stitching machine, I could not help thinking of the old Mandinka leather-worker in Dakar's market, laboriously sewing tough slippers as his father had done before him and as he was bound to do by virtue of his caste. Once he exercised a monopoly

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 39

Gambia, often in rotation with ground-nuts. Of the quick-maturing 243
varieties *souna* and *sanio* are the most popular, the former thriving in [262]
sandy soil, the latter in heavier ground. Several kinds of sorghum are also cultivated. In the river area millet is sown where the floods have subsided and is harvested in April. In other parts it is planted immediately before the rainy season. Production probably averages [433]
about 300,000 tons annually. The export of millet from one province [438]
to another is controlled according to local needs.

Rice. The area flooded by the Casamance is naturally suited for rice cultivation. The rice-fields are handed down from father to [428]
son, each family growing sufficient for its own consumption and to [262]
pay its taxes. A store of rice is always kept to guard against a lean [251]
year or to be exchanged for some other commodity required.

Sugar-cane. This is grown near every village where there is enough 249
water. No attempt has been made to commercialize the crop, and the West African varieties are more woody and contain less juice than those grown elsewhere for export. Sugar-cane (*Saccharum officinarum*) is a perennial plant of the grass family. It is easy to grow, even near the sea, but takes at least a year to mature. When grown for local use, as it is here, sugar is not extracted, but the red or white stems are [263]
chewed.

The Baobab. The baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) is found generally 245
in the thornland (Plate 111), and is, therefore, much in evidence in Senegal. It is remarkable for the large girth of its trunk in com- [262]
parison to its branches and leaves. The long green fruit, known as [263]
monkey-bread, is used as a food or as a seasoner. Boiled with water [272]
and then cooled, it also makes a refreshing drink, while the leaves and the young shoots are also good to eat. The inner bark yields a [283]
tough fibre, which can be twisted into rope or woven into a water-proof cloth. About 30 years ago a factory was opened at Dakar to prepare the fibre for export to rope- and paper-making firms in [288]
France. The bark and fibre can be stripped off without causing the death of the tree.

Manioc, beans, and maize are grown generally in the vicinity of 244
villages. In the Cape Verde peninsula these, as well as yams, sweet [243]
potatoes, and melons, are grown for the Dakar markets. [438]

Economic Crops

Ground-nuts. Ground-nuts (*Arachis hypogaea*) require a tropical [433]
climate and an annual rainfall of from 14 to 60 inches. They are the

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

244 [233] sixth crop of Africa, and 43 per cent. of the total continental production comes from Senegal. The two main groups cultivated are the 'runner' and the 'erect'. The Rufisque and Cayor varieties, both runners, are those grown generally here and also in British West Africa. The method of cultivation is described in Volume I, p. 321. [439] Ground-nuts were originally grown as a staple native crop, but the industrial demand for vegetable oils, coupled with the development of transport facilities, opened up a world market for them. Extra [167] [464] labour for the harvest is provided annually by seasonal immigration from French Sudan, French Guinea, Portuguese Guinea, and the Gambia. In 1938 the number of outside workers was 69,757. Of these, 56,743 went to the Kaolack area, between 1,000 and 3,500 to Sedhiou, Ziguinchor, Kolda, Tambacounda, and Diourbel, and the remainder to Thiès and Linguéré.

[258] There are numerous shelling factories. Early in 1939 new ones were opened at Kaolack, Ziguinchor, and Koungheul.

In 1938 nearly 2,000,000 acres were under cultivation and the [654] experimental station at Bambey distributed 5,414 tons of selected seed. In 1939 7,382 tons of seed were sent out, with a corresponding increase in acreage.

[648] [388] During the British blockade of French West Africa after the fall of France in 1940, ground-nuts were converted into fuel oil. If this practice has been proved worth continuing after the war, cultivation may be greatly extended.

248 *Sisal.* Sisal originated in Mexico, being named after the port of Sisal in Yucatan province, and it was introduced into Senegal at the end of the nineteenth century. The species grown are *Agave rigida sisalana*, *A. rigida elongata*, and *A. rigida zapupe*. The rigid leaves containing the fibre are about 4 feet long and are harvested biennially from the fourth to the eighth or tenth year. When a plant has finished producing it shoots up a tall flower stem, with bulbils or buds on the end, and then withers.

283 288 The preparation of stem and leaf fibres is lengthy. First the fleshy tissue encasing the fibre is scraped away, and then the fibre is washed, hung out to dry, and brushed. It is now ready for grading. Next it is combed into a continuous sliver of untwisted rope. The final process is the drawing and twisting of the sliver to a uniform thinness for spinning into a rope that is particularly resistant to sea-water. The 248 largest plantation is in French Sudan, and stretches for 12 miles along the bank of the Senegal near Kayes. Other smaller ones are in Tambacounda and on the Cape Verde peninsula. There is oppor-

/187 cont./

1) Housing Conditions

362-
342 The dwelling is in the first rank of these material factors. Of what is the house constructed, how many rooms are there, how is it occupied, etc.? There are all sorts of questions which must be answered in order to give a true picture of the conditions in which most of the families of Pikine live. What follows obviously applies only to the quarters, except where we specify that it is likewise a matter of the districts. Out of a sample of 281 structures one counts 206 in wood, 45 in durable material, 12 in "crinting" (1), and 18 in straw.

[285] 1. One calls "crinting" the walls whose framework is composed of plaited rushes and which are covered with a coating of sand and cement.

The chief material, used in more than 75% of the cases, is therefore wood, which one encounters in all forms: long building boards, ends of boxes, etc. The quality of the wood, the professional competence of the artisans, the size of the house, and the arrangement of the rooms, all these elements are combined to produce very different types of construction which run from the extreme dilapidation of the one-room hut with disjointed boards, gaping roof, and a sand floor, scarcely larger than a dog kennel, to the comfortable cottage consisting of several rooms, with ceiling and veranda, the price of which may exceed 200,000 francs. [435]

/188/ Except for these extreme cases, which are rare, most of the wooden dwellings can be divided into three principal types. The first is the house of two rooms, about six or seven meters long and three to three and one-half meters wide. The second is built in the same way, but contains a third room, which increases the length by three or four meters. These are two types of a purely functional model used to provide a shelter for personal objects and a roof for the night.

/435 cont. /

291 in vivid and distinct colors on an indigo background, without overlappings.

[288] -- the presence in Dakar of an industry which manufactures "guinées" /cotton cloth/ and "sucretons";

[386] -- the survival of a traditional craft of dyers that still had 142 representatives in 1955.

The family of maroons takes second place (18.09% of the boubous and 18.21% of the whole).

In third place we find the violets and mauves, and in practically the same place the whites (about 11% in each category).

b) Classical African style:

-- Clothing for display, the mboubeu (1), or boubou,

[192]

1. Boubou is an incorrect pronunciation of the Wolof term mboubeu = woman's clothing in general, a full simple tunic.

[177] is always in favor (4,002 as against 770 garments of European inspiration, 83.86% as against 16.14%).

-- But in this category the Wax and Fancy printed fabrics are in regression (1,675 = 41.85% as against 2,412 = 56.52%).

291
177

c) Style of European inspiration:

-- The taille-basse, a kind of blouse that terminates at the waist in a circular flounce 20 to 25 centimeters wide, is combined either with a draped loincloth /pagne, a long strip of material/ or a sewed skirt. Most often the two pieces are made of the same material.

It is worn especially by the young girls (out of 52 women tested, 40 young girls, 25 of whom habitually wore tailles-basses).

-- The dress, worn by women of fashion in African life, is long in 99% of the cases.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

Gambia, often in rotation with ground-nuts. Of the quick-maturing 243
varieties *souna* and *sanio* are the most popular, the former thriving in [262]
sandy soil, the latter in heavier ground. Several kinds of sorghum
are also cultivated. In the river area millet is sown where the floods
have subsided and is harvested in April. In other parts it is planted
immediately before the rainy season. Production probably averages [433]
about 300,000 tons annually. The export of millet from one province [438]
to another is controlled according to local needs.

Rice. The area flooded by the Casamance is naturally suited for
rice cultivation. The rice-fields are handed down from father to [428]
son, each family growing sufficient for its own consumption and to [262]
pay its taxes. A store of rice is always kept to guard against a lean [251]
year or to be exchanged for some other commodity required.

Sugar-cane. This is grown near every village where there is enough 249
water. No attempt has been made to commercialize the crop, and the
West African varieties are more woody and contain less juice than
those grown elsewhere for export. Sugar-cane (*Saccharum officinarum*)
is a perennial plant of the grass family. It is easy to grow, even near
the sea, but takes at least a year to mature. When grown for local use,
as it is here, sugar is not extracted, but the red or white stems are [263]
chewed.

The Baobab. The baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) is found generally 245
in the thornland (Plate III), and is, therefore, much in evidence in
Senegal. It is remarkable for the large girth of its trunk in com- [262]
parison to its branches and leaves. The long green fruit, known as [263]
monkey-bread, is used as a food or as a seasoner. Boiled with water [272]
and then cooled, it also makes a refreshing drink, while the leaves
and the young shoots are also good to eat. The inner bark yields a [283]
tough fibre, which can be twisted into rope or woven into a water-
proof cloth. About 30 years ago a factory was opened at Dakar to
prepare the fibre for export to rope- and paper-making firms in [288]
France. The bark and fibre can be stripped off without causing the
death of the tree.

Manioc, beans, and maize are grown generally in the vicinity of 244
villages. In the Cape Verde peninsula these, as well as yams, sweet [243]
potatoes, and melons, are grown for the Dakar markets. [438]

Economic Crops

Ground-nuts. Ground-nuts (*Arachis hypogaea*) require a tropical
climate and an annual rainfall of from 14 to 60 inches. They are the [433]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

244 sixth crop of Africa, and 43 per cent. of the total continental production comes from Senegal. The two main groups cultivated are the 'runner' and the 'erect'. The Rufisque and Cayor varieties, both runners, are those grown generally here and also in British West Africa. The method of cultivation is described in Volume I, p. 321. Ground-nuts were originally grown as a staple native crop, but the industrial demand for vegetable oils, coupled with the development of transport facilities, opened up a world market for them. Extra labour for the harvest is provided annually by seasonal immigration from French Sudan, French Guinea, Portuguese Guinea, and the Gambia. In 1938 the number of outside workers was 69,757. Of these, 56,743 went to the Kaolack area, between 1,000 and 3,500 to Sedhiou, Ziguinchor, Kolda, Tambacounda, and Diourbel, and the remainder to Thiès and Linguéré.

There are numerous shelling factories. Early in 1939 new ones were opened at Kaolack, Ziguinchor, and Koungheul.

In 1938 nearly 2,000,000 acres were under cultivation and the experimental station at Bambey distributed 5,414 tons of selected seed. In 1939 7,382 tons of seed were sent out, with a corresponding increase in acreage.

During the British blockade of French West Africa after the fall of France in 1940, ground-nuts were converted into fuel oil. If this practice has been proved worth continuing after the war, cultivation may be greatly extended.

248 *Sisal.* Sisal originated in Mexico, being named after the port of Sisal in Yucatan province, and it was introduced into Senegal at the end of the nineteenth century. The species grown are *Agave rigida sisalana*, *A. rigida elongata*, and *A. rigida zapupe*. The rigid leaves containing the fibre are about 4 feet long and are harvested biennially from the fourth to the eighth or tenth year. When a plant has finished producing it shoots up a tall flower stem, with bulbils or buds on the end, and then withers.

283 288 The preparation of stem and leaf fibres is lengthy. First the fleshy tissue encasing the fibre is scraped away, and then the fibre is washed, hung out to dry, and brushed. It is now ready for grading. Next it is combed into a continuous sliver of untwisted rope. The final process is the drawing and twisting of the sliver to a uniform thinness for spinning into a rope that is particularly resistant to sea-water. The largest plantation is in French Sudan, and stretches for 12 miles along the bank of the Senegal near Kayes. Other smaller ones are in Tambacounda and on the Cape Verde peninsula. There is oppor-

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

tunity for much development in this industry, particularly in the irrigated areas of the Casamance Territory and Sine-Saloum. Europeans own the majority of the plantations, but co-operate with and encourage native growers. During the first quarter of 1939 production in Tambacounda province was 152 tons, and the factory at Kolda treated 165 tons of fibre.

Ginger. The ginger plant (*Zingiber officinale*) is of Asiatic origin, but it has been cultivated in Africa for many centuries. It is grown on a small scale wherever the rainfall is over 30 inches. It does best in a rich soil and requires shade. The ginger of commerce is prepared from the rhizome or underground stem, which is mature when the leaves turn yellow. The best ginger is prepared from immature rhizomes, which are peeled and preserved in sugar syrup, but in West Africa the coarser, mature stems are also used. Chewed ginger is reputed to enhance the stimulating effect of kola.

Pimentos. Several species of *Capsicum* or peppers grow in the Federation. In Senegal the most common are *C. annum* and *C. frutescens*, both bearing red fruits. The former was introduced from South America. It is less pungent and has larger fruits, known as 'capsicums'. *C. frutescens* has hotter fruits, known in commerce as 'chillies'. Cayenne or paprika is the red powder obtained from grounding the fruit. Pepper shrubs are grown from seeds, and after three months bear fruit for at least six months. These red peppers should not be confused with the common pepper, which is a climber and does not grow in West Africa.

Henna. This plant (*Lawsonia inermis*), like sugar-cane, maize, ginger, and castor oil, is grown wherever there is enough water. The plant is much revered by Moslems and often grown as a hedge. The powder of the young, dried leaves is the source of henna dye.

Other Crops. Other products of which small quantities are exported are citrus fruits, gum arabic, shea butter, cotton, kapok, and palm kernels.

Livestock

Livestock are fewer here than in any other colony. Sheep and goats, the latter being the more numerous, are kept near the river between Podor and Bakel and number about 100,000. There are some 310,000 cattle, 50,000 donkeys, 6,000 camels, and 14,000 pigs. These last are mainly kept in the Casamance Territory. There are 36,000 horses. These are of two breeds, the M'Bayar and the M'Par, and

S SR 369 [342] W [342] SR [463] S [351]

/379 cont./

and at Diakhaté where the hut of straw or purely of mud prevails. Could it be that the occupation of mason to which some None seem to devote themselves is a factor in this modernization of their settlements?

A certain "coquetry" absent in the bush villages leads some autochthones to lay out a little flower garden near their hut (Tiali, Keur-Issa-Bambara)..

S 369 352 [513]

The presence of the city is also reflected in the equipment used by the rural people. The furniture is always summary, but more and more the iron bed is replacing the lattice of wood or the mat put on the ground itself. A mattress, a military blanket, and commonly a mosquito net of a very light fabric complete this relative comfort. Often a little table of unpainted wood, a chair made of old boxes, a bit of mirror hung on the wall, and sometimes an impressive number of photographs, or, lacking them, pages cut out of an illustrated magazine pasted to the walls, give a special stamp to this interior, which is no longer typically rural. Sometimes one even has the surprise of encountering in these modest interiors a wardrobe and a little buffet, which adorn, the more since they are not utilized, the room of a privileged native. But this comfort is an exception.

S [353]

S 369 415

The calabash, which is the very foundation of the kitchen utensils, is still commonly utilized for household tasks and for the common meals. Nevertheless the cast-iron or aluminum saucepan is no longer a luxury; the glass and above all the bottle are in common use.

S 369 291 177 S [292]

The clothing, too, has been modified. The loincloth in bright colors, laboriously woven by the Toucouleur /Tukolor/ weaver, durable but expensive, has become a luxury. Imported printed cloth of moderate price has supplanted it everywhere. The white robe with embroidery has become the festive garment par excellence; the shorts, the trousers, and the jacket, often furnished by the European, are now the clothes utilized for work.

/424 cont./ Table XIII (cont.)

*511
427
651
467

No.	Occupation	Income	In % in proportion to income: Taxes	Rent	Syndidal Assessment
30	Weigher	24,000	1.6	--	0.1
31	Carpenter	25,000	1.3	--	0.1
32	Cultivator	25,000	0.7	--	--
33	Chauffeur	25,000	2.5	4	0.1
34	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	1.4	6	0.09
35	Staff employee D.N.	27,000	1.6	3.7	0.09
36	Private accountant	34,000	1.4	--	--
37	Truck-gardener	36,000	1.4	--	--
38	Jeweler	50,000	0.4	4	--
39	Teacher	51,000	1.1	--	--
40	Staffworker D.N.	55,000	1.1	--	0.09
41	Head employee D.N.	55,500	1.4	1.8	--
42	Chief worker	56,000	0.9	--	--
43	Doctor	81,000	3.2	--	0.2

*511 /425 cont./ 9,300 francs; No. 1, 8,000 francs. From No. 11 to No. 23, we exceed 15,000 francs only once (19).

These two groups nearly correspond, on the one hand, to the group of monthly incomes from 5,000 to 10,000 francs and, on the other hand, to the group from 10,000 to 15,000 francs. For the latter, the maximum to be devoted to clothing would thus be equal to a month's income. The figure may seem reasonable, but the proportion is very great for budgets systematically having a deficit. It is true that many do not

[291]
[292]
[796]

/425 cont./

*511 reach it, by ignoring the tradition that one should have new
291 clothing for the celebration of Tabaski. Some expenses seem
[292] slightly exaggerated. The head of family No. 11, who dresses
[796] very modestly himself, each year presents a sumptuous new gown to his wife, who moreover demands it, although she can rarely wear it. The 8,000 francs for No. 1, on the contrary, are justified by the size of his restricted family: seven persons.

Nevertheless it is surely possible to reduce these expenses.
[183] But opinion requires that one have new clothing to show at times, and it is difficult to pass unnoticed in an African city of average size.

*511 After this threshold of 15,000 francs of monthly income, we encounter figures for impressive expenses. No. 27 devotes as much as 48,000 francs to his clothing. No. 30, 65,000 francs, the same as No. 36. From No. 34 on, all exceed 40,000 francs per year. For some, that may be justified by the size of the family; No. 36 has 15 persons under his care, for whom practically all of this is necessary. The restricted family alone of No. 40 contains 15 persons; that of No. 42, 11. For the others we could only verify the facts, leaving to the psychologists and sociologists the task of explaining them; No. 34 earns 25,000 francs per month and devotes 65,000 francs to the clothing of four persons, 22.5% of his income. This budget nevertheless has a surplus, but only of 3.7%, in the midst of a series where they are much greater. We now have the explanation for it.

/426/ We have grouped under the rubric "Equipment" (Table XIV) dissimilar elements which have the common character of being of some utility and, if not purchased once and for all, at least not needing to be renewed for a rather long period, for example, furniture, kitchen equipment, bedding, etc. ... The sums that are devoted to them are generally of little importance. The purchase of a Madagascar stove or of some glasses, however, is a heavy burden on an income below 10,000 francs. These things are generally not purchased on
[452] credit.

[352] The piece of furniture that we found most often in our

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 295 colour, flopped on the floor like lumps of spittle. Others, like [redacted] being cured in evil vats or stripped in heavy mangles. I examined one of the skins stretched out on the floor. The Czech pointed to three large holes in its surface.

'They are not good, these skins. Very stiff. They come from the North Senegal and the Fula herdsmen will not learn that the cow must be looked after if you want to make good shoes from it. They are only good for cheap shoes. We have to get the better models from our European factories.'

We emerged from the foetid gloom of the curing section into the dyeing room, full of sheets of leather, which an African was busy spraying scarlet, yellow, grey or blue. Another was trimming the coloured hides before they were sent to dry.

S 295 [463] We followed our guide into a long hall, which reverberated to the rat-ti-tat of a hundred sewing machines, manned exclusively by Africans.

'Are most of your employees Africans?' I asked.

'On this work, yes. But not in the executive. And on some of the more skilled jobs we have to have Europeans.'

'Are they good workers?'

'Very good, though they cannot tackle the more difficult jobs. I believe they are better farther down the Coast. But we have nothing to complain about.'

And from the rate those shoes were coming off the production line, I was sure they hadn't.

'How many shoes do you produce a year?'

'About 300,000. Most of them are sandals,' he said, pointing to some scarlet slippers which an African was packing into boxes.

'These we also produce in great quantities.'

S W [291] He showed me a pink, green and sky blue slipper with a large plastic pompom where the big toe would be. These were wildly popular with the fashion-mad Jollof women at the time. Bata's are very much at the mercy of their whims, though they have the consolation that supply rarely exceeds demand.

S [294] [565] As I watched one African youth deftly turning a leather sandal on a stitching machine, I could not help thinking of the old Mandinka leather-worker in Dakar's market, laboriously sewing tough slippers as his father had done before him and as he was bound to do by virtue of his caste. Once he exercised a monopoly

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

called 'Les Ballets Sereres du Sine Saloum,' a group of dancers who had won the Territorial Cup in 1957. 545

The theatre was packed. I was sitting next to an ample Jollof matron, a small child strapped to her back, its tiny nose buried in the pink muslin of her dress. Another child sat on her knee, beturbanned and clothed just like its mother. From the woman's forehead dangled three shining American dollars. Unfortunately a similar Jollof woman sat immediately in front of me, her black horsehair wig and tall tulle turban almost totally obscuring my view. A strong scent of 'Bint El Sudan' manufactured in East London perfumed the room as the curtains rose to the first dance, 'Love and its Caprices', which was to be the theme of the evening. The variations, the programme told me, were to include '*Allo M'Bissine*'—'My fiancée has beaten me because a boy who loves me told me "Hello M'Bissine" ', and later '*Khodia Kha Lola*'—'Why do you cry Khodia? Only the Gods understand what a tear says'. Ending with an initiation dance of future circumcision candidates. One of the most memorable dances was a solo by a woman with a baby strapped to her back, its head swaying backwards and forwards like a punch ball. The child uttered not a murmur as its mother danced into a frenzy, singing at the top of her voice, and in the background a corps of drums beat an hysterical rhythm. It was an entertaining evening, with a beautiful dance of a slight youth, his black-brown body shining sleekly in the glow of the footlights, contrasting with the powdered copper of his lissom partner, a girl of singular beauty with entrancing opalescent eyes. [854] [291] [302]

After the performance there was a cast party to which Faye, the young secretary of the theatre, invited me. The dancers, various guests, European and African, drank bottles of Coca-Cola and orange squash. Amongst them was Ka Abdou Anta. 536 [517] [272]

He was a handsome young man, but he dragged continuously at a cigarette and his teeth were discoloured with nicotine. His jacket, once well cut, was misshapen by papers stuffed into the pockets. My first meeting with Ka had been two years before but we had not been introduced. He was rehearsing a scene from his play *La Fille des Dieux*, which he was producing for the Théâtre du Palais. It was highly symbolic: a somewhat uneasy compromise between tribal metaphysics and the classical French

/433 cont./

125 b) It was concerned with the "outer" garments of 4,772 women 14 years old and +, the majority of them Wolof and Lébou.

291 Except when the principal garment is of transparent material, it is very difficult to distinguish, not the underclothing in the European sense of the term, but masses of draped or fitted material, indispensable elements of feminine dress in tropical Africa.

2. Results.

a) Classical African clothing (boubous):

Table II

Dominant Colors	Voiles Tulles Organdies	Plain	Lace or Open-work	Printed Wax or Fancy	Dyed (Craft)	Woven (Craft)	Totals
Whites	262	117	81	--	--	--	460
Blacks	95	149	23	--	--	--	267
Violets and mauves	115	52	--	244	--	34	445
Indigos	--	106	--	463	426	--	995
Blues	131	15	20	61	--	--	227
Greens	11	24	--	73	--	--	108
Yellows	106	20	--	58	--	--	184
Oranges	11	3	--	100	--	21	135
Reds	20	3	--	28	--	10	61
Pinks	248	3	45	21	--	--	317
Garnets	13	--	--	9	--	--	22
Ochers	3	--	--	6	--	--	9
Maroons	128	16	4	576	--	--	724
Grays	3	--	9	36	--	--	48
Totals	1,146	508	182	1,675	426	65	4,002

/434/

291 177 b) Clothing of European inspiration (tailles-basses and dresses):

11: Léques--6 P-5 (1956) 1957 MS37 Senegal MS37
/434/ DAKAR
•291
177

Table III

	Tailles-basses			Voiles, Tulles, Organdies, Lace	Dresses						
	Printed	Others	Total		Plain	Printed Cotton	Printed W. and F.	Dyed	Fibranne	Nylon	Total
Whites	--	16	16	17	24	--	--	--	--	3	44
Blacks	--	--	--	21	22	--	--	--	--	--	43
Violets, mauves	11	--	11	19	5	--	50	--	--	--	74
Indigos	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	33	--	--	33
Blues	11	--	11	31	28	14	37	--	6	12	128
Greens	--	--	--	--	--	26	39	--	--	--	65
Yellows	--	--	--	--	--	--	38	--	7	--	45
Oranges	3	--	3	--	--	--	23	--	--	--	23
Reds	--	--	--	--	--	14	--	--	--	--	14
Pinks	3	--	3	12	5	--	34	--	--	10	61
Garnets	5	--	5	--	--	--	17	--	3	--	20
Ochers	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Maroons	49	--	49	--	--	--	87	--	9	--	96
Grays	--	--	--	--	--	--	26	--	--	--	26
	82	16	98	100	84	54	351	33	25	25	672

/Fibranne designates various artificial or synthetic fabrics whose fibers are short and connected by twisting, in contrast to rayon made of continuous fibers./

/434/

291

Table IV. Recapitulation by Color

Colors	Total 1	Total 2	Total 3	General Total
Whites	460	16	44	520
Blacks	267	--	43	310
Violets and mauves	445	11	74	530
Indigos	995	--	33	1,028
Blues	227	11	128	366
Greens	108	--	65	173
Yellows	184	--	45	229
Oranges	135	3	23	161
Reds	61	--	14	75
Pinks	317	3	61	381
Garnets	22	5	20	47
Ochers	9	--	--	9
Maroons	724	49	96	869
Grays	48	--	26	74
	4,002	98	672	4,772

The Wax and Fancy printed fabrics are always bicolored or multicolored. Our tables, however, only include simple colors without variations, because the latter are too numerous. We have therefore classified these fabrics by the color of the background, or by the dominant note registered visually.

/435/ /There is no side-heading numbered 3./

4. Interpretation

a) Colors:

The indigo colors take first place (24.86% of the boubous and 21.54% of the whole), thanks to:

--the quality of the European industry--especially Dutch and English--which permits printing designs.

/435 cont./

291 in vivid and distinct colors on an indigo background, without overlappings.

[288] -- the presence in Dakar of an industry which manufactures "guinées" /cotton cloth/ and "sucretons";

[386] -- the survival of a traditional craft of dyers that still had 142 representatives in 1955.

The family of maroons takes second place (18.09% of the boubous and 18.21% of the whole).

In third place we find the violets and mauves, and in practically the same place the whites (about 11% in each category).

b) Classical African style:

-- Clothing for display, the mboubeu (1), or boubou,

[192]

1. Boubou is an incorrect pronunciation of the Wolof term mboubeu = woman's clothing in general, a full simple tunic.

[177] is always in favor (4,002 as against 770 garments of European inspiration, 83.86% as against 16.14%).

-- But in this category the Wax and Fancy printed fabrics are in regression (1,675 = 41,85% as against 2,412 = 56.52%).

291
177

c) Style of European inspiration:

-- The taille-basse, a kind of blouse that terminates at the waist in a circular flounce 20 to 25 centimeters wide, is combined either with a draped loincloth /pagne, a long strip of material/ or a sewed skirt. Most often the two pieces are made of the same material.

It is worn especially by the young girls (out of 52 women tested, 40 young girls, 25 of whom habitually wore tailles-basses).

-- The dress, worn by women of fashion in African life, is long in 99% of the cases.

/435 cont./

291 It is sometimes difficult to differentiate it from the
177 boubou when it is merely a long, sewed tunic.

It presents different variations (straight, pleated at the waist; round neck, square, etc.; its sleeves plain, puffed .... not reaching below the elbow).

/436/

291 d) Evolution:

In observing the different styles of clothing worn by women of different ages, one has a history of the evolution of the cut in the course of the last 20 years.

Among these 4,772 subjects, we have in fact noted at random: 4 women (from 50 to 55 years old), of whom:

2 wore 1 Fancy print boubou
+ 1 camisole
+ 3 loincloths, of which 1 was made by a weaver
+ 1 Jacquard
+ 1 cotton print

2 -- 1 voile boubou
+ 1 camisole
+ 3 loincloths, of which 1 was from a weaver
1 Jacquard
1 Fancy

4 women from 40 to 50 years old:

2 wore 1 voile boubou
+ 1 cotton-print loincloth
+ 1 Fancy loincloth

1 -- 1 voile boubou
+ 1 Fancy dress
1 Fancy loincloth

1 -- 1 voile boubou
+ 1 Fancy dress
+ 1 Jacquard loincloth

4 women from 30 to 40 years old:

2 wore 1 voile boubou
+ 1 dress

1 -- 1 Fancy boubou
+ 1 dress

/436 cont./

291 1 wore 1 Fancy boubou
+ 1 loincloth

/437/

4 women from 20 to 30 years old:

1 wore 1 voile boubou + 1 Fancy loincloth
1 -- 1 dress + 1 loincloth
2 -- 1 dress

4 young girls:

2 wore 1 taille-basse + loincloth
2 -- 1 dress

Corresponding to this evolution of style, there is an evolution in the choice patterns of printed materials and of the quality of these materials.

When it is a matter of a dress, one sees affirmed more and more the abandonment of large patterns of one or 1.20 X 1.20 meters, and, on the contrary, a choice of simple lines, of flowers, leaves, birds, heightened by a harmony of warm but not gaudy colors.

Similarly, the light cotton fabrics (Citec) are more and more in demand.

B. Method of the Tests.

121 1) General remarks.

"Among the objects that determine positive or negative feelings, one particular category consists of those about which it is said that they are 'beautiful' or 'ugly,' that is to say, of those that do or do not satisfy the aesthetic tendencies." (P. Jampolsky.)

We have asked ourselves, following Mr. Jampolsky, to what extent this "projection" can occasion the application of a personality test.

The apparatus utilized was only meant to furnish, by
125 way of correction, a more complete method.
822 It included:

-- a sheet of straight, broken, and curved lines and of rough sketches of figures in black on white.

/441/

822 Results:

Blue and white	22
Violet and white.....	12
Black and white.....	12
Red and black	8
Red and white.....	6

It is necessary to note immediately the presence of white in 56 combinations, namely, 35.8% of the total.

According to ages, the proportions remain identical with those of the final table.

The same is true of the classification according to ethnic groups.

Out of 52 subjects, 9 have repeated 3 times the same combination of 2 colors, 26 have done it 2 times.

[291] Out of these 35 subjects (10 married women and 25 young girls), 25 wore clothes for display of which the dominant notes conformed to the preference expressed at the time of the test.

III. Perspectives.

291 "Color is a more emotional and primitive variable than form, [it] marks the peculiar and significant tendencies in each sex and develops from before adolescence." (P. Jampolsky.)

It would seem, then, more than the design of the motif and the cut of the garment, to be the essential cause of the variability of individual choice in the matter of fashion.

The 1,000 motifs or so (including the variants of the same pattern) put out last year on the Dakar market by the /442/ importers of printed fabrics have brought into play more than 60 different colors, which seems to confirm the preceding point of view.

121 How to determine the ecological and cultural influences in the matter of the individual choice of color with both an aesthetic and useful aim? This presupposes a preliminary definition and delimitation of this milieu, which is the object of a study in progress. /Figs. 1-3 appear here on unnumbered pages./

11: Lèques--18 P-5 (1956) 1957 MS37 Senegal MS37

291

Fig. 1. Boubou in white voile and dress in Fancy material (Médina, Dakar).

(Lartéguy photo and plate.)

11: Lèques--19 P-5 (1956) 1957 MS37 Senegal MS37

291
347
443

Fig. 2. The Kaolack market for dresses (Lèques photo and plate).

11: Lèques--20 P-5 (1956) 1957 MS37 Senegal Ms 37

142
516
291

Fig. 3. Taille-Basse (Dakar) (Lèques photo and plate).

[11 cont.]

369 583 been distributed for the older children.

a) The Pani (the box). In appearance it may be ordinary or magnificent, according to the aesthetic inclinations of the sisters of the husband. Often it is an old metal box that contained tidbits. In any case it is not the appearance that interests us, but the contents, which generally are:

[301]

12 louis d'or 51;
2 gold necklaces, we say "chains";
2 pairs of gold earrings;
1 or 2 pairs of gold bracelets;
4 or 8 sautoirs, medals of gold which encircle the figure.

[435] The box is found already prepared among the jewelers. Its minimum price is 6,000 francs. Its value easily reaches 20,000 francs and more.

b) The Basket for Effects. This is an expense of recent character and of practical import. Formerly, on the day of [585] the nuptials, the husband gave his wife a bundle of banknotes as personal property accruing to her from her marriage. But the tradition that the woman should be generous made this money disappear immediately, distributed among the persons of caste who came from everywhere. I would have willingly given, if I had known it, the name of the first Saint-Louis man who replaced this packet of money with a quantity of clothing, thus putting his wife in a position to benefit from it herself. The basket actually contains articles whose number and quality vary, but which constitute a veritable trousseau no less, which may last for years. For an individual from a "great family" or a "peasant," it includes as much as:

369 583 291 435

12 robes [boubous] of crepe de Chine (of which 4 of 8 meters each are obligatory, 160 francs per meter);
12 robes of rich bazin (4 obligatory of 8 meters each at 225 francs per meter);
4 camisoles, ordinary or of Lagos fabric;
[12] 4 camisoles of crepe de Chine (extravagantly cut to a length of 4 or 5 meters);

[12 cont.]

369 583 291 435

12 silk headkerchiefs (6 obligatory, valued at 500 to 600 francs each;

12 kerchiefs with "edging" [mouchoirs de "bord"] (6 obligatory, valued at 300 to 375 francs each);

2 silk handkerchiefs;

4 Mauritanian mats, on which the objects are detailed, valued at 500 francs each, and most of all rare, which costs dearly.

369 685

c) Basket of Small Goods. This is a creation of the well-bred man of Saint-Louis, who during the 3 or 8 or 15 days that the nuptials last wishes the guests to be treated well. The young people of both sexes are supposed to crowd into the spacious rooms, suitably decorated and illuminated, and to be "overwhelmed" by the songs of the griots. The husband considers their rejoicings an imperious duty and offers them a basket generally containing several packs of cards, packages of toothpicks, perfume, razor blades, pipes, tobacco, incense, kohéal, fans, tidbits, etc.

369 585 565

d) The Gifts. These expenses are the final obligations and bear the name of "decorations of castes." As we have noted, since the first visit of the husband, the persons of caste have not officially benefited further from his generosity or from that of his wife. But custom requires that these people be gratified. It should be noted also that the guers have their men of caste who are faithful to them from father to son. In their presence and when they are equal to their task. Whatever their fortune or rank (in the Europeanized society), a guer cannot address any other persons of caste without their permission. Only one coiffeuse arranges the hair of a young girl until her marriage, and one jeweler repairs or makes her finery. The marriage is the ceremony of their dedication and the occasion of proving to them that they have not placed their confidence in vain. These persons comprise two categories: that of the woman and that of the man. Let us note at once that the latter cannot be too demanding without showing a lack of the proper attitude. They form part of the general staff of the husband, and, under penalty

[576] [302] [306]

18: Savonnet--17 E-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 80 and 81./

363
357
291

Plate XII

A. Thiès. The Takhikao square after winter.

291
443
516

B. Thiès. Market scene.

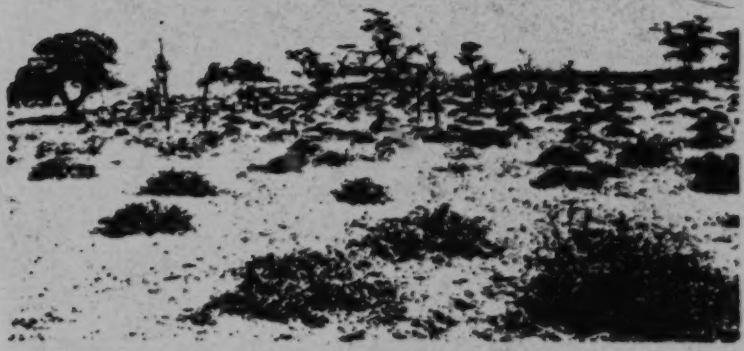
19: Pehaut--19 K-4 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 16-17/

Plate I

244
133
[291]

A. Harvested field of groundnuts in Wolof country.



B. The groundnut harvest in Sérère country.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS37

516
291
635

113. *Senegal: a Council of Notables*

[facing p. 432]

S
SR /379 cont./
369 and at Diakhaté where the hut of straw or purely of mud
[342] prevails. Could it be that the occupation of mason to which
W some None seem to devote themselves is a factor in this
[342] modernization of their settlements?

SR A certain "coquetry" absent in the bush villages leads
[463] some autochthones to lay out a little flower garden near their
S hut (Tiali, Keur-Issa-Bambara).
[351]

The presence of the city is also reflected in the equip-
S ment used by the rural people. The furniture is always sum-
369 mary, but more and more the iron bed is replacing the lat-
352 tice of wood or the mat put on the ground itself. A mattress,
[513] a military blanket, and commonly a mosquito net of a very light fabric complete this relative comfort. Often a little table of unpainted wood, a chair made of old boxes, a bit
S of mirror hung on the wall, and sometimes an impressive
[353] number of photographs, or, lacking them, pages cut out of an illustrated magazine pasted to the walls, give a special stamp to this interior, which is no longer typically rural. Sometimes one even has the surprise of encountering in these modest interiors a wardrobe and a little buffet, which adorn, the more since they are not utilized, the room of a privileged native. But this comfort is an exception.

S The calabash, which is the very foundation of the
369 kitchen utensils, is still commonly utilized for household
415 tasks and for the common meals. Nevertheless the cast-iron or aluminum saucepan is no longer a luxury; the glass and above all the bottle are in common use.

S The clothing, too, has been modified. The loincloth
369 in bright colors, laboriously woven by the Toucouleur
291 /Tukolor/ weaver, durable but expensive, has become a
177 luxury. Imported printed cloth of moderate price has supplanted it everywhere. The white robe with embroidery has
S become the festive garment par excellence; the shorts, the
[292] trousers, and the jacket, often furnished by the European, are now the clothes utilized for work.

/424 cont. /

Table XIII (cont.)

*511
427
651
467

No.	Occupation	Income	In % in proportion to income: Taxes	Rent	Syndidal Assessment
30	Weigher	24,000	1.6	--	0.1
31	Carpenter	25,000	1.3	--	0.1
32	Cultivator	25,000	0.7	--	--
33	Chauffeur	25,000	2.5	4	0.1
34	Employee P. T. T.	25,900	1.4	6	0.09
35	Staff employee D. N.	27,000	1.6	3.7	0.09
36	Private accountant	34,000	1.4	--	--
37	Truck-gardener	36,000	1.4	--	--
38	Jeweler	50,000	0.4	4	--
39	Teacher	51,000	1.1	--	--
40	Staffworker D. N.	55,000	1.1	--	0.09
41	Head employee D. N.	55,500	1.4	1.8	--
42	Chief worker	56,000	0.9	--	--
43	Doctor	81,000	3.2	--	0.2

*511 /425 cont. / 9,300 francs; No. 1, 8,000 francs. From No. 11 to No. 23, we exceed 15,000 francs only once (19).

These two groups nearly correspond, on the one hand, to the group of monthly incomes from 5,000 to 10,000 francs and, on the other hand, to the group from 10,000 to 15,000 francs. For the latter, the maximum to be devoted to clothing would thus be equal to a month's income. The figure may seem reasonable, but the proportion is very great for budgets systematically having a deficit. It is true that many do not

[291]
[292]
[796]

/425 cont./

*511 291 [292] [796] reach it, by ignoring the tradition that one should have new clothing for the celebration of Tabaski. Some expenses seem slightly exaggerated. The head of family No. 11, who dresses very modestly himself, each year presents a sumptuous new gown to his wife, who moreover demands it, although she can rarely wear it. The 8,000 francs for No. 1, on the contrary, are justified by the size of his restricted family: seven persons.

Nevertheless it is surely possible to reduce these expenses. [183] But opinion requires that one have new clothing to show at times, and it is difficult to pass unnoticed in an African city of average size.

*511 After this threshold of 15,000 francs of monthly income, we encounter figures for impressive expenses. No. 27 devotes as much as 48,000 francs to his clothing. No. 30, 65,000 francs, the same as No. 36. From No. 34 on, all exceed 40,000 francs per year. For some, that may be justified by the size of the family; No. 36 has 15 persons under his care, for whom practically all of this is necessary. The restricted family alone of No. 40 contains 15 persons; that of No. 42, 11. For the others we could only verify the facts, leaving to the psychologists and sociologists the task of explaining them; No. 34 earns 25,000 francs per month and devotes 65,000 francs to the clothing of four persons, 22.5% of his income. This budget nevertheless has a surplus, but only of 3.7%, in the midst of a series where they are much greater. We now have the explanation for it.

/426/ We have grouped under the rubric "Equipment" (Table XIV) dissimilar elements which have the common character of being of some utility and, if not purchased once and for all, at least not needing to be renewed for a rather long period, for example, furniture, kitchen equipment, bedding, etc. ... The sums that are devoted to them are generally of little importance. The purchase of a Madagascar stove or of some glasses, however, is a heavy burden on an income below 10,000 francs. These things are generally not purchased on [452] credit.

[352] The piece of furniture that we found most often in our

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

VIII. THE SENEGALESE

563 The case of the one and only Senegalese is interesting. There you have a man no longer designated by his tribe, but by his colony. We are not told what tribe in Senegal he belongs to, Serer, Wolof or Lebu. That he comes from the Colony of Senegal is enough to give him some sort of status, and for native policy to know whom it is dealing with. He is not a *déracíné* from a small isolated Africa; in Bobo *cercle* he is son of the mother colony of all the colonies of the Federation. He is settled in Bobo as he might elsewhere, as a man of the new African world that has got beyond race, where natives of all races give life to the colonial structure and break it open from within.

ROBERT DELAVIGNETTE: *Freedom and Authority in French West Africa*

If the first thing that strikes the visitor to Dakar is the large number of Europeans, the second is the homogeneous character of Senegalese society itself. It is not possible, as it is in Lagos or Leopoldville, to tell from a glance at a man or a woman's clothes from which ethnic group he or she comes. Senegal not only has an excellent record of race relations between Europeans and Africans but between the various indigenous ethnic groups. This happy position is typified by the President of the Republic, Léopold Sédar Senghor, who comes neither from the majority tribe nor the dominant religion of the country, but is a Serer and Catholic. Furthermore he is married to a French woman.

[369] [292]

563 162 Senegal has six major ethnic groups accounting for all but 130,000 of its population of 3,100,000. The last census figures gave the Wolof as the largest ethnic group with 35 per cent, followed by the Fula with 17 per cent, the Serer, 16 per cent, Toucouleur, 9 per cent, Diola, 9 per cent, and the Mandingo 7 per cent.

[p 76]

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 295 882 colour, flopped on the floor like lumps of spittle. Others, like them, were being cured in evil vats or stripped in heavy mangles. I examined one of the skins stretched out on the floor. The Czech pointed to three large holes in its surface.

'They are not good, these skins. Very stiff. They come from the North Senegal and the Fula herdsmen will not learn that the cow must be looked after if you want to make good shoes from it. They are only good for cheap shoes. We have to get the better models from our European factories.'

We emerged from the foetid gloom of the curing section into the dyeing room, full of sheets of leather, which an African was busy spraying scarlet, yellow, grey or blue. Another was trimming the coloured hides before they were sent to dry.

S 295 [463] We followed our guide into a long hall, which reverberated to the rat-ti-tat of a hundred sewing machines, manned exclusively by Africans.

'Are most of your employees Africans?' I asked.

'On this work, yes. But not in the executive. And on some of the more skilled jobs we have to have Europeans.'

'Are they good workers?'

'Very good, though they cannot tackle the more difficult jobs. I believe they are better farther down the Coast. But we have nothing to complain about.'

And from the rate those shoes were coming off the production line, I was sure they hadn't.

'How many shoes do you produce a year?'

'About 300,000. Most of them are sandals,' he said, pointing to some scarlet slippers which an African was packing into boxes.

'These we also produce in great quantities.'

S W [291] He showed me a pink, green and sky blue slipper with a large plastic pompom where the big toe would be. These were wildly popular with the fashion-mad [illegible] of women at the time. Bata's are very much at the mercy of their whims, though they have the consolation that supply rarely exceeds demand.

S [294] [565] As I watched one African youth deftly turning a leather sandal on a stitching machine, I could not help thinking of the old Mandinka leather-worker in Dakar's market, laboriously sewing tough slippers as his father had done before him and as he was bound to do by virtue of his caste. Once he exercised a monopoly

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

for no-one would undertake his work unless he belonged to that caste. But the laws of supply and demand do not respect hereditary caste-rights. Mass production and cheaper shoes dictate the old leather-worker's redundance. Soon he will fade into the obscurity of a rural industry, a supplier of goods for the local arts and crafts store.

This was nowhere more evident than in Dakar which has a large number of factories. Here one can see the new Africa rising up. The young man who comes from the bush, illiterate and half naked, living much as his ancestors before him. Soon he is caught up in the revolution. At first his house may be a small wooden shed, shared with members of his family or tribe on whom he is sponging. But soon he may earn thirteen pounds a month as an unskilled labourer, so that he can afford to take rooms with one of his richer brothers, whose weekly pay packet as a cook is six pounds. And so in Dakar people of all tribes meet in the great metropolis, live next to each other in the crowded Medina, and help to create a new town-life as different from that of the bush as city life in nineteenth-century industrial England was from that of the countryside.

In Dakar I met Diop, a young Jollof, well-educated, but out of work. I asked him how he lived and he told me that he just went from relation to relation each day borrowing money. He had had a job before, but after a quarrel with his employer, an African lawyer, he had had to leave. Each morning he left his wife, pretending to go to work. He deceived her into thinking he still had his job, by bringing home money lent him by relations. He 'borrowed' the equivalent of ten shillings from me, and to my astonishment promptly asked me to lunch the next day. His house, or rather room, was made of wood. Inside, the walls and the floor were covered with a gaily patterned lino. A large double bed and a small divan provided seats. A chest of drawers hung with all the crockery was the only other piece of furniture. On the walls was a large array of photos of friends and relations, all slightly over-exposed to give the effect of a lighter skin. Diop's wife, a ravishing, beautiful girl of nineteen, had spent all morning preparing Jollof rice for us, consisting of rice done in a sort of tomato purée, to which a delicious white fish with a variety of vegetables and a hot pepper sauce were added. A bottle of wine was produced for me.

/431/

121 Fashion, from a subjective point of view, represents a fleeting custom that depends on the taste and the whims of individuals. Its range of application is universal. It is thus a social and aesthetic phenomenon of the same order as painting, from which it borrows much.

Like all expressions of art, fashion is a language and a magic. It is also a technique, the different aspects of which may be grouped in three categories: the fabrication of the objects (fabrics and garments), the methods of sale, and the motivations for the purchase.

For the social psychologist the problem of the adaptation of the African to European fashions presents itself.

125 Among the various possible methods of investigation, our choice was directed first of all to direct observations and the method of tests. We have taken into consideration both the ethnic origin and the age of the subjects.

I. Female African Population of Dakar

162 1. Resident population on 6-1-55.

We ascertained:

a) the very distinct predominance of the Wolof group (47.8%).

b) the weak representation of the Sérèr and Diola in relation to the Bambara.

/432/

2. Characteristics of this population:

[191] [212] a) Knowledge of French (14 years old and +):

4,844 women and girls speak our language (2,850 of them write it).

162 463 b) Salaried occupations in crafts and business (14 years old and +):

[294] [386] 3,779, of whom: sewing, dressmaking,

lingerie, clothing	609
preparation, dyeing.....	142

S /432 cont./
162
463 The 609 individuals who derive a profit from the fashion trades are divided ethnically as follows:

[294]

Cape Verde group	243
Wolof group	157
Diola group	48
Lebou group	31
Sérèr group	29
Others	101

W [294]

S W [386] The majority of the 142 dyers are Toucouleur /Tukolar/ (77) and Wolof (36).

W [463] Out of 1,455 Wolof women practicing a trade, for their own benefit or salaried, 598 are tradeswomen, 157 in sewing, 110 business employees.

The Lébou women likewise prefer to carry on a business (150 out of 340 counted as workers).

S 125

II. Experimental Research on the Aesthetic Sense of Dakar Women in the Matter of Clothing

For this study, which is only in its beginnings, two methods are used:

-- direct observation of clothing worn for display by a certain number of women,

-- the result of tests conducted among some of them.

/Table I appears here on an unnumbered page./

/433/

A. Direct Observation.

1. Circumstances.

S [114] a) The investigation was conducted in the Médina of Dakar, in the quarters Sapeurs-pompiers /Firemen/ and Champ de courses /Race course/ -- between 9 and 19 November 1956, at the end of an election.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

'Oh yes, our sister company in Abidjan has sent a young African to train in a large brewery in France.' 274 463

'What is your labour like?'

'Not so good. They don't seem to have much interest in their work.'

I remembered my discussion with Babacar Saye, Mayor of St. Louis, who told me that though he was a Socialist, he believed that at the present time capitalism had an essential role in the country. 'If we are to improve the conditions of the proletariat capitalism is a necessity, but this improvement cannot be speeded up except to the extent that the profit from capital is used towards the satisfying of the indispensable needs of the workers. Therefore it is necessary that the worker feels that he is complementary to the capitalist—it is up to the capitalist to make him understand this.' 829

To me this seems one of the most important factors in the industrialization of West Africa. The African from the tribal background is essentially an individual with a distinct position in his tribal group or village. Though he appreciates the money he earns in industry, psychologically he does not like being treated as a mere cog in a machine, losing his identity. If he could be given some indication that he is as indispensable to the firm as the manager, he would work hard. As Mr. C. O. Van der Plas, the United Nations Official in the Gambia, once observed: 'It is curious that the African running his own little enterprise works literally like a black, and takes on enormous responsibilities.' Yet if he is taken on as a cog in a vast machine, he becomes slack and Europeans call him the most inefficient and expensive labour in the world. It seems to me that a lot depends on the relations between the worker and the managerial staff. 461

Two years before I had visited a large shoe factory in neighbouring Rufisque with Mr. David Pearson, the British Consul responsible for liaison between British and French territories in West Africa. The factory was sited on the outskirts of the town opposite a huge cement works which belched forth pastel smoke at an angry sky. We entered a courtyard where hides of every colour were lying in the sun to dry. A Czech employee of the firm, which has its origins in Czechoslovakia, met us and led us into a gloomy shed where flabby hides, a hideous grey green in 295 282 [339]

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 295 882 colour, flopped on the floor like lumps of spittle. Others, like them, were being cured in evil vats or stripped in heavy mangles. I examined one of the skins stretched out on the floor. The Czech pointed to three large holes in its surface.

'They are not good, these skins. Very stiff. They come from the North Senegal and the Fula herdsmen will not learn that the cow must be looked after if you want to make good shoes from it. They are only good for cheap shoes. We have to get the better models from our European factories.'

We emerged from the foetid gloom of the curing section into the dyeing room, full of sheets of leather, which an African was busy spraying scarlet, yellow, grey or blue. Another was trimming the coloured hides before they were sent to dry.

S 295 [463] We followed our guide into a long hall, which reverberated to the rat-ti-tat of a hundred sewing machines, manned exclusively by Africans.

'Are most of your employees Africans?' I asked.

'On this work, yes. But not in the executive. And on some of the more skilled jobs we have to have Europeans.'

'Are they good workers?'

'Very good, though they cannot tackle the more difficult jobs. I believe they are better farther down the Coast. But we have nothing to complain about.'

And from the rate those shoes were coming off the production line, I was sure they hadn't.

'How many shoes do you produce a year?'

'About 300,000. Most of them are sandals,' he said, pointing to some scarlet slippers which an African was packing into boxes.

'These we also produce in great quantities.'

S W [291] He showed me a pink, green and sky blue slipper with a large plastic pompom where the big toe would be. These were wildly popular with the fashion-mad Jollof women at the time. Bata's are very much at the mercy of their whims, though they have the consolation that supply rarely exceeds demand.

S [294] [565] As I watched one African youth deftly turning a leather sandal on a stitching machine, I could not help thinking of the old Mandinka leather-worker in Dakar's market, laboriously sewing tough slippers as his father had done before him and as he was bound to do by virtue of his caste. Once he exercised a monopoly

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

for no-one would undertake his work unless he belonged to that caste. But the laws of supply and demand do not respect hereditary caste-rights. Mass-production and cheaper shoes dictate the old leather-worker's redundance. Soon he will fade into the obscurity of a rural industry, a supplier of goods for the local arts and crafts store.

This was nowhere more evident than in Dakar which has a large number of factories. Here one can see the new Africa rising up. The young negro comes from the bush, illiterate and half naked, living much as his ancestors before him. Soon he is caught up in the revolution. At first his house may be a small wooden shed, shared with members of his family or tribe on whom he is sponging. But soon he may earn thirteen pounds a month as an unskilled labourer, so that he can afford to take rooms with one of his richer brothers, whose weekly pay packet as a cook is six pounds. And so in Dakar people of all tribes meet in the great metropolis, live next to each other in the crowded Medina, and help to create a new town-life as different from that of the bush as city life in nineteenth-century industrial England was from that of the countryside.

In Dakar I met Diop, a young Jollof, well-educated, but out of work. I asked him how he lived and he told me that he just went from relation to relation each day borrowing money. He had had a job before, but after a quarrel with his employer, an African lawyer, he had had to leave. Each morning he left his wife, pretending to go to work. He deceived her into thinking he still had his job, by bringing home money lent him by relations. He 'borrowed' the equivalent of ten shillings from me, and to my astonishment promptly asked me to lunch the next day. His house, or rather room, was made of wood. Inside, the walls and the floor were covered with a gaily patterned lino. A large double bed and a small divan provided seats. A chest of drawers hung with all the crockery was the only other piece of furniture. On the walls was a large array of photos of friends and relations, all slightly over-exposed to give the effect of a lighter skin. Diop's wife, a ravishing, beautiful girl of nineteen, had spent all morning preparing Jollof rice for us, consisting of rice done in a sort of tomato purée, to which a delicious white fish with a variety of vegetables and a hot pepper sauce were added. A bottle of wine was produced for me.

/426 cont. /

*511 352 lists is the bed (1). In nearly all of the African lodgings we

1. The 13.3% of the cultivator, No. 32, arose from the purchase of a cart and a horse.

find at least a bed, but there is rarely one for everyone. And [369] to sleep in a bed has become the best proof that one can give of his acclimatization to the city.

If the income is higher, one may be able to buy more important pieces of furniture. Then, in the order of their urgency, the armchairs, the rugs, and then the tables and wardrobes appear.

*511 Then we come to the rubric "Exceptional Expenses," those for which no absolute necessity is felt. Moreover they are rarer at the top of the table, only three, and then they multiply (Table XIV).

[405] The first thing that we find here is the watch or the alarm [301] clock, closely followed by the jewelry of the wife or wives. [493] There follow, but only in the highest incomes, the bicycle, [207] or, depending on the possibilities, the bicycle with a motor [301] on it or the motorcycle, then the battery radio. There is nothing very original in all this, and, except perhaps for the importance given to the jewelry of the women, we would find similar pretensions among European families having equivalent incomes.

*511 794 [791] In the last table (Table XV)[1] we have grouped a series of expenses that have a common origin, the religion of the families investigated, all Moslems except one. Two Moslem holidays are involved, Tabaski and Korité, religious assessments, /427/ /Table XIV appears here/ /428/ offerings to the marabouts, and, finally, expenses arising from sending children to the Koranic school.

*511 796 For Tabaski, each family slaughters a sheep. There

[1] [see cat 116, pp 69-71. ANALYST]

[11 cont.]

369 been distributed for the older children.

583 a) The Pani (the box). In appearance it may be ordinary or magnificent, according to the aesthetic inclinations of the sisters of the husband. Often it is an old metal box that contained tidbits. In any case it is not the appearance that interests us, but the contents, which generally are:

12 louis d'or 51;
[301] 2 gold necklaces, we say "chains";
2 pairs of gold earrings;
1 or 2 pairs of gold bracelets;
4 or 8 sautoirs, medals of gold which encircle the figure.

The box is found already prepared among the jewelers.
[435] Its minimum price is 6,000 francs. Its value easily reaches 20,000 francs and more.

b) The Basket for Effects. This is an expense of recent character and of practical import. Formerly, on the day of
[585] the nuptials, the husband gave his wife a bundle of banknotes as personal property accruing to her from her marriage. But the tradition that the woman should be generous made this money disappear immediately, distributed among the persons of caste who came from everywhere. I would have willingly given, if I had known it, the name of the first Saint-Louis man who replaced this packet of money with a quantity of clothing, thus putting his wife in a position to benefit from it herself. The basket actually contains articles whose number and quality vary, but which constitute a veritable trousseau no less, which may last for years. For an individual from a "great family" or a
369 "peasant," it includes as much as:
583
291
435

12 robes [boubous] of crepe de Chine (of which 4 of 8 meters each are obligatory, 160 francs per meter);
12 robes of rich bazin (4 obligatory of 8 meters each at 225 francs per meter);
4 camisoles, ordinary or of Lagos fabric;
[12] 4 camisoles of crepe de Chine (extravagantly cut to a length of 4 or 5 meters);

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

2

The Revolution

OUR bus had been travelling across monotonous scrub country for several hours. The road was excellent, but the journey uncomfortable in the heat of the afternoon sun. The goats on the roof had not stopped screaming since we left Kaolak and the hair of two Mauretanian women sitting in front of me exuded a suffocating odour of rancid butter, with which it was greased, attracting a large swarm of flies. The bus had a drowsy lethargic atmosphere in which we could neither sleep nor think.

After we had been travelling for what seemed an eternity, the skyline was broken by some small hills, covered with lemon-leafed trees. I cannot adequately describe the visual relief those hills afforded. For their significance, they might have been mountains. Towards evening we left these hills behind us and our road quite suddenly came upon the sea, which stretched out before us an undecided compromise between grey and blue. Its shore was skirted by mud huts, from which hung long fishing nets, tied to gaily painted canoes.

There was a sudden stir in the front of the bus. A voice cried: 'Dakar, ici Dakar.' I looked beyond the fretwork silhouette of the fishing village, beyond the cold grey of the sea to an incredible backdrop: a vast city of giant houses, gleaming in the late sun, rode the horizon like some fantastic flotilla of the future.

'Dakar, ici Dakar.' The voice cried once more and the excited passengers took up the refrain.

Our bus pulled up into a large lorry station, in a part of Dakar whose resemblance to the Motte-Picquet-Grenelle suburb of Paris immediately struck me, except that Africans had been substituted for Algerians. At once there was a mad scramble to get

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

called 'Les Ballets Sereres du Sine Saloum,' a group of dancers who had won the Territorial Cup in 1957. 545

The theatre was packed. I was sitting next to an ample Jollof matron, a small child strapped to her back, its tiny nose buried in the pink muslin of her dress. Another child sat on her knee, beturbanned and clothed just like its mother. From the woman's forehead dangled three shining American dollars. Unfortunately a similar Jollof woman sat immediately in front of me, her black horsehair wig and tall tulle turban almost totally obscuring my view. A strong scent of 'Bint El Sudan' manufactured in East London perfumed the room as the curtains rose to the first dance, 'Love and its Caprices', which was to be the theme of the evening. The variations, the programme told me, were to include '*Allo M'Bissine*'—'My fiancée has beaten me because a boy who loves me told me "Hello M'Bissine" ', and later '*Khodia Kha Lola*'—'Why do you cry Khodia? Only the Gods understand what a tear says'. Ending with an initiation dance of future circumcision candidates. One of the most memorable dances was a solo by a woman with a baby strapped to her back, its head swaying backwards and forwards like a punch ball. The child uttered not a murmur as its mother danced into a frenzy, singing at the top of her voice, and in the background a corps of drums beat an hysterical rhythm. It was an entertaining evening, with a beautiful dance of a slight youth, his black-brown body shining sleekly in the glow of the footlights, contrasting with the powdered copper of his lissom partner, a girl of singular beauty with entrancing opalescent eyes. [854] [291] [302]

After the performance there was a cast party to which Faye, the young secretary of the theatre, invited me. The dancers, various guests, European and African, drank bottles of Coca-Cola and orange squash. Amongst them was Ka Abdou Anta. 536 [517] [212]

He was a handsome young man, but he dragged continuously at a cigarette and his teeth were discoloured with nicotine. His jacket, once well cut, was misshapen by papers stuffed into the pockets. My first meeting with Ka had been two years before but we had not been introduced. He was rehearsing a scene from his play *La Fille des Dieux*, which he was producing for the Théâtre du Palais. It was highly symbolic: a somewhat uneasy compromise between tribal metaphysics and the classical French

[9 cont.]

787 After having recited the required prayers, one expresses his particular desire in a whisper while shielding the mouth with the right hand.

Then one lies down in a quiet and suitable place, on the right side, placing the right hand under the ear.

787 278 [79] Drugs and substances: Many drugs are provided for facilitating dreaming, sometimes by the mou'abbirs (who are relatively very rare in Senegal) and sometimes by other experienced persons.

The use of the roots of bakis or of sinoiègne (a kind of creeping plant common in the western part of Senegal) is very widespread; if one falls asleep with a toothpick of bakis or sindièègne in his mouth, he will have frightful visions in which demons, the dead, and supernatural beings appear.

The same result is obtained if, before lying down, one takes a solution of salted water in which roots of sindièègne have fermented for quite a long time, the effect of which is both purgative and stimulative.

[302] Among other substances, the extract called kaoulâne (sometimes used in the form of a lotion for the face), liquid myrrh, opium, etc. should be mentioned.

787 [782] More rarely, fumigation is practiced in a sealed and isolated hut, in which honey or incense is burned. Obviously, in this case, the procedure may be completed by one of the above practices.

[778] [789] Magical means: Throughout Senegal (as is well-known) one finds an enormous number of talismans (for example, the khâtim, magical designs made up of names, characters, and figures which possess a kind of supernatural power), the aim of which is to evoke favorable dreams; their form varies according to the desire that the believer wants to realize.

Bohumil Holas

(Ifan, Dakar)

[12 cont.]

369 583 291 435

12 silk headkerchiefs (6 obligatory, valued at 500 to 600 francs each;

12 kerchiefs with "edging" [mouchoirs de "bord"] (6 obligatory, valued at 300 to 375 francs each);

2 silk handkerchiefs;

4 Mauritanian mats, on which the objects are detailed, valued at 500 francs each, and most of all rare, which costs dearly.

369 685

c) Basket of Small Goods. This is a creation of the well-bred man of Saint-Louis, who during the 3 or 8 or 15 days that the nuptials last wishes the guests to be treated well. The young people of both sexes are supposed to crowd into the spacious rooms, suitably decorated and illuminated, and to be "overwhelmed" by the songs of the griots. The husband considers their rejoicings an imperious duty and offers them a basket generally containing several packs of cards, packages of toothpicks, perfume, razor blades, pipes, tobacco, incense, kohéal, fans, tidbits, etc.

369 585 565

d) The Gifts. These expenses are the final obligations and bear the name of "decorations of castes." As we have noted, since the first visit of the husband, the persons of caste have not officially benefited further from his generosity or from that of his wife. But custom requires that these people be gratified. It should be noted also that the guers have their men of caste who are faithful to them from father to son. In their presence and when they are equal to their task. Whatever their fortune or rank (in the Europeanized society), a guer cannot address any other persons of caste without their permission. Only one coiffeuse arranges the hair of a young girl until her marriage, and one jeweler repairs or makes her finery. The marriage is the ceremony of their dedication and the occasion of proving to them that they have not placed their confidence in vain. These persons comprise two categories: that of the woman and that of the man. Let us note at once that the latter cannot be too demanding without showing a lack of the proper attitude. They form part of the general staff of the husband, and, under penalty

[596] [302] [306]

S /177 cont./

462 work are divided into very different groups: here is the
463 distribution of female occupations by percentages:

162 /178/ Hairdressers (occupation often held by the griotes)...4.5
Silent partners of weavers 2.2
Dyers 3.7
Saleswomen in markets or stalls 15.5
Cleaning women, laundresses 4.5
Laborer 0.8
Others 68.8
Total 100

S
305 Hairdressing is more an ordinary service than remunera-
565 tive work; it is most often done by the caste women, griotes
463 or jewelers, in exchange for money or for presents which they receive from "free" or "noble" families -- the Wolof term is "guer" -- for whom they are the appointed griotes. It is not unusual, along one of the sandy streets in the shade of a wall, to come across a group of women, one of whom will be braiding the hair of another stretched out flat on her stomach, her head on the knees of her hairdresser.

S
462 Equally traditional are the occupations of dyer or silent
463 partner of a weaver. At the extreme opposite is the laborer
SR of the CAFAL who works daily at fixed hours for a definite
[462] salary. There are only a few of them in our sample, all of whom are Sérère. The women who do housework or who are laundresses must likewise be classed under this rubric of modern work. The way they use their time is indeed much less whimsical than in the case of the first categories. Between the two one must place the most important occupation,
S that of saleswoman. And here it is again necessary to dis-
[443] tinguish several categories of saleswomen: those who keep a shop or a stall by the side of their houses, those who go to sell at the market of Pikine, and finally those who every day go from Pikine to Dakar to sell their vegetables and their produce at Kermel or at Sandaga.

S
W
SR
On the other hand, the positive replies are too numerous
462 to be profitably discussed by ethnic groups and thus to separate
162 out the principal ethnic behaviors. At best it is possible that

[12 cont.]

369
583
291
435

12 silk headkerchiefs (6 obligatory, valued at 500 to 600 francs each;
12 kerchiefs with "edging" [mouchoirs de "bord"] (6 obligatory, valued at 300 to 375 francs each);
2 silk handkerchiefs;
4 Mauritanian mats, on which the objects are detailed, valued at 500 francs each, and most of all rare, which costs dearly.

369
685

c) Basket of Small Goods. This is a creation of the well-bred man of Saint-Louis, who during the 3 or 8 or 15 days that the nuptials last wishes the guests to be treated well. The young people of both sexes are supposed to crowd into the spacious rooms, suitably decorated and illuminated, and to be "overwhelmed" by the songs of the griots. The husband considers their rejoicings an imperious duty and offers them a basket generally containing several packs of cards, packages of toothpicks, perfume, razor blades, pipes, tobacco, incense, kohéal, fans, tidbits, etc.

369
585
565

d) The Gifts. These expenses are the final obligations and bear the name of "decorations of castes." As we have noted, since the first visit of the husband, the persons of caste have not officially benefited further from his generosity or from that of his wife. But custom requires that these people be gratified. It should be noted also that the guers have their men of caste who are faithful to them from father to son. In their presence and when they are equal to their task. Whatever their fortune or rank (in the Europeanized society), a guer cannot address any other persons of caste without their permission. Only one coiffeuse arranges the hair of a young girl until her marriage, and one jeweler repairs or makes her finery. The marriage is the ceremony of their dedication and the occasion of proving to them that they have not placed their confidence in vain. These persons comprise two categories: that of the woman and that of the man. Let us note at once that the latter cannot be too demanding without showing a lack of the proper attitude. They form part of the general staff of the husband, and, under penalty

[576]
[302]
[306]

/373 cont./

S
Sr
W
175
648

Before the arrival of the French garrison in 1865, the Sérère-none ruled supreme over the region. He was established as the traditional enemy of the Wolof, and from time to time he suffered from the incursions of his "tiédos" (2).

W
[624]

2. Tiédos: name given to the Wolof war chiefs of Cayor.

After the definitive installation of our troops at Thiès and especially after the running of the Dakar-Saint-Louis railroad in 1885, many Wolof came to settle near our fortified post; at the same time they benefited from our pacificatory presence by being able to create farm villages in the heart of None country. Diakhaté was established about 1875-1880 (some of its founders worked on the construction of the railroad line in 1884); Keur-Mamour was created at about the same time.

W
[464]

The Bambara villages are more recent: 1890-1895. These were the /374/ terrible years when Samory sacked the southern Sudan and the region of the Wassoulou (east of Beyla in Upper Guinea). Through the authorities, it seems, some of the Bambara and Wassoulonké freed by our troops were sent to Senegal where the policy of groundnut cultivation was in full development. Keur-Issa-Bambara and Karamoko were founded at this time.

S
[369]

The city of Thiès was not very important at that time; it had hardly more than a thousand inhabitants. Nevertheless, it began to play a primary role; its presence imposed peace in the region formerly so disturbed by the None brigandage or the incursions of Wolof warriors. Its presence facilitated the founding of villages, the number of which would cease to grow in the subsequent period; all of the land capable of supporting crops was utilized at the beginning of the century.

S
369
[311]
[438]

In the years preceding the Great War, the escale (1)

1. Escale: by extension signifies a stopping place, a commercial agglomeration.

/401 cont./

178 occupation may be. Imported products appear only at breakfast:
*262 bread, sweetened condensed milk, lumps of sugar. The other
[264 two meals are still always composed of four products, rice,
439] millet, fish, and meat, which may be combined in different
ways, and a fifth that is always present, oil. The single element
of diversity comes from the more or less great variety and the
more or less great quantity of vegetables and manioc that are
incorporated into the traditional dishes, and, of course, the
skillful proportion of condiments of all sorts.

*511 With a few exceptions (1), the study of the expenses of
*262
[177]

1. The more important exceptions are Nos. 39 and 43. These two units of consumption have entirely adopted European food habits, and are otherwise not comparable with the others. This is why we neglect them a little on this point.

our families for food is very nearly limited, aside from bread, milk, and sugar, to a description of the variations ascertained in the consumption of these few essential products.

One can state that in general all of our families consume rice by liking and millet by necessity. Rice is the food of choice, millet entering in only when the financial situation of the family demands it, or in order all the same to provide a little variety.

243 Rice is 30 to 35% more expensive than millet. It is culti-
● 311 vated on a small scale in a few wet zones in the countryside
[435 around Thiès, whereas millet grows nearly everywhere. The
*[511 truly productive rice zones closest to Thiès are the Casamance
to the south and the lower course of the Senegal to the north.
On the east it appears only with the upper course of this river
and in the region /402/ drained by the Niger and its tributaries,
*262 in Guinea, and in the Sudan. In reality, it is an imported
177 product. The traditional diet of this region was primarily based
on millet.

/5 cont./

177 early as 1560 Alvarez de Almada speaks of the abundant har-
244 vests of mantiga eaten fresh by the Mandingue /Mandingo/. In 1840 a Paris chemist, Rousseau, discovered the wealth of oil in the groundnut. In 1841 the brig "Zénith" transported 70 metric tons of nuts to Rouen. Protêt and Faidherbe encouraged this crop, which, in the framework of the colonial economic system, progressed rapidly from the coast toward the interior, thanks to the possibilities of the natural environment.

132 From the Senegal River in the north to the Casamance in the south, the climate of the country changes by successive transitions from Sahelian characteristics to Sudanese aspects. A long dry season of nine months in the north, shorter in the south, from October or December to May-June, contrasts with a "winter season" of three to five months, depending on the region. The frequency and the importance of the precipitations increase from north to south. They go from 350 millimeters in the region of Louga to 1,200 millimeters in that of Ziguinchor. Whereas the coast is moistened by the humid trade wind, the Ferlo to the east is like a desert. These conditions are nearly /6/ ideal for a
244 plant whose vegetative cycle is short -- about 120 days -- and which germinates easily in a slightly moistened soil, develops under heavy rains, and bears fruit best during the dry days that follow.

134 The soil conditions also seem to be wholly favorable.
244 The plant is not very demanding with respect to fertility; essentially it requires a light soil, because the fructification is underground. The silico-argillaceous soils of the center of Senegal (the dek of the Ouoloff /Wolof/) and the sandy soils of the north (the dior of the Ouoloff) suit the groundnut perfectly.

496 The expansion of the area of cultivation, from the coast
244 and the estuaries toward the interior, has been led by the rail-
311 roads. The Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad, built in 1885, explains the essential role of Cayor in groundnut production at the beginning of the century, since it was along the Dakar-Niger line, achieved in 1888, that the groundnut front progressed toward the east. Today this front, which in the south has broken into the

/6/
496 edges of the woodlands of Casamance, has reached the Ferlo
244 and the zone of the lateritic cuirasses of the east.
311

I. The Types of Groundnut Cultivation in Senegal

244
[433] The very symbol of the product of "trade," the groundnut is essentially cultivated by the autochthonous peasants, who devote to it an important part of their activities.

1. The types of autochthonous cultivation. Whatever the place of the groundnut may be in the system of crops, one always finds, within the framework of the very short agricultural cycle of winter, the same techniques for the preparation of the soil, the same kinds of tillage.

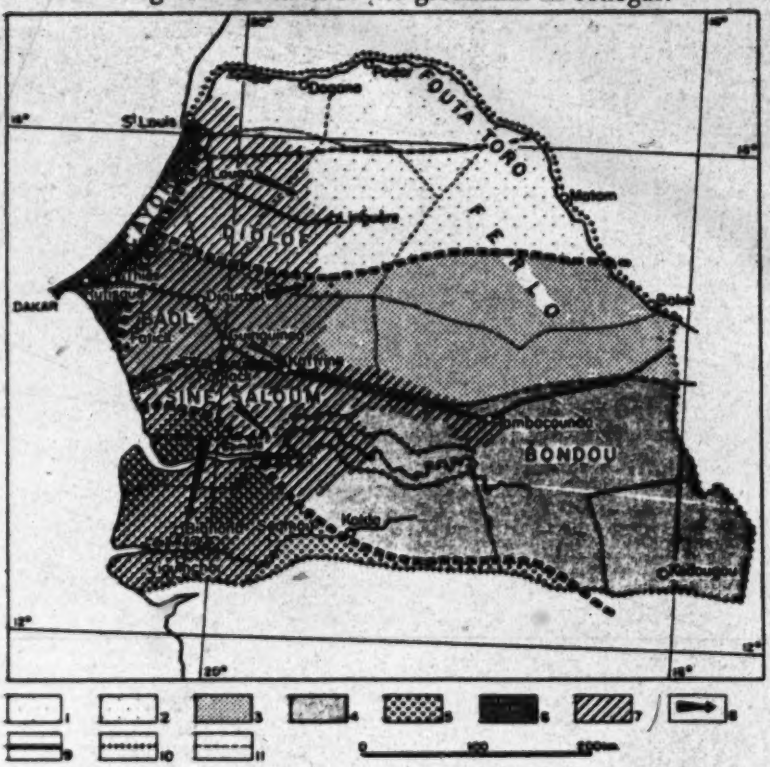
Everywhere in Senegal the traditional technical contrivances are primitive and permit only rather crude tillage. The
[412] lopping tool, the rhock, a kind of fork with two prongs, the hilaire, formed by a quite long handle and a flat blade in the shape of an ace of hearts, and the hoe, or daba, constitute the essential equipment.

In the spring, at the end of the dry season, the trees and bushes are topped with the lopping tool to 60 or 70 centimeters from the ground. Only the "Faidherbia," stripped of their leaves in winter, are spared. The branches are burned on the spot; their ashes are the sole fertilizer for the field recovered from the bush. The mutilated and burned trunks, the stumps left in place, give it an unfinished and disorderly appearance. Soon after the first rains, generally in June, one proceeds with the sowing. In the holes /7/ four to five centimeters deep, made with the daba or with the handle of the rhock, the cultivator puts one or two groundnut seeds and then, with the heel, covers them with soil. These holes, made in a row, are generally 30 centimeters apart. In July and August, one proceeds with several weedings and dressings with the daba in order to mellow the soil. In September the last cleaning out of foul grasses is done by hand. When the stalks wither, the shells have reached maturity,

/8 cont./

Fig. 1. Domain of the groundnut in Senegal.

102
103
131
244
●311
496



1. Sahelo-Saharan zone:
2. Sahelo-Sudanese zone:
3. Sudano-Sahelian zone .
4. Sudano-Guinea zone.
5. Guinea zone.
6. Coastal zone with relics of the Guinea woodland.
7. Groundnuts.
8. Progression of the domain of the groundnut.
9. Railroad.
10. Boundaries of the states.
11. Boundaries of the circles.

/9 cont./

795 have a moral obligation to deliver the products of their labor to the marabouts. With a remarkable ardor for clearing, these 244 Murids have improved new lands and have thus made a "groundnut front" progressing toward the east, especially on both sides 311 of the Dakar-Niger railroad. This cultivation, however, presents grave dangers, because the Murids essentially concern themselves with groundnuts at the expense of millet; they use the cleared lands in the average proportion of 60% of the area for groundnuts and only 40% for millet. Crop rotation and fallowing are all too rarely respected, and the lands put under cultivation are all the more unstable since the groundnut front now abuts on the zone of the lateritic cuirasses of the east, ushering in the Sudan.

244 427 [464] [167] [113] The navétanes (4) are the seasonal workers who come

4. Fouquet, J., La traite des arachides dans le pays de Kaolack et ses conséquences économiques, sociales et juridiques /The trade of groundnuts in the region of Kaolack and its economic, social, and legal consequences/. Law thesis, Montpellier, 1951, 262 pp.

from the Sudan in particular and, up to 1958, from the north of Guinea. They cultivate the groundnut for the benefit of [466] the employer, or diatigui, according to the clauses of a verbal contract. The employer furnishes the cleared ground, the [465] seed, lodgings, and food. The navétane prepares the land, sows, weeds, and gathers the harvest. Actually, he devotes scarcely three to four half-days per week in work for the benefit of the diatigui. He utilizes the rest of his time for clearing and cultivating for himself. This labor is very costly for the employer, who is often obliged to borrow at prohibitive rates in order to feed the navétane. Moreover, this system presents grave dangers, because the temporary immigrant, clearing and cultivating land for which he feels no attachment,

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

most striking topography. In spite of this, there are few wide horizons, for much of the surface is covered with high bush. 133 [137]

The Coastal Belt

The Cape Verde peninsula protects the south of the coast from the Canary current and there is a marked contrast between the smooth sandy shoreline to its north and the muddy estuaries to its south. From St. Louis to Dakar no rivers reach the sea. Behind the dunes which back the coast is a depression into which, baulked of their normal goal, many small seasonal streams empty themselves. This depression is marshy during and shortly after the rains, and at certain places shallow lakes persist. A wider and more permanent area of swamps lies east of St. Louis. It is formed by distributaries of the Senegal and replenished each year by its flood. Lake Guiers is a large perennial sheet of water at the eastern edge of this marshland.

The Interior Plain

North and east of the railways and south and west of the great curve of the Senegal there is a broad Tertiary plain. This is, in effect, a southward extension of the Sahara, and, like that of Mauritania, its surface is formed of low fixed dunes and shallow clay depressions. The general direction of these features is north-east and south-west. Immediately west of Thiès is a prominent line of hills running north and south. It is formed by an outcrop of Lower Eocene strata dipping eastward, and it is covered by the Forest of Thiès. For most of the year the rather friable top soil is dry, but the depressions become bands of swamp for a few months. Across this general alinement of relief two major valleys run from east to west. One is that of the Ferlo, which flows into Lake Guiers, and the other is that of the Nielloumolé and the Maouré, which are the upper sections of the Sine. The general pattern is edged by the flood plain of the Senegal and its subsidiary channels. The longest of these latter breaks off just below Diorbivol and does not rejoin the main stream until below Podor. It encloses the Île à Morfil, which averages 8 miles wide and is over 300 miles long. Most of the plain is covered with thornland or poor grass-woodland, but much of the land in the extreme south-west is highly cultivated. [137] [134] [137] [311]

The South

In the Casamance Territory relief is slightly more varied. The valleys are flat and annually flooded, but the country between rises

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

137 rainfall of from 20 to 60 inches. In appearance it is reminiscent of a park or orchard, with well-spaced trees or small clumps of trees projecting well above the herbaceous layer, and the most characteristic trees are from 18 to 45 feet tall. The most frequent in Senegal are the African locust bean, the tallow tree (*Detarium senegalense*), the ginger-bread plum or pomme du cayor (*Parinari macrophylla*), various legumes (*Cassia sieberiana*, *Entada africana*, *Acacia sieberiana*, *Albizzia ferruginea*, *Prosopis africana*, *Cordyla africana*, and *Pterocarpus erinaceus*), the Borassus palm (*Borassus aethiopum*), *Combretum glutinosum*, *Terminalia macroptera*, *Sterculia setigera*, *Cola cordifolia*, and the Meni oil tree. Shrubs and climbing woody plants are locally associated with the trees, but plants growing on the trunks and branches are generally absent. Parasites of the mistletoe family, however, are common. Most of the trees lose their leaves at the advent of the dry season. The grasslands consist mainly of grasses of the tribe Andropogoneae.

Excluding the Casamancian area, the Guinea subzone occupies two small regions north-west and south-east of the Gambia. At one time parts of this subzone were covered by dense forests, but to-day [311] there are only scattered relicts. Much of the country is cultivated, and the rest is subjected to the continued degrading influences of fire, grazing, and shifting cultivation. As a consequence, a degraded brushwood on impoverished soil represents the weed flora of several years' fallow. This is cut down, and the cultivation of ground-nuts [241] and cereals follows for a period of years; after which the ground is again allowed to go fallow. Many of the weeds are of American or Indian origin.

The Casamancian Area. The Casamancian area (Vol. I, p. 101) is the most tropical part of the colony. The Casamance river and the coastal channels are bordered up to tidal limits by thick mangrove-woodland. Behind this there are often marshy clearings, now [241] frequently transformed into rice-fields, and stretches of forest communities. Swamp-forests and thickets have screw-pines, palms (*Raphia*, *Calamus*), and bamboos. There are also frequent clumps of oil palm. In the remnants of high forest legumes are abundant and include species of *Afzelia*, *Dialium*, *Daniellia*, *Erythrophloeum*, *Pentaclethra*, *Parkia*, and *Acacia*. Noteworthy trees of the forest patches are a dragon's tree (*Dracaena*), the pattern wood (*Alstonia congensis*), the African teak (*Chlorophora excelsa*), and the silk-cotton tree (*Ceiba pentandra*). Many of them have a height of more than 60 feet.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS 30

S 797 with which the Society of the Holy Spirit was united in 1848. About the same time a house of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception (the Blue Sisters) was established at Dakar, which has been the Roman Catholic metropolis of French West Africa ever since.

In 1906, on the separation of Church and State in France, the government subsidies to the Roman Catholic missions were withdrawn. In 1930 the Roman Catholics in Senegal had 67 European S [162] priests, sisters, and lay workers aided by 175 native catechists and S [368] teachers. Professing Roman Catholics numbered 22,300. A magnificent cathedral, the work of many years, was consecrated at Dakar in 1936.

The only Protestant mission in Senegal is that of the Société des S [162] Missions Évangéliques de Paris, which began work in the colony in 1863. Its adherents number about a hundred.

8. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION AND INLAND TOWNS

Distribution of Population

S *Senegal*

161 Senegal is the third most densely populated colony, with an average of 21·58 persons per square mile and a total population in 1937 of 1,666,374. The distribution, however, varies greatly within the colony itself. The regions of Fouta and Ferlo are almost uninhabitable, while the provinces of Baol, Sine-Saloum, and Thiès have more than 50 persons per square mile. The coastal provinces of Bignona and Ziguinchor, south of the Gambia, are equally closely S settled. The left bank of the Senegal, roughly from Bakel to Podor, [311] supports a fairly dense agricultural population. [36]

Growth has been steady, the figures for 1921, 1926, and 1931 being 1,225,523, 1,318,287, and 1,584,273 respectively. There is no doubt that the colony is capable of supporting many more inhabitants than S it does at present.

162 *Natives.* More than 580,000 Ouolofs live in Senegal. These are 563 among the most energetic and intelligent peoples of the Federation, W and they provide the bulk of the famous Senegalese Tirailleurs. [162] There are about 250,000 each of Sérères, Mandingos, and Fulani, [701] and 150,000 Toucouleur. Broadly speaking, the Ouolofs live north and east of Dakar, the Sérères south-east thereof, the Toucouleur

/11 cont./

*795 It is to Touba that the young Murids come to learn the
[793] Koran; each marabout there has his own school which forms his young talibés.

It is in Touba also that, grouped around their marabout (or his residence), the faithful dwell, those who wish to live a holier life in permanent contact with their religious leader and working each day for them and with them.

[788] It is to Touba, finally, that every good Murid must go once
[778] a year in order to pray at the tomb of the founding saint of the brotherhood, at that of the khalife /caliph/, first successor, and especially in order to pay a visit to the present Caliph-general and to give him the offerings intended in particular for the continuation of the work on the mosque; this is the Magal of which we shall speak again below.

361 /12/ The city appears like a great "escale" /commercial
*795 center/ of the bush. Wide avenues separate the vast carrés /compounds/ of the various marabouts from one another. A plan for division into lots was drawn up, but it has not yet been applied, Falilou M'Backé, the Caliph-general, having feared, at the last moment, the far-reaching consequences.

Touba is thus a great center. Its development and the considerable number of persons who come there for the Magal have
[312] necessitated special arrangements. Drillings have been made in order to ensure the water supply of the holy city, which is, more-
[496] over, linked to M'Backé and Diourbel by a railroad. On the other hand, no commercial establishment has settled in Touba, and the trading center has been fixed at M'Backé.

346 Touba's center of attraction is its mosque, an Islamic
*795 monument unique in Senegal.

It was Amadou Bamba himself who decided to have it constructed, and in 1926 he asked his faithful to bring the first stones for it to Touba, but it was Amadou Mustapha, his son and first successor, who began the first work on it, after receiving by lease from the Administration a piece of ground of 400 hectares on which he could build it.

/21 cont./

793 of Cheikh, supporting the S. F. I. O., having gone so far as
*795 to throw stones into the "carré" of the Caliph-general. Cheikh
[666] had to restrain the socialist ardor of his talibés, who had gone too far. Such actions risk alienating from him the brotherhood /22/ and even the Administration, but he needs both in order to continue to carry on his policy.

His residence in Touba is located near the mosque, but on the opposite side from that of the Caliph-general. On the day of the Magal he tries to assemble there the greatest possible number of talibés in order to show his influence.

The cultivation of groundnuts is for him, too, an important source of revenue. His principal plantations are located at Taïf in the subdivision of Gossas, not far from the limits of that of M'Backé.

The other members of the M'Backé family have less influence on the life of the brotherhood. Nevertheless, they hold positions on the Murid Administrative Council, and they are settled around Touba and M'Backé.

[871] M'Backé Bousso heads an important Koranic school at Darou-Salam, just beside M'Backé. Abdoulaye M'Backé has settled at Boulel-Mody, at the extremity of the former valley of the
• [312] Sine where, thanks to the permanent waterholes that exist at
[241] certain places in this dried-up thalweg, he has created rice-fields and orchards which complement his groundnut plantations, in the midst of which he lives. Modest and self-effacing in appearance, this M'Backé is in reality very rich and very influential, for he has as talibés principally salaried workers and city employees who send him a tithe from their salaries or their income.

Following the example of the direct descendants and collateral relatives of Amadou Bamba, his distant relatives, his allies, the descendants of his first collaborators have made themselves "Great Murid Marabouts." Spiritual and temporal leaders at the same time, instructing their disciples in the doctrine of the founder, and above all having them till the soil for them, these Sérignes have created in Baol and in adjacent

/189 cont./

351 there again the small one-room structures of wood or straw are an exception to the rule and are distributed at random over the concession.

Each owner or tenant likes very much to see his parcel clearly delimited, and the wall is the general rule. But its forms are very different, and this in one and the same parcel, ranging from the house itself or a high wall of durable material to a line of pickets running along a simple heap of rubble. In any case, the parcels that are not completely enclosed, with merely an opening on the street, are rare.

343 What else does one find within the parcel or in the
351 structures serving as dwellings? Two things: a little hovel sheltering the Madagascan stove and serving as kitchen, and then, in a corner of the parcel, an enclosure surrounded by
[783] secco, with a kettle containing the water needed for ablutions, which gives off a characteristic ammoniacal odor, yet not enough to inconvenience the inhabitants.

362 Let us complete this description with the table of the
511 number of buildings, shown according to the number of rooms
342 and the material used. /Table 24 appears here./

More than 50% of the wooden structures (113 out of 206) have only one or two rooms, that is, fall into the first category. Thus the whole habitat does not show a very high standard of living.

511 /190/ This is still more true if one now considers the
364 equipment of the huts. 228 homes out of 258, nearly 90 %,
354 have neither water, electricity, nor w.c. in the concession;
312 26 have electricity only; one has a w.c. without running water or electricity, one likewise has a w.c. plus electricity (in these two cases the w.c. consists of a septic pit dug into the sand in one corner of the parcel by the person concerned under the control of the Service d'hygiene). One has water and electricity. Ten per cent of the homes are thus lighted with electricity, and the remainder with kerosene, which is very few in a city where, except in the very last quarters, it is possible to have a meter installed in each parcel.

/190 cont./

511 Nevertheless, ingenuity and mutual helpfulness make up for
207 the poverty of the equipment, and if one comes across well over 10% of owners of radio sets, it is because in a number of cases the owner attaches his radio to the current which comes into the house of his immediate -- or distant -- neighbor.

364 A very serious inconvenience, as much from the point of
514 view of hygiene as from the point of view of comfort, results from the total absence of sanitary equipment. Without doubt, an enclosure on the parcel has its particular spot, but this little corner cannot serve everyone, and for those who are on the edge of the agglomeration it is the bush which serves as a comfort station; for the others whose parcel is located far from the outskirts it is the vacant land within Pikine. This state of affairs is unfortunate for many reasons: first of all, for a good many inhabitants it is a veritable expedition, in a word, to go to the toilet; one can imagine what this means for the old people or for the sick. Besides, it is unhealthy, and to get an idea of this it will suffice to go out one winter evening after a tornado and breathe this nauseous odor which the wind blows from the vacant land over the rest of the agglomeration (1).

[515]
[653]

1. At the beginning of 1961 the public authorities undertook the construction of several groups of "showers" in 12 places. One can only wish for the extension of the anticipated program and its rapid completion.

511 In the districts, while all are not the owners of a
364 septic tank, the situation is better. Only 12% of the homes
354 are counted as not having either water, electricity, or w.c.,
312 12% have electricity in addition to w.c. without a water line in the concession, 21% have water and electricity, and the remainder, some 34%, have complete modern equipment.

[331] It should also be noted that the Office de l'Habitat no longer builds structures without a septic tank in its subdivisions.

/81 cont./

361 millet. The old people assemble in the evening under the
[517] large silk-cotton tree that shades the old crumbling mosque of
Takhikao. The women chatter while awaiting their turn to
[312] draw water at the common well, while the children play in
[342] the sand. Gent stands out because of a series of small, low
houses with a rectangular base and a roof of corrugated metal,
all identical and set along the trail that leads to the marigot
[351] /watercourse/ of the mission. A garden and a courtyard, al-
[563] ways littered with laundry, characterize each concession. It
is the quarter of Portuguese half-breeds called "portugalais"
(Plates XI B and XII A).

Diakhao-Nord /North Diakhao/, quiet, airy, arranged
[363] according to a strict plan of lots, contrasts with Diakhao-Sud
w ith narrow, winding lanes bordered on all sides by tapades
of millet stalks and noisy in the evening. The proximity of
[275] the two military bases has made it a place where one amuses
himself with all that this includes in the way of drinking
[525] shops and more or less clandestine gambling dens. Brawls be-
[579] tween drunken men are not rare in these places.

Randoulène, Derrière-la-voie-ferrée, and Bambara,
which form a unique quarter, homogeneous in its density and
in the heterogeneity of its dwellings, have become established
in the immediate vicinity of the railroad repair shops. The
[342] huts of planks, mud, or straw stand one against the other along
[363] the winding lanes laid out according to the desire of the
moment and not without some imagination. These lanes are
[373] noisy with people, and even late at night they walk between
the small shopkeepers' stalls lighted with smoking candle ends.
351 The dense crowd flows over the edges of the street and enters
the interior of the courtyards. The latter, covering barely
[463] a few square meters, often serve as a workshop for the
weaver, the blacksmith, or the jeweler, and as a kitchen for
[252] the housewives of the neighboring huts; it is not rare to see
half a dozen millet pounders there, pounding their mortars
in rhythm in groups of two or three. This is also the gathering
[517] place /82/ /Fig. 4 appears here/ of workers, where, after
[524] work, sitting in the sand amidst the dust and the noise, in a

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

647 656 *Produce Inspection.* Produce inspection is entrusted to a board nominated by the Chambers of Commerce, but the Government keeps a tight control by exercising a veto on all important appointments to its staff. The Board's inspectorate has very wide powers of inspection over produce, whether destined for local consumption or for export. No produce to which inspection applies can be sent out [439] of the colony without a certificate of purity.

For this inspection a special tax of 5 francs per ton on ground-nuts [651] and palm kernels, and 20 francs per ton on rubber, is imposed on produce intended for export.

456 654 *Native Provident Societies.* There are 14 Native Provident Societies. Bignona and Ziguinchor have combined, but otherwise there is one to each province. In 1937 they had 1,200,000 members, [647] whose annual subscriptions varied from 2·50 francs to 5·00 francs each, and their expenses were some 25,000,000 francs. They supplied over 44,000 tons of ground-nut seeds to their members.

In earlier days the Sine-Saloum society imported stallions from [232] the Argentine for the breeding of mules, and in 1932 the societies devoted nearly 250,000 francs to the purchase of motor vehicles. In cattle-breeding districts they supply breeding stock and improve water-supply and pasturage. By 1933 it was estimated that the societies had sunk over 1,200 wells, while the society of Thiès had [317] constructed a barrage for irrigation purposes.

In addition to strictly agricultural activities, the Senegal societies [426] help their members by advances of cash, which are made not only to meet failure of crops, but also in cases of individual accident or illness.

Mining

656 316 At the end of 1937 the following permits were in force:

Personal licences		4
The Occupation System		
Exclusive licences	10	
Mining licences	32	
Concessions	16	
	—	58
Total		62

Education

871 797 The first attempts to educate the natives of French West Africa were made in Senegal, and they were also remarkable for being instituted, not by missionaries, but by the Crown. Colonel Schmaltz

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[DAKAR]

route from Paris to Santiago and was also the terminus of local services to Bamako and to St. Louis. The Aéromaritime company used to run flying-boat services to Conakry, Abidjan, Lagos, Douala, and Pointe Noire. 509

Wireless. The broadcasting station is near Madeleines bay, 700 yards north-west of the cathedral. A small station, transmitting to ships, is on Bel Air point. 206

Cable. Dakar is connected by cable to Casablanca, to Brest, to Fernando Noronha (Brazil), and to Conakry. The two latter cables are landed in the south-west of Bernard bay, not far from the Pasteur Institute. There is, however, a telephone cable to Goree island. This is landed on the north-west shore of the same bay.

Shipping. Lines normally serving the port include the following: America West African, Bull, Chargeurs Réunis, Elder Dempster, Fabre, Fraissinet, Gdynia America, Hamburg-Bremen, Holland West Afrika, Italia, Lloyd Triestino, Maurel et Prom, Messageries du Sénégal, Navigazione Generale Italiana, Société Générale des Transports, Société Maritime Belge des Transports, and Société Navale de l'Ouest. 505

Coasting vessels sail regularly for Port Etienne, St. Louis, Kaolack, and Ziguinchor.

GOREE (14° 39′; 17° 23′ W.). Population, 714. Custom-house. Barracks and military hospital. 36 [131] [162] [712]

The rocky island of Goree (Plate 112) has an area of 138 acres. The first Europeans to land on it were the Portuguese in 1445, and since then it has had a chequered history, which has been told elsewhere in these volumes. [175]

Most of the centre of the island is occupied by buildings, and in the south there is the old fort. In the extreme north is a large lime-kiln. [381]

The only source of water is an artesian well in the fort. [312]

Trade. Trade is now limited to the ordinary requirements of the islanders, and traffic to taking them and their goods to and from the mainland. [438]

Harbour. In the north-east of the island there is a little bay where there are three jetties, only one of which (Plate 121) is now in use. The depth at its head is 10 feet. [504]

RUFISQUE (14° 41′; 17° 12′ W.). Population, 19,764, including 180 Europeans. Full Commune. Custom-house. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Power station. Hotel. Garage. [131] [162] [712]

/100 cont./

SR 105 [143] master. The order of succession to the throne was governed by immutable rules. The Grand Diaraff chose the Bour, while being bound to take him from the princely caste of the Guelwars and from the maternal line. The title of Queen, or Linguère, was borne, not by the wife of the Bour, but by his mother.

S 132 Climate. Soil. The climate of Sine-Saloum is very hot and dry. It is painful for the European. The thermometer never drops below 12° centigrade at night. During the day it sometimes climbs up to 45° and even 48°. The thermic average is from 28° to 30°. Two seasons sharply contrast: the dry season, which lasts from November to June and during which the east wind, searing and drying, blows; the rainy season or winter, which runs from June to November, an unhealthy period when swamp fever prevails. The atmospheric precipitation is plentiful. It drops on the average one to 1.20 meters of water. This is very little compared to the figures for Lower Guinea (four to five meters); it is less than in Casamance where the annual rainfall is two meters. But the rate of rainfall here is higher than in all the rest of Senegal. At Dakar and Saint-Louis, for example, from 0.45 to 0.55 meters of water falls.

S 133 312 [134] The soil is generally permeable. In certain places drinking water is reached at a shallow depth. By contrast, in other places it is necessary to dig very deep wells. At Fatick, the surface layer of fresh water is at two and a half or three meters. At Kaolack, it is necessary to go more than ten meters, although in some years water has been found at six meters. At Gossas, a deprived area, it has been necessary to dig as far as 90 meters; at Guinguinéo, /map appears here/ /101/ wells are 60 meters deep. It is fitting to mention, as a curious fact, the presence of fresh water on the edge of the marigots of salt water. For example, at Dangana (Sine), the well of the encampment, which is dug one meter from the edge of the river bank and to a depth of 1.5 meters, contains potable water which the inhabitants use.

S 134 The soil is not very rich in humus. It is sandy in the north and silico-argillaceous in the other areas, but very nearly

/128 cont./

654 In order to enjoy these advantages the society member
474 pays an assessment of one franc per year.

244 He can also request and obtain loans of food, rice, or
[731] millet, if he is justified by a case of great necessity: scarcity as a result of an unfortunate or calamitous event.

[426] Finally, since last year, he has been able to obtain loans in money on the condition of certain guarantees. These loans are granted for cultivation, and also for the improvement of his agricultural equipment, or for starting or enlarging his herd. These loans may amount to as much as 5,000 francs and are to be paid back within several years.

654 In 1927, the members numbered 240,000.

474 The society has 30 storehouses, more than half of which
[251] are built out of permanent materials: laterite stones or cement.

[343] /129/ It has utilized its resources to make wells out of
[312] reinforced concrete in order to procure for the inhabitants the potable water necessary for their needs and for the needs of their animals.

It gives bonuses to the cultivators who exhibit the best harvests. It also awards bonuses for the capture of animals harmful to agriculture.

The work accomplished is remarkable.

[244] The increase in the production of groundnuts in the circle is due to the Société de Prévoyance, under the control of the administration.

In it, commerce has a valuable organization whose usefulness it recognizes and whose incontestable and uncontested services it moreover appreciates.

312 The water problem. Wells. The serious question of water presents itself in the circle as it does everywhere in Senegal. The economic life of the region depends on the water supply of its inhabitants.

In order to prevent the danger of a water shortage, it has been necessary to dig wells. The séanes, natural reservoirs or pockets dug by man, were too small in number. They received rain water, but their volume was limited, and a few weeks sufficed to empty them after the last rainfall.

/251 cont./

everyone fishes with small individual handnets which one spreads or closes at will thanks to two handles of wood. W 226

Agriculture is carried on chiefly after the retreat of the waters of the annual flood, on the lands (walo) that become available after the flood has fertilized them with silt and made them wet. These lands are exploited intensively; they lend themselves to the profitable sowing of great millet, maize, and beans. On the other hand, the steep banks of the Senegal are covered the major part of the year with gardens in which sweet potatoes, beans, manioc, cotton, tomatoes, and various condiments thrive and constitute an appreciable addition to the family resources. W 241

Finally, gathering, to which people have recourse especially in times of scarcity, is also practiced when the waters recede in the innumerable marigots. The principal food products that it provides are the seeds of nenuphars and wild rice. W 222 W [262]

We cannot conclude this brief account without pointing out that European colonization has caused some modifications of the economy and demography that have not occurred without bringing about a profound disturbance of the habitat, which the historian has not taken into account here. A large city was created at Saint-Louis, which has necessitated the provision of drinking water. The marigots of Djos, Mengey, Lampsar, Gorom, and Kassak have been used for this purpose and dammed. Because of this, the salinity and the regime of these marigots have been changed and the fauna and flora transformed. Almost the entire population that lived on their shores and obtained their supplies from them have had to emigrate. 177 312 S [312] W [166]

Likewise, a project for the rational development of Lake Dier has had as its first stage the damming of the inlet which connects this lake with the Senegal and which the riverdwellers call the Tawe. This measure is merely provisional and the prelude to establishing a vast zone of irrigation and cultivation for high production. For the moment, however, Lake Dier as well as the marigots are approaches to Saint-Louis. The budget of the riverside peasant always shows a deficit; he has to go to Dakar periodically to work in order to meet his expenses, if he is not definitely expatriated. W [511] [166]

/38/

Maize (Zea mays L.): Succeeds well when sown at the beginning of the winter season. The native species sown under these conditions is very beautiful and gives large yellow ears, very well filled out. The Africans eat fresh roasted corn, and, when it is hard, they make couscous of it. The infusion prepared with the fruit is emollient and diuretic. The styles or stigmas of maize are famous as diuretics and cure several ailments of the urinary tract (cystitis, gravel, dysuria, etc.); the young kernels, when cooked, constitute an excellent vegetable and replace peas; the flour gives a beer and an alcoholic extract. The husks of the ears serve to make quite springy mattresses. 243 262 757 [273] [513]

II. -- Useful Gramineae

(not being subject to any cultivation)

Bamboo. -- Grows in the wild state in the Ravin des Voleurs /Ravine of Thieves/ near Thiès. The native species is rather small. Stakes, frames, masts of dugouts, huts, and fences, but especially clinting (constructions of bamboo filled in with lime) are made of it. The young shoots are said to be edible, and the sweet sap is supposed to be an agreeable drink. In Casamance a small species of bamboo grows in shady places; pipestems are made of it. 824 [313] [342] [262] [272] [276]

Begnefala (Andropogon shirensis). -- A tall gramineous plant with a penetrating aromatic odor. It is used in African medicine and the old colonials used it with success at the time of the great epidemic of yellow fever at Dakar in 1927. For fevers, one pounds the floral heads mixed with lemon or vinegar and energetically rubs the body with this mixture. [757]

Hada (Imperata cylindrica). -- A gramineous plant with a very hard leaf and whitish ear, which is used for covering the roofs of huts. [342]

Hat (Andropogon gayanus). -- Tall grass whose stem is used in making fences around huts. [351]

Haham or cram-cram (Cenchrus biflorus). -- Its seeds fasten themselves to clothing and are very disagreeable. Is gathered and [262]

/13 cont./

242 specialists envisage the utilization of the phosphates of Thiès.

244 3) Protection of the environment. The cultivation of
654 the groundnut with the traditional techniques carries with it grave dangers for the soil. The abusive burning of brush denudes it and facilitates the erosive action of the dry harmattan which blows at the end of the dry season, from the month of March. The cultivation, most often improvident, leads to the rapid deterioration of very unstable soils. In the west the sands are impoverished, the salts are rising to the surface; in the east the lateritic cuirass appears at a shallow depth.

[313] Legislation is intervening in defense of the natural en-
[656] vironment; the decree of 4 July 1935 has interdicted the cutting of trees without authorization and has regulated the burning of brush and clearing. The most effective remedies, however, have been introduced by experimentation and recommended after a serious inventory of the soils. The example of Boulel has shown that bands of natural vegetation separating the clearings by passages perpendicular to the roads are an effective remedy against the action of the wind. The instability of the soils requires a strict system of rotation. Bambey and Boulel have proved that the sequence of millet, groundnuts, and fallowing is the best for preserving them. Fallowing for two years, recommended in the south, is insufficient in the north, where six years of rest seems to be indispensable. It is undeniable that for several years these crop rotations have been followed more and more, especially in the pilot sectors. Finally, the rearrangement of the map of the groundnut, amply primed, may have beneficial consequences. The circles /cercles, administrative districts/ bordering the Senegal River have practically abandoned this crop (Podor, Matam, etc.); northern Cayor, with a dry climate, impoverished soils, and a large population, has had a very marked decline in groundnuts to the profit of millet. In contrast, the new regions in Siné-Saloum and Tambacounda typically become groundnut-producers.

All of these innovations can actually bear fruit only with the acceptance of the peasant masses, which poses the problem

/379 cont./

S 369 [262] Only food seems to have undergone only slight improvement: the couscous of millet or rice (a little fish or meat during periods of abundance) are basic in their diet. Bread, rarely eaten during the meal, is reserved for children; S [271] it takes the place of cake. Water remains the essential drink of the Moslem; water, palm wine (during the harvest), [273] and grape wine (on feast days) are consumed by the non-SR [273] Islamized None.

The frugal housewife profits from the proximity of the S 369 241 438 escale for /380/ the daily sale in the market of the products of her personal garden. She cultivates tomatoes, beans, pumpkins, and okra. At Keur-Issa-Bambara she has tried, with greater or lesser success, to cultivate potatoes and salad greens; the gathering of mangoes also procures a little profit S [372] for her. When the harvest from the garden is exhausted, the collection of dead wood which she will take to sell in the market in the form of little bundles will yield a few coins for her.

In parallel fashion, the husband-cultivator harvests on a plot of his lougan products that are easy to sell on the Thiès market; at Keur-Issa-Bambara he lays out flooded rice-fields and cultivates the sweet potato and manioc, part of which is S SR 369 438 offered to the clientele of the escale.

During the dry season the None principally works at gathering palmyra leaves; they will be sold, as bundles of [314] thatch, for making roofs for the huts of the urban quarters; [342] after the harvest he carries dried groundnut leaves to the city [231] for fodder for the little horses harnessed to the taxicabs.

S SR 369 234 438 S SR F Despite the ready sale that can be made with cattle, they are not very numerous. When the epizootic diseases have spared them, they give an appreciable profit to their owner through the sale of milk. At Tiali, the only herd in the village, which contains about 30 animals, belongs to a single breeder. It is guarded by Peul shepherds who lead it [239] to graze in the neighboring woodlands. The morning milk [465] and the calves belong to the owner; the evening milk goes

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS37

one coastal area, the Casamancian. Except in these last two belts the climate is deficient in rainfall, and it is the length of the dry season that controls the distribution of plant communities. 137

Along the coast as far south as the Cape Verde peninsula is the southward extension of the sub-Canarian area, a description of which has been given on p. 320.

The Thornland

The thornland occupies the northern part of the colony from a little north-east of Dakar eastwards to Kidira and northwards to the Senegal. This region, it will be recalled, has a rainfall of from 10 to 20 inches. It is a country of spiny shrubs, especially species of *Acacia*, associated with which are the soapberry tree, the African myrrh, and *Combretum aculeatum*. Many of the trees and shrubs are without leaves during the dry season, but some are evergreen. The natural vegetation in this zone has been much devastated by fire, pasturage, and the over-exploitation of the gum-yielding acacias. [314] On the other hand, annual firing of brushwood and grassland plays a subordinate part in modifying the plant life. The more open nature of both the woody and herbaceous vegetation impedes or prevents fires spreading over great extents of country. Tufted grasses are particularly abundant in the open grasslands between, and even under, the trees and bushes.

The Grass-Woodland

If the Casamancian area be considered as a modification of the Guinea subzone, the grass-woodland may be said to occupy the remainder of the colony. The Sudan subzone is, however, the more important. In the western part of the colony the subzones run north-west to south-east, extend across the Gambia, and then turn almost due west and east. The northward bend in the west is due to oceanic climatic influences, and the modified Casamancian area is similarly due to a greater humidity. The vegetation of the zone as a whole consists of a mixture of trees and grasslands, the former either being spaced in clumps or patches or standing as individuals. The grasslands are continuous over wide areas and are fired regularly in the dry season. This firing of brushwoods and grasslands, together with centuries of heavy cultivation, has highly modified the natural [241] vegetation, especially towards the west. This is especially exemplified by forest destruction in the Guinea subzone.

The vegetation of the Sudan subzone corresponds to an annual

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

36 SEDHIOU (12° 42′; 15° 31′ W.). Population, 1,653. Provincial head-
[131] quarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional
[162] School.

Sedhiou is on the right bank of the Casamance, 68 miles above
[487] Ziguinchor and 110 miles from the sea, and it is only usable by vessels
[505] drawing up to 5 feet. Formerly more prosperous than it is to-day,
it has some brick buildings and shops. Many of the traders are
[439] Syrians, and there is a modest export of ground-nuts, hides, rice, and
wax.

[491] By colonial road Sedhiou is 58 miles from Bignona, 74 miles from Ziguinchor, and 62 miles from Kolda.

11. MINERALS

135 THE principal mineral exported from the colony is ilmenite, which
[439] is washed from beach sands between Rufisque and Cape Rouge, between Joal and Diakhanor, and at the mouth of the Casamance. Zircon (Vol. I, pp. 295–6) is obtained from the same sands, the ilmenite:zircon ratio being about 3:1. Other minerals of potential value are phosphates and limestone, both of which occur in Lower Eocene strata. Lenticular beds of phosphate, ranging from 30 to 65 per cent. bone phosphate of lime, are found near Matam and near Thiès. Limestones and marls are more widespread than in any other
[339] colony, and at Rufisque they have been worked experimentally for the commercial production of cement. Bitumen has been encountered at Dakar in borings for water, but investigations have shown that the
[315] geological structure is unsuited to the accumulation of petroleum.

12. AGRICULTURE

241 THE Gambia divides the millet from the manioc zone, but ground-nuts are the chief crop of both. Sisal-growing is an important, though more recent, industry. South of the Gambia the Casamance Territory provides a rich area for fruit and subsistence crops as well as for ground-nuts.

[439] There is far more production for export than in any other colony.

Food Crops

243 *Millets.* Millets form the staple diet of the majority of the native
262 population and are grown all over that part of the colony north of the

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

647 656 *Produce Inspection.* Produce inspection is entrusted to a board nominated by the Chambers of Commerce, but the Government keeps a tight control by exercising a veto on all important appointments to its staff. The Board's inspectorate has very wide powers of inspection over produce, whether destined for local consumption or for export. No produce to which inspection applies can be sent out [439] of the colony without a certificate of purity.

For this inspection a special tax of 5 francs per ton on ground-nuts [651] and palm kernels, and 20 francs per ton on rubber, is imposed on produce intended for export.

456 654 *Native Provident Societies.* There are 14 Native Provident Societies. Bignona and Ziguinchor have combined, but otherwise there is one to each province. In 1937 they had 1,200,000 members, [647] whose annual subscriptions varied from 2·50 francs to 5·00 francs each, and their expenses were some 25,000,000 francs. They supplied over 44,000 tons of ground-nut seeds to their members.

In earlier days the Sine-Saloum society imported stallions from [232] the Argentine for the breeding of mules, and in 1932 the societies devoted nearly 250,000 francs to the purchase of motor vehicles. In cattle-breeding districts they supply breeding stock and improve water-supply and pasturage. By 1933 it was estimated that the societies had sunk over 1,200 wells, while the society of Thiès had [312] constructed a barrage for irrigation purposes.

In addition to strictly agricultural activities, the Senegal societies [426] help their members by advances of cash, which are made not only to meet failure of crops, but also in cases of individual accident or illness.

Mining

656 316 At the end of 1937 the following permits were in force:

Personal licences		4
The Occupation System		
Exclusive licences	10	
Mining licences	32	
Concessions	16	
	—	58
Total		62

Education

871 1797 The first attempts to educate the natives of French West Africa were made in Senegal, and they were also remarkable for being instituted, not by missionaries, but by the Crown. Colonel Schmaltz

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

Trade

Imports and Exports. Dakar is the outlet for almost the whole of French West Africa north of the forest. In particular it serves the most fertile and prosperous parts of Senegal and French Sudan. The principal export is, of course, ground-nuts, and others are gold, gum, shea butter, kapok, and hides. Imports include manufactured goods of all kinds, coal, oil fuel, wine, sugar, and flour. In 1937 imports totalled 1,298,700 tons to the value of 763,200,000 francs (£6,134,060) and exports 1,284,300 tons to the value of 572,300,000 francs (£4,599,740). This represents some 40 per cent. of the total trade of the Federation. 439 [433] [433]

Manufactures. In or near the town are brickworks, a brewery, candle factories, charcoal furnaces, ice factories, sisal cleaning plants, sack factories, saw-mills, and factories for extracting ground-nut oil. There are also native handicraft workers. West of the town there are two basalt quarries, which are connected to the harbour by a railway line. 438 316

There are several trade unions. 467

Finance. The Port of Dakar has its own budget. In 1938 this balanced at 10,792,486 francs (£66,212). The principal items of revenue were the dues on the loading and discharge of cargo, which brought in 4,150,000 francs, the dues paid by ships, which brought in 1,566,000 francs, and the charges for the use of port equipment, which brought in 1,115,700 francs. The principal items of expenditure were 4,912,166 francs on wages and salaries of employees and 2,551,770 francs on the materials used in the maintenance of the port. 652 [651]

Description of Port

Anchorages. Outside the harbour there is good anchorage in 10 fathoms. Inside depths are greater, and there is space for a large number of vessels. 504

Quays and Wharfs. The main basins of the harbour are divided off from Goree bay and Dakar Roads by the North Jetty. This runs south-eastwards from the shore for nearly 1,200 yards and then turns southwards for its last 550 yards. Here are found the oil berths, and at the end of it is a light. Three moles project from the landward side of the main jetty. Behind No. 5 Mole, the nearest to the land, there is a large open space used for storing dumps of ground-nuts (Vol. I, Plate 84). This end of the harbour is a seaplane base, with a hangar on the shore. On the north-west side there are some [502] [508]

/382 cont./

S 162 An examination of the suburban villages farthest from Thiès will give even lower figures.

S 162 563 Karamoko, located seven kilometers from the city, musters 106 inhabitants. Its ethnic composition is clearly different from that of the above None villages. Very great heterogeneity prevails there; it is made up of 30% Bambara, 30% Wassoulonké, and 25% Peul-Toucouleur. The Bambara and Wassoulonké form the ethnic base of the village, of which they were the creators. The other elements through the play of marriages have superimposed themselves on these groups.

W [563] /383/ Keur-Mamour, by contrast, has remained Wolof; only a few Peul shepherds have infiltrated into the village.

S 162 369 463 The distance from the urban center has considerably reduced the relations with Thiès. They have both remained rural: less than 10% of the economically active male population have non-agricultural work; more than 60% have remained wholly faithful to the land.

S W 369 463 317 At Keur-Mamour, although some elements were formerly employed in the escale itself, at the time of the inquiry only one-tenth were employed as laborers at the Péchiney phosphate quarries located in the vicinity of their village. (We have here an indirect effect of the urban presence: the opening of extra-urban yards offering extra-rural work to the neighboring villages.) As a consequence no worker was employed in the city itself.

S 369 Karamoko and Keur-Mamour thus present limited characteristics of the urban suburbs.

Keur-Issa-Bambara and Diakhaté, located in the vicinity of the escale (about one kilometer from the first outskirts), would have to form the type proper of the suburb.

S 369 563 162 W [563] The ethnic composition is essentially Wolof at Diakhaté, composite at Keur-Issa-Bambara. In this latter agglomeration the Bambara, the Peul, and the Toucouleur respectively account for 30% in the composition of the group. The remainder is made up of Wassoulonké, Wolof, Malinké, and Sarakolé. Consequently the heterogeneity seems to be greater there than

/85 cont./

443 while the housewife attends to her tasks, the oldest child makes the sale (12).

12. According to an economic investigation made by Mr. Mersadier in Thiès, the returns from these sales[1] do not exceed ten francs profit per day (Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N., July-Oct., 1955, series B, p. 411).

[434] [433]

Thus, the commerce in Thiès (and certainly in most of the cities of French West Africa) is diffused among all of the layers of the society and at the same time has adapted itself extremely well there. The branches of important commercial houses, which in the beginning were violently opposed to this diffusion not controlled directly by them, quickly understood all the benefits that they could draw from this new situation.

463 Paralleling this extension of commerce, the working class, to a more limited extent, has also taken on much greater importance. To the traditional artisans, potters, jewelers, and smiths have been added activities more modern in inspiration: photographers, clockmakers, repairers of phonographs, bicycles, or even trucks, and, in another category of enterprises, small restaurant keepers and /86/ proprietors of drink shops. Finally, the establishment of European artisans (hairdressers, pastry cooks, etc.) is a specific phenomenon of the social evolution in African cities since the last war, and Thiès is not escaping it.

[265] [275] [178]

2. Industry.

498 The industrial activity of Thiès gravitates principally around the repair shops of the Dakar-Niger (13). The

[317] [464] [162]

13. The two phosphate quarries opened by the Société Péchiney some 15 kilometers from the city (Pallo and Lam-Lam)

1 [ie, by "door step" merchants - ANALYST]

/86 cont./

498
[317]
[464]
[162]

hardly affect its economy because of the limited number of its workers (200 to 300) and above all the distance from the urban center.

concession of the Dakar-Niger located a short distance from the city would actually form the most important industrial center of French West Africa in terms of the number of its operatives (around 2,500 in 1952). It groups within its enclosure a series of the most diverse workshops: woodworking shop, sawmill, assembly shops for railroad cars, tinsmith shop, and even a foundry. Putting new Diesel tractors into service has brought about the recent creation of new shops where manifold improved machines operate. Power is taken from a high tension line of 30,000 volts coming from Dakar. The enterprise annually consumes 1,700,000 kilowatt-hours, that is to say, more than the total consumption of the city itself. The much smaller consumption of coke and of fuel oil used in the furnace and cupolas of the foundries should be added here.

[162]

[377]

The workshops of the Dakar-Niger present themselves in the form of an industry with vertical integration of an incomplete type. The distance from the mother country, the expenses and above all the slowness of shipments (principally during the last World War) have brought about the installation of an industrial complex that makes it possible to satisfy the greater part of the demands of the work required for the smooth functioning of the service. All the woodworking is carried out in the sawmill-carpentry section; the cars are assembled from imported chassis, wheels, and bogies. Most of the parts of the locomotives can be smelted in Thiès, except when it is a matter of special alloys. Certain elements demanding a machine-finishing precision of 1/100 of a millimeter for Diesel tractors have already been manufactured by the enterprise. Only the parts requiring very special techniques or machines for their manufacture, or whose

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 565 582 S [595] caste from his own tribe. The extent to which caste matters is brought out by the case of a young Catholic girl from a devout family who, rather than marry a fellow Catholic out of caste, in the end became the polygamous wife of a Muslim of the same caste. Within any ethnic group in Senegal marriage out of caste is extremely rare.

S 565 S [565] S [533] [814] The caste system is not vicious in any real sense. For the privileges of a high caste entail many obligations. Thus a noble Wolof family will be obliged to feed and pay frequent sums of money to its family griots (minstrels, praise-singers and family historians) and if they fail to do this the griot is able to shame them publicly as a poor or mean family, something a Wolof would avoid at all costs. Likewise the artisan castes have a monopoly in their respective trades, S [463] [326] since it would be impossible for a noble or free man to undertake the work of a jeweller or smith. Nevertheless in Senegalese society the term 'bijoutier' or 'tisserand' has slight contempt attached to it. The only caste to suffer S [567] socially in any way is of course that designated slave, because of the implications of such a status. In social investigations amongst the factory workers of Dakar, M. André Hauser found very few indeed who would admit to being of slave caste.

At present it is certainly a disadvantage to belong to any of the inferior castes, and though one hears of a few cases of open clashes between castes, in the present state of affairs it is certain that a number of young men resent this classification of people into superior and inferior groups and it is very much less important to them than to the older generation.

S 565 764 578 Early in 1961 *Agence Presse Sénégalaise* reported 'bloody clashes between griots and non-griots at Diack'. These ended with several dead and a number of wounded and started as a result of the refusal of non-griots to accept the burial of griots in their burial ground. The Minister of the S [641] Interior himself went to settle the dispute and gathered the whole population to tell them that his Government gave

/190 cont./

511 Nevertheless, ingenuity and mutual helpfulness make up for
207 the poverty of the equipment, and if one comes across well over 10% of owners of radio sets, it is because in a number of cases the owner attaches his radio to the current which comes into the house of his immediate -- or distant -- neighbor.

364 A very serious inconvenience, as much from the point of
514 view of hygiene as from the point of view of comfort, results from the total absence of sanitary equipment. Without doubt, an enclosure on the parcel has its particular spot, but this little corner cannot serve everyone, and for those who are on the edge of the agglomeration it is the bush which serves as a comfort station; for the others whose parcel is located far from the outskirts it is the vacant land within Pikine. This state of affairs is unfortunate for many reasons: first of all, for a good many inhabitants it is a veritable expedition, in a word, to go to the toilet; one can imagine what this means for the old people or for the sick. Besides, it is unhealthy, and to get an idea of this it will suffice to go out one winter evening after a tornado and breathe this nauseous odor which the wind blows from the vacant land over the rest of the agglomeration (1).

[515]
[653]

1. At the beginning of 1961 the public authorities undertook the construction of several groups of "showers" in 12 places. One can only wish for the extension of the anticipated program and its rapid completion.

511 In the districts, while all are not the owners of a
364 septic tank, the situation is better. Only 12% of the homes
354 are counted as not having either water, electricity, or w.c.,
312 12% have electricity in addition to w.c. without a water line in the concession, 21% have water and electricity, and the remainder, some 34%, have complete modern equipment.

[331] It should also be noted that the Office de l'Habitat no longer builds structures without a septic tank in its subdivisions.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

'Oh yes, our sister company in Abidjan has sent a young African to train in a large brewery in France.' 274 463

'What is your labour like?'

'Not so good. They don't seem to have much interest in their work.'

I remembered my discussion with Babacar Saye, Mayor of St. Louis, who told me that though he was a Socialist, he believed that at the present time capitalism had an essential role in the country. 'If we are to improve the conditions of the proletariat capitalism is a necessity, but this improvement cannot be speeded up except to the extent that the profit from capital is used towards the satisfying of the indispensable needs of the workers. Therefore it is necessary that the worker feels that he is complementary to the capitalist—it is up to the capitalist to make him understand this.' 829

To me this seems one of the most important factors in the industrialization of West Africa. The African from the tribal background is essentially an individual with a distinct position in his tribal group or village. Though he appreciates the money he earns in industry, psychologically he does not like being treated as a mere cog in a machine, losing his identity. If he could be given some indication that he is as indispensable to the firm as the manager, he would work hard. As Mr. C. O. Van der Plas, the United Nations Official in the Gambia, once observed: 'It is curious that the African running his own little enterprise works literally like a black, and takes on enormous responsibilities.' Yet if he is taken on as a cog in a vast machine, he becomes slack and Europeans call him the most inefficient and expensive labour in the world. It seems to me that a lot depends on the relations between the worker and the managerial staff. 461

Two years before I had visited a large shoe factory in neighbouring Rufisque with Mr. David Pearson, the British Consul responsible for liaison between British and French territories in West Africa. The factory was sited on the outskirts of the town opposite a huge cement works which belched forth pastel smoke at an angry sky. We entered a courtyard where hides of every colour were lying in the sun to dry. A Czech employee of the firm, which has its origins in Czechoslovakia, met us and led us into a gloomy shed where flabby hides, a hideous grey green in 295 282 [339]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M837 Senegal M537

36 SEDHIOU (12° 42′; 15° 31′ W.). Population, 1,653. Provincial head-
[131] quarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional
[162] School.

Sedhiou is on the right bank of the Casamance, 68 miles above
[487] Ziguinchor and 110 miles from the sea, and it is only usable by vessels
[505] drawing up to 5 feet. Formerly more prosperous than it is to-day,
it has some brick buildings and shops. Many of the traders are
[439] Syrians, and there is a modest export of ground-nuts, hides, rice, and
wax.

[491] By colonial road Sedhiou is 58 miles from Bignona, 74 miles from
Ziguinchor, and 62 miles from Kolda.

11. MINERALS

135 THE principal mineral exported from the colony is ilmenite, which
[439] is washed from beach sands between Rufisque and Cape Rouge,
between Joal and Diakhanor, and at the mouth of the Casamance.
Zircon (Vol. I, pp. 295–6) is obtained from the same sands, the
ilmenite:zircon ratio being about 3:1. Other minerals of potential
value are phosphates and limestone, both of which occur in Lower
Eocene strata. Lenticular beds of phosphate, ranging from 30 to 65
per cent. bone phosphate of lime, are found near Matam and near
Thiès. Limestones and marls are more widespread than in any other
[339] colony, and at Rufisque they have been worked experimentally for
the commercial production of cement. Bitumen has been encountered
at Dakar in borings for water, but investigations have shown that the
[315] geological structure is unsuited to the accumulation of petroleum.

12. AGRICULTURE

241 THE Gambia divides the millet from the manioc zone, but ground-
nuts are the chief crop of both. Sisal-growing is an important, though
more recent, industry. South of the Gambia the Casamance Territory
provides a rich area for fruit and subsistence crops as well as for
ground-nuts.

[439] There is far more production for export than in any other colony.

Food Crops

243 *Millets.* Millets form the staple diet of the majority of the native
262 population and are grown all over that part of the colony north of the

/78 cont./

2. The Quarters

1. The quarters of European type.

361 If we eliminate the two military bases that offer very
563 special characteristics peculiar to their internal organization, Thiès contains three quarters of Western conception: the Cité Ballabey /Ballabey District/, the Vieille Escale /Old Escale/, the Résidence. While the first shelters a population almost wholly European, in the other two the Whites are in the minority (one White to four Blacks).

No systematic segregation really exists in the city. The Cité Ballabey itself is a district for operatives belonging to the managerial staffs; it is in no way closed to Africans who have reached the rank required by their establishment. Although located near the workshops, it is a quiet zone. Its park is magnificent. The villas there are arranged regularly
351 according to a checkerboard plan in the purest colonial style.
[342] Each square of the checkerboard is occupied by a villa divided into two twin and symmetrical apartments; courtyards and gardens extend out on all sides of the dwelling; some mango trees with dense foliage shelter the rabbit hutches, the hen house, and the garage from the heat of the sun. It is easy
341 to date the construction of each of them by its architectural
342 style: the pink brick corresponds to the years 1925-1930; the reinforced concrete, painted light beige, dates from after the war... The quarters of the D.M.A. and of the air base, with some variations, show almost no originality of their own and are comparable to the Cité Ballabey.

The Old Escale presents the appearance of a quarter
[363] in a Mediterranean city: narrow streets bordered by storied buildings built out of the white limestone from Bargny; a small, light balcony with a metal balustrade projects over the sidewalk and runs from one end of the building to the other; a very slightly sloping red tile roof under a blue sky accentuates this impression of the Mediterranean world.

351 Each concession, square in plan, forms a regular block of

/78 cont./

102
361
491
496

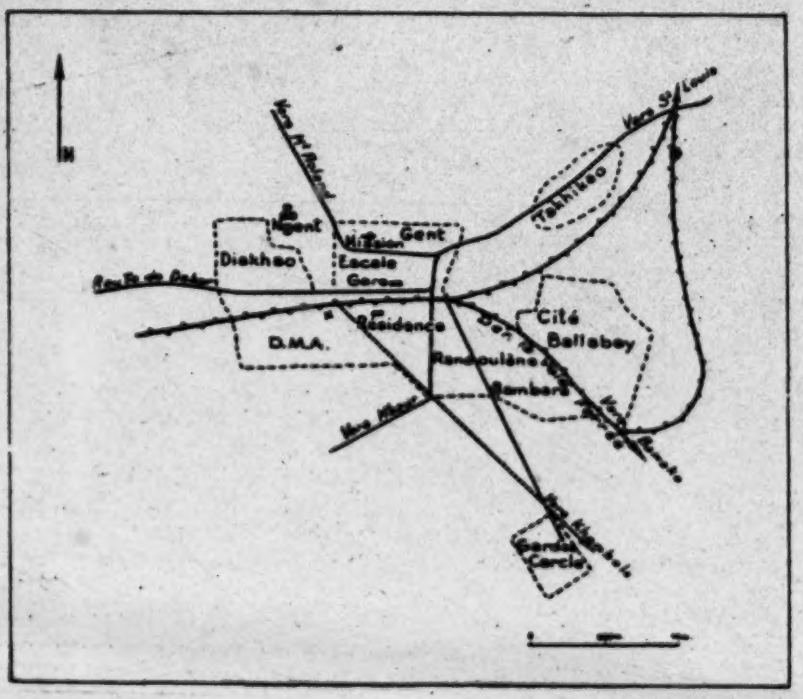


Fig. 3. Thiès in 1940.

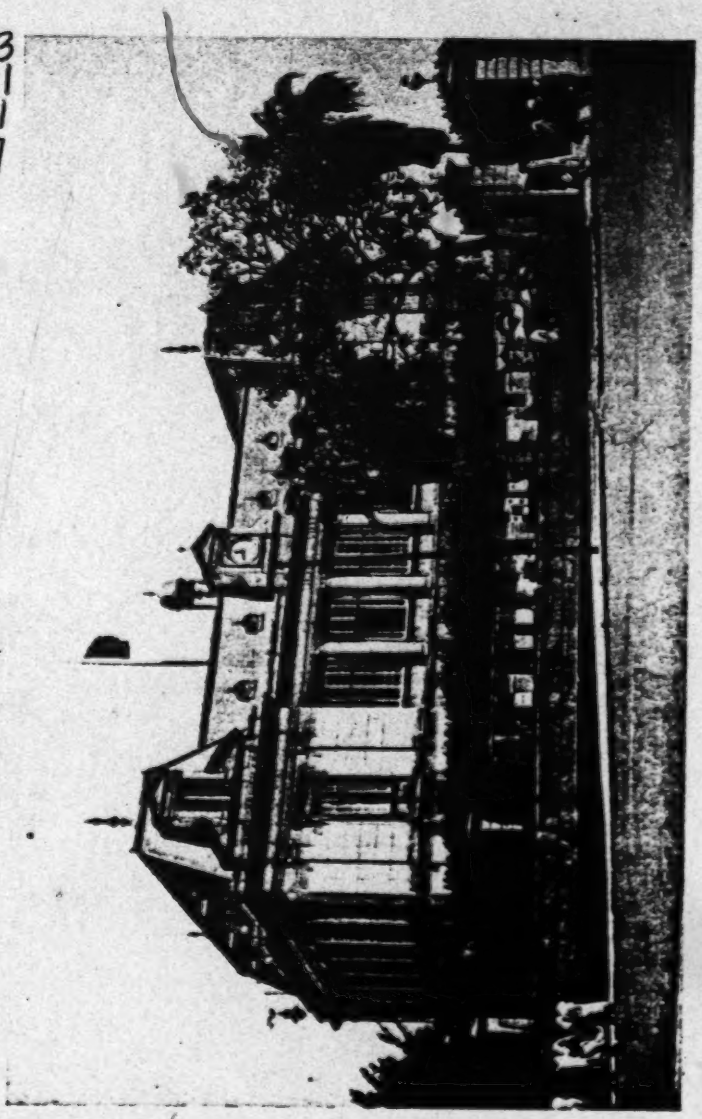
351 buildings pierced here and there by a portal which gives access to the courtyards, always littered, of the shop or workshop. /79/
/Fig. 3 appears here./

361 One now sees a modification of this oldish architecture and
[341] attempts at renovation. This quarter, built essentially for commercial purposes, did not leave any space free for expansion; no plaza, no small garden offers a pleasant spot in this assemblage dedicated essentially to trade.

The quarter of the Residence is quieter, and also cooler. The arrangement of the settlement pattern is looser; the houses are spread out, and each is separated from its neighbor by a
[351] kitchen garden, a courtyard, or a small pleasure garden. Near the administrative buildings care has even been taken to reserve and arrange some public squares in the shade of immense Gambia

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

363
341
351
137



117. *Dakar: the Mairie*

[facing p. 135]

/19 cont./

793
*795

of Amadou Bamba. He has thus surmounted the difficulties of the beginning of his caliphate and has become and remained the venerated and uncontested leader of the brotherhood, even for those of the Murids who are in the direct obedience of Cheikh M'Backé.

Falilou M'Backé resides permanently in Touba very near the mosque, which is therefore, along with the general leadership of the brotherhood, his principal concern. He seldom leaves the holy city, where he lives in a very large carré, with installations, with multiple huts, and the tapades (walls) of which, in a complicated design, jealously hide the life of the occupants. Most of these huts are made of clay and roofed with thatch; some larger ones, roofed with metal, well-built, and comfortably furnished, are used for putting up guests of note. According to a custom common among the Murid marabouts, he had a kind of office made for himself (where he receives his important visitors) in a plank hut built by those of his talibés who are carpenters and woodworkers.

[342]

/20/ Of medium height, robust, active in spite of his age, the second caliph has the bearing of a rural head of a family; in addition, he has the shrewdness, wisdom, and tenacity of the peasant. His conversation, like his whole person, is stamped with moderation, gentleness, and goodness. His cares are often of a material order (construction of the mosque, good management of the brotherhood, yield of his plantations, etc....), but preoccupations of an intellectual, moral, and spiritual order are not foreign to him. Simple images and a certain Oriental emphasis give an individual and personal style to his conversations.

As far as the Administration is concerned, he is a level-headed and calm leader whose loyalty it can count on. He is an element of order and thoughtfulness who will be hostile toward untried ventures and dangerous innovations. Besides, he knows that the Administration widely supported and favored his candidacy for the caliphate. He therefore has no reason to create difficulties for it.

Serer FA32
Wolof MS30
Bambara FA8

S /376 cont./

369 The appearance of the village itself varies according to
361 the ethnic groups. Among the None, it is tightly grouped
SR around a little central plaza, in the middle of which grows a
[361] majestic baobab. The Wolof disperses his compounds of huts,
W each delimited by a tapade (1) made of plaited millet-stalks.
[361]
[351]

1. Tapade: a kind of walling made of straw, bamboo, branches, which separates the space between two familial compounds.

This dispersion is also found at Karamoko and at Keur-Issa-Bambara.

Apparently the city seems not to have had an influence on the arrangement proper of the village. It has very nearly preserved its old plan.

S Even today the traditional mode of construction of the
342 hut appears different according to the ethnic group. The None
SR erect strong mud dwellings on a square base with a floor of
[342] stamped earth; the whole is covered by a roof of thatch. The
[343] kitchen, on the other hand, is made of some posts fastened to the ground itself and supporting a roof of palmyra leaves.

W /377/ The Wolof prefers straw or plaited millet stalks as
[342] material. The house rests merely on the sandy ground, without
B any floor of stamped earth. The Bambara willingly lives in a
[342] hut of straw, but he is careful to fill in the interstices with mud. The floor is of stamped earth; a wide pent roof generally protects the entrance. Sometimes two huts are connected by a kind of veranda where he spends the evening; mud is frequently utilized in this group. /Fig. 2 appears here./

S The proximity of the city has to a certain extent improved
SR the traditional modes of construction. The plan and the material
342 used have been improved.
369

The hut with a single room and a square base has been replaced by a cottage with a rectangular base and often containing two rooms with the narrow window closed by a solid shutter.

Serer FA32
Wolof MS30

/377 cont./

S SR 342 369 Although the walls are still constructed of mud, they have been strengthened by a plastering of cement which prevents their rapid "dissolution" under the action of the rain. In general the thatched roof has been replaced by a covering of corrugated metal. What the dwelling gains in strength, it loses in comfort; the absence of the ceiling, the thinness

S SR [361]

Fig. 2. Thiès-none, a village little urbanized, with mud huts and thatched roofs.

/378/ of the metal, and the lack of ventilation give the interior of the rooms a suffocating atmosphere in the warm season and a cold one in winter.

These improvements may have numerous variations: hut with square base, plastered with cement, with a thatched roof; hut made entirely from retrieved planks. /Fig. 3 appears here./

These modernized dwellings are numerous, particularly in the None villages; 22 out of 204 (including kitchens) are made of mud, with cement plastering and roofing other than thatch. They are rarer in the Bambara agglomerations, /379/ absent at Keur-Mamour

W [342]

[text continues on p.11]

S
SR /379 cont./
369 and at Diakhaté where the hut of straw or purely of mud
[342] prevails. Could it be that the occupation of mason to which
W some None seem to devote themselves is a factor in this
[342] modernization of their settlements?

SR A certain "coquetry" absent in the bush villages leads
[463] some autochthones to lay out a little flower garden near their
S
[351] hut (Tiali, Keur-Issa-Bambara)..

The presence of the city is also reflected in the equip-
S
369 ment used by the rural people. The furniture is always sum-
352 mary, but more and more the iron bed is replacing the lat-
[513] tice of wood or the mat put on the ground itself. A mattress, a military blanket, and commonly a mosquito net of a very light fabric complete this relative comfort. Often a little table of unpainted wood, a chair made of old boxes, a bit
S
[353] of mirror hung on the wall, and sometimes an impressive number of photographs, or, lacking them, pages cut out of an illustrated magazine pasted to the walls, give a special stamp to this interior, which is no longer typically rural. Sometimes one even has the surprise of encountering in these modest interiors a wardrobe and a little buffet, which adorn, the more since they are not utilized, the room of a privileged native. But this comfort is an exception.

S The calabash, which is the very foundation of the
369 kitchen utensils, is still commonly utilized for household
415 tasks and for the common meals. Nevertheless the cast-iron or aluminum saucepan is no longer a luxury; the glass and above all the bottle are in common use.

S The clothing, too, has been modified. The loincloth
369 in bright colors, laboriously woven by the Toucouleur
291 /Tukolor/ weaver, durable but expensive, has become a
177 luxury. Imported printed cloth of moderate price has sup-
planted it everywhere. The white robe with embroidery has
S
[292] become the festive garment par excellence; the shorts, the trousers, and the jacket, often furnished by the European, are now the clothes utilized for work.

/379 cont./

S 369 [262] Only food seems to have undergone only slight improvement: the couscous of millet or rice (a little fish or meat during periods of abundance) are basic in their diet. Bread, rarely eaten during the meal, is reserved for children; S [291] it takes the place of cake. Water remains the essential drink of the Moslem; water, palm wine (during the harvest), [273] and grape wine (on feast days) are consumed by the non-Islamized None.

SR [273] The frugal housewife profits from the proximity of the S 369 241 438 escale for /380/ the daily sale in the market of the products of her personal garden. She cultivates tomatoes, beans, pumpkins, and okra. At Keur-Issa-Bambara she has tried, with greater or lesser success, to cultivate potatoes and salad greens; the gathering of mangoes also procures a little profit S [372] for her. When the harvest from the garden is exhausted, the collection of dead wood which she will take to sell in the market in the form of little bundles will yield a few coins for her.

In parallel fashion, the husband-cultivator harvests on a plot of his lougan products that are easy to sell on the Thiès market; at Keur-Issa-Bambara he lays out flooded rice-fields and cultivates the sweet potato and manioc, part of which is S SR 369 438 offered to the clientele of the escale.

During the dry season the None principally works at [314] gathering palmyra leaves; they will be sold, as bundles of thatch, for making roofs for the huts of the urban quarters; [342] after the harvest he carries dried groundnut leaves to the city [231] for fodder for the little horses harnessed to the taxicabs.

S SR 369 234 438 S SR F [233] [465] Despite the ready sale that can be made with cattle, they are not very numerous. When the epizootic diseases have spared them, they give an appreciable profit to their owner through the sale of milk. At Tiali, the only herd in the village, which contains about 30 animals, belongs to a single breeder. It is guarded by Peul shepherds who lead it to graze in the neighboring woodlands. The morning milk and the calves belong to the owner; the evening milk goes

/422 cont./ Table XII (cont.)

*511
276

No.	Income	In Proportion to Income				
		Fuel	Illumination	Maintenance	Water	Kola
32	25,000	1.2	0.8	1.0	--	1.3
33	25,000	3.2	0.8	1.0	--	--
34	25,900	1.5	0.4	1.1	--	0.2
35	27,000	2.8	0.2	1.5	--	--
36	34,000	2.0	0.9	1.6	--	--
37	36,000	3.5	0.7	1.1	--	0.1
38	50,000	0.8	0.5	1.4	--	--
39	51,000	1.3	2.5	0.5	1.1	--
40	55,000	3.6	1.2	1.5	--	0.1
41	55,500	2.5	0.5	1.0	--	1.3
42	56,000	1.6	0.5	1.1	--	--
43	81,000	0.4	--	0.6	--	--

/423/

*511 Let us begin with the most obligatory of all, those from which it is most difficult to escape: taxes and the rent of the dwelling (Table XIII).[1]

*511
651 Two of our families do not pay taxes. Nearly all of the others devote at least 1% of their income to them. The tax paid would normally be proportional to the number of adults that the restricted family contains. It is quite often lower; [659] one may succeed in escaping the fiscal census. It is sometimes [602] higher: specifically, in three cases where the salaried worker in the city pays the taxes for his relatives who remained in the village.

*511 Only 13 families pay rent for the dwelling. Two are 427 given free lodgings by the owner; three are lodged by their [466] employer. The others are "owners." This ownership is often [423] limited to a straw hut, or better a plank hut, constructed on an [342] administrative concession. The most favored build a true house of mud; up to now only one of our family heads has undertaken a "permanent" building.

[1] [see cat 116, pp 62-63. ANALYST]

/187 cont./

1) Housing Conditions

362
342

The dwelling is in the first rank of these material factors. Of what is the house constructed, how many rooms are there, how is it occupied, etc.? There are all sorts of questions which must be answered in order to give a true picture of the conditions in which most of the families of Pikine live. What follows obviously applies only to the quarters, except where we specify that it is likewise a matter of the districts. Out of a sample of 281 structures one counts 206 in wood, 45 in durable material, 12 in "crinting" (1), and 18 in straw.

[285]

1. One calls "crinting" the walls whose framework is composed of plaited rushes and which are covered with a coating of sand and cement.

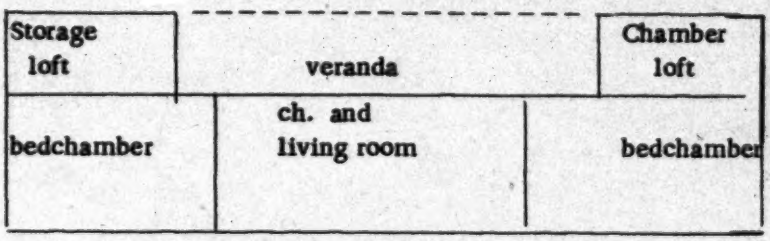
The chief material, used in more than 75% of the cases, is therefore wood, which one encounters in all forms: long building boards, ends of boxes, etc. The quality of the wood, the professional competence of the artisans, the size of the house, and the arrangement of the rooms, all these elements are combined to produce very different types of construction which run from the extreme dilapidation of the one-room hut with disjointed boards, gaping roof, and a sand floor, scarcely larger than a dog kennel, to the comfortable cottage consisting of several rooms, with ceiling and veranda, the price of which may exceed 200,000 francs.

[435]

/188/ Except for these extreme cases, which are rare, most of the wooden dwellings can be divided into three principal types. The first is the house of two rooms, about six or seven meters long and three to three and one-half meters wide. The second is built in the same way, but contains a third room, which increases the length by three or four meters. These are two types of a purely functional model used to provide a shelter for personal objects and a roof for the night.

/188 cont./

362 In the third type the "veranda" appears, which distinguishes
342 it from the first two; first of all, it materially increases the size of the dwelling, which reaches a width of five or six meters; on the other hand, this new element, superfluous /sketch appears here/ one might say, for there is a question



there of a necessary benefit -- already introduces a little complexity into the arrangement of the rooms and as a result encourages some organization of family life around a center. Moreover, this beginning is most often only a rough draft which reproduces the same pattern (see sketch above); nevertheless, this rough draft has the merit of existing and of translating into the material, into the surrounding environment, this sketchy effort toward a "home-life" /quoted in English/ of modern type.

In almost all cases the floor is slightly raised and cemented. There is practically never any ceiling, and the roof is constructed either with the aid of a sheet of metal or fibro-cement, or with a wooden frame covered with tar paper, for the disinherited.

351 How is the house placed within the parcel? It is practically impossible to answer this question, for there seems to be no general rule; sometimes the house is on the edge of the street and forms a wall; sometimes it is at the back of the parcel facing the road, and sometimes it extends perpendicularly to the length of a neighboring parcel. The only certain fact is that one does not /189/ come across a wooden house of any importance in the middle of the land. This is understandable because the parcel measures approximately 15 by 11. But

/189 cont./

351 there again the small one-room structures of wood or straw are an exception to the rule and are distributed at random over the concession.

Each owner or tenant likes very much to see his parcel clearly delimited, and the wall is the general rule. But its forms are very different, and this in one and the same parcel, ranging from the house itself or a high wall of durable material to a line of pickets running along a simple heap of rubble. In any case, the parcels that are not completely enclosed, with merely an opening on the street, are rare.

343 What else does one find within the parcel or in the
351 structures serving as dwellings? Two things: a little hovel sheltering the Madagascan stove and serving as kitchen, and then, in a corner of the parcel, an enclosure surrounded by
[783] secco, with a kettle containing the water needed for ablutions, which gives off a characteristic ammoniacal odor, yet not enough to inconvenience the inhabitants.

362 Let us complete this description with the table of the
511 number of buildings, shown according to the number of rooms
342 and the material used. /Table 24 appears here./

More than 50% of the wooden structures (113 out of 206) have only one or two rooms, that is, fall into the first category. Thus the whole habitat does not show a very high standard of living.

511 /190/ This is still more true if one now considers the
364 equipment of the huts. 228 homes out of 258, nearly 90 %,
354 have neither water, electricity, nor w.c. in the concession;
312 26 have electricity only; one has a w.c. without running water or electricity, one likewise has a w.c. plus electricity (in these two cases the w.c. consists of a septic pit dug into the sand in one corner of the parcel by the person concerned under the control of the Service d'hygiene). One has water and electricity. Ten per cent of the homes are thus lighted with electricity, and the remainder with kerosene, which is very few in a city where, except in the very last quarters, it is possible to have a meter installed in each parcel.

10: Thoré--51 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37
/189/
362
511
342

Table 24

Material \ Number of Rooms	1	2	3	4	5	6	7+	Total
Wood	46	67	27	25	27	4	10	206
Durable material	9	15	16	2	2	1	0	45
Crinting	3	3	1	0	2	3	0	12
Straw (1)	7	7	1	1	2	0	0	18
Total	65	91	45	29	33	8	10	281

1. Each hut of straw contains only one room. When we divide them up under the rubrics of 2, 3, or 5 rooms, this means that there are 2, 3, or 5 straw huts on the same parcel.

/38/

Maize (Zea mays L.): Succeeds well when sown at the beginning of the winter season. The native species sown under these conditions is very beautiful and gives large yellow ears, very well filled out. The Africans eat fresh roasted corn, and, when it is hard, they make couscous of it. The infusion prepared with the fruit is emollient and diuretic. The styles or stigmas of maize are famous as diuretics and cure several ailments of the urinary tract (cystitis, gravel, dysuria, etc.); the young kernels, when cooked, constitute an excellent vegetable and replace peas; the flour gives a beer and an alcoholic extract. The husks of the ears serve to make quite springy mattresses. 243 262 757 [273] [513]

II. -- Useful Gramineae

(not being subject to any cultivation)

Bamboo. -- Grows in the wild state in the Ravin des Voleurs /Ravine of Thieves/ near Thiès. The native species is rather small. Stakes, frames, masts of dugouts, huts, and fences, but especially clinting (constructions of bamboo filled in with lime) are made of it. The young shoots are said to be edible, and the sweet sap is supposed to be an agreeable drink. In Casamance a small species of bamboo grows in shady places; pipestems are made of it. 824 [313] [342] [262] [272] [276]

Begnefala (Andropogon shirensis). -- A tall gramineous plant with a penetrating aromatic odor. It is used in African medicine and the old colonials used it with success at the time of the great epidemic of yellow fever at Dakar in 1927. For fevers, one pounds the floral heads mixed with lemon or vinegar and energetically rubs the body with this mixture. [757]

Hada (Imperata cylindrica). -- A gramineous plant with a very hard leaf and whitish ear, which is used for covering the roofs of huts. [342]

Hat (Andropogon gayanus). -- Tall grass whose stem is used in making fences around huts. [351]

Haham or cram-cram (Cenchrus biflorus). -- Its seeds fasten themselves to clothing and are very disagreeable. Is gathered and [262]

/77 cont./

369 and attempted as far as possible to renovate the lines of its
361 architecture and to offer to its clientele pleasant salesrooms with tastefully arranged windows and displays.

The native quarters for their part were enlarged and improved, penetrating deeply into the neighboring bush. The quarters of "Randoulène-Sud" /South Randoulene/, of "Grand Thiès" /Greater Thiès/, and of "Médina" were new creations. Diakhao and Takhikao develop. Some African officials and
[342] merchants have since begun some construction of small villas in durable material that replace the traditional straw hut or the simple plank hut.

[162] The growth of the population was considerable; from 24,000 in 1945, it reached 40,000 inhabitants in 1953, 2,700 of whom were Europeans.

369 Thus, from the founding of the first military post near
433 the village of Thiès-None up to our time, the growth of Thiès has been accomplished without any shocks. It has not known the great hopes of Dakar, the depressions, the failures of Rufisque and Saint-Louis. The /78/ wars, the crises are shown in the graph of its evolution only as simple plateaus (7).

7. G. Savonnet, "Evolution démographique de la ville de Thiès /Demographic Evolution of the City of Thies/, "Notes africaines, pp. 122-124.

369 Its fortune, as we have tried to show, comes from its
361 exceptional site at the entrance of the sole path of access to
433 the plateau of Thiès, along with the relative proximity of Dakar. Through the action of these three essential functions, commercial, industrial, and military, it enjoys an economic equilibrium that seems more stable than that of the other cities of Senegal.

/78 cont./

2. The Quarters

1. The quarters of European type.

361 If we eliminate the two military bases that offer very
563 special characteristics peculiar to their internal organization, Thiès contains three quarters of Western conception: the Cité Ballabey /Ballabey District/, the Vieille Escale /Old Escale/, the Résidence. While the first shelters a population almost wholly European, in the other two the Whites are in the minority (one White to four Blacks).

No systematic segregation really exists in the city. The Cité Ballabey itself is a district for operatives belonging to the managerial staffs; it is in no way closed to Africans who have reached the rank required by their establishment. Although located near the workshops, it is a quiet zone. Its park is magnificent. The villas there are arranged regularly
351 according to a checkerboard plan in the purest colonial style.
[342] Each square of the checkerboard is occupied by a villa divided into two twin and symmetrical apartments; courtyards and gardens extend out on all sides of the dwelling; some mango trees with dense foliage shelter the rabbit hutches, the hen house, and the garage from the heat of the sun. It is easy
341 to date the construction of each of them by its architectural
342 style: the pink brick corresponds to the years 1925-1930; the reinforced concrete, painted light beige, dates from after the war... The quarters of the D.M.A. and of the air base, with some variations, show almost no originality of their own and are comparable to the Cité Ballabey.

The Old Escale presents the appearance of a quarter
[363] in a Mediterranean city: narrow streets bordered by storied buildings built out of the white limestone from Bargny; a small, light balcony with a metal balustrade projects over the sidewalk and runs from one end of the building to the other; a very slightly sloping red tile roof under a blue sky accentuates this impression of the Mediterranean world.

351 Each concession, square in plan, forms a regular block of

18: Savonnet--16 E-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37
/Between pp. 80 and 81./

342
137
493
363
361

Plate XI

A. Thiès. Quarter of Derrière-la-voie-ferrée. Juxtaposition of houses of mud covered with sheet metal, sheet metal, and of straw.

346

B. The site of one of the oldest mosques of Thiès: quarter of Takhikao.

/81 cont./

361 millet. The old people assemble in the evening under the
[517] large silk-cotton tree that shades the old crumbling mosque of
Takhikao. The women chatter while awaiting their turn to
[312] draw water at the common well, while the children play in
the sand. Gent stands out because of a series of small, low
[342] houses with a rectangular base and a roof of corrugated metal,
all identical and set along the trail that leads to the marigot
[351] /watercourse/ of the mission. A garden and a courtyard, al-
ways littered with laundry, characterize each concession. It
[563] is the quarter of Portuguese half-breeds called "portugalais"
(Plates XI B and XII A).

Diakhao-Nord /North Diakhao/, quiet, airy, arranged
[363] according to a strict plan of lots, contrasts with Diakhao-Sud
w ith narrow, winding lanes bordered on all sides by tapades
of millet stalks and noisy in the evening. The proximity of
[275] the two military bases has made it a place where one amuses
himself with all that this includes in the way of drinking
[525] shops and more or less clandestine gambling dens. Brawls be-
[579] tween drunken men are not rare in these places.

Randoulène, Derrière-la-voie-ferrée, and Bambara,
which form a unique quarter, homogeneous in its density and
in the heterogeneity of its dwellings, have become established
in the immediate vicinity of the railroad repair shops. The
[342] huts of planks, mud, or straw stand one against the other along
[363] the winding lanes laid out according to the desire of the
moment and not without some imagination. These lanes are
[373] noisy with people, and even late at night they walk between
the small shopkeepers' stalls lighted with smoking candle ends.
351 The dense crowd flows over the edges of the street and enters
the interior of the courtyards. The latter, covering barely
[463] a few square meters, often serve as a workshop for the
weaver, the blacksmith, or the jeweler, and as a kitchen for
[252] the housewives of the neighboring huts; it is not rare to see
half a dozen millet pounders there, pounding their mortars
in rhythm in groups of two or three. This is also the gathering
[517] place /82/ /Fig. 4 appears here/ of workers, where, after
[524] work, sitting in the sand amidst the dust and the noise, in a

/82 cont./

35 heat heavily laden with the most diverse odors, they play
[517] cards or checkers. There is no question in such crowded
[524] quarters of removing all the household rubbish and used water.
[364] It is frequent in the course of walks within this zone to run into piles of refuse or to cross several ditches full of stagnant, dirty, and malodorous water. Sometimes at a bend in a street one is surprised to discover some straw huts in the middle of a spacious courtyard (Plate XI A).

361 The quarters of the south, newly divided into lots, re-
351 mind one of that of North Diakhao with its embryos of streets intersecting at a right angle, /83/ its huts arranged in a loose order inside each square and huddled in the shade of mango trees.

Each concession of Médina, in distinct geometric forms, marked off by tapades of millet stalks, is of a meticulous neatness that contrasts with the other quarters of the city.
[795] This strict order, this rigid arrangement where all imagination is banished, is a reflection of the peculiar character of the Moslem Murid sect that occupies it.

361 The Cité Pillot, finally, built for the higher operatives and the specialized workers of the Dakar-Niger, to the south of the Bamako railroad, gives the appearance of a series of buildings that resemble those of barracks. The arrangement
[342] of the new constructions is that of small houses with twin apartments.

369 Thus, each of the European-type quarters, like the native quarters, possesses some particular trait or even its own individuality, which seems to correspond to a definite social structure: milieu of merchants, millieu of officials, milieu of artisans, of laborers, of cultivators.

At the same time, each stage of its evolution has stamped this or that part of the city with its original imprint, which makes it possible to follow quite easily the successive periods of its expansion.

20: Seck -- 15 U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 380-381/ Plate XXI

361

A. Gorée.

Photo. IFAN.

363
342

B. A view of Dakar (photograph taken from the Pasteur Building). Photo. Assane Seck.

/386 cont./

369 and independence have had the effect of reinforcing this mix-
563 ing the more since it sometimes brings about a pure and simple substitution of African staffs for European staffs in many of the lodgings.

Finally, although today the quarters of Dakar are still clearly distinguished by their appearance, the differentiation of their contents is less and less based on origin and tends to be a social rather than racial differentiation. Therefore, instead of the traditional division of the West African cities into "white city and black city," let us distinguish four sections in the Dakar agglomeration: /387/ Dakar-ville, the Médina, Greater Dakar, and the suburbs.

361 1. Dakar-ville. The plateau from the southeast to the
369 head of the peninsula and a part of the plain from Cape Manuel to the avenue El Hadji Malick Sy constitute what today is called Dakar-ville. The essential characteristic of this part of the Dakar agglomeration is that almost all of its buildings are permanent, except for some islands of huts. This is where practically all of the administrative offices, the large-scale
[366] commerce, the major part of the Lebano-Syrian commerce, and the great markets are found. But Dakar-ville shows very diverse aspects (Pl. XXI B) (Pl. XXIIA).

The Plateau is the best arranged part of Dakar-ville. It is there that the first nucleus of modern Dakar was located, extending around the port, from the station to the Protet Plaza and the Military Circle. Little changed, this nucleus has re-
[363] mained very much as it was at the beginning of the century;
[342] it is intersected by narrow streets, bordered by old houses in colonial style, with stores on the ground floor and lodgings
[347] with verandas on the upper floor. This nucleus has remained the business quarter, that of the large-scale commerce domi-
[441] nated by the great companies and the old Bordeaux firms, C.F.A.O., S.C.O.A., N.O.S.O.C.O., S.O.C.O.P.A.O.,
[366] Chavanel, Maurel et Prom, etc., surrounding the Kernel market, surmounted by its cupola of 1900 style. Several old administrative

20: Seck--29 U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 388-389/ Plate XXIII

363
342

[415]

A. A street beyond the avenue Blaise-Diagne.

B. Remote suburb.

Photo. Assane Seck.

/189 cont./

351 there again the small one-room structures of wood or straw are an exception to the rule and are distributed at random over the concession.

Each owner or tenant likes very much to see his parcel clearly delimited, and the wall is the general rule. But its forms are very different, and this in one and the same parcel, ranging from the house itself or a high wall of durable material to a line of pickets running along a simple heap of rubble. In any case, the parcels that are not completely enclosed, with merely an opening on the street, are rare.

●343 What else does one find within the parcel or in the
351 structures serving as dwellings? Two things: a little hovel sheltering the Madagascan stove and serving as kitchen, and then, in a corner of the parcel, an enclosure surrounded by
[783] secco, with a kettle containing the water needed for ablutions, which gives off a characteristic ammoniacal odor, yet not enough to inconvenience the inhabitants.

362 Let us complete this description with the table of the
511 number of buildings, shown according to the number of rooms
342 and the material used. /Table 24 appears here./

More than 50% of the wooden structures (113 out of 206) have only one or two rooms, that is, fall into the first category. Thus the whole habitat does not show a very high standard of living.

511 /190/ This is still more true if one now considers the
364 equipment of the huts. 228 homes out of 258, nearly 90 %,
354 have neither water, electricity, nor w.c. in the concession;
312 26 have electricity only; one has a w.c. without running water or electricity, one likewise has a w.c. plus electricity (in these two cases the w.c. consists of a septic pit dug into the sand in one corner of the parcel by the person concerned under the control of the Service d'hygiene). One has water and electricity. Ten per cent of the homes are thus lighted with electricity, and the remainder with kerosene, which is very few in a city where, except in the very last quarters, it is possible to have a meter installed in each parcel.

/128 cont./

654 In order to enjoy these advantages the society member
474 pays an assessment of one franc per year.

244 He can also request and obtain loans of food, rice, or
[731] millet, if he is justified by a case of great necessity: scarcity as a result of an unfortunate or calamitous event.

[426] Finally, since last year, he has been able to obtain loans in money on the condition of certain guarantees. These loans are granted for cultivation, and also for the improvement of his agricultural equipment, or for starting or enlarging his herd. These loans may amount to as much as 5,000 francs and are to be paid back within several years.

654 In 1927, the members numbered 240,000.

474 The society has 30 storehouses, more than half of which
[251] are built out of permanent materials: laterite stones or cement.

[343] /129/ It has utilized its resources to make wells out of
[312] reinforced concrete in order to procure for the inhabitants the potable water necessary for their needs and for the needs of their animals.

It gives bonuses to the cultivators who exhibit the best harvests. It also awards bonuses for the capture of animals harmful to agriculture.

The work accomplished is remarkable.

[244] The increase in the production of groundnuts in the circle is due to the Société de Prévoyance, under the control of the administration.

In it, commerce has a valuable organization whose usefulness it recognizes and whose incontestable and uncontested services it moreover appreciates.

312 The water problem. Wells. The serious question of water presents itself in the circle as it does everywhere in Senegal. The economic life of the region depends on the water supply of its inhabitants.

In order to prevent the danger of a water shortage, it has been necessary to dig wells. The séanes, natural reservoirs or pockets dug by man, were too small in number. They received rain water, but their volume was limited, and a few weeks sufficed to empty them after the last rainfall.

/387 cont./

361 buildings, the General Postoffice, the Treasury, the Town
369 Hall, the former Délégation, the former Palace of Justice, and the Chambre de Commerce are included there. A "city" phenomenon tends to be produced in this quarter which, very lively by day, is almost completely empty at night. Toward the east this quarter extends along the road to Bel-Air and the old road to Rufisque by way of the industrial section of Dakar where the factories have been established largely since the war. On the northwest, on each side of the avenue W.-Ponty, extends a mixed quarter, commercial and residential, harboring the old Lébou families, having benefited from the facilities offered
[427] by the Crédit Foncier, and the Lebano-Syrians and Cape Verdeans who rent or are quasi-owners as a result of long-term leases. It is therefore an old quarter that developed especially after the construction of the commercial port and has preserved its narrow streets, quite unique today, its low houses dominated here and there by some recent building. The avenue W.-Ponty,
366 with greatly varied commerce, the avenue Gambetta dominated
369 by the Lebano-Syrian commerce, the avenue Roume bordered by beautiful buildings and enlivened by luxury commerce, and finally the avenue Maginot which is shared by great stores of the West and Lebano-Syrian commerce in fabrics near the market of Sandaga are the most completely transformed arteries of this section of the Plateau, where many cafés and restaurants, /388/ cabarets, and cinemas maintain far into the night a nonchalant, but pleasant animation following the rushing business of the day.

Beyond the Boulevard de la République, which bounds the
369 old quarters on the west and which is distinguished by its many
361 buildings, commerce disappears almost entirely, giving way to a residential zone of middle-class appearance, with its villas often more comfortable than stylish. This residential zone, formerly
[563] entirely European, is mixed today, harboring European and African staffs. Barracks and hospitals separate this quarter from
[712] Cape Manuel, formerly a military zone, but today occupied by the monumental, Palace of Justice dominating the newly estab-
[344] lished embassies. But all of Dakar-ville is not as well arranged

/11 cont./

*795 It is to Touba that the young Murids come to learn the
[793] Koran; each marabout there has his own school which forms his young talibés.

It is in Touba also that, grouped around their marabout (or his residence), the faithful dwell, those who wish to live a holier life in permanent contact with their religious leader and working each day for them and with them.

[788] It is to Touba, finally, that every good Murid must go once
[778] a year in order to pray at the tomb of the founding saint of the brotherhood, at that of the khalife /caliph/, first successor, and especially in order to pay a visit to the present Caliph-general and to give him the offerings intended in particular for the continuation of the work on the mosque; this is the Magal of which we shall speak again below.

361 /12/ The city appears like a great "escale" /commercial
*795 center/ of the bush. Wide avenues separate the vast carrés /compounds/ of the various marabouts from one another. A plan for division into lots was drawn up, but it has not yet been applied, Falilou M'Backé, the Caliph-general, having feared, at the last moment, the far-reaching consequences.

Touba is thus a great center. Its development and the considerable number of persons who come there for the Magal have
[312] necessitated special arrangements. Drillings have been made in order to ensure the water supply of the holy city, which is, more-
[496] over, linked to M'Backé and Diourbel by a railroad. On the other hand, no commercial establishment has settled in Touba, and the trading center has been fixed at M'Backé.

346 Touba's center of attraction is its mosque, an Islamic
*795 monument unique in Senegal.

It was Amadou Bamba himself who decided to have it constructed, and in 1926 he asked his faithful to bring the first stones for it to Touba, but it was Amadou Mustapha, his son and first successor, who began the first work on it, after receiving by lease from the Administration a piece of ground of 400 hectares on which he could build it.

/12 cont./

*1795 346 The Murid talibés, faithfully carrying out the wish of their founder, continued to participate actively in the construction of the mosque, whether by working on it, by carrying stones to it, or by making to the Caliph-general gifts intended for the carrying on of the work; this goes on more or less rapidly according to the size of the funds which the caliph has at his disposal for carrying it out. It was very actively pushed between 1953 and 1957.

346 Thus, the edifice is now well along, the bulk of the work is finished, and its mass dominates the huts of Touba; from ten to 15 kilometers roundabout one sees its minarets, which signal to the fervent pilgrim as well as to the cruious traveler that they are approaching the holy city.

It is an important building of generous dimensions, with two minarets 30 meters high flanking the western façade; the great prayer room is surmounted by a cupola; small domes and lantern-lights contribute alike to the ornamentation of the roof.

Access is by a flight of steps located on the west façade. The latter is pierced by doors which open on a patio surrounded by a gallery opening on the courtyard by means of a colonnade with extended arches. The east side of the patio is not closed off and opens directly into the prayer room; this last is entirely /13/ covered, and the roof, as well as the cupola which surmounts it, is supported by rows of columns and extended arches of the purest Arab style, the appearance of which calls to mind the most famous mosques, such as the one of Córdoba, for example.

The mihrab is formed by a little chapel built into the east wall of the mosque at the back of the prayer room.

The building is of reinforced concrete. Even though the greatest part of the work is ended, much still remains to be done before it is finished. In 1956 the plastering had not yet been done, and then it will be necessary to paint and decorate the walls and columns, as has already been done for the lanterns which surmount the minarets and which are ornamented with symbolic decorations or arabesques.

/13 cont./

.●346 These minarets have been finished since 1956, and one can climb to their summits, from where one discovers the panorama of Touba and the surrounding plain.

346 778 From the mosque there is direct access to the tomb of Amadou Bamba, which is in a mausoleum built into the north-east corner of the building beside the great prayer room. The tomb proper (covered by velvet hangings embroidered with Koranic sayings stitched into arabesques) is in the middle of the mausoleum; it is surrounded by wrought-iron grillwork which keeps visitors at a distance, while at the same time allowing many of them to contemplate the saint's tomb. The ground all around the tomb is covered with fine, sifted sand, replaced continually to keep it clean.

The tomb of the first caliph, Amadou Moustapha, is located outside the mosque on the east façade several meters from the wall. The mausoleum resembles a little bungalow; one enters it directly from the outside, without going through the mosque. Here, too, the tomb is hidden behind embroidered hangings.

[782] These places are redolent of an atmosphere of contemplation. The air is heavy with the perfume of the incense burned constantly before the tombs.

*795 796 At Touba, the great Moslem religious celebrations are particularly prominent. Thus the faithful come from quite far away (when they can) in order to celebrate at Touba rather than elsewhere the Corytée, the Tabaski, or the Gamou (1).

1. These three celebrations correspond respectively to the Aid el Fitr, the Aid el Kebir, and the Mouloud of Islamic tradition.

[788] But the great celebration of Touba, the specifically Murid solemnity /14/ which every good talibé tries to attend every year if possible, is the Magal.

/20 cont./

793 *795 The Caliph-general seldom leaves Touba. He sends representatives to the chief town or to the circles to visit his talibés or to deal with administrative questions in the offices. If he goes away, he rarely goes far; in general, he goes as far as his groundnut plantations located a few kilometers from Touba. There he calls on the talibés, who, according to Murid doctrine, work for him while he himself prays for them and in their place. These plantations give him the millet necessary for feeding the people who live with him in Touba, and groundnuts whose sale will assure him of sizable personal revenues.

Immediately after Falilou M'Backé at the head of the brotherhood come his brother, Bassirou M'Backé, and his nephew, Cheikh M'Backé, about whom we have already said a few words just above. Since 1947 these two Sérignes have been, respectively, Vice-President and Secretary of the Murid Administrative Council which Falilou created to manage the funds intended for the construction of the mosque, and of which he is President.

Bassirou is regarded in principle as the "dauphin" of the brotherhood, the designated and legitimate successor to Falilou. He is very different from his brother. Tall, thin, with a long face and regular features, Bassirou has a great deal of presence and fine bearing. He studied at Boutilimit during the lifetime of Cheikh Sidiya Baba. Very cultivated and well-read, his conversation is as interesting as it is agreeable.

In spite of the important position that he occupies at the head of the brotherhood, he does not appear to maintain either excellent relations or very frequent contacts with his brother.

In 1953 he came to settle in Diourbel after definitely leaving /21/ Boulel in the subdivision of Kaffrine, where he had been making tests of mechanical and motorized cultivation in the Bloc Expérimental de l'Arachide /Experimental Bloc [654] for Groundnuts/ in co-operation with the Service de l'Agriculture and thanks to the manpower of his talibés.

He is now imam of the Diourbel mosque, whose restoration [346] he would like to undertake. It is actually a very beautiful

/21 cont./

793 building which does not have the importance of the Mosque of
*795 Touba, but which surpasses in elegance the other mosques of
[34] Senegal, and which, because of this, would merit having made on it the necessary and urgent repairs which certain parts that are very damaged and in very bad condition require at present.

But Bassirou does not have only this architectural interest; he is also concerned with crops. His experience with the Service de l'Agriculture not having given him satisfaction, he works in a more classical and traditional fashion near the village of Tip, located in the canton of Kaël some 30 kilometers to the south of Touba. This installation did not fail to provoke some protests on the part of the Peul stockbreeders of the canton, but these difficulties seem to have been settled amicably later on.

The third person in the brotherhood in the order of precedence is, as we have said, Cheikh M'Backé, eldest son of Amadou Moustapha and nephew of the two preceding men. Much younger than his uncles, he also has a very different demeanor. A tall, well-built, handsome, clean-shaven man, he has the bearing and the activities of a modern businessman. In fact, he is ambitious; he wants to succeed; he needs a great deal of money in order to realize his ambitions, and his very functions as a Murid marabout provide it for him.

We have seen that he had solicited, as the direct descendant of the founder, the post of caliph, but that he had been ousted in favor of his uncle. Since then he has always remained in more or less violent opposition to Falilou M'Backé. Nevertheless, he has not succeeded in detaching from the latter even a small fraction of the Murids. His opposition has sometimes been the cause of regrettable acts. In 1952, among others at
666 the time of the elections to the Territorial Assembly, Cheikh
793 M'Backé had made himself the champion of the S.F.I.O. when
*795 Falilou was supporting the B. D. S. (and undoubtedly because he was supporting it). This opposition provoked rather violent incidents in Touba during the electoral campaign, some talibés

[17]

The Village of Cambérène (Dakar)

361 175 The village of Cambérène was founded about 1885 by the gathering of tabilés [disciples] around their teacher, Li Mamou Laye Thiaw, who had set up his dwelling near the watercourse Der Gui N'Dargou to the northeast of Yoff (east of the present gardens of the Government).

731 175 622 Li Mamou died in 1909, and his brother, Seydina Issa Laye Thiaw, succeeded him at the head of the small zaouïa, which in 1914 was the victim of an epidemic of the plague.

Seydina Issa decided, as is generally done in such cases, to change the location of the little village.

361 Considering his first location unfavorable, being too near the Niaye, he decided to establish it in the open air in front of the heights of the string of littoral dunes on the very edge of the sea, which should, he thought, be healthier.

[369] Having ascertained that in Dakar an effort was made to align the houses and to put straight and wide streets between them, he resolved to order that, in establishing the new village, the center of the site was to be the mosque, which, first constructed [346] of wood and straw, was replaced in 1939 by a handsome edifice of masonry.

To the north and south of the mosque, Seydina Issa laid out two parallel avenues east to west. He placed the dwellings of his family facing the entrance of the mosque, leaving open a large space which he had reserved to the east; at right angles to the principal streets, some north-south streets were laid out, and each family put its dwellings in the form of a U opening on the principal streets.

[18] [Fig. 1. appears here.]

The arrangement was subsequently respected, and the most recent of the 28 land-grants open on a third east-west avenue.

The curious fact of this very precise outline is not noted when one arrives at Cambérène by the road, nor when one goes about on foot within the village, and even the diagram on the map on a scale of 1/50,000 does not make it stand out. Thus, it was a

/79 cont./

361 mahoganies planted at the end of the last century. The very close presence of the station, and the continual coming and going of locomotives, with strident cries that rend the air, destroys the harmony of these quiet spots of small provincial cities, while attempts are made to recreate them.

361 Even more peaceful air is breathed in the Catholic
346 Mission, located to the north of the old "escale." The buildings were constructed at the end of the last century in red laterite, storied buildings /80/ with monastery arcades. They are situated in the middle of a huge garden, always green, extended by a park of magnificent trees. The whole reminds one to some extent of the peaceful site of some metropolitan abbey.

361 The two business quarters (Old Escale and Residence)
563 present the peculiarity of becoming, according to the time of day, the domain of the European in the evening (at the hour
443 for the apéritif) and on Sundays, and that of the African during the day (while the market is open). A place of contact between the Black and the White, this market occupies a very important place in the life of the African city and merits pausing there a bit.

443 It is on the day of the opening of the groundnut trade (at
[438] the beginning of December, for example) that it is proper to visit it. On coming from the station one plunges suddenly into the animation, the dust, the heat, the "sticky" odors of the market. The place is swarming with people where
443 the most diverse means of locomotion are squeezed and
494 mingled together: a small cinder-gray donkey, heavily laden, deciding to block the passage of an automobile, despite the beating by its master; a small, light cart with two rubber wheels serving as a taxi and in quest of a possible passenger; a housewife from the neighboring village, her
[482] last-born hanging on her back, and who keeps on her head, in marvelous balance, a calabash full of market produce; a cyclist, poorly balanced on his machine, now and again running into a pedestrian or a vehicle; a truck with impressive loads, which slowly pushes from the road the human

18: Savonnet--16 E-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37
/Between pp. 80 and 81./

342
137
493
363
361

Plate XI

A. Thiès. Quarter of Derrière-la-voie-ferrée. Juxtaposition of houses of mud covered with sheet metal, sheet metal, and of straw.

346

B. The site of one of the oldest mosques of Thiès: quarter of Takhikao.

11: Lèques--19 P-5 (1956) 1957 MS37 Senegal MS37

291
347
443

Fig. 2. The Kaolack market for dresses (Lèques photo and plate).

/84 cont./

442 iron for cement, tires...piled loosely together. The activity
443 of these branches is based on three elements: retail with a sales store open to the average customers, wholesale granted to the important factoreries (Levantines...), and wholesale to the small shopkeepers for retail. Each is furthermore an implement dealer with exclusive right of sale granted to them: frigidaires, motor fuel, automobiles...The figure
[433] for the monthly business of one of them fluctuated between 20 and 25 million in 1953.

443 An intermediate type of commerce was established a
[563] short time ago with the arrival of the Moroccans; they
[162] numbered 25 in 1952. /85/ Some among them attempt to corner both the European and native clientele. They special-
[438] ize in the sale of fabrics and fancy articles for Africans:
[191] babouches, fezzes, cheap watches. They speak the native language fluently and sometimes French extremely well.

The Africans, as we have seen, have launched into private business since 1920. Some of them have a factorerie of the Levantine type, but most of them have opened a shop in the outlying quarters. The Moors and the Blacks share this small-scale commerce: in 1952 the former reached the figure of 120; the Blacks were perhaps as numerous. They
[347] are installed in the small shops of boards or mud roofed with straw or with corrugated metal. On the counter, made up of a simple board, stands a Roberval scale, some jars of large multicolored bonbons, a pasteboard box filled with dry biscuits. The bag of charcoal on the floor stands beside a tin of kerosene. Some cola nuts kept fresh in a wrapping of leaves still green, a kilo of sugar broken open, which is sold by the lump, some packages of cigarettes sold by the unit, and small cans of condensed milk give a glimpse of the small volume of their business.

To complete this picture, let us add the innumerable small "doorstep" merchants who on a piece of cloth or in a calabash display a few handfuls of roasted peanuts and cola nuts, a package of cigarettes, or millet fritters. These small stalls are all located in front of the door of the hut;

/386 cont./

369 and independence have had the effect of reinforcing this mix-
563 ing the more since it sometimes brings about a pure and simple substitution of African staffs for European staffs in many of the lodgings.

Finally, although today the quarters of Dakar are still clearly distinguished by their appearance, the differentiation of their contents is less and less based on origin and tends to be a social rather than racial differentiation. Therefore, instead of the traditional division of the West African cities into "white city and black city," let us distinguish four sections in the Dakar agglomeration: /387/ Dakar-ville, the Médina, Greater Dakar, and the suburbs.

361 1. Dakar-ville. The plateau from the southeast to the
369 head of the peninsula and a part of the plain from Cape Manuel to the avenue El Hadji Malick Sy constitute what today is called Dakar-ville. The essential characteristic of this part of the Dakar agglomeration is that almost all of its buildings are permanent, except for some islands of huts. This is where practically all of the administrative offices, the large-scale
[366] commerce, the major part of the Lebano-Syrian commerce, and the great markets are found. But Dakar-ville shows very diverse aspects (Pl. XXI B) (Pl. XXIIA).

The Plateau is the best arranged part of Dakar-ville. It is there that the first nucleus of modern Dakar was located, extending around the port, from the station to the Protet Plaza and the Military Circle. Little changed, this nucleus has re-
[363] mained very much as it was at the beginning of the century;
[342] it is intersected by narrow streets, bordered by old houses in colonial style, with stores on the ground floor and lodgings
[347] with verandas on the upper floor. This nucleus has remained the business quarter, that of the large-scale commerce dominated by the great companies and the old Bordeaux firms,
[441] C.F.A.O., S.C.O.A., N.O.S.O.C.O., S.O.C.O.P.A.O.,
[366] Chavanel, Maurel et Prom, etc., surrounding the Kernel market, surmounted by its cupola of 1900 style. Several old administrative

S
SR /379 cont./
369 and at Diakhaté where the hut of straw or purely of mud
[342] prevails. Could it be that the occupation of mason to which
W some None seem to devote themselves is a factor in this
[342] modernization of their settlements?

SR A certain "coquetry" absent in the bush villages leads
[463] some autochthones to lay out a little flower garden near their
S hut (Tiali, Keur-Issa-Bambara)..
[351]

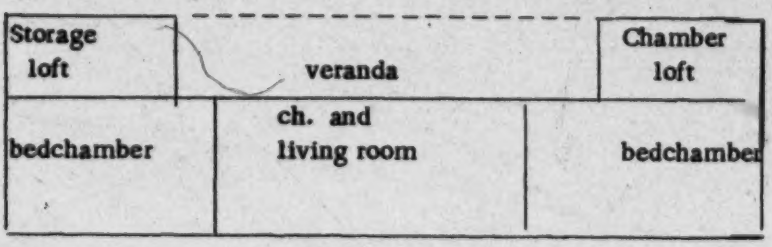
The presence of the city is also reflected in the equip-
S ment used by the rural people. The furniture is always sum-
369 mary, but more and more the iron bed is replacing the lat-
352 tice of wood or the mat put on the ground itself. A mattress,
[513] a military blanket, and commonly a mosquito net of a very light fabric complete this relative comfort. Often a little table of unpainted wood, a chair made of old boxes, a bit
S of mirror hung on the wall, and sometimes an impressive
[353] number of photographs, or, lacking them, pages cut out of an illustrated magazine pasted to the walls, give a special stamp to this interior, which is no longer typically rural. Sometimes one even has the surprise of encountering in these modest interiors a wardrobe and a little buffet, which adorn, the more since they are not utilized, the room of a privileged native. But this comfort is an exception.

S The calabash, which is the very foundation of the
369 kitchen utensils, is still commonly utilized for household
415 tasks and for the common meals. Nevertheless the cast-iron or aluminum saucepan is no longer a luxury; the glass and above all the bottle are in common use.

S The clothing, too, has been modified. The loincloth
369 in bright colors, laboriously woven by the Toucouleur
291 /Tukolor/ weaver, durable but expensive, has become a
177 luxury. Imported printed cloth of moderate price has sup-
planted it everywhere. The white robe with embroidery has
S become the festive garment par excellence; the shorts, the
[292] trousers, and the jacket, often futnished by the European, are now the clothes utilized for work.

/188 cont./

362 In the third type the "veranda" appears, which distinguishes
342 it from the first two; first of all, it materially increases the size of the dwelling, which reaches a width of five or six meters; on the other hand, this new element, superfluous /sketch appears here/ one might say, for there is a question



there of a necessary benefit -- already introduces a little complexity into the arrangement of the rooms and as a result encourages some organization of family life around a center. Moreover, this beginning is most often only a rough draft which reproduces the same pattern (see sketch above); nevertheless, this rough draft has the merit of existing and of translating into the material, into the surrounding environment, this sketchy effort toward a "home-life" /quoted in English/ of modern type.

In almost all cases the floor is slightly raised and cemented. There is practically never any ceiling, and the roof is constructed either with the aid of a sheet of metal or fibro-cement, or with a wooden frame covered with tar paper, for the disinherited.

351 How is the house placed within the parcel? It is practically impossible to answer this question, for there seems to be no general rule; sometimes the house is on the edge of the street and forms a wall; sometimes it is at the back of the parcel facing the road, and sometimes it extends perpendicularly to the length of a neighboring parcel. The only certain fact is that one does not /189/ come across a wooden house of any importance in the middle of the land. This is understandable because the parcel measures approximately 15 by 11. But

/189 cont./

351 there again the small one-room structures of wood or straw are an exception to the rule and are distributed at random over the concession.

Each owner or tenant likes very much to see his parcel clearly delimited, and the wall is the general rule. But its forms are very different, and this in one and the same parcel, ranging from the house itself or a high wall of durable material to a line of pickets running along a simple heap of rubble. In any case, the parcels that are not completely enclosed, with merely an opening on the street, are rare.

343 What else does one find within the parcel or in the
351 structures serving as dwellings? Two things: a little hovel sheltering the Madagascan stove and serving as kitchen, and then, in a corner of the parcel, an enclosure surrounded by
[783] secco, with a kettle containing the water needed for ablutions, which gives off a characteristic ammoniacal odor, yet not enough to inconvenience the inhabitants.

362 Let us complete this description with the table of the
511 number of buildings, shown according to the number of rooms
342 and the material used. /Table 24 appears here./

More than 50% of the wooden structures (113 out of 206) have only one or two rooms, that is, fall into the first category. Thus the whole habitat does not show a very high standard of living.

511 /190/ This is still more true if one now considers the
364 equipment of the huts. 228 homes out of 258, nearly 90 %,
354 have neither water, electricity, nor w.c. in the concession;
312 26 have electricity only; one has a w.c. without running water or electricity, one likewise has a w.c. plus electricity (in these two cases the w.c. consists of a septic pit dug into the sand in one corner of the parcel by the person concerned under the control of the Service d'hygiene). One has water and electricity. Ten per cent of the homes are thus lighted with electricity, and the remainder with kerosene, which is very few in a city where, except in the very last quarters, it is possible to have a meter installed in each parcel.

/194 cont./

511 them. As a result, a certain number of family heads, around
427 17%, are owners only because they have bought their parcel.
[369] This fact therefore shows that Pikine has become a choice locality where it is worth the trouble to spend money in order to establish oneself, and thus corroborates the hypothesis set forth above, that the evolution of Pikine today attests to an indisputable degree of urban maturity.

In the districts one counts only 9% who are tenants; all the others are owners or on the way to it. But while the rent of a room in a hut located in the quarters costs an average of 500 francs, the price is much higher in the districts, and this income permits the owner, who for his part is obliged to make a monthly payment to the Office de l'Habitat hardly higher /195/ than the amount of the rent, to acquire at the end of five years a dwelling by paying, in a word, only a ridiculous amount. It is difficult to evaluate the frequency of this abusive practice; in our sample it was three out of four tenants.

351 Another point has to do with the possibility of dividing
511 the parcel into half parcels or of two and even three homes being associated on the land of a single parcel. This possibility does not exist in the districts, where, in practice, economic obligations and the arrangement of the habitat as a rule require having only a single home per parcel. In the quarter, out of 264 homes, one counts 191 of them, namely, 72%, that are alone on the land; 46, or 17%, are in groups of two; and 27, or 11%, are in groups of three.

511 The types of association are very diverse, from the
592 households which are united by a bond of kinship and which represent 22% of the cases of association, that is to say, 6% of the total, to homes living on two half-parcels rigorously separated. The most frequent case is that of two unrelated households living together, who share, if not the same hut, at least the same inner court, each having its fire and doing its cooking separately. In general, the families thus grouped contain only a limited number of members, the scantiness of a half parcel not being favorable to the installation of numerous families. Since this factor does not

/38/

Maize (Zea mays L.): Succeeds well when sown at the beginning of the winter season. The native species sown under these conditions is very beautiful and gives large yellow ears, very well filled out. The Africans eat fresh roasted corn, and, when it is hard, they make couscous of it. The infusion prepared with the fruit is emollient and diuretic. The styles or stigmas of maize are famous as diuretics and cure several ailments of the urinary tract (cystitis, gravel, dysuria, etc.); the young kernels, when cooked, constitute an excellent vegetable and replace peas; the flour gives a beer and an alcoholic extract. The husks of the ears serve to make quite springy mattresses. 243 262 757 [273] [513]

II. -- Useful Gramineae

(not being subject to any cultivation)

Bamboo. -- Grows in the wild state in the Ravin des Voleurs /Ravine of Thieves/ near Thiès. The native species is rather small. Stakes, frames, masts of dugouts, huts, and fences, but especially clinting (constructions of bamboo filled in with lime) are made of it. The young shoots are said to be edible, and the sweet sap is supposed to be an agreeable drink. In Casamance a small species of bamboo grows in shady places; pipestems are made of it. 824 [313] [342] [262] [272] [276]

Begnefala (Andropogon shirensis). -- A tall gramineous plant with a penetrating aromatic odor. It is used in African medicine and the old colonials used it with success at the time of the great epidemic of yellow fever at Dakar in 1927. For fevers, one pounds the floral heads mixed with lemon or vinegar and energetically rubs the body with this mixture. [757]

Hada (Imperata cylindrica). -- A gramineous plant with a very hard leaf and whitish ear, which is used for covering the roofs of huts. [342]

Hat (Andropogon gayanus). -- Tall grass whose stem is used in making fences around huts. [351]

Haham or cram-cram (Cenchrus biflorus). -- Its seeds fasten themselves to clothing and are very disagreeable. Is gathered and [262]

/78 cont./

2. The Quarters

1. The quarters of European type.

361 If we eliminate the two military bases that offer very
563 special characteristics peculiar to their internal organization, Thiès contains three quarters of Western conception: the Cité Ballabey /Ballabey District/, the Vieille Escale /Old Escale/, the Résidence. While the first shelters a population almost wholly European, in the other two the Whites are in the minority (one White to four Blacks).

No systematic segregation really exists in the city. The Cité Ballabey itself is a district for operatives belonging to the managerial staffs; it is in no way closed to Africans who have reached the rank required by their establishment. Although located near the workshops, it is a quiet zone. Its park is magnificent. The villas there are arranged regularly
351 according to a checkerboard plan in the purest colonial style.
[342] Each square of the checkerboard is occupied by a villa divided into two twin and symmetrical apartments; courtyards and gardens extend out on all sides of the dwelling; some mango trees with dense foliage shelter the rabbit hutches, the hen house, and the garage from the heat of the sun. It is easy
341 to date the construction of each of them by its architectural
342 style: the pink brick corresponds to the years 1925-1930; the reinforced concrete, painted light beige, dates from after the war... The quarters of the D. M. A. and of the air base, with some variations, show almost no originality of their own and are comparable to the Cité Ballabey.

The Old Escale presents the appearance of a quarter
[363] in a Mediterranean city: narrow streets bordered by storied buildings built out of the white limestone from Bargny; a small, light balcony with a metal balustrade projects over the sidewalk and runs from one end of the building to the other; a very slightly sloping red tile roof under a blue sky accentuates this impression of the Mediterranean world.

351 Each concession, square in plan, forms a regular block of

/78 cont./

102
361
491
496

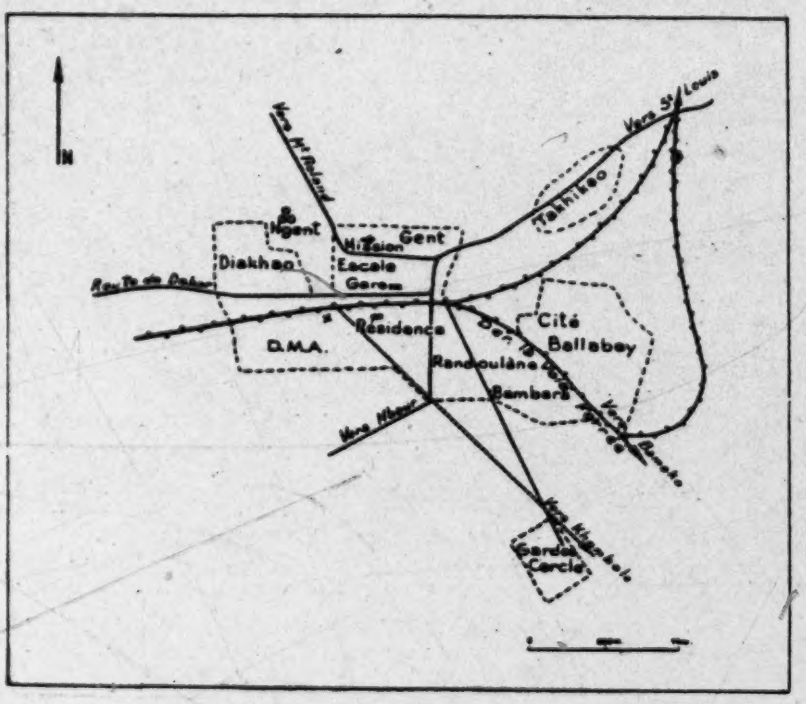


Fig. 3. Thiès in 1940.

351 buildings pierced here and there by a portal which gives access to the courtyards, always littered, of the shop or workshop. /79/ /Fig. 3 appears here./

361 [341] One now sees a modification of this oldish architecture and attempts at renovation. This quarter, built essentially for commercial purposes, did not leave any space free for expansion; no plaza, no small garden offers a pleasant spot in this assemblage dedicated essentially to trade.

The quarter of the Residence is quieter, and also cooler. The arrangement of the settlement pattern is looser; the houses are spread out, and each is separated from its neighbor by a [351] kitchen garden, a courtyard, or a small pleasure garden. Near the administrative buildings care has even been taken to reserve and arrange some public squares in the shade of immense Gambia

/80 cont./

443 flood rapidly closing in again behind it. All these noisy peo-
[493] ple carry with them a flavor of the neighboring bush, warm and dusty.

The market of dried fish readily reveals itself by the strong odor that it gives off; farther on is the stall of the
[563] butcher for Europeans; very close to it the merchant of the tripe trade who grills some skewers of small pieces on a charcoal fire. Elsewhere the sellers of colas, of condiments and cloth from Guinea, the cobblers offering their products among the very mixed odors in a halo of dust raised by the crowd. It is a delight for the eyes to see, in the bright sunlight under a very clear and pure blue sky, the shimmer of full garments of vivid hues moving with deliberation and majesty.

443 The animation reaches its greatest intensity between nine and ten o'clock in the morning; the pedestrian is king,
512 he blocks all traffic. Then, little by little, sellers and buyers disperse, and everyone falls into a blessed torpor at the noon hour. The afternoon is quiet, and at five o'clock each merchant has left his premises. This animation, which has only a temporary character in the commercial quarters of /Plates XI and XII appear here/ /81/ European type, is permanent in certain native quarters, but with a maximum amplitude in the evening after work.

2. The native quarters.

361 The native quarters also have their peculiar characteristics, a function of their antiquity, of their proximity or their distance from a center of activity, and, naturally, of the social category of their inhabitants.

Takhikao and Gent were among the first quarters created. Except for the nearness of the road from Thiès to Tivaouane, which attracts the merchants' small shops of planks or straw, they have kept their rural character: dwell-
● [351] ings arranged in a loose order, surrounded by an orchard protected by a tapade /walling/ of branches or stalks of millet.

[Text continues on p. 18]

18: Savonnet--17 E-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37
/Between pp. 80 and 81./

363
357
291

Plate XII

A. Thiès. The Takhikao square after winter.

291
443
516

B. Thiès. Market scene.

/81 cont./

361 millet. The old people assemble in the evening under the
[517] large silk-cotton tree that shades the old crumbling mosque of
Takhikao. The women chatter while awaiting their turn to
[312] draw water at the common well, while the children play in
[342] the sand. Gent stands out because of a series of small, low
houses with a rectangular base and a roof of corrugated metal,
all identical and set along the trail that leads to the marigot
[351] /watercourse/ of the mission. A garden and a courtyard, al-
[563] ways littered with laundry, characterize each concession. It
is the quarter of Portuguese half-breeds called "portugalais"
(Plates XI B and XII A).

Diakhao-Nord /North Diakhao/, quiet, airy, arranged
[363] according to a strict plan of lots, contrasts with Diakhao-Sud
w ith narrow, winding lanes bordered on all sides by tapades
of millet stalks and noisy in the evening. The proximity of
[275] the two military bases has made it a place where one amuses
[525] himself with all that this includes in the way of drinking
[579] shops and more or less clandestine gambling dens. Brawls be-
tween drunken men are not rare in these places.

Randoulène, Derrière-la-voie-ferrée, and Bambara,
which form a unique quarter, homogeneous in its density and
in the heterogeneity of its dwellings, have become established
in the immediate vicinity of the railroad repair shops. The
[342] huts of planks, mud, or straw stand one against the other along
[363] the winding lanes laid out according to the desire of the
moment and not without some imagination. These lanes are
[373] noisy with people, and even late at night they walk between
the small shopkeepers' stalls lighted with smoking candle ends.
351 The dense crowd flows over the edges of the street and enters
the interior of the courtyards. The latter, covering barely
[463] a few square meters, often serve as a workshop for the
[252] weaver, the blacksmith, or the jeweler, and as a kitchen for
the housewives of the neighboring huts; it is not rare to see
half a dozen millet pounders there, pounding their mortars
in rhythm in groups of two or three. This is also the gathering
[517] place /82/ /Fig. 4 appears here/ of workers, where, after
[524] work, sitting in the sand amidst the dust and the noise, in a

/82 cont./

35 heat heavily laden with the most diverse odors, they play
517 cards or checkers. There is no question in such crowded
524 quarters of removing all the household rubbish and used water.
364 It is frequent in the course of walks within this zone to run into piles of refuse or to cross several ditches full of stagnant, dirty, and malodorous water. Sometimes at a bend in a street one is surprised to discover some straw huts in the middle of a spacious courtyard (Plate XI A).

361 The quarters of the south, newly divided into lots, re-
351 mind one of that of North Diakhao with its embryos of streets intersecting at a right angle, /83/ its huts arranged in a loose order inside each square and huddled in the shade of mango trees.

Each concession of Médina, in distinct geometric forms, marked off by tapades of millet stalks, is of a meticulous neatness that contrasts with the other quarters of the city.
795 This strict order, this rigid arrangement where all imagination is banished, is a reflection of the peculiar character of the Moslem Murid sect that occupies it.

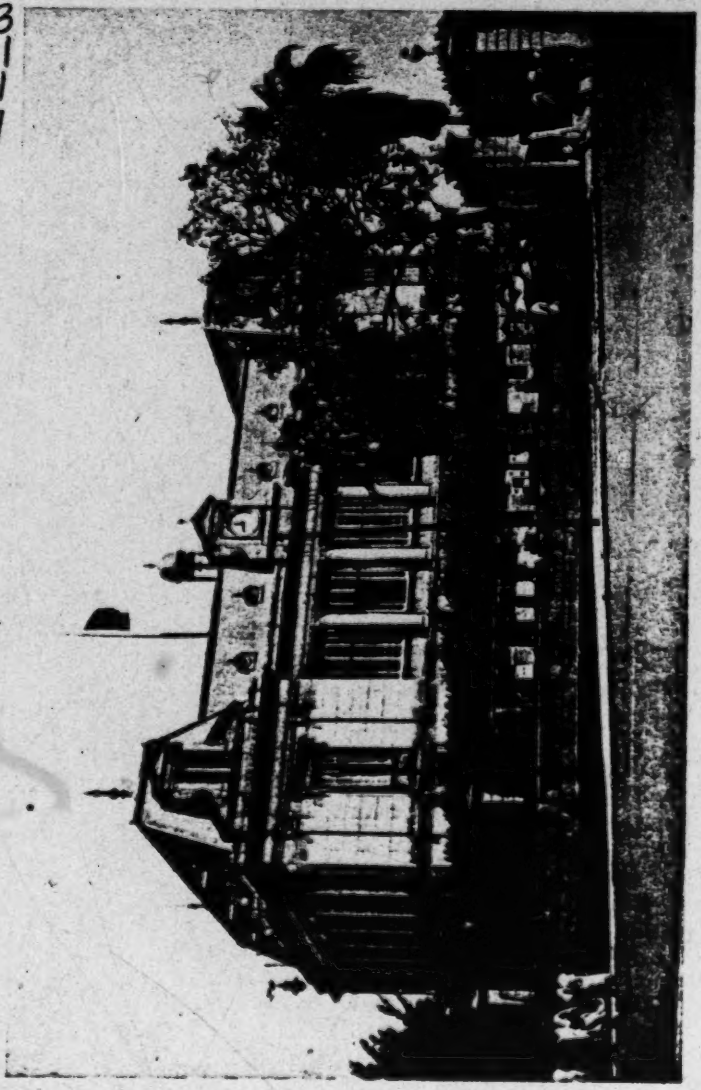
361 The Cité Pillot, finally, built for the higher operatives and the specialized workers of the Dakar-Niger, to the south of the Bamako railroad, gives the appearance of a series of buildings that resemble those of barracks. The arrangement
342 of the new constructions is that of small houses with twin apartments.

369 Thus, each of the European-type quarters, like the native quarters, possesses some particular trait or even its own individuality, which seems to correspond to a definite social structure: milieu of merchants, millieu of officials, milieu of artisans, of laborers, of cultivators.

At the same time, each stage of its evolution has stamped this or that part of the city with its original imprint, which makes it possible to follow quite easily the successive periods of its expansion.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

363
341
●351
137



117. Dakar: the Mairie

[facing p. 135]

/25 cont./

*795 refrigerator, radio, power plant, powerful American cars, etc
793 .... Certain ones even own real estate in Dakar which they rent for a good price, increasing their revenues by that much more.

If this standard of living is the result of the attachment and the fanatical work of the talibés, reciprocally this luxury increases their prestige in the eyes of these same talibés. These simple people see in this exterior wealth a sign of the greatness, power, and glory of their marabout. They are proud to see him rich and influential, as if they themselves participated in this wealth and influence.

Still another anecdote will underline, it seems, this blind admiration of the faithful for their religious leaders in spite of (and perhaps because of) the exterior signs of their wealth.

The domestic servant of a European official had accompanied his employer to Touba, to the home of Failou M'Backé. Thus he could enter the carré of "his" marabout (for he was a Murid). Upon returning, he said to his employer in a tone of sincere admiration and without a critical afterthought: "My
•[352] marabout is a great marabout; his carré has many bedrooms and in each bedroom there is a good bed." When one knows
[513] that the majority of the Blacks usually sleep on wretched pallets or even on mats, and that to possess a good bed is one of the first objectives of the African who advances, one will appreciate the full value of this remark...

793 After that no one will be surprised that some people have
*795 labeled as "servitude" the situation which the Murid marabouts
244 reserve for the talibés who work on their plantations. They are,
555 in fact, grouped in teams of ten to 20, and each team has a piece of land to cultivate. Of course the teams compete zealously to bring to the marabout the handsomest harvest. The zeal of the teams is all the greater because each member can hope, if the marabout notices his own zeal, to be initiated at the end of several years to the Murid dikr and to have in his turn a Murid village to superintend. He can even hope to have assigned to him a new area to be attached to the brotherhood

S SR /379 cont./
369 and at Diakhaté where the hut of straw or purely of mud
[342] prevails. Could it be that the occupation of mason to which
W some None seem to devote themselves is a factor in this
[342] modernization of their settlements?

SR A certain "coquetry" absent in the bush villages leads
[463] some autochthones to lay out a little flower garden near their
S hut (Tiali, Keur-Issa-Bambara)..
[351]

The presence of the city is also reflected in the equip-
S ment used by the rural people. The furniture is always sum-
369 mary, but more and more the iron bed is replacing the lat-
352 tice of wood or the mat put on the ground itself. A mattress,
[513] a military blanket, and commonly a mosquito net of a very light fabric complete this relative comfort. Often a little table of unpainted wood, a chair made of old boxes, a bit
S of mirror hung on the wall, and sometimes an impressive
[353] number of photographs, or, lacking them, pages cut out of an illustrated magazine pasted to the walls, give a special stamp to this interior, which is no longer typically rural. Sometimes one even has the surprise of encountering in these modest interiors a wardrobe and a little buffet, which adorn, the more since they are not utilized, the room of a privileged native. But this comfort is an exception.

S The calabash, which is the very foundation of the
369 kitchen utensils, is still commonly utilized for household
415 tasks and for the common meals. Nevertheless the cast-iron or aluminum saucepan is no longer a luxury; the glass and above all the bottle are in common use.

S The clothing, too, has been modified. The loincloth
369 in bright colors, laboriously woven by the Toucouleur
291 /Tukolor/ weaver, durable but expensive, has become a
177 luxury. Imported printed cloth of moderate price has sup-
planted it everywhere. The white robe with embroidery has
S become the festive garment par excellence; the shorts, the
[292] trousers, and the jacket, often furnished by the European, are now the clothes utilized for work.

/425 cont./

*511 reach it, by ignoring the tradition that one should have new
291 clothing for the celebration of Tabaski. Some expenses seem
[292] slightly exaggerated. The head of family No. 11, who dresses
[796] very modestly himself, each year presents a sumptuous new gown to his wife, who moreover demands it, although she can rarely wear it. The 8,000 francs for No. 1, on the contrary, are justified by the size of his restricted family: seven persons.

Nevertheless it is surely possible to reduce these expenses.
[183] But opinion requires that one have new clothing to show at times, and it is difficult to pass unnoticed in an African city of average size.

*511 After this threshold of 15,000 francs of monthly income, we encounter figures for impressive expenses. No. 27 devotes as much as 48,000 francs to his clothing. No. 30, 65,000 francs, the same as No. 36. From No. 34 on, all exceed 40,000 francs per year. For some, that may be justified by the size of the family; No. 36 has 15 persons under his care, for whom practically all of this is necessary. The restricted family alone of No. 40 contains 15 persons; that of No. 42, 11. For the others we could only verify the facts, leaving to the psychologists and sociologists the task of explaining them; No. 34 earns 25,000 francs per month and devotes 65,000 francs to the clothing of four persons, 22.5% of his income. This budget nevertheless has a surplus, but only of 3.7%, in the midst of a series where they are much greater. We now have the explanation for it.

/426/ We have grouped under the rubric "Equipment" (Table XIV) dissimilar elements which have the common character of being of some utility and, if not purchased once and for all, at least not needing to be renewed for a rather long period, for example, furniture, kitchen equipment, bedding, etc. . . . The sums that are devoted to them are generally of little importance. The purchase of a Madagascar stove or of some glasses, however, is a heavy burden on an income below 10,000 francs. These things are generally not purchased on
[452] credit.

[352] The piece of furniture that we found most often in our

/426 cont./

*511 352 lists is the bed (1). In nearly all of the African lodgings we

1. The 13.3% of the cultivator, No. 32, arose from the purchase of a cart and a horse.

find at least a bed, but there is rarely one for everyone. And [369] to sleep in a bed has become the best proof that one can give of his acclimatization to the city.

If the income is higher, one may be able to buy more important pieces of furniture. Then, in the order of their urgency, the armchairs, the rugs, and then the tables and wardrobes appear.

*511 Then we come to the rubric "Exceptional Expenses," those for which no absolute necessity is felt. Moreover they are rarer at the top of the table, only three, and then they multiply (Table XIV).

[405] The first thing that we find here is the watch or the alarm [301] clock, closely followed by the jewelry of the wife or wives. [493] There follow, but only in the highest incomes, the bicycle, [207] or, depending on the possibilities, the bicycle with a motor [301] on it or the motorcycle, then the battery radio. There is nothing very original in all this, and, except perhaps for the importance given to the jewelry of the women, we would find similar pretensions among European families having equivalent incomes.

*511 794 [791] In the last table (Table XV)[1] we have grouped a series of expenses that have a common origin, the religion of the families investigated, all Moslems except one. Two Moslem holidays are involved, Tabaski and Korité, religious assessments, /427/ /Table XIV appears here/ /428/ offerings to the marabouts, and, finally, expenses arising from sending children to the Koranic school.

*511 796 For Tabaski, each family slaughters a sheep. There

[1] [See cat 116, pp 69-71. ANALYST]

/191 cont./

511 limit of reasonable occupancy has been passed when one
362 figures an average of more than two persons per room. Thus at the left of this line are the households which do not exceed this relation of one room for two persons, at the right those for whom occupancy becomes crowded. Now let us add all the figures at the right of the line of separation, and let us refer this total of "crowded" homes in each table to the general total. One finds that this result, which one may call the "index of occupancy," is much higher in the districts
162 than in the quarters: 26.4% as against 45.2%. This phenome-
592 non indicates that the families are much more /192/ /Table
511 25 appears here/ numerous in the districts. It is possible to
362 verify this in two ways: first, by comparing the average number of persons per household, which gives 7.43 as against 4.86; or else by constructing from the preceding tables the histogram of the various families in percentages. One then finds that in the first case the median runs between seven and eight persons, and in the second between four and five; in other words, that 4[illegible]% of the homes in the districts have at least eight persons, while in the quarters one counts only 47% of the homes with five or more persons.

511 The same tendency is shown in the matter of the rela-
352 tion of the furnishings to the number of persons. We have therefore drawn up a table identical to the preceding one and substituted the number of beds for the number of rooms, for it is the bed that constitutes the principal article of furniture. Obviously the data obtained do not have the same value, since it has not been possible /193/ /Table 26 appears here/ to distinguish the various kinds of beds: beds in one or two places, wooden or metal springs. Nevertheless, it is shown that the ratio of the number of persons to the number of beds is higher in the districts than in the quarters. The total result is the following: in the former 47, in the latter 38 beds per 100 persons. One finds only five or six instances where the bed is nothing but a simple mat thrown on the beaten earth in the huts of the quarters.

S
SR /379 cont. /
369 and at Diakhaté where the hut of straw or purely of mud
[342] prevails. Could it be that the occupation of mason to which
W some None seem to devote themselves is a factor in this
[342] modernization of their settlements?

SR A certain "coquetry" absent in the bush villages leads
[463] some autochthones to lay out a little flower garden near their
S hut (Tiali, Keur-Issa-Bambara)..
[351]

The presence of the city is also reflected in the equip-
S ment used by the rural people. The furniture is always sum-
369 mary, but more and more the iron bed is replacing the lat-
352 tice of wood or the mat put on the ground itself. A mattress,
[513] a military blanket, and commonly a mosquito net of a very light fabric complete this relative comfort. Often a little table of unpainted wood, a chair made of old boxes, a bit
S of mirror hung on the wall, and sometimes an impressive
[353] number of photographs, or, lacking them, pages cut out of an illustrated magazine pasted to the walls, give a special stamp to this interior, which is no longer typically rural. Sometimes one even has the surprise of encountering in these modest interiors a wardrobe and a little buffet, which adorn, the more since they are not utilized, the room of a privileged native. But this comfort is an exception.

S The calabash, which is the very foundation of the
369 kitchen utensils, is still commonly utilized for household
415 tasks and for the common meals. Nevertheless the cast-iron or aluminum saucepan is no longer a luxury; the glass and above all the bottle are in common use.

S The clothing, too, has been modified. The loincloth
369 in bright colors, laboriously woven by the Toucouleur
291 /Tukolor/ weaver, durable but expensive, has become a
177 luxury. Imported printed cloth of moderate price has supplanted it everywhere. The white robe with embroidery has
S become the festive garment par excellence; the shorts, the
[292] trousers, and the jacket, often furnished by the European, are now the clothes utilized for work.

/88 cont./

369 bar, and sometimes its cinema and its swimming pool; /89/
563 they form a small city that is self-sufficient. The officers
573 of the administration by their very functions seem to have more extensive relations in the different milieus.

Among the merchants and artisans, the problem is different because of the very stability of their work and the length of their stay. In this commercial and artisan milieu one could define three very distinct "groupings": the "old ones" who have lived in Thiès for several decades; the "newcomers" from after the war; the Levantine-Moroccan grouping.

The first are not very numerous: they live in their old factorerie, which, in spite of recently added arrangements, [191] preserves something old-fashioned about it. They are able to talk to the native in his own language. Their life, while it has become more comfortable, is lived modestly; they go out little and entertain only among themselves. Every two [484] or three years they take a few months' rest in France during the season of cultivation in Senegal. As a result, their life is quite withdrawn.

The second group, made up of recent emigrants, is entirely different. It primarily contains bachelors or young married people more or less in love with adventure perhaps, but above all seeking a broader existence. They generally [427] live in one or two rooms rented from a Levantine or Moroccan. [265] Since it is difficult for them to cook at home, the restaurant provides for them. In general they adopt a careless attitude, [484] are restless, and speak loudly; their first savings are intended [493] for the purchase of a motorcycle or a small car which will enable them to escape from the city. Moreover, they are per- [546] sistent spectators at the four local cinemas, which have a new program every day.

The group of Levantines is different from the two preceding ones; their life is spent between their shop and their [484] apartment. Rare changes take them to Dakar on business. [353] Their interior is comfortable, arranged according to Oriental taste; they love vivid colors and pile up cushions. They [484] rarely go back to their country of origin; some of them have

/421 cont./

*511 said, it is the best stimulant to counteract the effects of
[276] undernourishment.

There are three categories of "routine" expenses, those that we noted from day to day, which we still have to mention. They hold our attention less, because in a way they are obligatory. They are those relating to fuel, illumination, and the upkeep of clothing, laundry (Table XII).

[372] The most important one, in terms of the sums that it is necessary to devote to it, is fuel: wood and charcoal. It ordinarily represents 6 to 7% of the small incomes, then becomes smaller, decreasing as the income increases.

[354] By contrast, the percentage of the expenses devoted to illumination, much less important, does not show any great variation from one income to another, because there are various means of illumination, from the candle to the oil and electric lamps, not forgetting the battery lamp. The more modern the illumination is, the more onerous it becomes. It is modern to the degree that the incomes increase, just as a more comfortable dwelling, where there is a greater number of rooms to illuminate, corresponds to the increase in incomes.

As for the expenses devoted to the laundry of the family linen, they are proportional to the number of persons making up this family. Sometimes the portage expenses for the water,
[271] which is also used in the kitchen, are added to them. Otherwise it would not be necessary to include the column "Water" in Table XII.

This concludes the survey of the principal routine expenses of our 43 families. For nearly half of them, totaling the percentages in proportion to the incomes obtained, we reach or exceed the figure 100. Nevertheless it is not enough to be fed and to have one's linen washed. Other expenses will have to figure, little or much, in the budget of these families. This is when the deficits are going to increase in very great proportions.

/189 cont./

351 there again the small one-room structures of wood or straw are an exception to the rule and are distributed at random over the concession.

Each owner or tenant likes very much to see his parcel clearly delimited, and the wall is the general rule. But its forms are very different, and this in one and the same parcel, ranging from the house itself or a high wall of durable material to a line of pickets running along a simple heap of rubble. In any case, the parcels that are not completely enclosed, with merely an opening on the street, are rare.

343 What else does one find within the parcel or in the
351 structures serving as dwellings? Two things: a little hovel sheltering the Madagascan stove and serving as kitchen, and then, in a corner of the parcel, an enclosure surrounded by
[783] secco, with a kettle containing the water needed for ablutions, which gives off a characteristic ammoniacal odor, yet not enough to inconvenience the inhabitants.

362 Let us complete this description with the table of the
511 number of buildings, shown according to the number of rooms
342 and the material used. /Table 24 appears here./

More than 50% of the wooden structures (113 out of 206) have only one or two rooms, that is, fall into the first category. Thus the whole habitat does not show a very high standard of living.

511 /190/ This is still more true if one now considers the
364 equipment of the huts. 228 homes out of 258, nearly 90 %,
●354 have neither water, electricity, nor w.c. in the concession;
312 26 have electricity only; one has a w.c. without running water or electricity, one likewise has a w.c. plus electricity (in these two cases the w.c. consists of a septic pit dug into the sand in one corner of the parcel by the person concerned under the control of the Service d'hygiene). One has water and electricity. Ten per cent of the homes are thus lighted with electricity, and the remainder with kerosene, which is very few in a city where, except in the very last quarters, it is possible to have a meter installed in each parcel.

/190 cont./

511 Nevertheless, ingenuity and mutual helpfulness make up for
207 the poverty of the equipment, and if one comes across well over 10% of owners of radio sets, it is because in a number of cases the owner attaches his radio to the current which comes into the house of his immediate -- or distant -- neighbor.

364 A very serious inconvenience, as much from the point of
514 view of hygiene as from the point of view of comfort, results from the total absence of sanitary equipment. Without doubt, an enclosure on the parcel has its particular spot, but this little corner cannot serve everyone, and for those who are on the edge of the agglomeration it is the bush which serves as a comfort station; for the others whose parcel is located far from the outskirts it is the vacant land within Pikine. This state of affairs is unfortunate for many reasons: first of all, for a good many inhabitants it is a veritable expedition, in a word, to go to the toilet; one can imagine what this means for the old people or for the sick. Besides, it is unhealthy, and to get an idea of this it will suffice to go out one winter evening after a tornado and breathe this nauseous odor which the wind blows from the vacant land over the rest of the agglomeration (1).

[515] [653] 1. At the beginning of 1961 the public authorities undertook the construction of several groups of "showers" in 12 places. One can only wish for the extension of the anticipated program and its rapid completion.

511 In the districts, while all are not the owners of a
364 septic tank, the situation is better. Only 12% of the homes
354 are counted as not having either water, electricity, or w.c.,
312 12% have electricity in addition to w.c. without a water line in the concession, 21% have water and electricity, and the remainder, some 34%, have complete modern equipment.
[331] It should also be noted that the Office de l'Habitat no longer builds structures without a septic tank in its subdivisions.

/430 cont./

*511 871

No. 31: 0.5%	No. 41: 4.4%
No. 38: 0.5%	No. 42: 0.5%
No. 39: 0.6%	No. 43: 5.6%
No. 40: 2.4%	

These percentages do not decrease. The explanation is to be seen in the fact that only families with high incomes send all of their children to school, and that, on the other hand, they often prefer, even Moslems, to send them to Catholic school.

*511 794 In three cases the family heads pointed out to us that in one year they were faced with the expenses occasioned by a baptism (which also requires a sheep). For No. 19 the cost represented 11.5% of the income, but only 6.3% and 3.4% for Nos. 26 and 31.

*511 593 602 But the heaviest familial obligation for many is the necessity of sending sums of money to their relatives who are in difficulties. For example, No. 3 sent to a brother a sum representing 2.5% of his income; No. 11, at two times, 4.4%; No. 24, 0.9%. Finally, No. 43 sends 8.2% of his income each month to his family and to that of his wife.

*511 595 Another familial obligation, this one desired: Nos. 18, 35, 38, 40, and 41 actually have two or three households, because they preferred not having all of their wives live together, a whim that comes to, respectively, 18.1%, 6.1%, 10%, 10.6% of their incomes. (The budget of No. 18 has a deficit of 15%.)

*511 357 Thirteen families employ one or several domestic workers. Moreover, all of them are located below the central income. Here is the portion of their budget that is devoted to this:

No. 24: 6.6%	No. 35: 3.7%
No. 26: 2.2%	No. 37: 3.8%
No. 27: 6.1%	No. 38: 2%
No. 28: 1.5%	No. 40: 3%
No. 30: 4.1%	No. 42: 1.7
No. 31: 4%	No. 43: 11.1%
No. 34: 4.3%	

/24 cont./

369x
b) These simplified data call for some commentary. 592
What is the significance of the sometimes important differences 565
that we affirm between the situations that prevail in the dif- 594
ferent strata?

The high proportion, among the farmers, of households that coincide with the restricted family -- a proportion clearly higher than the average -- is explained by the fact that we [241] are dealing more with market-gardeners than with farmers of the traditional type (as are found in the suburban villages). In any case, the problem has not been studied for a sufficient number of cases for us to draw definitive conclusions here.

/25/ Besides this category, for which we lack certain explanatory factors, only two others noticeably exceed the average established for the whole population: on the one hand, the superior employees and functionaries; on the other hand, members of the teaching profession, doctors, etc. The impor- [177] tant factor here is the degree of Westernization (1). [871]

1. The only categories whose members have all been to the French school.

It is only on this level that we have ascertained facts not only on the topological dispersion of the group of relatives, but also on the very clear loosening of the obligations flowing from kinship ties. Let us add that in reality the number of restricted families is much more important. In the majority of house- [357] holds which include one person in addition to the restricted family, this person is a domestic lodging with the family (who is sometimes a distant relative). The change in structure is therefore clearer than it would seem in view of the raw figures.

c) This first general view shows, as in other domains -- 369x
we shall see this soon for the structure of even the restricted 565
family -- that the characteristics of the socio-occupational

/105 cont./

465 Domestic work is rare and costly. A cook is paid be-
357 tween 200 and 500 francs a month, a houseboy from 100 to 200 francs. These rates are similar to the ones prevailing in Dakar.

463 The native, moreover, is attracted to the cities only
465 by the high wages. Competition does not come into play, as in Europe. There are only rare specialists or artisans. As
[241] for the laborer, most often he prefers to work his field in the countryside or to hire himself out as an agricultural worker for a native employer who will feed him and leave to him a part of the harvest.

In an agricultural region such as Sine-Saloum, the native is primarily a cultivator.

244 Navétanes. Each year at the time of groundnut culti-
166 vation, Sine-Saloum gets many native cultivators coming
167 from the east and south (Sudan, Portuguese Guinea, Casamance, Upper Gambia, and even Guineans from Fouta-Djallon).

These immigrants are called "navétanes," from the word "navet," which means "rainy season," because these foreigners arrive shortly before the first storms and leave as soon as they have sold their harvest.

About 10,000 to 15,000 of them come each year. A
244 local custom called "Lâdyino" governs the relations between the
466 foreigner and his employer.

[465] This is a verbal agreement according to which the employer assures his co-covenanter food and lodgings for the period of the work and in addition loans him a particular field.

/106/ The navétane works for his employer every morning, except Monday and Thursday. The rest of the time is left to him for his personal crops. The navétane gets seeds from his landlord.

His work consists of the preparation of the field (lougan), sowing, and weeding.

After the harvest has been gathered, the landlord stops feeding him.

At the time of his departure, the navétane must reim-
[465] burse his employer for the cost of his food, which is fixed by

/155/

491 [131] At kilometer 13 on the Dakar-Rufisque highway and branching off at a right angle to the latter there is a side road with a sign bearing the notice: Dagoudane-Pikine. Two hundred meters farther on, just beyond the church on the left, the road forks, and the right branch, after passing between two gas stations, in turn divides in two. These three roads, after describing several more or less sinuous meanders, take a northwest direction and traverse the agglomeration from end to end, the east road and the west road being symmetrical in relation to the center one.

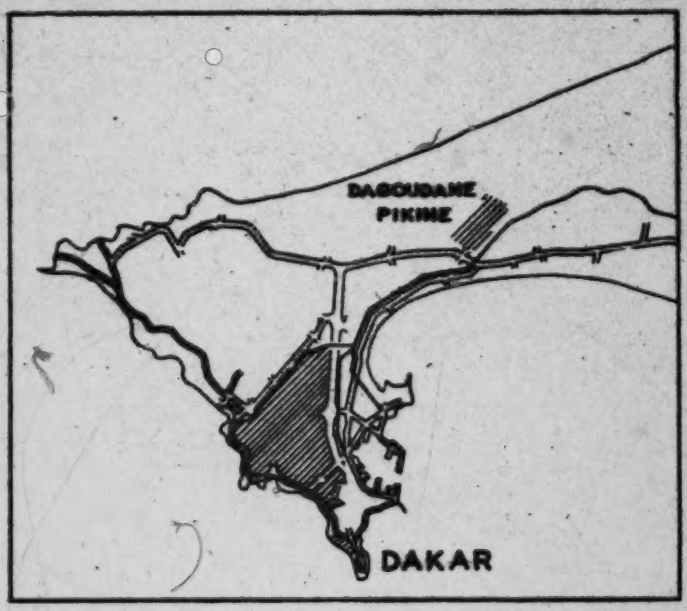
133 361 Viewed from an airplane, the agglomeration has, in general, the shape of a large rectangle laid flat, its length measuring two kilometers and the median width 1,240 meters. This impression of flatness is deceptive, for the ground is slightly hilly, and the 2 CV which ventures into the cross streets may have the disagreeable experience of not being able to climb back up certain sandy slopes. Very schematically the terrain appears thus: the two center streets and the west one extend along the summit of one dune, with a depression between the two. To the west of the west street, the land descends slightly and then rises again before dropping down to the Niayes. The east street, on the contrary, is located halfway up the slope of a dune, the summit of which runs along the center street and is separated from the latter by a depression which sinks down more and more as one turns northward. Finally, to the east, the land rises again slightly before the railway which skirts Pikine and bounds it on the east. On the north it is -- or rather was, for the land was already divided into lots in 1960, the date of the investigation -- the route of the Niayes which forms the line of demarcation, and on the west the Niayes themselves. /156/ On the south, except for the sheds of the ICOTAF in the eastern part, there is no clear boundary.

●36 For the visitor who views the agglomeration for the first time, Pikine leaves a contradictory impression: first, of uniformity and monotony. It is undoubtedly easy to orient

/156 cont./

36 oneself once one has grasped the principle of the cutting up of the city into four sections by the three axes of roads, just as it is easy to align the principal landmarks on each of the two extreme axes: on the west road the Chavanel house opposite the first market, then the commissariat, the mosque,

102
131
491
361



36 and on the left, halfway, the / map appears here/ big market with, at the end, the block that houses the cinema El-Karim and a business; on the east road, at the right, the business of the Syrian, then, after the turns, the district /cité/ named after the ICOTAF because it is adjacent to the lands occupied by the factory, a long space as yet unoccupied, and finally, on the left, first the cinema El-Hilal, and, some 200 meters beyond, the second district named after the Pépinière. On the center road, by contrast, there is no notable building, but simply, towards the middle, two large empty spaces on both sides of the road, with a sports field on the right. But if one

/156 cont./

36 leaves the principal streets, the landmarks disappear, /157/ all the parcels resemble one another, crossroads at angles succeed crossroads, wooden structures are lined up one after the other, different and yet similar. The contrast is therefore great between Pikine and the so-called irregular quarters of Dakar, Wakhinane or Baye Gayndé. One is easily lost in both cases; in the second, it is because of the disordered jumble of lanes that wind in every direction, whereas in the first it is because of the geometrical regularity of the streets and the almost perfect alignment of enclosures and walls, which finally eliminate all originality and every distinctive sign. It is impossible, on the other hand, to compare Pikine with the Médina or the new quarters. In the latter, the streets are paved, sometimes lighted, electricity is common in the windows of the houses, and the buildings of durable material far outweigh the wooden huts. In the former, on the contrary, only the broad axes are tarred, while elsewhere sand is king, and although here and there one finds some durable buildings outside the two districts, the great majority of the huts are of wood, sometimes of straw. Village, shantytown, or city? One does not know how to answer this question. Moreover, another contrast, to which reference has already been made, complicates it: the difference which distinguishes the two districts of the ICOTAF and the Pépinière, on the one hand, from the other quarters of Pikine on the other. The former are actually comparable to Ouagouniaye or Bopp, and therefore this duality of habitat, and consequently of living conditions, leads to a modification of the initial question: Is Pikine not made up of a city and a village? Is not the unity of the Pikine agglomeration merely artificial?

175 369 423 One is more inclined to believe this if one considers the origin and history of the district. Before 1952 Pikine did not exist, and instead the bush stretched out, with monkeys, jackals, etc. Only this bush belonged to the state, and it [166] was on these government lands that it was decided to relocate the inhabitants of the irregular quarters who had to be expelled from Dakar, in order to realize the planned works of urbanization.

18: Savonnet--19 E-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS37 Senegal

/82/
36
102
[redacted]
496
712

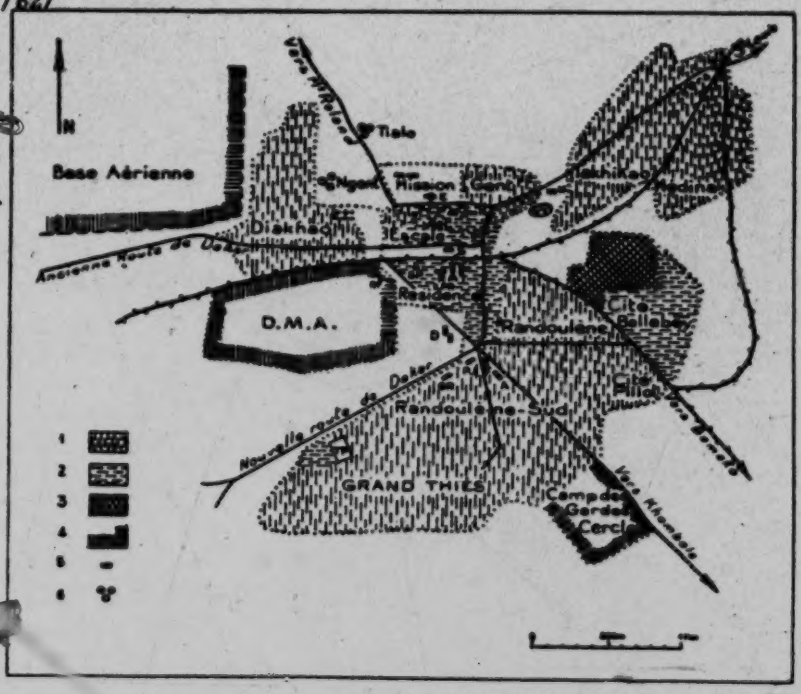


Fig. 4. Thies in 1954.

1. Residential zone of Africans; 2. Residential zone of Europeans; 3. Industrial zone; 4. Military bases;5. Administrative and religious buildings; 5. Village. E-- Catholic church; U-- Mosque; V-- Posts; C-- College; L-- Police; S-- Station; N-- Gendarmery; P-- Primary school; RF-- Faidherbe Redoubt; SP-- Société de Prévoyance /Welfare Society/; M-- Town Hall. T-- Treasury; R-- Residence of the Commander of the Circle; Pr-- Prison; D-- Dispensary; TP-- Public Works; PJ-- Palace of Justice; GR-- Bus station; P-- Collector's office. A-- Firemen.

20: Seck--19 U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 382-383/

36
102
491
496
504
712
743

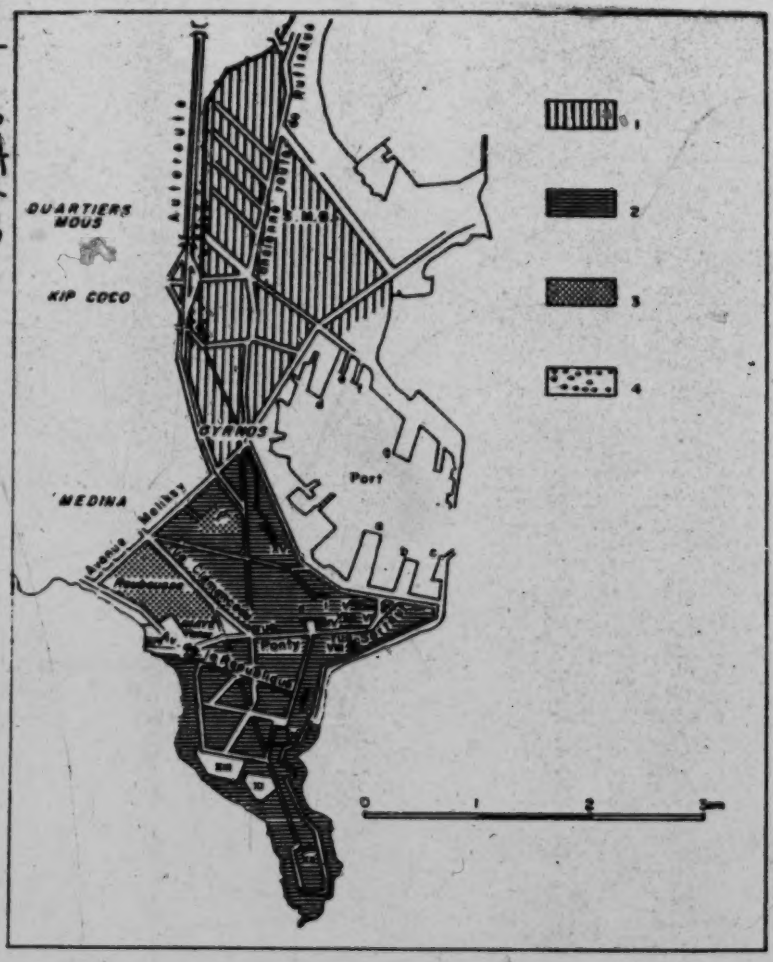


Fig. 3. Dakar. The port and the industrial zone. -- 1. The industrial zone; 2. the very urbanized sections; 3. low quarters; 4. irregular quarters.

(Caption Continued on following page.)

/Fig. 3 Caption cont./

36
102
491
496
504
712
743

a-g. The piers. -- I. Town Hall. -- II. Chambre de Commerce. -- III. Sandaga Market (Ponty-Clemenceau crossroads). --, IV. Former Palace of Justice. -- V. General Postoffice. -- VI. Treasury. -- VII. Kermel Market. -- VIII. Military Circle. -- IX. Residence of the President of the Republic. -- X. Military Hospital. -- XI. African Hospital. -- XII. Palace of Justice. -- XIII. Camp Bornis. -- XIV. Camp Galliéni. -- XV. Station.

369
563
162

/383 cont./ one another in Dakar are Lébou, Ouolof /Wolof/, Toucouleur /Tukolor/, Sérère /Serer/, Sarakolé, Diola, Socé, etc., who are Senegalese, but there are also Mauritanians, Sudanese, Voltaics, Guineans, Ivorians /persons from the Ivory Coast/, Dahomeans, Cape Verdeans, Lebano-Syrians, French, etc. The Lébou, who are the original population of Dakar, today represent scarcely one-tenth of the population, exceeded in number by the Oulof, the Toucouleur (20), and even by the 30,000 non-Africans,

[113]

20. A. Diop, "L'immigration toucouleur à Dakar (enquête /investigation/ 1958-1959)," I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 1. The author, citing an investigation by the M.I.S.O.E.S., gives the figure of 31,000 Toucouleur in 1959.

among whom the French constitute a great majority of close to 23,000 persons in residence. This character of Dakar as a [166] region of call is illustrated first by the fact that only a little more than one-third of the population was born there, /384/ and then by the quite obvious inequality between the number of men and that of women. Before the war, among the Europeans, there were 65% men as against 25% women and 10% [744] children (21). Today the systematic destruction of the

21. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar," op. cit., p. 630.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

near the Senegal river, the Fulani in the centre of the colony, and the Mandingos in the east of it. 162 [563]

The District of Dakar

The 66 square miles of the District of Dakar contain 126,929 persons; but the figures for density per square mile mean even less than elsewhere, since most of the inhabitants live in the town itself.

In 1937 there were 118,459 natives and 8,470 Europeans, of whom 6,728 were French. This was about a quarter of the total of Europeans in the whole Federation. [563]

Inland Towns

Bakel (14° 52′; 12° 24′ W.) Population, 2,103. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. Daily market. 36 [131] [162]

Bakel is on the left bank of the Senegal (Plate 83) where the river passes between cliffs some 17 miles below the entrance of the Falémé. It is a local market for gum, ground-nuts, grain, gold dust, hides, and ostrich feathers. Most of the inhabitants are Moslems. [438] [162]

By river it is 531 miles from St. Louis and 84 miles from Kayes, and there is a fortnightly steamer service when the water permits. By colonial road Bakel is 386 miles from St. Louis, 93 miles from Matam, and 32 miles from Kidira. A bus service connects all these places. The river can be crossed by ferry, and from the Mauritanian bank a poor track leads to Sélibaby (32 miles). [487] [505] [491] [494]

Bambey (14° 40′; 16° 25′ W.). Altitude, 59 feet. Population, 4,209. Mixed Commune. Dispensary. Police station. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Garage. Agricultural experimental station. Daily market. [131] [162] [654]

Set in the midst of an area of dense population, Bambey is a prosperous market town. The main product of the locality is ground-nuts, and large quantities of these are put on the train each year. They also form the chief speciality of the agricultural experimental station. [438] [654]

Communications. By railway Bambey is 77 miles from Dakar, 33½ miles from Thiès, 17 miles from Diourbel, and 319 miles from Kidira. It is on the intercolonial road, being 49 miles from Thiès and 16 miles from Diourbel. A colonial road goes almost due south to Fatik (27 miles). There is a daily bus service (p. 473) to Fatik, Foundiougne, and Kaolack. [491] [494]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

36 [131] [162] BIGNONA (12° 49′; 16° 16′ W.). Altitude, *c.* 60 feet. Population, 1,611. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Military post. Emergency landing-ground. Garage.

Bignona stands on the left bank of a small and marshy tributary of the Casamance. Canoes carry a certain amount of merchandise, as also do lorries. [438] The principal items of trade are ground-nuts, palm kernels, wax, rice, and fruit. [162] Most of the native inhabitants are Dioulas.

Colonial roads lead south to the Casamance opposite Ziguinchor (16 miles), east to Sedhiou (58 miles) and Kolda (120 miles), and north-west to Diouloulou (35 miles) and the frontier of the Gambia (46 miles). [491] There are also several minor roads and tracks.

[131] [162] DAGANA (16° 27′; 15° 34′ W.). Altitude, 13 feet. Population, *c.* 3,500. District headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Race-course.

[439] Dagana is on the left bank of the Senegal, and its chief economic function is as a market for Mauritanian gum. This is shipped down river to St. Louis, 116 miles away. [487] There is also connexion upstream to Podor (61 miles), Bakel (403 miles), and Kayes (487 miles).

By colonial road Dagana is 86 miles from St. Louis and 332 miles from Kidira. [491] It is on the bus service (p. 474) between these two places. [494] Southwards another colonial road leads across sparsely inhabited country to Dahra (89 miles) and Diourbel (162 miles). From the opposite bank of the Senegal a track goes to Mederdra, some 30 miles distant.

[131] [162] DIOURBEL (14° 39′; 16° 10′ W.). Altitude, 39 feet. Population, 15,442. Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Police headquarters. Emergency landing-ground. Power station. Hotel. Garage. Daily market.

This flourishing town lies across the little Sine river in the middle of a well-cultivated shallow valley. To the north the ground rises somewhat. [438] Diourbel owes its prosperity to ground-nuts, and 100,000 tons of them pass through the town every year. [258] There are several factories for the shelling of the nuts and for the expression of their oil. Besides this, Diourbel is the headquarters of the province of Baol and a route centre. [162] Its inhabitants are mainly Moslems, who have a large and important mosque. [87] There is also a special school for sons of chiefs.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

The electric power station has a gas-engine plant that burns the residue from ground-nut presses. 36 [377]

Communications. Diourbel is the railway junction for Routes 3 and 4. By the former it is 50½ miles from Thiès and 302 miles from Kidira, and by the latter it is 31 miles from Touba. The intercolonial road leads westwards to Thiès (65 miles) and Dakar (109 miles) and south-eastwards to Kaolack (40 miles), Tambacounda (230 miles), and Nayes (351 miles). Colonial roads go north-eastwards to Dahra (73 miles) and Dagana (162 miles) and south-westwards to Fatik (25 miles) and Kaolack (53 miles). [496] [491]

LOUGA (15° 37′; 16° 16′ W.). Altitude, 128 feet. Population, 4,390. Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Regional School. Power station. Garage. Race-course. Agricultural experimental station and farm school. Daily market. [131] [162] [654]

Louga is the scene of the most important cattle market in the whole colony. It is this that has made it a route centre. Other local products are ground-nuts, gum, and millet. Administratively, Louga is the headquarters of the province of the same name and also a military headquarters. [438]

Electricity is supplied by an oil-driven plant. [377]

Communications. Louga stands at the junction of railway routes 1 and 2, being 119 miles from Dakar, 44 miles from St. Louis, and 81 miles from Linguéré. It is on the intercolonial road from Dakar (121 miles) to St. Louis (47 miles). A colonial road runs eastwards across the colony to Dahra (59 miles), Linguéré (84 miles), and Matam (242 miles). There are also minor roads and tracks. [496] [491]

PODOR (16° 35′; 15° 02′ W.). Population, 3,168. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. Daily market. [131] [162]

This riverside town is chiefly important for gum arabic. The gum is brought by the Arabs, sold in the market, and shipped down the Senegal to St. Louis. [439]

Communications. By river Podor is 178 miles from St. Louis and 437 miles from Kayes. Throughout the year the Messageries Africaines run a fortnightly service to and from St. Louis. From July to January the boats also go upstream as far as Matam (234 miles) and in August and September to Kayes. Podor is on the colonial road, being 135 miles from St. Louis and 288 miles from Nayes. There is a ferry across the river to connect with tracks to such Mauritanian [487] [505] [491]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

36 towns as Boutilimit and Aleg. There is also a track that runs south-
[491] south-westwards to Yang-Yang. For half the year there is a bus
[494] service twice a week to St. Louis in one direction and to Kidira in the other. 1/n

[131] TAMBACOUNDA (13° 45′; 13° 39′ W.). Altitude, 148 feet. Population,
[162] *c.* 4,000. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Hotel. Garage.

On a slight eminence above a marshy tributary of the Sandougou,
[491] Tambacounda is of considerable importance as a route centre. It
[496] is not only a road junction but also the most southerly point in Senegal of the Dakar–Niger railway. Near the town is a sisal
[248] plantation.

The hotel is open only from December to May.

[496] By rail Tambacounda is 285 miles from Dakar, 111 miles from Kidira, and 170½ miles from Kayes. One intercolonial road runs
[491] westwards to Kaolack (188 miles), Thiès (295 miles), and Dakar (339 miles); another north-eastwards to Nayes (121 miles) and Kayes (176 miles); and a third southwards to Diabougou (25 miles) and ultimately to Labé (288 miles). Before the war Tambacounda was
[509] connected to Dakar and Bamako by a weekly air service operated by Air France.

[131] THIÈS (14° 49′; 16° 52′ W.). Altitude, 207 feet. Population, 15,451.
[162] Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Regional School.
[797] Roman Catholic mission. Power station. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops. Cinemas. Daily market.

Since the opening of the railway in 1885 Thiès has grown from a collection of native huts to a large town. The railway workshops
[498] employ many hundreds of men, and the market handles considerable
[438] quantities of ground-nuts. The town has been built on a slope that declines gently east and north-east to a small stream. The old Fort Faidherbe is still standing, and there is a big Roman Catholic church.

Communications. Thiès is a railway junction, being 43½ miles
[496] from Dakar, 119½ miles from St. Louis, and 352½ miles from Kidira.
[491] It is also a meeting-place of intercolonial roads. One of these comes from Dakar (44 miles) and goes on to St. Louis (124 miles), while the other branches east to Kaolack (107 miles), Nayes (416 miles), and Kayes (471 miles). There are several minor roads, notably one going
[494] south to M'Bour. Along this road there is a regular bus service, with two buses each weekday in either direction.

1/n [From The Town of Podor-- Analyst]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

874 In 1927 apprentice courses in woodwork and metalwork were started in St. Louis and Kaolack by the Public Works Department for selected schoolboys between the ages of 13 and 16 years.

871 There is a number of educational institutions in Dakar of a higher grade than primary. These are the responsibility of the Federal Government and have been described in Volume I.

Health

743 Senegal is divided into thirteen medical districts, each of which is intended to be under the supervision of a European medical officer. There are 17 medical stations, each under a native auxiliary. There are also 16 maternity centres and 117 posts visited once a week by a medical officer.

In 1937 Senegal and Dakar had 3 major hospitals and 34 minor hospitals and dispensaries. These provided 394 beds for European patients and 1,805 for native. There were 80 European medical officers, 31 native auxiliaries, 30 midwives, 124 male nurses, and 21 female nurses.

[744] In addition there were four travelling parties (*groupes sanitaires mobiles*). One of these specialized in fighting sleeping-sickness in the Casamance Territory, and the other three were concerned with more general sanitary and prophylactic measures.

The Pasteur Institute at Dakar, a federal concern, is justly famous. [747] Some medical work is done by missionaries. Unofficial committees of the Croix-Rouge are concerned with infant welfare at Dakar, Diourbel, St. Louis, and Tivaouane.

[652] In 1937 Senegal voted 12,000,000 francs for medical services and Dakar 11,000,000 francs.

10. PORTS

36 [131] [162] [489] [743] [712] [648] [654] [697]

St. Louis (16° 01′; 16° 30′ W.). Population, 30,586, including 1,231 Europeans. Colonial capital of Senegal and of Mauritania. Full Commune. Headquarters of the province of Bas Sénégal. Custom-house. Law courts. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital and dispensary. Army headquarters and barracks. Police headquarters. Belgian Consulate. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Lycée Faidherbe. École des Fils des Chefs et des Interprètes. Higher Primary and Technical Schools. Protestant and Roman Catholic missions. Bank of West Africa. Power station. Prison. Hotels. Garages. Race-course. Botanical gardens. Experimental plantation. Daily market.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

36
102
491
504
712
133

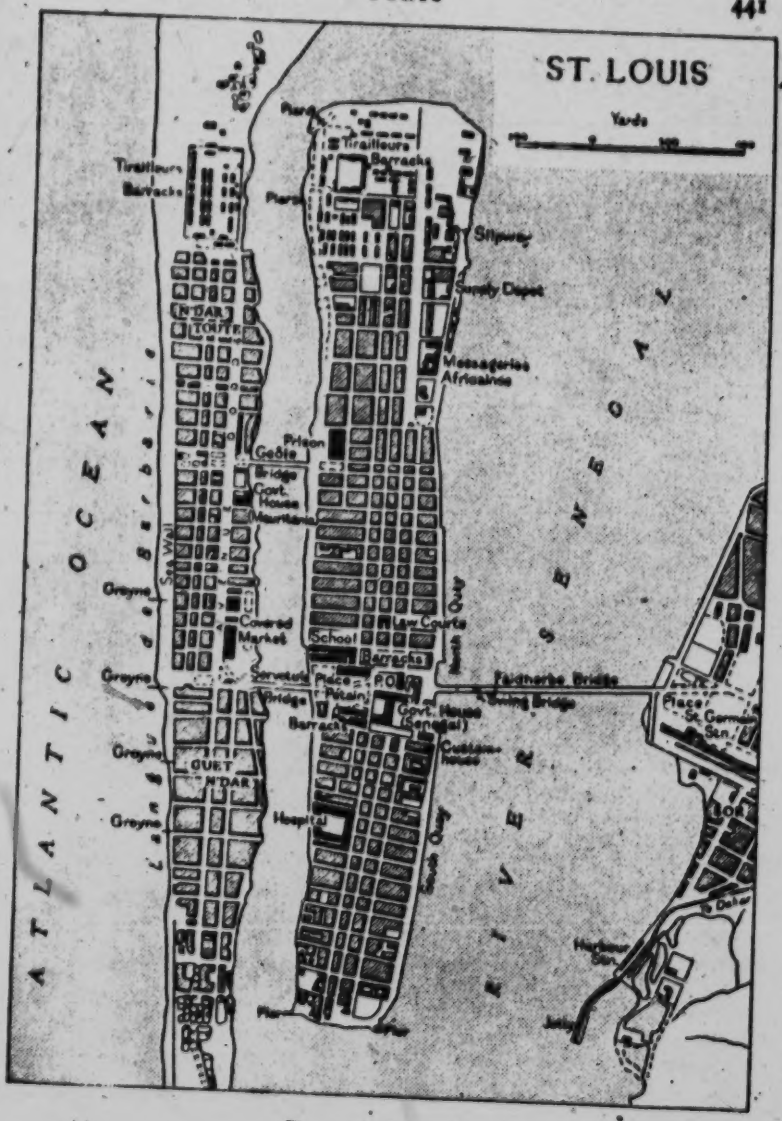


FIG. 53. *St. Louis*

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

[ST. LOUIS]

206 *Wireless.* The wireless station is to the south of Guet N'Dar.

River. Above Faidherbe Bridge the river is closed to all vessels not 505 flying the French flag. Boats drawing 10 feet can ascend to Podor all [648] the year round, and in the rainy season they can reach Kayes (Vol. I, p. 367). Table V shows how greatly river traffic on the Senegal has declined in recent years.

TABLE V. *Tonnage of Goods from Kayes*

[497] [494]

	1928	1929	1930	1934	1935
Sent by rail or road	9,543	9,555	11,456	5,269	6,224
Sent by river	2,520	5,815	3,425	313	260

Shipping. There are no sea-going ships calling regularly, but the Messageries Africaines and the Messageries du Sénégal run services up-river.

36 DAKAR (14° 39′; 17° 25′ W.). Population, 80,052, including *c.* 6,000 [131] Europeans. Capital of the Federation and Headquarters of the [162] District of Dakar. Full Commune. Custom-house. Law courts. [489] Chamber of Commerce. Pasteur Institute. Hospitals. Naval base [712] and dockyard. General Headquarters of the army in French West Africa. Police headquarters. British Consulate-General. Belgian, [648] Brazilian, Czechoslovakian, Danish, Eireann, Greek, Italian, Netherlands, Norwegian, Swedish, and Swiss Consulates. Argentine, Finnish, Spanish, and Uruguayan Vice-Consulates. Meteoro- [654] logical station. Airport and seaplane base. Wireless stations. [508] Colleges and schools. Protestant churches. Roman Catholic Vicariate Apostolic of Guinea and Vicariate General. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Crédit Foncier de l'Ouest Africain. Banque Belge de l'Afrique. Power station. [697] Prison. Public library. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops. [498] Cinemas. Race-course. Sports stadium. Botanical gardens. [654] Agricultural experimental station. Daily market.

Dakar (Fig. 54) is approximately 2,600 miles distant from South- 361 ampton, from Cape Town, and from Rio de Janeiro. It is, therefore, well placed for taking a share in the trade of the South Atlantic, and it [433] is small wonder that it has become the third port in the French Empire, being surpassed only by Marseilles and Le Havre. It is, moreover, of the first importance strategically.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[p 445]
36
504
764
206
502
102
743
712
498
133

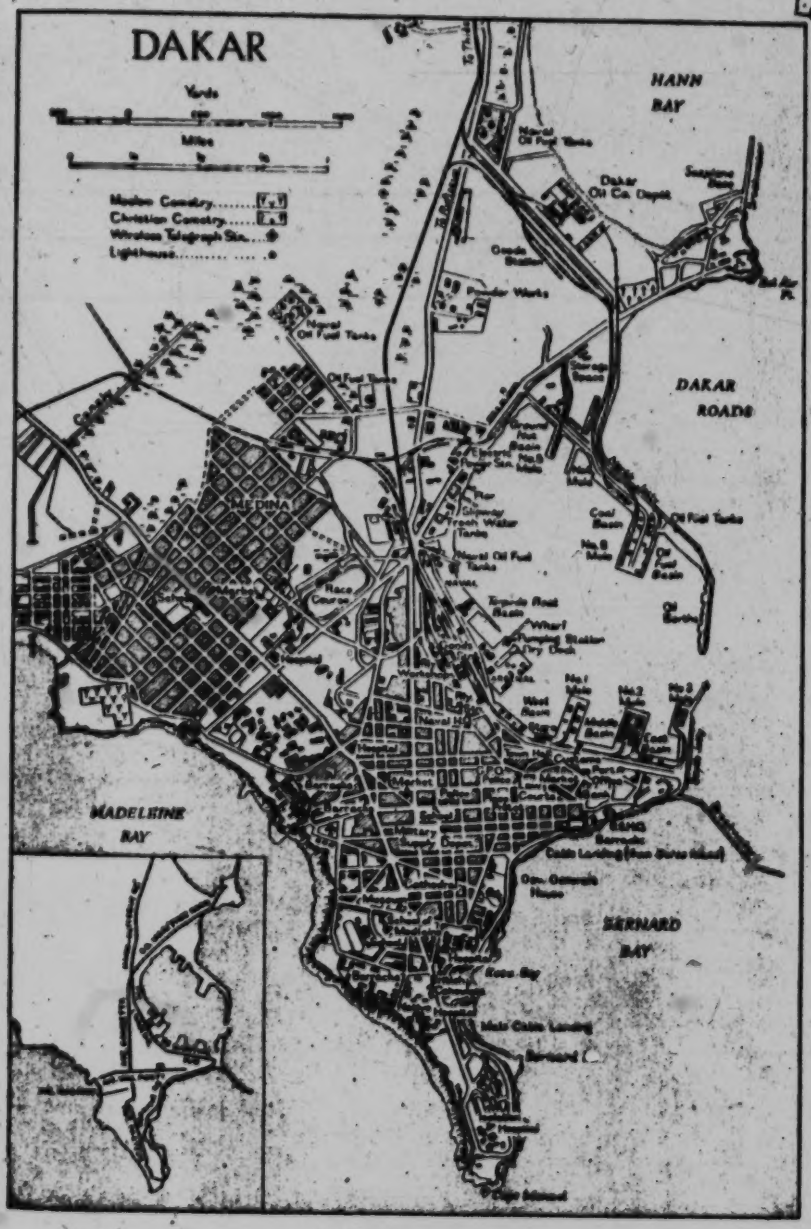


FIG. 54. *Dakar*

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[DAKAR]

route from Paris to Santiago and was also the terminus of local services to Bamako and to St. Louis. The Aéromaritime company used to run flying-boat services to Conakry, Abidjan, Lagos, Douala, and Pointe Noire. 509

Wireless. The broadcasting station is near Madeleines bay, 700 yards north-west of the cathedral. A small station, transmitting to ships, is on Bel Air point. 206

Cable. Dakar is connected by cable to Casablanca, to Brest, to Fernando Noronha (Brazil), and to Conakry. The two latter cables are landed in the south-west of Bernard bay, not far from the Pasteur Institute. There is, however, a telephone cable to Goree island. This is landed on the north-west shore of the same bay.

Shipping. Lines normally serving the port include the following: America West African, Bull, Chargeurs Réunis, Elder Dempster, Fabre, Fraissinet, Gdynia America, Hamburg-Bremen, Holland West Afrika, Italia, Lloyd Triestino, Maurel et Prom, Messageries du Sénégal, Navigazione Generale Italiana, Société Générale des Transports, Société Maritime Belge des Transports, and Société Navale de l'Ouest. 505

Coasting vessels sail regularly for Port Etienne, St. Louis, Kaolack, and Ziguinchor.

GOREE (14° 39′; 17° 23′ W.). Population, 714. Custom-house. Barracks and military hospital. 36 [131] [162] [712]

The rocky island of Goree (Plate 112) has an area of 138 acres. The first Europeans to land on it were the Portuguese in 1445, and since then it has had a chequered history, which has been told elsewhere in these volumes. [175]

Most of the centre of the island is occupied by buildings, and in the south there is the old fort. In the extreme north is a large lime-kiln. [381]

The only source of water is an artesian well in the fort. [312]

Trade. Trade is now limited to the ordinary requirements of the islanders, and traffic to taking them and their goods to and from the mainland. [438]

Harbour. In the north-east of the island there is a little bay where there are three jetties, only one of which (Plate 121) is now in use. The depth at its head is 10 feet. [504]

RUFISQUE (14° 41′; 17° 12′ W.). Population, 19,764, including 180 Europeans. Full Commune. Custom-house. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Power station. Hotel. Garage. [131] [162] [712]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS37

[RUFISQUE]

439 Rufisque was the first port from which ground-nuts were exported, and to-day ground-nuts are still the main article of trade. In the first quarter of 1939 it exported 25,152 tons of them. On the north side
504 of Goree bay, Rufisque can only handle small ships. There is anchorage off shore in 3–7 fathoms, but from July to November heavy swell makes it almost unusable.

633 Since 1937 the town has been in the District of Dakar.

Jetties and Equipment. There are three jetties with alongside depths
504 of at least 9½ feet. Two of these are of iron, one being 603 feet long and 33 feet wide with an extension by a wharf 65 feet long and 52 feet wide. The third is of concrete and is 656 feet long. Decauville tracks connect these jetties to the railway. There is one 5-ton crane and one 2-ton, besides smaller ones. There are 4 tugs and 2 lighters.

Communications

496 *Rail.* By rail Rufisque is 17 miles from Dakar, 26½ miles from Thiès, 146 miles from St. Louis, and 268 miles from Tambacounda.

491 *Road.* The intercolonial road runs from Dakar (15 miles) through to Thiès (29 miles), where it divides. Eight miles beyond Rufisque a colonial road branches off it to go to M'Bour (38 miles), Joal (61 miles), and Fatik (101 miles). Another colonial road goes north-eastwards from the town to Sangalkan (6 miles) and Kayar (17 miles).

36 M'Bour (14° 21′; 16° 57′ W.). Population, *c.* 4,500, including 175
[131] Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-
[162] house. Medical post. Police station.

The town of M'Bour stands at the head of a shallow cove which extends for a mile out to sea as a passage between two reefs. Inside
[504] the cove the water is up to 4½ feet deep, and there is a wharf used by surf-boats. Ships anchor 2½ miles off shore, but heavy swell makes
[439] conditions difficult from June to November. Ground-nuts and millet are exported.

[491] M'Bour is on the colonial road from Rufisque (38 miles) to Joal
[494] (23 miles) and Fatik (63 miles). Several minor roads lead inland, notably one to Thiès, along which there is a bus service twice a day. For half the year there is also a service to Joal.

[131] Joal (14° 09′; 16° 51′ W.). Population, *c.* 900. Custom-house.
[162] Roman Catholic mission.

Joal was founded by the Norman Company in the middle of the
[175] seventeenth century. It was captured by the Dutch in 1677 and by

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[JOAL]

the British 70 years later, and it did not finally become French until 1763. It is on a sandspit in front of a coastal lagoon. Off shore there is a large sandbank, exposed at low tide. 36 [175]

There is a small wharf, but, owing to the difficulty of access, there is very little trade. In 1937, for example, only 4,600 tons of goods were handled and their value was 4,600,000 francs (£36,970). [504] [439]

The colonial road from Fatik (40 miles) to M'Bour (23 miles) and Rufisque (61 miles) runs through the town. There are also minor roads. From November to June there is a bus service to M'Bour and Thiès four days a week. [491] [494]

FOUNDIOUGNE (14° 06′; 16° 29′ W.). Population, 2,734. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-house. Medical post. [131] [162]

Foundiougne is on an island formed by the Saloum, the Djomboss, and their connecting channels. Much of the district is swampy, but the town itself is on a piece of firm ground on the left bank of the Saloum, 33 miles from the sea.

Anchorage in the river is in 3½ fathoms. There are 8 wharves, of which 1 is owned by the municipality. [504]

The principal export is ground-nuts, but in recent years Foundiougne has declined in prosperity. This is owing to the rise of Kaolack, which is better situated on the north bank of the river and which has much better communications. [439] [433]

There is a ferry across the river, and from its far side a rough road leads to Fatik. South of the river there is a colonial road eastwards to Kaolack (32 miles). Along both these roads there is a bus service, daily in the dry season and fortnightly in the wet. [491] [494]

FATIK (14° 18′; 16° 27′ W.). Population, 3,521, including 128 Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Medical post. Police station. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. [131] [162]

At Nonane, on Marigot de Fatik 14½ miles above its junction with the Saloum, is the site of one of the old *escales*. This is the upper limit for boats drawing 10 feet, but smaller craft can ascend a further 7 miles to Fatik, 58 miles from the sea. The town is on the right bank of the river, which is here called the Sine. [505] [487]

Trade is chiefly in ground-nuts. [439]

Colonial roads lead north to Bambey (27 miles), south-east to Kaolack (28 miles), and south-west to Joal (60 miles), and a minor road south to Foundiougne. [491]

The landing-ground is half a mile west of the town.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M837 Senegal MS 37

36 [13] [162]

KAOLACK (14° 07′; 16° 07′ W.). Population, 21,973. Mixed Commune. Headquarters of the province of Sine-Saloum. Custom-house. Chamber of Commerce. Medical post. Police headquarters. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Regional School. Roman Catholic mission. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Hotels. Garages. Race-course.

[439] Kaolack exports more ground-nuts than any other port in the Federation. It is a well-planned town with squares and trees, and it is on the right bank of the Saloum, 71 miles above its mouth, where [487] [505] the river is 100 yards wide. It is the limit of navigation for sea-going ships.

[162] In 1904 Kaolack had only 300 inhabitants, but the development of communications in the neighbourhood has caused it to grow to its present size. The figure given above is for the permanent population only. At the height of the ground-nut season there are an [166] additional 20,000 temporary inhabitants.

Trade

During the first quarter of 1939 Kaolack exported 32,259 tons of [439] ground-nuts (Plate 122), as against 26,832 tons from Dakar. Owing to the bar across the Saloum, however, many ships do not load to their maximum capacity but go on to Dakar to complete their lading. [258] Across the river from the town is a large salt-works.

The Port

On the north bank there are concrete quays with a total length of [504] over 2,000 feet and on the south bank there is a small wharf. At Lyndiane, 9 miles downstream, is a wharf belonging to the firm of Peyrissac et Cie.

Communications

Rail. Kaolack is the terminus of Route 5 to Guinguiné (14 miles), [498] and is therefore 142 miles from Dakar. It is also the terminus of Route 6 to Lyndiane (6½ miles). Both stations are close to the river, and there is a line directly on to the quays.

[491] *Road.* Intercolonial roads lead northward to Gossas (25 miles), Thiès (82 miles), and Dakar (126 miles), eastward to Kaffrine (37 miles) and Tambacounda (188 miles), and south-south-westward to Messira (49 miles) and the frontier of the Gambia (57 miles). The last-named road crosses the Saloum by a bridge. A colonial road goes north-west to Fatik (28 miles), another south-east to Nioro

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[KAOLACK]

(33 miles) and Medina (50 miles), and a third west to Foundiougne (32 miles). 36 [491]

Air. The airfield is 1 mile north-east of the town. [508]

Wireless. The wireless station is in the centre of the town. [206]

Shipping. Boats of the Messageries du Sénégal line call regularly, and the Compagnie de Navigation Paquet maintains a weekly service with Foundiougne, Bathurst, and Dakar. [505]

ZIGUINCHOR (12° 32′; 16° 21′ W.). Population, 6,070. Mixed Commune. Headquarters of the Casamance Territory and of the Province of Ziguinchor. Custom-house. Magistrate's Court. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital and maternity home. Police headquarters. Meteorological station. Emergency landing-ground. Wireless station. Roman Catholic mission. Garages. Daily market. [131] [162] [743]

The first large piece of firm ground upstream from the mouth of the Casamance is nearly 42 miles from the sea, and it is here, on the left bank, that Ziguinchor stands. The depth of the river is 6 fathoms. Jetties have been built at right angles to the waterfront, partly to counteract silting, and ships drawing 15 feet can go alongside them. The quays have a total length of over 3,000 feet and the warehouses a total capacity of some 25,000 tons. There are no cranes, all goods being manhandled. [504]

There is a considerable variety of exports, including ground-nuts, fruit, rice, palm oil, palm kernels, cotton, tobacco, sisal, and hides, but imports are chiefly manufactured goods and building materials. In value of trade Ziguinchor comes between Foundiougne and Rufisque. [439]

Communications

Road. The river is crossed by a ferry, and a colonial road leads north to Bignona (16 miles) and then east to Sedhiou (74 miles) and Kolda (136 miles). Another one goes along the south bank of the Casamance, also to Kolda (130 miles). Minor roads lead south to the frontier of Portuguese Guinea and south-west to Oussouye and Diembering. [491]

Air. Seaplanes can alight in the river, and there is a weekly Aéromaritime service to Bathurst and Dakar. The landing-ground is 1½ miles south of the town. [509]

Wireless. The two wireless stations are housed in the same building. [206]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

36 [131] [162] SEDHIOU (12° 42′; 15° 31′ W.). Population, 1,653. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School.

[487] [505] [439] Sedhiou is on the right bank of the Casamance, 68 miles above Ziguinchor and 110 miles from the sea, and it is only usable by vessels drawing up to 5 feet. Formerly more prosperous than it is to-day, it has some brick buildings and shops. Many of the traders are Syrians, and there is a modest export of ground-nuts, hides, rice, and wax.

[491] By colonial road Sedhiou is 58 miles from Bignona, 74 miles from Ziguinchor, and 62 miles from Kolda.

11. MINERALS

135 [439] THE principal mineral exported from the colony is ilmenite, which is washed from beach sands between Rufisque and Cape Rouge, between Joal and Diakhanor, and at the mouth of the Casamance. Zircon (Vol. I, pp. 295–6) is obtained from the same sands, the ilmenite:zircon ratio being about 3:1. Other minerals of potential value are phosphates and limestone, both of which occur in Lower Eocene strata. Lenticular beds of phosphate, ranging from 30 to 65 per cent. bone phosphate of lime, are found near Matam and near Thiès. Limestones and marls are more widespread than in any other colony, and at Rufisque they have been worked experimentally for the commercial production of cement. Bitumen has been encountered at Dakar in borings for water, but investigations have shown that the geological structure is unsuited to the accumulation of petroleum.

[339] [315]

12. AGRICULTURE

241 THE Gambia divides the millet from the manioc zone, but ground-nuts are the chief crop of both. Sisal-growing is an important, though more recent, industry. South of the Gambia the Casamance Territory provides a rich area for fruit and subsistence crops as well as for ground-nuts.

[439] There is far more production for export than in any other colony.

Food Crops

243 262 *Millets.* Millets form the staple diet of the majority of the native population and are grown all over that part of the colony north of the

/10 cont./

128 — the great leaders of Muridism, their present situation, their influence on the movement, their reciprocal rivalries, their relations with the Administration;

— the importance of Muridism and its influence on the economic, social, and political life of Senegal.

/11/ Then we shall try, in conclusion, to envisage the prospects for the future which present themselves to Muridism today.

*795 778 [361] Touba is therefore the center of the Murid brotherhood. Amadou Bamba founded it in 1886, a few kilometers from the village of M'Backé (itself created by his grandfather, M'Balla M'Backé) and about 60 kilometers east of Diourbel, at the edge of Baol and the Ferlo desert, in a vast plain with bleak horizons and a sparse population.

The Murids attribute a holy and miraculous origin to the city, the Angel Gabriel himself having revealed the site to Amadou Bamba after conducting him there in a mysterious and supernatural fashion.

Amadou Bamba's difficulties with the Administration did not permit him to reside in this remote and isolated place where his activities were hard to control, but his body has reposed there since his death in 1927.

The agglomeration Touba-M'Backé-Darou forms the heart of the Murid country, and Touba is the ideal capital; indeed, it is now, for the disciples of Amadou Bamba:

— the headquarters of the brotherhood,

— a center of Koranic studies,

— a sort of monastery,

— a place of pilgrimage.

*795 793 It is at Touba that the Caliph-general resides. All of his collateral relatives and descendants, as well as all of the great Murid marabouts, have residences there, although they do not live there continually. It is there that the administrative council of the brotherhood meets to make important decisions concerning the Murid community.

/11 cont./

*795 It is to Touba that the young Murids come to learn the
[793] Koran; each marabout there has his own school which forms his young talibés.

It is in Touba also that, grouped around their marabout (or his residence), the faithful dwell, those who wish to live a holier life in permanent contact with their religious leader and working each day for them and with them.

[788] It is to Touba, finally, that every good Murid must go once
[778] a year in order to pray at the tomb of the founding saint of the brotherhood, at that of the khalife /caliph/, first successor, and especially in order to pay a visit to the present Caliph-general and to give him the offerings intended in particular for the continuation of the work on the mosque; this is the Magal of which we shall speak again below.

361 /12/ The city appears like a great "escale" /commercial
*795 center/ of the bush. Wide avenues separate the vast carrés /compounds/ of the various marabouts from one another. A plan for division into lots was drawn up, but it has not yet been applied, Falilou M'Backé, the Caliph-general, having feared, at the last moment, the far-reaching consequences.

Touba is thus a great center. Its development and the considerable number of persons who come there for the Magal have
[312] necessitated special arrangements. Drillings have been made in order to ensure the water supply of the holy city, which is, more-
[496] over, linked to M'Backé and Diourbel by a railroad. On the other hand, no commercial establishment has settled in Touba, and the trading center has been fixed at M'Backé.

346 Touba's center of attraction is its mosque, an Islamic
*795 monument unique in Senegal.

It was Amadou Bamba himself who decided to have it constructed, and in 1926 he asked his faithful to bring the first stones for it to Touba, but it was Amadou Mustapha, his son and first successor, who began the first work on it, after receiving by lease from the Administration a piece of ground of 400 hectares on which he could build it.

S /372 cont./
121 delineate in broad strokes the natural milieu in which these
369 rural agglomerations were established. /Fig. 1 appears here./

As could be assumed, the environment of each of them differs according to the ethnic group that occupies it.

S The None /Serer/ village is generally divided into sever-
SR al hamlets of varying importance, but definitely separated
361 from one another. They conceal themselves from sight under dense foliage in the heart of an arbored countryside. In the rainy season it is possible to pass near one of them without sus-
SR [412] pecting its existence. Only the noise of the pestle in the millet mortars reveals its presence to us.

SR The fields extend around in a wooded landscape. The
[137] palmyra, with the shape of the leaves reminding one of an
[273] enormous /373/ fan, predominates over the other species. The harvesting of palm wine practiced by the Sérère-none seems to be the primary reason for their impressive number. The "kad" (1)

1. "kad" in Wolof = Faidherbia albida (A. Chev.).

SR
[137] is rarer than in Sine-Saloum; the baobab (with its trunk stripped
[283] for the making of cord) is preserved solely in the village itself.
[241] On the immediate outskirts, the millet fields are numerous; those of the groundnut seem to be less extensive. No plot of ground, except for some ferruginous crusts, seems to have been spared from cultivation.

S The framework of the Wolof village is entirely different.
361 The surrounding countryside is bare. A few rare trees put their
W dark blots on this monotonous countryside. The agglomeration
[361] is easily marked by the darker foliage that surrounds it.

The Bambara villages are sometimes located in a wooded countryside, like Keur-Issa-Bambara, and sometimes in a denuded landscape, like Karamoko. It would seem that this group has patterned its method of cultivation on that practiced in the neighborhood.

Keur-Issa-Bambara reminds one of the None village, not

/373 cont./

S
SR
W
102
131
361
S
491
496
712

/372/

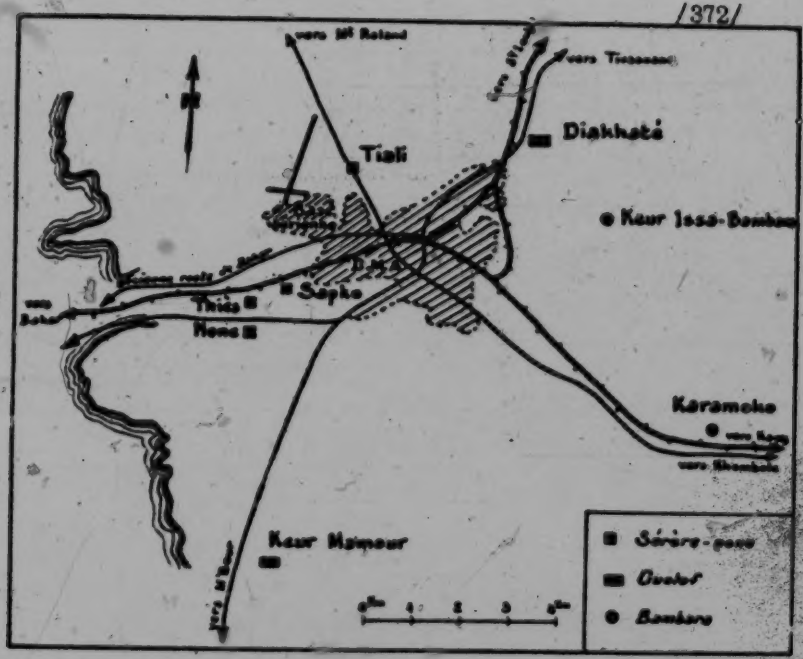


Fig. 1. Thiès, location of the villages mentioned in this study.

S
361 /373 cont./ by its internal plan (it is dispersed in a loose arrangement), but by the arbored countryside that surrounds it.

Karamoko, on the other hand, resembles a Wolof village: few or no trees except around the huts, a monotonous and open countryside.

S
360 The founding and the rapid growth of Thiès seems to have entailed perturbations in the life of the neighboring villages, especially at the end of the last century.

/375 cont./

369 Diakhaté, for example).

621 Sometimes the discord between religious heads be-
[798] longing to different sects provoked the separation in fact of the two opposite camps (Keur-Mamour).

Up to here the presence of the city acted only indirectly in stimulating /376/ the swelling or the splitting up of the village and the temporary or definitive emigration of some elements. It may also have more direct effects on the agglomerations.

369 During the last three decades, through the establish-
[798] ment of the great repair workshops /ateliers de réparation/ of the Dakar-Niger, Thiès has been in the process of becoming an industrial city; in a parallel way the military bases are
[712] becoming larger at the expense of the neighboring rural territories.

369 Even before this last war, the None village of Tiali,
423 located one kilometer from the city, was the first to be de-
[712] prived of about a third of its land by the establishment of the camp of military aviation. In 1947 plans to extend this same base brought about the complete evacuation of Thiès-none which was established south of the railroad, in the vicinity of Sapko. Almost all of these fields were relinquished to the military authorities. Finally, in 1953, execution of the plan for the urbanization of the city obliged the inhabitants of Wango to rebuild their huts in the quarter of Greater Thiès. Part of these lands have been relinquished to the municipality.

369 The land shrinks, the population grows; in order to subsist, a part of the rural population is obliged to go to work in the city.

[361] But before studying this question of the changing of the rural worker into an urban worker, we shall see whether the presence of the city has an influence on the plan of the village and especially on the settlement pattern.

Serer FA32
Wolof MS30
Bambara FA8

S /376 cont./

369 The appearance of the village itself varies according to
361 the ethnic groups. Among the None, it is tightly grouped
SR around a little central plaza, in the middle of which grows a
[361] majestic baobab. The Wolof disperses his compounds of huts,
W each delimited by a tapade (1) made of plaited millet-stalks.
[361]
[351]

1. Tapade: a kind of walling made of straw, bamboo, branches, which separates the space between two familial compounds.

This dispe[illegible]n is also found at Karamoko and at Keur-Issa-Bambara.

Apparently the city seems not to have had an influence on the arrangement proper of the village. It has very nearly preserved its old plan.

S Even today the traditional mode of construction of the
342 hut appears different according to the ethnic group. The None
SR erect strong mud dwellings on a square base with a floor of
[342] stamped earth; the whole is covered by a roof of thatch. The
[343] kitchen, on the other hand, is made of some posts fastened to the ground itself and supporting a roof of palmyra leaves.

W /377/ The Wolof prefers straw or plaited millet stalks as
[342] material. The house rests merely on the sandy ground, without
B any floor of stamped earth. The Bambara willingly lives in a
[342] hut of straw, but he is careful to fill in the interstices with mud. The floor is of stamped earth; a wide pent roof generally protects the entrance. Sometimes two huts are connected by a kind of veranda where he spends the evening; mud is frequently utilized in this group. /Fig. 2 appears here./

S The proximity of the city has to a certain extent improved
SR the traditional modes of construction. The plan and the material
342 used have been improved.
369

The hut with a single room and a square base has been replaced by a cottage with a rectangular base and often containing two rooms with the narrow window closed by a solid shutter.

Serer FA32
Wolof MS30

/377 cont./

S SR 342 369 Although the walls are still constructed of mud, they have been strengthened by a plastering of cement which prevents their rapid "dissolution" under the action of the rain. In general the thatched roof has been replaced by a covering of corrugated metal. What the dwelling gains in strength, it loses in comfort: the absence of the ceiling, the thinness

S SR [361]

Fig. 2. Thiès-none, a village little urbanized, with mud huts and thatched roofs.

/378/ of the metal, and the lack of ventilation give the interior of the rooms a suffocating atmosphere in the warm season and a cold one in winter.

These improvements may have numerous variations: hut with square base, plastered with cement, with a thatched roof; hut made entirely from retrieved planks. /Fig. 3 appears here./

These modernized dwellings are numerous, particularly in the None villages; 22 out of 204 (including kitchens) are made of mud, with cement plastering and roofing other than thatch. They W [342] are rarer in the Bambara agglomerations, /379/ absent at Keur-Mamour

[text continues on p.11]

3: Savonnet--10 E-5 (no date) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37
Serer FA32

/328/

S
SR
361
137

Fig. 3. Tiali, entrance of the village: in the foreground, the harvest of millet in stacks; in the background, some permanent houses with a corrugated-metal roof.

S
SR
369
438
[234]
[233]
[465]

/380 cont./

to the shepherd as compensation for services rendered. Although lactation is very poor (one to two liters per day per head), this sale practiced in the city at a relatively high price (30 francs per liter) is a source of not inconsiderable profit.

F
[233]
[465]
SR
[231]
[417]

The Sérère, despite the poor food resources he commands, practices for the benefit of Europeans the raising of pigs in the narrow and miry enclosures formed by stakes driven deeply into the ground and close together.

S
[361]

The mode of settlement and the economy of these suburban villages, although they have not had profound modifications, nevertheless are in the process of continual reorganization and adaptation.

These very modest contributions of the urban economy thin out very rapidly as one goes farther from the city. Karamoko and Keur-Mamour, located six and seven kilometers from the escale, and even Diakhaté, which is nearer, give the appearance of wholly rural villages. The women who each morning leave in Indian file /381/ to sell their products in the city make up the single element that enters into the circuit of the new economy offered to them.

S
121
369

Has the social and economic organization, on the other hand, been more profoundly modified? An examination of the ethnic and functional composition of the groups of the villages will permit an understanding of the data on this problem.

For this study we have grouped the villages under three rubrics:

1. The assemblage of Tiali, Thiès-None, and Sapko; near the escale, but having undergone perturbations in their economy by the loss of part of their land.

2. Keur-Mamour and Karamoko form the group farthest from the city.

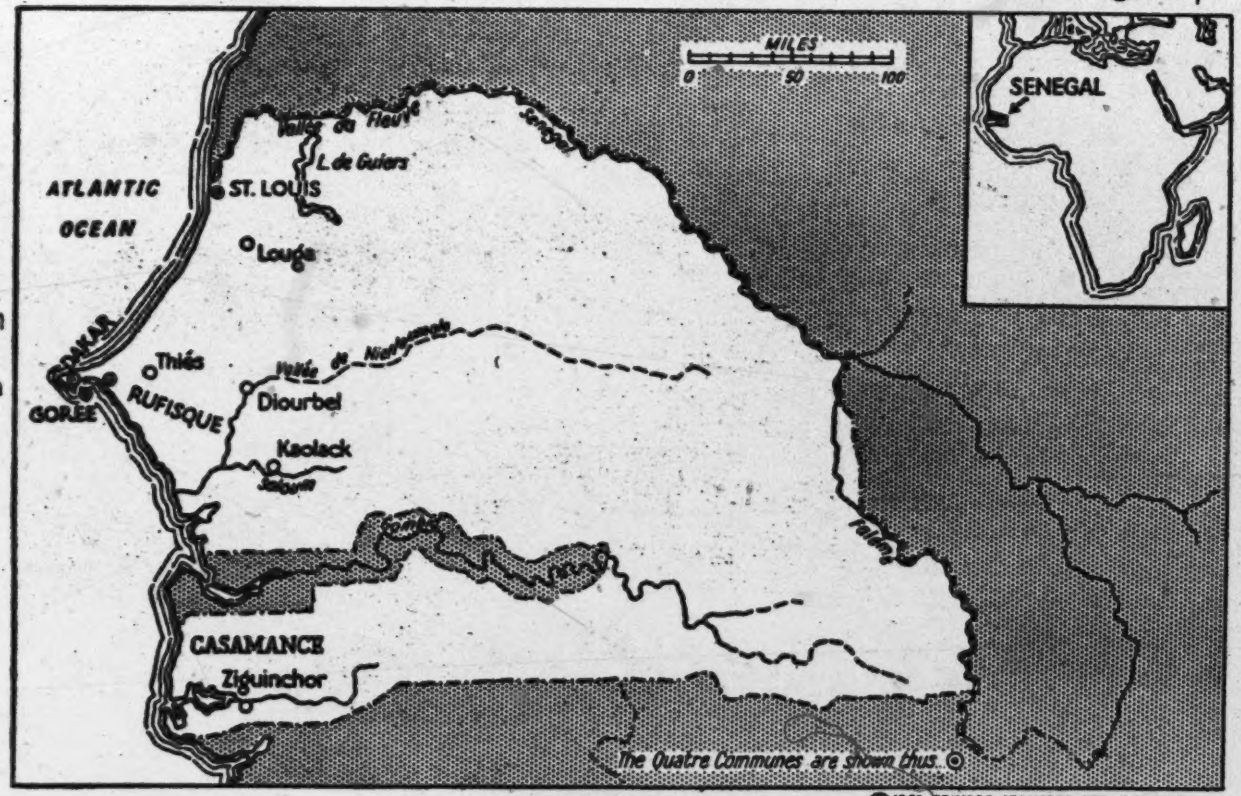
3. Diakhaté and Keur-Issa-Bambara are the two villages near the escale which have not suffered any loss of territory.

S
SR
369
162

The first assemblage musters a total population of 405

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

100
361
133



SENEGAL

[f.x]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 colonies other than Martinique, Guadeloupe and Réunion and at the same time they were subjected to rule by direct decree of the Emperor.

[167] It was under the Second Empire that the first great period of French colonial expansion in black Africa took place. It was during that regime that Faidherbe, who was to Senegal what Lugard was to Nigeria, first embarked on his African conquests. Faidherbe himself embodied this dichotomy in French colonial policy: an authoritarian agent of an authoritarian regime, he was often found introducing reforms and innovations that conformed with the most liberal application of an assimilationist policy.

[643] Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in 1854.
360 At the time St. Louis, according to Abbé Boilaut in his
[162] *Esquisses sénégalaises* was a city of 12,336 inhabitants with
[563] only 177 Europeans. There were two primary schools run by Catholic missionaries. A full scale administration had
[872] succeeded in imposing on a town otherwise consisting mainly
[797] of single storey houses, a governor's palace, a 'very elegant
[361] Palace of Justice', a large naval hospital, a fine church and an army barracks.

648 From his base at St. Louis, Faidherbe, in a series of
643 brilliant campaigns, notably against the powerful emir of Trarza and the Muslim reformist and Toucouleur leader, El Hadj Omar, was to lay the foundations of France's West African empire. To do this he organised the now famous *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, since Europeans did not stand up well to the climate and the prevalent diseases. By conquest or by treaty he brought most of modern Senegal and much of
643 Soudan (Mali) under French rule. He installed an efficient military administration, and even published an official
[804] newspaper the *Moniteur du Sénégal*. Altogether Faidherbe was a remarkable man. He was a firm believer in the equality of races, and did much to increase the educational
[871] facilities of the colony. He established a school for the sons of chiefs, and lay schools for Muslims, who objected to
[797] attending the mission schools. Whilst Faidherbe wanted to

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

2

The Revolution

OUR bus had been travelling across monotonous scrub country for several hours. The road was excellent, but the journey uncomfortable in the heat of the afternoon sun. The goats on the roof had not stopped screaming since we left Kaolak and the hair of two Mauretanian women sitting in front of me exuded a suffocating odour of rancid butter, with which it was greased, attracting a large swarm of flies. The bus had a drowsy lethargic atmosphere in which we could neither sleep nor think.

After we had been travelling for what seemed an eternity, the skyline was broken by some small hills, covered with lemon-leafed trees. I cannot adequately describe the visual relief those hills afforded. For their significance, they might have been mountains. Towards evening we left these hills behind us and our road quite suddenly came upon the sea, which stretched out before us an undecided compromise between grey and blue. Its shore was skirted by mud huts, from which hung long fishing nets, tied to gaily painted canoes.

There was a sudden stir in the front of the bus. A voice cried: 'Dakar, ici Dakar.' I looked beyond the fretwork silhouette of the fishing village, beyond the cold grey of the sea to an incredible backdrop: a vast city of giant houses, gleaming in the late sun, rode the horizon like some fantastic flotilla of the future.

'Dakar, ici Dakar.' The voice cried once more and the excited passengers took up the refrain.

Our bus pulled up into a large lorry station, in a part of Dakar whose resemblance to the Motte-Picquet-Grenelle suburb of Paris immediately struck me, except that Africans had been substituted for Algerians. At once there was a mad scramble to get

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30

out of the bus and it was only with difficulty that Arnold and I managed to extricate ourselves. We took a taxi, at almost greater cost than the journey from Kaolak to Dakar, to a dingy little hotel, in the old quarter of the city. To reach it we passed through the centre of Dakar. Trees lined the streets and the architecture of both offices and houses was admirably suited to its tropical setting. It was at once evident that Dakar was a city and not just a town that had, like Lagos, rambled and sprawled and got too big. With its statuesque young skyscrapers and its wide streets, Dakar seemed a model city for the new West Africa. It was neither distinctly African nor European, but had its affinity with the modern cities of South America.

Arnold, accustomed to the higgledy-piggledy, chaotic sprawl of Lagos, and the quiet Victorian dignity of Freetown, could not quite take this in. He seemed almost to resent it as an imposition on Africa, as something that was not African. True, I found that against this background the African appeared, at first, to be an intruder. Nothing seemed more incongruous than a vast Jollof belle, dressed in her traditional robes of lace and muslin, sweeping past the more outrageous examples of *cinema moderna* architecture, or standing pensively beneath a marble plaque depicting a naked African surrounded by the fruits of progress. More incongruous still was the sight of them being spooned in and out of fast American cars or staring into patisserie windows—just imagine one of those muslin cocoons tackling a chocolate éclair. Yet the Africans seemed to have accepted their surroundings with such aplomb that very soon I was to feel that it was the Europeans who were out of place. There seemed nothing unnatural in half a dozen Africans making up their bed for the night on the pavement outside a twelve-story bank, or the young men in tight jeans standing on the street corners eyeing passing girls, just like Saturday night back at the Buildings.

We stayed one night in the Hotel des Fleurs, the cheapest I could find in Dakar. It was owned by a Lebanese, and for Dakar, a city which is almost prohibitive in price for an Englishman, it was remarkably cheap. A haircut in Dakar is 12s., and it has one of the highest cost of living indices in the world.

That night when I entered a bar called appropriately 'Café de Paris', I was unable to believe that we were still in Africa. It had

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30
S
361
369

A general view of Dakar, capital of French West Africa

W
291
487
369

Wollof women on their way to market in St. Louis

[#48 (B)]

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 little misguided. He handed me a copy of the party manifesto.
648 On the front it read:

> 'At the historic moment of Bandung and of the Colonial and Imperialist system, at the moment when political confusion submerges Black Africa under French domination, our duty as Africans obliges us to bring before the masses of our country the problem of national independence and the transformation of our economy into a socialist economy.'

[204] He also handed me a copy of the party newspaper, *La Lutte*, 'The Battle', which is surprisingly well produced at an intellectual level. It even had an article explaining why Sputnik stayed up. On another page a cartoon demonstrated party feeling towards France: Picture I. Thin, Belsen figure, in casque colonial, sucks from straw the lifeblood of Africa—Picture II. Fatter version of this Frenchman leaves for home, a small Africa behind him.

But the magazine was directed not only against France. Jibes were made at the Minister of the Interior of the Senegal, and at the high wages paid to Ministers. Mahjemout Diop was later arrested on the orders of the Minister of the Interior.

OLD SENEGAL

Dakar—Gorée—St. Louis

369 [491] [361] [175] Our third afternoon in Dakar, Arnold and I took the afternoon ferry to Gorée, a tiny island embraced by the bay of Dakar. This island, which until the turn of the century was better known than Dakar itself, was discovered in 1444 by Dinis Dias, one of the early Portuguese explorers, and commands the entrance to the port of Dakar, so that for long it was prized as the most strategic of islands on the Guinea Coast. Today it is no more than an historical relic, but whether against a clear blue sky or of dark grey rain clouds massing for an assault on the mainland, it serves as a reminded that though in Africa the revolution has taken place largely over the last ten years, its groundwork has been prepared by centuries of contact with Europeans and their way of life.

The small ferry was crammed with trippers, armed with

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 [633] Today Gorée is a residential suburb of Dakar, where administrators and merchants live. In the hot sun of the afternoon, Gorée, an island of unopened shutters, of lazy negroes passing life away in sleep, and of buildings that look as though they would crumble in one's hands like a hard-baked sand pie, was little more than an historical relic.

Gorée was a dead town. More pathetic, I found, was St. Louis, the capital of the Senegal, which is a dying town. I flew to St. Louis for a week-end, leaving Arnold in Dakar because his attack of dysentery had not yet cleared up.

[361] I loved St. Louis, a quiet little city on an island in the estuary of the river Senegal, which bounds the northern frontier of the territory to which it has given its name. I remembered it clearly from my previous visit, a city with no important industries, and few modern buildings to detract from the quiet serenity of the cool, colonial style houses, heavily shuttered against the fierce sun of the desert. In two years not much had changed. The houses had crumbled a little more, adding to, rather than detracting from its dignity as capital of two territories, a unique honour. The governments of Senegal and neighbouring Mauretania are to be found there.

369 633 But the serenity of this ancient city, which dates back to 1659, that had struck me so forcibly on my first visit two years ago had gone. The Mauretanians' decision to transfer their capital to Nouakchott, in their own territory, was something the St. Louisians could understand, even if it did mean a loss of income to their city. But when their own government decided to move their capital to Dakar, the Federal Capital, the population was profoundly shocked. I found them extremely bitter about it. The provincial calm of the city was for once shattered, and its inhabitants had but one topic—the transfer—and the prospect of seeing their city die, for St. Louis depends largely on the administration for its income.

One man told me with extreme bitterness: 'Dakar has killed Gorée and Rufisque. Now it will kill us.' Since the creation of a port at Dakar, the chief *raison d'être* of St. Louis has been as an administrative centre. Take away the administration and the town could not survive.

My first afternoon in St. Louis I saw M. Valdiodio N'Diaye,

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

Acting Prime Minister of the Senegal, and cousin of Pierre Njie in Bathurst. I asked him what his party would do to save St. Louis from becoming a second Gorée. N'Diaye replied confidently: 'My government intends to build up St. Louis as a new and prosperous economic centre for the Senegal valley, just as Kaolak is the centre of the Saloum and Zuiginchor of the Casamance. We plan to build a great dam at Dagana which will open up the Senegal to extensive cultivation and St. Louis will not die. Of course the money for the dam will have to come from France. You see,' M. N'Diaye continued, 'St. Louis is really rather absurdly placed, lying at the extreme north and the extreme west of the territory. It is "doublement periphique", whilst Dakar is the economic centre of the Senegal.'

'Already, of course, the transfer is proving more difficult than they thought,' a member of an old and respected St. Louisian family told me. 'There is little enough room in Dakar as it is without moving the Senegalese Government there. They'll have to take hotels over for ministries. I don't think this transfer is necessary. After all, America has its Washington and New York, Switzerland its Berne and Geneva. Why should not Senegal have its St. Louis and Dakar? If they carry out this transfer, St. Louis will be little more than an historical souvenir like Gorée.'

M. Babacar Saye, Mayor of St. Louis and member of the Opposition party, told me with considerable feeling: 'St. Louis has played a great part in the history of the Senegal. Even if it has lost the opportunity of economic development as a port to Dakar, it is the spiritual head of the Senegal. If St. Louis had not existed in the history of the Senegal and French West Africa there would be no Federation today. It has been a bastion of fidelity to France. St. Louisians penetrated every corner of West Africa on her behalf. It has had an immense moral and psychological influence on the present good relations between France and West Africa.'

This attitude I found supported by a young African official from Dahomey, whom I met in the Ministry of Finance. He had travelled all over French West and Equatorial Africa. 'The Senegal,' he said, 'has always been at the head of politics in French West Africa. It has been the *avant-garde* of all Black Africa. After all it was the first to send black Deputies like Blaise Diagne to the

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 Metropolis. Until recently the African élite has always come from
[571] St. Louis. It is a sort of spiritual centre of Black Africa. It had the
[873] first school—Lycée Faidherbe. And in 1866 it was given the first Hotel de Ville of the French Union. It is the cradle of the French Union. It would be a tragedy if it died.'

369 To such men as these it seems scandalous that St. Louis with
175 its great history and traditions should give way to a parvenue like Dakar. Of all West African cities St. Louis is the one with the most illustrious and fascinating history. It was called St. Louis after the great French King, Louis XIII, in the middle of the seventeenth century. However, in the following century it began to expand into a town whose inhabitants were a distinct race, comparable
[563] to the Creoles of Sierra Leone. White and black intermarried to form a group known as the St. Louisians. During the eighteenth
[591] and nineteenth centuries these were the great families of the
[554] Senegal, though today they are losing importance. Names like Carpot, Descanet, Deves, Guillabert and Crespin are still remembered with respect in St. Louis.

[162] By the end of the eighteenth century the town had more than 7,000 inhabitants and in 1778 a mayor, who had to be chosen
[633] from the local population, was charged with the maintenance of good relations between the people and the Governor. In 1833
[641] all inhabitants of St. Louis were given the status of French citizens.

Perhaps the most important date for St. Louis and for West Africa was 1854, when General Faidherbe was appointed Governor. Today his mark is still firmly on St. Louis. The
[361] ordered layout of the city and its streets were his work. The large
[491] bridge connecting the island on which St. Louis stands to the mainland is named after him. The city's most important and famous school is the Lycée Faidherbe. And even now one can listen to old folk sitting on the benches of the park, in which his statue stands, telling tales of the great General, who had fought against the famous Toucouleur chief, El Hadj Omar and brought Senegal, Soudan and Mauretania into the French orbit. Perhaps some of these old people are his own descendants, for he is reputed to have been a prolific father.

[162] By 1878 St. Louis had grown to a city of 16,000 inhabitants, and despite the rapid expansion of Dakar and Rufisque farther down the coast, there was little to worry about the future.

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

Political Development In The Cities of Senegal

369 In all of West Africa, the phenomenon
• 361 of urbanization has been most extensive and the variety of its forms most striking in Senegal. The area has about ten com-
[162] munities with more than 10,000 inhabitants each; five of these have well over 30,000 inhabitants and the major urban center, Dakar, has almost 250,000 inhabitants. The urban population exceeds 500,000, about one quarter of the total population. The present urban pattern has no link with a pre-European tradition. Some of the cities wield influence over extensive suburban zones, and the distances separating them are relatively short, so that the western half of Senegal is covered by a close network of urban centers.

633 Partial administration of municipal affairs and familiarity with electoral machinery are by no means recent acquisitions. The first African communes "with full powers"[11] were created in Senegal, in the second half of the 19th century, and there the first "mixed communes"[12] were developed, at the beginning of the 20th century. Among all the French West African territories, Senegal contained the largest number of constituted communes, and alone had almost a quarter of the communes with full powers created in all French Overseas Territories by the law of 1956. As early as 1925 there were 18 communes, of which four had full autonomy. The exercise of political rights in modern form dates back more than 75 years for some cities, and by 1953 there were elected municipal councils in 14 of the 20 mixed communes in Senegal.

[P. 6 B]

/667 cont./

125 [143] such as caste and the degree of kinship of each actual union [8].

In this region the person questioned, mostly in public, did [565] not make any difficulty about declaring to which caste he be- [124] longed. Moreover, this is known by all the inhabitants of the village and has such social importance that if one asks a child in the street, "Who are you?" he replies, "I am of such and such a caste." As for the degree of kinship of the spouses, a previous study among the sedentary Peul of the Fouta Djallon [9] has shown that it was possible to obtain this without a cumbersome demographic investigation; the individuals are well acquainted with the fact in regions where consanguineous unions are the custom.

The investigator asks whether or not the woman is married to a near relative, and, in the case of an affirmative answer, if the spouses have the same grandfather or grandmother (fourth degree) or in what other way they are related. A total number of 6,208 married women were questioned in this manner, and in order to correct possible errors of observation in such a sample, a control was established in a subsample of 382 sedentary couples by noting the names of the parents, grandparents, and eventually great-grandparents. At this stage there is uncertainty, but this can be removed only by laboriously working out genealogies. That is why the proportion of marriages to the sixth degree, which we indicate below and which are beyond the kinship ties known with sufficient accuracy, are perhaps more important in reality.

563 The ethnic groups. The region studied contains 341,000 inhabitants divided into five principal ethnic groups: Moors, Toucouleur [Tukuler], Peul, Saracolé [Sarakole], and Wolof (Table I). The ethnic groups are distinguished by such characteristics as the way of life, social structure, group consciousness, [186] the name given them by other groups, and language, except for [197] the Peul and the Toucouleur, who speak the same language, Poular. Aside from the Moors, the population is grouped in five [361] port cities and 800 villages and communities.

[162] The Toucouleur form the largest aggregate (187,000 persons) and occupy the center of the region on the two rivers. The

/155/

491 [131] At kilometer 13 on the Dakar-Rufisque highway and branching off at a right angle to the latter there is a side road with a sign bearing the notice: Dagoudane-Pikine. Two hundred meters farther on, just beyond the church on the left, the road forks, and the right branch, after passing between two gas stations, in turn divides in two. These three roads, after describing several more or less sinuous meanders, take a northwest direction and traverse the agglomeration from end to end, the east road and the west road being symmetrical in relation to the center one.

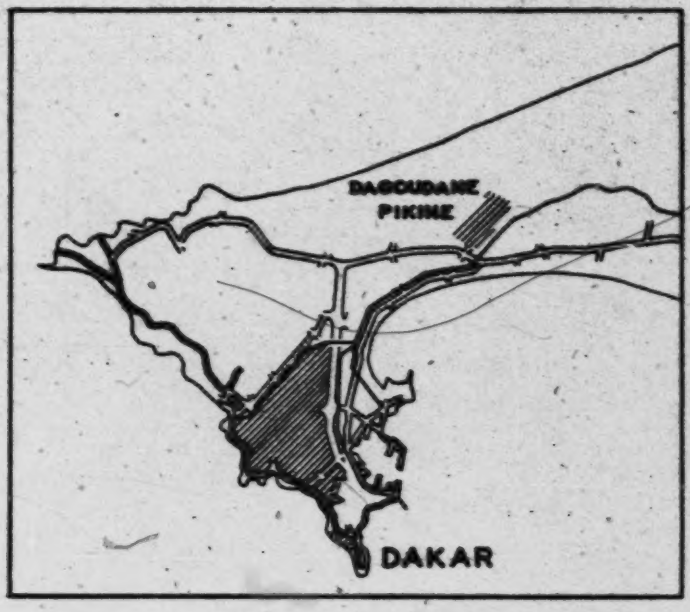
133 361 Viewed from an airplane, the agglomeration has, in general, the shape of a large rectangle laid flat, its length measuring two kilometers and the median width 1,240 meters. This impression of flatness is deceptive, for the ground is slightly hilly, and the 2 CV which ventures into the cross streets may have the disagreeable experience of not being able to climb back up certain sandy slopes. Very schematically the terrain appears thus: the two center streets and the west one extend along the summit of one dune, with a depression between the two. To the west of the west street, the land descends slightly and then rises again before dropping down to the Niayes. The east street, on the contrary, is located halfway up the slope of a dune, the summit of which runs along the center street and is separated from the latter by a depression which sinks down more and more as one turns northward. Finally, to the east, the land rises again slightly before the railway which skirts Pikine and bounds it on the east. On the north it is -- or rather was, for the land was already divided into lots in 1960, the date of the investigation -- the route of the Niayes which forms the line of demarcation, and on the west the Niayes themselves. /156/ On the south, except for the sheds of the ICOTAF in the eastern part, there is no clear boundary.

36 For the visitor who views the agglomeration for the first time, Pikine leaves a contradictory impression: first, of uniformity and monotony. It is undoubtedly easy to orient

/156 cont./

36 oneself once one has grasped the principle of the cutting up of the city into four sections by the three axes of roads, just as it is easy to align the principal landmarks on each of the two extreme axes: on the west road the Chavanel house opposite the first market, then the commissariat, the mosque,

102
131
491
361



36 and on the left, halfway, the / map appears here/ big market with, at the end, the block that houses the cinema El-Karim and a business; on the east road, at the right, the business of the Syrian, then, after the turns, the district /cité/ named after the ICOTAF because it is adjacent to the lands occupied by the factory, a long space as yet unoccupied, and finally, on the left, first the cinema El-Hilal, and, some 200 meters beyond, the second district named after the Pépinière. On the center road, by contrast, there is no notable building, but simply, towards the middle, two large empty spaces on both sides of the road, with a sports field on the right. But if one

/160 cont./

162 361 2) One often hears figures on the order of 40,000 or 50,000 advanced for the total population of Pikine. It seems that there may be a distinct exaggeration there and that the reason for it is the following: a good many parcels are unoccupied, as they are bare or built up but uninhabited. Out of a sample of 287 parcels, 65 were unoccupied, making 22.6%. One comes across bare lands in all the quarters but the phenomenon is particularly noticeable in one of the first quarters of Pikine, namely, Maka-Kolobane, and naturally in the new subdivisions which are adjacent to Thiaroye-Gare. 162 423 Here it is normal, elsewhere it is less so, and one may ask whether a certain number of owners, although already possessing a residence in Dakar, have not obtained the right to certain parcels in spite of the administration. Be that as [123] it may, it has been impossible for me to investigate this further since the subject is taboo and the mere fact of mentioning it at one time or another has resulted in serious prejudices against carrying out the investigation.

162 3) This figure confirms the one obtained in the investigation conducted in the previous year during the same period by Father Martin, which gave a little more than 22,000 persons. An increase of 6,000 individuals in one year, taking into account the lots divided up in the course of the year or the buildings finished by the Office de l'Habitat in the districts, is nothing extraordinary.

[361] 4) With its 30,000 inhabitants Pikine is to be classed in the first rank of the agglomerations of the suburbs of Dakar, far ahead of the traditional villages of Cambérène, Thiaroye, and others, and the size of its population gives it a place apart; it is no longer a village, but a city.

Let us now examine the structure according to age and ethnic group. The following table shows the division of men and women into their age classes and according to ethnic groups; the pyramid that follows recapitulates the total results.

162 882 The age pyramid makes two phenomena apparent. On the one hand, there is the indentation of the class from 15 to 19 years of age. This gap is characteristic of all the cities of Africa. It probably has two principal causes: first, an

/177 cont./

464 Proportion of persons over 50 out of the active labor
484 force 25.3%
162 Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers
in Pikine 37%
Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers
in Dakar 16%

[463] Thus, old people prefer the traditional trades, jewelers, tailors, merchants, which can be carried on locally.

If one considers the fact that the active male labor force numbers 5,530 individuals and that about 70% of this labor force goes to Dakar to work, one can estimate the number of workers whose place of employment is located in Dakar at
464 about 2,800. Another question pertaining to the frequency of
484 journeys to Dakar shows that 62% of the total labor force, that is to say, about 3,700, make the trip at least once a day. This means that not only the workers but the unemployed as well go to Dakar daily. Dakar thus has a double attraction for the workers of Pikine: as an actual place of employment, a nd as a place of possible hiring. The two principal means of
494 transportation are: for the officials, the cars called "G.G.,"
484 thanks to which they can return for lunch at noon, and for the great majority of others the express buses; only a few have
[493] personal means of transportation, mobylettes /bicycles with motors/ or vehicles. The length of the automobile trip from
484 Pikine to the Sandaga market varies from 20 minutes to more than half an hour depending on traffic difficulties. One must add to this the time required to go on foot through the sand from the concession to the bus stop. In a very general way one can say that the worker leaves his house in the morning about seven o'clock and returns to it in the evening between 6:45 and seven o'clock, provided that he does not have errands on
[369] the way. This quick analysis therefore shows the role of
[361] "bedroom community" that Pikine plays to a certain extent in relation to Dakar.

462 After the male labor force, it is necessary to say a word
463 about female work. The great majority of the women do not
162 have any occupation other than that of housework: more than two-thirds. The 32% who draw monetary income from their

[17]

The Village of Cambérène (Dakar)

361 175 The village of Cambérène was founded about 1885 by the gathering of tabilés [disciples] around their teacher, Li Mamou Laye Thiaw, who had set up his dwelling near the watercourse Der Gui N'Dargou to the northeast of Yoff (east of the present gardens of the Government).

731 175 622 Li Mamou died in 1909, and his brother, Seydina Issa Laye Thiaw, succeeded him at the head of the small zaouïa, which in 1914 was the victim of an epidemic of the plague.

Seydina Issa decided, as is generally done in such cases, to change the location of the little village.

361 Considering his first location unfavorable, being too near the Niaye, he decided to establish it in the open air in front of the heights of the string of littoral dunes on the very edge of the sea, which should, he thought, be healthier.

[369] Having ascertained that in Dakar an effort was made to align the houses and to put straight and wide streets between them, he resolved to order that, in establishing the new village, the center of the site was to be the mosque, which, first constructed [346] of wood and straw, was replaced in 1939 by a handsome edifice of masonry.

To the north and south of the mosque, Seydina Issa laid out two parallel avenues east to west. He placed the dwellings of his family facing the entrance of the mosque, leaving open a large space which he had reserved to the east; at right angles to the principal streets, some north-south streets were laid out, and each family put its dwellings in the form of a U opening on the principal streets.

[18] [Fig. 1. appears here.]

The arrangement was subsequently respected, and the most recent of the 28 land-grants open on a third east-west avenue.

The curious fact of this very precise outline is not noted when one arrives at Cambérène by the road, nor when one goes about on foot within the village, and even the diagram on the map on a scale of 1/50,000 does not make it stand out. Thus, it was a

[18 cont.]

361

Fig. 1. Aerial view of the village of Cambérène.

surprise when the accompanying aerial photograph, taken at random during a flight at low altitude, revealed the prescribed arrangement of this village.

369 This attempt at urbanism merits notice as proof that evolution in Senegal can be circumspect and effectual and can adapt modern conceptions to local conditions.

G. J. Duchemin
(Dakar)

/11 cont./
very small number of aspects of the social structure; allusions will be made to the others when it is necessary. 121

On the one hand, we shall illustrate certain aspects of the structure of kinship groups in the African population; despite the shrinking of the functions performed by the family in an urban environment, despite the diversification of groupings with specialized functions, which characterize urban social life, their role continues to be of primary importance (3). 121 571 369

3. The demographic account by L. Masse, of course, crosschecks certain aspects of this study. Cf. our preface /untranslated/.

Very /12/ close to it is the one played by the ethnic group, which will only be outlined here. On the other hand, we shall study the role played by certain non-structured de facto groupings: neighborhood units, groups of friends, more or less independent, depending on the case, of traditional, ethnic, and familial ties and structures. The study of structured groupings of a new type will be reserved for another work; we shall only give brief indications on this subject.

The profound interconnection of the social phenomena observable in a defined environment (1) must, however, as

1. Which itself is never closed. Cf., for example, the role of the waves of seasonal immigrants in colonial towns.

always, be emphasized. The first part of this account will therefore be devoted to a very general account of the frameworks into which one must recast any study of the Dakar social complex (2). 121 361

2. These have been, up to the

/12 cont./

present, limited to the Dakar agglomeration proper; the suburbs more or less completely tied to the town have been provisionally left aside (Ouakam, Hann, the recent subdivision of Dagoudane-Pikine, etc.). 121 361

I

Dakar has known enormous development between the two wars, and especially since 1946. Demographic development, economic development (3). 369*

3. Cf., for example, the accounts of an American geographer after two voyages to Dakar, one before the war (1935-36), the other in 1947: D. Whittlesey, "Dakar and the Other Cape Verde Settlements," The Geographical Review, Oct. 1941, pp. 609-638; "Dakar Revisited," The Geographical Review, Oct. 1948, pp. 626-632. And the changes have accelerated even more. [113]

At the same time, the characteristics of Dakar society, it being well understood that it is broken up into several partial societies, linked organically, but each of which have their particular problems, have undergone important changes. To account for them would exceed the limits of this work; we shall content ourselves with recalling some essential features.

A. -- The towns born of colonization have been established [361]

/12 cont./
everywhere unde comparable conditions and for similar reasons, 369*
ports, trading points, administrative centers, etc., these di- 361
verse elements being joined to one another (4). One can

4 See the general article by J Dresch, "Villes d'Afrique Occidentale /Towns of West Africa/," Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, July-September 1950, pp. 201-230.

nevertheless ditinguish at present several types (5), some of

5. We limit ourselves, of course, to the African West, the towns of southern Africa, for example, having had a different development and being placed in a considerably different social context.

the essential criteria to consider being the following:
/13/ 1. Their functions have more or less multiplied and diversified; thus, at Dakar, a beginning of industrialization and tendencies toward the formation of a West African cultural center announce a new phase of development. D. Whittlesey, in his first article on Dakar, already noted: "Dakar, in all the African West, is the only town in the European (or Western) sense of the term (1)."

1. He added: "No other center shows the very clear spatial differentiation of functions which characterizes the urbs occidentalis...

/13 cont./

this differentiation of functions has only taken shape in the last three decades (op. cit., p. 609)." This differentiation has been greatly accentuated in recent years. 368x [361]

2. The time and variable possibilities that the colonial towns have had to crystalize new social behavior and forms permit one to place them on a scale between two extreme types. There are old towns, this with respect to the measure of time that one must adopt in order to place the colonial towns, the majority of which date from only a few decades ago and very few of which have reached a century of existence; there are absolutely new towns.

a) The old town has already had time to structure itself. The original ethnic differences are being obliterated; one could say that there is being created from multiple contributions a new ethos peculiar to the city. 369x 563

The European and African elements have contacts of variable amplitude and partially mingle in the habitat. Some Europeans found families. A sizable mixed society is formed. A proportion of higher schooling and in certain cases landed wealth have favored the creation of a leading African stratum. Some political traditions have been created there. The African population has become stabilized; the "family home" is in town and no longer in the bush. This extreme case is rare; one finds an example of it in the central part of Saint-Louis of the Senegal, the island. Still a new town, with an unstable population, little urbanized up to now, it is juxtaposed there, and the contribution of new layers of European population has changed certain data of the problem.

b) The recent town on the other hand, has very few stabilized Europeans. The mass of Africans is not [166]

/18 cont./ 369x
the Lebano-Syrians at least 2%. Let us consider in this brief 563.
glance only the problem of the relations between Africans and [162]
Europeans.

a) The increase in the number of Europeans -- which
has increased at least sixfold since 1939, while the African popu- [161]
lation has undoubtedly not even tripled -- has been accompanied
by qualitative changes: development of the categories of tech- [463]
nicians, workers, artisans, petty employees, petty merchants.
This population, despite the sense of a strong solidarity (which
is admitted in time of crisis) vis-à-vis the African population,
has seen a division /19/ into classes inherited from the society [565]
of origin become marked. At the same time, the European
community has withdrawn into itself, developing its own ser-
vices (specialized merchants, etc.).

b) The evolution of habitat zones reflects these trans- 369x
formations. The close checkerwork of the original plan of 563
Pinet-Laprade still encompasses multi-racial quarters (where 361.
the Lebano-Syrians have taken a greater and greater place).
But, in the course of the development of the town, the Médina,
almost exclusively African (1), has been added to them in the

1. Some Europeans live there, [362]
however; the general housing
crisis largely accounts for this.

north, while purely European residential quarters developed
in the south. The recent zones set up on the other side of the
Médina for the residences of functionaries likewise allow for
little mixing. Finally, with the reconstruction of new build-
ings, the European town, starting from the southern zone,
gained on the mixed quarters, and a movement toward a clearer
segregation of the habitat zones is taking shape, segregation
which is in no way official, but which is considered desirable
by the majority of the European population (2) and is based in

2. Differences in way of life,

17: Mercier--17 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/19 cont./

369x
563
[361]

differences in the daily rhythm are the arguments put forward by those who do not use purely racist arguments.

fact on the differences in economic status.

c) In principle there is no segregation in social life, either; certain public places, however (cafés, bars, etc.), strive directly or indirectly, to secure for themselves a purely European clientele. On the other hand, many clubs and asso- [575] ciations of a recreational nature exclude Africans in fact (it is rarely statutory). The syndicates themselves, although they [467] are not in principle founded on a racial basis, do not effect a mixing of Africans and Europeans, as a result of the diver- [468] gence of interests and claims; the strikes, when they occur, are in practice purely African. Finally, the political parties [665] are for the most part almost exclusively African; the European population as a whole is disinterested in local political activity.

d) Essentially the relations between Africans and Europeans are: relations at the place of work, between colleagues and, much more often, between subordinates and superiors, employees and bosses; relations between masters and domestics at home; common participation in cultural and sportive activities; relations between teachers and pupils or students. Relations of a more personal character(regular relationships, friendships, etc.) are much rarer. Intermarriages -- almost exclusively between African men and European women -- have a particular significance; there are practically none that have been contracted locally.

/20/ e) Here we shall not touch on the area of interracial judgments and attitudes, which must be the subject of more detailed investigations. It will suffice to say that all the observations made permit one to conclude that there is a

17: Mercier--50 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

102
●361
×369

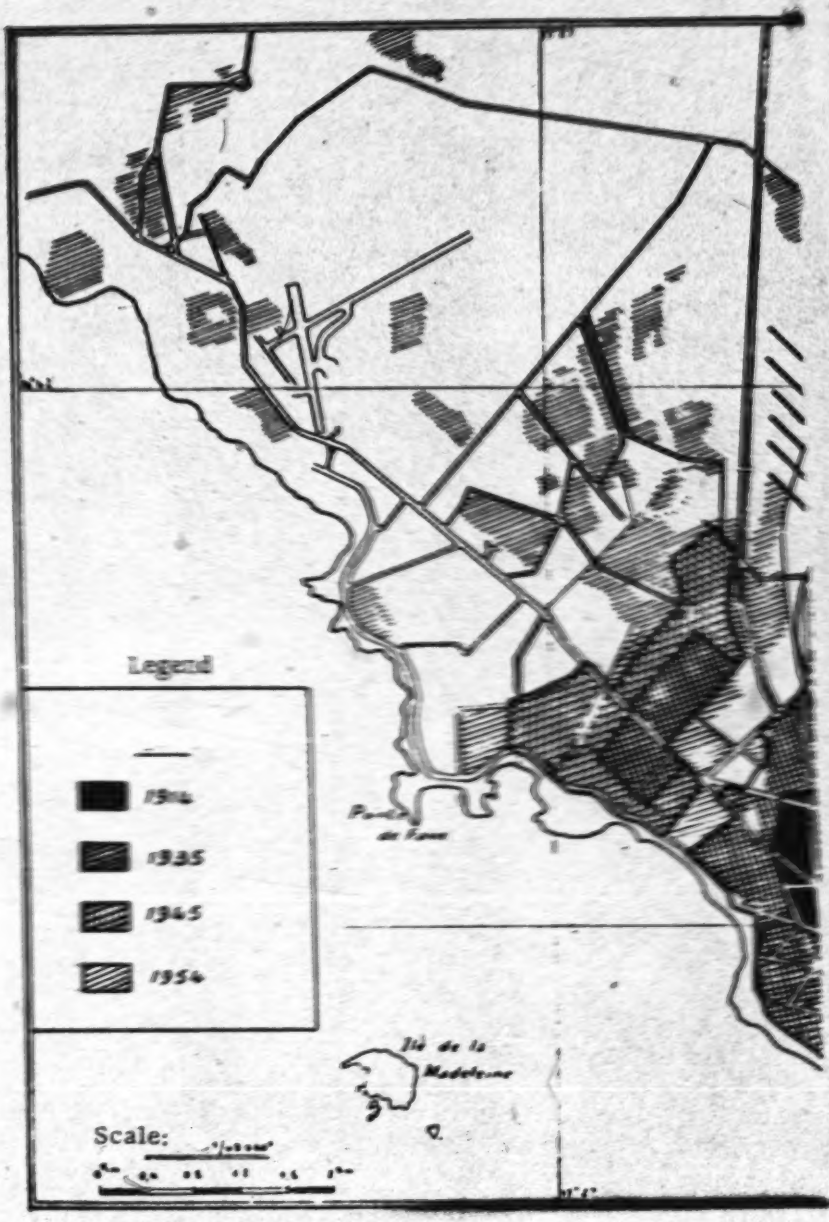


Fig. 1. Stages of the development of Dakar.
/left side of map/

17: Mercier--51 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

102
●361
×369

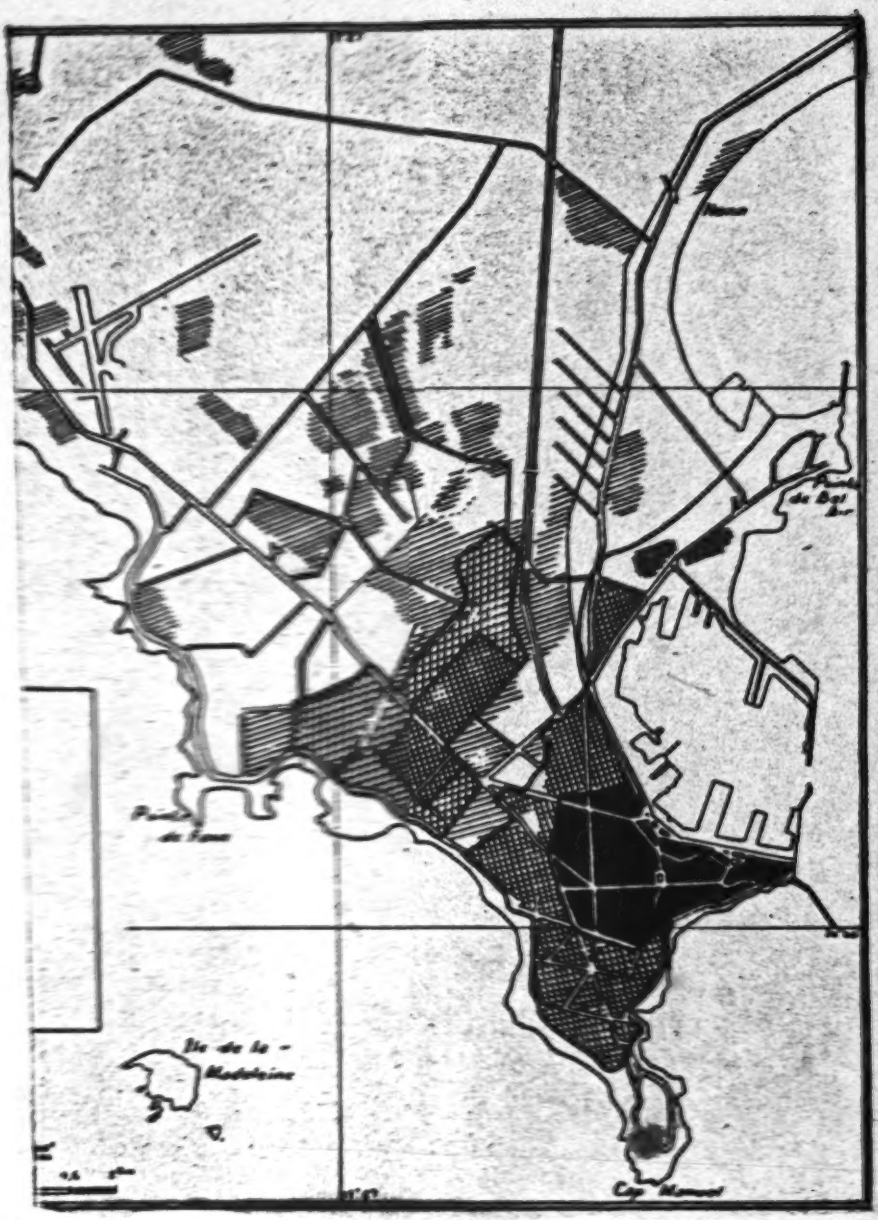


Fig. 1. Stages of the development of Dakar.
/right side of map/

17: Mercier--52 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

102
● 361
× 369
712

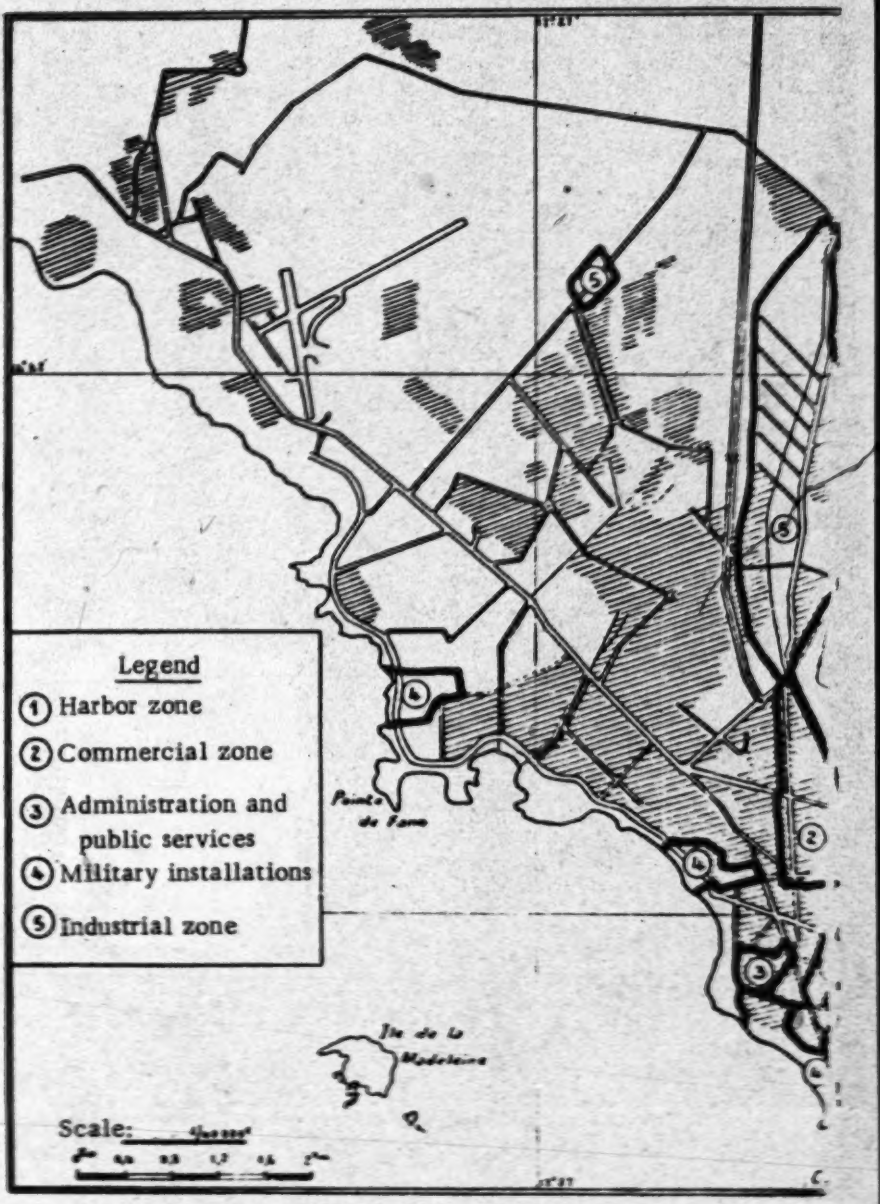


Fig. 2. Functional zones in the agglomeration of Dakar /left side of map/

17: Mercier--53 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

102
●361
712
x369

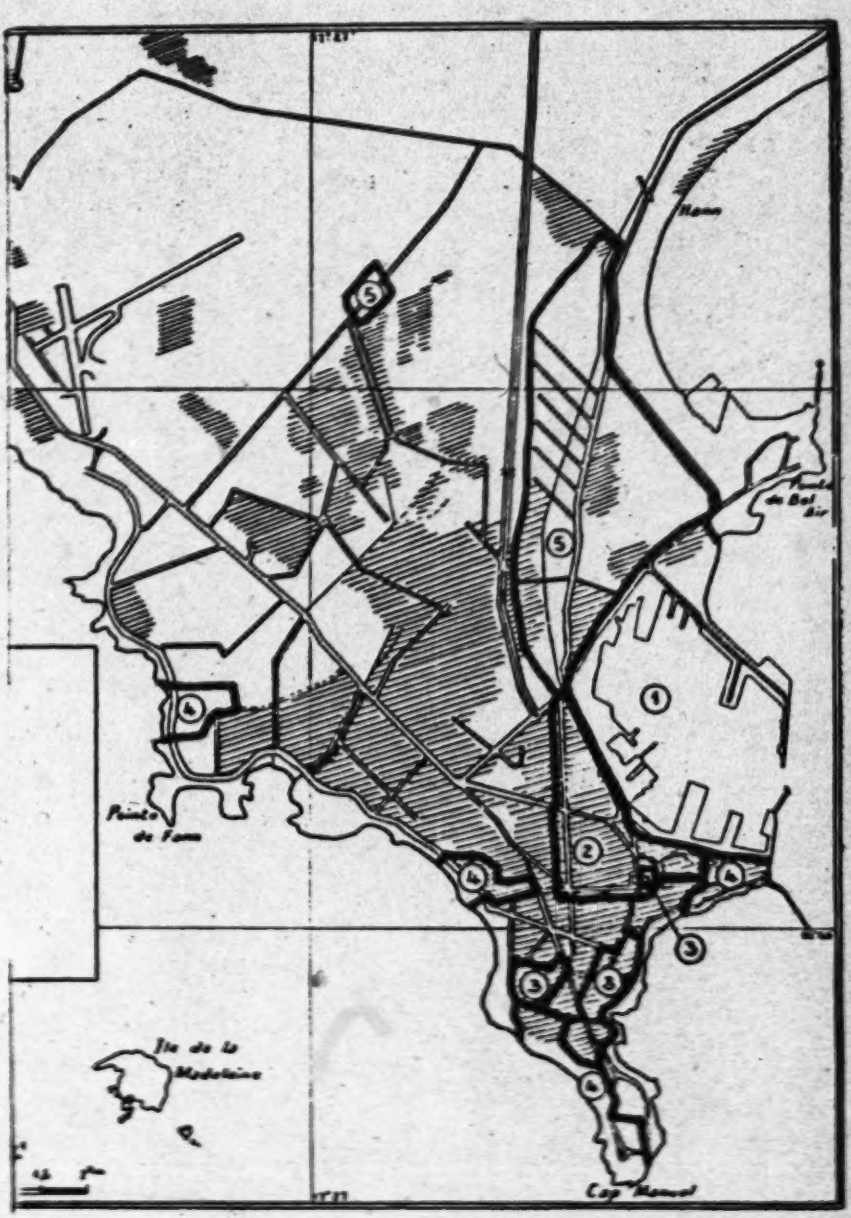


Fig. 2. Functional zones in the agglomeration of Dakar.
/right side of map/

17: Mercier--54 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

102
● 361
x 369
563

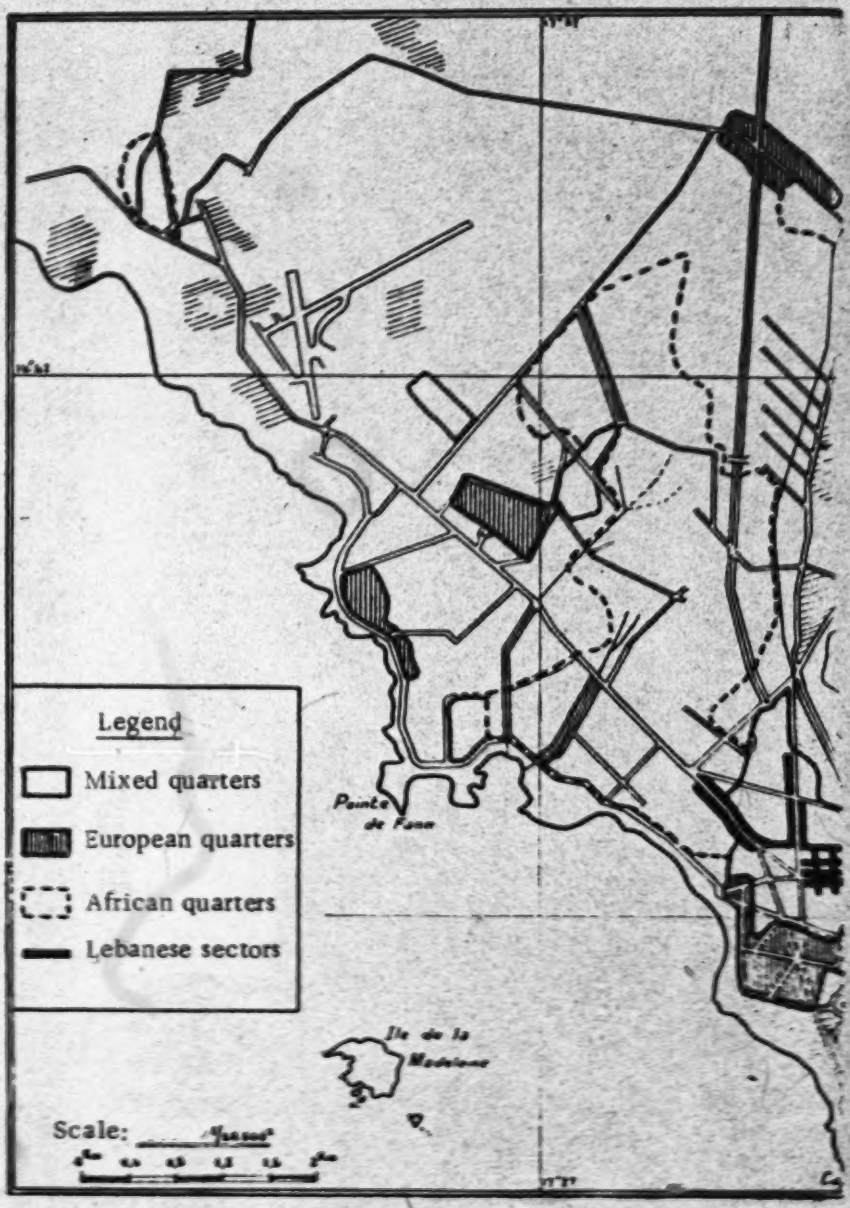


Fig. 3. Divisions of the Dakar habitat.
/left side of map/

17: Mercier--55 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

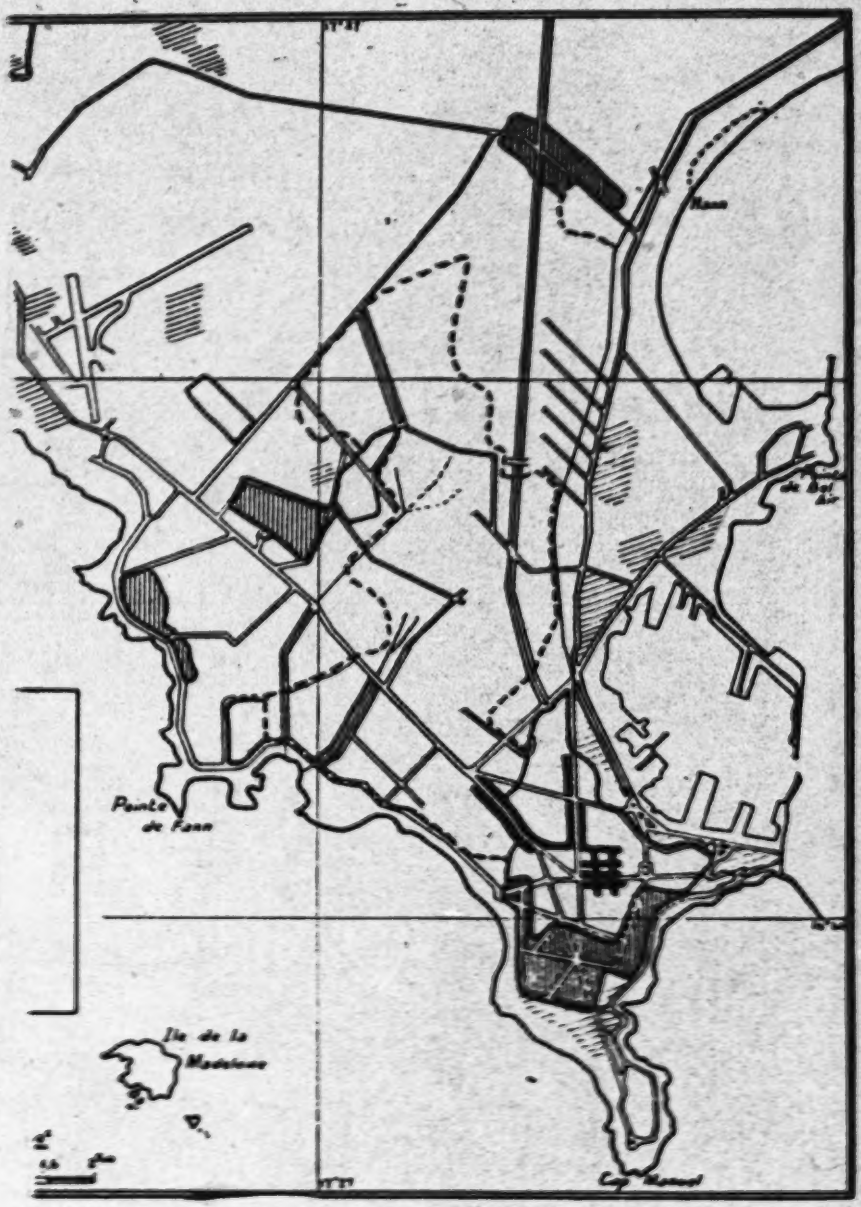


Fig. 3. Divisions of the Dakar habitat.
/right side of map/

361 /70/ New countries present the peculiarity that their important cities are established along the coast, for example, in South America and in Australia. West Africa is no exception to this rule; Dakar, Conakry, Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Accra ... are port cities. In contrast, cities in the interior are rarer; Bamako and Bobo-Dioulasso are important centers, but represent exceptions.

Thiès in Senegal does not entirely belong to either one of these categories. Located some 50 kilometers as the crow flies from the nearest port, it benefits from this proximity only in a very imperfect way. Nor is it a city of the interior; its economic relations with the port of Dakar do not permit such an appellation.

361 369 It is of recent creation and cannot, in contrast to Saint-Louis, Rufisque or Dakar, boast of a rich historic past (African or colonial); it no longer possesses that embryo of the old Creole middle class which would have been able to check its evolution toward the rapid formation of a more modern society, more Western in its conception. It is a new city that seems by a stroke of fate to have thrust out from the African bush as a kind of crossroads where the lines of modern communication have come to promote its fortune.

361 133 Before examining the different reasons which governed its implantation on such a site, it is advisable to place the city within the Senegalese countryside that surrounds it. When the traveler, leaving Dakar, takes the road or the railway which leads him to Saint-Louis, he leaves the Atlantic coast at the village of Bargny and then crosses the plain of Cape Verde over some 60 kilometers. A few moderate undulations occasionally break the monotony of the landscape; these are the Ndias "massifs." A little before the village of Pout, the eastern horizon is obstructed by a line of elevations giving the impression of sizable and brutal relief. Very soon, however, some ten kilometers from this village, one reaches the slope of Thiès. Its altitude is very slight; it culminates at 137 meters. The road and railway track ascend /71/ the face by a steep grade that makes use of a narrow defile called "Ravin des Voleurs" /Ravine of Thieves/. One quickly

/71 cont./

reaches the summit of the plateau.

The landscape which one then discovers seems more open: few trees or none at all; only a shrubby vegetation in the form of brush from which some baobab tops emerge. In the background there gradually appears the light color of the first houses of Thiès. The contrast between the green foliage of the city and the surrounding countryside, bare and yellow, blinding with light, is striking, especially in the dry season.

The aerial photograph, or better still the flight, makes this contrast appear even sharper. The city, with roughly triangular outlines and divided into large patches of geometrical squares flecked with innumerable dark spots of green foliage, stands out particularly sharply against the grey and deserted bush of the surroundings. The presence of an urban center on this almost unpopulated plateau seems strange, and one might wonder what reasons caused this not very hospitable site to be retained for the establishment of a relatively important city?

1. The History of Thiès

1. The site.

The plateau on which the escale (1) has been built

1. "Escale" here means a place where caravans rested after the halt of the day's journey and where small-scale trade was carried on; by extension, a village or city-market generally located on a railway.

slopes slightly toward the east, while its western face forms a steep slope. Plateau and slope belong to geological formations of the same date as those of the Cape Verde Peninsula and consist principally of limestone from the end of the Secondary/Mesozoic/ subsequently overlaid by a ferruginous shell. It is probable that the eastern section rose up and the western one sank in the Tertiary.

/71 cont./

The presence of a marl-calcareous horizon at a slight depth, the arrangement of the layers sloping toward the east, has favored the formation of a perpetual phreatic layer close to the surface and capable of supplying all the wells of the Thiès plateau.

The Thiès slope describes a concave line 40 kilometers long which begins in the north at the height of Mont-Rolland and ends abruptly in the south at the height of the village of [361] Tiao. The brow of the slope, with an average altitude of 100 meters, is cut broadly and deeply only by the "Ravin des Voleurs." At the foot of the slope there stretches a depressed, more or less swampy zone, /72/ /Fig. 1 appears here/ which borders it from north to south. Beyond Mont-Rolland, toward the northwest, accumulations of dune sand extend to the ocean (Fig. 1).

369 175 During the period of the pacification of Senegal by Faidherbe, Thiès was only a small village of unruly Sérère-None /Serer/, pillagers of caravans when the occasion presented itself. This village was established near the actual site [361] of the Faidherbe Redoubt, in a shaded and cool spot, hence the name "Diankhène" which was given to it and which means place of repose.

In 1856 Dakar was founded, and Saint-Louis developed. [648] A treaty concluded with the damel of Cayor (2) authorized the

2. Damel: Wolof word meaning sovereign.

[206] installation of a telegraph line to connect these two cities. But the execution of the work came up against the ill-will of the damel and the continual insecurity that prevailed in the region of Thiès.

After the creation of the post of Mbidjem, near Lake Tanma, the /73/ post of Thiès was built in 1863. Its [361] role was to pacify and to cover, in case of necessity, the troops that operated in the region. The latter, coming [487] from Gorée and from Dakar, took the trail /piste/ from Rufisque to Pout and from there reached the post of Thiès and Cayor by way of the "Ravin des Voleurs," the only easy and direct passage that connected Cayor with the Cape Verde Peninsula.

173 cont. /

102
131
133
491
496

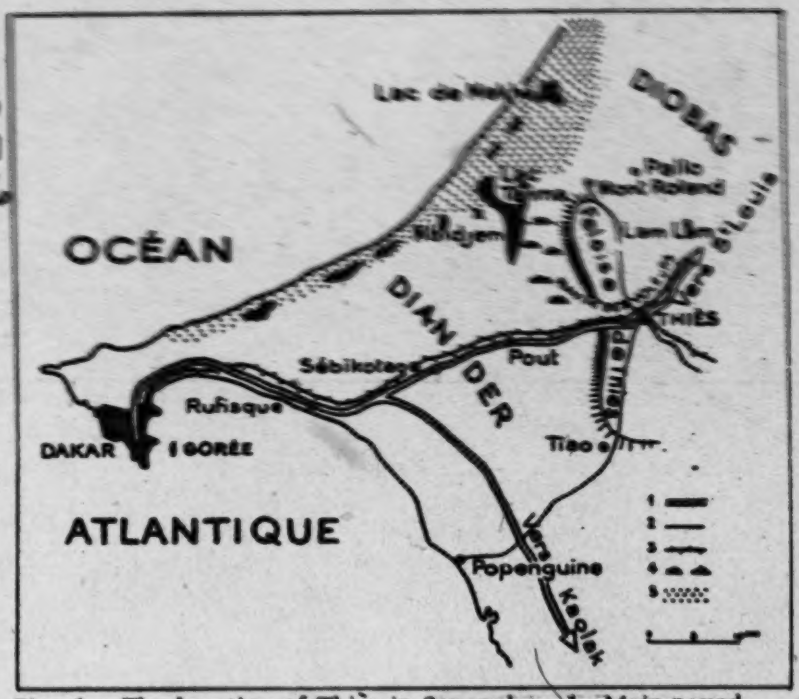


Fig. 1. The location of Thiès in Senegal. 1. Main paved road; 2. secondary road; 3. railroad; 4. swamps; 5. sand.

175 Verde Peninsula. As long ago as this epoch Thiès seems to
369 have been a strategic point and support point of primary im-
361 portance.

As early as 1880 the provinces of Diander and Diobas were pacified. The military posts lost their importance and were abandoned one after the other, for example, Nguiguis (near Tivaouane) and Mbidjem. Only the one at Thiès, because of its exceptional location, survived and developed.

175 2. The commercial escale (1880-1923).
369 The years of the decade 1880-1890 correspond to the
499 period of the development of groundnut cultivation in Senegal
244 and to the construction of the Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad.

/172 cont. /

175 369 441 133 The surveys for the future course of this railway revealed that the shortest route would have to follow the Atlantic coast, but since this is bordered by dunes it would necessitate some important construction work. The passage across the slope of Thiès was also a serious obstacle, but the "Ravin des Voleurs" made access to the plateau possible; the line would thus follow the valley which cuts the brow of the hill, then the depression which follows the plateau to the east, and would pass in front of the military fort established at its extremity.

175 369 [361] The fortune of Thiès was made: as early as 1885, the date of the opening of the railroad, the merchants of Rufisque set up branches there; a plan for dividing the future city into lots was outlined. This plan, unfortunately, foresaw the development of the city only north of the line, along the trail connecting Thiès with Rufisque and Dakar. A Catholic [797] mission was established in the vicinity, and in 1893 the first civil administrator occupied the new residence built near the Faidherbe redoubt.

175 369 439 The groundnut policy developed successfully; 20,000 tons of groundnuts were shipped by rail from the Thiès station in 1890 (3). Commerce, however, was not established in

[496] [492]

3. Convoys of camels competed with the railway up to 1910 and transported their cargo to the port of Rufisque. Thiès was the last stop before reaching the quays of embarkation 50 kilometers away.

[366] permanent fashion in the escale: only during the period of trading (from November to May) did the European employees [441] sent by the firms of Rufisque live in the city and buy groundnuts, millet, cotton ... at their branches; from May to November they returned to Rufisque, and most of the shops in Thiès were closed, the city seemingly dead.

175 The major part of the commerce was then concentrated
369 north of the railway; nevertheless, as early as 1885 some
[366] shops were established to the south, near the residence.

In 1890 Thiès had a permanent population of 1,200
[162] inhabitants. Some native quarters were established in the
175 vicinity of the commercial escale. The little village of
369 Thiès-None was shifted from the other side of the railway.
361 A native quarter was attached to the western part of the commercial zone; it was moved toward the south after the plague of 1911 and took the name of Randoulème (a word meaning in Wolof: remove yourself). Takhikao (storied house in Wolof), established originally near the first storied house belonging to Maurel and Prom, was ultimately pushed back along the route to Saint-Louis (Fig. 2).

175 Little by little, while the military function fell asleep,
369 the development of commerce brought stable economic
[366] activity to the city. Until 1914 the city grew very little,
[162] and its population amounted to only 2,400 inhabitants at that date; from 1885 to 1914 the city gained only 1,400 souls in all.

The military function of the city recovered part of its former importance during the war of 1914. The base of Thiès
[712] became a center of military training for new recruits. The quarter of Diakhao adjoining the camp was enlarged by the arrival of the families of the military. On the other hand, commerce was threatened during this period. The French
175 personnel, which since the beginning of the century had been
369 permanently established, was summoned to the colors. In
441 order to avoid shutting up shop, the Levantines were called
563 upon. The latter had made their appearance in Senegal as early as 1895 and up to that time had played only a very secondary role in the market of the city: selling candles, matches, beads... The war of 1914 facilitated their entry into the lucrative activity of trade.

/75 cont./

102
361
491
496

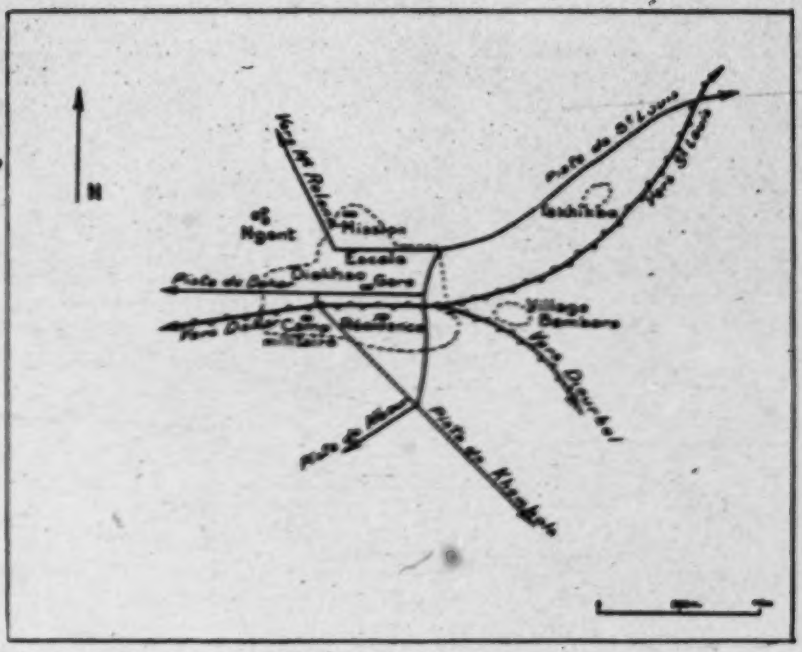


Fig. 2. Thiès in 1910.

369 acquired during the period of hostilities, their knowledge of the
441 language, and their great aptitude for adapting themselves to
563 the customs of the country and for living under very curtailed conditions /76/ made these newcomers serious competitors whom French commerce tried, but in vain, to eliminate. All the concessions of the northern escale were now occupied (5); the

5. There was no question of extending the first lots farther to the north; the concession ceded to the Mission prevented such an extension.

newcomers -- chiefly Syrians -- set up their factorerie (6) in the

[443]

6. Factorerie: shop where everything is sold and where at the same time

18: Savonnet--9 E-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 M837 Senegal M837
Thies

/76 cont./

369 local products (groundnuts,
441 millet ...) are bought or
563 bartered for.
443

still almost empty quarter of the residence.

Already the economic equilibrium of the city was no
369 longer essentially based on the commerce of trade, subject to
433 price fluctuations, but also on the budding industry which as-
458 sured it a certain stability. It is true that the latter, barely acquired, was put to a harsh test during the world crisis from 1930 to 1934. In the course of this difficult period the price of the groundnut slumped. The old commercial firms which depended solely on the trading were no longer able to meet their payments and liquidate their stock: Société Française du Sénégal, the firms Lacombe, Latrille... The sounder establishments were themselves obliged to close their city branches temporarily, for example, Peyrissac, Maurel Frères. Nevertheless one did not see here a complete slump in commerce with spectacular failures such as occurred in Dakar, but rather commercial liquidations, sales of stocks that were repurchased by Levantines and wholesale companies.

The effects of the crisis, which ended in 1934, re-
[471] sulted in a redistribution of commercial ownership, a re-
[563] adaptation of commerce to the new requirements, along with the definitive establishment of the Levantines.

369 At this date the fusion of the two railroad companies,
498 the Dakar--Saint-Louis and Thiès-Niger, stimulated an ex-
433 pansion of the industrial quarter by regrouping at Thiès the workshops originally installed at Dakar for the Dakar--Saint-Louis railway.

369 On the eve of the Second World War the city reached
the figure of 22,000 inhabitants, 1,200 of them Europeans.
[162] The almost complete disappearance of epidemics, the better
[511] food supply, the construction of comfortable houses (Ballabey
[361] district created as early as 1925 for the railway workers, villas for officers) permit metropolitan families to settle in a permanent fashion. In a parallel manner, the native

/76 cont./

369 quarters spread out toward the southwest in the vicinity of
361 the workshops; "Derrière la voie ferrée /Behind the Railroad/" and "Bambara" developed on the outskirts of "Randoulène."

4. Thiès, industrial and strategic city (after 1945).

369 The Second World War temporarily slowed down the
712 economic activity of the city. As in 1914, one saw a /77/ very earnest renewal of the military function: an autonomous motorized detachment (D.M.A.) was established in the old military camp which was considerably enlarged; an air base created a little before 1940 doubled the one of Ouakam installed at the gates of Dakar and now inadequate.

The experience of the last war had demonstrated the possible vulnerability of Dakar. Strategy demanded the formation of a strong base in the rear areas of the capital of French West Africa to support it if the need arose. The location and the proximity of Thiès met these requirements. In order to give maximum effectiveness to this enterprise, the means of communication between the two cities had to be improved, the military camps reorganized and modernized.
[491] A strong and wide road was built between these two cities. Its course was different from that of the old trail; it entered Thiès not from the west but from the south. The military camp covered several dozen hectares, the installations of the air base were improved and enlarged, and the annexes permitted the permanent establishment of officers and troops (Fig. 4).

369 From 1947 to 1952 intense activity prevailed in the
361 city. The entire district, except the old escale, formed a veritable workshop where vast avenues cut across the native quarters, where plazas were created, where zones of green were distributed. In the industrial precinct of the Dakar-
[498] Niger, new workshops intended for the repair of Diesel tractors and the construction of passenger coaches were installed. New villas along more modern lines for officials and railway workers rose almost everywhere in the city. The old escale, paralyzed within too narrow limits, was aroused

/77 cont./

369 and attempted as far as possible to renovate the lines of its
361 architecture and to offer to its clientele pleasant salesrooms with tastefully arranged windows and displays.

The native quarters for their part were enlarged and improved, penetrating deeply into the neighboring bush. The quarters of "Randoulène-Sud" /South Randoulene/, of "Grand Thiès" /Greater Thiès/, and of "Médina" were new creations. Diakhao and Takhikao develop. Some African officials and
[342] merchants have since begun some construction of small villas in durable material that replace the traditional straw hut or the simple plank hut.

[162] The growth of the population was considerable; from 24,000 in 1945, it reached 40,000 inhabitants in 1953, 2,700 of whom were Europeans.

369 Thus, from the founding of the first military post near
433 the village of Thiès-None up to our time, the growth of Thiès has been accomplished without any shocks. It has not known the great hopes of Dakar, the depressions, the failures of Rufisque and Saint-Louis. The /78/ wars, the crises are shown in the graph of its evolution only as simple plateaus (7).

7. G. Savonnet, "Evolution démographique de la ville de Thiès /Demographic Evolution of the City of Thies/, "Notes africaines, pp. 122-124.

369 Its fortune, as we have tried to show, comes from its
361 exceptional site at the entrance of the sole path of access to
433 the plateau of Thiès, along with the relative proximity of Dakar. Through the action of these three essential functions, commercial, industrial, and military, it enjoys an economic equilibrium that seems more stable than that of the other cities of Senegal.

/78 cont./

2. The Quarters

1. The quarters of European type.

361 563 If we eliminate the two military bases that offer very special characteristics peculiar to their internal organization, Thiès contains three quarters of Western conception: the Cité Ballabey /Ballabey District/, the Vieille Escale /Old Escale/, the Résidence. While the first shelters a population almost wholly European, in the other two the Whites are in the minority (one White to four Blacks).

No systematic segregation really exists in the city. The Cité Ballabey itself is a district for operatives belonging to the managerial staffs; it is in no way closed to Africans who have reached the rank required by their establishment. Although located near the workshops, it is a quiet zone. Its park is magnificent. The villas there are arranged regularly 351 according to a checkerboard plan in the purest colonial style. [342] Each square of the checkerboard is occupied by a villa divided into two twin and symmetrical apartments; courtyards and gardens extend out on all sides of the dwelling; some mango trees with dense foliage shelter the rabbit hutches, the hen house, and the garage from the heat of the sun. It is easy 341 to date the construction of each of them by its architectural 342 style: the pink brick corresponds to the years 1925-1930; the reinforced concrete, painted light beige, dates from after the war... The quarters of the D.M.A. and of the air base, with some variations, show almost no originality of their own and are comparable to the Cité Ballabey.

The Old Escale presents the appearance of a quarter [363] in a Mediterranean city: narrow streets bordered by storied buildings built out of the white limestone from Bargny; a small, light balcony with a metal balustrade projects over the sidewalk and runs from one end of the building to the other; a very slightly sloping red tile roof under a blue sky accentuates this impression of the Mediterranean world.

351 Each concession, square in plan, forms a regular block of

/78 cont./

102
361
491
496

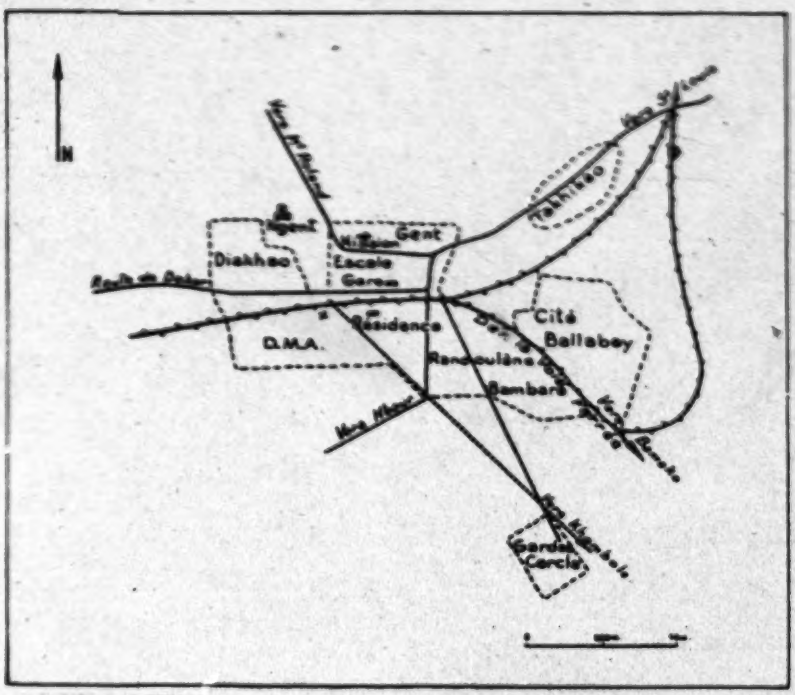


Fig. 3. Thiès in 1940.

351 buildings pierced here and there by a portal which gives access to the courtyards, always littered, of the shop or workshop. /79/
/Fig. 3 appears here./

361 [341] One now sees a modification of this oldish architecture and attempts at renovation. This quarter, built essentially for commercial purposes, did not leave any space free for expansion; no plaza, no small garden offers a pleasant spot in this assemblage dedicated essentially to trade.

The quarter of the Residence is quieter, and also cooler. The arrangement of the settlement pattern is looser; the houses are spread out, and each is separated from its neighbor by a [351] kitchen garden, a courtyard, or a small pleasure garden. Near the administrative buildings care has even been taken to reserve and arrange some public squares in the shade of immense Gambia

/79 cont./

361 mahoganies planted at the end of the last century. The very close presence of the station, and the continual coming and going of locomotives, with strident cries that rend the air, destroys the harmony of these quiet spots of small provincial cities, while attempts are made to recreate them.

361 Even more peaceful air is breathed in the Catholic
346 Mission, located to the north of the old "escale." The buildings were constructed at the end of the last century in red laterite, storied buildings /80/ with monastery arcades. They are situated in the middle of a huge garden, always green, extended by a park of magnificent trees. The whole reminds one to some extent of the peaceful site of some metropolitan abbey.

361 The two business quarters (Old Escale and Residence)
563 present the peculiarity of becoming, according to the time of
443 day, the domain of the European in the evening (at the hour for the apéritif) and on Sundays, and that of the African during the day (while the market is open). A place of contact between the Black and the White, this market occupies a very important place in the life of the African city and merits pausing there a bit.

443 It is on the day of the opening of the groundnut trade (at
[438] the beginning of December, for example) that it is proper to visit it. On coming from the station one plunges suddenly into the animation, the dust, the heat, the "sticky" odors of the market. The place is swarming with people where
443 the most diverse means of locomotion are squeezed and
494 mingled together: a small cinder-gray donkey, heavily laden, deciding to block the passage of an automobile, despite the beating by its master; a small, light cart with two rubber wheels serving as a taxi and in quest of a possible passenger; a housewife from the neighboring village, her
[482] last-born hanging on her back, and who keeps on her head, in marvelous balance, a calabash full of market produce; a cyclist, poorly balanced on his machine, now and again running into a pedestrian or a vehicle; a truck with impressive loads, which slowly pushes from the road the human

/80 cont./

443 flood rapidly closing in again behind it. All these noisy peo-
[493] ple carry with them a flavor of the neighboring bush, warm and dusty.

The market of dried fish readily reveals itself by the strong odor that it gives off; farther on is the stall of the
[563] butcher for Europeans; very close to it the merchant of the tripe trade who grills some skewers of small pieces on a charcoal fire. Elsewhere the sellers of colas, of condiments and cloth from Guinea, the cobblers offering their products among the very mixed odors in a halo of dust raised by the crowd. It is a delight for the eyes to see, in the bright sunlight under a very clear and pure blue sky, the shimmer of full garments of vivid hues moving with deliberation and majesty.

443 The animation reaches its greatest intensity between
512 nine and ten o'clock in the morning; the pedestrian is king, he blocks all traffic. Then, little by little, sellers and buyers disperse, and everyone falls into a blessed torpor at the noon hour. The afternoon is quiet, and at five o'clock each merchant has left his premises. This animation, which has only a temporary character in the commercial quarters of /Plates XI and XII appear here/ /81/ European type, is permanent in certain native quarters, but with a maximum amplitude in the evening after work.

2. The native quarters.

● 361 The native quarters also have their peculiar characteristics, a function of their antiquity, of their proximity or their distance from a center of activity, and, naturally, of the social category of their inhabitants.

Takhikao and Gent were among the first quarters created. Except for the nearness of the road from Thiès to Tivaouane, which attracts the merchants' small shops of planks or straw, they have kept their rural character: dwell-
[351] ings arranged in a loose order, surrounded by an orchard protected by a tapade /walling/ of branches or stalks of millet.

[Text continues on p. 18]

18: Savonnet--16 E-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 M537 Senegal M537
/Between pp. 80 and 81./

342
137
493
363
361

A. Thiès. Quarter of Derrière-la-voie-ferrée. Juxtaposition of houses of mud covered with sheet metal, sheet metal, and of straw.

346

B. The site of one of the oldest mosques of Thiès: quarter of Takhikao.

/81 cont./

361 millet. The old people assemble in the evening under the
[517] large silk-cotton tree that shades the old crumbling mosque of
Takhikao. The women chatter while awaiting their turn to
[312] draw water at the common well, while the children play in
[342] the sand. Gent stands out because of a series of small, low
houses with a rectangular base and a roof of corrugated metal,
all identical and set along the trail that leads to the marigot
[351] /watercourse/ of the mission. A garden and a courtyard, al-
ways littered with laundry, characterize each concession. It
[563] is the quarter of Portuguese half-breeds called "portugalais"
(Plates XI B and XII A).

Diakhao-Nord /North Diakhao/, quiet, airy, arranged
[363] according to a strict plan of lots, contrasts with Diakhao-Sud
with narrow, winding lanes bordered on all sides by tapades
of millet stalks and noisy in the evening. The proximity of
[275] the two military bases has made it a place where one amuses
himself with all that this includes in the way of drinking
[525] shops and more or less clandestine gambling dens. Brawls be-
[579] tween drunken men are not rare in these places.

Randoulène, Derrière-la-voie-ferrée, and Bambara,
which form a unique quarter, homogeneous in its density and
in the heterogeneity of its dwellings, have become established
in the immediate vicinity of the railroad repair shops. The
[342] huts of planks, mud, or straw stand one against the other along
[363] the winding lanes laid out according to the desire of the
moment and not without some imagination. These lanes are
[373] noisy with people, and even late at night they walk between
the small shopkeepers' stalls lighted with smoking candle ends.
351 The dense crowd flows over the edges of the street and enters
the interior of the courtyards. The latter, covering barely
a few square meters, often serve as a workshop for the
[463] weaver, the blacksmith, or the jeweler, and as a kitchen for
[252] the housewives of the neighboring huts; it is not rare to see
half a dozen millet pounders there, pounding their mortars
in rhythm in groups of two or three. This is also the gathering
[517] place /82/ /Fig. 4 appears here/ of workers, where, after
[524] work, sitting in the sand amidst the dust and the noise, in a

/82 cont./

35 heat heavily laden with the most diverse odors, they play
[517] cards or checkers. There is no question in such crowded
[524] quarters of removing all the household rubbish and used water.
It is frequent in the course of walks within this zone to run
[364] into piles of refuse or to cross several ditches full of stagnant, dirty, and malodorous water. Sometimes at a bend in a street one is surprised to discover some straw huts in the middle of a spacious courtyard (Plate XI A).

● 361 The quarters of the south, newly divided into lots, re-
351 mind one of that of North Diakhao with its embryos of streets intersecting at a right angle, /83/ its huts arranged in a loose order inside each square and huddled in the shade of mango trees.

Each concession of Médina, in distinct geometric forms, marked off by tapades of millet stalks, is of a meticulous neatness that contrasts with the other quarters of the city.
[795] This strict order, this rigid arrangement where all imagination is banished, is a reflection of the peculiar character of the Moslem Murid sect that occupies it.

361 The Cité Pillot, finally, built for the higher operatives and the specialized workers of the Dakar-Niger, to the south of the Bamako railroad, gives the appearance of a series of buildings that resemble those of barracks. The arrangement
[342] of the new constructions is that of small houses with twin apartments.

369 Thus, each of the European-type quarters, like the native quarters, possesses some particular trait or even its own individuality, which seems to correspond to a definite social structure: milieu of merchants, millieu of officials, milieu of artisans, of laborers, of cultivators.

At the same time, each stage of its evolution has stamped this or that part of the city with its original imprint, which makes it possible to follow quite easily the successive periods of its expansion.

/372/

369 "Dakar is the only city, in the European (or Western)
[361] sense, in all of West Africa," wrote D. Wittlesey in 1941 (1).

[113] 1. Derwint Wittlesey, "Dakar and other Cap Verde Settlements," The Geographical Review, 1941, p. 609.

Things have changed since then; Conakry, Bamako, Abidjan, and other centers have become true cities. It is incontestable
[162] that the 230,000 inhabitants counted in the census in 1955, of whom more than 30,000 were non-Africans, make Dakar the
[563] most important city in all of the Black Africa of French expression. In 1957 its port had more traffic than all the other ports
[505] of former French West Africa; in 1960, 8,000 vessels, with a capacity of 21,000,000 tons (2), put it among the most frequented

2. The official figures are 7,948 vessels and 20,992,111 tons.

[162] ports of Africa. But 50 years ago Dakar did not have 25,000 inhabitants. The rhythm of its growth is thus on a level with that of certain mushrooming cities in the United States of America. Dakar does not owe this extraordinarily rapid development solely to favorable natural conditions, as is often said, but also and especially to a complex interaction of historical, economic, and political factors. It is a crossroads born out of the effective integration of the African world and South America in the European economic system, an integration linked with the search for raw materials and markets, made possible and necessary by the great technical progress realized since the middle of the nineteenth century. City-crossroads, all of its vitality depends on the state of its relations.

[133] 1. Birth of Dakar. The head of the peninsula of Cape Verde, on which Dakar was established, is an assemblage of

/372 cont./

369 plateaus made up of two volcanic systems of different ages,
133 separated by a small, low plain, the whole tilting toward the east-northeast. This head of the penisula is savagely attacked by oceanic floods which create on these coasts many capes and little bays, as well as some little detached islands not very far away. It is in one of these little bays, the bay called Dakar,
361 the most extensive and the best protected, that the great modern
369 port is located, between Pointe de la Défense and Pointe de Bel-Air (Fig. 1).[1] Incontestably, this head of the peninsula makes a favorable site for a port city, a site whose equal would be sought in vain in West Africa (Fig. 2).[2]

131 /373/ But even more than the site, it is the location of
361 this forward cape of Africa that constitutes a trump of the first
369 order in the cards of Dakar. Crossed by the north parallel 14° 40' and located at the center of curvature of the great western
487 bulge of the African continent, almost halfway between the 30th degree north where the desert begins and the regions of the Bénin, former slave-dealers, the peninsula occupied an interesting position in the former navigational system of the central and southern Atlantic, for both the ships coming from the north and those coming from the south. It was in fact chosen as the first place of easy reprovisioning for the sailors who had traveled for several days along a desert-like coast from south of Morocco, while, for the ships coming from the Gulf of Guinea, it was the last place for provisioning available before the Canaries. Moreover, the tip of the peninsula is the most westerly of all the headlands of the Old World. Cape Dunemore in Ireland, which is the most westerly in Europe, does not go beyond 11° west of Greenwich, whereas the peninsula of Cape Verde goes beyond 17° west, even reaching 17° 32' 16" at Cape Almadies. Dakar is thus more than 500 kilometers west of Casablanca (3); it is

[113] 3. Marcel M. Chartier, "Dakar, Port aérien /Dakar, aerial port/," in Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 1948, p. 87.

[1] [See category 116, p. 5--Analyst]
[2] [See category 116, p. 11--Analyst]

/373/

369 therefore one of the Old World's closest points to South America
36 (4). Dakar and Natal are about 3,000 kilometers apart.
[131
[487]

4. Cape Roxo and the region of Freetown are closer from Cape St. Roque by 250 kilometers (cf. J. Richard Molard, in "La presqu'île du Cap-Vert /The peninsula of Cape Verde/," I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 10).
[113]

These advantages of site and location, however, should not make one forget that the tip of the peninsula of Cape Verde did not have easy access. On the one hand, the shallow depths
[133] which border it on its north front caused many shipwrecks, the
369 pillage of which in part supported the riparian populations, and,
175 on the other hand, it did not offer any security for the possible
[579] establishment of a settlement because of the very independent character of the Lébou, who were tightly organized in a gerontotheocratic republic under the authority of the "Great Serigne" (5).

5. Great Marabout.

after being freed from the bondage of the Damel (6) around 1809.

6. King of Cayor.

Thus, one should not be surprised that the actual occupation of the peninsula by France was very late. For a long time the island of Gorée better satisfied the needs of the early navigators. Discovered by the Portuguese at the same time as Cape Verde, in 1444, the island, located off the southeastern cape of the peninsula, was still uninhabited when the Hollanders appeared at Cape Verde in 1588. In 1617 the latter bought it from the chiefs of the coast "for iron and some nails" (7). This island of less than a

[113] 7. Dr. Cariou, note on Gorée in "La

/379 cont./

102
496
508
504
491
●361

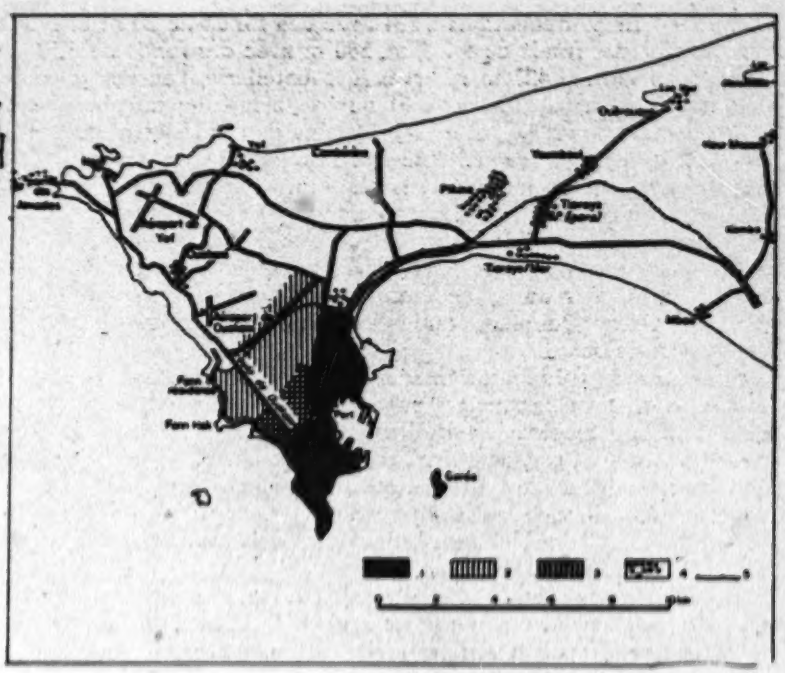


Fig. 2. The quarters of Dakar. --1. Dakar-ville and the industrial zone; 2. Greater Dakar; 3. Médina; 4. villages of the suburbs; 5. railroads.

369 groundnuts at Rufisque, nearer to the centers of production in
505 Cayor. Therefore Rufisque soon became the groundnut capital.
439 As early as 1862, 27 European or Goréan merchants were estab-
[441] lished there (and 12 at Bargny, located three kilometers farther to the east). Three years later, this figure climbed to 35 (14).

14. Note 1 in Fondation de Dakar, op. cit., p. 328.

369
633 The activity at Rufisque was so great and the launching of Dakar so

20: Seck --15 U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 380-381/ Plate XXI

361

A. Gorée.

Photo. IFAN.

363
342

B. A view of Dakar (photograph taken from the Pasteur Building). Photo [redacted]

/284 cont./

369 in the city at the home of a relative, at the home of a friend
563 or the friend or relative of a friend, or at the home of a resi-
166 dent originally from the same village or merely from the same
162 region — all of this ultimately makes up the factors that are
464 more decisive than the salary. Because of this, while among the resident non-African the number of persons employed amounts to 43% of the total and 84% of the economically active, among the resident Africans, the proportion of workers is no more than 27% of the total and 42% /285/ of the economically active. If one adds to that the salaries, on the average
369 much higher among the first than among the second, one finds
511 in Dakar some of the contrasts characteristic of West African
563 cities: on the one hand, among the non-Africans, a high standard of living which is often shown in the appearance of their quarters, and, on the other hand, the mass of the African population whose settling in the city is tied neither to a correlative augmentation of the normal opportunities for lodgings nor to a higher living standard in relation to the bush, which gives to the African city, or at least to some of its quarters, an appearance more wretched than that of the villages of the interior.

369 This situation, formerly very clear, put Dakar in the
563 normal category of West African cities, where a white city and
[361] a black city stand in contrast (22), a contrast that was the result

[113]

22. Dresh, J., "Villes d'Afrique occidentale /Cities of West Africa/," Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 1950.

of a de facto segregation imposed, not by law, but by the norms of urbanism and of hygiene, to which it was impossible for the bulk of the natives to subject themselves, and also by the high
[445] price of rent — the non-African being nearly always lodged by their employer. In 1936 Charles Morazé wrote: "Formerly Europeans and natives lived mixed. Innumerable families lived

/385 cont./

369 563 in small apartments, true caravanseries contained within the European city. This promiscuity was deplorable. Europeans and natives were not in fact subject to the same epidemics: [144] yellow fever, for example, fatal for the white, is benign to the black. The danger of a mixed population was that the epidemics would spread without being stamped out in time. Finally, the system lacked style: therefore as early as 1916 [341] the creation of the native village of Médina was decided upon" (23).

23. Monnié, Ch., "Dakar," op. cit., p. 638.

There it was, in a way, the theory of the urbanism of the West African cities ! Nevertheless the problems of land were so complicated at Dakar (24) between the two world wars

[113] 24. See the work by A. Angrand, Les Lébou de la presqu'île du Cap-Vert (Essai sur leur histoire et leurs coutumes) /The Lébou of the peninsula of Cape Verde (essay on their history and their customs)/. "La Maison du Livre," Dakar.

[167] that, with the Lebano-Syrian immigration and the Crédit [452] Foncier /Mortgage-loan Society/ helping, there was created, in contact with the European city and the Médina, a collection [361] of quarters more mixed in their contents and in their appearance. Up to the end of the Second World War Dakar preserved this appearance of a threefold city. But after the war a series of new factors caused a rapid and brutal evolution in Dakar. The return to normal economic activities after the dark period following the war, the awakening and amplification of political and syndical life, the creation of the Fonds d'Investissement Economique et Social (F.I.D.E.S.), and, finally, the ever greater influx of rural people into Dakar led the federal authorities to take a series of fortunate initiatives. /386//Fig. 4 appears here/

20: Seck--24 U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/386/

102
491
361
363
496

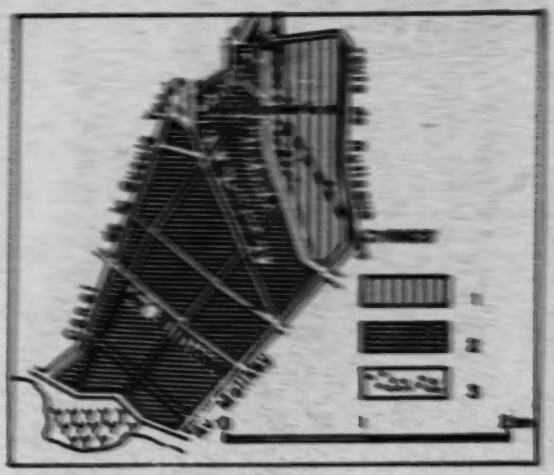


Fig. 4. Médina. -- 1. Industrial zone;
2. quarters more or less urbanized;
3. irregular quarters.

369 which progressively transformed the Dakar agglomeration.
563 There was first the creation of the S. T. A. G. D. (Service temporaire de l'aménagement du Grand-Dakar /Temporary
[361] Office for the Arrangement of Greater Dakar/) for a systematic urbanization of the city. Then there was the decision to promote a policy of lodgings for African officials, while a society for a mixed economy, the Société Immobilière du Cap-Vert (S. I. C. A. P.) /Building Society of Cape Verde/
[364] studied and made up forms for cheap dwellings for mere renting or for rent-sale. At the same time there was the law called "Lamine Guèye," which equalized (pward) several
[445] elements of the African and non-African wages at the time when "l'africanisation des cadres" /Africanization of the staffs/ was promoted, which led to a mixture of African and
[447] European in the administrative lodging and in the new quarters for officials. Finally, first the staff-law and then autonomy

/386 cont./

369 and independence have had the effect of reinforcing this mix-
563 ing the more since it sometimes brings about a pure and simple substitution of African staffs for European staffs in many of the lodgings.

Finally, although today the quarters of Dakar are still clearly distinguished by their appearance, the differentiation of their contents is less and less based on origin and tends to be a social rather than racial differentiation. Therefore, instead of the traditional division of the West African cities into "white city and black city," let us distinguish four sections in the Dakar agglomeration: /387/ Dakar-ville, the Medina, Greater Dakar, and the suburbs.

361 1. Dakar-ville. The plateau from the southeast to the
369 head of the peninsula and a part of the plain from Cape Manuel to the avenue El Hadji Malick Sy constitute what today is called Dakar-ville. The essential characteristic of this part of the Dakar agglomeration is that almost all of its buildings are permanent, except for some islands of huts. This is where practically all of the administrative offices, the large-scale
[366] commerce, the major part of the Lebano-Syrian commerce, and the great markets are found. But Dakar-ville shows very diverse aspects (Pl. XXI B) (Pl. XXIIA).

The Plateau is the best arranged part of Dakar-ville. It is there that the first nucleus of modern Dakar was located, extending around the port, from the station to the Protet Plaza and the Military Circle. Little changed, this nucleus has re-
[363] mained very much as it was at the beginning of the century:
[340] it is intersected by narrow streets, bordered by old houses in
[341] colonial style, with stores on the ground floor and lodgings with verandas on the upper floor. This nucleus has remained the business quarter, that of the large-scale commerce dominated by the great companies and the old Bordeaux firms,
[44] C.F.A.O., S.C.O.A., N.D.S.O.C.O., S.O.C.O.P.A.O.,
[344] Chavanel, Manel et Prom, etc., surrounding the Kermel market, surmounted by its capitals of 1900 style. Several old administrative

/387 cont./

361 buildings, the General Postoffice, the Treasury, the Town
369 Hall, the former Délégation, the former Palace of Justice, and the Chambre de Commerce are included there. A "city" phenomenon tends to be produced in this quarter which, very lively by day, is almost completely empty at night. Toward the east this quarter extends along the road to Bel-Air and the old road to Rufisque by way of the industrial section of Dakar where the factories have been established largely since the war. On the northwest, on each side of the avenue W.-Ponty, extends a mixed quarter, commercial and residential, harboring the old Lebou families, having benefited from the facilities offered
[447] by the Crédit Foncier, and the Lebano-Syrians and Cape Verdeans who rent or are quasi-owners as a result of long-term leases. It is therefore an old quarter that developed especially after the construction of the commercial port and has preserved its narrow streets, quite unique today, its low houses dominated here and there by some recent building. The avenue W.-Ponty,
366 with greatly varied commerce, the avenue Gambetta dominated
369 by the Lebano-Syrian commerce, the avenue Roume bordered by beautiful buildings and enlivened by luxury commerce, and finally the avenue Maginot which is shared by great stores of the West and Lebano-Syrian commerce in fabrics near the market of Sandaga are the most completely transformed arteries of this section of the Plateau, where many cafés and restaurants, /388/ cabarets, and cinemas maintain far into the night a nonchalant, but pleasant animation following the rushing business of the day.

369 Beyond the Boulevard de la République, which bounds the
361 old quarters on the west and which is distinguished by its many buildings, commerce disappears almost entirely, giving way to a residential zone of middle-class appearance, with its villas often more comfortable than stylish. This residential zone, formerly
[543] entirely European, is mixed today, harboring European and African staffs. Barracks and hospitals separate this quarter from
[M2] Cape Manuel, formerly a military zone, but today occupied by
[344] the monumental Palace of Justice dominating the newly established embassies. But all of Dakar-ville is not as well arranged

/388 cont./

369 as the Plateau. The low quarters that border the avenue Malick
●36 Sy and which are crossed by the route de l'Abbattoir /Slaughter-
[363] house Road/ quite obviously differ from the rest. In Rebeus and
[364] in Niayes-Thioker, few of the streets are paved, and, during winter, ponds where household debris rots often surround the low permanent houses and the neighboring huts.

[162] Dakar-ville has only 46,000 inhabitants, among whom
[563] are almost two-thirds of the 30,000 non-Africans of Dakar.

Gorée, the fallen capital, which has become a military, tourist, and, to a slight extent, residential annex of Dakar, is attached to this section.

[363] 2. The Médina. Containing practically only Africans,
[364] the Médina is much more densely populated than Dakar-ville. Blocked on the west by the Moslem cemetery and on the north by the canal of the Gueule-Tapée, the Médina has not ceased stretching toward the east since its creation during the First World War. It presents several aspects: the oldest part, east
[363] of the avenue Blaise-Diagne, has all of its streets paved and planted with trees; it has few huts, and permanent houses are
[364] erected almost everywhere there; many sanitary facilities and public fountains complement the private establishments and make this quarter relatively clean and pleasant (Fig. 4 and Pl. XXII B).

The farther one goes toward the east, however, beyond the avenue Blaise-Diagne, the newer the quarter is and the more it gives the appearance of a wretched village. Thus, between
[363] the avenue Blaise-Diagne and the Gendarmerie, although some
[364] principal arteries are paved, most of the streets remain sandy and obstructed with household rubbish. Moreover, one notes some permanent houses here and there, to be sure, but huts are much more numerous. East of the Gendarmerie, Colobane is even less well arranged, while, beyond the automobile road, Kip-Coco and Quartier Mous, veritable camp cities for new arrivals, are called "irregular quarters," that is to say, quarters temporarily tolerated, although no right of the inhabitants to settle there can be recognized (Pl. XXIII A)./Pl. XXIII and

[See Category 116, p. 16 -- [illegible]]
[See Category 116, p. 20 -- [illegible]]

/388 cont./

369 Pl. XXIV appear here on unnumbered pages/. /389/ /Fig. 5
361 appears here./

3. Greater Dakar. Of all the sectors of the Dakar agglomeration, Greater Dakar is certainly the one that presents the sharpest contrasts. The quarter of the "Gueule-Tapée" resembles the old Médina, while Fass and "Usine Biscuit" /Biscuit Factory/ remind one of Colobane, but aside from these there stand some modern quarters that are quite varied in appearance, contrasting strongly with the "Médinas," the "Colobanes," and the irregular quarters that surround them. It is in this sector of Greater Dakar [893] that the University is found, raising its majestic buildings on the edge of the sea. It is flanked on the north by the rich quarter of Fann-Résidence where the residences of ministers and members of their cabinets, directors of houses of commerce, and high officials are grouped; to the south military villas and the allotment of Fann Hock separate it from the Gueule-Tapée. Point E, Zone A, Zone B, /390/ the Cité des Douanes /customs/, and that of the Port de Commerce are officials' quarters, while Bopp, formerly a swamp, has in recent years become a pretty little quarter, all the houses of which were built by officials [452] with the aid of the Crédit du Sénégal /Local Association of Senegal/. The S.I.C.A.P. which extend along the route des Puits /Roads of the Wells/ (Karacks, Baobabs, Liberté I, Liberté II, Liberté III, etc.) are pleasant lots intended to facilitate for Africans the acquisition of property (Fig. 5).

Finally, the quarter of Derklé forms, in several groupings of houses, a residence for petty African officials, another one for the African employees of private enterprises, and finally a quarter called the "Castors," the houses of which have been built by their associated and grouped owners with the aid of the public authorities.

Greater Dakar is the most extensive and the heaviest popu- [164] lated sector in the Dakar agglomeration. It includes more than [643] 73,000 inhabitants, among whom is numbered one-sixth of the non-African population.

[text continues bottom of p. 31--Analysis]

20: Seck--30 U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 388-389/

Plate XXIV

501
361

A. Yoff, subURb of fishermen.

361

B. Thiaroye, truck-gardening suburb.

Photo. Assane Seck.

/389/

108
•361
363
873
912

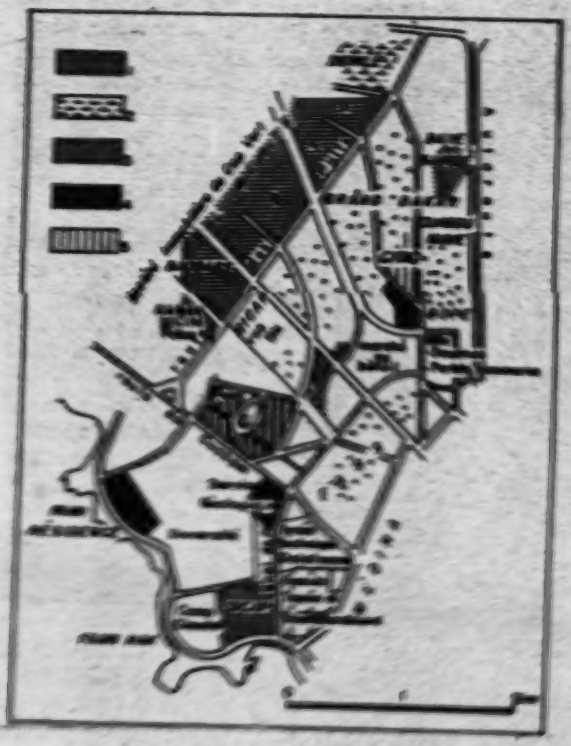


Fig. 5. Greater Dakar. -- 1. Officials' quarter; 2. Derklé; 3. H.L.M.; 4. houses of officials; 5. loan grouping.

/390 cont./

361
369

4. The suburbs. The suburbs of Dakar are composed of 13 villages, of which those closest to Dakar, Ouakam, N'Gor, Yoff, Hann, Thiaroye, and M'Bao resemble Colobane. The others remain typical traditional villages. Only Dagoudane-Pikime escapes either category. Created ex nihilo less than ten years ago to serve as an outlet for the irregulars of Dakar who were to be found there, driven back as urbanism progressed, it already has the appearance of a little city with its 10,000 inhabitants.

[62]

/390 cont./

361 inhabitants. It had an official center and wide streets, which,
369 however, are not yet paved. Despite this city appearance,
[363] however, Pikine is more intimately dependent on Dakar than the other villages of the suburbs; it is a workman's suburb, and all of its provisioning comes from Dakar, while practically all of its inhabitants are employed in the great city. With this exception, the villages of the suburbs have as their essential
[438] role the provisioning of Dakar with fish and fresh vegetables. Many transportation facilities in common connect them with
[489] Dakar-ville from very early in the morning until around the middle of the night (Pl. XXIII B, Pl. XXIV A and B).

This is the arrangement or juxtaposition of the various elements of the Dakar agglomeration, whose present popula-
[162] tion may well have exceeded 300,000 inhabitants.

369 4. Perspectives. The Dakar agglomeration has the appearance of an unfinished city in the process of being organized, even though its function as a West African metropolis has been confirmed for a long time. There are surprises in this situation for those who analyze the old European urban civilizations, where one sees an ancient city existing as /391/ /Fig. 6 appears here/ one that patiently developed its relations in order to become a metropolis and to constitute a solid and dynamic assemblage where urban and metropolitan functions mutually support one another. Dakar, however, is above
369 all a center of relations which has woven with its hinterland
439 connections that have the appearance of complementary ties,
433 but which actually are ties of dependence: dependence in fact because in the Senegalese and Sudanese interior the development of export crops is tied up with the means of evacuation organized by Dakar; dependence also because the export crops, in breaking up the former village autarchy, have given Dakar the role of a great relay-station in the importation of food products in compensation and manufactured products which have become a necessity there where formerly they were unknown; dependence, finally, not only for the Senegalese and

Zb Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal M537
Gambia FC1

S
6
102
103
131
133
361
491
S
496

FIG. 47. Senegal

[Facing P. 395 (A)]

[pp. i–xvi and pp. 1–394 not processed]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 39
Gambia FC1

S
G
102
103
131
133
361
491
S
496

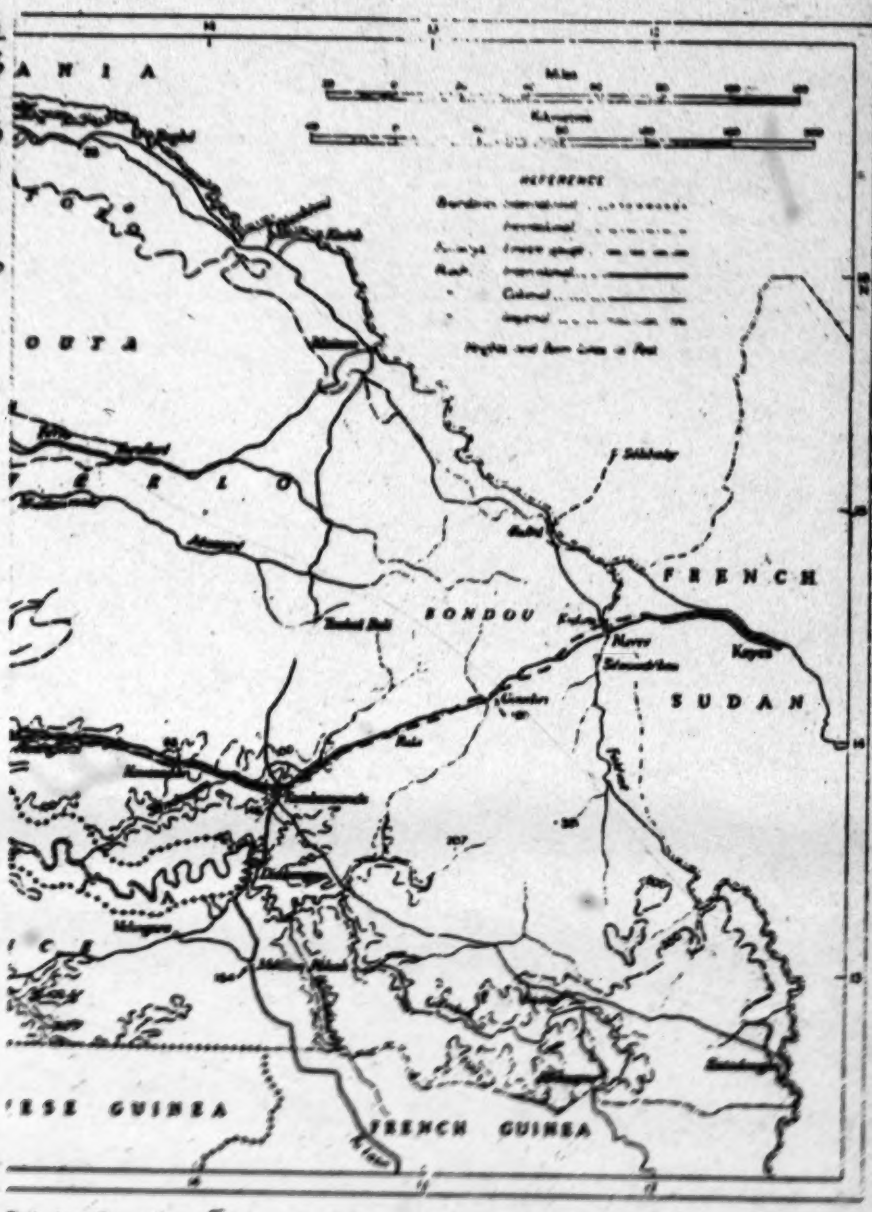


Fig. 87. Senegal

[Facing P. 395(B)]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS37

133 to an average height of some 130 feet. Rocky outcrops frequently break its lateritic surface, and the rise from the valleys is invariably abrupt.

The south-east of the colony is mainly the basin of the Gambia, but some parts are drained to the Falémé. Much land is over 300 feet, and, as the surface rises to the Palaeozoic sandstones and pre-Cambrian quartzites of Fouta Jalon, the valleys of the Gambia and of its tributaries, the Nieri Mango, the Niocolo Koba, and the Koulountou, are proportionately deeper. The side valleys of the first two, indeed, are little more than very narrow gullies. Just east of the 13th meridian steep hills rise on either side of the Gambia itself, and, some 15 miles west of Kédougou, a broken spur strikes north from French Guinea. Upon it heights of over 1,300 feet rise above scarps of 300 or 400 feet, and, although the river now beheads its northern end, it has forced the Gambia to take a great northward loop. East of Kédougou the country is more open, for the intercolonial boundary follows the scarps that mark the northern limits of Fouta Jalon.

3. THE COAST

THE total distance from the Mauritanian boundary to Cape Roxo is 333 miles, but 40 miles of this are in the Gambia. The coast of Senegal may be divided into four unequal parts: the mouth of the Senegal river, the smooth curve that flanks the interior plain, the Cape Verde peninsula, and the creeks and estuaries of the south.

The Canary current sets southward along the northern part of the coast, but south of Cape Verde it varies with the seasons. From January to June it flows south or south-east, from June to August north or north-west, and in late August east. During the rest of the year it is variable.

Swell is strong and surf is heavy.

The Langue de Barbarie to the Cape Verde Peninsula

The Langue de Barbarie is some 27 miles long and has been built by the combined efforts of the Canary current and the Senegal. For its last 15 miles it is nowhere more than half a mile wide and it separates the river from the sea. St. Louis (p. 440) stands on an island in the river, but has three suburbs, two on the Langue de Barbarie and one on the mainland. From this mainland suburb, Sor, the railway begins its journey to Dakar. Across the mouth of the

[361] [896]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

river is a sandy bar which sometimes prevents entry by ships for several weeks on end. After this the coast stretches south-south-westwards in a gentle curve of sandy beach. There are dunes along the shore, and, inland from them, the marshy depression already described on p. 397. There are very few villages and, indeed, very few landmarks of any kind. Seventy-four miles from the mouth of the Senegal the village of Kayar is perceptible from the sea. It is connected to Rufisque (17 miles) by a colonial road, and immediately south of it is Lake M'Baouar, which is seldom or never without water. After Kayar the coast trends more definitely south-west. Lake Retba, whose north-eastern end is 6½ miles from Kayar, is a permanent salt lake fed by the sea. There are other lakes and swamps behind the littoral dunes. On the coast itself stands another village, Cambérène, which is 22½ miles from Kayar and behind which rise the Petites Mamelles. These are three grey, isolated, sandy knolls, and they mark the beginning of the Cape Verde peninsula (Fig. 48).

[133] [361] [491] [361]

The Cape Verde Peninsula and Goree Bay

Yof island (Plate 108), 3¼ miles west of Cambérène, stands off the village (Plate 109) of the same name. The beach on the mainland is accessible to surf-boats in all weathers. Just west of the village is a cable hut, where cables are landed, and a tarmac road runs southwards to Ouakam and Dakar. The coast is now more indented, and, 2½ miles south-west of Yof, is a ledge of rocks which joins the shore to Ngor island and behind which is the village of Ngor. Three-quarters of a mile farther west the coast turns almost due south to reach Almadi point (Plate 110), the extreme west of the mainland of Africa. There is a lighthouse on a rock three-quarters of a mile out to sea. Cape Verde itself is 2 miles to the south-east of Almadi point, and behind it are two conical hills called the Mamelles. It was the stunted brushwood on these hills that gave the cape its name. From here to Cape Manuel the coast continues its south-easterly direction, being formed of red cliffs and small sandy beaches. Fann point, 3¾ miles from Cape Verde, marks the north-western end of Madeleines bay, which washes the south-western side of Dakar (p. 444). Some 2 miles south-west are the four Madeleines islands, all of which are rocky and three of which are inaccessible. At Cape Manuel, which is 131 feet high, the coast turns sharply north to form Bernard bay. North of Dakar is Hann bay, and both of these small bays are on the western side of Goree bay. This is generally considered to stretch from Cape Manuel to Cape Rouge, and in it,

[361] [206] [491] [361] [502] [137] [103] [504]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

133 1½ miles off shore from Dakar, is the historic island of Goree (p. 449).
[504] The bay is protected by the Cape Verde peninsula and affords good anchorage at a depth of 11 fathoms, and its beaches provide numerous landing-points for ships' boats.

[361] The village of Hann, in the middle of the shore of Hann bay, is a

102
491
133
361
103

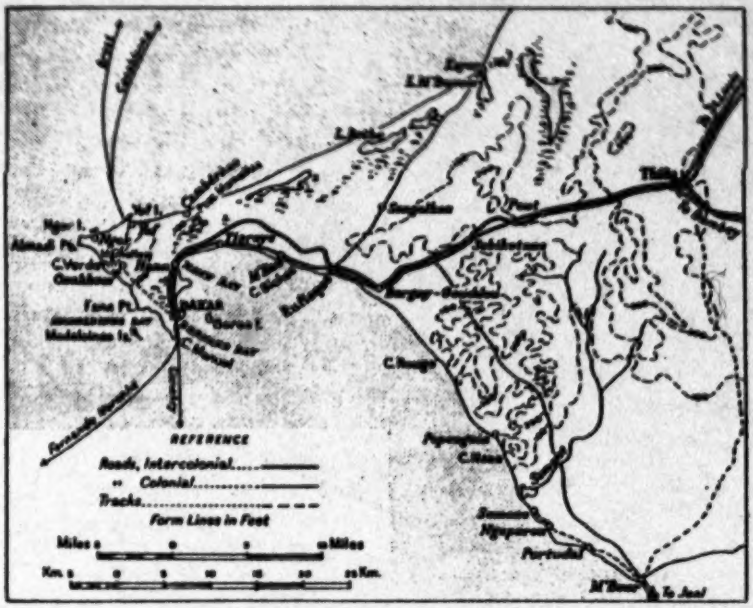


FIG. 48. *The Cape Verde Peninsula*

133
[361] seaside resort for the inhabitants of Dakar. There is also a botanical
[369] garden. The intercolonial road and the railway run near the sea and
[491] are never far from it until they pass Bargny-Gouddou. North-east of
[496] Hann there is a narrow lagoon between the sea and the road, and the coast bears away north-east, east, and east-south-east for the 11 miles to Rufisque (p. 449). There is much marshland, and the sole feature of note is Cape Biches, a low promontory 2 miles before the town.
[36] Bargny-Gouddou is 3 miles east-south-east of Rufisque, and beyond it the coast is cut up by creeks and lagoons, which have small seasonal rivers running into them. Behind them are scattered sandhills which rise eastwards to hills of 200 and 300 feet. Cape Rouge, which barely projects into the sea, has red cliffs intersected by wooded ravines.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 39

Cape Rouge to Sangomar Point

The hills are near the shore at least as far as the Somone, but the shoreline is fringed with sandy beaches and occasional mangrove swamps. Popenguin, 6 miles from Cape Rouge, has a Roman Catholic church, and, 1½ miles farther, Cape Naze rises to 236 feet. Inland there is a hill of 400 feet. Three miles beyond the cape the river Somone finds its way to the sea through a patch of mangrove-woodland. The coast runs south-eastwards by means of a series of small bays, and the country is more settled and cultivated. A number of sandspits can also be distinguished. These have been built by the prevailing current, and they have either blocked or diverted the short streams and marigots. From the village of Somone, which is a little distance from the river of that name, there is a minor road to Ngaparou, Portudal, and M'Bour (p. 450). Portudal's great days are over, but ships can still anchor about 3½ miles off shore in a depth of 5½ fathoms. There is a reef to seaward of the beach, but west of the village a break allows access to a creek, where landing is possible. There are many other reefs and shoals off this part of the coast. Inland, the road is continued near the shore to Joal, but in many places its surface is very rough indeed. Two miles beyond M'Bour the Balling, a seasonal river, meets the sea, and, 3 miles farther still, is Nianing, a local centre for tracks. From here the coast runs almost due south to Sarène point, a low and sandy promontory. After this the road goes inland a little to avoid a shallow bight, heavily fringed with mangroves and crossed by several marshy streams. South of this, and 1 mile north of Senti point, is the village of Nguerobil, conspicuous by reason of its Roman Catholic church. Joal (p. 450) is 2½ miles farther south-east. From this place onwards the coast is extremely swampy and is cut up by creeks and estuaries. Only the principal features can be noted here.

Eleven and a half miles beyond Joal stands the little village of Diakhanor. This marks the northern end of a strip of land which is strongly reminiscent of the Langue de Barbarie. It has been built by the Saloum and the sea, and it separates them for about 10 miles. An old mouth of the river is clearly observable 6 miles south of Diakhanor, and the end of the strip is called Sangomar point.

Sangomar Point to the Frontier of the Gambia

The Saloum is navigable upstream for sea-going vessels for about 100 miles, and on its banks and those of its tributary the Sine

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 -1537 Senegal MS 37

[p 402]
102
103
133
491
561

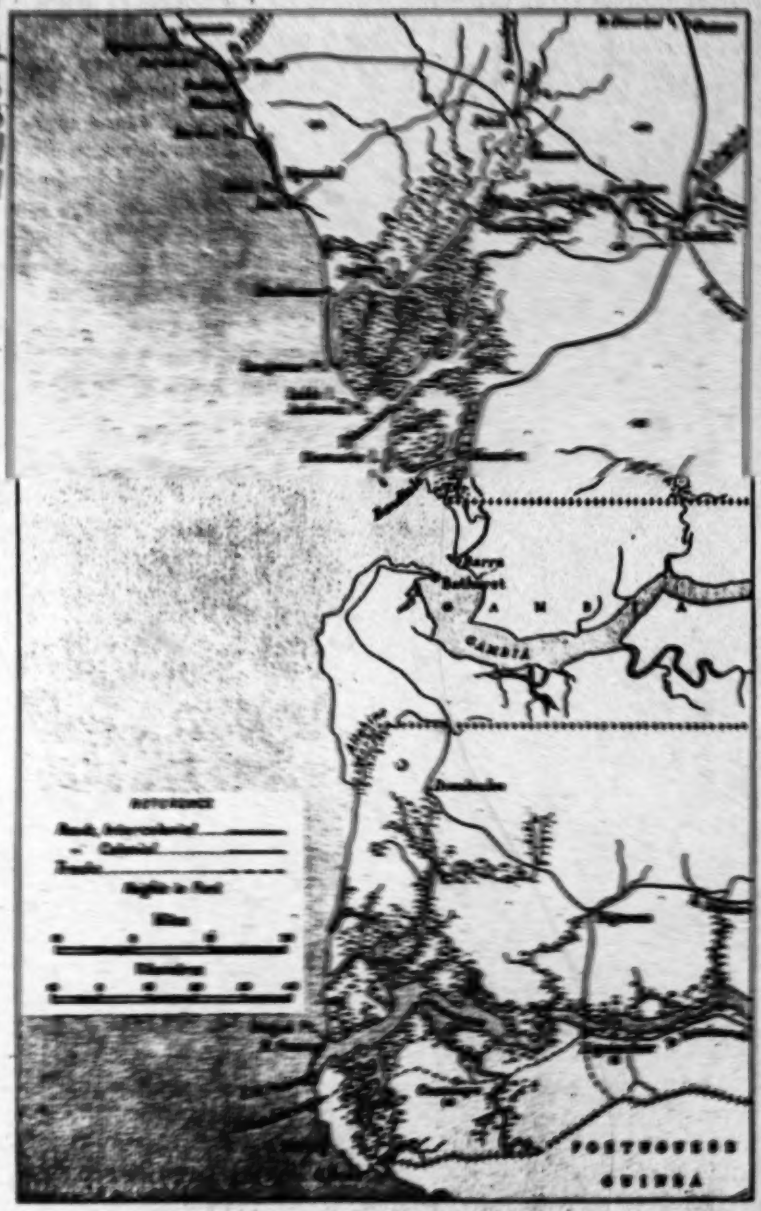


FIG. 49. *Senegal: the Coast from Ngaparou to Cape Roxo*

Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

are the ports of Foundiougne (p. 451), Lyndiane, Kaolack (p. 452), and Fatik (p. 451). Its entrance is obstructed by a bar of shifting sandbanks. The principal channel, the New Passage, is immediately east of Sangomar point and has a width of 650 feet and a depth of 21½ feet. Inside the bar the river is rather deeper. Four miles south-south-east of Sangomar point is Sable island, 2¾ miles east of which is Jackonna point. This marks the west side of the imposing estuary of the Djombos, which is a distributary of the Salum, but which is also connected to the Bandiala and the Gambia. Southwards there are many shoals and several islands, and navigation is difficult. The largest of these islands is 3 miles long and its northern tip is 7 miles from Jackonna point. Its southern tip is almost opposite another wide estuary, the Bandiala, the source or terminus of a score of muddy creeks. Four miles south-east of this estuary is the frontier of the Gambia. The next 40 miles of coast are, therefore, in British territory.

[33] [36] [505] [487]

Allahine River to Cape Roxo

It has already been noticed that the Allahine (San Pedro) river forms the international frontier between the Gambia and Senegal. The mouth of this river is blocked by sandbanks, so that it connects with the sea only at high tide. For the next 18 miles the coast is flat and treeless, with white sandy beaches on which the sea breaks heavily. There are no landing-points, and off-shore depths are very shallow. After that there are some minor waterways, and, 33 miles from the Allahine, Diogué point marks the northern shore of the estuary of the Casamance. This river, 2 miles wide at its mouth, is navigable as far as Ziguinchor (p. 453) for vessels drawing 15 feet, and as far as Sedhiou (p. 454) and Kolda for smaller craft; but the last 35 miles of its course are through mangrove swamps. The entrance to the estuary is partly blocked by a bar, but there are two places where this may be crossed. One of these, the North Passage, is off Diogué point and has a depth of 13½ feet, and the other, the South-West Passage, is 1½ feet deeper. The coast that faces this passage has a low sandy beach backed by dunes, and the village of Diembering, 8 miles south-south-west of Diogué point, is behind these dunes. The coast curves gradually south-eastwards, still exhibiting the same features but with a number of shallow bays, and between Cape Skiring and Cape Roxo there are many rocks off shore. The latter cape is also low and sandy, and it marks the international frontier with Portuguese Guinea.

[505] [361]

Wintersbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

4. CLIMATE

132
654
361

Meteorological Stations mentioned in Text and Table

	Latitude N.	Longitude W.	Altitude in feet
Podor	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
St. Louis	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Matam	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Linguère	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bakel	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Thiès	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Kaolack	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Dakar	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Kaolack	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Tambacounda	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Kédougou	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Ziguinchor	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

132 Like that of French Guinea, the colony's climatic year is divided into two distinct periods: a dry season from October to May, and a wet season from June to September. The former has north-east winds, generally clear skies, and a large range of temperature; and the latter, introduced by tornadoes, is more equable and has south-westerly winds, much cloud, and high humidity. Imposed upon this general pattern is the influence of the trade winds, which, in the dry season, keep the coast north of Dakar cooler and moister than the interior. The weeks immediately preceding the wet season are very oppressive.

Pressure (Fig. 58)

Senegal lies between the belts of northern tropical high pressure and equatorial low pressure. Although the movements of these two are very considerable during the course of a year, the local effect is negligible. Fig. 58 shows that surface pressure lies between 1012 mb. and 1014 mb. all the year, and that seasonal changes are concerned rather with the direction in which it decreases. The gradient in January is from north to south, but in July it is from south-west to north-east. Extreme variations are within 3 mb. on either side of the means.

TABLE I. *Mean Daily Pressure (1000+millibars) reduced to sea-level and corrected to 32° F. and latitude 45°*

Station	J.	F.	M.	A.	M.	J.	J.	A.	S.	O.	N.	D.	Year	Annual Range
St. Louis	15	16	17	17	16	16	15	17	16	16	16	15	16	3
Dakar	15	16	17	17	17	15	16	16	16	16	16	15	16	2
Kaolack	11	16	09	09	09	10	15	11	11	11	11	11	11	4
Ziguinchor	16	17	17	17	17	15	16	15	15	16	16	15	16	3

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

133
361

112. *Goree*

[facing p. 417]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37 Wolof MS30

S 747 with which the Society of the Holy Spirit was united in 1848. About the same time a house of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception (the Blue Sisters) was established at Dakar, which has been the Roman Catholic metropolis of French West Africa ever since.

In 1906, on the separation of Church and State in France, the government subsidies to the Roman Catholic missions were withdrawn. In 1930 the Roman Catholics in Senegal had 67 European S [164] priests, sisters, and lay workers aided by 175 native catechists and S teachers. Professing Roman Catholics numbered 22,300. A mag- [368] nificent cathedral, the work of many years, was consecrated at Dakar in 1936.

The only Protestant mission in Senegal is that of the Société des S Missions Évangéliques de Paris, which began work in the colony in [162] 1863. Its adherents number about a hundred.

8. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION AND INLAND TOWNS

Distribution of Population

S *Senegal*

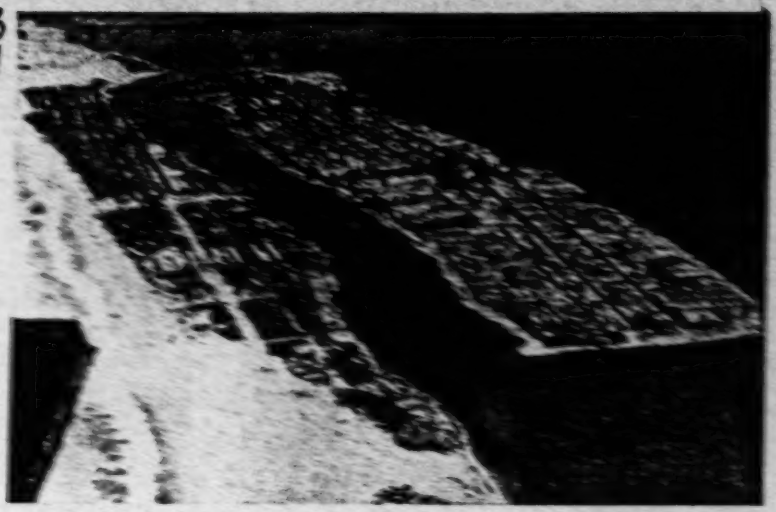
161 Senegal is the third most densely populated colony, with an average of 21·58 persons per square mile and a total population in 1937 of 1,666,374. The distribution, however, varies greatly within the colony itself. The regions of Fouta and Ferlo are almost uninhabitable, while the provinces of Baol, Sine-Saloum, and Thiès have more than 50 persons per square mile. The coastal provinces of Bignona and Ziguinchor, south of the Gambia, are equally closely S settled. The left bank of the Senegal, roughly from Bakel to Podor, [311] supports a fairly dense agricultural population. [361]

Growth has been steady, the figures for 1921, 1926, and 1931 being 1,225,523, 1,318,287, and 1,584,273 respectively. There is no doubt that the colony is capable of supporting many more inhabitants than S it does at present.

162 *Natives.* More than 580,000 Ouolofs live in Senegal. These are 563 among the most energetic and intelligent peoples of the Federation, W and they provide the bulk of the famous Senegalese Tirailleurs. [162] There are about 250,000 each of Sérères, Mandingos, and Fulani, [701] and 150,000 Toucouleur. Broadly speaking, the Ouolofs live north and east of Dakar, the Sérères south-east thereof, the Toucouleur

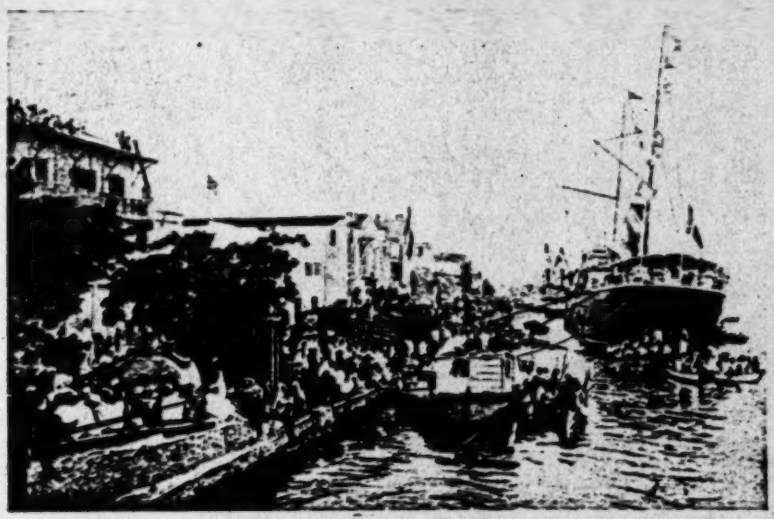
22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

133
361



114. *St. Louis*

501
504



115. *St. Louis: the North Quay*

[facing p. 433]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 39
ST. LOUIS

361 The oldest part of St. Louis (Fig. 53) stands on an island in the estuary of the Senegal. This island is some 2,400 yards long and averages 350 yards in width, and its southern extremity is 13½ miles from the mouth of the river. It has three main suburbs, N'Dar Toute and Guet N'Dar on the Langue de Barbarie, and Sor on the mainland.

History

361 MS [489] [103] Early navigators in search of the gold of Bambouk used the Senegal as a means of entry to the interior, and in 1658 a settlement was founded. This was the first French post in West Africa, and it was named after the patron saint of King Louis XIV. Its story has largely been told elsewhere, since, from the first, it played a prominent part in the general history of French West Africa as a whole and of Senegal in particular. The main events in the past were its capture by [648] the British in 1759, its recapture in 1779, its second capture in 1809, and its final restoration to the French in 1817. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it steadily grew in size and wealth, but in recent years it has been forced, both commercially and politically, to yield to Dakar.

The Town

361 The original island is now almost completely covered with buildings. These include Government House (Senegal), the Law Courts, the principal barracks, the power station, and the Roman Catholic church in the centre; the prison, two mosques, and another barracks to the north; and the hospital and another mosque to the south. N'Dar Toute has Government House (Mauritania) (Plate 92), the market, and yet another barracks, and Sor has the railway stations [964] and the cemeteries. Guet N'Dar is inhabited almost entirely by natives.

491 361 The western arm of the river is crossed by two bridges. The Geôle Bridge, 150 yards long, connects the main town to N'Dar Toute, and it takes its name from the prison near its eastern end. Five hundred and sixty yards south of it is the Servotuis Bridge, the western end of which marks the dividing line between N'Dar Toute and Guet N'Dar. At the other end of it is an open space at present called Place Pétain. In a line with the Servotuis Bridge is the Faidherbe Bridge across the main stream. Built in 1900, this bridge is 570 yards long and has six fixed spans and a roadway 37 feet wide. Near its western end is a swing bridge with two openings each of 30 yards.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
St. Louis

30 yards. Immediately east of it is the Place St. Germain, on the south-west side of which stands the main railway station. 36

The western side of the Langue de Barbarie has been reinforced by groynes and a sea-wall.

The town as a whole is well planned, and it has many shops and offices.

Trade

The chief exports are oil-seeds and skins. Imports are mainly manufactured goods. In 1937 the former weighed 30,400 tons and were valued at 31,600,000 francs (£253,990), and the latter weighed 8,300 tons and were valued at 11,900,000 francs (£95,640). 439

Description of Port

Anchorages. Outside the bar at the river mouth there is anchorage in 9–11 fathoms. Inside it there is again a depth of 11 fathoms, which gradually decreases until it is 5 fathoms just below Faidherbe Bridge. 504 [133]

Quays. The principal quays are on the east side of the island. North Quay (Plate 115), above Faidherbe Bridge, is 1,050 feet long, and South Quay, below it, is 1,770 feet long with an alongside depth of 12 fathoms. At the harbour station in Sor there is a jetty 600 feet long with a wharf at its head. There are four small piers on the island, whose positions are shown in Fig. 53.

Equipment. There is a steam crane some 600 yards above the North Quay and a slipway a little higher still. Minor repairs can be effected, but facilities are generally poor.

Fuel. A small stock of coal is kept, but no oil.

Communications

Rail. There are three railway stations (p. 467) in Sor, and the main station is the terminus of the line to Dakar (Route 1). 498

Road. The intercolonial road to Thiès (124 miles) and Dakar (168 miles) starts from the Place St. Germain and then turns south when clear of the goods station. At this point the Imperial road branches off north-east to Rosso (66 miles) and ultimately to Tindouf (1,315 miles). There is a bus service twice a week to and from Matam and Nayes. 491 494

Air. The airfield is 3½ miles north-east of Place St. Germain. Its surface is hard clay and it has one hangar. In normal times there is a weekly Air France service to Dakar. 508 509

Sh Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

[ST. LOUIS]

206 *Wireless.* The wireless station is to the south of Gueit N'Dar.

505 *River.* Above Faidherbe Bridge the river is closed to all vessels not [649] flying the French flag. Boats drawing 10 feet can ascend to Podor all the year round, and in the rainy season they can reach Kayes (Vol. I, p. 367). Table V shows how greatly river traffic on the Senegal has declined in recent years.

TABLE V. *Tonnage of Goods from Kayes*

	1928	1929	1930	1934	1935
[497] [494] Sent by rail or road	9,543	9,555	11,456	5,269	6,324
Sent by river	2,520	3,815	3,425	323	260

Shipping. There are no sea-going ships calling regularly, but the Messageries Africaines and the Messageries du Sénégal run services up-river.

36 [31] [162] [489] [712] [648] [654] [508] DAKAR (14° 39′; 17° 25′ W.). Population, 80,052, including *c.* 6,000 Europeans. Capital of the Federation and Headquarters of the District of Dakar. Full Commune. Custom-house. Law courts. Chamber of Commerce. Pasteur Institute. Hospitals. Naval base and dockyard. General Headquarters of the army in French West Africa. Police headquarters. British Consulate-General. Belgian, Brazilian, Czechoslovakian, Danish, Eireann, Greek, Italian, Netherlands, Norwegian, Swedish, and Swiss Consulates. Argentine, Finnish, Spanish, and Uruguayan Vice-Consulates. Meteorological station. Airport and seaplane base. Wireless stations. Colleges and schools. Protestant churches. Roman Catholic Vicariate Apostolic of Guinea and Vicariate General. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Crédit Foncier de l'Ouest Africain. Banque Belge de l'Afrique. Power station. [697] [498] [654] Prison. Public library. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops. Cinemas. Race-course. Sports stadium. Botanical gardens. Agricultural experimental station. Daily market.

Dakar (Fig. 54) is approximately 2,600 miles distant from South- ●361 ampton, from Cape Town, and from Rio de Janeiro. It is, therefore, well placed for taking a share in the trade of the South Atlantic, and it [433] is small wonder that it has become the third port in the French Empire, being surpassed only by Marseilles and Le Havre. It is, moreover, of the first importance strategically.

Wimmenauer et al. E-4 (no date) 1966 MIT Senegal M537 Dakar

History

175 361 [197] Until the middle of the nineteenth century Dakar was a Lebou village. In 1846, however, a Roman Catholic convent was built there, and eleven years later the village and the Cape Verde peninsula were officially occupied. In 1858 the French Government signed a contract with the Messageries Impériales (now the Messageries Maritimes) whereby ships sailing between Bordeaux and Rio de Janeiro would call at Dakar. The company acquired 7½ acres of land near Dakar point, and in 1863 a small jetty was built. This was the beginning of the port. In 1864 a lighthouse was constructed near [509] Cape Verde and three years later two others, respectively at Almadi [496] point and at Cape Manuel. In 1885 the railway to St. Louis was opened. It was not, however, until 1898 that the idea was conceived [712] of making Dakar a big naval base, and by 1910 it was capable of accommodating vessels of all types. Further improvements have [504] since been effected, and to-day the dry dock is big enough to take a battleship.

The Town

361 Dakar has grown so as to cover the southern part of the Cape Verde peninsula, but the port is on the east side of the town. On the south-west are the cliffs of Madeleines bay and on the south-east those of Bernard bay. Dakar point marks the northern end of the latter. North of the port is Bel Air point, the southern limit of Hann bay.

The medina or native town, which contains nearly half the population, is to the north-west of the main town. The intercolonial road [491] enters the latter from the north and is continued as the Avenue Gambetta and the Avenue Maginot to an open space where stands [368] the Roman Catholic cathedral. East of the cathedral is the Residence of the Governor-General (Vol. I, Plate 58), magnificently situated on the top of the cliffs overlooking Bernard bay. Farther south are the British Consulate, the Pasteur Institute, the botanical gardens, and, [943] almost at Cape Manuel, the isolation hospital. The buildings of the army headquarters are near Dakar point. West of them are the port offices, the telephone exchange, the principal market, the Mairie (Plate 117), and the law courts. The town contains innumerable shops and offices and many clubs, cafés, hotels, and other amenities of modern civilisation.

Sh:Winnebahan et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MSS7 Senegal MS 37

961
604

[facing p 448]

Sth Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1964 M597 Senegal M6 34

361
KA
505

[facing p. 449]

Elizabethan et al. K-4 (20 date) 1964 MDT Senegal MS 39

	Francs
Federal administration (salaries)	[illegible]
Federal administration (other expenses)	[illegible]
Financial department (salaries)	[illegible]
Financial department (other expenses)	[illegible]
Posts, telegraphs, &c. (salaries and wages)	[illegible]
Posts, telegraphs, &c. (plant and materials)	[illegible]
Public works	[illegible]
Social and economic departments (salaries)	[illegible]
Social and economic departments (other expenditure)	[illegible]
Sundry disbursements	[illegible]
Secret funds	[illegible]
Unforeseen expenses	[illegible]
Water department (salaries)	[illegible]
Water department (other expenditure)	[illegible]
TOTAL	[illegible]

In 1937, however, Extraordinary Expenditure amounted to [illegible] francs ([illegible]).

The budget for the Port of Dakar has already been given on p. [illegible].

14. COMMUNICATIONS

WATERWAYS

The navigable rivers and estuaries of the colony have been fully described in Volume II, pp. [illegible]. The principal distances from St. Louis up the Senegal river are as follows:

	Miles
St. Louis	[illegible]
Rosso	[illegible]
Dagana	[illegible]
Podor	[illegible]
Bogbé (Mauritania)	[illegible]
Kaédi (Mauritania)	[illegible]
Matam	[illegible]
Bakel	[illegible]
Ambidédi (French Sudan)	[illegible]
Kayes (French Sudan)	[illegible]

RAILWAYS

There are 648 miles (1,043 km.) of railway in the colony, all of metre gauge. For purposes of description six lines may be distinguished.

1. Dakar–St. Louis (163 miles).
2. Louga–Linguéré (81 miles).

996
133

Distance from Dakar Km.	Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
206	128	65	Guingoné	The branch line from Kaolack leaves Guingoné in the same direction as the main line approaches it. The latter curves gently to assume an easterly course. The Saloum, now shrunk to a tiny seasonal stream, is crossed by a culvert shortly after Birkelane. As far as Maleme, 4 miles beyond Malème-Hodar station, the line is accompanied by the road, but subsequently runs to its north. The railway comes somewhat south of its route: direct route, partly to skirt the arid Ferlo region and partly to divert trade from the Gambia. Most of the villages in this section are the result of the railway. After Tambacounda the line follows the upper part of the valley of the Gambia, and so reaches Tambacounda, the country's southeastern point in Senegal.
231	143½	33	Birkelane	
253	145	"	"	
253	156½	39	Kaffrine	
280	174	131	Malème-Hodar	
310	193	248	Mabo Toe	
333½	207	98	Koungheul	
361	224	79	Koumpentoum	
386	240	230	Malème-Niani	
415	257	66	Koussanar	
452	280	39	Koussan-Fédiam	
499	309	148	Tambacounda	
526	326	79	Goudiri Sinoué	Bearing north-eastwards, the line runs across a marshy but fertile plain, and, beyond Bala, across undulating country. Between Goudiri and Sinthiou Fissa it rises to its highest point, the watershed between the Gambia and the Senegal basins. As far as Goudiri the line keeps in close company with the road, but from this point onwards the two are apart, the road running to Nayes and the railway
551	342	164	Bala	
559	348	223	Boundou Saana	
573	356	180	Goumbo	
592	368	230	Goudiri	
607	377	331	"	
620	385	223	Sinthiou Fissa	

[491]

23: Anjas--1 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37 Sine-Saloum

/92/

I. General Information

131 634 a) Geographical survey. The circle /cercle, an administrative district/ of Sine-Saloum is a vast region of 26,000 square kilometers in area. It is one of the most important parts of the colony of Senegal. It is a heavily populated region. Finally, it has an economic value greater than that of the other territories which, together with it, constitute the Government of Senegal in French West Africa.

Bounded on the west by the Atlantic Ocean, it touches on the upper basin of the Gambia to the east and therefore on the very borders of the western Sudan, from which it is separated only by the circle of Tambacounda.

To the north, it reaches the desert of the Ferlo and the Djoloff region.

Along the entire southern part, its frontier runs along the territory of the British colony of Gambia, following precisely the parallel 13° 35' 36", conforming to the delimitation of the International Commission of 1891.

Such are its geographic limits.

133 A great navigable route crosses it from east to west, ending at the ocean; this is the Saloum River, which today is no more than a long maritime channel, narrow in its upper part, which the mud ruins by obstructing it, and ending in a vast estuary with a thousand /93/ ramifications, bordered by banks of mud and providing passage for ocean-going vessels at the place called Pointe de Sangomar, where there is a very narrow and not very deep passage. At low tide, in fact, the depths there are only three and a half to four meters. Under the influence of the trade winds and the tide race, the bar is subject to displacements which the hydrographic [502] service rectifies by a series of buoys which is continued even [261] beyond the estuary and up to Kaolack, a port about 100 kilometers from the coast.

[503] In this sea arm of the Saloum, the tide makes its effects felt almost to Birkelane, 130 kilometers from the ocean. The

/44 cont./

The city is made up of 130 houses, well built and of 361
attractive appearance. They are embellished with exterior
galleries supported by pilasters.

I noticed the former seat of government (9) where the

9. At the back of the present square garden of the rue du Port. A comemorative plaque indicates the site of the former seat of government occupied by de Boufflers.

chevalier de Boufflers, so well known for his light poetry, [175]
lived. Governor of Senegal from 1786 to 1789, he preferred
to stay at Gorée rather than at Saint-Louis.

Today his house is falling into ruins. In front stretches
a splendid esplanade planted with tall trees. In the back, an
abandoned garden. There can still be seen a long avenue of
mimosas, coconut trees, and various other species of palm
trees, which the chevalier took pleasure in cultivating at great [197]
expense on this volcanic rock devoid of vegetable soil.

At the summit of the island, the citadel (10). It, too,

10. The present Castel /castle/, fortified anew under the Second Empire.

is falling into ruins. Without an enclosure, without even a
gate, the European cemetery (11) stretches at its feet. Graves 764

11. Nothing is left of it today.

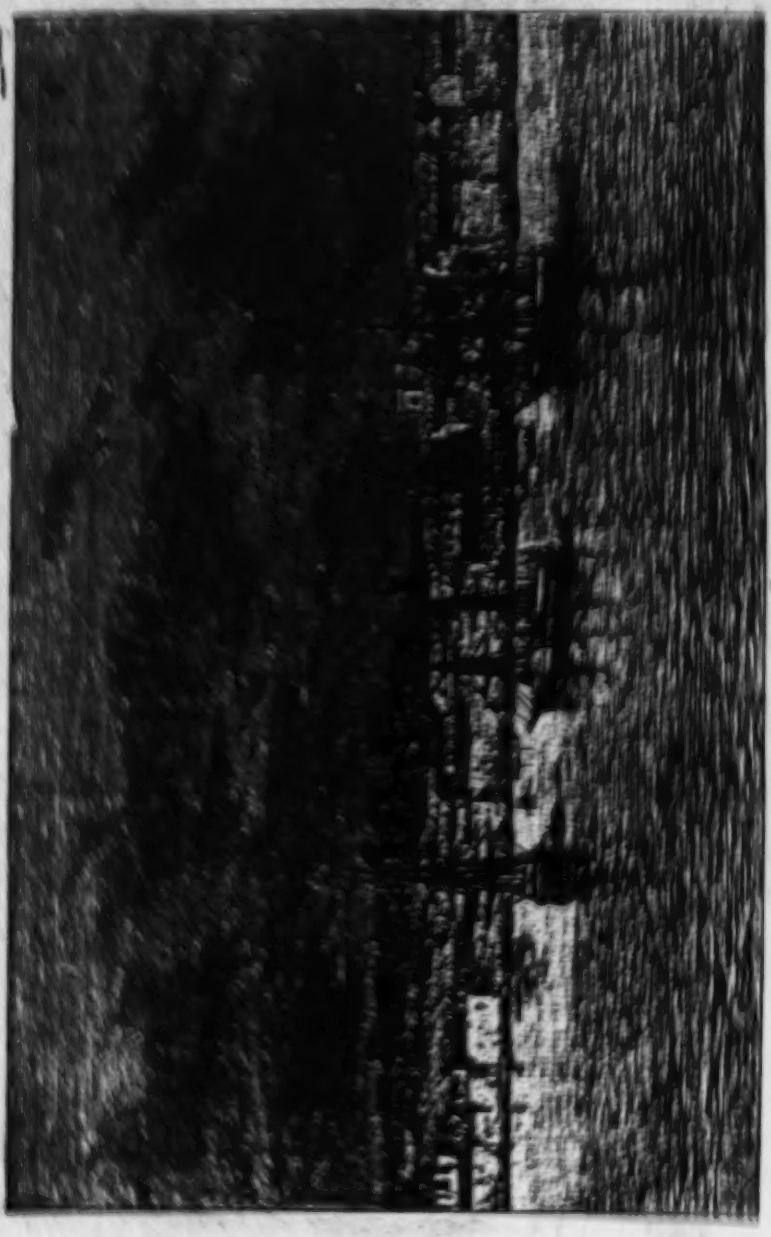
lined up side by side inform the traveler that, on this soil, once
spewed forth by fire (12), today devoured by a torrid sun and

12. The high part of Gorée (the Castel) is of volcanic origin.

a' [i.e. Gorée -- Analyst]

34: Faidherbe--2 G-S (ca. 1854-1865) 1889 MS30 Wolof
Senegal MS87

36
50



Negro of Africa

/423 cont./

*511 362 427 It would be beyond our purpose to go into the problem of living conditions, since only budgets are in question here and not the standard of living in general. Let us state only that the desire to be the owner of one's home is legitimate if one examines the high cost of rent, and above all the portion of the income that its payment requires: 12% for No. 1, whose income is 5,800 francs (two rooms in a plank hut with a metal roof, where 13 persons are crowded together); 12.6% for No. 2; 14% for No. 16, etc.... The percentages noted after No. 26 are more normal, and the dwellings are more comfortable. But the incomes are from four to ten times higher.

*511 467 We have shown on the same table the percentages calculated for the syndical assessment, the cost of which is the same for everyone in the same syndicate (300 or 350 francs, depending on the syndicate), in order to show the cost, low on the whole, that they represent: one goes down in decreasing order from 0.4%, which is not negligible, to 0.09%, which is significant. No. 43 is a member of the syndicate of doctors, for which the assessment is higher.

*511 After rice, the clothing heading is the most important among many families. Some will be surprised at this, if they are not familiar with the cities of Senegal. Others would be expecting this result.

Table XIV[1] gives us the details for this heading, family by /424/ /Table XIII appears here/ /425/ family. The first verification shown is that the number of families exceeding 10% of the income is larger at the top of the table, where a deficit exists, than at the bottom. Should one conclude from this that they have decided to satisfy their reputed liking for clothing at any price?

The percentages are misleading; it is better for us to give some information on the absolute values.

From No. 1 to No. 10, none of these families devoted more than 10,000 francs to clothing in one year. No. 29 spent

1 [see cat 116, pp 66-67, ANALYST]

/174 cont./

the development of agricultural work; there has been none of this. Indeed, the lands are the property of the Lebou of neighboring villages and the cost of renting is high. Gardening therefore remains the privileged domain of the old villages of the peninsula, Keur-Massar, Thiaroye-sur-Mer, and Cambérène.

2nd. The great majority of the labor force is made up of non-specialized workers: almost 45% manual workers without occupational qualifications.

3rd. The Moors have a special place: two-thirds are merchants who keep shop, and the last third is made up almost exclusively of butchers who have been classed among the "manual workers."

4th. The most interesting feature is the difference which distinguishes the occupational structure of the districts from that of the quarters: in the first, no shop, either Moorish or Wolof, and practically no artisan; in the second, practically one worker out of two has no occupational qualifications, whereas this proportion drops to 12% in the districts; finally, and above all, out of three heads of families in the former, two are officials, whereas there is no more than one official out of ten in the latter.

The reason for this recruitment is solely of an economic nature. Almost all the inhabitants of the districts are owners of their dwellings or will become such after they have made their payments. Now, these are spread over five years and have been calculated in such a way that the monthly payment does not exceed a quarter of the salary received. For the cheapest dwellings this is equal to a payment of 5,000, therefore to a monthly salary of about 20,000. A /175/ guard, houseboy, or a laborer does not earn this sum and is incapable of procuring a dwelling of this type. The dwellings of the districts are thus principally reserved for the officials, and then for the staffs, who have an adequate and an assured salary. We therefore witness here the appearance of this phenomenon of social differentiation observable in many other African countries; it consists of the existence

/187 cont./

1) Housing Conditions

362
342

The dwelling is in the first rank of these material factors. Of what is the house constructed, how many rooms are there, how is it occupied, etc.? There are all sorts of questions which must be answered in order to give a true picture of the conditions in which most of the families of Pikine live. What follows obviously applies only to the quarters, except where we specify that it is likewise a matter of the districts. Out of a sample of 281 structures one counts 206 in wood, 45 in durable material, 12 in "crinting" (1), and 18 in straw.

[285]

1. One calls "crinting" the walls whose framework is composed of plaited rushes and which are covered with a coating of sand and cement.

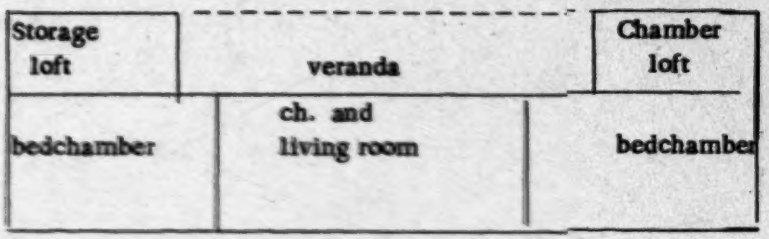
The chief material, used in more than 75% of the cases, is therefore wood, which one encounters in all forms: long building boards, ends of boxes, etc. The quality of the wood, the professional competence of the artisans, the size of the house, and the arrangement of the rooms, all these elements are combined to produce very different types of construction which run from the extreme dilapidation of the one-room hut with disjointed boards, gaping roof, and a sand floor, scarcely larger than a dog kennel, to the comfortable cottage consisting of several rooms, with ceiling and veranda, the price of which may exceed 200,000 francs.

[435]

/188/ Except for these extreme cases, which are rare, most of the wooden dwellings can be divided into three principal types. The first is the house of two rooms, about six or seven meters long and three to three and one-half meters wide. The second is built in the same way, but contains a third room, which increases the length by three or four meters. These are two types of a purely functional model used to provide a shelter for personal objects and a roof for the night.

/188 cont./

362 In the third type the "veranda" appears, which distinguishes
342 it from the first two; first of all, it materially increases the size of the dwelling, which reaches a width of five or six meters; on the other hand, this new element, superfluous /sketch appears here/ one might say, for there is a question



there of a necessary benefit -- already introduces a little complexity into the arrangement of the rooms and as a result encourages some organization of family life around a center. Moreover, this beginning is most often only a rough draft which reproduces the same pattern (see sketch above); nevertheless, this rough draft has the merit of existing and of translating into the material, into the surrounding environment, this sketchy effort toward a "home-life" /quoted in English/ of modern type.

In almost all cases the floor is slightly raised and cemented. There is practically never any ceiling, and the roof is constructed either with the aid of a sheet of metal or fibro-cement, or with a wooden frame covered with tar paper, for the disinherited.

351 How is the house placed within the parcel? It is practically impossible to answer this question, for there seems to be no general rule; sometimes the house is on the edge of the street and forms a wall; sometimes it is at the back of the parcel facing the road, and sometimes it extends perpendicularly to the length of a neighboring parcel. The only certain fact is that one does not /189/ come across a wooden house of any importance in the middle of the land. This is understandable because the parcel measures approximately 15 by 11. But

/189 cont./

351 there again the small one-room structures of wood or straw are an exception to the rule and are distributed at random over the concession.

Each owner or tenant likes very much to see his parcel clearly delimited, and the wall is the general rule. But its forms are very different, and this in one and the same parcel, ranging from the house itself or a high wall of durable material to a line of pickets running along a simple heap of rubble. In any case, the parcels that are not completely enclosed, with merely an opening on the street, are rare.

343 What else does one find within the parcel or in the
351 structures serving as dwellings? Two things: a little hovel sheltering the Madagascan stove and serving as kitchen, and then, in a corner of the parcel, an enclosure surrounded by
[783] secco, with a kettle containing the water needed for ablutions, which gives off a characteristic ammoniacal odor, yet not enough to inconvenience the inhabitants.

● 362 Let us complete this description with the table of the
511 number of buildings, shown according to the number of rooms
342 and the material used. /Table 24 appears here./

More than 50% of the wooden structures (113 out of 206) have only one or two rooms, that is, fall into the first category. Thus the whole habitat does not show a very high standard of living.

511 /190/ This is still more true if one now considers the
364 equipment of the huts. 228 homes out of 258, nearly 90 %,
354 have neither water, electricity, nor w.c. in the concession;
312 26 have electricity only; one has a w.c. without running water or electricity, one likewise has a w.c. plus electricity (in these two cases the w.c. consists of a septic pit dug into the sand in one corner of the parcel by the person concerned under the control of the Service d'hygiene). One has water and electricity. Ten per cent of the homes are thus lighted with electricity, and the remainder with kerosene, which is very few in a city where, except in the very last quarters, it is possible to have a meter installed in each parcel.

/189/

●362
511
342

Table 24

Material \ Number of Rooms	1	2	3	4	5	6	7+	Total
Wood	46	67	27	25	27	4	10	206
Durable material	9	15	16	2	2	1	0	45
Crinting	3	3	1	0	2	3	0	12
Straw (1)	7	7	1	1	2	0	0	18
Total	65	91	45	29	33	8	10	281

1. Each hut of straw contains only one room. When we divide them up under the rubrics of 2, 3, or 5 rooms, this means that there are 2, 3, or 5 straw huts on the same parcel.

/190 cont./

600 builds structures without a septic tank in its subdivisions. The
511 difference between the two groups of habitat is therefore very
362 noticeable: only the districts /191/ constitute a modern type of housing adapted to the exigencies of the city, while the vast majority of the inhabitants of the other quarters are deprived of the comfort which the modern city affords.

Can one say as well that they live in "shantytowns"? Certainly not. What characterizes the "shantytowns" is the crowding of the population in a limited space and the disorder of the huts. This is by no means the case here: the [363] streets, although of sand, are well defined, and, above all, the parcels are large; there is actual space with its psychological reverberation which permits the inhabitants of a parcel to feel that they are by themselves. To the further question asked, "what is it that you like about your housing in Pikine?" the replies have brought out the existence of this feeling of "home" /quoted in English/, of "one's own home," which in most cases was associated with the space occupied and the tranquility that it provided.

This material and psychological reality of free space is all the more important since one realizes, if one relates the number of rooms utilized to the number of persons, that the relative scantiness of space brings with it an undeniable crowding in many instances. Here (p. 55) is the table, in absolute figures, of the homes, which have been listed simultaneously according to the number of persons and according to the number of rooms. The horizontal line gives the number of persons, and the vertical line that of rooms. For example, in the case located at the intersection of horizontal line No. 2 and the vertical indicated by the figure 6 and 7, the number 12 means that there are 12 households in which the number of persons is six or seven and that they occupy only two rooms. The first table gives the distribution in the quarters, the second that of the districts.

The broken line in the middle of the table separates it into two parts; inasmuch as in general one room has an area of about ten square meters, we have considered that the

/191 cont./

511 limit of reasonable occupancy has been passed when one
362 figures an average of more than two persons per room. Thus at the left of this line are the households which do not exceed this relation of one room for two persons, at the right those for whom occupancy becomes crowded. Now let us add all the figures at the right of the line of separation, and let us refer this total of "crowded" homes in each table to the general total. One finds that this result, which one may call the "index of occupancy," is much higher in the districts
162 than in the quarters: 26.4% as against 45.2%. This phenome-
592 non indicates that the families are much more /192/ /Table
511 25 appears here/ numerous in the districts. It is possible to
362 verify this in two ways: first, by comparing the average number of persons per household, which gives 7.43 as against 4.86; or else by constructing from the preceding tables the histogram of the various families in percentages. One then finds that in the first case the median runs between seven and eight persons, and in the second between four and five; in other words, that 47% of the homes in the districts have at least eight persons, while in the quarters one counts only 47% of the homes with five or more persons.

511 The same tendency is shown in the matter of the rela-
352 tion of the furnishings to the number of persons. We have therefore drawn up a table identical to the preceding one and substituted the number of beds for the number of rooms, for it is the bed that constitutes the principal article of furniture. Obviously the data obtained do not have the same value, since it has not been possible /193/ /Table 26 appears here/ to distinguish the various kinds of beds: beds in one or two places, wooden or metal springs. Nevertheless, it is shown that the ratio of the number of persons to the number of beds is higher in the districts than in the quarters. The total result is the following: in the former 47, in the latter 38 beds per 100 persons. One finds only five or six instances where the bed is nothing but a simple mat thrown on the beaten earth in the huts of the quarters.

511
362

Table 25. Number of rooms per person. 1) Quarters.

	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-9	10 to 15	15 +	TOTAL
1	15	10	11	10	8	4	1	0	0	59
2	4	13	10	15	8	12	3	3	0	68
3	0	5	7	12	4	8	5	1	0	42
4	2	4	1	5	1	7	5	1	0	26
5	0	2	2	4	4	12	9	6	0	39
6	0	1	0	0	0	4	3	3	0	11
7 +	0	1	0	0	1	2	4	3	1	12
Total	21	36	31	46	26	49	30	17	1	257

511
592

What can be concluded from these various remarks? That in general the inadequacy of housing conditions explains why the people of Pikine attach so much importance to the land of their parcel, and why this space, as much if not more than the interior, is the center of family life and activity. The rooms of the dwelling serve mainly as a shelter for sleeping and to screen a conversation or a tête-à-tête from indiscreet eyes and ears. During the day one is better off outside than inside, and this is the reason why the veranda is so important. It is the link /194/ between outdoors and indoors; when one is sitting there, one is outside in the air and yet sheltered from the rain, the sun, and the stifling heat inside.

In the second place, it is undeniable that augmentation of the comfort of the habitat is accompanied by an enlargement

10: Thoré--56 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37

511
362

Table 26. -- 2) Districts

	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-9	10 to 15	15 +	TOTAL
1										
2			2	1	2	2	1			8
3		1	3		4	4	3	5		20
4	1					1	2	4	1	9
5				1			2		1	4
6						1				1
7										
Total.....	1	1	5	2	6	8	8	9	2	42

/194 cont./

511 of the family. This is an extremely important phenomenon. In
592 order to understand it better, a study of the group occupying the parcel is now in order.

427 A first distinction arises regarding the mode of occupation.
511 Aside from the tenants and owners of their parcels, there are also those who are neither the one nor the other and who live
[592] gratuitously in a hut that does not belong to them, generally because of their kinship ties with the owner. Here is the table in percentages of these three categories arranged by ethnic groups. /Table 27 appears here./

62% of the occupants are thus owners, but we have seen
[369] that only 45% have been expelled from Dakar and have therefore from this fact become owners of the parcel that has been granted

/18 cont./ 369*
the Lebano-Syrians at least 2%. Let us consider in this brief 563
glance only the problem of the relations between Africans and [162]
Europeans.

a) The increase in the number of Europeans -- which has increased at least sixfold since 1939, while the African population has undoubtedly not even tripled -- has been accompanied by qualitative changes: development of the categories of technicians, workers, artisans, petty employees, petty merchants. This population, despite the sense of a strong solidarity (which is admitted in time of crisis) vis-à-vis the African population, has seen a division /19/ into classes inherited from the society of origin become marked. At the same time, the European community has withdrawn into itself, developing its own services (specialized merchants, etc.). [161] [463] [565]

b) The evolution of habitat zones reflects these transformations. The close checkerwork of the original plan of Pinet-Laprade still encompasses multi-racial quarters (where the Lebano-Syrians have taken a greater and greater place). But, in the course of the development of the town, the Médina, almost exclusively African (1), has been added to them in the 369* 563 361

1. Some Europeans live there, however; the general housing crisis largely accounts for this. [362]

north, while purely European residential quarters developed in the south. The recent zones set up on the other side of the Médina for the residences of functionaries likewise allow for little mixing. Finally, with the reconstruction of new buildings, the European town, starting from the southern zone, gained on the mixed quarters, and a movement toward a clearer segregation of the habitat zones is taking shape, segregation which is in no way official, but which is considered desirable by the majority of the European population (2) and is based in

2. Differences in way of life,

/377 cont./

369 The reconstitution of the municipality in 1956, a simple elec-
633 toral operation, proved /378/ /Fig. 2 appears here/ to be in-
capable of giving life to Gorée; at the beginning of 1961 it was
forced to reattach itself to Dakar, for which it is nothing more
than a tourist annex. Nevertheless, due to the crisis in housing
[362] in Dakar, it offers its old houses to workers from the victorious
great city.

369 The elimination of the other rival centers was not as easy,
but no less radical. The railroad linking Dakar and Saint-Louis,
505 finished in 1885, did not immediately bring about the decline
496 of the old Senegalese capital. On the contrary, asleep since
487 entry up the river became impossible because of the increase in
tonnage of the ships, it seems to have gained a revival of activity,
especially after the construction of the Kayes-Niger section of
the railroad at the end of the century. In fact the products des-
[439] tined for the Sudan or coming from there, which took the path
of the Senegal River, were subjected to an obligatory freight-
break there, which made Saint-Louis a quite important mart.
But the construction of the Thiès-Kayes railroad after the First
World War and the /379/development of automobile traffic had
the effect, on the one hand, of directly annexing the Sudan to
the zone of influence of Dakar, and, on the other hand, of iso-
lating Saint-Louis and the old escales /trading centers/ of the
Senegal River and accelerating their economic decline (Fig. 2).
369 Bakel, Matam, Podor, and Dagana are no more than administra-
[633] tive centers without any great economic activity. Saint-Louis,
continuing as the capital of Senegal, preserved an appearance of
vitality longer. But in 1957 Dakar robbed it of this function to
the great despair of its population, which, after a phase of vio-
lent opposition, complains today in a passive resistance that the
tokens of sympathy and the promises expressed a thousand times
in the official speeches of the state authorities do not come to
anything.

369 As for Rufisque, for a long time it had more economic
505 trump cards than Dakar. In fact, when the port had not yet been
439 constructed at Dakar, it was more advantageous to load the

/386/

102
491
361
363
496

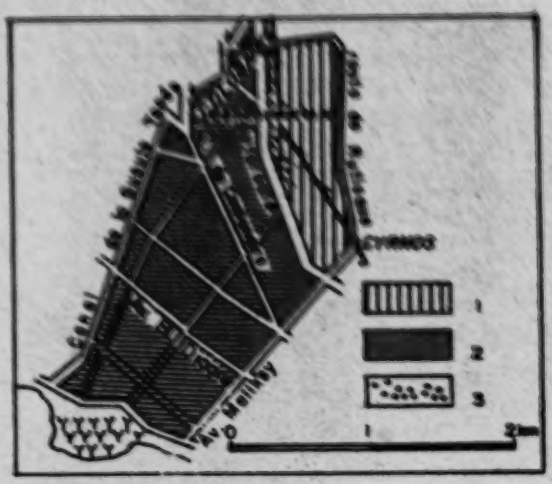


Fig. 4. Médina. -- 1. Industrial zone;
2. quarters more or less urbanized;
3. irregular quarters.

369 which progressively transformed the Dakar agglomeration.
563 There was first the creation of the S. T. A. G. D. (Service temporaire de l'aménagement du Grand-Dakar /Temporary
[361] Office for the Arrangement of Greater Dakar/) for a systematic urbanization of the city. Then there was the decision to promote a policy of lodgings for African officials, while a society for a mixed economy, the Société Immobilière du Cap-Vert (S. I. C. A. P.) /Building Society of Cape Verde/
[362] studied and made up forms for cheap dwellings for mere renting or for rent-sale. At the same time there was the law called "Lamine Gueye," which equalized upward several
[465] elements of the African and non-African wages at the time when "l'africanisation des cadres" /Africanization of the
[647] staffs/ was promoted, which led to a mixture of Africans and Europeans in the administrative lodgings and in the new quarters for officials. Finally, first the staff-law and then autonomy

/190 cont./

511 builds structures without a septic tank in its subdivisions. The
362 difference between the two groups of habitat is therefore very noticeable: only the districts /191/ constitute a modern type of housing adapted to the exigencies of the city, while the vast majority of the inhabitants of the other quarters are deprived of the comfort which the modern city affords.

Can one say as well that they live in "shantytowns"? Certainly not. What characterizes the "shantytowns" is the crowding of the population in a limited space and the disorder of the huts. This is by no means the case here: the [363] streets, although of sand, are well defined, and, above all, the parcels are large; there is actual space with its psychological reverberation which permits the inhabitants of a parcel to feel that they are by themselves. To the further question asked, "what is it that you like about your housing in Pikine?" the replies have brought out the existence of this feeling of "home" /quoted in English/, of "one's own home," which in most cases was associated with the space occupied and the tranquility that it provided.

This material and psychological reality of free space is all the more important since one realizes, if one relates the number of rooms utilized to the number of persons, that the relative scantiness of space brings with it an undeniable crowding in many instances. Here (p. 55) is the table, in absolute figures, of the homes, which have been listed simultaneously according to the number of persons and according to the number of rooms. The horizontal line gives the number of persons, and the vertical line that of rooms. For example, in the case located at the intersection of horizontal line No. 2 and the vertical indicated by the figure 6 and 7, the number 12 means that there are 12 households in which the number of persons is six or seven and that they occupy only two rooms. The first table gives the distribution in the quarters, the second that of the districts.

The broken line in the middle of the table separates it into two parts; inasmuch as in general one room has an area of about ten square meters, we have considered that the

/78 cont./

2. The Quarters

1. The quarters of European type.

361 If we eliminate the two military bases that offer very
563 special characteristics peculiar to their internal organization, Thiès contains three quarters of Western conception: the Cité Ballabey /Ballabey District/, the Vieille Escale /Old Escale/, the Résidence. While the first shelters a population almost wholly European, in the other two the Whites are in the minority (one White to four Blacks).

No systematic segregation really exists in the city. The Cité Ballabey itself is a district for operatives belonging to the managerial staffs; it is in no way closed to Africans who have reached the rank required by their establishment. Although located near the workshops, it is a quiet zone. Its park is magnificent. The villas there are arranged regularly
351 according to a checkerboard plan in the purest colonial style.
[34] Each square of the checkerboard is occupied by a villa divided into two twin and symmetrical apartments; courtyards and gardens extend out on all sides of the dwelling; some mango trees with dense foliage shelter the rabbit hutches, the hen house, and the garage from the heat of the sun. It is easy
341 to date the construction of each of them by its architectural
342 style: the pink brick corresponds to the years 1925-1930; the reinforced concrete, painted light beige, dates from after the war... The quarters of the *D. M. A.* and of the air base, with some variations, show almost no originality of their own and are comparable to the Cité Ballabey.

The Old Escale presents the appearance of a quarter
[363] in a Mediterranean city: narrow streets bordered by storied buildings built out of the white limestone from Bargny; a small, light balcony with a metal balustrade projects over the sidewalk and runs from one end of the building to the other; a very slightly sloping red tile roof under a blue sky accentuates this impression of the Mediterranean world.

351 Each concession, square in plan, forms a regular block of

342
137
493
363
361

A. Thiès. Quarter of Derrière-la-voie-ferrée. Juxtaposition of houses of mud covered with sheet metal, sheet metal, and of straw.

342

B. The site of one of the oldest mosques of Thiès: quarter of Takhikao.

IIc Savanna-227 5-5 (ca.1955) 1956 [illegible] Senegal (AOF)

/Between pp. 80 and 81./

363
357
291

Plate XII

A. Thiès. The Taïtikao square after winter.

291
443
516

B. Thiès. Market scene.

/81 cont./

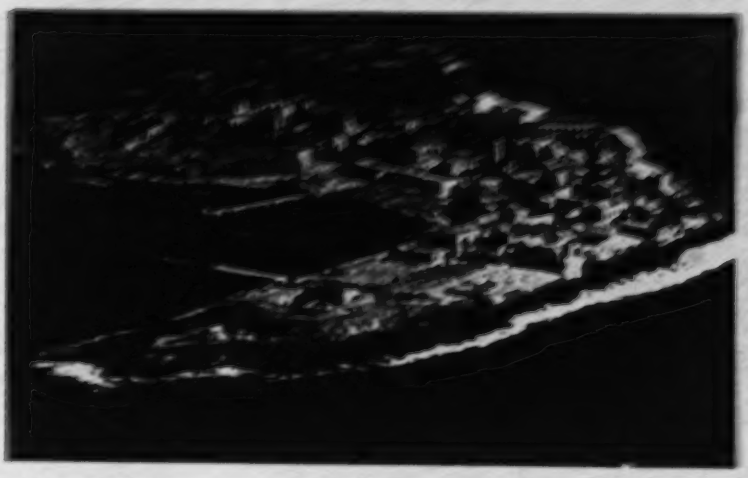
361 millet. The old people assemble in the evening under the
[517] large silk-cotton tree that shades the old crumbling mosque of
[312] Takhikao. The women chatter while awaiting their turn to
draw water at the common well, while the children play in
[342] the sand. Gent stands out because of a series of small, low
houses with a rectangular base and a roof of corrugated metal,
all identical and set along the trail that leads to the marigot
[351] /watercourse/ of the mison. A garden and a courtyard, al-
[563] ways littered with laundry, characterize each concession. It
is the quarter of Portuguese half-breeds called "portugalais"
(Plates XI B and XII A).

Diakhao-Nord /Ndh Diakhao/, quiet, airy, arranged
[363] according to a strict plan of lots, contrasts with Diakhao-Sud
with narrow, winding lanes bordered on all sides by tapades
of millet stalks and noir in the evening. The proximity of
[275] the two military bases has made it a place where one amuses
[525] himself with all that this includes in the way of drinking
[574] dens and more or less clandestine gambling dens. Brawls be-
tween drunken men are not rare in these places.

Randoulène, Derrière-la-voie-ferrée, and Bambara,
which form a unique quarter, homogeneous in its density and
in the heterogeneity of its dwellings, have become established
in the immediate vicinity of the railroad repair shops. The
[342] huts of planks, mud, or straw stand one against the other along
[363] the winding lanes laid out according to the desire of the
moment and not without some imagination. These lanes are
[373] noisy with people, and even late at night they wait between
the small shopkeepers' stalls lighted with smoking candle ends.
351 The dense crowd flows over the edges of the street and enters
the interior of the courtyards. The latter, covering barely
[463] a few square meters, often serve as a workshop for the
[252] weaver, the blacksmith, or the jeweler, and as a kitchen for
the housewives of the neighboring huts; it is not rare to see
half a dozen millet pounders there, pounding their mortars
in rhythm in groups of two or three. This is also the gathering
[517] place /82/ /Fig. 4 appears here/ of workers, where, after
[524] work, sitting in the sand amidst the dust and the noise, in a

20: Seck ~15 U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 380-381/ Plate XXI



A. Gorée.

Photo. IFAN.

B. A view of Dakar (photograph taken from the Pasteur Building). Photo. Assane Seck.

20: Seck--16 U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 380-381/ Plate XXII

363
493
139

A. The avenue Blaise-Diagne.

363
139

B. A street in the old Medina. Street 13, Corner 6.
Photo. Assane Seck.

/386/

102
491
361
363
496

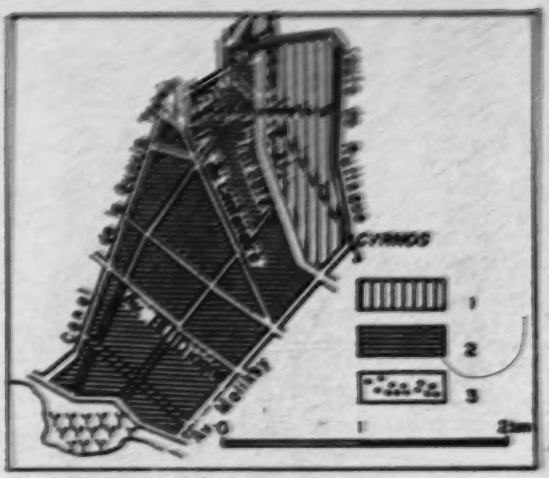


Fig. 4. Médina. — 1. Industrial zone; 2. quarters more or less urbanized; 3. irregular quarters.

369 which progressively transformed the Dakar agglomeration.
363 There was first the creation of the S. T. A. G. D. (Service
temporaire de l'aménagement du Grand Dakar /Temporary
[361] Office for the Arrangement of Greater Dakar/) for a syste-
matic urbanization of the city. Then there was the decision
to promote a policy of lodgings for African officials, while
a society for a mixed economy, the Société Immobilière du
Cap-Vert (S. I. C. A. P.) /Building Society of Cape Verde/
[362] studied and made up forms for cheap dwellings for mere rent-
ing or for rent-sale. At the same time there was the law
called "Lamine Gueye," which equalized upward several
[465] elements of the African and non-African wages at the time
when "l'africanisation des cadres" /Africanization of the
[647] staffs/ was promoted, which led to a mixture of Africans and
Europeans in the administrative lodgings and in the new quarters
for officials. Finally, first the staff-law and then autonomy

/386 cont./

369 and independence have had the effect of reinforcing this mix-
563 ing the more since it sometimes brings about a pure and simple substitution of African staffs for European staffs in many of the lodgings.

Finally, although today the quarters of Dakar are still clearly distinguished by their appearance, the differentiation of their contents is less and less based on origin and tends to be a social rather than racial differentiation. Therefore, instead of the traditional division of the West African cities into "white city and black city," let us distinguish four sections in the Dakar agglomeration: /387/ Dakar-ville, the Médina, Greater Dakar, and the suburbs.

361 1. Dakar-ville. The plateau from the southeast to the
369 head of the peninsula and a part of the plain from Cape Manuel to the avenue El Hadj Malick Sy constitute what today is called Dakar-ville. The essential characteristic of this part of the Dakar agglomeration is that almost all of its buildings are permanent, except for some islands of huts. This is where practically all of the administrative offices, the large-scale
[364] commerce, the major part of the Lebano-Syrian commerce, and the great markets are found. In Dakar-ville there very diverse aspects (Pl. XXI B) (Pl. XXIIIA).

The Plateau is the best arranged part of Dakar-ville. It is there that the first nucleus of modern Dakar was located, extending around the port, from the station to the Protet Place and the Military Circle. Little changed, this nucleus has re-
[363] mained very much as it was at the beginning of the century;
[342] it is intersected by narrow streets, bordered by old houses in
[347] colonial style, with stores on the ground floor and lodgings with verandas on the upper floor. This nucleus has remained the business quarter, that of the large-scale commerce domi-
[441] nated by the great companies and the old Bordeaux firms,
[366] C.F.A.O., S.C.O.A., N.O.S.O.C.O., S.O.C.O.P.A.O., Chavanel, Maurel et Prom, etc., surrounding the Kernel market, surmounted by its cupola of 1900 style. Several old administrative

/388 cont./

[369] [361] as the Plateau. The low quarters that border the avenue Malick Sy and which are crossed by the route de l'abattoir /Slaughterhouse road/ quite obviously differ from the rest. In Rebeus and [363] in Mayer-Thiolier, few of the streets are paved, and, during [364] winter, ponds where household debris rots often surround the low permanent houses and the neighboring huts.

[162] [563] Dakar-ville has only 48,000 inhabitants, among whom are almost two-thirds of the 30,000 non-Africans of Dakar.

Gorée, the fallen capital, which has become a military, tourist, and, to a slight extent, residential annex of Dakar, is attached to this section.

[563] [764] 2. The Médina. Containing practically only Africans, the Médina is much more densely populated than Dakar-ville. Blocked on the west by the Moslem cemetery and on the north by the canal of the Gueule-Tapée, the Médina has not ceased stretching toward the east since its creation during the First World War. It presents several aspects: the oldest part, east [363] of the avenue Blaise-Diagne, has all of its streets paved and planted with trees; it has few huts, and permanent houses are [364] erected almost everywhere there; many sanitary facilities and public fountains complement the private establishments and make this quarter relatively clean and pleasant (Fig. 4 and Pl. XXII A).[7]

The farther one goes toward the east, however, beyond the avenue Blaise-Diagne, the newer the quarter is and the more it gives the appearance of a wretched village. Thus, between [363] [364] the avenue Blaise-Diagne and the Gendarmerie, although some principal arteries are paved, most of the streets remain sandy and obstructed with household rubbish. Moreover, one notes some permanent houses here and there, to be sure, but huts are much more numerous. East of the Gendarmerie, Colobane is even less well arranged, while, beyond the automobile road, Kip-Coco and Quartier Mous, veritable camp cities for new arrivals, are called "irregular quarters," that is to say, quarters temporarily tolerated, although no right of the inhabitants to settle there can be recognized (Pl. XXIII A).[8] /Pl. XXIII and

[7] [See category 116, p.16 -- Analyst]
[8] [See category 116, p.29 -- Analyst]

20: Seck--29 U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 388-389/ Plate XXIII

363
342

[415]

A. A street beyond the avenue Blaise-Diagne.

B. Remote suburb.

Photo. Assane Seck.

/389/

102
361
363
873
712

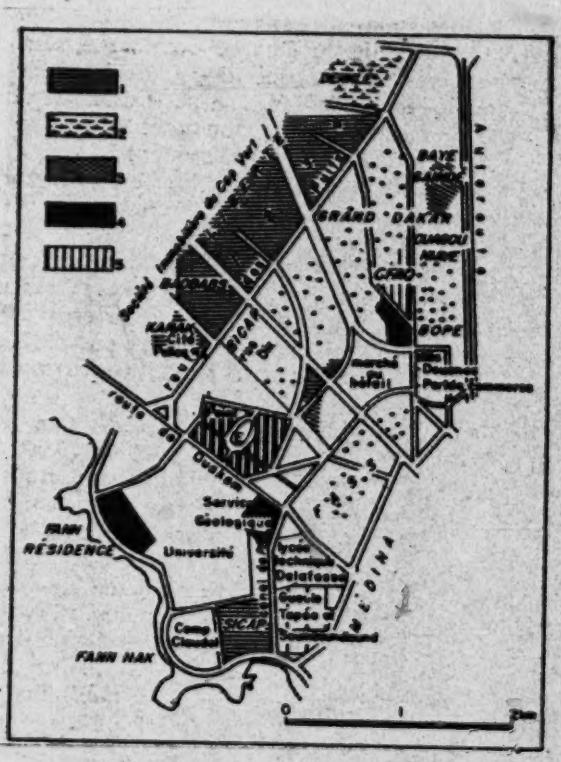


Fig. 5. Greater Dakar. -- 1. Officials' quarter; 2. Derklé; 3. H.L.M.; 4. houses of officials; 5. loan grouping.

/390 cont./

361
369

4. The suburbs. The suburbs of Dakar are composed of 13 villages, of which those closest to Dakar, Ouakam, N'Gor, Yoff, Hann, Thiaroye, and M'Bao resemble Colobane. The others remain typical traditional villages. Only Dagoudane-Pikine escapes either category. Created ex nihilo less than ten years ago to serve as an outlet for the irregulars of Dakar who were to be found there, driven back as urbanism progressed, it already has the appearance of a little city with its 10,000 inhabitants.

[62]

/390 cont./

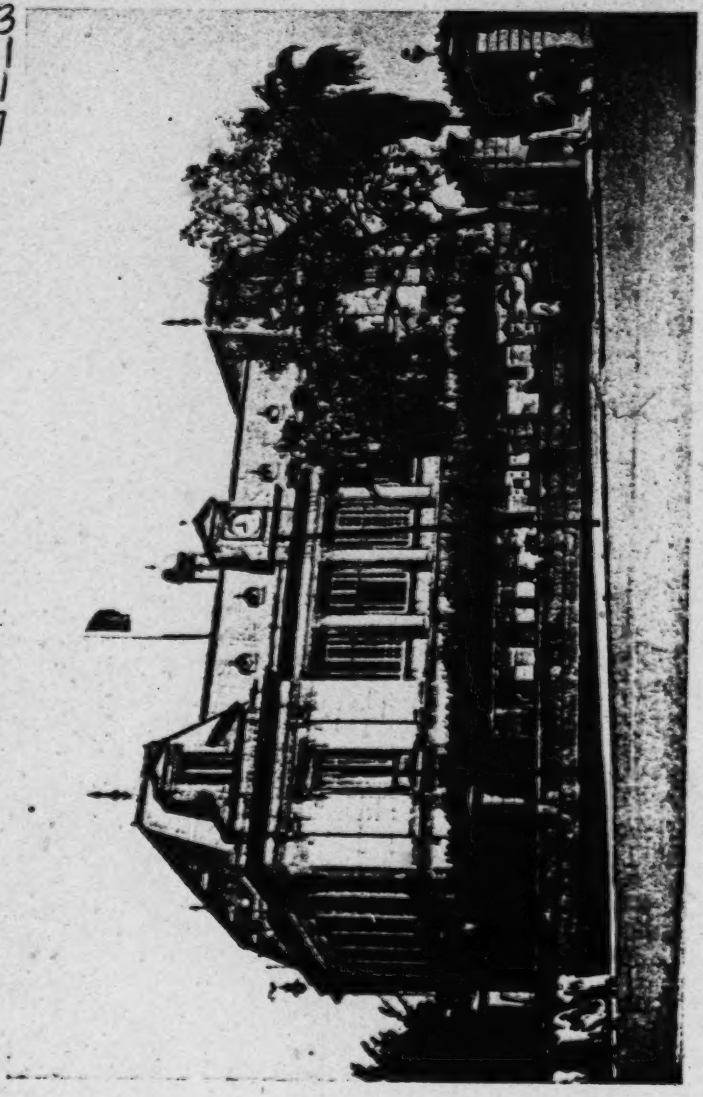
361 inhabitants. It had an official center and wide streets, which,
369 however, are not yet paved. Despite this city appearance,
[363] however, Pikine is more intimately dependent on Dakar than the other villages of the suburbs; it is a workman's suburb, and all of its provisioning comes from Dakar, while practically all of its inhabitants are employed in the great city. With this exception, the villages of the suburbs have as their essential
[438] role the provisioning of Dakar with fish and fresh vegetables. Many transportation facilities in common connect them with
[489] Dakar-ville from very early in the morning until around the middle of the night (Pl. XXIII B, Pl. XXIV A and B).

This is the arrangement or juxtaposition of the various elements of the Dakar agglomeration, whose present popula-
[162] tion may well have exceeded 300,000 inhabitants.

369 4. Perspectives. The Dakar agglomeration has the appearance of an unfinished city in the process of being organized, even though its function as a West African metropolis has been confirmed for a long time. There are surprises in this situation for those who analyze the old European urban civilizations, where one sees an ancient city existing as /391/ /Fig. 6 appears here/ one that patiently developed its relations in order to become a metropolis and to constitute a solid and dynamic assemblage where urban and metropolitan functions mutually support one another. Dakar, however, is above
369 all a center of relations which has woven with its hinterland
439 connections that have the appearance of complementary ties,
433 but which actually are ties of dependence: dependence in fact because in the Senegalese and Sudanese interior the development of export crops is tied up with the means of evacuation organized by Dakar; dependence also because the export crops, in breaking up the former village autarchy, have given Dakar the role of a great relay-station in the importation of food products in compensation and manufactured products which have become a necessity there where formerly they were unknown; dependence, finally, not only for the Senegalese and

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

363
341
351
137



117. *Dakar: the Mairie*

[facing p. 135]

/111 cont./

491 season by truckage, the development of which has grown in
[494] considerable proportions since 1920.

The network of roads is on the whole excellent. Every winter, it is subject to deteriorations; the latter are repaired as soon as the dry season arrives. Thousands of workers making
[464] their annual contribution are employed there under the supervision of native chiefs and under the direction of the European administrative authorities. Some artificial works, embankments, bridges, culverts, gutters, and channels have been constructed in the swampy places or to cross spots of water.

363 In the communes, the roads are gradually being paved with paving stones as the urban streets develop. In Kaolack six kilometers of streets have been paved with stones in the past five years.

505 Inland navigation. As we have already seen, the Saloum is the major channel of inland navigation. Steamers enter it by the maritime passage of Sangomar. In the channel, 120 kilometers long, up to Kaolack, there are some bends or passages that are quite difficult to negotiate. A pilot is
[502] necessary. All of the boats have one, whom they take on at Dakar or Rufisque. The Sine is traveled in the same fashion up to Niamnioroh.

There are countless marigots which are accessible to
[501] cutters, small launches, barges, or dugouts. There are several thousand kilometers /112/ of waterways which connect villages, centers of cultivation, and fishing agglomerations.

In the Bas-Saloum in particular, commercial traffic is handled by cutters or by dugouts.

Saboya, on the marigot Miniminian, an affluent of the Gambia, is accessible to ocean-going vessels. Each year boats come to seek the stock of groundnuts produced by this region.

Here are some comparative figures on navigation for the three ports of Kaolack, Foundiougne, and Saboya.

/189 cont./

351 there again the small one-room structures of wood or straw are an exception to the rule and are distributed at random over the concession.

Each owner or tenant likes very much to see his parcel clearly delimited, and the wall is the general rule. But its forms are very different, and this in one and the same parcel, ranging from the house itself or a high wall of durable material to a line of pickets running along a simple heap of rubble. In any case, the parcels that are not completely enclosed, with merely an opening on the street, are rare.

343 What else does one find within the parcel or in the
351 structures serving as dwellings? Two things: a little hovel sheltering the Madagascan stove and serving as kitchen, and then, in a corner of the parcel, an enclosure surrounded by
[783] secco, with a kettle containing the water needed for ablutions, which gives off a characteristic ammoniacal odor, yet not enough to inconvenience the inhabitants.

362 Let us complete this description with the table of the
511 number of buildings, shown according to the number of rooms
342 and the material used. /Table 24 appears here./

More than 50% of the wooden structures (113 out of 206) have only one or two rooms, that is, fall into the first category. Thus the whole habitat does not show a very high standard of living.

511 /190/ This is still more true if one now considers the
364 equipment of the huts. 228 homes out of 258, nearly 90 %,
354 have neither water, electricity, nor w.c. in the concession;
312 26 have electricity only; one has a w.c. without running water or electricity, one likewise has a w.c. plus electricity (in these two cases the w.c. consists of a septic pit dug into the sand in one corner of the parcel by the person concerned under the control of the Service d'hygiene). One has water and electricity. Ten per cent of the homes are thus lighted with electricity, and the remainder with kerosene, which is very few in a city where, except in the very last quarters, it is possible to have a meter installed in each parcel.

/190 cont./

511 Nevertheless, ingenuity and mutual helpfulness make up for
207 the poverty of the equipment, and if one comes across well over 10% of owners of radio sets, it is because in a number of cases the owner attaches his radio to the current which comes into the house of his immediate -- or distant -- neighbor.

364 A very serious inconvenience, as much from the point of
514 view of hygiene as from the point of view of comfort, results from the total absence of sanitary equipment. Without doubt, an enclosure on the parcel has its particular spot, but this little corner cannot serve everyone, and for those who are on the edge of the agglomeration it is the bush which serves as a comfort station; for the others whose parcel is located far from the outskirts it is the vacant land within Pikine. This state of affairs is unfortunate for many reasons: first of all, for a good many inhabitants it is a veritable expedition, in a word, to go to the toilet; one can imagine what this means for the old people or for the sick. Besides, it is unhealthy, and to get an idea of this it will suffice to go out one winter evening after a tornado and breathe this nauseous odor which the wind blows from the vacant land over the rest of the agglomeration (1).

[515] [653] 1. At the beginning of 1961 the public authorities undertook the construction of several groups of "showers" in 12 places. One can only wish for the extension of the anticipated program and its rapid completion.

511 In the districts, while all are not the owners of a
364 septic tank, the situation is better. Only 12% of the homes
354 are counted as not having either water, electricity, or w.c.,
312 12% have electricity in addition to w.c. without a water line in the concession, 21% have water and electricity, and the remainder, some 34%, have complete modern equipment.

[331] It should also be noted that the Office de l'Habitat no longer builds structures without a septic tank in its subdivisions.

/82 cont./

35 heat heavily laden with the most diverse odors, they play
[517] cards or checkers. There is no question in such crowded
[524] quarters of removing all the household rubbish and used water.
It is frequent in the course of walks within this zone to run
[364] into piles of refuse or to cross several ditches full of stagnant,
dirty, and malodorous water. Sometimes at a bend in a
street one is surprised to discover some straw huts in the
middle of a spacious courtyard (Plate XI A).

361 The quarters of the south, newly divided into lots, re-
351 mind one of that of North Diakhao with its embryos of
streets intersecting at a right angle, /83/ its huts arranged
in a loose order inside each square and huddled in the shade
of mango trees.

Each concession of Médina, in distinct geometric forms,
marked off by tapades of millet stalks, is of a meticulous
neatness that contrasts with the other quarters of the city.
[795] This strict order, this rigid arrangement where all imagina-
tion is banished, is a reflection of the peculiar character
of the Moslem Murid sect that occupies it.

361 The Cité Pillot, finally, built for the higher operatives
and the specialized workers of the Dakar-Niger, to the south
of the Bamako railroad, gives the appearance of a series of
buildings that resemble those of barracks. The arrangement
[342] of the new constructions is that of small houses with twin
apartments.

369 Thus, each of the European-type quarters, like the
native quarters, possesses some particular trait or even its
own individuality, which seems to correspond to a definite
social structure: milieu of merchants, millieu of officials,
milieu of artisans, of laborers, of cultivators.

At the same time, each stage of its evolution has
stamped this or that part of the city with its original imprint,
which makes it possible to follow quite easily the successive
periods of its expansion.

/388 cont./

369 361 as the Plateau. The low quarters that border the avenue Malick Sy and which are crossed by the route de l'Abbattoir /Slaughter-
[363] house Road/ quite obviously differ from the rest. In Rebeus and in Niayes-Thioker, few of the streets are paved, and, during
[364] winter, ponds where household debris rots often surround the low permanent houses and the neighboring huts.

[162] Dakar-ville has only 46,000 inhabitants, among whom
[563] are almost two-thirds of the 30,000 non-Africans of Dakar.

Gorée, the fallen capital, which has become a military, tourist, and, to a slight extent, residential annex of Dakar, is attached to this section.

[563] 2. The Médina. Containing practically only Africans, the Médina is much more densely populated than Dakar-ville.
[764] Blocked on the west by the Moslem cemetery and on the north by the canal of the Gueule-Tapée, the Médina has not ceased stretching toward the east since its creation during the First World War. It presents several aspects: the oldest part, east
[363] of the avenue Blaise-Diagne, has all of its streets paved and planted with trees; it has few huts, and permanent houses are
[364] erected almost everywhere there; many sanitary facilities and public fountains complement the private establishments and make this quarter relatively clean and pleasant (Fig. 4 and Pl. XXII B).[1]

The farther one goes toward the east, however, beyond the avenue Blaise-Diagne, the newer the quarter is and the more it gives the appearance of a wretched village. Thus, between
[363] the avenue Blaise-Diagne and the Gendarmerie, although some
[364] principal arteries are paved, most of the streets remain sandy and obstructed with household rubbish. Moreover, one notes some permanent houses here and there, to be sure, but huts are much more numerous. East of the Gendarmerie, Colobane is even less well arranged, while, beyond the automobile road, Kip-Coco and Quartier Mous, veritable camp cities for new arrivals, are called "irregular quarters," that is to say, quarters temporarily tolerated, although no right of the inhabitants to settle there can be recognized (Pl. XXIII A).[2] /Pl. XXIII and

[1] [See category 116, p.16 -- Analyst]
[2] [See category 116, p.29 -- Analyst]

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30

out of the bus and it was only with difficulty that Arnold and I managed to extricate ourselves. We took a taxi, at almost greater cost than the journey from Kaolak to Dakar, to a dingy little hotel, in the old quarter of the city. To reach it we passed through the centre of Dakar. Trees lined the streets and the architecture of both offices and houses was admirably suited to its tropical setting. It was at once evident that Dakar was a city and not just a town that had, like Lagos, rambled and sprawled and got too big. With its statuesque young skyscrapers and its wide streets, Dakar seemed a model city for the new West Africa. It was neither distinctly African nor European, but had its affinity with the modern cities of South America.

Arnold, accustomed to the higgledy-piggledy, chaotic sprawl of Lagos, and the quiet Victorian dignity of Freetown, could not quite take this in. He seemed almost to resent it as an imposition on Africa, as something that was not African. True, I found that against this background the African appeared, at first, to be an intruder. Nothing seemed more incongruous than a vast Jollof belle, dressed in her traditional robes of lace and muslin, sweeping past the more outrageous examples of *cinema moderna* architecture, or standing pensively beneath a marble plaque depicting a naked African surrounded by the fruits of progress. More incongruous still was the sight of them being spooned in and out of fast American cars or staring into patisserie windows—just imagine one of those muslin cocoons tackling a chocolate éclair. Yet the Africans seemed to have accepted their surroundings with such aplomb that very soon I was to feel that it was the Europeans who were out of place. There seemed nothing unnatural in half a dozen Africans making up their bed for the night on the pavement outside a twelve-story bank, or the young men in tight jeans standing on the street corners eyeing passing girls, just like Saturday night back at the Buildings.

We stayed one night in the Hotel des Fleurs, the cheapest I could find in Dakar. It was owned by a Lebanese, and for Dakar, a city which is almost prohibitive in price for an Englishman, it was remarkably cheap. A haircut in Dakar is 12s., and it has one of the highest cost of living indices in the world.

That night when I entered a bar called appropriately 'Café de Paris', I was unable to believe that we were still in Africa. It had

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Goree

expensive cameras and an intriguing assortment of seaside 369
equipment. The boat ploughed through the brisk waters of the bay before it pulled alongside the jetty, at Gorée, where the passengers climbed out with great difficulty because of the swell in the ice-blue waters, so transparent that I could see myriad fish lurking on the sandy bottom. I was cluttered up with cameras, so a tall, light-skinned African helped me on to the jetty. His fine, [563]
almost European features revealed that he was a Fulani, a curious tribe of cattle nomads to be found throughout West Africa. Some of the tribe have settled in the towns, as a superior aristocracy. The young man, a guide book in his hand, introduced himself as Seyni Djibey, and asked me whether this was the first time I had been to Gorée.

'No, I've been here before. Two years ago,' I replied.

'But you're not French,' he remarked with some astonishment. He looked at Arnold. 'I could tell because of him. The clothes he is wearing are not what the French Africans would wear,' he added.

'Where do you come from?' I asked.

'From Niamey, that's in Niger, you know!' he replied.

'Yes, I'm going there,' and before he could ask me why, I asked him a similar question.

'But what are you doing here in Senegal?'

'I just came to look. I had leave from my job, so I decided to spend some money I had saved up, travelling around West Africa. I've already been to Bamako. Next week I'm going to Conakry and Abidjan. I wanted to come here and see what Gorée is like.'

He walked towards the house of a friend to whom I had been given an introduction. The beach was littered with naked bodies, white and black, roasting in the sun that glared through a thin veil of cloud. Overlooking the right-hand wall of the beach was [366]
the picturesque Hostelerie du Chevalier de Boufflers, from which stretched in a generous semi-circle an intricacy of old houses, each one a perfect example of nineteenth-century French colonial architecture, with crumbling plaster façades, slatted shutters, large sash windows and delicately patterned verandas. Old wrought iron lamps clung to the walls of each house, giving a strangely Victorian atmosphere to the narrow street.

Seyni, looking up from his guide book, pointed to an old fort.

/73 cont./

175 The surveys for the future course of this railway re-
369 vealed that the shortest route would have to follow the
499 Atlantic coast, but since this is bordered by dunes it would
133 necessitate some important construction work. The passage across the slope of Thiès was also a serious obstacle, but the "Ravin des Voleurs" made access to the plateau possible; the line would thus follow the valley which cuts the brow of the hill, then the depression which follows the plateau to the east, and would pass in front of the military fort established at its extremity.

175 The fortune of Thiès was made: as early as 1885, the
369 date of the opening of the railroad, the merchants of
[361] Rufisque set up branches there; a plan for dividing the future city into lots was outlined. This plan, unfortunately, foresaw the development of the city only north of the line, along the trail connecting Thiès with Rufisque and Dakar. A Catholic
[797] mission was established in the vicinity, and in 1893 the first civil administrator occupied the new residence built near the Faidherbe redoubt.

175 The groundnut policy developed successfully; 20,000
369 tons of groundnuts were shipped by rail from the Thiès station
439 in 1890 (3). Commerce, however, was not established in

[496]
[492]

3. Convoys of camels competed with the railway up to 1910 and transported their cargo to the port of Rufisque. Thiès was the last stop before reaching the quays of embarkation 50 kilometers away.

[366] permanent fashion in the escale: only during the period of trading (from November to May) did the European employees
[441] sent by the firms of Rufisque live in the city and buy groundnuts, millet, cotton ... at their branches; from May to November they returned to Rufisque, and most of the shops in Thiès were closed, the city seemingly dead.

/74/

175 The major part of the commerce was then concentrated
369 north of the railway; nevertheless, as early as 1895 some
[366] shops were established to the south, near the residence.

In 1890 Thiès had a permanent population of 1,200
[162] inhabitants. Some native quarters were established in the
175 vicinity of the commercial escale. The little village of
369 Thiès-None was shifted from the other side of the railway.
361 A native quarter was attached to the western part of the commercial zone; it was moved toward the south after the plague of 1911 and took the name of Randoulème (a word meaning in Wolof: remove yourself). Takhikao (storied house in Wolof), established originally near the first storied house belonging to Maurel and Prom, was ultimately pushed back along the route to Saint-Louis (Fig. 2).

175 Little by little, while the military function fell asleep,
369 the development of commerce brought stable economic
[366] activity to the city. Until 1914 the city grew very little,
[162] and its population amounted to only 2,400 inhabitants at that date; from 1885 to 1914 the city gained only 1,400 souls in all.

The military function of the city recovered part of its former importance during the war of 1914. The base of Thiès
[712] became a center of military training for new recruits. The quarter of Diakhao adjoining the camp was enlarged by the arrival of the families of the military. On the other hand, commerce was threatened during this period. The French
175 personnel, which since the beginning of the century had been
369 permanently established, was summoned to the colors. In
441 order to avoid shutting up shop, the Levantines were called
563 upon. The latter had made their appearance in Senegal as early as 1895 and up to that time had played only a very secondary role in the market of the city: selling candles, matches, beads... The war of 1914 facilitated their entry into the lucrative activity of trade.

/14 cont./

442 during which commercial operations in groundnuts are authorized.
654 It is opened and closed each year by governmental decree. In
438 general it begins at the end of November or the beginning of December and closes at the end of April. The date of opening the campaign is set about two months after the beginning of the harvest, in order to avoid premature uprooting and to favor
438 the reimbursement of the seed advanced. This system never-
442 theless leads to some smuggling in the south, because the
[439] navétanes, anxious to return home, and the peasants, without any money, are tempted to sell in Gambia. At the time of the close, the transactions have been over for a long time, but this decision prevents the eventual sale /15/ of the seed distributed by the Mutuelles. In order to have the commodity brought in gradually and to avoid heavy transactions at the beginning of trade, operations are suspended from Friday to Monday. Nevertheless by the end of the month of January nearly all of the harvest has been negotiated.

•366 2) The "points of trade." Since 1932 the operations of
442 selling must take place in the localities called points of trade
438 or "escales" located on the railroad or a road (Circular of 13 July 1932). These points of trade, which were 175 in number in 1935, now number more than 300. The limitation, in 1932, on the number of the points of trade was a response to the desire to moderate the rhythm of the selling and to avoid the proliferation of intermediaries. The recent creation of new escales is
[244] devoted to the conquest of new lands and is an attempt to avoid the abuses of cultivation on the lands near the former points of trade.

The accession of a locality to the rank of escale makes
[369] it legally an urban center, with the obligation of division into lots /lotissement/ and, for the merchants, permanent buildings. The campaign is a period of great animation for the escale.
442 The merchants or traders open their bank of purchase or "factory."
437 Traditionally, intermediaries, or "masters of language," conduct
[492] the producer to the factory. The groundnuts, transported by don-
[488] keys and in bags loaned by the trader, are weighed and emptied

19: Pehaut--20 K-4 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

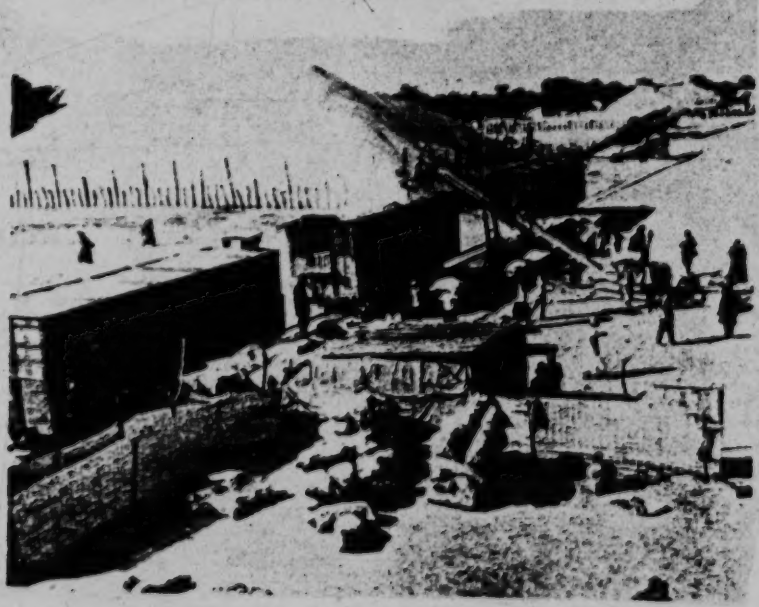
/Between pp. 16-17/

Plate II

492
482
491

A. Trade: transporting the groundnuts to the trader (Diourbel).

496
366



B. Loading the loose groundnuts into the cars at the station in M'Backé.

/386 cont./

369 and independence have had the effect of reinforcing this mix-
563 ing the more since it sometimes brings about a pure and simple substitution of African staffs for European staffs in many of the lodgings.

Finally, although today the quarters of Dakar are still clearly distinguished by their appearance, the differentiation of their contents is less and less based on origin and tends to be a social rather than racial differentiation. Therefore, instead of the traditional division of the West African cities into "white city and black city," let us distinguish four sections in the Dakar agglomeration: /387/ Dakar-ville, the Médina, Greater Dakar, and the suburbs.

361 1. Dakar-ville. The plateau from the southeast to the
369 head of the peninsula and a part of the plain from Cape Manuel to the avenue El Hadji Malick Sy constitute what today is called Dakar-ville. The essential characteristic of this part of the Dakar agglomeration is that almost all of its buildings are permanent, except for some islands of huts. This is where practically all of the administrative offices, the large-scale
•[366] commerce, the major part of the Lebano-Syrian commerce, and the great markets are found. But Dakar-ville shows very diverse aspects (Pl. XXI B) (Pl. XXIIA).

The Plateau is the best arranged part of Dakar-ville. It is there that the first nucleus of modern Dakar was located, extending around the port, from the station to the Protet Plaza and the Military Circle. Little changed, this nucleus has re-
[363] mained very much as it was at the beginning of the century;
[342] it is intersected by narrow streets, bordered by old houses in
[347] colonial style, with stores on the ground floor and lodgings with verandas on the upper floor. This nucleus has remained the business quarter, that of the large-scale commerce domi-
[441] nated by the great companies and the old Bordeaux firms, C.F.A.O., S.C.O.A., N.O.S.O.C.O., S.O.C.O.P.A.O.,
[366] Chavanel, Maurel et Prom, etc., surrounding the Kernel market, surmounted by its cupola of 1900 style. Several old administrative

/387 cont./

361 buildings, the General Postoffice, the Treasury, the Town
369 Hall, the former Délégation, the former Palace of Justice, and the Chambre de Commerce are included there. A "city" phenomenon tends to be produced in this quarter which, very lively by day, is almost completely empty at night. Toward the east this quarter extends along the road to Bel-Air and the old road to Rufisque by way of the industrial section of Dakar where the factories have been established largely since the war. On the northwest, on each side of the avenue W.-Ponty, extends a mixed quarter, commercial and residential, harboring the old Lébou families, having benefited from the facilities offered
[427] by the Crédit Foncier, and the Lebano-Syrians and Cape Verdeans who rent or are quasi-owners as a result of long-term leases. It is therefore an old quarter that developed especially after the construction of the commercial port and has preserved its narrow streets, quite unique today, its low houses dominated here and there by some recent building. The avenue W.-Ponty,
366 with greatly varied commerce, the avenue Gambetta dominated
369 by the Lebano-Syrian commerce, the avenue Roume bordered by beautiful buildings and enlivened by luxury commerce, and finally the avenue Maginot which is shared by great stores of the West and Lebano-Syrian commerce in fabrics near the market of Sandaga are the most completely transformed arteries of this section of the Plateau, where many cafés and restaurants, /388/ cabarets, and cinemas maintain far into the night a nonchalant, but pleasant animation following the rushing business of the day.

Beyond the Boulevard de la République, which bounds the
369 old quarters on the west and which is distinguished by its many
361 buildings, commerce disappears almost entirely, giving way to a residential zone of middle-class appearance, with its villas often more comfortable than stylish. This residential zone, formerly
[563] entirely European, is mixed today, harboring European and African staffs. Barracks and hospitals separate this quarter from
[712] Cape Manuel, formerly a military zone, but today occupied by the monumental, Palace of Justice dominating the newly estab-
[344] lished embassies. But all of Dakar-ville is not as well arranged

133 [504] 2½ miles off shore from Dakar, is the historic island of Goree (p. 449). The bay is protected by the Cape Verde peninsula and affords good anchorage at a depth of 11 fathoms, and its beaches provide numerous landing-points for ships' boats.

[361] The village of Hann, in the middle of the shore of Hann bay, is a

102 491 133 361 103

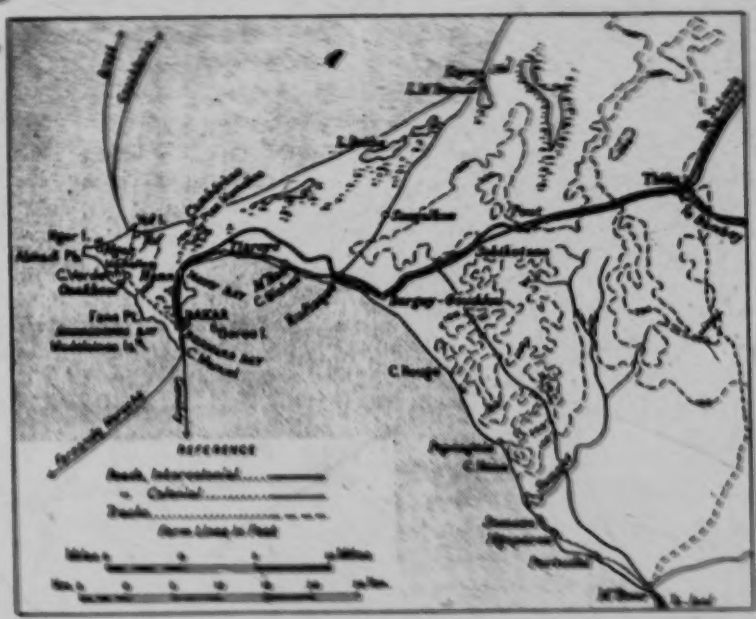


FIG. 48. *The Cape Verde Peninsula*

133 [361] seaside resort for the inhabitants of Dakar. There is also a botanical [369] garden. The intercolonial road and the railway run near the sea and [491] are never far from it until they pass Bargny-Gouddou. North-east of [496] Hann there is a narrow lagoon between the sea and the road, and the coast bears away north-east, east, and east-south-east for the 11 miles to Rufisque (p. 449). There is much marshland, and the sole feature of note is Cape Biches, a low promontory 2 miles before the town. [361] Bargny-Gouddou is 3 miles east-south-east of Rufisque, and beyond it the coast is cut up by creeks and lagoons, which have small seasonal rivers running into them. Behind them are scattered sandhills which rise eastwards to hills of 200 and 300 feet. Cape Rouge, which barely projects into the sea, has red cliffs intersected by wooded ravines.

7:Crowder J-S (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
W/Of MS 30

W 300 hair fixed on either side of the head, from which they protrude like thin curled horns. Another trick is to fix balls of black velvet or twists of black sisal. Strands of soft black silk are commonly used in their coiffure today, and they hang in nearly every small store, a baffling commodity to those unacquainted with Jollof fashions.

W 301 To these wigs the rich and fashionable Jollof woman fixes huge pendants of gold filigree, beautifully worked by the local craftsmen. The really chic touch is a bunch of gold coins—Louis D'Ors, American dollars and Franz-Josephs, or English Guineas—hanging from false plaits over the forehead, preferably coquettishly W [556] to one side. Gold is indispensable to their ensemble. A really wealthy Jollof lady seems to be covered with it: great ear-rings, pin brooches, heavy gold rings on the finger, ear-rings and tiny W rings placed all round the outside of the ear and Tudor toe-rings.

W 302 A Jollof woman spends considerable time on her make-up. [304] Her lips are tattooed with indigo, sometimes even on their pink insides. A thin blue line is tattooed on to the lower eyelid, immediately under the lashes, making her eyes seem much larger than they are. Eyelashes are painted with black dye, and the white palms of the hands and the soles of the feet are stained black as well. Their long, bejewelled fingers are crowned with nails W painted with red nail varnish or an orange stain.

W 291 This ensemble gives the Jollof woman something of the [177] gracious artificiality of appearance that marked the fashions of the Empire period. Geoffrey Gorer,[1] in his book *Africa Dances*, described their behaviour as continually provocative. 'Their W movement, their glances, their sighs, their manner of speaking, [338] are all, almost subconsciously, alluring.'

So striking is the Jollof dress that it has been adapted by African women all over the Senegal, and is copied as far distant as Niger and Ivory Coast.

A CULTURAL DILEMMA

Dakar

S 545 One evening Arnold and I went to the Théâtre du Palais, a [368] small, neat theatre owned by the Government in the centre of [655] Dakar. We were to see a production of tribal dancing by Sereres

1 [this should read Gorer--Analyst]

Wimerbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1964 MSS? Senegal MS 39

Cape Rouge to Sangomar Point

The hills are near the shore at least as far as the Somone, but the shoreline is fringed with sandy beaches and occasional mangrove swamps. Popenguin, 6 miles from Cape Rouge, has a Roman Catholic church, and, 1½ miles farther, Cape Nase rises to 236 feet. Inland there is a hill of 400 feet. Three miles beyond the cape the river Somone finds its way to the sea through a patch of mangrove-woodland. The coast runs south-eastwards by means of a series of small bays, and the country is more settled and cultivated. A number of sandspits can also be distinguished. These have been built by the prevailing current, and they have either blocked or diverted the short streams and marigots. From the village of Somone, which is a little distance from the river of that name, there is a minor road to Ngaparou, Portudal, and M'Bour (p. 450). Portudal's great days are over, but ships can still anchor about 3½ miles off shore in a depth of 5½ fathoms. There is a reef to seaward of the beach, but west of the village a break allows access to a creek, where landing is possible. There are many other reefs and shoals off this part of the coast. Inland, the road is continued near the shore to Joal, but in many places its surface is very rough indeed. Two miles beyond M'Bour the Balling, a seasonal river, meets the sea, and, 3 miles farther still, is Nianing, a local centre for tracks. From here the coast runs almost due south to Sarène point, a low and sandy promontory. After this the road goes inland a little to avoid a shallow bight, heavily fringed with mangroves and crossed by several marshy streams. South of this, and 1 mile north of Senti point, is the village of Ngazobil, conspicuous by reason of its Roman Catholic church. Joal (p. 450) is 2½ miles farther south-east. From this place onwards the coast is extremely swampy and is cut up by creeks and estuaries. Only the principal features can be noted here.

Eleven and a half miles beyond Joal stands the little village of Diakhanor. This marks the northern end of a strip of land which is strongly reminiscent of the Langue de Barbarie. It has been built by the Saloum and the sea, and it separates them for about 10 miles. An old mouth of the river is clearly observable 6 miles south of Diakhanor, and the end of the strip is called Sangomar point.

Sangomar Point to the Frontier of the Gambia

The Saloum is navigable upstream for sea-going vessels for about 100 miles, and on its banks and those of its tributary the Sine

Mauchham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 [illegible] Senegal [illegible]

S 447 with which the Society of the Holy Spirit was united in 1848. About the same time a house of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception (the Blue Sisters) was established at Dakar, which has been the Roman Catholic metropolis of French West Africa ever since.

In 1906, on the separation of Church and State in France, the government subsidies to the Roman Catholic missions were withdrawn. In 1930 the Roman Catholics in Senegal had 67 European S [162] priests, sisters, and lay workers aided by 175 native catechists and S [368] teachers. Professing Roman Catholics numbered 22,300. A magnificent cathedral, the work of many years, was consecrated at Dakar in 1936.

The only Protestant mission in Senegal is that of the Société des S [162] Missions Évangéliques de Paris, which began work in the colony in 1863. Its adherents number about a hundred.

8. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION AND INLAND TOWNS

Distribution of Population

S *Senegal*

161 Senegal is the third most densely populated colony, with an average of 21·58 persons per square mile and a total population in 1937 of 1,886,374. The distribution, however, varies greatly within the colony itself. The regions of Fouta and Ferlo are almost uninhabitable, while the provinces of Baol, Sine-Saloum, and Thiès have more than 50 persons per square mile. The coastal provinces of Bignona and Ziguinchor, south of the Gambia, are equally closely S [311] settled. The left bank of the Senegal, roughly from Bakel to Podor, [36] supports a fairly dense agricultural population.

Growth has been steady, the figures for 1921, 1926, and 1931 being 1,225,523, 1,318,287, and 1,584,273 respectively. There is no doubt that the colony is capable of supporting many more inhabitants than it does at present.

S 162 563 W [162] [701] *Natives.* More than 580,000 Ouolofs live in Senegal. These are among the most energetic and intelligent peoples of the Federation, and they provide the bulk of the famous Senegalese Tirailleurs. There are about 250,000 each of Sérères, Mandingos, and Fulani, and 150,000 Toucouleur. Broadly speaking, the Ouolofs live north and east of Dakar, the Sérères south-east thereof, the Toucouleur

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

History

175 361 [197] Until the middle of the nineteenth century Dakar was a Lebou village. In 1846, however, a Roman Catholic convent was built there, and eleven years later the village and the Cape Verde peninsula were officially occupied. In 1858 the French Government signed a contract with the Messageries Impériales (now the Messageries Maritimes) whereby ships sailing between Bordeaux and Rio de Janeiro would call at Dakar. The company acquired 7½ acres of land near Dakar point, and in 1863 a small jetty was built. This was the beginning of the port. In 1864 a lighthouse was constructed near [502] Cape Verde and three years later two others, respectively at Almadi [496] point and at Cape Manuel. In 1885 the railway to St. Louis was opened. It was not, however, until 1898 that the idea was conceived [712] of making Dakar a big naval base, and by 1910 it was capable of accommodating vessels of all types. Further improvements have [504] since been effected, and to-day the dry dock is big enough to take a battleship.

The Town

361 Dakar has grown so as to cover the southern part of the Cape Verde peninsula, but the port is on the east side of the town. On the south-west are the cliffs of Madeleines bay and on the south-east those of Bernard bay. Dakar point marks the northern end of the latter. North of the port is Bel Air point, the southern limit of Hann bay.

The medina or native town, which contains nearly half the population, is to the north-west of the main town. The intercolonial road [491] enters the latter from the north and is continued as the Avenue Gambetta and the Avenue Maginot to an open space where stands [368] the Roman Catholic cathedral. East of the cathedral is the Residence of the Governor-General (Vol. II Plate 58), magnificently situated on the top of the cliffs overlooking Bernard bay. Farther south are the British Consulate, the Pasteur Institute, the botanical gardens, and, [943] almost at Cape Manuel, the isolation hospital. The buildings of the army headquarters are near Dakar point. West of them are the port offices, the telephone exchange, the principal market, the Mairie (Plate 117), and the law courts. The town contains innumerable shops and offices and many clubs, cafés, hotels, and other amenities of modern civilization.

W [38 cont.]
793 brother is a source of worry to Amadou Bamba, who nevertheless shows him great partiality and gives him large sums of money, which are soon spent. This Murid of fancy, however, this Sheik Thioro, is still not content. He puts on airs, flirts with the businessmen and traders of Senegal, and offers his services to the administration. All this bustling in a vacuum is quite harmless, for no one takes Sheik Thioro seriously.

W
*795 Provinces of N'guick-Mérina and Gandiolais. As one draws away from the Murid crescent which borders the Ferlo on the west, southwest, and south, [39] Amadou Bamba's influence vanishes. Thus, the provinces of N'guick-Mérina and Gandiolais are almost
W [793] free of it. There is said to be a total of 80 sérignes and talibés in these two provinces, which represents a maximum of 250 persons under the spiritual authority of Amadou Bamba. No personality merits special mention.

ooo The appendices attached are:

Appendix No. 15. Circle of Louga:
Enumeration by province of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Appendix No. 16. Circle of Louga:
List by province of the principal Murid marabouts, their origin, their residence, their spiritual father, and the number of their talibés.

7. Dakar and Saint-Louis

W
*795 For the sake of completeness, the small number of Murids
369 living in Dakar and Saint-Louis should be pointed out. There
S
795 are about 140 in Dakar and 130 in Saint-Louis.
369 These Murids are not even inhabitants of the city, but im-
[162] migrants from Baol, Cayor, and Diambour; Dakar, indeed, is too
[166]

1: Marty--33 / G-4,5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

W *795 369 S 795 369 [166] W [463] S W [166] W 793

[39 cont.]

busy a city to lend itself to religious propaganda, and Saint-Louis is too enlightened a Moslem center to accept the doctrinal fancies of the Murids.

They are there as laborers, usually without their families, sent by their sheik to earn money. They work as porters on the quays and especially as makers and sellers of mats for the use of the natives. [40] In Dakar, they also work as water vendors in the Black quarters, and in Saint-Louis as vendors of firewood or of fodder for the many cows fed in the city.

When winter draws near, most of these talibés return to their country of origin to engage in the tasks of preparing the land and of sowing.

In general they are under the spiritual authority of Sheik Ibra Fal. He himself goes to Dakar. He is represented in Saint-Louis by Amadou Guèye.

Sheik Ibra Fal owns several compounds and various buildings in both Dakar and Saint-Louis.

Sheik Anta owns a handsome house in Dakar, in the Rue Raffenel, purchased for 28,000 francs from a native and now rented to a Moroccan trader named Madani El-Qtiri.

Conclusion

In this study of the cadres and the faithful of the Murid order, there ought to be included, aside from Amadou Bamba and the principal lieutenants already mentioned, a large number of local marabouts who have not all been taught by Amadou Bamba, but who, some of them possibly out of personal conviction, others out of self-interest and in order to keep their believers who were drawn to the new movement, have joined the order of the Sérigne and have become his vicars. To these should be added the chiefs of villages or factions, notables in quest of authority or prestige, clever traders who skillfully manage their commercial affairs and their spiritual interests.

/371/

121
369

To complement an urban geographical study of Thiès (1),

1. "La ville de Thiès /The City of Thiès/," to appear soon in Etudes Sénégalaises.

a city located about 60 kilometers as the crow flies from Dakar, we have made an investigation in the villages of its suburbs.

[175
496] The sole object of this investigation was to learn to what extent the presence of a city founded entirely by Europeans as early as 1885 (date of the running of the Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad) may have effects on the neighboring rural groupings.

Consequently, this study will deal only with the relations that may exist between the city and the neighboring villages; agricultural problems will be dealt with only to the extent that they help to clarify certain aspects of the question.

[563] Seven villages were chosen. These agglomerations contain populations that belong to the principal ethnic groups of the region: Sérère-none /Serer/ at Tiali, Thiès-none, and Sapko; Wolof at Diakhaté and Keur-Mamour; Bambara and Wassoulonké at Karamoko and at Keur-Issa-Bambara (see the sketch below). All of these localities are located within a radius of less than ten kilometers around the city.

The presence of a city in a given region may have disturbed rural life in very different ways, depending on the distance from the village to the city and depending on its ethnic composition.

It may have acted on the choice of the site for the village, on its arrangement, on the creation of new rural groupings.

It may have caused modifications in the type of the traditional settlement, in its interior comforts, in its modes and methods of cultivation.

/372/ Finally, and above all, it may have led to more or less profound perturbations in the social and economic organization of the village.

Before developing these three points it seems necessary to

S 121 269 /372 cont./
delineate in broad strokes the natural milieu in which these rural agglomerations were established. /Fig. 1 appears here./

As could be assumed, the environment of each of them differs according to the ethnic group that occupies it.

S SR 361 The None /Serer/ village is generally divided into several hamlets of varying importance, but definitely separated from one another. They conceal themselves from sight under dense foliage in the heart of an arbored countryside. In the rainy season it is possible to pass near one of them without suspecting its existence. Only the noise of the pestle in the millet mortars reveals its presence to us.

SR [412]

SR [137] [273] The fields extend around in a wooded landscape. The palmyra, with the shape of the leaves reminding one of an enormous /373/ fan, predominates over the other species. The harvesting of palm wine practiced by the Sérère-none seems to be the primary reason for their impressive number. The "kad"(1)

1. "kad" in Wolof = Faidherbia albida (A. Chev.).

SR [137] [283] [241] is rarer than in Sine-Saloum; the baobab (with its trunk stripped for the making of cord) is preserved solely in the village itself. On the immediate outskirts, the millet fields are numerous; those of the groundnut seem to be less extensive. No plot of ground, except for some ferruginous crusts, seems to have been spared from cultivation.

S 361 W [361] The framework of the Wolof village is entirely different. The surrounding countryside is bare. A few rare trees put their dark blots on this monotonous countryside. The agglomeration is easily marked by the darker foliage that surrounds it.

The Bambara villages are sometimes located in a wooded countryside, like Keur-Issa-Bambara, and sometimes in a denuded landscape, like Karamoko. It would seem that this group has patterned its method of cultivation on that practiced in the neighborhood.

Keur-Issa-Bambara reminds one of the None village, not

Serer FA32
Wolof MS30

/373 cont./

S
SR
W
102
131
361
S
491
496
712

/372/

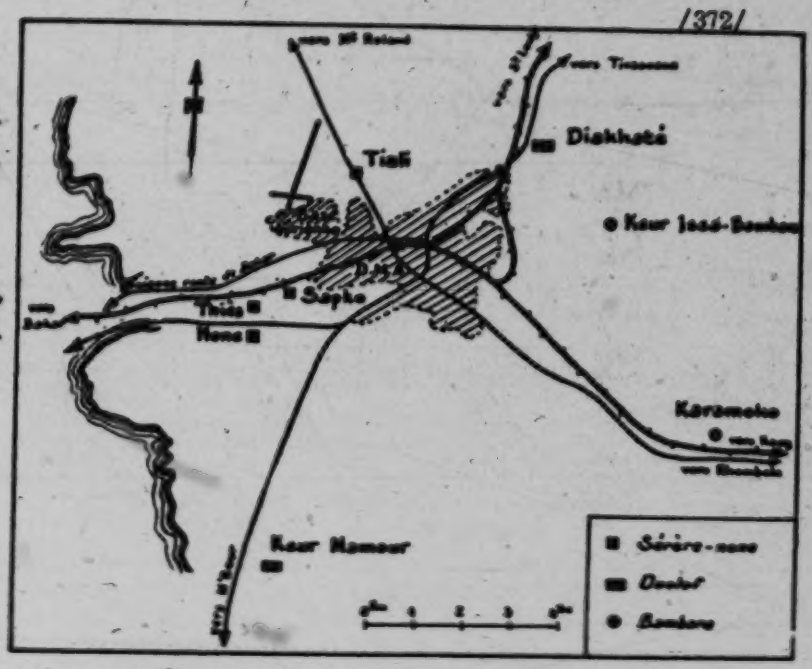


Fig. 1. Thiès. location of the villages mentioned in this study.

S
361 /373 cont./ by its internal plan (it is dispersed in a loose arrangement), but by the arbored countryside that surrounds it.

Karamoko, on the other hand, resembles a Wolof village: few or no trees except around the huts, a monotonous and open countryside.

S
369 The founding and the rapid growth of Thiès seems to have entailed perturbations in the life of the neighboring villages, especially at the end of the last century.

/373 cont./

S Se W 175 648

Before the arrival of the French garrison in 1865, the Sérère-none ruled supreme over the region. He was established as the traditional enemy of the Wolof, and from time to time he suffered from the incursions of his "tiédos" (2).

W [624]

2. Tiédos: name given to the Wolof war chiefs of Cayor.

After the definitive installation of our troops at Thiès and especially after the running of the Dakar-Saint-Louis railroad in 1885, many Wolof came to settle near our fortified post; at the same time they benefited from our pacificatory presence by being able to create farm villages in the heart of None country. Diakhaté was established about 1875-1880 (some of its founders worked on the construction of the railroad line in 1884); Keur-Mamour was created at about the same time.

W [464]

The Bambara villages are more recent: 1890-1895. These were the /374/ terrible years when Samory sacked the southern Sudan and the region of the Wassoulou (east of Beyla in Upper Guinea). Through the authorities, it seems, some of the Bambara and Wassoulonké freed by our troops were sent to Senegal where the policy of groundnut cultivation was in full development. Keur-Issa-Bambara and Karamoko were founded at this time.

S [369]

The city of Thiès was not very important at that time; it had hardly more than a thousand inhabitants. Nevertheless, it began to play a primary role; its presence imposed peace in the region formerly so disturbed by the None brigandage or the incursions of Wolof warriors. Its presence facilitated the founding of villages, the number of which would cease to grow in the subsequent period; all of the land capable of supporting crops was utilized at the beginning of the century.

S 369 [311] [438]

In the years preceding the Great War, the escale (1)

1. Escale: by extension signifies a stopping place, a commercial agglomeration.

/374 cont./

369 [438] became a relatively flourishing commercial center; each year more than 20,000 metric tons of groundnuts were handled by the traders of the place and sent by railroad to the ports of Rufisque or Dakar. As early as 1907 the first work on the Thiès-[496] Kayes railroad was begun. All of this new economic activity [464] required the employment of many laborers, who were in part recruited on the spot, but also in the neighboring villages.

369 166 During the dry season, work in the fields is reduced. A number of rural people in the vicinity come to offer their serv- [464] ices as workers in the factoreries (2) or in the newly opened

[443] 2. Factorerie: shop where everything is sold.

[461] yards /chantiers, dockyards, woodyards, etc./. Some of these villagers feel that this kind of work is less arduous and more remunerative than that of agriculture. They become definitively attached to urban life and come to swell the population of the native quarters previously established.

[484] Others return every evening to the village. During the [22] rainy season they leave their urban job and devote all their activity to work in the fields.

During this whole period prior to the Great War the suburban village seems to have played the role of intermediary or rather of relay-station between the hamlet in the bush and the city. The call for non-specialized labor had echos not [464] only in the outskirts /375/ of the city itself, but also in the more distant villages. Curiosity about new things, the opportunity to escape familial tutelage, and especially the promise of relatively high earnings stimulated some immigration movement toward the escales.

[574] By means of the great hospitality that he knows will be shown him by relatives or friends who live in Diakhaté or Keur-Issa-Bambara, the rural person settles in these agglomerations.

/375 cont./

369 He works the lougan (1) of his host; after a few months he
166
[574]
[425]
[622]

1. Lougan: a Wolof term signifying a cultivated field.

obtains a little grant of land from the head of the village; he builds a hut, and often his family joins him and comes to share his life. Diakhaté and Keur-Issa-Bambara grow. The new settler takes advantage of the inactivity that the dry season imposes on him by offering his services temporarily to the urban establishments. Each year he divides his activities, which become half-urban, half-rural. If stable employment is offered to him in the city, he leaves the care of his lougan to his family and devotes himself entirely to his new activity. For a few months he will accept this daily [484] travel, but he has no deep attachment in the village that welcomed him earlier; tired of his long daily journeys, perhaps also pushed by a kind of pride in becoming a city dweller, he will finally, he and his family, leave the rural life and settle in the huts of the native quarters of Thiés.

369 Perhaps he retained a little lougan in the village?
241 His family will come to maintain it each year. Perhaps he exchanged it for a field located in the vicinity of his new establishment? In general, because of a kind of peasant atavism, he always keeps a little bit of ground near his quarter. The harvest will give some protection against possi- [459] ble shortages; the sale of the products of the soil will be a considerable balance when enforced idleness or lack of money occurs.

369 The period of the maximum development of Keur-
621 Issa-Bambara is set by the old people in the decade 1910-1920. This swelling of the population often required splitting the village in two. For reasons of familial misunderstandings or the necessity of being nearer to fields too far away, this disassociation was brought about in several hamlets (at

/375 cont./

369 Diakhaté, for example).

621 Sometimes the discord between religious heads be-
[798] longing to different sects provoked the separation in fact of the two opposite camps (Keur-Mamour).

Up to here the presence of the city acted only indirectly in stimulating /376/ the swelling or the splitting up of the village and the temporary or definitive emigration of some elements. It may also have more direct effects on the agglomerations.

369 During the last three decades, through the establish-
[498] ment of the great repair workshops /ateliers de réparation/ of the Dakar-Niger, Thiès has been in the process of becoming
[712] an industrial city; in a parallel way the military bases are becoming larger at the expense of the neighboring rural territories.

369 Even before this last war, the None village of Tiali,
423 located one kilometer from the city, was the first to be de-
[712] prived of about a third of its land by the establishment of the camp of military aviation. In 1947 plans to extend this same base brought about the complete evacuation of Thiès-none which was established south of the railroad, in the vicinity of Sapko. Almost all of these fields were relinquished to the military authorities. Finally, in 1953, execution of the plan for the urbanization of the city obliged the inhabitants of Wango to rebuild their huts in the quarter of Greater Thiès. Part of these lands have been relinquished to the municipality.

369 The land shrinks, the population grows; in order to subsist, a part of the rural population is obliged to go to work in the city.

[361] But before studying this question of the changing of the rural worker into an urban worker, we shall see whether the presence of the city has an influence on the plan of the village and especially on the settlement pattern.

Serer FA32
Wolof MS30
Bambara FA8

S /376 cont./

369 The appearance of the village itself varies according to
361 the ethnic groups. Among the None, it is tightly grouped
SR around a little central plaza, in the middle of which grows a
[361] majestic baobab. The Wolof disperses his compounds of huts,
W each delimited by a tapade (1) made of plaited millet-stalks.
[361]
[351]

1. Tapade: a kind of walling made of straw, bamboo, branches, which separates the space between two familial compounds.

This dispersion is also found at Karamoko and at Keur-Issa-Bambara.

Apparently the city seems not to have had an influence on the arrangement proper of the village. It has very nearly preserved its old plan.

S Even today the traditional mode of construction of the
342 hut appears different according to the ethnic group. The None
SR erect strong mud dwellings on a square base with a floor of
[342] stamped earth; the whole is covered by a roof of thatch. The
[343] kitchen, on the other hand, is made of some posts fastened to the ground itself and supporting a roof of palmyra leaves.

W /377/ The Wolof prefers straw or plaited millet stalks as
[342] material. The house rests merely on the sandy ground, without
B any floor of stamped earth. The Bambara willingly lives in a
[342] hut of straw, but he is careful to fill in the interstices with mud. The floor is of stamped earth; a wide pent roof generally protects the entrance. Sometimes two huts are connected by a kind of veranda where he spends the evening; mud is frequently utilized in this group. /Fig. 2 appears here./

S The proximity of the city has to a certain extent improved
SR the traditional modes of construction. The plan and the material
342 used have been improved.
369 The hut with a single room and a square base has been replaced by a cottage with a rectangular base and often containing two rooms with the narrow window closed by a solid shutter.

Serer FA32
Wolof MS30

/377 cont./

S SR 342 369 Although the walls are still constructed of mud, they have been strengthened by a plastering of cement which prevents their rapid "dissolution" under the action of the rain. In general the thatched roof has been replaced by a covering of corrugated metal. What the dwelling gains in strength, it loses in comfort; the absence of the ceiling, the thinness

S SR [361]

Fig. 2. Thiès-none, a village little urbanized, with mud huts and thatched roofs.

/378/ of the metal, and the lack of ventilation give the interior of the rooms a suffocating atmosphere in the warm season and a cold one in winter.

These improvements may have numerous variations: hut with square base, plastered with cement, with a thatched roof; hut made entirely from retrieved planks. /Fig. 3 appears here./

These modernized dwellings are numerous, particularly in the None villages; 22 out of 204 (including kitchens) are made of mud, with cement plastering and roofing other than thatch. They W [342] are rarer in the Bambara agglomerations, /379/ absent at Keur-Mamour

[text continued on p.11]

S SR /379 cont./

369 and at Diakhaté where the hut of straw or purely of mud
[342] prevails. Could it be that the occupation of mason to which
W some None seem to devote themselves is a factor in this
[342] modernization of their settlements?

SR A certain "coquetry" absent in the bush villages leads
[463] some autochthones to lay out a little flower garden near their
S hut (Tiali, Keur-Issa-Bambara)..
[351]

The presence of the city is also reflected in the equip-
S ment used by the rural people. The furniture is always sum-
369 mary, but more and more the iron bed is replacing the lat-
352 tice of wood or the mat put on the ground itself. A mattress,
[513] a military blanket, and commonly a mosquito net of a very light fabric complete this relative comfort. Often a little table of unpainted wood, a chair made of old boxes, a bit
S of mirror hung on the wall, and sometimes an impressive
[353] number of photographs, or, lacking them, pages cut out of an illustrated magazine pasted to the walls, give a special stamp to this interior, which is no longer typically rural. Sometimes one even has the surprise of encountering in these modest interiors a wardrobe and a little buffet, which adorn, the more since they are not utilized, the room of a privileged native. But this comfort is an exception.

S The calabash, which is the very foundation of the
369 kitchen utensils, is still commonly utilized for household
415 tasks and for the common meals. Nevertheless the cast-iron or aluminum saucepan is no longer a luxury; the glass and above all the bottle are in common use.

S The clothing, too, has been modified. The loincloth
369 in bright colors, laboriously woven by the Toucouleur
291 /Tukolor/ weaver, durable but expensive, has become a
177 luxury. Imported printed cloth of moderate price has sup-
planted it everywhere. The white robe with embroidery has
S become the festive garment par excellence; the shorts, the
[292] trousers, and the jacket, often furnished by the European, are now the clothes utilized for work.

/379 cont./

S 369 [262] Only food seems to have undergone only slight improvement: the couscous of millet or rice (a little fish or meat during periods of abundance) are basic in their diet. Bread, rarely eaten during the meal, is reserved for children; S [271] it takes the place of cake. Water remains the essential drink of the Moslem; water, palm wine (during the harvest), [273] and grape wine (on feast days) are consumed by the non-Islamized None.

SR [273] The frugal housewife profits from the proximity of the S 369 241 438 escale for /380/ the daily sale in the market of the products of her personal garden. She cultivates tomatoes, beans, pumpkins, and okra. At Keur-Issa-Bambara she has tried, with greater or lesser success, to cultivate potatoes and salad greens; the gathering of mangoes also procures a little profit S [372] for her. When the harvest from the garden is exhausted, the collection of dead wood which she will take to sell in the market in the form of little bundles will yield a few coins for her.

In parallel fashion, the husband-cultivator harvests on a plot of his lougan products that are easy to sell on the Thiès market; at Keur-Issa-Bambara he lays out flooded rice-fields and cultivates the sweet potato and manioc, part of which is S SR 369 438 offered to the clientele of the escale.

During the dry season the None principally works at gathering palmyra leaves; they will be sold, as bundles of [314] thatch, for making roofs for the huts of the urban quarters; [342] after the harvest he carries dried groundnut leaves to the city [231] for fodder for the little horses harnessed to the taxicabs.

S SR 369 234 438 Despite the ready sale that can be made with cattle, they are not very numerous. When the epizootic diseases have spared them, they give an appreciable profit to their owner through the sale of milk. At Tiali, the only herd in the village, which contains about 30 animals, belongs to a S SR F single breeder. It is guarded by Peul shepherds who lead it [239] to graze in the neighboring woodlands. The morning milk [465] and the calves belong to the owner; the evening milk goes

S
SR
369
438
[234]
[233]
[465]

/380 cont./

to the shepherd as compensation for serices rendered. Although lactation is very poor (one to two liters per day per head), this sale practiced in the city a a relatively high price (30 francs per liter) is a source o not inconsiderable profit.

F
[233]
[465]
SR
[231]
[417]

The Sérère, despite the poor foo resources he commands, practices for the benefit of Europeans the raising of pigs in the narrow and miry enclosures formed by stakes driven deeply into the ground and close together.

S
[361]

The mode of settlement and the economy of these suburban villages, although they have not had profound modifications, nevertheless are in the process o continual reorganization and adaptation.

These very modest contributions of the urban economy thin out very rapidly as one goes farthe from the city. Karamoko and Keur-Mamour, located six ad seven kilometers from the escale, and even Diakhaté, which is nearer, give the appearance of wholly rural villages. The women who each morning leave in Indian file /381/ to sell their products in the city make up the single element that enters into the circuit of the new economy offered to them.

S
121
369

Has the social and economic orgnization, on the other hand, been more profoundly modified? An examination of the ethnic and functional composition of the groups of the villages will permit an understanding of the data on this problem.

For this study we have grouped the villages under three rubrics:

1. The assemblage of Tiali, Thiès-Nine, and Sapiac near the escale, but having undergone perturbations in their economy by the loss of part of their land.

2. Keur-Mamour and Karamoko for the group farthest from the city.

3. Diakhaté and Keur-Issa-Bambara are the two villages near the escale which have not suffered any loss of territory.

S
SR
369
162

The first assemblage musters a tol population of 465

S SR 369 [162] /381 cont. /

inhabitants. These three villages are located less than two kilometers from the first urban quarters, consequently a favorable location for the daily departure of workers for the escale.

S SR 369 162 [563] The ethnic composition of these agglomerations, despite the urban proximity (favorable for the mixing of peoples), has remained homogeneous. At Sapko there is no foreign element; at Tiali two Wolof and one Sérère-Sine were working there temporarily at the time of the time of the inquiry; by contrast, nearly a tenth of the population of Thiès-None is made up of individuals belonging to non-Sérère ethnic groups (Wolof, Toucouleur, Peul). A parallel must be drawn between this quite relative heterogeneity and the almost total Islamization of the locality. Nearly four-fifths of the population of Thiès-None has embraced this religion; Sapko and Tiali, by contrast, remain essentially Catholic or fetishistic, the Moslems living there generally being transient elements.

S SR [771]

S SR 582 794 [563] A kind of self-defense by the Catholic group that lives in a region largely Islamized seems to be one of the primary reasons for this ethnic integrity. Under the influence of the fathers, who possess, it seems, a profound authority over every Christian agglomeration, marriages occur from None village to None village and between Catholics (1).

S SR [777]

1. The woman seems to be the element through which the transition from the Catholic religion to the Moslem religion occurs. The young Christian who marries a Moslem no longer practices and quickly abjures her first religion; her children and the whole line will become Islamized under the paternal influence.

S SR 162 369 /382/ An examination of the male and economically active population of these three agglomerations gives the result that 38% of its elements have remained essentially

S /382 cont./
SR agricultural, 27% work wholly at Thiès, and 31% divide
162 their activity between the city and the country, depending
369 on the season and the labor market.

S Thus, the decrease in the cultivable area has brought
SR about a decrease in the number of cultivators. But the None
241 is above all a man of the soil, a peasant. Even as a laborer, he will not give up his bit of land which will give him a harvest. Each evening upon his return from work, he will take up his ilet (1) and go to cultivate his lougan of millet

S
SR
[412]

1. Hilaire or ilet: implement par excellence of the Senegalese cultivator, made up of a metal blade in the shape of a heart fixed to a long handle.

S or groundnuts. And if he has an occupation that suits him in
SR the city and in addition personally owns good land? He will
241 hire the services of a navétane (2) to whom he will relinquish
369
427

2. Seasonal agricultural worker.

a portion of his land and to whom he will grant some free time for his personal crops. This navétane will work his fields, and, through this procedure, he will be able to sell or amass a considerable harvest at the end of the year.

S An examination of the occupation of temporary or
SR permanent workers shows an important number of laborers,
162 18, of masons, 12, and a more modest number of boys
463 /domestic workers/ and shopkeepers, 8, out of a total of 71 workers. These results corroborate those given in the human study of the escale of Thiès.

S In spite of a relatively close urban neighborhood, the
SR number of inhabitants understanding French is very modest:
162 only 13 understand our language; 15 children out of a hundred
191 go to the nearby French school. These results may appear
[871] deceptive. One considers that all the conditions of the milieu seem favorable for closer contact with the European element.

/382 cont./

S 162 An examination of the suburban villages farthest from Thiès will give even lower figures.

S 162 563 Karamoko, located seven kilometers from the city, musters 106 inhabitants. Its ethnic composition is clearly different from that of the above None villages. Very great heterogeneity prevails there; it is made up of 30% Bambara, 30% Wassoulonké, and 25% Peul-Toucouleur. The Bambara and Wassoulonké form the ethnic base of the village, of which they were the creators. The other elements through the play of marriages have superimposed themselves on these groups.

W [563] /383/ Keur-Mamour, by contrast, has remained Wolof; only a few Peul shepherds have infiltrated into the village.

S 162 369 463 The distance from the urban center has considerably reduced the relations with Thiès. They have both remained rural: less than 10% of the economically active male population have non-agricultural work; more than 60% have remained wholly faithful to the land.

S W 369 463 317 At Keur-Mamour, although some elements were formerly employed in the escale itself, at the time of the inquiry only one-tenth were employed as laborers at the Péchiney phosphate quarries located in the vicinity of their village. (We have here an indirect effect of the urban presence: the opening of extra-urban yards offering extra-rural work to the neighboring villages.) As a consequence no worker was employed in the city itself.

S 369 Karamoko and Keur-Mamour thus present limited characteristics of the urban suburbs.

Keur-Issa-Bambara and Diakhaté, located in the vicinity of the escale (about one kilometer from the first outskirts), would have to form the type proper of the sub[illegible]

S 369 563 162 W [563] The ethnic composition is essentially Wolof at Diakhaté, composite at Keur-Issa-Bambara. In this latter agglomeration the Bambara, the Peul, and the Toucouleur respectively account for 30% in the composition of the group. The remainder is made up of Wassoulonké, Wolof, Malinké, and Sarakolé. Consequently the heterogeneity seems to be greater there than

/383 cont./

369 563 162 at Karamoko. This leads to the supposition that there is great instability on the part of the families who, coming from the Sudan, for example, momentarily settle in the village before being integrated into the urban population of Thiès.

An examination of the table below[1] will permit a comparison of the structure of the four non-None villages (the None villages are homogeneous, as we have seen above).

/384/ In the predominately rural villages, the number 369 563 162 166 of individuals born in the village almost balances the number of those born outside: Karamoko, 34 as against 35; Keur-Mamour, 28 as against 22. It should be emphasized that at Keur-Mamour most of the men were born in the village itself, 21 as against 3, but by contrast most of the women are of outside origin, 19 as against 7. At Karamoko, on the other hand, an equal number of men and women leave their village of birth to settle elsewhere.

In the predominately urban agglomerations, the individuals who come from the outside are clearly in the majority. At Diakhaté, 31 are natives of the village as against 48 from the outside. At Keur-Issa-Bambara, only 23 are natives of the village as against 51 from the outside. Let us note that the number of men and the number of women born outside of the village are nearly identical: 22 men as against 29 women at Keur-Issa-Bambara, 23 as against 25 at Diakhaté.

These comparative figures emphasize a greater ethnic mixture in the villages whose economy is marked by the presence of the city.

The villages of Sudanese origin in particular require complementary data concerning the place of origin of the emigration. 563 162 166 To what extent do these villages maintain relations with their country of origin? Does the emigration movement toward Senegal, primed at the end of the last century, continue with as much strength in our day?

An examination of the place of birth of individuals belonging to the over-40 age group (early emigration) and the individuals not having reached this age (recent emigration) will illuminate

[1] [see cat 116, p 18 - ANALYST]

/384 cont./

S 563 162 166 this problem.

At Keur-Issa-Bambara, out of 37 individuals born in the Sudan, 20 are over 40 years of age. At Karamoko, 28 are natives of the Sudan, but 18 have reached 40 years of age. Out of 65 individuals of Sudanese origin, only 27 are young elements. Over half of those classed under the rubric "emigrant" were aged persons, some of whom perhaps assisted in the creation of the village in Senegal.

These few figures are an index of the mediocrity of the present immigration of the Sudanese to the region of Thiès. The unions and the displacements of families or of familial elements seem to occur now between relatively close villages.

S 162 463 369 An examination of the division of activities at Diakhaté and at Keur-Issa-Bambara will permit to some extent "gauging" their index of urbanization.

W [162] [463] [369] At Diakhaté, 20% of the economically active male population work /385/ at Thiès, 60% have remained agriculturalists, and the remainder, 20%, is composed of workers of mixed activities, half-rural, half-urban. Keur-Issa-Bambara shows only a very low percentage of workers in mixed activities: 60% are rural; more than 30% work in the city (one sees that this latter figure is slightly higher than that for the None villages, 27%).

S [498] The workshops of the Dakar-Niger employ a considerable number of permanent or temporary workers from these two villages. These two localities in fact furnish 19 permanent city workers, 15 of whom are employed on the Dakar-Niger; among the four temporary workers from Keur-Issa-Bambara, three have worked in this enterprise. In addition, Diakhaté furnishes temporarily for the city: four tailors, one mason, and one carpenter.

W [463]

S 162 [191] [871] Let us add that a minority of natives, despite the contacts that they can have with Europeans, understand our language, a little less than 5%. The number of children who go to the European school is almost null, scarcely 1%.

S 369 After this quick study of some types of villages in the vicinity

369 /385 cont./
of Thiès, it clearly appears that the characteristics of the suburbs of the African cities noticeably differ from those of the cities of the mother country. Can one use the term suburb /banlieue/ for these types of suburban villages? Sapko, Thiès-none, Tiali, and Keur-Issa-Bambara, on the one hand, can be regarded as suburb villages; in fact they possess the essential characteristics: proximity to the city, relatively high percentage of workers traveling daily to the enterprises of Thiès, a considerable number of mixed workers, sale of truck-gardening products in the city, relatively high percentage of improved dwellings...

Keur-Mamour and Karamoko already appear to be outside of the economy of the city and cannot be regarded as suburb villages. Diakhaté would be a marginal type; despite its proximity to the first urban quarters, its economy seems to be little influenced by that of the city (only a fifth of the economically active population works in the city).

On the mother-country plan, a city such as Thiès would have an important industrial suburb. Let us not forget that the [498] workshops of the Dakar-Niger engage nearly 2,500 native workers.

369 The agrarian economy plays an essential role in these 241 villages, but it has remained traditional. The introduction of new crops and the extension of the zones of gardening and orchards are very slight. The woman has perhaps extended by a few square meters the /386/ area of her vegetable garden for the cultivation of vegetables intended for sale at the market, but no serious systematic arrangement has been made. Traditional cultivation, with its archaic methods, prevails everywhere. If 369 the need for money stimulates the rural person to offer his services 464 in the city, he seems to choose the place of work nearest to his 466 home. Is it truly out of liking that the Wolof of Diakhaté hire themselves out to the workshops of the Dakar-Niger? Is it out of liking that the None near the mercantile quarters hire themselves out as laborers or boys? The proximity of the place of work seems to enter considerably into the choice of urban occupation.

The suburban village, as we have noted several times, has

/386 cont./

369 two important roles in the economy of the escale: it is a re-
464 serve of workers who can be employed temporarily; it is also
166 the position of withdrawal when enforced idleness and strikes interdict work in the city.

[463] A functional examination of the different human groups has in fact revealed that an important proportion of the male elements has a hybrid occupation: half-agricultural, half-laborer. These workers fluctuating between two activities seem like a shock troop of laborers who are employed on the occasion of great undertakings: embankments for the laying of the road from Dakar to Thiès, putting through and establishing new streets, the installation of the military camps, the extraction of phosphate in the Péchiney quarries... The yard closed, they temporarily return to the land.

These villages are also withdrawal points in case of prolonged work stoppages. If the worker is discharged from his establishment, if he suffers from enforced idleness in his occupation, is he totally deprived of money? He knows that he will [574] be able to wait for better times thanks to the hospitality that he will find in the neighboring agglomeration. Settled near the escale, it will be possible for him to look for work every day.

369 Reserve of manpower, reserve of food products intended principally for the native, these are the two points that justify the term suburb given to these few villages.

Their external appearance and their internal organization as we have described it scarcely correspond to our Western view of the suburban phenomenon. But we should place this problem in its African milieu where the conceptions of the city, animal breeding, agriculture... profoundly differ from ours.

How long will this type of suburb of the African cities preserve this rural appearance? Evolution in the modes /387/ of settlement, in interior comfort, in the extension of new crops..., already primed in some villages, will progressively continue in the neighboring agglomerations.

In spite of appearances, modifications occur rapidly

/387 cont./

369 (especially since the end of the last World War). It is probable that at such a rate in a few decades these suburban villages will have lost their rural appearance and will look like extensions of urban quarters. It seems difficult to foretell, however, to what extent and in what direction the Africa of tomorrow will be able to sustain its present efforts at evolution.

/388/

369 433 [162] The city of Thiès, 60 kilometers east of Dakar, contains 36,000 inhabitants, according to a recent census. All of its activity seems to be centered around four principal poles: commercial, industrial, administrative, and military.

[487] Its commercial activity is due to its position at the crossroads of important paths of communication: railroad lines from Dakar to Saint-Louis, from Dakar to Bamako, and from Thiès to Kaolack, and roads from Dakar to Saint-Louis and from Dakar to Diourbel, Tambacounda, and the Sudan and Guinea.

[498] [464] It also owes the essential part of its industrial activity to this implantation at an important rail crossroads; the repair shops of the Dakar-Niger rail system, where nearly 1,000 workers of all grades are employed, have been set up there.

[497] [634] Apart from the workshops of the Dakar-Niger, it must not be forgotten that Thiès is also where the management of this system resides. And it is also the principal administrative point of a circle /cercle, an administrative district/. We will thus find, besides the workers, a rather large proportion of office employees, managers, and executives.

[712] Finally, the military function of Thiès is due to the presence of two important camps: the "DMA" (Détachement Motorisé Autonome), and an air base.

Besides these four centers of activities which give this city a modern character (economically speaking, at least), a fifth one intervenes in a not inconsiderable proportion. A rather large [166] [241] population of cultivators, who in winter cultivate groundnuts and millet in nearby fields, has settled on the periphery of Thiès. And the city is the point to which, at the time of the groundnut trade, all of the agricultural activity of the circle comes to assert itself. Its commercial importance is thereby further increased.

162 463 /389/ Here is some numerical information concerning the occupational distribution of the population of Thiès.

Out of an economically active population of 11,040 inhabitants at the date of the census, there were counted:

Thie's
Wolof MS30
Serer FA32
SONINKE MS21
BAMBARA FA8

/399/ Table III (cont.)

W
SR
So
B
426
511
S
426
511*

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Monthly Surplus or Deficit	% in Relation to Income
32	Wolof	Cultivator	25,000	+ 1,442	5.7
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25,000	+ 1,128	4.5
34	Wolof	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	+ 977	3.7
35	Wolof	Staff employee D.N.	27,000	+ 2,117	7.8
36	Wolof	Private accountant	34,000	+ 751	2.2
37	Wolof	Truck-gardener	36,000	+ 1,237	3.4
38	Wolof	Jeweler	50,000	+ 2,555	5.1
39	Sarakolé	Teacher	51,000	+12,894	25.2
40	Wolof	Staff worker	55,000	+ 2,494	4.5
41	Sarakolé	Head employee D.N.	55,500	+ 5,599	10.0
42	Bambara	Chief worker C.D.N.	56,000	+ 4,726	8.4
43	Wolof	Doctor	81,000	+ 847	1.0

S
*511 /400 cont./ of supporting a second wife in another city on an income that is not very high. Nos. 36 and 43 have a lower percentage of surplus, but here we were able to get quite precise information on the utilization of the /401/ surplus and were able to include these sums in the total expenses.

S
178 It has become banal to state that the diet of Africans
*262 lacks variety. The food habits remain the most deep-rooted,
[369] and although one sees imported food products appear more and more among the African families of the cities, it is striking to verify that almost all are merely superimposed on the old ones.
[264] The food base, the meals at noon and in the evening, rarely evolves, no matter what the ethnic group, the income, or the

/426 cont./

*511 352 lists is the bed (1). In nearly all of the African lodgings we

1. The 13.3% of the cultivator, No. 32, arose from the purchase of a cart and a horse.

find at least a bed, but there is rarely one for everyone. And [369] to sleep in a bed has become the best proof that one can give of his acclimatization to the city.

If the income is higher, one may be able to buy more important pieces of furniture. Then, in the order of their urgency, the armchairs, the rugs, and then the tables and wardrobes appear.

*511 Then we come to the rubric "Exceptional Expenses," those for which no absolute necessity is felt. Moreover they are rarer at the top of the table, only three, and then they multiply (Table XIV).

[405] The first thing that we find here is the watch or the alarm [301] clock, closely followed by the jewelry of the wife or wives. [493] There follow, but only in the highest incomes, the bicycle, [207] or, depending on the possibilities, the bicycle with a motor [301] on it or the motorcycle, then the battery radio. There is nothing very original in all this, and, except perhaps for the importance given to the jewelry of the women, we would find similar pretensions among European families having equivalent incomes.

*511 In the last table (Table XV)[1] we have grouped a series of 794 expenses that have a common origin, the religion of the fami- [771] lies investigated, all Moslems except one. Two Moslem holidays are involved, Tabaski and Korité, religious assessments, /427/ /Table XIV appears here/ /428/ offerings to the marabouts, and, finally, expenses arising from sending children to the Koranic school.

*511 For Tabaski, each family slaughters a sheep. There

796 1 [See cat 116, pp 69-71. ANALYST]

/431 cont./

*511 not been able to take this income into account, but he is certainly erroneously placed in our list; this is No. 23. The 15,000 francs shown indeed correspond to his way of life, but he should certainly be higher.

Finally, many do not know where the money goes... and would be very surprised to learn that they should normally have a surplus at the end of each month. It is very probable [426] that they loan /432/ much of it, which is never returned to them and which they do not think of asking for; they are the ones who permit the system to remain in equilibrium.

*511 114 Many points have remained obscure in the course of this study, and many others require some explanation. We have strictly limited ourselves to a report of the verifications that we have made concerning the budgets of our families, not wishing to go still further and speak of the "standard of living." These are thus raw results which need to be worked over, put back in their framework, and illuminated in the light of their context: all the elements that make up African daily life.

But other studies of the same order are under way. One was recently made in Dakar itself; another will soon begin in Saint-Louis. By combining the results we will then be able to confirm certain of the tendencies shown and, finally, perhaps to draw some valid conclusions.

*511 The provisional conclusions would be: the apparent impossibility, or in any case the difficulty, of balancing a budget when the income is less than 15,000 francs, at least by changing the food habits (by consuming more millet, for example) and above all the social context. But on this last point the traditions are still the strongest. On the other hand, as we have just said, it is because of them that the system remains in equilibrium. [369] But from this struggle between two forces, the traditions of the rural life and the necessities of life in the city, there is the danger that disequilibrium will arise. In any case this is what often happens on the level of the familial groups that we studied.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

121 563 only black African territory where there was a sizeable French community. In Dakar alone the French numbered [162] 6,600 in 1931, 17,300 in 1948 and increased to nearly 30,000 in recent years. It is interesting to examine how the *colons* on the spot reacted to the acceptance of Africans as [369] equals in law and political rights and finally how far assimilation, by providing a new common culture, was able to break down traditional indigenous inter-ethnic hostilities.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

175 small island of Gorée further down the coast. However this did not mean that the French lacked interest in the interior. From 1749-53 Michel Adanson explored the Senegalese coast and undertook the first really scientific description of West Africa. His writings were largely responsible for the later hope that European colonisation of this part of Africa would be possible. But for the rest of the eighteenth century France's hold on St. Louis was too tenuous for anything of this nature to be undertaken. Indeed during the Seven Years' War the town fell to the British and was only returned in 1779. By the end of the eighteenth century St. Louis with a population of 7,000, had a European colony numbering 600, the largest on the whole of the West Coast. It also had an important assimilated mulatto community, whose descendants are known today as St. Louisiens. Indeed there had been a very high degree of *métissage* by the end of the eighteenth century, since most Frenchmen there took permanent African mistresses known as *signares*, and ensured the education of any children they had by them. Indeed in all but legal status these *signares* were wives and their 'marriages' were celebrated by their families with all the pomp of a normal wedding. However, with the improvement of communications between Senegal and France and the arrival of larger numbers of soldiers in the middle of the nineteenth century, mistresses were much more temporary in nature and the number of Frenchmen prepared to educate resulting offspring was considerably reduced.

175 563 369 [162]

175 567 [439] In 1789 St. Louis sent its *cahier* of grievances to the States-General on the eve of the French Revolution, demanding the end of the monopoly of the great companies, freedom of trade and the abolition of slavery, which had hitherto formed the main item of export from St. Louis. These grievances were heeded. Slavery was abolished and the companies had their charters withdrawn. But the position of slaves and slave-trading in the colonies was not in fact settled until the end of the wars that followed the French Revolution.

175 648 During these wars St. Louis once again fell to the British

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 648 [175]

and only under the terms of the Treaty of Paris which ended the Napoleonic Wars was it finally returned to the French in 1817. Under King Louis XVIII, France embarked on a policy of European colonisation of Senegal. Colonel Schmaltz negotiated with Moctar Diop, the Lebou chief of the small village of Dakar, for land to settle 200 emigrants to be despatched from France under the auspices of the *Société Coloniale Philanthropique*. But climate and disease soon put an end to this venture. Nevertheless Schmaltz persisted with his schemes in St. Louis so that Senegal could by its products enrich the mother country. He made agreements with local chiefs for the agricultural settlement of part of the Oualo or hinterland of St. Louis and in 1819 a model farm was established to experiment in the growing of cotton, olives, dates, coconuts and coffee. This policy was pursued enthusiastically by his successor, Baron Roger, and a number of experiments, mainly concerned with cotton, were undertaken in the next few years. By 1822 nearly fifty concessions had been granted to the French by local chiefs and for the next five years further experiments were carried out by Monsieur Richard who started a full scale research station at what is now called Richard-Toll or Richard's field. But his efforts were not crowned with success, and later governors influenced by the reaction against colonialism in France lost interest in agricultural settlement. This was perhaps fortunate for modern Senegal, since had these first experiments been fruitful she might have been saddled with a settler problem today.

S W 648

S 648

France was already working towards an assimilationist policy. A governmental despatch to Schmaltz informed him that his political aim should be 'to introduce gradually among the blacks of Senegal a civilisation based on free labour . . . education, and public peace . . .' It continued: 'A mulatto is now mayor of the capital of our possessions, and a black could become so too.' Two years later Baron Roger was informed that since most of the free population of St. Louis was mulatto or African it was 'very important

S [563] [369]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 not to let the same discriminations and prejudices such as
[563] exist in other colonies be introduced among them.' At
[369] the same time the metropolitan Government was asking whether Africans would make suitable corporals and under-officers. Furthermore Schmaltz, whilst advocating a system of economic exploitation that seemed to be entirely to the advantage of France, maintained that the Senegalese were not merely to be auxiliaries and that they would be encouraged by fixed prices for their crops to produce more and become 'civilised' by their contact with Europe.

648 So far France had made no definition of the position of
567 non-French inhabitants of her colonies. Even though France
641 by the decree of 16 Pluviose Year II (1792) had abolished slavery and declared that 'all men, without distinction of colour, domiciled in French colonies, are French citizens, and enjoy all the rights assured by the Constitution', and even though the slave trade had been outlawed in 1818, until 1833 freed slaves had uncertain status in law, and domestic slaves still existed in large numbers. A royal ordinance of that year proclaimed that 'Any person born free or having legally acquired his liberty enjoys in the French colonies: (1) civil rights; (2) political rights under conditions prescribed by law'. But only in 1848 was the status of *captif* or domestic slave abolished, though the majority of *captifs* continued to serve with their former masters. Naturally this law only affected inhabitants of St. Louis and Gorée and the other French posts like Dagana and Richard-Toll.

648 The most important result of these two laws was to give
[641] about 12,000 Africans, mostly illiterate, the full rights of
[818] French citizens. Of these less than a thousand had been
[797] converted to Christianity by their French, mulatto or Christian African masters. Educational facilities, which would have to accompany any effective conversion of illiterates into full scale French citizens were still rudimentary. But it must be remembered that in France, at the time, the electorate was suddenly increased from 200,000 to

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 colonies other than Martinique, Guadeloupe and Réunion and at the same time they were subjected to rule by direct decree of the Emperor.

[167] It was under the Second Empire that the first great period of French colonial expansion in black Africa took place. It was during that regime that Faidherbe, who was to Senegal what Lugard was to Nigeria, first embarked on his African conquests. Faidherbe himself embodied this dichotomy in French colonial policy: an authoritarian agent of an authoritarian regime, he was often found introducing reforms and innovations that conformed with the most liberal application of an assimilationist policy.

[643] 368 [162] [563] [872] [797] [361] Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in 1854. At the time St. Louis, according to Abbé Boilaut in his *Esquisses sénégalaises* was a city of 12,336 inhabitants with only 177 Europeans. There were two primary schools run by Catholic missionaries. A full scale administration had succeeded in imposing on a town otherwise consisting mainly of single storey houses, a governor's palace, a 'very elegant Palace of Justice', a large naval hospital, a fine church and an army barracks.

648 643 From his base at St. Louis, Faidherbe, in a series of brilliant campaigns, notably against the powerful emir of Trarza and the Muslim reformist and Toucouleur leader, El Hadj Omar, was to lay the foundations of France's West African empire. To do this he organised the now famous *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, since Europeans did not stand up well to the climate and the prevalent diseases. By conquest or by treaty he brought most of modern Senegal and much of Soudan (Mali) under French rule. He installed an efficient military administration, and even published an official newspaper the *Moniteur du Sénégal*. Altogether Faidherbe was a remarkable man. He was a firm believer in the equality of races, and did much to increase the educational facilities of the colony. He established a school for the sons of chiefs, and lay schools for Muslims, who objected to attending the mission schools. Whilst Faidherbe wanted to

643 [804] [871] [797]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

encourage the evangelisation of the population, he[1] was 643
sufficiently knowledgeable about the country and its people [197]
to realise that it would be impossible to win converts from among the Muslims who formed the majority in Senegal. Scholarships for primary education in St. Louis, and secondary education in France were awarded under his auspices [871] to promising students. Small technical schools were established at Dakar. And he even opened a museum at St. Louis.

He tried to equip the colony with some of the benefits of a modern economy. He established the Bank of Senegal, [453] laid out St. Louis afresh as befitted a capital city, and under his influence Pinet-Laprade founded the new port of Dakar. [369] He promoted the export of the ground-nut crop, becoming [439] increasingly valuable to the colony's revenue which rose from 12 million francs in 1848 to 37 million in 1869, and [433] proved a profitable substitute for human merchandise. He made valuable and detailed studies of the local people. Like Lugard he seemed to be able to think of every aspect of administration at the same time. The historian G. Hardy wrote of him: 'He touched on everything, and always with good results.' But as J. Richard-Molard commented, 'He was the first great Frenchman to realise the wish of Barth. But he did it as an officer of the Empire, endowed with an abominable character and a sense of authority which bordered on vice. He was proconsul of an authoritarian Empire.'

One decision vital for the future of the Senegal was made 648
during the Faidherbian regime: this was the final abandonment of any ideals of European colonisation. It came at a time when the French were settling Algeria, and was not altogether altruistic, as the ministerial instructions of 1859 showed:

> Nothing similar to Algeria could be undertaken in Senegal. The climate is against it. The land should therefore be left to the natives, at least as a general rule. It is by their hands that it should be cultivated and if our rule is to be extended over all the territory

[1] [i.e., Faidherbe, who became Governor in 1854 - Gwolyn]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

till the end of the nineteenth century, neglected the Protectorate and seemed to think that the only parts of the country that mattered were the four communes. Naturally their official business with the Protectorate was limited, but they did control the three main ports of the country through which the products of the interior passed to France. The councillors, too, restricted education largely to the communes, where on the whole it reached a satisfactory level. They even sent students on scholarships to France, but unfortunately too few of these returned to Senegal to use their newly acquired talents. It was not until the establishment of the Government-General of French West Africa in 1905 that educational facilities were extended to the Protectorate in any great measure.

The increase in education amongst citizens of African origin meant that by the turn of the nineteenth century they were less willing to accept European domination in the communes and the General Council. The assertion of their rights is one of the main factors behind the attempts of the administration to deprive the indigenous Senegalese of their position as *citoyens*. Actually the Administration was batting on a good wicket. Technically a French citizen was one who accepted French rights and duties without qualification. In the case of the Africans in Senegal they had been allowed to retain their own *statut personnel*, that is private law, with reference to civil disputes, matrimony, divorce, inheritance and land. But this seemed to conflict openly with the definition of a French citizen. It seemed wrong that a man should exercise the rights of a French citizen and not accept the consequent obligations. Many Frenchmen felt it quite illogical that an African with four wives could yet be a citizen. And indeed in later years the main obstacle to granting citizenship to other colonial peoples was to be the question of retention of the *statut personnel*. Thus many of the attempts by the French to deprive the Senegalese citizens of their rights were the result of quite genuine objections to the illogicality of their position. Faidherbe,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

however the younger generation of Senegalese were
648 beginning to question the moral right of assimilation. These
871 critics were the educated élite, by-products of an educational
571 policy of which Governor-General Chaudié had written in 1897: 'The school is the surest means of action by which a civilising nation can transmit its ideas to people who are still primitive and by which it can raise them gradually to its own standards. In a word the school is the supreme element of progress. It is also the most effective tool of propaganda for the French language that the Government can use.'

Ousmane Socé Diop, in *Karim*, a remarkable study of the sort of young Senegalese most affected by French assimilation, published in 1935, shows not only how effective this policy was in those early days, but also points to the awakening of the Senegalese to the values of their own traditional society.

648 On certain evenings in Dakar, Karim and his young
591 friends would talk not only of love but of their political and social ideas:

> The teacher was there, reasonable, but capable at moments of behaving foolishly, such as over the beautiful eyes of a Senegalese girl. He was a 'progressive', a partisan of a plan of evolution with its basis in the fundamental characteristics of his people.
>
> The graduate, a know-all, spoke of 'cleaning-up Senegalese traditions and of bringing about an immediate and thorough Europeanisation.
>
> The doctor, a Catholic, adopted Western civilisation without question. Nevertheless, his atavistic temperament remained one with that of his own people.
>
> Abdou was born a Muslim and an oriental and had been educated at a French school. His mind had been nurtured on European ideas and logic. His heart had been formed within the curious framework of the *Khalam*, of French poetry and European music. He was a person of contrasts. He could dance to the tam-tam as well as do the tango, he liked Negro music and black girls, but also dreamed of Deauville, of Paris and of some film-starlet, a blonde blue-eyed Venus.

• [369] Later Karim is sent out to a small town in the 'bush' where he has to help with the collection of the ground-nut

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

crop. Struck by the simple, uncomplicated ways of the bush compared with that of Dakar, Rufisque and St. Louis he reflects: 'The teacher and above all the graduate who spoke so often of immediate and complete Europeanisation, should be here to see for themselves.' 648 571 369

Ousmane Socé Diop has pin-pointed perfectly the growing conflict in the minds of the educated Senegalese at this time and the ever increasing gap between the peoples of the *Quatre Communes* and the *sujets* of the bush.

Furthermore the Senegalese student in Paris was beginning to question the rights of colonialism in general and the honesty of France's assimilationist policy in particular. He was hardly encouraged by the pronouncements of a leading politician during the twenties and thirties like Albert Sarraut who wrote in *La mise en valeur de nos colonies* that the colonies had a threefold purpose of serving France. First the numbers of France's overseas peoples increased her population from 40 million to 100 million, thus giving her a greater manpower than Germany. Secondly they could make a financial contribution to France. Thirdly they could supply her with the raw materials she needed. France's civilising mission, whilst important, was conceived of by Sarraut as a by-product of these functions. (Quoted in L. P. Mair, *Native Policies in Africa.*)

As we have seen, assimilationist professions were rarely matched by the facts. And indeed in other parts of French West Africa education was limited. But in Senegal France made a major effort in education, so that by 1940 there had already been formed a substantial African élite, particularly in comparison to the country's population. 571 871 648

By 1938 18,000 boys and 1,500 girls, taught by 132 European and 337 African teachers were at school; even so, a very low percentage of the population of school age actually attended school. Nevertheless this was considerably higher than that of any other French African territory. Children were educated according to French methods with few concessions made to local factors. The aim was not

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

VII. THE FRENCH IN SENEGAL

000 The less intelligent the white man, the more stupid the black man seems to him.

ANDRÉ GIDE

563 369 THE first thing that strikes the casual visitor to Dakar is the large number of Europeans and the apparent absence of any colour problem. Senegal in fact has an exceptionally good record of race relations, especially when one considers that the proportion of Europeans to Africans is much higher than in many countries with acute racial problems. The French in Senegal today probably [162] number some 40,000 of which nearly 30,000 live in Dakar alone. In comparison with other territories of French speaking Africa, Senegal has always had a large European minority, and this has increased rapidly since the war. Thus in Senegal the policy of assimilation was not applied in the abstract by the metropolitan Government to a people who, with the exception of administrative officials, had practically no daily contact with Frenchmen. In the major towns the Senegalese have been used to the presence of a substantial French community for well over seventy years. But, as we shall see, it was one thing for the metropolitan Government to initiate a policy of assimilation and quite another to expect its citizens to apply it on a personal level in their relations with the people who were being assimilated.

Though the French community in Senegal is relatively [162] large and in Dakar constitutes at least a tenth of the population, it must not be confused in character with the settler communities of Kenya and Rhodesia.

563 The great majority of Frenchmen have no intention of remaining in Senegal after their retirement. On independence few Frenchman opted for Senegalese nationality

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

though few picked up their bags and left 'in disgust at the new order of things'. Of course in certain uninformed quarters there was the inevitable short-lived panic about what independence would mean for the French community, and even today, despite reassurances from the Government, certain sectors remain oversensitive to each move or speech made by a Minister. For many Frenchmen their stay in Senegal is not longer than five years, and as a result there is a higher proportion of bachelors than one would normally expect in a community that had intentions of making the country its permanent home. This proportion is largely accounted for by the presence of a French army base.

On the other hand the Dakar European population has none of the temporary character of the English communities in West Africa. Far from living in reservations outside the city, as is still the case with the European population of Lagos, they have moved into the centre of the town and made it a small corner of Europe, and the more the French population has increased the more it has tended to create a metropolitan life for itself in Africa. The range of European-style shops, the number of restaurants, night-clubs, and women's hairdressers shows that although the Dakar Frenchman may have no intention of settling in the city for good, he is determined to live his life in the maximum comfort during his stay. There is relatively little of the attitude of living for the next leave.

Another distinguishing feature of the European community in Senegal is that not only is it not a true settler community but also its economic interests, whilst vast, have not involved any important alienation of land and until very recently have not brought it into conflict with African economic interests. Dakar can in no way be considered a small Algiers. The majority of Europeans, whose per capita income is about £600 a year, are employed by the Administration or commercial and industrial undertakings in executive posts or in technical and clerical positions

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 369 [463] for which no trained African staff is available. There is a wide range of professional occupations, but private enterprise by individuals is largely restricted to higher-class shopkeeping and the running of bars and restaurants. Most of the export and import trade is still in the hands of [439] the large commercial houses controlled from France as distinct from individual Frenchmen in Dakar.

Relations between the African and European communities have been remarkably good. There have been no really significant racial conflicts in Dakar since the war. But relations are *negatively* good. That is to say that there is almost no contact between the two groups outside work. The French in Dakar, despite the official assimilationist policy of the mother country, have shown little inclination to extend it on a personal plane during their sojourn in Dakar. On the other hand when they were officially representatives of the colonial Power they rarely attempted to enforce discrimination against Africans. Apart from the time of the unfortunate Vichy episode there has never been any open discrimination in Dakar. Africans always had legal access to all places the French had, though inevitably there were a number of private associations such as the *Amicales des Provinces Françaises* which excluded Africans by definition though never by statute. A visitor might be tempted to think that the absence of Africans from the French-style cafés in the main streets of Dakar indicated some subtle form of discrimination, but in fact any African entering would be served, and the sparseness of African clientele is determined by economic and social reasons. Drinks are enormously expensive in such bistros, and few [162] Muslims, who form the majority of the population in Dakar, [779] care to be seen drinking in public. Nevertheless it is true that proprietors of certain bars do their best to maintain a white clientele.

There is a certain residential separation, once more largely determined by economics. The expensive European

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

flats and villas are usually beyond the range of the African purse though the difference is being eliminated by the accession of Senegalese, immediately prior to and in particular since independence, to high administrative posts and today there is no real residential separation. Many Europeans live in housing estates built primarily for Africans and not a few live in the Medina or main African quarter. Some trade unions are divided on racial lines between Africans and Europeans, largely because the European workers are skilled technicians and there are even to this day few Africans trained in most of the industrial work done by Europeans.

Nevertheless there are certain cases of bitterness between Africans and Europeans over the question of equal pay for equal work. Though the basic principle is that both groups should be paid the same rate for the same kind of work, the European in many cases gets an expatriation addition of up to two-fifths of his basic salary. This is not true of all classes of work. For instance shop girls in Printania, a local version of Woolworth's, earn the same pay whether white or black though of course the European staff are recruited locally from wives and daughters of Frenchmen working in Dakar. It is surely a healthy sign that Europeans and Africans can work together on equal terms and that Europeans can occupy what in Europe would be considered very humble positions.

One does not detect amongst the French in Senegal any very strong feeling for or against the African. Where any form of racism does manifest itself it is mainly at the level of the artisan worker or the *petit blanc*, a term generally used to describe the poorer white community of small shopkeepers, clerks, mechanics and skilled workers. When the Senegalese are confronted by outbursts of racism from members of this group they are usually inclined to return the abuse in kind, for the Senegalese are naturally an immensely proud people and have very little feeling of racial inferiority. Close contact with a French community

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 that ranges from the Olympian civil servant to a taxi driver and a clerk without work, has left them under no illusion about the equal fallibility of the European. This is in direct contrast to Nigeria where until very recently all Europeans held executive posts, lived in large houses in separate reservations, had cars, servants and high incomes, all of which gave the impression to the vast majority of Nigerians who had not travelled overseas that the English were a race which commanded and did not occupy itself with subaltern work. Thus to this day, even in Lagos, the European is still a 'remarkable' being. In [369] Dakar the Frenchman passes unremarked, and the *Dakarois* is as used to seeing him on foot or on a velo-cycle as in a car, with the result that the Senegalese on the whole do not have any complex about the European as a person although he does about the technical superiority of the European and about France's insistence on the superiority of its culture.

P. Mercier, the French sociologist, in an investigation into [369] the habits of the European community in Dakar, found that very few Europeans had African friends outside work, and that contact between white and black was largely limited to the following spheres: among colleagues, employees, and domestic servants, in cultural and sporting activities, and in schools. Few marriages take place between African and European in Dakar and when they do they are usually between African male and European female, and are contracted in Paris. There are two obvious explanations for this. For many it is impossible to find a wife of the same intellectual level in a society where Islam has retarded female education. For many others the need for a companion leads to love affairs and eventual marriage with women whom they would not consider marrying at home. The reason that few French women marry Africans in Senegal, as distinct from in France, is that they become more aware of the type of society into which they are [596] marrying. It is very difficult for the European woman,

5; Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 formed as a result of the *loi cadre* reforms, are typical of the
[645] Frenchmen who have identified themselves with the country of their sojourn. Indeed such was the devotion of Peytavin to his party's cause that he was retained as Minister of Finance even after independence and opted for Senegalese nationality, a step that Bonifay found himself unable to take. These were men of high education—Bonifay, a well known lawyer, and Peytavin a veterinary surgeon. There were many others like them, not only applying such principles in the political field, but in the administration and commerce, who helped to dispel from the African what would otherwise have been a dominant impression of an isolationist and sometimes racist French community.

[369] It would be foolish to paint too idealised a picture of
[571] race relations in Dakar. Many Europeans, particularly the *petit blanc*, openly admit to holding the African in contempt. But these are usually Europeans of little economic or political consequence and since independence their opinions have obviously carried negligible weight with the Senegalese.

Furthermore most Europeans in Dakar and the other main towns of Senegal, whatever their prejudices, send their children to local schools, where perforce they mix on terms of equality with Africans. The same is true of
[873] Dakar University which has a large number of French students, the majority of whom are girls whose parents are working in Dakar. Their brothers try if possible to go to French universities. Though friendships tend to be
[572] within the same racial group, there is a considerable number of inter-racial friendships.

563 The main point of conflict would appear to the casual
369 visitor to be the economic domination of private enterprise
463 and the more important subaltern jobs by Europeans.
472 But before analysing any tensions that have arisen from this, it is essential to point to some special features of Senegalese society. In Senegal, by contrast with Nigeria, Ghana and Ivory Coast, there is no entrepreneurial class of

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Africans. Indeed only very small scale trading is in the hands of Africans, otherwise large scale commercial enterprises are run by Europeans, and most of their managerial staff being European. Between these large scale organisations, the whole range of middleman trade is dominated by Lebanese and the so-called *petit blancs*. Small shopkeeping is predominantly in the hands of the Mauritanians, though larger shops particularly in Dakar, are run by Lebanese and Europeans. At first sight this would seem to be an unhealthy situation, and it would be foolish to ignore the inherent dangers in it. But the most ardent critics of this state of affairs are as often as not visiting Africans, not the Senegalese themselves. When a Nigerian shops in Printania or goes to the local bank in Dakar, he is shocked by the number of Frenchwomen employed in jobs he is accustomed to seeing held by Africans in Lagos. But in considering the rather special case of Dakar one must take into account a number of factors that are often overlooked by would-be critics.

Senegal is a territory of only 3,100,000 people and in the normal run of education in French-speaking African states, even taking into account Senegal's special position among them, the percentage of the population available to fill managerial and sub-managerial posts or indeed any 'European-style' job in all sectors of the economy, can hardly match up to the requirements of the most highly industrialised city in West Africa. In addition Dakar has a large international airport and a port that was the third largest in the French Union. It is also the centre of government for Senegal and the terminus of a railway. It is not surprising therefore that Senegal finds it more difficult to find the appropriate number of Africans to fill its senior posts in commerce and industry than Lagos which has a Nigerian population of over 36 million to draw on. Furthermore Lagos is in the centre of an area where missionaries have been active for over a hundred years and consequently

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

VIII. THE SENEGALESE

563 The case of the one and only Senegalese is interesting. There you have a man no longer designated by his tribe, but by his colony. We are not told what tribe in Senegal he belongs to, Serer, Wolof or Lebu. That he comes from the Colony of Senegal is enough to give him some sort of status, and for native policy to know whom it is dealing with. He is not a *déracini* from a small isolated Africa; in Bobo *cercle* he is son of the mother colony of all the colonies of the Federation. He is settled in Bobo as he might elsewhere, as a man of the new African world that has got beyond race, where natives of all races give life to the colonial structure and break it open from within.

ROBERT DELAVIGNETTE: *Freedom and Authority in French West Africa*

If the first thing that strikes the visitor to Dakar is the large number of Europeans, the second is the homogeneous character of Senegalese society itself. It is not possible, as it is in Lagos or Leopoldville, to tell from a glance at a man or a woman's clothes from which ethnic group he or she comes. Senegal not only has an excellent record of race relations between Europeans and Africans but between the various indigenous ethnic groups. This happy position is typified by the President of the Republic, Léopold Sédar Senghor, who comes neither from the majority tribe nor the dominant religion of the country, but is a Serer and Catholic. Furthermore he is married to a French woman.

[369] [292]

563 162 Senegal has six major ethnic groups accounting for all but 130,000 of its population of 3,100,000. The last census figures gave the Wolof as the largest ethnic group with 35 per cent, followed by the Fula with 17 per cent, the Serer, 16 per cent, Toucouleur, 9 per cent, Diola, 9 per cent, and the Mandingo 7 per cent.

[p 76]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

184 563 [631] this homogeneity by reducing the traditional authority of the chiefs who more than anyone else are responsible for the preservation of ethnic differences, in being the repositories of tribal customs.

For Senegal as a whole, this homogeneity does not go beyond similarities in socio-political structure, a common adherence to Islam, uniformity in styles of dress, a tradition of common relationship and a growing use of Wolof as a lingua franca. Only in the larger towns has there been 563 any general break-down of traditional tribal barriers and [369] only in the town does one find a high incidence of inter-ethnic habitation and, more important still, inter-ethnic marriage. And since it was mainly in the towns that the French applied their policy of assimilation it is reasonable to assume that there is probably some correlation between the two. In the first place the French in Senegal have always tended to think of the local inhabitants as Senegalese rather than Wolof or Serer, which runs contrary to the common European attitude to ethnic divisions, particularly in British territories where the tendency was always to emphasise the tribal origin of an African rather than the colony in which he lived. Indeed the British administrators, as Lord Lugard himself observed, were always great partisans of particular ethnic groups. Such an attitude, however, has not always been absent in Senegal. For instance Mercier has remarked that certain European foremen in factories tended to choose workers of the same ethnic group in order to avoid possible friction, but he adds that this was not always justified.

563 619 [369] In the *Quatre Communes*, which for a long time *were* Senegal as far as the French were concerned, the inhabitants came to accept from early on the idea of being Senegalese as well as Wolof and Serers. Or they might have thought of themselves parochially as St. Louisiens or Dakarois. With their elected deputy, their *Conseil-Général*, and their municipal councils, the Senegalese crossed early on the barrier between tribalism and nationalism, a result for which other African

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

S 563 [582] about tribe, the women, who in a Muslim society rarely gained the opportunity of education, tended naturally to be more conservative in such matters. Nevertheless many *originaires* have married outside their ethnic group and can claim to be Senegalese and Senegalese only, for how else, they ask, can they describe themselves when one grandparent is Wolof, another Toucouleur and yet another Serer? This is by no means common in Senegal, but its highest incidence is amongst the most assimilated groups in Senegal.

S 563 582 [619] [369] One of the most difficult barriers to break down in African tribal society is that of the taboo on marriage outside the tribe or clan. Onuora Nzekwu in his *Wand of Noble Wood* gives a very illuminating study of this problem. In Senegal however, there is an exceptionally high rate of inter-ethnic marriage for Africa. Mercier, in his study of Dakar, observed that the rate of inter-ethnic marriage was below the W [582] Senegalese average amongst the Diola, Serer, and Wolof where endogamy is clearest, whilst the Bambaras and groups of the south, and particularly the Lebou who are inter-marrying increasingly with the Wolof, were above the average. Out of 696 monogamous families investigated, 71 per cent had married a woman of the same tribe, but the figure of 29 per cent for mixed marriages must be S [595] considered extremely high for Africa. Out of 228 polygamous families interviewed 43 per cent were all of the same ethnic group but 57 per cent had at least one wife of different ethnic origin. The highest incidence of inter-ethnic marriages in Dakar occurs amongst clerks, administrators, S [369] employees of commercial houses and the professional classes, i.e. those who have been most affected by French assimilation and for whom ethnic considerations are considerably S [619] less important than for the peasant, who is so much closer to the traditional concepts of the tribe. There is then in Dakar, and one could apply this to other main towns, a S [369] [582] significant increase in inter-ethnic marriages, though as far as Senegal as a whole is concerned ethnic considerations in marriage are still very important. But the multiplication

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

of inter-ethnic marriages in the towns is indicative of a major social change and a reflection of the effects of an assimilationist policy on the Senegalese. S 369 563 [582]

Though many communities in Dakar are based on ethnic and family ties, particularly amongst the immigrant Toucouleurs from the Vallée du Fleuve, Dakar is on the whole a heterogeneous city. Mercier has observed that inter-ethnic habitation is particularly frequent among young bachelors, who often club together to hire a room. This is still relatively rare in Africa except amongst educated élites. But in Senegal many young men resent being asked the question whether they are Wolof or Serer, answering only to the name Senegalese. As far as friendship outside the ethnic group and in particular living with someone from another tribe is concerned, one great advantage is the existence of a common cuisine for Wolof, Serer, Toucouleur and Lebou. There is even a national dish known as *riz sénégalais*, known further down the coast as Jollof rice. This means that not only can friends share the same plate, but a man is not frustrated in his desire to marry outside his ethnic group by fear of a foreign cuisine. S [589] [591] S [619] S [262] W [262]

Another important factor in the breakdown of tribal barriers has been the urbanisation of Senegal. Over 25 per cent of the population live in towns, the bulk in Dakar, Rufisque and St. Louis and Kaolack. This represents a higher rate of urbanisation than in any other West African territory except the Western Region of Nigeria, where, it must be pointed out, urbanisation was intense long before the arrival of the Europeans and therefore does not owe its origin to colonisation as it does in Senegal. It is difficult in the present stage of research to measure the results of the inter-mixing of races in urban agglomerations. But in an environment whose *raison d'être* is completely different from that of the tribal village, the individual is subjected to so many pressures that his ethnic individuality has to be extremely strong for him not to assimilate both ideas and customs from his neighbours and above all from the S 369 [619] [162] S [563]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 369 563 French. The Moors are an obvious exception to this, as P. Dubié has pointed out. Though they work in all the major towns of Senegal they have retained complete identity of tribal customs, even maintaining abroad the traditional hostilities between their own tribal subdivisions. The tribal structure of Dakar, which is the most heavily W [369] industrialised single city in West Africa, gives an idea of the common melting pot that the new cities and towns in S [162] Senegal represent: Wolof constitute 25 per cent; Lebou, the original inhabitants, 15 per cent; mixed Wolof-Lebou, 11 per cent; Serer, 3 per cent; Bambara, 9 per cent; Toucouleur, 10 per cent; Fula, 5 per cent; Moors, 4 per cent; Diola, 5 per cent; Soussou, 2 per cent; Cape Verdians 2 per cent. The result is that the inhabitants S [197] of Dakar are forced to learn some form of *lingua franca*, in this case Wolof or French, if they are to live in the city.

In the modern economy of the city, where one seeks work where work is and where housing is short and expensive, it is difficult for any of these groups to keep up any pretence at tribal solidarity. However, as Schapera has shown, it is possible for the African migrant working in industry 'to maintain two quite distinct spheres of human relations. The African who leaves his tribe to go and work in the town will take part in the social organisations, e.g. trade unions, he finds there, but these will affect him only as a factory worker, and will have no place in the subsistence economy which is governed by traditional tribal and social relationships. The two spheres are distinct spatially as wellas socially, and despite the exchange of ideas between them they remain none the less parallel.'

In Dakar this is particularly true of the immigrant Toucouleur from the Vallée du Fleuve, as A. Diop shows in his excellent study of Toucouleur immigration to Dakar. S [166] But it should be noted here that the Toucouleur are not permanent emigrants from their areas, and have only come to Dakar temporarily to supplement the low incomes of the Vallée du Fleuve. Permanent settlers without the ultimate

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

goal of return to their tribal home, even Toucouleur, find it more difficult to resist the pressures of their environment, and Dakar has a large number of permanent settlers, who are first and foremost *Dakarois*. 369 563

Many of these have found a common brotherhood above tribe in their trade unions. These, despite various setbacks and restrictions, have been well organised in Senegal. Indeed the 1944 decree restoring liberty of association did much to ensure this, by insisting that trade union officials should have good educational qualifications and that accounts should be scrutinised by the administration. Most of the unions belonged to one of the large French confederations from whom they received considerable help and advice. Since Senegal has until quite recently had over 40 per cent of the organised workers of French West Africa, trade unionism embraced a large number of people of different ethnic groups brought together to seek ends that went far beyond the limited horizons of tribal ambition. 467 563

The influence of the towns extends beyond their limits. Both in the cities, and increasingly in the villages, young men who have come in contact with the new life of Dakar or of the other major towns tend to contract monogamous marriages in the European style. Amongst the Diola, as L. V. Thomas has observed, young men are now building their own houses outside the parental extended home. But probably most important of all in the breakdown of tribal barriers is the increase of economic individualism, the desire to have possessions, and particularly good clothes, all of which run contrary to the traditional social system which leads to the maximum dispersion of a man's gains amongst his relatives. 369 [595] [591] [427]

Only the very strongest survive the effect of the city, in particular a city like Dakar, the most sophisticated, the most European, the city most diametrically opposed to the tribal life of the bush. Indeed among Dakar's inhabitants only the Moors and Toucouleur really withstand the 369 563

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 369 563 immense impact of the town. They live in small villages made up of relations and fellow villagers. They even club together, subscribing to a common fund to receive their fellows from the Fleuve, and as far as work is concerned they S [463] virtually monopolise certain jobs such as bootboys, waiters, and newspaper sellers. This maintenance of tribal cohesion is a difficult task in this city of French creation, where a new community of Dakarois is rapidly coming into existence.

S 665 563 [619] [182] An important factor in the breakdown of tribal ties has been the creation of political parties and the creation of a new political élite that thinks in national terms. Experience in Africa has shown, however, that this can work two ways, for many political parties are in effect organisations intended to defend ethnic interests. Senegalese politics have on the whole been remarkably free from tribalism, though Senghor did in fact achieve much of his success in the early days of the *B.D.S.* though the emphasis he laid on ethnic considerations in the organisations of his party, and certainly there have existed specifically regional and ethnic parties like *Le Mouvement Démocratique Casamançais* and the *Union Générale de la Vallée du Fleuve.* But, as Kenneth Robinson pointed out in his study of Senegalese politics in *Five Elections in Africa*, these ethnic and regional aspects were compensated for by the federal aspect of the major party, *Le Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais.* In 1954, in fact, all ethnic and regional sub-sections of the *B.D.S.* were abolished and individual membership was insisted on. But though this led to the breaking-away of certain elements in the Casamance, it would be fair to say that the party has been much less dominated by those regional differences that normally influence political parties in West Africa. Nevertheless, as Robinson found in the 1957 S [666] election, there were a number of constituencies where ethnic rivalries were more important than political issues. W [666] [665] At Linguère, a single member constituency, the population was divided between Fula and Wolof in the proportion of three to two. When the sitting member, a Fula, was

[i.e., The Moors and Toucouleurs in Dakar--Analyst]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

433 reaching economic development plan. Mamadou Dia
668 has described the plan as the 'décollage' or taking-off point of the country's development. The plan is the expression of the African socialism of which Senghor and Dia have so long dreamed. It has two important points. Relatively little emphasis is placed on industrialisation, and fundamental to the development of the country are
[474] 'rural animation' and co-operatives through which the people will be made aware of the great future that could be theirs if only they co-operate in the realisation of this plan. Already 80 per cent of peasant farmers are organised in co-operatives.

Senegal's economy is based today on the export of its ground-nut crop of just under 800,000 tons a year. This has been produced to the detriment of subsistence crops, with the absurd result that Senegal, a basically agricultural country, is importing foodstuffs to the tune of £15 million a year. Furthermore there has been a great disparity in the economic and social development of the towns in com-
[369] parison with the bush. Thus whilst Dakar is one of the most modern and prosperous towns in West Africa, the Vallée du Fleuve is abysmally poor and Casamance hitherto neglected. Thus the emphasis is on rural development; the
[871] extension of educational facilities to a population only 30 per cent of whose children go to school; then the increase in medical facilities; the supply of water to villages without it; and in particular the opening-up of hitherto neglected regions by improved communications, which includes the
[491] tarring of over 1,000 miles of roads and improvement of 600 miles of dirt road. But above all the emphasis is on the increase of home food crops and the widening of the variety of foodstuffs available to the peasants. It is estimated that if the plan works out, then the global index of production, taken as 100 in 1959, will be up to 137 in 1964. New industries such as the phosphate works at Taiba, an oil refinery, chemical factories and textile printing works will provide 10,000 new jobs, and thus absorb some of the unemployed

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

EVOLUTION OF SENEGALESE ELITES

P. Mercier

The increasingly rapid development of elites[1] of a non-traditional type is a conspicuous feature of the social change now occurring in all African territories. It is a sign of the most recent phase of the crisis through which colonized societies are passing. The problems connected with the crystallization[2] of such elites vary considerably in different regions and in different economic, political and social contexts. Even inside the group of territories composing French West Africa appreciable local variations can be observed. But everywhere these elites exert ever stronger and more united pressure on existing politico-social organizations in the hope of attaining to the leadership they feel to be their destiny. Wherever we study them, we find the same situation—fraught with conflict: conflict with the existing African social system imposed by colonization; conflict with the traditional ruling classes or what remains of them; internal conflict, when the elites do not—as yet, at any rate—form a homogeneous group, or, alternatively, when divergent trends appear. The same phenomena can be found everywhere, and go to make up a general pattern.

571
178
[578]

If, however, we wish to understand the discrepancies observed in the pace at which the new elites developed, their composition, their methods and capacity for self-expression, their ambitions, etc., we must study the differences between them. Among the criteria applicable in a first attempt to classify the various regional situations, the following appear to me to be the most important:

1. Extension of education. We have to take into account both a territory's crude school rate and, among other facts: any divergencies between the rates reached by different regions of the same territory; inequalities in the distribution of school facilities on racial, religious or other grounds, the distribution of the school population classified according to the various kinds and degrees of education, the distribution of the school population classified by sex, etc.
2. Types and degree of economic development, i.e. whether or not it has permitted the emergence of social categories well-integrated in modern economic life, and, in particular, with the capacity for investing money: rich farmers (mainly planters), merchants, entrepreneurs, etc.;[3] whether or not an embryonic working class has emerged in urban centres (an elite of manual workers more or less closely linked to the intellectual elite and anxious to assume leadership of a pseudo-proletariat[4] of casual labourers).[5]
3. Role of the traditional structures and social grades. The traditional political, religious and other systems have more or less succeeded in holding their own and the governing classes which made them work have been able to

1. The word 'élite' is used here in a very broad sense. It does not mean a ruling class, but a social category more or less enjoying prestige status and exerting influence, by its example, over the whole or large sections of the population.
2. Crystallization which does not necessarily result in the formation of well-knit groups.
3. The Ivory Coast offers the most typical example of such development.
4. In most cases, it maintains close ties with the district or the group from which it came.
5. The classic example is that of the Senegalese towns.

[369]

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

standing in the modern context does not often completely redeem a traditional inferiority. The latter obviously does not prevent accession to such rank, but it does prevent a man from reaping the full benefit of the prestige which it confers. We shall have to revert to the ambiguity which thus characterizes individual situations, because it is an important aspect of the problem of the modernist elites. The old political organizations have either been destroyed or considerably weakened, though the prestige of the aristocratic families who hold the chefferies or are closely connected with them has not completely disappeared. But an important change has occurred: the power and influence of the traditional political chiefs has to a large extent been transferred to the khalifas of the great Islamic sects;[1] the latter represent today the principal force capable of resisting the modernist elite, and the one with which the latter and the political movements identified with it must to some extent come to terms.[2]

The changes due to the new economic conditions resulting from the colonial period can be discerned at several levels. The rural economy has been radically transformed—progressive abandonment of subsistence farming in favour of a single cash crop throughout a large part of the territory.[3] In contrast with regions where a plantation economy has developed, the average farmer's income has remained extremely low. Consequently, what has elsewhere been termed a 'rural bourgeoisie' has not emerged, and the most favoured economic categories coincide, by and large, with the upper strata of the traditional or semi-traditional type (heads of sects),[4] or with those artificially created on the same model by the colonial administration. Again, the group to which the name 'commercial bourgeoisie' has been given is still too small to have much influence;[5] almost all African traders are small shopkeepers and make no appreciable impact on the affairs of the community as a whole. The most significant changes are found at another level: urbanization and industrialization. Senegal is the most highly urbanized territory of French West Africa; about a quarter of the population live in the big towns and the administrative and trading centres. A very large wage-earning class with a steadily growing nucleus of stable labour has developed.[6] A workers' elite has appeared, and intensive trade union activity in the big towns has brought this class into touch with the educated elite (the administrative bourgeoisie, etc.).

This educated elite deserves special attention; in Senegal more than elsewhere, it represents the dominant element among the modernist elites. The educational policy was definitely conceived and organized at the beginning of the colonial period in the context of a policy and a ideology of assimilation. The educational curriculum introduced in the French establishments in Senegal at the beginning of the nineteenth century was essentially foreign to the tradition and culture of the autochthonous societies. Thus, in a recent paper, the author made much of the point that 'it was not a factor making for integration of the individual in his group, but rather—at any rate in the first historical phase—one making for a break. The adaptation of the curriculum and even of teaching methods

1. Their functions are hereditary.
2. Cf. below, remarks on the political parties of the traditional type.
3. In this case, groundnuts.
4. The economic role of the Mouride brotherhood is particularly important: colonization of new lands, experiments in mechanization, etc.
5. The middle-man trade is practically monopolized by the Lebanese colony; in the town of Dakar alone there are more than 5,000 Lebanese.
6. The region of Dakar alone has more than 30,000 wage earners in the private sector.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

to the African social environment was scarcely taken into consideration. The fact that the African languages were, and still are, totally excluded, even in the lowest school classes, brings out this tendency quite clearly, whatever the justification that may have been offered on practical grounds. The original policy has of course been relaxed in certain points; the principle of adjusting the French educational system to local conditions has been accepted—the adaptations being concerned however more with the physical than with the social and human framework. But the basic tendency remains.'

However, the schools could reach—and still reach—only a fraction of the population. And so the training of an 'elite' came soon to be regarded as a necessary first stage in the process of assimilation. The two ideas emerge closely intertwined in Faidherbe's famous declaration of 1860: 'Everyone can reach the same goal when he satisfies the conditions required of all of you alike, conditions which we are today putting within your reach. You see young men from the Christian families of Saint-Louis, who after a good start in the mission schools, go and continue their studies in a secondary school in France, come back fit for filling the highest positions in the colony. That road is open to you all alike. We are ready to facilitate access to the liberal professions for every child who shows exceptional talent at school. . . .' As a matter of fact, those, as yet few in number, who at the start of the colonial period received instruction on Western lines were supposed to be the answer to immediate, limited needs. The main object was to train interpreters, lower grade civil servants, clerks, etc., as the indispensable auxiliaries in the establishment of a colonial administrative and commercial system. Their role was a humble one, but they shared in the prestige of the European group and also, to some extent, in its privileged economic position. The notion of an elite rapidly acquired a wider and hazier signification; it came to cover all those who were thought to serve as a link between the colonizers, the bearers of civilization, and the untaught masses who were destined gradually to acquire it. In fact, the eager adoption of European values, and the acceptance of assimilationist policies characteristic of the period up to the last war, accentuated the trend towards a rift between the indigenous elite and the masses who still adhered to their traditional cultural and social systems.[1] A point deserving emphasis is the considerable attraction exerted by the centres of assimilation, notably the 'four communes',[2] the natives of which very soon received French citizenship, and in which education developed much more rapidly than elsewhere.[3] These events in the recent history of Senegal explain why prestige in modern times was focused on the 'intellectual' elite,[4] and why the latter made a considerable impact on that colony sooner than they did on the other French West African territories.

Intensive investigations have been made in the principal urban centres of Senegal[5] to ascertain the aspirations of the various population classes and the models they adopt. They cover adults as well as children. More summary samplings taken in rural surroundings show that there is less difference in this matter between the city and the country than might have been supposed.

1. Firm links subsisted, however, as will be seen later on.
2. Dakar, Gorée, Saint-Louis, Rufisque.
3. Multiplication of primary schools, introduction of secondary education, etc.
4. Taken in a very broad sense; for a long time, the mass type of this new intellectual elite was the *evolué* (the holder of the primary school certificate).
5. By the sociology section of the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

This is a significant fact; high prestige, more or less definitely acknowledged by the whole population, crystallizes around professions, functions or situations which are considered to be 'intellectual'—implying in fact a minimum of Western-type learning. Prestige on economic grounds seems to be definitely on the decline.[1] At Dakar, Thiès and Saint-Louis du Sénégal, adults were questioned about the trade or occupation they would like their children to take up. A vast majority of the socio-vocational categories (unskilled and skilled workers, traders, clerks, civil servants, etc.) from which the population sample under study was taken gave the same answer. Between 65 and 80 per cent mentioned an intellectual profession. Those most frequently cited were teaching (primary or secondary school teacher) and the liberal professions (lawyer, doctor, etc.); the technological professions (engineer etc.) were much more rarely specified.[2] One of the commonest answers was that vague but highly significant term, 'civil servant'. The fact is that the trend of education in the period before 1945 helped to establish a very close link between education and a job in the administration; this is still the case, despite the changes effected in the last few years. Similar attitudes are found in the results of surveys among children in the primary schools at Dakar. Among those who replied specifically[3]—about three-quarters of the children questioned—more than 80 per cent expressed a preference for an occupation considered to be intellectual, irrespective of their father's occupation; next came certain manual trades, with commerce far behind. The choice of an unspecified administrative job was less frequent than among the adults. It follows that the view generally taken about education—including primary education—viz. that it will lead almost inevitably to an intellectual occupation,[4] however modest, remains very stable; but it is less and less in keeping with the realities of the situation.

A brief study of the facts in the development of the educational system will allow us to make a first evaluation of the system. The crude school rate rose rapidly from 1946 to 1953 and has since continued to rise pretty regularly (16 per cent in 1953, 18 per cent in 1954, about 20 per cent in 1955). Senegal's early advance in this respect explains why the increase is less steep there than in most of the other French West African territories.[5] True, the school rate is still relatively low (and a fairly large proportion of the children do not complete even the primary course and will probably soon lose such learning as they have acquired), but a plateau was reached several years ago: primary education turns out many more pupils than the 'administrative bourgeoisie'—characteristic of the colonial period—or its equivalent in private enterprise can absorb. Formerly, the surplus of the educated population could be absorbed by the manual trades or by migration to other territories. But this second door is gradually closing now that these other territories are catching up in education. Moreover, the slow pace of economic expansion precludes any big increase in the number of openings for technical workers or in the supervisory grades in industry.[6] This is the justification for the talk about the educational over-

1. Material security (e.g. that enjoyed by civil servants) seems to be desired more often than actual wealth.
2. They are only beginning to acquire some prestige; the number of students choosing this branch has risen considerably in recent years.
3. Children from 10 to 14, in the 'intermediate' classes.
4. A job in the bureaucracy was for years the standard aim.
5. The school rate in the Ivory Coast almost trebled between 1946 and 1955.
6. Limited, but chronic unemployment, already exists in Dakar.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

equipment of Senegal in relation to the existing employment market. These facts must, however, be considered from another angle. The real problems are those of the true integration of education into a developing social environment, its adaptation to various local situations, and the adjustments which must be made in the Senegalese people's conception of education. These problems look, of course, more acute in the big towns, particularly in the former 'centres of assimilation',[1] which have often reached a relatively high school rate (sometimes more than 50 per cent); in many rural districts the critical phase is still a long way off. Recent changes in the position are marked by another important feature to which I shall revert at greater length: the difference in the distribution of the school population classified according to the various kinds of education. The past 10 years have been marked by the development of secondary and technical education, and the introduction of local higher education. At the beginning of 1955, pupils and students were distributed approximately as follows among the different types of education: 87 per cent in primary schools, 9 per cent in secondary schools, 2 per cent in vocational training schools, 2 per cent in higher education and its various equivalents.[2] At the same time education in French West Africa ceased to be an almost isolated system providing degrees and diplomas which were not recognized in metropolitan France and qualified their holders only for subordinate positions in most occupations.[3] The intellectual elite is becoming steadily more diversified. Its ideals are being noticeably modified; some of its prestige values are being revised; the masses are beginning to change their idea of what they mean by the elite. This is a transitional stage, with its own special tensions.

At this stage in the development of education—the outstanding fact in which is that, particularly in the urban primary schools, the demand exceeds the supply[4]—the signs are already fairly evident of a trend towards less mobility in the social scale. The prospects of reaching the ranks conferring most prestige differ in the towns and the rural zones, for the reasons already indicated. They are also tending to be less evenly distributed among the various sections of the urban population as the latter becomes more diversified. It is not, however, a case of the urban population breaking up into closed or nearly closed groups; none of the discernible social categories are of this character, nor can they be in any way likened to social classes.[5] In particular, relations based on kinship in the widest sense of the term continue to play a fundamental role, and maintain in being close ties among all the individuals composing the family group. Severance of these relations occurs only in extreme cases. Nevertheless, a trend towards the crystallization of social categories does appear, through the mere accumulation of circumstances.[6] The problem has been studied in a recent work the principal points of which I will venture to recall.[7] A survey of the urban district of Dakar—confirmed by later research in other cities—showed certain significant differences in the social origins of

1. The 'four communes' mentioned above.
2. Including young people studying in France.
3. Even in teaching, medicine, etc.
4. In Dakar it became necessary to establish part-time classes to meet an ever-rapid increase in demand.
5. Cf. P. Mercier, 'Aspects de la Stratification Sociale dans l'Ouest Africain' (Aspects of social stratification in West Africa), *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, XVII, 1954.
6. Studied, e.g. by G. Balandier, in *Sociologie des Brazzavilles Noires* (Sociology of the coloured population of Brazzaville), Paris, 1955.
7. Cf. P. Mercier, op. cit.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

the individuals questioned; and these differences are likely to become sharper—45 per cent were farmers' sons, but considerable variations appeared according to the socio-vocational category. The proportion of unskilled workers was 80 per cent; it was only 42 per cent for skilled workers and craftsmen; still lower (33 per cent) for civil servants and subordinate office employees (the widest category of the 'administrative bourgeoisie' characteristic of the colonial period), 28 per cent for senior clerks and civil servants;[1] for members of the liberal professions in the widest sense[2] it was no more than 21 per cent. These last three categories taken as a whole represent the 'intellectual professions', according to the meaning still ascribed by the great majority of Senegalese to that phrase. Of those who had a father already in one of these professions, three-quarters were engaged in the same work. The same process of stabilization can, however, be observed, though less clearly, among specialized workers; of those whose father was a worker, nearly two-thirds still belonged to the same class; most of the others had been absorbed into the 'administrative bourgeoisie'. These, moreover, are the two chief categories,[3] from which there has emerged a new type of elite which really began to grow in size only after the last war.

178 571 369 463

Important changes in outlook, not only in Senegal, but in the whole of French West Africa, have accompanied this most recent historical phase. From the elite of the strictly colonial type as defined above there has begun to emerge—and even to take on separate existence—a new intellectual elite, still a relatively small group.[4] This elite, which might be termed that of the liberal professions—this time in the strict sense of the phrase—having a distinctly higher level of education and more definite professional competence, is able to lay claim to a quantity of posts until now almost exclusively held by Europeans. The category was not completely non-existent during the pre-war period; it developed earlier in Senegal than in the other French West African territories as a result of Senegal's possession of an embryonic system of secondary education.[5] Being numerically weak, this elite had an opportunity of associating, to a certain extent, with the European population, a fact which manifestly lessened its prospects of playing an active role and assuming the leadership of the African masses. Furthermore, it continued to follow the policy of assimilation and was the only element in the 'colonial elit e' which succeeded in achieving it. It could find only a limited field of action in the political life of the 'four communes'. It consisted mainly of lawyers, a few members of the teaching profession and doctors and even a few administrators. It doubtless set an example for a colonial elite of a far inferior grade from which it was not entirely cut off; it showed them the road to be taken by the seeker after modern knowledge. Prestige of the kind hitherto enjoyed only by Europeans was transferred to them and was thus seen to be no longer out of reach and so engendered ideas of power—a share, even if limited, of political and administrative powers—and wealth, or material security, at the lowest. This role continued to develop after the war, though with a rather abrupt change of direction.

178 571 [463] [873] [554]

1. i.e. those holding posts of responsibility, regardless of their educational level.
2. Medicine, teaching, medicine, etc.
3. The first, especially.
4. Only a few hundred individuals, including members of the 'colonial elite' who were belatedly given fresh opportunities for completing their studies and reaching a higher status.
5. Lycées at Saint-Louis, later at Dakar.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

p. 450

178 571 masses, it found in the 'colonial elite' the go-between it needed for the resumption of contact to which it aspired.

The activity of this new elite is beginning to be discernible in its political and trade union work, and its basic aspirations can be defined. As has already been said, a Western-type political life was introduced fairly early in one part of Senegal. Political parties were formed; after 1946, their influence extended throughout the territory. In a recent paper[1] we stated that they had become, in the 'four communes', an almost traditional part of the social system. Once they reached the whole of Senegal, they acquired an enormous body of followers, the divisions among whom reflected successively—or simultaneously, according to the district—a number of historical, social, ethnic and family rifts. Thus, the antagonism between the Socialist party and the Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais, which has been a salient factor over recent years, did but reproduce according to time and place, the antagonism between former 'citizens' and former 'subjects', Ouolof and non-Ouolof, Moslems and Catholics, one Moslem sect and another, etc. On the whole, the 'colonial elite' has assumed the leadership of these parties.[2] But recent surveys have shown that, in the urban centres at any rate, membership in a political party might be commoner among the illiterate elements than among the 'educated'. This is a clear indication of the gap between the political parties and the present ambitions of the elites. A strongly held local position or the prestige of certain leaders is the reason why the traditional parties, though ill adapted to the present situation, have succeeded in keeping afloat. However, the waning influence of the Socialist party (the oldest organized party) was the sign after 1950 of the start of a new phase. The young elite from the liberal professions, followed by numerous young members of the 'colonial elite', remained markedly aloof from these movements, which seemed to efford no opportunity for the political action in which they intended to engage. Their sympathies went to a movement of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain type, although they were unable to impose it because of the strong positions held by the traditional parties. Yet some of the more influential members of this young elite finally decided to join the Senegalese party which seemed to have the strongest hold over the popular masses, the Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais.[3] There, they will doubtless play an important role. The point has been reached at which the new elite is seeking to take over the torch from the 'colonial elite', but with political ambitions of a much more radical nature; I shall consider later the ideological aspects of the problem. In the case of the trade unions, the position is slightly different. Their activity,[4] of recent origin, soon acquired deeper significance. The more energetic elements of the 'administrative bourgeoisie', in alliance with the still small working-class elite, embarked in the trade unions on a course of action which was more directly effective than that of the political parties.[5] The climate of thought, directly or indirectly influenced by theories of Marxist origin, favoured the growth of an awareness of the 'colonial situation'. In this respect, however, the new intellectual elite played

665 178 571

[369]

460 178 571

[13]

1. Cf. P. Mercier, *An Experimental Investigation conducted by means of Questionnaires in the town of Dakar*, report presented to the Conference on the Social Impact of Industrialisation and Urban Problems, organized by Unesco at Abidjan, 1954.
2. As here, needless to say, certain members of an elite formed from the liberal professions, which had already emerged before the war.
3. In which they represent the 'left' wing.
4. Most of the unions are affiliated to the trade union federations in France.
5. And more resolutely modernist in its outlook.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

2

The Revolution

494 OUR bus had been travelling across monotonous scrub country for several hours. The road was excellent, but the journey uncomfortable in the heat of the afternoon sun. The goats on the roof had not stopped screaming since we left Kaolak and the hair of two Mauretanian women sitting in front of me 302 exuded a suffocating odour of rancid butter, with which it was greased, attracting a large swarm of flies. The bus had a drowsy lethargic atmosphere in which we could neither sleep nor think.

After we had been travelling for what seemed an eternity, the 133 skyline was broken by some small hills, covered with lemon-leafed trees. I cannot adequately describe the visual relief those hills afforded. For their significance, they might have been mountains. Towards evening we left these hills behind us and our road quite suddenly came upon the sea, which stretched out before us an undecided compromise between grey and blue. Its [361] shore was skirted by mud huts, from which hung long fishing nets, tied to gaily painted canoes.

361 There was a sudden stir in the front of the bus. A voice cried: 369 'Dakar, ici Dakar.' I looked beyond the fretwork silhouette of the fishing village, beyond the cold grey of the sea to an incredible backdrop: a vast city of giant houses, gleaming in the late sun, rode the horizon like some fantastic flotilla of the future.

'Dakar, ici Dakar.' The voice cried once more and the excited passengers took up the refrain.

Our bus pulled up into a large lorry station, in a part of [498] Dakar whose resemblance to the Motte-Picquet-Grenelle suburb of Paris immediately struck me, except that Africans had been substituted for Algerians. At once there was a mad scramble to get

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30

out of the bus and it was only with difficulty that Arnold and I managed to extricate ourselves. We took a taxi, at almost greater cost than the journey from Kaolak to Dakar, to a dingy little hotel, in the old quarter of the city. To reach it we passed through the centre of Dakar. Trees lined the streets and the architecture of both offices and houses was admirably suited to its tropical setting. It was at once evident that Dakar was a city and not just a town that had, like Lagos, rambled and sprawled and got too big. With its statuesque young skyscrapers and its wide streets, Dakar seemed a model city for the new West Africa. It was neither distinctly African nor European, but had its affinity with the modern cities of South America.

Arnold, accustomed to the higgledy-piggledy, chaotic sprawl of Lagos, and the quiet Victorian dignity of Freetown, could not quite take this in. He seemed almost to resent it as an imposition on Africa, as something that was not African. True, I found that against this background the African appeared, at first, to be an intruder. Nothing seemed more incongruous than a vast Jollof belle, dressed in her traditional robes of lace and muslin, sweeping past the more outrageous examples of *cinema moderna* architecture, or standing pensively beneath a marble plaque depicting a naked African surrounded by the fruits of progress. More incongruous still was the sight of them being spooned in and out of fast American cars or staring into patisserie windows—just imagine one of those muslin cocoons tackling a chocolate éclair. Yet the Africans seemed to have accepted their surroundings with such aplomb that very soon I was to feel that it was the Europeans who were out of place. There seemed nothing unnatural in half a dozen Africans making up their bed for the night on the pavement outside a twelve-story bank, or the young men in tight jeans standing on the street corners eyeing passing girls, just like Saturday night back at the Buildings.

We stayed one night in the Hotel des Fleurs, the cheapest I could find in Dakar. It was owned by a Lebanese, and for Dakar, a city which is almost prohibitive in price for an Englishman, it was remarkably cheap. A haircut in Dakar is 12s., and it has one of the highest cost of living indices in the world.

That night when I entered a bar called appropriately 'Café de Paris', I was unable to believe that we were still in Africa. It had

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

369 all the accoutrements of a Montmartre bistro, together with a
275 large, bad painting of the Sacré Coeur above the bar. Drinks were served by a tall barmaid, with long flaxen hair and make-up applied so that she looked like a German-doll. The clientele was mainly composed of soldiers from the barracks by the sea-front, but at our table sat two elegant Jollof girls, both very drunk.
[548] They made it fairly clear they were prostitutes and it was not long before a policeman came to arrest the more intoxicated of the two. She spat, screamed furiously and struggled to break away. Just as she was about to enter the car, she demanded: 'Let me finish my drink.' She was allowed to return to her table, where she drank her beer slowly, eyeing us all as if we were vermin. Then just as slowly, with the comic dignity that comes so naturally to a drunk, she swept to her feet, stood with her henna'd hands on her hips, spat with incredible accuracy at the feet of a nearby soldier and shouted in a voice ringing with anger, and looking at us with contempt: 'Salauds.'

Then an African sergeant came in, asked for a drink, which
[563] the flaxen doll served him. She served African and European alike. I found this hard to believe after the Gambia, where no white woman could serve drinks behind a bar to Europeans, let alone to Africans.

369 Next morning, I was even more surprised when Arnold took
563 me into a large department store and pointed to the counter-girls. Seventy-five per cent of them were white. Outside a Frenchwoman was selling vegetables at a small stall. Of course, in this respect Dakar is exceptional for West Africa. It is the only city with a large population of Colons. Over 25,000 Europeans live
[162] there. They came from every walk of life and have more affinity with the Colons of Algeria than anything else one can cite on the Coast. You can walk into the most ramshackle bar and yet be served by a Parisienne. You will find poor whites living in the Médina, as the African quarter is known. Each year, 'Les Girls' from a Paris night club do a season at the *Bodega*. The N'Ger Hotel and the 'Croix du Sud' are as fine as you will find in France. Dakar's Colons have re-created Paris in Africa. Most of them have never ventured out of the city, and if they had to go into 'the bush' they would probably prepare for it as though they were Mungo Park setting out to discover the Niger.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS 30

Arnold was critical of these Colons, for in British West Africa there is no such class. Indeed he seemed almost to resent their presence, though he has no dislike of Europeans. His opinion is shared by a number of Africans who come into competition with whites for jobs.

'In Lagos the counter girls are African. Why shouldn't they be here?' Arnold argued.

On the other hand in Lagos service and shopping facilities are infinitely inferior to those of Dakar. Another thing that struck Arnold was the absence of Africans from the main cafés and hotels. Surely this indicated a subtle colour bar, he argued. However, I had the answer to this from an African whom I invited to have a drink in a café with me. He declined, because as a Muslim it would not do for him to be seen in a café by any of his friends or relations. If they did see him there would be terrible trouble.

The Jollofs, Dakar's main tribe, are proud of their race and not over-keen on mixing with whites. Nevertheless relations between African and European in Dakar are extremely cordial. France is still aware of the debt that she owes the Senegalese troops for their part in the last war. There is, moreover, none of the patronizing attitude in the French approach to the African. If anything, as many French complain, the Jollof is the one who does the patronizing.

We went from the Hotel de Fleurs to some rooms in IFAN, the Institut Français D'Afrique Noire, which were lent us by its Director, Professor Theodore Monod, whom I had met on my last visit to Dakar. Professor Monod is one of the most impressive men I have ever met. He received us both in his large, book-lined office without looking up from his work. We both fumbled and fidgeted nervously studying the pictures on the wall, many of which were religious paintings or texts from the Bible. When I was beginning to feel acutely embarrassed, he looked up from his work revealing a gaunt, hollow face with deep-set piercing eyes, half obscured behind the glass of his horn-rimmed spectacles. I informed him that we had met some two years before, and that I should be grateful for his help on my journey. He looked at me vaguely, smiled, and then suddenly seemed to come into contact with the world we inhabited, and promised to arrange for letters

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

S
361
369

A general view of Dakar, capital of French West Africa

W
291
482
369

Wollof women on their way to market in St. Louis

[J 48 (B)]

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 little misguided. He handed me a copy of the party manifesto.
648 On the front it read:

> 'At the historic moment of Bandung and of the Colonial and Imperialist system, at the moment when political confusion submerges Black Africa under French domination, our duty as Africans obliges us to bring before the masses of our country the problem of national independence and the transformation of our economy into a socialist economy.'

[204] He also handed me a copy of the party newspaper, *La Lutte*, 'The Battle', which is surprisingly well produced at an intellectual level. It even had an article explaining why Sputnik stayed up. On another page a cartoon demonstrated party feeling towards France: Picture I. Thin, Belsen figure, in casque colonial, sucks from straw the lifeblood of Africa—Picture II. Fatter version of this Frenchman leaves for home, a small Africa behind him.

But the magazine was directed not only against France. Jibes were made at the Minister of the Interior of the Senegal, and at the high wages paid to Ministers. Mahjemout Diop was later arrested on the orders of the Minister of the Interior.

OLD SENEGAL

Dakar—Gorée—St. Louis

369 [491] [361] [175] Our third afternoon in Dakar, Arnold and I took the afternoon ferry to Gorée, a tiny island embraced by the bay of Dakar. This island, which until the turn of the century was better known than Dakar itself, was discovered in 1444 by Dinis Dias, one of the early Portuguese explorers, and commands the entrance to the port of Dakar, so that for long it was prized as the most strategic of islands on the Guinea Coast. Today it is no more than an historical relic, but whether against a clear blue sky or of dark grey rain clouds massing for an assault on the mainland, it serves as a reminded that though in Africa the revolution has taken place largely over the last ten years, its groundwork has been prepared by centuries of contact with Europeans and their way of life.

The small ferry was crammed with trippers, armed with

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Goree

expensive cameras and an intriguing assortment of seaside 369
equipment. The boat ploughed through the brisk waters of the bay before it pulled alongside the jetty, at Gorée, where the passengers climbed out with great difficulty because of the swell in the ice-blue waters, so transparent that I could see myriad fish lurking on the sandy bottom. I was cluttered up with cameras, so a tall, light-skinned African helped me on to the jetty. His fine, [563]
almost European features revealed that he was a Fulani, a curious tribe of cattle nomads to be found throughout West Africa. Some of the tribe have settled in the towns, as a superior aristocracy. The young man, a guide book in his hand, introduced himself as Seyni Djibey, and asked me whether this was the first time I had been to Gorée.

'No, I've been here before. Two years ago,' I replied.

'But you're not French,' he remarked with some astonishment. He looked at Arnold. 'I could tell because of him. The clothes he is wearing are not what the French Africans would wear,' he added.

'Where do you come from?' I asked.

'From Niamey, that's in Niger, you know!' he replied.

'Yes, I'm going there,' and before he could ask me why, I asked him a similar question.

'But what are you doing here in Senegal?'

'I just came to look. I had leave from my job, so I decided to spend some money I had saved up, travelling around West Africa. I've already been to Bamako. Next week I'm going to Conakry and Abidjan. I wanted to come here and see what Gorée is like.'

He walked towards the house of a friend to whom I had been given an introduction. The beach was littered with naked bodies, white and black, roasting in the sun that glared through a thin veil of cloud. Overlooking the right-hand wall of the beach was the picturesque Hostelerie du Chevalier de Boufflers, from which [366]
stretched in a generous semi-circle an intricacy of old houses, each one a perfect example of nineteenth-century French colonial architecture, with crumbling plaster façades, slatted shutters, large sash windows and delicately patterned verandas. Old wrought iron lamps clung to the walls of each house, giving a strangely Victorian atmosphere to the narrow street.

Seyni, looking up from his guide book, pointed to an old fort.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Goree

369 'That must be the Batterie Nord.'

[697] As we passed a gang of prisoners shuffled through its main gates outside which lay rusting cannons, their barrels stopped with cement. In the shade of palm trees at the entrance to the fort a guard played draughts with one of the local inhabitants, whilst the wives of the prisoners washed clothes or prepared their evening meal. Only the grim bars set deep into the dark stonework of the fort indicated that it was used as a prison: otherwise the entrance to the fort was more like the gate of a Moslem city, such was the coming and going.

I took some photographs and remembered with amusement an account of a former Earl of Scarborough's visit to Gorée in his diary, *The Cruise of the African Witch, 1890*:

> 'As I was taking a photo of a part of the island a nigger had the audacity to tell me that no one was allowed to photograph in the neighbourhood of the fort, and when I asked him who he was, he said: "Je suis Français". I sent him about his business and he ran to tell the guard in the fort. Europeanized niggers are obnoxious and often intolerable.'

Eighteen-ninety is a long time ago for Dakar and Gorée, though unhappily in East Africa such sentiments are still not out of date.

As I walked down the rubble-filled streets of the island, the occasional perfectly preserved balcony or heavy wooden shutters conjured up vivid memories of the old colonial society that used to inhabit Gorée. Today fat black mammies lean over the balustrades to hang out their washing whilst their naked children play on the rusty cannons encased in the mud and sand of the pavements. From the Rue de Dakar, with its crumbling houses and elegant street lamps, I could see the skyscrapers of the mainland. Above the harbour, fish hawks glided lazily, swooping suddenly with outstretched talons and amazing precision on their prey, whilst in the water bronzed Frenchmen with underwater diving equipment conducted the same operation with less success. In Europe one rarely remarks upon the contrast between
[175] history and the present: the two are so constantly juxtaposed as to
[633] be unworthy of comment. Yet in West Africa, where nearly

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Goree

everything seems to have been built within the last half-century, an island like Gorée, full of historical sites, stands to remind one how long Africa and Europe have been in contact. Gorée itself has been controlled by many masters: the Portuguese from 1444–1595, the Dutch 1597–1677; the French and British at intervals from 1677–1817, when the island was finally ceded to the French by the Treaty of Paris. Many famous explorers including Nuno Tristão, Fernando Po, Bartholomew Dias and Vasco da Gama and Christopher Columbus, as well as scholars like Camoens and St. Francis Xavier, stayed on the island. A small church was built by Diogo d'Azembuja, the architect of the fort of Elmina on the Gold Coast. The Dutch used Gorée for their trade with the Gold Coast and India, though later it became to its various owners important as a slaving post, as the gracious Maison des Esclaves, built between 1776–1778, witnesses. I was taken there two years ago by an African guide, through a low, damp tunnel into some squalid little cells whose only source of light was from a small grille facing on to the sea; below was a sheer drop on to Atlantic breakers. Into those cells slavers bundled hundreds of miserable wretches, seized from their villages, as often as not by other Africans. There they were imprisoned, their feet held by the heavy balls and chains that still littered the floor, until a ship was ready to take them to the New World. Often more than half of them died on the Middle Passage, and many died waiting in this house because of cold and damp, or just the lack of will to live.

175 633 [369] 567 439 175 633

However, in 1794, when Gorée was in French hands, the Revolutionary Convention abolished slavery, and accordingly deprived Gorée of its main source of income. But in 1802 the law was repealed, only to be reinforced again in 1817, so that ironically Gorée, which had been built into a naval base and the administration headquarters of French West Africa, became a major centre for the suppression of the slave trade.

Towards the end of the century Gorée declined at Dakar's expense. By 1929, from having been one of the Quatre Communes, the others being St. Louis, Rufisque and Dakar, sending representatives to the French National Assembly and enjoying equal rights with Frenchmen, it had so declined in importance that it was incorporated into the Municipality of Dakar.

633

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 [633] Today Gorée is a residential suburb of Dakar, where administrators and merchants live. In the hot sun of the afternoon, Gorée, an island of unopened shutters, of lazy negroes passing life away in sleep, and of buildings that look as though they would crumble in one's hands like a hard-baked sand pie, was little more than an historical relic.

Gorée was a dead town. More pathetic, I found, was St. Louis, the capital of the Senegal, which is a dying town. I flew to St. Louis for a week-end, leaving Arnold in Dakar because his attack of dysentery had not yet cleared up.

[361] I loved St. Louis, a quiet little city on an island in the estuary of the river Senegal, which bounds the northern frontier of the territory to which it has given its name. I remembered it clearly from my previous visit, a city with no important industries, and few modern buildings to detract from the quiet serenity of the cool, colonial style houses, heavily shuttered against the fierce sun of the desert. In two years not much had changed. The houses had crumbled a little more, adding to, rather than detracting from its dignity as capital of two territories, a unique honour. The governments of Senegal and neighbouring Mauretania are to be found there.

369 633 But the serenity of this ancient city, which dates back to 1659, that had struck me so forcibly on my first visit two years ago had gone. The Mauretanians' decision to transfer their capital to Nouakchott, in their own territory, was something the St. Louisians could understand, even if it did mean a loss of income to their city. But when their own government decided to move their capital to Dakar, the Federal Capital, the population was profoundly shocked. I found them extremely bitter about it. The provincial calm of the city was for once shattered, and its inhabitants had but one topic—the transfer—and the prospect of seeing their city die, for St. Louis depends largely on the administration for its income.

One man told me with extreme bitterness: 'Dakar has killed Gorée and Rufisque. Now it will kill us.' Since the creation of a port at Dakar, the chief *raison d'être* of St. Louis has been as an administrative centre. Take away the administration and the town could not survive.

My first afternoon in St. Louis I saw M. Valdiodio N'Diaye,

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

Acting Prime Minister of the Senegal, and cousin of Pierre Njie in Bathurst. I asked him what his party would do to save St. Louis from becoming a second Gorée. N'Diaye replied confidently: 'My government intends to build up St. Louis as a new and prosperous economic centre for the Senegal valley, just as Kaolak is the centre of the Saloum and Zuiginchor of the Casamance. We plan to build a great dam at Dagana which will open up the Senegal to extensive cultivation and St. Louis will not die. Of course the money for the dam will have to come from France. You see,' M. N'Diaye continued, 'St. Louis is really rather absurdly placed, lying at the extreme north and the extreme west of the territory. It is "doublement periphique", whilst Dakar is the economic centre of the Senegal.'

'Already, of course, the transfer is proving more difficult than they thought,' a member of an old and respected St. Louisian family told me. 'There is little enough room in Dakar as it is without moving the Senegalese Government there. They'll have to take hotels over for ministries. I don't think this transfer is necessary. After all, America has its Washington and New York, Switzerland its Berne and Geneva. Why should not Senegal have its St. Louis and Dakar? If they carry out this transfer, St. Louis will be little more than an historical souvenir like Gorée.'

M. Babacar Saye, Mayor of St. Louis and member of the Opposition party, told me with considerable feeling: 'St. Louis has played a great part in the history of the Senegal. Even if it has lost the opportunity of economic development as a port to Dakar, it is the spiritual head of the Senegal. If St. Louis had not existed in the history of the Senegal and French West Africa there would be no Federation today. It has been a bastion of fidelity to France. St. Louisians penetrated every corner of West Africa on her behalf. It has had an immense moral and psychological influence on the present good relations between France and West Africa.'

This attitude I found supported by a young African official from Dahomey, whom I met in the Ministry of Finance. He had travelled all over French West and Equatorial Africa. 'The Senegal,' he said, 'has always been at the head of politics in French West Africa. It has been the *avant-garde* of all Black Africa. After all it was the first to send black Deputies like Blaise Diagne to the

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 Metropolis. Until recently the African élite has always come from
[571] St. Louis. It is a sort of spiritual centre of Black Africa. It had the
[873] first school—Lycée Faidherbe. And in 1866 it was given the first Hotel de Ville of the French Union. It is the cradle of the French Union. It would be a tragedy if it died.'

369 To such men as these it seems scandalous that St. Louis with
175 its great history and traditions should give way to a parvenue like Dakar. Of all West African cities St. Louis is the one with the most illustrious and fascinating history. It was called St. Louis after the great French King, Louis XIII, in the middle of the seventeenth century. However, in the following century it began to expand into a town whose inhabitants were a distinct race, comparable
[563] to the Creoles of Sierra Leone. White and black intermarried to form a group known as the St. Louisians. During the eighteenth
[591] and nineteenth centuries these were the great families of the
[554] Senegal, though today they are losing importance. Names like Carpot, Descanet, Deves, Guillabert and Crespin are still remembered with respect in St. Louis.

[162] By the end of the eighteenth century the town had more than 7,000 inhabitants and in 1778 a mayor, who had to be chosen
[633] from the local population, was charged with the maintenance of good relations between the people and the Governor. In 1833
[641] all inhabitants of St. Louis were given the status of French citizens.

Perhaps the most important date for St. Louis and for West Africa was 1854, when General Faidherbe was appointed Governor. Today his mark is still firmly on St. Louis. The
[361] ordered layout of the city and its streets were his work. The large
[491] bridge connecting the island on which St. Louis stands to the mainland is named after him. The city's most important and famous school is the Lycée Faidherbe. And even now one can listen to old folk sitting on the benches of the park, in which his statue stands, telling tales of the great General, who had fought against the famous Toucouleur chief, El Hadj Omar and brought Senegal, Soudan and Mauretania into the French orbit. Perhaps some of these old people are his own descendants, for he is reputed to have been a prolific father.

[162] By 1878 St. Louis had grown to a city of 16,000 inhabitants, and despite the rapid expansion of Dakar and Rufisque farther down the coast, there was little to worry about the future.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

000 369 [633]

down the coast, there was little to worry about the future. And the creation of the Federal Government there marked its apogee. Five years later when the Federal Government was transferred to Dakar, St. Louis began its long decline which, when the Government is transferred, will be final.

As I walked along the old streets of St. Louis recalling vividly New Orleans, past old houses, their plaster façades beautiful with the patina of a century, and along the river that divides the island from the mainland with its brightly painted fishing boats, I could sympathize with the inhabitants of St. Louis. I could understand their pride; and their fears that their city might die. But at the same time the Government's desire to move into the economic centre of Senegal and the Administrative centre of the Federation, seemed to me a realistic one.

ECONOMICS OF THE REVOLUTION

648

I returned to Dakar for an appointment with the High Commissioner of French West Africa whose office was on the ninth floor of the Administrative building. When I arrived I was shown into a small ante-room by a messenger dressed in khaki.

'The High Commissioner will see you soon,' he assured me.

Within two minutes a similarly dressed messenger beckoned me towards a large swing door. I pulled it open, only to be confronted by another, a foot in front of me. I pushed this open, and entered a large, well-windowed room. For a moment I could see no one. Then a tall, grey-haired man, looking very much like a university professor, came forward towards me, his right hand outstretched. M. Gaston Cusin, High Commissioner for French West Africa, led me to a large chair and, with a degree of informality that put me entirely at ease, he began to talk of the problems of French West Africa. To him, a former Director of Economic Affairs in France, it was clear that West Africa was largely an economic problem. He pointed to a large map of West Africa:

'We are hoping to develop iron reserves here in Mauretania; there in Guinea we want to open up bauxite reserves, in Dahomey

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 we plan to build a modern port; and there in the Soudan we hope to develop livestock for export. For that we would need a number of large refrigeration units here in Dakar.'

Thus he continued in detail all over the vast area of French West Africa stretching from St. Louis to the Chad, from the Sahara to the Guinea Coast, with an area of nearly 1,840,000 square miles, and a meagre population of 18 millions. I pointed to Nigeria and Ghana.

'I am afraid we British took the best bits of West Africa. Yet we haven't put nearly as much money into it by comparison. I wonder what Nigeria would be like if you French had got it?'

His eyes looked longingly at the large chunk of red.

471 'That would be something marvellous!' he said. Since the war the French have poured money into West Africa. Private funds have accounted for a lot, but FIDES, the equivalent of our Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, has contributed more than £175,000,000 to these territories, and together with other public funds the total of capital investment (not from private sources) is more than £300,000,000, for a large, but poor and underpopulated territory.

369 This heavy capital investment has created large cities like Dakar, Abidjan and Conakry. The Africans have come into contact not only with urban life, but with industry. In Dakar there has been a minor industrial revolution. In the past six years, largely because of this, the city's population has swollen to nearly 300,000. Africans have flooded into the city seeking work, [162] attracted by tales of its gay life or lured by its glamour and the prospect of easy money.

294 463 I went down to the large brewery in Dakar, to see a modern industry with Africans as employees.

One of the managers there replied to my question, why weren't there any Africans in senior positions in the brewery. 'We have great difficulty in finding Africans to fill our managerial vacancies. You see, though many go to Paris they nearly all want to become lawyers, doctors, and officials. Very few are interested in becoming technicians. We would pay for their studies if we could find suitable candidates—you know, all part of the *Loi Cadre*. We must Africanize!'

'But haven't you found any good enough?'

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

for no-one would undertake his work unless he belonged to that caste. But the laws of supply and demand do not respect hereditary caste-rights. Mass production and cheaper shoes dictate the old leather-worker's redundance. Soon he will fade into the obscurity of a rural industry, a supplier of goods for the local arts and crafts store.

This was nowhere more evident than in Dakar which has a large number of factories. Here one can see the new Africa rising up. The young negro comes from the bush, illiterate and half naked, living much as his ancestors before him. Soon he is caught up in the revolution. At first his house may be a small wooden shed, shared with members of his family or tribe on whom he is sponging. But soon he may earn thirteen pounds a month as an unskilled labourer, so that he can afford to take rooms with one of his richer brothers, whose weekly pay packet as a cook is six pounds. And so in Dakar people of all tribes meet in the great metropolis, live next to each other in the crowded Medina, and help to create a new town-life as different from that of the bush as city life in nineteenth-century industrial England was from that of the countryside.

In Dakar I met Diop, a young Jollof, well-educated, but out of work. I asked him how he lived and he told me that he just went from relation to relation each day borrowing money. He had had a job before, but after a quarrel with his employer, an African lawyer, he had had to leave. Each morning he left his wife, pretending to go to work. He deceived her into thinking he still had his job, by bringing home money lent him by relations. He 'borrowed' the equivalent of ten shillings from me, and to my astonishment promptly asked me to lunch the next day. His house, or rather room, was made of wood. Inside, the walls and the floor were covered with a gaily patterned lino. A large double bed and a small divan provided seats. A chest of drawers hung with all the crockery was the only other piece of furniture. On the walls was a large array of photos of friends and relations, all slightly over-exposed to give the effect of a lighter skin. Diop's wife, a ravishing, beautiful girl of nineteen, had spent all morning preparing Jollof rice for us, consisting of rice done in a sort of tomato purée, to which a delicious white fish with a variety of vegetables and a hot pepper sauce were added. A bottle of wine was produced for me.

S 295 [294] [565]
S 369
S W 369
W [426]
W [352]
S W [262]
W [273]

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

me. Diop, Faye, one of his friends, who was secretary to the local theatre, and I sat round the large bowl eating with spoons. A number of people passed, and one old man came in to watch us.

'That's our Griot,' Diop told me. A Griot is a member of a special caste, to be found in the Jollof and Mandinka tribes, who sings, drums, dances and tells jokes—a sort of family jester.

He started to talk in rapid Jollof and soon Diop and his friend were in hoots of laughter. For his pains the bowl of rice was handed to him, and another man who joined him.

'Who is he?' I asked.

'Another relation. I have to feed him,' Diop replied.

'One of the greatest problems in Dakar,' an official of IFAN had told me, 'is parasitism. A man will come to Dakar and get himself a good job, say at ten pounds a month. He has his immediate family to look after. Then along comes a cousin, and installs himself. An uncle from the bush comes to stay three days, decides he likes Dakar and fails to return to his village. A man like this may find he is supporting between eight and fifteen dependants.'

'I suppose that explains why Dakar's population is much larger than opportunities for work would justify?'

'Yes. It's a great problem, because it prevents any accumulation of capital by Africans. People complain that there is no African bourgeoisie here, that all the trade is in the hands of Lebanese and small Frenchmen. It's largely because an African here cannot, by the laws of hospitality, refuse to give a bed and food to his fellow tribesmen.'

'Of course, in a way that's a good thing, because no one goes hungry, and it's one way of redistributing wealth voluntarily. A sort of voluntary welfare state.'

'Yes, but if the African is to control the economy of his own economy, he must be rid of this scourge.'

In Gorée I met a Frenchman to whom Senegalese soldiers used to come immediately after their discharge from the Army to leave all their new clothes and money, otherwise they would have returned to the town to hear: 'Oh, you are the most wonderful, most bountiful man alive.' After that there would have been little left of their money.

Diop was perhaps a classic example of parasitism. He himself was a borrower, only to have other people borrowing from him.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

was a borrower, only to have other people borrowing from him.

The morning after I had lunch with Diop I went to a Conference in the High Commission on Alcoholism. This, it appeared, was a grave problem in Dakar. The creation of the new Africa has its ugly sides, and this was perhaps one of its most ugly. A favourite drink, named after the local bus service, was the 'Car Rapide'. To make it you mix beer, methylated spirits and a drop of petrol. It is guaranteed to knock you out in one go. In Zuiginchor a more potent drink was made by adding a well-known Parisian perfume to beer.

A day before the Conference *Paris-Dakar*, the local daily newspaper, published an article on alcoholism in M'Backé, a large Senegalese town:

ALCOHOLISM MUST BE FOUGHT

An all out police attack is needed and would be appreciated to seek out and rid our town of a gang of drunks of both sexes who spend their time in the small shops and sordid bars which are hidden all over the town in the guise of restaurants and small eating places.

Most of the proprietors of these cafés add to their miserable occupations that of pimping. Favouring alcoholism, they nevertheless indulge in all revolting forms of debauchery.

In most parts of our town one finds these small cafés nicely divided, serving as homes and places of business.

A few posts in the ground, a roof of polished tiles, a wooden fence and there you have the ideal café.

The interior of these hovels is divided into small compartments with no ventilation and on the ground a few mattresses covered with dirty blankets. The decoration consists of a few old newspapers pasted here and there to keep out the sun. The bar stock lies among packing cases and hidden under the mattresses. In holes made for the purpose are bottles of wine, red, rosé and white, and beer.

To cover up this business known to be officially disliked, the café proprietors keep a kitchen where periodically they prepare meals, hygienically leaving a lot to be desired.

In these sordid places, the atmosphere heavy with noxious smells, they give themselves up to their anti-social pastimes. Debauchery has been given a home here. These are also the rendezvous of scoundrels and receivers of stolen goods.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 295 733 After the great Magal de Touba[1] our town inherited bands of homeless among whom were notorious criminals.

S 369 694 Alcoholism was not the only form of moral decadence in a city like Dakar. Actually crimes of violence, robbing and murder were almost unknown. There were rarely any reference to them in the papers, and a police officer assured me that this was true. However, one read frequently of crimes of passion, such as a man stabbing his friend to death in the course of a quarrel.

S 369 548 There was, I was told, an enormous amount of prostitution in Dakar. I was shown one of the city's more notorious brothels in Rebeusse suburb, a rambling shack that had been raided more than once by police. On the whole prostitution is not organized S [563] because of legal difficulties. A number of prostitutes were white women, who receive patronage mainly from Lebanese and Syrians. I was told of one who went around the Médina in a W small car, serving the local population.

S 369 838 548 On the other hand homosexuality had a much freer rein, being prevalent amongst Africans, Mauretanians and Europeans alike. In Place Prôtet, the main square of Dakar, young African boys, more often than not Jollofs, could be seen waiting to be picked up. Under the Code Napoleon it is, of course, legal, and in theory presents no problem, though many people are worried by its spread in the city.

Of course, to many of these boys with no work, it is one way of making money. But amongst the Jollofs it seems to be more deeply rooted. Contact with Frenchmen in St. Louis, who often preferred black boys to black mistresses and contact with the Mauretanians may provide an explanation.

Today one can even see Jollof men dressed in women's clothes. I once met one in a small bar outside Dakar. He was obviously pathetically feminine. The Jollof must be used to this since they even have a word for them—Gor-Digen. The elders and faithful Muslims condemn men for this, but it is typical of African tolerance that they are left very much alone by the rest W of the people.

589 One reason for the growing tendency of Jollof men to remain bachelors to an age much older than is usual in Africa, if not for their homosexuality, is the character of the Jollof women.

[1] Celebration of Birth of Prophet.

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[P. 3 A]
[P. 3 contains no textual material]

Political Life in the Urban Centers of Senegal: A Study of a Period of Transition

Senegal and Sudan presently comprise the Mali Federation, which is in the process of achieving sovereignty within the French Community. Senegal itself is one of the most urbanized West African regions, and its cities have been characterized by a gradual growth of modern political life. The author presents some major findings on its urban political activity, based on extensive interviews made in the mid-1950's. The oldest urban elite, almost entirely assimilated into the French way of life, has been only partially successful in developing party organizations that satisfy the interests of the newer urban residents. As a consequence, the most active and radical post-war political activity has been centered in "non-political" bodies, notably labor unions. Also, urban political activity has been increasingly challenged by rural political developments, which have drawn their framework from urban politics. African specialists will note that Senegalese political development has much in common with such development elsewhere in Africa; it also has a number of distinctive features.

The article originally appeared in CAHIERS INTERNATIONAL DE SOCIOLOGIE, *XXVII (July-December, 1959), pp. 55-84, under the title,* "La vie politique dans les centres urbains du Sénégal." *It was translated by T. H. Stevenson.*

369
668
114
665
467
111

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

The African Urban Milieu

●369 It has been emphasized for some time that an essential characteristic of most cities in sub-Sahara Africa is that they were a "creation of the whites." For the sociologist, the outstanding feature of the African urban milieu is that it is a "drastically new milieu." With a few exceptions, the most important of these cities were founded quite recently, and lie within the framework of colonial history. Those whose functional development and population growth in the past two decades have been most spectacular for the most part date back less than a century. In these cities African urban problems are most apparent, and hence they have more quickly drawn the attention of researchers. The essential concepts of the urbanization process in sub-Sahara Africa have been formulated in this context.

The diversity in these urban situations should not be underestimated, however; it is especially important in the study of

[P.3B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

•369 problems arising from political activities. Cities founded in the slave-trade period have traits that distinguish them from the more recent colonial cities, and any discussion of Senegalese cities must take full account of such a distinction.

[177] To be sure, "old cities" and "recent cities"[1] have one fundamental trait in common: both are entirely the products of external compulsion. In the rural districts, the controls introduced by the colonial power impinged on integrated, settled societies, whose solidarity and coherence often enabled them at least to check and moderate external influences, and to confine them to given channels. In the colonial cities, however, foreign activity itself created the framework in which it operated. Its principal effect was to bring together a conglomerate and poorly-integrated population, which from the outset was confronted by novel problems and upon which the agencies of change acted with maximum intensity. This condition is essential in the consideration of problems of political life in an urban milieu.

[P. 3 C]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

369
113

[P 3 D]

[1] An instrumental distinction whose meaning is explained below. For an examination of some criteria making possible the definition of different types of colonial cities, *cf.* P. Mercier, "Aspects de la société africaine dans l'agglomération dakaroise: groupes familiaux et unités de voisinage," in *L'agglomération dakaroise. Quelques aspects sociologiques et démographiques.* I.F.A.N., Dakar, 1954.

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

•369 Even at this juncture, however, effects of the distinction between old and recent cities are apparent. The growth of the old slave-trade cities took place in two stages. In the first, there was a fairly slow tempo of growth in which the elements comprising the city were united into a relatively integrated whole. In the second stage, corresponding to the recent colonial period, population growth was much more rapid; new strata of city-dwellers appeared, so numerous that the original city could not effectively assimilate them. A series of problems arose from the relations between the comparatively stable nucleus and the weakly-structured host of new arrivals. In Senegal these relations were originally hostile, yet played an important role in certain phases of urban political life.

The complexity of the principal traits of political phenomena in the framework of the colonial cities is suggested in the following discussion.

The Traditional and Modern Frameworks

369
633 African urban centers were established more or less wholly beyond the limits of traditional political units.[2] They were distinguished by novel activities and functions, quickly acquired a cosmopolitan aspect, and received a meager administrative organization. As privileged centers for Europeans, they could hardly survive except through a system of direct administration, and withdrew more or less rapidly from the local, pre-European political systems and authorities, which were in no way equipped to absorb them. Yet political problems of the traditional sort were not entirely excluded from urban life. In certain cases the territory of an indigenous political system was largely or wholly incorporated by the city, and officially recognized.[3] Colonial authorities at first assumed only the radi-

[P.4A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 633 cally new functions that the old system could not manage, but this phase of internal autonomy was brief. The new government progressively assumed all political functions, and the population of the 642 633 city became diversified. Effective operation of the traditional authority was then limited to the one ethnic group that henceforth furnished its members. Nevertheless, despite its increasingly ambiguous position and more and more purely formal character, despite the fact that it had no genuine initiative, traditional authority continued to play a role in urban life. Old political systems eventually were used by the modern political organizations as one of the props for their own action, and conversely, some traditional authorities attempted to reinforce their declining influence by insinuating themselves into a new political role.

[369] These interactions merit attention. In effect, traditional political forms were taken over into the framework of urban life, though in rudimentary outline. This was the case in ethnic group and ward organization, for example, which involved the institutions of "ward-chiefery" and "race-chiefery." These were often developed spontaneously, sometimes assuming a clandestine nature. In other cases such organizational forms were encouraged and given official recognition. Some were created out of whole cloth by the colonial authority, which saw in them an effective means for regulating populations still poorly integrated into the framework that it was striving to establish.[4] The role of authorities having traditional origins quickly became secondary, of course, but it has raised contradictions that make the study of interpenetration between traditional and modern political frameworks an essential one.

[P. 4 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[P. 4C]
[Footnote 4 continued on P.5C-Analysis]

[2] Their territory, at least in the case of the oldest cities, was often the object of a "concession" by local authorities, and was therefore withdrawn from their direct control.

[3] This is the case, for example, of Lagos; regarding Dakar, where the authorities of the "Republic of Lebou" had their seat, *cf.* C. Michel, "L'organisation coutumière (sociale et politique) de la communauté Laboue de Dakar," *Bull. du Comité d'Et. hist. et sci. de l'A.O.F.*, March 17, 1934; and C. Faure, *Histoire de la presqu'île du Cap-Vert et des origins de Dakar*, Paris, 1914.

[4] G. Balandier, in *Sociologie des Brazzavilles noires* (Paris, 1955) shows clearly the occurrence there of "a transfer onto an urban milieu of leadership agencies already existing in a rural milieu: the

369
633
[113]
642

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

The New Political Life

369 More importantly, the urban centers
668 deserve attention because of the role they have played in the development of a radically new type of political life, one
[177] whose forms have been largely borrowed from outside Africa. The first attempts at political organization and activity were born in the cities. More recently some political movements have appeared in a rural context, as a reflection of rural conditions, but they have drawn much of their pattern from the cities, or from among elements subject to urban influences.

The modern African city presents a set of conditions favorable to the development of especially intense political reac-
369 tions. The position of the colonizing power is most sharply apparent in the city, and the instruments of its power are concentrated there. The rootless condition of the African population seems at its extreme; the masses that gather in the city are unsettled, poorly established in their occupations, and suffer from
[571] every form of insecurity. The new elites created and shaped by urban life feel restricted and disappointed in their desires for social advancement and for a share in authority and in modern symbols of prestige.[5] Finally, the city brings together a white society and a Negro
[563] society, though often clearly separated by topography. In these circumstances racial tensions can develop to their maximum. Moreover, they assume varied aspects, *e.g.*, competitive situations in various spheres, official or unofficial discrimination.[6] Intense reactions to such conditions may take no organized form and may not manifest themselves except after some delay, however. Here the

[P. 5A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 problem of the "old cities" is again relevant. In them, such reactions can remain unorganized or marginal longer in relation to the official forms of political expression. We shall see that this is typical of certain Senegalese cities.

668 Furthermore, some reactions are born and expressed in a much larger framework than that of political life in its strictest sense of party activity. Demands for justice in the colonial situation can be expressed on different planes and in different fields. In South Africa, for example, Africans are largely barred from social and political action, and the chief demands emerge in religious activities.[7] Elsewhere, political life may not be forbidden, but its forms of expression are limited, either openly or in fact—for instance, by means of a judicial system in which people cannot file a case. Thus, the [467] most radical demands are formulated not within the framework of parties — at least, in their official platforms — but in that of unions or other associations. Attitudes, behaviors, and ideologies are formed in such organizations, pending the possibility of full expression at the political level. In the urban centers of Senegal some of the most important popular forces, at least prior to the great transformations that began in 1956, were to be found outside parties.

The Growth of Rural Political Life

369 668 These fundamental demands of the urban population provide models for similar demands that spread from the cities into rural districts. The general preponderance of the cities in political initiative is mentioned above. They are both centers of attraction and centers for the diffusion of foreign influences. An im-

[P.5 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[P.5C]

hierarchy of administrator-mayor, administrator-deputy mayor, and ward leader corresponds to the hierarchy of regional leader, district leader, and cantonal leader" (p. 169). The contradictions that he points out in the administrative organization of Brazzaville were sharper still at Dakar: the institution of appointed ward leaders coexisted with that of an elected city government, whose relations with the colonial administration did not differ in principle from those of French city governments with prefectoral authority.

[5] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Evolution des élites sénégalaises," *Bull. intl. des Sci. soc.*, VIII (#4, '56).

Groupement européen de Dakar: orientations d'une enquête," *Cahiers intl. de Soc.* XIX, 1955.

[6] *Cf. Infra.*, and the Summary Notes Given in P. Mercier, "Aspects de la Société Africaine" and "Le

[7] *Cf.* B. G. M. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, London, 1948; and G. Balandier, *Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique noire*, Paris, 1955.

[113] 6436

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

•369 portant part of the urban population has
668 considerable mobility, and thus maintains solid ties and frequent communication with the regions of its origins.[8] More-
[571] over, lesser members of the modern urban elites, *e.g.*, workers and petty officials, have been settled in rural centers, thus extending urban influence still further. By these means a double network of individuals more or less shaped by the conditions of urban life is established. Contacts and relations between urban centers and rural districts can vary markedly, however. The area affected by the prestige of political leaders thus may be more or less extensive. The forms of activity and organization created in the city generally can be transplanted to rural sectors only in their rudimentary forms.

In Senegal, historical factors account for the sharp division between city and countryside. In the old coastal cities, a separatistic history and a particular juridical status have contributed to their marginal position in Senegalese life. The consequences of the separation between the former "citizens" of "the four communes" and the former "subjects" of the interior[9] have not been entirely wiped out, even in recent years.

From the foregoing points of view, Senegalese urban political life can be oriented in summary fashion to the general problems of urban political life. A series of particular traits in the Senegalese situation are first interpreted against the historical background. The subsequent section summarizes the results of investigations conducted in certain Senegalese
[114] centers in 1953-1955, during a period of transition between two major phases in the development of political life.[10]

[P.6A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

Political Development In The Cities of Senegal

369 361 [162] In all of West Africa, the phenomenon of urbanization has been most extensive and the variety of its forms most striking in Senegal. The area has about ten communities with more than 10,000 inhabitants each; five of these have well over 30,000 inhabitants and the major urban center, Dakar, has almost 250,000 inhabitants. The urban population exceeds 500,000, about one quarter of the total population. The present urban pattern has no link with a pre-European tradition. Some of the cities wield influence over extensive suburban zones, and the distances separating them are relatively short, so that the western half of Senegal is covered by a close network of urban centers.

633 Partial administration of municipal affairs and familiarity with electoral machinery are by no means recent acquisitions. The first African communes "with full powers"[11] were created in Senegal, in the second half of the 19th century, and there the first "mixed communes"[12] were developed, at the beginning of the 20th century. Among all the French West African territories, Senegal contained the largest number of constituted communes, and alone had almost a quarter of the communes with full powers created in all French Overseas Territories by the law of 1956. As early as 1925 there were 18 communes, of which four had full autonomy. The exercise of political rights in modern form dates back more than 75 years for some cities, and by 1953 there were elected municipal councils in 14 of the 20 mixed communes in Senegal.

[P. 6 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

"The Four Communes of Senegal"

369 633 175 The four coastal cities have had the longest experience with political rights. All are fairly old; Dakar was founded most recently, in 1857. St. Louis of Senegal, founded in the time of the slave-trade, is the oldest, and a typical example of the "old colonial city." In 1659 a warehouse of the Company of the Senegal was built on the site, the first French settlement in the region. It was a commercial post oriented toward the river, and a small military outpost; it became the jumping-off place for the conquest of the African territories. The general traits of the old African city may still be found in St. Louis' central section, despite recent changes. In such a center the African population was relatively stable.[13] A few European families established residence, and a rather important mixed-blood population developed. By the mid-19th century an urban community with a homogeneous way of life had emerged.

[563]

The Isle of Gorée, which became the second commune in Senegal, was occupied in 1677; it was oriented toward the Petite-Cote and the factories of Rufisque, Joal, and Portudal. Of these, only Rufisque developed; it became the third commune. St. Louis and Gorée underwent many vicissitudes before 1815, when they were restored to France. They then returned to "legal" commerce, which was centered in the valley of the Senegal. St. Louis retained its dominance. By the end of the 18th century it had had nearly 7,000 inhabitants, about half of whom were free and almost a tenth European. In the 1870's its population was about 15,000, while Gorée had but 3,000; Rufisque was growing as was Dakar. Finally, the interior back of the Petite-Cote was opening up, and Thiès was founded. In the following period St.

[162] [563]

[P. 7A]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[8] These facts were studied by M. Hunter, *Reaction to Conquest*, London, 1936, among others.
[9] *Cf.*, *infra.*, summary historical comments regarding the development of citizenship in the oldest Senegalese settlements.
[10] After 1956, changes occurred more rapidly. There were profound transformations in the orientations of political parties, in the organization of unions, etc. These transformations acquired greater significance in the new legislative and constitutional frameworks instituted in 1957 and subsequently.
[11] These had an organization patterned after that of French communes, even though the conditions under which they operated were not always comparable. It was not until 1956, 75 years later, that communes were established in territories other than Senegal.
[12] These were all characterized by the fact that their mayor was a representative of the French colonial administration. There were various types, according to whether the city council was entirely appointed, or partially or entirely elected. Between the two wars they expanded rapidly outside Senegal.

[p.6c]

668
369
633

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 633 195 [162] [439] Louis stagnated[14] and Gorée declined, losing people at the expense of Dakar and Rufisque; Rufisque grew rapidly, as the port for the ground-nut. Dakar entered a period of prosperity at the turn of the century.[15] During the late 19th century the composition of the population already was beginning to change fairly rapidly, especially in the expanding centers, but the old core of urban population continued to hold a dominant place, not only in urban life but also in the colony of Senegal as a whole, whose constitution had come into effect. The people of St. Louis most notably served as essential instruments of the colonization effort.

This dominance was expressed very clearly in the political realm. The coastal cities, in contrast to the interior cities and rural areas, had been introduced to the structure and organization through which modern political life is conducted long before the reforms of 1946. Political activity of the modern type was first limited to the European settlers but was soon extended to the mixed-blood element [563] and then to the Negro population. Beginning in the late 18th century, St. Louis had a mayor, always a mixed-blood, who served as intermediary between the governor and the populace. In 1789 the colony participated in metropolitan polit- [668] ical activities, sending to the States-General a petition of grievances that demanded commercial freedom — *i.e.*, abolition of the Company monopoly — and the end of slavery. A satisfactory agreement was reached among employees of the Company, European businessmen, and mixed-blood businessmen, but it was never brought to fruition; a period of disorder set in and persisted until the rebirth of the colony in 1815.

[641] In 1833 French citizenship was conferred upon all free inhabitants of St. Louis and Gorée by royal decree. Citizenship was extended to all inhabitants of

[P.7B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[13] We have observed that in such cases a "people belonging to the city" emerged. Their ties with their birthplaces were more or less completely severed.
[14] It had scarcely 20,000 inhabitants in 1920, but its growth resumed in the 1930's. In 1954 it had a population of 39,000.
[15] With the creation of a harbor, which captured the trade of Rufisque, whose modernization appeared impossible, and the installation of the government-general of French West Africa, established in 1895.

[P.76]

[68] 1955 326 323

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 633 175 [641] the two cities with the abolition of slavery in 1848.[16] The four coastal cities were elevated to the status of communes with full powers between 1872 and 1887, and the organization of political life on a European pattern in the four communes crystalized the opposition between the citizens of the old settlements and the subjects of the territories in the newly-conquered interior. The cities alone provided apprenticeship in public life and in the representative system. Beginning in 1871 they elected a deputy to the French Parliament. In 1879 they [646] elected a Council-general patterned after those in France, supposedly to represent all Senegal. It actually represented only the few urban centers, whose interests at the time diverged widely from those of the rest of Senegal. An effort was subsequently made to repair this breach by transforming the Council-general into a colonial council, consisting of representatives elected by the citizens and representatives for the non-citizens appointed by the *notables*.[17] This reduced conflicts scarcely at all. Meanwhile, citizenship [641] acquired new importance. At first it was established by local law and had no effect in other French territories. Not until 1916 did the "natives of the four communes" receive full French citizenship while still being able to retain their personal status. These citizens were few in [668] number: scarcely 80,000 in 1939, about 100,000 in the 1950's. The cities tended to include more non-citizens than citizens as they grew. Actual participation in politics developed only gradually. At [666] the first legislative elections, in 1871, only a third of those registered voted, and the rate dropped to less than a fifth

[P. 8A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 in some years. Since the beginning of the
633 20th century, however, urban citizens
175 have taken an increasingly lively interest
[666] in political matters.[18]

In this restricted political system the
563 relative importance of the roles played by
668 different ethnic groupings and different
cities varied continuously. Ethnic dominance, first held by the old European families, passed gradually to mixed-blood society, which came into being in the 18th century and rapidly acquired wealth, education, and influence. By the mid-19th century mixed-bloods made up the majority of the westernized population. But the entry of the emancipated slaves, the first sizable migration toward the
[166] cities, quickly reduced the mixed-bloods to a minority. In 1900 they numbered
[162] less than 5,000 in the four communes together, though for several decades their economic and political influence remained quite disproportionate to their num-
668 bers. Among the cities, St. Louis was
[369] predominant until WW I. At the beginning of the century it practically controlled the deputation to the French legislature and the Council-general — and hence the economic life of the territory. Then Gorée-Dakar came to the fore;[19] in 1914 a citizen of Gorée, Blaise Diagne, was elected deputy, followed by Galandou Diouf and Lebou. These men
[645] were the first elected Senegalese to win broad support at Paris; Diagne himself was appointed a Secretary of State [a subministerial post, equivalent to a U.S. Under-Secretary]. In Senegal, the au-
[647] thority of elected officials — deputies and Councillors-general — increased, and clashes with the civil administration were frequent.[20]

[P.8B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

16 Which nearly tripled the number of citizens, who henceforth comprised a body that was more heterogeneous but less completely "assimilated."
17 Translator's note: the *notables* were influential residents appointed to high political offices in the interior by the local representative of French government.
18 Especially after 1914, when there appeared a particularly dynamic personnage, Blaise Diagne, whose popularity was widespread.
19 Dakar absorbed Gorée in 1929. The latter was reestablished as a separate communs in 1956.
20 At first — at the end of the 19th century — these were conflicts between the merchants, upholding the interests of their agencies, and the civil administration, then engaged in an expansionist policy in West Africa, whose advantages the former could not see. Not until recent years did these conflicts change very much in character.

369
633
668
705
641
642
649
666

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 French party — the S.F.I.O.[23] — devel-
665 oped and for several years played a dominant role throughout Senegal. In the other territories parties were more often purely local, and simply allied themselves with the French parties. The S.F.I.O. lost its predominence in Senegal after 1951, but kept it in the four communes — St. Louis and Dakar-Gorée being its chief strongholds; it remained there as
[666] the African Socialist Movement.[24] This result, the adoption of assimilationist views, was to a certain degree a characteristic of pre-war political life, but on the other hand it contributed to the leadership of the first party that tried to be at once interterritorial and specifically African: the African Democratic Assembly (R.D.A.). It provided some of the most radical elements in the movement, which received considerable support, especially at Dakar. Several radical leaders were the source of the conflicts that resulted in the split in the R.D.A. that followed the change of orientation after 1950. The R.D.A. was subsequently a rather marginal movement in Senegal. This second result suggests the strength of the relations of a party limited to the numerous elite of the old Senegalese cities with the great European currents of political thought.

[369] But the greatest effect of the diversifi-
[666] cation of Senegalese political life was felt elsewhere. The appearance and rapid success of the Senegalese Democratic Bloc (B.D.S.) — which stemmed from a division in the S.F.I.O. — were the manifestations, in the political realm, of two essential facts: (1) the important changes that had taken place in the composition of city populations; and (2) the resumption of initiative by the rural populations, who seized the opportunity to express themselves directly, and especi-

[P. 9 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 ally to express themselves in opposition
665 to the old cities. The legislative elections
of 1951 were typical in this respect. The
369 enlarged rural electorate had numerical
666 control and held the key to success in
the elections; a substantial part of the urban masses shared in an effort to drive a breach in the old system of urban domination. In this period the ideological aspects of the political parties were still unimportant. The elections of 1951 were a victorious revolt of the new citizens, urban and rural, against the old citizens of the "four communes."[25] The two candidates of the B.D.S. won. Significantly, one of them represented directly, through the unions, the new forces. The division between the whole of the territory and the cities was thus repeated *within* the cities. A new phase had commenced, one in which politics became more complicated. But the forms that can be termed "traditional" for political life were too deeply embedded within the patterns of urban life to give way at once.

Senegalese Political Life in Transition, 1953-1956

668 It was under such conditions that re-
665 searches were conducted on the forms of
[114] political expression in several Senegalese urban centers, chiefly at Dakar-Gorée and at St. Louis — that is, three of the four communes — and also at Thiès, a newer city in the interior close to and under the influence of the Dakar-Gorée-Rufisque aggregate. This last study provided certain comparative materials. This essay discusses only some of the findings of these researches. Three essential facts must be remembered:

(1) The importance retained by certain long-standing patterns. A party de-

[p.10A]

668 signed to be distinctive, and to a degree
665 founded in opposition to these patterns, nevertheless conforms with them, at least for a time, within the "old cities." This is one of the limits of the political system of this period: the deepest political aspirations, which are rapidly gaining strength, can be only partially expressed within a partisan structure.

(2) The central role of certain non-political groupings and organizations[26] in the elaboration of more radical ideologies and in the formation of the most active groups. This must be viewed as a direct function of the preceding condition.

[571] (3) The temporarily marginal status of an important part of the new elites, whose formation had accelerated in the post-war years. At the time of study, a shift of elites was occurring. Youthful elements were vigorously opposed to what was termed the "bourgeoisie of the old cities."[27] This is another indication that the underlying forces still laid outside urban politics; they did not enter them until 1956.

The New Parties

665 After 1946 a series of political parties
• 369 emerged: the Senegalese branch of the S.F.I.O., the B.D.S., the M.P.S., and the U.D.S.[28] Only the first two received wide support, yet one cannot fail to be impressed by the extent of party membership. Out of a group of 1,200 men interviewed at Dakar, for example, more than half (56 per cent) declared themselves members of a party.[29] The percentage was very high, and of considerable significance. The population involved in this sampling was essentially a stable one, or at least one settled in cities for several years. Other researches justify

[P. 10 B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[25] At the time, the civil administration viewed this revolt rather favorably. Of course, it was only one aspect of the politics of the period. Some rather contradictory alliances were formed to oppose the S.F.I.O.

[26] Assuming a limited sense for the word "political," by applying it solely to party organizations.

[27] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Evolution des élites sénégalaises," *Bull. instl. des Sci. soc.*, VIII (#4, '56). Materials for comparison appear, *mutatis mutandis*, in E.-F. Frazier, *Bourgeoisie noire*, Paris, 1956.

[28] Senegalese Populist Movement and Senegalese Democratic Union.

[29] This involved solely the male population.

[p.10c]

999 967 365 665 998

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S
665
369

the assertion that the temporary population, especially the seasonal one, shared very little in urban politics.[30] However, the groupings under study clearly extended beyond the nucleus of the "old population," which in Dakar was less sharply defined and more conglomerate than in a center such as St. Louis.[31] The traits peculiar to the latter were still discernible, however: thus, the majority ethnic group — Lebou and Wolof, which includes the largest number of "old urban families" — exhibited these political characteristics in a more striking form. Exact data gathered on extended family groups revealed political party membership varying from 50 to 80 per cent among the Lebou and Wolof (as much among women as among men); in these cases, membership was verified by possession of a party card. This verification was not required in the course of the general study previously noted; one may thus assume that some of the men interviewed who declared themselves members of a party were only sympathizers, or had failed to have their cards renewed. Other data, however, confirmed the validity of the information obtained. Thus, during the post-war years the Senegal branch of the S.F.I.O. was among the six most important branches of the party; in the mid-1950's the enormous majority of its adherents were to be found in the coastal cities.

W [369]

W [665]

One peculiarity, examined in the course of this essay, requires at least a partial interpretation. Considering the massive party membership, participation in elections was scanty. Thus, at the time of the last municipal elections in Dakar, the number of persons registered to vote exceeded 50,000.[32] According to the

S [666]

[P. 11 A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

665
369
[666]

census of 1955, one might have expected it to reach nearly 80,000. Abstentions — in relation to the number registered — amounted to about 30 per cent. In this trend one can see the ambiguity that typified political life in the Senegalese cities. Evidence was also gathered on the status of participation in the other phases of party activity. Parties are organized in ward sections, sometimes with separate sections for women. The activities of these sections do not merit detailed study; they vary too greatly in intensity. One point became clear, however, from direct observation on one hand and the results of a series of interviews on the other: these sectional activities drew only a very limited portion — about 10 per cent — of party effectives. By contrast, occasional demonstrations might draw considerable numbers, including individuals from outside the city. Sometimes such demonstrations coincided with propaganda meetings organized directly by the party. In other cases they stemmed from the presence of a party leader as an observer at an official reception, a conference, etc.

Other facts also demonstrate that party membership does not imply militant action in the specifically political arena. A series of interviews carried out during 1953-1954 revealed only a slight degree of ideological unity in the two large parties, the S.F.I.O. and the B.D.S.; knowledge about specific phases of their programs was generally modest or nonexistant. Hence distribution of party memberships scarcely involved a precise ideological choice.[33] This choice to some degree reflected an actual distinction,[34] but this was apparently no more than a tendency. In addition to the primary

[P. 11 B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[30] But it could remain attached more or less firmly to the political activities of the place of its origin.
[31] It included elements from St. Louis and Gorée, Lebou elements that had become urbanized "on the spot," etc. The population of Dakar tripled 1936-1956, from 80,000 to nearly 250,000.
[32] To be precise, 52,250. These elections are used as an example because the new organization for the city government involved a revision of the electoral lists, the most extensive in many years; and, also, a comparison with recent census figures (compiled in 1955) was possible for the first time.
[33] The facts of the split between the latent ideological content of judgments and opinions of a political sort, and that of the party programs, are noted below. Of course, there were probably distinctions according to level of schooling.
[34] Roughly, between old and new city-dwellers.

[P. 11 C]

[999 666 555 ●]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 cause of this peculiarity, described pre-
369 viously, there were secondary causes, of ethnic, religious, and other natures. Their action contributed to the blurring of lines between the party groups. These facts explain, for example, why the B.D.S., until its recent changes, was unable despite great efforts to change the nature of urban politics. Only the broad action of new factors that were felt considerably beyond the frontiers of Senegal, from 1956 on, brought some change.

These widespread occurrences affected chiefly the two large parties. The other parties, the M.P.S. and U.D.S., which had developed from the schism in the R.D.A., had a quite different nature. They were parties of activists, and in Senegalese political life had only secondary importance. The successes of the R.D.A. elsewhere in West Africa, even during 1956-1957, had only feeble repercussions in Senegal. This fact had many causes, which cannot be studied here. By contrast, the S.F.I.O. and the B.D.S. were tending to become, in terms of number, parties with mass support; their cores were made up as much by "*notables*" and "elected agents" as by activists. The struggle between these two parties continued to dominate the stage, if not in all Senegal, at least in the cities and in certain rural districts.[35] In some cases it took extremely violent forms.
666 Pre-election riots were common between
665 1946 and 1956. Even in 1957, rather
369 serious incidents marked the reorganization of the commune of Dakar, before
[633] the last municipal elections.[36] For the
[519] first time, elements of the B.D.S. (now the Senegalese Populist Bloc, or B.P.S.) won strong representation in the city council, previously dominated without opposition by the S.F.I.O. (now the African Socialist Movement — M.S.A.); an outburst of partisan passions marked

[P. 12A]

665 this shift. Such demonstrations revealed
[369] the intense hostility between the two
[666] main parties. This deeply influenced urban life, in the realms that overlapped into the specifically political domain.

Some indications have been given as to the significance of party membership. They can be supplemented by approaching the problem somewhat differently. To a considerable degree, the parties remained closely associated with the "clienteles" that typified pre-war political life. This trait appeared most clearly in the party in power, the one that controlled the city government. To maintain and increase
[669] such a political clientele, the party had access to very important instruments. Through the numerous municipal employees and all others who depended upon city hall, or who directly or indirectly benefited from its aid or its support, it extended a very wide network of influence. This was elaborated by the other network of influence, comprising the traditionally influential individuals, who were partly interwoven into it.[37] If a party had such a basis its dynamic force dropped considerably, and the role of its leaders assumed major importance. The prestige of the leader was essential to the cohesion of the political groups. This fact came out clearly in various researches. For instance, in the course of over 100 interviews it appeared that there were wide gaps between the official orientation of the party to which the respondent belonged and the political goals that he expressed.[38] Adherence to the leader overcame that difference to some extent. A certain formalization of partisan attachment thus appeared, in a primitive fashion. The importance of the leader's prestige was revealed with the greatest clarity in relation to the feminine clien-
[369] tele of the parties. It must be emphasized that at Dakar, at least among the
[P. 12 B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[35] Where the rivalry, furthermore, was chiefly between the "outposts," in this case more or less connected with the tradition of the "old cities," and the surrounding countryside.
[36] The separation of Gorée and the anticipated electoral redistricting had persuaded the civil administration to dissolve the municipal council and to replace it during the electoral period with a bipartisan municipal commission.
[37] Particularly in their activity as electoral agents.
[38] In a general way, these goals showed a much more definite "nationalist" potential.

[p. 126]

665
369
699
633

665 elements that have been urbanized the
●369 longest, the percentage of party memberships has been as high among women as among men. This was a peculiar aspect of the Dakar situation, not found, for instance, at Thiès (where the percentage of memberships among women, depending upon the ethnic group, was from one-half to one-tenth that among men). At Dakar the women's branches on occasion could mobilize large crowds, adorned in party colors. Study of about 30 of these individual cases suggested that the conscious essence of political attachment consisted almost entirely of the relation with the leader.

665 The formalization noted above can be
578 studied from various points of view. The fundamental bipartition of political life in a way was responsible for the indirect expression of intragroup and intergroup divisions and rivalries whose nature was other than political. This explains why the line of separation between the two political blocs did not have the same significance to all sectors of the population. In specific situations it assumed many meanings. For example, one could find: (1) hostility between the Lebou-Wolof grouping and the rest of the population (which resembled, without exactly cor-
[563] responding to, the fundamental division noted above); (2) hostility, more or less muted, between Wolof and Lebou; and (3) hostilities within each of the two groups, in proportion to diversities of origin, status, etc.

This accounts for the relative flexibility prevailing in the composition of the clienteles that made up the parties.[39] Since the clienteles represented varied levels, however, they introduced new divisions, or revived and solidified old hostilities.

665 (1) A fundamental problem arises from the interactions between the modern political system and what remains of the traditional or semi-traditional sys-
[P.13A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 tems. At Dakar, the powers of the "*sé-*
[633] *rigne*" and of the dignitaries of the former "Lebou Republic" were continued, although they gradually lost their importance.[40] The parties were careful to keep these leading figures among their clientele. As a result there were some rather complex manipulations concerning nominations and successions. A nomination accepted by one party was more or less openly contested by the other. Hence the relatively frequent bifurcation of power: opposing the dignitary who had received official recognition was another who maintained himself as pretender, with the support of the party that had backed his candidacy. Such events stood
[667] out even more sharply among ward leaders, who depended most directly upon the party that controlled the city government. Their support was more or less confined to the voters of this party. Hence certain wards had clandestine ward leaders, around whom the members of the opposition party could gather. Of course, such phenomena have accelerated the deterioration of these institutions.

793/665 (2) In the religious field, control over chiefs of the great Moslem brotherhoods similarly has been at stake in intense struggles between the parties. This was particularly true of the main brotherhood in Senegal, that of the Tidjanes.
● [369] This problem has been centered outside Dakar and the other coastal cities, but has had important repercussions in these cities. The rivalries that apparently have always surrounded the choice of the caliph of the Tidjanes were intensified and acquired a greater impact, in proportion as the fundamental hostility of the parties was openly associated with them. Violent incidents involving politi-
[788] cal enemies occurred even on pilgrimages to Tivaouane, where the caliph resides; they contributed to the prolongation of conflicts within the caliph's family. Well-meaning interference by re-
[P. 13 B]

665 spected figures, with the aim of keeping
[793] such matters on a purely religious plane, has had little success. The Tidjane chieftans have been too enmeshed in politics to listen.

527 (3) A last example involves recreational activities organized at the end of
665 the year around the exhibition of the
578 "lanterns."[41] These activities provided a basis for the formation of temporary groupings founded on ethnic background, neighborhood, occupation, etc. Such groupings undertook the making of a "lantern," and exhibited it to neighbors, relatives and others, eventually by forming a parade. An element of competition entered; the most noteworthy "lanterns" won rather imposing gifts and a brief prestige for the groupings that exhibited them. The parties seized on this competitive aspect. Party sections themselves created "lantern" groupings. With access to considerable material means and a large number of workers, they made "lanterns" that were veritable carnival floats, huge and very elaborate. Their exhibition brought together in a procession the typical rabble of large political demonstrations. At the same time it aroused friction between hostile parties.[42] They had taken over, almost entirely at their expense, demonstrations whose character they had utterly changed. This is a typical example of the way in which disparate activities have been infused by the two-party rivalry.

● 369 This process also has another side: the
665 parties have seen a decline in their opportunities for expressing political drives. In the old cities, they experienced relative stagnation for some years, while social changes accelerated and intensified. Elements just becoming aware of the world
[P. 14A]

369 665 political situation remained aloof from party activity, unless they joined the marginal parties. This was a prime discovery from general investigations at Dakar and St. Louis. Comparison of the principal socio-occupational categories that had been used as a basis for classifying the population under study provided informative data for this topic. The following categories showed a percentage of political party membership higher than that of the average of respondents: farmers and fishermen; unskilled laborers and domestic workers; merchants. By contrast, the percentage of membership was lower among semi-skilled workers, higher-ranking office-workers and government employees, and professional people. It is significant that trained workers and the intellectual elements most often kept apart from the existing political system. Such was the situation at Dakar. That at St. Louis was little different, or so it appeared from an incomplete analysis of an inquiry carried out among a sampling of the population in the island wards.

[463]

By contrast, the inquiry carried out at Thiès, whose traits are quite unlike those of the "old cities," provided very different results. For all the men, the percentage of membership was smaller than that at Dakar—40 per cent.[43] The following categories were below that figure: farmers, merchants, skilled workers, lower-ranking office-workers, and government employees. On the other hand, unskilled and semi-skilled workers, and higher-ranking office-workers and government employees, were higher.[44] Here the greatest degree of party membership corresponded to the most active categories; Thiès does not have the political traditions of the old cities, and the formalization found in them was much less

[463]

[P. 14B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[41] At first these were merely decorated lanterns. The custom* certainly has a European origin; it is typical of the "old cities" of Senegal.

[42] In 1954 the parades of "lanterns" were prohibited by administrative edict.

[43] The results at Dakar and at Thiès cannot be compared in detail. However, the informative value of these general results could, in each case, be verified at other stages in the research.

[44] It should be noted that in the case of Thiès the category of unskilled workers was much closer to that of semi-skilled workers. The unskilled workers, largely employed by the railroad, comprise a more stable group than at Dakar.

* [i.e, an exhibition of "lanterns" at the end of the year accompanied by recreational activities — See category 1/6, P. 14 A -- Analyst]

[P. 14C]

6665
3669
[525]
[1111]
[463]
[578]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 665 striking. The data from Thiès enable one to approach in a much more meaningful way the problem of differentiating between the two large Senegalese parties in terms of their socio-occupational composition. Adherence to the B.D.S. was generally predominant in all categories, but the trend toward this party was greater, on the one hand, among semi-skilled and unskilled workers, and on the other, among higher-ranking office-workers and government employees. At Dakar, where the B.D.S. was at this time in the minority, a comparable trend was apparent: the party was proportionately stronger among semi-skilled workers and intellectuals. But differentiations of this type cannot fail to be blurred in a context such as that described above.

665 668 Therefore the importance of the groups remaining on the edge of party activities was more significant. Two groups merit particular attention. These were, first, the new cadres emerging from higher education; the problems resulting from their emergence are briefly discussed below. Secondly, there was a rather large group of persons less than thirty years old who had at least a primary school education.[45] The criticisms that the latter expressed against the established political system were often very harsh (against the city *government, against the cadres of the* two parties, etc.). Some had made several attempts to gain admittance to the existing parties, or into youth groups affiliated with the parties. They found themselves in weakly-structured, short-lived groups with no specific political function, but in which political problems were approached in a generally non-conformist manner. Otherwise they devoted their energies to organized non-political groupings.

The importance of some of these non-political groupings must now be examined. To a large degree they offered, more

[P. 15A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 668 than the relatively inflexible political parties, adequate frameworks for expressing anti-colonial demands and for creating activists.

Religious Organizations

665 668 793 As distinct from many other parts of Sub-Sahara Africa, organizations of a religious character play only a very limited part here. We have already seen how the "traditional" political parties entered into the activities of some religious groups and attempted to make them recruiting bases for their clientele. The more limited movements alone provided certain means, chiefly indirect, for expressing extremist political demands. This was the case, for example, of a grouping founded by Moslem students at Dakar. However, they received very little support.[46]

Cultural Associations and Youth Movements

668 575 Cultural associations and youth movements have had a more important role in this area. Some of them have contributed to the formation of strong political cadres. In general, the cultural associations have had a rather precarious existence; their activities in some cases have ceased. Their efforts to win the support of the masses by undertaking an educational role — for instance, by means of the theater — have often been disappointing. Finally, they often have had a ambiguous nature. Thus, in a city such [369] as Dakar, founded by highly "assimilated" elements, they have experienced some difficulty in contributing to the development of modernized African culture. But they are not devoid of concern for political organization in a very general sense, removed from party orientation. This was shown with regard to three of the

[P. 15 B]

668 most vigorous associations, by an investi-
575 gation of the topics discussed by the study groups that they created, and of the content of the discussion.[47] By considering such questions as teaching and the language for teaching, the organization of local communities, economic development, interracial marriages, etc., their study of the political problems resulting from the colonial situation had wide influence.

As for the Youth Council of Senegal,
[369] which comprised the majority of youth associations and was organized primarily in the cities, the orientation of its activity was even clearer. By the nature of its conflicts with the civil administration, by the content of its demands in behalf of youth, by the topics related to the future of youth whose study it was undertaking, it disclosed a "nationalist" potential of some vigor.

It is essential to note the possible role of associations founded on ethnic or territorial bases, in particular those inspired by youths. Centers for contact with territories other than Senegal, they spread
[665] the foreign political influence of the parties predominating within them. This seemed to be the case, for instance, of the grouping of Senegalese youths with relation to the R.D.A. However, these associations were never directly linked with a given partisan organization. The political role that they might temporarily play was very flexible and therefore somewhat indeterminate.

Labor Unions

467 Labor unions should receive especial attention. The union movement in French West Africa is numerically one of the most important, and among the most active, in all of sub-Sahara Africa.
[665] Like the political parties, it took form only in the immediate post-war period.
[P. 16A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

467 In 1954 it had a membership about 100,-
000, or a little less than one-third of all
wage-earners. The unions have reached
[369] their greatest development in Senegal,
especially in the large cities. In 1954
this territory contained more than half
the union members in French West
Africa, more than a third of all Sene-
galese wage-earners. Dakar has a central
role in this field. It is the headquarters
for the largest unions, which were once
affiiliated with French federations but
are now autonomous. Dakar also pos-
sesses a very active "Labor Exchange."
By itself it contains more than two-fifths
of the union members in Senegal.

467 To some extent the significance of
668 the unions is more than occupational
[667] and economic. The degree to which they
[665] complete the political machinery of the
city is suggested by a comparison of the
percentages of party memberships with
the percentages of union memberships.
Of 1,200 persons interrogated during the
Dakar survey noted above, about one-
half (52 per cent) stated they were
union members. The potential ambiguity
of such statements was suggested above
in connection with political parties.[48]
However, an analysis of the respondents
by socio-occupational categories gave
meaningful results. The average rate of
union membership was surpassed by
lower-ranking office-workers and govern-
ment employees, higher-ranking office-
workers and government employees, and
professional people; it was equalled by
semi-skilled workers. With the exception
[665] of the first, these are precisely the cate-
gories whose rates of party membership
were lowest. On the other hand, partici-
pation in union activity was distinctly
more important among the categories
comprising the intellectual elements than

[P. 16 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

467 focussing on some of their asserted poli-
668 cies, revealed that the union struggle was regarded as directed essentially against the government. This must be interpreted not only with regard to the general traits of the colonial system but also in relation to the commanding role that the government played in labor. It was first of all the principal employer: in a city
[369] such as Dakar, a little more than a third of the wage-earners were dependent upon it. It was responsible for setting the
[465] minimum wage, and it has happened that owing to budgetary considerations and general policy it established a lower figure than non-governmental employers might have adopted. Finally, during the period
[466] in question, a central problem was that of enforcing the Code of Overseas Labor, enacted by Parliament in 1952. The civil administration was responsible for its enforcement, and the strikes of 1953 were
[468] designed to bring pressure on the administration so as to obtain a "fair enforcement" of its provisions. In the interviews mentioned above, conflicts with employers were scarcely mentioned as such. Employers were identified with the civil administration; the terms "civil administration" and "colonialism" seemed almost interchangeable. The adversary of the unions being essentially the civil administration — and a "colonial civil administration" — their action inevitably assumed political significance, broadly defined.[40]

467 (2) In the field of union activities
668 the hostility between the European com-
563 ponent and the African component of the urban population showed itself most vividly. This stemmed not merely from the fact that the civil administration and the employers represented the power of the "whites." It was also noteworthy that European workers, employees, and
[468] officials almost invariably formed separate unions, with goals sharply opposed to

[P. 17B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

467 both in France and in other countries.
668 Participation in international congresses put them in contact with the ideological currents of the world. A study of the union press was very revealing in this regard.

[665] To the masses, unions proposed goals that were, in the period under consideration, far different from those of the political parties. Unions were in many ways more systematic and more vigorous. They were much less apt to make
[563] differentiations along ethnic, religious, or other lines. The unity of action that they practiced banned their assimilating such hostilities and conflicts, whose meaning was foreign to them. These hostilities yielded before the fundamental hostility brought out by union action. The near-unanimity with which the directives of the union have been followed is very
[571] significant. For the elites, on the other hand, unions offered, in an era in which the forms and matrices of customary political expression appeared too narrow, a wider and more adequate field of action. Unionism supplied the most accessible agencies for sharing in power of the modern sort. The intellectual elites furnished
[571] the substance of the union framework and played a dominant role on their executive committees.[52] Located at the very center of situations of tension and conflict, they found in union activities the most effective way of asserting modern views and of surmounting the limits barring their advancement in the political and occupational fields.

Developments Since 1956

668 Such were the chief aspects, in a period
● 369 of transition, of the political life of the large Senegalese urban centers. In the subsequent four years, great changes have occurred. Senegalese political individuality — considerably modified by that of the "old cities" — has remained clear, but it has in great part shifted to
[P. 18 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

other fields.

668 In the "old cities," changes have taken
●369 place that were already evident when the investigations noted above were being conducted. The importance of these facts must be emphasized:

(1) The separation between the cities and the countryside, and more particularly between the old cities and the rest of the territory, is becoming less sharp. This fact has already been pointed out in connection with recent demographic developments and the growth of the B.D.S. There are other indications. The
571 intellectual elites have more diversified
668 origins; though the oldest nuclei of urban
369 population remain important in their composition, they are steadily decreasing in size. The bonds among the different sections of the territory are tightening. On the other hand, the old elites are becoming active outside city boundaries, and give a place in their considerations to the problems of rural modernization and evolution. Certain projects established by the youth associations and the unions have contributed to this orientation.

(2) These facts are connected with a shift in generations that has extensive effects. The attitude of youthful elites has been different; they feel themselves competent to assume broader responsibilities.[53] At the same time they are diverging more or less impetuously from the paths of "assimilation," and are striving to rediscover and revive specifically African values. An effort to prove themselves individually by integrating themselves into the existing system is being succeeded by an effort to prove themselves as representatives and guides for a host that must be freed from this system. This is a trend toward nationalism, in the widest sense of the term.

668 (3) In the coastal cities, the grow-
369 ing strength of racial tensions since the
563 last war cannot fail to encourage such a
[P. 19 A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 change. The vast increase in the num-
369 ber of Europeans, their greater occupa-
[563] tional diversification, the much stronger reaction to the facts of discrimination, and multiplication of competitive situations — occupational or otherwise — are the most obvious phases of this major phenomenon.[54]

As these factors have come into full operation, a new phase of political life has opened. These are its principal traits:

668 (1) From 1956 on, in unions and in
665 politics, secessions from the original
[467] French bodies — confederations or parties — have multiplied. Previous remarks indicated the development of this process among unions. After some delay it affected the S.F.I.O. itself, which was transformed, not without difficulties, into the African Socialist Movement. The assimilationist tradition declined, or at least was no longer proclaimed openly. After the parties became autonomous, the distinction between direct and indirect forms of political expression began to disappear. Extremist demands of a nationalistic character found expression within the parties, and worked effectively there after 1957 (at the time when the new "organic law" authorized the first Senegalese government).

(2) To a certain degree, the very old Senegalese political tradition once more became a driving force. At the same time the marginal elements, whose existence was particularly marked among in-
[571] tellectuals, entered into real politics, chiefly within the framework of the B.D.S. They comprised the left wing of the new Senegalese Populist Bloc (B.P.S.), which stemmed from the B.D.S., and shared in the creation of the African Convention, which is striving to extend outside Senegal the strictly autonomous orientations of the B.D.S. They tried to organize the B.D.S. as a

[p. 198]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[53] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Evolution des élites sénégalaises," *Bull. intl. des Sci. soc.*, VIII (#4, '56).
[54] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Le groupement européen de Dakar," *Cabiers intl. de Soc.*, XIX, 1955.

[P.19C]

369
968
511
563

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 mass-party, but in patterns very different
665 from those prevailing in the "old cities." Finally, their influence has been decisive in attempts to regroup the Senegalese parties, "disregarding personal and doctrinal differences." It has been a question of wiping out the fundamental hostility that typified post-war Senegalese political life, which — as we have seen — had more than a purely political significance. This effort led, not without difficulties, to the creation of the African Regroupment Party (P.R.A.). The former rivalries were still evident, though in a diminished and less forceful manner, during 1958-1959. The youthful elements of the B.P.S. at first helped provide the latter with leadership of the other territorial parties. It was they who, at the Congress of Cotonou, introduced the first outspoken assertion by the P.R.A. in favor of independence.[55]

(3) However, the influence of the
[369] political tradition of the old cities has not been entirely discarded. Added to that of the conservative religious leaders, it helps account for a return to a moderate stand on the part of Senegal. The campaign for the referendum of 1958 showed

[P. 20 A]

/156 cont./

36 leaves the principal streets, the landmarks disappear, /157/ all the parcels resemble one another, crossroads at angles succeed crossroads, wooden structures are lined up one after the other, different and yet similar. The contrast is therefore great between Pikine and the so-called irregular quarters of Dakar, Wakhinane or Baye Gayndé. One is easily lost in both cases; in the second, it is because of the disordered jumble of lanes that wind in every direction, whereas in the first it is because of the geometrical regularity of the streets and the almost perfect alignment of enclosures and walls, which finally eliminate all originality and every distinctive sign. It is impossible, on the other hand, to compare Pikine with the Médina or the new quarters. In the latter, the streets are paved, sometimes lighted, electricity is common in the windows of the houses, and the buildings of durable material far outweigh the wooden huts. In the former, on the contrary, only the broad axes are tarred, while elsewhere sand is king, and although here and there one finds some durable buildings outside the two districts, the great majority of the huts are of wood, sometimes of straw. Village, shantytown, or city? One does not know how to answer this question. Moreover, another contrast, to which reference has already been made, complicates it: the difference which distinguishes the two districts of the ICOTAF and the Pépinière, on the one hand, from the other quarters of Pikine on the other. The former are actually comparable to Ouagouniaye or Bopp, and therefore this duality of habitat, and consequently of living conditions, leads to a modification of the initial question: Is Pikine not made up of a city and a village? Is not the unity of the Pikine agglomeration merely artificial?

175 One is more inclined to believe this if one considers
369 the origin and history of the district. Before 1952 Pikine did
423 not exist, and instead the bush stretched out, with monkeys, jackals, etc. Only this bush belonged to the state, and it
[166] was on these government lands that it was decided to relocate the inhabitants of the irregular quarters who had to be expelled from Dakar, in order to realize the planned works of urbanization.

/157 cont./

175 urbanization. An initial slice was portioned out, and a
369 parcel was allocated to the head of each family that was
[423] expelled. Ownership granted an uncertain title, but it could become definite if the occupant improved his parcel by building a durable dwelling on it. At first the authorities hardly believed in the existence of Pikine; there was no easy communication with Dakar, since the auto road did not yet exist, there was no connection by express bus, no stores, etc. It was believed that the people expelled would return to occupy other lands on the outskirts of Dakar. Contrary to all expectation, /158/ Pikine lived, prospered, and grew by the same process that had given it birth, to the point that today
[435] the parcel which originally had no value costs from 30,000 to 40,000 francs. On the other hand, the dwellings that the Office de l'Habitat has now built in the districts are
[426] sold on credit to those who have the desire and the means to obtain them.

Pikine thus originated through an administrative decision; it is an agglomeration which has no tradition, no past, a city of recent date and entirely created. Moreover, this brief historical account brings to light another difference which has to do with the mode of peopling it: in the districts it is voluntary, while in the quarters it has been more or less imposed by the administration.

121 This assemblage of peculiar traits make Pikine a very interesting city from the sociological point of view. The investigation, which was conducted during the latter half of 1960, pursued a threefold goal: first, to collect a certain number of general data which would complete or confirm those which had already been gathered; then to examine to what extent the difference in housing conditions did or did not produce a perceptible difference in behavior and style of living, especially with regard to the family; finally, in correlation with the preceding problem, to study the evolution of family behavior in an urban environment and to observe the appearance of new familial structures better adapted to an urban environment than the traditional family.

/165 cont./

162 and the Others (some Manjack and Diola are an exception)
166 come from a distance and that it is therefore normal to see the men emigrate to Dakar and the women remain in the country. On the other hand, one can expect the native Wolof or Sérère women to accompany their husbands, fathers, or brothers to join them when they are settled in the city. An anomaly already pointed out exists no less in this case: Pikine appears somewhat if not altogether like a city reservoir of women, at least like a refuge for them.

/166/ II. Place of Origin and Date of Arrival

166 If one considers the history of Pikine, a preliminary question arises which does not bear on the "where-did-you-come-from" or "when-did-you-arrive?" and which is this: "why did you come to Pikine?" Indeed, let us not forget that in the beginning the Pikine population consisted only of the people who were expelled from the irregular quarters of Dakar, to whom a parcel of land was granted in compensation. The problem is to know whether in 1960 the situation had not changed. Here is the average percentage of the heads of families expelled out of the total, and within each ethnic group. /Table 3 appears here./

In the districts one does not count any family head expelled, since, upon their request, they have all been housed by the following results for the other quarters: 45% of the heads of families have been expelled, and 46% have not. This test is important because it proves that in eight years the mode of the peopling of Pikine has radically changed: from being forced to depart, it has today become voluntary. Another fact is significant for this evolution and its meaning: one finds in our sample a score of families, say 8.2%, who came directly from their former residence to Pikine without going by way of Dakar, and all except one arrived in the course of the year preceding the investigation. The village migrants come to Pikine for the same reasons that impel
• [369] them to come to Dakar, and the inhabitants of Rufisque or of Thiès do not think of leaving the city to settle in Pikine.

[Text continues on p. 16--Analyst]

/166 cont./

166 Coming to Pikine means coming to the city, and that is an
369 indication of urban maturity which shows that Pikine is tending toward a relative sociological autonomy with respect to Dakar (1). /167/ /Table 4 appears here./

1. Autonomy does not mean independence, and it is quite certain that Pikine is a result of Dakar and that without Dakar there would be no Pikine. We wish to say simply this: migration to Pikine effectively brings about insertion into an urban environment through its distance from the Dakar agglomeration, and permits a migrant to participate in the economic and social advantages of the city.

166 /168/ As for the high percentages of non-expelled among the Peul, Moors, and the other ethnic groups, it is difficult to give a reason for them. All that one can suggest as far as the Moors are concerned is that they are chiefly
[563] merchants and that they establish their shops where the population is to be found. It is therefore normal that their presence in Pikine is the result, not of compulsion born of expulsion, but of choice for commercial motives.

Except for several hundred children less than five years old, no resident was born in Pikine. Two things are interesting to know:

1) Where do they come from, what is the respective proportion of their region of origin?

2) When did they arrive in Dakar?

Here is first, for the male heads of families, a detailed table, in absolute figures, for the places of birth divided according to age classes, and then the table in percentages from the principal regions, regrouped this time into only five categories in order to make the principal tendencies more apparent. /Table 5 appears here./

/170 cont./

Table 7

166

Ethnic Group	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Age	28.1	25	28.9	25.5	28.9	25.6	27.2	27.9

The Sérère leave their homes at a younger age than the others, whereas the Toucouleur and the Moors are the oldest.

If we compare this last result with the tables of the places of origin in each age class, we may reasonably suppose that the first wave of migration toward Dakar set out from Thiès and from the Valley and in a lesser proportion from the outside. A second wave followed it, coming from Baol, and in recent years Thiès and the Valley have again recovered first place. The Diola in Pikine are too few in number to enable one to obtain valid data on the subject of their migrations.

166
●369 A final point merits examination: what does their arrival in Pikine mean for the people of Pikine? Or, what experience of the urban environment have they had before this date? For that we have divided the replies into seven categories: those who, before Pikine, lived in only one city, for example, Dakar or Rufisque, and those who have always lived in a city but have known several residences. Then we took as a criterion for the others the age of their arrival in Dakar: before 15 years, between 15 and 30, between 30 and 50, and over 50. A final category is made up of those who come directly from the bush to Pikine. Here (p. 23) are the results in percentages and by ethnic groups:

It is certain that the age at which one arrives in the city has a considerable influence on the facility of adaptation to the urban environment, and that the difference is great between the citizen who has always lived in the city and the peasant who comes there looking for work at the age of 40 or 50. The preceding table therefore permits one to understand from a certain point of view the degree of acculturation to an urban environment of the Pikine population.

/170 cont./

166 It will suffice to regroup together the first three categories --
369 since one can combine with the citizens those who arrived in the city when they were still children -- as well as the last three, and to leave the fourth intact. /171/ /Tables 8 and 9 appear here./

A third of the family heads are therefore original citizens, a little more than a third is made up of people who arrived in the city between the ages of 15 and 30, and a little less than a third arrived after the age of 30.

On the other hand, if one considers the differentiation by ethnic group, one finds that the Sérère come ahead of the
[167] Wolof, whereas the Moors rob the Toucouleur of last place.

A comparison of the respective rates of urbanization in the districts and in the quarters is very instructive: /172/ /Table 10 appears here./

The contrast between the two lines is very distinct: the proportion of citizens which is close to 60% in the districts is reduced to one-fourth in the quarters, whereas one sees the opposite pnenomenon for the category of the Pikine people who arrived in Dakar after the age of 30. Another indication is worth keeping in mind: the Toucouleur are the only ethnic group among whom this difference disappears almost completely, and among whom the peopling of the districts shows the same structure as that of the quarters.

One may sum up the preceding results in the three following remarks:

1) Two-thirds of the adult population of Pikine are country people, the majority of whom arrived in Dakar at the age of about 30, the most important period of immigration being the one after the war.

2) A clear difference distinguishes the districts from the other quarters: in the former, the mode of peopling is solely voluntary and one counts three citizens out of five family heads; in the quarters close to half of the families were originally forced to leave Dakar where they first sought lodgings, and one finds there only one citizen out of five.

[Text continues on p. 26 --Analyst]

Table 8

Have lived \ Ethnic Group	W	S	T	M	O	Av.
Only one city	6.5	26.3	4.7	7.1	3	6.6
Always in the city but in several places	27.1	10.5	10.5	14.2	25.8	21.9
Arrived in Dakar before the age of 15	2.8	5.3	7	0	4.5	3.8
Arrived in Dakar between 15 and 30	34.4	52.6	40.6	28.5	42.4	38.3
Arrived in Dakar between 30 and 50	17.8	5.3	30.2	43	18.2	20.4
Arrived in Dakar after 50 years of age	5.7	0	2.3	0	0	3.6
Arrived in Pikine directly from the village	5.7	0	4.7	7.2	6.1	5.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

10: Thoré--24 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37

/171/

166
369

Table 9. Rate of urbanization

	W	S	T	M	O	Av.
Citizens	36.4	42.1	22.2	21.3	33.3	32.3
Migrants to the city between 15 and 30 years of age	34.4	56.6	40.6	28.5	42.4	38.3
Migrants to the city after 30 years of age	29.2	5.3	37.2	50.2	24.3	29.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

/172/

166
•369

Table 10

Ethnic Group		W	S	T (1)	O	Av.
Citizens	Q.....	32.2	37.5	21.6	32.1	24.3
	D.....	94	66.7	25	40	59.5
To Dakar between 15 and 30 years of age	Q.....	30.5	62.5	40.5	39.3	39.1
	D.....	6	0	41.7	60	28.6
To Dakar after 30 years of age	Q.....	31.3	0	37.9	28.6	36.6
	D.....	0	33.3	33.3	0	11.9
Total	Q.....	100	100	100	100	100
	D.....	100	100	100	100	100

1. We have not mentioned the Moors since there is no Moorish family head in the districts.

/172 cont./

166 3) The migrations of the Toucouleur and the Moors
369 show, for each of them, their own peculiarities, which give these two ethnic groups of immigrants an unquestionable originality.

/173/

III. Work, Socio-occupational Structure

162 Three problems are interesting in this section: the
463 socio-occupational distribution properly speaking, unemploy-
128 ment, and the place of work.

The crude results of the distribution of the occupations are too scattered to show the broad outlines of the structure. It has seemed to us preferable to regroup the various professions into six large categories and to present the table of percentages of each within each ethnic group. Let us specify what each category corresponds to: that without any occupation, we have put the marabouts who do not have any activity, whether they practice full time -- which is rare --, part time, or do not have any students at all. /Table 11 appears here./

It is necessary to add the merchants to the artisans. The category "manual workers" is the largest: it includes the /174/ laborers, orderlies, chauffeurs, in short, all those who do not have an occupational qualifications. By staffs one should understand foremen as well as office employees, accountants, or typists, provided they belong to private enterprises. Under the rubric of "officials" are listed all those who are concerned with public functions from the local or general staff: policemen, government officials, or employees of the municipality. For each ethnic group the first line gives the percentages in the quarters and the second the corresponding percentages in the districts. The bottom line shows the total result, and the two preceding ones the results in the quarters and in the districts.

This table deserves a brief explanation:

162 1st. There are only very few cultivators. One would
463 think that the proximity of the Niayes of Cape Verde and
[127] the importance of truck-gardening cultivation would favor

[text continues on p. 28--Analyst]

/177 cont./

464 Proportion of persons over 50 out of the active labor
484 force 25.3%
162 Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers
in Pikine 37%
Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers
in Dakar 16%

[463] Thus, old people prefer the traditional trades, jewelers, tailors, merchants, which can be carried on locally.

If one considers the fact that the active male labor force numbers 5,530 individuals and that about 70% of this labor force goes to Dakar to work, one can estimate the number of workers whose place of employment is located in Dakar at
464 about 2,800. Another question pertaining to the frequency of
484 journeys to Dakar shows that 62% of the total labor force, that is to say, about 3,700, make the trip at least once a day. This means that not only the workers but the unemployed as well go to Dakar daily. Dakar thus has a double attraction for the workers of Pikine: as an actual place of employment, a nd as a place of possible hiring. The two principal means of
494 transportation are: for the officials, the cars called "G.G.,"
484 thanks to which they can return for lunch at noon, and for the great majority of others the express buses; only a few have
[493] personal means of transportation, mobylettes /bicycles with motors/ or vehicles. The length of the automobile trip from
484 Pikine to the Sandaga market varies from 20 minutes to more than half an hour depending on traffic difficulties. One must add to this the time required to go on foot through the sand from the concession to the bus stop. In a very general way one can say that the worker leaves his house in the morning about seven o'clock and returns to it in the evening between 6:45 and seven o'clock, provided that he does not have errands on
[369] the way. This quick analysis therefore shows the role of
[361] "bedroom community" that Pikine plays to a certain extent in relation to Dakar.

462 After the male labor force, it is necessary to say a word
463 about female work. The great majority of the women do not
162 have any occupation other than that of housework: more than two-thirds. The 32% who draw monetary income from their

S
W
SR
462
162

/178 cont./

the jobs most thrust into the modern rhythm, like the last two categories of the saleswomen in the Dakar markets, are held by Wolof of Sérère women. The rate of activity of these last two is generally higher proportionately, since almost 40% of the Wolof or Sérère women are reckoned as having an occupation outside of the household, /179/ while this proportion drops to 13% for the Toucouleur and the other ethnic groups.

S
462
162

A final point deserves to be mentioned: although one finds some women devoted to traditional occupations in the sample of the districts and even though one or two stalls are to be found there, we have, in turn, not found any woman there who works outside as saleswoman, housekeeper, or typist; the female workers of our sample are all found in the stratum of the quarters.

S
369
462

In conclusion one may say that acculturation to the urban environment by means of modern work seems for the time being to have left aside the female world. Except for the Wolof and Sérère sectors of the female population, the rest have remained untouched. It is only under the strong pressure of economic motives that the women become reconciled to going to work, and the Sérère women give proof of more initiative than the others. But when this compulsion ceases and the woman again takes up her traditional behavior: housewife, and nothing but housewife. This return to tradition may seem astonishing; it is explained by the educational level of those whom we have called "literate." It is this point that should now be studied.

[462]

IV. Educational Level and Schooling

121

If belonging to a specific ethnic group constitutes a fundamental conditioning prior to settling in a city, the educational level, on the contrary, is both a sign and a factor of acculturation. On these grounds, therefore, it also has considerable importance when it is a matter of studying the possible variations of behavior, attitudes, and opinions. The initial results have shown that these were in fact, with

Table 26. -- 2) Districts

511
362

	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-9	10 to 15	15 +	TOTAL
1										
2			2	1	2	2	1			8
3		1	3		4	4	3	5		20
4	1					1	2	4	1	9
5				1			2		1	4
6						1				1
7										
Total..... ..	1	1	5	2	6	8	8	9	2	42

/194 cont./

511 of the family. This is an extremely important phenomenon. In
592 order to understand it better, a study of the group occupying the parcel is now in order.

427 A first distinction arises regarding the mode of occupation.
511 Aside from the tenants and owners of their parcels, there are also those who are neither the one nor the other and who live
[592] gratuitously in a hut that does not belong to them, generally because of their kinship ties with the owner. Here is the table in percentages of these three categories arranged by ethnic groups. /Table 27 appears here./

62% of the occupants are thus owners, but we have seen
[369] that only 45% have been expelled from Dakar and have therefore from this fact become owners of the parcel that has been granted

/194 cont./

511 them. As a result, a certain number of family heads, around
427 17%, are owners only because they have bought their parcel.
[369] This fact therefore shows that Pikine has become a choice locality where it is worth the trouble to spend money in order to establish oneself, and thus corroborates the hypothesis set forth above, that the evolution of Pikine today attests to an indisputable degree of urban maturity.

In the districts one counts only 9% who are tenants; all the others are owners or on the way to it. But while the rent of a room in a hut located in the quarters costs an average of 500 francs, the price is much higher in the districts, and this income permits the owner, who for his part is obliged to make a monthly payment to the Office de l'Habitat hardly higher /195/ than the amount of the rent, to acquire at the end of five years a dwelling by paying, in a word, only a ridiculous amount. It is difficult to evaluate the frequency of this abusive practice; in our sample it was three out of four tenants.

351 Another point has to do with the possibility of dividing
511 the parcel into half parcels or of two and even three homes being associated on the land of a single parcel. This possibility does not exist in the districts, where, in practice, economic obligations and the arrangement of the habitat as a rule require having only a single home per parcel. In the quarter, out of 264 homes, one counts 191 of them, namely, 72%, that are alone on the land; 46, or 17%, are in groups of two; and 27, or 11%, are in groups of three.

511 The types of association are very diverse, from the
592 households which are united by a bond of kinship and which represent 22% of the cases of association, that is to say, 6% of the total, to homes living on two half-parcels rigorously separated. The most frequent case is that of two unrelated households living together, who share, if not the same hut, at least the same inner court, each having its fire and doing its cooking separately. In general, the families thus grouped contain only a limited number of members, the scantiness of a half parcel not being favorable to the installation of numerous families. Since this factor does not

/197 cont./

511 per home in the districts. This fact may be explained by two
592 other reasons: on the one hand, the disappearance of homes
602 reduced to single or divorced persons, in favor of the conjugal family; on the other hand, as part of this, an increase in the number of spouses.

2) Family solidarity is no less a patent fact in the districts than in the quarters. It works in two ways: the first consists of taking complete charge of the housing and support of brothers, nephews, or other relatives. This is shown in the figure of 38% of the families who extend beyond the framework of the conjugal family properly speaking. In this respect the inhabitants of the districts behave much the same as the others. But they make a greater effort with respect to the second form of family solidarity: sending money to relatives to all or part of their living expenses.

369 3) The betterment of living conditions and the participation to a certain degree in the material comfort that the urban environment brings with it do not necessarily mean a rupture and an overthrow of traditional social behavior. On the contrary, on two points, polygamy and family solidarity, there is a reinforcement of these behaviors, and, if one may apply this terminology to Senegal, it is not "detribalization" which should be spoken of, but "supertribalization."

/198/ Conclusion

Despite its youth, Dagoudane-Pikine is a definite city no less than Dakar, although closely dependent upon the latter. It is a city by reason of its area, the size of its population, the effort undertaken with regard to equipment, especially with regard to schools, and finally by the type of work offered to an important part of the economically active population. It is also a typical African city, with its small number of durable buildings, the considerable unemployment, the large number of young people, and above all, its gross
[444] deficiencies of public equipment. We have not spoken of its
[443] health equipment; it is still terribly inadequate, although

/198 cont./

369 a pharmacy has opened since the investigation took place,
[444] and the construction of a maternity hospital is in progress...
[743] Some large sewer works are to be undertaken.

369 571 On the other hand, it is certain that the material difference between the two habitat groups, very distinct geographically, brings about and expresses an indisputable sociological difference. The population of the districts enjoys superior conditions of comfort, it is better acculturated to the urban environment, the educational level there is higher on the average, and, on the occupational level, one finds there a large proportion of officials and minor staffs of industry and commerce. All these factors therefore contribute to accentuating a certain separation between two social layers. But at the same time that integration into modern life and work and participation in the advantages and obligations of the urban environment alienate the inhabitants of the districts from traditional conditions, and by that even from their fellow-citizens who do not have the same advantages, a reverse movement of return to tradition or of reinforcement of former behaviors is discernible. There is thus not really a rupture: the family patterns, the relationships between man and woman, change less quickly than housing conditions, and this explains why the unity of the society has not been affected, at least not yet, by the recent change, and why the style of family life remains the same in the parcels of the quarters or in the enclosed concessions of the districts. A more detailed analysis of the conflicts of these contradictory forces belongs to another work.

[8]

•369 581 The native of the large cities of Senegal, one from Saint-Louis in particular, is evolving, but his expenses for ceremonies of "pleasure," baptism and especially marriage, are evolving also, and unhappily much more rapidly. The young man looks for a way to be able to manage this vertiginous soaring of expenses; he struggles, if not to stop it, to curb it at least. Some associations have been formed in order to agree on a fixed sum which one [9] [Fig. 6 appears here] [10] is not to exceed, as for the expenses of marriage. They scarcely seem to give the anticipated result, their members not facing up to the strength of character required for the attacks, with innovation as the object. Nevertheless, one should cite the nearly general agreement of the members on the precept to "defy the tempest" and to pay no attention to the desires of their parents, parents-in-law, and spouses for having pompous nuptials. Those among them who do not feel capable of restraining their vanity by acting "poverty-stricken" avail themselves of the facilities that they have for [589] changing posts and contracting bush marriages (1). Most of them

1. For the men and women of Saint-Louis, any woman who does not live in Saint-Louis or has no ancestors in this city is from the bush and hence is of mundane breeding and an inadequate housekeeper.

remain single.

What is the origin of these high expenses? We are going to look for it in the local customs, without any expectation of finding it in former times or in the laws of the Koran, which we have merely submitted to, and which in any case we are trying to adapt to our fancy. What are the phases of marriage? What expenses does each one require? We shall give them specifically as we consider the single case of a man from Saint-Louis. Saint-Louis is the "center of good taste" for the colony and serves as the model for it. Finally, do these exaggerated expenses have

[10 cont.]

369 581 consequences with regard to celibacy and the orientation of manners and customs? This will be the last part of this too brief sketch.

What is the origin of the expenses?

It is in large part in the social organization of the Senegalese Blacks before the introduction of Islam and before the French peace.

584 Marriage then depended upon the wishes of the fathers and mothers of the spouses. The marriage portion imposed was 583 enormous, even though proportional to the social rank of the fiancé and to his wealth. It was made up of captives and animals. In return, the wife, in order to maintain her dignity in the eyes of the husband and the co-spouses, joined her new residence with often as much wealth as she had received. This per- [582] haps is the origin of the frequent unions between cousins, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew. The purpose of this for the family was to keep its wealth concentrated.

As Moslems, we have introduced the Koran and the Koranic marriage portion, different for a slave and for a free woman, with an assessment proportional to the wealth of the husband, but which is principle requires no costly pomp and which is not preoccupied with griots [singers, poets, storytellers].

With the French peace, the captives have been withdrawn from the exchanges, and the idea of replacing them with gold, money, or animals (now very vulgar property) prevails.

369 But with freedom the horizon was also widened. The 584 suitors, formerly localized and nearly always known in advance, 178 have multiplied. One originally from the Fouta is quickly transported to Sène and, without bloodshed, without abduction, can marry a girl whom many young men dream of winning. The rivalries, which not long ago were settled on the field of battle or by thrusts of daggers, have perpetuated themselves under the indifferent eyes of the Whites, but on the field of marriage and by thrusts of gold or banknotes (diamalé, rivalry for a woman).

[10 cont.]

369 533 The griots, those "vipers' tongues," have put together new songs in order to make up for the loss of the spoils of war never to be hoped for again. Without exaggeration or error, one can assert that the very high cost of the marriage expenses is due [583] only to the griots, who, using their malevolent genius, contrast in their chants the generosity of such and such a man with the parsimony of the other, spicing all the praises with references to his always legendary and generous ancestors.

369 583 To dazzle the girl and her relatives with his generosity and his wealth, to wrest from the rivals acknowledgment of their poverty, to overwhelm with goods persons of inferior castes whose praises will never cease, to enrich the prestige and the dignity of his parents-in-law -- there is the origin of the enormous expenses which must be faced by those who marry in Saint-Louis.

The phases of Marriage and their cost

369 565 This is not the place to show what role the girl plays in 582 the act which is going to decide her life. Nevertheless, let [584] us be permitted to affirm that today some freedom is permitted the girl in choosing a spouse, always with the condition that her choice must be a man of her rank. Native society is, in effect, compartmented, and the smith, the jeweler, the cobbler, the griot never becomes attached to a guer (2) woman with the

2. All the persons who do not belong to an inferior caste -- griot, cobbler, etc. Not to be confused with gor, free man, who is not a slave or a freed man.

permission of his parents. Conversely, the guer must remain in his domain, and the custom which formerly authorized the [631] chiefs to contract marriages with caste women, always under the pretense of conquest in battle, is tending to disappear.

[10 cont.]

•369 584 So some young persons of the same rank are going to marry. Communication is maintained more or less secretly by neighbor women or more commonly by a caste girl, a friend of the future wife, until the young man is certain of success. Then he goes to make his "attack" with thrusts of banknotes; he must compel his rivals to yield to him. The parents of the girl are not supposed to know about the thousands of francs thus pledged, and the cost is not counted in the expenses of the marriage. When the rivals accept their defeat, the candidate makes his request [11] officially. Otherwise, the attack must continue until it is settled. Then the man announces his candidacy, and the real expenses for his marriage begin.

369 584 583 1. The Varugar. This is the sum that is deposited, with the approval of the parents of the two young people. It is a guarantee for the man that the girl will no longer receive any other candidate, and, for the girl, assurance of being obligatorily supported by the suitor. The amount of the varugar varies: fixed at 2,500 francs at the minimum, it easily reaches 25,000 to 30,000 francs among the "nouveaux riches" of the Black market place.

As the proverb says, however, it is a long way from the cup to the lips, and it is a long way between the varugar and the marriage. Even though the amount due first is within the reach of every purse, the actual expenses of the marriage are enormous, and the man has to set about with the utmost slowness to save what is needed. Need it be added that, faced with following fashion and dressing accordingly, the future spouses devote to that a large part of their earnings? In order to make haste, very often the young man goes on a "campaign" and returns at the end of several years (two to seven) bearing the sum required for the marriage and for the nuptials, the last two phases.

2. The N'dakutar. This is a lump sum of 1,000 francs at least (which sometimes exceeds 5,000 francs), which the suitor gives to the girl in order to be presented to her parents. Accepting the n'dakutar implies for the latter the duty of

[11 cont.]

369 584 583 dismissing all present or future suitors. Originally this was an indemnity to be shared among the unhappy rivals, or was intended as reimbursement for the advances collected by the parents of the girl without her knowledge. Some reputedly avaricious families demand it several times.

369 683 3. The Marriage Portion. Its amount does not rigorously follow the fluctuations which characterize the other expenses. It amounts to 2,500 francs and is fixed by a marabout, by converting the heads of cattle of Koranic law into French money. Religious in nature and hence escaping the whims of fashion, its importance is wholly secondary. One can delay five or six years or more before paying it. Many monogamous households get along very well, even though not a sou of the marriage portion [587] has been paid. Payment becomes obligatory, however, when the husband wishes to contract a second marriage.

4. Ngegenay (The Pillow). This is an optional expense, but one that good breeding requires. It consists of leaving under the wife's pillow a sum of money and a quantity of little gifts [585] (perfumes, sandals, bracelets, etc.) the day after the first nuptial contact. It is like a manifestation of the joy that one felt upon finding his wife to be virgin.

5. The Decoration. This is the essence of the Saint-Louis marriage. All of the expenses listed up to here are more or less private, or in any case little known, except for the marriage portion, by the neighboring quarters or the relatives far away from the city. For the Decoration, the payment is preceded by widely disseminated announcements several months in advance. It is exhibited before all the relatives of the married couple, their friends, their acquaintances, before all the persons of inferior castes, who go everywhere and who will repeat what they have seen, in brief, before the city.

Optional in the beginning, it today assumes such an obligatory character that only in Saint-Louis do the instructors dare to avoid it or to minimize its importance. Of what is the Decoration composed? Essentially of a box, a basket for effects, and a basket of small goods, but most especially what one has been able to amass that is precious and rare, and which has not

[11 cont.]
369 583 been distributed for the older children.

a) The Pani (the box). In appearance it may be ordinary or magnificent, according to the aesthetic inclinations of the sisters of the husband. Often it is an old metal box that contained tidbits. In any case it is not the appearance that interests us, but the contents, which generally are:

[301]
12 louis d'or 51;
2 gold necklaces, we say "chains";
2 pairs of gold earrings;
1 or 2 pairs of gold bracelets;
4 or 8 sautoirs, medals of gold which encircle the figure.

[435] The box is found already prepared among the jewelers. Its minimum price is 6,000 francs. Its value easily reaches 20,000 francs and more.

b) The Basket for Effects. This is an expense of recent character and of practical import. Formerly, on the day of [585] the nuptials, the husband gave his wife a bundle of banknotes as personal property accruing to her from her marriage. But the tradition that the woman should be generous made this money disappear immediately, distributed among the persons of caste who came from everywhere. I would have willingly given, if I had known it, the name of the first Saint-Louis man who replaced this packet of money with a quantity of clothing, thus putting his wife in a position to benefit from it herself. The basket actually contains articles whose number and quality vary, but which constitute a veritable trousseau no less, which may last for years. For an individual from a "great family" or a "peasant," it includes as much as:

369 583 791 435
12 robes [boubous] of crepe de Chine (of which 4 of 8 meters each are obligatory, 160 francs per meter);
12 robes of rich bazin (4 obligatory of 8 meters each at 225 francs per meter);
4 camisoles, ordinary or of Lagos fabric;
[12] 4 camisoles of crepe de Chine (extravagantly cut to a length of 4 or 5 meters);

[12 cont.]

369 583 291 435

12 silk headkerchiefs (6 obligatory, valued at 500 to 600 francs each;

12 kerchiefs with "edging" [mouchoirs de "bord"] (6 obligatory, valued at 300 to 375 francs each);

2 silk handkerchiefs;

4 Mauritanian mats, on which the objects are detailed, valued at 500 francs each, and most of all rare, which costs dearly.

369 685

c) Basket of Small Goods. This is a creation of the well-bred man of Saint-Louis, who during the 3 or 8 or 15 days that the nuptials last wishes the guests to be treated well. The young people of both sexes are supposed to crowd into the spacious rooms, suitably decorated and illuminated, and to be "overwhelmed" by the songs of the griots. The husband considers their rejoicings an imperious duty and offers them a basket generally containing several packs of cards, packages of toothpicks, perfume, razor blades, pipes, tobacco, incense, kohéal, fans, tidbits, etc.

369 585 565

d) The Gifts. These expenses are the final obligations and bear the name of "decorations of castes." As we have noted, since the first visit of the husband, the persons of caste have not officially benefited further from his generosity or from that of his wife. But custom requires that these people be gratified. It should be noted also that the guers have their men of caste who are faithful to them from father to son. In their presence and when they are equal to their task. Whatever their fortune or rank (in the Europeanized society), a guer cannot address any other persons of caste without their permission. Only one coiffeuse arranges the hair of a young girl until her marriage, and one jeweler repairs or makes her finery. The marriage is the ceremony of their dedication and the occasion of proving to them that they have not placed their confidence in vain. These persons comprise two categories: that of the woman and that of the man. Let us note at once that the latter cannot be too demanding without showing a lack of the proper attitude. They form part of the general staff of the husband, and, under penalty

[596] [302] [306]

[12 cont.]

369 of humiliation, they must, as must he, show proof of generosity.
585 How does one go about "decorating these persons"?
565 There are the griots, the jewelers, the cobblers, and also ... the captives; the husband gives 1,000 francs or more to each grouping, and his relatives a supplementary sum, always distinct from that given by the husband, of such a nature that each caste receives 10,000 or 20,000 francs or more. This sum will be divided under the direction of the caste head.

585 This ceremony concludes the marriage, because im-
369 mediately, for three streets around, there is nothing but hysteria and hubbub, with griots coming and going, as well as drivers (3).

3. We have not said anything about the expense for the food. Each morning during the whole period of the nuptials, the husband must give a sum large enough to provide food for all of his guests and those of the wife. It is obligatory for the parents of the wife to send supper to the mother of the husband on the first day. I have seen a case that merits being noted. On the occasion of a recent marriage, the parents-in-law sent from Saint-Louis to Louga a wagon of food, 25 large basins, "tolis," containing 25 foods estimated in 1939 at 4,000 francs, deducted from the meals of the mother, which were, it was said, transported by five or six carts.

Consequences of the high price of marriage on the manners and customs

369
178
584 Such expenses greatly hinder young people from marrying.
581 Most of them, if they do not wish to remain single, are obliged to leave their city to contract bush marriages, which are almost

[12 cont.]

369 always temporary marriages, so great is the attachment of the
178 Saint-Louis man for his city and for the girls of his city. Al-
[584] [redacted]tion is very unfortunate for the boys, it is less
[581] so for the girls. Although some of them are still sacrificed very
[562] young to rich old men, many wait to meet the young man of
their choice before marrying. The marriages of infant girls
have become very rare: the girls of Saint-Louis now marry at a
[582] reasonable age, at about 20, much like French girls. It is a
profound change. Convinced of being obliged to wait a long
369 time for a husband, they are acquiring an independence that
178 their mothers have not known; they go out, they go to dances
562 where they dance European dances, they dare to sit at a table
[191] in a café, they dress according to their taste, they speak French.
They go to school without constraint, which is also a revolution,
and they, like the boys, look for a salaried position, which
allows them a very broad life, like single persons, and which,
within the ho[redacted]hold, frees them from the guardianship of the
[595] husband. P[redacted]ygamy, which the modern [evoluées] women
generally refuse, is more and more rare in Saint-Louis (4).

> 4. A polygamous husband most often shuns the modern women for the sake of peace in his household, because the personal earnings of these women permit them to buy finery other than that which he periodi-
> [598] cally distributes to his spouses, and this provokes jealousy and quarrels. Recently a young female official was supposed to enter the home of a Saint-Louis official as the third or fourth wife. She opposed her parents and married according to her inclination.

Educated girls have long been judged quite harshly, but this is passing. Many of the young girls who married against the wishes of their parents have been quickly forgiven when the latter saw the good appearance of the household and the affluence

[12 cont.]

369 178 662 [511] that [13] prevailed there. This has been made obvious by the war; the modern households have suffered from economic difficulties much less than the others, because the women proved to be much more skillful in getting out of difficulties with the little that could be obtained.

369 581 [556] Will the custom of such sumptuous expenses with regard to marriage last? It is difficult to tell. It evidently greatly satisfies the pride of the man of Saint-Louis by exhibiting his wealth and his generosity. If it makes marriage difficult for young people, this is very regrettable, because the precious years of youth are lost and the children will come too late; it makes marriage the great affair of one's life, which is good, [562] and it has contributed in a very large measure to the freeing of the girls, which, except for some extravagances, is a great benefit.

Diagne Oumar Syr

Instructor at N'Dioum
(Circle of Podor)

[17]

The Village of Cambérène (Dakar)

361 175 The village of Cambérène was founded about 1885 by the gathering of tabilés [disciples] around their teacher, Li Mamou Laye Thiaw, who had set up his dwelling near the watercourse Der Gui N'Dargou to the northeast of Yoff (east of the present gardens of the Government).

731 175 622 Li Mamou died in 1909, and his brother, Seydina Issa Laye Thiaw, succeeded him at the head of the small zaouïa, which in 1914 was the victim of an epidemic of the plague.

Seydina Issa decided, as is generally done in such cases, to change the location of the little village.

361 Considering his first location unfavorable, being too near the Niaye, he decided to establish it in the open air in front of the heights of the string of littoral dunes on the very edge of the sea, which should, he thought, be healthier.

[369] Having ascertained that in Dakar an effort was made to align the houses and to put straight and wide streets between them, he resolved to order that, in establishing the new village, the center of the site was to be the mosque, which, first constructed [346] of wood and straw, was replaced in 1939 by a handsome edifice of masonry.

To the north and south of the mosque, Seydina Issa laid out two parallel avenues east to west. He placed the dwellings of his family facing the entrance of the mosque, leaving open a large space which he had reserved to the east; at right angles to the principal streets, some north-south streets were laid out, and each family put its dwellings in the form of a U opening on the principal streets.

[18] [Fig. 1. appears here.]

The arrangement was subsequently respected, and the most recent of the 28 land-grants open on a third east-west avenue.

The curious fact of this very precise outline is not noted when one arrives at Cambérène by the road, nor when one goes about on foot within the village, and even the diagram on the map on a scale of 1/50,000 does not make it stand out. Thus, it was a

[18 cont.]

361

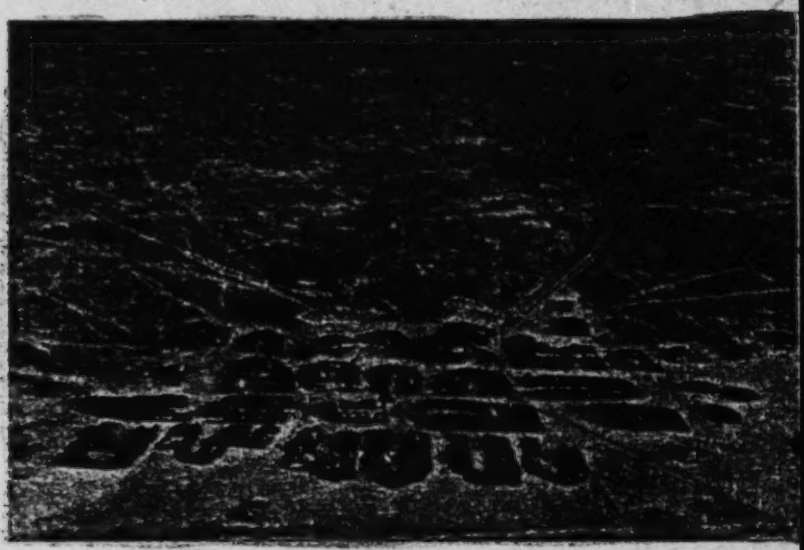


Fig. 1. Aerial view of the village of Cambérène.

surprise when the accompanying aerial photograph, taken at random during a flight at low altitude, revealed the prescribed arrangement of this village.

369 This attempt at urbanism merits notice as proof that evolution in Senegal can be circumspect and effectual and can adapt modern conceptions to local conditions.

G. J. Duchemin
(Dakar)

17: Mercier MS37 Senegal MS37
● 369

/For a study of aspects of African society in the agglomeration of Dakar: family groups and neighborhood units, see category 116, pp. 2-57./

18: Savonnet MS37 Senegal MS37

369

[For information on the quarters of Thiès see category 116, pp. 12-20; on the economic activities of Thiès see category 116, pp. 21-27.]

361 /70/ New countries present the peculiarity that their important cities are established along the coast, for example, in South America and in Australia. West Africa is no exception to this rule; Dakar, Conakry, Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Accra ... are port cities. In contrast, cities in the interior are rarer; Bamako and Bobo-Dioulasso are important centers, but represent exceptions.

Thiès in Senegal does not entirely belong to either one of these categories. Located some 50 kilometers as the crow flies from the nearest port, it benefits from this proximity only in a very imperfect way. Nor is it a city of the interior; its economic relations with the port of Dakar do not permit such an appellation.

361 369 It is of recent creation and cannot, in contrast to Saint-Louis, Rufisque or Dakar, boast of a rich historic past (African or colonial); it no longer possesses that embryo of the old Creole middle class which would have been able to check its evolution toward the rapid formation of a more modern society, more Western in its conception. It is a new city that seems by a stroke of fate to have thrust out from the African bush as a kind of crossroads where the lines of modern communication have come to promote its fortune.

361 133 Before examining the different reasons which governed its implantation on such a site, it is advisable to place the city within the Senegalese countryside that surrounds it. When the traveler, leaving Dakar, takes the road or the railway which leads him to Saint-Louis, he leaves the Atlantic coast at the village of Bargny and then crosses the plain of Cape Verde over some 60 kilometers. A few moderate undulations occasionally break the monotony of the landscape; these are the Ndias "massifs." A little before the village of Pout, the eastern horizon is obstructed by a line of elevations giving the impression of sizable and brutal relief. Very soon, however, some ten kilometers from this village, one reaches the slope of Thiès. Its altitude is very slight; it culminates at 137 meters. The road and railway track ascend /71/ the face by a steep grade that makes use of a narrow defile called "Ravin des Voleurs" /Ravine of Thieves/. One quickly

/71 cont./

133 The presence of a marl-calcareous horizon at a slight depth, the arrangement of the layers sloping toward the east, has favored the formation of a perpetual phreatic layer close to the surface and capable of supplying all the wells of the Thiès plateau.

The Thiès slope describes a concave line 40 kilometers long which begins in the north at the height of Mont-Rolland and ends abruptly in the south at the height of the village of [361] Tiao. The brow of the slope, with an average altitude of 100 meters, is cut broadly and deeply only by the "Ravin des Voleurs." At the foot of the slope there stretches a depressed, more or less swampy zone, /72/ /Fig. 1 appears here/ which borders it from north to south. Beyond Mont-Rolland, toward the northwest, accumulations of dune sand extend to the ocean (Fig. 1).

369 175 During the period of the pacification of Senegal by Faidherbe, Thiès was only a small village of unruly Sérère-None /Serer/, pillagers of caravans when the occasion presented itself. This village was established near the actual site [361] of the Faidherbe Redoubt, in a shaded and cool spot, hence the name "Diankhène" which was given to it and which means place of repose.

In 1856 Dakar was founded, and Saint-Louis developed. [648] A treaty concluded with the damel of Cayor (2) authorized the

2. Damel, Wolof word meaning sovereign.

[206] installation of a telegraph line to connect these two cities. But the execution of the work came up against the ill-will of the damel and the continual insecurity that prevailed in the region of Thiès.

After the creation of the post of Mbidjem, near Lake Tanma, the /73/ post of Thiès was built in 1863. Its [361] role was to pacify and to cover, in case of necessity, [487] the troops that operated in the region. The latter, coming from Gorée and from Dakar, took the trail /piste/ from Rufisque to Pout and from there reached the post of Thiès and Cayor by way of the "Ravin des Voleurs," the only easy and direct passage that connected Cayor with the Cape Verde Peninsula.

/73 cont./

102
131
133
491
496

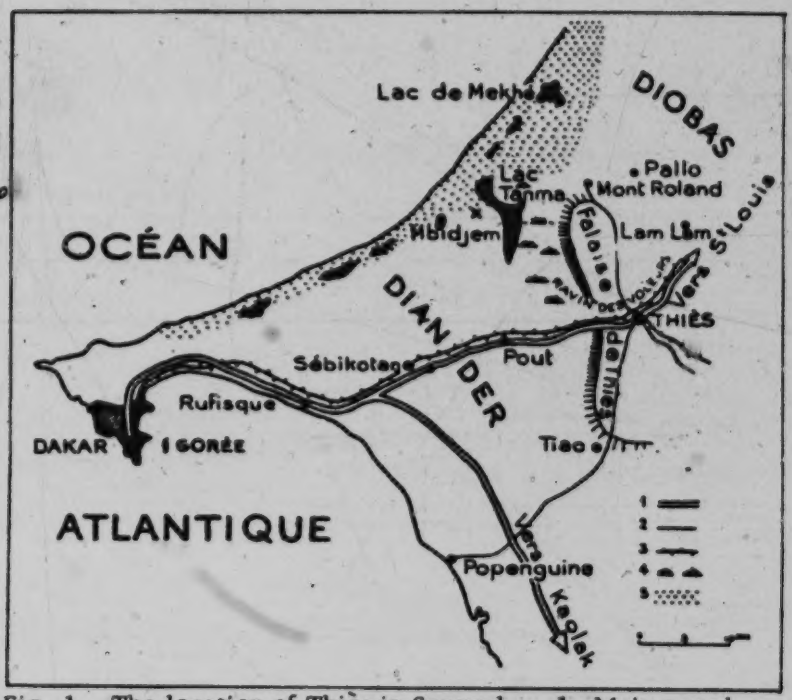


Fig. 1. The location of Thiès in Senegal. 1. Main paved road; 2. secondary road; 3. railroad; 4. swamps; 5. sand.

175 Verde Peninsula. As long ago as this epoch Thiès seems to
369 have been a strategic point and support point of primary im-
361 portance.

As early as 1880 the provinces of Diander and Diobas were pacified. The military posts lost their importance and were abandoned one after the other, for example, Nguiguis (near Tivaouane) and Mbidjem. Only the one at Thiès, because of its exceptional location, survived and developed.

175 2. The commercial escale (1880-1923).
369 The years of the decade 1880-1890 correspond to the
499 period of the development of groundnut cultivation in Senegal
244 and to the construction of the Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad.

/73 cont./

175 369 499 133 The surveys for the future course of this railway revealed that the shortest route would have to follow the Atlantic coast, but since this is bordered by dunes it would necessitate some important construction work. The passage across the slope of Thiès was also a serious obstacle, but the "Ravin des Voleurs" made access to the plateau possible; the line would thus follow the valley which cuts the brow of the hill, then the depression which follows the plateau to the east, and would pass in front of the military fort established at its extremity.

175 369 [361] The fortune of Thiès was made: as early as 1885, the date of the opening of the railroad, the merchants of Rufisque set up branches there; a plan for dividing the future city into lots was outlined. This plan, unfortunately, foresaw the development of the city only north of the line, along the trail connecting Thiès with Rufisque and Dakar. A Catholic [797] mission was established in the vicinity, and in 1893 the first civil administrator occupied the new residence built near the Faidherbe redoubt.

175 369 439 [496] [492] The groundnut policy developed successfully; 20,000 tons of groundnuts were shipped by rail from the Thiès station in 1890 (3). Commerce, however, was not established in

3. Convoys of camels competed with the railway up to 1910 and transported their cargo to the port of Rufisque. Thiès was the last stop before reaching the quays of embarkation 50 kilometers away.

[366] [441] permanent fashion in the escale: only during the period of trading (from November to May) did the European employees sent by the firms of Rufisque live in the city and buy groundnuts, millet, cotton ... at their branches; from May to November they returned to Rufisque, and most of the shops in Thiès were closed, the city seemingly dead.

/74/

175 The major part of the commerce was then concentrated
369 north of the railway; nevertheless, as early as 1895 some
[366] shops were established to the south, near the residence.
[162] In 1890 Thiès had a permanent population of 1,200
175 inhabitants. Some native quarters were established in the
369 vicinity of the commercial escale. The little village of
361 Thiès-None was shifted from the other side of the railway. A native quarter was attached to the western part of the commercial zone; it was moved toward the south after the plague of 1911 and took the name of Randoulème (a word meaning in Wolof: remove yourself). Takhikao (storied house in Wolof), established originally near the first storied house belonging to Maurel and Prom, was ultimately pushed back along the route to Saint-Louis (Fig. 2).

175 Little by little, while the military function fell asleep,
369 the development of commerce brought stable economic
[366] activity to the city. Until 1914 the city grew very little,
[162] and its population amounted to only 2,400 inhabitants at that date; from 1885 to 1914 the city gained only 1,400 souls in all.

The military function of the city recovered part of its former importance during the war of 1914. The base of Thiès
[712] became a center of military training for new recruits. The quarter of Diakhao adjoining the camp was enlarged by the arrival of the families of the military. On the other hand, commerce was threatened during this period. The French
175 personnel, which since the beginning of the century had been
369 permanently established, was summoned to the colors. In
441 order to avoid shutting up shop, the Levantines were called
563 upon. The latter had made their appearance in Senegal as early as 1895 and up to that time had played only a very secondary role in the market of the city: selling candles, matches, beads... The war of 1914 facilitated their entry into the lucrative activity of trade.

/74 cont./

369 3. The establishment of industries (1923-1945).

498 The event which gave a decisive impulsion to the
[175] commercial escale and which brought Thiès to the rank of a city was without question the establishment of the railroad repair shops in 1923. As early as 1907 the first work had been undertaken to connect Thiès to Bamako directly by rail; difficulties of all kinds and then the war impeded it. In 1923 only the junction of the two sections had been made at Kidira on the Falémé. There was some concern to have the repair shops of the Thiès-Niger established in the center nearest the coast. Thiès, head of the line, was chosen as
[162] the center. In a few years the city grew by 10,000 souls, going from 3,000 inhabitants in 1921 to 13,000 in 1929.

369 The opening of the railroad yards not only brought about
441 the arrival of many workers and their families, but at the same /75/ /Fig. 2 appears here/ time gave a strong impulsion to commerce. The regular injection of credits by this new industry brought about a renewal of commercial activity which showed in the expansion of the firms already established and the creation of new stores. The Africans, who up
[472] to that time worked solely for the profit of firms under European management and who had been kept out of the re-
[563] tail business, opened small shops for their own profit (4).

[177] 4. It is the military, it seems, who brought back from France this idea of establishing for themselves small grocery stores copied from those encountered in the villages of the mother country.

The latter, appealing to an essentially native clientele, multiplied as soon as the economic scope of the city increased. At the same time the number of artisans increased.

[563] After the war, the Levantines, who had been the only ones able to carry on commerce in complete tranquility for four years, set up businesses for themselves. Their experience

/75 cont./

102
361
491
496

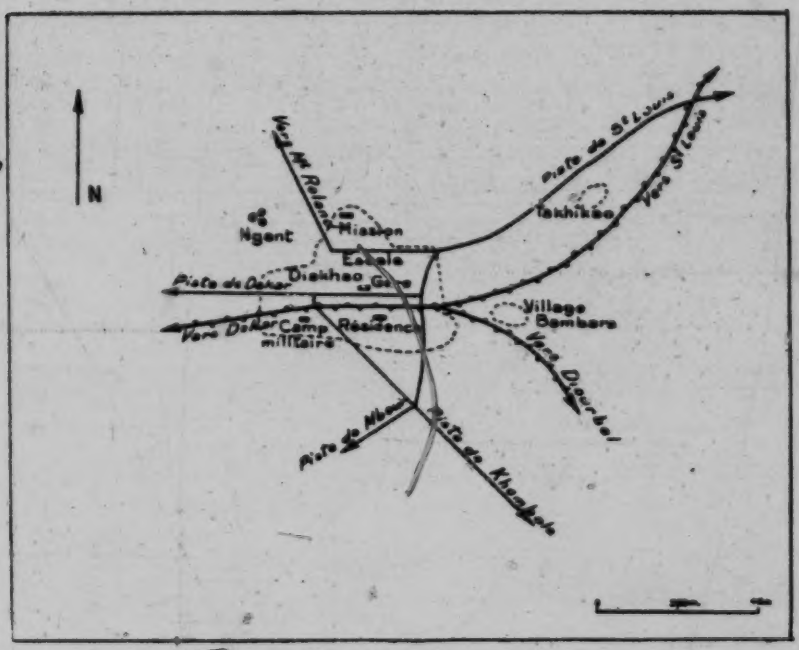


Fig. 2. Thiès in 1910.

369 acquired during the period of hostilities, their knowledge of the
441 language, and their great aptitude for adapting themselves to
563 the customs of the country and for living under very curtailed conditions /76/ mace these newcomers serious competitors whom French commerce tried, but in vain, to eliminate. All the concessions of the northern escale were now occupied (5); the

5. There was no question of extending the first lots farther to the north; the concession ceded to the Mission preverted such an extension.

newcomers -- chiefly Syrians -- set up their factorerie (6) in the

[443]

6. Factorerie: shop where everything is sold and where at the same time

/76 cont./

369 441 563 443

local products (groundnuts, millet . . .) are bought or bartered for.

still almost empty quarter of the residence.

369 433 458 Already the economic equilibrium of the city was no longer essentially based on the commerce of trade, subject to price fluctuations, but also on the budding industry which assured it a certain stability. It is true that the latter, barely acquired, was put to a harsh test during the world crisis from 1930 to 1934. In the course of this difficult period the price of the groundnut slumped. The old commercial firms which depended solely on the trading were no longer able to meet their payments and liquidate their stock: Société Française du Sénégal, the firms Lacombe, Latrille... The sounder establishments were themselves obliged to close their city branches temporarily, for example, Peyrissac, Mautel Frères. Nevertheless one did not see here a complete slump in commerce with spectacular failures such as occurred in Dakar, but rather commercial liquidations, sales of stocks that were repurchased by Levantines and wholesale companies.

[471] [563] The effects of the crisis, which ended in 1934, resulted in a redistribution of commercial ownership, a readaptation of commerce to the new requirements, along with the definitive establishment of the Levantines.

369 498 433 At this date the fusion of the two railroad companies, the Dakar--Saint-Louis and Thiès-Niger, stimulated an expansion of the industrial quarter by regrouping at Thiès the workshops originally installed at Dakar for the Dakar--Saint-Louis railway.

369 [162] [511] [361] On the eve of the Second World War the city reached the figure of 22,000 inhabitants, 1,200 of them Europeans. The almost complete disappearance of epidemics, the better food supply, the construction of comfortable houses (Ballabey district created as early as 1925 for the railway workers, villas for officers) permit metropolitan families to settle in a permanent fashion. In a parallel manner, the native

/76 cont./

369 quarters spread out toward the southwest in the vicinity of
361 the workshops; "Derrière la voie ferrée /Behind the Railroad/" and "Bambara" developed on the outskirts of "Randoulène."

4. Thiès, industrial and strategic city (after 1945).

369 The Second World War temporarily slowed down the
712 economic activity of the city. As in 1914, one saw a /77/ very earnest renewal of the military function: an autonomous motorized detachment (D. M. A.) was established in the old military camp which was considerably enlarged; an air base created a little before 1940 doubled the one of Ouakam installed at the gates of Dakar and now inadequate.

The experience of the last war had demonstrated the possible vulnerability of Dakar. Strategy demanded the formation of a strong base in the rear areas of the capital of French West Africa to support it if the need arose. The location and the proximity of Thiès met these requirements. In order to give maximum effectiveness to this enterprise, the means of communication between the two cities had to be improved, the military camps reorganized and modernized.
[491] A strong and wide road was built between these two cities. Its course was different from that of the old trail; it entered Thiès not from the west but from the south. The military camp covered several dozen hectares, the installations of the air base were improved and enlarged, and the annexes permitted the permanent establishment of officers and troops (Fig. 4).

369 From 1947 to 1952 intense activity prevailed in the
361 city. The entire district, except the old escale, formed a veritable workshop where vast avenues cut across the native quarters, where plazas were created, where zones of green were distributed. In the industrial precinct of the Dakar-
[498] Niger, new workshops intended for the repair of Diesel tractors and the construction of passenger coaches were installed. New villas along more modern lines for officials and railway workers rose almost everywhere in the city. The old escale, paralyzed within too narrow limits, was aroused

/77 cont./

369 and attempted as far as possible to renovate the lines of its
361 architecture and to offer to its clientele pleasant salesrooms with tastefully arranged windows and displays.

The native quarters for their part were enlarged and improved, penetrating deeply into the neighboring bush. The quarters of "Randoulène-Sud" /South Randoulene/, of "Grand Thiès" /Greater Thiès/, and of "Médina" were new creations. Diakhao and Takhikao develop. Some African officials and
[342] merchants have since begun some construction of small villas in durable material that replace the traditional straw hut or the simple plank hut.

[162] The growth of the population was considerable; from 24,000 in 1945, it reached 40,000 inhabitants in 1953, 2,700 of whom were Europeans.

369 Thus, from the founding of the first military post near
433 the village of Thiès-None up to our time, the growth of Thiès has been accomplished without any shocks. It has not known the great hopes of Dakar, the depressions, the failures of Rufisque and Saint-Louis. The /78/ wars, the crises are shown in the graph of its evolution only as simple plateaus (7).

7. G. Savonnet, "Evolution démographique de la ville de Thiès /Demographic Evolution of the City of Thies/, "Notes africaines, pp. 122-124.

369 Its fortune, as we have tried to show, comes from its
361 exceptional site at the entrance of the sole path of access to
433 the plateau of Thiès, along with the relative proximity of Dakar. Through the action of these three essential functions, commercial, industrial, and military, it enjoys an economic equilibrium that seems more stable than that of the other cities of Senegal.

/82 cont./

35 heat heavily laden with the most diverse odors, they play
[517] cards or checkers. There is no question in such crowded
[524] quarters of removing all the household rubbish and used water.
[364] It is frequent in the course of walks within this zone to run into piles of refuse or to cross several ditches full of stagnant, dirty, and malodorous water. Sometimes at a bend in a street one is surprised to discover some straw huts in the middle of a spacious courtyard (Plate XI A).

361 The quarters of the south, newly divided into lots, re-
351 mind one of that of North Diakhao with its embryos of streets intersecting at a right angle, /83/ its huts arranged in a loose order inside each square and huddled in the shade of mango trees.

Each concession of Médina, in distinct geometric forms, marked off by tapades of millet stalks, is of a meticulous neatness that contrasts with the other quarters of the city.
[795] This strict order, this rigid arrangement where all imagination is banished, is a reflection of the peculiar character of the Moslem Murid sect that occupies it.

361 The Cité Pillot, finally, built for the higher operatives and the specialized workers of the Dakar-Niger, to the south of the Bamako railroad, gives the appearance of a series of buildings that resemble those of barracks. The arrangement
[342] of the new constructions is that of small houses with twin apartments.

● 369 Thus, each of the European-type quarters, like the native quarters, possesses some particular trait or even its own individuality, which seems to correspond to a definite social structure: milieu of merchants, millieu of officials, milieu of artisans, of laborers, of cultivators.

At the same time, each stage of its evolution has stamped this or that part of the city with its original imprint, which makes it possible to follow quite easily the successive periods of its expansion.

/88 cont./

871 Education has developed in a remarkable fashion; each year more than 2,000 school children attend the public and private schools. The number of young pupils also has increased steadily, but only for the past dozen years. The modern college, because of its inadequate size, refuses numerous requests for admission every year. In spite of the annual opening of new classes, it can be estimated that only one child out of three of school age attends school.

●369
563

4. The Social Structure of the City

1. The Whites.

In 1955 we are far from the heroic epoch when Thiès was considered an unhealthy place and when the mortality was very high. The arrival of the first European families at the beginning of this century could be considered an important event. It marked the possibility of permanently implanting a white colony in the escale.

The climate has been made more bearable by the many improvements in comfort that have created a propitious atmosphere for the establishment of family life.
[162] In 1953 there were almost 1,200 women out of 2,700 Whites.

369
563
573 The European population is divided into a certain number of "milieus": army, operatives of the Dakar-Niger, officials, merchants. Contact between any of these assemblages is very loose: with few exceptions the relations between individuals belonging to different groups are not very frequent; there is visiting only among people of the same background. The transfer of personnel, which is repeated every two years, has the result that the time of residence is not ordinarily long enough for a newcomer to break away from his milieu. A certain apathy and a lack of curiosity limit these human contacts with neighboring groupings.

The armed forces, and Dakar-Niger, because of the very conception of their internal organization, live in isolation. Each of them has its co-operative, its club, its

/88 cont./

369 bar, and sometimes its cinema and its swimming pool; /89/
563 they form a small city that is self-sufficient. The officers
573 of the administration by their very functions seem to have more extensive relations in the different milieus.

Among the merchants and artisans, the problem is different because of the very stability of their work and the length of their stay. In this commercial and artisan milieu one could define three very distinct "groupings": the "old ones" who have lived in Thiès for several decades; the "newcomers" from after the war; the Levantine-Moroccan grouping.

The first are not very numerous; they live in their old factorerie, which, in spite of recently added arrangements, preserves something old-fashioned about it. They are able to [191] talk to the native in his own language. Their life, while it has become more comfortable, is lived modestly; they go out little and entertain only among themselves. Every two [484] or three years they take a few months' rest in France during the season of cultivation in Senegal. As a result, their life is quite withdrawn.

The second group, made up of recent emigrants, is entirely different. It primarily contains bachelors or young married people more or less in love with adventure perhaps, but above all seeking a broader existence. They generally [427] live in one or two rooms rented from a Levantine or Moroccan. [265] Since it is difficult for them to cook at home, the restaurant [484] provides for them. In general they adopt a careless attitude, [493] are restless, and speak loudly; their first savings are intended for the purchase of a motorcycle or a small car which will enable them to escape from the city. Moreover, they are per- [546] sistent spectators at the four local cinemas, which have a new program every day.

The group of Levantines is different from the two preceding ones; their life is spent between their shop and their [484] apartment. Rare changes take them to Dakar on business. [353] Their interior is comfortable, arranged according to Oriental taste; they love vivid colors and pile up cushions. They [484] rarely go back to their country of origin; some of them have

S /89 cont./

369 not left Africa for 30 or 40 years. Others, more favored by
563 business, take a trip each year to France or western Asia.
573 Generally, the children pursue their studies in their parents'
[484] land of origin and speak French and English fluently. This
[191] new generation of Levantines, to whom one must add a few
[529] Moroccans, is becoming integrated little by little in the
[578] metropolitan milieu through the medium of sports associa-
[477] tions and hunting parties. These amicable relations will perhaps favor to a certain degree a closer relationship between these groups which are so often antagonistic on the commercial level.

/90/

2. The Africans.

S According to the census statistics gathered in 1953, the
369 ethnic composition of the city was the following: out of an
563 African population of 36,050 inhabitants, the Wolof appeared
162 as the most numerous and, with 23,624 individuals, made
W up 65.5% of the population; the Toucouleur, numbering
[162] 3,356, represent 9.3% of the total; the Bambara (Sudanese,
[369] rather) attained third place and accounted for 6.8% of the population with 2,447 individuals; the Sérère, although settled in the vicinity of Thiès, included only 1,856 persons, namely, 5.1% of the total. The Peul and the Moors, respectively 1,074 and 843 individuals, made up 3% and 2.4% of the total. The Sarakolé and the various other groups, represented, respectively, by 650 and 2,190 members, formed 1.8% and 6.1% of the population.

W These details speak eloquently of the ethnic hetero-
[162] geneity of the Thiès population. Still, it should be empha-
[369] sized that the number of true Wolof is certainly less than the
[563] statistical figure given; after a stay of some ten years spent in Thiès, the Khassonké or the Sarakolé, who will have lost almost all contact with his country of origin, who will have married a woman not of his race, who will have adopted the language, the food, the corresponding Wolof name, will speak of himself as belonging to this group.

/90 cont./

369 As one may well imagine, the most populated zones are
563 the ones located near the railroad workshops; Derrière-la-
[161] voie-ferrée, Randoulène, and Bambara have densities from 102 to 125 inhabitants per hectare (14). These quarters are

14. In French Equatorial Africa, in the quarters of Brazzaville (Poto-Poto and Bacongo), it reaches 100 inhabitants per hectare. Information taken from Documents and Statistics, Ministry of the F.O.M., No. XI, March 1954, p. 25.

at the same time the places of the most complete intermingling; almost 40% of the population is made up of elements foreign to the region of Thiès where Wolof and Sérère live.

We quote these figures, of course, in order to pose the problem of contacts between the various ethnic groups and of the relations between individuals.

369 Nevertheless, we should set apart the Moor group,
563 whose conduct clearly differs from that of its colored neigh-
573 bors. The Moors do not have any relations with the Blacks, except for purely commercial reasons. They meet only among themselves, travel only accompanied by one of their fellows. Their sobriety, their sense of thrift (often carried to excess), and their frigid calm estrange them from the often expansive temperament of the Blacks. Perhaps a certain feeling of superiority toward the population which they dominated before our arrival is the origin of this profound gap between people of identical material circumstances.

369 /91/ The Black masses seem at first estimate to form
563 a homogeneous whole. Nevertheless, among the elements which compose it there exist traditional distinctions of customary, ethnic, and religious origin, and social distinc-
[182] tions linked to recent structures: a new hierarchy in the

/91 cont./

369 industrial enterprises and in the public function. Even in a
563 professional category a certain hierarchy of a traditional
[182] order survives and is always respected. In the workshops of
[565] the Dakar-Niger, for example, the higher supervisory staffs
are made up of workers belonging to superior castes: free
[466] men, descendants of chiefs' families... Operatives coming
from families of griots or former captives, in spite of their
skill at the work and their training, would have only very
weak authority over their subordinates.

[578] The animosities between individuals belonging to
formerly hostile groups or to opposed religious sects may
sometimes reappear in the course of contacts between in-
dividuals or groups of individuals. Along the same line
[466] of thought, certain favoritism may creep into the relations
between foreman and subordinates belonging to the same
ethnic category or the same religion.

369 Within each ethnic minority scattered through the
563 city spontaneous associations spring up, led by the oldest
573 among them. These friendly groups meet periodically. They
are at the bottom of the mutual aid to the newcomer, to the
workman who lives temporarily without funds in the escale.
Each of these gatherings is at the same time the occasion for
"folkloristic" celebrations, reminding the members of the
group of their customs and their country of origin.

369 The traditions which have been able to survive by
177 being adapted to the new conditions of the society lose
563 their importance to a certain extent in contact with new
ideas and Western influence. We have already remarked
that the notion of ethnic group is rapidly obliterated when the
individual is transplanted for a long time in a city very far
from his natal village. The family ties, and above all the
[593] authority of the head of the family over each of its members,
become extremely loose in the city. We see a breaking up
of the subordination that subjected each of the members of a
family to the paternal authority. The child is no longer
compelled to adopt the trade of his father; he may choose
the work that he thinks will suit him. The young girl is
[584] rapidly becoming emancipated, and rare are the Thiès

/91 cont./

369 families in which the father imposes on the child the spouse
177 of his choice. The spread of the teaching of the Moslem and
563 Christian religions count for much in this loosening of the
[584] too confining ties of family tradition. This breaking up of
[593] ancient, too narrow social structures is not a strictly /92/
[182] urban phenomenon; it also occurs in the countryside, but with less force and with a certain delay.

369 The presence of the industrial bloc of the Dakar-Niger,
565 on the other hand, has had as an effect the formation of a
178 working class, which is a specifically urban phenomenon. Although the ancient system of castes does exist in human contacts, that of social class is little by little being substituted for it. In sum, there actually exists a superposition of the two systems, but the pre-eminence of the second is al-
[177] ready being affirmed. Through daily contacts and the rapid
[467] diffusion of social ideas coming from the West, the mass of
[474] workers is organized, it is grouped by syndicates, it has set up consumer co-operatives. Because of the great number of the members of this worker group, the workshops of the Dakar-Niger and, through repercussion, the city of Thiès itself have become the most active and the busiest centers of French West Africa. The strike that in 1948 paralyzed
[468] railroad traffic on the two lines (Dakar-Bamako and Dakar--Saint-Louis) for several months is certainly proof of the influence of a powerful and organized grouping, and a typical urban phenomenon.

369 Thus there exists in Thiès a somewhat special social
563 climate that sometimes makes the relations between Whites
578 and Blacks strained. Chiefly during these periods of social crises. But these tensions are always temporary and automatically disappear as soon as the conflict is settled.

369 A much more important problem that seems general
161 in all of the cities of Black Africa is that of the too rapid, if not excessive, swelling of the urban population. We have
[162] seen that the population of Thiès has almost doubled from 1945 (24,000 inhabitants) to 1953 (40,000 inhabitants). Dakar, Conakry, and Abidjan have grown in the same proportions.

/92 cont./

369 All of the new elements that swell the urban quarters
166 are young elements coming from the country; 32% of the
[162] population is made up of young people less than 14 years of age (15) whom the so-called facilities of the city have

15. In France this percentage is 24%, the figure estimated according to the census statistics given in the review Population, Oct.-Dec. 1954, p. 718.

attracted. The countryside is being drained of its energetic elements and the city does not have enough work to give to
[464] those who come to settle there. A class of idlers and para-
[574] sites is forming little by little, living on either the generous African hospitality or by expedients. This aspect of the social problem of the large African cities is one of the more urgent to be solved.

369 The public authorities are disturbed by this enormous
168 swelling of the urban populations, which far exceeds the actual needs. It seems that none of the methods adopted up to now for decreasing them /93/ have given appreciable results. Perhaps the efforts that are now being made to improve the conditions of rural life and promote some modernization of agricultural techniques will allow the economic capacity of the countryside to increase and will curb the rural exodus. Greater stability among the urban population would then permit the establishment of more coherent and better balanced social structures.

Georges Savonnet.

/14 cont./

442 during which commercial operations in groundnuts are authorized.
654 It is opened and closed each year by governmental decree. In
438 general it begins at the end of November or the beginning of December and closes at the end of April. The date of opening the campaign is set about two months after the beginning of the harvest, in order to avoid premature uprooting and to favor
438 the reimbursement of the seed advanced. This system never-
442 theless leads to some smuggling in the south, because the
[439] navétanes, anxious to return home, and the peasants, without any money, are tempted to sell in Gambia. At the time of the close, the transactions have been over for a long time, but this decision prevents the eventual sale /15/ of the seed distributed by the Mutuelles. In order to have the commodity brought in gradually and to avoid heavy transactions at the beginning of trade, operations are suspended from Friday to Monday. Nevertheless by the end of the month of January nearly all of the harvest has been negotiated.

366 2) The "points of trade." Since 1932 the operations of
442 selling must take place in the localities called points of trade
438 or "escales" located on the railroad or a road (Circular of 13 July 1932). These points of trade, which were 175 in number in 1935, now number more than 300. The limitation, in 1932, on the number of the points of trade was a response to the desire to moderate the rhythm of the selling and to avoid the proliferation of intermediaries. The recent creation of new escales is
[244] devoted to the conquest of new lands and is an attempt to avoid the abuses of cultivation on the lands near the former points of trade.

The accession of a locality to the rank of escale makes
[369] it legally an urban center, with the obligation of division into lots /lotissement/ and, for the merchants, permanent buildings. The campaign is a period of great animation for the escale.
442 The merchants or traders open their bank of purchase or "factory."
437 Traditionally, intermediaries, or "masters of language," conduct
[492] the producer to the factory. The groundnuts, transported by don-
[488] keys and in bags loaned by the trader, are weighed and emptied

/372/

369 [361] "Dakar is the only city, in the European (or Western) sense, in all of West Africa," wrote D. Wittlesey in 1941 (1).

[113] 1. Derwint Wittlesey, "Dakar and other Cap Verde Settlements," The Geographical Review, 1941, p. 609.

Things have changed since then; Conakry, Bamako, Abidjan, and other centers have become true cities. It is incontestable [162] that the 230,000 inhabitants counted in the census in 1955, of whom more than 30,000 were non-Africans, make Dakar the [563] most important city in all of the Black Africa of French expression. In 1957 its port had more traffic than all the other ports [505] of former French West Africa; in 1960, 8,000 vessels, with a capacity of 21,000,000 tons (2), put it among the most frequented

2. The official figures are 7,948 vessels and 20,992,111 tons.

[162] ports of Africa. But 50 years ago Dakar did not have 25,000 inhabitants. The rhythm of its growth is thus on a level with that of certain mushrooming cities in the United States of America. Dakar does not owe this extraordinarily rapid development solely to favorable natural conditions, as is often said, but also and especially to a complex interaction of historical, economic, and political factors. It is a crossroads born out of the effective integration of the African world and South America in the European economic system, an integration linked with the search for raw materials and markets, made possible and necessary by the great technical progress realized since the middle of the nineteenth century. City-crossroads, all of its vitality depends on the state of its relations.

[133] 1. Birth of Dakar. The head of the peninsula of Cape Verde, on which Dakar was established, is an assemblage of

/372 cont./

369 plateaus made up of two volcanic systems of different ages,
133 separated by a small, low plain, the whole tilting toward the east-northeast. This head of the penisula is savagely attacked by oceanic floods which create on these coasts many capes and little bays, as well as some little detached islands not very far away. It is in one of these little bays, the bay called Dakar,
361 the most extensive and the best protected, that the great modern
369 port is located, between Pointe de la Défense and Pointe de Bel-Air (Fig. 1).[1] Incontestably, this head of the peninsula makes a favorable site for a port city, a site whose equal would be sought in vain in West Africa (Fig. 2).[2]

131 /373/ But even more than the site, it is the location of
361 this forward cape of Africa that constitutes a trump of the first
369 order in the cards of Dakar. Crossed by the north parallel 14°
487 40' and located at the center of curvature of the great western bulge of the African continent, almost halfway between the 30th degree north where the desert begins and the regions of the Bénin, former slave-dealers, the peninsula occupied an interesting position in the former navigational system of the central and southern Atlantic, for both the ships coming from the north and those coming from the south. It was in fact chosen as the first place of easy reprovisioning for the sailors who had traveled for several days along a desert-like coast from south of Morocco, while, for the ships coming from the Gulf of Guinea, it was the last place for provisioning available before the Canaries. Moreover, the tip of the peninsula is the most westerly of all the headlands of the Old World. Cape Dunemore in Ireland, which is the most westerly in Europe, does not go beyond 11° west of Greenwich, whereas the peninsula of Cape Verde goes beyond 17° west, even reaching 17° 32' 16" at Cape Almadies. Dakar is thus more than 500 kilometers west of Casablanca (3); it is

[113] 3. Marcel M. Chartier, "Dakar, Port aérien /Dakar, aerial port/," in Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 1948, p. 87.

[1] [See Category 116, P. 5--Analyst]
[2] [See Category 116, P. 11--Analyst]

/373/

369 therefore one of the Old World's closest points to South America
36 (4). Dakar and Natal are about 3,000 kilometers apart.
[131]
[487]

4. Cape Roxo and the region of Freetown are closer from Cape St. Roque by 250 kilometers (cf. J. Richard Molard, in "La presqu'île du Cap-Vert /The peninsula of Cape Verde/," I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 10).
[113]

These advantages of site and location, however, should not make one forget that the tip of the peninsula of Cape Verde did not have easy access. On the one hand, the shallow depths
[133] which border it on its north front caused many shipwrecks, the
369 pillage of which in part supported the riparian populations, and,
175 on the other hand, it did not offer any security for the possible
[579] establishment of a settlement because of the very independent character of the Lébou, who were tightly organized in a geronto-theocratic republic under the authority of the "Great Serigne" (5),

5. Great Marabout.

after being freed from the bondage of the Damel (6) around 1809.

6. King of Cayor.

Thus, one should not be surprised that the actual occupation of the peninsula by France was very late. For a long time the island of Gorée better satisfied the needs of the early navigators. Discovered by the Portuguese at the same time as Cape Verde, in 1444, the island, located off the southeastern cape of the peninsula, was still uninhabited when the Hollanders appeared at Cape Verde in 1588. In 1617 the latter bought it from the chiefs of the coast "for iron and some nails" (7). This island of less than a

[113] 7. Dr. Cariou, note on Gorée in "La

369
175
[113]

/373 cont./

presqu'île du Cap-Vert,"
op. cit., p. 274

square kilometer nevertheless satisfied a double /374/ /Fig. 1 appears here / concern of the Hollanders, security and commerce: security first for the ships, which could find an excellent anchorage in the bay on the northeast of the island, immediately so appreciated that its excellence -- Goede reede, "the good roadstead" in Dutch -- served to designate the establishment under the name of Gorée (8) in distinguishing

[103]

8. Nora and Ch. Toupet,
"L'origine du nom de Gorée,"
in Notes Africaines, January 1959,
pp. 17-20, I.F.A.N., Dakar.

[113]

it from the other islands of the peninsula; and then, security for the occupants. From this point of view, the insularity would have been a great advantage for the site of Dakar. Finally, with regard to commerce, the island of Gorée, although minuscule, sufficed for barter with the natives of the coast and could well fill its role as a warehouse for products and slaves. As soon as these views were confirmed by the facts, Gorée became the object of competition among the Hollanders, French, and British, finally coming to the French. In spite of this changing of hands, the establishment of Gorée, thanks to the slave trade, /375/ prospered, and around 1845 it harbored more than 5,000 persons. The abolition of the trade, and then that of slavery, around the middle of the century dealt it a mortal blow, bringing about a crisis from which Gorée did not recover. There was indeed an attempt at adaptation to the new conditions, the Goréans trying to make the island a place for commerce with the continent, where the cultivation of the groundnut had already developed, but on this point Gorée could not rival the peninsula. The inhabitants understood it; there were those who encouraged the occupation of Dakar with the idea

[439]
[162]
[567]

/375 cont./

102
133

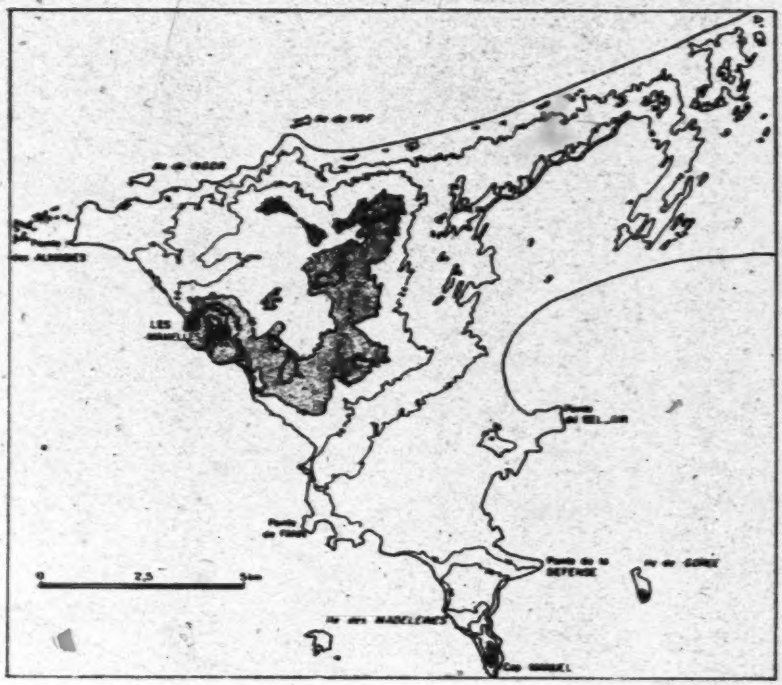


Fig. 1 The site of Dakar.

175
●369

of making it a kind of colony (Pl. XXI A). 7 ∧

But at the same time, with slavery abolished, Europe was instituting new forms of relations with the underdeveloped countries, imposing itself on the populations for the establishment of a new order less cruel than slavery and better suited for profitable improvements that were more diversified, more systematic, and more in accord with the requirements of the European societies which the technical and industrial revolution was more and more transforming. From this perspective, Dakar could become an incomparable point of support: its site was favorable for the establishment of a city; its coves could harbor a military port and a commercial port.

[712] Thus, on 25 May 1857, Dakar was officially occupied in the

7 ∧ [See category 116, P. 15--Analyst]

/375 cont./

175 name of France by the post-captain Protet, who materialized
369 this taking of possession by the construction of a protective fort,
[712] from which outfitting soon began. Work on the port[1] began in
[505] 1862, and, on 4 November 1866, the first accomplishments were inaugurated by the first passage of a packet-boat. As early
[502] as the first of April 1864, the lighthouse of the Grande-Mamelle was lighted, followed two years later, on the first of December 1866, by the two lighthouses with fixed lights at Cape Manuel and the Pointe des Almadies /Cape Almadies/. A first plan for the future city was approved by the decree of 1 July 1862, while from this time on a plan for a railroad to link Dakar and Saint-Louis agitated opinion.

Nevertheless, despite these efforts, the launching of Dakar, put under the administrative guidance of Gorée, was difficult; the city was unpopulated, the Goréans monopolizing the lands without wanting to leave their island. Moreover, Rufisque, closer to the regions where groundnuts were cultivated, was better located for commerce with the interior and, because of this, contributed to blocking the development of Dakar. But
[633] the decree of 17 June 1887 separating Dakar from Gorée marked a decisive turning point (1885) in the life of the new creation.

369 2. Dakar, metropolis before being a city. Having become an autonomous center as a result of the Conference of Berlin, at a period when the colonial rivalries between the great powers were accentuated, Dakar benefited from the effective support /376/ of a mother country determined to make it a base for its expansion in West Africa.

504 It was the port in particular that was to be the essential
369 instrument of the launching and of the power of Dakar. Its first elements constructed shortly after the occupation were clearly insufficient, and as early as 1892 it was necessary to extend the old embankment by 200 meters and to add on to it a pier of 280 meters (present Pier III). But it was especially from 1899 that
[712] the great works began. The military port, which had to serve as

1 [i.e., The Port of Dakar--Analyst]

/376 cont./

504 the support point for the whole military organization of the
369 West African coast, was constructed between 1899 and 1902.
712 Some of these accomplishments, such as the north jetty, the extension of the south jetty, and the dry dock, also concerned the commercial port, the construction of which began immediately afterwards and continued from 1903 to 1910. Two new piers were added to the first one, delimiting three docks between the south jetty and the military port, while the outfitting of the platforms was vigorously carried on (9).

[113] 9. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar", Annales de Géographie, 1936, pp. 607-671.

369 This phase of the construction of the port was accom-
648 panied by a very important act which was to serve as support for the development of Dakar: the transfer in 1902 of the office of the Government-general of West Africa from Saint-Louis to Dakar, which led to the establishment of high administrative offices in this city (Contrôle Financier, Treasury, Public Works, etc.) (10), although the Governor-general, awaiting

10. Morazé, Ch., op. cit., p. 620.

the construction of his palace, was installed at Gorée, where he remained until 1907, an event adding considerably to the accomplishments on the port and which marked the beginning of the prodigious vigor of Dakar (Fig. 3). 7/1

369 As early as 1911 the port registered a tonnage of more
[505] than four million tons; it exceeded 5.6 millions in 1913. During the course of the First World War it played a role that greatly surpassed anything that the founders could have hoped for: in 1917, a tonnage of 10.5 million tons. To be sure, the end of the war led to a sharp decrease in the arrivals and departures,
[504] but the recovery that followed the war was such that new works for the port soon became necessary. They were done between

7 [See Category 116, P.19-- Analyst]

/376 cont./

369 504

1927 and 1933 in the northern zone, where laying out a platform intended for groundnuts was undertaken with the construction of three new piers, one of which was intended for traffic in combustibles. Finally, a maritime wet-dock was installed in the southern zone (11).

11. Coursin (L.) op. cit., p. 278.

Moreover, these new works did not end the construction of the port. Outfitting and new arrangements continued up to the eve of the Second World War and were taken up again immediately afterwards, making the port the complex organ that it is today: /377/ 6,904 meters of quays, of which 2,794 have depths of 20 meters and more, 2,103 meters with depths of 8 to 9 meters, 580 meters with depths of 6.50 to 7.50 meters, and, finally, 1,427 meters reserved for small boats, the total providing quay posts for 31 ships at a time; a water surface of 210 hectares; 682,000 square meters of platforms, of which 53,940 square meters are covered; and, finally, 240,000 square meters of storage space for hydrocarbides (12). These

[113]

12. Synthèse de la situation économique de l'ex-A.O.F. durant la période 1948 à 1958, Vol. IV, p. 712. Publication of the Chambre de Commerce, d'Agriculture et d'Industrie de Dakar.

are the essential elements of the infrastructure of the port of Dakar, which has become a very effective instrument, fully valorizing a favorable location at the crossroads of the heavily traveled maritime routes. Dakar thus receives ships from practically all of the countries possessing a merchant marine; only the flags of Saudi Arabia, Iran, China, and Russia do not wave in the port of Dakar.

[439]

This great frequentation comes about first from the fact

/377 cont./

369 that Dakar is designated above all as a port d'escale, "a service
439 station," of the tropical Atlantic, provisioning the ships with
504 water and, above all, combustibles; the latter, represented in former times by coal in particular, are now almost entirely made up of hydrocarbides, the export and import traffic of which sometimes represents more than double that of merchandise: 211.1% in 1954, 233.6% in 1955, 186% in 1959.

369 But, beyond this role as a port d'escale, Dakar thrust ahead
439 as a metropolis, governing a large region. In fact it is via Dakar
487 that food products (rice, flour, sugar, etc.), cloth and thread, industrial products, etc. come in, principally destined for Senegal, Mauritania, and the Sudan, which, in return, send groundnuts, gum, hides wax, etc. to it for export. This situation is the result of struggles in the recent past between Dakar and the old mari-
[505] time or river ports which shared the light traffic of former times. The construction of the port and modern means of communication with the interior permitted Dakar to eliminate its rivals very quickly.

369 The establishment of Gorée, caught in a crisis since the
[505] abolition of slavery, despite the resistance, at first active and then passive, of its municipality (13), has been practically

[113] 13. In the work by J. Charpy (La Fondation de Dakar /The Founding of Dakar/, Larose, Paris, 1958), there is a series of documents on the various aspects of this resistance.

eliminated from the economic circuit since the accomplishment of the great work of the commercial port. Business then emigrated
[162] to the continent, while the city went to sleep, losing more and more of its population; from 3,200 inhabitants in 1872, it went to 2,068 in 1891, 1,249 in 1910, 998 in 1921, so that the com-
[633] mune was abolished and attached to Dakar in 1929, and then the entire island was classified as a historical monument in 1944.

/377 cont./

•369 The reconstitution of the municipality in 1956, a simple elec-
633 toral operation, proved /378/ /Fig. 2 appears here/ to be in-
capable of giving life to Gorée; at the beginning of 1961 it was
forced to reattach itself to Dakar, for which it is nothing more
than a tourist annex. Nevertheless, due to the crisis in housing
[362] in Dakar, it offers its old houses to workers from the victorious
great city.

369 The elimination of the other rival centers was not as easy,
but no less radical. The railroad linking Dakar and Saint-Louis,
505 finished in 1885, did not immediately bring about the decline
496 of the old Senegalese capital. On the contrary, asleep since
487 entry up the river became impossible because of the increase in
tonnage of the ships, it seems to have gained a revival of activity,
especially after the construction of the Kayes-Niger section of
the railroad at the end of the century. In fact the products des-
[439] tined for the Sudan or coming from there, which took the path
of the Senegal River, were subjected to an obligatory freight-
break there, which made Saint-Louis a quite important mart.
But the construction of the Thiès-Kayes railroad after the First
World War and the /379/development of automobile traffic had
the effect, on the one hand, of directly annexing the Sudan to
the zone of influence of Dakar, and, on the other hand, of iso-
lating Saint-Louis and the old escales /trading centers/ of the
Senegal River and accelerating their economic decline (Fig. 2).
369 Bakel, Matam, Podor, and Dagana are no more than administra-
[633] tive centers without any great economic activity. Saint-Louis,
continuing as the capital of Senegal, preserved an appearance of
vitality longer. But in 1957 Dakar robbed it of this function to
the great despair of its population, which, after a phase of vio-
lent opposition, complains today in a passive resistance that the
tokens of sympathy and the promises expressed a thousand times
in the official speeches of the state authorities do not come to
anything.

369 As for Rufisque, for a long time it had more economic
505 trump cards than Dakar. In fact, when the port had not yet been
439 constructed at Dakar, it was more advantageous to load the

/379 cont./

102
496
508
504
491
361

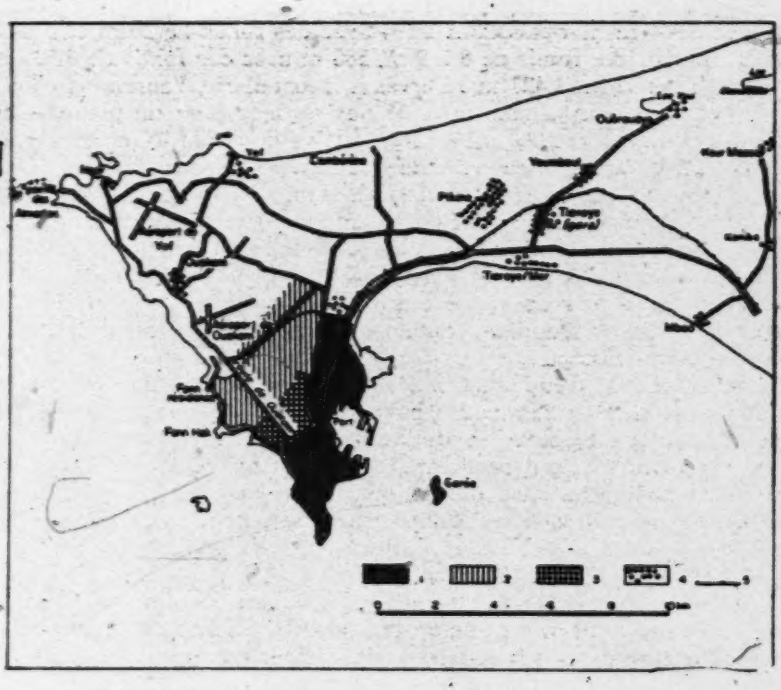


Fig. 2. The quarters of Dakar. --1. Dakar-ville and the industrial zone; 2. Greater Dakar; 3. Médina; 4. villages of the suburbs; 5. railroads.

369
505
439
[441]

groundnuts at Rufisque, nearer to the centers of production in Cayor. Therefore Rufisque soon became the groundnut capital. As early as 1862, 27 European or Gorêan merchants were established there (and 12 at Bargny, located three kilometers farther to the east). Three years later, this figure climbed to 35 (14).

14. Note 1 in Fondation de Dakar, op. cit., p. 328.

369
633

The activity at Rufisque was so great and the launching of Dakar so

/379 cont./

369 633 difficult that the commandant of Gorée, Pinet-Laprade, in a letter of 9 May 1862 (15), proposed to the governor of Senegal

15. Archives of the G. G. A. O. F. 4 B 20, 13 G 299, L 9, in Fondation de Dakar, op. cit., pp. 327-329.

that the authority of the settlement of Rufisque be abolished in order to avoid stifling Dakar. Evidently Pinet-Laprade was not followed, and the declassing of Rufisque, which nevertheless was to intervene later, was the result of a bitter struggle. As 369 soon as it was possible to draw up alongside the quay at the port 505 of Dakar, Rufisque lost the advantage of its situation, which had 504 permitted a saving, in relation to Dakar, of some 30 kilometers of land travel. Actually, this drawing up to the quay by the ships ended the slow transshipments which caused a great loss of time at Rufisque. Therefore, as early as about 1930, Rufisque [633] had been declassed; in 1933, after the construction of the groundnut platform at the port of Dakar, it did not load more than 10% of the harvest of Senegal, as against 28% at Dakar. Today no maritime loading is done at Rufisque, and the city maintains some economic activity only by grace of a new orientation tending to make it an industrial annex of Dakar.

369 Thus, the elimination of rivals has resulted in a tendency 505 for all of the activity of collecting the products of Senegal, Mauritania, and the Sudan to be concentrated at a single pole. 439 Only two ports, Kaolack and Ziguinchor, have succeeded in maintaining themselves /380/ and even developing themselves as ports of direct importation and exportation. In 1933 Kaolack exported 52% of the Senegalese harvest of groundnuts, and Ziguinchor nearly 10%, while Dakar had only 28%. Specifically, in addition to a regional exportation equal to half of the Senegalese harvest, Kaolack handled the rail shipments of a large part of the production of eastern Senegal and even of the Sudan. In the case of Ziguinchor, it handled the production of Casamance, which has no other export port. Today the conversion of the

/380 cont./

369 505 439 groundnut before exportation has given Dakar an undisputed advantage over Kaolack. In 1957 the exports of groundnut products (shelled groundnuts, oil cake, oil), which represented only about a twentieth of the total traffic of merchandise in the port of Dakar, was more than the total of the import and export traffic of Kaolack (292,000 metric tons as against 220,000 metric tons). In any case neither Kaolack nor Ziguinchor, both located on rivers which are difficult to enter because of the shifting banks of sand or mud, can be dangerous rivals in any way for Dakar, which, because of this, practically thrusts itself on all of Senegal, Mauritania, and the Sudan. On the other hand, Dakar dominates from afar the three other large maritime ports of former French West Africa, Conakry, Abidjan, and Cotonou, whose total traffic in 1957 equaled only about three-fifths of the traffic of Dakar.

369 [433] But even though the port is the basic instrument of the power of Dakar, there are other additional elements that reinforce this power.

369 509 [487] First there is the place that Dakar occupies in the sphere of aviation. Since the first direct connection with France via the Mediterranean coast of Spain, Morocco, and Mauritania (16), its role has not ceased to grow on the international plane.

16. Marcel M. Chariter, "Dakar, port aérien," op. cit., p. 84.

[508] The hydrobase of Bel-Air and the airport of Ouakam, which served the first trans-Atlantic airplanes, are outclassed today by the great airport of Yoff, which was begun in 1940. Well equipped, this airport of international class and one of the largest airports of Africa is by far the most important one in former French West Africa, accounting by itself in 1957 for a fourth of the airplanes (arrivals and departures), a third of the passengers embarking or debarking in former French West Africa, and half of the passengers in transit. For certain directions, such as South America, the passengers from all of West Africa must embark at Dakar.

/380 cont./

000 at Dakar.

369 Even more than in the sphere of aviation, however, it is
648 on the commercial and industrial plane that the other states of
former French West Africa were, before the recent political
[433] disturbances, dependent on Dakar. In fact Dakar was the seat
[453] of the banks and of the commercial associations or the branch
[441] agencies of the mother country, all of whom /Pl. XXI and XXII
appear here on unnumbered pages/ /381/exercise from Dakar,
if not always a role of direct administration, at least some co-ordination and in any case an influence that is not negligible on the branches scattered across Senegal, former French West Africa, and sometimes even across foreign territories. Thus, the C. F. A. O., the S. C. O. Z., the B. A. O., and the B. C. A., which practice their activities in practically all of Black Africa, although having their seat in Paris, are strongly established in Dakar, from where they manage a number of agencies and branches. On the other hand, the Société Maurel et Prom, which has branches in Senegal, Mauritania, the Sudan, Guinea, and Gambia, the "Commerce Africain," which has establishments in Senegal, Gambia, the Ivory Coast, and the Cameroun, and other companies have their
[439] seat in Dakar (17). Moreover it must be added that several in-

17. "Le Commerce Africain" transferred its seat from Dakar to Paris in July 1960.

dustries (oil factories, soap factories, breweries, cement factories, textile factories, shoe factories, etc.) established on the peninsula of Cape Verde send a part of their products to other territories in former French West Africa.

369 Finally, because of its former function as federal capital,
633 Dakar brought together all of the federal political and adminis-
648 trative organs, which permitted it to direct and co-ordinate all of the political, administrative, and economic life of former French West Africa.

Thus, Dakar became the leader, the undisputed metropolis, upon which there depended a regional assemblage much

[Text Continues on p. 17--Analyst]

/381 cont./

369 larger than that of Paris. In Dakar, this function as a metrop-
648 olis, which has been confirmed since the construction of the
633 commercial port, preceded and conditioned the development of the city.

369 3. The city. The commercial affairs which thus make
166 African products and products from the outside converge toward
167 the Dakar crossroads could not fail to bring with them a great
[487] number of people. First, there are the Goréans, finally resigned to their fate, who accompany or follow the commercial or administrative establishments being transferred to Dakar; then, non-Africans, administrators, technicians, merchants, etc., usually arriving from Europe by the same route as that of the imported manufactured products. But above all there are the masses who arrive by road and by rail, by these paths of a money economy which have greatly disturbed the villagers' traditional institutions and thus communicated to the people a mobility formerly unknown in the rural world. Willingly or unwillingly, the rural people of Senegal, of the Sudan, of Upper Guinea, and of the Upper Volta take to the road and rails to cast themselves into an /382/ /Fig. 3 appears here/ /383/ adventurous existence which will lead many of them to Dakar and to settle there. Finally, Africans from Guinea, the Ivory Coast, and Dahomey, students at the large educational institutions and officials who come in connection with the functions of the federal capital, also arrive by sea.

369 This human convergence, which since the last decade of
162 the century has continued to grow, has caused a vertiginous increase in the population. To be sure, for the period before 1955
[633] there were only estimations, all the less certain because the boundaries of the commune have often changed, but the official figures (18), even though they should be corrected here or

[113] 18. Synthèse de la situation économique de l'ex-A.O.F. durant la période 1948 à

/383 cont./

369 162 [113]

1958, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 35: 1910, 24,000; 1921, 32,000; 1931, 54,000; 1945, 132,000; 1955-56, 231,000.

[633] there, nevertheless give an acceptable idea of the direction of the development of the population of Dakar. The first 20 years that followed the construction of the port were characterized by a not very spectacular progression, the population merely having doubled, going from 24,900 in 1910 to 54,000 in 1931. This relative slowness of growth should undoubedly be attributed to some check due to the First World War, but it is basically explained by the then very imcomplete [496] character of the modern paths of penetration, the railroads from Thiès to Kayes and from Louga to Linguère not having been finished until after the war. By contrast, the progression has been particularly rapid in the 20 years that followed, and, in spite of the checks that would seemingly have been put into operation by the Second World War, the population has more than quadrupled between 1931 and 1955, reaching 230,000 inhabitants at the latter date (19).

[113]

19. Recensement démographique de Dakar 1955. Résultats définitifs, 1er fascicule /Demographic census of Dakar for 1955. Final Results, No. 1/. Publication of the Service de la statistique de l'ex-A.O.F., July 1958. The following figures given for the population of Dakar have been taken from this number or have been calculated from the figures that it gives.

369 563 162 This Dakar population, very diverse in its make-up, is an almost complete sampling of the ethnic groups of Senegal, to which are added elements from the other territories of former French West Africa and also some non-Africans. Thus, jostling

[Text continues on P. 20--Analyst]

/Fig. 3 Caption cont./

36
102
491
496
504
712
743

a-g. The piers. -- I. Town Hall. -- II. Chambre de Commerce. -- III. Sandaga Market (Ponty-Clemenceau crossroads). -- IV. Former Palace of Justice. -- V. General Postoffice. -- VI. Treasury. -- VII. Kermel Market. -- VIII. Military Circle. -- IX. Residence of the President of the Republic. -- X. Military Hospital. -- XI. African Hospital. -- XII. Palace of Justice. -- XIII. Camp Bornis. -- XIV. Camp Galliéni.. -- XV. Station.

●369
563
162

/383 cont./ one another in Dakar are Lébou, Ouolof /Wolof/, Toucouleur /Tukolor/, Sérère /Serer/, Sarakolé, Diola, Socé, etc., who are Senegalese, but there are also Mauritanians, Sudanese, Voltaics, Guineans, Ivorians /persons from the Ivory Coast/, Dahomeans, Cape Verdeans, Lebano-Syrians, French, etc. The Lébou, who are the original population of Dakar, today represent scarcely one-tenth of the population, exceeded in number by the Oulof, the Toucouleur (20), and even by the 30,000 non-Africans,

[113]

20. A. Diop, "L'immigration toucouleur à Dakar (enquête /investigation/ 1958-1959)," I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 1. The author, citing an investigation by the M.I.S.O.E.S., gives the figure of 31,000 Toucouleur in 1959.

among whom the French constitute a great majority of close to 23,000 persons in residence. This character of Dakar as a [166] region of call is illustrated first by the fact that only a little more than one-third of the population was born there. /384/ and then by the quite obvious inequality between the number of men and that of women. Before the war, among the Europeans, there were 65% men as against 25% women and 10% [744] children (21). Today the systematic destruction of the

21. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar," op. cit., p. 630.

162 /384 cont./
369 breeding-places of mosquitoes in the numerous swamps of the
563 peninsula having been successfully undertaken by the federal
[744] authorities, one can better appreciate the exceptionally pleas-
[192] ant climate of Dakar, subject eight months of the year to the "influences of the Canaries" (cool and brisk current, marine trade-wind from the northeast), and an equilibrium tends to be established between men, women, and children, the first nevertheless still remaining the most numerous; in 1955, 39% men against 31% women and 30% children for the total non-African population; and 35% men, 30% women, and 35% children for the non-African population in residence. Among the Africans, one can verify the same phenomenon: 36% men, 31% women, and 35% children less than 14 years of age for the total population; 34% men, 31% women, and 35% children for the population in residence. Despite this tendency toward equilibrium, the fact remains that for the whole population of Dakar, men over 14 years of age are definitely more numerous than women over 14 years of age and than children; the balance sheet gives 37% for the men as against 30% for the women and 35% for the children.

369 This situation is explained by the fact that immigration
563 to Dakar is first of all of interest to the men, for whom it carries
166 the hope of a better position, but it also represents a daring
162 enterprise on which one does not take women and children until definite opportunities for settling down present themselves. This fact is particularly clear for the non-resident population, among whom the proportion of men is very high. Thus, among the non-resident Africans, there are 57% men as against 27% women and 16% children. The proportion is even higher among non-resident foreigners: 77% men as against 12% women and 11 % children.

[464] But though settling in Dakar is almost always linked to employment for the non-African population, it is not the same for Africans. The destruction of the villagers' traditional institutions, modern transportation, the facilities for hospitality

/384 cont./

369 in the city at the home of a relative, at the home of a friend
563 or the friend or relative of a friend, or at the home of a resi-
166 dent originally from the same village or merely from the same
162 region -- all of this ultimately makes up the factors that are
464 more decisive than the salary. Because of this, while among the resident non-Africans the number of persons employed amounts to 43 % of the total and 64% of the economically active, among the resident Africans, the proportion of workers is no more than 27% of the total and 42% /385/ of the economically active. If one adds to that the salaries, on the average
369 much higher among the first than among the second, one finds
511 in Dakar some of the contrasts characteristic of West African
563 cities: on the one hand, among the non-Africans, a high standard of living which is often shown in the appearance of their quarters, and, on the other hand, the mass of the African population whose settling in the city is tied neither to a correlative augmentation of the normal opportunities for lodgings nor to a higher living standard in relation to the bush, which gives to the African city, or at least to some of its quarters, an appearance more wretched than that of the villages of the interior.

369 This situation, formerly very clear, put Dakar in the
563 normal category of West African cities, where a white city and
[361] a black city stand in contrast (22), a contrast that was the result

[113] 22. Dresh, J., "Villes d'Afrique occidentale /Cities of West Africa/," Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 1950.

of a de facto segregation imposed, not by law, but by the norms of urbanism and of hygiene, to which it was impossible for the bulk of the natives to subject themselves, and also by the high
[465] price of rent -- the non-Africans being nearly always lodged by their employers. In 1936 Charles Morazé wrote: "Formerly Europeans and natives lived mixed. Innumerable families lived

/385 cont./

369 563 in small apartments, true caravansaries contained within the European city. This promiscuity was deplorable. Europeans and natives were not in fact subject to the same epidemics; [164] yellow fever, for example, fatal for the white, is benign to the black. The danger of a mixed population was that the epidemics would spread without being stamped out in time. Finally, the system lacked style; therefore as early as 1916 [361] the creation of the native village of Médina was decided upon" (23).

23. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar," op. cit., p. 630.

There it was, in a way, the theory of the urbanism of the West African cities ! Nevertheless the problems of land were so complicated at Dakar (24) between the two world wars

[113] 24. See the work by A. Angrand, Les Lébou de la presqu'île du Cap-Vert (Essai sur leur histoire et leurs coutumes) /The Lébou of the peninsula of Cape Verde (essay on their history and their customs)/. "La Maison du Livre," Dakar.

[167] that, with the Lebano-Syrian immigration and the Crédit [452] Foncier /Mortgage-loan Society/ helping, there was created, in contact with the European city and the Médina, a collection [361] of quarters more mixed in their contents and in their appearance. Up to the end of the Second World War Dakar preserved this appearance of a threefold city. But after the war a series of new factors caused a rapid and brutal evolution in Dakar. The return to normal economic activities after the slack period following the war, the awakening and amplification of political and syndical life, the creation of the Fonds d'Investissement Economique et Social (F.I.D.E.S.), and, finally, the ever greater influx of rural people into Dakar led the federal authorities to take a series of fortunate initiatives, /386//Fig. 4 appears here/

/386/

102
491
361
363
496

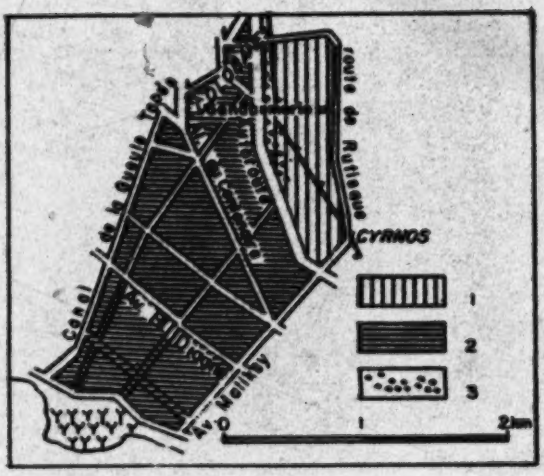


Fig. 4. Médina. -- 1. Industrial zone;
2. quarters more or less urbanized;
3. irregular quarters.

369 which progressively transformed the Dakar agglomeration.
563 There was first the creation of the S. T. A. G. D. (Service temporaire de l'aménagement du Grand-Dakar /Temporary
[361] Office for the Arrangement of Greater Dakar/) for a systematic urbanization of the city. Then there was the decision to promote a policy of lodgings for African officials, while a society for a mixed economy, the Société Immobilière du Cap-Vert (S. I. C. A. P.) /Building Society of Cape Verde/
[362] studied and made up forms for cheap dwellings for mere renting or for rent-sale. At the same time there was the law called "Lamine Gueye," which equalized upward several
[465] elements of the African and non-African wages at the time when "l'africanisation des cadres" /Africanization of the staffs/ was promoted, which led to a mixture of Africans and
[647] Europeans in the administrative lodgings and in the new quarters for officials. Finally, first the staff-law and then autonomy

/386 cont./

369 and independence have had the effect of reinforcing this mix-
563 ing the more since it sometimes brings about a pure and simple substitution of African staffs for European staffs in many of the lodgings.

Finally, although today the quarters of Dakar are still clearly distinguished by their appearance, the differentiation of their contents is less and less based on origin and tends to be a social rather than racial differentiation. Therefore, instead of the traditional division of the West African cities into "white city and black city," let us distinguish four sections in the Dakar agglomeration: /387/ Dakar-ville, the Médina, Greater Dakar, and the suburbs.

361 1. Dakar-ville. The plateau from the southeast to the
369 head of the peninsula and a part of the plain from Cape Manuel to the avenue El Hadji Malick Sy constitute what today is called Dakar-ville. The essential characteristic of this part of the Dakar agglomeration is that almost all of its buildings are permanent, except for some islands of huts. This is where practically all of the administrative offices, the large-scale
[366] commerce, the major part of the Lebano-Syrian commerce, and the great markets are found. But Dakar-ville shows very diverse aspects (Pl. XXI B) (Pl. XXIIA).

The Plateau is the best arranged part of Dakar-ville. It is there that the first nucleus of modern Dakar was located, extending around the port, from the station to the Protet Plaza and the Military Circle. Little changed, this nucleus has re-
[363] mained very much as it was at the beginning of the century;
[342] it is intersected by narrow streets, bordered by old houses in colonial style, with stores on the ground floor and lodgings
[347] with verandas on the upper floor. This nucleus has remained the business quarter, that of the large-scale commerce domi-
[441] nated by the great companies and the old Bordeaux firms, C.F.A.O., S.C.O.A., N.O.S.O.C.O., S.O.C.O.P.A.O.,
[366] Chavanel, Maurel et Prom, etc., surrounding the Kernel market, surmounted by its cupola of 1900 style. Several old administrative

/387 cont./

361 buildings, the General Postoffice, the Treasury, the Town
369 Hall, the former Délégation, the former Palace of Justice, and the Chambre de Commerce are included there. A "city" phenomenon tends to be produced in this quarter which, very lively by day, is almost completely empty at night. Toward the east this quarter extends along the road to Bel-Air and the old road to Rufisque by way of the industrial section of Dakar where the factories have been established largely since the war. On the northwest, on each side of the avenue W.-Ponty, extends a mixed quarter, commercial and residential, harboring the old Lébou families, having benefited from the facilities offered
[427] by the Crédit Foncier, and the Lebano-Syrians and Cape Verdeans who rent or are quasi-owners as a result of long-term leases. It is therefore an old quarter that developed especially after the construction of the commercial port and has preserved its narrow streets, quite unique today, its low houses dominated here and there by some recent building. The avenue W.-Ponty,
366 with greatly varied commerce, the avenue Gambetta dominated
369 by the Lebano-Syrian commerce, the avenue Roume bordered by beautiful buildings and enlivened by luxury commerce, and finally the avenue Maginot which is shared by great stores of the West and Lebano-Syrian commerce in fabrics near the market of Sandaga are the most completely transformed arteries of this section of the Plateau, where many cafés and restaurants, /388/ cabarets, and cinemas maintain far into the night a nonchalant, but pleasant animation following the rushing business of the day.

Beyond the Boulevard de la République, which bounds the
369 old quarters on the west and which is distinguished by its many
361 buildings, commerce disappears almost entirely, giving way to a residential zone of middle-class appearance, with its villas often more comfortable than stylish. This residential zone, formerly
[563] entirely European, is mixed today, harboring European and African staffs. Barracks and hospitals separate this quarter from
[712] Cape Manuel, formerly a military zone, but today occupied by
[344] the monumental, Palace of Justice dominating the newly established embassies. But all of Dakar-ville is not as well arranged

/388 cont./

369 361 as the Plateau. The low quarters that border the avenue Malick Sy and which are crossed by the route de l'Abbattoir /Slaughter-
[363] house Road/ quite obviously differ from the rest. In Rebeus and in Niayes-Thioker, few of the streets are paved, and, during
[364] winter, ponds where household debris rots often surround the low permanent houses and the neighboring huts.

[162] Dakar-ville has only 46,000 inhabitants, among whom
[563] are almost two-thirds of the 30,000 non-Africans of Dakar.

Gorée, the fallen capital, which has become a military, tourist, and, to a slight extent, residential annex of Dakar, is attached to this section.

[563] 2. The Médina. Containing practically only Africans, the Médina is much more densely populated than Dakar-ville.
[764] Blocked on the west by the Moslem cemetery and on the north by the canal of the Gueule-Tapée, the Médina has not ceased stretching toward the east since its creation during the First World War. It presents several aspects: the oldest part, east
[363] of the avenue Blaise-Diagne, has all of its streets paved and planted with trees; it has few huts, and permanent houses are
[364] erected almost everywhere there; many sanitary facilities and public fountains complement the private establishments and make this quarter relatively clean and pleasant (Fig. 4 and Pl. XXII B).7

The farther one goes toward the east, however, beyond the avenue Blaise-Diagne, the newer the quarter is and the more it gives the appearance of a wretched village. Thus, between
[363] the avenue Blaise-Diagne and the Gendarmerie, although some
[364] principal arteries are paved, most of the streets remain sandy and obstructed with household rubbish. Moreover, one notes some permanent houses here and there, to be sure, but huts are much more numerous. East of the Gendarmerie, Colobane is even less well arranged, while, beyond the automobile road, Kip-Coco and Quartier Mous, veritable camp cities for new arrivals, are called "irregular quarters," that is to say, quarters temporarily tolerated, although no right of the inhabitants to settle there can be recognized (Pl. XXIII A).7/Pl. XXIII and

7 [See category 116, p. 16 -- Analyst]
7 [See category 116, p. 29 -- Analyst]

/388 cont./

369 Pl. XXIV appear here on unnumbered pages/. /389/ /Fig. 5
361 appears here./

3. Greater Dakar. Of all the sectors of the Dakar agglomeration, Greater Dakar is certainly the one that presents the sharpest contrasts. The quarter of the "Gueule-Tapée" resembles the old Médina, while Fass and "Usine Biscuit" /Biscuit Factory/ remind one of Colobane, but aside from these there stand some modern quarters that are quite varied in appearance, contrasting strongly with the "Médinas," the "Colobanes," and the irregular quarters that surround them. It is in this sector of Greater Dakar [873] that the University is found, raising its majestic buildings on the edge of the sea. It is flanked on the north by the rich quarter of Fann-Résidence where the residences of ministers and members of their cabinets, directors of houses of commerce, and high officials are grouped; to the south military villas and the allotment of Fann Hock separate it from the Gueule-Tapée. Point E, Zone A, Zone B, /390/ the Cité des Douanes /customs/, and that of the Port de Commerce are officials' quarters, while Bopp, formerly a swamp, has in recent years become a pretty little quarter, all the houses of which were built by officials [452] with the aid of the Crédit du Sénégal /Local Association of Senegal/. The S.I.C.A.P. which extend along the route des Puits /Roads of the Wells/ (Karacks, Baobabs, Liberté I, Liberté II, Liberté III, etc.) are pleasant lots intended to facilitate for Africans the acquisition of property (Fig. 5).

Finally, the quarter of Derklé forms, in several groupings of houses, a residence for petty African officials, another one for the African employees of private enterprises, and finally a quarter called the "Castors," the houses of which have been built by their associated and grouped owners with the aid of the public authorities.

Greater Dakar is the most extensive and the heaviest popu- [162] lated sector in the Dakar agglomeration. It includes more than [563] 73,000 inhabitants, among whom is numbered one-sixth of the non-African population.

[Text continues bottom of p. 31--Analyst]

/389/

108
361
363
873
712

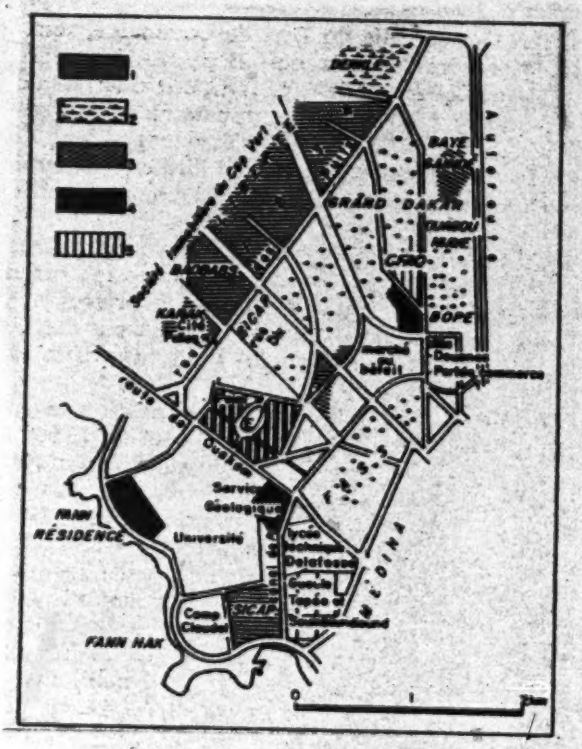


Fig. 5. Greater Dakar. -- 1. Officials' quarter; 2. Derklé; 3. H.L.M.; 4. houses of officials; 5. loan grouping.

/390 cont./

361
369

4. The suburbs. The suburbs of Dakar are composed of 13 villages, of which those closest to Dakar, Ouakam, N'Gor, Yoff, Hann, Thiaroye, and M'Bao resemble Colobane. The others remain typical traditional villages. Only Dagoudane-Pikime escapes either category. Created ex nihilo less than ten years ago to serve as an outlet for the irregulars of Dakar who were to be found there, driven back as urbanism progressed, [162] it already has the appearance of a little city with its 10,000 inhabitants.

/390 cont./

361 inhabitants. It had an official center and wide streets, which,
369 however, are not yet paved. Despite this city appearance,
[363] however, Pikine is more intimately dependent on Dakar than the other villages of the suburbs; it is a workman's suburb, and all of its provisioning comes from Dakar, while practically all of its inhabitants are employed in the great city. With this exception, the villages of the suburbs have as their essential
[438] role the provisioning of Dakar with fish and fresh vegetables. Many transportation facilities in common connect them with
[489] Dakar-ville from very early in the morning until around the middle of the night (Pl. XXIII B, Pl. XXIV A and B).

This is the arrangement or juxtaposition of the various elements of the Dakar agglomeration, whose present popula-
[162] tion may well have exceeded 300,000 inhabitants.

369 4. Perspectives. The Dakar agglomeration has the appearance of an unfinished city in the process of being organized, even though its function as a West African metropolis has been confirmed for a long time. There are surprises in this situation for those who analyze the old European urban civilizations, where one sees an ancient city existing as /391/ /Fig. 6 appears here/ one that patiently developed its relations in order to become a metropolis and to constitute a solid and dynamic assemblage where urban and metropolitan functions mutually support one another. Dakar, however, is above
369 all a center of relations which has woven with its hinterland
439 connections that have the appearance of complementary ties,
433 but which actually are ties of dependence: dependence in fact because in the Senegalese and Sudanese interior the development of export crops is tied up with the means of evacuation organized by Dakar; dependence also because the export crops, in breaking up the former village autarchy, have given Dakar the role of a great relay-station in the importation of food products in compensation and manufactured products which have become a necessity there where formerly they were unknown; dependence, finally, not only for the Senegalese and

/391 cont. /

102
491
496
487
433

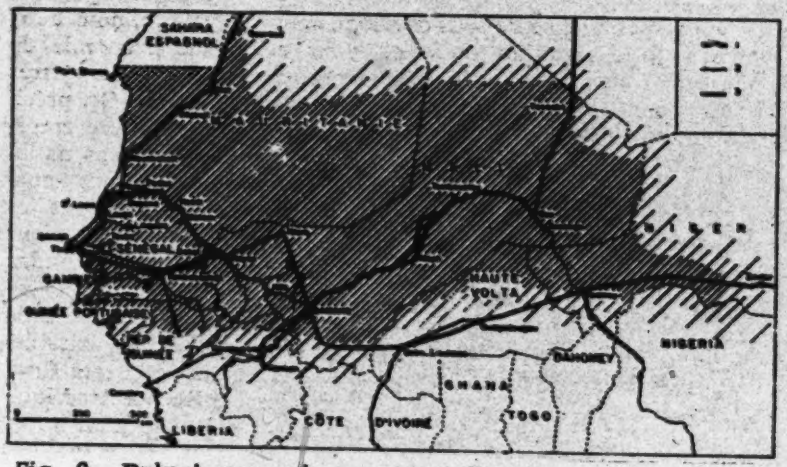


Fig. 6. Dakar's zone of economic influence.
1. Navigable course; 2. railroad;
3. road.

369 Sudanese interior, but also for the whole of former French West
433 Africa through the role of management that the administrative
439 offices, the banks, and the great commercial agencies play from Dakar.

In truth, however, this pre-eminence of Dakar which rests only on its role as a relay-station, a "service station," which receives for redistribution, carries with it grave weaknesses. And first of all it is necessary to note that the influence of Dakar, which extends supremely over a regional assemblage larger than France, is actually /392/ nothing less than a sign of the underdevelopment of the regions thus dominated. It in fact signifies for them an economy of trade, without local conversion of the products, with few urban centers playing an important role in regional management. Now, precisely this influence, while maintaining the economy of trade, prevents any new orientation of the economy in a national sense. Because of this, the ties uniting Dakar with its zone of influence appear to be of the same nature as those that tie the colonies to their mother countries, or, more accurately, they are only shackles; the nationalism of the new states will confuse them in a similar

/392 cont./

369 433 439 [505] condemnation.

Consequently it is necessary to emphasize the same instability of this role of Dakar as a relay-station. Already strongly rivaled in its function of provisioning ships by such ports as Las Palmas and Santa Cruz of Tenerife (25), better

[113] 25. Nicolas, J. -P., "Les hydrocarbures de soute à Dakar; 2e rapport. Eléments d'information sur la position concurrentielle des îles Canaries, 15 Nov. 1960 /The hydrocarbides stored at Dakar; 2nd report. Data on the competitive position of the Canary Islands, 15 Nov. 1960/," I.F.A.N., Dakar.

located on the direct route between Europe and South America. Dakar is no longer an imperative stop in the tropical Atlantic because of the greater autonomy of the ships in the matter of provisioning. On the other hand, the recent political evolution which has led to the "Balkanization" of former French West Africa has not only broken all the administrative and political ties which were among the most notable elements of the power of Dakar, but it has also permitted at Conakry, Abidjan, and Cotonou other possible relay-stations for the interior regions to become rivals, more and more limiting the zone of influence of Dakar. The recent breakup of the Federation of Mali, completely and at a single stroke turning the traffic between Senegal and the Sudan toward Abidjan in particular and to a lesser extent toward Conakry, is a particularly striking example of the instability of the position of Dakar. In the present state of affairs, nothing remains for Dakar but the Senegalese interior and Mauritania, and this latter country, which is building its own port at Port-Etienne, is seeking to free itself (Fig. 6).

Thus, grave threats weigh on the metropolis of Dakar. In any case, even in the eventuality of a recovery in the

/392 cont. /

369 433 439 economic relations between Senegal and Sudan, or better, in the eventuality of the formation of a West African common market, the role of collection which has perpetuated the superiority of Dakar is today threatened by decline because of the nationalism of the states and their desire to convert their own products locally. It therefore seems that salvation for this metropolis in a virtual crisis is not in an illusory rebirth of its former role, but in a new and unequivocal orientation of its activities. It should no longer be a pole of suction, but become a pole of development of the hinterland.

Assane Seck.

/1/

125 During the years 1960 and 1961, a demographic investigation by sampling was undertaken over the whole territory, the first one in the history of Senegal. (Administrative counts, city censuses, and an investigation in the central valley of the river /Senegal River/ had been made previously, but never a demographic inquiry covering the whole territory.)

[369] [162] The country has been divided into two large parts: the urban zone, composed of the whole region of Cape Verde and the cities of Thiès, Saint-Louis, Ziguinchor, Diourbel, and Louga; and the rural zone, which includes the rest of the territory. The sampling fraction was 1/50 in the rural zone and 1/20 in the urban zone. Subsequently a sampling to the twentieth was obtained by dividing into two a certain number of maps of the rural zone.

It will be seen merely from the method utilized that it renders illusory the study of small groups /groupes à effectif réduit/. It should be acknowledged from the first that the numbers below 500 (that is, 25 in the sample) are not significant.

II - The Structures:

III - The geographic distribution:

114 The operations in the field begun in the month of April 1960 were terminated in the month of August 1961 (April-June '60 for the rural zone, July '60 to August '61 /2/ for the urban zone). It should be acknowledged that on the whole the numbers indicated below correspond to the situation on the date of 1 July 1960. (Table 1 on following page)

162

This table shows, on the one hand, the low average density and, on the other hand, its great variability.

[563] The non-African population is made up essentially of French and Lebano-Syrians. It is heavily concentrated in the urban zone and particularly in Cape Verde; 74% of the non-Africans of Senegal are actually in residence there. Moreover, this concentration has become accentuated in recent years for several reasons: the departure of the Senegalese and Mauritanian governments from Saint-Louis; the closing of a number of agencies in the interior following the change in the commercial circuits.

161 648

/2 cont./

change in the commercial circuits.

S 162 /3/ It should not be without interest to give an idea of the peopling of the various regions by ethnic groups. (Table 2 on following pages)

W [162] It is shown that the Ouoloff /Wolof/ constitute more than a third of the total population. This group is abundantly represented in most of the regions, with the exception of Casamance and Senegal-Oriental. It is known that their arrival has determined the growth of the population of Dakar. It is not impossible that persons belonging to other ethnic groups but speaking Ouoloff have been given as Ouoloff.

SR [162] The Sérère /Serer/ are second in rank from a numerical standpoint. They are relatively grouped in Sine-Saloum and in the region ot Thiès.

T [162] /4/ The Toucouleur /Tukolor/, the majority of whom are in the river region, are scattered throughout the territory; they are, however, less numerous in the region of Diourbel.

W [162] One can also note that the Casamance groups scarcely ever wander away from their region of origin except to come to Dakar, and that the Lébou are largely concentrated in Cape Verde.

S [563] Concerning the non-Africans, whose concentration at Dakar has already been mentioned, one will note the presence of a Lebano-Syrian group in the region of Kaolack and a French group in Saint-Louis and Thiès.

S [369] The population of Senegal is still essentially rural, but the urbanization movement, which is noted in all of the regions by reason of the diversification of economic activity and especially the industrial development, is particularly marked there. This factor will greatly modify the geographical distribution of the population during the coming years.

The following table gives the population of the cities which constitute the urban zone. (Table 3 follows Table 2.)

/5/ In sum, the urban population is close to 705,000 inhabitants and represents 23% of the whole. Dakar alone has 12% of the population of Senegal, which is not abnormal. But

/379 cont./

S 369 [262] Only food seems to have undergone only slight improvement: the couscous of millet or rice (a little fish or meat during periods of abundance) are basic in their diet. Bread, rarely eaten during the meal, is reserved for children; S [271] it takes the place of cake. Water remains the essential [273] drink of the Moslem; water, palm wine (during the harvest), and grape wine (on feast days) are consumed by the non-SR [273] Islamized None.

The frugal housewife profits from the proximity of the S 369 241 438 escale for /380/ the daily sale in the market of the products of her personal garden. She cultivates tomatoes, beans, pumpkins, and okra. At Keur-Issa-Bambara she has tried, with greater or lesser success, to cultivate potatoes and salad greens; the gathering of mangoes also procures a little profit S [372] for her. When the harvest from the garden is exhausted, the collection of dead wood which she will take to sell in the market in the form of little bundles will yield a few coins for her.

In parallel fashion, the husband-cultivator harvests on a plot of his lougan products that are easy to sell on the Thiès market; at Keur-Issa-Bambara he lays out flooded rice-fields and cultivates the sweet potato and manioc, part of which is S SR 369 438 offered to the clientele of the escale.

During the dry season the None principally works at gathering palmyra leaves; they will be sold, as bundles of [314] thatch, for making roofs for the huts of the urban quarters; [342] after the harvest he carries dried groundnut leaves to the city [231] for fodder for the little horses harnessed to the taxicabs.

S SR 369 234 438 S SR F [233] [465] Despite the ready sale that can be made with cattle, they are not very numerous. When the epizootic diseases have spared them, they give an appreciable profit to their owner through the sale of milk. At Tiali, the only herd in the village, which contains about 30 animals, belongs to a single breeder. It is guarded by Peul shepherds who lead it to graze in the neighboring woodlands. The morning milk and the calves belong to the owner; the evening milk goes

Zh Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M237 Senegal MS 37

Locomotives. In 1939 the following locomotives were in service: 493

Makers and type	*Adhesive weight in tons*	*Number*
Mallet articulated . .	43–50	10
Mikado 2-8-0. . .	30–40	42
Pignet	29	34
Cail	27	24
Cail, Corpet, Weidknecht, Decauville . . .	13–27	75
	Total	185

Since that date 2 Micheline railcars, 3 Als-Thorn diesel electric locomotives, and 2 Beyer-Garratts have been brought into use. The Beyer-Garratts are 4–4–2+2–4–4 articulated with an adhesive weight of 91 tons.

Fuel. Neither coal nor wood is found locally. Before 1940 some 60,000 tons of briquettes were annually imported. At the present time these are hard to obtain, and they are supplemented by whatever wood is available and by briquetted ground-nut shells. 372

Carriages and Wagons. In 1939 there were 254 passenger coaches and 2,105 goods wagons in service. The passenger coaches included restaurant cars and sleeping cars. At the end of 1939, 177 covered goods wagons were delivered from France. 493

State of Repair. There are excellent workshops at Thiès; but the general standard of upkeep, never very high, has greatly deteriorated as a result of stocks of material becoming almost exhausted. 497 498

Traffic

The following table gives figures for 1937 and 1938: 497

	1937	1938
Passengers. . .	2,603,341	2,660,497
Passenger miles . .	118,433,207	120,600,300
Freight in tons . .	615,043	591,593
Ton miles . .	100,570,598	107,070,715
Revenue . . .	£976,411	£984,788

The principal items of freight handled were ground-nuts, shea butter, gum arabic, sisal, and fuel. [938]

/81 cont./

361 millet. The old people assemble in the evening under the
[517] large silk-cotton tree that shades the old crumbling mosque of
Takhikao. The women chatter while awaiting their turn to
[312] draw water at the common well, while the children play in
[342] the sand. Gent stands out because of a series of small, low
houses with a rectangular base and a roof of corrugated metal,
all identical and set along the trail that leads to the marigot
[351] /watercourse/ of the mission. A garden and a courtyard, al-
ways littered with laundry, characterize each concession. It
[563] is the quarter of Portuguese half-breeds called "portugalais"
(Plates XI B and XII A).

Diakhao-Nord /North Diakhao/, quiet, airy, arranged
[363] according to a strict plan of lots, contrasts with Diakhao-Sud
with narrow, winding lanes bordered on all sides by tapades
of millet stalks and noisy in the evening. The proximity of
[275] the two military bases has made it a place where one amuses
himself with all that this includes in the way of drinking
[525] shops and more or less clandestine gambling dens. Brawls be-
[579] tween drunken men are not rare in these places.

Randoulène, Derrière-la-voie-ferrée, and Bambara,
which form a unique quarter, homogeneous in its density and
in the heterogeneity of its dwellings, have become established
in the immediate vicinity of the railroad repair shops. The
[342] huts of planks, mud, or straw stand one against the other along
[363] the winding lanes laid out according to the desire of the
moment and not without some imagination. These lanes are
[373] noisy with people, and even late at night they walk between
the small shopkeepers' stalls lighted with smoking candle ends.
351 The dense crowd flows over the edges of the street and enters
the interior of the courtyards. The latter, covering barely
[463] a few square meters, often serve as a workshop for the
weaver, the blacksmith, or the jeweler, and as a kitchen for
[252] the housewives of the neighboring huts; it is not rare to see
half a dozen millet pounders there, pounding their mortars
in rhythm in groups of two or three. This is also the gathering
[517] place /82/ /Fig. 4 appears here/ of workers, where, after
[524] work, sitting in the sand amidst the dust and the noise, in a

/86 cont./

498
[317]
[464]
[162]

hardly affect its economy because of the limited number of its workers (200 to 300) and above all the distance from the urban center.

concession of the Dakar-Niger located a short distance from the city would actually form the most important industrial center of French West Africa in terms of the number of its operatives (around 2,500 in 1952). It groups within its enclosure a series of the most diverse workshops: woodworking shop, sawmill, assembly shops for railroad cars, tinsmith shop, and even a foundry. Putting new Diesel tractors into service has brought about the recent creation of new shops where manifold improved machines operate. Power is taken from a high tension line of 30,000 volts coming from Dakar. The enterprise annually consumes 1,700,000 kilowatt-hours, that is to say, more than the total consumption of the city itself. The much smaller consumption of coke and of fuel oil used in the furnace and cupolas of the foundries should be added here.

[162]

[377]

The workshops of the Dakar-Niger present themselves in the form of an industry with vertical integration of an incomplete type. The distance from the mother country, the expenses and above all the slowness of shipments (principally during the last World War) have brought about the installation of an industrial complex that makes it possible to satisfy the greater part of the demands of the work required for the smooth functioning of the service. All the woodworking is carried out in the sawmill-carpentry section; the cars are assembled from imported chassis, wheels, and bogies. Most of the parts of the locomotives can be smelted in Thiès, except when it is a matter of special alloys. Certain elements demanding a machine-finishing precision of 1/100 of a millimeter for Diesel tractors have already been manufactured by the enterprise. Only the parts requiring very special techniques or machines for their manufacture, or whose

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

The electric power station has a gas-engine plant that burns the residue from ground-nut presses. 36 [377]

Communications. Diourbel is the railway junction for Routes 3 and 4. By the former it is 50½ miles from Thiès and 302 miles from Kidira, and by the latter it is 31 miles from Touba. The intercolonial road leads westwards to Thiès (65 miles) and Dakar (109 miles) and south-eastwards to Kaolack (40 miles), Tambacounda (230 miles), and Nayes (351 miles). Colonial roads go north-eastwards to Dahra (73 miles) and Dagana (162 miles) and south-westwards to Fatik (25 miles) and Kaolack (53 miles). [496] [491]

LOUGA (15° 37′; 16° 16′ W.). Altitude, 128 feet. Population, 4,390. Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Regional School. Power station. Garage. Race-course. Agricultural experimental station and farm school. Daily market. [131] [162] [654]

Louga is the scene of the most important cattle market in the whole colony. It is this that has made it a route centre. Other local products are ground-nuts, gum, and millet. Administratively, Louga is the headquarters of the province of the same name and also a military headquarters. [438]

Electricity is supplied by an oil-driven plant. [377]

Communications. Louga stands at the junction of railway routes 1 and 2, being 119 miles from Dakar, 44 miles from St. Louis, and 81 miles from Linguéré. It is on the intercolonial road from Dakar (121 miles) to St. Louis (47 miles). A colonial road runs eastwards across the colony to Dahra (59 miles), Linguéré (84 miles), and Matam (242 miles). There are also minor roads and tracks. [496] [491]

PODOR (16° 35′; 15° 02′ W.). Population, 3,168. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. Daily market. [131] [162]

This riverside town is chiefly important for gum arabic. The gum is brought by the Arabs, sold in the market, and shipped down the Senegal to St. Louis. [439]

Communications. By river Podor is 178 miles from St. Louis and 437 miles from Kayes. Throughout the year the Messageries Africaines run a fortnightly service to and from St. Louis. From July to January the boats also go upstream as far as Matam (234 miles) and in August and September to Kayes. Podor is on the colonial road, being 135 miles from St. Louis and 288 miles from Nayes. There is a ferry across the river to connect with tracks to such Mauritanian [487] [505] [491]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[DAKAR]

route from Paris to Santiago and was also the terminus of local services to Bamako and to St. Louis. The Aéromaritime company used to run flying-boat services to Conakry, Abidjan, Lagos, Douala, and Pointe Noire. 509

Wireless. The broadcasting station is near Madeleines bay, 700 yards north-west of the cathedral. A small station, transmitting to ships, is on Bel Air point. 206

Cable. Dakar is connected by cable to Casablanca, to Brest, to Fernando Noronha (Brazil), and to Conakry. The two latter cables are landed in the south-west of Bernard bay, not far from the Pasteur Institute. There is, however, a telephone cable to Goree island. This is landed on the north-west shore of the same bay.

Shipping. Lines normally serving the port include the following: America West African, Bull, Chargeurs Réunis, Elder Dempster, Fabre, Fraissinet, Gdynia America, Hamburg-Bremen, Holland West Afrika, Italia, Lloyd Triestino, Maurel et Prom, Messageries du Sénégal, Navigazione Generale Italiana, Société Générale des Transports, Société Maritime Belge des Transports, and Société Navale de l'Ouest. 505

Coasting vessels sail regularly for Port Etienne, St. Louis, Kaolack, and Ziguinchor.

GOREE (14° 39′; 17° 23′ W.). Population, 714. Custom-house. Barracks and military hospital. 36 [131] [162] [712]

The rocky island of Goree (Plate 112) has an area of 138 acres. The first Europeans to land on it were the Portuguese in 1445, and since then it has had a chequered history, which has been told elsewhere in these volumes. [175]

Most of the centre of the island is occupied by buildings, and in the south there is the old fort. In the extreme north is a large lime-kiln. [381]

The only source of water is an artesian well in the fort. [312]

Trade. Trade is now limited to the ordinary requirements of the islanders, and traffic to taking them and their goods to and from the mainland. [938]

Harbour. In the north-east of the island there is a little bay where there are three jetties, only one of which (Plate 121) is now in use. The depth at its head is 10 feet. [504]

RUFISQUE (14° 41′; 17° 12′ W.). Population, 19,764, including 180 Europeans. Full Commune. Custom-house. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Power station. Hotel. Garage. [131] [162] [712]

/431/

121 Fashion, from a subjective point of view, represents a fleeting custom that depends on the taste and the whims of individuals. Its range of application is universal. It is thus a social and aesthetic phenomenon of the same order as painting, from which it borrows much.

Like all expressions of art, fashion is a language and a magic. It is also a technique, the different aspects of which may be grouped in three categories: the fabrication of the objects (fabrics and garments), the methods of sale, and the motivations for the purchase.

For the social psychologist the problem of the adaptation of the African to European fashions presents itself.

125 Among the various possible methods of investigation, our choice was directed first of all to direct observations and the method of tests. We have taken into consideration both the ethnic origin and the age of the subjects.

I. Female African Population of Dakar

162 1. Resident population on 6-1-55.

We ascertained:

a) the very distinct predominance of the Wolof group (47.8%),

b) the weak representation of the Sérèr and Diola in relation to the Bambara.

/432/

2. Characteristics of this population:

[191] [212] a) Knowledge of French (14 years old and +):

4,844 women and girls speak our language (2,850 of them write it).

162 463 b) Salaried occupations in crafts and business (14 years old and +):

[294] [386] 3,779, of whom: sewing, dressmaking,

lingerie, clothing	609
preparation, dyeing.....	142

S /432 cont. /

162 The 609 individuals who derive a profit from the
463 fashion trades are divided ethnically as follows:

[294]

Cape Verde group	243
Wolof group	157
Diola group	48
Lebou group	31
Sérèr group	29
Others	101

W
[294]

S
W
[386] The majority of the 142 dyers are Toucouleur /Tukolar/ (77) and Wolof (36).

W
[463] Out of 1,455 Wolof women practicing a trade, for their own benefit or salaried, 598 are tradeswomen, 157 in sewing, 110 business employees.

The Lébou women likewise prefer to carry on a business (150 out of 340 counted as workers).

S
125

II. Experimental Research on the Aesthetic Sense of Dakar Women in the Matter of Clothing

For this study, which is only in its beginnings, two methods are used:

-- direct observation of clothing worn for display by a certain number of women,

-- the result of tests conducted among some of them.

/Table I appears here on an unnumbered page. /

/433/

A. Direct Observation.

1. Circumstances.

S
[114] a) The investigation was conducted in the Médina of Dakar, in the quarters Sapeurs-pompiers /Firemen/ and Champ de courses /Race course/ -- between 9 and 19 November 1956, at the end of an election.

/435 cont. /

291 in vivid and distinct colors on an indigo background, without overlappings.

[288] -- the presence in Dakar of an industry which manufactures "guinées" /cotton cloth/ and "sucretons";

[386] -- the survival of a traditional craft of dyers that still had 142 representatives in 1955.

The family of maroons takes second place (18.09% of the boubous and 18.21% of the whole).

In third place we find the violets and mauves, and in practically the same place the whites (about 11% in each category).

b) Classical African style:

-- Clothing for display, the mboubeu (1), or boubou,

[192]

1. Boubou is an incorrect pronunciation of the Wolof term mboubeu = woman's clothing in general, a full simple tunic.

[177] is always in favor (4,002 as against 770 garments of European inspiration, 83.86% as against 16.14%).

-- But in this category the Wax and Fancy printed fabrics are in regression (1,675 = 41.85% as against 2,412 = 56.52%).

291
177

c) Style of European inspiration:

-- The taille-basse, a kind of blouse that terminates at the waist in a circular flounce 20 to 25 centimeters wide, is combined either with a draped loincloth /pagne, a long strip of material/ or a sewed skirt. Most often the two pieces are made of the same material.

It is worn especially by the young girls (out of 52 women tested, 40 young girls, 25 of whom habitually wore tailles-basses).

-- The dress, worn by women of fashion in African life, is long in 99% of the cases.

/22 cont./

258 439 ports, especially Kaolack. It is practiced by semi-industrial enterprises, usually dependent on the great commercial houses or the oil-factories, which utilize the decortication frame or tray, shaking tables, and blowers. This operation, which employs many laborers, permits a charge of about one franc C.F.A. per kilo of groundnuts in shells. It nevertheless imposes some problems: that of the rate of decortication, which varies from one campaign to another, around 71%, and that of the risk of acidification. The decorticated product deteriorates quite quickly, and, depending on the [435] times of the campaign, a rate of acidification of more than 3% or 5% causes a reduction in price.

258 Decortication is in fact only a preparation of the raw material. It is the presence today of the powerful oil-factories, constituting the essential part of its industry, that symbolizes the anxiety of Senegal to valorize on its soil its greatest wealth.

2. The Senegalese oil-factory. The industry of the oil-factory is a recent industry in Senegal. The first factory established was that of the Société életrique et industrielle du Baol at Djourbel in 1920. Then, after 1930, with the factory of the Huileries et Savonneries de l'Ouest Africain [388] /West African Oil and Soap Factories/, and especially the Etablissements Petersen, this industry came to Dakar. Nevertheless, until the war, its development was impeded by the protective measures taken at the demand of the oil-factories in the mother country: an export duty of 187 francs per quintal of oil in 1936; and a quota of only 5,800 metric tons, admitted free of import duty, in 1938. The war caused this regulation to disappear, and in 1942-1944 the great factory "Lesieur-Afrique" was established in Dakar.

258 433 After the war, the oil industry modernized its equipment and added to its capacity for trituration, which today amounts to about 500,000 metric tons of peanuts in shells, corresponding to a maximum production of about 165,000 metric tons of oil. Today, 125,000 metric tons of the

/22 cont./

258 product, usually crude, each year leaves the Senegalese
[433] factories, which thus operate under their productive capacity.
[439] About 110,000 metric tons are exported. The traditional technique of manufacture by pressure, with recovery of the oil cake, or "expellers," is being replaced more and more by the procedure with solvents, slightly increasing the rate of extraction of oil, but providing poor oil-cake.

This industry of the oil-factory if now localized in five urban centers: Dakar, Lyndiane, Djourbel, Kaolack, and
[464] Ziguinchor. It employs more than 3,000 wage earners, nearly
[563] 300 of whom are European technicians; on the basis of this it is the primary industry /23/ of Senegal, and the more so since
[388] it has had annexed to it the complementary industry of soap-making, which produced more than 15,000 metric tons of soap from the neutralization paste.

258 The development of the Sengalese industry of oil-making
433 represents a considerable evolution of the economy of the country, since the groundnut has ceased to be a product of
[439] trade in the colonial sense of the term. In fact, the product that traditionally constitutes the great agricultural resource has become the principal raw material of local industry; more than ever, the groundnut keeps Senegal alive.

433 3. The essential position of the groundnut in the economy
241 of Senegal. "Whether or not it is desirable, the economy of Senegal can revolve only with the help of the production of groundnuts." This phrase by M. Portères sums up the essential position of the product in the local economy. In 1957, for the
[439] whole of former Mali, the total value of the exports rose to 21,085 billions of francs C.F.A., the products of the groundnut accounting for 18,257 billions of this sum, of which more than 15 billions was for Senegal alone. At the same time, of
[162] 2,230,000 inhabitants of Senegal, only 58,700 were non-agricultural workers, that is, non-producers of groundnuts. Actually,
433 however, many of them are supported by them indirectly, in trade, transport, or industry. It is not exaggerated to affirm

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

244 sixth crop of Africa, and 43 per cent. of the total continental production comes from Senegal. The two main groups cultivated are the [233] 'runner' and the 'erect'. The Rufisque and Cayor varieties, both runners, are those grown generally here and also in British West Africa. The method of cultivation is described in Volume I, p. 321. Ground-nuts were originally grown as a staple native crop, but the [939] industrial demand for vegetable oils, coupled with the development of transport facilities, opened up a world market for them. Extra [167] labour for the harvest is provided annually by seasonal immigration from French Sudan, French Guinea, Portuguese Guinea, and the [464] Gambia. In 1938 the number of outside workers was 69,757. Of these, 56,743 went to the Kaolack area, between 1,000 and 3,500 to Sedhiou, Ziguinchor, Kolda, Tambacounda, and Diourbel, and the remainder to Thiès and Linguéré.

[258] There are numerous shelling factories. Early in 1939 new ones were opened at Kaolack, Ziguinchor, and Koungheul.

In 1938 nearly 2,000,000 acres were under cultivation and the [654] experimental station at Bambey distributed 5,414 tons of selected seed. In 1939 7,382 tons of seed were sent out, with a corresponding increase in acreage.

[648] During the British blockade of French West Africa after the fall of France in 1940, ground-nuts were converted into fuel oil. If this [388] practice has been proved worth continuing after the war, cultivation may be greatly extended.

248 *Sisal.* Sisal originated in Mexico, being named after the port of Sisal in Yucatan province, and it was introduced into Senegal at the end of the nineteenth century. The species grown are *Agave rigida sisalana*, *A. rigida elongata*, and *A. rigida zapupe*. The rigid leaves containing the fibre are about 4 feet long and are harvested biennially from the fourth to the eighth or tenth year. When a plant has finished producing it shoots up a tall flower stem, with bulbils or buds on the end, and then withers.

283 The preparation of stem and leaf fibres is lengthy. First the fleshy 288 tissue encasing the fibre is scraped away, and then the fibre is washed, hung out to dry, and brushed. It is now ready for grading. Next it is combed into a continuous sliver of untwisted rope. The final process is the drawing and twisting of the sliver to a uniform thinness for spinning into a rope that is particularly resistant to sea-water. The 248 largest plantation is in French Sudan, and stretches for 12 miles along the bank of the Senegal near Kayes. Other smaller ones are in Tambacounda and on the Cape Verde peninsula. There is opper-

/426 cont./

*511 352 lists is the bed (1). In nearly all of the African lodgings we

1. The 13.3% of the cultivator, No. 32, arose from the purchase of a cart and a horse.

find at least a bed, but there is rarely one for everyone. And [369] to sleep in a bed has become the best proof that one can give of his acclimatization to the city.

If the income is higher, one may be able to buy more important pieces of furniture. Then, in the order of their urgency, the armchairs, the rugs, and then the tables and wardrobes appear.

*511 Then we come to the rubric "Exceptional Expenses," those for which no absolute necessity is felt. Moreover they are rarer at the top of the table, only three, and then they multiply (Table XIV).

[405] The first thing that we find here is the watch or the alarm [301] clock, closely followed by the jewelry of the wife or wives. [493] There follow, but only in the highest incomes, the bicycle, [207] or, depending on the possibilities, the bicycle with a motor [301] on it or the motorcycle, then the battery radio. There is nothing very original in all this, and, except perhaps for the importance given to the jewelry of the women, we would find similar pretensions among European families having equivalent incomes.

*511 In the last table (Table XV)[1] we have grouped a series of 794 expenses that have a common origin, the religion of the fami- [791] lies investigated, all Moslems except one. Two Moslem holidays are involved, Tabaski and Korité, religious assessments, /427/ /Table XIV appears here/ /428/ offerings to the marabouts, and, finally, expenses arising from sending children to the Koranic school.

*511 For Tabaski, each family slaughters a sheep. There 796

[1] [see cat 116, pp 69-71. ANALYST]

S /382 cont./
SR agricultural, 27% work wholly at Thiès, and 31% divide
162 their activity between the city and the country, depending
369 on the season and the labor market.

S Thus, the decrease in the cultivable area has brought
SR about a decrease in the number of cultivators. But the None
241 is above all a man of the soil, a peasant. Even as a laborer, he will not give up his bit of land which will give him a harvest. Each evening upon his return from work, he will take up his iler (1) and go to cultivate his lougan of millet

S
SR
[412]

1. Hilaire or iler: implement par excellence of the Senegalese cultivator, made up of a metal blade in the shape of a heart fixed to a long handle.

S or groundnuts. And if he has an occupation that suits him in
SR the city and in addition personally owns good land? He will
241 hire the services of a navétane (2) to whom he will relinquish
369
427

2. Seasonal agricultural worker.

a portion of his land and to whom he will grant some free time for his personal crops. This navétane will work his fields, and, through this procedure, he will be able to sell or amass a considerable harvest at the end of the year.

S An examination of the occupation of temporary or
SR permanent workers shows an important number of laborers,
162 19, of masons, 12, and a more modest number of boys
463 /domestic workers/ and shopkeepers, 8, out of a total of 71 workers. These results corroborate those given in the human study of the escale of Thiès.

S In spite of a relatively close urban neighborhood, the
SR number of inhabitants understanding French is very modest:
162 only 33 understand our language; 15 children out of a hundred
191 go to the nearby French school. These results may appear
[871] deceptive if one considers that all the conditions of the milieu seem favorable for closer contact with the European element.

/6/
496 edges of the woodlands of Casamance, has reached the Ferlo
244 and the zone of the lateritic cuirasses of the east.
311

I. The Types of Groundnut Cultivation in Senegal

244
[433] The very symbol of the product of "trade," the groundnut is essentially cultivated by the autochthonous peasants, who devote to it an important part of their activities.

1. The types of autochthonous cultivation. Whatever the place of the groundnut may be in the system of crops, one always finds, within the framework of the very short agricultural cycle of winter, the same techniques for the preparation of the soil, the same kinds of tillage.

Everywhere in Senegal the traditional technical contrivances are primitive and permit only rather crude tillage. The
• [418] lopping tool, the rhock, a kind of fork with two prongs, the hilaire, formed by a quite long handle and a flat blade in the shape of an ace of hearts, and the hoe, or daba, constitute the essential equipment.

In the spring, at the end of the dry season, the trees and bushes are topped with the lopping tool to 60 or 70 centimeters from the ground. Only the "Faidherbia," stripped of their leaves in winter, are spared. The branches are burned on the spot; their ashes are the sole fertilizer for the field recovered from the bush. The mutilated and burned trunks, the stumps left in place, give it an unfinished and disorderly appearance. Soon after the first rains, generally in June, one proceeds with the sowing. In the holes /7/ four to five centimeters deep, made with the daba or with the handle of the rhock, the cultivator puts one or two groundnut seeds and then, with the heel, covers them with soil. These holes, made in a row, are generally 30 centimeters apart. In July and August, one proceeds with several weedings and dressings with the daba in order to mellow the soil. In September the last cleaning out of foul grasses is done by hand. When the stalks wither, the shells have reached maturity,

/118 cont./

244 There is no doubt, however, that the yield per hectare
433 is diminishing and that on much of the land today it is no
242 more than 500-600 kilograms per hectare, instead of the 700-800 kilograms, and even 900, as has been seen sometimes in Sine. The land is becoming exhausted as a result of the lack of fertilizer and the absence of crop rotation. Two other factors likewise come into play: the too primitive native methods of cultivation and the inadequate selection of seeds. The native cultivator continues to work his land with the
[412] hilaire, a kind /Pl. II appears here/ /119/ of spade with which he contents himself with scratching the soil. He thus reduces his work too much; he does his dressings badly or inadequately.

It has been demonstrated by the experiments made by the Compagnie française de l'Afrique Occidentale at Latmingué that with mechanical farm implements one could easily double the yield per hectare. On newly cleared land and with these methods, the yield has never been less than 1,000 kilograms and at times has reached 1,500 kilograms per hectare. It is necessary to persuade the native that he will profit by working the land with a little better equipment. The agricultural
[654] services are working at this, and it is to be hoped that the more modern cultivation methods will double the yield. This is a critical problem.

243 Millet. Millet is likewise a crop on the road to progress.
433 The types cultivated are: small and great millet, or, according to their native names, souna, sanio, bassi, fehla.

In 1927, the cultivated area was 240,000 hectares, with a total production of 119,000 tons, a little more than the needs of the population. In 1925, for a production of 80,000 tons, the population had sowed 210,000 hectares. The surplus production is consumed in the regions bordering Sine-Saloum.

Rice. Different varieties of rice are cultivated, especially in Sine and Bas-Saloum, where the annual rainfall is greater and where the soil is suitable for this crop. One can estimate that 15,000 hectares are planted to rice with a total

S SR 369 [342] W [342] SR [463] S [351]

/379 cont./

and at Diakhaté where the hut of straw or purely of mud prevails. Could it be that the occupation of mason to which some None seem to devote themselves is a factor in this modernization of their settlements?

A certain "coquetry" absent in the bush villages leads some autochthones to lay out a little flower garden near their hut (Tiali, Keur-Issa-Bambara)..

S 369 352 [513] S [353]

The presence of the city is also reflected in the equipment used by the rural people. The furniture is always summary, but more and more the iron bed is replacing the lattice of wood or the mat put on the ground itself. A mattress, a military blanket, and commonly a mosquito net of a very light fabric complete this relative comfort. Often a little table of unpainted wood, a chair made of old boxes, a bit of mirror hung on the wall, and sometimes an impressive number of photographs, or, lacking them, pages cut out of an illustrated magazine pasted to the walls, give a special stamp to this interior, which is no longer typically rural. Sometimes one even has the surprise of encountering in these modest interiors a wardrobe and a little buffet, which adorn, the more since they are not utilized, the room of a privileged native. But this comfort is an exception.

S 369 415

The calabash, which is the very foundation of the kitchen utensils, is still commonly utilized for household tasks and for the common meals. Nevertheless the cast-iron or aluminum saucepan is no longer a luxury; the glass and above all the bottle are in common use.

S 369 291 177 S [292]

The clothing, too, has been modified. The loincloth in bright colors, laboriously woven by the Toucouleur /Tukolor/ weaver, durable but expensive, has become a luxury. Imported printed cloth of moderate price has supplanted it everywhere. The white robe with embroidery has become the festive garment par excellence; the shorts, the trousers, and the jacket, often furnished by the European, are now the clothes utilized for work.

20: Seck--29 U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 388-389/ Plate XXIII

363
342

[415]

A. A street beyond the avenue Blaise-Diagne.

B. Remote suburb.

Photo. Assane Seck.

S /669 cont./ 1
567 of the masters and are married by them. They have no property
565 rights nor a voice in the village councils, being constrained to
[422] menial work. This condition cannot be compared to that of the
[421] slave of the two Americas in former times; it is more reminiscent
[623] of that of bondage in the Europe of the Middle Ages. Before the legal suppression of this custom a certain number of captives had already been freed, but the prejudice against these people remains, and they constitute, in fact, the inferior caste in the social hierarchy.

S It is the hereditary work of the artisans that, properly speak-
564 ing, distinguishes the men of the castes from the others: work in
463 wood, leather, metal, and cotton thread. This distinction is transmitted from father to son, whatever calling is actually practiced. A captive may practice weaving, but he will never belong to the caste of weavers; conversely, a man belonging to the caste of jewelers may be a doctor of medicine and practice the profession of medicine.

S Marriage most clearly distinguishes the social barriers which
582 the child inherits from its father. Although there is no rigid
565 interdict, there is such ostracism that it is practically impossible for a man to marry a woman of an inferior caste without risking loss of status and being banned from society. There is one exception:
S [567] it may happen that a master marries his captive in order to have children who are free; the mother will be set free by this act, but if the union is sterile the woman remains in the condition of servitude.

S The system of castes is still very much alive, especially
565 among the Toucouleur, and actually divides the ethnic group into partial populations, which, however, are less numerous than in India.

The functional nature of the castes has brought about in the course of their history the appearance of a hierarchy. Among the Toucouleur there are first the free men (rimbé), not belonging to the trade castes, and among /670/ whom, at the head, are the torobé (singular, torodo). Originally, in the Fouta Toro, this word in Arabic designated a scholar, a propagator of Islam. It

1 [i.e., The captives -- Analyst]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

goal of return to their tribal home, even Toucouleur, find it more difficult to resist the pressures of their environment, and Dakar has a large number of permanent settlers, who are first and foremost *Dakarois*. 369 563

Many of these have found a common brotherhood above tribe in their trade unions. These, despite various setbacks and restrictions, have been well organised in Senegal. Indeed the 1944 decree restoring liberty of association did much to ensure this, by insisting that trade union officials should have good educational qualifications and that accounts should be scrutinised by the administration. Most of the unions belonged to one of the large French confederations from whom they received considerable help and advice. Since Senegal has until quite recently had over 40 per cent of the organised workers of French West Africa, trade unionism embraced a large number of people of different ethnic groups brought together to seek ends that went far beyond the limited horizons of tribal ambition. 467 563

The influence of the towns extends beyond their limits. Both in the cities, and increasingly in the villages, young men who have come in contact with the new life of Dakar or of the other major towns tend to contract monogamous marriages in the European style. Amongst the Diola, as L. V. Thomas has observed, young men are now building their own houses outside the parental extended home. But probably most important of all in the breakdown of tribal barriers is the increase of economic individualism, the desire to have possessions, and particularly good clothes, all of which run contrary to the traditional social system which leads to the maximum dispersion of a man's gains amongst his relatives. 369 [595] [591] [422]

Only the very strongest survive the effect of the city, in particular a city like Dakar, the most sophisticated, the most European, the city most diametrically opposed to the tribal life of the bush. Indeed among Dakar's inhabitants only the Moors and Toucouleur really withstand the 369 563

/668 cont./

162 Table I. Division of the population of the Senegalese Fouta according to ethnic groups.

Ethnic Group	Actual Number	Percentage
Toucouleur	187,000	54.8
Wolof	36,000	10.6
Saracolé	13,000	3.8
Peul	47,000	13.8
Moor	56,000	16.4
Miscellaneous	2,000	0.6
Total	341,000	100.0

587 563 The ethnic groups are relatively endogamous, because marriages between persons of different ethnic groups are very rare, except perhaps, as we have seen, between Toucouleur and Peul (Foulbé walo). The Toucouleur /669/ are the only group entirely 563 within the Fouta, aside from some fractions that emigrated in the [166] course of religious crusades into Macina, Boundou, and elsewhere.

Each of the other ethnic groups is merely an extension into the valley of a group whose bulk occupies the neighboring regions, the Wolof in the northern part of Senegal, the Saracolé in western Sudan, the Peul near the Ferlo and the Assaba. But each of these ethnic groups is itself divided into several populations: the castes.

565 Castes and social conditions. The castes, in reality, present [582] a matrimonial barrier more difficult to overcome than that of ethnic affiliation. The term "caste" is used here in the general sense of social class, exclusive in nature, and not in the sense [564] that is given it in the valley where the term is reserved for artisan castes.

[567] Social conditions first of all distinguish the captives from [422] the free men. The captives are regarded as the personal property

S /669 cont./ 1

567 of the masters and are married by them. They have no property
565 rights nor a voice in the village councils, being[1] constrained to
[422] menial work. This condition cannot be compared to that of the
421 slave of the two Americas in former times; it is more reminiscent
[623] of that of bondage in the Europe of the Middle Ages. Before the legal suppression of this custom a certain number of captives had already been freed, but the prejudice against these people remains, and they constitute, in fact, the inferior caste in the social hierarchy.

S It is the hereditary work of the artisans that, properly speak-
564 ing, distinguishes the men of the castes from the others: work in
463 wood, leather, metal, and cotton thread. This distinction is transmitted from father to son, whatever calling is actually practiced. A captive may practice weaving, but he will never belong to the caste of weavers; conversely, a man belonging to the caste of jewelers may be a doctor of medicine and practice the profession of medicine.

S Marriage most clearly distinguishes the social barriers which
582 the child inherits from its father. Although there is no rigid
565 interdict, there is such ostracism that it is practically impossible for a man to marry a woman of an inferior caste without risking loss of status and being banned from society. There is one exception:
S it may happen that a master marries his captive in order to
[567] have children who are free; the mother will be set free by this act, but if the union is sterile the woman remains in the condition of servitude.

S The system of castes is still very much alive, especially
565 among the Toucouleur, and actually divides the ethnic group into partial populations, which, however, are less numerous than in India.

The functional nature of the castes has brought about in the course of their history the appearance of a hierarchy. Among the Toucouleur there are first the free men (rimbé), not belonging to the trade castes, and among /670/ whom, at the head, are the torobé (singular, torodo). Originally, in the Fouta Toro, this word in Arabic designated a scholar, a propagator of Islam. It

1 [i.e., The captives -- Analyst]

/375 cont./

369 Diakhaté, for example).

621 Sometimes the discord between religious heads be-
[798] longing to different sects provoked the separation in fact of the two opposite camps (Keur-Mamour).

Up to here the presence of the city acted only indirectly in stimulating /376/ the swelling or the splitting up of the village and the temporary or definitive emigration of some elements. It may also have more direct effects on the agglomerations.

369 During the last three decades, through the establish-
[498] ment of the great repair workshops /ateliers de réparation/ of the Dakar-Niger, Thiès has been in the process of becoming
[712] an industrial city; in a parallel way the military bases are becoming larger at the expense of the neighboring rural territories.

369 Even before this last war, the None village of Tiali,
423 located one kilometer from the city, was the first to be de-
[712] prived of about a third of its land by the establishment of the camp of military aviation. In 1947 plans to extend this same base brought about the complete evacuation of Thiès-none which was established south of the railroad, in the vicinity of Sapko. Almost all of these fields were relinquished to the military authorities. Finally, in 1953, execution of the plan for the urbanization of the city obliged the inhabitants of Wango to rebuild their huts in the quarter of Greater Thiès. Part of these lands have been relinquished to the municipality.

369 The land shrinks, the population grows; in order to subsist, a part of the rural population is obliged to go to work in the city.

[361] But before studying this question of the changing of the rural worker into an urban worker, we shall see whether the presence of the city has an influence on the plan of the village and especially on the settlement pattern.

/422 cont./

*511
276

Table XII (cont.)

No.	Income	In Proportion to Income				
		Fuel	Illumination	Maintenance	Water	Kola
32	25,000	1.2	0.8	1.0	--	1.3
33	25,000	3.2	0.8	1.0	--	--
34	25,900	1.5	0.4	1.1	--	0.2
35	27,000	2.8	0.2	1.5	--	--
36	34,000	2.0	0.9	1.6	--	--
37	36,000	3.5	0.7	1.1	--	0.1
38	50,000	0.8	0.5	1.4	--	--
39	51,000	1.3	2.5	0.5	1.1	--
40	55,000	3.6	1.2	1.5	--	0.1
41	55,500	2.5	0.5	1.0	--	1.3
42	56,000	1.6	0.5	1.1	--	--
43	81,000	0.4	--	0.6	--	--

/423/

*511 Let us begin with the most obligatory of all, those from which it is most difficult to escape: taxes and the rent of the dwelling (Table XIII).[1]

*511 651 Two of our families do not pay taxes. Nearly all of the others devote at least 1% of their income to them. The tax paid would normally be proportional to the number of adults that the restricted family contains. It is quite often lower; [659] one may succeed in escaping the fiscal census. It is sometimes [602] higher: specifically, in three cases where the salaried worker in the city pays the taxes for his relatives who remained in the village.

*511 427 Only 13 families pay rent for the dwelling. Two are given free lodgings by the owner; three are lodged by their [466] employer. The others are "owners." This ownership is often [423] limited to a straw hut, or better a plank hut, constructed on an [342] administrative concession. The most favored build a true house of mud; up to now only one of our family heads has undertaken a "permanent" building.

[1] [see cat 116, pp 62-63. ANALYST]

/430 cont./

*511 Finally, eight families more or less regularly devote
517 a part of their incomes to the heading "Diversions"; ex-
[541] cluding No. 36 /431/ (he attends the horse races), all go to
[546] the cinema or send their children there. They are the numbers:

No. 16:	1%	No. 36:	1%
No. 22:	3.5%	No. 39:	0.6%
No. 26:	0.9%	No. 40:	0.2%
No. 33:	0.6%	No. 43:	0.6%

[204] There must be added to that five families who read and buy newspapers:

No. 34:	Employee...	0.3%	of the income
No. 36:	Accountant..	0.7%	--
No. 39:	Teacher.....	1.6%	--
No. 41:	Employee...	0.4%	--
No. 43:	Doctor.....	2.5%	--

*511 A final question presents itself. How, when there is
423 any, are the surpluses utilized.

We have been able to get precise data in only two cases: No. 36 built a house to which he devoted in one year, from March 1952 to March 1953, 80,000 francs. On the
[427] other hand, No. 43 has taken in rent-sale a villa in Dakar, and for that he pays 12,300 francs per month.

Moreover, the ambition of many, as we have said, is
[556] to become the owner of their dwelling. Some look further and want some gardens besides. Several already possess one or the other and are only trying to improve or enlarge them. One of them claimed that he had had a well dug, but he was unable or did not want to remember the sums put into this undertaking.

*511 One of the family heads succeeded in starting a trans-
[472] portation business after having purchased two carts and a horse.
[494] Some hoard. We believed that a cultivator had a good-sized
[454] bank account and loaned the money at usurious rates. We have
[426]

/156 cont./

36 leaves the principal streets, the landmarks disappear, /157/ all the parcels resemble one another, crossroads at angles succeed crossroads, wooden structures are lined up one after the other, different and yet similar. The contrast is therefore great between Pikine and the so-called irregular quarters of Dakar, Wakhinane or Baye Gayndé. One is easily lost in both cases; in the second, it is because of the disordered jumble of lanes that wind in every direction, whereas in the first it is because of the geometrical regularity of the streets and the almost perfect alignment of enclosures and walls, which finally eliminate all originality and every distinctive sign. It is impossible, on the other hand, to compare Pikine with the Médina or the new quarters. In the latter, the streets are paved, sometimes lighted, electricity is common in the windows of the houses, and the buildings of durable material far outweigh the wooden huts. In the former, on the contrary, only the broad axes are tarred, while elsewhere sand is king, and although here and there one finds some durable buildings outside the two districts, the great majority of the huts are of wood, sometimes of straw. Village, shantytown, or city? One does not know how to answer this question. Moreover, another contrast, to which reference has already been made, complicates it: the difference which distinguishes the two districts of the ICOTAF and the Pépinière, on the one hand, from the other quarters of Pikine on the other. The former are actually comparable to Ouagouniaye or Bopp, and therefore this duality of habitat, and consequently of living conditions, leads to a modification of the initial question: Is Pikine not made up of a city and a village? Is not the unity of the Pikine agglomeration merely artificial?

175 One is more inclined to believe this if one considers
369 the origin and history of the district. Before 1952 Pikine did
● 423 not exist, and instead the bush stretched out, with monkeys, jackals, etc. Only this bush belonged to the state, and it
[166] was on these govemment lands that it was decided to relocate the inhabitants of the irregular quarters who had to be expelled from Dakar, in order to realize the planned works of urbanization.

/157 cont./

175 urbanization. An initial slice was portioned out, and a
369 parcel was allocated to the head of each family that was
[423] expelled. Ownership granted an uncertain title, but it could become definite if the occupant improved his parcel by building a durable dwelling on it. At first the authorities hardly believed in the existence of Pikine; there was no easy communication with Dakar, since the auto road did not yet exist, there was no connection by express bus, no stores, etc. It was believed that the people expelled would return to occupy other lands on the outskirts of Dakar. Contrary to all expectation, /158/ Pikine lived, prospered, and grew by the same process that had given it birth, to the point that today
[435] the parcel which originally had no value costs from 30,000 to 40,000 francs. On the other hand, the dwellings that the Office de l'Habitat has now built in the districts are
[426] sold on credit to those who have the desire and the means to obtain them.

Pikine thus originated through an administrative decision; it is an agglomeration which has no tradition, no past, a city of recent date and entirely created. Moreover, this brief historical account brings to light another difference which has to do with the mode of peopling it: in the districts it is voluntary, while in the quarters it has been more or less imposed by the administration.

121 This assemblage of peculiar traits make Pikine a very interesting city from the sociological point of view. The investigation, which was conducted during the latter half of 1960, pursued a threefold goal: first, to collect a certain number of general data which would complete or confirm those which had already been gathered; then to examine to what extent the difference in housing conditions did or did not produce a perceptible difference in behavior and style of living, especially with regard to the family; finally, in correlation with the preceding problem, to study the evolution of family behavior in an urban environment and to observe the appearance of new familial structures better adapted to an urban environment than the traditional family.

/160 cont./

162 361 2) One often hears figures on the order of 40,000 or 50,000 advanced for the total population of Pikine. It seems that there may be a distinct exaggeration there and that the reason for it is the following: a good many parcels are unoccupied, as they are bare or built up but uninhabited. Out of a sample of 287 parcels, 65 were unoccupied, making 22.6%. One comes across bare lands in all the quarters but the phenomenon is particularly noticeable in one of the first quarters of Pikine, namely, Maka-Kolobane, and naturally in the new subdivisions which are adjacent to Thiaroye-Gare. Here it is normal, elsewhere it is less so, and one may ask 162 423 whether a certain number of owners, although already possessing a residence in Dakar, have not obtained the right to certain parcels in spite of the administration. Be that as [123] it may, it has been impossible for me to investigate this further since the subject is taboo and the mere fact of mentioning it at one time or another has resulted in serious prejudices against carrying out the investigation.

162 3) This figure confirms the one obtained in the investigation conducted in the previous year during the same period by Father Martin, which gave a little more than 22,000 persons. An increase of 6,000 individuals in one year, taking into account the lots divided up in the course of the year or the buildings finished by the Office de l'Habitat in the districts, is nothing extraordinary.

[361] 4) With its 30,000 inhabitants Pikine is to be classed in the first rank of the agglomerations of the suburbs of Dakar, far ahead of the traditional villages of Cambérène, Thiaroye, and others, and the size of its population gives it a place apart; it is no longer a village, but a city.

Let us now examine the structure according to age and ethnic group. The following table shows the division of men and women into their age classes and according to ethnic groups; the pyramid that follows recapitulates the total results.

162 882 The age pyramid makes two phenomena apparent. On the one hand, there is the indentation of the class from 15 to 19 years of age. This gap is characteristic of all the cities of Africa. It probably has two principal causes: first, an

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Courts of Law

692 The Court of Assize sits at Dakar, and the Tribunals of First Instance sit at Dakar, Kaolack, and St. Louis. There is a Magistrate's Court at Ziguinchor, and there are Moslem Courts at Dakar, Rufisque, and St. Louis. In each province and full commune there are the usual native courts, and the Colonial Court of Appeal for Senegal sits at St. Louis. There is a separate one for the District of Dakar.

In addition to the local courts, the West African Court of Appeal and the Supreme Native Court of Appeal are both held at Dakar.

Native Organization

631 177 All the old chiefdoms and kingdoms have now disappeared. On the other hand, owing to their representation on the Colonial Council, chiefs in Senegal to-day exercise greater influence than in other colonies. They are appointed and paid by the Government, and they can usually be relied on to supply an official majority. In 1925 they induced the Government to raise their salaries, which now range from 7,600 francs to 36,500 francs per annum. The chiefs are divided into no less than twelve grades. Most of them have [871] been educated at the École des Fils des Chefs et des Interprètes at St. Louis.

Land Tenure

423 By 31 December 1937 provisional concessions had been granted over an area of 12 square miles and concessions over 15 square miles. By the same date there had been granted under the immatriculation system 9,630 certificates of title, covering 177 square miles. Under the process of Confirmation of Native Land Rights, 40 certificates had been granted, covering 3½ square miles. These figures are very small for the size and population of the colony.

Labour

466 [646] The Colonial Council is responsible for the fact that forced labour has been redeemable by every person since 1921. This reform did not become universal in the Federation till several years later. In 1930 a resolution of the same council compelled owners of motor vehicles to lend them for work under the same system.

In 1935 there were 408,000 persons on the forced labour rolls, 1,415,000 man-days were worked, and 561,300 francs were paid in

/375 cont./

369 He works the lougan (1) of his host; after a few months he
166
[574]
[425]
[622]

1. Lougan; a Wolof term signifying a cultivated field.

obtains a little grant of land from the head of the village; he builds a hut, and often his family joins him and comes to share his life. Diakhaté and Keur-Issa-Bambara grow. The new settler takes advantage of the inactivity that the dry season imposes on him by offering his services temporarily to the urban establishments. Each year he divides his activities, which become half-urban, half-rural. If stable employment is offered to him in the city, he leaves the care of his lougan to his family and devotes himself entirely to his new activity. For a few months he will accept this daily [484] travel, but he has no deep attachment in the village that welcomed him earlier; tired of his long daily journeys, perhaps also pushed by a kind of pride in becoming a city dweller, he will finally, he and his family, leave the rural life and settle in the huts of the native quarters of Thiés.

369 Perhaps he retained a little lougan in the village?
241 His family will come to maintain it each year. Perhaps he exchanged it for a field located in the vicinity of his new establishment? In general, because of a kind of peasant atavism, he always keeps a little bit of ground near his quarter. The harvest will give some protection against possi- [451] ble shortages; the sale of the products of the soil will be a considerable balance when enforced idleness or lack of money occurs.

369 The period of the maximum development of Keur-
621 Issa-Bambara is set by the old people in the decade 1910-1920. This swelling of the population often required splitting the village in two. For reasons of familial misunderstandings or the necessity of being nearer to fields too far away, this disassociation was brought about in several hamlets (at

Thiès
Serer FA32
Wolof MS30
SONINKE MS21
BAMBARA FA8

/397 cont./ Table II (cont.)

W
9R
90
B
511
434
463
S
*511
434

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Expenses
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25,000	15,706
34	Wolof	Employee P. T. T.	25,900	14,715
35	Wolof	Staff employee D. N.	27,000	16,654
36	Wolof	Private accountant	34,000	19,829
37	Wolof	Truck-gardener	36,000	23,680
38	Wolof	Jeweler	50,000	27,397
39	Sarakolé	Teacher	51,000	21,240
40	Wolof	Staffworker D. N.	55,000	31,004
41	Sarakolé	Head employee D. N.	55,500	21,105
42	Bambara	Chief worker, C. D. N.	56,000	24,548
43	Wolof	Doctor	81,000	34,612

S
*511

/398 cont./

deficits of Nos. 24, 25, and 26, which are less significant. The slenderness of the deficit of No. 3 can be explained by the limited number of persons that the unit of consumption contains.

S
125
*511

in the care of one of the families having the smallest income.)

This deficit is, of course, theoretical. Not having followed these families closely for an entire year, we cannot pretend to present an exact balance-sheet of their budget. It is possible that our percentages would be reduced in the course of a year, or a longer period, either by a reduction in expenses (reduction of consumption, or reduction of the unit of consumption itself) or by the creation of another source of income. The fact remains, however, that they do exist and that they are important.

S
426
*511

It will be easy for us to show where they come from. It is almost impossible to explain rationally their persistence and their

/398 cont./

426 near generality. A continual deficit of 20% of the monthly
*511 income soon creates, for an individual or a group of individuals, an enormous liability inconceivable in a society economically organized according to Western standards. To be loaded with debts is a disgrace in Europe. The non-payment of purchases on credit is sanctioned. Most of the heads of families that we investigated did not hide the sums that they owed, whether because of purchases on credit among the merchants or directly as a consequence of borrowing money. To the extent that they remembered them. And, when a debt is paid, it is often because a sum perhaps larger was borrowed a few moments before.

*511 Only the importance of the practice of selling and buying
452 on credit permits the system to endure. About 80% of the Africans of the cities, in Senegal at least, buy what they need on credit. Little more than the daily marketing for the household (vegetables, condiments, fish and meat) is done with cash. Of course, the costs of buying on credit are overly high: 5, 10, 15% depending on the products, up to 50% sometimes (for cloth, for example). And the merchants who consent to
[443] these practices are for the most part resellers at second or third hand; the cash price itself is higher. But they sell sugar by lumps and matches by the unit...

*511 The African salaried worker, when he receives his salary,
426 in practice pays his debts for the month, and begins to go into
452 debt until the end of the following month. In many cases, as is proved by the debts shown, /399/ /Table III appears here/ /400/ the total of this salary is quite inferior to the sums to
[166] be reimbursed. If then a merchant does not consent to any more credit (in general they are patient), it is always possible to go to another one by changing quarter.

*511 The merchant himself does not lose anything; his prices
452 are sufficiently high so that, even though not paid in full, the sums received permit him to make his own purchases. And he always has some customers with higher incomes who pay their

4: Mersadier--17 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

Thies
SONINKE MS21
FULANI MS11
Wolof MS30
SERER FA32
TUKOLOR MS27
BAMBARA FA8

/399/

Table III

So
F
W
SR
T
B
426
511
S
426
511*

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Monthly Surplus or Deficit	% in Relation to Income
1	Samakolé	Laborer	5,800	- 1,555	26.8
2	Peul	Orderly	6,100	- 1,642	26.9
3	Wolof	Laborer	6,500	- 416	6.4
4	Sérère	Laborer	6,700	- 3,034	45.2
5	Toucouleur	Orderly D. N.	6,745	- 1,237	18.3
6	Wolof	Mattress-maker	7,000	- 1,471	21.0
7	Wolof	Laborer	7,000	- 2,231	31.8
8	Wolofo	Orderly	7,410	- 1,124	15.1
9	Wolof	Baker	7,500	- 2,967	39.5
10	Wolof	Cultivator	8,150	- 1,641	20.1
11	Moor	Auxiliary D. N.	8,940	- 2,168	29.2
12	Peul	Laborer	9,000	- 1,593	17.5
13	Wolof	Laborer	9,800	- 1,614	16.4
14	Wolof	Cultivator	10,000	- 1,354	13.5
15	Bambara	Laborer	10,000	- 1,621	16.2
16	Bambara	Auxiliary	10,675	- 2,206	20.6
17	Moor	Auxiliary	10,800	- 2,306	21.3
18	Peul	Spec. laborer	11,000	- 1,758	15.9
19	Toucouleur	Accountant	11,950	- 2,418	20.2
20	Bambara	Auxiliary D. N.	12,000	- 2,582	21.5
21	Wolof	Clerk	13,000	- 3,579	27.5
22	Wolof	Auxiliary	14,000	- 1,488	10.6
23	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	+ 452	3.0
24	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	- 426	2.5
25	Wolof	Auxiliary	15,630	- 837	5.3
26	Wolof	Employee P. T. T	15,800	- 529	3.3
27	Wolof	Shoemaker	16,200	+ 1,563	9.2
28	Wolof	Worker D. N.	22,000	+ 259	1.1
29	Toucouleur	Police sergeant	22,000	+ 286	1.3
30	Wolof	Weigher D. N.	24,000	+ 2,004	8.3
31	Wolof	Carpenter	25,000	+ 1,079	4.3

Thiès
Wolof MS30
Serer FA32
SONINKE MS21
BAMBARA FA8

/399/ Table III (cont.)

W
SR
So
B
426
511
S
426
511*

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Monthly Surplus or Deficit	% in Relation to Income
32	Wolof	Cultivator	25,000	+ 1,442	5.7
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25,000	+ 1,128	4.5
34	Wolof	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	+ 977	3.7
35	Wolof	Staff employee D.N.	27,000	+ 2,117	7.8
36	Wolof	Private accountant	34,000	+ 751	2.2
37	Wolof	Truck-gardener	36,000	+ 1,237	3.4
38	Wolof	Jeweler	50,000	+ 2,555	5.1
39	Sarakolé	Teacher	51,000	+12,894	25.2
40	Wolof	Staff worker	55,000	+ 2,494	4.5
41	Sarakolé	Head employee D.N.	55,500	+ 5,599	10.0
42	Bambara	Chief worker C.D.N.	56,000	+ 4,726	8.4
43	Wolof	Doctor	81,000	+ 847	1.0

S
*511

/400 cont./ of supporting a second wife in another city on an income that is not very high. Nos. 36 and 43 have a lower percentage of surplus, but here we were able to get quite precise information on the utilization of the /401/ surplus and were able to include these sums in the total expenses.

S
178
*262
[369]
[264]

It has become banal to state that the diet of Africans lacks variety. The food habits remain the most deep-rooted, and although one sees imported food products appear more and more among the African families of the cities, it is striking to verify that almost all are merely superimposed on the old ones. The food base, the meals at noon and in the evening, rarely evolves, no matter what the ethnic group, the income, or the

/427 cont./

*511

Table XIV (cont.)

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Clothing	Equipment	Exceptional Expenses
30	Wolof	Weigher	24,000	22.5	1.0	--
31	Wolof	Carpenter	25,000	5.0	1.0	--
32	Wolof	Cultivator	25,000	2.6	13.3	--
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25,000	9.3	5.0	--
34	Wolof	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	16.0	8.7	0.6
35	Wolof	Managerial employee	27,000	9.2	3.7	2.6
36	Wolof	Private accountant	34,000	15.9	0.4	1.9
37	Wolof	Truck-gardener	36,000	9.2	1.3	3.4
38	Wolof	Jeweler	50,000	9.5	4.1	4.2
39	Sarakolé	Teacher	51,000	11.4	2.0	--
40	Wolof	Chief worker	55,000	12.1	2.2	--
41	Sarakolé	Head employee	55,500	9.0	5.2	--
42	Bambara	Chief worker	56,000	13.2	8.1	15.0
43	Wolof	Doctor	81,000	6.1	1.0	3.0

/428 cont./

*511 would have to be truly exceptional circumstances for this rule
796 to be derogated. A sheep is worth 1,500 to 3,000 francs. And,
[435] of course, it is not interdicted to kill several of them. The
[262] mutton must be accompanied by various dishes, also as copious
[426] as possible.[1] All of this adds up to large outlays and often indebtedness for several months. The percentages in proportion to the monthly incomes are low, but it is in one month that all these expenses occur, and also many devoted to clothing. It is difficult not to go into debt.

[1] [for the Moslem holiday - Tabaski - ANALYST]

/430 cont./

*511 Finally, eight families more or less regularly devote
517 a part of their incomes to the heading "Diversions"; ex-
[541] cluding No. 36 /431/ (he attends the horse races), all go to
[546] the cinema or send their children there. They are the numbers:

No. 16:	1%	No. 36:	1%
No. 22:	3.5%	No. 39:	0.6%
No. 26:	0.9%	No. 40:	0.2%
No. 33:	0.6%	No. 43:	0.6%

[204] There must be added to that five families who read and buy newspapers:

No. 34:	Employee...	0.3%	of the income
No. 36:	Accountant..	0.7%	--
No. 39:	Teacher.....	1.6%	--
No. 41:	Employee...	0.4%	--
No. 43:	Doctor.....	2.5%	--

*511 A final question presents itself. How, when there is
423 any, are the surpluses utilized.

We have been able to get precise data in only two cases: No. 36 built a house to which he devoted in one year, from March 1952 to March 1953, 80,000 francs. On the
[427] other hand, No. 43 has taken in rent-sale a villa in Dakar, and for that he pays 12,300 francs per month.

Moreover, the ambition of many, as we have said, is
[556] to become the owner of their dwelling. Some look further and want some gardens besides. Several already possess one or the other and are only trying to improve or enlarge them. One of them claimed that he had had a well dug, but he was unable or did not want to remember the sums put into this undertaking.

*511 One of the family heads succeeded in starting a trans-
[472] portation business after having purchased two carts and a horse.
[494] Some hoard. We believed that a cultivator had a good-sized
[454] bank account and loaned the money at usurious rates. We have
[426]

/431 cont./

*511 not been able to take this income into account, but he is certainly erroneously placed in our list; this is No. 23. The 15,000 francs shown indeed correspond to his way of life, but he should certainly be higher.

Finally, many do not know where the money goes... and would be very surprised to learn that they should normally have a surplus at the end of each month. It is very probable [426] that they loan /432/ much of it, which is never returned to them and which they do not think of asking for; they are the ones who permit the system to remain in equilibrium.

*511 114 Many points have remained obscure in the course of this study, and many others require some explanation. We have strictly limited ourselves to a report of the verifications that we have made concerning the budgets of our families, not wishing to go still further and speak of the "standard of living." These are thus raw results which need to be worked over, put back in their framework, and illuminated in the light of their context: all the elements that make up African daily life.

But other studies of the same order are under way. One was recently made in Dakar itself; another will soon begin in Saint-Louis. By combining the results we will then be able to confirm certain of the tendencies shown and, finally, perhaps to draw some valid conclusions.

*511 The provisional conclusions would be: the apparent impossibility, or in any case the difficulty, of balancing a budget when the income is less than 15,000 francs, at least by changing the food habits (by consuming more millet, for example) and above all the social context. But on this last point the traditions are still the strongest. On the other hand, as we have just said, it is because of them that the system remains in equilibrium. [369] But from this struggle between two forces, the traditions of the rural life and the necessities of life in the city, there is the danger that disequilibrium will arise. In any case this is what often happens on the level of the familial groups that we studied.

/157 cont./

175 urbanization. An initial slice was portioned out, and a
369 parcel was allocated to the head of each family that was
[423] expelled. Ownership granted an uncertain title, but it could become definite if the occupant improved his parcel by building a durable dwelling on it. At first the authorities hardly believed in the existence of Pikine; there was no easy communication with Dakar, since the auto road did not yet exist, there was no connection by express bus, no stores, etc. It was believed that the people expelled would return to occupy other lands on the outskirts of Dakar. Contrary to all expectation, /158/ Pikine lived, prospered, and grew by the same process that had given it birth, to the point that today
[435] the parcel which originally had no value costs from 30,000 to 40,000 francs. On the other hand, the dwellings that the Office de l'Habitat has now built in the districts are
[426] sold on credit to those who have the desire and the means to obtain them.

Pikine thus originated through an administrative decision; it is an agglomeration which has no tradition, no past, a city of recent date and entirely created. Moreover, this brief historical account brings to light another difference which has to do with the mode of peopling it: in the districts it is voluntary, while in the quarters it has been more or less imposed by the administration.

121 This assemblage of peculiar traits make Pikine a very interesting city from the sociological point of view. The investigation, which was conducted during the latter half of 1960, pursued a threefold goal: first, to collect a certain number of general data which would complete or confirm those which had already been gathered; then to examine to what extent the difference in housing conditions did or did not produce a perceptible difference in behavior and style of living, especially with regard to the family; finally, in correlation with the preceding problem, to study the evolution of family behavior in an urban environment and to observe the appearance of new familial structures better adapted to an urban environment than the traditional family.

/174 cont./

162 463 [427] the development of agricultural work; there has been none of this. Indeed, the lands are the property of the Lebou of neighboring villages and the cost of renting is high. Gardening therefore remains the privileged domain of the old villages of the peninsula, Keur-Massar, Thiaroye-sur-Mer, and Cambérène.

2nd. The great majority of the labor force is made up of non-specialized workers: almost 45% manual workers without occupational qualifications.

3rd. The Moors have a special place: two-thirds are merchants who keep shop, and the last third is made up almost exclusively of butchers who have been classed among the "manual workers."

4th. The most interesting feature is the difference which distinguishes the occupational structure of the districts from that of the quarters: in the first, no shop, either Moorish or Wolof, and practically no artisan; in the second, practically one worker out of two has no occupational qualifications, whereas this proportion drops to 12% in the districts; finally, and above all, out of three heads of families in the former, two are officials, whereas there is no more than one official out of ten in the latter.

362 463 [427] [426] [465] The reason for this recruitment is solely of an economic nature. Almost all the inhabitants of the districts are owners of their dwellings or will become such after they have made their payments. Now, these are spread over five years and have been calculated in such a way that the monthly payment does not exceed a quarter of the salary received. For the cheapest dwellings this is equal to a payment of 5,000, therefore to a monthly salary of about 20,000. A /175/ guard, houseboy, or a laborer does not earn this sum and is incapable of procuring a dwelling of this type. The dwellings of the districts are thus principally reserved for the officials, and then for the staffs, who have an adequate and 571 an assured salary. We therefore witness here the appearance of this phenomenon of social differentiation observable in many other African countries; it consists of the existence

/11 cont./

244 654 as the one of the famous "groundnut scheme" of Tanganyika. Moreover, they have greatly contributed to the rationalization of the traditional techniques, also studied since 1924 at the experimental center of Bambey.

242 244 654 3. Improvements in the traditional methods of cultivation. The center of Bambey, administered by the Institut de recherche des huiles /12/ et oléagineux (I.R.H.O.) /Institute for Research on Oils and Oily Substances/ has made great efforts, especially since the end of the last war, in the selection of seed, instituting new methods of cultivation, and protection of the soil and the natural environment. These studies, together with the information furnished by Boulel and Séfa, have given very encouraging results.

1) The selection of seed. In traditional cultivation, the cultivator had to take the seed for the next season from his own harvest. This system was not very satisfactory: the seeds were often of mediocre quality, and they did not keep well; finally, very often the cultivator improvidently sold part of his stock before the end of trading and consequently had [426] to resort to usurious loans.

Since 1924 the center of Bambey has introduced seed selected for high yield, adapted to the natural conditions of each productive region. The adoption of creeping varieties for the dry regions of the north and of erect plants for the more moist and compact soils of the south assures an increase of 20% in yields. In 1935 26 metric tons of selected seed had been distributed; in 1951 this figure exceeded 35,000. Since then more than 90% of the seed used has been selected seed. The popularization and the distribution of these seeds are handled by the satellite centers, but above all by the sociétés de prévoyance /welfare societies/, which in 1958 became the Sociétés mutuelles de développement rural (S.M.D.R.). The distribution of the seed takes place between the closing of

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

647 656 *Produce Inspection.* Produce inspection is entrusted to a board nominated by the Chambers of Commerce, but the Government keeps a tight control by exercising a veto on all important appointments to its staff. The Board's inspectorate has very wide powers of inspection over produce, whether destined for local consumption or for export. No produce to which inspection applies can be sent out [439] of the colony without a certificate of purity.

For this inspection a special tax of 5 francs per ton on ground-nuts [651] and palm kernels, and 20 francs per ton on rubber, is imposed on produce intended for export.

456 654 *Native Provident Societies.* There are 14 Native Provident Societies. Bignona and Ziguinchor have combined, but otherwise there is one to each province. In 1937 they had 1,200,000 members, [647] whose annual subscriptions varied from 2·50 francs to 5·00 francs each, and their expenses were some 25,000,000 francs. They supplied over 44,000 tons of ground-nut seeds to their members.

In earlier days the Sine-Saloum society imported stallions from [232] the Argentine for the breeding of mules, and in 1932 the societies devoted nearly 250,000 francs to the purchase of motor vehicles. In cattle-breeding districts they supply breeding stock and improve water-supply and pasturage. By 1933 it was estimated that the societies had sunk over 1,200 wells, while the society of Thiès had [312] constructed a barrage for irrigation purposes.

In addition to strictly agricultural activities, the Senegal societies [426] help their members by advances of cash, which are made not only to meet failure of crops, but also in cases of individual accident or illness.

Mining

656 316 At the end of 1937 the following permits were in force:

Personal licences		4
The Occupation System		
Exclusive licences	10	
Mining licences	32	
Concessions	16	
	—	58
Total		62

Education

871 1997 The first attempts to educate the natives of French West Africa were made in Senegal, and they were also remarkable for being instituted, not by missionaries, but by the Crown. Colonel Schmaltz

/128 cont./

654 In order to enjoy these advantages the society member
474 pays an assessment of one franc per year.

244 He can also request and obtain loans of food, rice, or
[731] millet, if he is justified by a case of great necessity: scarcity as a result of an unfortunate or calamitous event.

[426] Finally, since last year, he has been able to obtain loans in money on the condition of certain guarantees. These loans are granted for cultivation, and also for the improvement of his agricultural equipment, or for starting or enlarging his herd. These loans may amount to as much as 5,000 francs and are to be paid back within several years.

654 In 1927, the members numbered 240,000.

474 The society has 30 storehouses, more than half of which
[251] are built out of permanent materials: laterite stones or cement.

[343] /129/ It has utilized its resources to make wells out of reinforced concrete in order to procure for the inhabitants the
[312] potable water necessary for their needs and for the needs of their animals.

It gives bonuses to the cultivators who exhibit the best harvests. It also awards bonuses for the capture of animals harmful to agriculture.

The work accomplished is remarkable.

[244] The increase in the production of groundnuts in the circle is due to the Société de Prévoyance, under the control of the administration.

In it, commerce has a valuable organization whose usefulness it recognizes and whose incontestable and uncontested services it moreover appreciates.

312 The water problem. Wells. The serious question of water presents itself in the circle as it does everywhere in Senegal. The economic life of the region depends on the water supply of its inhabitants.

In order to prevent the danger of a water shortage, it has been necessary to dig wells. The séanes, natural reservoirs or pockets dug by man, were too small in number. They received rain water, but their volume was limited, and a few weeks sufficed to empty them after the last rainfall.

S /382 cont./
SR agricultural, 27% work wholly at Thiès, and 31% divide
162 their activity between the city and the country, depending
369 on the season and the labor market.

S Thus, the decrease in the cultivable area has brought
SR about a decrease in the number of cultivators. But the None
241 is above all a man of the soil, a peasant. Even as a laborer, he will not give up his bit of land which will give him a harvest. Each evening upon his return from work, he will take up his iler (1) and go to cultivate his lougan of millet

S
SR
[412]

1. Hilaire or iler: implement par excellence of the Senegalese cultivator, made up of a metal blade in the shape of a heart fixed to a long handle.

S or groundnuts. And if he has an occupation that suits him in
SR the city and in addition personally owns good land? He will
241 hire the services of a navétane (2) to whom he will relinquish
369
427

2. Seasonal agricultural worker.

a portion of his land and to whom he will grant some free time for his personal crops. This navétane will work his fields, and, through this procedure, he will be able to sell or amass a considerable harvest at the end of the year.

S An examination of the occupation of temporary or
SR permanent workers shows an important number of laborers,
162 19, of masons, 12, and a more modest number of boys
463 /domestic workers/ and shopkeepers, 8, out of a total of 71 workers. These results corroborate those given in the human study of the escale of Thiès.

S In spite of a relatively close urban neighborhood, the
SR number of inhabitants understanding French is very modest:
162 only 33 understand our language; 15 children out of a hundred
191 go to the nearby French school. These results may appear
[871] deceptive if one considers that all the conditions of the milieu seem favorable for closer contact with the European element.

/422 cont./

*511
276

Table XII (cont.)

No.	Income	In Proportion to Income				
		Fuel	Illumination	Maintenance	Water	Kola
32	25,000	1.2	0.8	1.0	--	1.3
33	25,000	3.2	0.8	1.0	--	--
34	25,900	1.5	0.4	1.1	--	0.2
35	27,000	2.8	0.2	1.5	--	--
36	34,000	2.0	0.9	1.6	--	--
37	36,000	3.5	0.7	1.1	--	0.1
38	50,000	0.8	0.5	1.4	--	--
39	51,000	1.3	2.5	0.5	1.1	--
40	55,000	3.6	1.2	1.5	--	0.1
41	55,500	2.5	0.5	1.0	--	1.3
42	56,000	1.6	0.5	1.1	--	--
43	81,000	0.4	--	0.6	--	--

/423/

*511 Let us begin with the most obligatory of all, those from which it is most difficult to escape: taxes and the rent of the dwelling (Table XIII).[1]

*511 651 Two of our families do not pay taxes. Nearly all of the others devote at least 1% of their income to them. The tax paid would normally be proportional to the number of adults that the restricted family contains. It is quite often lower; [659] one may succeed in escaping the fiscal census. It is sometimes [602] higher: specifically, in three cases where the salaried worker in the city pays the taxes for his relatives who remained in the village.

*511 427 Only 13 families pay rent for the dwelling. Two are given free lodgings by the owner; three are lodged by their [466] employer. The others are "owners." This ownership is often [423] limited to a straw hut, or better a plank hut, constructed on an [342] administrative concession. The most favored build a true house of mud; up to now only one of our family heads has undertaken a "permanent" building.

[1] [see cat 116, pp 62-63. ANALYST]

/423 cont./

*511 362 427 It would be beyond our purpose to go into the problem of living conditions, since only budgets are in question here and not the standard of living in general. Let us state only that the desire to be the owner of one's home is legitimate if one examines the high cost of rent, and above all the portion of the income that its payment requires: 12% for No. 1, whose income is 5,800 francs (two rooms in a plank hut with a metal roof, where 13 persons are crowded together); 12.6% for No. 2; 14% for No. 16, etc.... The percentages noted after No. 26 are more normal, and the dwellings are more comfortable. But the incomes are from four to ten times higher.

*511 467 We have shown on the same table the percentages calculated for the syndical assessment, the cost of which is the same for everyone in the same syndicate (300 or 350 francs, depending on the syndicate), in order to show the cost, low on the whole, that they represent: one goes down in decreasing order from 0.4%, which is not negligible, to 0.09%, which is significant. No. 43 is a member of the syndicate of doctors, for which the assessment is higher.

*511 After rice, the clothing heading is the most important among many families. Some will be surprised at this, if they are not familiar with the cities of Senegal. Others would be expecting this result.

Table XIV[1] gives us the details for this heading, family by /424/ /Table XIII appears here/ /425/ family. The first verification shown is that the number of families exceeding 10% of the income is larger at the top of the table, where a deficit exists, than at the bottom. Should one conclude from this that they have decided to satisfy their reputed liking for clothing at any price?

The percentages are misleading; it is better for us to give some information on the absolute values.

From No. 1 to No. 10, none of these families devoted more than 10,000 francs to clothing in one year. No. 29 spent

1 [see cat 116, pp 66-67. ANALYST]

4: Mersadier--62 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

/424/

*511
427
651
467

Table XIII

No.	Occupation	Income	In % in proportion to income: Taxes	Rent	Syndical Assessment
1	Laborer	5,800	--	12	0.4
2	Orderly	6,100	4.0	--	0.4
3	Laborer	6,500	2.0	--	--
4	Laborer	6,700	--	12.6	0.3
5	Orderly	6,745	4.0	--	0.3
6	Mattress-maker	7,000	1.0	--	--
7	Laborer	7,000	1.7	11.4	0.4
8	Orderly	7,410	2.0	--	0.5
9	Baker	7,500	1.1	--	--
10	Cultivator	8,150	1.2	--	--
11	Auxiliary D. N.	8,940	2.6	--	0.2
12	Laborer	9,000	3.4	--	0.2
13	Laborer	9,800	1.7	--	0.2
14	Cultivator	10,000	1.8	--	--
15	Laborer	10,000	3.1	7.5	--
16	Auxiliary	10,675	0.9	14	0.2
17	Auxiliary	10,800	2.1	--	0.2
18	Spec. laborer	11,000	1.1	--	0.2
19	Accountant	11,950	2.0	4.1	0.3
20	Auxiliary	12,000	1.3	--	0.2
21	Clerk	13,000	3.2	--	0.1
22	Auxiliary	14,000	1.3	--	0.1
23	Cultivator	15,000	5.0	--	--
24	Cultivator	15,000	1.6	--	--
25	Auxiliary D. N.	15,630	1.6	--	0.1
26	Employee P. T. T.	15,800	1.7	9.5	0.1
27	Shoemaker	16,200	3.4	--	--
28	Worker D. N.	22,000	4.5	--	0.1
29	Police sargeant	22,000	1.4	1.3	--

/424 cont./ Table XIII (cont.)

*511
427
65/
467

No.	Occupation	Income	In % in proportion to income: Taxes	Rent	Syndidal Assessment
30	Weigher	24,000	1.6	--	0.1
31	Carpenter	25,000	1.3	--	0.1
32	Cultivator	25,000	0.7	--	--
33	Chauffeur	25,000	2.5	4	0.1
34	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	1.4	6	0.09
35	Staff employee D.N.	27,000	1.6	3.7	0.09
36	Private accountant	34,000	1.4	--	--
37	Truck-gardener	36,000	1.4	--	--
38	Jeweler	50,000	0.4	4	--
39	Teacher	51,000	1.1	--	--
40	Staffworker D.N.	55,000	1.1	--	0.09
41	Head employee D.N.	55,500	1.4	1.8	--
42	Chief worker	56,000	0.9	--	--
43	Doctor	81,000	3.2	--	0.2

*511 /425 cont./ 9,300 francs; No. 1, 8,000 francs. From No. 11 to No. 23, we exceed 15,000 francs only once (19).

These two groups nearly correspond, on the one hand, to the group of monthly incomes from 5,000 to 10,000 francs and, on the other hand, to the group from 10,000 to 15,000 francs. For the latter, the maximum to be devoted to clothing would thus be equal to a month's income. The figure may seem reasonable, but the proportion is very great for budgets systematically having a deficit. It is true that many do not

[291]
[292]
[796]

/430 cont./

*511 Finally, eight families more or less regularly devote
517 a part of their incomes to the heading "Diversions"; ex-
[541] cluding No. 36 /431/ (he attends the horse races), all go to
[546] the cinema or send their children there. They are the numbers:

No. 16:	1%	No. 36:	1%
No. 22:	3.5%	No. 39:	0.6%
No. 26:	0.9%	No. 40:	0.2%
No. 33:	0.6%	No. 43:	0.6%

[204] There must be added to that five families who read and buy newspapers:

No. 34:	Employee...	0.3%	of the income
No. 36:	Accountant..	0.7%	--
No. 39:	Teacher.....	1.6%	--
No. 41:	Employee...	0.4%	--
No. 43:	Doctor.....	2.5%	--

*511 A final question presents itself. How, when there is
423 any, are the surpluses utilized.

We have been able to get precise data in only two cases: No. 36 built a house to which he devoted in one year, from March 1952 to March 1953, 80,000 francs. On the
[427] other hand, No. 43 has taken in rent-sale a villa in Dakar, and for that he pays 12,300 francs per month.

Moreover, the ambition of many, as we have said, is
[556] to become the owner of their dwelling. Some look further and want some gardens besides. Several already possess one or the other and are only trying to improve or enlarge them. One of them claimed that he had had a well dug, but he was unable or did not want to remember the sums put into this undertaking.

*511 One of the family heads succeeded in starting a trans-
[472] portation business after having purchased two carts and a horse.
[494] Some hoard. We believed that a cultivator had a good-sized
[454] bank account and loaned the money at usurious rates. We have
[426]

/172 cont./

166 369 3) The migrations of the Toucouleur and the Moors show, for each of them, their own peculiarities, which give these two ethnic groups of immigrants an unquestionable originality.

/173/

III. Work. Socio-occupational Structure

162 463 128 Three problems are interesting in this section: the socio-occupational distribution properly speaking, unemployment, and the place of work.

The crude results of the distribution of the occupations are too scattered to show the broad outlines of the structure. It has seemed to us preferable to regroup the various professions into six large categories and to present the table of percentages of each within each ethnic group. Let us specify what each category corresponds to: that without any occupation, we have put the marabouts who do not have any activity, whether they practice full time -- which is rare --, part time, or do not have any students at all. /Table 11 appears here./

It is necessary to add the merchants to the artisans. The category "manual workers" is the largest: it includes the /174/ laborers, orderlies, chauffeurs, in short, all those who do not have an occupational qualifications. By staffs one should understand foremen as well as office employees, accountants, or typists, provided they belong to private enterprises. Under the rubric of "officials" are listed all those who are concerned with public functions from the local or general staff: policemen, government officials, or employees of the municipality. For each ethnic group the first line gives the percentages in the quarters and the second the corresponding percentages in the districts. The bottom line shows the total result, and the two preceding ones the results in the quarters and in the districts.

This table deserves a brief explanation:

162 463 1st. There are only very few cultivators. One would think that the proximity of the Niayes of Cape Verde and the importance of truck-gardening cultivation would favor

[B27]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 28--Analyst]

/174 cont./

162 the development of agricultural work; there has been none
463 of this. Indeed, the lands are the property of the Lebou of
[427] neighboring villages and the cost of renting is high. Gardening therefore remains the privileged domain of the old villages of the peninsula, Keur-Massar, Thiaroye-sur-Mer, and Cambérène.

2nd. The great majority of the labor force is made up of non-specialized workers: almost 45% manual workers without occupational qualifications.

3rd. The Moors have a special place: two-thirds are merchants who keep shop, and the last third is made up almost exclusively of butchers who have been classed among the "manual workers."

4th. The most interesting feature is the difference which distinguishes the occupational structure of the districts from that of the quarters: in the first, no shop, either Moorish or Wolof, and practically no artisan; in the second, practically one worker out of two has no occupational qualifications, whereas this proportion drops to 12% in the districts; finally, and above all, out of three heads of families in the former, two are officials, whereas there is no more than one official out of ten in the latter.

362 The reason for this recruitment is solely of an economic
463 nature. Almost all the inhabitants of the districts are owners
[427] of their dwellings or will become such after they have made
[426] their payments. Now, these are spread over five years and have been calculated in such a way that the monthly payment does not exceed a quarter of the salary received. For the cheapest dwellings this is equal to a payment of 5,000,
[465] therefore to a monthly salary of about 20,000. A /175/ guard, houseboy, or a laborer does not earn this sum and is incapable of procuring a dwelling of this type. The dwellings of the districts are thus principally reserved for the officials, and then for the staffs, who have an adequate and
571 an assured salary. We therefore witness here the appearance of this phenomenon of social differentiation observable in many other African countries; it consists of the existence

Table 26. -- 2) Districts

511
362

	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-9	10 to 15	15 +	TOTAL
1										
2			2	1	2	2	1			8
3		1	3		4	4	3	5		20
4	1					1	2	4	1	9
5				1			2		1	4
6						1				1
7										
Total.....	1	1	5	2	6	8	8	9	2	42

/194 cont./

511 of the family. This is an extremely important phenomenon. In
592 order to understand it better, a study of the group occupying the parcel is now in order.

427 A first distinction arises regarding the mode of occupation.
511 Aside from the tenants and owners of their parcels, there are also those who are neither the one nor the other and who live
[592] gratuitously in a hut that does not belong to them, generally because of their kinship ties with the owner. Here is the table in percentages of these three categories arranged by ethnic groups. /Table 27 appears here./

62% of the occupants are thus owners, but we have seen
[369] that only 45% have been expelled from Dakar and have therefore from this fact become owners of the parcel that has been granted

10: Thoré--57 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37

511
592
427

/194/

Table 27

Ethnic Groups	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Owner	67	58	60	53	50	63	68	62
Renter	19	23	32	30	42	27	18	23
Occupant without paying	14	19	8	17	8	10	14	15
Total	100							100

/194 cont./

511 them. As a result, a certain number of family heads, around
427 17%, are owners only because they have bought their parcel.
[369] This fact therefore shows that Pikine has become a choice locality where it is worth the trouble to spend money in order to establish oneself, and thus corroborates the hypothesis set forth above, that the evolution of Pikine today attests to an indisputable degree of urban maturity.

In the districts one counts only 9% who are tenants; all the others are owners or on the way to it. But while the rent of a room in a hut located in the quarters costs an average of 500 francs, the price is much higher in the districts, and this income permits the owner, who for his part is obliged to make a monthly payment to the Office de l'Habitat hardly higher /195/ than the amount of the rent, to acquire at the end of five years a dwelling by paying, in a word, only a ridiculous amount. It is difficult to evaluate the frequency of this abusive practice; in our sample it was three out of four tenants.

351 Another point has to do with the possibility of dividing
511 the parcel into half parcels or of two and even three homes being associated on the land of a single parcel. This possibility does not exist in the districts, where, in practice, economic obligations and the arrangement of the habitat as a rule require having only a single home per parcel. In the quarter, out of 264 homes, one counts 191 of them, namely, 72%, that are alone on the land; 46, or 17%, are in groups of two; and 27, or 11%, are in groups of three.

511 The types of association are very diverse, from the
592 households which are united by a bond of kinship and which represent 22% of the cases of association, that is to say, 6% of the total, to homes living on two half-parcels rigorously separated. The most frequent case is that of two unrelated households living together, who share, if not the same hut, at least the same inner court, each having its fire and doing its cooking separately. In general, the families thus grouped contain only a limited number of members, the scantiness of a half parcel not being favorable to the installation of numerous families. Since this factor does not

/35 cont./

kinship, kinship by marriage, membership in the same ethnic group, the same religious persuasion, the same occupation; certain other facts are ambivalent, for example, membership in the same association. In the study that we have made of a certain number of blocks of Médina, we have tried to isolate the neighborhood factor at different levels of participation in common activities. We essentially retained: reciprocal visits, conversation groups, mutual aid (loans, etc.), relationships between women, the play groups of children. The relationships of simple politeness are not retained. We considered successively the relationships inside the compound -- when it is not inhabited by a single family -- and the relationships within the block. In the last case, a somewhat arbitrary limit is posed: the street is not a border, but a zone of assembly. It has not yet been possible to study completely the social role of the latter. 369* 621 571

In the block that we shall take as an example, 12 out of 14 compounds were studied; the inhabitants of the other two compounds were on a trip or refused to lend themselves to the investigation. The block as a whole is very heterogeneous ethnically, but, however, with a clear dominance of Wolof-Lebou (2). [563]

2. Six family heads who were manifestly Lebou persisted in calling themselves Wolof. Cf. above.

It contains 39 family groups (representing 199 persons) and 11 isolated bachelors, tenants of some of the preceding families. Five of these bachelors only live /36/ in Dakar seasonally, but in principle always in the same place. The distribution of the family heads by ethnic groups is as follows: 28 Wolof, 4 Lebou, 5 Toucouleur, 1 Sarakolé, 1 Socé. Among the isolated bachelors, one has: 5 Wolof, 2 Toucouleur, 2 Socé, 1 Bambara, 1 Soussou. [427] [563]

1. The study of the relationships within the compounds shows a certain variety of situations.! These compounds are

*[see chart, pp. 56-57.- Analyst].

/88 cont./

369 bar, and sometimes its cinema and its swimming pool; /89/
563 they form a small city that is self-sufficient. The officers
573 of the administration by their very functions seem to have more extensive relations in the different milieus.

Among the merchants and artisans, the problem is different because of the very stability of their work and the length of their stay. In this commercial and artisan milieu one could define three very distinct "groupings": the "old ones" who have lived in Thiès for several decades; the "newcomers" from after the war; the Levantine-Moroccan grouping.

The first are not very numerous; they live in their old factorerie, which, in spite of recently added arrangements, preserves something old-fashioned about it. They are able to [191] talk to the native in his own language. Their life, while it has become more comfortable, is lived modestly; they go out little and entertain only among themselves. Every two [484] or three years they take a few months' rest in France during the season of cultivation in Senegal. As a result, their life is quite withdrawn.

The second group, made up of recent emigrants, is entirely different. It primarily contains bachelors or young married people more or less in love with adventure perhaps, but above all seeking a broader existence. They generally [427] live in one or two rooms rented from a Levantine or Moroccan. [265] Since it is difficult for them to cook at home, the restaurant [484] provides for them. In general they adopt a careless attitude, [493] are restless, and speak loudly; their first savings are intended for the purchase of a motorcycle or a small car which will enable them to escape from the city. Moreover, they are [546] persistent spectators at the four local cinemas, which have a new program every day.

The group of Levantines is different from the two preceding ones; their life is spent between their shop and their [484] apartment. Rare changes take them to Dakar on business. [353] Their interior is comfortable, arranged according to Oriental taste; they love vivid colors and pile up cushions. They [484] rarely go back to their country of origin; some of them have

/9 cont./

795 have a moral obligation to deliver the products of their labor to the marabouts. With a remarkable ardor for clearing, these
244 Murids have improved new lands and have thus made a "ground-
311 nut front" progressing toward the east, especially on both sides
795 of the Dakar-Niger railroad. This cultivation, however, presents grave dangers, because the Murids essentially concern themselves with groundnuts at the expense of millet; they use the cleared lands in the average proportion of 60% of the area for groundnuts and only 40% for millet. Crop rotation and fallowing are all too rarely respected, and the lands put under cultivation are all the more unstable since the groundnut front now abuts on the zone of the lateritic cuirasses of the east, ushering in the Sudan.

244 The navétanes (4) are the seasonal workers who come
427
[464]
[167]
[113]

4. Fouquet, J., La traite des arachides dans le pays de Kaolack et ses conséquences économiques, sociales et juridiques /The trade of groundnuts in the region of Kaolack and its economic, social, and legal consequences/. Law thesis, Montpellier, 1951, 262 pp.

from the Sudan in particular and, up to 1958, from the north of Guinea. They cultivate the groundnut for the benefit of
[466] the employer, or diatigui, according to the clauses of a ver-
[465] bal contract. The employer furnishes the cleared ground, the seed, lodgings, and food. The navétane prepares the land, sows, weeds, and gathers the harvest. Actually, he devotes scarcely three to four half-days per week in work for the benefit of the diatigui. He utilizes the rest of his time for clearing and cultivating for himself. This labor is very costly for the employer, who is often obliged to borrow at prohibitive rates in order to feed the navétane. Moreover, this system presents grave dangers, because the temporary immigrant, clearing and cultivating land for which he feels no attachment,

/9 cont./

244 shows no regard for it. Finally, the navétane eats millet
407 and does not produce any, which in certain regions aggravates the problem of the supply. Before 1939, in the period of the full development of groundnut cultivation, there were up to 70,000 navétanes in some years. The system of the authoritative organization of labor during the hostilities could by no means support these effectives; therefore, with the return to freedom in 1946, the number of navétanes had fallen to about 12,000. In order to attract them, they were given free travel going and returning. The suppression of these facilities in 1956 and
[648] the closing of the Guinea frontier at the end /10/of 1958 have
[167] considerably diminished the importance of these temporary
[433] migrations, which, in sum, were not very profitable for the economy of Senegal.

Other seasonal movements of labor take place in the
244 framework of groundnut cultivation. The sourga come from
166 the city and take their place among their relatives under the
464 same conditions as the navétanes. The baraguini are laborers
[427] who, in the regions of Tambacounda and Kédougou, offer their assistance to the cultivators during the harvest. They dig up the groundnut stalks, dry them, and detach and clean the seeds.

All of these types[1] of groundnut cultivation are charac-
244 terized by small yields: 830 kilograms per hectare on the
433 average in Senegal. These yields, a consequence of the poorness of the traditional technical contrivances, can hardly be improved. In recent decades the increase in volume of the harvest has been linked with that of the area cultivated, which is not without grave dangers: abuses of cultivation on soils that are unstable, and a falling off of food production. After some attempts without results in the years 1920-1930, it is mechanized cultivation which, at the end of the Second World War, seems most capable of increasing production for the benefit of the mother country, which suffered from a grave shortage of fatty substances.

[1] [See Category 116, pp. 3-8 for types of autochthonous cultivation--Analyst]

/387 cont./

361 buildings, the General Postoffice, the Treasury, the Town
369 Hall, the former Délégation, the former Palace of Justice, and the Chambre de Commerce are included there. A "city" phenomenon tends to be produced in this quarter which, very lively by day, is almost completely empty at night. Toward the east this quarter extends along the road to Bel-Air and the old road to Rufisque by way of the industrial section of Dakar where the factories have been established largely since the war. On the northwest, on each side of the avenue W.-Ponty, extends a mixed quarter, commercial and residential, harboring the old Lébou families, having benefited from the facilities offered
[427] by the Crédit Foncier, and the Lebano-Syrians and Cape Verdeans who rent or are quasi-owners as a result of long-term leases. It is therefore an old quarter that developed especially after the construction of the commercial port and has preserved its narrow streets, quite unique today, its low houses dominated here and there by some recent building. The avenue W.-Ponty,
366 with greatly varied commerce, the avenue Gambetta dominated
369 by the Lebano-Syrian commerce, the avenue Roume bordered by beautiful buildings and enlivened by luxury commerce, and finally the avenue Maginot which is shared by great stores of the West and Lebano-Syrian commerce in fabrics near the market of Sandaga are the most completely transformed arteries of this section of the Plateau, where many cafés and restaurants, /388/ cabarets, and cinemas maintain far into the night a nonchalant, but pleasant animation following the rushing business of the day.

Beyond the Boulevard de la République, which bounds the
369 old quarters on the west and which is distinguished by its many
361 buildings, commerce disappears almost entirely, giving way to a residential zone of middle-class appearance, with its villas often more comfortable than stylish. This residential zone, formerly
[563] entirely European, is mixed today, harboring European and African staffs. Barracks and hospitals separate this quarter from
[712] Cape Manuel, formerly a military zone, but today occupied by
[344] the monumental, Palace of Justice dominating the newly established embassies. But all of Dakar-ville is not as well arranged

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof. MS 30
Trarza MS 24

S 175 439 [648]

From 1836 onwards treaties were made with the chiefs of the Casamance basin, and posts were constructed at Sedhiou, Karaban, and Diembering. These treaties respected Portuguese historic but obsolete rights at Ziguinchor, but effectively guaranteed that the future of the river should be French.

S [567] [422] [464]

The abolition of the status of slavery by France in 1848 deprived the French merchants of a cheap supply of labour, which they had rented from the chiefs, and in 1850 a committee was appointed to consider withdrawal from the colony or, as an alternative, the establishment of French authority. It decided in favour of the latter, and the policy of trade treaties came to an end.

The new French policy, to which Napoleon III was pledged, was summed up as 'absolute freedom of commerce with the suppression of the escales; establishment of security, by force if necessary; the substitution of full and entire authority for the system of treaties and subsidies; methodical organization of expansion towards the interior; and concurrently the development of economic institutions'.

'By Force if Necessary'

S 175 [643]

Faidherbe. It was to carry out this policy that Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in December 1854. He had already had much experience as a soldier and administrator in the colony, and, with a break of eighteen months, he held office till July 1865. His period of office marked a turning-point in the history of Senegal, and he is justly remembered as one of the builders of the modern French Colonial Empire. At first his resources were pitifully small. He had four companies of marine infantry, a company of native infantry formed on the liberation of the slaves in 1848, sixty spahis, and some detachments of artillery and engineers. His naval strength was on a similar scale. Both were substantially strengthened in the next few years.

S [701]

T S W 175 648

The Arabs. Faidherbe decided to deal with the Trarza Arabs. Notwithstanding the treaty of 1835, they had continued their marauding expeditions across the river, and had re-established a supreme influence over the Ouolofs of Oualo. Early in 1855 the Trarza chief Mohammed el Abib insolently demanded the French evacuation of certain islands near the mouth of the Senegal. Faidherbe marched against him and defeated him near St. Louis on 15 February. On 25 February the Ouolofs were defeated near Ross. The French captured more than 2,000 cattle and burned 20 villages.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

redemption money. During 1936 official figures showed 1,000 labourers working under written contracts for private concerns, while 31,800 were working on verbal agreements. For public services there were only 20 working with written contracts and 8,900 without. These figures apply only to regular employment, and they take no account of casual labour of any kind. 466 [675]

The fertile provinces of Baol and Sine-Saloum annually attract thousands of immigrant labourers from French Sudan to grow ground-nuts. It is estimated that, in some years, as many as 60,000 Sudanese labourers (*navétanes*) cross the border, encouraged by cheap fares on the railways and advances of pay from the Chambers of Commerce. In 1932 these advances amounted to 300,000 francs. On their arrival they do not work for daily hire, but each labourer takes up a plot for the season. The landowner provides the seeds, and also board and lodging for the labourer. In return the labourer works on the owner's plot for two, three, or four days a week. At the close of the season the proprietor takes either one-tenth of the crop or double the quantity of seeds that he supplied, leaving the rest of the crop to the labourer. Most labourers return to their homes at the end of the harvest, but occasionally they stay on till they have accumulated the sum they set out to acquire. 167 464 [441] [654] 427 465 167 464

Agriculture

The first director of agriculture of Senegal may be said to have been Richard, one of the survivors of the *Méduse*. Under him experimental gardens were founded at Richard Toll about 1820. These are still in existence. The present organization of the Department of Agriculture is laid down by an order of 22 January 1932. Working in close contact with local administrative officers, it manages experimental gardens and farm schools, gives information and instruction to farmers, conducts campaigns against agricultural pests, and organizes agricultural shows. The Department has a laboratory at Hann and an experimental station at Bambey. This was opened in 1924 and is devoted principally to the study and improvement of ground-nuts. Besides these institutions the Department owns various smaller stations for study, experiment, and instruction. 647 654

Forestry. The Department of Agriculture had charge of forestry until an order of 10 February 1937 created a separate Forestry Department and divided the colony into four forestry districts (*inspections*), with headquarters at St. Louis, Thiès, Ziguinchor, and Tambacounda respectively.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 39

Gambia, often in rotation with ground-nuts. Of the quick-maturing 243
varieties *souna* and *sanio* are the most popular, the former thriving in [262]
sandy soil, the latter in heavier ground. Several kinds of sorghum are also cultivated. In the river area millet is sown where the floods have subsided and is harvested in April. In other parts it is planted immediately before the rainy season. Production probably averages [433]
about 300,000 tons annually. The export of millet from one province [438]
to another is controlled according to local needs.

Rice. The area flooded by the Casamance is naturally suited for rice cultivation. The rice-fields are handed down from father to [428]
son, each family growing sufficient for its own consumption and to [262]
pay its taxes. A store of rice is always kept to guard against a lean [251]
year or to be exchanged for some other commodity required.

Sugar-cane. This is grown near every village where there is enough 249
water. No attempt has been made to commercialize the crop, and the West African varieties are more woody and contain less juice than those grown elsewhere for export. Sugar-cane (*Saccharum officinarum*) is a perennial plant of the grass family. It is easy to grow, even near the sea, but takes at least a year to mature. When grown for local use, as it is here, sugar is not extracted, but the red or white stems are [263]
chewed.

The Baobab. The baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) is found generally 245
in the thornland (Plate 111), and is, therefore, much in evidence in Senegal. It is remarkable for the large girth of its trunk in com- [262]
parison to its branches and leaves. The long green fruit, known as [263]
monkey-bread, is used as a food or as a seasoner. Boiled with water [272]
and then cooled, it also makes a refreshing drink, while the leaves and the young shoots are also good to eat. The inner bark yields a [283]
tough fibre, which can be twisted into rope or woven into a water-proof cloth. About 30 years ago a factory was opened at Dakar to prepare the fibre for export to rope- and paper-making firms in [288]
France. The bark and fibre can be stripped off without causing the death of the tree.

Manioc, beans, and maize are grown generally in the vicinity of 244
villages. In the Cape Verde peninsula these, as well as yams, sweet [243]
potatoes, and melons, are grown for the Dakar markets. [438]

Economic Crops

Ground-nuts. Ground-nuts (*Arachis hypogaea*) require a tropical climate and an annual rainfall of from 14 to 60 inches. They are the [433]

/25 cont./

793 and to receive the title of Cheikh, with the advantages which
* 795 that confers. While waiting, he works at hoeing and clearing
244 land without counting or measuring all the lands capable of pro-
[555] ducing the groundnuts which make up the fortune of his mara-
bout.

It is this way of colonizing the lands, and more particularly the new lands, which has made the brotherhood play an important role in the economy of Senegal in recent years. The Murid marabouts have been and remain clearers /26/ of land and large-
•[433] scale producers of groundnuts. It can be estimated that they alone produce a little more than half of the total harvest of the Territory.

793 This brilliant picture is nevertheless not without shadows.
*795 Even though the influence of the Murid leaders is not dangerous
578 on the political level as a consequence of the good understanding which exists between them and the Administration, even though there is no reason to fear that they may incite the members of the brotherhood to insubordination, their presence in the villages does pose problems. There are problems when they have settled in villages whose chiefs are not Murids (if not, sometimes, anti-Murid). In these cases it often happens that there are collisions
[627] between the customary chiefs and the Murid marabouts, principally since the reforms of 1945 which diminished considerably the powers of the chiefs and their prestige in the eyes of the people at a time when the influence and glory of the marabouts were increasing. Many times the Murids of a canton want to obey
[632] only their religious leader and willfully ignore the canton chief. In addition, in the face of the invading agricultural activity of the Murids, the non-Murid populations stiffen themselves more and more and try to resist their agrarian encroachments. That sometimes creates quarrels; indeed it even provokes violent disorders which have to be arbitrated or stopped.

793 On the other hand, the recent political evolution which is
*795 resulting in giving the right to vote to all Senegalese men and
666 all Senegalese women has prompted the politicians to seek the collaboration and friendship of the Murid leaders... so that they

/388/

369 The city of Thiès, 60 kilometers east of Dakar, contains
●433 36,000 inhabitants, according to a recent census. All of its
[162] activity seems to be centered around four principal poles: commercial, industrial, administrative, and military.

Its commercial activity is due to its position at the cross-
[487] roads of important paths of communication: railroad lines from Dakar to Saint-Louis, from Dakar to Bamako, and from Thiès to Kaolack, and roads from Dakar to Saint-Louis and from Dakar to Diourbel, Tambacounda, and the Sudan and Guinea.

It also owes the essential part of its industrial activity to
[498] this implantation at an important rail crossroads; the repair
[464] shops of the Dakar-Niger rail system, where nearly 1,000 workers of all grades are employed, have been set up there.

Apart from the workshops of the Dakar-Niger, it must not
[497] be forgotten that Thiès is also where the management of this
[634] system resides. And it is also the principal administrative point of a circle /cercle, an administrative district/. We will thus find, besides the workers, a rather large proportion of office employees, managers, and executives.

[712] Finally, the military function of Thiès is due to the presence of two important camps: the "DMA" (Détachement Motorisé Autonome), and an air base.

Besides these four centers of activities which give this city a modern character (economically speaking, at least), a fifth
[166] one intervenes in a not inconsiderable proportion. A rather large
[241] population of cultivators, who in winter cultivate groundnuts and millet in nearby fields, has settled on the periphery of Thiès. And the city is the point to which, at the time of the groundnut trade, all of the agricultural activity of the circle comes to assert itself. Its commercial importance is thereby further increased.

162 /389/ Here is some numerical information concerning
463 the occupational distribution of the population of Thiès.

Out of an economically active population of 11,040 inhabitants at the date of the census, there were counted:

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

encourage the evangelisation of the population, he[1] was 643
sufficiently knowledgeable about the country and its people [797]
to realise that it would be impossible to win converts from
among the Muslims who formed the majority in Senegal.
Scholarships for primary education in St. Louis, and second- [871]
ary education in France were awarded under his auspices
to promising students. Small technical schools were established at Dakar. And he even opened a museum at St. Louis.

He tried to equip the colony with some of the benefits of
a modern economy. He established the Bank of Senegal, [453]
laid out St. Louis afresh as befitted a capital city, and under
his influence Pinet-Laprade founded the new port of Dakar. [369]
He promoted the export of the ground-nut crop, becoming [439]
increasingly valuable to the colony's revenue which rose
from 12 million francs in 1848 to 37 million in 1869, and [433]
proved a profitable substitute for human merchandise.
He made valuable and detailed studies of the local people.
Like Lugard he seemed to be able to think of every aspect
of administration at the same time. The historian G. Hardy
wrote of him: 'He touched on everything, and always
with good results.' But as J. Richard-Molard commented,
'He was the first great Frenchman to realise the wish of
Barth. But he did it as an officer of the Empire, endowed
with an abominable character and a sense of authority
which bordered on vice. He was proconsul of an authoritarian Empire.'

One decision vital for the future of the Senegal was made 648
during the Faidherbian regime: this was the final abandonment of any ideals of European colonisation. It came at a
time when the French were settling Algeria, and was not
altogether altruistic, as the ministerial instructions of 1859
showed:

> Nothing similar to Algeria could be undertaken in Senegal. The climate is against it. The land should therefore be left to the natives, at least as a general rule. It is by their hands that it should be cultivated and if our rule is to be extended over all the territory

[1] [i.e., Faidherbe, who became Governor in 1854--Gwolyn]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

live whilst waiting to find work; it permits those who are ill, those incapable of work, and those without resources to be taken care of and not die of hunger.' 471 [736]

Probably the most important barrier to the accumulation of capital has been Senegal's dependence on a one-crop economy of ground-nuts. The method of cultivation of ground-nuts and their comparatively low price per ton have worked against the creation of large scale plantations, for instance of cocoa and coffee, which have supplied individual entrepreneurs in the Western Region of Nigeria, in Ghana and in the Ivory Coast with their capital. [438]

These are all factors to set against a situation which otherwise might be explosive. Africanisation has always been a problem in the Senegal and it has increased as the number of professionally trained Africans has increased. But historically, and even today, it has been most acute in the Administration, employment in which is the goal of most young Senegalese. Thus very often commerce is left with the second best. Even so French commercial houses have done far less comparatively to train up an efficient African subaltern class, let alone a managerial élite, than say a company like the United Africa Company in Nigeria. And whilst Senegal was under French control the Administration did very little indeed to encourage Africanisation of commerce. 463 563

The present day Senegalese Government, however, recognises the danger of the present position and its efforts to rectify the situation should not be interpreted as a new form of racism but as an honest attempt to maintain the present excellent racial situation. Though the Government has placed many limitations on the autonomy of the trade unions it could not for long suppress criticism of the present structure of Dakar, particularly as Senegal, like all African countries, is subject to propaganda from every quarter. The truth is that there are far too many Europeans doing jobs that Africans could do. In small tea rooms it is not rare to be served by a French girl, for this tea shop is in [467]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

large proportion of Christians in the National Assembly. 563
At the time of the break up of the Mali Federation there was some attempt to disparage Senghor because of his religion, but it never gained ground. And whilst there is still in certain quarters some criticism of the presence of a Catholic President, it is not widespread. The fact that neighbouring Gambia's Chief Minister Njie is also a Catholic in a predominantly Muslim country suggests that a tolerance that is so rare amongst Muslim communities may be local to this part of the coast rather than peculiar to Senegal. Senghor himself has been particularly assiduous in his courting of the great Muslim leaders of the country. However French assimilation policy was certainly a contributory factor. Long contact with France and particularly the large number of Senegalese who have studied in France have meant that the modern élite is accustomed to the idea of Catholicism and is able to co-exist with it.

So far the picture we have drawn of modern Senegal is rather an idealised one: a large European minority is tolerated by the African majority and there is remarkably little theoretical or actual animosity towards it; it has a particularly homogeneous population in which traditional ethnic barriers are breaking down, particularly in the major towns which have been most heavily assimilated by France; there is little political friction of ethnic origin and religion does not play an important role in the determination of the country's affairs. Indeed the planning of Senegal's economic development was confided to a Catholic priest not by Senghor, as one might have imagined, but by the Premier, Mamadou Dia, a particularly devout Muslim. In some ways Senegal from a racial and ethnic point of view represents the ideal West African state. But it has its minority problems.

In a sense the Vallée du Fleuve du Sénégal can be called a minority area, but in many ways it is an economic rather than racial problem. Though the Toucouleur tend to look down on, say, the Wolof, because they do not consider [433] [735]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 them strict enough Muslims, the main distinguishing
[433] feature of their homeland, the Vallée du Fleuve du Sénégal,
[735] is its poverty compared with that of other parts of Senegal. Diop Abdoulaye in his study of Toucouleur immigration into Dakar estimates that the average *per capita* income of a Toucouleur of that region is little more than 4,000 *C.F.A.*
[434] per annum, i.e. about £6 a year. It is this rather than any real tribal differences that makes the Vallée a special
[665] problem, and this as much as any ethnic factor accounted for the existence of the *Union Générale de la Vallée du Fleuve.*

563 The only real minority area in the Senegal is the Casa-
619 mance, whose special position is further emphasised by its separation from the main block of Senegal by the Gambia. In the past it has been thought of as geographically, economically, socially and even religiously separate from the rest of Senegal. A forest zone closer to its neighbours Portuguese Guinea and the Republic of Guinea, it remained very underdeveloped by the French, though the present Government is taking this fact into account with a special development programme for the area. This separateness was emphasised by the very name Casamance. The people describe themselves to this day as *Casamançais* rather than Senegalese, though this could well be accepted on the same terms as a Briton describing himself as Scots or Welsh. It is fortunate that the tendency is to talk in terms of regional rather than tribal origin. However one of the important factors in the Casamance has been tribal. The Diolas were until very recently an animist people with an entirely different social organisation from that of the main groups of Senegal, though as we have already pointed out they had traditional ties with the Serer which went as far as the injunction that a Diola should never spill the blood of a Serer. But today the Diola are being drawn into the main socio-religious pattern of Senegal. In the most recent estimate of the religious
[162] adherence of the population of Casamance, estimated at
[771] 327,500, 284,000 were Muslims, only 28,000 Christians and

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

upon to play a historic role will be neither Negro, Berber, nor Arab nations, nor Christian, Muslim, nor animist nations. They will surely be strongly marked by the influence of different biological factors, and by the influence of different philosophies of their environment; but they will be nothing if not a synthesis, if not a civilisation. It is under this condition that they will be truly active element in the post-Marxian revolution of the twentieth century. 668

Reading the political philosophy of both Senghor and Mamadou Dia, one is tempted to say this humanism is all very admirable but what have such high-flown ideas got to do with a nation of three million poor people still living barely above subsistence level and of whom the majority of adults are still illiterate? Indeed, Senghor the philosopher and poet comes in for criticism by some students of African politics for his advocacy of this cultural cross breeding, for his apparent excessive attachment to the West. Will not, they ask, someone more African, more a politician and less a poet, be more typical of the African politicians of the future? This is perhaps not only to misunderstand Senghor, but also the Senegalese. Senghor may seem to live in the clouds, uttering fine phrases in enviable French, but the last fifteen years have shown him as a masterly political tactician. He broke away from Lamine Guèye and the *S.F.I.O.* to form his own party at just the right psychological moment. And when he felt an end had to be brought to the Mali Federation he accomplished it without shedding one drop of blood, to the surprise not only of foreign observers but particularly of his Soudanese partners. Today opposition to Senghor comes mainly from fellow intellectuals, whilst his standing with the people of the countryside remains high. His opposition is no less inclined to lengthy discourses on the philosophical foundations of the state. Ly Abdoulaye and Assane Seck of the *P.R.A.* are both of the University of Dakar; Majhemout Diop of the *P.A.I.* is a doctrinaire Communist; and Cheikh Anta Diop, as we have seen, has spent most of his time on the rehabilitation of African history.

[433] [412] [665] [665]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

whose economic ideas are well known from various books he has written, more especially his *Nations africaines et solidarité mondiale* and *Réflexions sur l'économie de l'Afrique noire*. Dia is essentially a socialist, who believes however that European socialism could never really identify itself with Africa, because, as he points out, so much of the improvement in the living conditions of European workers was founded on the economic expansion resulting from nineteenth and twentieth-century colonialism. And he remarks bitterly that even today one sixth of the world's population, mainly white, enjoys 80 per cent of the world's income. He feels that political liberation is nothing without economic liberation and that this is the great challenge to the young states of Africa. He does not believe in any tailor-made answer to this challenge, whether it be Communist or Western in origin. The Senegalese answer must be based on Senegalese realities, taking into account the experience of other underdeveloped countries, in which he is well versed.

This explains the eighteen-month long 'inventory' made by Father Lebret and his team of every aspect of Senegalese life. Dia sees one of the greatest dangers of Africa in its present economic balkanisation, dangers which provide economic backing to political demands for African unity. Dakar's many industries were of course planned to serve the former French West Africa and are now at the mercy of the individual economic policies of its seven French-speaking neighbours. Such a situation will make it impossible for large scale and rational economic development. Nor does he see in industrialisation the solution to all the country's problems. Indeed the basic problem is the raising of the general standard of living of the country, particularly of those areas that lag behind the rest. Above all he is not going to follow slavishly the ideas of the West or the East. Senegal's development is to be undertaken in the light of Senegal's own problems

This then is the background to the impressive and far

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

433 668 reaching economic development plan. Mamadou Dia has described the plan as the 'décollage' or taking-off point of the country's development. The plan is the expression of the African socialism of which Senghor and Dia have so long dreamed. It has two important points. Relatively little emphasis is placed on industrialisation, and fundamental to the development of the country are [474] 'rural animation' and co-operatives through which the people will be made aware of the great future that could be theirs if only they co-operate in the realisation of this plan. Already 80 per cent of peasant farmers are organised in co-operatives.

Senegal's economy is based today on the export of its ground-nut crop of just under 800,000 tons a year. This has been produced to the detriment of subsistence crops, with the absurd result that Senegal, a basically agricultural country, is importing foodstuffs to the tune of £15 million a year. Furthermore there has been a great disparity in the economic and social development of the towns in com- [369] parison with the bush. Thus whilst Dakar is one of the most modern and prosperous towns in West Africa, the Vallée du Fleuve is abysmally poor and Casamance hitherto neglected. Thus the emphasis is on rural development; the [871] extension of educational facilities to a population only 30 per cent of whose children go to school; then the increase in medical facilities; the supply of water to villages without it; and in particular the opening-up of hitherto neglected regions by improved communications, which includes the [491] tarring of over 1,000 miles of roads and improvement of 600 miles of dirt road. But above all the emphasis is on the increase of home food crops and the widening of the variety of foodstuffs available to the peasants. It is estimated that if the plan works out, then the global index of production, taken as 100 in 1959, will be up to 137 in 1964. New industries such as the phosphate works at Taiba, an oil refinery, chemical factories and textile printing works will provide 10,000 new jobs, and thus absorb some of the unemployed

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

school leavers who characterise every West African town from Dakar to Douala, and whose numbers will increase in future under the new plan, since by 1964-65 it is hoped over 50 per cent of children of school age will be at primary school. 433 668 [871]

The whole plan is to cost £135 million, much of the money to be drawn from abroad, and much from private sources. As can be seen from the table below the emphasis is on social improvement rather than the creation of great gesture industries. 433 471 668

	Percentages	
	Of public investments	*Of total investments*
Infrastructure	33·9	18·75
Agriculture	18·6	13·4
Commerce and Industry ..	7·0	44·4
Education	12·2	6·7
Health	5·3	2·9
Housing	7·2	10·9
Administrative	5·5	3·0

It is a socialist plan at heart. The state will be taking over large sectors of the economy. Already the state trading organisation for the marketing of ground-nuts with the aid of local co-operatives has taken over the marketing of over a quarter of the crop from private commerce. But it is doing this in direct competition with them, to ensure that the organisation is commercially viable. Senghor believes 'Where private capitalism comes into peaceful competition with socialism, the latter must, I feel sure, emerge triumphant . . .' [655] [474]

On the other hand Senegal is not trying to discourage private enterprise, for, as can be seen from the above table, it accounts for much of the capital for the plan. Indeed, particularly favourable concessions are made to it. What

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

433 668 [491] the Government is trying to do is take out of its hands the control of the basic economy, such as the ground-nut crop, and to ensure that the maximum benefit accrues to Senegal from overseas investment.

The distinguishing feature of the plan is its reliance not on *investissement humain* on Chinese lines, a method which tends to be favoured by the Guinea and Mali Governments, but on *animation rural*. It is believed that compulsory forced [466] labour is not satisfactory to the people who are undertaking it, even if it is ostensibly in their own interests, first because it is compulsory, and secondly because it can suffer from excessive planning by the centre, so that the people may be 'investing' their labour in things which in the first place they do not want, and which in the second place fail, as certain agricultural schemes have done in Russia and China, as a result of overcentralised planning.

433 668 654 Basically *animation* is what we would call 'community development', but it is to be operated in the context of the general plan for the Senegal, touching on education and medical services as well as economic development. The idea is that people in villages should be asked what they want: a new road; a new dispensary etc. It will then be explained to them that such things have not been achieved up till now through lack of funds but that the Government is prepared to put its services at the disposal of the villagers to build a road or some such if the villagers are prepared to provide labour. The object then is to find out what villagers really want and to stimulate them into wanting them [496] enough to supply labour for them. In any chosen area, then, a member of the Ministry of Planning and Development (Animation Section) will go into the village and enlist the people's co-operation in selecting an intelligent man who is sufficiently respected both by the traditionalists and by the youth to be able to put over these new ideas of community development. He is then sent on an 'animation course' where he is taught improved farming and other methods and is (it is hoped) inspired with the need for

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

progress. This he then transmits to the village, and in Casamance *animation* has worked to the extent of building a thirty-five kilometre road which cut the journey between two important villages by nearly fifty kilometres. In the Vallée du Fleuve, people who never grew rice before have now quadrupled their incomes by producing rice under a rural animation scheme.

All this President Dia hopes will raise the standard of living of each man by 3.5 per cent each year, doubling it by the fourth four year plan in 1975.

The plan is an ambitious one, an attempt to create a new Senegal synthesising the best of Africa and Europe. If it works, and the political future of both Senghor and Dia may well depend on this, then Senegal may become a pilot nation for Africa both economically and culturally. Senegal will then be in a sense a justification for the French assimilation policy, for although it failed in its attempts to assimilate the Senegalese both culturally and politically it has left profound marks on Senegalese society. And even if the experience of assimilation in Senegal has demonstrated the immense difficulties not only of one group trying to assimilate the other to its own standards, but of even getting the assimilating group to accept the other group as political and cultural equals, the end result may be the production of an African society which, whilst maintaining its own national identity, may prove a bridge between Africa and Europe and their two cultures.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

standing in the modern context does not often completely redeem a traditional inferiority. The latter obviously does not prevent accession to such rank, but it does prevent a man from reaping the full benefit of the prestige which it confers. We shall have to revert to the ambiguity which thus characterizes individual situations, because it is an important aspect of the problem of the modernist elites. The old political organizations have either been destroyed or considerably weakened, though the prestige of the aristocratic families who hold the chefferies or are closely connected with them has not completely disappeared. But an important change has occurred: the power and influence of the traditional political chiefs has to a large extent been transferred to the khalifas of the great Islamic sects;[1] the latter represent today the principal force capable of resisting the modernist elite, and the one with which the latter and the political movements identified with it must to some extent come to terms.[2]

The changes due to the new economic conditions resulting from the colonial period can be discerned at several levels. The rural economy has been radically transformed—progressive abandonment of subsistence farming in favour of a single cash crop throughout a large part of the territory.[3] In contrast with regions where a plantation economy has developed, the average farmer's income has remained extremely low. Consequently, what has elsewhere been termed a 'rural bourgeoisie' has not emerged, and the most favoured economic categories coincide, by and large, with the upper strata of the traditional or semi-traditional type (heads of sects),[4] or with those artificially created on the same model by the colonial administration. Again, the group to which the name 'commercial bourgeoisie' has been given is still too small to have much influence;[5] almost all African traders are small shopkeepers and make no appreciable impact on the affairs of the community as a whole. The most significant changes are found at another level: urbanization and industrialization. Senegal is the most highly urbanized territory of French West Africa; about a quarter of the population live in the big towns and the administrative and trading centres. A very large wage-earning class with a steadily growing nucleus of stable labour has developed.[6] A workers' elite has appeared, and intensive trade union activity in the big towns has brought this class into touch with the educated elite (the administrative bourgeoisie, etc.).

This educated elite deserves special attention; in Senegal more than elsewhere, it represents the dominant element among the modernist elites. The educational policy was definitely conceived and organised at the beginning of the colonial period in the context of a policy and a ideology of assimilation. The educational curriculum introduced in the French establishments in Senegal at the beginning of the nineteenth century was essentially foreign to the tradition and culture of the autochthonous societies. Thus, in a recent paper, the author made much of the point that 'it was not a factor making for integration of the individual in his group, but rather—at any rate in the first historical phase—one making for a break. The adaptation of the curriculum and even of teaching methods

1. Their functions are hereditary.
2. Cf. below, remarks on the political parties of the traditional type.
3. In this case, groundnuts.
4. The economic role of the Mouride brotherhood is particularly important: colonization of new lands, experiments in mechanization, etc.
5. The middle-man trade is practically monopolized by the Lebanese colony; in the town of Dakar alone there are more than 3,000 Lebanese.
6. The region of Dakar alone has more than 30,000 wage earners in the private sector.

/37 cont./ S

This is the most common preparation, but the native cuisine 262
is acquainted with a host of others. The couscous is light, refreshing, and very nourishing.

S

Millet is also given to horses. Basi is used the most in this 231
practice, but souna gives them more vigor, although heating them up more.

S W

The Africans, by making millet germinate and putting it in 273
water to boil for several days, obtain a kind of invigorating beer (pouh in Wolof), but one which, if taken in great quantities, produces S
a very heavy drunkenness. Millet, just like maize, fattens animals 231
quickly, especially poultry.

S

Sorghum is a plant widely cultivated in Senegal. It is necessary to accustom the Senegalese farmer as rapidly as possible to 243
replacing the ordinary variety by that of the sweet sorghum, that is, the saccharatum variety, which would have the advantage of giving sugar and grain. This saccharatum variety is utilized a
great deal in the United States for the production of sugar. Then S
a sugar refinery would be created, which would be one more [433]
source of wealth for this country, wealth all the more appreciable [263]
because the African is fond of delicacies and a great consumer of [272]
sugar (mint tea, Moorish coffee, and infusions).

Rice. It is cultivated in Senegal in damp places, on the edges of marigots /watercourses/, in Sine, in Casamance, and at the mouth of the river (Richard-Toll, etc.). A large number of varieties is known, some of which grow in relatively dry and high places; black rice is one of them.

S

The African rice is Oryza glaberrima, but wild rice grows by [137]
itself; this is Oryza latifolia (punctata and sylvestris). The native S
rice is much more in demand by the Africans and often even by 262
the Europeans than foreign rice. African cooks excel in preparing rice in all kinds of ways.

Rice is emollient, soothing, very nourishing, and not at all S
binding or constipating as is sometimes thought. It also gives a 273
beer by fermentation. Rice water renders great service in 757
dysentery, as a beverage, and for bathing. Rice water is also a [272]
cooling drink for feverish and inflammatory ailments. Finally, [515]
rice powder is useful as an absorbent for skin diseases.

/76 cont./

369 441 563 443 local products (groundnuts, millet . . .) are bought or bartered for.

still almost empty quarter of the residence.

369 433 458 Already the economic equilibrium of the city was no longer essentially based on the commerce of trade, subject to price fluctuations, but also on the budding industry which assured it a certain stability. It is true that the latter, barely acquired, was put to a harsh test during the world crisis from 1930 to 1934. In the course of this difficult period the price of the groundnut slumped. The old commercial firms which depended solely on the trading were no longer able to meet their payments and liquidate their stock: Société Française du Sénégal, the firms Lacombe, Latrille... The sounder establishments were themselves obliged to close their city branches temporarily, for example, Peyrissac, Maurel Frères. Nevertheless one did not see here a complete slump in commerce with spectacular failures such as occurred in Dakar, but rather commercial liquidations, sales of stocks that were repurchased by Levantines and wholesale companies.

[471] [563] The effects of the crisis, which ended in 1934, resulted in a redistribution of commercial ownership, a readaptation of commerce to the new requirements, along with the definitive establishment of the Levantines.

369 498 433 At this date the fusion of the two railroad companies, the Dakar--Saint-Louis and Thiès-Niger, stimulated an expansion of the industrial quarter by regrouping at Thiès the workshops originally installed at Dakar for the Dakar--Saint-Louis railway.

369 [162] [511] [361] On the eve of the Second World War the city reached the figure of 22,000 inhabitants, 1,200 of them Europeans. The almost complete disappearance of epidemics, the better food supply, the construction of comfortable houses (Ballabey district created as early as 1925 for the railway workers, villas for officers) permit metropolitan families to settle in a permanent fashion. In a parallel manner, the native

/77 cont./

369 and attempted as far as possible to renovate the lines of its
361 architecture and to offer to its clientele pleasant salesrooms with tastefully arranged windows and displays.

The native quarters for their part were enlarged and improved, penetrating deeply into the neighboring bush. The quarters of "Randoulène-Sud" /South Randoulene/, of "Grand Thiès" /Greater Thiès/, and of "Médina" were new creations. Diakhao and Takhikao develop. Some African officials and
[342] merchants have since begun some construction of small villas in durable material that replace the traditional straw hut or the simple plank hut.

[162] The growth of the population was considerable; from 24,000 in 1945, it reached 40,000 inhabitants in 1953, 2,700 of whom were Europeans.

369 Thus, from the founding of the first military post near
●433 the village of Thiès-None up to our time, the growth of Thiès has been accomplished without any shocks. It has not known the great hopes of Dakar, the depressions, the failures of Rufisque and Saint-Louis. The /78/ wars, the crises are shown in the graph of its evolution only as simple plateaus (7).

7. G. Savonnet, "Evolution démographique de la ville de Thiès /Demographic Evolution of the City of Thies/, "Notes africaines, pp. 122-124.

369 Its fortune, as we have tried to show, comes from its
361 exceptional site at the entrance of the sole path of access to
433 the plateau of Thiès, along with the relative proximity of Dakar. Through the action of these three essential functions, commercial, industrial, and military, it enjoys an economic equilibrium that seems more stable than that of the other cities of Senegal.

/83 cont./

3. The Activities of the City

1. Commerce.

433 If we except the period of conquest, during which a handful of troops established themselves in the entrenched camp, the primary function of Thiès was commerce.

441 An escale of trade in its beginnings, Thiès has remained that up to our times. Almost 25,000 tons of groundnuts are commercialized each year in spite of the opening of important points of trade in the vicinity, Tivaouane, Khombole, located some 30 kilometers from there. This commerce demands a certain taste for risk; if in certain years it offers appreciable profits, it sometimes renders the balance sheet of the merchants who practice it very precarious. The groundnut trade, as far as purchase from the producer is concerned, is almost entirely in the hands of the Levantines and a few Moors and Blacks. The important establishments, N. O. S. O. C. O. (8) and the Soucail firm,

433 [563] [442]

8. N. O. S. O. C. O. Nouvelle Société Commerciale.

engage only in wholesale trade.

443 The factorerie run by a Levantine (9) next to the

[162] [563]

9. The Levantines are 48 in number, namely, 23 Syrians and 25 Lebanese (figures of 1952).

courtyard of the secco (10) has kept all its picturesqueness

[257]

10. Secco: mass of groundnuts stored in the courtyard of the merchant and destined for export.

[438] up to our day. /84/ Everything is sold there, from the piece of trade cloth in vivid colors to cheap perfume; kerosene by the liter and millet by the kilo or sack are retailed there.

/84 cont./

442 iron for cement, tires...piled loosely together. The activity
443 of these branches is based on three elements: retail with a sales store open to the average customers, wholesale granted to the important factoreries (Levantines...), and wholesale to the small shopkeepers for retail. Each is furthermore an implement dealer with exclusive right of sale granted to them: frigidaires, motor fuel, automobiles...The figure
[433] for the monthly business of one of them fluctuated between 20 and 25 million in 1953.

443 An intermediate type of commerce was established a
[563] short time ago with the arrival of the Moroccans; they
[162] numbered 25 in 1952. /85/ Some among them attempt to corner both the European and native clientele. They special-
[438] ize in the sale of fabrics and fancy articles for Africans: babouches, fezzes, cheap watches. They speak the native
[191] language fluently and sometimes French extremely well.

The Africans, as we have seen, have launched into private business since 1920. Some of them have a factorerie of the Levantine type, but most of them have opened a shop in the outlying quarters. The Moors and the Blacks share this small-scale commerce: in 1952 the former reached the figure of 120; the Blacks were perhaps as numerous. They
[347] are installed in the small shops of boards or mud roofed with straw or with corrugated metal. On the counter, made up of a simple board, stands a Roberval scale, some jars of large multicolored bonbons, a pasteboard box filled with dry biscuits. The bag of charcoal on the floor stands beside a tin of kerosene. Some cola nuts kept fresh in a wrapping of leaves still green, a kilo of sugar broken open, which is sold by the lump, some packages of cigarettes sold by the unit, and small cans of condensed milk give a glimpse of the small volume of their business.

To complete this picture, let us add the innumerable small "doorstep" merchants who on a piece of cloth or in a calabash display a few handfuls of roasted peanuts and cola nuts, a package of cigarettes, or millet fritters. These small stalls are all located in front of the door of the hut;

/85 cont./

443 while the housewife attends to her tasks, the oldest child makes the sale (12).

12. According to an economic investigation made by Mr. Mersadier in Thiès, the returns from these sales[1] do not exceed ten francs profit per day (Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N., July-Oct., 1955, series B, p. 411).

[434] [433]

Thus, the commerce in Thiès (and certainly in most of the cities of French West Africa) is diffused among all of the layers of the society and at the same time has adapted itself extremely well there. The branches of important commercial houses, which in the beginning were violently opposed to this diffusion not controlled directly by them, quickly understood all the benefits that they could draw from this new situation.

463 Paralleling this extension of commerce, the working class, to a more limited extent, has also taken on much greater importance. To the traditional artisans, potters, jewelers, and smiths have been added activities more modern in inspiration: photographers, clockmakers, repairers of phonographs, bicycles, or even trucks, and, in another category of enterprises, small restaurant keepers and /86/ proprietors of drink shops. Finally, the establishment of European artisans (hairdressers, pastry cooks, etc.) is a specific phenomenon of the social evolution in African cities since the last war, and Thiès is not escaping it.

[265] [275] [178]

2. Industry.

498 The industrial activity of Thiès gravitates principally around the repair shops of the Dakar-Niger (13). The

[317] [464] [162]

13. The two phosphate quarries opened by the Société Péchiney some 15 kilometers from the city (Pallo and Lam-Lam)

[1] [ie, by "door-step" merchants - ANALYST]

/87 cont./

S 498 563 W 498 162 463

workers from the regions neighboring Thiès are not in the majority; the Wolof-Sérère group is made up of 380 units, 45% of the total. Besides, the Wolof and Sérère /Serer/ offer relatively few technicians and supervisory operatives; the Wolof make up only 7% in the supervisory category as against 24% in that of manual workers; the Sérère account for only 5% in the first category and 39% in the second. On the other hand, 17% of the Khassonké and Sarakolé belong to the supervisory staffs as against only 22% of the manual workers and employees. These figures underline the difficulty for the enterprise in recruiting specialized workers in the vicinity of Thiès. It must call upon technicians from distant territories, although a high percentage of non-specialized workers and manual laborers are recruited locally.

S 498 433

Because of the number of its total labor force, the industrial grouping of the Dakar-Niger forms one of the most active elements of the economy of the district. More than 25,000,000 francs C.F.A. are distributed monthly in the form of salaries to all of the personnel.

/88/

3. The Public sector.

S 712 433

Although the installation and extension of the two military camps have in an indirect way increased the importance of the city, it indeed seems that they have little influence on the economy of the district on account of their internal organization within a closed circuit.

S 647 464

The establishment of increasingly more numerous and substantial administrative services affects the economic life of the escale in a more tangible fashion. The administration of the circle /cercle, an administrative district/ and the services for agriculture, education, and public works employ several hundred officials, day laborers, and manual workers.

19: Pehaut--1 K-4 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/5/

244 433 Since the "campaign" of 1959-60, the commercial production of groundnuts in Senegal has reached 720,000 metric tons of groundnuts in the shell. In 1957-58, there was a record year with 830,000 metric tons. Since for these recent years the total production of food products can be estimated at about 550,000 metric tons, the proportion of 1,800 kilograms of groundnuts harvested per metric ton of food products, advanced in 1951 by M. Portères, is very close to the Senegalese economic reality (1).

[113]

1. For this information we have consulted: Barbier, J., "L'économie de l'arachide au Sénégal, Contribution à l'Étude du marché français des huiles alimentaires /The economy of the groundnut in Senegal, Contribution to the study of the French marketing of food oils/," typewritten thesis for the doctorate in law, Lille, 20 May 1960, 475 pp.

A.O.F. 57: Tableaux économiques /French West Africa 57: Economic Tables/. Haut-Commissariat de la République en A.O.F. Direction des Services économiques et du plan, 412 pp.

Outre-Mer 58: Service statistique d'Outre-Mer /Oversea 58: Oversea Statistical Service/, P.U.F. 1960.

177 244 The groundnut is originally from America; Jean de Léry, a French clergyman, described this plant around 1855, under the name of "manoki," as a crop of the region of Rio. In the seventeenth century Père Plumier noted it for the Antilles. The Portuguese slave-dealers seem to have imported it to Africa around the middle of the sixteenth century. The natives of Senegambia were soon cultivating it around their huts, and as

/6/
496 edges of the woodlands of Casamance, has reached the Ferlo
244 and the zone of the lateritic cuirasses of the east.
311

I. The Types of Groundnut Cultivation in Senegal

244
[433] The very symbol of the product of "trade," the groundnut is essentially cultivated by the autochthonous peasants, who devote to it an important part of their activities.

1. The types of autochthonous cultivation. Whatever the place of the groundnut may be in the system of crops, one always finds, within the framework of the very short agricultural cycle of winter, the same techniques for the preparation of the soil, the same kinds of tillage.

Everywhere in Senegal the traditional technical contrivances are primitive and permit only rather crude tillage. The
[412] lopping tool, the rhock, a kind of fork with two prongs, the hilaire, formed by a quite long handle and a flat blade in the shape of an ace of hearts, and the hoe, or daba, constitute the essential equipment.

In the spring, at the end of the dry season, the trees and bushes are topped with the lopping tool to 60 or 70 centimeters from the ground. Only the "Faidherbia," stripped of their leaves in winter, are spared. The branches are burned on the spot; their ashes are the sole fertilizer for the field recovered from the bush. The mutilated and burned trunks, the stumps left in place, give it an unfinished and disorderly appearance. Soon after the first rains, generally in June, one proceeds with the sowing. In the holes /7/ four to five centimeters deep, made with the daba or with the handle of the rhock, the cultivator puts one or two groundnut seeds and then, with the heel, covers them with soil. These holes, made in a row, are generally 30 centimeters apart. In July and August, one proceeds with several weedings and dressings with the daba in order to mellow the soil. In September the last cleaning out of foul grasses is done by hand. When the stalks wither, the shells have reached maturity,

S 244 /7/ generally at the end of October or the beginning of November. Harvesting is done by cutting the stalks with the hilaire four or five centimeters under the ground. They are collected into little piles, sometimes protected by a shelter of plant material for drying, and then heaped into stacks to await the detachment S [462] of the shells several weeks later by threshing or by hand. This last operation is entrusted to the women and children. All of these tasks require great effort, and the more so since during the S [243] same brief period one must busy himself with the food crops, millet, niébés /Vigna/, etc.

S 241 244 W 244 The ways in which the groundnut is associated with the food crops are quite variable and put their mark on the agrarian landscape.

1) The lougan of the Ouoloff peasant. The Ouoloff peasant of Cayor or of Siné-Saloum represents the most traditional type of cultivator of groundnuts. He still practices shifting cultivation on his lougan /cultivated field/ cleared by fire in the open bush. Although he does practice a millet-groundnut rotation, often with very little strictness, he does not know the virtues of fertilization. He cultivates the soil until it is exhausted and then abandons it for 15 or 20 years, which allows it to go back to bush. Today, however, demographic pressure does not always permit him to dispose of the vast areas of land required for this long rest. S W [433] The soil is rapidly being exhausted; the yields are diminishing. In Cayor the latter have fallen off at least 700 kilograms per hectare. The cultivation of the groundnut is very obviously regressing.

S SR 241 2) The organized ground of the Sérère /Serer/ peasantry (2). The Sérère are a group of Sudanese origin, driven back

S [113] 2. Pelissier, P. "Les paysans sérère, essai sur la formation d'un terroir au Sénégal /The Serer peasants, an essay on the formation of a ground in Senegal/," Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, Vol. VI, 1953, No. 22, pp. 105-127.

/9 cont./

244 shows no regard for it. Finally, the navétane eats millet
407 and does not produce any, which in certain regions aggravates the problem of the supply. Before 1939, in the period of the full development of groundnut cultivation, there were up to 70,000 navétanes in some years. The system of the authoritative organization of labor during the hostilities could by no means support these effectives; therefore, with the return to freedom in 1946, the number of navétanes had fallen to about 12,000. In order to attract them, they were given free travel going and returning. The suppression of these facilities in 1956 and
[648] the closing of the Guinea frontier at the end /10/of 1958 have
[167] considerably diminished the importance of these temporary
[433] migrations, which, in sum, were not very profitable for the economy of Senegal.

Other seasonal movements of labor take place in the
244 framework of groundnut cultivation. The sourga come from
166 the city and take their place among their relatives under the
464 same conditions as the navétanes. The baraguini are laborers
[427] who, in the regions of Tambacounda and Kédougou, offer their assistance to the cultivators during the harvest. They dig up the groundnut stalks, dry them, and detach and clean the seeds.

244 All of these types[1] of groundnut cultivation are charac-
433 terized by small yields: 830 kilograms per hectare on the average in Senegal. These yields, a consequence of the poorness of the traditional technical contrivances, can hardly be improved. In recent decades the increase in volume of the harvest has been linked with that of the area cultivated, which is not without grave dangers: abuses of cultivation on soils that are unstable, and a falling off of food production. After some attempts without results in the years 1920-1930, it is mechanized cultivation which, at the end of the Second World War, seems most capable of increasing production for the benefit of the mother country, which suffered from a grave shortage of fatty substances.

[1] [See Category 116, pp. 3-8 for types of autochthonous cultivation--Analyst]

/11 cont./

244 654 tasks by hand; they promise to respect the rotations prescribed by the experimental section.

b) The experience of the C. G. O. T. in Casamance began in 1948. Within the framework of the first plan, the Compagnie générale des oléagineux tropicaux /General Company of Tropical Oily Substances/ acquired vast areas of land in the region of Séfa, upstream from Sedhiou. Powerful equipment permitted this society of mixed economy to clear 4,000 hectares of woodland. At great expense the company [177] recruited some European technicians and local labor receiving wages higher than the average. The experience of total mechanization met very grave difficulties: clearing woodland is very ticklish, because carapaces are found at a shallow depth, the equipment wears out very quickly, and the administrative [433] expenses are very high; and then, when yields of 2,000 kilograms of groundnuts per hectare are anticipated, only 1,200 are obtained. The company had to modify its policy. The lands were divided among the "colonists," who promised to respect a millet or rice-groundnut rotation. The company cultivated the rice mechanically and kept the harvest. It proceeded to the more difficult tasks in connection with the groundnuts and collected in exchange 450 kilograms of shells per hectare thus cultivated. The millet went to the colonists.

795 244 c) The Murid chiefs of the region of Djourbel also had an experience with mechanization. In fact some of them, enriched by the "gifts" from the faithful, acquired equipment and in the new lands undertook mechanized cultivation of the groundnut in imitation of the example of Boulel. This system, without considering the dangers of the deterioration of the soil, seems dangerous from the social point of view, because it may strengthen the hold of the marabouts on the faithful, who become ordinary laborers.

244 In fact the experiences with mechanized cultivation have been dismissed because of a check on how much one could anticipate a generalized use of machinery. Nevertheless, [654] in sum, these modest attempts have not been as catastrophic

244 /14/
242 of training. This is one of the essential preoccupations of
6[redacted]Senegalese government.

II. The "Trade" of Groundnuts

433 For a century the total volume of production has pro-
244 gressed in spectacular fashion. Actually, no statistics are available at the harvesting stage. Only the commercial figures are known with any accuracy. In any case they differ little from the total figure of production because local consumption seems to be of little importance. It is estimated that the average production of groundnuts from 1900 to 1904 was 123,000 metric tons. The more recent figures are the following: 1938-1939 campaign, 584,000 metric tons; 1942-1943 compaign, 183,000 metric tons; 1943-1944 campaign, 281,000 metric tons; 1957-1958 campaign, 808,000 metric [illegible] 1958-1959 campaign, 653,000 metric tons; 1959-1960 campaign, 720,000 metric tons.

Except for the period of the war, when the production of
[939] groundnuts, difficult to export, decreased to the profit of that of millet, progress was continuous, the 1957-1958 campaign being exceptionally favorable.

439 This production enters into the circuit of commercialization or "trade," which today is very strictly regulated.

[178] 1. The organization of "trade." The commercialization of the groundnut has replaced the "trade" in gum, slaves, and gold of the former colonial system. Although the term is still often used, its present context is very different from the
439 acceptation of the era of the colonial pact. Trade is no longer,
441 as Littré wished it to be, an exchange trade organized almost
438 exclusively for the benefit of the European "trader"; today it is a commercial activity that is strictly regulated as to time and place and open only to approved intermediaries.

442 1.) The "campaign." "The campaign" is the period
654
438

/22 cont./

258 ports, especially Kaolack. It is practiced by semi-industrial
439 enterprises, usually dependent on the great commercial houses or the oil-factories, which utilize the decortication frame or tray, shaking tables, and blowers. This operation, which employs many laborers, permits a charge of about one franc C.F.A. per kilo of groundnuts in shells. It nevertheless imposes some problems: that of the rate of decortication, which varies from one campaign to another, around 71%, and that of the risk of acidification. The decorticated product deteriorates quite quickly, and, depending on the
[435] times of the campaign, a rate of acidification of more than 3% or 5% causes a reduction in price.

258 Decortication is in fact only a preparation of the raw material. It is the presence today of the powerful oil-factories, constituting the essential part of its industry, that symbolizes the anxiety of Senegal to valorize on its soil its greatest wealth.

2. The Senegalese oil-factory. The industry of the oil-factory is a recent industry in Senegal. The first factory established was that of the Société életrique et industrielle du Baol at Djourbel in 1920. Then, after 1930, with the factory of the Huileries et Savonneries de l'Ouest Africain
[388] /West African Oil and Soap Factories/, and especially the Etablissements Petersen, this industry came to Dakar. Nevertheless, until the war, its development was impeded by the protective measures taken at the demand of the oil-factories in the mother country: an export duty of 187 francs per quintal of oil in 1936; and a quota of only 5,800 metric tons, admitted free of import duty, in 1938. The war caused this regulation to disappear, and in 1942-1944 the great factory "Lesieur-Afrique" was established in Dakar.

258 After the war, the oil industry modernized its equip-
433 ment and added to its capacity for trituration, which today amounts to about 500,000 metric tons of peanuts in shells, corresponding to a maximum production of about 165,000 metric tons of oil. Today, 125,000 metric tons of the

/22 cont./

258 product, usually crude, each year leaves the Senegalese
[433] factories, which thus operate under their productive capacity.
[439] About 110,000 metric tons are exported. The traditional technique of manufacture by pressure, with recovery of the oil cake, or "expellers," is being replaced more and more by the procedure with solvents, slightly increasing the rate of extraction of oil, but providing poor oil-cake.

This industry of the oil-factory if now localized in five urban centers: Dakar, Lyndiane, Djourbel, Kaolack, and
[464] Ziguinchor. It employs more than 3,000 wage earners, nearly
[563] 300 of whom are European technicians; on the basis of this it is the primary industry /23/ of Senegal, and the more so since
[388] it has had annexed to it the complementary industry of soap-making, which produced more than 15,000 metric tons of soap from the neutralization paste.

258 The development of the Sengalese industry of oil-making
433 represents a considerable evolution of the economy of the country, since the groundnut has ceased to be a product of
[439] trade in the colonial sense of the term. In fact, the product that traditionally constitutes the great agricultural resource has become the principal raw material of local industry; more than ever, the groundnut keeps Senegal alive.

433 3. The essential position of the groundnut in the economy
241 of Senegal. "Whether or not it is desirable, the economy of Senegal can revolve only with the help of the production of groundnuts." This phrase by M. Portères sums up the essential position of the product in the local economy. In 1957, for the
[439] whole of former Mali, the total value of the exports rose to 21,085 billions of francs C.F.A., the products of the groundnut accounting for 18,257 billions of this sum, of which more than 15 billions was for Senegal alone. At the same time, of
[162] 2,230,000 inhabitants of Senegal, only 58,700 were non-agricultural workers, that is, non-producers of groundnuts. Actually,
433 however, many of them are supported by them indirectly, in trade, transport, or industry. It is not exaggerated to affirm

/23 cont./

•433 that the great majority of the inhabitants of Senegal draw their only monetary resources from the groundnut.

651 For the Senegalese state, the groundnut plays an essential role in the budgetary resources. Without speaking of the various domestic imposts, the products of the groundnut, upon leaving the territory, support multiple duties and taxes: the fiscal export duty varies from 10% to 12% of the value of the product, according to its degree of elaboration; the taxes of inspection and condition are from 1.2% to 1.5%, and, finally, the groundnuts pay the fixed tax of 5.4% on transactions. In addition to these different duties, there are the assessment for the support funds, which is 700 francs C.F.A. per metric ton of groundnuts in shells, and the dues for the local stabilization fund, which vary from 175 francs C.F.A. per metric ton of the product in shells to 500 francs per metric ton of refined oil.

[435] These various imposts correspond to more than 25% of the purchase price given to the producer for the product in shells. In 1957 the taxes gathered on the groundnuts for the [652] benefit of the Senegalese treasury exceeded a total of four billions C.F.A., when the budget proper of the territory for the same year was 8.1 billions.

439 433 Conclusion. The present situation permits a conclusion on the notion of "industrial monocultivation of the groundnut in Senegal." For some, it is /24/ regrettable to write in the passive about the economy of trade; for others it is the criterion of the passage of Senegal into the sphere of a commercialized economy, although in this case based on a single product, since, unlike such countries as the Ivory Coast, the attempts to develop other crops for speculation have not been successful here.

This economy of the groundnut, however, is at a turning point today, due to the evolution of the relations between Senegal and France and the existence of the common market.

In the framework of the former political system, and

/24 cont./

439
433

then that of the franc zone, the groundnut of Senegal was traded outside of the world market for the product and could be integrated into it only at the cost of serious disturbances, as a consequence of its very high market price, to these practices when the transactions were made in foreign markets. In 1959, after the two successive devaluations in 1957 and 1958, the French consumer again consented to a sacrifice of 27 old domestic francs per kilo of decorticated groundnuts from Senegal in relation to the world price of the product. From this figure one can deduce that the passage of the Senegalese groundnut into the world circuit would be expressed by a lowering of nearly 30 % of the value of the harvest, that is, of the monetary revenue of the producers, and by a perceptible diminution of the fiscal receipts, if one presupposes the suppression of certain duties, in order to bring together as much as possible the local export price and the world price. The suppression of the private traders and of their margin of profit and the sale of food products or of foreign manufactures at a price lower than that of similar French products, which one can envisage in case of a rupture, do not seem capable of compensating for the lack of gain to the producer no longer benefiting from stable supported prices. In fact, the system of a free association between the Senegalese producer and the French buyer, and for the former a regime of stability and supported prices, and guaranteed sales, would seem to be the wisest solution.

The other problem is that of the existence of the European Common Market, of which France is a member. By virtue of the agreements of Venice of March 1956, an association with the overseas territories of the member nations is anticipated by Article 131 of the treaties. Although the reservations of some African politicians, non-signatories of the treaties, seem justified, nothing remains except that the treaty of Rome seems to offer some interesting prospects for the Senegalese economy. The five partners of France are hardly interested in the groundnuts of Senegal for various reasons. Federal Germany and The Netherlands purchase oleagineous materials at a low price on the world market in the

/24 cont./

439
433

framework of their commercial activities. Moreover, they are especially great consumers of margarine. Belgium /25/ is concerned about protecting its daily herds and, up to now, the products of the Congo. Finally, Italy gives priority to olive oil. In fact the coincidence of the French shortage of oleaginous materials and the largely excess production of Senegal can lead, within the spirit of the treaty and without contradiction, from the common policy anticipated for certain agricultural products (Art. 39) to the definition of the groundnut as a basic French oleaginous commodity, with the formation of a support fund maintained essentially by France. M. Adler concludes: "On the one side there is sought a product that on the other side no one wants" (5).

[113]

5. Adler, J., "Le Mali et l'archide /Mali and the groundnut/," Marches tropicaux, No. 745, 20 February 1960, pp. 497-498.

On the other hand it seems that in the case of union Senegal could anticipate, through the increasing competition between the local products of the six member countries, an appreciable lowering of the price of articles imported from Europe, from which there is a possibility of an increase in the purchasing power of the groundnut producer, in any case assured of getting a stable income from his harvest, except in the case of very serious natural calamities.

In conclusion it seems, as M. Barbier emphasizes, that for Senegal in the present circumstances the policy of bigamy is preferable to that of divorce.

Yves Pehaut.

/380 cont./

369 505 439 groundnut before exportation has given Dakar an undisputed advantage over Kaolack. In 1957 the exports of groundnut products (shelled groundnuts, oil cake, oil), which represented only about a twentieth of the total traffic of merchandise in the port of Dakar, was more than the total of the import and export traffic of Kaolack (292,000 metric tons as against 220,000 metric tons). In any case neither Kaolack nor Ziguinchor, both located on rivers which are difficult to enter because of the shifting banks of sand or mud, can be dangerous rivals in any way for Dakar, which, because of this, practically thrusts itself on all of Senegal, Mauritania, and the Sudan. On the other hand, Dakar dominates from afar the three other large maritime ports of former French West Africa, Conakry, Abidjan, and Cotonou, whose total traffic in 1957 equaled only about three-fifths of the traffic of Dakar.

369 [433] But even though the port is the basic instrument of the power of Dakar, there are other additional elements that reinforce this power.

369 509 [487] First there is the place that Dakar occupies in the sphere of aviation. Since the first direct connection with France via the Mediterranean coast of Spain, Morocco, and Mauritania (16), its role has not ceased to grow on the international plane.

16. Marcel M. Chariter, "Dakar, port aérien," op. cit., p. 84.

The hydrobase of Bel-Air and the airport of Ouakam, which served the first trans-Atlantic airplanes, are outclassed today [508] by the great airport of Yoff, which was begun in 1940. Well equipped, this airport of international class and one of the largest airports of Africa is by far the most important one in former French West Africa, accounting by itself in 1957 for a fourth of the airplanes (arrivals and departures), a third of the passengers embarking or debarking in former French West Africa, and half of the passengers in transit. For certain directions, such as South America, the passengers from all of West Africa must embark at Dakar.

/380 cont./

at Dakar.

369 Even more than in the sphere of aviation, however, it is
648 on the commercial and industrial plane that the other states of
[433] former French West Africa were, before the recent political
disturbances, dependent on Dakar. In fact Dakar was the seat
[453] of the banks and of the commercial associations or the branch
[441] agencies of the mother country, all of whom /Pl. XXI and XXII
appear here on unnumbered pages/ /381/exercise from Dakar,
if not always a role of direct administration, at least some co-ordination and in any case an influence that is not negligible on the branches scattered across Senegal, former French West Africa, and sometimes even across foreign territories. Thus, the C.F.A.O., the S.C.O.Z., the B.A.O., and the B.C.A., which practice their activities in practically all of Black Africa, although having their seat in Paris, are strongly established in Dakar, from where they manage a number of agencies and branches. On the other hand, the Société Maurel et Prom, which has branches in Senegal, Mauritania, the Sudan, Guinea, and Gambia, the "Commerce Africain," which has establishments in Senegal, Gambia, the Ivory Coast, and the Cameroun, and other companies have their
[439] seat in Dakar (17). Moreover it must be added that several in-

17. "Le Commerce Africain" transferred its seat from Dakar to Paris in July 1960.

dustries (oil factories, soap factories, breweries, cement factories, textile factories, shoe factories, etc.) established on the peninsula of Cape Verde send a part of their products to other territories in former French West Africa.

369 Finally, because of its former function as federal capital,
633 Dakar brought together all of the federal political and adminis-
648 trative organs, which permitted it to direct and co-ordinate all of the political, administrative, and economic life of former French West Africa.

Thus, Dakar became the leader, the undisputed metropolis, upon which there depended a regional assemblage much

[Text continues on p. 17--Analyst]

/390 cont./

361 inhabitants. It had an official center and wide streets, which,
369 however, are not yet paved. Despite this city appearance,
[363] however, Pikine is more intimately dependent on Dakar than the other villages of the suburbs; it is a workman's suburb, and all of its provisioning comes from Dakar, while practically all of its inhabitants are employed in the great city. With this exception, the villages of the suburbs have as their essential
[438] role the provisioning of Dakar with fish and fresh vegetables. Many transportation facilities in common connect them with
[489] Dakar-ville from very early in the morning until around the middle of the night (Pl. XXIII B, Pl. XXIV A and B).

This is the arrangement or juxtaposition of the various elements of the Dakar agglomeration, whose present popula-
[162] tion may well have exceeded 300,000 inhabitants.

369 4. Perspectives. The Dakar agglomeration has the appearance of an unfinished city in the process of being organized, even though its function as a West African metropolis has been confirmed for a long time. There are surprises in this situation for those who analyze the old European urban civilizations, where one sees an ancient city existing as /391/ /Fig. 6 appears here/ one that patiently developed its relations in order to become a metropolis and to constitute a solid and dynamic assemblage where urban and metropolitan functions mutually support one another. Dakar, however, is above
369 all a center of relations which has woven with its hinterland
439 connections that have the appearance of complementary ties,
433 but which actually are ties of dependence: dependence in fact because in the Senegalese and Sudanese interior the development of export crops is tied up with the means of evacuation organized by Dakar; dependence also because the export crops, in breaking up the former village autarchy, have given Dakar the role of a great relay-station in the importation of food products in compensation and manufactured products which have become a necessity there where formerly they were unknown; dependence, finally, not only for the Senegalese and

/391 cont. /

102
[illegible]1
416
487
●433

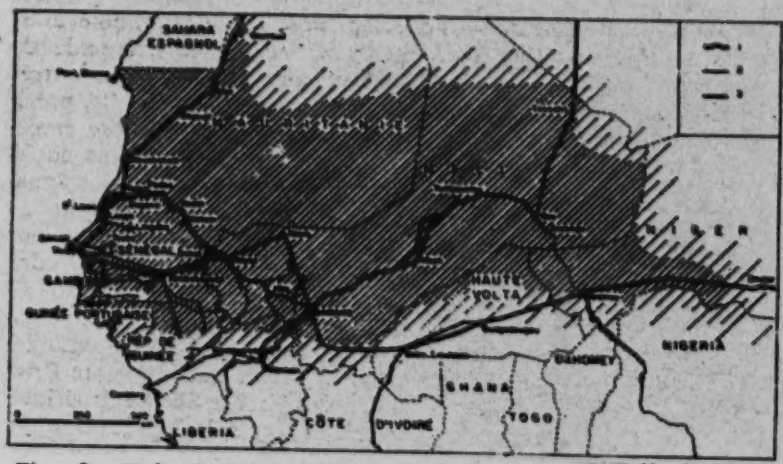


Fig. 6. Dakar's zone of economic influence.
1. Navigable course; 2. railroad;
3. road.

369 Sudanese interior, but also for the whole of former French West
433 Africa through the role of management that the administrative
439 offices, the banks, and the great commercial agencies play from Dakar.

In truth, however, this pre-eminence of Dakar which rests only on its role as a relay-station, a "service station," which receives for redistribution, carries with it grave weaknesses. And first of all it is necessary to note that the influence of Dakar, which extends supremely over a regional assemblage larger than France, is actually /392/ nothing less than a sign of the underdevelopment of the regions thus dominated. It in fact signifies for them an economy of trade, without local conversion of the products, with few urban centers playing an important role in regional management. Now, precisely this influence, while maintaining the economy of trade, prevents any new orientation of the economy in a national sense. Because of this, the ties uniting Dakar with its zone of influence appear to be of the same nature as those that tie the colonies to their mother countries, or, more accurately, they are only shackles; the nationalism of the new states will confuse them in a similar

/392 cont./

369 condemnation.

433 Consequently it is necessary to emphasize the same

439 instability of this role of Dakar as a relay-station. Already

[505] strongly rivaled in its function of provisioning ships by such ports as Las Palmas and Santa Cruz of Tenerife (25), better

[113] 25. Nicolas, J. -P., "Les hydrocarbures de soute à Dakar; 2e rapport. Eléments d'information sur la position concurrentielle des îles Canaries, 15 Nov. 1960 /The hydrocarbides stored at Dakar; 2nd report. Data on the competitive position of the Canary Islands, 15 Nov. 1960/," I.F.A.N., Dakar.

located on the direct route between Europe and South America, Dakar is no longer an imperative stop in the tropical Atlantic because of the greater autonomy of the ships in the matter of provisioning. On the other hand, the recent political evolution which has led to the "Balkanization" of former French West Africa has not only broken all the administrative and political ties which were among the most notable elements of the power of Dakar, but it has also permitted at Conakry, Abidjan, and Cotonou other possible relay-stations for the interior regions to become rivals, more and more limiting the zone of influence of Dakar. The recent breakup of the Federation of Mali, completely and at a single stroke turning the traffic between Senegal and the Sudan toward Abidjan in particular and to a lesser extent toward Conakry, is a particularly striking example of the instability of the position of Dakar. In the present state of affairs, nothing remains for Dakar but the Senegalese interior and Mauritania, and this latter country, which is building its own port at Port-Etienne, is seeking to free itself (Fig. 6).

Thus, grave threats weigh on the metropolis of Dakar. In any case, even in the eventuality of a recovery in the

/392 cont./

369 economic relations between Senegal and Sudan, or better, in
433 the eventuality of the formation of a West African common
439 market, the role of collection which has perpetuated the superiority of Dakar is today threatened by decline because of the nationalism of the states and their desire to convert their own products locally. It therefore seems that salvation for this metropolis in a virtual crisis is not in an illusory rebirth of its former role, but in a new and unequivocal orientation of its activities. It should no longer be a pole of suction, but become a pole of development of the hinterland.

Assane Seck.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

[ST. LOUIS]

206 *Wireless.* The wireless station is to the south of Guet N'Dar.

505 *River.* Above Faidherbe Bridge the river is closed to all vessels not
[648] flying the French flag. Boats drawing 10 feet can ascend to Podor all the year round, and in the rainy season they can reach Kayes (Vol. I, p. 367). Table V shows how greatly river traffic on the Senegal has declined in recent years.

TABLE V. *Tonnage of Goods from Kayes*

[497]
[494]

	1928	1929	1930	1934	1935
Sent by rail or road	9,545	9,555	11,456	5,269	6,224
Sent by river	2,520	5,815	3,425	313	260

Shipping. There are no sea-going ships calling regularly, but the Messageries Africaines and the Messageries du Sénégal run services up-river.

36 DAKAR (14° 39′; 17° 25′ W.). Population, 80,052, including *c.* 6,000
[31] Europeans. Capital of the Federation and Headquarters of the
[62] District of Dakar. Full Commune. Custom-house. Law courts.
[489] Chamber of Commerce. Pasteur Institute. Hospitals. Naval base
[712] and dockyard. General Headquarters of the army in French West Africa. Police headquarters. British Consulate-General. Belgian,
[648] Brazilian, Czechoslovakian, Danish, Eireann, Greek, Italian, Netherlands, Norwegian, Swedish, and Swiss Consulates. Argentine, Finnish, Spanish, and Uruguayan Vice-Consulates. Meteoro-
[654] logical station. Airport and seaplane base. Wireless stations.
[508] Colleges and schools. Protestant churches. Roman Catholic Vicariate Apostolic of Guinea and Vicariate General. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Crédit Foncier de l'Ouest Africain. Banque Belge de l'Afrique. Power station.
[697] Prison. Public library. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops.
[498] Cinemas. Race-course. Sports stadium. Botanical gardens.
[654] Agricultural experimental station. Daily market.

Dakar (Fig. 54) is approximately 2,600 miles distant from South-
361 ampton, from Cape Town, and from Rio de Janeiro. It is, therefore, well placed for taking a share in the trade of the South Atlantic, and it
[433] is small wonder that it has become the third port in the French Empire, being surpassed only by Marseilles and Le Havre. It is, moreover, of the first importance strategically.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

Trade

Imports and Exports. Dakar is the outlet for almost the whole of French West Africa north of the forest. In particular it serves the most fertile and prosperous parts of Senegal and French Sudan. The principal export is, of course, ground-nuts, and others are gold, gum, shea butter, kapok, and hides. Imports include manufactured goods of all kinds, coal, oil fuel, wine, sugar, and flour. In 1937 imports totalled 1,298,700 tons to the value of 763,200,000 francs (£6,134,060) and exports 1,284,300 tons to the value of 572,300,000 francs (£4,599,740). This represents some 40 per cent. of the total trade of the Federation. 439 [433] [433]

Manufactures. In or near the town are brickworks, a brewery, candle factories, charcoal furnaces, ice factories, sisal cleaning plants, sack factories, saw-mills, and factories for extracting ground-nut oil. There are also native handicraft workers. West of the town there are two basalt quarries, which are connected to the harbour by a railway line. 438 316

There are several trade unions. 467

Finance. The Port of Dakar has its own budget. In 1938 this balanced at 10,792,486 francs (£66,212). The principal items of revenue were the dues on the loading and discharge of cargo, which brought in 4,150,000 francs, the dues paid by ships, which brought in 1,566,000 francs, and the charges for the use of port equipment, which brought in 1,115,700 francs. The principal items of expenditure were 4,912,166 francs on wages and salaries of employees and 2,551,770 francs on the materials used in the maintenance of the port. 652 [651]

Description of Port

Anchorages. Outside the harbour there is good anchorage in 10 fathoms. Inside depths are greater, and there is space for a large number of vessels. 504

Quays and Wharfs. The main basins of the harbour are divided off from Goree bay and Dakar Roads by the North Jetty. This runs south-eastwards from the shore for nearly 1,200 yards and then turns southwards for its last 550 yards. Here are found the oil berths, and at the end of it is a light. Three moles project from the landward side of the main jetty. Behind No. 5 Mole, the nearest to the land, there is a large open space used for storing dumps of ground-nuts (Vol. I, Plate 84). This end of the harbour is a seaplane base, with a hangar on the shore. On the north-west side there are some [502] [508]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

[JOAL]

the British 70 years later, and it did not finally become French until 1763. It is on a sandspit in front of a coastal lagoon. Off shore there is a large sandbank, exposed at low tide. 36 [175]

There is a small wharf, but, owing to the difficulty of access, there is very little trade. In 1937, for example, only 4,600 tons of goods were handled and their value was 4,600,000 francs (£36,970). [504] [439]

The colonial road from Fatik (40 miles) to M'Bour (23 miles) and Rufisque (61 miles) runs through the town. There are also minor roads. From November to June there is a bus service to M'Bour and Thiès four days a week. [491] [494]

FOUNDIOUGNE (14° 06′; 16° 29′ W.). Population, 2,734. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-house. Medical post. [131] [162]

Foundiougne is on an island formed by the Saloum, the Djomboss, and their connecting channels. Much of the district is swampy, but the town itself is on a piece of firm ground on the left bank of the Saloum, 33 miles from the sea.

Anchorage in the river is in 3½ fathoms. There are 8 wharves, of which 1 is owned by the municipality. [504]

The principal export is ground-nuts, but in recent years Foundiougne has declined in prosperity. This is owing to the rise of Kaolack, which is better situated on the north bank of the river and which has much better communications. [439] [433]

There is a ferry across the river, and from its far side a rough road leads to Fatik. South of the river there is a colonial road eastwards to Kaolack (32 miles). Along both these roads there is a bus service, daily in the dry season and fortnightly in the wet. [491] [494]

FATIK (14° 18′; 16° 27′ W.). Population, 3,521, including 128 Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Medical post. Police station. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. [131] [162]

At Nonane, on Marigot de Fatik 14½ miles above its junction with the Saloum, is the site of one of the old *escales*. This is the upper limit for boats drawing 10 feet, but smaller craft can ascend a further 7 miles to Fatik, 58 miles from the sea. The town is on the right bank of the river, which is here called the Sine. [505] [487]

Trade is chiefly in ground-nuts. [439]

Colonial roads lead north to Bambey (27 miles), south-east to Kaolack (28 miles), and south-west to Joal (60 miles), and a minor road south to Foundiougne. [491]

The landing-ground is half a mile west of the town.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Gambia, often in rotation with ground-nuts. Of the quick-maturing 243
varieties *souna* and *samio* are the most popular, the former thriving in [262]
sandy soil, the latter in heavier ground. Several kinds of sorghum are also cultivated. In the river area millet is sown where the floods have subsided and is harvested in April. In other parts it is planted immediately before the rainy season. Production probably averages [433]
about 300,000 tons annually. The export of millet from one province [438]
to another is controlled according to local needs.

Rice. The area flooded by the Casamance is naturally suited for rice cultivation. The rice-fields are handed down from father to [428]
son, each family growing sufficient for its own consumption and to [262]
pay its taxes. A store of rice is always kept to guard against a lean [251]
year or to be exchanged for some other commodity required.

Sugar-cane. This is grown near every village where there is enough 249
water. No attempt has been made to commercialize the crop, and the West African varieties are more woody and contain less juice than those grown elsewhere for export. Sugar-cane (*Saccharum officinarum*) is a perennial plant of the grass family. It is easy to grow, even near the sea, but takes at least a year to mature. When grown for local use, as it is here, sugar is not extracted, but the red or white stems are [263]
chewed.

The Baobab. The baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) is found generally 245
in the thornland (Plate III), and is, therefore, much in evidence in Senegal. It is remarkable for the large girth of its trunk in com- [262]
parison to its branches and leaves. The long green fruit, known as [263]
monkey-bread, is used as a food or as a seasoner. Boiled with water [272]
and then cooled, it also makes a refreshing drink, while the leaves
and the young shoots are also good to eat. The inner bark yields a [283]
tough fibre, which can be twisted into rope or woven into a water-proof cloth. About 30 years ago a factory was opened at Dakar to prepare the fibre for export to rope- and paper-making firms in [288]
France. The bark and fibre can be stripped off without causing the death of the tree.

Manioc, beans, and maize are grown generally in the vicinity of 244
villages. In the Cape Verde peninsula these, as well as yams, sweet [243]
potatoes, and melons, are grown for the Dakar markets. [438]

Economic Crops

Ground-nuts. Ground-nuts (*Arachis hypogaea*) require a tropical [433]
climate and an annual rainfall of from 14 to 60 inches. They are the

22 Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

244 sixth crop of Africa, and 43 per cent. of the total continental production comes from Senegal. The two main groups cultivated are the
[233] 'runner' and the 'erect'. The Rufisque and Cayor varieties, both runners, are those grown generally here and also in British West Africa. The method of cultivation is described in Volume I, p. 321. Ground-nuts were originally grown as a staple native crop, but the
[439] industrial demand for vegetable oils, coupled with the development of transport facilities, opened up a world market for them. Extra
[167] labour for the harvest is provided annually by seasonal immigration
[464] from French Sudan, French Guinea, Portuguese Guinea, and the Gambia. In 1938 the number of outside workers was 69,757. Of these, 56,743 went to the Kaolack area, between 1,000 and 3,500 to Sedhiou, Ziguinchor, Kolda, Tambacounda, and Diourbel, and the remainder to Thiès and Linguéré.

[258] There are numerous shelling factories. Early in 1939 new ones were opened at Kaolack, Ziguinchor, and Koungheul.

In 1938 nearly 2,000,000 acres were under cultivation and the
[654] experimental station at Bambey distributed 5,414 tons of selected seed. In 1939 7,382 tons of seed were sent out, with a corresponding increase in acreage.

[648] During the British blockade of French West Africa after the fall of
[388] France in 1940, ground-nuts were converted into fuel oil. If this practice has been proved worth continuing after the war, cultivation may be greatly extended.

248 *Sisal.* Sisal originated in Mexico, being named after the port of Sisal in Yucatan province, and it was introduced into Senegal at the end of the nineteenth century. The species grown are *Agave rigida sisalana*, *A. rigida elongata*, and *A. rigida zapupe*. The rigid leaves containing the fibre are about 4 feet long and are harvested biennially from the fourth to the eighth or tenth year. When a plant has finished producing it shoots up a tall flower stem, with bulbils or buds on the end, and then withers.

283 The preparation of stem and leaf fibres is lengthy. First the fleshy
288 tissue encasing the fibre is scraped away, and then the fibre is washed, hung out to dry, and brushed. It is now ready for grading. Next it is combed into a continuous sliver of untwisted rope. The final process is the drawing and twisting of the sliver to a uniform thinness for spinning into a rope that is particularly resistant to sea-water. The
248 largest plantation is in French Sudan, and stretches for 12 miles along the bank of the Senegal near Kayes. Other smaller ones are in Tambacounda and on the Cape Verde peninsula. There is oppor-

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

tunity for much development in this industry, particularly in the irrigated areas of the Casamance Territory and Sine-Saloum. Europeans own the majority of the plantations, but co-operate with and encourage native growers. During the first quarter of 1939 production in Tambacounda province was 152 tons, and the factory at Kolda treated 165 tons of fibre.

Ginger. The ginger plant (*Zingiber officinale*) is of Asiatic origin, but it has been cultivated in Africa for many centuries. It is grown on a small scale wherever the rainfall is over 30 inches. It does best in a rich soil and requires shade. The ginger of commerce is prepared from the rhizome or underground stem, which is mature when the leaves turn yellow. The best ginger is prepared from immature rhizomes, which are peeled and preserved in sugar syrup, but in West Africa the coarser, mature stems are also used. Chewed ginger is reputed to enhance the stimulating effect of kola.

Pimentos. Several species of *Capsicum* or peppers grow in the Federation. In Senegal the most common are *C. annum* and *C. frutescens*, both bearing red fruits. The former was introduced from South America. It is less pungent and has larger fruits, known as 'capsicums'. *C. frutescens* has hotter fruits, known in commerce as 'chillies'. Cayenne or paprika is the red powder obtained from grounding the fruit. Pepper shrubs are grown from seeds, and after three months bear fruit for at least six months. These red peppers should not be confused with the common pepper, which is a climber and does not grow in West Africa.

Henna. This plant (*Lawsonia inermis*), like sugar-cane, maize, ginger, and castor oil, is grown wherever there is enough water. The plant is much revered by Moslems and often grown as a hedge. The powder of the young, dried leaves is the source of henna dye.

Other Crops. Other products of which small quantities are exported are citrus fruits, gum arabic, shea butter, cotton, kapok, and palm kernels.

Livestock

Livestock are fewer here than in any other colony. Sheep and goats, the latter being the more numerous, are kept near the river between Podor and Bakel and number about 100,000. There are some 310,000 cattle, 50,000 donkeys, 6,000 camels, and 14,000 pigs. These last are mainly kept in the Casamance Territory. There are 36,000 horses. These are of two breeds, the M'Bayar and the M'Par, and

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Mali MS35

S 496

3. Thiès–Kidira (352½ miles).
4. Diourbel–Touba (31 miles).
5. Guinguiné–Kaolack (14 miles).
6. Kaolack–Lyndiane (6½ miles).

S M 499 175

History

The first plan for a railway was made by Pinet-Laprade in 1857. It was to connect the head of navigation on the Senegal with a suitable point on the Niger, and in 1863 Mage prospected the country between Medine and Bamako. During the next fifteen years or so various other schemes were proposed. All of them were chiefly concerned with the military conquest of Cayor, of the middle Niger basin, and of the lands between Timbuktu and Algeria. Many of them envisaged a trans-Saharan line, and there seems to have been little thought of economic development.

On 5 February 1880 a Bill was introduced into the French Chamber of Deputies to authorize a line from Dakar to St. Louis with a branch to Medine and the middle Niger. It was considerably amended before being passed, the chief alteration being the excision of the section from St. Louis to Medine.

S 499 175

Surveys of the two other sections were made, and on 21 June 1882 a contract was signed with the Société de Construction des Batignolles to build a line from Dakar to St. Louis. This company remained the owner of the line until it was bought out by the Government in 1933. European labour was largely employed in construction, and this meant that work had to be suspended from July to November each year. In spite of this and other difficulties, the line was opened on 6 July 1885. This was the first railway in West Africa.

It soon became apparent that faulty methods had been used. The wooden sleepers were eaten by termites and the track had been very poorly ballasted. These defects, however, were eventually remedied.

S [433]

The railway achieved its military purpose, but its economic results were of equal value. In particular, it stimulated the production of ground-nuts by providing means for their export. This had important effects on the development of Dakar and of Rufisque.

S M 499 175 [505]

Meanwhile a little progress had been made on the section linking the Senegal with the Niger. In contradistinction to the Dakar–St. Louis line, the work was done by the Government. It had an inauspicious beginning. Medine is 625 miles by river from St. Louis and can only be reached by barge in August and September. Material brought from the port was seldom taken farther than Kayes, and goods

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Mali MS35

S M 499 175

was at Koussanar, and when war came in 1914 it had reached a place called Cotiari Naoudé, 258 miles from Thiès. In 1920 a force of 8,000 labourers was recruited, and the line was completed on 5 August 1923.

S 499 175 [433]

Branch Lines. Work on the branch from Guinguiné to Kaolack began on 6 June 1911, and the line was officially opened on 1 January 1912. This railway, of course, has transformed Kaolack and has been the prime factor in its growth to its present importance. The private line from Kaolack to Lyndiane was built by the firm of Charles Peyrissac et Cie in 1925.

The line from Diourbel was originally planned to go to Tal-Tal and Thiel. Construction began on 1 December 1929, and the line reached Touba on 1 March 1931. Financial difficulties postponed further extension, and nothing more has been done up to the present. This branch has proved valuable to local producers of ground-nuts and has been more successful than its contemporary to Linguéré.

This latter was begun from Louga early in 1920 and reached Coki (18½ miles) on 1 October that year. Railhead was at Dahra on 1 October 1930 and the whole line was finished on 1 October 1931. Results have not been quite as good as had been hoped.

S M 496

Permanent Way, Locomotives, and Rolling-stock

Rails and Sleepers. The section from Dakar to St. Louis has rails weighing 30 kg. per metre (61 lb. per yard) bought second-hand from the Nord Railway of France in 1929, and that from Thiès to Kayes has rails weighing 25 kg. and 26 kg. per metre (50½ lb. and 52½ lb. per yard). The track from Kayes to Koulikoro was originally laid with rails weighing 20 kg. per metre (40 lb. per yard) and was notorious for its numerous rail breakages; but it is now in process of being relaid on a new alinement with rails weighing 30 kg. per metre (61 lb. per yard). The Louga–Linguéré branch was given the old rails from the Dakar–St. Louis line. These weigh 20 kg. per metre (40 lb. per yard).

S 496

Sleepers are of steel.

Gradients and Curvature. These vary considerably, but there are no gradients steeper than 1 : 30, and the minimum radius of curves is 197 yards. It is intended ultimately to reduce these figures to 1 : 71 and 219 yards respectively.

Bridges. The principal bridges are noted in the itineraries below. Minor bridges are of steel and concrete, and in many cases old rails are used as reinforcing bars. Culverts are numerous.

/103 cont./

633 instance, a customs office, and a telegraph, telephone, and
[647] post office. The various administrative services are represented
there (public works, treasury, medical aid, education, agri-
culture, veterinary medicine, etc.).

433 Financial situation. Taxes. The circle of Sine-Saloum
is constantly increasing in importance because of its size,
population, and economic resources.

[496] Because of its exceptional location, the railway from
[491] the Sudan crosses it over a distance of 190 kilometers. Seven
[505] stations mark it out. Its railroad network and its system of
highways and canals permit it to drain to Kaolack and
[439] Foundiougne all of the products of the soil. Thus, the total
commerce for 1927 (imports and exports combined) amounted
651 to 350 million francs for the circle. The customs duties col-
lected for the benefit of the general budget of French West
Africa reached 13 million francs. The taxes from the tax
rolls (personal taxes, patents, licenses, etc.) have risen to
25 million francs, whereas they did not exceed the figure of
4,300,000 francs in 1923. The advance is thus remarkable.

Native personal taxes alone in 1927 provided 3,768,355
francs, whereas in 1921 they brought in only 2,791,000 francs.

Taxes on livestock went from 270,000 francs in 1921 to
425,000 francs in 1927.

871 /104/ Education. Instruction is given to the children
[875] by French and native teachers. There is a regional school
[872] with 500 pupils at Kaolack. Primary schools are operating
at Fatick, Foundiougne, Sokone, Gossas, Kaffrine, and
Nioro. In all, 1,200 children receive instruction; only an
elite goes to school. A need for the creation of new centers
of education is felt, especially at Birkelane, Koungheul,
Gandiaye, Niakhar, and Tataguine. Nevertheless, although
instruction in French is given only in our schools, the natives
also receive some rudiments of instruction in the Koranic
schools. The latter are quite numerous.

[in KAOLACK - ANALYST]

/106 cont./

244 contract, depending on the region, between 100 and 120
466 francs.

[465] The European agricultural concessions should draw inspiration from this custom. In order to retain a labor force, it would be proper to assure the native food and lodgings and leave a small field at his disposal, while at the same time allowing him a day or two a week to work for himself.

This formula is applied in Latmingué by the Société des plantations, which exerts all its efforts on the cultivation of manioc.

433 Economic facilities. The economic facilities of the circle include ports, railroads, highways, inland waterways, and a telegraph, telephone, and postal network.

504 Ports. These are river ports where the tide permits ocean-going steamers, not exceeding a certain tonnage, however, to conduct their operations along the wharves or landings built along the steep banks.

The Saloum has two ports of this type: Kaolack and Foundiougne.

The Sine has one port, Niamnioro.

The Miniminian, an affluent of the Gambia, has one port, Saboya.

On the Saloum, between Foundiougne and Kaolack, two more embarkation points are visited: Kamatane, included in the concession of MM. Civrac frères (left bank), and Lyndiane, included in the concession of the Société des Anciens Etablissements Charles Peyrissac et Cie. (right bank).

On all of the other channels or marigots /107/ embarkation and debarkation points -- with wharves -- accessible only to cutters with a tonnage between 25 to 50 tons have been installed. These cutters make the transit and carry their cargo to the big ports of Kaolack, Foundiougne, and Niamnioroh.

Over the past several years, Kaolack has become an important embarkation and debarkation point. It is also the
[496] natural port of the French Sudan because it has the advantage of being linked to this colony by a branch which connects it

/109 cont./

491 line in addition to the normal traffic of pedestrians and vehicles.

653 The colony of Senegal, in concert with the Société Coignet, is currently preparing the agreement, which will be passed immediately and which will require three years for the landing, the embankments of the terrepleins, and the bridge.

The realization of the works and arrangements planned will be an interesting example of close co-operation between the government of the colony, the public works services, the [441] Kaolack Chambre de Commerce, and private enterprise.

433 To demonstrate the importance of the port of Kaolack, it is sufficient to put some figures before the eyes of the reader. One will get an idea of the growth of the commercial movement that the privileged location of Kaolack on the river enabled one to foresee 15 years ago.

433 In 1905, Kaolack was still a small, insignificant vil-
505 lage. Foundiougne was the great port of the Saloum. But Kaolack was the outlet for an entire hinterland much larger; it was the access route of the products from Baol and Haut-Saloum /Upper Saloum/; finally, it was the natural port for the Sudan. Its approach, 120 kilometers from the ocean and made difficult by the passage of the Sangomar channel and [502] the sandbanks of the river, has been facilitated by the buoys. Running aground has become much rarer. Piloting, however, is obligatory.

496 Railroads. The railroad from Thiès to Niger, /110/
433 extended by a branch of 22 kilometers, which starts at Guinguinéo and ends at Kaolack, brought out the full importance of the latter point as the lands located near the railroad were improved. This development will take several years. It is steadily and fully progressing today. Like all railroad lines, the artery of the Thiès-Niger breathes life into formerly deserted regions, which are now being populated and opened for colonization.

498 Undoubtedly Kaolack benefited from the non-application
504 of the Franco-British pact of April 8, 1904. As is known,

/117/

Total Traffic for the Circle
(Kaolack, Foundiougne, Saboya)

505

Periods	Tonnage Unloaded	Tonnage Loaded	Tonnage Unloaded and Loaded
1909-1913	12,076 t.	49,189 t.	61, 265 t.
1914-1918	12,333	70,767	83,100
1919-1923	17,438	99,803	17,241
1924	42,288	139,712	182,000
1925	64,668	182,277	246,945
1926	71,964	209,446	281,410
1927	71,237	200,393	271,630

433 The tonnage decreased by about 10,000 tons in 1927,
505 but this was solely due to the fact that the groundnut harvest was slightly deficient as a consequence of an overabundance of rain. On the whole, one can say that there has been constant and uninterrupted progress since the pre-war period. The announcement of this figure indicates the flourishing situation of the region of Sine-Saloum.

433 In 1927 the total value of imports and exports for the
439 circle amounted to 454 million francs, 330 million of which were for Kaolack. With what left by way of the small customs stations along the border with Gambia, one can acknowledge that the value of general commerce in 1927 was almost 500 million, or almost a third of the total commerce of the colony of Senegal, which in 1927 amounted to 1 billion 562 million.

These figures speak for themselves.

Agricultural Resources of the Region: Crops

244 The principal crop of Sine-Saloum is the groundnut.
433 This plant is cultivated everywhere, but the best lands are
[134] in Sine and north of the railroad. The lands of Bas-Saloum

/117 cont./

244 are much less suitable for this crop because of their composi-
433 tion which gives a certain acidity to the nuts, thus rendering
[134] them less suitable for industrial use in /118/ the production
[242] of fine oils. There have been attempts to correct this defect and to improve the quality of Bas-Saloum by means of seed selection and by the continued addition of seed from Sine; this has not yet been successful.

Fallow lands, however, are not lacking in the other regions of the circle.

There are 230,000 hectares planted in groundnuts. This figure represents 0.85 hectares per inhabitant. This is about 1/11 of the total area of the circle.

In 1914 this crop extended over 70,000 hectares. It has thus tripled.

The production, which was 75,000 tons in 1918, is about 140,000 tons today. It has doubled in 10 years. It amounts to almost a third of the harvest of Senegal.

One can determine the production of groundnuts in the circle since 1921 by the following figures (in tons):

Years	1921	1922	1923	1924
Tons	80,000	90,000	110,000	125,000
Years	1925	1926	1927	
Tons	135,000	145,000	140,000	

[167] These results are due in part to the increase in the
[242] population by the influx of foreign workers into the circle, who came to settle there or who hire themselves out, and in part to the selection of seeds and their distribution in ever increasing quantities.

[654] The credit for this work is to be given to the administra-
[441] tion, the Société de Prevoyance /Welfare Society/, and the
[474] Chambre de Commerce of Kaolack, whose combined efforts have made it possible to achieve such a fine result.

/118 cont./

244 There is no doubt, however, that the yield per hectare
433 is diminishing and that on much of the land today it is no
242 more than 500-600 kilograms per hectare, instead of the 700-800 kilograms, and even 900, as has been seen sometimes in Sine. The land is becoming exhausted as a result of the lack of fertilizer and the absence of crop rotation. Two other factors likewise come into play: the too primitive native methods of cultivation and the inadequate selection of seeds. The native cultivator continues to work his land with the
[412] hilaire, a kind /Pl. II appears here/ /119/ of spade with which he contents himself with scratching the soil. He thus reduces his work too much; he does his dressings badly or inadequately.

It has been demonstrated by the experiments made by the Compagnie française de l'Afrique Occidentale at Latmingué that with mechanical farm implements one could easily double the yield per hectare. On newly cleared land and with these methods, the yield has never been less than 1,000 kilograms and at times has reached 1,500 kilograms per hectare. It is necessary to persuade the native that he will profit by working the land with a little better equipment. The agricultural
[654] services are working at this, and it is to be hoped that the more modern cultivation methods will double the yield. This is a critical problem.

243 Millet. Millet is likewise a crop on the road to progress.
433 The types cultivated are: small and great millet, or, according to their native names, souna, sanio, bassi, fehla.

In 1927, the cultivated area was 240,000 hectares, with a total production of 119,000 tons, a little more than the needs of the population. In 1925, for a production of 80,000 tons, the population had sowed 210,000 hectares. The surplus production is consumed in the regions bordering Sine-Saloum.

Rice. Different varieties of rice are cultivated, especially in Sine and Bas-Saloum, where the annual rainfall is greater and where the soil is suitable for this crop. One can estimate that 15,000 hectares are planted to rice with a total

/119 cont./

433 production of about 14,000 tons, which are entirely con-
[243] sumed on the spot.

[244] Manioc. Manioc is the crop grown in some plantings
[474] around the villages. The native Société de Prevoyance distributed many cuttings in most of the cantons in 1925.

About 5,000 hectares are planted to manioc, with a production of 25,000 tons of fresh manioc.

[243] /120/ Maize. Maize is not planted everywhere. It is cultivated in Bas-Saloum and in Sine, a little in Saloum. There are 2,000 hectares of maize and 2,000 tons of production.

[244] Beans (niébés). The bean called "niébé" is planted on about 15,000 hectares, yielding a harvest of 7,000 tons.

Production, however, remains stationary, because the plant is attacked by various insects (weevils).

[245] Bananas. Two banana plantations, established by the
[654] administration, exist at Sangako and Bani in Bas-Saloum. They could be multiplied in this region.

[249] Sugar cane. This product is not cultivated very much -- the soil is not suitable -- with rare exceptions.

[248] Cotton. Native cotton is cultivated only in small stretches. This crop takes up 700 hectares of land.

[249] Indigo. The region that is the principal producer of indigo is Bas-Saloum. This crop has tended to increase for the past several years.

[314] Kapok. The kapok tree lives in the wild state. There are some in the cantons along the railroad (N'Gahaye-Gossas), but especially to the south, starting at Kaffrine and above all in Koungheul. The native does not harvest it or harvests it poorly. The circle could yield 100 tons of kapok, but it provides only 20 tons at the most, used locally or sold abroad.

/120 cont./

433 Truck gardening. Truck gardens exist in the major
244 centers. This is still, however, a European crop, the native
242 consuming very little of our vegetables.

An experimental garden, or rather a nursery, was set up in Kaolack about 20 years ago. This nursery provided many tree plants for the Europeans and natives (eucalyptus, mimosa, flamboyants, Gambia, mahogany, silk-cotton trees, orange trees, lemon trees, and guava trees).

[648] /121/ European crops. Concessions. No agricultural colonization has been undertaken by Europeans except at Latmingué.

In 1920, the Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale requested a concession of 200 hectares at Latmingué, 20 kilometers southeast of Kaolack, very near the Saloum, in order to conduct experiments on the mechanical cultivation of groundnuts. Improvements were made for four years. Improved agricultural equipment was used (tractors, gang plows, mechanical seeders, pulverizers, harrow-plows, and pickers). The tests made it possible to get an idea of the advantages of mechanical cultivation of the groundnut. The shortage of manpower, however, was an obstacle to extending the cultivation. The Compagnie Française abandoned this concession, which was recovered and expanded by the Société des Plantations of Latmingué, which now exploits it. The latter cultivates manioc exclusively. It has already cleared 200 hectares and planted 270 hectares in manioc. It is trying to cultivate this plant annually in nine months instead of 18. This development should be watched with interest. The needs of the mother country for manioc are considerable, and Senegal would find there another source of economic prosperity.

233 Animal husbandry. Pasturage is abundant, especially during the rainy season. It is sufficient to raise large herds of cattle, sheep, horses, and donkeys. Epidemics, however, decimate the cattle, which vary between 250,000 and 300,000 heads. During the dry season, the problem of animal fodder is doubled by the difficulty of finding water for the

/121 cont./

233 animals to drink. Nevertheless, cattle-raising remains a worthwhile enterprise, a herd doubling in three years.

[232] No serious attempt to improve the breed of cattle has
[654] been made by the administration.

Since the multiplication of automobiles, the horse has
[492] been somewhat forsaken. The breed is small, but sturdy.

/122/ As for sheep and goats, their rustic breed is resistant. This breeding does not require any care.

313 Forests. Forests cover a notable part of the circle. They must be protected because they are on the way to progressive disappearance as a result of the abuses of brush fires and systematic clearing by the native, wishing to increase his crops.

There is no methodical exploitation of the forests. The exploitation is confined to the cutting of palm trees for the production of charcoal. There still exist, however, some beautiful stands of hardwoods, especially of Gambia mahogany, or false mahogany, particularly in Bas-Saloum.

To the east, between Kaffrine and Koungheul, stocks of small bamboos exist, especially in the humid depressions.
[342] These bamboos are cut by the natives who make panels out of them, called "crintings," to serve as closings or veranda par-
[435] titions. The price of these panels, from two to three meters long, varies between 15 and 25 francs.

316 Quarries. There are many laterite quarries, exploited for the most part. The stone is not as hard as at Rufisque or at Dakar.

317 Salt marshes. There is industrial exploitation of the
●433 salt marshes at Kaolack. The Société des Salines of Sine-Saloum has exploited the salt marshes at Diorana since 1915. The region of the Saloum is very fortunate from this viewpoint. The constant evaporation of the water of this arm of the sea and its many branches gives the liquid mass a degree of saturation much higher than that of the ocean water.

/122 cont./

317 Current production varies from 20,000 to 30,000 tons, which
433 are consumed in the region and exported to Senegal and the
Sudan. This Société is hampered in its development by the
[651] taxes on salt and by transportation costs which particularly
burden this product.

From time immemorial the natives have been exploiting the salt marshes at Tickat, upstream from Kaolack, and on the arms of the Saloum to the west of Fatick. They produce only what is needed for their consumption. /123/
[651] During the time of the Bours, this exploitation was the occasion for a fee in kind for the benefit of the sovereign.

433 Native industrie. In addition to the native salt marshes,
258 we might also mention the fish-drying industry. The many lagoons, marigots, and watercourses of the region contain an abundance of excellent ocean fish (polynemids, pike, skate, sole, etc.). The Niominka race, accustomed to fishing, draw a remunerative advantage from it. The drying of fish is practiced at Fatick, Foundiougne, and in Bas-Saloum. One can estimate the quantity of dried fish at close to 500
[438] tons per year. The consumption is purely local, and the markets of the circle and of neighboring circles are the usual selling places.

433 The only other local industries are those of the potters,
basket makers, and weavers. Some native blacksmiths set
463 up shop in the villages at the time of cultivation; they are,
[326] moreover, of the Ouoloff or Moorish race.

433 European industries. There is only one European industry in the circle. An oil factory for the processing of
258 groundnuts has been set up at Kaolack by Engineer Gaudart.
[648] Today this factory belongs to the Société des Huileries et Rizeries Ouest-Africaines /West African Oil Refinery and Rice Company/. Its equipment is modern. Its production is large; it
[439] sells it in the colony, in France, and in the nearby British colonies.

/124 cont./

439
505

	Kaolack	Foundiougne	Totals (1)
1921		73,885 t.	73,885 t.
1922	29,192 t.	79,882	109,074
1923	75,503	36,954	112,457
1924	90,421	39,221	129,633
1925	110,787	52,986	163,773
1926	135,899	58,271	194,170
1927	134,947	51,808	186,755

1. Kaolack, up to 1922, had no customs office. It was Foundiougne which centralized all the operations.

To the above figures must be added those for the port of Saboya which we gave above.

On the whole, the tonnage of groundnuts exported by way of the ports of the circle was 198,000 tons in 1926; in 1927, 191,000 tons, or 40% of the /125/ total exports of groundnuts from Senegal. It should be noted that in 1906 the tonnage exported amounted to only 31,000 tons.

439
505
433

The production of the circle being 140,000 tons, the difference over that comes from the harvest of the regions of Baol, Tambacounda, and the Sudan, which is shipped to Kaolack and Foundiougne. If one compares these figures with the production of 1913, which was 60,000 tons, one sees how much progress has marked the cultivation of groundnuts.

Imports and exports combined make the general commerce of the circle reach close to 300,000 tons at present.

651

Customs receipts. The Kaolack customs office took in as receipts the sum of 13,901,810 francs in 1927.

The one at Foundiougne, 4,001,249 francs.

Or a total of 17,903,059 francs.

If one adds to this the receipts from Saboya and those from the frontier posts of the Gambia, the total receipts exceed 18 million francs. We are far from the figure for 1905: 405,000 francs.

23: Aujas--46 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37
SINE-SALOUM

/131 cont./

312 653 For Kaolack, M. Boyer found water at a depth of 95 meters. Moreover, the municipality of this city had also made investigations whose results were interesting. Excellent water was found at a depth of only 15 meters, with a volume of about 500 cubic meters per day. This quantity is not enough to supply the city of Kaolack. It is necessary to find 1,000 cubic meters, and this is what the government of Senegal and the mixed commune are working on.

/132/

Conclusion

•433 Twenty years ago M. Camille Guy, then governor of Senegal, wrote in a study of Sine-Saloum: "There is no doubt but that Sine-Saloum is a rich country which could produce much more than it produces, that ten years ago it entered an era of prosperity which is accentuated year by year, and that, at the expense of the picturesque and original, it has become a region of Senegal for which the future is full of promises, some of which are now on the way to realization and others are incalculable" (1).

1. Cf. La Géographie, 1908. "Le Sine-Saloum," by M. Camille Guy.

The facts have confirmed this appraisal. In fact, in the economic realm, the results reached the forecasts of the most optimistic. The agricultural, commercial, and even industrial development can only be accentuated in the near future. Aided by official business advisors and by the local administrative bodies, the high administration has grasped the importance of the region and the value of the port of Kaolack. The sacrifices authorized by public finances have already borne fruit. They can only accelerate the economic progress of the region as soon as the program of works planned and at present underway is accomplished.

/390 cont./

114 collected seemed to us later to lack precision.

125 The method that we have used is simple. For the seven African investigators (each concerning himself with six or seven families) and for the director of the investigation, it was primarily a matter of being present as often as possible and as long as possible with each family and of noting in a notebook devised for this use all of the financial activities of the family each day during a month of 31 days (1)

1. For detailed information on the method followed for this investigation, cf. Y. Mersadier, "Un essai d'enquête sur le niveau de vie d'une population urbaine /An attempt to investigate the living standard of an urban population/" [communication at the conference of experts on the social consequences of industrialization and the urban problems in Africa, Abidjan, September 1954].

[511] (the month of March 1954). We obtained quite accurate data on the "routine" expenses of the month, principally food, fuel, illumination, and maintenance, and basic elements for the calculation of other categories of expenses, clothing, material, equipment, various familial expenses, religious expenses, etc., which we wanted to estimate for the period of a year. But here we had to rely in part on the statements of the persons investigated. Nevertheless the almost continual presence of the investigator with the families for a month permitted him, in several questionings and by rechecking, to arrive at figures which we believe are quite close to reality.

125 434 The real income was often quite difficult to estimate. In principle there should have been no difficulties in the case of salaried workers, who willingly show their pay receipt. For the

/390 cont./

125 artisans it was necessary, aside from their family accounts, to
434 consider those of their occupational activity; with regard to the cultivators, it is certainly /391/ among them that the greatest percentage of error is found. We have taken into account the proceeds from the sale of their harvest, often underestimated by the one concerned, the portion for home consumption, and the income obtained by supplementary activities practiced in the dry season, in order to arrive at an income figure that could be compared to that for salaried workers.

125 But, nearly all of the women, almost all of whom declare
434 themselves to be "without occupation," have minor sources of
462 income that permit them to balance a budget, or at least partially to make up a deficit. It is often a matter of small-scale
[536] commerce, sometimes domestic work, and sometimes the talents
[565] of an actress which attract sympathy and gifts, as we verified for a family of the griot /singer, storyteller/ caste. It was therefore necessary to look closely at each case before setting an exact figure. We nevertheless believe that we have been mistaken in two or three cases, which will reveal themselves below.

125 Of course, there were often cases where in a family, or
434 rather let us say in the same "unit of consumption," since this
592 is the term that we shall use most often (1), several persons

[104]
[594]

1. Each time that we speak of "family," it is actually the unit of consumption that is involved. To designate the familial grouping in the Western sense of the word, we shall use the term "restricted family."

received income. The entire income retained is not always the sum of these incomes. We have studied the budgets of groups and not the budgets of individuals. Now, these groups, these "units of consumption," only rarely correspond to the restricted family of Western type. They often contain individuals who, whether or not they have a kin tie with a member of the restricted family, on the one hand participate in the economic

/391 cont./

125 life of the unit of consumption and, on the other hand, part
434 company with it for other activities.
592 The clearest case is that of the boarder who takes his
[437] meals in the unit of consumption and pays the cost of these meals. Though simple, it is exceptional, as is the extreme case where all the incomes are put together. Between the two, there are many possible situations. For each unit of consumption we have therefore set apart, from among all the incomes received by its members, that which is available to the head of the family to support his restricted family and to fulfill his obligations with regard to the other members of the unit of consumption who are not part of the restricted family.

125 /392/ However limited our sample may be, we have
*511 tried all the same to make it representative of the structure of the population of Thiès, as much from the standpoint of the ethnic group of the unit of consumption as from those of occupational group, income, and number of persons. Therefore, the selection of 45 families (the figure initially anticipated) suitable for us and agreeing to submit to the investigation was diffcult (1). The 43 units of consumption which are of concern

1. In this selection of families, our task was greatly facilitated by the syndical organization , the religious authorities, and the heads of quarters.

125 here are distributed as follows.
592 From the standpoint of income:
434 13 between 5,000 and 10,000 francs per month,
*511 9 between 10,000 and 15,000 francs per month,
5 between 15,000 and 20,000 francs per month,
8 between 20,000 and 30,000 francs per month,
8 above 30,000 francs per month, with one of 81,000 francs.

/393 cont./

125 592 *511 Finally, according to the number of persons making up the unit of consumption:

5 of less than 5 persons,
18 of 5 to 9 persons,
12 of 10 to 14 persons,
5 of 15 to 19 persons,
3 of 20 persons and more.

[434] On all of these points the distribution is nearly normal. Only the group with incomes of 15,000 to 20,000 francs is somewhat scantily represented, the average of the lower group being perhaps, on the contrary, somewhat too high.

125 *511 But this apparent balance presents a problem; every family, or nearly every one, has its own characteristics, and there are no two that are strictly comparable. This is why, in order to facilitate an understanding of certain points concerning the consumption of food commodities, we have had recourse to a device that is a little risky; from the standards utilized for the calculation of theoretical food requirements by the Institut National d'Hygiène de Paris, we have used for men, for women, and for children, according to their age category, a coefficient:

1 for men
0.8 for the women,
0.5 for children from 2 to 6 years old,
0.7 for children from 7 to 12 years old,
0.8 for children from 13 to 20 years old.

/394/ By addition, we have obtained a theoretical composition of the unit of consumption in men alone. We can then calculate the consumption of this theoretical man. Nursing children have been included in the category of 2 to 5 years old, but we have allowed the coefficient of 0.8 for nursing women. This compensates for that.

*511 592 594 Table I,[1] gives the composition of the unit of consumption in men, women, and children, and in the last column its composition in "man units." The column preceding the one for the

[1] [see cat. 116, pp 11-12. -ANALYST]

/394 cont./

*511 592 the units of consumption with high incomes, for example, in families 31, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41. But its financial consequences will be more oppressive in the others /395/

/Table I appears here./

*511 434 /396/ Table II[1] lists, along with the ethnic group and the occupation of the head of the unit of consumption, the incomes in increasing order and the routine expenses verified during the month of the investigation. The small incomes, up to 10,000 francs, are essentially those of the laborers, orderlies, and two very petty artisans, a mattress-maker and a baker. We also find (No. 11) an auxiliary (1) worker of the

[104] [463]

1. The name "auxiliary" D. N. serves here to designate unskilled workers. It was borrowed from administrative terminology (used by the Dakar-Niger, "D. N.").

Dakar-Niger, whose low income is explained by the fact that he is just starting in his occupation.

The cultivator whose income we have estimated at 8,150 francs actually cultivates very few fields. His family lives by means of very small-scale commerce practiced separately by the head of the family, his two wives, and his two sisters, all very old.

The incomes from 10,000 to 15,000 francs per month are those of the office employees and the unskilled workers (in the case of the laborer No. 15 there are actually two incomes which are combined). Two cultivators open the series starting at 15,000 and then we find successively the workers and skilled employees, a large-scale cultivator, and, in the category of large incomes, besides a truck-gardener and a jeweler, a representative of the liberal professions, our teachers and our doctor, the managerial workers and employees. No.

1 [see cat 116 pp13+14 - ANALYST]

/395 Table I cont./

*511
592
594

No.	Income	Restricted Family	U. C.	M	W	2-6	7-12	13-20	Theor. U. C.
32	25,000	5	6	2	1	1	1	1	4.8
33	25,000	4	7	1	2	2	1	1	5.1
34	25,900	4	4	2	1	1	0	0	3.3
35	27,000	5	6	1	2	1	1	1	4.6
36	34,000	3	15	4	7	1	0	3	12.5
37	36,000	11	24	7	10	2	2	3	19.8
38	50,000	5	13	5	5	3	0	0	10.5
39	51,000	6	11	1	3	2	4	1	8.0
40	55,000	15	24	4	9	7	4	0	17.5
41	55,000	8	14	2	6	3	3	0	10.4
42	56,000	11	11	2	2	1	3	3	8.6
43	81,000	4	5	2	1	1	1	0	4.0

/396 cont. /

*511
[434]

43 also has two incomes (the same as No. 25).

A comparison of the incomes and expenses, up until about the middle of the table, shows an excess of expenses, sometimes not very important, but nevertheless exceeding 1,000 francs in two cases (Nos. 4 and 20). One might view this as the result of an error of estimation, either in the incomes or in the expenses. But it must not be forgotten that only routine expenses are still being dealt with, that is to say, for the small incomes that concern us now, the outlays made for food. It is therefore necessary to add to this figure all of the other expenses which we have calculated for a period of a year (divided by 12, of course). Table III,[1] where we have shown the monthly deficit in absolute value and in percentage of income, shows us what our budgets then become: the highest deficit is 45.2%, the lowest /397/ /Table II appears here/ /398/ 6.4% (1). (This last, strangely enough, is found

1. We are not counting here the

1[See cat 116, pp 17-18 - ANALYST]

4: Mersadier--13 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

Thies
Wolof MS30
Serer FA32
Tukolor MS27
Fulani MS11
Soninke MS21
Bambara FA8

/397/

Table II

W
SR
T
F
So
B
511
434
463
S
*511
434

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Expenses
1	Sarakolé	Laborer	5,800	5,839
2	Peul	Orderly	6,100	6,726
3	Wolof	Laborer	6,500	5,383
4	Sérère	Laborer	6,700	8,251
5	Toucouleur	Orderly D. N.	6,745	6,772
6	Wolof	Mattress-maker	7,000	7,471
7	Wolof	Laborer	7,000	7,231
8	Wolof	Orderly	7,410	7,234
9	Wolof	Baker	7,500	7,842
10	Wolof	Cultivator	8,150	8,133
11	Moor	Auxiliary D. N.	8,940	9,067
12	Peul	Laborer	9,000	8,952
13	Wolof	Laborer	9,800	9,981
14	Wolof	Cultivator	10,000	8,092
15	Bambara	Laborer	10,000	8,501
16	Bambara	Auxiliary	10,675	10,013
17	Moor	Auxiliary	10,800	10,892
18	Peul	Spec. laborer	11,000	9,816
19	Toucouleur	Accountant	11,950	10,860
20	Bambara	Auxiliary D. N.	12,000	13,557
21	Wolof	Clerk	13,000	13,799
22	Wolof	Auxiliary	14,000	14,405
23	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	9,182
24	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	13,809
25	Wolof	Auxiliary D. N.	15,630	13,801
26	Wolof	Employee P. T. T	15,800	10,238
27	Wolof	Shoemaker	16,200	10,600
28	Wolof	Worker D. N.	22,000	18,641
29	Toucouleur	Police sergeant	22,000	18,730
30	Wolof	Weigher D. N.	24,000	14,305
31	Wolof	Carpenter	25,000	21,571
32	Wolof	Cultivator	25,000	7,850

Thiés
Serer FA32
Wolof MS30
SONINKE MS21
BAMBARA FA8

/397 cont./ Table II (cont.)

W
9R
90
B
511
434
463
S
*511
434

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Expenses
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25,000	15,706
34	Wolof	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	14,715
35	Wolof	Staff employee D.N.	27,000	16,654
36	Wolof	Private accountant	34,000	19,829
37	Wolof	Truck-gardener	36,000	23,680
38	Wolof	Jeweler	50,000	27,397
39	Sarakolé	Teacher	51,000	21,240
40	Wolof	Staffworker D.N.	55,000	31,004
41	Sarakolé	Head employee D.N.	55,500	21,105
42	Bambara	Chief worker, C.D.N.	56,000	24,548
43	Wolof	Doctor	81,000	34,612

S
*511
/398 cont./

deficits of Nos. 24, 25, and 26, which are less significant. The slenderness of the deficit of No. 3 can be explained by the limited number of persons that the unit of consumption contains.

S
125
*511
in the care of one of the families having the smallest income.)

This deficit is, of course, theoretical. Not having followed these families closely for an entire year, we cannot pretend to present an exact balance-sheet of their budget. It is possible that our percentages would be reduced in the course of a year, or a longer period, either by a reduction in expenses (reduction of consumption, or reduction of the unit of consumption itself) or by the creation of another source of income. The fact remains, however, that they do exist and that they are important.

S
426
*511
It will be easy for us to show where they come from. It is almost impossible to explain rationally their persistence and their

*511 /411 cont./
*262 products of gathering. All, let us repeat, in very small daily
263 quantities. Moreover, these are the products[1] that are the
443 objects involved in the small-scale commerce of the women:
● 434 quite often buying two or three times more than they need,
*511 they set up a little flat basket before the door of their con-
438 cession and suggest to the passers-by that they spare them-
selves the fatigue of going all the way to the market. They
can make very small profits in this way, from five to ten francs
a day.

*511 Nevertheless, with one thing added to another, the costs
*262 of these various condiments end up by absorbing another rela-
263 tively important part of the familial income (1).

1. The portion for dried fish is generally very close to 1/5 of the figures given.

The size of this income thus acts as a check on their consumption, but ultimately only the taste and the habits of each are truly determinative. /412/ /Table VIII appears here./ /413/ /Table IX appears here./

/414/ We mentioned under the rubric "Vegetables" only the truly important purchases. It is the housewife herself who calls them either vegetables or condiments, according to the importance that they will have in the meal that she is going to prepare; a greater quantity of vegetables will permit reducing the quantity of rice or millet. If the latter does not change, they are condiments. The nuance is understandable. Our investigators themselves made it, and it was subsequently difficult for us not to take it into account.

*511 The quantities given in Table IX[2] are not actual quantities.
*262 We have again in this case eliminated the factor of quality, the differences in quality being replaced by differences in
[435] quantity. The "standard vegetable" chosen was the cabbage, which in March 1953 was worth 20 francs a kilogram. This

1 [i.e. - various condiments - ANALYST]
2 [see cat 116, pp 43-45 - ANALYST]

[Text continues on p. 46]

/26 cont./

There are many who, in the present unemployment crisis, can only maintain themselves in town thanks to the aid of their relatives. This results in a spontaneous form of insurance against unemployment (2). 369* 602 [464]

2. Which has become more and more important in Dakar in the last two years. Without speaking of the seasonal immigrants who find no work, the number of recorded unemployed amounts to more than 2,000.

2. The figures expressing the extent of family groups do not give, in a direct fashion, indications of the importance of this "familial parasitism." The fact of finding work, when it is a matter /27/ of a close relative, does not signify in any way that the group which has formed is going to split up: the tendency toward the traditional familial regrouping is not exercised solely in terms of extreme forms of mutual aid. The other data in figures that we gathered permit in themselves only a first approach to the problem (1). These

1. In fact, even though the idea of salaried person is clear, that of the person enjoying a non-salaried income is very broad; it does not assume that this income is able to assure completely the subsistence of this person (petty trade, piece work, etc.); this person may, since he is attached to a kinship group larger than the restricted family, benefit from partial aid. The investigation conducted at Thiès on [434]

/27 cont./

369x
602
[434]

living standards made apparent the complexity of the notion of income; for example, there are incomes which do not correspond to any work, but come solely from a given social position (belonging to the griot caste, etc.). A similar investigation will be conducted in Dakar in August 1954 and will permit precise statements concerning these problems.

data only represent a snapshot taken on a certain date; the situation is very changeable, the dependent relatives, except when it is a matter of old men, are such only temporarily. Furthermore, the manifestations of familial mutual aid may go beyond the framework of the household. Let us take, in the whole of our population, the family groups containing more than five adults. The number of persons enjoying an income, reported for one adult, comes to between 0.5 and 0.7. One does not ascertain significant differences between categories on the quantitative level, the scale of situations in each one of them being very broad. Qualitatively, however, important differences appear. In the categories of superior functionaries and employees, members of the teaching profession and the intellectual professions, etc., and to a lesser degree among the subordinate functionaries and employees, women practicing petty commerce or similar activities are much less numerous than in other categories (but the number of women in a salaried occupation is higher). On the other hand, among the dependent adults (2), the adult sons and

369x
602
565

2. In our investigations, we have arbitrarily fixed the lower limit for the "adult" category at 18-20 years of age.

/85 cont./

443 while the housewife attends to her tasks, the oldest child makes the sale (12).

12. According to an economic investigation made by Mr. Mersadier in Thiès, the returns from these sales[1] do not exceed ten francs profit per day (Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N., July-Oct., 1955, series B, p. 411).

[434] [433]

Thus, the commerce in Thiès (and certainly in most of the cities of French West Africa) is diffused among all of the layers of the society and at the same time has adapted itself extremely well there. The branches of important commercial houses, which in the beginning were violently opposed to this diffusion not controlled directly by them, quickly understood all the benefits that they could draw from this new situation.

463 Paralleling this extension of commerce, the working class, to a more limited extent, has also taken on much greater importance. To the traditional artisans, potters, jewelers, and smiths have been added activities more modern in inspiration: photographers, clockmakers, repairers of phonographs, bicycles, or even trucks, and, in another category of enterprises, small restaurant keepers and /86/ proprietors of drink shops. Finally, the establishment of European artisans (hairdressers, pastry cooks, etc.) is a specific phenomenon of the social evolution in African cities since the last war, and Thiès is not escaping it.

[265] [275] [178]

2. Industry.

498 The industrial activity of Thiès gravitates principally around the repair shops of the Dakar-Niger (13). The

[317] [464] [162]

13. The two phosphate quarries opened by the Société Péchiney some 15 kilometers from the city (Pallo and Lam-Lam)

[1] [ie, by "doorstep" merchants - ANALYST]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 them strict enough Muslims, the main distinguishing
[433] feature of their homeland, the Vallée du Fleuve du Sénégal,
[735] is its poverty compared with that of other parts of Senegal. Diop Abdoulaye in his study of Toucouleur immigration into Dakar estimates that the average *per capita* income of a Toucouleur of that region is little more than 4,000 *C.F.A.*
•[434] per annum, i.e. about £6 a year. It is this rather than any real tribal differences that makes the Vallée a special problem, and this as much as any ethnic factor accounted
[665] for the existence of the *Union Générale de la Vallée du Fleuve.*

563 The only real minority area in the Senegal is the Casa-
619 mance, whose special position is further emphasised by its separation from the main block of Senegal by the Gambia. In the past it has been thought of as geographically, economically, socially and even religiously separate from the rest of Senegal. A forest zone closer to its neighbours Portuguese Guinea and the Republic of Guinea, it remained very underdeveloped by the French, though the present Government is taking this fact into account with a special development programme for the area. This separateness was emphasised by the very name Casamance. The people describe themselves to this day as *Casamançais* rather than Senegalese, though this could well be accepted on the same terms as a Briton describing himself as Scots or Welsh. It is fortunate that the tendency is to talk in terms of regional rather than tribal origin. However one of the important factors in the Casamance has been tribal. The Diolas were until very recently an animist people with an entirely different social organisation from that of the main groups of Senegal, though as we have already pointed out they had traditional ties with the Serer which went as far as the injunction that a Diola should never spill the blood of a Serer. But today the Diola are being drawn into the main socio-religious pattern of Senegal. In the most recent estimate of the religious
[162] adherence of the population of Casamance, estimated at
[771] 327,500, 284,000 were Muslims, only 28,000 Christians and

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

progress. This he then transmits to the village, and in Casamance *animation* has worked to the extent of building a thirty-five kilometre road which cut the journey between two important villages by nearly fifty kilometres. In the Vallée du Fleuve, people who never grew rice before have now quadrupled their incomes by producing rice under a rural animation scheme. 433 668 654 [491] [243] [434]

All this President Dia hopes will raise the standard of living of each man by 3.5 per cent each year, doubling it by the fourth four year plan in 1975.

The plan is an ambitious one, an attempt to create a new Senegal synthesising the best of Africa and Europe. If it works, and the political future of both Senghor and Dia may well depend on this, then Senegal may become a pilot nation for Africa both economically and culturally. Senegal will then be in a sense a justification for the French assimilation policy, for although it failed in its attempts to assimilate the Senegalese both culturally and politically it has left profound marks on Senegalese society. And even if the experience of assimilation in Senegal has demonstrated the immense difficulties not only of one group trying to assimilate the other to its own standards, but of even getting the assimilating group to accept the other group as political and cultural equals, the end result may be the production of an African society which, whilst maintaining its own national identity, may prove a bridge between Africa and Europe and their two cultures. 668

/19 cont./

435 francs C.F.A. per kilo of shells. This situation led to an intervention by the public authorities, anxious to fix a stable price at production.

1) The purchase-price at production and the standard of living of the producer of groundnuts. It was impossible to make any calculation of the price of groundnuts at the stage of production because of the lack of available data with regard to the elements of the cost price. The government determined the price at production, starting from the price C.F.A. in France and subtracting the various costs of commercialization, imposts, and maritime transport. Since the 1955-1956 campaign, these prices have been about 22 francs C.F.A. per kilo of shells at Dakar, 21.25 at Kaolack, and 20.5 at Ziguinchor. Actually these prices are much higher than the world market price. According to M. Barbier, they are the "social and political" prices. In a word, the French consumer "accepts" an overprice for the finished product.

434 435 What does the price thus fixed represent for the producer? Since it is impossible to obtain data on the cost price, only an idea of the exchange value /valeur libératoir/ of a kilo of groundnuts can be used. All of the statistics utilize the criterion of the price of millet and rice, basic commodities for the producer of groundnuts. Although the value of this reference can be argued, it would appear that, after the difficult period of the war, the producer has seen an increase in his purchasing power, which around 1951 was comparable to that of the period preceding the conflict. Since that date, however, in spite of the sacrifices consented to by the French consumer, he has been able to maintain his living standard only by appreciably increasing the volume of the harvest, that is, of the area cultivated, because the progression of the price of millet, through the deficient harvests, and of rice, through Indochina's leaving the franc zone, has been faster than that of the market price of groundnuts. Nevertheless, recourse to the notion of "ratio of exchange" for the producer of groundnuts,

/19 cont./

434 obtained by the ratio of the index of the F. O. B. price of
435 groundnuts to the balanced index of the various import products, led to a more encouraging situation: on a base of 100 for 1949, the ratio of exchange in 1958 would be 114.5 in favor of the Senegalese producer. M. Barbier concludes: "The ratio of exchange for the Senegalese producer has /20/ been improved; the difference in it can be confirmed in most of the underdeveloped areas."

Actually all of these calculations are theoretical, and, on the whole, the living standard of the producer has remained low. The "average" cultivator, cultivating about a hectare, receives less than 20,000 francs C.F.A. for an average yield of 800 kilograms. This sum is modest, and, it must be added, at the time of selling an important part
[452] goes for the settlement of debts in cash and especially in kind, contracted during the winter with the trader at a very high interest rate. It is estimated that the total of these credits represents 20% of the value of the harvest.

435 This fixing of the price at production considerably
439 reduces the fluctuations of the market, which in fact is governed by the needs of the former mother country.

2) The groundnut market depends on the needs of France. One cannot speak of competition at the selling stage in a market where the purchase prices paid to the producer are authoritatively fixed. In fact the demand essentially depends on French needs, as is decidedly expressed in the decree of 13 November 1954 which regulates the importation of oleaginous products in the mother country. Senegal can export to it a quota of 225,000 metric tons oil-equivalent, at a guaranteed minimum price and duty free. This price may vary within narrow limits, around 5%. The regularization of the market is handled by an official body, the Société interprofessionnelle des oléagineux fluides alimentaires (S.I.O.F.A.), solely qualified to import from foreign countries in order to depress prices and bring them back under

/401 cont./

178 occupation may be. Imported products appear only at breakfast:
*262 bread, sweetened condensed milk, lumps of sugar. The other
[264] two meals are still always composed of four products, rice,
[439] millet, fish, and meat, which may be combined in different ways, and a fifth that is always present, oil. The single element of diversity comes from the more or less great variety and the more or less great quantity of vegetables and manioc that are incorporated into the traditional dishes, and, of course, the skillful proportion of condiments of all sorts.

*511 With a few exceptions (1), the study of the expenses of
*262
[177]

1. The more important exceptions are Nos. 39 and 43. These two units of consumption have entirely adopted European food habits, and are otherwise not comparable with the others. This is why we neglect them a little on this point.

our families for food is very nearly limited, aside from bread, milk, and sugar, to a description of the variations ascertained in the consumption of these few essential products.

One can state that in general all of our families consume rice by liking and millet by necessity. Rice is the food of choice, millet entering in only when the financial situation of the family demands it, or in order all the same to provide a little variety.

243 Rice is 30 to 35% more expensive than millet. It is culti-
311 vated on a small scale in a few wet zones in the countryside
● [435] around Thiès, whereas millet grows nearly everywhere. The
* [511] truly productive rice zones closest to Thiès are the Casamance to the south and the lower course of the Senegal to the north. On the east it appears only with the upper course of this river and in the region /402/ drained by the Niger and its tributaries,
*262 in Guinea, and in the Sudan. In reality, it is an imported
177 product. The traditional diet of this region was primarily based on millet.

/405 cont./

511 *kilograms of millet. This is a good deal, but not excessive.
262 *The following greatest consumption is that of No. 9, a Peul who purchases the rice that he eats in large quantity by liking and by tradition, but also consumes the little millet that he cultivates. 21.5 and 2.8 kilograms, respectively. This is nearly normal for a Peul from Fouta Djalon. And the very low figures of consumption are in the majority. We give them as information, leaving the task of judging them to the specialists (2).

> 2. The average consumption of rice for all the families is 8.2 kilograms. The average consumption of millet is 5.8 kilograms.

We have put alongside our quantities of rice and millet those of bread. Let us state on this subject that, except for the baker, all consumption higher than four kilograms per man per month is /406/ found among the workers and employees (with the exception of No. 6 and No. 38, the latter having a more varied diet in other respects). All of our families habitually
[264] eat bread, and all except three only for breakfast.

The portion of the income devoted to bread (Table X)[1] is far from being negligible and sometimes exceeds 10%. Bread
[435] is regarded as a luxury product; it is even more expensive than
[264] rice! And it is certainly because of its utility (it requires no preparation before being consumed) that it is utilized, but only for the first meal of the day. The average consumption of our families is in any case quite low: 3.5 kilograms per man per month, or 113 grams per day. At the time of rationing in France, the average ration amounted to 300 grams.

Eighteen families in all exceed this average of 113 grams per day per month. This greater consumption was noted, logically, among the largest incomes (11 out of 18) where its purchase rarely requires more than 5% of the income. This percentage reaches 6.9 for family 29, and, for the lower incomes exceeding

1 [see cat 116 pp 51-53 - ANALYST]

/406 cont./

*511 the average of 3.5 kilograms, it is, in increasing order, 6.2%,
*262 6.9%, 7.9%, 10.1%, 10.2%, 10.3%, and 11.8%.

Fish and meat constitute the second group of essential foods for the Africans of the cities of Senegal.

[438] Thiès, near a coast very rich in fish, is abundantly pro-
[435] vided with fish. In the month of March 1954, there was a profusion of them in all the markets at the nearly constant price of 40 francs a kilogram.

Meat is much more expensive. The price most commonly
[435] verified at this time was 80 francs, double that of fish. There was no significant variation in the price during the period of the investigation. Uniform quality is to be understood. Now, with four exceptions (1), our families only bought meat at 80

1. Nos. 38, 39, 42, and 43.

francs a kilogram. To make all of the families comparable, we have divided the prices actually paid by 80 and obtained quantities of meat of a single quality.

The information that we received concerning meat and fish is assembled in Tables VI and VII[1] presented in the same manner as that relating to rice and millet. The last /407/ column of Table VI shows the families who on the whole consume more meat than fish. (Only quantities are involved here.)

There are ten of them, plus one just at the limit, including No. 43 which we eliminated.

Among the ten others, six have already appeared before us as consuming more millet than rice; they are Nos. 1, 7, 10, 24, 32, and 41. This fact cannot be explained here by either the size of the group of consumers or by the financial possibilities, since meat is twice as expensive as fish. It is probably that for these six families the greater consumption of meat is a direct consequence of the greater consumption of millet. Among our four basic products, the most common associations are in fact that of rice with fish and that of millet with meat. The two

1 [see cat 116, pp 31-36 - ANALYST]

/410 cont./

*511 is a high average, but does not seem excessive to us. Still,
*262 one must consider the six families where more of it is consumed: from 5 to 7.5 liters per person per month. This is indeed a great deal. With these families eliminated, the average falls to 1.9 liters, and it is reached or exceeded by 25 families. Only two figures for consumption are low: those for Nos. 1 (0.5 and 19 (0.1).

[435] But oil is expensive, 100 francs a liter on the average, and its consumption /411/ is therefore limited; thus, No. 4 in our series, with the purchase of 15 liters monthly, 2.8 per man, devotes 21.1% of his income to it (Table VIII).[1] An individual of No. 2, who consumes 1 1/2 liters of it each month, uses 12.6% of his income for it. And what would become of the budget of No. 1 if all the members of the unit of consumption picked up the notion of consuming the average two and a half liters; the purchase of the 25 liters required would take 42.8% of the family income.

Moreover, it is significant to see that the quantities of oil consumed do not increase with the incomes. Among the last nine families there is no figure higher than four liters per man per month.

*511 We have grouped under the rubric "Condiments" (Table
*262 VIII) commodities that in fact are quite dissimilar. Their
263 caloric value is of little importance. Nevertheless the height of misery for the Africans would be to be unable to relieve their diets, first, with condiments properly speaking, pepper, salt, vinegar, pimentos, then with small quantities of vegetables, properly qualifying as condiments because they are bought in only very small quantities, and finally with dried fish, whose flavor is infinitely superior to that of fresh fish; it often replaces the latter in the rice with fish, if not in quantity, at least in quality.

The percentages given in this column of Table VIII thus refer to a whole group of minor products, from the crushed baobab leaf to the slices of dried fish: parsley, onions, garlic, bits of sugar beets and cabbage, ground tomatoes, various

[1] [see cut 116, pp 40-42 - ANALYST]

*511 /411 cont./
*262 products of gathering. All, let us repeat, in very small daily
263 quantities. Moreover, these are the products[1] that are the
443 objects involved in the small-scale commerce of the women;
434 quite often buying two or three times more than they need,
*511 they set up a little flat basket before the door of their con-
438 cession and suggest to the passers-by that they spare them-
selves the fatigue of going all the way to the market. They
can make very small profits in this way, from five to ten francs
a day.

*511 Nevertheless, with one thing added to another, the costs
*262 of these various condiments end up by absorbing another rela-
263 tively important part of the familial income (1).

1. The portion for dried fish is generally very close to 1/5 of the figures given.

The size of this income thus acts as a check on their consumption, but ultimately only the taste and the habits of each are truly determinative. /412/ /Table VIII appears here./ /413/ /Table IX appears here./

/414/ We mentioned under the rubric "Vegetables" only the truly important purchases. It is the housewife herself who calls them either vegetables or condiments, according to the importance that they will have in the meal that she is going to prepare; a greater quantity of vegetables will permit reducing the quantity of rice or millet. If the latter does not change, they are condiments. The nuance is understandable. Our investigators themselves made it, and it was subsequently difficult for us not to take it into account.

*511 The quantities given in Table IX[2] are not actual quantities.
*262 We have again in this case eliminated the factor of quality, the differences in quality being replaced by differences in quantity. The "standard vegetable" chosen was the cabbage,
[435] which in March 1953 was worth 20 francs a kilogram. This

1 [i.e. - various condiments - ANALYST]
2 [see cat 116, pp 43-45 - ANALYST]

[Text continues on p. 46]

/415 cont./

*511
*262

have no purchase price from which we could have obtained a valid weight in "cabbage unit."

No. 36, which consumes neither meat nor millet, normally makes up for this with vegetables. With No. 38 we are in the category of higher incomes where no restriction is envisaged by reason of size of family. It is undoubtedly with this family that we reach the upper limit of the consumption of vegetables.

Let us recall once more that though the costs are the actual costs, the quantities are fictive. Hence, it is not 19.7 kilograms of cabbage that an individual of family 36 consumes each month. For the latter in particular (the only one where we saw the housewife shell peas) it is the highness of the quality, hence of the price, that has led us to a figure likewise high. The observation is valid for the other families that we shall cite; the reduction of the composition of the unit of consumption permits improvement not only in the quantity but also in the quality of the products consumed.

Beside the columns "Vegetables" we have put the information received concerning manioc. Cheap food (from 14 to 17 francs a kilogram), it is not greatly liked by the Africans. But it has spread widely; its cultivation requires almost no care, and the yields are high.

[435]

It is therefore used especially as a food to tide one over; it is to be noted that, with one exception, the families consuming the most are never those who uniformly consume more than ten kilograms of vegetables per individual. In only one case was more than 3% of the income devoted to it.

We shall have finished the study of the principal food commodities after having mentioned sugar and milk (Tables X and XI).[1]

*511
263

The average consumption of sugar per individual is 1.7 kilograms for one month. But we find only a few figures that are very far below this average. The highest figure is 2.7.

[1] [see out 116, pp 51-56 - ANALYST]

/415 cont./

*511 263 Most of them are very close to the average. There is thus a kind of uniformity in the consumption of sugar, and it is probably that here, too, we are in the presence of an upper limit.

/416/ The portion of the income devoted to sugar is thus going to vary according to the size of the income and the composition of the unit of consumption. The maximum noted is 10% for No. 4, the minimum 0.3 for No. 43 (1.2 for No. 42).

*511 272 [177] The same uniformity does not exist for sweetened condensed milk. Its use is spreading more and more, but all the same there are ten families who do not consume it at all.

The average consumption was established, for one man, at 589 grams per month for the 43 families, at 767 if one eliminates those that do not consume any.

Fourteen families out of 33 are above this average, only four of whom are in the top of the table. And, as in the case of vegetables, these 24 families are precisely the least numerous. The largest theoretical composition of the unit of consumption among these 24 families is that of No. 38, 10.5. But this is for an income of 50,000 francs per month. The next maximum is 8.6 for No. 29. Here, too, the size of the unit of consumption is essential.

Twenty-seven families utilize fresh milk besides or to supplement the condensed milk. Only two did not consume either one. But this consumption of fresh milk is quite limited; the average, solely for the utilizers, is 1.1 liters. It is habitual in only one case, No. 42, where a liter is bought every day. Moreover there is no periodicity anywhere. Fresh milk is therefore not used systematically for only breakfast. It is preferably [264] utilized for the rice mush that many families like to eat in the [855] afternoon. It is then reserved for women and children. This is the only point where we found a special diet for children, except from time to time when a mango or guava is bought solely for them.

[435] Fresh milk costs more proportionally than condensed milk: 40 francs a liter as against 40 francs for a case of 400 grams of Nestlé milk.

/416 cont./

*511 272 [452] Above all it is infinitely less practical, keeping less long. Besides, condensed milk has the advantage in that it can be purchased in quantity at the beginning of the month and on credit.

Nevertheless it is in the group of small incomes that one finds the most regularity in its consumption; in the group of 5,000 to 8,000 francs in income, only two families have a consumption per man lower than one liter per month. From No. 12 to No. 24, up to incomes higher than 15,000 francs, it is always below one liter. In the group of incomes higher than 15,000 francs, out of seven represented, in six it is higher than one liter.

There are thus few points of comparison between these two categories /417/ of milk. Their use is different, and they do not seem to be complementary.

We cannot speak of milk without saying a word about its breakfast complement, coffee. Its consumption is extremely variable. A product of the country, the quinquéliba, practically free, often substitutes for it, no matter what the income or occupational group. Coffee is perhaps a little more common in the group of incomes higher than 15,000 francs. The percentage, in proportion to the income, of the sums which are devoted to it is in general higher. Consumption thus increases in great proportions. Unfortunately it is impossible here to speak of quantities; coffee is sold ground, by pinches, and at [435] variable prices. We therefore only have elements for judging the outlays made for this product. Be that as it may, milk and coffee are important fixtures in the budget of African families; often 8 to 14% of the income is devoted to them (1).

1. Nos. 11 and 17 are Moors and thus traditionally drink tea. No. 11 devotes 1.3% of his income to it; No. 17, 4.4%. No. 39 takes cacao at breakfast; 0.7% of the income.

/420 cont./

*511 *262 We sometimes found butter, but only once in an important amount, again in the case of No. 40, who devotes 2.5% of his income to it. The same No. 40 devotes another 2% of his 55,000 francs monthly for cheese. Two others copy him on this point: No. 34, 0.9%; No. 38, 0.3%.

Eggs appeared in five cases, all among the incomes over 15,000 francs and in small quantities, except fot No. 41 (2.8%). Likewise we sometimes found very small quantities of flour, sometimes potatoes: 0.8% of the income for No. 16; 1.7% for No. 21; 2.2% for No. 26; 1.9% for No. 35; and "traces" for a few others. Macaroni in two cases: No. 35, 0.5% of the income; No. 38, 0.1%. Fruits in two cases: No. 34, 3.1%; No. 39, 1.1%.

There are also quantities of little fancy articles that our families provide for themselves: a can of sardines, a bottle of mineral water, a package of bonbons, etc., always in too negligible a quantity for us to consider them seriously in this study of budgets.

*511 276 The only product that is quite generally consumed but that we hesitate to put in the category of "food" is the kola nut, which is chewed by habit, a habit which is difficult to break, like tobacco among others. In the case of some it can absorb an important part of the income (see Table XI).[1] Our five cultivators have a large consumption of it. Others say that this is because in the dry season they have nothing else to do. Let us note that for No. 10, who moreover has the lowest food standard, 5% of the total income is devoted to it.

Incidentally we can compare these figures with those obtained for tobacco (five cases).

/421/

No. 11:	3.9% of the income		(worker)
No. 16:	5.7%	--	(worker)
No. 17:	0.1%	--	(worker
No. 19:	6.7%	--	(accountant)
No. 36:	4.2%	--	(accountant)

For No. 11 we have 1.3% for kola; for No. 19, 0.6%.

[435] All the same, kola is less expensive than tobacco. And, it is

1 [apparently Table XII is meant, see cat 116, pp 59-60 - ANALYST]

/427 cont./ Table XIV (cont.)

*511

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Clothing	Equipment	Exceptional Expenses
30	Wolof	Weigher	24,000	22.5	1.0	--
31	Wolof	Carpenter	25,000	5.0	1.0	--
32	Wolof	Cultivator	25,000	2.6	13.3	--
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25,000	9.3	5.0	--
34	Wolof	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	16.0	8.7	0.6
35	Wolof	Managerial employee	27,000	9.2	3.7	2.6
36	Wolof	Private accountant	34,000	15.9	0.4	1.9
37	Wolof	Truck-gardener	36,000	9.2	1.3	3.4
38	Wolof	Jeweler	50,000	9.5	4.1	4.2
39	Sarakolé	Teacher	51,000	11.4	2.0	--
40	Wolof	Chief worker	55,000	12.1	2.2	--
41	Sarakolé	Head employee	55,500	9.0	5.2	--
42	Bambara	Chief worker	56,000	13.2	8.1	15.0
43	Wolof	Doctor	81,000	6.1	1.0	3.0

/428 cont./

*511 796 [435] [262] [426]

would have to be truly exceptional circumstances for this rule to be derogated. A sheep is worth 1,500 to 3,000 francs. And, of course, it is not interdicted to kill several of them. The mutton must be accompanied by various dishes, also as copious as possible.[1] All of this adds up to large outlays and often indebtedness for several months. The percentages in proportion to the monthly incomes are low, but it is in one month that all these expenses occur, and also many devoted to clothing. It is difficult not to go into debt.

[1] [for the Moslem holiday - Tabaski - ANALYST]

/157 cont./

175 urbanization. An initial slice was portioned out, and a
369 parcel was allocated to the head of each family that was
[423] expelled. Ownership granted an uncertain title, but it could become definite if the occupant improved his parcel by building a durable dwelling on it. At first the authorities hardly believed in the existence of Pikine; there was no easy communication with Dakar, since the auto road did not yet exist, there was no connection by express bus, no stores, etc. It was believed that the people expelled would return to occupy other lands on the outskirts of Dakar. Contrary to all expectation, /158/ Pikine lived, prospered, and grew by the same process that had given it birth, to the point that today
[435] the parcel which originally had no value costs from 30,000 to 40,000 francs. On the other hand, the dwellings that the Office de l'Habitat has now built in the districts are
[426] sold on credit to those who have the desire and the means to obtain them.

Pikine thus originated through an administrative decision; it is an agglomeration which has no tradition, no past, a city of recent date and entirely created. Moreover, this brief historical account brings to light another difference which has to do with the mode of peopling it: in the districts it is voluntary, while in the quarters it has been more or less imposed by the administration.

121 This assemblage of peculiar traits make Pikine a very interesting city from the sociological point of view. The investigation, which was conducted during the latter half of 1960, pursued a threefold goal: first, to collect a certain number of general data which would complete or confirm those which had already been gathered; then to examine to what extent the difference in housing conditions did or did not produce a perceptible difference in behavior and style of living, especially with regard to the family; finally, in correlation with the preceding problem, to study the evolution of family behavior in an urban environment and to observe the appearance of new familial structures better adapted to an urban environment than the traditional family.

/187 cont./

1) Housing Conditions

362
342

The dwelling is in the first rank of these material factors. Of what is the house constructed, how many rooms are there, how is it occupied, etc.? There are all sorts of questions which must be answered in order to give a true picture of the conditions in which most of the families of Pikine live. What follows obviously applies only to the quarters, except where we specify that it is likewise a matter of the districts. Out of a sample of 281 structures one counts 206 in wood, 45 in durable material, 12 in "crinting" (1), and 18 in straw.

[285]

1. One calls "crinting" the walls whose framework is composed of plaited rushes and which are covered with a coating of sand and cement.

The chief material, used in more than 75% of the cases, is therefore wood, which one encounters in all forms: long building boards, ends of boxes, etc. The quality of the wood, the professional competence of the artisans, the size of the house, and the arrangement of the rooms, all these elements are combined to produce very different types of construction which run from the extreme dilapidation of the one-room hut with disjointed boards, gaping roof, and a sand floor, scarcely larger than a dog kennel, to the comfortable cottage consisting of several rooms, with ceiling and veranda, the price of which may exceed 200,000 francs. [435]

/188/ Except for these extreme cases, which are rare, most of the wooden dwellings can be divided into three principal types. The first is the house of two rooms, about six or seven meters long and three to three and one-half meters wide. The second is built in the same way, but contains a third room, which increases the length by three or four meters. These are two types of a purely functional model used to provide a shelter for personal objects and a roof for the night.

[11 cont.]

369 583 been distributed for the older children.

a) The Pani (the box). In appearance it may be ordinary or magnificent, according to the aesthetic inclinations of the sisters of the husband. Often it is an old metal box that contained tidbits. In any case it is not the appearance that interests us, but the contents, which generally are:

[301]

12 louis d'or 51;
2 gold necklaces, we say "chains";
2 pairs of gold earrings;
1 or 2 pairs of gold bracelets;
4 or 8 sautoirs, medals of gold which encircle the figure.

[435] The box is found already prepared among the jewelers. Its minimum price is 6,000 francs. Its value easily reaches 20,000 francs and more.

b) The Basket for Effects. This is an expense of recent character and of practical import. Formerly, on the day of [585] the nuptials, the husband gave his wife a bundle of banknotes as personal property accruing to her from her marriage. But the tradition that the woman should be generous made this money disappear immediately, distributed among the persons of caste who came from everywhere. I would have willingly given, if I had known it, the name of the first Saint-Louis man who replaced this packet of money with a quantity of clothing, thus putting his wife in a position to benefit from it herself. The basket actually contains articles whose number and quality vary, but which constitute a veritable trousseau no less, which may last for years. For an individual from a "great family" or a "peasant," it includes as much as:

369 583 291 435

12 robes [boubous] of crepe de Chine (of which 4 of 8 meters each are obligatory, 160 francs per meter);
12 robes of rich bazin (4 obligatory of 8 meters each at 225 francs per meter);
4 camisoles, ordinary or of Lagos fabric;
[12] 4 camisoles of crepe de Chine (extravagantly cut to a length of 4 or 5 meters);

[12 cont.]

369 583 291 435

12 silk headkerchiefs (6 obligatory, valued at 500 to 600 francs each;

12 kerchiefs with "edging" [mouchoirs de "bord"] (6 obligatory, valued at 300 to 375 francs each);

2 silk handkerchiefs;

4 Mauritanian mats, on which the objects are detailed, valued at 500 francs each, and most of all rare, which costs dearly.

369 685

c) Basket of Small Goods. This is a creation of the well-bred man of Saint-Louis, who during the 3 or 8 or 15 days that the nuptials last wishes the guests to be treated well. The young people of both sexes are supposed to crowd into the spacious rooms, suitably decorated and illuminated, and to be "overwhelmed" by the songs of the griots. The husband considers their rejoicings an imperious duty and offers them a basket generally containing several packs of cards, packages of toothpicks, perfume, razor blades, pipes, tobacco, incense, kohéal, fans, tidbits, etc.

369 585 565

d) The Gifts. These expenses are the final obligations and bear the name of "decorations of castes." As we have noted, since the first visit of the husband, the persons of caste have not officially benefited further from his generosity or from that of his wife. But custom requires that these people be gratified. It should be noted also that the guers have their men of caste who are faithful to them from father to son. In their presence and when they are equal to their task. Whatever their fortune or rank (in the Europeanized society), a guer cannot address any other persons of caste without their permission. Only one coiffeuse arranges the hair of a young girl until her marriage, and one jeweler repairs or makes her finery. The marriage is the ceremony of their dedication and the occasion of proving to them that they have not placed their confidence in vain. These persons comprise two categories: that of the woman and that of the man. Let us note at once that the latter cannot be too demanding without showing a lack of the proper attitude. They form part of the general staff of the husband, and, under penalty

[576] [302] [306]

/17 cont./

499 each year. In spite of the use of cars of great capacity, the
438 transport facilities are insufficient during the first months of trade. However, the practice of degressive tariffs, so as not to place at a disadvantage the production of regions that are
[651] farther from the place of destination, limits all the more the possibility of an increase of vehicles, since the traffic in groundnuts is essentially seasonal and it poses a problem of return freight. The three ports of Dakar, Kaolack, and
438 Ziguinchor consitute, for exports, freight breaking-points
[504] between land transport and maritime transport. The latter
[505] is handled for the most part by the vessels of companies who undertake regular service: Delmas et Vieljeux, Maurel et Prom, etc.; they also have competition from the tramps.
435 These /18/ multiple freight-breaks weigh quite heavily on
438 the price of groundnuts, quite low at the outset, due to the fact that each of them is accompanied by multiple manipulations.

2) The manipulations. In its present organization, the circuit of the groundnuts involves many manipulations, because the product is transported in bags. At each step it is necessary to weigh the bags, to empty them into the secco, and then, when they are again forwarded, to proceed to another weighing and rebagging. Over and above the cost of the labor, the firms and sometimes the traders must bear the great expense of buying and repairing great quantities of bags which quickly wear out or go astray. M. Barbier estimates that a bag of groundnuts undergoes 16 handlings at the minimum from the place of production to the port. A solution to this problem might be found in transporting the product loose, by trucks and cars with gratins, loaded by mechanical transporters. These transformations presuppose great investments, which the groundnut, a cheap and, above all, seasonal product, cannot amortize.

3) Regulation of the condition. The decree of 11 January
[656] 1926 created an Office d'inspection et de conditionnement de l'arachide /Office of Inspection and of the Condition of

/18 cont./

435 Groundnuts/ which controlled the quality of the product in
438 the escales and in the ports. This office, which functioned
656 under the responsibility of the local Chambres de Commerce,
applied the norms of "the practice of Bordeaux" of 1922. In
[685] the escales the lots with impurities of more than 2% were
returned, and fines could be slapped on the sellers whose product
concealed more than 3%. A second control was established in
the ports. Since 1947 this office has been replaced by a "Service
de contrôle et du conditionnement," which inspects the product
only in the ports, thus making only the exporter responsible.
All merchandise with impurities of more than 2%, and an aver-
age of more than 4% acidity for the decorticated product, is
refused or subject to a reduction in price. Several years ago
the commercial houses acquired sieves which permit the elimi-
nation of much debris, but they are often poorly utilized, and
the groundnuts from Senegal usually have considerable debris,
stalks or other things.

438 The complications of the circuit of the groundnuts, its
656 inadequacies, have stimulated many projects of rationalization,
which for the most part recommend loose transport, stockpiling
in silos, and rigorous control over the quality. At present a
public body, the "Secteur d'expérimentation et de rationali-
sation du circuit de l'arachide" (S. E. R. C. A.) is concerned
with this, but it singularly lacks any means.

435 /19/ 3. The marketing of the groundnut and the
problem of prices. Up to the Second World War, all the trans-
actions in groundnuts were free; the prices varied considerably
as a function of supply and demand. During the war the
"Groupement national d'achat des produits oléagineux"
(G. N. A. P. O.) /National Group for the Purchase of Oleaginous
Products/ controlled the market and authoritatively fixed the
price. After the war, during the campaign of 1950-1951, the
return to freedom led to a spectacular jump in the market
price of groundnuts, which, at production, went from 18 to 30

/19 cont./

435 francs C.F.A. per kilo of shells. This situation led to an intervention by the public authorities, anxious to fix a stable price at production.

1) The purchase-price at production and the standard of living of the producer of groundnuts. It was impossible to make any calculation of the price of groundnuts at the stage of production because of the lack of available data with regard to the elements of the cost price. The government determined the price at production, starting from the price C.F.A. in France and subtracting the various costs of commercialization, imposts, and maritime transport. Since the 1955-1956 campaign, these prices have been about 22 francs C.F.A. per kilo of shells at Dakar, 21.25 at Kaolack, and 20.5 at Ziguinchor. Actually these prices are much higher than the world market price. According to M. Barbier, they are the "social and political" prices. In a word, the French consumer "accepts" an overprice for the finished product.

434 435 What does the price thus fixed represent for the producer? Since it is impossible to obtain data on the cost price, only an idea of the exchange value /valeur libératoir/ of a kilo of groundnuts can be used. All of the statistics utilize the criterion of the price of millet and rice, basic commodities for the producer of groundnuts. Although the value of this reference can be argued, it would appear that, after the difficult period of the war, the producer has seen an increase in his purchasing power, which around 1951 was comparable to that of the period preceding the conflict. Since that date, however, in spite of the sacrifices consented to by the French consumer, he has been able to maintain his living standard only by appreciably increasing the volume of the harvest, that is, of the area cultivated, because the progression of the price of millet, through the deficient harvests, and of rice, through Indochina's leaving the franc zone, has been faster than that of the market price of groundnuts. Nevertheless, recourse to the notion of "ratio of exchange" for the producer of groundnuts,

/19 cont./

434 obtained by the ratio of the index of the F. O. B. price of
435 groundnuts to the balanced index of the various import products, led to a more encouraging situation: on a base of 100 for 1949, the ratio of exchange in 1958 would be 114.5 in favor of the Senegalese producer. M. Barbier concludes: "The ratio of exchange for the Senegalese producer has /20/ been improved; the difference in it can be confirmed in most of the underdeveloped areas."

Actually all of these calculations are theoretical, and, on the whole, the living standard of the producer has remained low. The "average" cultivator, cultivating about a hectare, receives less than 20,000 francs C.F.A. for an average yield of 800 kilograms. This sum is modest, and, it must be added, at the time of selling an important part
[452] goes for the settlement of debts in cash and especially in kind, contracted during the winter with the trader at a very high interest rate. It is estimated that the total of these credits represents 20% of the value of the harvest.

435 This fixing of the price at production considerably
439 reduces the fluctuations of the market, which in fact is governed by the needs of the former mother country.

2) The groundnut market depends on the needs of France. One cannot speak of competition at the selling stage in a market where the purchase prices paid to the producer are authoritatively fixed. In fact the demand essentially depends on French needs, as is decidedly expressed in the decree of 13 November 1954 which regulates the importation of oleaginous products in the mother country. Senegal can export to it a quota of 225,000 metric tons oil-equivalent, at a guaranteed minimum price and duty free. This price may vary within narrow limits, around 5%. The regularization of the market is handled by an official body, the Société interprofessionnelle des oléagineux fluides alimentaires (S.I.O.F.A.), solely qualified to import from foreign countries in order to depress prices and bring them back under

/20 cont./

435 439 the maximum price in periods of shortages. On the other hand this body supports the market prices when they are under the minimum price in a period of overproduction, thanks to a maintenance fund provided for by a tax of 2.50 N.F. per metric ton of decorticated groundnuts imported.

Nevertheless, apart from the quota absorbed by the mother country and the satisfaction of local needs, during certain campaigns, 1957-1958, for example, there is a problem of the disposal of large surpluses. At the beginning of 1958, 102,000 metric tons of decorticated groundnuts were available, unpledged by the S.I.O.F.A. In order to ensure disposal, while respecting the price at production, the public authorities created at Dakar, in February 1958, a stabilization body such as exists for coffee and cacao. This body, taking a sixth of the export duty on groundnuts and oil, and a professional assessment, could make good a part of the difference between the world price and that of the franc zone, the remainder being taken care of by the mother country. This body is still far from possessing the financial power of the "Marketing Boards" of Nigeria.

/21/ Just as the public authorities could intervene effectively in a period of abundance, they also had occasion to settle provisionally a dispute between purchasers during the deficient campaign of 1954-1955.

258 435 439 3) Competition between purchasers and the agreement of January 1956. The Senegalese oil-factories, having become very powerful after the war, are prone to acquire great tonnages, which could only lead to competition and conflict with the traditional purchasers for the mother country in a year of shortage. This is what happened during the 1954-1955 campaign, when the harvest amounted to only 390,000 metric tons. Not bound to respect the price set by the intervention of the S.I.O.F.A., the local oil-makers made the price rise. The protests of the buyers for the mother country let to the intervention of the Haut-Commissariat, which fixed 330,000 metric tons of

/21 cont./

258 groundnuts in shells as the quota assigned to local industries,
435 with the distribution among them to be based on their activi-
439 ties of the previous years.

In order to avoid any repetition of such conflicts, the oil-makers of the mother country and their colleagues in Senegal on 17 January 1956 reached an agreement valid for five years. The local oil-makers can buy 420,000 metric tons of groundnuts in the shell. On the other hand, they can forward to France, under exemption, within the framework of the quota of 225,000 metric tons, only 10,000 metric tons of refined oil. The greatest part of their exports is represented by crude oil, exported in accordance with bipartisan agreements by manufacturers of the mother country, on the basis of a price C.F.A. established according to the market price of oil for consumption in France.

III. The Place of the Groundnut in the Present-day Senegalese Economy

258 The above reference to the activity of the Senegalese
439 oil-makers now permits the groundnut to be placed in the framework of an economy which has ceased to be solely colonial and which is employed to valorize the product exported.

1. The valorization of exports: decortication. A comparison of the details of the exports of 1935 with those of 1958 is truly eloquent: in fact the exports of groundnuts in shells, which represented 335,000 metric tons in 1935, have disappeared in 1958, while those of the decorticated product have gone from 16,000 to 330,000 metric tons during the same period. At export the transport of the crude product signified that of 28% of the weight in sterile matter, and the attempts to utilize this as fertilizer or for the making of paper were unsuccessful. After the war the acute shortage of maritime tonnage made the practice of decortication general. It is done today at different /22/ stages in the circuit of the groundnut: the place of production, the points of trade, and the

/22 cont./

258 439 ports, especially Kaolack. It is practiced by semi-industrial enterprises, usually dependent on the great commercial houses or the oil-factories, which utilize the decortication frame or tray, shaking tables, and blowers. This operation, which employs many laborers, permits a charge of about one franc C.F.A. per kilo of groundnuts in shells. It nevertheless imposes some problems: that of the rate of decortication, which varies from one campaign to another, around 71%, and that of the risk of acidification. The decorticated product deteriorates quite quickly, and, depending on the times of the campaign, a rate of acidification of more than 3% or 5% causes a reduction in price. [435]

258 Decortication is in fact only a preparation of the raw material. It is the presence today of the powerful oil-factories, constituting the essential part of its industry, that symbolizes the anxiety of Senegal to valorize on its soil its greatest wealth.

2. The Senegalese oil-factory. The industry of the oil-factory is a recent industry in Senegal. The first factory established was that of the Société életrique et industrielle du Baol at Djourbel in 1920. Then, after 1930, with the factory of the Huileries et Savonneries de l'Ouest Africain [388] /West African Oil and Soap Factories/, and especially the Etablissements Petersen, this industry came to Dakar. Nevertheless, until the war, its development was impeded by the protective measures taken at the demand of the oil-factories in the mother country: an export duty of 187 francs per quintal of oil in 1936; and a quota of only 5,800 metric tons, admitted free of import duty, in 1938. The war caused this regulation to disappear, and in 1942-1944 the great factory "Lesieur-Afrique" was established in Dakar.

258 433 After the war, the oil industry modernized its equipment and added to its capacity for trituration, which today amounts to about 500,000 metric tons of peanuts in shells, corresponding to a maximum production of about 165,000 metric tons of oil. Today, 125,000 metric tons of the

/23 cont./

433 that the great majority of the inhabitants of Senegal draw their only monetary resources from the groundnut.

651 For the Senegalese state, the groundnut plays an essential role in the budgetary resources. Without speaking of the various domestic imposts, the products of the groundnut, upon leaving the territory, support multiple duties and taxes: the fiscal export duty varies from 10% to 12% of the value of the product, according to its degree of elaboration; the taxes of inspection and condition are from 1.2% to 1.5%, and, finally, the groundnuts pay the fixed tax of 5.4% on transactions. In addition to these different duties, there are the assessment for the support funds, which is 700 francs C.F.A. per metric ton of groundnuts in shells, and the dues for the local stabilization fund, which vary from 175 francs C.F.A. per metric ton of the product in shells to 500 francs per metric ton of refined oil.

[435] These various imposts correspond to more than 25% of the purchase price given to the producer for the product in shells. In 1957 the taxes gathered on the groundnuts for the [652] benefit of the Senegalese treasury exceeded a total of four billions C.F.A., when the budget proper of the territory for the same year was 8.1 billions.

439 433 Conclusion. The present situation permits a conclusion on the notion of "industrial monocultivation of the groundnut in Senegal." For some, it is /24/ regrettable to write in the passive about the economy of trade; for others it is the criterion of the passage of Senegal into the sphere of a commercialized economy, although in this case based on a single product, since, unlike such countries as the Ivory Coast, the attempts to develop other crops for speculation have not been successful here.

This economy of the groundnut, however, is at a turning point today, due to the evolution of the relations between Senegal and France and the existence of the common market.

In the framework of the former political system, and

/121 cont./

233 animals to drink. Nevertheless, cattle-raising remains a worthwhile enterprise, a herd doubling in three years.

[232] No serious attempt to improve the breed of cattle has
[654] been made by the administration.

Since the multiplication of automobiles, the horse has
[492] been somewhat forsaken. The breed is small, but sturdy.

/122/ As for sheep and goats, their rustic breed is resistant. This breeding does not require any care.

313 Forests. Forests cover a notable part of the circle. They must be protected because they are on the way to progressive disappearance as a result of the abuses of brush fires and systematic clearing by the native, wishing to increase his crops.

There is no methodical exploitation of the forests. The exploitation is confined to the cutting of palm trees for the production of charcoal. There still exist, however, some beautiful stands of hardwoods, especially of Gambia mahogany, or false mahogany, particularly in Bas-Saloum.

To the east, between Kaffrine and Koungheul, stocks of small bamboos exist, especially in the humid depressions.
[342] These bamboos are cut by the natives who make panels out of them, called "crintings," to serve as closings or veranda par-
[435] titions. The price of these panels, from two to three meters long, varies between 15 and 25 francs.

316 Quarries. There are many laterite quarries, exploited for the most part. The stone is not as hard as at Rufisque or at Dakar.

317 Salt marshes. There is industrial exploitation of the
433 salt marshes at Kaolack. The Société des Salines of Sine-Saloum has exploited the salt marshes at Diorana since 1915. The region of the Saloum is very fortunate from this viewpoint. The constant evaporation of the water of this arm of the sea and its many branches gives the liquid mass a degree of saturation much higher than that of the ocean water.

/391 cont./

125 life of the unit of consumption and, on the other hand, part
434 company with it for other activities.
592 The clearest case is that of the boarder who takes his
[437] meals in the unit of consumption and pays the cost of these meals. Though simple, it is exceptional, as is the extreme case where all the incomes are put together. Between the two, there are many possible situations. For each unit of consumption we have therefore set apart, from among all the incomes received by its members, that which is available to the head of the family to support his restricted family and to fulfill his obligations with regard to the other members of the unit of consumption who are not part of the restricted family.

125 /392/ However limited our sample may be, we have
*511 tried all the same to make it representative of the structure of the population of Thiès, as much from the standpoint of the ethnic group of the unit of consumption as from those of occupational group, income, and number of persons. Therefore, the selection of 45 families (the figure initially anticipated) suitable for us and agreeing to submit to the investigation was diffcult (1). The 43 units of consumption which are of concern

1. In this selection of families, our task was greatly facilitated by the syndical organization , the religious authorities, and the heads of quarters.

125 here are distributed as follows.
592 From the standpoint of income:
434 13 between 5,000 and 10,000 francs per month,
*511 9 between 10,000 and 15,000 francs per month,
5 between 15,000 and 20,000 francs per month,
8 between 20,000 and 30,000 francs per month,
8 above 30,000 francs per month, with one of 81,000 francs.

/84 cont./

443 One corner of the plank counter, polished by the hands of
[275] customers, is often reserved for the sale of beverages that are drunk from the bottle itself. Boards and piles of sacks block the passage of the customers. There is a constant coming and going of possible customers who pass the shop fully open to the street. Some stay there for hours without buying, solely to feast their eyes. The patient Levantine,
[437] arguing about the price in the native language, supervises the weights and inspects the sacks of groundnuts in order to take out the stones that may have slipped into them. The factorerie type makes it possible to imagine exactly what the commerce of the escale must have been in the first years of its establishment in the city.

European commerce is totally different. To be sure, there are still some factoreries of the type that we have just described, but for some years a real effort at modernization has changed their appearance; they are becoming metropoli-
tan-type stores with counters of plywood, shelves of canned
[438] goods, novelties from Paris... A luxury store was opened in 1950, offering buyers the latest goods from the capital: gowns, shorts, suits for men, curios of all sorts. But the nearness of Dakar, the ease of access to it, its attraction seem to be seriously limiting its sales potential.

442 The branches of the large commercial houses, N.O.
443 S.O.C.O., Maurel and Prom, C.F.A.O. (11), are eight in

11. C.F.A.O.: Compagnie Française d'Afrique Occidentale.

number and practically control the local market. Each is still established in its original concession in the interior of the old escale. The courtyard that formerly held the groundnuts has been remodeled into a warehouse; the retail store has been modernized: tiling, frigidaire, and cold rooms, as well as huge shop windows that replace the small windows of former times. The wholesale store, on the other hand, has preserved its disorder: bags of cement, boards,

/14 cont./

442 during which commercial operations in groundnuts are authorized.
654 It is opened and closed each year by governmental decree. In
438 general it begins at the end of November or the beginning of December and closes at the end of April. The date of opening the campaign is set about two months after the beginning of the harvest, in order to avoid premature uprooting and to favor
438 the reimbursement of the seed advanced. This system never-
442 theless leads to some smuggling in the south, because the
[439] navétanes, anxious to return home, and the peasants, without any money, are tempted to sell in Gambia. At the time of the close, the transactions have been over for a long time, but this decision prevents the eventual sale /15/ of the seed distributed by the Mutuelles. In order to have the commodity brought in gradually and to avoid heavy transactions at the beginning of trade, operations are suspended from Friday to Monday. Nevertheless by the end of the month of January nearly all of the harvest has been negotiated.

366 2) The "points of trade." Since 1932 the operations of
442 selling must take place in the localities called points of trade
438 or "escales" located on the railroad or a road (Circular of 13 July 1932). These points of trade, which were 175 in number in 1935, now number more than 300. The limitation, in 1932, on the number of the points of trade was a response to the desire to moderate the rhythm of the selling and to avoid the proliferation of intermediaries. The recent creation of new escales is
[244] devoted to the conquest of new lands and is an attempt to avoid the abuses of cultivation on the lands near the former points of trade.

The accession of a locality to the rank of escale makes
[369] it legally an urban center, with the obligation of division into lots /lotissement/ and, for the merchants, permanent buildings. The campaign is a period of great animation for the escale.
442 The merchants or traders open their bank of purchase or "factory."
● 437 Traditionally, intermediaries, or "masters of language," conduct
[492] the producer to the factory. The groundnuts, transported by don-
[488] keys and in bags loaned by the trader, are weighed and emptied

/15 cont./

442 437 [992] [488] [452] [443] [438] into the secco, an area with a floor of hard earth or cement, closed off by sheet metal. The agriculturalist, paid forthwith, immediately spends the sum received, in settling the sums owed to the trader and in buying from among the manufactured objects of the same factory the most diverse articles: cloth, playthings, articles for bicycles, etc. Thus the same trader realizes two profits in the traditional system.

3) The agents of trade. Until the Second World War, 439 441 442 438 the trade in groundnuts was in the hands of about 3,000 private traders organized in a strict hierarchy. At the top, the trade was controlled by the large import-export houses, especially of Bordeaux origin, Maurel et Prom, Peyrissac, Vézia, etc., to which was added the C. F. A. O. of Marseilles origin, and the S. C. O. A. Franco-Switzerland. These firms, whose central agencies for Senegal are in Dakar, make arrangements for the "banks" and "agencies" in the principal localities, for "factories" in the escales, and for "operations" in the bush. These commercial houses concentrate the purchases of their various traders and provide them with imported products. They are supported during the campaign by the banks of the mother country or their agencies in Senegal.

441 442 438 The independent French merchants, often former employees of the firms, play the role of intermediary /demi-grossiste/ in the escales. /16/ They buy directly from the producers or from the African sub-trader and bag and forward /the product/ to the commercial houses in the shipping ports. They have been very harshly affected by the economic crisis of the 1930's and then [563] by the war, in particular by the mobilization, which facilitated the establishment of many Lebano-Syrian traders.

The treaties of 1919 facilitated the arrival in Africa of [563] these Lebano-Syrians. They devote themselves essentially to commerce, and they have on the whole succeeded, because, living near the autochthons, they have adopted their way of life and are contented with much less than the independent 442 443 438 Europeans. During the trade, they are generally commission agents of the firm that they represent. They receive a commission for each metric ton of groundnuts purchased, and sell in

/14 cont./

484 number of persons transported. There are sometimes spectacular
494 ones, but cases involving fatalities are fortunately very rare.
788 The transportation of the pilgrims is closely watched by
[497] the /15/ Administration. The Office of Railroads organizes special trains. The subdivision heads grant to the owners of the trucks special transportation authorizations. The circle /cercle, an administrative district/ of Diourbel, aided by the Senegal government, strengthens the security forces and highway police.

788 But that is not the only problem which the organization
*795 and unfolding of the Magal presents for the Caliph-general and the Administration.

Sheltering all these people for three days and more is
[485] another. The provisioning of the pilgrims in water and food must be organized; sanitary and medical service must be ensured; finally, it is necessary to ensure order and discipline in
[625] the city of Touba itself, as is done on the roads, and the commander of the circle of Diourbel can only accomplish this with sizable police reinforcements, set apart in advance almost everywhere (as far as Dakar and Kaolack), which are put at his disposal for this purpose.

At the opening of the pilgrimage, three days before the Official Day, the crowd has reached its maximum size. Touba
[494] then experiences extraordinary activity. The road between Touba and M'Backé is continually furrowed in both directions by files of trucks which run without respite between the two agglomerations. The station platforms disappear under the flood of pilgrims who disembark innumerably from the last trains. The wide avenues of the city are filled with the crowd
[438] of pilgrims who carry out their religious duties or stroll in front
[443] of the little flat baskets where, as in all pilgrimages in the world, the most diverse objects are sold, from articles of clothing, such as babouches or samaras, to perfumes and jewelry, including the most varied articles of piety: prayers or verses from the Koran printed in Arabic, photographs of the Caliph-general or of Amadou Bamba, or even pictures in Oriental

/15 cont./

788 style, violently colored like our Épinal pictures and representing
*795 the holy places of Islam or personages of Koranic tradition.

[438] Finally, to complete this immense and noisy fair over which
[443] floats an impalpable dust, there, in a corner of the city not far from the mosque, are the keepers of the cook-shops: they cook
[265] in the open the appetizing dishes which they will offer at modest prices to the famished pilgrims.

Evening does not slow down these activities; on the contrary, the pilgrims regroup at the homes of the various marabouts, and sessions of religious songs are organized there. They will
[533] last far into the night, which will resound until dawn with these litanies amplified by numerous loud-speakers.

/16/ In the course of this pilgrimage, the believers have several obligations to fulfill:

1) to call on the Caliph-general,

2) to go to meditate at the tomb of Amadou Bamba and that of Amadou Moustapha,

3) to visit the mosque,

4) to go to see their own marabout,

5) to visit at the cemetery the Sacred Tree and the graves
[778] of certain deceased notables of the brotherhood.

At the entrance to the carré of the Caliph, the faithful, in a long line, patiently await their turn to go into the residence of their supreme spiritual leader.

After passing through several walls (at the gate of which are talibé-cashiers who claim their offerings from them), they arrive at the hut in which the Caliph receives.

The circle guards maintaining order have them enter one by one into the straw hut where Falilou awaits them, assisted by his secretary and some of his close collaborators. Each pilgrim kneels before the Caliph while presenting to him his offering (hadia), which the sérigne will immediately have passed on to one of his followers. The pilgrim then rises and goes out in order to give his place to another.

His visit to the Caliph ended, he goes to the sacred tombs
[778] of Amadou Bamba and Amadou Moustapha.

/373 cont./

S SR W 175 648 Before the arrival of the French garrison in 1865, the Sérère-none ruled supreme over the region. He was established as the traditional enemy of the Wolof, and from time to time he suffered from the incursions of his "tiédos" (2).

W [624]

2. Tiédos: name given to the Wolof war chiefs of Cayor.

After the definitive installation of our troops at Thiès and especially after the running of the Dakar-Saint-Louis railroad in 1885, many Wolof came to settle near our fortified post; at the same time they benefited from our pacificatory presence by being able to create farm villages in the heart of None country. Diakhaté was established about 1875-1880 (some of its founders worked on the construction of the railroad line in 1884); Keur-Mamour was created at about the same time.

W [464]

The Bambara villages are more recent: 1890-1895. These were the /374/ terrible years when Samory sacked the southern Sudan and the region of the Wassoulou (east of Beyla in Upper Guinea). Through the authorities, it seems, some of the Bambara and Wassoulonké freed by our troops were sent to Senegal where the policy of groundnut cultivation was in full development. Keur-Issa-Bambara and Karamoko were founded at this time.

S [369]

The city of Thiès was not very important at that time; it had hardly more than a thousand inhabitants. Nevertheless, it began to play a primary role; its presence imposed peace in the region formerly so disturbed by the None brigandage or the incursions of Wolof warriors. Its presence facilitated the founding of villages, the number of which would cease to grow in the subsequent period; all of the land capable of supporting crops was utilized at the beginning of the century.

S 369 [311] [438]

In the years preceding the Great War, the escale (1)

1. Escale: by extension signifies a stopping place, a commercial agglomeration.

/374 cont./

369 [438] became a relatively flourishing commercial center; each year more than 20,000 metric tons of groundnuts were handled by the traders of the place and sent by railroad to the ports of Rufisque or Dakar. As early as 1907 the first work on the Thiès-[496] Kayes railroad was begun. All of this new economic activity [464] required the employment of many laborers, who were in part recruited on the spot, but also in the neighboring villages.

369 166 During the dry season, work in the fields is reduced. A number of rural people in the vicinity come to offer their serv- [464] ices as workers in the factoreries (2) or in the newly opened

[443] 2. Factorerie: shop where everything is sold.

[461] yards /chantiers, dockyards, woodyards, etc./. Some of these villagers feel that this kind of work is less arduous and more remunerative than that of agriculture. They become definitively attached to urban life and come to swell the population of the native quarters previously established.

[484] [22] Others return every evening to the village. During the rainy season they leave their urban job and devote all their activity to work in the fields.

During this whole period prior to the Great War the suburban village seems to have played the role of intermediary or rather of relay-station between the hamlet in the bush and [464] the city. The call for non-specialized labor had echos not only in the outskirts /375/ of the city itself, but also in the more distant villages. Curiosity about new things, the opportunity to escape familial tutelage, and especially the promise of relatively high earnings stimulated some immigration movement toward the escales.

[574] By means of the great hospitality that he knows will be shown him by relatives or friends who live in Diakhaté or Keur-Issa-Bambara, the rural person settles in these agglomerations.

/379 cont./

S 369 [262] Only food seems to have undergone only slight improvement: the couscous of millet or rice (a little fish or meat during periods of abundance) are basic in their diet. Bread, rarely eaten during the meal, is reserved for children; S [271] it takes the place of cake. Water remains the essential drink of the Moslem; water, palm wine (during the harvest), [273] and grape wine (on feast days) are consumed by the non-Islamized None.

SR [273] The frugal housewife profits from the proximity of the S 369 241 438 escale for /380/ the daily sale in the market of the products of her personal garden. She cultivates tomatoes, beans, pumpkins, and okra. At Keur-Issa-Bambara she has tried, with greater or lesser success, to cultivate potatoes and salad greens; the gathering of mangoes also procures a little profit S [372] for her. When the harvest from the garden is exhausted, the collection of dead wood which she will take to sell in the market in the form of little bundles will yield a few coins for her.

In parallel fashion, the husband-cultivator harvests on a plot of his lougan products that are easy to sell on the Thiès market; at Keur-Issa-Bambara he lays out flooded rice-fields and cultivates the sweet potato and manioc, part of which is S SR 369 438 offered to the clientele of the escale.

During the dry season the None principally works at gathering palmyra leaves; they will be sold, as bundles of [314] thatch, for making roofs for the huts of the urban quarters; [342] after the harvest he carries dried groundnut leaves to the city [231] for fodder for the little horses harnessed to the taxicabs.

S SR 369 234 438 S SR F [233] [465] Despite the ready sale that can be made with cattle, they are not very numerous. When the epizootic diseases have spared them, they give an appreciable profit to their owner through the sale of milk. At Tiali, the only herd in the village, which contains about 30 animals, belongs to a single breeder. It is guarded by Peul shepherds who lead it to graze in the neighboring woodlands. The morning milk and the calves belong to the owner; the evening milk goes

S SR 369 438 [234] [233] [465]

/380 cont./

to the shepherd as compensation for services rendered. Although lactation is very poor (one to two liters per day per head), this sale practiced in the city at a relatively high price (30 francs per liter) is a source of not inconsiderable profit.

F [233] [465] SR [231] [417] S [361]

The Sérère, despite the poor food resources he commands, practices for the benefit of Europeans the raising of pigs in the narrow and miry enclosures formed by stakes driven deeply into the ground and close together.

The mode of settlement and the economy of these suburban villages, although they have not had profound modifications, nevertheless are in the process of continual reorganization and adaptation.

These very modest contributions of the urban economy thin out very rapidly as one goes farther from the city. Karamoko and Keur-Mamour, located six and seven kilometers from the escale, and even Diakhaté, which is nearer, give the appearance of wholly rural villages. The women who each morning leave in Indian file /381/ to sell their products in the city make up the single element that enters into the circuit of the new economy offered to them.

S 121 369

Has the social and economic organization, on the other hand, been more profoundly modified? An examination of the ethnic and functional composition of the groups of the villages will permit an understanding of the data on this problem.

For this study we have grouped the villages under three rubrics:

1. The assemblage of Tiali, Thiès-None, and Sapko; near the escale, but having undergone perturbations in their economy by the loss of part of their land.

2. Keur-Mamour and Karamoko form the group farthest from the city.

3. Diakhaté and Keur-Issa-Bambara are the two villages near the escale which have not suffered any loss of territory.

S SR 369 162

The first assemblage musters a total population of 405

/406 cont./

*511 the average of 3.5 kilograms, it is, in increasing order, 6.2%,
*262 6.9%, 7.9%, 10.1%, 10.2%, 10.3%, and 11.8%.

Fish and meat constitute the second group of essential foods for the Africans of the cities of Senegal.

[438] Thiès, near a coast very rich in fish, is abundantly pro-
[435] vided with fish. In the month of March 1954, there was a profusion of them in all the markets at the nearly constant price of 40 francs a kilogram.

Meat is much more expensive. The price most commonly
[435] verified at this time was 80 francs, double that of fish. There was no significant variation in the price during the period of the investigation. Uniform quality is to be understood. Now, with four exceptions (1), our families only bought meat at 80

1. Nos. 38, 39, 42, and 43.

francs a kilogram. To make all of the families comparable, we have divided the prices actually paid by 80 and obtained quantities of meat of a single quality.

The information that we received concerning meat and fish is assembled in Tables VI and VII[1] presented in the same manner as that relating to rice and millet. The last /407/ column of Table VI shows the families who on the whole consume more meat than fish. (Only quantities are involved here.)

There are ten of them, plus one just at the limit, including No. 43 which we eliminated.

Among the ten others, six have already appeared before us as consuming more millet than rice; they are Nos. 1, 7, 10, 24, 32, and 41. This fact cannot be explained here by either the size of the group of consumers or by the financial possibilities, since meat is twice as expensive as fish. It is probably that for these six families the greater consumption of meat is a direct consequence of the greater consumption of millet. Among our four basic products, the most common associations are in fact that of rice with fish and that of millet with meat. The two

[1] [see cat 116, pp 31-36 - ANALYST]

*511 /411 cont./
*262 products of gathering. All, let us repeat, in very small daily
263 quantities. Moreover, these are the products[1] that are the
443 objects involved in the small-scale commerce of the women;
434 quite often buying two or three times more than they need,
*511 they set up a little flat basket before the door of their con-
438 cession and suggest to the passers-by that they spare them-
selves the fatigue of going all the way to the market. They can make very small profits in this way, from five to ten francs a day.

*511 Nevertheless, with one thing added to another, the costs
*262 of these various condiments end up by absorbing another rela-
263 tively important part of the familial income (1).

1. The portion for dried fish is generally very close to 1/5 of the figures given.

The size of this income thus acts as a check on their consumption, but ultimately only the taste and the habits of each are truly determinative. /412/ /Table VIII appears here./ /413/ /Table IX appears here./

/414/ We mentioned under the rubric "Vegetables" only the truly important purchases. It is the housewife herself who calls them either vegetables or condiments, according to the importance that they will have in the meal that she is going to prepare; a greater quantity of vegetables will permit reducing the quantity of rice or millet. If the latter does not change, they are condiments. The nuance is understandable. Our investigators themselves made it, and it was subsequently difficult for us not to take it into account.

*511 The quantities given in Table IX[2] are not actual quantities.
*262 We have again in this case eliminated the factor of quality, the differences in quality being replaced by differences in quantity. The "standard vegetable" chosen was the cabbage,
[435] which in March 1953 was worth 20 francs a kilogram. This

1 [i.e. - various condiments - ANALYST]
2 [see cat 116, pp 43-45 - ANALYST]

[Text continues on p. 46]

/417 cont./

*511
[272]

We likewise noted the purchase of cacao in the cases of No. 6 (1.2%) and No. 20 (0.7%).

We have thus surveyed the principal food expenses of our families. Is there truly nothing else?

There is, of course, a quantity of products that are incidentally represented in running over the questionnaires. They are sometimes of some importance in the units of consumption with high incomes.

*511
*262
[264]

The groundnut is most often represented. This is not surprising; we are in Senegal. But the groundnut is a product that is sold more than it is consumed. Some are bought in amounts worth a five-franc bill in order to satisfy hunger while awaiting mealtime. In the form of a paste, it is put into certain dishes. In extreme cases the housewife buys the groundnut if she truly does not have enough money to do suitable marketing for other products. But though one often sees the groundnut in the shell between the hands of the women, it is only when she is shelling it, before roasting it, to sell it then at a very slight profit. /418/ /Table X appears here./ /419/ /Table XI appears here./

[252]
[438]

/420/ Here are the percentages of the income that have been devoted to it:

No. 2: 1.8	No. 17: 0.6	No. 29: 0.4
No. 4: 1.2	No. 18: 1.5	No. 31: 0.3
No. 5: 2.4	No. 19: 2.0	No. 33: 0.4
No. 6: 0.6	No. 20: 3.8	No. 37: 0.2
No. 8: 2.8	No. 21: 0.2	No. 38: 0.4
No. 13:: 1.0	No. 22: 0.8	No. 39: 0.2
No. 16:: 0.6	No. 25: 0.6	No. 40: 1.2

This last percentage expresses the greatest quantity; the cook has simply made a specialty of a dish based on groundnuts.

/79 cont./

361 mahoganies planted at the end of the last century. The very close presence of the station, and the continual coming and going of locomotives, with strident cries that rend the air, destroys the harmony of these quiet spots of small provincial cities, while attempts are made to recreate them.

361 Even more peaceful air is breathed in the Catholic
346 Mission, located to the north of the old "escale." The buildings were constructed at the end of the last century in red laterite, storied buildings /80/ with monastery arcades. They are situated in the middle of a huge garden, always green, extended by a park of magnificent trees. The whole reminds one to some extent of the peaceful site of some metropolitan abbey.

361 The two business quarters (Old Escale and Residence)
563 present the peculiarity of becoming, according to the time of day, the domain of the European in the evening (at the hour
443 for the apéritif) and on Sundays, and that of the African during the day (while the market is open). A place of contact between the Black and the White, this market occupies a very important place in the life of the African city and merits pausing there a bit.

443 It is on the day of the opening of the groundnut trade (at the beginning of December, for example) that it is proper
[438] to visit it. On coming from the station one plunges suddenly into the animation, the dust, the heat, the "sticky" odors of the market. The place is swarming with people where
443 the most diverse means of locomotion are squeezed and
494 mingled together: a small cinder-gray donkey, heavily laden, deciding to block the passage of an automobile, despite the beating by its master; a small, light cart with two rubber wheels serving as a taxi and in quest of a possible passenger; a housewife from the neighboring village, her last-born hanging on her back, and who keeps on her head,
[482] in marvelous balance, a calabash full of market produce; a cyclist, poorly balanced on his machine, now and again running into a pedestrian or a vehicle; a truck with impressive loads, which slowly pushes from the road the human

/83 cont./

3. The Activities of the City

1. Commerce.

433 If we except the period of conquest, during which a handful of troops established themselves in the entrenched camp, the primary function of Thiès was commerce.

441 An escale of trade in its beginnings, Thiès has remained that up to our times. Almost 25,000 tons of groundnuts are commercialized each year in spite of the opening of important points of trade in the vicinity, Tivaouane, Khombole, located some 30 kilometers from there. This commerce demands a certain taste for risk; if in certain years it offers appreciable profits, it sometimes renders the balance sheet of the merchants who practice it very precarious. The groundnut trade, as far as purchase from the producer is concerned, is almost entirely in the hands of the Levantines and a few Moors and Blacks. The important establishments, N. O. S. O. C. O. (8) and the Soucail firm,

[563] [442]

8. N. O. S. O. C. O. Nouvelle Société Commerciale.

engage only in wholesale trade.

443 The factorerie run by a Levantine (9) next to the

[162] [563]

9. The Levantines are 48 in number, namely, 23 Syrians and 25 Lebanese (figures of 1952).

courtyard of the secco (10) has kept all its picturesqueness

[257]

10. Secco: mass of groundnuts stored in the courtyard of the merchant and destined for export.

[438] up to our day. /84/ Everything is sold there, from the piece of trade cloth in vivid colors to cheap perfume; kerosene by the liter and millet by the kilo or sack are retailed there.

/84 cont./

443 One corner of the plank counter, polished by the hands of
[275] customers, is often reserved for the sale of beverages that are drunk from the bottle itself. Boards and piles of sacks block the passage of the customers. There is a constant coming and going of possible customers who pass the shop fully open to the street. Some stay there for hours without buying, solely to feast their eyes. The patient Levantine,
[437] arguing about the price in the native language, supervises the weights and inspects the sacks of groundnuts in order to take out the stones that may have slipped into them. The factorerie type makes it possible to imagine exactly what the commerce of the escale must have been in the first years of its establishment in the city.

European commerce is totally different. To be sure, there are still some factoreries of the type that we have just described, but for some years a real effort at modernization has changed their appearance; they are becoming metropoli-
tan-type stores with counters of plywood, shelves of canned
[438] goods, novelties from Paris... A luxury store was opened in 1950, offering buyers the latest goods from the capital: gowns, shorts, suits for men, curios of all sorts. But the nearness of Dakar, the ease of access to it, its attraction seem to be seriously limiting its sales potential.

442 The branches of the large commercial houses, N.O.
443 S.O.C.O., Maurel and Prom, C.F.A.O. (11), are eight in

11. C.F.A.O.: Compagnie Française d'Afrique Occidentale.

number and practically control the local market. Each is still established in its original concession in the interior of the old escale. The courtyard that formerly held the groundnuts has been remodeled into a warehouse; the retail store has been modernized: tiling, frigidaire, and cold rooms, as well as huge shop windows that replace the small windows of former times. The wholesale store, on the other hand, has preserved its disorder: bags of cement, boards,

/84 cont./

442 iron for cement, tires...piled loosely together. The activity
443 of these branches is based on three elements: retail with a sales store open to the average customers, wholesale granted to the important factoreries (Levantines...), and wholesale to the small shopkeepers for retail. Each is furthermore an implement dealer with exclusive right of sale granted to them: frigidaires, motor fuel, automobiles...The figure
[433] for the monthly business of one of them fluctuated between 20 and 25 million in 1953.

443 An intermediate type of commerce was established a
[563] short time ago with the arrival of the Moroccans; they
[162] numbered 25 in 1952. /85/ Some among them attempt to corner both the European and native clientele. They special-
[438] ize in the sale of fabrics and fancy articles for Africans:
[191] babouches, fezzes, cheap watches. They speak the native language fluently and sometimes French extremely well.

The Africans, as we have seen, have launched into private business since 1920. Some of them have a factorerie of the Levantine type, but most of them have opened a shop in the outlying quarters. The Moors and the Blacks share this small-scale commerce: in 1952 the former reached the figure of 120; the Blacks were perhaps as numerous. They
[347] are installed in the small shops of boards or mud roofed with straw or with corrugated metal. On the counter, made up of a simple board, stands a Roberval scale, some jars of large multicolored bonbons, a pasteboard box filled with dry biscuits. The bag of charcoal on the floor stands beside a tin of kerosene. Some cola nuts kept fresh in a wrapping of leaves still green, a kilo of sugar broken open, which is sold by the lump, some packages of cigarettes sold by the unit, and small cans of condensed milk give a glimpse of the small volume of their business.

To complete this picture, let us add the innumerable small "doorstep" merchants who on a piece of cloth or in a calabash display a few handfuls of roasted peanuts and cola nuts, a package of cigarettes, or millet fritters. These small stalls are all located in front of the door of the hut;

244 /14/
242 of training. This is one of the essential preoccupations of
654 the present Sengalese government.

II. The "Trade" of Groundnuts

433 For a century the total volume of production has pro-
244 gressed in spectacular fashion. Actually, no statistics are available at the harvesting stage. Only the commercial figures are known with any accuracy. In any case they differ little from the total figure of production because local consumption seems to be of little importance. It is estimated that the average production of groundnuts from 1900 to 1904 was 123,000 metric tons. The more recent figures are the following: 1938-1939 campaign, 584,000 metric tons; 1942-1943 compaign, 183,000 metric tons; 1943-1944 campaign, 281,000 metric tons; 1957-1958 campaign, 808,000 metric tons; 1958-1959 campaign, 653,000 metric tons; 1959-1960 campaign, 720,000 metric tons.

Except for the period of the war, when the production of
[439] groundnuts, difficult to export, decreased to the profit of that of millet, progress was continuous, the 1957-1958 campaign being exceptionally favorable.

439 This production enters into the circuit of commercialization or "trade," which today is very strictly regulated.

[178] 1. The organization of "trade." The commercialization of the groundnut has replaced the "trade" in gum, slaves, and gold of the former colonial system. Although the term is still often used, its present context is very different from the
439 acceptation of the era of the colonial pact. Trade is no longer,
441 as Littré wished it to be, an exchange trade organized almost
438 exclusively for the benefit of the European "trader"; today it is a commercial activity that is strictly regulated as to time and place and open only to approved intermediaries.

442 1.) The "campaign." "The campaign" is the period
654
438

/14 cont./

442 during which commercial operations in groundnuts are authorized.
654 It is opened and closed each year by governmental decree. In
438 general it begins at the end of November or the beginning of December and closes at the end of April. The date of opening the campaign is set about two months after the beginning of the harvest, in order to avoid premature uprooting and to favor
438 the reimbursement of the seed advanced. This system never-
442 theless leads to some smuggling in the south, because the
[439] navétanes, anxious to return home, and the peasants, without any money, are tempted to sell in Gambia. At the time of the close, the transactions have been over for a long time, but this decision prevents the eventual sale /15/ of the seed distributed by the Mutuelles. In order to have the commodity brought in gradually and to avoid heavy transactions at the beginning of trade, operations are suspended from Friday to Monday. Nevertheless by the end of the month of January nearly all of the harvest has been negotiated.

366 2) The "points of trade." Since 1932 the operations of
442 selling must take place in the localities called points of trade
438 or "escales" located on the railroad or a road (Circular of 13 July 1932). These points of trade, which were 175 in number in 1935, now number more than 300. The limitation, in 1932, on the number of the points of trade was a response to the desire to moderate the rhythm of the selling and to avoid the proliferation of intermediaries. The recent creation of new escales is
[244] devoted to the conquest of new lands and is an attempt to avoid the abuses of cultivation on the lands near the former points of trade.

The accession of a locality to the rank of escale makes
[369] it legally an urban center, with the obligation of division into lots /lotissement/ and, for the merchants, permanent buildings. The campaign is a period of great animation for the escale.
442 The merchants or traders open their bank of purchase or "factory."
437 Traditionally, intermediaries, or "masters of language," conduct
[492] the producer to the factory. The groundnuts, transported by don-
[488] keys and in bags loaned by the trader, are weighed and emptied

/15 cont./

442 437 [992] [488] [452] [443] [438] into the secco, an area with a floor of hard earth or cement, closed off by sheet metal. The agriculturalist, paid forthwith, immediately spends the sum received, in settling the sums owed to the trader and in buying from among the manufactured objects of the same factory the most diverse articles: cloth, playthings, articles for bicycles, etc. Thus the same trader realizes two profits in the traditional system.

3) The agents of trade. Until the Second World War, 439 441 442 438 the trade in groundnuts was in the hands of about 3,000 private traders organized in a strict hierarchy. At the top, the trade was controlled by the large import-export houses, especially of Bordeaux origin, Maurel et Prom, Peyrissac, Vézia, etc., to which was added the C. F. A. O. of Marseilles origin, and the S. C. O. A. Franco-Switzerland. These firms, whose central agencies for Senegal are in Dakar, make arrangements for the "banks" and "agencies" in the principal localities, for "factories" in the escales, and for "operations" in the bush. These commercial houses concentrate the purchases of their various traders and provide them with imported products. They are supported during the campaign by the banks of the mother country or their agencies in Senegal.

441 442 438 The independent French merchants, often former employees of the firms, play the role of intermediary /demi-grossiste/ in the escales. /16/ They buy directly from the producers or from the African sub-trader and bag and forward /the product/ to the commercial houses in the shipping ports. They have been very harshly affected by the economic crisis of the 1930's and then [563] by the war, in particular by the mobilization, which facilitated the establishment of many Lebano-Syrian traders.

The treaties of 1919 facilitated the arrival in Africa of [563] these Lebano-Syrians. They devote themselves essentially to commerce, and they have on the whole succeeded, because, living near the autochthons, they have adopted their way of life and are contented with much less than the independent 442 443 438 Europeans. During the trade, they are generally commission agents of the firm that they represent. They receive a commission for each metric ton of groundnuts purchased, and sell in

/16 cont./

438 their establishments the manufactured products that the firm
442 delivers to them. They[1] are most often linked with the pro-
[443] ducers by the system of loans that they authorize in cash and
[452] especially in kind during the difficult period of low supplies before the harvest.

The African "sub-traders" most often play the role of
[441] intermediary between the producers and the traders; they very often are transporters and guide the seller to the weighing-machine of a friend.

Since the last war this system has been greatly perturbed by the appearance of new purchasers who more and more compete with the traditional commerce. The local oil-makers
[258] scarcely ever appeal to the large firms. They do business with the traders of the escales, or, more often, they have their
438 own buyers. Since 1952 some pilot co-operatives have made
442 the collection in many escales at little expense; they utilize
474 the personnel and equipment of the S.M.D.R. Moreover, the
656 law of 13 January 1960, creating an "Office de commercialisation agricole" (O.C.A.), has assigned to this body the responsibility of selling the products collected by the co-operatives (Art. 6) and has granted it license to create purchase points for the direct collection of local agricultural products in the sectors where there are as yet no co-operatives (Art. 7). The decree of 20 May 1960, which more precisely relates to the marketing of groundnuts, grants purchasing permits only to organismes stockeurs (O.S.) /storage bodies/, private or co-operative, properly approved by the decision of a Comité régional d'agrément /Regional Committee of Approval/, and to the purchasing posts of the O.C.A. One might ask if these decisions do not constitute a step toward the creation of an "Office de l'arachide" /Office for Groundnuts/, which would have exclusivity of the trade and could normalize a "circuit of groundnuts," now very complex. /Pl. I and II appear here on unnumbered pages./

[1] [The Lebano-Syrian Traders--Analyst]

/17/

438 442 2. The "circuit" of groundnuts. The purchase of the groundnuts in the escale and storing them in the secco of the trader constitute only one step in the complicated circuit that the groundnuts take from the place of production to the port of exportation or to the oil-factories.

492 438 1) The means of transport. From the place of production to the escale, the groundnuts essentially utilize the traditional modes of transport, donkeys throughout the country and camels in the north. The decree of 4 September 1935 has forbidden the [656] use of trucks. Its aims were to avoid bulky hauls, purchases at a low price at the place of production, and, above all, to en- [231] courage local animal-husbandry. This system, however, carries with it grave defects. Most often transport on the back of a donkey is more expensive for the producer than transport by truck because the camel-drivers and donkey-drivers impose their own price on the peasants who do not have animals. Moreover, the transporter guides the seller to a trader whom the seller did not choose. Today, however, more and more derogations are permitted, because in the south, where the groundnut is progressing, the tsetse interdicts animal husbandry, and in the other regions the overworked animals are incapable of doing the transporting at the end of trade. Finally, certain [874] co-operatives which pretend "to collect" and not to buy do send trucks to the places of production.

494 438 From the secco of the trader to the port nearby or to the railroad station, transport is handled by trucks. It is essentially the commercial firms, the traders, or the local oil-makers who use them. There are few professional transporters because the traffic is essentially seasonal. The generally bad [491] condition of the unpaved roads, except for the "Transgambienne" from Dakar to Ziguinchor, causes a rapid wearing-out of equipment, whose amortization is a heavy burden on the budget of the merchants.

497 438 The Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad and especially the Dakar-Niger transport more than 200,000 metric tons of groundnuts

[Text continues on p. 21--Analyst]

/17 cont./

499 each year. In spite of the use of cars of great capacity, the
438 transport facilities are insufficient during the first months of trade. However, the practice of degressive tariffs, so as not to place at a disadvantage the production of regions that are
[651] farther from the place of destination, limits all the more the possibility of an increase of vehicles, since the traffic in groundnuts is essentially seasonal and it poses a problem of return freight. The three ports of Dakar, Kaolack, and
438 Ziguinchor consitute, for exports, freight breaking-points
[504] between land transport and maritime transport. The latter
[505] is handled for the most part by the vessels of companies who undertake regular service: Delmas et Vieljeux, Maurel et Prom, etc.; they also have competition from the tramps.
435 These /18/ multiple freight-breaks weigh quite heavily on
438 the price of groundnuts, quite low at the outset, due to the fact that each of them is accompanied by multiple manipulations.

2) The manipulations. In its present organization, the circuit of the groundnuts involves many manipulations, because the product is transported in bags. At each step it is necessary to weigh the bags, to empty them into the secco, and then, when they are again forwarded, to proceed to another weighing and rebagging. Over and above the cost of the labor, the firms and sometimes the traders must bear the great expense of buying and repairing great quantities of bags which quickly wear out or go astray. M. Barbier estimates that a bag of groundnuts undergoes 16 handlings at the minimum from the place of production to the port. A solution to this problem might be found in transporting the product loose, by trucks and cars with gratins, loaded by mechanical transporters. These transformations presuppose great investments, which the groundnut, a cheap and, above all, seasonal product, cannot amortize.

3) Regulation of the condition. The decree of 11 January
[656] 1926 created an Office d'inspection et de conditionnement de l'arachide /Office of Inspection and of the Condition of

/18 cont./

435 Groundnuts/ which controlled the quality of the product in
438 the escales and in the ports. This office, which functioned
656 under the responsibility of the local Chambres de Commerce, applied the norms of "the practice of Bordeaux" of 1922. In
[685] the escales the lots with impurities of more than 2% were returned, and fines could be slapped on the sellers whose product concealed more than 3%. A second control was established in the ports. Since 1947 this office has been replaced by a "Service de contrôle et du conditionnement," which inspects the product only in the ports, thus making only the exporter responsible. All merchandise with impurities of more than 2%, and an average of more than 4% acidity for the decorticated product, is refused or subject to a reduction in price. Several years ago the commercial houses acquired sieves which permit the elimination of much debris, but they are often poorly utilized, and the groundnuts from Senegal usually have considerable debris, stalks or other things.

438 The complications of the circuit of the groundnuts, its
656 inadequacies, have stimulated many projects of rationalization, which for the most part recommend loose transport, stockpiling in silos, and rigorous control over the quality. At present a public body, the "Secteur d'expérimentation et de rationalisation du circuit de l'arachide" (S.E.R.C.A.) is concerned with this, but it singularly lacks any means.

435 /19/ 3. The marketing of the groundnut and the problem of prices. Up to the Second World War, all the transactions in groundnuts were free; the prices varied considerably as a function of supply and demand. During the war the "Groupement national d'achat des produits oléagineux" (G.N.A.P.O.) /National Group for the Purchase of Oleaginous Products/ controlled the market and authoritatively fixed the price. After the war, during the campaign of 1950-1951, the return to freedom led to a spectacular jump in the market price of groundnuts, which, at production, went from 18 to 30

/390 cont./

361 inhabitants. It had an official center and wide streets, which,
369 however, are not yet paved. Despite this city appearance,
[363] however, Pikine is more intimately dependent on Dakar than the other villages of the suburbs; it is a workman's suburb, and all of its provisioning comes from Dakar, while practically all of its inhabitants are employed in the great city. With this exception, the villages of the suburbs have as their essential
[438] role the provisioning of Dakar with fish and fresh vegetables. Many transportation facilities in common connect them with
[489] Dakar-ville from very early in the morning until around the middle of the night (Pl. XXIII B, Pl. XXIV A and B).

This is the arrangement or juxtaposition of the various elements of the Dakar agglomeration, whose present popula-
[162] tion may well have exceeded 300,000 inhabitants.

369 4. Perspectives. The Dakar agglomeration has the appearance of an unfinished city in the process of being organized, even though its function as a West African metropolis has been confirmed for a long time. There are surprises in this situation for those who analyze the old European urban civilizations, where one sees an ancient city existing as /391/ /Fig. 6 appears here/ one that patiently developed its relations in order to become a metropolis and to constitute a solid and dynamic assemblage where urban and metropolitan functions mutually support one another. Dakar, however, is above
369 all a center of relations which has woven with its hinterland
439 connections that have the appearance of complementary ties,
433 but which actually are ties of dependence: dependence in fact because in the Senegalese and Sudanese interior the development of export crops is tied up with the means of evacuation organized by Dakar; dependence also because the export crops, in breaking up the former village autarchy, have given Dakar the role of a great relay-station in the importation of food products in compensation and manufactured products which have become a necessity there where formerly they were unknown; dependence, finally, not only for the Senegalese and

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

near the Senegal river, the Fulani in the centre of the colony, and the Mandingos in the east of it. 162 [563]

The District of Dakar

The 66 square miles of the District of Dakar contain 126,929 persons; but the figures for density per square mile mean even less than elsewhere, since most of the inhabitants live in the town itself.

In 1937 there were 118,459 natives and 8,470 Europeans, of whom 6,728 were French. This was about a quarter of the total of Europeans in the whole Federation. [563]

Inland Towns

Bakel (14° 52′; 12° 24′ W.) Population, 2,103. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. Daily market. 36 [131] [162]

Bakel is on the left bank of the Senegal (Plate 83) where the river passes between cliffs some 17 miles below the entrance of the Falémé. It is a local market for gum, ground-nuts, grain, gold dust, hides, and ostrich feathers. Most of the inhabitants are Moslems. [438] [162]

By river it is 531 miles from St. Louis and 84 miles from Kayes, and there is a fortnightly steamer service when the water permits. By colonial road Bakel is 386 miles from St. Louis, 93 miles from Matam, and 32 miles from Kidira. A bus service connects all these places. The river can be crossed by ferry, and from the Mauritanian bank a poor track leads to Sélibaby (32 miles). [487] [505] [491] [494]

Bambey (14° 40′; 16° 25′ W.). Altitude, 59 feet. Population, 4,209. Mixed Commune. Dispensary. Police station. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Garage. Agricultural experimental station. Daily market. [131] [162] [654]

Set in the midst of an area of dense population, Bambey is a prosperous market town. The main product of the locality is ground-nuts, and large quantities of these are put on the train each year. They also form the chief speciality of the agricultural experimental station. [438] [654]

Communications. By railway Bambey is 77 miles from Dakar, 33½ miles from Thiès, 17 miles from Diourbel, and 319 miles from Kidira. It is on the intercolonial road, being 49 miles from Thiès and 16 miles from Diourbel. A colonial road goes almost due south to Fatik (27 miles). There is a daily bus service (p. 473) to Fatik, Foundiougne, and Kaolack. [491] [494]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal M537

36 [131] [162] BIGNONA (12° 49′; 16° 16′ W.). Altitude, *c.* 60 feet. Population, 1,611. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Military post. Emergency landing-ground. Garage.

Bignona stands on the left bank of a small and marshy tributary of the Casamance. Canoes carry a certain amount of merchandise, as also do lorries. The principal items of trade are ground-nuts, palm kernels, wax, rice, and fruit. Most of the native inhabitants are Dioulas. [438] [162]

Colonial roads lead south to the Casamance opposite Ziguinchor (16 miles), east to Sedhiou (58 miles) and Kolda (120 miles), and north-west to Diouloulou (35 miles) and the frontier of the Gambia (46 miles). There are also several minor roads and tracks. [491]

[131] [162] DAGANA (16° 27′; 15° 34′ W.). Altitude, 13 feet. Population, *c.* 3,500. District headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Race-course.

Dagana is on the left bank of the Senegal, and its chief economic function is as a market for Mauritanian gum. This is shipped down river to St. Louis, 116 miles away. There is also connexion upstream to Podor (61 miles), Bakel (403 miles), and Kayes (487 miles). [439] [187]

By colonial road Dagana is 86 miles from St. Louis and 332 miles from Kidira. It is on the bus service (p. 474) between these two places. Southwards another colonial road leads across sparsely inhabited country to Dahra (89 miles) and Diourbel (162 miles). From the opposite bank of the Senegal a track goes to Mederdra, some 30 miles distant. [491] [494]

[131] [162] DIOURBEL (14° 39′; 16° 10′ W.). Altitude, 39 feet. Population, 15,442. Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Police headquarters. Emergency landing-ground. Power station. Hotel. Garage. Daily market.

This flourishing town lies across the little Sine river in the middle of a well-cultivated shallow valley. To the north the ground rises somewhat. Diourbel owes its prosperity to ground-nuts, and 100,000 tons of them pass through the town every year. There are several factories for the shelling of the nuts and for the expression of their oil. Besides this, Diourbel is the headquarters of the province of Baol and a route centre. Its inhabitants are mainly Moslems, who have a large and important mosque. There is also a special school for sons of chiefs. [438] [258] [162] [87]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

The electric power station has a gas-engine plant that burns the residue from ground-nut presses. 36 [377]

Communications. Diourbel is the railway junction for Routes 3 and 4. By the former it is 50½ miles from Thiès and 302 miles from Kidira, and by the latter it is 31 miles from Touba. The intercolonial road leads westwards to Thiès (65 miles) and Dakar (109 miles) and south-eastwards to Kaolack (40 miles), Tambacounda (230 miles), and Nayes (351 miles). Colonial roads go north-eastwards to Dahra (73 miles) and Dagana (162 miles) and south-westwards to Fatik (25 miles) and Kaolack (53 miles). [496] [491]

LOUGA (15° 37′; 16° 16′ W.). Altitude, 138 feet. Population, 4,390. Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Regional School. Power station. Garage. Race-course. Agricultural experimental station and farm school. Daily market. [131] [162] [654]

Louga is the scene of the most important cattle market in the whole colony. It is this that has made it a route centre. Other local products are ground-nuts, gum, and millet. Administratively, Louga is the headquarters of the province of the same name and also a military headquarters. [438]

Electricity is supplied by an oil-driven plant. [377]

Communications. Louga stands at the junction of railway routes 1 and 2, being 119 miles from Dakar, 44 miles from St. Louis, and 81 miles from Linguéré. It is on the intercolonial road from Dakar (121 miles) to St. Louis (47 miles). A colonial road runs eastwards across the colony to Dahra (59 miles), Linguéré (84 miles), and Matam (242 miles). There are also minor roads and tracks. [496] [491]

PODOR (16° 35′; 15° 02′ W.). Population, 3,168. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. Daily market. [131] [162]

This riverside town is chiefly important for gum arabic. The gum is brought by the Arabs, sold in the market, and shipped down the Senegal to St. Louis. [439]

Communications. By river Podor is 178 miles from St. Louis and 437 miles from Kayes. Throughout the year the Messageries Africaines run a fortnightly service to and from St. Louis. From July to January the boats also go upstream as far as Matam (234 miles) and in August and September to Kayes. Podor is on the colonial road, being 135 miles from St. Louis and 288 miles from Nayes. There is a ferry across the river to connect with tracks to such Mauritanian [487] [505] [491]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

36 towns as Boutilimit and Aleg. There is also a track that runs south-south-westwards to Yang-Yang. For half the year there is a bus [491] service twice a week to St. Louis in one direction and to Kidira in [494] the other. 1/1

[131] TAMBACOUNDA (13° 45′; 13° 39′ W.). Altitude, 148 feet. Population, [162] c. 4,000. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Hotel. Garage.

On a slight eminence above a marshy tributary of the Sandougou, [491] Tambacounda is of considerable importance as a route centre. It [496] is not only a road junction but also the most southerly point in Senegal of the Dakar–Niger railway. Near the town is a sisal [248] plantation.

The hotel is open only from December to May.

By rail Tambacounda is 285 miles from Dakar, 111 miles from [496] Kidira, and 170½ miles from Kayes. One intercolonial road runs [491] westwards to Kaolack (188 miles), Thiès (295 miles), and Dakar (339 miles); another north-eastwards to Nayes (121 miles) and Kayes (176 miles); and a third southwards to Diabougou (25 miles) and ultimately to Labé (288 miles). Before the war Tambacounda was [509] connected to Dakar and Bamako by a weekly air service operated by Air France.

[131] THIÈS (14° 49′; 16° 52′ W.). Altitude, 207 feet. Population, 15,451. [162] Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Regional School. [797] Roman Catholic mission. Power station. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops. Cinemas. Daily market.

Since the opening of the railway in 1885 Thiès has grown from a collection of native huts to a large town. The railway workshops [498] employ many hundreds of men, and the market handles considerable [438] quantities of ground-nuts. The town has been built on a slope that declines gently east and north-east to a small stream. The old Fort Faidherbe is still standing, and there is a big Roman Catholic church.

Communications. Thiès is a railway junction, being 43½ miles [496] from Dakar, 119½ miles from St. Louis, and 352½ miles from Kidira. [491] It is also a meeting-place of intercolonial roads. One of these comes from Dakar (44 miles) and goes on to St. Louis (124 miles), while the other branches east to Kaolack (107 miles), Nayes (416 miles), and Kayes (471 miles). There are several minor roads, notably one going [494] south to M'Bour. Along this road there is a regular bus service, with two buses each weekday in either direction.

1/1 [From The Town of Podor-- Analyst]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

Trade

Imports and Exports. Dakar is the outlet for almost the whole of French West Africa north of the forest. In particular it serves the most fertile and prosperous parts of Senegal and French Sudan. The principal export is, of course, ground-nuts, and others are gold, gum, shea butter, kapok, and hides. Imports include manufactured goods of all kinds, coal, oil fuel, wine, sugar, and flour. In 1937 imports totalled 1,298,700 tons to the value of 763,200,000 francs (£6,134,060) and exports 1,284,300 tons to the value of 572,300,000 francs (£4,599,740). This represents some 40 per cent. of the total trade of the Federation. 439 [433] [433]

Manufactures. In or near the town are brickworks, a brewery, candle factories, charcoal furnaces, ice factories, sisal cleaning plants, sack factories, saw-mills, and factories for extracting ground-nut oil. There are also native handicraft workers. West of the town there are two basalt quarries, which are connected to the harbour by a railway line. 438 316

There are several trade unions. 467

Finance. The Port of Dakar has its own budget. In 1938 this balanced at 10,792,486 francs (£66,212). The principal items of revenue were the dues on the loading and discharge of cargo, which brought in 4,150,000 francs, the dues paid by ships, which brought in 1,566,000 francs, and the charges for the use of port equipment, which brought in 1,115,700 francs. The principal items of expenditure were 4,912,166 francs on wages and salaries of employees and 2,551,770 francs on the materials used in the maintenance of the port. 652 [651]

Description of Port

Anchorages. Outside the harbour there is good anchorage in 10 fathoms. Inside depths are greater, and there is space for a large number of vessels. 504

Quays and Wharfs. The main basins of the harbour are divided off from Goree bay and Dakar Roads by the North Jetty. This runs south-eastwards from the shore for nearly 1,200 yards and then turns southwards for its last 550 yards. Here are found the oil berths, and at the end of it is a light. Three moles project from the landward side of the main jetty. Behind No. 5 Mole, the nearest to the land, there is a large open space used for storing dumps of ground-nuts (Vol. I, Plate 84). This end of the harbour is a seaplane base, with a hangar on the shore. On the north-west side there are some [502] [508]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

[DAKAR]

route from Paris to Santiago and was also the terminus of local services to Bamako and to St. Louis. The Aéromaritime company used to run flying-boat services to Conakry, Abidjan, Lagos, Douala, and Pointe Noire. 509

Wireless. The broadcasting station is near Madeleines bay, 700 yards north-west of the cathedral. A small station, transmitting to ships, is on Bel Air point. 206

Cable. Dakar is connected by cable to Casablanca, to Brest, to Fernando Noronha (Brazil), and to Conakry. The two latter cables are landed in the south-west of Bernard bay, not far from the Pasteur Institute. There is, however, a telephone cable to Goree island. This is landed on the north-west shore of the same bay.

Shipping. Lines normally serving the port include the following: America West African, Bull, Chargeurs Réunis, Elder Dempster, Fabre, Fraissinet, Gdynia America, Hamburg-Bremen, Holland West Afrika, Italia, Lloyd Triestino, Maurel et Prom, Messageries du Sénégal, Navigazione Generale Italiana, Société Générale des Transports, Société Maritime Belge des Transports, and Société Navale de l'Ouest. 505

Coasting vessels sail regularly for Port Etienne, St. Louis, Kaolack, and Ziguinchor.

GOREE (14° 39′; 17° 23′ W.). Population, 714. Custom-house. Barracks and military hospital. 36 [131]

The rocky island of Goree (Plate 112) has an area of 138 acres. The first Europeans to land on it were the Portuguese in 1445, and since then it has had a chequered history, which has been told elsewhere in these volumes. [162] [112] [175]

Most of the centre of the island is occupied by buildings, and in the south there is the old fort. In the extreme north is a large lime-kiln. [381]

The only source of water is an artesian well in the fort. [312]

Trade. Trade is now limited to the ordinary requirements of the islanders, and traffic to taking them and their goods to and from the mainland. [938]

Harbour. In the north-east of the island there is a little bay where there are three jetties, only one of which (Plate 121) is now in use. The depth at its head is 10 feet. [504]

RUFISQUE (14° 41′; 17° 12′ W.). Population, 19,764, including 180 Europeans. Full Commune. Custom-house. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Power station. Hotel. Garage. [131] [162] [112]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Gambia, often in rotation with ground-nuts. Of the quick-maturing 243
varieties *souna* and *sanio* are the most popular, the former thriving in [262]
sandy soil, the latter in heavier ground. Several kinds of sorghum are also cultivated. In the river area millet is sown where the floods have subsided and is harvested in April. In other parts it is planted immediately before the rainy season. Production probably averages [433]
about 300,000 tons annually. The export of millet from one province [438]
to another is controlled according to local needs.

Rice. The area flooded by the Casamance is naturally suited for rice cultivation. The rice-fields are handed down from father to [228]
son, each family growing sufficient for its own consumption and to [262]
pay its taxes. A store of rice is always kept to guard against a lean [251]
year or to be exchanged for some other commodity required.

Sugar-cane. This is grown near every village where there is enough 249
water. No attempt has been made to commercialize the crop, and the West African varieties are more woody and contain less juice than those grown elsewhere for export. Sugar-cane (*Saccharum officinarum*) is a perennial plant of the grass family. It is easy to grow, even near the sea, but takes at least a year to mature. When grown for local use, as it is here, sugar is not extracted, but the red or white stems are [263]
chewed.

The Baobab. The baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) is found generally 245
in the thornland (Plate 111), and is, therefore, much in evidence in Senegal. It is remarkable for the large girth of its trunk in com- [262]
parison to its branches and leaves. The long green fruit, known as [263]
monkey-bread, is used as a food or as a seasoner. Boiled with water [272]
and then cooled, it also makes a refreshing drink, while the leaves [283]
and the young shoots are also good to eat. The inner bark yields a tough fibre, which can be twisted into rope or woven into a water-proof cloth. About 30 years ago a factory was opened at Dakar to prepare the fibre for export to rope- and paper-making firms in [288]
France. The bark and fibre can be stripped off without causing the death of the tree.

Manioc, beans, and maize are grown generally in the vicinity of 244
villages. In the Cape Verde peninsula these, as well as yams, sweet [243]
potatoes, and melons, are grown for the Dakar markets. [438]

Economic Crops

Ground-nuts. Ground-nuts (*Arachis hypogaea*) require a tropical climate and an annual rainfall of from 14 to 60 inches. They are the [433]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

Locomotives. In 1939 the following locomotives were in service: 493

Makers and type	*Adhesive weight in tons*	*Number*
Mallet articulated . .	43–50	10
Mikado 2-8-0. . .	30–40	42
Pignet	29	34
Cail	27	24
Cail, Corpet, Weidknecht, Decauville . . .	13–27	75
	Total	185

Since that date 2 Micheline railcars, 3 Als-Thorn diesel electric locomotives, and 2 Beyer-Garratts have been brought into use. The Beyer-Garratts are 4-4-2+2-4-4 articulated with an adhesive weight of 91 tons.

Fuel. Neither coal nor wood is found locally. Before 1940 some 60,000 tons of briquettes were annually imported. At the present time these are hard to obtain, and they are supplemented by whatever wood is available and by briquetted ground-nut shells. 372

Carriages and Wagons. In 1939 there were 254 passenger coaches and 2,105 goods wagons in service. The passenger coaches included restaurant cars and sleeping cars. At the end of 1939, 177 covered goods wagons were delivered from France. 493

State of Repair. There are excellent workshops at Thiès; but the general standard of upkeep, never very high, has greatly deteriorated as a result of stocks of material becoming almost exhausted. 497 498

Traffic

The following table gives figures for 1937 and 1938: 497

	1937	*1938*
Passengers. . .	2,603,341	2,660,497
Passenger miles . .	118,433,207	120,620,300
Freight in tons . .	615,643	501,593
Ton miles . .	120,570,598	107,970,715
Revenue . . .	£876,411	£684,788

The principal items of freight handled were ground-nuts, shea butter, gum arabic, sisal, and fuel. [938]

/95 cont./

134 From the geological viewpoint, the soil of Sine-Saloum is silico-argillaceous, except for the edge of the sea formed by dunes of white sand. Sand predominates in the north. Everywhere else it is mixed with red clay.

135 The subsoil covers ferruginous rock, alluvial laterite, undoubtedly coming from the decomposition of granitic rock; this is the ferruginous fossil layer, following the expression of Henri Hubert, which covers the limestone and marl of the Eocene period.

Numerous outcrops of laterite appear at Kaffrine, Koungheul, in Mandack, and in Rip.

The digging of wells tells us something about the composition of the terrain forming the subsoil in this region. Under a more or less thick layer of sand, one finds laterite, then chalk or soft limestone, and finally hard limestone.

A highly varied and fossilized marine fauna has been discovered in the soft limestone at a depth of about 35, 40, 45 meters.

173 b) Historical survey. The history of the inhabitants consists of more or less confused oral traditions. No account has been handed down in writing. We can therefore only rely on narrations, sometimes contradictory, which the natives hand down orally.

The representatives of the conquering or conquered races have their own versions. It is difficult for the European to tell which part is truth or falsehood. Our penetration into
175 this part of Senegal is /96/ recent. It happened barely 80
438 years ago. At first it was fragmentary; the region was traversed by the merchant or trader at the time of the slave trade; the latter quickly returned to his base from the Petite Côte or from Gorée, the turbulence of the tribes not permitting him to stay in the region or to settle down there. A number of business establishments were founded at the end of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth, but their existence was ephemeral and in any case precarious.
175 The internal struggles between the tribes gave the region little

/122 cont./

317 Current production varies from 20,000 to 30,000 tons, which
433 are consumed in the region and exported to Senegal and the
Sudan. This Société is hampered in its development by the
[651] taxes on salt and by transportation costs which particularly
burden this product.

From time immemorial the natives have been exploiting the salt marshes at Tickat, upstream from Kaolack, and on the arms of the Saloum to the west of Fatick. They produce only what is needed for their consumption. /123/
[651] During the time of the Bours, this exploitation was the occasion for a fee in kind for the benefit of the sovereign.

433 Native industrie. In addition to the native salt marshes,
258 we might also mention the fish-drying industry. The many lagoons, marigots, and watercourses of the region contain an abundance of excellent ocean fish (polynemids, pike, skate, sole, etc.). The Niominka race, accustomed to fishing, draw a remunerative advantage from it. The drying of fish is practiced at Fatick, Foundiougne, and in Bas-Saloum. One can estimate the quantity of dried fish at close to 500
[438] tons per year. The consumption is purely local, and the markets of the circle and of neighboring circles are the usual selling places.

433 The only other local industries are those of the potters,
basket makers, and weavers. Some native blacksmiths set
463 up shop in the villages at the time of cultivation; they are,
[326] moreover, of the Ouoloff or Moorish race.

433 European industries. There is only one European in-
258 dustry in the circle. An oil factory for the processing of
groundnuts has been set up at Kaolack by Engineer Gaudart.
[648] Today this factory belongs to the Société des Huileries et Rizeries Ouest-Africaines /West African Oil Refinery and Rice Company/. Its equipment is modern. Its production is large; it
[439] sells it in the colony, in France, and in the nearby British colonies.

/401 cont./

178 occupation may be. Imported products appear only at breakfast:
*262 bread, sweetened condensed milk, lumps of sugar. The other
[264 two meals are still always composed of four products, rice,
439] millet, fish, and meat, which may be combined in different
ways, and a fifth that is always present, oil. The single element
of diversity comes from the more or less great variety and the
more or less great quantity of vegetables and manioc that are
incorporated into the traditional dishes, and, of course, the
skillful proportion of condiments of all sorts.

*511 With a few exceptions (1), the study of the expenses of
*262
[177]

1. The more important exceptions are Nos. 39 and 43. These two units of consumption have entirely adopted European food habits, and are otherwise not comparable with the others. This is why we neglect them a little on this point.

our families for food is very nearly limited, aside from bread, milk, and sugar, to a description of the variations ascertained in the consumption of these few essential products.

One can state that in general all of our families consume rice by liking and millet by necessity. Rice is the food of choice, millet entering in only when the financial situation of the family demands it, or in order all the same to provide a little variety.

243 Rice is 30 to 35% more expensive than millet. It is culti-
311 vated on a small scale in a few wet zones in the countryside
[435 around Thiès, whereas millet grows nearly everywhere. The
*[511 truly productive rice zones closest to Thiès are the Casamance
to the south and the lower course of the Senegal to the north.
On the east it appears only with the upper course of this river
and in the region /402/ drained by the Niger and its tributaries,
*262 in Guinea, and in the Sudan. In reality, it is an imported
177 product. The traditional diet of this region was primarily based
on millet.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

II. FRENCH ASSIMILATION IN PRACTICE

. . . that France above all should understand this great mission which the Lord has entrusted to her . . . by sending missions composed of men of clear courage and integrity and of superior intelligence . . . to serve as intermediaries and interpreters between these more or less savage people on the one hand and the civilisation and institutions of Europe on the other . . .

HEINRICH BARTH

IN a few short words the great German explorer Heinrich Barth summed up the ideals of French assimilationist policy in Africa. But as we have seen these ideals were to be tempered not only by the realities of colonial administration but also by the failure of the French ever to accept the full implications of an assimilationist policy. Nowhere was this clearer than in Senegal, where France carried out in one part of the country what may be described in terms of nineteenth-century colonial administration as a very advanced policy of assimilation whilst subjecting the rest of the country to an authoritarian rule unknown in British West Africa.

Senegal came into contact with the French in the early seventeenth century when French commercial companies started trading at the mouth of the river Senegal, first entered by Europeans in 1445. In 1659 Caullier founded the town of St. Louis on an island at the mouth of the river. For the rest of the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth century, the fort he built there, around which grew up a prosperous trading town dominated by the great chartered companies, was to be the centre of French commercial activity on the west coast of Africa.

Though the French did explore the Senegal river and even established a fort at Podor in 1745, they had no control of the hinterland; their sphere of influence was strictly limited to the island on which St. Louis was built and to the

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

175 small island of Gorée further down the coast. However this did not mean that the French lacked interest in the interior. From 1749-53 Michel Adanson explored the Senegalese coast and undertook the first really scientific description of West Africa. His writings were largely responsible for the later hope that European colonisation of this part of Africa would be possible. But for the rest of the eighteenth century France's hold on St. Louis was too tenuous for anything of this nature to be undertaken. Indeed during the Seven Years' War the town fell to the British and was only returned
175 in 1779. By the end of the eighteenth century St. Louis
563 with a population of 7,000, had a European colony number-
369 ing 600, the largest on the whole of the West Coast. It also
[162] had an important assimilated mulatto community, whose descendants are known today as St. Louisiens. Indeed there had been a very high degree of *métissage* by the end of the eighteenth century, since most Frenchmen there took permanent African mistresses known as *signares*, and ensured the education of any children they had by them. Indeed in all but legal status these *signares* were wives and their 'marriages' were celebrated by their families with all the pomp of a normal wedding. However, with the improvement of communications between Senegal and France and the arrival of larger numbers of soldiers in the middle of the nineteenth century, mistresses were much more temporary in nature and the number of Frenchmen prepared to educate resulting offspring was considerably reduced.

175 In 1789 St. Louis sent its *cahier* of grievances to the States-
567 General on the eve of the French Revolution, demanding the end of the monopoly of the great companies, freedom of
[439] trade and the abolition of slavery, which had hitherto formed the main item of export from St. Louis. These grievances were heeded. Slavery was abolished and the companies had their charters withdrawn. But the position of slaves and slave-trading in the colonies was not in fact settled until the end of the wars that followed the French Revolution.

175 During these wars St. Louis once again fell to the British
648

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

encourage the evangelisation of the population, he[1] was sufficiently knowledgeable about the country and its people to realise that it would be impossible to win converts from among the Muslims who formed the majority in Senegal. Scholarships for primary education in St. Louis, and secondary education in France were awarded under his auspices to promising students. Small technical schools were established at Dakar. And he even opened a museum at St. Louis.

He tried to equip the colony with some of the benefits of a modern economy. He established the Bank of Senegal, laid out St. Louis afresh as befitted a capital city, and under his influence Pinet-Laprade founded the new port of Dakar. He promoted the export of the ground-nut crop, becoming increasingly valuable to the colony's revenue which rose from 12 million francs in 1848 to 37 million in 1869, and proved a profitable substitute for human merchandise. He made valuable and detailed studies of the local people. Like Lugard he seemed to be able to think of every aspect of administration at the same time. The historian G. Hardy wrote of him: 'He touched on everything, and always with good results.' But as J. Richard-Molard commented, 'He was the first great Frenchman to realise the wish of Barth. But he did it as an officer of the Empire, endowed with an abominable character and a sense of authority which bordered on vice. He was proconsul of an authoritarian Empire.'

One decision vital for the future of the Senegal was made during the Faidherbian regime: this was the final abandonment of any ideals of European colonisation. It came at a time when the French were settling Algeria, and was not altogether altruistic, as the ministerial instructions of 1859 showed:

> Nothing similar to Algeria could be undertaken in Senegal. The climate is against it. The land should therefore be left to the natives, at least as a general rule. It is by their hands that it should be cultivated and if our rule is to be extended over all the territory

[1] [i.e., Faidherbe, who became Governor in 1854.—Gwolyn]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

till the end of the nineteenth century, neglected the Protectorate and seemed to think that the only parts of the country that mattered were the four communes. Naturally their official business with the Protectorate was limited, but they did control the three main ports of the country through which the products of the interior passed to France. The councillors, too, restricted education largely to the communes, where on the whole it reached a satisfactory level. They even sent students on scholarships to France, but unfortunately too few of these returned to Senegal to use their newly acquired talents. It was not until the establishment of the Government-General of French West Africa in 1905 that educational facilities were extended to the Protectorate in any great measure.

The increase in education amongst citizens of African origin meant that by the turn of the nineteenth century they were less willing to accept European domination in the communes and the General Council. The assertion of their rights is one of the main factors behind the attempts of the administration to deprive the indigenous Senegalese of their position as *citoyens*. Actually the Administration was batting on a good wicket. Technically a French citizen was one who accepted French rights and duties without qualification. In the case of the Africans in Senegal they had been allowed to retain their own *statut personnel*, that is private law, with reference to civil disputes, matrimony, divorce, inheritance and land. But this seemed to conflict openly with the definition of a French citizen. It seemed wrong that a man should exercise the rights of a French citizen and not accept the consequent obligations. Many Frenchmen felt it quite illogical that an African with four wives could yet be a citizen. And indeed in later years the main obstacle to granting citizenship to other colonial peoples was to be the question of retention of the *statut personnel*. Thus many of the attempts by the French to deprive the Senegalese citizens of their rights were the result of quite genuine objections to the illogicality of their position. Faidherbe,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

C48 the main drawback for Mali being the concessions she had to make over the military base at St. Louis. Far from cutting [651] Mali off without a penny as she had Guinea, France promised to continue her aid. Mali's decision to take independence marked the beginning of the end of the Franco-African Community, and indeed of France's political assimilation of her African states.

This done, the Mali Federation was all set for independence. But there were internal hurdles to overcome. Mali may well have been ruled by a unified party, but there were definite differences between Soudanese and Senegalese. Soudan was the larger, more populous territory, but the poorer. It was much more left wing and politically was run very much more strictly than Senegal. The party controlled everything. To appreciate this one must remem- [665] ber that the *R.D.A.* was initially allied to the Communists and had adopted their cell technique for its own party organisation. This system of administration proved most effective and explains why Sékou Touré was able to keep so firm a hold on Guinea after the French had gone. Senegal, however, after three centuries of contact with the French, was much more affected by French ideas of liberty [641] and certainly found this rather ruthless element in its Soudanese partner disturbing. For instance at the constitutional conference preceding independence the Soudanese demanded that a unitary state be created, and that the excess burden of two territorial governments be removed. They also wanted a president with strong powers like those enjoyed by de Gaulle. The Senegalese, who saw many dangers to themselves in such a constitution protested successfully on the moral grounds that it would prevent other states from joining Mali—which was after all the federation's main *raison d'être*. The Senegalese won the day after bitter wrangling. Of course, though Senegal as the richer partner effectively subsidised the federation, she had her own interests in maintaining it since Soudan exported [439] its ground-nuts along the railway from Bamako to Dakar.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648
[439]

Certain left-wing elements in Soudan had already insinuated that if the Senegalese made trouble, they could easily build a railway line from Bamako to Kankan, the railhead in Guinea, or send their ground-nuts down the road to Bobo Dioulasso and thence by rail to Abidjan. If no Eastern bloc power were forthcoming to help them to do this, they said they could always do it by communal effort.

Despite these differences, independence was achieved on 20 June 1960. On the surface all seemed well. But there was in fact considerable tension and only two months after independence the federation broke up. Matters came to a head when Modibo Keita tried to remove Mamadou Dia, the Vice President, from his post as Minister of Federal Security and Armed Forces, a post the Senegalese felt it was necessary to hold as a guarantee for their participation in the federation. Modibo also tried to call out the army to assert his authority as President. Meanwhile, unknown to the Soudanese, Senghor and the Senegalese ministers had decided that the federation was unworkable in the circumstances and on the morning of 20 June, Modibo Keita and the other Soudanese ministers found themselves under house arrest and the whole of Dakar under the control of the *gendarmerie* and armed supporters of Senghor who had been brought in from the bush. The same day they were packed off by rail and air to Bamako. The details of the break-up need not concern us here. The reasons for it are confused. Each partner in the federation has its own version of the story. The contemporary vocabulary of political abuse has been used to the full by both partners ever since. What is important are not the machinations of one side against the other, but the fundamental defects in the federation. First of all the two states found it almost impossible to co-operate within the framework of an ill and hastily devised constitution. Second it was unfortunately a federation of only two states, meaning that with unbalance of population—Soudan was larger in size and population, but much poorer and

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 for which no trained African staff is available. There is a
369 wide range of professional occupations, but private enter-
[463] prise by individuals is largely restricted to higher-class shopkeeping and the running of bars and restaurants. Most of the export and import trade is still in the hands of
[439] the large commercial houses controlled from France as distinct from individual Frenchmen in Dakar.

Relations between the African and European communities have been remarkably good. There have been no really significant racial conflicts in Dakar since the war. But relations are *negatively* good. That is to say that there is almost no contact between the two groups outside work. The French in Dakar, despite the official assimilationist policy of the mother country, have shown little inclination to extend it on a personal plane during their sojourn in Dakar. On the other hand when they were officially representatives of the colonial Power they rarely attempted to enforce discrimination against Africans. Apart from the time of the unfortunate Vichy episode there has never been any open discrimination in Dakar. Africans always had legal access to all places the French had, though inevitably there were a number of private associations such as the *Amicales des Provinces Françaises* which excluded Africans by definition though never by statute. A visitor might be tempted to think that the absence of Africans from the French-style cafés in the main streets of Dakar indicated some subtle form of discrimination, but in fact any African entering would be served, and the sparseness of African clientele is determined by economic and social reasons. Drinks are enormously expensive in such bistros, and few
[162] Muslims, who form the majority of the population in Dakar,
[779] care to be seen drinking in public. Nevertheless it is true that proprietors of certain bars do their best to maintain a white clientele.

There is a certain residential separation, once more largely determined by economics. The expensive European

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Goree

everything seems to have been built within the last half-century, an island like Gorée, full of historical sites, stands to remind one how long Africa and Europe have been in contact. Gorée itself has been controlled by many masters: the Portuguese from 1444–1595, the Dutch 1597–1677; the French and British at intervals from 1677–1817, when the island was finally ceded to the French by the Treaty of Paris. Many famous explorers including Nuno Tristão, Fernando Po, Bartholomew Dias and Vasco da Gama and Christopher Columbus, as well as scholars like Camoens and St. Francis Xavier, stayed on the island. A small church was built by Diogo d'Azembuja, the architect of the fort of Elmina on the Gold Coast. The Dutch used Gorée for their trade with the Gold Coast and India, though later it became to its various owners important as a slaving post, as the gracious Maison des Esclaves, built between 1776–1778, witnesses. I was taken there two years ago by an African guide, through a low, damp tunnel into some squalid little cells whose only source of light was from a small grille facing on to the sea; below was a sheer drop on to Atlantic breakers. Into those cells slavers bundled hundreds of miserable wretches, seized from their villages, as often as not by other Africans. There they were imprisoned, their feet held by the heavy balls and chains that still littered the floor, until a ship was ready to take them to the New World. Often more than half of them died on the Middle Passage, and many died waiting in this house because of cold and damp, or just the lack of will to live.

However, in 1794, when Gorée was in French hands, the Revolutionary Convention abolished slavery, and accordingly deprived Gorée of its main source of income. But in 1802 the law was repealed, only to be reinforced again in 1817, so that ironically Gorée, which had been built into a naval base and the administration headquarters of French West Africa, became a major centre for the suppression of the slave trade.

Towards the end of the century Gorée declined at Dakar's expense. By 1929, from having been one of the Quatre Communes, the others being St. Louis, Rufisque and Dakar, sending representatives to the French National Assembly and enjoying equal rights with Frenchmen, it had so declined in importance that it was incorporated into the Municipality of Dakar.

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 Louis stagnated[14] and Gorée declined,
633 losing people at the expense of Dakar and
175 Rufisque; Rufisque grew rapidly, as the
[162] port for the ground-nut. Dakar entered
[439] a period of prosperity at the turn of the
century.[15] During the late 19th century
the composition of the population already
was beginning to change fairly rapidly,
especially in the expanding centers, but
the old core of urban population con-
tinued to hold a dominant place, not
only in urban life but also in the colony
of Senegal as a whole, whose constitution
had come into effect. The people of
St. Louis most notably served as essential
instruments of the colonization effort.

This dominance was expressed very
clearly in the political realm. The coastal
cities, in contrast to the interior cities
and rural areas, had been introduced to
the structure and organization through
which modern political life is conducted
long before the reforms of 1946. Political
activity of the modern type was first
limited to the European settlers but was
soon extended to the mixed-blood element
[563] and then to the Negro population. Begin-
ning in the late 18th century, St. Louis
had a mayor, always a mixed-blood, who
served as intermediary between the gov-
ernor and the populace. In 1789 the
[668] colony participated in metropolitan polit-
ical activities, sending to the States-
General a petition of grievances that de-
manded commercial freedom — *i.e.*,
abolition of the Company monopoly —
and the end of slavery. A satisfactory
agreement was reached among employees
of the Company, European businessmen,
and mixed-blood businessmen, but it was
never brought to fruition; a period of
disorder set in and persisted until the
rebirth of the colony in 1815.

[641] In 1833 French citizenship was con-
ferred upon all free inhabitants of St.
Louis and Gorée by royal decree. Citizen-
ship was extended to all inhabitants of

[P.7B]

/73 cont./

175 369 499 133 The surveys for the future course of this railway revealed that the shortest route would have to follow the Atlantic coast, but since this is bordered by dunes it would necessitate some important construction work. The passage across the slope of Thiès was also a serious obstacle, but the "Ravin des Voleurs" made access to the plateau possible; the line would thus follow the valley which cuts the brow of the hill, then the depression which follows the plateau to the east, and would pass in front of the military fort established at its extremity.

175 369 [361] The fortune of Thiès was made: as early as 1885, the date of the opening of the railroad, the merchants of Rufisque set up branches there; a plan for dividing the future city into lots was outlined. This plan, unfortunately, foresaw the development of the city only north of the line, along the trail connecting Thiès with Rufisque and Dakar. A Catholic [797] mission was established in the vicinity, and in 1893 the first civil administrator occupied the new residence built near the Faidherbe redoubt.

175 369 439 [496] [492] The groundnut policy developed successfully; 20,000 tons of groundnuts were shipped by rail from the Thiès station in 1890 (3). Commerce, however, was not established in

3. Convoys of camels competed with the railway up to 1910 and transported their cargo to the port of Rufisque. Thiès was the last stop before reaching the quays of embarkation 50 kilometers away.

[366] [441] permanent fashion in the escale: only during the period of trading (from November to May) did the European employees sent by the firms of Rufisque live in the city and buy groundnuts, millet, cotton ... at their branches; from May to November they returned to Rufisque, and most of the shops in Thiès were closed, the city seemingly dead.

244 /14/
242 of training. This is one of the essential preoccupations of
654 the present Sengalese government.

II. The "Trade" of Groundnuts

433 For a century the total volume of production has pro-
244 gressed in spectacular fashion. Actually, no statistics are available at the harvesting stage. Only the commercial figures are known with any accuracy. In any case they differ little from the total figure of production because local consumption seems to be of little importance. It is estimated that the average production of groundnuts from 1900 to 1904 was 123,000 metric tons. The more recent figures are the following: 1938-1939 campaign, 584,000 metric tons; 1942-1943 compaign, 183,000 metric tons; 1943-1944 campaign, 281,000 metric tons; 1957-1958 campaign, 808,000 metric tons; 1958-1959 campaign, 653,000 metric tons; 1959-1960 campaign, 720,000 metric tons.

Except for the period of the war, when the production of
● [439] groundnuts, difficult to export, decreased to the profit of that of millet, progress was continuous, the 1957-1958 campaign being exceptionally favorable.

439 This production enters into the circuit of commercialization or "trade," which today is very strictly regulated.

[178] 1. The organization of "trade." The commercialization of the groundnut has replaced the "trade" in gum, slaves, and gold of the former colonial system. Although the term is still often used, its present context is very different from the
439 acceptation of the era of the colonial pact. Trade is no longer,
441 as Littré wished it to be, an exchange trade organized almost
438 exclusively for the benefit of the European "trader"; today it is a commercial activity that is strictly regulated as to time and place and open only to approved intermediaries.

442 1.) The "campaign." "The campaign" is the period
654
438

/14 cont./

442 during which commercial operations in groundnuts are authorized.
654 It is opened and closed each year by governmental decree. In
438 general it begins at the end of November or the beginning of December and closes at the end of April. The date of opening the campaign is set about two months after the beginning of the harvest, in order to avoid premature uprooting and to favor
438 the reimbursement of the seed advanced. This system never-
442 theless leads to some smuggling in the south, because the
[439] navétanes, anxious to return home, and the peasants, without any money, are tempted to sell in Gambia. At the time of the close, the transactions have been over for a long time, but this decision prevents the eventual sale /15/ of the seed distributed by the Mutuelles. In order to have the commodity brought in gradually and to avoid heavy transactions at the beginning of trade, operations are suspended from Friday to Monday. Nevertheless by the end of the month of January nearly all of the harvest has been negotiated.

366 2) The "points of trade." Since 1932 the operations of
442 selling must take place in the localities called points of trade
438 or "escales" located on the railroad or a road (Circular of 13 July 1932). These points of trade, which were 175 in number in 1935, now number more than 300. The limitation, in 1932, on the number of the points of trade was a response to the desire to moderate the rhythm of the selling and to avoid the proliferation of intermediaries. The recent creation of new escales is
[244] devoted to the conquest of new lands and is an attempt to avoid the abuses of cultivation on the lands near the former points of trade.

The accession of a locality to the rank of escale makes
[369] it legally an urban center, with the obligation of division into lots /lotissement/ and, for the merchants, permanent buildings. The campaign is a period of great animation for the escale.
442 The merchants or traders open their bank of purchase or "factory."
437 Traditionally, intermediaries, or "masters of language," conduct
[492] the producer to the factory. The groundnuts, transported by don-
[488] keys and in bags loaned by the trader, are weighed and emptied

/15 cont./

442 437 [992] [488] [452] [443] [438] into the secco, an area with a floor of hard earth or cement, closed off by sheet metal. The agriculturalist, paid forthwith, immediately spends the sum received, in settling the sums owed to the trader and in buying from among the manufactured objects of the same factory the most diverse articles: cloth, playthings, articles for bicycles, etc. Thus the same trader realizes two profits in the traditional system.

3) The agents of trade. Until the Second World War, 439 441 442 438 the trade in groundnuts was in the hands of about 3,000 private traders organized in a strict hierarchy. At the top, the trade was controlled by the large import-export houses, especially of Bordeaux origin, Maurel et Prom, Peyrissac, Vézia, etc., to which was added the C. F. A. O. of Marseilles origin, and the S. C. O. A. Franco-Switzerland. These firms, whose central agencies for Senegal are in Dakar, make arrangements for the "banks" and "agencies" in the principal localities, for "factories" in the escales, and for "operations" in the bush. These commercial houses concentrate the purchases of their various traders and provide them with imported products. They are supported during the campaign by the banks of the mother country or their agencies in Senegal.

441 442 438 The independent French merchants, often former employees of the firms, play the role of intermediary /demi-grossiste/ in the escales. /16/ They buy directly from the producers or from the African sub-trader and bag and forward /the product/ to the commercial houses in the shipping ports. They have been very harshly affected by the economic crisis of the 1930's and then [563] by the war, in particular by the mobilization, which facilitated the establishment of many Lebano-Syrian traders.

The treaties of 1919 facilitated the arrival in Africa of [563] these Lebano-Syrians. They devote themselves essentially to commerce, and they have on the whole succeeded, because, living near the autochthons, they have adopted their way of life and are contented with much less than the independent 442 443 438 Europeans. During the trade, they are generally commission agents of the firm that they represent. They receive a commission for each metric ton of groundnuts purchased, and sell in

/19 cont./

434 obtained by the ratio of the index of the F.O.B. price of
435 groundnuts to the balanced index of the various import products, led to a more encouraging situation: on a base of 100 for 1949, the ratio of exchange in 1958 would be 114.5 in favor of the Senegalese producer. M. Barbier concludes: "The ratio of exchange for the Senegalese producer has /20/ been improved; the difference in it can be confirmed in most of the underdeveloped areas."

Actually all of these calculations are theoretical, and, on the whole, the living standard of the producer has remained low. The "average" cultivato[illegible]tivating about a hectare, receives less than 20,000 francs C.F.A. for an average yield of 800 kilograms. This sum is modest, and, it must be added, at the time of selling an important part
[452] goes for the settlement of debts in cash and especially in kind, contracted during the winter with the trader at a very high interest rate. It is estimated that the total of these credits represents 20% of the value of the harvest.

435 This fixing of the price at production considerably
439 reduces the fluctuations of the market, which in fact is governed by the needs of the former mother country.

2) The groundnut market depends on the needs of France. One cannot speak of competition at the selling stage in a market where the purchase prices paid to the producer are authoritatively fixed. In fact the demand essentially depends on Frenc[illegible]eds, as is decidedly expressed in the decree of 13 November 1954 which regulates the importation of oleaginous products in the mother country. Senegal can export to it a quota of 225,000 metric tons oil-equivalent, at a guaranteed minimum price and duty free. This pri[illegible] may vary within narrow limits, around 5%. The regularization of the market is handled by an official body, the Société interprofessionnelle des oléagineux fluides alimentaires (S.I.O.F.A.), solely qualified to import from foreign countries in order to depress prices and bring them back under

/20 cont./

435 439 the maximum price in periods of shortages. On the other hand this body supports the market prices when they are under the minimum price in a period of overproduction, thanks to a maintenance fund provided for by a tax of 2.50 N.F. per metric ton of decorticated groundnuts imported.

Nevertheless, apart from the quota absorbed by the mother country and the satisfaction of local needs, during certain campaigns, 1957-1958, for example, there is a problem of the disposal of large surpluses. At the beginning of 1958, 102,000 metric tons of decorticated groundnuts were available, unpledged by the S.I.O.F.A. In order to ensure disposal, while respecting the price at production, the public authorities created at Dakar, in February 1958, a stabilization body such as exists for coffee and cacao. This body, taking a sixth of the export duty on groundnuts and oil, and a professional assessment, could make good a part of the difference between the world price and that of the franc zone, the remainder being taken care of by the mother country. This body is still far from possessing the financial power of the "Marketing Boards" of Nigeria.

/21/ Just as the public authorities could intervene effectively in a period of abundance, they also had occasion to settle provisionally a dispute between purchasers during the deficient campaign of 1954-1955.

258 435 439 3) Competition between purchasers and the agreement of January 1956. The Senegalese oil-factories, having become very powerful after the war, are prone to acquire great tonnages, which could only lead to competition and conflict with the traditional purchasers for the mother country in a year of shortage. This is what happened during the 1954-1955 campaign, when the harvest amounted to only 390,000 metric tons. Not bound to respect the price set by the intervention of the S.I.O.F.A., the local oil-makers made the price rise. The protests of the buyers for the mother country let to the intervention of the Haut-Commissariat, which fixed 330,000 metric tons of

/21 cont./

258 435 439 groundnuts in shells as the quota assigned to local industries, with the distribution among them to be based on their activities of the previous years.

In order to avoid any repetition of such conflicts, the oil-makers of the mother country and their colleagues in Senegal on 17 January 1956 reached an agreement valid for five years. The local oil-makers can buy 420,000 metric tons of groundnuts in the shell. On the other hand, they can forward to France, under exemption, within the framework of the quota of 225,000 metric tons, only 10,000 metric tons of refined oil. The greatest part of their exports is represented by crude oil exported in accordance with bipartisan agreements by manufacturers of the mother country, on the basis of a price C.F.A. established according to the market price of oil for consumption in France.

III. The Place of the Groundnut in the Present-day Senegalese Economy

258 439 The above reference to the activity of the Senegalese oil-makers now permits the groundnut to be placed in the framework of an economy which has ceased to be solely colonial and which is employed to valorize the product exported.

1. The valorization of exports: decortication. A comparison of the details of the exports of 1935 with those of 1958 is truly eloquent: in fact the exports of groundnuts in shells, which represented 335,000 metric tons in 1935, have disappeared in 1958, while those of the decorticated product have gone from 16,000 to 330,000 metric tons during the same period. At export the transport of the crude product signified that of 28% of the weight in sterile matter, and the attempts to utilize this as fertilizer or for the making of paper were unsuccessful. After the war the acute shortage of maritime tonnage made the practice of decortication general. It is done today at different /22/ stages in the circuit of the groundnut: the place of production, the points of trade, and the

/22 cont./

258 439 ports, especially Kaolack. It is practiced by semi-industrial enterprises, usually dependent on the great commercial houses or the oil-factories, which utilize the decortication frame or tray, shaking tables, and blowers. This operation, which employs many laborers, permits a charge of about one franc C.F.A. per kilo of groundnuts in shells. It nevertheless imposes some problems: that of the rate of decortication, which varies from one campaign to another, around 71%, and that of the risk of acidification. The decorticated product deteriorates quite quickly, and, depending on the times of the campaign, a rate of acidification of more than [435] 3% or 5% causes a reduction in price.

258 Decortication is in fact only a preparation of the raw material. It is the presence today of the powerful oil-factories, constituting the essential part of its industry, that symbolizes the anxiety of Senegal to valorize on its soil its greatest wealth.

2. The Senegalese oil-factory. The industry of the oil-factory is a recent industry in Senegal. The first factory established was that of the Société életrique et industrielle du Baol at Djourbel in 1920. Then, after 1930, with the factory of the Huileries et Savonneries de l'Ouest Africain [388] /West African Oil and Soap Factories/, and especially the Etablissements Petersen, this industry came to Dakar. Nevertheless, until the war, its development was impeded by the protective measures taken at the demand of the oil-factories in the mother country: an export duty of 187 francs per quintal of oil in 1936; and a quota of only 5,800 metric tons, admitted free of import duty, in 1938. The war caused this regulation to disappear, and in 1942-1944 the great factory "Lesieur-Afrique" was established in Dakar.

258 433 After the war, the oil industry modernized its equipment and added to its capacity for trituration, which today amounts to about 500,000 metric tons of peanuts in shells, corresponding to a maximum production of about 165,000 metric tons of oil. Today, 125,000 metric tons of the

/22 cont./

258 product, usually crude, each year leaves the Senegalese
[433] factories, which thus operate under their productive capacity.
[439] About 110,000 metric tons are exported. The traditional technique of manufacture by pressure, with recovery of the oil cake, or "expellers," is being replaced more and more by the procedure with solvents, slightly increasing the rate of extraction of oil, but providing poor oil-cake.

This industry of the oil-factory if now localized in five urban centers: Dakar, Lyndiane, Djourbel, Kaolack, and
[464] Ziguinchor. It employs more than 3,000 wage earners, nearly
[563] 300 of whom are European technicians; on the basis of this it is the primary industry /23/ of Senegal, and the more so since
[388] it has had annexed to it the complementary industry of soap-making, which produced more than 15,000 metric tons of soap from the neutralization paste.

258 The development of the Sengalese industry of oil-making
433 represents a considerable evolution of the economy of the
[439] country, since the groundnut has ceased to be a product of trade in the colonial sense of the term. In fact, the product that traditionally constitutes the great agricultural resource has become the principal raw material of local industry; more than ever, the groundnut keeps Senegal alive.

433 3: The essential position of the groundnut in the economy
241 of Senegal. "Whether or not it is desirable, the economy of Senegal can revolve only with the help of the production of groundnuts." This phrase by M. Porteres sums up the essential position of the product in the local economy. In 1957, for the
[439] whole of former Mali, the total value of the exports rose to 21,085 billions of francs C.F.A., the products of the groundnut accounting for 18,257 billions of this sum, of which more than 15 billions was for Senegal alone. At the same time, of
[162] 2,230,000 inhabitants of Senegal, only 58,700 were non-agricul-
433 however, many of them are supported by them indirectly, in tural workers, that is, non-producers of groundnuts. Actually, trade, transport, or industry. It is not exaggerated to affirm

/23 cont./

433 that the great majority of the inhabitants of Senegal draw their only monetary resources from the groundnut.

651 For the Senegalese state, the groundnut plays an essential role in the budgetary resources. Without speaking of the various domestic imposts, the products of the groundnut, upon leaving the territory, support multiple duties and taxes: the fiscal export duty varies from 10% to 12% of the value of the product, according to its degree of elaboration; the taxes of inspection and condition are from 1.2% to 1.5%, and, finally, the groundnuts pay the fixed tax of 5.4% on transactions. In addition to these different duties, there are the assessment for the support funds, which is 700 francs C.F.A. per metric ton of groundnuts in shells, and the dues for the local stabilization fund, which vary from 175 francs C.F.A. per metric ton of the product in shells to 500 francs per metric ton of refined oil.

[435] These various imposts correspond to more than 25% of the purchase price given to the producer for the product in shells. In 1957 the taxes gathered on the groundnuts for the [652] benefit of the Senegalese treasury exceeded a total of four billions C.F.A., when the budget proper of the territory for the same year was 8.1 billions.

439 433 Conclusion. The present situation permits a conclusion on the notion of "industrial monocultivation of the groundnut in Senegal." For some, it is /24/ regrettable to write in the passive about the economy of trade; for others it is the criterion of the passage of Senegal into the sphere of a commercialized economy, although in this case based on a single product, since, unlike such countries as the Ivory Coast, the attempts to develop other crops for speculation have not been successful here.

This economy of the groundnut, however, is at a turning point today, due to the evolution of the relations between Senegal and France and the existence of the common market.

In the framework of the former political system, and

/24 cont./

439
433

then that of the franc zone, the groundnut of Senegal was traded outside of the world market for the product and could be integrated into it only at the cost of serious disturbances, ~~as~~ a consequence of its very high market price, to these practices when the transactions were made in foreign markets. In 1959, after the two successive devaluations in 1957 and 1958, the French consumer again consented to a sacrifice of 27 old domestic francs per kilo of decorticated groundnuts from Senegal in relation to the world price of the product. From this figure one can deduce that the passage of the Senegalese groundnut into the world circuit would be expressed by a lowering of nearly 30 % of the value of the harvest, that is, of the monetary revenue of the producers, and by a perceptible diminution of the fiscal receipts, if one presupposes the suppression of certain duties, in order to bring together as much as possible the local export price and the world price. The suppression of the private traders and of their margin of profit and the sale of food products or of foreign manufactures at a price lower than that of similar French products, which one can envisage in case of a rupture, do not seem capable of compensating for the lack of gain to the producer no longer benefiting from stable supported prices. In fact, the system of a free association between the Senegalese producer and the French buyer, and for the former a regime of stability and supported prices, and guaranteed sales, would seem to be the wisest solution.

The other problem is that of the existence of the European Common Market, of which France is a member. By virtue of the agreements of Venice of March 1956, an association with the overseas territories of the member nations is anticipated by Article 131 of the treaties. Although the reservations of some African politicians, non-signatories of the treaties, seem justified, nothing remains except that the treaty of Rome seems to offer some interesting prospects for the Senegalese economy. The five partners of France are hardly interested in the groundnuts of Senegal for various reasons. Federal Germany and The Netherlands purchase oleagineous materials at a low price on the world market in the

/24 cont./

439
433

framework of their commercial activities. Moreover, they are especially great consumers of margarine. Belgium /25/ is concerned about protecting its daily herds and, up to now, the products of the Congo. Finally, Italy gives priority to olive oil. In fact the coincidence of the French shortage of oleaginous materials and the largely excess production of Senegal can lead, within the spirit of the treaty and without contradiction, from the common policy anticipated for certain agricultural products (Art. 39) to the definition of the groundnut as a basic French oleaginous commodity, with the formation of a support fund maintained essentially by France. M. Adler concludes: "On the one side there is sought a product that on the other side no one wants" (5).

[113]

5. Adler, J., "Le Mali et l'archide /Mali and the groundnut/," Marches tropicaux, No. 745, 20 February 1960, pp. 497-498.

On the other hand it seems that in the case of union Senegal could anticipate, through the increasing competition between the local products of the six member countries, an appreciable lowering of the price of articles imported from Europe, from which there is a possibility of an increase in the purchasing power of the groundnut producer, in any case assured of getting a stable income from his harvest, except in the case of very serious natural calamities.

In conclusion it seems, as M. Barbier emphasizes, that for Senegal in the present circumstances the policy of bigamy is preferable to that of divorce.

Yves Pehaut.

369
175
[113]

/373 cont./

presqu'île du Cap-Vert,"
op. cit., p. 274

square kilometer nevertheless satisfied a double /374/ /Fig. 1 appears here / concern of the Hollanders, security and commerce: security first for the ships, which could find an excellent anchorage in the bay on the northeast of the island, immediately so appreciated that its excellence -- Goede reede, "the good roadstead" in Dutch -- served to designate the establishment under the name of Gorée (8) in distinguishing

[103]

8. Nora and Ch. Toupet,
"L'origine du nom de Gorée,"
in Notes Africaines, January 1959,
pp. 17-20, I.F.A.N., Dakar.

[113]

it from the other islands of the peninsula; and then, security for the occupants. From this point of view, the insularity would have been a great advantage for the site of Dakar. Finally, with regard to commerce, the island of Gorée, although minuscule, sufficed for barter with the natives of the coast and could well fill its role as a warehouse for products and slaves. As soon as these views were confirmed by the facts, Gorée became the object of competition among the Hollanders, French, and British, finally coming to the French. In spite of this changing of hands, the establishment of Gorée, thanks to the slave trade, /375/ prospered, and around 1845 it harbored more than 5,000 persons. The abolition of the trade, and then that of slavery, around the middle of the century dealt it a mortal blow, bringing about a crisis from which Gorée did not recover. There was indeed an attempt at adaptation to the new conditions, the Goréans trying to make the island a place for commerce with the continent, where the cultivation of the groundnut had already developed, but on this point Gorée could not rival the peninsula. The inhabitants understood it; there were those who encouraged the occupation of Dakar with the idea

[439]
[162]
[567]

/376 cont./

369
504

1927 and 1933 in the northern zone, where laying out a platform intended for groundnuts was undertaken with the construction of three new piers, one of which was intended for traffic in combustibles. Finally, a maritime wet-dock was installed in the southern zone (11).

11. Coursin (L.) op. cit., p. 278.

Moreover, these new works did not end the construction of the port. Outfitting and new arrangements continued up to the eve of the Second World War and were taken up again immediately afterwards, making the port the complex organ that it is today: /377/ 6,904 meters of quays, of which 2,794 have depths of 20 meters and more, 2,103 meters with depths of 8 to 9 meters, 580 meters with depths of 6.50 to 7.50 meters, and, finally, 1,427 meters reserved for small boats, the total providing quay posts for 31 ships at a time; a water surface of 210 hectares; 682,000 square meters of platforms, of which 53,940 square meters are covered; and, finally, 240,000 square meters of storage space for hydrocarbides (12). These

[113]

12. Synthèse de la situation économique de l'ex-A.O.F. durant la période 1948 à 1958, Vol. IV, p. 712. Publication of the Chambre de Commerce, d'Agriculture et d'Industrie de Dakar.

are the essential elements of the infrastructure of the port of Dakar, which has become a very effective instrument, fully valorizing a favorable location at the crossroads of the heavily traveled maritime routes. Dakar thus receives ships from practically all of the countries possessing a merchant marine; only the flags of Saudi Arabia, Iran, China, and Russia do not wave in the port of Dakar.

[439]

This great frequentation comes about first from the fact

/377 cont./

369 that Dakar is designated above all as a port d'escale, "a service
439 station," of the tropical Atlantic, provisioning the ships with
504 water and, above all, combustibles; the latter, represented in former times by coal in particular, are now almost entirely made up of hydrocarbides, the export and import traffic of which sometimes represents more than double that of merchandise: 211.1% in 1954, 233.6% in 1955, 186% in 1959.

369 But, beyond this role as a port d'escale, Dakar thrust ahead
439 as a metropolis, governing a large region. In fact it is via Dakar
487 that food products (rice, flour, sugar, etc.), cloth and thread, industrial products, etc. come in, principally destined for Senegal, Mauritania, and the Sudan, which, in return, send groundnuts, gum, hides wax, etc. to it for export. This situation is the result of struggles in the recent past between Dakar and the old mari-
[505] time or river ports which shared the light traffic of former times. The construction of the port and modern means of communication with the interior permitted Dakar to eliminate its rivals very quickly.

369 The establishment of Gorée, caught in a crisis since the
[505] abolition of slavery, despite the resistance, at first active and then passive, of its municipality (13), has been practically

[113] 13. In the work by J. Charpy (La Fondation de Dakar /The Founding of Dakar/, Larose, Paris, 1958), there is a series of documents on the various aspects of this resistance.

eliminated from the economic circuit since the accomplishment of the great work of the commercial port. Business then emigrated
[162] to the continent, while the city went to sleep, losing more and more of its population; from 3,200 inhabitants in 1872, it went to 2,068 in 1891, 1,249 in 1910, 998 in 1921, so that the com-
[633] mune was abolished and attached to Dakar in 1929, and then the entire island was classified as a historical monument in 1944.

/377 cont./

369 The reconstitution of the municipality in 1956, a simple elec-
633 toral operation, proved /378/ /Fig. 2 appears here/ to be in-
capable of giving life to Gorée; at the beginning of 1961 it was
forced to reattach itself to Dakar, for which it is nothing more
than a tourist annex. Nevertheless, due to the crisis in housing
[362] in Dakar, it offers its old houses to workers from the victorious
great city.

369 The elimination of the other rival centers was not as easy,
but no less radical. The railroad linking Dakar and Saint-Louis,
505 finished in 1885, did not immediately bring about the decline
496 of the old Senegalese capital. On the contrary, asleep since
487 entry up the river became impossible because of the increase in
tonnage of the ships, it seems to have gained a revival of activity,
especially after the construction of the Kayes-Niger section of
the railroad at the end of the century. In fact the products des-
[439] tined for the Sudan or coming from there, which took the path
of the Senegal River, were subjected to an obligatory freight-
break there, which made Saint-Louis a quite important mart.
But the construction of the Thiès-Kayes railroad after the First
World War and the /379/development of automobile traffic had
the effect, on the one hand, of directly annexing the Sudan to
the zone of influence of Dakar, and, on the other hand, of iso-
lating Saint-Louis and the old escales /trading centers/ of the
Senegal River and accelerating their economic decline (Fig. 2).
369 Bakel, Matam, Podor, and Dagana are no more than administra-
[633] tive centers without any great economic activity. Saint-Louis,
continuing as the capital of Senegal, preserved an appearance of
vitality longer. But in 1957 Dakar robbed it of this function to
the great despair of its population, which, after a phase of vio-
lent opposition, complains today in a passive resistance that the
tokens of sympathy and the promises expressed a thousand times
in the official speeches of the state authorities do not come to
anything.

369 As for Rufisque, for a long time it had more economic
505 trump cards than Dakar. In fact, when the port had not yet been
439 constructed at Dakar, it was more advantageous to load the

/379 cont./

102
496
508
504
491
361

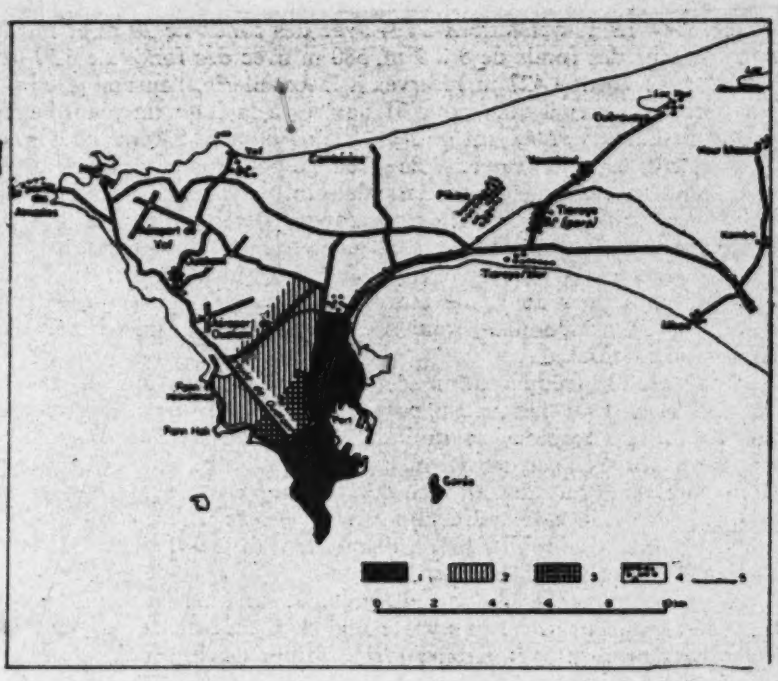


Fig. 2. The quarters of Dakar. --1. Dakar-ville and the industrial zone; 2. Greater Dakar; 3. Médina; 4. villages of the suburbs; 5. railroads.

369 groundnuts at Rufisque, nearer to the centers of production in
505 Cayor. Therefore Rufisque soon became the groundnut capital.
439 As early as 1862, 27 European or Gorêan merchants were estab-
[441] lished there (and 12 at Bargny, located three kilometers farther to the east). Three years later, this figure climbed to 35 (14).

14. Note 1 in Fondation de Dakar, op. cit., p. 328.

369
633 The activity at Rufisque was so great and the launching of Dakar so

/379 cont./

369 difficult that the commandant of Gorée, Pinet-Laprade, in a
633 letter of 9 May 1862 (15), proposed to the governor of Senegal

15. Archives of the G. G. A. O. F.
4 B 20, 13 G 299, L 9, in Fondation
de Dakar, op. cit., pp. 327-329.

that the authority of the settlement of Rufisque be abolished in order to avoid stifling Dakar. Evidently Pinet-Laprade was not followed, and the declassing of Rufisque, which nevertheless was to intervene later, was the result of a bitter struggle. As
369 soon as it was possible to draw up alongside the quay at the port
505 of Dakar, Rufisque lost the advantage of its situation, which had
504 permitted a saving, in relation to Dakar, of some 30 kilometers of land travel. Actually, this drawing up to the quay by the ships ended the slow transshipments which caused a great loss of
[633] time at Rufisque. Therefore, as early as about 1930, Rufisque had been declassed; in 1933, after the construction of the groundnut platform at the port of Dakar, it did not load more than 10% of the harvest of Senegal, as against 28% at Dakar. Today no maritime loading is done at Rufisque, and the city maintains some economic activity only by grace of a new orientation tending to make it an industrial annex of Dakar.

369 Thus, the elimination of rivals has resulted in a tendency
505 for all of the activity of collecting the products of Senegal,
Mauritania, and the Sudan to be concentrated at a single pole.
●439 Only two ports, Kaolack and Ziguinchor, have succeeded in maintaining themselves /380/ and even developing themselves as ports of direct importation and exportation. In 1933 Kaolack exported 52% of the Senegalese harvest of groundnuts, and Ziguinchor nearly 10%, while Dakar had only 28%. Specifically, in addition to a regional exportation equal to half of the Senegalese harvest, Kaolack handled the rail shipments of a large part of the production of eastern Senegal and even of the Sudan. In the case of Ziguinchor, it handled the production of Casamance, which has no other export port. Today the conversion of the

/380 cont./

369 505 439 groundnut before exportation has given Dakar an undisputed advantage over Kaolack. In 1957 the exports of groundnut products (shelled groundnuts, oil cake, oil), which represented only about a twentieth of the total traffic of merchandise in the port of Dakar, was more than the total of the import and export traffic of Kaolack (292,000 metric tons as against 220,000 metric tons). In any case neither Kaolack nor Ziguinchor, both located on rivers which are difficult to enter because of the shifting banks of sand or mud, can be dangerous rivals in any way for Dakar, which, because of this, practically thrusts itself on all of Senegal, Mauritania, and the Sudan. On the other hand, Dakar dominates from afar the three other large maritime ports of former French West Africa, Conakry, Abidjan, and Cotonou, whose total traffic in 1957 equaled only about three-fifths of the traffic of Dakar.

369 [433] But even though the port is the basic instrument of the power of Dakar, there are other additional elements that reinforce this power.

369 509 [487] First there is the place that Dakar occupies in the sphere of aviation. Since the first direct connection with France via the Mediterranean coast of Spain, Morocco, and Mauritania (16), its role has not ceased to grow on the international plane.

16. Marcel M. Chariter, "Dakar, port aérien," op. cit., p. 84.

The hydrobase of Bel-Air and the airport of Ouakam, which served the first trans-Atlantic airplanes, are outclassed today [508] by the great airport of Yoff, which was begun in 1940. Well equipped, this airport of international class and one of the largest airports of Africa is by far the most important one in former French West Africa, accounting by itself in 1957 for a fourth of the airplanes (arrivals and departures), a third of the passengers embarking or debarking in former French West Africa, and half of the passengers in transit. For certain directions, such as South America, the passengers from all of West Africa must embark at Dakar.

/380 cont./

ooo at Dakar.

369 648 [433] Even more than in the sphere of aviation, however, it is on the commercial and industrial plane that the other states of former French West Africa were, before the recent political disturbances, dependent on Dakar. In fact Dakar was the seat [453] of the banks and of the commercial associations or the branch agencies of the mother country, all of whom /Pl. XXI and XXII [441] appear here on unnumbered pages/ /381/exercise from Dakar, if not always a role of direct administration, at least some co-ordination and in any case an influence that is not negligible on the branches scattered across Senegal, former French West Africa, and sometimes even across foreign territories. Thus, the C.F.A.O., the S.C.O.Z., the B.A.O., and the B.C.A., which practice their activities in practically all of Black Africa, although having their seat in Paris, are strongly established in Dakar, from where they manage a number of agencies and branches. On the other hand, the Société Maurel et Prom, which has branches in Senegal, Mauritania, the Sudan, Guinea, and Gambia, the "Commerce Africain," which has establishments in Senegal, Gambia, the Ivory Coast, and the Cameroun, and other companies have their [439] seat in Dakar (17). Moreover it must be added that several in-

17. "Le Commerce Africain" transferred its seat from Dakar to Paris in July 1960.

dustries (oil factories, soap factories, breweries, cement factories, textile factories, shoe factories, etc.) established on the peninsula of Cape Verde send a part of their products to other territories in former French West Africa.

369 633 648 Finally, because of its former function as federal capital, Dakar brought together all of the federal political and administrative organs, which permitted it to direct and co-ordinate all of the political, administrative, and economic life of former French West Africa.

Thus, Dakar became the leader, the undisputed metropolis, upon which there depended a regional assemblage much

[Text continues on p. 17--Analyst]

/390 cont./

361 inhabitants. It had an official center and wide streets, which,
369 however, are not yet paved. Despite this city appearance,
[363] however, Pikine is more intimately dependent on Dakar than the other villages of the suburbs; it is a workman's suburb, and all of its provisioning comes from Dakar, while practically all of its inhabitants are employed in the great city. With this exception, the villages of the suburbs have as their essential
[438] role the provisioning of Dakar with fish and fresh vegetables. Many transportation facilities in common connect them with
[489] Dakar-ville from very early in the morning until around the middle of the night (Pl. XXIII B, Pl. XXIV A and B).

This is the arrangement or juxtaposition of the various elements of the Dakar agglomeration, whose present popula-
[162] tion may well have exceeded 300,000 inhabitants.

369 4. Perspectives. The Dakar agglomeration has the appearance of an unfinished city in the process of being organized, even though its function as a West African metropolis has been confirmed for a long time. There are surprises in this situation for those who analyze the old European urban civilizations, where one sees an ancient city existing as /391/ /Fig. 6 appears here/ one that patiently developed its relations in order to become a metropolis and to constitute a solid and dynamic assemblage where urban and metropolitan functions mutually support one another. Dakar, however, is above
369 all a center of relations which has woven with its hinterland
• 439 connections that have the appearance of complementary ties,
433 but which actually are ties of dependence: dependence in fact because in the Senegalese and Sudanese interior the development of export crops is tied up with the means of evacuation organized by Dakar; dependence also because the export crops, in breaking up the former village autarchy, have given Dakar the role of a great relay-station in the importation of food products in compensation and manufactured products which have become a necessity there where formerly they were unknown; dependence, finally, not only for the Senegalese and

/391 cont./

102
491
496
487
433

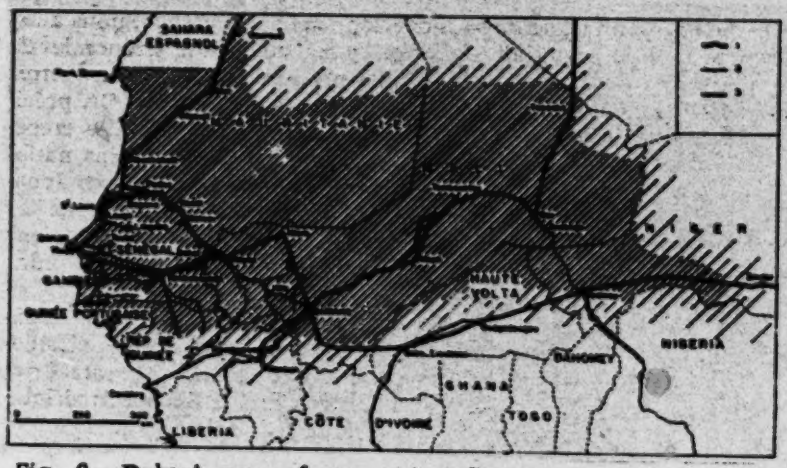


Fig. 6. Dakar's zone of economic influence.
1. Navigable course; 2. railroad;
3. road.

369 Sudanese interior, but also for the whole of former French West
433 Africa through the role of management that the administrative
439 offices, the banks, and the great commercial agencies play from Dakar.

In truth, however, this pre-eminence of Dakar which rests only on its role as a relay-station, a "service station," which receives for redistribution, carries with it grave weaknesses. And first of all it is necessary to note that the influence of Dakar, which extends supremely over a regional assemblage larger than France, is actually /392/ nothing less than a sign of the underdevelopment of the regions thus dominated. It in fact signifies for them an economy of trade, without local conversion of the products, with few urban centers playing an important role in regional management. Now, precisely this influence, while maintaining the economy of trade, prevents any new orientation of the economy in a national sense. Because of this, the ties uniting Dakar with its zone of influence appear to be of the same nature as those that tie the colonies to their mother countries, or, more accurately, they are only shackles; the nationalism of the new states will confuse them in a similar

/392 cont./

369 condemnation.

433 Consequently it is necessary to emphasize the same

439 instability of this role of Dakar as a relay-station. Already strongly rivaled in its function of provisioning ships by such

[505] ports as Las Palmas and Santa Cruz of Tenerife (25), better

[113]

25. Nicolas, J.-P., "Les hydrocarbures de soute à Dakar; 2e rapport. Eléments d'information sur la position concurrentielle des îles Canaries, 15 Nov. 1960 /The hydrocarbides stored at Dakar; 2nd report. Data on the competitive position of the Canary Islands, 15 Nov. 1960/," I.F.A.N., Dakar.

located on the direct route between Europe and South America, Dakar is no longer an imperative stop in the tropical Atlantic because of the greater autonomy of the ships in the matter of provisioning. On the other hand, the recent political evolution which has led to the "Balkanization" of former French West Africa has not only broken all the administrative and political ties which were among the most notable elements of the power of Dakar, but it has also permitted at Conakry, Abidjan, and Cotonou other possible relay-stations for the interior regions to become rivals, more and more limiting the zone of influence of Dakar. The recent breakup of the Federation of Mali, completely and at a single stroke turning the traffic between Senegal and the Sudan toward Abidjan in particular and to a lesser extent toward Conakry, is a particularly striking example of the instability of the position of Dakar. In the present state of affairs, nothing remains for Dakar but the Senegalese interior and Mauritania, and this latter country, which is building its own port at Port-Etienne, is seeking to free itself (Fig. 6).

Thus, grave threats weigh on the metropolis of Dakar. In any case, even in the eventuality of a recovery in the

/392 cont./

369 economic relations between Senegal and Sudan, or better, in
433 the eventuality of the formation of a West African common
439 market, the role of collection which has perpetuated the superiority of Dakar is today threatened by decline because of the nationalism of the states and their desire to convert their own products locally. It therefore seems that salvation for this metropolis in a virtual crisis is not in an illusory rebirth of its former role, but in a new and unequivocal orientation of its activities. It should no longer be a pole of suction, but become a pole of development of the hinterland.

Assane Seck.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

7. HISTORY

SENEGAL is the oldest French colony in Africa. From it the Niger basin has been penetrated and the Sudan conquered. On it has been based the modern Federation. For more than two centuries, therefore, its history was that of French West Africa as a whole, and it is not until the close of the Napoleonic era that the domestic history of the colony becomes distinguishable. 175

The Early Nineteenth Century

The Peace of Paris restored the colonial *status quo* of 1 January 1792, but St. Louis was not returned to the French until 1817. The British occupation of Senegal had been purely military, with no attempt to introduce British civil administration. French officials had continued their duties, and, when they had died, had been succeeded by other Frenchmen. The resumption of French rule after the war, therefore, presented no difficulties. The country was fairly well known, and explorers used St. Louis more as a starting-point for distant journeys than to make new discoveries in Senegal itself. The British expedition of 1816 under Peddie and Campbell and the French one of 1818 under Mollien added considerably to European knowledge of Fouta, Ferlo, and Bondou, although their main objects were to penetrate Fouta Jalon. 175 648

Attempts at European Colonization. In 1815 France agreed to the abolition of the slave trade, although the law embodying this decision was not passed for another three years. As the trade had previously been the key to the prosperity of Senegal, a new economy had to be devised. Experiments were consequently made with European settlers, who were to produce cotton and other tropical products. To execute these schemes, Louis XVIII appointed as first post-war Governor Colonel Schmaltz, who had lived for a number of years in the Dutch East Indies. Tragedy attended his voyage out. The ship carrying him, the *Méduse*, was wrecked in Arguin bay on 2 July 1816. The Governor and his wife were saved, but there were many deaths from drowning; and hunger, thirst, and exposure killed many who reached the shore. Out of one party of seventeen only three survived. Another party of 152 persons, including women and children, crowded on to one raft. Many were washed off by waves, many went mad, and many died of thirst. After thirteen days of horror, fifteen survivors were picked up, five of whom died before 175 167 [439] [567]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Mali MS 35

000
S
175
439
M
[175]
[439]

development principally on the native farmer. Trade, not agriculture, took the French farther up the river. In 1820 the post of Bakel was founded, and, under the auspices of Governor Roger, the Société de Galam established stations at Medine, at Mahina, and on the Falémé. The foundation of the company marked a partial return to the monopolistic policy of the previous century. Trade on the upper Senegal was reserved to the company from 1 January to 1 August each year. This caused much dissatisfaction, and the restriction disappeared with the winding-up of the company in 1840.

Like Brue, his predecessor of 120 years before, Roger explored Bambouk for its mineral wealth, but decided that the soundest method of developing Senegal was to expand its trade and agriculture.

The Gum Trade. After the attempts at European colonization had failed, there developed in the gum trade a boom which reached its maximum in 1838. It will be remembered that, by the Peace of Paris, Great Britain had retained the exclusive right of carrying on this trade along the coast between Portendick and Arguin bay. Elsewhere the French reserved all this trade for their own nationals. Like other trades of the time, that in gum was carried on under a system of subsidies (*coutumes*) to native chiefs and fixed markets (*escales*). This system has been described above on p. 327, and was extremely lucrative to the Arabs. Moreover, the French Government in its treaties usually undertook to pay a subsidy to the chiefs, partly as ground rent for the posts it might establish in their territory, and partly in consideration of the goodwill and protection they were to afford to French trade.

S
[648]

Even so, the years between 1830 and 1860 saw material French extension and development. The following figures (the first two of which represent imports only) show the growth of trade of Senegal from the days of André Brue to those of Faidherbe.

Year	*Thousands of francs*
1700	700
1786	7,260
1821	2,100
1830	3,000
1837	7,000
1838	17,000
1839	13,600
1840	11,800
1845	23,000
1855	14,500
1863	33,100
1869	35,900

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS 30
Trarza MS 24

S 175 439 [648]

From 1836 onwards treaties were made with the chiefs of the Casamance basin, and posts were constructed at Sedhiou, Karaban, and Diembering. These treaties respected Portuguese historic but obsolete rights at Ziguinchor, but effectively guaranteed that the future of the river should be French.

S [567] [427] [464]

The abolition of the status of slavery by France in 1848 deprived the French merchants of a cheap supply of labour, which they had rented from the chiefs, and in 1850 a committee was appointed to consider withdrawal from the colony or, as an alternative, the establishment of French authority. It decided in favour of the latter, and the policy of trade treaties came to an end.

The new French policy, to which Napoleon III was pledged, was summed up as 'absolute freedom of commerce with the suppression of the escales; establishment of security, by force if necessary; the substitution of full and entire authority for the system of treaties and subsidies; methodical organization of expansion towards the interior; and concurrently the development of economic institutions'.

'By Force if Necessary'

S 175 [643]

Faidherbe. It was to carry out this policy that Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in December 1854. He had already had much experience as a soldier and administrator in the colony, and, with a break of eighteen months, he held office till July 1865. His period of office marked a turning-point in the history of Senegal, and he is justly remembered as one of the builders of the modern French Colonial Empire. At first his resources were pitifully small. He had four companies of marine infantry, a company of native infantry formed on the liberation of the slaves in 1848, sixty spahis, and some detachments of artillery and engineers. His naval strength was on a similar scale. Both were substantially strengthened in the next few years.

S [701]

I S W 175 648

The Arabs. Faidherbe decided to deal with the Trarza Arabs. Notwithstanding the treaty of 1835, they had continued their marauding expeditions across the river, and had re-established a supreme influence over the Ouolofs of Oualo. Early in 1855 the Trarza chief Mohammed el Abib insolently demanded the French evacuation of certain islands near the mouth of the Senegal. Faidherbe marched against him and defeated him near St. Louis on 15 February. On 25 February the Ouolofs were defeated near Ross. The French captured more than 2,000 cattle and burned 20 villages.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Soninke MS 21

S 175 [643] [439]

development must be by native farmers guided by French instructors and aided by French capital. In 1861 French colonial trade, which had hitherto been restricted to French merchants and the French flag, was thrown open to all nations, though French goods continued to have a preference. This reform was not well received by the conservative merchants of St. Louis, but there can be no doubt that it rapidly proved of benefit to the colony.

S 50 175 648

Mahmadu Lamine. The last challenge to French rule within the boundaries of Senegal arose from a Soninké mallam named Mahmadu Lamine. Having returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca, he set up as a holy man at Medine and proceeded to interfere in the domestic concerns of the natives of Bondou. Rebuffed by their rightful ruler, he installed himself at Sénoudébou early in 1886, proclaimed himself a mahdi, and claimed a holy mission to restore the ancient power of the Sarakollé dynasty (Vol. I, p. 168). In March and April he attacked the fort of Bakel, at the head of 12,000 fanatics, but was repulsed. In May Colonel Frey marched out from St. Louis with a strong column which relieved Bakel. Notwithstanding this, Mahmadu again invaded Bondou, where he defeated and killed the king. Then he attacked the French post at Sénoudébou, crossed the Senegal, and endeavoured to cut the French communications between Bakel and Kayes. Galliéni himself, who had been recently appointed to command the troops in Upper Senegal, took the field against him and broke his power in several engagements. The mallam fortified himself at a village 46 miles south-west of Tambacounda. This village was taken by the French on 8 December 1887. Mahmadu escaped; but he was attacked by allies of the French on 9 December, and two days later died of his wounds. All the tribes of the country north of the Gambia boundary then sought French protection. Later disturbances in Senegal had their origin either in internal tribal dissensions or in dislike of closer control by France. In all respects they were minor affairs.

S 175 648 [439]

The Consolidation of French Rule. The original treaties, of which the French negotiated some 130 between 1785 and 1891 with the chiefs of Senegal, dealt with trade only. They fixed the rents and rates payable by each individual trader, and usually gave subsidies to the chiefs in return for their goodwill. These treaties did not attempt to deal with the internal administration of the tribes or with their foreign relations. The next stage was a treaty of friendship and protection, in which the native state was free to conduct its own affairs, subject only to the general guidance of French Residents.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS37

36 [131] [162] BIGNONA (12° 49′; 16° 16′ W.). Altitude, *c.* 60 feet. Population, 1,611. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Military post. Emergency landing-ground. Garage.

Bignona stands on the left bank of a small and marshy tributary of the Casamance. Canoes carry a certain amount of merchandise, as also do lorries. The principal items of trade are ground-nuts, palm kernels, wax, rice, and fruit. Most of the native inhabitants are Dioulas.

[438] [162]

Colonial roads lead south to the Casamance opposite Ziguinchor (16 miles), east to Sedhiou (58 miles) and Kolda (120 miles), and north-west to Diouloulou (35 miles) and the frontier of the Gambia (46 miles). There are also several minor roads and tracks.

[491]

[131] [162] DAGANA (16° 27′; 15° 34′ W.). Altitude, 13 feet. Population, *c.* 3,500. District headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Race-course.

[439] Dagana is on the left bank of the Senegal, and its chief economic function is as a market for Mauritanian gum. This is shipped down river to St. Louis, 116 miles away. There is also connexion upstream to Podor (61 miles), Bakel (403 miles), and Kayes (487 miles).

[487]

By colonial road Dagana is 86 miles from St. Louis and 332 miles from Kidira. It is on the bus service (p. 474) between these two places. Southwards another colonial road leads across sparsely inhabited country to Dahra (89 miles) and Diourbel (162 miles). From the opposite bank of the Senegal a track goes to Mederdra, some 30 miles distant.

[491] [494]

[131] [162] DIOURBEL (14° 39′; 16° 10′ W.). Altitude, 39 feet. Population, 15,442. Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Police headquarters. Emergency landing-ground. Power station. Hotel. Garage. Daily market.

This flourishing town lies across the little Sine river in the middle of a well-cultivated shallow valley. To the north the ground rises somewhat. Diourbel owes its prosperity to ground-nuts, and 100,000 tons of them pass through the town every year. There are several factories for the shelling of the nuts and for the expression of their oil. Besides this, Diourbel is the headquarters of the province of Baol and a route centre. Its inhabitants are mainly Moslems, who have a large and important mosque. There is also a special school for sons of chiefs.

[438] [258] [162] [87]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

The electric power station has a gas-engine plant that burns the residue from ground-nut presses. 36 [377]

Communications. Diourbel is the railway junction for Routes 3 and 4. By the former it is 50½ miles from Thiès and 302 miles from Kidira, and by the latter it is 31 miles from Touba. The intercolonial road leads westwards to Thiès (65 miles) and Dakar (109 miles) and south-eastwards to Kaolack (40 miles), Tambacounda (230 miles), and Nayes (351 miles). Colonial roads go north-eastwards to Dahra (73 miles) and Dagana (162 miles) and south-westwards to Fatik (25 miles) and Kaolack (53 miles). [496] [491]

LOUGA (15° 37′; 16° 16′ W.). Altitude, 128 feet. Population, 4,390. Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Regional School. Power station. Garage. Race-course. Agricultural experimental station and farm school. Daily market. [131] [162] [654]

Louga is the scene of the most important cattle market in the whole colony. It is this that has made it a route centre. Other local products are ground-nuts, gum, and millet. Administratively, Louga is the headquarters of the province of the same name and also a military headquarters. [438]

Electricity is supplied by an oil-driven plant. [377]

Communications. Louga stands at the junction of railway routes 1 and 2, being 119 miles from Dakar, 44 miles from St. Louis, and 81 miles from Linguéré. It is on the intercolonial road from Dakar (121 miles) to St. Louis (47 miles). A colonial road runs eastwards across the colony to Dahra (59 miles), Linguéré (84 miles), and Matam (242 miles). There are also minor roads and tracks. [496] [491]

PODOR (16° 35′; 15° 02′ W.). Population, 3,168. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. Daily market. [131] [162]

This riverside town is chiefly important for gum arabic. The gum is brought by the Arabs, sold in the market, and shipped down the Senegal to St. Louis. [439]

Communications. By river Podor is 178 miles from St. Louis and 437 miles from Kayes. Throughout the year the Messageries Africaines run a fortnightly service to and from St. Louis. From July to January the boats also go upstream as far as Matam (234 miles) and in August and September to Kayes. Podor is on the colonial road, being 135 miles from St. Louis and 288 miles from Nayes. There is a ferry across the river to connect with tracks to such Mauritanian [487] [505] [491]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

647 656 *Produce Inspection.* Produce inspection is entrusted to a board nominated by the Chambers of Commerce, but the Government keeps a tight control by exercising a veto on all important appointments to its staff. The Board's inspectorate has very wide powers of inspection over produce, whether destined for local consumption or for export. No produce to which inspection applies can be sent out [439] of the colony without a certificate of purity.

For this inspection a special tax of 5 francs per ton on ground-nuts [651] and palm kernels, and 20 francs per ton on rubber, is imposed on produce intended for export.

456 654 *Native Provident Societies.* There are 14 Native Provident Societies. Bignona and Ziguinchor have combined, but otherwise there is one to each province. In 1937 they had 1,200,000 members, [647] whose annual subscriptions varied from 2·50 francs to 5·00 francs each, and their expenses were some 25,000,000 francs. They supplied over 44,000 tons of ground-nut seeds to their members.

In earlier days the Sine-Saloum society imported stallions from [232] the Argentine for the breeding of mules, and in 1932 the societies devoted nearly 250,000 francs to the purchase of motor vehicles. In cattle-breeding districts they supply breeding stock and improve water-supply and pasturage. By 1933 it was estimated that the societies had sunk over 1,200 wells, while the society of Thiès had [312] constructed a barrage for irrigation purposes.

In addition to strictly agricultural activities, the Senegal societies [926] help their members by advances of cash, which are made not only to meet failure of crops, but also in cases of individual accident or illness.

Mining

656 316 At the end of 1937 the following permits were in force:

Personal licences		4
The Occupation System		
Exclusive licences	10	
Mining licences	32	
Concessions	16	
	—	58
Total		62

Education

871 1997 The first attempts to educate the natives of French West Africa were made in Senegal, and they were also remarkable for being instituted, not by missionaries, but by the Crown. Colonel Schmaltz

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37
ST. LOUIS

30 yards. Immediately east of it is the Place St. Germain, on the south-west side of which stands the main railway station. 361

The western side of the Langue de Barbarie has been reinforced by groynes and a sea-wall.

The town as a whole is well planned, and it has many shops and offices.

Trade

The chief exports are oil-seeds and skins. Imports are mainly manufactured goods. In 1937 the former weighed 30,400 tons and were valued at 31,600,000 francs (£253,990), and the latter weighed 8,300 tons and were valued at 11,900,000 francs (£95,640). 439

Description of Port

Anchorages. Outside the bar at the river mouth there is anchorage in 9–11 fathoms. Inside it there is again a depth of 11 fathoms, which gradually decreases until it is 5 fathoms just below Faidherbe Bridge. 504 [133]

Quays. The principal quays are on the east side of the island. North Quay (Plate 115), above Faidherbe Bridge, is 1,050 feet long, and South Quay, below it, is 1,770 feet long with an alongside depth of 12 fathoms. At the harbour station in Sor there is a jetty 600 feet long with a wharf at its head. There are four small piers on the island, whose positions are shown in Fig. 53.

Equipment. There is a steam crane some 600 yards above the North Quay and a slipway a little higher still. Minor repairs can be effected, but facilities are generally poor.

Fuel. A small stock of coal is kept, but no oil.

Communications

Rail. There are three railway stations (p. 467) in Sor, and the main station is the terminus of the line to Dakar (Route 1). 498

Road. The intercolonial road to Thiès (124 miles) and Dakar (168 miles) starts from the Place St. Germain and then turns south when clear of the goods station. At this point the Imperial road branches off north-east to Rosso (66 miles) and ultimately to Tindouf (1,315 miles). There is a bus service twice a week to and from Matam and Nayes. 491 494

Air. The airfield is 3¼ miles north-east of Place St. Germain. Its surface is hard clay and it has one hangar. In normal times there is a weekly Air France service to Dakar. 508 509

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

Trade

Imports and Exports. Dakar is the outlet for almost the whole of French West Africa north of the forest. In particular it serves the most fertile and prosperous parts of Senegal and French Sudan. The principal export is, of course, ground-nuts, and others are gold, gum, shea butter, kapok, and hides. Imports include manufactured goods of all kinds, coal, oil fuel, wine, sugar, and flour. In 1937 imports totalled 1,298,700 tons to the value of 763,200,000 francs (£6,134,060) and exports 1,284,300 tons to the value of 572,300,000 francs (£4,599,740). This represents some 40 per cent. of the total trade of the Federation. 439 [433] [433]

Manufactures. In or near the town are brickworks, a brewery, candle factories, charcoal furnaces, ice factories, sisal cleaning plants, sack factories, saw-mills, and factories for extracting ground-nut oil. There are also native handicraft workers. West of the town there are two basalt quarries, which are connected to the harbour by a railway line. 438 316

There are several trade unions. 467

Finance. The Port of Dakar has its own budget. In 1938 this balanced at 10,792,486 francs (£66,212). The principal items of revenue were the dues on the loading and discharge of cargo, which brought in 4,150,000 francs, the dues paid by ships, which brought in 1,566,000 francs, and the charges for the use of port equipment, which brought in 1,115,700 francs. The principal items of expenditure were 4,912,166 francs on wages and salaries of employees and 2,551,770 francs on the materials used in the maintenance of the port. 652 [651]

Description of Port

Anchorages. Outside the harbour there is good anchorage in 10 fathoms. Inside depths are greater, and there is space for a large number of vessels. 504

Quays and Wharfs. The main basins of the harbour are divided off from Goree bay and Dakar Roads by the North Jetty. This runs south-eastwards from the shore for nearly 1,200 yards and then turns southwards for its last 550 yards. Here are found the oil berths, and at the end of it is a light. Three moles project from the landward side of the main jetty. Behind No. 5 Mole, the nearest to the land, there is a large open space used for storing dumps of ground-nuts (Vol. I, Plate 84). This end of the harbour is a seaplane base, with a hangar on the shore. On the north-west side there are some [502] [508]

22:Winterbotham et al. · K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Dakar

504 small piers and a slipway. A quarter of a mile south of the slipway are the naval oil-fuel tanks, which are at the northern end of the dockyard. This has, among other works, a large basin and a dry [498] dock, and behind it are the railway goods station and workshops. Just beyond its southern corner is the main station, but extensions of the line run on to the wharfs. On the south side of the harbour are the three principal commercial basins, separated from each other by moles. The easternmost of these is the South Jetty, at the northern [502] end of which is another light, only 275 yards from the end of North Jetty.

From Dakar point a breakwater runs for 1,000 yards south-east and east.

Alongside depths vary from 21 feet at No. 1 Mole to 34 feet at No. 8 Mole, and the total length of quays and oiling berths, apart from those in the dockyard, is 13,861 feet.

Warehouses. There are warehouses on No. 1 Mole, No. 2 Mole, and No. 3 Mole, and all along the south side of the harbour.

Equipment. The dry dock is 656 feet long and 93 feet wide and can be divided into two parts. There are numerous cranes of all types, including floating cranes. The two largest of these are each of 125 tons. Repair facilities are good, and the port is well supplied with tugs, launches, and lighters.

Fuel. The commercial oil-fuel tanks are on the south shore of Hann bay. Behind them is a goods station. Additional naval oil tanks are farther north-west. A pipe-line connects the commercial tanks to the oil berths at the end of North Jetty. Coal is stored on [439] No. 8 Mole. It is very largely imported from South Wales. Good stocks of both fuels are normally held.

Communications

498 *Rail.* Dakar is the terminus of the railway from Thiès and St. Louis (Route 1). From Thiès Route 2 runs to Kidira (396 miles) and ultimately to Koulikoro (801 miles). The main station is at the south-east corner of the harbour, close to the dockyard.

491 *Road.* It has already been stated that the intercolonial road runs north from the end of Avenue Gambetta. It follows the curve of Hann bay to Rufisque (15 miles) before going to Thiès (44 miles). A minor road leads north-westwards to Ouakam (5 miles) and Yof (8 miles). There are also other minor roads.

508 *Air.* The airport lies nearly 5 miles north-west of the main town,
509 and has hangars and workshops. In 1939 Dakar was on the Air France

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

[RUFISQUE]

439 Rufisque was the first port from which ground-nuts were exported, and to-day ground-nuts are still the main article of trade. In the first quarter of 1939 it exported 25,152 tons of them. On the north side
504 of Goree bay, Rufisque can only handle small ships. There is anchorage off shore in 3–7 fathoms, but from July to November heavy swell makes it almost unusable.

633 Since 1937 the town has been in the District of Dakar.

Jetties and Equipment. There are three jetties with alongside depths
504 of at least 9½ feet. Two of these are of iron, one being 603 feet long and 33 feet wide with an extension by a wharf 65 feet long and 52 feet wide. The third is of concrete and is 656 feet long. Decauville tracks connect these jetties to the railway. There is one 5-ton crane and one 2-ton, besides smaller ones. There are 4 tugs and 2 lighters.

Communications

496 *Rail.* By rail Rufisque is 17 miles from Dakar, 26½ miles from Thiès, 146 miles from St. Louis, and 268 miles from Tambacounda.

Road. The intercolonial road runs from Dakar (15 miles) through
491 to Thiès (29 miles), where it divides. Eight miles beyond Rufisque a colonial road branches off it to go to M'Bour (38 miles), Joal (61 miles), and Fatik (101 miles). Another colonial road goes north-eastwards from the town to Sangalkan (6 miles) and Kayar (17 miles).

36 [131] [162] M'Bour (14° 21′; 16° 57′ W.). Population, *c.* 4,500, including 175 Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-house. Medical post. Police station.

The town of M'Bour stands at the head of a shallow cove which extends for a mile out to sea as a passage between two reefs. Inside
[504] the cove the water is up to 4½ feet deep, and there is a wharf used by surf-boats. Ships anchor 2½ miles off shore, but heavy swell makes
[439] conditions difficult from June to November. Ground-nuts and millet are exported.

[491] M'Bour is on the colonial road from Rufisque (38 miles) to Joal
[494] (23 miles) and Fatik (63 miles). Several minor roads lead inland, notably one to Thiès, along which there is a bus service twice a day. For half the year there is also a service to Joal.

[131] [162] Joal (14° 09′; 16° 51′ W.). Population, *c.* 900. Custom-house. Roman Catholic mission.

Joal was founded by the Norman Company in the middle of the
[175] seventeenth century. It was captured by the Dutch in 1677 and by

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[JOAL]

the British 70 years later, and it did not finally become French until 1763. It is on a sandspit in front of a coastal lagoon. Off shore there is a large sandbank, exposed at low tide. 36 [175]

There is a small wharf, but, owing to the difficulty of access, there is very little trade. In 1937, for example, only 4,600 tons of goods were handled and their value was 4,600,000 francs (£36,970). [504] [439]

The colonial road from Fatik (40 miles) to M'Bour (23 miles) and Rufisque (61 miles) runs through the town. There are also minor roads. From November to June there is a bus service to M'Bour and Thiès four days a week. [491] [494]

FOUNDIOUGNE (14° 06′; 16° 29′ W.). Population, 2,734. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-house. Medical post. [31] [62]

Foundiougne is on an island formed by the Saloum, the Djomboss, and their connecting channels. Much of the district is swampy, but the town itself is on a piece of firm ground on the left bank of the Saloum, 33 miles from the sea.

Anchorage in the river is in 3½ fathoms. There are 8 wharves, of which 1 is owned by the municipality. [504]

The principal export is ground-nuts, but in recent years Foundiougne has declined in prosperity. This is owing to the rise of Kaolack, which is better situated on the north bank of the river and which has much better communications. [439] [433]

There is a ferry across the river, and from its far side a rough road leads to Fatik. South of the river there is a colonial road eastwards to Kaolack (32 miles). Along both these roads there is a bus service, daily in the dry season and fortnightly in the wet. [491] [494]

FATIK (14° 18′; 16° 27′ W.). Population, 3,521, including 128 Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Medical post. Police station. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. [31] [62]

At Nonane, on Marigot de Fatik 14½ miles above its junction with the Saloum, is the site of one of the old *escales*. This is the upper limit for boats drawing 10 feet, but smaller craft can ascend a further 7 miles to Fatik, 58 miles from the sea. The town is on the right bank of the river, which is here called the Sine. [505] [487]

Trade is chiefly in ground-nuts. [439]

Colonial roads lead north to Bambey (27 miles), south-east to Kaolack (28 miles), and south-west to Joal (60 miles), and a minor road south to Foundiougne. [491]

The landing-ground is half a mile west of the town.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

36 [131] [162] KAOLACK (14° 07′; 16° 07′ W.). Population, 21,973. Mixed Commune. Headquarters of the province of Sine-Saloum. Customhouse. Chamber of Commerce. Medical post. Police headquarters. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Regional School. Roman Catholic mission. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Hotels. Garages. Race-course.

[439] Kaolack exports more ground-nuts than any other port in the Federation. It is a well-planned town with squares and trees, and it is on the right bank of the Saloum, 71 miles above its mouth, where [487] the river is 100 yards wide. It is the limit of navigation for sea-going [505] ships.

[162] In 1904 Kaolack had only 300 inhabitants, but the development of communications in the neighbourhood has caused it to grow to its present size. The figure given above is for the permanent popu- [166] lation only. At the height of the ground-nut season there are an additional 20,000 temporary inhabitants.

Trade

During the first quarter of 1939 Kaolack exported 32,259 tons of [439] ground-nuts (Plate 122), as against 26,832 tons from Dakar. Owing to the bar across the Saloum, however, many ships do not load to their maximum capacity but go on to Dakar to complete their lading. [258] Across the river from the town is a large salt-works.

The Port

[504] On the north bank there are concrete quays with a total length of over 2,000 feet and on the south bank there is a small wharf. At Lyndiane, 9 miles downstream, is a wharf belonging to the firm of Peyrissac et Cie.

Communications

[498] *Rail.* Kaolack is the terminus of Route 5 to Guinguiné (14 miles), and is therefore 142 miles from Dakar. It is also the terminus of Route 6 to Lyndiane (6½ miles). Both stations are close to the river, and there is a line directly on to the quays.

[491] *Road.* Intercolonial roads lead northward to Gossas (25 miles), Thiès (82 miles), and Dakar (126 miles), eastward to Kaffrine (37 miles) and Tambacounda (188 miles), and south-south-westward to Messira (49 miles) and the frontier of the Gambia (57 miles). The last-named road crosses the Saloum by a bridge. A colonial road goes north-west to Fatik (28 miles), another south-east to Nioro

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

[KAOLACK]

(33 miles) and Medina (50 miles), and a third west to Foundiougne (32 miles). 36 [491]

Air. The airfield is 1 mile north-east of the town. [508]

Wireless. The wireless station is in the centre of the town. [206]

Shipping. Boats of the Messageries du Sénégal line call regularly, and the Compagnie de Navigation Paquet maintains a weekly service with Foundiougne, Bathurst, and Dakar. [505]

ZIGUINCHOR (12° 32′; 16° 21′ W.). Population, 6,070. Mixed Commune. Headquarters of the Casamance Territory and of the Province of Ziguinchor. Custom-house. Magistrate's Court. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital and maternity home. Police headquarters. Meteorological station. Emergency landing-ground. Wireless station. Roman Catholic mission. Garages. Daily market. [131] [162] [743]

The first large piece of firm ground upstream from the mouth of the Casamance is nearly 42 miles from the sea, and it is here, on the left bank, that Ziguinchor stands. The depth of the river is 6 fathoms. Jetties have been built at right angles to the waterfront, partly to counteract silting, and ships drawing 15 feet can go alongside them. The quays have a total length of over 3,000 feet and the warehouses a total capacity of some 25,000 tons. There are no cranes, all goods being manhandled. [504]

There is a considerable variety of exports, including ground-nuts, fruit, rice, palm oil, palm kernels, cotton, tobacco, sisal, and hides, but imports are chiefly manufactured goods and building materials. In value of trade Ziguinchor comes between Foundiougne and Rufisque. [439]

Communications

Road. The river is crossed by a ferry, and a colonial road leads north to Bignona (16 miles) and then east to Sedhiou (74 miles) and Kolda (136 miles). Another one goes along the south bank of the Casamance, also to Kolda (130 miles). Minor roads lead south to the frontier of Portuguese Guinea and south-west to Oussouye and Diembering. [491]

Air. Seaplanes can alight in the river, and there is a weekly Aéromaritime service to Bathurst and Dakar. The landing-ground is 1½ miles south of the town. [509]

Wireless. The two wireless stations are housed in the same building. [206]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

36 SEDHIOU (12° 42′; 15° 31′ W.). Population, 1,653. Provincial head-
[131] quarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional
[167] School.

Sedhiou is on the right bank of the Casamance, 68 miles above
[487] Ziguinchor and 110 miles from the sea, and it is only usable by vessels
[505] drawing up to 5 feet. Formerly more prosperous than it is to-day,
it has some brick buildings and shops. Many of the traders are
[439] Syrians, and there is a modest export of ground-nuts, hides, rice, and
wax.

[491] By colonial road Sedhiou is 58 miles from Bignona, 74 miles from Ziguinchor, and 62 miles from Kolda.

11. MINERALS

135 THE principal mineral exported from the colony is ilmenite, which
[439] is washed from beach sands between Rufisque and Cape Rouge, between Joal and Diakhanor, and at the mouth of the Casamance. Zircon (Vol. I, pp. 295–6) is obtained from the same sands, the ilmenite:zircon ratio being about 3:1. Other minerals of potential value are phosphates and limestone, both of which occur in Lower Eocene strata. Lenticular beds of phosphate, ranging from 30 to 65 per cent. bone phosphate of lime, are found near Matam and near Thiès. Limestones and marls are more widespread than in any other
[339] colony, and at Rufisque they have been worked experimentally for the commercial production of cement. Bitumen has been encountered at Dakar in borings for water, but investigations have shown that the
[315] geological structure is unsuited to the accumulation of petroleum.

12. AGRICULTURE

241 THE Gambia divides the millet from the manioc zone, but ground-nuts are the chief crop of both. Sisal-growing is an important, though more recent, industry. South of the Gambia the Casamance Territory provides a rich area for fruit and subsistence crops as well as for ground-nuts.

[439] There is far more production for export than in any other colony.

Food Crops

243 *Millets.* Millets form the staple diet of the majority of the native
262 population and are grown all over that part of the colony north of the

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

244 sixth crop of Africa, and 43 per cent. of the total continental production comes from Senegal. The two main groups cultivated are the 'runner' and the 'erect'. The Rufisque and Cayor varieties, both runners, are those grown generally here and also in British West Africa. The method of cultivation is described in Volume I, p. 321. Ground-nuts were originally grown as a staple native crop, but the industrial demand for vegetable oils, coupled with the development of transport facilities, opened up a world market for them. Extra labour for the harvest is provided annually by seasonal immigration from French Sudan, French Guinea, Portuguese Guinea, and the Gambia. In 1938 the number of outside workers was 69,757. Of these, 56,743 went to the Kaolack area, between 1,000 and 3,500 to Sedhiou, Ziguinchor, Kolda, Tambacounda, and Diourbel, and the remainder to Thiès and Linguéré.

There are numerous shelling factories. Early in 1939 new ones were opened at Kaolack, Ziguinchor, and Koungheul.

In 1938 nearly 2,000,000 acres were under cultivation and the experimental station at Bambey distributed 5,414 tons of selected seed. In 1939 7,382 tons of seed were sent out, with a corresponding increase in acreage.

During the British blockade of French West Africa after the fall of France in 1940, ground-nuts were converted into fuel oil. If this practice has been proved worth continuing after the war, cultivation may be greatly extended.

248 *Sisal.* Sisal originated in Mexico, being named after the port of Sisal in Yucatan province, and it was introduced into Senegal at the end of the nineteenth century. The species grown are *Agave rigida sisalana*, *A. rigida elongata*, and *A. rigida zapupe*. The rigid leaves containing the fibre are about 4 feet long and are harvested biennially from the fourth to the eighth or tenth year. When a plant has finished producing it shoots up a tall flower stem, with bulbils or buds on the end, and then withers.

283 288 The preparation of stem and leaf fibres is lengthy. First the fleshy tissue encasing the fibre is scraped away, and then the fibre is washed, hung out to dry, and brushed. It is now ready for grading. Next it is combed into a continuous sliver of untwisted rope. The final process is the drawing and twisting of the sliver to a uniform thinness for spinning into a rope that is particularly resistant to sea-water. The 248 largest plantation is in French Sudan, and stretches for 12 miles along the bank of the Senegal near Kayes. Other smaller ones are in Tambacounda and on the Cape Verde peninsula. There is oppor-

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

tunity for much development in this industry, particularly in the irrigated areas of the Casamance Territory and Sine-Saloum. Europeans own the majority of the plantations, but co-operate with and encourage native growers. During the first quarter of 1939 production in Tambacounda province was 152 tons, and the factory at Kolda treated 165 tons of fibre.

Ginger. The ginger plant (*Zingiber officinale*) is of Asiatic origin, but it has been cultivated in Africa for many centuries. It is grown on a small scale wherever the rainfall is over 30 inches. It does best in a rich soil and requires shade. The ginger of commerce is prepared from the rhizome or underground stem, which is mature when the leaves turn yellow. The best ginger is prepared from immature rhizomes, which are peeled and preserved in sugar syrup, but in West Africa the coarser, mature stems are also used. Chewed ginger is reputed to enhance the stimulating effect of kola.

Pimentos. Several species of *Capsicum* or peppers grow in the Federation. In Senegal the most common are *C. annum* and *C. frutescens*, both bearing red fruits. The former was introduced from South America. It is less pungent and has larger fruits, known as 'capsicums'. *C. frutescens* has hotter fruits, known in commerce as 'chillies'. Cayenne or paprika is the red powder obtained from grounding the fruit. Pepper shrubs are grown from seeds, and after three months bear fruit for at least six months. These red peppers should not be confused with the common pepper, which is a climber and does not grow in West Africa.

Henna. This plant (*Lawsonia inermis*), like sugar-cane, maize, ginger, and castor oil, is grown wherever there is enough water. The plant is much revered by Moslems and often grown as a hedge. The powder of the young, dried leaves is the source of henna dye.

Other Crops. Other products of which small quantities are exported are citrus fruits, gum arabic, shea butter, cotton, kapok, and palm kernels.

Livestock

Livestock are fewer here than in any other colony. Sheep and goats, the latter being the more numerous, are kept near the river between Podor and Bakel and number about 100,000. There are some 310,000 cattle, 50,000 donkeys, 6,000 camels, and 14,000 pigs. These last are mainly kept in the Casamance Territory. There are 36,000 horses. These are of two breeds, the M'Bayar and the M'Par, and

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37
Mali MS 35

S 231

the former provide mounts for the tirailleurs. Apiculture has increased in recent years, and in 1939 over 59,000 beehives were installed in the provinces of Bakel, Baol, Kolda, and Sine-Saloum.

S 654

Experimental Stations

There are agricultural experimental stations at Bambey, Dagana, Kolda, Louga, and Tambacounda, nurseries and botanical gardens at Hann, Richard Toll, and Sor, a livestock experimental station at Makhana (11 miles north-east of St. Louis), and farm schools at Diorbivol and Soringho (near Matam). The stations at Bambey and Louga specialize in ground-nuts, those at Kolda and Tambacounda in sisal, and that at Dagana in gum and Borassus palms (Fig. 8).

13. COMMERCE AND FINANCE

Commerce

S M 439

Official statistics combine Senegal and French Sudan under one head for detailed figures, and, in addition, the general summary of *Commerce Spécial* combines them with Mauritania. These three colonies account for more than 50 per cent. of the total trade of the Federation, and of this percentage Senegal undoubtedly provides a very large proportion.

The Balance of Trade. The value of the imports commonly exceeds that of the exports, but in 1938, the last year for which statistics are available, imports were valued at 1,016,837,000 francs and exports at 1,725,649,000 francs.

Firms. The principal firms are Chavenel et Fils, the Commerce Africain, the Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale, Dèves et Chaumet, Maurel et Prom, the Nouvelle Société Commerciale Africaine, Charles Peyrissac et Cie., the Société Commerciale de l'Ouest Africain, Soucail et Cie., and Vézia et Cie.

Exports. The principal item of export is the ground-nut. The first export of ground-nuts was made from Rufisque to Rouen in 1840, and since 1844 there have been regular shipments to Marseilles. In 1936, 393,485 tons of ground-nuts in shell (28,452 tons from French Sudan) and 60,448 tons of shelled ground-nuts (4,429 tons from French Sudan) were exported, respectively worth 351,674,905 francs and 73,384,546 francs. In 1937 both quantities rose, the nuts in shell to 517,322 tons worth 431,746,036 francs and the shelled nuts to

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37
Mali MS 35

S M 439

117,015 tons worth 126,720,675 francs. The next most valuable export is gold, of which 2,794 lb. Troy were exported in 1937. This was valued at 31,283,505 francs, but the value of the franc itself in that year was beginning to decline. Exports of ground-nut oil increased sharply from 351 tons in 1935 to 5,220 tons in 1937, and those of oilcake from 3,793 tons to 13,015 tons in the same years. Other important exports included gum arabic, sisal, and shea butter and oil.

Imports. The chief import is cotton cloth. Guinées are officially measured in thousand-metre lengths and other cloths in tons. In 1937, 9,662,000 metres (10,566,370 yards) of guinées, valued at 32,197,354 francs, were imported, and 6,825 tons of other cloths, valued at 250,516,890 francs. These amounts represent almost one-third of the total value of all imports for that year, namely 944,766,000 francs. The second most valuable import is oil fuel, and in 1937, 670,344 tons were imported to the value of 133,179,986 francs. Next in value comes rice, of which 115,875 tons worth 110,839,933 francs were imported in 1937. No figures are published for the weight, but machines, machinery, and other metal goods to the value of 93,077,917 francs were imported in the same year. Other imports include wine, coal, sugar, and ready-made clothing; in short, all the products of mine, factory, and farm which French West Africa needs but cannot supply.

Further details of both imports and exports are given in Appendix A.

FINANCE

Senegal

S 652

The budget for 1938 balanced at 120,737,000 francs (£[illegible]). The details were published as follows:

Revenue

	Francs
I. Ordinary Revenue	
Direct taxes	48,416,000
Customs and excise	35,883,000
Posts, telegraphs, &c.	11,495,000
Grants and subsidies	19,033,000
Receipts from previous financial year	1,200,000
II. Extraordinary Revenue	
Previous withdrawals from the Reserve Bank	4,710,000
TOTAL	120,737,000

Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
MS35
439
477 - 596 not processed

APPENDIX A

Senegal and French Sudan: Principal Imports and Exports

	Unit	1935		1936		1937	
		Quantity	*Value in francs*	*Quantity*	*Value in francs*	*Quantity*	*Value in francs*
Exports							
Ground-nuts in shell	tons	345,875	313,432,794	393,485	351,674,005	527,322	431,746,036
Shelled ground-nuts	"	28,166	34,333,653	60,448	73,384,246	117,015	126,720,673
Ground-nut oil	"	351	861,751	2,050	5,800,397	5,220	16,040,707
Shea butter and oil	"	2,581	3,626,922	1,462	2,228,042	3,019	5,585,371
Oilcake	"	3,793	1,312,226	7,039	2,947,107	13,015	6,004,858
Gold	lb. Troy	2,095	8,901,740	1,252	5,805,527	2,794	31,283,905
Gum arabic	tons	4,728	7,136,201	4,891	7,490,869	6,246	15,047,090
Hides	"	3,324	4,704,078	2,859	3,287,966	3,061	4,665,701
Kapok	"	781	2,133,040	589	2,372,178	623	2,458,800
Imports							
Guinées and similar cloths	1,000 m.[1]	9,445	17,259,597	11,692	22,384,007	9,662	22,197,354
Cotton cloths other than guinées	tons	4,635	89,964,648	5,841	124,054,528	6,825	230,516,890
Ready-made clothing	"	212	4,164,653	244	7,689,014	483	21,623,794
Boots and shoes[2]	pairs	78,801	7,564,540	266,787	7,900,120	388,455	10,385,313
Sailcloth, tarpaulin, and sackcloth	tons	2,287	7,088,696	3,067	10,211,697	5,496	27,423,905
Motor vehicles	Nos.	650	8,690,069	856	13,215,870	1,019	19,485,856
Iron goods[3]	tons	4,729	4,468,010	7,871	7,378,240	11,279	16,992,941
Metal goods	..	..	23,539,206	..	36,210,388	..	69,810,487
Machines and machinery	..	..	13,994,073	..	12,827,932	..	23,267,430
[illegible]	tons	67,976	37,381,225	88,811	49,055,535	113,875	110,830,633
Wi[illegible]	gallons	1,201,375	16,457,225	1,405,096	16,084,060	1,522,544	21,185,905
[illegible]	tons	13,354	16,960,069	16,721	19,877,957	19,594	31,472,641
Wi[illegible]	"	13,018	9,831,300	12,281	9,505,149	14,873	21,403,576
Tea	"	395	4,390,689	656	7,338,370	534	6,777,110
Oil fuel	"	390,041	53,326,699	474,199	59,813,204	670,744	133,179,986
Coal	"	105,868	13,996,162	246,690	32,327,343	371,085	47,330,724
Soap	"	1,419	3,146,582	1,659	3,800,480	2,067	6,811,761

[1] 1,094 yards. [2] Mainly babouches (Moorish heel-less slippers). [3] Including rails for railway lines.

/93 cont./

133 channel, however, is accessible to ocean-going vessels of
505 4,000 to 6,000 tons (1) only as far as Kaolack, whose im-

1. This is about the tonnage of the vessels of the Compagnie Paquet, of the House of Manrel and Prom, and of the foreign vessels which visit the port of Kaolack.

[439]

portance with respect to navigation we shall discuss below.

The Saloum extends into the interior of the land a series of arms which are so many channels or "marigots" /watercourses/ open to cutters and to the native dugouts.

One of the most important is the Sine, which starts at Foundiougne and runs, after many meanders, to the port of Fatick, coming out from the Sérère /Serer/ region, which, however, only cutters of 40 tons can reach.

Nevertheless, the Sine allows steamers of considerable tonnage to tie up at the wharves of Niamnioroh, a small locality which over the past several years has become the gateway to the regions of Sine and western Baol.

133 The appearance of the part neighboring the ocean up to Bathurst is one of a vast fluvial network encompassing islets of low, clayey or sandy land, bordered by huge mangrove trees; this is the region called Bas-Saloum /Lower Saloum/, a fertile area of the same nature as Basse-Casamance /Lower Casamance/, a region of palm trees and of quite dense forests, where unfortunately the clearing of land has begun its devastating work.

From the orographic viewpoint, the region of Sine-Saloum /94/ is a flat region with very slight undulations of the terrain.

Broad longitudinal valleys in a north-south direction descend from the clayey and semi-desert plateaus of the Ferlo and end at the Gambia.

During the rainy season, these depressions in the vicinity of this river form copious streams which dry up rapidly.

/103 cont./

633 instance, a customs office, and a telegraph, telephone, and
[647] post office. The various administrative services are represented
there (public works, treasury, medical aid, education, agri-
culture, veterinary medicine, etc.).

433 Financial situation. Taxes. The circle of Sine-Saloum is constantly increasing in importance because of its size, population, and economic resources.

[496] Because of its exceptional location, the railway from
[491] the Sudan crosses it over a distance of 190 kilometers. Seven
[505] stations mark it out. Its railroad network and its system of highways and canals permit it to drain to Kaolack and
[439] Foundiougne all of the products of the soil. Thus, the total commerce for 1927 (imports and exports combined) amounted
651 to 350 million francs for the circle. The customs duties collected for the benefit of the general budget of French West Africa reached 13 million francs. The taxes from the tax rolls (personal taxes, patents, licenses, etc.) have risen to 25 million francs, whereas they did not exceed the figure of 4,300,000 francs in 1923. The advance is thus remarkable.

Native personal taxes alone in 1927 provided 3,768,355 francs, whereas in 1921 they brought in only 2,791,000 francs.

Taxes on livestock went from 270,000 francs in 1921 to 425,000 francs in 1927.

871 /104/ Education. Instruction is given to the children
[875] by French and native teachers. There is a regional school
[872] with 500 pupils at Kaolack. Primary schools are operating at Fatick, Foundiougne, Sokone, Gossas, Kaffrine, and Nioro. In all, 1,200 children receive instruction; only an elite goes to school. A need for the creation of new centers of education is felt, especially at Birkelane, Koungheul, Gandiaye, Niakhar, and Tataguine. Nevertheless, although instruction in French is given only in our schools, the natives also receive some rudiments of instruction in the Koranic schools. The latter are quite numerous.

[in KAOLACK - ANALYST]

23: Aujas--25 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37
/113/
505
439

Port of Kaolack

Years	Vessels		Total	Imports		Exports		Total	
	In-coming	Out-going		Weight	Value	Weight	Value	Weight	Value
				tons	francs	tons	francs	tons	francs
1922	191	183	374	2,773	5,051,568	33,396	15,511,484	36,169	20,563,052
1923	147	581	1,228	44,808	27,954,644	79,721	48,360,455	124,529	76,305,100
1924	516	511	1,027	31,300	43,081,146	94,800	99,230,755	126,107	142,311,901
1925	482	483	965	51,150	71,165,898	121,241	139,292,637	172,391	161,401,932
1926	791	791	1,582	57,245	128,869,032	140,386	218,488,749	197,631	348,357,781
1927	828	829	1,657	60,789	116,138,356	138,664	213,889,002	199,453	330,027,358

23: Aujas--26 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37
505
439
/114/

PORT OF FOUNDIOUGNE

Years	Vessels		Total	Imports		Exports		Total	
	In-coming	Out-going		Weight	Value	Weight	Value	Weight	Value
				tons	francs	tons	francs	tons	francs
1922	624	630	1,254	5,741	15,742,749	85,507	45,523,369	91,245	61,275,118
1923	822	785	1,607	6,292	15,024,623	43,303	27,129,527	49,595	42,154,250
1924	744	739	1,483	10,957	28,304,623	43,422	41,882,147	54,379	70,186,770
1925	650	661	1,311	13,453	32,501,849	59,031	61,006,933	72,484	94,408,782
1926	707	747	1,454	14,644	41,776,166	65,226	90,798,776	79,869	132,574,942
1927	727	753	1,480	10,427	36,343,264	57,471	81,325,445	67,898	117,668,709

23: Aujas--27 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37
/115/
505
139

PORT OF SABOYA

Years	Vessels		Total	Imports		Exports		Total	
	In-coming	Out-going		Weight	Value	Weight	Value	Weight	Value
				tons	francs	tons	francs	tons	francs
1922	Noth-ing	Noth-ing							
1923	7	7	14	43	78,282	1,657	831,147	1,700	909,429
1924	9	9	18	107	290,000	1,601	6,710,000	4,279	6,810,000
1925	11	8	19	149	331,000	1,609	2,020,011	4,069	2,351,011
1926	6	4	10	75	150,000	3,834	5,443,800	3,909	5,593,800
1927	3	3	6	21	100,000	4,258	6,710,000	4,279	6,810,000

23: Aujas--28 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37
/116/
505
139

Movement of the Ports of Sine-Saloum: Kaolack, Foundiougne, and Saboya

Years	Vessels		Total	Imports		Exports		Total	
	In-coming	Out-going		Weight	Value	Weight	Value	Weight	Value
				tons	francs	tons	francs	tons	francs
1922	815	813	1,628	8,514	20,794,317	118,903	61,043,853	127,417	81,838,170
1923	1,476	1,373	2,849	51,143	42,979,267	124,681	76,321,129	175,824	119,368,779
1924	1,269	1,259	2,528	42,364	71,675,769	139,823	141,112,902	182,194	214,398,421
1925	1,143	1,152	2,295	64,752	103,998,747	182,192	202,319,581	246,944	258,161,725
1926	1,504	1,542	3,046	71,964	170,795,198	209,446	309,287,525	281,409	486,526,523
1927	1,558	1,585	3,143	71,237	152,581,620	200,393	301,924,447	271,630	454,506,067

23: Aujas--29 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37
SINE-SALOUM

/117/

Total Traffic for the Circle
(Kaolack, Foundiougne, Saboya)

505

Periods	Tonnage Unloaded	Tonnage Loaded	Tonnage Unloaded and Loaded
1909-1913	12,076 t.	49,189 t.	61, 265 t.
1914-1918	12,333	70,767	83,100
1919-1923	17,438	99,803	17,241
1924	42,288	139,712	182,000
1925	64,668	182,277	246,945
1926	71,964	209,446	281,410
1927	71,237	200,393	271,630

433 The tonnage decreased by about 10,000 tons in 1927,
505 but this was solely due to the fact that the groundnut harvest was slightly deficient as a consequence of an overabundance of rain. On the whole, one can say that there has been constant and uninterrupted progress since the pre-war period. The announcement of this figure indicates the flourishing situation of the region of Sine-Saloum.

433 In 1927 the total value of imports and exports for the
439 circle amounted to 454 million francs, 330 million of which were for Kaolack. With what left by way of the small customs stations along the border with Gambia, one can acknowledge that the value of general commerce in 1927 was almost 500 million, or almost a third of the total commerce of the colony of Senegal, which in 1927 amounted to 1 billion 562 million.

These figures speak for themselves.

Agricultural Resources of the Region: Crops

244 The principal crop of Sine-Saloum is the groundnut.
433 This plant is cultivated everywhere, but the best lands are
[134] in Sine and north of the railroad. The lands of Bas-Saloum

/122 cont./

317 Current production varies from 20,000 to 30,000 tons, which
433 are consumed in the region and exported to Senegal and the
[651] Sudan. This Société is hampered in its development by the taxes on salt and by transportation costs which particularly burden this product.

From time immemorial the natives have been exploiting the salt marshes at Tickat, upstream from Kaolack, and on the arms of the Saloum to the west of Fatick. They produce only what is needed for their consumption. /123/
[651] During the time of the Bours, this exploitation was the occasion for a fee in kind for the benefit of the sovereign.

433 Native industrie. In addition to the native salt marshes,
258 we might also mention the fish-drying industry. The many lagoons, marigots, and watercourses of the region contain an abundance of excellent ocean fish (polynemids, pike, skate, sole, etc.). The Niominka race, accustomed to fishing, draw a remunerative advantage from it. The drying of fish is practiced at Fatick, Foundiougne, and in Bas-Saloum. One can estimate the quantity of dried fish at close to 500
[438] tons per year. The consumption is purely local, and the markets of the circle and of neighboring circles are the usual selling places.

433 The only other local industries are those of the potters,
463 basket makers, and weavers. Some native blacksmiths set
[326] up shop in the villages at the time of cultivation; they are, moreover, of the Ouoloff or Moorish race.

433 European industries. There is only one European in-
258 dustry in the circle. An oil factory for the processing of
[648] groundnuts has been set up at Kaolack by Engineer Gaudart. Today this factory belongs to the Société des Huileries et Rizeries Ouest-Africaines /West African Oil Refinery and Rice Company/. Its equipment is modern. Its production is large; it
[439] sells it in the colony, in France, and in the nearby British colonies.

/123 cont./

439 Commerce. Commerce has not stopped progressing since the end of the war, for both imports and exports.

Fabrics constitute the principal part of the imports, along with toys and construction materials.

The groundnut is the principal product exported. It is the one that makes up the wealth of the region.

[471] Commerce is for the most part in the hands of French Sociétés /companies/ or individuals, who have established branches in all the important centers. These branches have been multiplying in the past several years and even extend into the small villages which are disposal centers /124/ for the sought-after agricultural product. Today the truck penetrates into the most remote corners. In other words the farmer no longer has to put himself out in order to sell his products. One comes to him to buy his groundnuts at the very place of the harvest. The petty retail trade is in the hands of native [443] traders or Syrian merchants.

Imports. We saw above the figures for the movement of navigation and the tonnage of the goods unloaded in the various ports. The high prices for fabrics that have been reached in the last three or four years have caused a certain drop in business, from which the wholesale trade and the retail trade have suffered.

439 505 Exports. We are giving below the figures for the export of groundnuts. As is known, for Senegal the past two years have been calculated at a tonnage of 483,980 tons in 1926 and 485,608 tons in 1927, with a respective value of 740 million and 616 million.

Out of this total, the share of the ports of the Saloum, going back to 1921, is the following:

/124 cont./

439
505

	Kaolack	Foundiougne	Totals (1)
1921	. . .	73,885 t.	73,885 t.
1922	29,192 t.	79,882	109,074
1923	75,503	36,954	112,457
1924	90,421	39,221	129,633
1925	110,787	52,986	163,773
1926	135,899	58,271	194,170
1927	134,947	51,808	186,755

1. Kaolack, up to 1922, had no customs office. It was Foundiougne which centralized all the operations.

To the above figures must be added those for the port of Saboya which we gave above.

On the whole, the tonnage of groundnuts exported by way of the ports of the circle was 198,000 tons in 1926; in 1927, 191,000 tons, or 40% of the /125/ total exports of groundnuts from Senegal. It should be noted that in 1906 the tonnage exported amounted to only 31,000 tons.

439
505
433

The production of the circle being 140,000 tons, the difference over that comes from the harvest of the regions of Baol, Tambacounda, and the Sudan, which is shipped to Kaolack and Foundiougne. If one compares these figures with the production of 1913, which was 60,000 tons, one sees how much progress has marked the cultivation of groundnuts.

Imports and exports combined make the general commerce of the circle reach close to 300,000 tons at present.

651

Customs receipts. The Kaolack customs office took in as receipts the sum of 13,901,810 francs in 1927.

The one at Foundiougne, 4,001,249 francs.

Or a total of 17,903,059 francs.

If one adds to this the receipts from Saboya and those from the frontier posts of the Gambia, the total receipts exceed 18 million francs. We are far from the figure for 1905: 405,000 francs.

/45 cont./ W
a kind of Negro bard or comedian, who do not receive the honors /123
of burial and are therefore deposited in the hollows of certain [766]
trees designated to serve as tombs for them.

May 1822

Meanwhile, M. Roger, the ex-barrister, having become S
governor of our colonies in Africa, sent us the order to go to [648]
Sierra Leone to get a library (16) and some cannon belonging

16. And doubtless also the archives of Senegal. This mission was not crowned with success, "the library having been sent back to Europe" (Herpin, 1913, p. 132).

to France, which the English had taken away while evacuating our colony.

He advised us on the same occasion, if we happened S
to capture any French ships engaging fraudulently in the slave [439]
trade, to treat them kindly, in order to conform to the paternal instructions of the mother country.

/46/ The metaphor seemed to us rather bold, even for an ex-barrister.

Here I resume the observations that I made during my stay at Cape Verde.

The Yoloffe Negroes who people this region are tall W
and well-proportioned in stature. Their color is darker than /142
that of all the other Blacks of Africa. They follow the religion W
of Mohammed, but completely distorted by secular idolatrous 771
beliefs.

Their marabouts, very influential, sell them very dearly W
the grigris or amulets with which they decorate themselves in [789]
order to protect themselves against all evils and all dangers. [793] [751]

Among their religious customs let us note a kind of ban W
which resembles the excommunication of former times. 695

/73 cont./

175 369 499 133 The surveys for the future course of this railway revealed that the shortest route would have to follow the Atlantic coast, but since this is bordered by dunes it would necessitate some important construction work. The passage across the slope of Thiès was also a serious obstacle, but the "Ravin des Voleurs" made access to the plateau possible; the line would thus follow the valley which cuts the brow of the hill, then the depression which follows the plateau to the east, and would pass in front of the military fort established at its extremity.

175 369 [361] The fortune of Thiès was made: as early as 1885, the date of the opening of the railroad, the merchants of Rufisque set up branches there; a plan for dividing the future city into lots was outlined. This plan, unfortunately, foresaw the development of the city only north of the line, along the trail connecting Thiès with Rufisque and Dakar. A Catholic [797] mission was established in the vicinity, and in 1893 the first civil administrator occupied the new residence built near the Faidherbe redoubt.

175 369 439 [496] [492] The groundnut policy developed successfully; 20,000 tons of groundnuts were shipped by rail from the Thiès station in 1890 (3). Commerce, however, was not established in

3. Convoys of camels competed with the railway up to 1910 and transported their cargo to the port of Rufisque. Thiès was the last stop before reaching the quays of embarkation 50 kilometers away.

[366] permanent fashion in the escale: only during the period of trading (from November to May) did the European employees [441] sent by the firms of Rufisque live in the city and buy groundnuts, millet, cotton ... at their branches; from May to November they returned to Rufisque, and most of the shops in Thiès were closed, the city seemingly dead.

/741/

175 The major part of the commerce was then concentrated
369 north of the railway; nevertheless, as early as 1895 some
[366] shops were established to the south, near the residence.

In 1890 Thiès had a permanent population of 1,200
[162] inhabitants. Some native quarters were established in the
175 vicinity of the commercial escale. The little village of
369 Thiès-None was shifted from the other side of the railway.
361 A native quarter was attached to the western part of the commercial zone; it was moved toward the south after the plague of 1911 and took the name of Randoulème (a word meaning in Wolof: remove yourself). Takhikao (storied house in Wolof), established originally near the first storied house belonging to Maurel and Prom, was ultimately pushed back along the route to Saint-Louis (Fig. 2).

175 Little by little, while the military function fell asleep,
369 the development of commerce brought stable economic
[366] activity to the city. Until 1914 the city grew very little,
[162] and its population amounted to only 2,400 inhabitants at that date; from 1885 to 1914 the city gained only 1,400 souls in all.

The military function of the city recovered part of its former importance during the war of 1914. The base of Thiès
[712] became a center of military training for new recruits. The quarter of Diakhao adjoining the camp was enlarged by the arrival of the families of the military. On the other hand, commerce was threatened during this period. The French
175 personnel, which since the beginning of the century had been
369 permanently established, was summoned to the colors. In
441 order to avoid shutting up shop, the Levantines were called
563 upon. The latter had made their appearance in Senegal as early as 1895 and up to that time had played only a very secondary role in the market of the city: selling candles, matches, beads... The war of 1914 facilitated their entry into the lucrative activity of trade.

/74 cont./

369 3. The establishment of industries (1923-1945).

498 The event which gave a decisive impulsion to the
[175] commercial escale and which brought Thiès to the rank of a city was without question the establishment of the railroad repair shops in 1923. As early as 1907 the first work had been undertaken to connect Thiès to Bamako directly by rail; difficulties of all kinds and then the war impeded it. In 1923 only the junction of the two sections had been made at Kidira on the Falémé. There was some concern to have the repair shops of the Thiès-Niger established in the center nearest the coast. Thiès, head of the line, was chosen as
[162] the center. In a few years the city grew by 10,000 souls, going from 3,000 inhabitants in 1921 to 13,000 in 1929.

369 The opening of the railroad yards not only brought about the arrival of many workers and their families, but at the
441 same /75/ /Fig. 2 appears here/ time gave a strong impulsion to commerce. The regular injection of credits by this new industry brought about a renewal of commercial activity which showed in the expansion of the firms already established and the creation of new stores. The Africans, who up
[472] to that time worked solely for the profit of firms under European management and who had been kept out of the re-
[563] tail business, opened small shops for their own profit (4).

[177] 4. It is the military, it seems, who brought back from France this idea of establishing for themselves small grocery stores copied from those encountered in the villages of the mother country.

The latter, appealing to an essentially native clientele, multiplied as soon as the economic scope of the city increased. At the same time the number of artisans increased.

[563] After the war, the Levantines, who had been the only ones able to carry on commerce in complete tranquility for four years, set up businesses for themselves. Their experience

/75 cont./

102
361
491
496

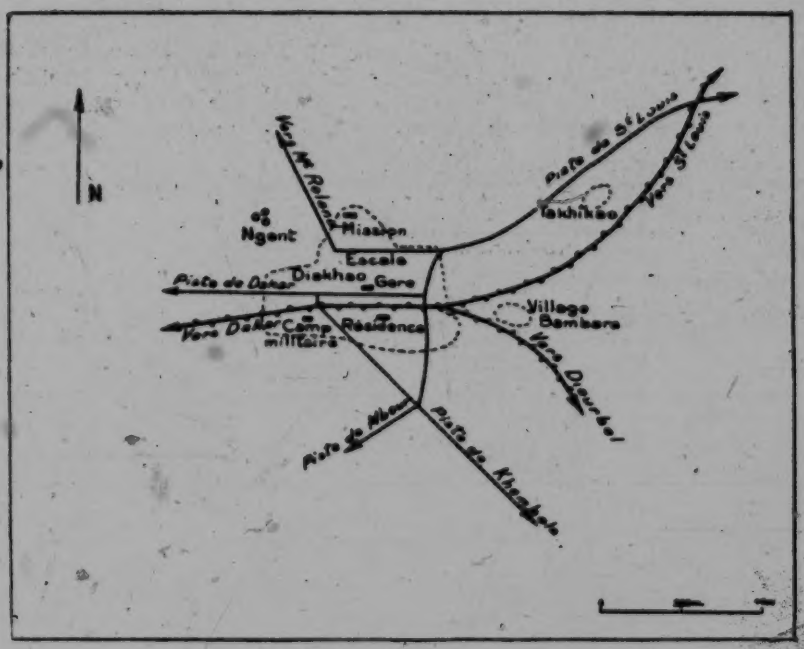


Fig. 2. Thiès in 1910.

369 acquired during the period of hostilities, their knowledge of the
441 language, and their great aptitude for adapting themselves to
563 the customs of the country and for living under very curtailed conditions /76/ made these newcomers serious competitors whom French commerce tried, but in vain, to eliminate. All the concessions of the northern escale were now occupied (5); the

5. There was no question of extending the first lots farther to the north; the concession ceded to the Mission prevented such an extension.

newcomers -- chiefly Syrians -- set up their factorerie (6) in the

[443]

6. Factorerie: shop where everything is sold and where at the same time

/76 cont./

369 441 563 443

local products (groundnuts, millet ...) are bought or bartered for.

still almost empty quarter of the residence.

369 433 458 Already the economic equilibrium of the city was no longer essentially based on the commerce of trade, subject to price fluctuations, but also on the budding industry which assured it a certain stability. It is true that the latter, barely acquired, was put to a harsh test during the world crisis from 1930 to 1934. In the course of this difficult period the price of the groundnut slumped. The old commercial firms which depended solely on the trading were no longer able to meet their payments and liquidate their stock: Société Française du Sénégal, the firms Lacombe, Latrille... The sounder establishments were themselves obliged to close their city branches temporarily, for example, Peyrissac, Maurel Frères. Nevertheless one did not see here a complete slump in commerce with spectacular failures such as occurred in Dakar, but rather commercial liquidations, sales of stocks that were repurchased by Levantines and wholesale companies.

[471] [563] The effects of the crisis, which ended in 1934, resulted in a redistribution of commercial ownership, a readaptation of commerce to the new requirements, along with the definitive establishment of the Levantines.

369 498 433 At this date the fusion of the two railroad companies, the Dakar--Saint-Louis and Thiès-Niger, stimulated an expansion of the industrial quarter by regrouping at Thiès the workshops originally installed at Dakar for the Dakar--Saint-Louis railway.

369 [162] [511] [361] On the eve of the Second World War the city reached the figure of 22,000 inhabitants, 1,200 of them Europeans. The almost complete disappearance of epidemics, the better food supply, the construction of comfortable houses (Ballabey district created as early as 1925 for the railway workers, villas for officers) permit metropolitan families to settle in a permanent fashion. In a parallel manner, the native

/83 cont./

3. The Activities of the City

1. Commerce.

433 If we except the period of conquest, during which a handful of troops established themselves in the entrenched camp, the primary function of Thiès was commerce.

441 433 An escale of trade in its beginnings, Thiès has remained that up to our times. Almost 25,000 tons of groundnuts are commercialized each year in spite of the opening of important points of trade in the vicinity, Tivaouane, Khombole, located some 30 kilometers from there. This commerce demands a certain taste for risk; if in certain years it offers appreciable profits, it sometimes renders the balance sheet of the merchants who practice it very precarious. The groundnut trade, as far as purchase from the producer is concerned, is almost entirely in the hands of the [563] [442] Levantines and a few Moors and Blacks. The important establishments, N. O. S. O. C. O. (8) and the Soucail firm,

8. N. O. S. O. C. O. Nouvelle Société Commerciale.

engage only in wholesale trade.

443 The factorerie run by a Levantine (9) next to the

[162] [563] 9. The Levantines are 48 in number, namely, 23 Syrians and 25 Lebanese (figures of 1952).

courtyard of the secco (10) has kept all its picturesqueness

[257] 10. Secco: mass of groundnuts stored in the courtyard of the merchant and destined for export.

[438] up to our day. /84/ Everything is sold there, from the piece of trade cloth in vivid colors to cheap perfume; kerosene by the liter and millet by the kilo or sack are retailed there.

244 /14/
242 of training. This is one of the essential preoccupations of
654 the present Sengalese government.

II. The "Trade" of Groundnuts

433 For a century the total volume of production has pro-
244 gressed in spectacular fashion. Actually, no statistics are available at the harvesting stage. Only the commercial figures are known with any accuracy. In any case they differ little from the total figure of production because local consumption seems to be of little importance. It is estimated that the average production of groundnuts from 1900 to 1904 was 123,000 metric tons. The more recent figures are the following: 1938-1939 campaign, 584,000 metric tons; 1942-1943 compaign, 183,000 metric tons; 1943-1944 campaign, 281,000 metric tons; 1957-1958 campaign, 808,000 metric tons; 1958-1959 campaign, 653,000 metric tons; 1959-1960 campaign, 720,000 metric tons.

Except for the period of the war, when the production of
[439] groundnuts, difficult to export, decreased to the profit of that of millet, progress was continuous, the 1957-1958 campaign being exceptionally favorable.

439 This production enters into the circuit of commercialization or "trade," which today is very strictly regulated.

[178] 1. The organization of "trade." The commercialization of the groundnut has replaced the "trade" in gum, slaves, and gold of the former colonial system. Although the term is still often used, its present context is very different from the
439 acceptation of the era of the colonial pact. Trade is no longer,
441 as Littré wished it to be, an exchange trade organized almost
438 exclusively for the benefit of the European "trader"; today it is a commercial activity that is strictly regulated as to time and place and open only to approved intermediaries.

442 1.) The "campaign." "The campaign" is the period
654
438

/15 cont./

442 437 [992] [488] [452] [443] [438] into the secco, an area with a floor of hard earth or cement, closed off by sheet metal. The agriculturalist, paid forthwith, immediately spends the sum received, in settling the sums owed to the trader and in buying from among the manufactured objects of the same factory the most diverse articles: cloth, playthings, articles for bicycles, etc. Thus the same trader realizes two profits in the traditional system.

3) The agents of trade. Until the Second World War, 439 441 442 438 the trade in groundnuts was in the hands of about 3,000 private traders organized in a strict hierarchy. At the top, the trade was controlled by the large import-export houses, especially of Bordeaux origin, Maurel et Prom, Peyrissac, Vézia, etc., to which was added the C. F. A. O. of Marseilles origin, and the S. C. O. A. Franco-Switzerland. These firms, whose central agencies for Senegal are in Dakar, make arrangements for the "banks" and "agencies" in the principal localities, for "factories" in the escales, and for "operations" in the bush. These commercial houses concentrate the purchases of their various traders and provide them with imported products. They are supported during the campaign by the banks of the mother country or their agencies in Senegal.

441 442 438 The independent French merchants, often former employees of the firms, play the role of intermediary /demi-grossiste/ in the escales. /16/ They buy directly from the producers or from the African sub-trader and bag and forward /the product/ to the commercial houses in the shipping ports. They have been very harshly affected by the economic crisis of the 1930's and then [563] by the war, in particular by the mobilization, which facilitated the establishment of many Lebano-Syrian traders.

The treaties of 1919 facilitated the arrival in Africa of [563] these Lebano-Syrians. They devote themselves essentially to commerce, and they have on the whole succeeded, because, living near the autochthons, they have adopted their way of life and are contented with much less than the independent 442 443 438 Europeans. During the trade, they are generally commission agents of the firm that they represent. They receive a commission for each metric ton of groundnuts purchased, and sell in

/16 cont./

438 their establishments the manufactured products that the firm
442 delivers to them. They[1] are most often linked with the pro-
[443] ducers by the system of loans that they authorize in cash and
[452] especially in kind during the difficult period of low supplies before the harvest.

The African "sub-traders" most often play the role of
[441] intermediary between the producers and the traders; they very often are transporters and guide the seller to the weighing-machine of a friend.

Since the last war this system has been greatly perturbed by the appearance of new purchasers who more and more compete with the traditional commerce. The local oil-makers
[258] scarcely ever appeal to the large firms. They do business with the traders of the escales, or, more often, they have their
438 own buyers. Since 1952 some pilot co-operatives have made
442 the collection in many escales at little expense; they utilize
474 the personnel and equipment of the S.M.D.R. Moreover, the
656 law of 13 January 1960, creating an "Office de commercialisation agricole" (O.C.A.), has assigned to this body the responsibility of selling the products collected by the co-operatives (Art. 6) and has granted it license to create purchase points for the direct collection of local agricultural products in the sectors where there are as yet no co-operatives (Art. 7). The decree of 20 May 1960, which more precisely relates to the marketing of groundnuts, grants purchasing permits only to organismes stockeurs (O.S.) /storage bodies/, private or co-operative, properly approved by the decision of a Comité régional d'agrément /Regional Committee of Approval/, and to the purchasing posts of the O.C.A. One might ask if these decisions do not constitute a step toward the creation of an "Office de l'arachide" /Office for Groundnuts/, which would have exclusivity of the trade and could normalize a "circuit of groundnuts," now very complex. /Pl. I and II appear here on unnumbered pages./

[1] [The Lebano-Syrian Traders --Analyst]

/379 cont./

102
496
508
504
491
361

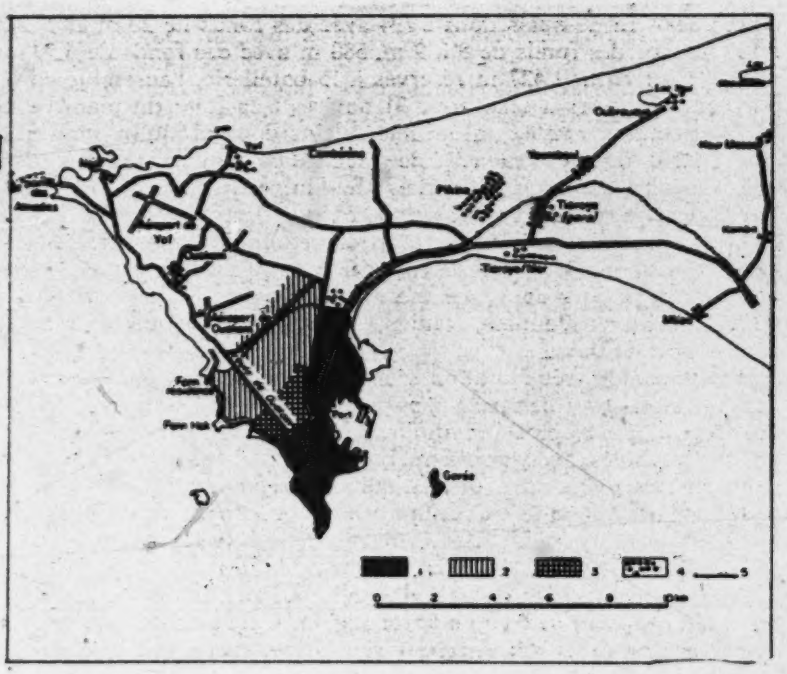


Fig. 2. The quarters of Dakar. --1. Dakar-ville and the industrial zone; 2. Greater Dakar; 3. Médina; 4. villages of the suburbs; 5. railroads.

369 groundnuts at Rufisque, nearer to the centers of production in
505 Cayor. Therefore Rufisque soon became the groundnut capital.
439 As early as 1862, 27 European or Goréan merchants were estab-
[441] lished there (and 12 at Bargny, located three kilometers farther to the east). Three years later, this figure climbed to 35 (14).

14. Note 1 in Fondation de Dakar, op. cit., p. 328.

369
633 The activity at Rufisque was so great and the launching of Dakar so

/380 cont./

at Dakar.

369 648 [433] Even more than in the sphere of aviation, however, it is on the commercial and industrial plane that the other states of former French West Africa were, before the recent political disturbances, dependent on Dakar. In fact Dakar was the seat [453] of the banks and of the commercial associations or the branch [441] agencies of the mother country, all of whom /Pl. XXI and XXII appear here on unnumbered pages/ /381/exercise from Dakar, if not always a role of direct administration, at least some co-ordination and in any case an influence that is not negligible on the branches scattered across Senegal, former French West Africa, and sometimes even across foreign territories. Thus, the C.F.A.O., the S.C.O.Z., the B.A.O., and the B.C.A., which practice their activities in practically all of Black Africa, although having their seat in Paris, are strongly established in Dakar, from where they manage a number of agencies and branches. On the other hand, the Société Maurel et Prom, which has branches in Senegal, Mauritania, the Sudan, Guinea, and Gambia, the "Commerce Africain," which has establishments in Senegal, Gambia, the Ivory Coast, and the Cameroun, and other companies have their [439] seat in Dakar (17). Moreover it must be added that several in-

17. "Le Commerce Africain" transferred its seat from Dakar to Paris in July 1960.

dustries (oil factories, soap factories, breweries, cement factories, textile factories, shoe factories, etc.) established on the peninsula of Cape Verde send a part of their products to other territories in former French West Africa.

369 633 648 Finally, because of its former function as federal capital, Dakar brought together all of the federal political and administrative organs, which permitted it to direct and co-ordinate all of the political, administrative, and economic life of former French West Africa.

Thus, Dakar became the leader, the undisputed metropolis, upon which there depended a regional assemblage much

[Text continues on p. 17--Analyst]

/386 cont./

369 and independence have had the effect of reinforcing this mix-
563 ing the more since it sometimes brings about a pure and simple substitution of African staffs for European staffs in many of the lodgings.

Finally, although today the quarters of Dakar are still clearly distinguished by their appearance, the differentiation of their contents is less and less based on origin and tends to be a social rather than racial differentiation. Therefore, instead of the traditional division of the West African cities into "white city and black city," let us distinguish four sections in the Dakar agglomeration: /387/ Dakar-ville, the Médina, Greater Dakar, and the suburbs.

361 1. Dakar-ville. The plateau from the southeast to the
369 head of the peninsula and a part of the plain from Cape Manuel to the avenue El Hadji Malick Sy constitute what today is called Dakar-ville. The essential characteristic of this part of the Dakar agglomeration is that almost all of its buildings are permanent, except for some islands of huts. This is where practically all of the administrative offices, the large-scale
[366] commerce, the major part of the Lebano-Syrian commerce, and the great markets are found. But Dakar-ville shows very diverse aspects (Pl. XXI B) (Pl. XXIIA).

The Plateau is the best arranged part of Dakar-ville. It is there that the first nucleus of modern Dakar was located, extending around the port, from the station to the Protet Plaza and the Military Circle. Little changed, this nucleus has re-
[363] mained very much as it was at the beginning of the century;
[342] it is intersected by narrow streets, bordered by old houses in
[347] colonial style, with stores on the ground floor and lodgings with verandas on the upper floor. This nucleus has remained the business quarter, that of the large-scale commerce domi-
•[441] nated by the great companies and the old Bordeaux firms, C.F.A.O., S.C.O.A., N.O.S.O.C.O., S.O.C.O.P.A.O.,
[366] Chavanel, Maurel et Prom, etc., surrounding the Kernel market, surmounted by its cupola of 1900 style. Several old administrative

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Municipal Government

Full Communes. Dakar (including Goree), St. Louis, and Rufisque are full communes (Vol. I, p. 258), the only ones in the Federation. 633

The Municipal Councils, which choose their own mayors, consist of from fifteen to eighteen members. These are elected for terms of four years by the French citizens of their towns, and since 1910 all the councils have had African majorities. At first these communes had powers as extensive as their counterparts in France, and they were responsible for police, public health, roads, markets, lighting, and elementary education. In 1918, however, the colonial authorities took over public health at St. Louis and at Dakar, and in 1927 at Rufisque. Similarly, in 1924, the creation of the District of Dakar was made the occasion to subtract police and roads from the commune. The same process, without the same excuse, went on in 1927 for St. Louis and for Rufisque. For all these services the municipalities still make financial contributions.

Their revenue comes from direct government grants, from municipal rates, and from municipal undertakings. Altogether they include market dues, liquor licences, lighting, and a proportion of the business licences and other colonial taxes. In normal years the revenue of Dakar averaged some 8,000,000 francs, of St. Louis 7,750,000 francs, and of Rufisque 5,600,000 francs. 652 651 633

In each case the budget is drawn up by the mayor, passed by his council, and submitted to the Governor or Administrator. [643]

Mixed Communes. There are fifteen mixed communes in Senegal, namely Bambey, Bargny-Gouddou, Diourbel, Fatik, Foundiougne, Gossas, Kaolack, Kébémer, Kombole, Louga, M'Bour, Mekhé, Thiès, Tivaouane, and Ziguinchor. Thirteen of them are mixed communes of the first degree, but since 1925 Kaolack and Ziguinchor have been mixed communes of the second degree. 633

Chambers of Commerce. There are Chambers of Commerce at Dakar, Kaolack, St. Louis, Thiès, and Ziguinchor. The one at St. Louis is the successor of a Committee of Commerce which was set up in 1825. The Chamber at Thiès is also known as the Chamber of Cayor-Baol. It was first founded at Rufisque in 1883, but in 1937, when that town was included in the District of Dakar, it was moved to its present headquarters. 441 647

In Senegal there are no separate Chambers of Agriculture and Industry, but the Chamber of Commerce at Dakar has a section, established in 1930, devoted to those two activities.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

redemption money. During 1936 official figures showed 1,000 labourers working under written contracts for private concerns, while 31,800 were working on verbal agreements. For public services there were only 20 working with written contracts and 8,900 without. These figures apply only to regular employment, and they take no account of casual labour of any kind. 466 [675]

The fertile provinces of Baol and Sine-Saloum annually attract thousands of immigrant labourers from French Sudan to grow ground-nuts. It is estimated that, in some years, as many as 60,000 Sudanese labourers (*navétanes*) cross the border, encouraged by cheap fares on the railways and advances of pay from the Chambers of Commerce. In 1932 these advances amounted to 300,000 francs. On their arrival they do not work for daily hire, but each labourer takes up a plot for the season. The landowner provides the seeds, and also board and lodging for the labourer. In return the labourer works on the owner's plot for two, three, or four days a week. At the close of the season the proprietor takes either one-tenth of the crop or double the quantity of seeds that he supplied, leaving the rest of the crop to the labourer. Most labourers return to their homes at the end of the harvest, but occasionally they stay on till they have accumulated the sum they set out to acquire. 167 464 [441] [654] 427 465 167 464

Agriculture

The first director of agriculture of Senegal may be said to have been Richard, one of the survivors of the *Méduse*. Under him experimental gardens were founded at Richard Toll about 1820. These are still in existence. The present organization of the Department of Agriculture is laid down by an order of 22 January 1932. Working in close contact with local administrative officers, it manages experimental gardens and farm schools, gives information and instruction to farmers, conducts campaigns against agricultural pests, and organizes agricultural shows. The Department has a laboratory at Hann and an experimental station at Bambey. This was opened in 1924 and is devoted principally to the study and improvement of ground-nuts. Besides these institutions the Department owns various smaller stations for study, experiment, and instruction. 647 654

Forestry. The Department of Agriculture had charge of forestry until an order of 10 February 1937 created a separate Forestry Department and divided the colony into four forestry districts (*inspections*), with headquarters at St. Louis, Thiès, Ziguinchor, and Tambacounda respectively.

/109 cont./

491 line in addition to the normal traffic of pedestrians and vehicles.

653 The colony of Senegal, in concert with the Société Coignet, is currently preparing the agreement, which will be passed immediately and which will require three years for the landing, the embankments of the terrepleins, and the bridge.

The realization of the works and arrangements planned will be an interesting example of close co-operation between the government of the colony, the public works services, the [441] Kaolack Chambre de Commerce, and private enterprise.

433 To demonstrate the importance of the port of Kaolack, it is sufficient to put some figures before the eyes of the reader. One will get an idea of the growth of the commercial movement that the privileged location of Kaolack on the river enabled one to foresee 15 years ago.

433 In 1905, Kaolack was still a small, insignificant vil-
505 lage. Foundiougne was the great port of the Saloum. But Kaolack was the outlet for an entire hinterland much larger; it was the access route of the products from Baol and Haut-Saloum /Upper Saloum/; finally, it was the natural port for the Sudan. Its approach, 120 kilometers from the ocean and made difficult by the passage of the Sangomar channel and [502] the sandbanks of the river, has been facilitated by the buoys. Running aground has become much rarer. Piloting, however, is obligatory.

496 Railroads. The railroad from Thiès to Niger, /110/
433 extended by a branch of 22 kilometers, which starts at Guinguinéo and ends at Kaolack, brought out the full importance of the latter point as the lands located near the railroad were improved. This development will take several years. It is steadily and fully progressing today. Like all railroad lines, the artery of the Thiès-Niger breathes life into formerly deserted regions, which are now being populated and opened for colonization.

648 Undoubtedly Kaolack benefited from the non-application
504 of the Franco-British pact of April 8, 1904. As is known,

/117 cont./

244 are much less suitable for this crop because of their composi-
493 tion which gives a certain acidity to the nuts, thus rendering
[134] them less suitable for industrial use in /118/ the production
[242] of fine oils. There have been attempts to correct this defect and to improve the quality of Bas-Saloum by means of seed selection and by the continued addition of seed from Sine; this has not yet been successful.

Fallow lands, however, are not lacking in the other regions of the circle.

There are 230,000 hectares planted in groundnuts. This figure represents 0.85 hectares per inhabitant. This is about 1/11 of the total area of the circle.

In 1914 this crop extended over 70,000 hectares. It has thus tripled.

The production, which was 75,000 tons in 1918, is about 140,000 tons today. It has doubled in 10 years. It amounts to almost a third of the harvest of Senegal.

One can determine the production of groundnuts in the circle since 1921 by the following figures (in tons):

Years	1921	1922	1923	1924
Tons	80,000	90,000	110,000	125,000
Years	1925	1926	1927	
Tons	135,000	145,000	140,000	

[167] These results are due in part to the increase in the
[242] population by the influx of foreign workers into the circle, who came to settle there or who hire themselves out, and in part to the selection of seeds and their distribution in ever increasing quantities.

[654] The credit for this work is to be given to the administra-
[441] tion, the Société de Prevoyance /Welfare Society/, and the
[474] Chambre de Commerce of Kaolack, whose combined efforts have made it possible to achieve such a fine result.

/83 cont./

3. The Activities of the City

1. Commerce.

433 If we except the period of conquest, during which a handful of troops established themselves in the entrenched camp, the primary function of Thiès was commerce.

441 An escale of trade in its beginnings, Thiès has remained that up to our times. Almost 25,000 tons of groundnuts are commercialized each year in spite of the opening of important points of trade in the vicinity, Tivaouane, Khombole, located some 30 kilometers from there. This commerce demands a certain taste for risk; if in certain years it offers appreciable profits, it sometimes renders the balance sheet of the merchants who practice it very precarious. The groundnut trade, as far as purchase from the producer is concerned, is almost entirely in the hands of the Levantines and a few Moors and Blacks. The important establishments, N. O. S. O. C. O. (8) and the Soucail firm,

433 [563] [442]

8. N. O. S. O. C. O. Nouvelle Société Commerciale.

engage only in wholesale trade.

443 The factorerie run by a Levantine (9) next to the

[162] [563]

9. The Levantines are 48 in number, namely, 23 Syrians and 25 Lebanese (figures of 1952).

courtyard of the secco (10) has kept all its picturesqueness

[257]

10. Secco: mass of groundnuts stored in the courtyard of the merchant and destined for export.

[438] up to our day. /84/ Everything is sold there, from the piece of trade cloth in vivid colors to cheap perfume; kerosene by the liter and millet by the kilo or sack are retailed there.

/84 cont./

443 One corner of the plank counter, polished by the hands of
[275] customers, is often reserved for the sale of beverages that are drunk from the bottle itself. Boards and piles of sacks block the passage of the customers. There is a constant coming and going of possible customers who pass the shop fully open to the street. Some stay there for hours without buying, solely to feast their eyes. The patient Levantine,
[437] arguing about the price in the native language, supervises the weights and inspects the sacks of groundnuts in order to take out the stones that may have slipped into them. The factorerie type makes it possible to imagine exactly what the commerce of the escale must have been in the first years of its establishment in the city.

European commerce is totally different. To be sure, there are still some factoreries of the type that we have just described, but for some years a real effort at modernization has changed their appearance; they are becoming metropoli-
[438] tan-type stores with counters of plywood, shelves of canned goods, novelties from Paris... A luxury store was opened in 1950, offering buyers the latest goods from the capital: gowns, shorts, suits for men, curios of all sorts. But the nearness of Dakar, the ease of access to it, its attraction seem to be seriously limiting its sales potential.

442 The branches of the large commercial houses, N.O.
443 S.O.C.O., Maurel and Prom, C.F.A.O. (11), are eight in

11. C.F.A.O.: Compagnie Française d'Afrique Occidentale.

number and practically control the local market. Each is still established in its original concession in the interior of the old escale. The courtyard that formerly held the groundnuts has been remodeled into a warehouse; the retail store has been modernized: tiling, frigidaire, and cold rooms, as well as huge shop windows that replace the small windows of former times. The wholesale store, on the other hand, has preserved its disorder: bags of cement, boards,

/84 cont./

442 443 iron for cement, tires...piled loosely together. The activity of these branches is based on three elements: retail with a sales store open to the average customers, wholesale granted to the important factoreries (Levantines...), and wholesale to the small shopkeepers for retail. Each is furthermore an implement dealer with exclusive right of sale granted to them: frigidaires, motor fuel, automobiles...The figure for the monthly business of one of them fluctuated between [433] 20 and 25 million in 1953.

443 An intermediate type of commerce was established a short time ago with the arrival of the Moroccans; they [563] numbered 25 in 1952. /85/ Some among them attempt to [162] corner both the European and native clientele. They special- ize in the sale of fabrics and fancy articles for Africans: [438] babouches, fezzes, cheap watches. They speak the native [191] language fluently and sometimes French extremely well.

The Africans, as we have seen, have launched into private business since 1920. Some of them have a factorerie of the Levantine type, but most of them have opened a shop in the outlying quarters. The Moors and the Blacks share this small-scale commerce: in 1952 the former reached the figure of 120; the Blacks were perhaps as numerous. They [347] are installed in the small shops of boards or mud roofed with straw or with corrugated metal. On the counter, made up of a simple board, stands a Roberval scale, some jars of large multicolored bonbons, a pasteboard box filled with dry biscuits. The bag of charcoal on the floor stands beside a tin of kerosene. Some cola nuts kept fresh in a wrapping of leaves still green, a kilo of sugar broken open, which is sold by the lump, some packages of cigarettes sold by the unit, and small cans of condensed milk give a glimpse of the small volume of their business.

To complete this picture, let us add the innumerable small "doorstep" merchants who on a piece of cloth or in a calabash display a few handfuls of roasted peanuts and cola nuts, a package of cigarettes, or millet fritters. These small stalls are all located in front of the door of the hut;

244 /141/
242 of training. This is one of the essential preoccupations of
654 the present Sengalese government.

II. The "Trade" of Groundnuts

433 For a century the total volume of production has pro-
244 gressed in spectacular fashion. Actually, no statistics are available at the harvesting stage. Only the commercial figures are known with any accuracy. In any case they differ little from the total figure of production because local consumption seems to be of little importance. It is estimated that the average production of groundnuts from 1900 to 1904 was 123,000 metric tons. The more recent figures are the following: 1938-1939 campaign, 584,000 metric tons; 1942-1943 compaign, 183,000 metric tons; 1943-1944 campaign, 281,000 metric tons; 1957-1958 campaign, 808,000 metric tons; 1958-1959 campaign, 653,000 metric tons; 1959-1960 campaign, 720,000 metric tons.

Except for the period of the war, when the production of
[439] groundnuts, difficult to export, decreased to the profit of that of millet, progress was continuous, the 1957-1958 campaign being exceptionally favorable.

439 This production enters into the circuit of commercialization or "trade," which today is very strictly regulated.

[178] 1. The organization of "trade." The commercialization of the groundnut has replaced the "trade" in gum, slaves, and gold of the former colonial system. Although the term is still often used, its present context is very different from the
439 acceptation of the era of the colonial pact. Trade is no longer,
441 as Littré wished it to be, an exchange trade organized almost
438 exclusively for the benefit of the European "trader"; today it is a commercial activity that is strictly regulated as to time and place and open only to approved intermediaries.

442 1.) The "campaign." "The campaign" is the period
654
438

/14 cont./

442 during which commercial operations in groundnuts are authorized.
654 It is opened and closed each year by governmental decree. In
438 general it begins at the end of November or the beginning of December and closes at the end of April. The date of opening the campaign is set about two months after the beginning of the harvest, in order to avoid premature uprooting and to favor
438 the reimbursement of the seed advanced. This system never-
442 theless leads to some smuggling in the south, because the
[439] navétanes, anxious to return home, and the peasants, without any money, are tempted to sell in Gambia. At the time of the close, the transactions have been over for a long time, but this decision prevents the eventual sale /15/ of the seed distributed by the Mutuelles. In order to have the commodity brought in gradually and to avoid heavy transactions at the beginning of trade, operations are suspended from Friday to Monday. Nevertheless by the end of the month of January nearly all of the harvest has been negotiated.

366 2) The "points of trade." Since 1932 the operations of
442 selling must take place in the localities called points of trade
438 or "escales" located on the railroad or a road (Circular of 13 July 1932). These points of trade, which were 175 in number in 1935, now number more than 300. The limitation, in 1932, on the number of the points of trade was a response to the desire to moderate the rhythm of the selling and to avoid the proliferation of intermediaries. The recent creation of new escales is
[244] devoted to the conquest of new lands and is an attempt to avoid the abuses of cultivation on the lands near the former points of trade.

The accession of a locality to the rank of escale makes
[369] it legally an urban center, with the obligation of division into lots /lotissement/ and, for the merchants, permanent buildings. The campaign is a period of great animation for the escale.
442 The merchants or traders open their bank of purchase or "factory."
437 Traditionally, intermediaries, or "masters of language," conduct
[492] the producer to the factory. The groundnuts, transported by don-
[488] keys and in bags loaned by the trader, are weighed and emptied

/15 cont./

442 437 [992] [488] [452] [443] [938] into the secco, an area with a floor of hard earth or cement, closed off by sheet metal. The agriculturalist, paid forthwith, immediately spends the sum received, in settling the sums owed to the trader and in buying from among the manufactured objects of the same factory the most diverse articles: cloth, playthings, articles for bicycles, etc. Thus the same trader realizes two profits in the traditional system.

3) The agents of trade. Until the Second World War, 439 441 442 438 the trade in groundnuts was in the hands of about 3,000 private traders organized in a strict hierarchy. At the top, the trade was controlled by the large import-export houses, especially of Bordeaux origin, Maurel et Prom, Peyrissac, Vézia, etc., to which was added the C. F. A. O. of Marseilles origin, and the S. C. O. A. Franco-Switzerland. These firms, whose central agencies for Senegal are in Dakar, make arrangements for the "banks" and "agencies" in the principal localities, for "factories" in the escales, and for "operations" in the bush. These commercial houses concentrate the purchases of their various traders and provide them with imported products. They are supported during the campaign by the banks of the mother country or their agencies in Senegal.

441 442 438 The independent French merchants, often former employees of the firms, play the role of intermediary /demi-grossiste/ in the escales. /16/ They buy directly from the producers or from the African sub-trader and bag and forward /the product/ to the commercial houses in the shipping ports. They have been very harshly affected by the economic crisis of the 1930's and then [563] by the war, in particular by the mobilization, which facilitated the establishment of many Lebano-Syrian traders.

The treaties of 1919 facilitated the arrival in Africa of [563] these Lebano-Syrians. They devote themselves essentially to commerce, and they have on the whole succeeded, because, living near the autochthons, they have adopted their way of life and are contented with much less than the independent 442 443 438 Europeans. During the trade, they are generally commission agents of the firm that they represent. They receive a commission for each metric ton of groundnuts purchased, and sell in

/16 cont./

438 their establishments the manufactured products that the firm
442 delivers to them. They[1] are most often linked with the pro-
[443] ducers by the system of loans that they authorize in cash and
[452] especially in kind during the difficult period of low supplies before the harvest.

The African "sub-traders" most often play the role of
[441] intermediary between the producers and the traders; they very often are transporters and guide the seller to the weighing-machine of a friend.

Since the last war this system has been greatly perturbed by the appearance of new purchasers who more and more compete with the traditional commerce. The local oil-makers
[258] scarcely ever appeal to the large firms. They do business with the traders of the escales, or, more often, they have their
438 own buyers. Since 1952 some pilot co-operatives have made
442 the collection in many escales at little expense; they utilize
474 the personnel and equipment of the S. M. D. R. Moreover, the
656 law of 13 January 1960, creating an "Office de commercialisation agricole" (O. C. A.), has assigned to this body the responsibility of selling the products collected by the co-operatives (Art. 6) and has granted it license to create purchase points for the direct collection of local agricultural products in the sectors where there are as yet no co-operatives (Art. 7). The decree of 20 May 1960, which more precisely relates to the marketing of groundnuts, grants purchasing permits only to organismes stockeurs (O. S.) /storage bodies/, private or co-operative, properly approved by the decision of a Comité régional d'agrément /Regional Committee of Approval/, and to the purchasing posts of the O. C. A. One might ask if these decisions do not constitute a step toward the creation of an "Office de l'arachide" /Office for Groundnuts/, which would have exclusivity of the trade and could normalize a "circuit of groundnuts," now very complex. /Pl. I and II appear here on unnumbered pages./

[1] [The Lebano-Syrian Traders--Analyst]

/17/

438 2. The "circuit" of groundnuts. The purchase of the
442 groundnuts in the escale and storing them in the secco of the trader constitute only one step in the complicated circuit that the groundnuts take from the place of production to the port of exportation or to the oil-factories.

492 1) The means of transport. From the place of production
438 to the escale, the groundnuts essentially utilize the traditional modes of transport, donkeys throughout the country and camels in the north. The decree of 4 September 1935 has forbidden the
[656] use of trucks. Its aims were to avoid bulky hauls, purchases at a low price at the place of production, and, above all, to en-
[231] courage local animal-husbandry. This system, however, carries with it grave defects. Most often transport on the back of a donkey is more expensive for the producer than transport by truck because the camel-drivers and donkey-drivers impose their own price on the peasants who do not have animals. Moreover, the transporter guides the seller to a trader whom the seller did not choose. Today, however, more and more derogations are permitted, because in the south, where the groundnut is progressing, the tsetse interdicts animal husbandry, and in the other regions the overworked animals are incapable of doing the transporting at the end of trade. Finally, certain
[474] co-operatives which pretend "to collect" and not to buy do send trucks to the places of production.

494 From the secco of the trader to the port nearby or to the
438 railroad station, transport is handled by trucks. It is essentially the commercial firms, the traders, or the local oil-makers who use them. There are few professional transporters because the traffic is essentially seasonal. The generally bad
[491] condition of the unpaved roads, except for the "Transgambienne" from Dakar to Ziguinchor, causes a rapid wearing-out of equipment, whose amortization is a heavy burden on the budget of the merchants.

497 The Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad and especially the Dakar-
438 Niger transport more than 200,000 metric tons of groundnuts

[Text continues on p. 21--Analyst]

/14 cont./

484 494 788 number of persons transported. There are sometimes spectacular ones, but cases involving fatalities are fortunately very rare.

[497] The transportation of the pilgrims is closely watched by the /15/ Administration. The Office of Railroads organizes special trains. The subdivision heads grant to the owners of the trucks special transportation authorizations. The circle /cercle, an administrative district/ of Diourbel, aided by the Senegal government, strengthens the security forces and highway police.

788 *795 But that is not the only problem which the organization and unfolding of the Magal presents for the Caliph-general and the Administration.

Sheltering all these people for three days and more is [485] another. The provisioning of the pilgrims in water and food must be organized; sanitary and medical service must be ensured; finally, it is necessary to ensure order and discipline in [625] the city of Touba itself, as is done on the roads, and the commander of the circle of Diourbel can only accomplish this with sizable police reinforcements, set apart in advance almost everywhere (as far as Dakar and Kaolack), which are put at his disposal for this purpose.

At the opening of the pilgrimage, three days before the Official Day, the crowd has reached its maximum size. Touba [494] then experiences extraordinary activity. The road between Touba and M'Backé is continually furrowed in both directions by files of trucks which run without respite between the two agglomerations. The station platforms disappear under the flood of pilgrims who disembark innumerably from the last trains. The wide avenues of the city are filled with the crowd [438] of pilgrims who carry out their religious duties or stroll in front [443] of the little flat baskets where, as in all pilgrimages in the world, the most diverse objects are sold, from articles of clothing, such as babouches or samaras, to perfumes and jewelry, including the most varied articles of piety: prayers or verses from the Koran printed in Arabic, photographs of the Caliph-general or of Amadou Bamba, or even pictures in Oriental

/15 cont./

788 style, violently colored like our Épinal pictures and representing
*795 the holy places of Islam or personages of Koranic tradition.

[438] Finally, to complete this immense and noisy fair over which
[443] floats an impalpable dust, there, in a corner of the city not far from the mosque, are the keepers of the cook-shops: they cook
[265] in the open the appetizing dishes which they will offer at modest prices to the famished pilgrims.

Evening does not slow down these activities; on the contrary, the pilgrims regroup at the homes of the various marabouts, and sessions of religious songs are organized there. They will
[533] last far into the night, which will resound until dawn with these litanies amplified by numerous loud-speakers.

/16/ In the course of this pilgrimage, the believers have several obligations to fulfill:

1) to call on the Caliph-general,

2) to go to meditate at the tomb of Amadou Bamba and that of Amadou Moustapha,

3) to visit the mosque,

4) to go to see their own marabout,

5) to visit at the cemetery the Sacred Tree and the graves
[778] of certain deceased notables of the brotherhood.

At the entrance to the carré of the Caliph, the faithful, in a long line, patiently await their turn to go into the residence of their supreme spiritual leader.

After passing through several walls (at the gate of which are talibé-cashiers who claim their offerings from them), they arrive at the hut in which the Caliph receives.

The circle guards maintaining order have them enter one by one into the straw hut where Falilou awaits them, assisted by his secretary and some of his close collaborators. Each pilgrim kneels before the Caliph while presenting to him his offering (hadia), which the sérigne will immediately have passed on to one of his followers. The pilgrim then rises and goes out in order to give his place to another.

His visit to the Caliph ended, he goes to the sacred tombs
[778] of Amadou Bamba and Amadou Moustapha.

/374 cont./

369 [438] became a relatively flourishing commercial center; each year more than 20,000 metric tons of groundnuts were handled by the traders of the place and sent by railroad to the ports of Rufisque or Dakar. As early as 1907 the first work on the Thiès-[496] Kayes railroad was begun. All of this new economic activity [464] required the employment of many laborers, who were in part recruited on the spot, but also in the neighboring villages.

369 During the dry season, work in the fields is reduced. A 166 number of rural people in the vicinity come to offer their serv- [464] ices as workers in the factoreries (2) or in the newly opened

[443] 2. Factorerie: shop where everything is sold.

[461] yards /chantiers, dockyards, woodyards, etc./. Some of these villagers feel that this kind of work is less arduous and more remunerative than that of agriculture. They become definitively attached to urban life and come to swell the population of the native quarters previously established.

[484] Others return every evening to the village. During the [22] rainy season they leave their urban job and devote all their activity to work in the fields.

During this whole period prior to the Great War the suburban village seems to have played the role of intermediary or rather of relay-station between the hamlet in the bush and [464] the city. The call for non-specialized labor had echos not only in the outskirts /375/ of the city itself, but also in the more distant villages. Curiosity about new things, the opportunity to escape familial tutelage, and especially the promise of relatively high earnings stimulated some immigration movement toward the escales.

[574] By means of the great hospitality that he knows will be shown him by relatives or friends who live in Diakhaté or Keur-Issa-Bambara, the rural person settles in these agglomerations.

/398 cont./

426 near generality. A continual deficit of 20% of the monthly
*511 income soon creates, for an individual or a group of individuals, an enormous liability inconceivable in a society economically organized according to Western standards. To be loaded with debts is a disgrace in Europe. The non-payment of purchases on credit is sanctioned. Most of the heads of families that we investigated did not hide the sums that they owed, whether because of purchases on credit among the merchants or directly as a consequence of borrowing money. To the extent that they remembered them. And, when a debt is paid, it is often because a sum perhaps larger was borrowed a few moments before.

*511 Only the importance of the practice of selling and buying
452 on credit permits the system to endure. About 80% of the Africans of the cities, in Senegal at least, buy what they need on credit. Little more than the daily marketing for the household (vegetables, condiments, fish and meat) is done with cash. Of course, the costs of buying on credit are overly high: 5, 10, 15% depending on the products, up to 50% sometimes (for cloth, for example). And the merchants who consent to
[443] these practices are for the most part resellers at second or third hand; the cash price itself is higher. But they sell sugar by lumps and matches by the unit...

*511 The African salaried worker, when he receives his salary,
426 in practice pays his debts for the month, and begins to go into
452 debt until the end of the following month. In many cases, as is proved by the debts shown, /399/ /Table III appears here/ /400/ the total of this salary is quite inferior to the sums to be reimbursed. If then a merchant does not consent to any
[166] more credit (in general they are patient), it is always possible to go to another one by changing quarter.

*511 The merchant himself does not lose anything; his prices
452 are sufficiently high so that, even though not paid in full, the sums received permit him to make his own purchases. And he always has some customers with higher incomes who pay their

*511 *262 263 /411 cont./
products of gathering. All, let us repeat, in very small daily quantities. Moreover, these are the products[1] that are the
● 443 434 objects involved in the small-scale commerce of the women; quite often buying two or three times more than they need,
*511 438 they set up a little flat basket before the door of their concession and suggest to the passers-by that they spare themselves the fatigue of going all the way to the market. They can make very small profits in this way, from five to ten francs a day.

*511 *262 263 Nevertheless, with one thing added to another, the costs of these various condiments end up by absorbing another relatively important part of the familial income (1).

1. The portion for dried fish is generally very close to 1/5 of the figures given.

The size of this income thus acts as a check on their consumption, but ultimately only the taste and the habits of each are truly determinative. /412/ /Table VIII appears here./ /413/ /Table IX appears here./

/414/ We mentioned under the rubric "Vegetables" only the truly important purchases. It is the housewife herself who calls them either vegetables or condiments, according to the importance that they will have in the meal that she is going to prepare; a greater quantity of vegetables will permit reducing the quantity of rice or millet. If the latter does not change, they are condiments. The nuance is understandable. Our investigators themselves made it, and it was subsequently difficult for us not to take it into account.

*511 *262 The quantities given in Table IX[2] are not actual quantities. We have again in this case eliminated the factor of quality, the differences in quality being replaced by differences in quantity. The "standard vegetable" chosen was the cabbage, [435] which in March 1953 was worth 20 francs a kilogram. This

1 [i.e. - various condiments - ANALYST]
2 [see cat 116, pp 43-45 - ANALYST]

[Text continues on p. 46]

S /177 cont./
462 work are divided into very different groups; here is the
463 distribution of female occupations by percentages:
162 /178/ Hairdressers (occupation often held by the griotes)...4.5

Silent partners of weavers	2.2
Dyers	3.7
Saleswomen in markets or stalls	15.5
Cleaning women, laundresses	4.5
Laborer	0.8
Others	68.8
Total	100

S
305 Hairdressing is more an ordinary service than remunera-
565 tive work; it is most often done by the caste women, griotes
463 or jewelers, in exchange for money or for presents which they receive from "free" or "noble" families -- the Wolof term is "guer" -- for whom they are the appointed griotes. It is not unusual, along one of the sandy streets in the shade of a wall, to come across a group of women, one of whom will be braiding the hair of another stretched out flat on her stomach, her head on the knees of her hairdresser.

S
462 Equally traditional are the occupations of dyer or silent
463 partner of a weaver. At the extreme opposite is the laborer of the CAFAL who works daily at fixed hours for a definite
SR
[462] salary. There are only a few of them in our sample, all of whom are Sérère. The women who do housework or who are laundresses must likewise be classed under this rubric of modern work. The way they use their time is indeed much less whimsical than in the case of the first categories. Between the two one must place the most important occupation, that of saleswoman. And here it is again necessary to dis-
S
[443] tinguish several categories of saleswomen: those who keep a shop or a stall by the side of their houses, those who go to sell at the market of Pikine, and finally those who every day go from Pikine to Dakar to sell their vegetables and their produce at Kermel or at Sandaga.

S
W
SR
462 On the other hand, the positive replies are too numerous
162 to be profitably discussed by ethnic groups and thus to separate out the principal ethnic behaviors. At best it is possible that

11: Lèques--19 P-5 (1956) 1957 MS37 Senegal MS37

291
347
443

Fig. 2. The Kaolack market for dresses (Lèques photo and plate).

/71 cont./

361 reaches the summit of the plateau.

[133] [137] The landscape which one then discovers seems more open: few trees or none at all; only a shrubby vegetation in the form of brush from which some baobab tops emerge. In the background there gradually appears the light color of the first houses of Thiès. The contrast between the green foliage of the city and the surrounding countryside, bare and yellow, blinding with light, is striking, especially in the dry season.

The aerial photograph, or better still the flight, makes this contrast appear even sharper. The city, with roughly triangular outlines and divided into large patches of geometrical squares flecked with innumerable dark spots of green foliage, stands out particularly sharply against the grey and deserted bush of the surroundings. The presence of an urban center on this almost unpopulated plateau seems strange, and one might wonder what reasons caused this not very hospitable site to be retained for the establishment of a relatively important city?

1. The History of Thiès

361 133 [104] [443] 1. The site.

The plateau on which the escale (1) has been built

1. "Escale" here means a place where caravans rested after the halt of the day's journey and where small-scale trade was carried on; by extension, a village or city-market generally located on a railway.

slopes slightly toward the east, while its western face forms a steep slope. Plateau and slope belong to geological formations of the same date as those of the Cape Verde Peninsula and consist principally of limestone from the end of the Secondary/Mesozoic/ subsequently overlaid by a ferruginous shell. It is probable that the eastern section rose up and the western one sank in the Tertiary.

135

18: Savonnet--8 E-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37
Thies

/75 cont./

102
361
491
496

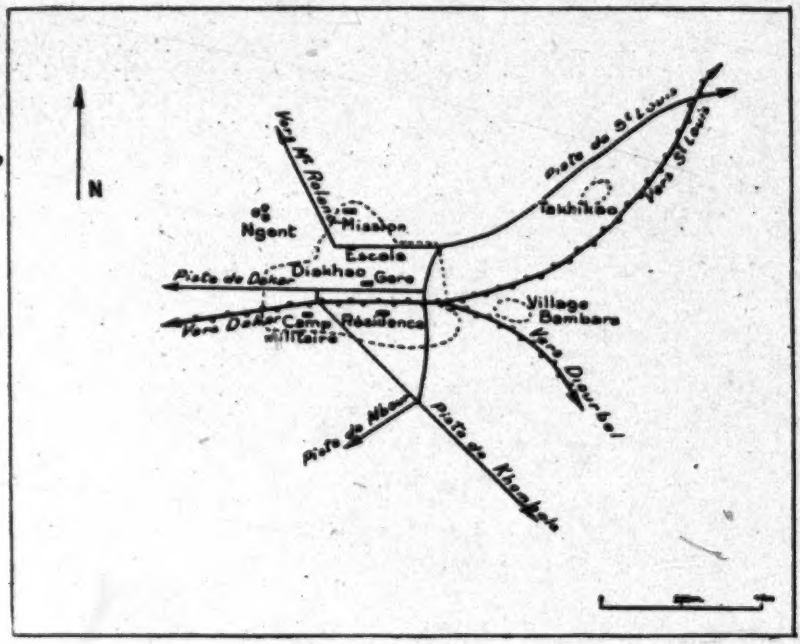


Fig. 2. Thiès in 1910.

369
441
563

acquired during the period of hostilities, their knowledge of the language, and their great aptitude for adapting themselves to the customs of the country and for living under very curtailed conditions /76/ made these newcomers serious competitors whom French commerce tried, but in vain, to eliminate. All the concessions of the northern escale were now occupied (5); the

5. There was no question of extending the first lots farther to the north; the concession ceded to the Mission prevented such an extension.

newcomers -- chiefly Syrians -- set up their factorerie (6) in the

[443]

6. Factorerie: shop where everything is sold and where at the same time

/76 cont./

369 local products (groundnuts,
441 millet ...) are bought or
563 bartered for.
443

still almost empty quarter of the residence.

Already the economic equilibrium of the city was no
369 longer essentially based on the commerce of trade, subject to
433 price fluctuations, but also on the budding industry which as-
458 sured it a certain stability. It is true that the latter, barely acquired, was put to a harsh test during the world crisis from 1930 to 1934. In the course of this difficult period the price of the groundnut slumped. The old commercial firms which depended solely on the trading were no longer able to meet their payments and liquidate their stock: Société Française du Sénégal, the firms Lacombe, Latrille... The sounder establishments were themselves obliged to close their city branches temporarily, for example, Peyrissac, Maurel Frères. Nevertheless one did not see here a complete slump in commerce with spectacular failures such as occurred in Dakar, but rather commercial liquidations, sales of stocks that were repurchased by Levantines and wholesale companies.

The effects of the crisis, which ended in 1934, re-
[471] sulted in a redistribution of commercial ownership, a re-
[563] adaptation of commerce to the new requirements, along with the definitive establishment of the Levantines.

369 At this date the fusion of the two railroad companies,
498 the Dakar--Saint-Louis and Thiès-Niger, stimulated an ex-
433 pansion of the industrial quarter by regrouping at Thiès the workshops originally installed at Dakar for the Dakar--Saint-Louis railway.

369 On the eve of the Second World War the city reached
the figure of 22,000 inhabitants, 1,200 of them Europeans.
[162] The almost complete disappearance of epidemics, the better
[511] food supply, the construction of comfortable houses (Ballabey
[361] district created as early as 1925 for the railway workers, villas for officers) permit metropolitan families to settle in a permanent fashion. In a parallel manner, the native

/79 cont./

361 mahoganies planted at the end of the last century. The very close presence of the station, and the continual coming and going of locomotives, with strident cries that rend the air, destroys the harmony of these quiet spots of small provincial cities, while attempts are made to recreate them.

361 Even more peaceful air is breathed in the Catholic
346 Mission, located to the north of the old "escale." The buildings were constructed at the end of the last century in red laterite, storied buildings /80/ with monastery arcades. They are situated in the middle of a huge garden, always green, extended by a park of magnificent trees. The whole reminds one to some extent of the peaceful site of some metropolitan abbey.

361 The two business quarters (Old Escale and Residence)
563 present the peculiarity of becoming, according to the time of day, the domain of the European in the evening (at the hour
443 for the apéritif) and on Sundays, and that of the African during the day (while the market is open). A place of contact between the Black and the White, this market occupies a very important place in the life of the African city and merits pausing there a bit.

443 It is on the day of the opening of the groundnut trade (at
[438] the beginning of December, for example) that it is proper to visit it. On coming from the station one plunges suddenly into the animation, the dust, the heat, the "sticky" odors of the market. The place is swarming with people where
443 the most diverse means of locomotion are squeezed and
494 mingled together: a small cinder-gray donkey, heavily laden, deciding to block the passage of an automobile, despite the beating by its master; a small, light cart with two rubber wheels serving as a taxi and in quest of a possible passenger; a housewife from the neighboring village, her
[482] last-born hanging on her back, and who keeps on her head, in marvelous balance, a calabash full of market produce; a cyclist, poorly balanced on his machine, now and again running into a pedestrian or a vehicle; a truck with impressive loads, which slowly pushes from the road the human

/80 cont./

443 flood rapidly closing in again behind it. All these noisy peo-
[493] ple carry with them a flavor of the neighboring bush, warm and dusty.

The market of dried fish readily reveals itself by the strong odor that it gives off; farther on is the stall of the
[563] butcher for Europeans; very close to it the merchant of the tripe trade who grills some skewers of small pieces on a charcoal fire. Elsewhere the sellers of colas, of condiments and cloth from Guinea, the cobblers offering their products among the very mixed odors in a halo of dust raised by the crowd. It is a delight for the eyes to see, in the bright sunlight under a very clear and pure blue sky, the shimmer of full garments of vivid hues moving with deliberation and majesty.

443 The animation reaches its greatest intensity between
512 nine and ten o'clock in the morning; the pedestrian is king, he blocks all traffic. Then, little by little, sellers and buyers disperse, and everyone falls into a blessed torpor at the noon hour. The afternoon is quiet, and at five o'clock each merchant has left his premises. This animation, which has only a temporary character in the commercial quarters of /Plates XI and XII appear here/ /81/ European type, is permanent in certain native quarters, but with a maximum amplitude in the evening after work.

2. The native quarters.

361 The native quarters also have their peculiar characteristics, a function of their antiquity, of their proximity or their distance from a center of activity, and, naturally, of the social category of their inhabitants.

Takhikao and Gent were among the first quarters created. Except for the nearness of the road from Thiès to Tivaouane, which attracts the merchants' small shops of planks or straw, they have kept their rural character: dwell-
[351] ings arranged in a loose order, surrounded by an orchard protected by a tapade /walling/ of branches or stalks of millet.

[Text continues on p. 18]

18: Savonnet--17 E-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 80 and 81./

363
357
291

Plate XII

A. Thiès. The Takhikao square after winter.

291
443
516

B. Thiès. Market scene.

/83 cont./

3. The Activities of the City

1. Commerce.

433 If we except the period of conquest, during which a handful of troops established themselves in the entrenched camp, the primary function of Thiès was commerce.

441 An escale of trade in its beginnings, Thiès has re-
433 mained that up to our times. Almost 25,000 tons of groundnuts are commercialized each year in spite of the opening of important points of trade in the vicinity, Tivaouane, Khombole, located some 30 kilometers from there. This commerce demands a certain taste for risk; if in certain years it offers appreciable profits, it sometimes renders the balance sheet of the merchants who practice it very precarious. The groundnut trade, as far as purchase from the pro-
[563] ducer is concerned, is almost entirely in the hands of the
[442] Levantines and a few Moors and Blacks. The important establishments, N. O. S. O. C. O. (8) and the Soucail firm,

8. N. O. S. O. C. O. Nouvelle Société Commerciale.

engage only in wholesale trade.

443 The factorerie run by a Levantine (9) next to the

[162] 9. The Levantines are 48 in num-
[563] ber, namely, 23 Syrians and 25 Lebanese (figures of 1952).

courtyard of the secco (10) has kept all its picturesqueness

[257] 10. Secco: mass of groundnuts stored in the courtyard of the merchant and destined for export.

[438] up to our day. /84/ Everything is sold there, from the piece of trade cloth in vivid colors to cheap perfume; kerosene by the liter and millet by the kilo or sack are retailed there.

/84 cont./

443 One corner of the plank counter, polished by the hands of
[275] customers, is often reserved for the sale of beverages that are drunk from the bottle itself. Boards and piles of sacks block the passage of the customers. There is a constant coming and going of possible customers who pass the shop fully open to the street. Some stay there for hours without buying, solely to feast their eyes. The patient Levantine,
[437] arguing about the price in the native language, supervises the weights and inspects the sacks of groundnuts in order to take out the stones that may have slipped into them. The factorerie type makes it possible to imagine exactly what the commerce of the escale must have been in the first years of its establishment in the city.

European commerce is totally different. To be sure, there are still some factoreries of the type that we have just described, but for some years a real effort at modernization has changed their appearance; they are becoming metropolitan-type stores with counters of plywood, shelves of canned
[438] goods, novelties from Paris... A luxury store was opened in 1950, offering buyers the latest goods from the capital: gowns, shorts, suits for men, curios of all sorts. But the nearness of Dakar, the ease of access to it, its attraction seem to be seriously limiting its sales potential.

442 The branches of the large commercial houses, N.O.
443 S.O.C.O., Maurel and Prom, C.F.A.O. (11), are eight in

11. C.F.A.O.: Compagnie Française d'Afrique Occidentale.

number and practically control the local market. Each is still established in its original concession in the interior of the old escale. The courtyard that formerly held the groundnuts has been remodeled into a warehouse; the retail store has been modernized: tiling, frigidaire, and cold rooms, as well as huge shop windows that replace the small windows of former times. The wholesale store, on the other hand, has preserved its disorder: bags of cement, boards,

/84 cont./

442 iron for cement, tires...piled loosely together. The activity
443 of these branches is based on three elements: retail with a sales store open to the average customers, wholesale granted to the important factoreries (Levantines...), and wholesale to the small shopkeepers for retail. Each is furthermore an implement dealer with exclusive right of sale granted to them: frigidaires, motor fuel, automobiles...The figure
[433] for the monthly business of one of them fluctuated between 20 and 25 million in 1953.

443 An intermediate type of commerce was established a short time ago with the arrival of the Moroccans; they
[563] numbered 25 in 1952. /85/ Some among them attempt to
[162] corner both the European and native clientele. They special-
[438] ize in the sale of fabrics and fancy articles for Africans: babouches, fezzes, cheap watches. They speak the native
[191] language fluently and sometimes French extremely well.

The Africans, as we have seen, have launched into private business since 1920. Some of them have a factorerie of the Levantine type, but most of them have opened a shop in the outlying quarters. The Moors and the Blacks share this small-scale commerce: in 1952 the former reached the figure of 120; the Blacks were perhaps as numerous. They
[347] are installed in the small shops of boards or mud roofed with straw or with corrugated metal. On the counter, made up of a simple board, stands a Roberval scale, some jars of large multicolored bonbons, a pasteboard box filled with dry biscuits. The bag of charcoal on the floor stands beside a tin of kerosene. Some cola nuts kept fresh in a wrapping of leaves still green, a kilo of sugar broken open, which is sold by the lump, some packages of cigarettes sold by the unit, and small cans of condensed milk give a glimpse of the small volume of their business.

To complete this picture, let us add the innumerable small "doorstep" merchants who on a piece of cloth or in a calabash display a few handfuls of roasted peanuts and cola nuts, a package of cigarettes, or millet fritters. These small stalls are all located in front of the door of the hut;

/85 cont./

443 while the housewife attends to her tasks, the oldest child makes the sale (12).

[434] [433] 12. According to an economic investigation made by Mr. Mersadier in Thiès, the returns from these sales[1] do not exceed ten francs profit per day (Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N., July-Oct., 1955, series B, p. 411).

Thus, the commerce in Thiès (and certainly in most of the cities of French West Africa) is diffused among all of the layers of the society and at the same time has adapted itself extremely well there. The branches of important commercial houses, which in the beginning were violently opposed to this diffusion not controlled directly by them, quickly understood all the benefits that they could draw from this new situation.

463 Paralleling this extension of commerce, the working class, to a more limited extent, has also taken on much greater importance. To the traditional artisans, potters, jewelers, and smiths have been added activities more modern in inspiration: photographers, clockmakers, repairers of phonographs, bicycles, or even trucks, and, in another category of enterprises, small restaurant keepers and /86/ proprietors of drink shops. Finally, the establishment of European artisans (hairdressers, pastry cooks, etc.) is a specific phenomenon of the social evolution in African cities since the last war, and Thiès is not escaping it.

[265] [275] [178]

2. Industry.

498 The industrial activity of Thiès gravitates principally around the repair shops of the Dakar-Niger (13). The

[317] [464] [162] 13. The two phosphate quarries opened by the Société Péchiney some 15 kilometers from the city (Pallo and Lam-Lam)

1 [ie, by "door step" merchants - ANALYST]

/15 cont./

442 437 into the secco, an area with a floor of hard earth or cement,
closed off by sheet metal. The agriculturalist, paid forthwith,
[442] immediately spends the sum received, in settling the sums
[488] owed to the trader and in buying from among the manufactured
[452] objects of the same factory the most diverse articles: cloth,
[443] playthings, articles for bicycles, etc. Thus the same trader
[438] realizes two profits in the traditional system.

3) The agents of trade. Until the Second World War,
439 the trade in groundnuts was in the hands of about 3,000 private
441 traders organized in a strict hierarchy. At the top, the trade was
442 controlled by the large import-export houses, especially of
438 Bordeaux origin, Maurel et Prom, Peyrissac, Vézia, etc., to which was added the C. F. A. O. of Marseilles origin, and the S. C. O. A. Franco-Switzerland. These firms, whose central agencies for Senegal are in Dakar, make arrangements for the "banks" and "agencies" in the principal localities, for "factories" in the escales, and for "operations" in the bush. These commercial houses concentrate the purchases of their various traders and provide them with imported products. They are supported during the campaign by the banks of the mother country or their agencies in Senegal.

441 The independent French merchants, often former employees
442 of the firms, play the role of intermediary /demi-grossiste/ in
438 the escales. /16/ They buy directly from the producers or from the African sub-trader and bag and forward /the product/ to the commercial houses in the shipping ports. They have been very harshly affected by the economic crisis of the 1930's and then
[563] by the war, in particular by the mobilization, which facilitated the establishment of many Lebano-Syrian traders.

The treaties of 1919 facilitated the arrival in Africa of
[563] these Lebano-Syrians. They devote themselves essentially to commerce, and they have on the whole succeeded, because, living near the autochthons, they have adopted their way of life and are contented with much less than the independent
442 Europeans. During the trade, they are generally commission
443 agents of the firm that they represent. They receive a commis-
438 sion for each metric ton of groundnuts purchased, and sell in

/16 cont./

438 their establishments the manufactured products that the firm
442 delivers to them. They[1] are most often linked with the pro-
[443] ducers by the system of loans that they authorize in cash and
[452] especially in kind during the difficult period of low supplies before the harvest.

The African "sub-traders" most often play the role of
[441] intermediary between the producers and the traders; they very often are transporters and guide the seller to the weighing-machine of a friend.

Since the last war this system has been greatly perturbed by the appearance of new purchasers who more and more compete with the traditional commerce. The local oil-makers
[258] scarcely ever appeal to the large firms. They do business with the traders of the escales, or, more often, they have their
438 own buyers. Since 1952 some pilot co-operatives have made
442 the collection in many escales at little expense; they utilize
474 the personnel and equipment of the S. M. D. R. Moreover, the
656 law of 13 January 1960, creating an "Office de commercialisation agricole" (O. C. A.), has assigned to this body the responsibility of selling the products collected by the co-operatives (Art. 6) and has granted it license to create purchase points for the direct collection of local agricultural products in the sectors where there are as yet no co-operatives (Art. 7). The decree of 20 May 1960, which more precisely relates to the marketing of groundnuts, grants purchasing permits only to organismes stockeurs (O. S.) /storage bodies/, private or co-operative, properly approved by the decision of a Comité régional d'agrément /Regional Committee of Approval/, and to the purchasing posts of the O. C. A. One might ask if these decisions do not constitute a step toward the creation of an "Office de l'arachide" /Office for Groundnuts/, which would have exclusivity of the trade and could normalize a "circuit of groundnuts," now very complex. /Pl. I and II appear here on unnumbered pages./

[1] [The Lebano-Syrian Traders --Analyst]

/123 cont./

439 Commerce. Commerce has not stopped progressing since the end of the war, for both imports and exports.

Fabrics constitute the principal part of the imports, along with toys and construction materials.

The groundnut is the principal product exported. It is the one that makes up the wealth of the region.

[471] Commerce is for the most part in the hands of French Sociétés /companies/ or individuals, who have established branches in all the important centers. These branches have been multiplying in the past several years and even extend into the small villages which are disposal centers /124/ for the sought-after agricultural product. Today the truck penetrates into the most remote corners. In other words the farmer no longer has to put himself out in order to sell his products. One comes to him to buy his groundnuts at the very place of the harvest. The petty retail trade is in the hands of native [443] traders or Syrian merchants.

Imports. We saw above the figures for the movement of navigation and the tonnage of the goods unloaded in the various ports. The high prices for fabrics that have been reached in the last three or four years have caused a certain drop in business, from which the wholesale trade and the retail trade have suffered.

439 505 Exports. We are giving below the figures for the export of groundnuts. As is known, for Senegal the past two years have been calculated at a tonnage of 483,980 tons in 1926 and 485,608 tons in 1927, with a respective value of 740 million and 616 million.

Out of this total, the share of the ports of the Saloum, going back to 1921, is the following:

/125 cont./

443 Markets. Fairs. Daily markets have been established in the mixed communes of Kaolack, Foundiougne, Fatick, and Gossas, as well as in the important centers such as Guinguinéo, Birkelane, Kaffrine, Koungheul, Nioro, Saboya, Sokone, and Gandiaye. Those of the mixed communes and important ports are much frequented and have a good trade.

In addition, cattle markets have been held monthly at Kaolack since 1924.

543 Fairs have been instituted in order to familiarize the public with the principal products of the region. A first Fair-Exposition was held at Kaolack in June 1925; it was a great success. It had been organized with the co-operation of the administration and commerce. This happy attempt was renewed in April 1926 with the same success. The governor-general, M. Carde, was present at these two fine manifestations of the economic life of a region in full development.

453 /126/ Banks. The dependable index of the development of commercial transactions is given to us by the banking groups which have been established at Kaolack.

The Banque de l'Afrique Occidentale Française opened a branch in the chief town of the circle in 1927. Moreover, other credit establishments had preceded it. An agency of the Banque française d'Afrique was opened in 1924. The Banque Commerciale africaine followed in 1925.

871 Education. It is necessary to educate the native if we want him later to be our collaborator in the work of colonization. We are realizing this duty by the public schooling which is given at Kaolack in a regional school attended by nearly 500 children; a home economics school is attached to it. Primary schools where the number of pupils is very great are in operation at Fatick, Foundiougne, Gossas, Kaffrine, Nioro, and Sokone.

874 461 It is also necessary to develop vocational education because we lack good workers. We are going to be in want of artisans if we do not remedy a situation which had already appeared in this region several years ago. Unfortunately, the

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

their homosexuality, is the character of the Jollof women. They are Africa's most beautiful women: they must also be the most demanding. Few people have much good to say for these elegant *femmes fatales*. They are lazy, selfish and fickle. They dislike housework and many of them stick with their husbands only as long as they are prepared to pay out vast sums for their clothes and jewellery. Since the elegant woman (and every Jollof girl aspires to be that) costs about £100 a year to keep in clothes and jewellery, it is little wonder that Jollof men are seeking wives from other tribes, where competence within the house rather than elegance is the standard by which a woman is judged.

Such is Jollof preoccupation with fashion that there is a fashion house in Dakar with Jollof mannequins. These women are chosen not only for their beauty but for their position in society. For if they come from a good family they are sure to be noticed by other Jollof women in the streets, and immediately the clothes they are wearing will be remarked on, and to Pierre Grosse's shop the fashion-crazy Jollofs will rush.

The Jollof dress originates from St. Louis, when the French re-occupied it after the Napoleonic wars. At that time fashionable ladies were wearing the Empire style with its high waistline and long, flowing dresses. Since then the Jollofs have made this style their national dress. They have the same high waistline, the long dresses, sometimes modified by a bodice, and great candy-floss turbans. To show off their magnificent shoulders they have enlarged the neckline, and puffed up the sleeves, stiffened with starch, to half-moon shapes that stand out crisply from the body. The sleeve is usually dropped off one shoulder to reveal the full beauty of its owner.

Over the dress a great docket or cloak of muslin, tulle or organdie is thrown, usually in a colour contrasting with the dress. Materials are chosen with great care. One has only to see these women in Pierre Grosse's handling great lengths of cloth with expert and tender attention to know that no cheap cotton print can be palmed off on the most discriminating buyers on the West African market.

The Jollof's ensemble is not complete without wig, jewellery and make-up. Wigs are of several designs. The most typical, though not the most frequently seen, are two stiff plaits of horse-

/197 cont./

511 per home in the districts. This fact may be explained by two
592 other reasons: on the one hand, the disappearance of homes
602 reduced to single or divorced persons, in favor of the conjugal family; on the other hand, as part of this, an increase in the number of spouses.

2) Family solidarity is no less a patent fact in the districts than in the quarters. It works in two ways: the first consists of taking complete charge of the housing and support of brothers, nephews, or other relatives. This is shown in the figure of 38% of the families who extend beyond the framework of the conjugal family properly speaking. In this respect the inhabitants of the districts behave much the same as the others. But they make a greater effort with respect to the second form of family solidarity: sending money to relatives to all or part of their living expenses.

369 3) The betterment of living conditions and the participation to a certain degree in the material comfort that the urban environment brings with it do not necessarily mean a rupture and an overthrow of traditional social behavior. On the contrary, on two points, polygamy and family solidarity, there is a reinforcement of these behaviors, and, if one may apply this terminology to Senegal, it is not "detribalization" which should be spoken of, but "supertribalization."

/198/ Conclusion

Despite its youth, Dagoudane-Pikine is a definite city no less than Dakar, although closely dependent upon the latter. It is a city by reason of its area, the size of its population, the effort undertaken with regard to equipment, especially with regard to schools, and finally by the type of work offered to an important part of the economically active population. It is also a typical African city, with its small number of durable buildings, the considerable unemployment, the large number of young people, and above all, its gross
[444] deficiencies of public equipment. We have not spoken of its
[443] health equipment; it is still terribly inadequate, although

/198 cont./

369 a pharmacy has opened since the investigation took place,
[144] and the construction of a maternity hospital is in progress...
[143] Some large sewer works are to be undertaken.

369 On the other hand, it is certain that the material dif-
571 ference between the two habitat groups, very distinct geographically, brings about and expresses an indisputable sociological difference. The population of the districts enjoys superior conditions of comfort, it is better acculturated to the urban environment, the educational level there is higher on the average, and, on the occupational level, one finds there a large proportion of officials and minor staffs of industry and commerce. All these factors therefore contribute to accentuating a certain separation between two social layers. But at the same time that integration into modern life and work and participation in the advantages and obligations of the urban environment alienate the inhabitants of the districts from traditional conditions, and by that even from their fellow-citizens who do not have the same advantages, a reverse movement of return to tradition or of reinforcement of former behaviors is discernible. There is thus not really a rupture: the family patterns, the relationships between man and woman, change less quickly than housing conditions, and this explains why the unity of the society has not been affected, at least not yet, by the recent change, and why the style of family life remains the same in the parcels of the quarters or in the enclosed concessions of the districts. A more detailed analysis of the conflicts of these contradictory forces belongs to another work.

/398 cont./

426 near generality. A continual deficit of 20% of the monthly
*511 income soon creates, for an individual or a group of individuals, an enormous liability inconceivable in a society economically organized according to Western standards. To be loaded with debts is a disgrace in Europe. The non-payment of purchases on credit is sanctioned. Most of the heads of families that we investigated did not hide the sums that they owed, whether because of purchases on credit among the merchants or directly as a consequence of borrowing money. To the extent that they remembered them. And, when a debt is paid, it is often because a sum perhaps larger was borrowed a few moments before.

*511 Only the importance of the practice of selling and buying
452 on credit permits the system to endure. About 80% of the Africans of the cities, in Senegal at least, buy what they need on credit. Little more than the daily marketing for the household (vegetables, condiments, fish and meat) is done with cash. Of course, the costs of buying on credit are overly high: 5, 10, 15% depending on the products, up to 50% sometimes (for cloth, for example). And the merchants who consent to
[443] these practices are for the most part resellers at second or third hand; the cash price itself is higher. But they sell sugar by lumps and matches by the unit...

*511 The African salaried worker, when he receives his salary,
426 in practice pays his debts for the month, and begins to go into
452 debt until the end of the following month. In many cases, as is proved by the debts shown, /399/ /Table III appears here/ /400/ the total of this salary is quite inferior to the sums to be reimbursed. If then a merchant does not consent to any
[166] more credit (in general they are patient), it is always possible to go to another one by changing quarter.

*511 The merchant himself does not lose anything; his prices
452 are sufficiently high so that, even though not paid in full, the sums received permit him to make his own purchases. And he always has some customers with higher incomes who pay their

/400 cont./

*511 debts in full. The latter pay for the others, and, if they know
452 it, they are not surprised. It is a deep-rooted survival of the traditional, essentially collective funds in a system based on an institution of individualistic character, being salaried. Likewise,
[166 the salaried person who is one day obliged to pay back more debts
602 than he can meet will be able to send his family to spend a few
592 months among relatives whom he has kept in the natal village, and they will see nothing abnormal in it. He himself will live as a "parasite" in a more favored unit of consumption, and no one will be surprised by it (1).

[114]

1. The problems of credit, complex and not very well known, the elements of which are often imperceptible, have not been followed systematically in the course of this investigation. We hope to make them the subject of a series of investigations which will be devoted especially to them.

*511 Is it a sign of evolution that, out of the five units of con-
592 sumption that have not admitted into their midst any element foreign to the restricted family, two are among the youngest, thus capable of being more strongly influenced by ideas of
[452 emancipation? Among these two, we have likewise found a lower percentage of purchases on credit. A broader investigation would perhaps confirm this tendency.

*511 Let us return to the 43 families to ascertain that the first balanced budget appears with the first income of 15,000 francs. The next three again have a deficit, but a smaller one. Taking account of the possible margin of error, one can infer, not a deficit, but a certain difficulty in "making ends meet."

This experiment, however, is too limited for one to be able to conclude with certainty that 15,000 francs is the indispensable minimum monthly income.

All of the budgets following No. 27 clearly have a surplus. We previously noted that the "hole" of No. 34 is due to the cost

/416 cont./

*511 272 [452] Above all it is infinitely less practical, keeping less long. Besides, condensed milk has the advantage in that it can be purchased in quantity at the beginning of the month and on credit.

Nevertheless it is in the group of small incomes that one finds the most regularity in its consumption; in the group of 5,000 to 8,000 francs in income, only two families have a consumption per man lower than one liter per month. From No. 12 to No. 24, up to incomes higher than 15,000 francs, it is always below one liter. In the group of incomes higher than 15,000 francs, out of seven represented, in six it is higher than one liter.

There are thus few points of comparison between these two categories /417/ of milk. Their use is different, and they do not seem to be complementary.

We cannot speak of milk without saying a word about its breakfast complement, coffee. Its consumption is extremely variable. A product of the country, the quinquéliba, practically free, often substitutes for it, no matter what the income or occupational group. Coffee is perhaps a little more common in the group of incomes higher than 15,000 francs. The percentage, in proportion to the income, of the sums which are devoted to it is in general higher. Consumption thus increases in great proportions. Unfortunately it is impossible here to [435] speak of quantities; coffee is sold ground, by pinches, and at variable prices. We therefore only have elements for judging the outlays made for this product. Be that as it may, milk and coffee are important fixtures in the budget of African families; often 8 to 14% of the income is devoted to them (1).

1. Nos. 11 and 17 are Moors and thus traditionally drink tea. No. 11 devotes 1.3% of his income to it; No. 17, 4.4%. No. 39 takes cacao at breakfast; 0.7% of the income.

/425 cont./

*511 reach it, by ignoring the tradition that one should have new
291 clothing for the celebration of Tabaski. Some expenses seem
[292] slightly exaggerated. The head of family No. 11, who dresses
[796] very modestly himself, each year presents a sumptuous new gown to his wife, who moreover demands it, although she can rarely wear it. The 8,000 francs for No. 1, on the contrary, are justified by the size of his restricted family: seven persons.

Nevertheless it is surely possible to reduce these expenses.
[183] But opinion requires that one have new clothing to show at times, and it is difficult to pass unnoticed in an African city of average size.

*511 After this threshold of 15,000 francs of monthly income, we encounter figures for impressive expenses. No. 27 devotes as much as 48,000 francs to his clothing. No. 30, 65,000 francs, the same as No. 36. From No. 34 on, all exceed 40,000 francs per year. For some, that may be justified by the size of the family; No. 36 has 15 persons under his care, for whom practically all of this is necessary. The restricted family alone of No. 40 contains 15 persons; that of No. 42, 11. For the others we could only verify the facts, leaving to the psychologists and sociologists the task of explaining them; No. 34 earns 25,000 francs per month and devotes 65,000 francs to the clothing of four persons, 22.5% of his income. This budget nevertheless has a surplus, but only of 3.7%, in the midst of a series where they are much greater. We now have the explanation for it.

/426/ We have grouped under the rubric "Equipment" (Table XIV) dissimilar elements which have the common character of being of some utility and, if not purchased once and for all, at least not needing to be renewed for a rather long period, for example, furniture, kitchen equipment, bedding, etc. ... The sums that are devoted to them are generally of little importance. The purchase of a Madagascar stove or of some glasses, however, is a heavy burden on an income below
[452] 10,000 francs. These things are generally not purchased on credit.

[352] The piece of furniture that we found most often in our

/15 cont./

442 into the secco, an area with a floor of hard earth or cement,
437 closed off by sheet metal. The agriculturalist, paid forthwith,
[992] immediately spends the sum received, in settling the sums
[488] owed to the trader and in buying from among the manufactured
[452] objects of the same factory the most diverse articles: cloth,
[443] playthings, articles for bicycles, etc. Thus the same trader
[438] realizes two profits in the traditional system.

3) The agents of trade. Until the Second World War,
439 the trade in groundnuts was in the hands of about 3,000 private
441 traders organized in a strict hierarchy. At the top, the trade was
442 controlled by the large import-export houses, especially of
438 Bordeaux origin, Maurel et Prom, Peyrissac, Vézia, etc., to which was added the C. F. A. O. of Marseilles origin, and the S. C. O. A. Franco-Switzerland. These firms, whose central agencies for Senegal are in Dakar, make arrangements for the "banks" and "agencies" in the principal localities, for "factories" in the escales, and for "operations" in the bush. These commercial houses concentrate the purchases of their various traders and provide them with imported products. They are supported during the campaign by the banks of the mother country or their agencies in Senegal.

The independent French merchants, often former employees
441 of the firms, play the role of intermediary /demi-grossiste/ in
442 the escales. /16/ They buy directly from the producers or from
438 the African sub-trader and bag and forward /the product/ to the commercial houses in the shipping ports. They have been very harshly affected by the economic crisis of the 1930's and then
[563] by the war, in particular by the mobilization, which facilitated the establishment of many Lebano-Syrian traders.

The treaties of 1919 facilitated the arrival in Africa of
[563] these Lebano-Syrians. They devote themselves essentially to commerce, and they have on the whole succeeded, because, living near the autochthons, they have adopted their way of life and are contented with much less than the independent
442 Europeans. During the trade, they are generally commission
443 agents of the firm that they represent. They receive a commis-
438 sion for each metric ton of groundnuts purchased, and sell in

/16 cont./

438 their establishments the manufactured products that the firm
442 delivers to them. They[1] are most often linked with the pro-
[443] ducers by the system of loans that they authorize in cash and
[452] especially in kind during the difficult period of low supplies
before the harvest.

The African "sub-traders" most often play the role of
[441] intermediary between the producers and the traders; they
very often are transporters and guide the seller to the weighing-
machine of a friend.

Since the last war this system has been greatly perturbed
by the appearance of new purchasers who more and more com-
pete with the traditional commerce. The local oil-makers
[258] scarcely ever appeal to the large firms. They do business with
the traders of the escales, or, more often, they have their
438 own buyers. Since 1952 some pilot co-operatives have made
442 the collection in many escales at little expense; they utilize
474 the personnel and equipment of the S. M. D. R. Moreover, the
656 law of 13 January 1960, creating an "Office de commercialisation agricole" (O. C. A.), has assigned to this body the responsibility of selling the products collected by the co-operatives (Art. 6) and has granted it license to create purchase points for the direct collection of local agricultural products in the sectors where there are as yet no co-operatives (Art. 7). The decree of 20 May 1960, which more precisely relates to the marketing of groundnuts, grants purchasing permits only to organismes stockeurs (O. S.) /storage bodies/, private or co-operative, properly approved by the decision of a Comité régional d'agrément /Regional Committee of Approval/, and to the purchasing posts of the O. C. A. One might ask if these decisions do not constitute a step toward the creation of an "Office de l'arachide" /Office for Groundnuts/, which would have exclusivity of the trade and could normalize a "circuit of groundnuts," now very complex. /Pl. I and II appear here on unnumbered pages./

[1] [The Lebano-Syrian Traders --Analyst]

/19 cont./

434 obtained by the ratio of the index of the F. O. B. price of
435 groundnuts to the balanced index of the various import products, led to a more encouraging situation: on a base of 100 for 1949, the ratio of exchange in 1958 would be 114.5 in favor of the Senegalese producer. M. Barbier concludes: "The ratio of exchange for the Senegalese producer has /20/ been improved; the difference in it can be confirmed in most of the underdeveloped areas."

Actually all of these calculations are theoretical, and, on the whole, the living standard of the producer has remained low. The "average" cultivator, cultivating about a hectare, receives less than 20,000 francs C. F. A. for an average yield of 800 kilograms. This sum is modest, and, it must be added, at the time of selling an important part
•[452] goes for the settlement of debts in cash and especially in kind, contracted during the winter with the trader at a very high interest rate. It is estimated that the total of these credits represents 20% of the value of the harvest.

435 This fixing of the price at production considerably
439 reduces the fluctuations of the market, which in fact is governed by the needs of the former mother country.

2) The groundnut market depends on the needs of France. One cannot speak of competition at the selling stage in a market where the purchase prices paid to the producer are authoritatively fixed. In fact the demand essentially depends on French needs, as is decidedly expressed in the decree of 13 November 1954 which regulates the importation of oleaginous products in the mother country. Senegal can export to it a quota of 225,000 metric tons oil-equivalent, at a guaranteed minimum price and duty free. This price may vary within narrow limits, around 5%. The regularization of the market is handled by an official body, the Société interprofessionnelle des oléagineux fluides alimentaires (S. I. O. F. A.), solely qualified to import from foreign countries in order to depress prices and bring them back under

/385 cont./

369 in small apartments, true caravansaries contained within the
563 European city. This promiscuity was deplorable. Europeans and natives were not in fact subject to the same epidemics;
[164] yellow fever, for example, fatal for the white, is benign to the black. The danger of a mixed population was that the epidemics would spread without being stamped out in time.
[361] Finally, the system lacked style; therefore as early as 1916 the creation of the native village of Médina was decided upon" (23).

23. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar," op. cit., p. 630.

There it was, in a way, the theory of the urbanism of the West African cities ! Nevertheless the problems of land were so complicated at Dakar (24) between the two world wars

[113] 24. See the work by A. Angrand, Les Lébou de la presqu'île du Cap-Vert (Essai sur leur histoire et leurs coutumes) /The Lébou of the peninsula of Cape Verde (essay on their history and their customs)/. "La Maison du Livre," Dakar.

[167] that, with the Lebano-Syrian immigration and the Crédit
[452] Foncier /Mortgage-loan Society/ helping, there was created, in contact with the European city and the Médina, a collection
[361] of quarters more mixed in their contents and in their appearance. Up to the end of the Second World War Dakar preserved this appearance of a threefold city. But after the war a series of new factors caused a rapid and brutal evolution in Dakar. The return to normal economic activities after the slack period following the war, the awakening and amplification of political and syndical life, the creation of the Fonds d'Investissement Economique et Social (F. I. D. E. S.), and, finally, the ever greater influx of rural people into Dakar led the federal authorities to take a series of fortunate initiatives. /386//Fig. 4 appears here/

/388 cont./

369 Pl. XXIV appear here on unnumbered pages/. /389/ /Fig. 5
361 appears here./

3. Greater Dakar. Of all the sectors of the Dakar agglomeration, Greater Dakar is certainly the one that presents the sharpest contrasts. The quarter of the "Gueule-Tapée" resembles the old Médina, while Fass and "Usine Biscuit" /Biscuit Factory/ remind one of Colobane, but aside from these there stand some modern quarters that are quite varied in appearance, contrasting strongly with the "Médinas," the "Colobanes," and the irregular quarters that surround them. It is in this sector of Greater Dakar [873] that the University is found, raising its majestic buildings on the edge of the sea. It is flanked on the north by the rich quarter of Fann-Résidence where the residences of ministers and members of their cabinets, directors of houses of commerce, and high officials are grouped; to the south military villas and the allotment of Fann Hock separate it from the Gueule-Tapée. Point E, Zone A, Zone B, /390/ the Cité des Douanes /customs/, and that of the Port de Commerce are officials' quarters, while Bopp, formerly a swamp, has in recent years become a pretty little quarter, all the houses of which were built by officials [452] with the aid of the Crédit du Sénégal /Local Association of Senegal/. The S.I.C.A.P. which extend along the route des Puits /Roads of the Wells/ (Karacks, Baobabs, Liberté I, Liberté II, Liberté III, etc.) are pleasant lots intended to facilitate for Africans the acquisition of property (Fig. 5).

Finally, the quarter of Derklé forms, in several groupings of houses, a residence for petty African officials, another one for the African employees of private enterprises, and finally a quarter called the "Castors," the houses of which have been built by their associated and grouped owners with the aid of the public authorities.

Greater Dakar is the most extensive and the heaviest popu- [162] lated sector in the Dakar agglomeration. It includes more than [563] 73,000 inhabitants, among whom is numbered one-sixth of the non-African population.

[Text continues bottom of P. 31--Analyst]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

encourage the evangelisation of the population, he was sufficiently knowledgeable about the country and its people to realise that it would be impossible to win converts from among the Muslims who formed the majority in Senegal. Scholarships for primary education in St. Louis, and secondary education in France were awarded under his auspices to promising students. Small technical schools were established at Dakar. And he even opened a museum at St. Louis.

He tried to equip the colony with some of the benefits of a modern economy. He established the Bank of Senegal, laid out St. Louis afresh as befitted a capital city, and under his influence Pinet-Laprade founded the new port of Dakar. He promoted the export of the ground-nut crop, becoming increasingly valuable to the colony's revenue which rose from 12 million francs in 1848 to 37 million in 1869, and proved a profitable substitute for human merchandise. He made valuable and detailed studies of the local people. Like Lugard he seemed to be able to think of every aspect of administration at the same time. The historian G. Hardy wrote of him: 'He touched on everything, and always with good results.' But as J. Richard-Molard commented, 'He was the first great Frenchman to realise the wish of Barth. But he did it as an officer of the Empire, endowed with an abominable character and a sense of authority which bordered on vice. He was proconsul of an authoritarian Empire.'

One decision vital for the future of the Senegal was made during the Faidherbian regime: this was the final abandonment of any ideals of European colonisation. It came at a time when the French were settling Algeria, and was not altogether altruistic, as the ministerial instructions of 1859 showed:

> Nothing similar to Algeria could be undertaken in Senegal. The climate is against it. The land should therefore be left to the natives, at least as a general rule. It is by their hands that it should be cultivated and if our rule is to be extended over all the territory

/380 cont./

ooo at Dakar.

369 648 [433] Even more than in the sphere of aviation, however, it is on the commercial and industrial plane that the other states of former French West Africa were, before the recent political disturbances, dependent on Dakar. In fact Dakar was the seat [453] of the banks and of the commercial associations or the branch [441] agencies of the mother country, all of whom /Pl. XXI and XXII appear here on unnumbered pages/ /381/exercise from Dakar, if not always a role of direct administration, at least some co-ordination and in any case an influence that is not negligible on the branches scattered across Senegal, former French West Africa, and sometimes even across foreign territories. Thus, the C.F.A.O., the S.C.O.Z., the B.A.O., and the B.C.A., which practice their activities in practically all of Black Africa, although having their seat in Paris, are strongly established in Dakar, from where they manage a number of agencies and branches. On the other hand, the Société Maurel et Prom, which has branches in Senegal, Mauritania, the Sudan, Guinea, and Gambia, the "Commerce Africain," which has establishments in Senegal, Gambia, the Ivory Coast, and the Cameroun, and other companies have their [439] seat in Dakar (17). Moreover it must be added that several in-

17. "Le Commerce Africain" transferred its seat from Dakar to Paris in July 1960.

dustries (oil factories, soap factories, breweries, cement factories, textile factories, shoe factories, etc.) established on the peninsula of Cape Verde send a part of their products to other territories in former French West Africa.

369 633 648 Finally, because of its former function as federal capital, Dakar brought together all of the federal political and administrative organs, which permitted it to direct and co-ordinate all of the political, administrative, and economic life of former French West Africa.

Thus, Dakar became the leader, the undisputed metropolis, upon which there depended a regional assemblage much

[Text continues on p. 17--Analyst]

/125 cont./

443 Markets. Fairs. Daily markets have been established in the mixed communes of Kaolack, Foundiougne, Fatick, and Gossas, as well as in the important centers such as Guinguinéo, Birkelane, Kaffrine, Koungheul, Nioro, Saboya, Sokone, and Gandiaye. Those of the mixed communes and important ports are much frequented and have a good trade.

In addition, cattle markets have been held monthly at Kaolack since 1924.

543 Fairs have been instituted in order to familiarize the public with the principal products of the region. A first Fair-Exposition was held at Kaolack in June 1925; it was a great success. It had been organized with the co-operation of the administration and commerce. This happy attempt was renewed in April 1926 with the same success. The governor-general, M. Carde, was present at these two fine manifestations of the economic life of a region in full development.

453 /126/ Banks. The dependable index of the development of commercial transactions is given to us by the banking groups which have been established at Kaolack.

The Banque de l'Afrique Occidentale Française opened a branch in the chief town of the circle in 1927. Moreover, other credit establishments had preceded it. An agency of the Banque française d'Afrique was opened in 1924. The Banque Commerciale africaine followed in 1925.

871 Education. It is necessary to educate the native if we want him later to be our collaborator in the work of colonization. We are realizing this duty by the public schooling which is given at Kaolack in a regional school attended by nearly 500 children; a home economics school is attached to it. Primary schools where the number of pupils is very great are in operation at Fatick, Foundiougne, Gossas, Kaffrine, Nioro, and Sokone.

874 461 It is also necessary to develop vocational education because we lack good workers. We are going to be in want of artisans if we do not remedy a situation which had already appeared in this region several years ago. Unfortunately, the

/375 cont./

369 He works the lougan (1) of his host; after a few months he
166
[574]
[425]
[623]

1. Lougan; a Wolof term signifying a cultivated field.

obtains a little grant of land from the head of the village; he builds a hut, and often his family joins him and comes to share his life. Diakhaté and Keur-Issa-Bambara grow. The new settler takes advantage of the inactivity that the dry season imposes on him by offering his services temporarily to the urban establishments. Each year he divides his activities, which become half-urban, half-rural. If stable employment is offered to him in the city, he leaves the care of his lougan to his family and devotes himself entirely to his new activity. For a few months he will accept this daily [494] travel, but he has no deep attachment in the village that welcomed him earlier; tired of his long daily journeys, perhaps also pushed by a kind of pride in becoming a city dweller, he will finally, he and his family, leave the rural life and settle in the huts of the native quarters of Thiès.

369 Perhaps he retained a little lougan in the village?
241 His family will come to maintain it each year.. Perhaps he exchanged it for a field located in the vicinity of his new establishment? In general, because of a kind of peasant atavism, he always keeps a little bit of ground near his quarter. The harvest will give some protection against possi- [451] ble shortages; the sale of the products of the soil will be a considerable balance when enforced idleness or lack of money occurs.

369 The period of the maximum development of Keur-
621 Issa-Bambara is set by the old people in the decade 1910-1920. This swelling of the population often required splitting the village in two. For reasons of familial misunderstandings or the necessity of being nearer to fields too far away, this disassociation was brought about in several hamlets (at

/430 cont./

*511 Finally, eight families more or less regularly devote
517 a part of their incomes to the heading "Diversions"; ex-
[541] cluding No. 36 /431/ (he attends the horse races), all go to
[546] the cinema or send their children there. They are the numbers:

No. 16:	1%	No. 36:	1%
No. 22:	3.5%	No. 39:	0.6%
No. 26:	0.9%	No. 40:	0.2%
No. 33:	0.6%	No. 43:	0.6%

[204] There must be added to that five families who read and buy newspapers:

No. 34:	Employee...	0.3%	of the income
No. 36:	Accountant..	0.7%	--
No. 39:	Teacher.....	1.6%	--
No. 41:	Employee...	0.4%	--
No. 43:	Doctor.....	2.5%	--

*511 A final question presents itself. How, when there is
423 any, are the surpluses utilized.

We have been able to get precise data in only two cases: No. 36 built a house to which he devoted in one year, from March 1952 to March 1953, 80,000 francs. On the
[427] other hand, No. 43 has taken in rent-sale a villa in Dakar, and for that he pays 12,300 francs per month.

Moreover, the ambition of many, as we have said, is
[556] to become the owner of their dwelling. Some look further and want some gardens besides. Several already possess one or the other and are only trying to improve or enlarge them. One of them claimed that he had had a well dug, but he was unable or did not want to remember the sums put into this undertaking.

*511 One of the family heads succeeded in starting a trans-
[472] portation business after having purchased two carts and a horse.
[494] Some hoard. We believed that a cultivator had a good-sized
[454] bank account and loaned the money at usurious rates. We have
[426]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

647 656 *Produce Inspection.* Produce inspection is entrusted to a board nominated by the Chambers of Commerce, but the Government keeps a tight control by exercising a veto on all important appointments to its staff. The Board's inspectorate has very wide powers of inspection over produce, whether destined for local consumption or for export. No produce to which inspection applies can be sent out [439] of the colony without a certificate of purity.

For this inspection a special tax of [illegible] francs per ton on ground-nuts [651] and palm kernels, and 20 francs per ton on rubber, is imposed on produce intended for export.

456 654 *Native Provident Societies.* There are 14 Native Provident Societies. Bignona and Ziguinchor have combined, but otherwise there is one to each province. In 1937 they had 1,200,000 members, [647] whose annual subscriptions varied from 2·50 francs to 5·00 francs each, and their expenses were some 25,000,000 francs. They supplied over 44,000 tons of ground-nut seeds to their members.

In earlier days the Sine-Saloum society imported stallions from [232] the Argentine for the breeding of mules, and in 1932 the societies devoted nearly 250,000 francs to the purchase of motor vehicles. In cattle-breeding districts they supply breeding stock and improve water-supply and pasturage. By 1933 it was estimated that the societies had sunk over 1,200 wells, while the society of Thiès had [312] constructed a barrage for irrigation purposes.

In addition to strictly agricultural activities, the Senegal societies [926] help their members by advances of cash, which are made not only to meet failure of crops, but also in cases of individual accident or illness.

Mining

656 316 At the end of 1937 the following permits were in force:

Personal licences		4
The Occupation System		
Exclusive licences	10	
Mining licences	32	
Concessions	16	
	—	58
Total		62

Education

871 1997 The first attempts to educate the natives of French West Africa were made in Senegal, and they were also remarkable for being instituted, not by missionaries, but by the Crown. Colonel Schmaltz

/76 cont./

369 local products (groundnuts,
441 millet ...) are bought or
563 bartered for.
443

still almost empty quarter of the residence.

Already the economic equilibrium of the city was no
369 longer essentially based on the commerce of trade, subject to
433 price fluctuations, but also on the budding industry which as-
458 sured it a certain stability. It is true that the latter, barely acquired, was put to a harsh test during the world crisis from 1930 to 1934. In the course of this difficult period the price of the groundnut slumped. The old commercial firms which depended solely on the trading were no longer able to meet their payments and liquidate their stock: Société Française du Sénégal, the firms Lacombe, Latrille... The sounder establishments were themselves obliged to close their city branches temporarily, for example, Peyrissac, Maurel Frères. Nevertheless one did not see here a complete slump in commerce with spectacular failures such as occurred in Dakar, but rather commercial liquidations, sales of stocks that were repurchased by Levantines and wholesale companies.

The effects of the crisis, which ended in 1934, re-
[471] sulted in a redistribution of commercial ownership, a re-
[563] adaptation of commerce to the new requirements, along with the definitive establishment of the Levantines.

369 At this date the fusion of the two railroad companies,
498 the Dakar--Saint-Louis and Thiès-Niger, stimulated an ex-
433 pansion of the industrial quarter by regrouping at Thiès the workshops originally installed at Dakar for the Dakar--Saint-Louis railway.

369 On the eve of the Second World War the city reached
the figure of 22,000 inhabitants, 1,200 of them Europeans.
[162] The almost complete disappearance of epidemics, the better
[511] food supply, the construction of comfortable houses (Ballabey
[361] district created as early as 1925 for the railway workers, villas for officers) permit metropolitan families to settle in a permanent fashion. In a parallel manner, the native

/10/

*795 793 The brotherhood of the Murids was instituted in Senegal at the end of the last century by a Toucouleur /Tukolor/ marabout named Amadou Bamba M'Backé. He did it, Murid tradition reports, following a vision during which the Angel Gabriel revealed to him his vocation as apostle-restorer of Islam in that country.

Amadou Bamba had studied the Koran thoroughly under Cheikh /Sheik/ Sidi Sidiya, and because of this he had received the wird. He therefore was of Quadria obedience. Nevertheless, by creating his own brotherhood and founding Muridism, he produced a completely original work, and he knew particularly well how to adapt his preaching to the mentality of the Ouolof /Wolof/, among whom it spread rapidly and became firmly established.

The essential trait of the Murid is his blind and fanatical attachment to his marabout and to the Murid doctrine; the primordial characteristic of Muridism is to have made manual [461] labor (generally scorned in Black Africa and in Islam) the equivalent of prayer and, as such, capable of ensuring the eternal salvation of the disciple (talibé).

*795 114 The history of the vocation and the preachings of Amadou Bamba, as well as the circumstances of the birth and first development of the brotherhood are known; Captain Marty in L'Islam au Sénégal /Islam in Senegal/ and A. Gouilly in L'Islam en A. O. F. /Islam in French West Africa/ have spoken about it with authority.

Our purpose, therefore, will not be to repeat what has already been written about the Murids and their brotherhood, but to report some recent observations about them made by the author in the course of a stay at Diourbel during which he was able to approach the current leaders of the brotherhood frequently and to attend several times the pilgrimage that they organize annually in their "capital," Touba, under the name of Magal.

128 We shall call to mind, therefore, successively:

— Touba, the holy city of the Murids, its mosque, its Magal;

/374 cont./

369 [438] became a relatively flourishing commercial center; each year more than 20,000 metric tons of groundnuts were handled by the traders of the place and sent by railroad to the ports of Rufisque or Dakar. As early as 1907 the first work on the Thiès-[496] Kayes railroad was begun. All of this new economic activity [464] required the employment of many laborers, who were in part recruited on the spot, but also in the neighboring villages.

369 166 During the dry season, work in the fields is reduced. A number of rural people in the vicinity come to offer their serv-[464] ices as workers in the factoreries (2) or in the newly opened

[443] 2. Factorerie: shop where everything is sold.

[461] yards /chantiers, dockyards, woodyards, etc./. Some of these villagers feel that this kind of work is less arduous and more remunerative than that of agriculture. They become definitively attached to urban life and come to swell the population of the native quarters previously established.

[484] [22] Others return every evening to the village. During the rainy season they leave their urban job and devote all their activity to work in the fields.

During this whole period prior to the Great War the suburban village seems to have played the role of intermediary or rather of relay-station between the hamlet in the bush and the city. The call for non-specialized labor had echos not [464] only in the outskirts /375/ of the city itself, but also in the more distant villages. Curiosity about new things, the opportunity to escape familial tutelage, and especially the promise of relatively high earnings stimulated some immigration movement toward the escales.

[574] By means of the great hospitality that he knows will be shown him by relatives or friends who live in Diakhaté or Keur-Issa-Bambara, the rural person settles in these agglomerations.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

'Oh yes, our sister company in Abidjan has sent a young African to train in a large brewery in France.' 274 463

'What is your labour like?'

'Not so good. They don't seem to have much interest in their work.'

I remembered my discussion with Babacar Saye, Mayor of St. Louis, who told me that though he was a Socialist, he believed that at the present time capitalism had an essential role in the country. 'If we are to improve the conditions of the proletariat capitalism is a necessity, but this improvement cannot be speeded up except to the extent that the profit from capital is used towards the satisfying of the indispensable needs of the workers. Therefore it is necessary that the worker feels that he is complementary to the capitalist—it is up to the capitalist to make him understand this.' 829

To me this seems one of the most important factors in the industrialization of West Africa. The African from the tribal background is essentially an individual with a distinct position in his tribal group or village. Though he appreciates the money he earns in industry, psychologically he does not like being treated as a mere cog in a machine, losing his identity. If he could be given some indication that he is as indispensable to the firm as the manager, he would work hard. As Mr. C. O. Van der Plas, the United Nations Official in the Gambia, once observed: 'It is curious that the African running his own little enterprise works literally like a black, and takes on enormous responsibilities.' Yet if he is taken on as a cog in a vast machine, he becomes slack and Europeans call him the most inefficient and expensive labour in the world. It seems to me that a lot depends on the relations between the worker and the managerial staff. 461

Two years before I had visited a large shoe factory in neighbouring Rufisque with Mr. David Pearson, the British Consul responsible for liaison between British and French territories in West Africa. The factory was sited on the outskirts of the town opposite a huge cement works which belched forth pastel smoke at an angry sky. We entered a courtyard where hides of every colour were lying in the sun to dry. A Czech employee of the firm, which has its origins in Czechoslovakia, met us and led us into a gloomy shed where flabby hides, a hideous grey green in 295 282 [339]

/26 cont./

intermediate character of this category, very mixed concerning the level of studies, way of life, etc., is found again in various domains. 369x 565

C. -- The old familial institutions do not always adapt themselves easily to the environment of the new life into which they are transplanted. They were linked with a collective work organization, all the members of the group being assured of enjoying (under the authority of the family head) the revenue of the latter. The notion of individual work, with individual remuneration, has not been introduced without shock. We shall set aside the categories where the work has remained in the family framework despite the necessary transpositions: farmers and fishermen on the one hand, merchants on the other. In the others, the vigor preserved by the traditional familial institutions is sometimes a curb on the raising of the living standard of urbanized elements. There is the problem, commonly called "familial parasitism," which poses itself in all of the African towns; the obligation to come to the aid of all the members of the kinship group is still strongly felt. We shall not proceed here to a detailed examination of the data gathered on the number of salaried persons, and persons practicing a non-salaried occupation, in relation to the total number of adults in the household. But it is necessary to give a survey of them. 369x 59 [476] [461] [602]

1. When questioned about the reasons for their coming to town, less than 10% of those questioned say that they came to rejoin relatives. But subsequent interviews have permitted it to be confirmed that among those persons who had come, according to their statements, to look for work (58%), there were many who would not have been able to subsist except by joining, upon their arrival, a group of relatives already settled. The process has already been described several times, and we shall not return to it (1). 369x 602 166

1. Cf., for example, G. Balandier, op. cit., one of the latest accounts to date.

/125 cont./

443 Markets. Fairs. Daily markets have been established in the mixed communes of Kaolack, Foundiougne, Fatick, and Gossas, as well as in the important centers such as Guinguinéo, Birkelane, Kaffrine, Koungheul, Nioro, Saboya, Sokone, and Gandiaye. Those of the mixed communes and important ports are much frequented and have a good trade.

In addition, cattle markets have been held monthly at Kaolack since 1924.

543 Fairs have been instituted in order to familiarize the public with the principal products of the region. A first Fair-Exposition was held at Kaolack in June 1925; it was a great success. It had been organized with the co-operation of the administration and commerce. This happy attempt was renewed in April 1926 with the same success. The governor-general, M. Carde, was present at these two fine manifestations of the economic life of a region in full development.

453 /126/ Banks. The dependable index of the development of commercial transactions is given to us by the banking groups which have been established at Kaolack.

The Banque de l'Afrique Occidentale Française opened a branch in the chief town of the circle in 1927. Moreover, other credit establishments had preceded it. An agency of the Banque française d'Afrique was opened in 1924. The Banque Commerciale africaine followed in 1925.

871 Education. It is necessary to educate the native if we want him later to be our collaborator in the work of colonization. We are realizing this duty by the public schooling which is given at Kaolack in a regional school attended by nearly 500 children; a home economics school is attached to it. Primary schools where the number of pupils is very great are in operation at Fatick, Foundiougne, Gossas, Kaffrine, Nioro, and Sokone.

874 It is also necessary to develop vocational education because we lack good workers. We are going to be in want of
461 artisans if we do not remedy a situation which had already appeared in this region several years ago. Unfortunately, the

/126 cont./

874 young people are inclined to seek our courses which prepare
461 them for officialdom. The elite wishes to be instructed doctorally. It disdains manual trades. It is this state of mind that must be changed. Craftmanship is dying out. The governor of Senegal, under the over-all supervision of the governor-general, has understood this. The vocational courses in the capital of the colony, Saint-Louis, have been revised and improved. Agricultural schools have been established. More must be done. It is necessary to add a vocational workshop to each regional school and even to some of the primary schools. The child should become familiar -- before leaving school -- with the handling of the hammer, the chisel, and the plane; he should know how to use a shovel, spade, and rake. All of these skills should be lifted up out of disrepute, which has no reason for existing. Manual work must be put on an equal footing with intellectual work. We need good workers even more than good writers.

/127/ It is the duty of the administration to prepare the younger generation for the task that awaits them.

654 Agricultural mutuality. The Société de Prevoyance.
474 Within this order of ideas, and in order to develop a spirit
244 of mutuality and a sense of foresight among the natives, the administration has created, like Algeria, native welfare and mutual loan societies. A society of this type has been operating in Sine-Saloum for many years. Its founding goes back to 1907. Its beginnings were modest. At first it brought together 718 cultivators. By 1910, the number of members of the society reached the figure of 1,567. This was still very few. The idea had borne fruit, however. The administration soon brought in the majority and then the totality of the cultivators.

[652] In July 1907, at its founding, the governor of Senegal put at the disposal of the administrator of the circle the sum of 20,000 francs in order to promote this effort for mutuality.

Thanks to this advance, 99,700 kilograms of groundnut seed was loaned to the 718 first adherents, who returned them in kind after the harvest with an interest of 30%.

/390 cont./

125 artisans it was necessary, aside from their family accounts, to
434 consider those of their occupational activity; with regard to the cultivators, it is certainly /391/ among them that the greatest percentage of error is found. We have taken into account the proceeds from the sale of their harvest, often underestimated by the one concerned, the portion for home consumption, and the income obtained by supplementary activities practiced in the dry season, in order to arrive at an income figure that could be compared to that for salaried workers.

125 But, nearly all of the women, almost all of whom declare
434 themselves to be "without occupation," have minor sources of
462 income that permit them to balance a budget, or at least partially to make up a deficit. It is often a matter of small-scale
[536] commerce, sometimes domestic work, and sometimes the talents
[565] of an actress which attract sympathy and gifts, as we verified for a family of the griot /singer, storyteller/ caste. It was therefore necessary to look closely at each case before setting an exact figure. We nevertheless believe that we have been mistaken in two or three cases, which will reveal themselves below.

125 Of course, there were often cases where in a family, or
434 rather let us say in the same "unit of consumption," since this
592 is the term that we shall use most often (1), several persons

[104] 1. Each time that we speak of "family,"
[594] it is actually the unit of consumption that is involved. To designate the familial grouping in the Western sense of the word, we shall use the term "restricted family."

received income. The entire income retained is not always the sum of these incomes. We have studied the budgets of groups and not the budgets of individuals. Now, these groups, these "units of consumption," only rarely correspond to the restricted family of Western type. They often contain individuals who, whether or not they have a kin tie with a member of the restricted family, on the one hand participate in the economic

/177 cont./

464 Proportion of persons over 50 out of the active labor
484 force 25.3%
162 Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers
in Pikine 37%
Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers
in Dakar 16%

[463] Thus, old people prefer the traditional trades, jewelers, tailors, merchants, which can be carried on locally.

If one considers the fact that the active male labor force numbers 5,530 individuals and that about 70% of this labor force goes to Dakar to work, one can estimate the number of workers whose place of employment is located in Dakar at
464 about 2,800. Another question pertaining to the frequency of
484 journeys to Dakar shows that 62% of the total labor force, that is to say, about 3,700, make the trip at least once a day. This means that not only the workers but the unemployed as well go to Dakar daily. Dakar thus has a double attraction for the workers of Pikine: as an actual place of employment, a nd as a place of possible hiring. The two principal means of
494 transportation are: for the officials, the cars called "G.G.,"
484 thanks to which they can return for lunch at noon, and for the great majority of others the express buses; only a few have
[493] personal means of transportation, mobylettes /bicycles with motors/ or vehicles. The length of the automobile trip from
484 Pikine to the Sandaga market varies from 20 minutes to more than half an hour depending on traffic difficulties. One must add to this the time required to go on foot through the sand from the concession to the bus stop. In a very general way one can say that the worker leaves his house in the morning about seven o'clock and returns to it in the evening between 6:45 and seven o'clock, provided that he does not have errands on
[369] the way. This quick analysis therefore shows the role of
[361] "bedroom community" that Pikine plays to a certain extent in relation to Dakar.

462 After the male labor force, it is necessary to say a word
463 about female work. The great majority of the women do not
162 have any occupation other than that of housework: more than two-thirds. The 32% who draw monetary income from their

S /177 cont./
462 work are divided into very different groups: here is the
463 distribution of female occupations by percentages:
162 /178/ Hairdressers (occupation often held by the griotes)...4.5
Silent partners of weavers 2.2
Dyers 3.7
Saleswomen in markets or stalls 15.5
Cleaning women, laundresses 4.5
Laborer 0.8
Others 68.8
S Total 100

305 Hairdressing is more an ordinary service than remunera-
565 tive work; it is most often done by the caste women, griotes
463 or jewelers, in exchange for money or for presents which they receive from "free" or "noble" families -- the Wolof term is "guer" -- for whom they are the appointed griotes. It is not unusual, along one of the sandy streets in the shade of a wall, to come across a group of women, one of whom will be braiding the hair of another stretched out flat on her stomach, her head on the knees of her hairdresser.

S Equally traditional are the occupations of dyer or silent
462 partner of a weaver. At the extreme opposite is the laborer
463 of the CAFAL who works daily at fixed hours for a definite
SR salary. There are only a few of them in our sample, all of
[462] whom are Sérère. The women who do housework or who are laundresses must likewise be classed under this rubric of modern work. The way they use their time is indeed much less whimsical than in the case of the first categories. Between the two one must place the most important occupation, that of saleswoman. And here it is again necessary to dis-
S [443] tinguish several categories of saleswomen: those who keep a shop or a stall by the side of their houses, those who go to sell at the market of Pikine, and finally those who every day go from Pikine to Dakar to sell their vegetables and their produce at Kermel or at Sandaga.

S W SR On the other hand, the positive replies are too numerous
462 to be profitably discussed by ethnic groups and thus to separate
162 out the principal ethnic behaviors. At best it is possible that

S
W
SR
462
162

/178 cont./

the jobs most thrust into the modern rhythm, like the last two categories of the saleswomen in the Dakar markets, are held by Wolof of Sérère women. The rate of activity of these last two is generally higher proportionately, since almost 40% of the Wolof or Sérère women are reckoned as having an occupation outside of the household, /179/ while this proportion drops to 13% for the Toucouleur and the other ethnic groups.

S
462
162

A final point deserves to be mentioned: although one finds some women devoted to traditional occupations in the sample of the districts and even though one or two stalls are to be found there, we have, in turn, not found any woman there who works outside as saleswoman, housekeeper, or typist; the female workers of our sample are all found in the stratum of the quarters.

S
369
462

In conclusion one may say that acculturation to the urban environment by means of modern work seems for the time being to have left aside the female world. Except for the Wolof and Sérère sectors of the female population, the rest have remained untouched. It is only under the strong [462] pressure of economic motives that the women become reconciled to going to work, and the Sérère women give proof of more initiative than the others. But when this compulsion ceases and the woman again takes up her traditional behavior: housewife, and nothing but housewife. This return to tradition may seem astonishing; it is explained by the educational level of those whom we have called "literate." It is this point that should now be studied.

IV. Educational Level and Schooling

121

If belonging to a specific ethnic group constitutes a fundamental conditioning prior to settling in a city, the educational level, on the contrary, is both a sign and a factor of acculturation. On these grounds, therefore, it also has considerable importance when it is a matter of studying the possible variations of behavior, attitudes, and opinions. The initial results have shown that these were in fact, with

/7/

S 244 generally at the end of October or the beginning of November. Harvesting is done by cutting the stalks with the hilaire four or five centimeters under the ground. They are collected into little piles, sometimes protected by a shelter of plant material for drying, and then heaped into stacks to await the detachment S [462] of the shells several weeks later by threshing or by hand. This last operation is entrusted to the women and children. All of these tasks require great effort, and the more so since during the S [243] same brief period one must busy himself with the food crops, millet, niébés /Vigna/, etc.

S 241 244 W 244 The ways in which the groundnut is associated with the food crops are quite variable and put their mark on the agrarian landscape.

1) The lougan of the Ouoloff peasant. The Ouoloff peasant of Cayor or of Siné-Saloum represents the most traditional type of cultivator of groundnuts. He still practices shifting cultivation on his lougan /cultivated field/ cleared by fire in the open bush. Although he does practice a millet-groundnut rotation, often with very little strictness, he does not know the virtues of fertilization. He cultivates the soil until it is exhausted and then abandons it for 15 or 20 years, which allows it to go back to bush. Today, however, demographic pressure does not always permit him to dispose of the vast areas of land required for this long rest. S W [433] The soil is rapidly being exhausted; the yields are diminishing. In Cayor the latter have fallen off at least 700 kilograms per hectare. The cultivation of the groundnut is very obviously regressing.

S SR 241 2) The organized ground of the Sérère /Serer/ peasantry (2). The Sérère are a group of Sudanese origin, driven back

S [113] 2. Pelissier, P. "Les paysans sérère, essai sur la formation d'un terroir au Sénégal /The Serer peasants, an essay on the formation of a ground in Senegal/." Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, Vol. VI, 1953, No. 22, pp. 105-127.

S /382 cont./
SR agricultural, 27% work wholly at Thiès, and 31% divide
162 their activity between the city and the country, depending
369 on the season and the labor market.

S Thus, the decrease in the cultivable area has brought
SR about a decrease in the number of cultivators. But the None
241 is above all a man of the soil, a peasant. Even as a laborer, he will not give up his bit of land which will give him a harvest. Each evening upon his return from work, he will take up his iler (1) and go to cultivate his lougan of millet

S
SR
[412]

1. Hilaire or iler: implement par excellence of the Senegalese cultivator, made up of a metal blade in the shape of a heart fixed to a long handle.

S or groundnuts. And if he has an occupation that suits him in
SR the city and in addition personally owns good land? He will
241 hire the services of a navétane (2) to whom he will relinquish
369
427

2. Seasonal agricultural worker.

a portion of his land and to whom he will grant some free time for his personal crops. This navétane will work his fields, and, through this procedure, he will be able to sell or amass a considerable harvest at the end of the year.

S An examination of the occupation of temporary or
SR permanent workers shows an important number of laborers,
162 19, of masons, 12, and a more modest number of boys
463 /domestic workers/ and shopkeepers, 8, out of a total of 71 workers. These results corroborate those given in the human study of the escale of Thiès.

S In spite of a relatively close urban neighborhood, the
SR number of inhabitants understanding French is very modest:
162 only 33 understand our language; 15 children out of a hundred
191 go to the nearby French school. These results may appear
[871] deceptive if one considers that all the conditions of the milieu seem favorable for closer contact with the European element.

/382 cont./

S 162 An examination of the suburban villages farthest from Thiès will give even lower figures.

S 162 563 Karamoko, located seven kilometers from the city, musters 106 inhabitants. Its ethnic composition is clearly different from that of the above None villages. Very great heterogeneity prevails there; it is made up of 30% Bambara, 30% Wassoulonké, and 25% Peul-Toucouleur. The Bambara and Wassoulonké form the ethnic base of the village, of which they were the creators. The other elements through the play of marriages have superimposed themselves on these groups.

W [563] /383/ Keur-Mamour, by contrast, has remained Wolof; only a few Peul shepherds have infiltrated into the village.

S 162 369 463 The distance from the urban center has considerably reduced the relations with Thiès. They have both remained rural: less than 10% of the economically active male population have non-agricultural work; more than 60% have remained wholly faithful to the land.

S W 369 463 317 At Keur-Mamour, although some elements were formerly employed in the escale itself, at the time of the inquiry only one-tenth were employed as laborers at the Péchiney phosphate quarries located in the vicinity of their village. (We have here an indirect effect of the urban presence: the opening of extra-urban yards offering extra-rural work to the neighboring villages.) As a consequence no worker was employed in the city itself.

S 369 Karamoko and Keur-Mamour thus present limited characteristics of the urban suburbs.

Keur-Issa-Bambara and Diakhaté, located in the vicinity of the escale (about one kilometer from the first outskirts), would have to form the type proper of the suburb.

S 369 563 162 W [563] The ethnic composition is essentially Wolof at Diakhaté, composite at Keur-Issa-Bambara. In this latter agglomeration the Bambara, the Peul, and the Toucouleur respectively account for 30% in the composition of the group. The remainder is made up of Wassoulonké, Wolof, Malinké, and Sarakolé. Consequently the heterogeneity seems to be greater there than

/384 cont./

S 563 162 166 this problem.

At Keur-Issa-Bambara, out of 37 individuals born in the Sudan, 20 are over 40 years of age. At Karamoko, 28 are natives of the Sudan, but 18 have reached 40 years of age. Out of 65 individuals of Sudanese origin, only 27 are young elements. Over half of those classed under the rubric "emigrant" were aged persons, some of whom perhaps assisted in the creation of the village in Senegal.

These few figures are an index of the mediocrity of the present immigration of the Sudanese to the region of Thiès. The unions and the displacements of families or of familial elements seem to occur now between relatively close villages.

S 162 463 369 An examination of the division of activities at Diakhaté and at Keur-Issa-Bambara will permit to some extent "gauging" their index of urbanization.

W [162] [463] [369] At Diakhaté, 20% of the economically active male population work /385/ at Thiès, 60% have remained agriculturalists, and the remainder, 20%, is composed of workers of mixed activities, half-rural, half-urban. Keur-Issa-Bambara shows only a very low percentage of workers in mixed activities: 60% are rural; more than 30% work in the city (one sees that this latter figure is slightly higher than that for the None villages, 27%).

S [498] The workshops of the Dakar-Niger employ a considerable number of permanent or temporary workers from these two villages. These two localities in fact furnish 19 permanent city workers, 15 of whom are employed on the Dakar-Niger; among the four temporary workers from Keur-Issa-Bambara, three have worked in this enterprise. In addition, Diakhaté furnishes temporarily for the city: four tailors, one mason, and one carpenter.

W [463]

S 162 [191] [871] Let us add that a minority of natives, despite the contacts that they can have with Europeans, understand our language, a little less than 5%. The number of children who go to the European school is almost null, scarcely 1%.

S 369 After this quick study of some types of villages in the vicinity

/386 cont./

369 two important roles in the economy of the escale: it is a re-
464 serve of workers who can be employed temporarily; it is also
166 the position of withdrawal when enforced idleness and strikes interdict work in the city.

[463] A functional examination of the different human groups has in fact revealed that an important proportion of the male elements has a hybrid occupation: half-agricultural, half-laborer. These workers fluctuating between two activities seem like a shock troop of laborers who are employed on the occasion of great undertakings: embankments for the laying of the road from Dakar to Thiès, putting through and establishing new streets, the installation of the military camps, the extraction of phosphate in the Péchiney quarries... The yard closed, they temporarily return to the land.

These villages are also withdrawal points in case of prolonged work stoppages. If the worker is discharged from his establishment, if he suffers from enforced idleness in his occupation, is he totally deprived of money? He knows that he will [574] be able to wait for better times thanks to the hospitality that he will find in the neighboring agglomeration. Settled near the escale, it will be possible for him to look for work every day.

369 Reserve of manpower, reserve of food products intended principally for the native, these are the two points that justify the term suburb given to these few villages.

Their external appearance and their internal organization as we have described it scarcely correspond to our Western view of the suburban phenomenon. But we should place this problem in its African milieu where the conceptions of the city, animal breeding, agriculture... profoundly differ from ours.

How long will this type of suburb of the African cities preserve this rural appearance? Evolution in the modes /387/ of settlement, in interior comfort, in the extension of new crops..., already primed in some villages, will progressively continue in the neighboring agglomerations.

In spite of appearances, modifications occur rapidly

/388/

369 The city of Thiès, 60 kilometers east of Dakar, contains
433 36,000 inhabitants, according to a recent census. All of its
[162] activity seems to be centered around four principal poles: commercial, industrial, administrative, and military.

Its commercial activity is due to its position at the cross-
[487] roads of important paths of communication: railroad lines from Dakar to Saint-Louis, from Dakar to Bamako, and from Thiès to Kaolack, and roads from Dakar to Saint-Louis and from Dakar to Diourbel, Tambacounda, and the Sudan and Guinea.

It also owes the essential part of its industrial activity to
[498] this implantation at an important rail crossroads; the repair
[464] shops of the Dakar-Niger rail system, where nearly 1,000 workers of all grades are employed, have been set up there.

Apart from the workshops of the Dakar-Niger, it must not
[497] be forgotten that Thiès is also where the management of this
[634] system resides. And it is also the principal administrative point of a circle /cercle, an administrative district/. We will thus find, besides the workers, a rather large proportion of office employees, managers, and executives.

[712] Finally, the military function of Thiès is due to the presence of two important camps: the "DMA" (Détachement Motorisé Autonome), and an air base.

Besides these four centers of activities which give this city a modern character (economically speaking, at least), a fifth one intervenes in a not inconsiderable proportion. A rather large
[166] population of cultivators, who in winter cultivate groundnuts and
[241] millet in nearby fields, has settled on the periphery of Thiès. And the city is the point to which, at the time of the groundnut trade, all of the agricultural activity of the circle comes to assert itself. Its commercial importance is thereby further increased.

162 /389/ Here is some numerical information concerning
463 the occupational distribution of the population of Thiès.

Out of an economically active population of 11,040 inhabitants at the date of the census, there were counted:

/389 cont./

162
463

11.6%	in the primary sector,		
	of whom:	agriculturalists	10.9%
44.5%	in the secondary sector,		
	of whom:	unskilled workers	0.7%
		skilled workers in construction	10%
		skilled modern workers	14.6%
		staffs and supervisors	1.1%
41.9%	in the tertiary sector,		
	of whom:	domestics	2.7%
		commerce, transport and repair	11.4%
		sweepers, orderlies, porters	1.6%
		unskilled office employees	3.3%
		skilled office employees	1.8%
		highly skilled office employees and administrative staffs	1.1%
		public force	16.4% (1)

[113]

1. This information is taken from the publication drawn up by the Service de la statistique générale du Haut Commissariat de l'A.O.F., "Commune mixte de Thiès.

/389 cont./

162
463
[113]

Recensement 1953 /The mixed commune of Thiès. 1953 Census/," Dakar, 1954. We have only converted into percentages the figures given on pp. 25 ff. of this pamphlet.

121
114

By its very diversity, this population thus constitutes an excellent field of study and experiment for the sociologist and the economist.

A socio-demographic inquiry by questionnaire was made previously, in November and December 1953. The sample chosen contained 900 heads of families questioned (2). We

2. The results of this inquiry, which was supervised by Dr. Massé, will be published in the next issue of this Bulletin.

wished to complete it partially by studying some family budgets in a very limited number, 46, three of which proved to be useless.

114

Under no pretext should any general value be given to the results that are going to be presented. The trends shown will have to be confirmed by other, more extensive inquiries, in conformity with the resolution adopted in 1926 by the Third Conference of the Statisticiens du travail, which specified: "it is better to give up certain details which the inquiry might reveal than to reduce the number of families studied."

/390/ We have almost systematically taken a course opposite to this recommendation, because the information now available on the daily life of the Africans in the cities of Senegal (and in French West Africa in its totality) is still too insufficient for one to be able to undertake broader inquiries. On the other hand, and this was a major obstacle, we did not have at our disposal sufficient means to study a larger number of families. This has saved us from the temptation of looking too far; daily African life is at this point complex, particularly in its economic aspect, so that in certain respects the work accomplished and the documents

/392 cont./

125 From the standpoint of occupational distribution:
●463 5 cultivators.
*511 8 laborers (one specialist).
3 orderlies.
3 "unskilled" office employees.
2 "skilled office employees.
1 "highly skilled" office employee.
6 "unskilled" workers.
4 "skilled" workers.
2 workers having functions of authority.
1 police sergeant.
4 artisans.
1 truck-gardener.
1 private accountant.
1 teacher.
1 African doctor.

125 /393/ From the standpoint of ethnic group (1):
162
*511

1. According to the census of 1953, the distribution of the population of Thiès by principal ethnic groups is as follows:

Wolof	65.5%	Peul	3%
Toucouleur	9.3%	Sarakolé	1.8%
Bambara	6.8%	Moors	2.4%
Sérère	5.1%	Others	6.1%

26 Wolof.
4 Bambara.
3 Sarakolé.
3 Peul.
3 Toucouleur /Tukolor/.
2 Sérère /Serer/.
2 Moors.

/394 cont./

*511 592 the units of consumption with high incomes, for example, in families 31, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41. But its financial consequences will be more oppressive in the others /395/

/Table I appears here./

*511 434 /396/ Table II[1] lists, along with the ethnic group and the occupation of the head of the unit of consumption, the incomes in increasing order and the routine expenses verified during the month of the investigation. The small incomes, up to 10,000 francs, are essentially those of the laborers, orderlies, and two very petty artisans, a mattress-maker and a baker. We also find (No. 11) an auxiliary (1) worker of the

[104 463]

1. The name "auxiliary" D. N. serves here to designate unskilled workers. It was borrowed from administrative terminology (used by the Dakar-Niger, "D. N.").

Dakar-Niger, whose low income is explained by the fact that he is just starting in his occupation.

The cultivator whose income we have estimated at 8,150 francs actually cultivates very few fields. His family lives by means of very small-scale commerce practiced separately by the head of the family, his two wives, and his two sisters, all very old.

The incomes from 10,000 to 15,000 francs per month are those of the office employees and the unskilled workers (in the case of the laborer No. 15 there are actually two incomes which are combined). Two cultivators open the series starting at 15,000 and then we find successively the workers and skilled employees, a large-scale cultivator, and, in the category of large incomes, besides a truck-gardener and a jeweler, a representative of the liberal professions, our teachers and our doctor, the managerial workers and employees. No.

1 [see cat. 116 pp 13+14 - ANALYST]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

though few picked up their bags and left 'in disgust at the new order of things'. Of course in certain uninformed quarters there was the inevitable short-lived panic about what independence would mean for the French community, and even today, despite reassurances from the Government, certain sectors remain oversensitive to each move or speech made by a Minister. For many Frenchmen their stay in Senegal is not longer than five years, and as a result there is a higher proportion of bachelors than one would normally expect in a community that had intentions of making the country its permanent home. This proportion is largely accounted for by the presence of a French army base.

On the other hand the Dakar European population has none of the temporary character of the English communities in West Africa. Far from living in reservations outside the city, as is still the case with the European population of Lagos, they have moved into the centre of the town and made it a small corner of Europe, and the more the French population has increased the more it has tended to create a metropolitan life for itself in Africa. The range of European-style shops, the number of restaurants, night-clubs, and women's hairdressers shows that although the Dakar Frenchman may have no intention of settling in the city for good, he is determined to live his life in the maximum comfort during his stay. There is relatively little of the attitude of living for the next leave.

Another distinguishing feature of the European community in Senegal is that not only is it not a true settler community but also its economic interests, whilst vast, have not involved any important alienation of land and until very recently have not brought it into conflict with African economic interests. Dakar can in no way be considered a small Algiers. The majority of Europeans, whose per capita income is about £600 a year, are employed by the Administration or commercial and industrial undertakings in executive posts or in technical and clerical positions

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 369 [463] for which no trained African staff is available. There is a wide range of professional occupations, but private enterprise by individuals is largely restricted to higher-class shopkeeping and the running of bars and restaurants. Most of the export and import trade is still in the hands of [439] the large commercial houses controlled from France as distinct from individual Frenchmen in Dakar.

Relations between the African and European communities have been remarkably good. There have been no really significant racial conflicts in Dakar since the war. But relations are *negatively* good. That is to say that there is almost no contact between the two groups outside work. The French in Dakar, despite the official assimilationist policy of the mother country, have shown little inclination to extend it on a personal plane during their sojourn in Dakar. On the other hand when they were officially representatives of the colonial Power they rarely attempted to enforce discrimination against Africans. Apart from the time of the unfortunate Vichy episode there has never been any open discrimination in Dakar. Africans always had legal access to all places the French had, though inevitably there were a number of private associations such as the *Amicales des Provinces Françaises* which excluded Africans by definition though never by statute. A visitor might be tempted to think that the absence of Africans from the French-style cafés in the main streets of Dakar indicated some subtle form of discrimination, but in fact any African entering would be served, and the sparseness of African clientele is determined by economic and social reasons. Drinks are enormously expensive in such bistros, and few [162] Muslims, who form the majority of the population in Dakar, [779] care to be seen drinking in public. Nevertheless it is true that proprietors of certain bars do their best to maintain a white clientele.

There is a certain residential separation, once more largely determined by economics. The expensive European

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

flats and villas are usually beyond the range of the African purse though the difference is being eliminated by the accession of Senegalese, immediately prior to and in particular since independence, to high administrative posts and today there is no real residential separation. Many Europeans live in housing estates built primarily for Africans and not a few live in the Medina or main African quarter. Some trade unions are divided on racial lines between Africans and Europeans, largely because the European workers are skilled technicians and there are even to this day few Africans trained in most of the industrial work done by Europeans.

Nevertheless there are certain cases of bitterness between Africans and Europeans over the question of equal pay for equal work. Though the basic principle is that both groups should be paid the same rate for the same kind of work, the European in many cases gets an expatriation addition of up to two-fifths of his basic salary. This is not true of all classes of work. For instance shop girls in Printania, a local version of Woolworth's, earn the same pay whether white or black though of course the European staff are recruited locally from wives and daughters of Frenchmen working in Dakar. It is surely a healthy sign that Europeans and Africans can work together on equal terms and that Europeans can occupy what in Europe would be considered very humble positions.

One does not detect amongst the French in Senegal any very strong feeling for or against the African. Where any form of racism does manifest itself it is mainly at the level of the artisan worker or the *petit blanc*, a term generally used to describe the poorer white community of small shopkeepers, clerks, mechanics and skilled workers. When the Senegalese are confronted by outbursts of racism from members of this group they are usually inclined to return the abuse in kind, for the Senegalese are naturally an immensely proud people and have very little feeling of racial inferiority. Close contact with a French community

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 formed as a result of the *loi cadre* reforms, are typical of the
[645] Frenchmen who have identified themselves with the country of their sojourn. Indeed such was the devotion of Peytavin to his party's cause that he was retained as Minister of Finance even after independence and opted for Senegalese nationality, a step that Bonifay found himself unable to take. These were men of high education—Bonifay, a well known lawyer, and Peytavin a veterinary surgeon. There were many others like them, not only applying such principles in the political field, but in the administration and commerce, who helped to dispel from the African what would otherwise have been a dominant impression of an isolationist and sometimes racist French community.

[369] It would be foolish to paint too idealised a picture of
[571] race relations in Dakar. Many Europeans, particularly the *petit blanc*, openly admit to holding the African in contempt. But these are usually Europeans of little economic or political consequence and since independence their opinions have obviously carried negligible weight with the Senegalese.

Furthermore most Europeans in Dakar and the other main towns of Senegal, whatever their prejudices, send their children to local schools, where perforce they mix on terms of equality with Africans. The same is true of
[873] Dakar University which has a large number of French students, the majority of whom are girls whose parents are working in Dakar. Their brothers try if possible to go to French universities. Though friendships tend to be
[572] within the same racial group, there is a considerable number of inter-racial friendships.

563 The main point of conflict would appear to the casual
369 visitor to be the economic domination of private enterprise and the more important subaltern jobs by Europeans.
•463 But before analysing any tensions that have arisen from
472 this, it is essential to point to some special features of Senegalese society. In Senegal, by contrast with Nigeria, Ghana and Ivory Coast, there is no entrepreneurial class of

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Africans. Indeed only very small scale trading is in the hands of Africans, otherwise large scale commercial enterprises are run by Europeans, and most of their managerial staff being European. Between these large scale organisations, the whole range of middleman trade is dominated by Lebanese and the so-called *petit blancs*. Small shopkeeping is predominantly in the hands of the Mauritanians, though larger shops particularly in Dakar, are run by Lebanese and Europeans. At first sight this would seem to be an unhealthy situation, and it would be foolish to ignore the inherent dangers in it. But the most ardent critics of this state of affairs are as often as not visiting Africans, not the Senegalese themselves. When a Nigerian shops in Printania or goes to the local bank in Dakar, he is shocked by the number of Frenchwomen employed in jobs he is accustomed to seeing held by Africans in Lagos. But in considering the rather special case of Dakar one must take into account a number of factors that are often overlooked by would-be critics.

Senegal is a territory of only 3,100,000 people and in the normal run of education in French-speaking African states, even taking into account Senegal's special position among them, the percentage of the population available to fill managerial and sub-managerial posts or indeed any 'European-style' job in all sectors of the economy, can hardly match up to the requirements of the most highly industrialised city in West Africa. In addition Dakar has a large international airport and a port that was the third largest in the French Union. It is also the centre of government for Senegal and the terminus of a railway. It is not surprising therefore that Senegal finds it more difficult to find the appropriate number of Africans to fill its senior posts in commerce and industry than Lagos which has a Nigerian population of over 36 million to draw on. Furthermore Lagos is in the centre of an area where missionaries have been active for over a hundred years and consequently

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

463 has enjoyed a much higher rate of education than was possi-
[563] ble in an Islamic community like Senegal, even taking into account French assimilation policy.

There is a pronounced bias in Senegal against entering into commerce, whether at the African level or at the European level. This bias has been observed by many Europeans. It may be thought of as a mere attempt to explain away the lack of success or rather a lack of desire and intention to Africanise commerce, but against this view, M. Assane Seck, one of the leaders of the Opposition
[665] *P.R.A.-Sénégal* and a lecturer at the university, who might normally be only too pleased to pin the slow rate of Africanisation of commerce on the Government, has said that one of the chief obstacles to the Africanisation of economy at
[571] its higher levels is the preference of the Senegalese élite, and even the lesser educated classes, for work in the Adminitration.
[647] Under the French the Administration seems to have enjoyed a very high status especially as rates of pay
[465] have always been considerably higher than in commerce and industry. Commerce, even when it pays better, has among the Senegalese something of the smear it had in ninteenth-century England.

471 Another barrier to the Africanisation of shopkeeping and
[472] small scale private enterprise is the difficulty the Senegalese have in amassing capital. The obligations towards members
[596] of the extended family are such that a man with money has calls made on it from even his most distant relatives. This social parasitism is much stronger in Senegal than in most West African countries. One of the few important Senegalese business men operating in Dakar today has admitted that he had to reduce his family obligations drastically, not only because he was married to a European, but because unless he did so, he would never be able to keep enough capital in his business. Diop Abdoulaye, in his study of the Tou-
[736] couleur, has protested against the use of the term family parasitism for something which 'makes it possible to help those in need, the unemployed, for example, who can then

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

live whilst waiting to find work; it permits those who are ill, those incapable of work, and those without resources to be taken care of and not die of hunger.' 471 [736]

Probably the most important barrier to the accumulation of capital has been Senegal's dependence on a one-crop economy of ground-nuts. The method of cultivation of ground-nuts and their comparatively low price per ton have worked against the creation of large scale plantations, for instance of cocoa and coffee, which have supplied individual entrepreneurs in the Western Region of Nigeria, in Ghana and in the Ivory Coast with their capital. [438]

These are all factors to set against a situation which otherwise might be explosive. Africanisation has always been a problem in the Senegal and it has increased as the number of professionally trained Africans has increased. But historically, and even today, it has been most acute in the Administration, employment in which is the goal of most young Senegalese. Thus very often commerce is left with the second best. Even so French commercial houses have done far less comparatively to train up an efficient African subaltern class, let alone a managerial élite, than say a company like the United Africa Company in Nigeria. And whilst Senegal was under French control the Administration did very little indeed to encourage Africanisation of commerce. 463 563

The present day Senegalese Government, however, recognises the danger of the present position and its efforts to rectify the situation should not be interpreted as a new form of racism but as an honest attempt to maintain the present excellent racial situation. Though the Government has placed many limitations on the autonomy of the trade unions it could not for long suppress criticism of the present structure of Dakar, particularly as Senegal, like all African countries, is subject to propaganda from every quarter. The truth is that there are far too many Europeans doing jobs that Africans could do. In small tea rooms it is not rare to be served by a French girl, for this tea shop is in [467]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

463 563 fact a family concern where it is considered more economical to employ the daughter of the family in menial work than a Senegalese. To counter this the Senegalese Government has studiously avoided any open declaration on the undesirability of this situation, but by a series of discriminatory [651] taxes hopes to make the position of the marginal *petit blanc* untenable. In this way it is hoped that European employment will be reduced by half within the next four years. Thus whilst the European population of Senegal was given [162] as 46,500 in 1956, about 40,000 in 1960, the Government hopes to have it reduced to about 30,000 by 1965.

[655] One of the ways in which the Government is attempting to overcome the twin problem of European domination of [471] commerce and the lack of private indigenous capital, is the establishment of state trading companies and co-operatives to compete in the marketing of ground-nuts and other basic Senegalese products. Also in order to reduce Senegal's dependence on expatriate technicians and minor [874] functionaries it is expanding technical education and spending considerable sums on the training of Africans overseas. In the initial stages this will only remove those Europeans who were doing jobs that can easily be taken over by Senegalese once they have received basic training. There is no reason to suppose that the European Community will diminish by much more than the numbers cited above envisaged by the planners, since the anticipated expansion of the Senegalese economy under the four-year plan should be able to absorb the marginal cases who might otherwise have been forced to return to France. Nor indeed is it the intention of the Senegalese to get rid of the Europeans for the sake of getting rid of them, since the Government still maintains that the two groups can co-exist to their mutual benefit but that it must prevent the seeds of racial tension from germinating.

563 There is of course amongst the young and particularly among students some difference of opinion over this matter. [208] Not all of them hold such liberal views, particularly

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 369 563 immense impact of the town. They live in small villages made up of relations and fellow villagers. They even club together, subscribing to a common fund to receive their fellows from the Fleuve, and as far as work is concerned they S [463] virtually monopolise certain jobs such as bootboys, waiters, and newspaper sellers. This maintenance of tribal cohesion is a difficult task in this city of French creation, where a new community of Dakarois is rapidly coming into existence.

S 665 563 [619] [182] An important factor in the breakdown of tribal ties has been the creation of political parties and the creation of a new political élite that thinks in national terms. Experience in Africa has shown, however, that this can work two ways, for many political parties are in effect organisations intended to defend ethnic interests. Senegalese politics have on the whole been remarkably free from tribalism, though Senghor did in fact achieve much of his success in the early days of the *B.D.S.* though the emphasis he laid on ethnic considerations in the organisations of his party, and certainly there have existed specifically regional and ethnic parties like *Le Mouvement Démocratique Casamançais* and the *Union Générale de la Vallée du Fleuve.* But, as Kenneth Robinson pointed out in his study of Senegalese politics in *Five Elections in Africa*, these ethnic and regional aspects were compensated for by the federal aspect of the major party, *Le Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais.* In 1954, in fact, all ethnic and regional sub-sections of the *B.D.S.* were abolished and individual membership was insisted on. But though this led to the breaking-away of certain elements in the Casamance, it would be fair to say that the party has been much less dominated by those regional differences that normally influence political parties in West Africa. Nevertheless, as Robinson found in the 1957 S [666] election, there were a number of constituencies where ethnic rivalries were more important than political issues. W [666] [665] At Linguère, a single member constituency, the population was divided between Fula and Wolof in the proportion of three to two. When the sitting member, a Fula, was

[i.e., The Moors and Toucouleurs in Dakar -- Analyst]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

the rest animists. Of course this includes the exclusively Muslim Mandingo inhabitants of the Casamance who have been largely responsible for this proselytisation. The Diola too is inclined more and more to imitate his Mandingo and Wolof neighbours. L. V. Thomas, who has written a monumental study on the Diola, fears: 'Soon the Diola country may be, at least in its landscape, like Senegal if no power intervenes to limit the extension of the bushfire; it will certainly become, in its people, just another African country, where only a few anthropological remains fixed by heredity will enable us to distinguish the Diola from the Wolof or the Mandingo.' 563 619 [162] [771]

The Casamance may well be coming closer to the rest of the Senegal, but it still remains a seat of opposition to the Government of Senghor and Dia, and votes heavily for the opposition *P.R.A.-Sénégal*. However neither of the leaders of this party, Ly Abdoulaye or Assane Seck, is *Casamançais*, and there is strong support in many towns for the *U.P.S.*, which indicates that Diola-Casamance politics are not necessarily either regional or tribal, though these are important factors. 563 665 666

The main social problem of the Senegal, and one which both assimilation and religion seem to have been unable to break down, is that of caste or a class structure very similar to caste. All the main Senegalese tribes—the Wolof, Lebou, Toucouleur, Serer—are divided into a series of endogamous castes. These castes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but roughly they are divided thus: 565 [582]

Nobles and Freeborn
Artisans (jewellers, smiths, weavers, leatherworkers) [463]
Griots or minstrels
Liberated slaves
Slaves

(Of course domestic slaves no longer exist as such in Senegal, but families know who their slaves were.) [567]

It is certainly easier in Senegal for a Toucouleur noble to marry a Wolof noble than to marry a woman of inferior [582]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 565 582 S [595] caste from his own tribe. The extent to which caste matters is brought out by the case of a young Catholic girl from a devout family who, rather than marry a fellow Catholic out of caste, in the end became the polygamous wife of a Muslim of the same caste. Within any ethnic group in Senegal marriage out of caste is extremely rare.

S 565 W [565] S [533] [814] The caste system is not vicious in any real sense. For the privileges of a high caste entail many obligations. Thus a noble Wolof family will be obliged to feed and pay frequent sums of money to its family griots (minstrels, praise-singers and family historians) and if they fail to do this the griot is able to shame them publicly as a poor or mean family, something a Wolof would avoid at all costs. Likewise the S [463] [326] artisan castes have a monopoly in their respective trades, since it would be impossible for a noble or free-man to undertake the work of a jeweller or smith. Nevertheless in Senegalese society the term 'bijoutier' or 'tisserand' has slight contempt attached to it. The only caste to suffer S [561] socially in any way is of course that designated slave, because of the implications of such a status. In social investigations amongst the factory workers of Dakar, M. André Hauser found very few indeed who would admit to being of slave caste.

At present it is certainly a disadvantage to belong to any of the inferior castes, and though one hears of a few cases of open clashes between castes, in the present state of affairs it is certain that a number of young men resent this classification of people into superior and inferior groups and it is very much less important to them than to the older generation.

S 565 764 578 Early in 1961 *Agence Presse Sénégalaise* reported 'bloody clashes between griots and non-griots at Diack'. These ended with several dead and a number of wounded and started as a result of the refusal of non-griots to accept the burial of griots in their burial ground. The Minister of the S [641] Interior himself went to settle the dispute and gathered the whole population to tell them that his Government gave

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

This is a significant fact; high prestige, more or less definitely acknowledged by the whole population, crystallizes around professions, functions or situations which are considered to be 'intellectual'—implying in fact a minimum of Western-type learning. Prestige on economic grounds seems to be definitely on the decline.[1] At Dakar, Thiès and Saint-Louis du Sénégal, adults were questioned about the trade or occupation they would like their children to take up. A vast majority of the socio-vocational categories (unskilled and skilled workers, traders, clerks, civil servants, etc.) from which the population sample under study was taken gave the same answer. Between 65 and 80 per cent mentioned an intellectual profession. Those most frequently cited were teaching (primary or secondary school teacher) and the liberal professions (lawyer, doctor, etc.); the technological professions (engineer etc.) were much more rarely specified.[2] One of the commonest answers was that vague but highly significant term, 'civil servant'. The fact is that the trend of education in the period before 1945 helped to establish a very close link between education and a job in the administration; this is still the case, despite the changes effected in the last few years. Similar attitudes are found in the results of surveys among children in the primary schools at Dakar. Among those who replied specifically[3]—about three-quarters of the children questioned—more than 80 per cent expressed a preference for an occupation considered to be intellectual, irrespective of their father's occupation; next came certain manual trades, with commerce far behind. The choice of an unspecified administrative job was less frequent than among the adults. It follows that the view generally taken about education—including primary education—viz. that it will lead almost inevitably to an intellectual occupation,[4] however modest, remains very stable; but it is less and less in keeping with the realities of the situation.

A brief study of the facts in the development of the educational system will allow us to make a first evaluation of the system. The crude school rate rose rapidly from 1946 to 1953 and has since continued to rise pretty regularly (16 per cent in 1953, 18 per cent in 1954, about 20 per cent in 1955). Senegal's early advance in this respect explains why the increase is less steep there than in most of the other French West African territories.[5] True, the school rate is still relatively low (and a fairly large proportion of the children do not complete even the primary course and will probably soon lose such learning as they have acquired), but a plateau was reached several years ago: primary education turns out many more pupils than the 'administrative bourgeoisie'—characteristic of the colonial period—or its equivalent in private enterprise can absorb. Formerly, the surplus of the educated population could be absorbed by the manual trades or by migration to other territories. But this second door is gradually closing now that these other territories are catching up in education. Moreover, the slow pace of economic expansion precludes any big increase in the number of openings for technical workers or in the supervisory grades in industry.[6] This is the justification for the talk about the educational over-

1. Material security (e.g. that enjoyed by civil servants) seems to be desired more often than actual wealth.
2. They are only beginning to acquire some prestige; the number of students choosing this branch has risen considerably in recent years.
3. Children from 10 to 14, in the 'intermediate' classes.
4. A job in the bureaucracy was for years the standard aim.
5. The school rate in the Ivory Coast almost trebled between 1946 and 1953.
6. Limited, but chronic unemployment, already exists in Dakar.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

571 178 871 equipment of Senegal in relation to the existing employment market. These facts must, however, be considered from another angle. The real problems are those of the true integration of education into a developing social environment, its adaptation to various local situations, and the adjustments which must be made in the Senegalese people's conception of education. These problems look, of course, more acute in the big towns, particularly in the former 'centres of assimilation',[1] which have often reached a relatively high school rate (sometimes more than 50 per cent); in many rural districts the [369] critical phase is still a long way off. Recent changes in the position are marked by another important feature to which I shall revert at greater length: the difference in the distribution of the school population classified according to the various kinds of education. The past 10 years have been marked by the development of secondary and technical education, and the introduction of local higher education. At the beginning of 1955, pupils and students were distributed approximately as follows among the different types of education: 87 per cent in primary schools, 9 per cent in secondary schools, 2 per cent in vocational training schools, 2 per cent in higher education and its various equivalents.[2] At the same time education in French West Africa ceased to be an almost isolated system providing degrees and diplomas which were not recognized in metropolitan France and qualified their holders only for subordinate positions in most occupations.[3] The intellectual elite is becoming steadily more diversified. Its ideals are being noticeably modified; some of its prestige values are being revised; the masses are beginning to change their idea of what they mean by the elite. This is a transitional stage, with its own special tensions.

178 571 369 [871] At this stage in the development of education—the outstanding fact in which is that, particularly in the urban primary schools, the demand exceeds the supply[4]—the signs are already fairly evident of a trend towards less mobility in the social scale. The prospects of reaching the ranks conferring most prestige differ in the towns and the rural zones, for the reasons already indicated. They are also tending to be less evenly distributed among the various sections of the urban population as the latter becomes more diversified. It is not, however, a case of the urban population breaking up into closed or nearly closed groups; none of the discernible social categories are of this character, nor can they be in any way likened to social classes.[5] In particular, relations based on kinship in the widest sense of the term continue to play a fundamental [602] role, and maintain in be[illegible] close ties among all the individuals composing the family group. Severance of these relations occurs only in extreme cases. Nevertheless, a trend towards the crystallization of social categories does appear, through the mere accumulation of circumstances.[6] The problem has been studied in a recent work the principal points of which I will venture to [463] recall.[7] A survey of the urban district of Dakar—confirmed by later research in other cities—showed certain significant differences in the social origins of

1. The 'four communes' mentioned above.
2. Including young people studying in France.
3. Even in teaching, medicine, etc.
4. In Dakar it became necessary to establish part-time classes to meet an ever-rapid increase in demand.
5. Cf. P. Mercier, 'Aspects de la Stratification Sociale dans l'Ouest Africain' (Aspects of social stratification in West Africa), *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, XVII, 1954.
6. Studied, e.g. by G. Balandier, in *Sociologie des Brazzavilles Noires* (Sociology of the coloured populations of Brazzaville), Paris, 1955.
7. Cf. P. Mercier, op. cit.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

the individuals questioned; and these differences are likely to become sharper—45 per cent were farmers' sons, but considerable variations appeared according to the socio-vocational category. The proportion of unskilled workers was 80 per cent; it was only 42 per cent for skilled workers and craftsmen; still lower (33 per cent) for civil servants and subordinate office employees (the widest category of the 'administrative bourgeoisie' characteristic of the colonial period), 28 per cent for senior clerks and civil servants;[1] for members of the liberal professions in the widest sense[2] it was no more than 21 per cent. These last three categories taken as a whole represent the 'intellectual professions', according to the meaning still ascribed by the great majority of Senegalese to that phrase. Of those who had a father already in one of these professions, three-quarters were engaged in the same work. The same process of stabilization can, however, be observed, though less clearly, among specialized workers; of those whose father was a worker, nearly two-thirds still belonged to the same class; most of the others had been absorbed into the 'administrative bourgeoisie'. These, moreover, are the two chief categories,[3] from which there has emerged a new type of elite which really began to grow in size only after the last war.

178 571 369 463

Important changes in outlook, not only in Senegal, but in the whole of French West Africa, have accompanied this most recent historical phase. From the elite of the strictly colonial type as defined above there has begun to emerge—and even to take on separate existence—a new intellectual elite, still a relatively small group.[4] This elite, which might be termed that of the liberal professions—this time in the strict sense of the phrase—having a distinctly higher level of education and more definite professional competence, is able to lay claim to a quantity of posts until now almost exclusively held by Europeans. The category was not completely non-existent during the pre-war period; it developed earlier in Senegal than in the other French West African territories as a result of Senegal's possession of an embryonic system of secondary education.[5] Being numerically weak, this elite had an opportunity of associating, to a certain extent, with the European population, a fact which manifestly lessened its prospects of playing an active role and assuming the leadership of the African masses. Furthermore, it continued to follow the policy of assimilation and was the only element in the 'colonial elite' which succeeded in achieving it. It could find only a limited field of action in the political life of the 'four communes'. It consisted mainly of lawyers, a few members of the teaching profession and doctors and even a few administrators. It doubtless set an example for a colonial elite of a far inferior grade from which it was not entirely cut off; it showed them the road to be taken by the seeker after modern knowledge. Prestige of the kind hitherto enjoyed only by Europeans was transferred to them and was thus seen to be no longer out of reach and so engendered ideas of power—a share, even if limited, of political and administrative powers—and wealth, or material security, at the lowest. This role continued to develop after the war, though with a rather abrupt change of direction.

178 571 [463] [873] [559]

1. i.e. those holding posts of responsibility, regardless of their educational level.
2. Medicine, teaching, medicine, etc.
3. The first, especially.
4. Only a few hundred individuals, including members of the 'colonial elite' who were belatedly given fresh opportunities for completing their studies and reaching a higher status.
5. Lycée at Saint-Louis, later at Dakar.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

W
142
291
854
301
531

The Wollof women of Dakar are some of the most elegant in Africa. The latest styles in their dresses, derived from the Empire line, are worn here by three mannequins of Maison Pierre Grosse. Their elegance is reflected even in the working clothes of a young Wollof mother

S
[463]

[p 48 (A)]

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 we plan to build a modern port; and there in the Soudan we hope to develop livestock for export. For that we would need a number of large refrigeration units here in Dakar.'

Thus he continued in detail all over the vast area of French West Africa stretching from St. Louis to the Chad, from the Sahara to the Guinea Coast, with an area of nearly 1,840,000 square miles, and a meagre population of 18 millions. I pointed to Nigeria and Ghana.

'I am afraid we British took the best bits of West Africa. Yet we haven't put nearly as much money into it by comparison. I wonder what Nigeria would be like if you French had got it?'

His eyes looked longingly at the large chunk of red.

471 'That would be something marvellous!' he said. Since the war the French have poured money into West Africa. Private funds have accounted for a lot, but FIDES, the equivalent of our Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, has contributed more than £175,000,000 to these territories, and together with other public funds the total of capital investment (not from private sources) is more than £300,000,000, for a large, but poor and underpopulated territory.

369 This heavy capital investment has created large cities like Dakar, Abidjan and Conakry. The Africans have come into contact not only with urban life, but with industry. In Dakar there has been a minor industrial revolution. In the past six years, largely because of this, the city's population has swollen to nearly 300,000. Africans have flooded into the city seeking work, [62] attracted by tales of its gay life or lured by its glamour and the prospect of easy money.

374 463 I went down to the large brewery in Dakar, to see a modern industry with Africans as employees.

One of the managers there replied to my question, why weren't there any Africans in senior positions in the brewery. 'We have great difficulty in finding Africans to fill our managerial vacancies. You see, though many go to Paris they nearly all want to become lawyers, doctors, and officials. Very few are interested in becoming technicians. We would pay for their studies if we could find suitable candidates—you know, all part of the *Loi Cadre*. We must Africanize!'

'But haven't you found any good enough?'

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

'Oh yes, our sister company in Abidjan has sent a young African to train in a large brewery in France.' 274 463

'What is your labour like?'

'Not so good. They don't seem to have much interest in their work.'

I remembered my discussion with Babacar Saye, Mayor of St. Louis, who told me that though he was a Socialist, he believed that at the present time capitalism had an essential role in the country. 'If we are to improve the conditions of the proletariat capitalism is a necessity, but this improvement cannot be speeded up except to the extent that the profit from capital is used towards the satisfying of the indispensable needs of the workers. Therefore it is necessary that the worker feels that he is complementary to the capitalist—it is up to the capitalist to make him understand this.' 829

To me this seems one of the most important factors in the industrialization of West Africa. The African from the tribal background is essentially an individual with a distinct position in his tribal group or village. Though he appreciates the money he earns in industry, psychologically he does not like being treated as a mere cog in a machine, losing his identity. If he could be given some indication that he is as indispensable to the firm as the manager, he would work hard. As Mr. C. O. Van der Plas, the United Nations Official in the Gambia, once observed: 'It is curious that the African running his own little enterprise works literally like a black, and takes on enormous responsibilities.' Yet if he is taken on as a cog in a vast machine, he becomes slack and Europeans call him the most inefficient and expensive labour in the world. It seems to me that a lot depends on the relations between the worker and the managerial staff. 461

Two years before I had visited a large shoe factory in neighbouring Rufisque with Mr. David Pearson, the British Consul responsible for liaison between British and French territories in West Africa. The factory was sited on the outskirts of the town opposite a huge cement works which belched forth pastel smoke at an angry sky. We entered a courtyard where hides of every colour were lying in the sun to dry. A Czech employee of the firm, which has its origins in Czechoslovakia, met us and led us into a gloomy shed where flabby hides, a hideous grey green in 295 282 [339]

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 295 882 colour, flopped on the floor like lumps of spittle. Others, like them, were being cured in evil vats or stripped in heavy mangles. I examined one of the skins stretched out on the floor. The Czech pointed to three large holes in its surface.

'They are not good, these skins. Very stiff. They come from the North Senegal and the Fula herdsmen will not learn that the cow must be looked after if you want to make good shoes from it. They are only good for cheap shoes. We have to get the better models from our European factories.'

We emerged from the foetid gloom of the curing section into the dyeing room, full of sheets of leather, which an African was busy spraying scarlet, yellow, grey or blue. Another was trimming the coloured hides before they were sent to dry.

S 295 [463] We followed our guide into a long hall, which reverberated to the rat-ti-tat of a hundred sewing machines, manned exclusively by Africans.

'Are most of your employees Africans?' I asked.

'On this work, yes. But not in the executive. And on some of the more skilled jobs we have to have Europeans.'

'Are they good workers?'

'Very good, though they cannot tackle the more difficult jobs. I believe they are better farther down the Coast. But we have nothing to complain about.'

And from the rate those shoes were coming off the production line, I was sure they hadn't.

'How many shoes do you produce a year?'

'About 300,000. Most of them are sandals,' he said, pointing to some scarlet slippers which an African was packing into boxes.

'These we also produce in great quantities.'

S W [291] He showed me a pink, green and sky blue slipper with a large plastic pompom where the big toe would be. These were wildly popular with the fashion-mad Jollof women at the time. Bata's are very much at the mercy of their whims, though they have the consolation that supply rarely exceeds demand.

S [294] [565] As I watched one African youth deftly turning a leather sandal on a stitching machine, I could not help thinking of the old Mandinka leather-worker in Dakar's market, laboriously sewing tough slippers as his father had done before him and as he was bound to do by virtue of his caste. Once he exercised a monopoly

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

me. Diop, Faye, one of his friends, who was secretary to the local theatre, and I sat round the large bowl eating with spoons. A number of people passed, and one old man came in to watch us.

'That's our Griot,' Diop told me. A Griot is a member of a special caste, to be found in the Jollof and Mandinka tribes, who sings, drums, dances and tells jokes—a sort of family jester.

He started to talk in rapid Jollof and soon Diop and his friend were in hoots of laughter. For his pains the bowl of rice was handed to him, and another man who joined him.

'Who is he?' I asked.

'Another relation. I have to feed him,' Diop replied.

'One of the greatest problems in Dakar,' an official of IFAN had told me, 'is parasitism. A man will come to Dakar and get himself a good job, say at ten pounds a month. He has his immediate family to look after. Then along comes a cousin, and installs himself. An uncle from the bush comes to stay three days, decides he likes Dakar and fails to return to his village. A man like this may find he is supporting between eight and fifteen dependants.'

'I suppose that explains why Dakar's population is much larger than opportunities for work would justify?'

'Yes. It's a great problem, because it prevents any accumulation of capital by Africans. People complain that there is no African bourgeoisie here, that all the trade is in the hands of Lebanese and small Frenchmen. It's largely because an African here cannot, by the laws of hospitality, refuse to give a bed and food to his fellow tribesmen.'

'Of course, in a way that's a good thing, because no one goes hungry, and it's one way of redistributing wealth voluntarily. A sort of voluntary welfare state.'

'Yes, but if the African is to control the economy of his own economy, he must be rid of this scourge.'

In Gorée I met a Frenchman to whom Senegalese soldiers used to come immediately after their discharge from the Army to leave all their new clothes and money, otherwise they would have returned to the town to hear: 'Oh, you are the most wonderful, most bountiful man alive.' After that there would have been little left of their money.

Diop was perhaps a classic example of parasitism. He himself was a borrower, only to have other people borrowing from him.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

their homosexuality, is the character of the Jollof women. They are Africa's most beautiful women: they must also be the most demanding. Few people have much good to say for these elegant *femmes fatales*. They are lazy, selfish and fickle. They dislike housework and many of them stick with their husbands only as long as they are prepared to pay out vast sums for their clothes and jewellery. Since the elegant woman (and every Jollof girl aspires to be that) costs about £100 a year to keep in clothes and jewellery, it is little wonder that Jollof men are seeking wives from other tribes, where competence within the house rather than elegance is the standard by which a woman is judged.

Such is Jollof preoccupation with fashion that there is a fashion house in Dakar with Jollof mannequins. These women are chosen not only for their beauty but for their position in society. For if they come from a good family they are sure to be noticed by other Jollof women in the streets, and immediately the clothes they are wearing will be remarked on, and to Pierre Grosse's shop the fashion-crazy Jollofs will rush.

The Jollof dress originates from St. Louis, when the French re-occupied it after the Napoleonic wars. At that time fashionable ladies were wearing the Empire style with its high waistline and long, flowing dresses. Since then the Jollofs have made this style their national dress. They have the same high waistline, the long dresses, sometimes modified by a bodice, and great candy-floss turbans. To show off their magnificent shoulders they have enlarged the neckline, and puffed up the sleeves, stiffened with starch, to half-moon shapes that stand out crisply from the body. The sleeve is usually dropped off one shoulder to reveal the full beauty of its owner.

Over the dress a great docket or cloak of muslin, tulle or organdie is thrown, usually in a colour contrasting with the dress. Materials are chosen with great care. One has only to see these women in Pierre Grosse's handling great lengths of cloth with expert and tender attention to know that no cheap cotton print can be palmed off on the most discriminating buyers on the West African market.

The Jollof's ensemble is not complete without wig, jewellery and make-up. Wigs are of several designs. The most typical, though not the most frequently seen, are two stiff plaits of horse-

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 665 political situation remained aloof from party activity, unless they joined the marginal parties. This was a prime discovery from general investigations at Dakar and St. Louis. Comparison of the principal socio-occupational categories that had been used as a basis for classifying the population under study provided informative data for this topic. The following categories showed a percentage of political party membership higher than that of the average of respondents: farmers and fishermen; unskilled laborers and domestic workers; merchants. By contrast, the percentage of membership was lower among semi-skilled workers, higher-ranking office-workers and government employees, and professional people. It is significant that trained workers and the intellectual elements most often kept apart from the existing political system. Such was the situation at Dakar. That at St. Louis was little different, or so it appeared from an incomplete analysis of an inquiry carried out among a sampling of the population in the island wards.

[463]

By contrast, the inquiry carried out at Thiès, whose traits are quite unlike those of the "old cities," provided very different results. For all the men, the percentage of membership was smaller than that at Dakar—40 per cent.[43] The following categories were below that figure: farmers, merchants, skilled workers, lower-ranking office-workers, and government employees. On the other hand, unskilled and semi-skilled workers, and higher-ranking office-workers and government employees, were higher.[44] Here the greatest degree of party membership corresponded to the most active categories; Thiès does not have the political traditions of the old cities, and the formalization found in them was much less

[463]

[P. 14B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

1

[41] At first these were merely decorated lanterns. The custom certainly has a European origin; it is typical of the "old cities" of Senegal.
[42] In 1954 the parades of "lanterns" were prohibited by administrative edict.
[43] The results at Dakar and at Thiès cannot be compared in detail. However, the informative value of these general results could, in each case, be verified at other stages in the research.
[44] It should be noted that in the case of Thiès the category of unskilled workers was much closer to that of semi-skilled workers. The unskilled workers, largely employed by the railroad, comprise a more stable group than at Dakar.

[P. 14C]

* [i.e an exhibition of "lanterns" at the end of the year accompanied by recreational activities — see category 116, P. 14A -- Analyst]

665
369
[549]
[111]
[463]
[578]

S /669 cont./ 1
567 of the masters and are married by them. They have no property
565 rights nor a voice in the village councils, being constrained to
422 menial work. This condition cannot be compared to that of the
421 slave of the two Americas in former times; it is more reminiscent
623 of that of bondage in the Europe of the Middle Ages. Before the legal suppression of this custom a certain number of captives had already been freed, but the prejudice against these people remains, and they constitute, in fact, the inferior caste in the social hierarchy.

S
564 It is the hereditary work of the artisans that, properly speak-
463 ing, distinguishes the men of the castes from the others: work in wood, leather, metal, and cotton thread. This distinction is transmitted from father to son, whatever calling is actually practiced. A captive may practice weaving, but he will never belong to the caste of weavers; conversely, a man belonging to the caste of jewelers may be a doctor of medicine and practice the profession of medicine.

S
582 Marriage most clearly distinguishes the social barriers which
565 the child inherits from its father. Although there is no rigid interdict, there is such ostracism that it is practically impossible for a man to marry a woman of an inferior caste without risking loss of status and being banned from society. There is one exception: it may happen that a master marries his captive in order to have children who are free; the mother will be set free by this act, but if the union is sterile the woman remains in the condition of servitude.

S
567

S
565 The system of castes is still very much alive, especially among the Toucouleur, and actually divides the ethnic group into partial populations, which, however, are less numerous than in India.

The functional nature of the castes has brought about in the course of their history the appearance of a hierarchy. Among the Toucouleur there are first the free men (rimbé), not belonging to the trade castes, and among /670/ whom, at the head, are the torobé (singular, torodo). Originally, in the Fouta Toro, this word in Arabic designated a scholar, a propagator of Islam. It

1 [i.e., The captives -- Analyst]

/172 cont./

166 3) The migrations of the Toucouleur and the Moors
369 show, for each of them, their own peculiarities, which give these two ethnic groups of immigrants an unquestionable originality.

/173/

III. Work, Socio-occupational Structure

162 Three problems are interesting in this section: the
463 socio-occupational distribution properly speaking, unemploy-
128 ment, and the place of work.

The crude results of the distribution of the occupations are too scattered to show the broad outlines of the structure. It has seemed to us preferable to regroup the various professions into six large categories and to present the table of percentages of each within each ethnic group. Let us specify what each category corresponds to: that without any occupation, we have put the marabouts who do not have any activity, whether they practice full time -- which is rare --, part time, or do not have any students at all. /Table 11 appears here./

It is necessary to add the merchants to the artisans. The category "manual workers" is the largest: it includes the /174/ laborers, orderlies, chauffeurs, in short, all those who do not have an occupational qualifications. By staffs one should understand foremen as well as office employees, accountants, or typists, provided they belong to private enterprises. Under the rubric of "officials" are listed all those who are concerned with public functions from the local or general staff: policemen, government officials, or employees of the municipality. For each ethnic group the first line gives the percentages in the quarters and the second the corresponding percentages in the districts. The bottom line shows the total result, and the two preceding ones the results in the quarters and in the districts.

This table deserves a brief explanation:

162 1st. There are only very few cultivators. One would
463 think that the proximity of the Niayes of Cape Verde and
[127] the importance of truck-gardening cultivation would favor

[Text continues on P. 28--Analyst]

E
EU
SR
162
463
5
464

10: Thoré--27 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Pikine
Wolof MS 30
Serer FM 38
Fulani MS 11
Peul

/173/

Table 11. Occupations in % within each ethnic group.[7]

		Without	Cultivators	Artisans	Manual Workers	Teachers	Officials	Total
W	Q	7.6	1.8	28.8	44.1	8.5	9.2	100
	D			5.8	17.6	17.8	58.8	100
S	Q		9.1	27.2	63.7			100
	D					33.3	66.7	100
T	Q	2.6	0	21	47.4	13.2	15.8	100
	D				8.5	16.5	75	100
P	Q			20	60	10	10	100
	D				50		50	100
M	Q			64.2	35.8			100
	D							
B	Q				71.4		28.6	100
	D					20	80	100
O	Q		6.5	18.75	62.5		12.5	100
	D					64.7	33.3	100
	Q	4.7	1.9	27.6	48.1	7.5	10.2	100
	D	0	0	2.4	11.9	21.4	64.3	100
Av.		4.3	1.7	25.3	44.9	8.7	15.1	100

7 [Fox explanation of Table 11, see category 116, p. 26 and 28--Analyst]

/174 cont./

162 the development of agricultural work; there has been none
463 of this. Indeed, the lands are the property of the Lebou of
[427] neighboring villages and the cost of renting is high. Gardening therefore remains the privileged domain of the old villages of the peninsula, Keur-Massar, Thiaroye-sur-Mer, and Cambérène.

2nd. The great majority of the labor force is made up of non-specialized workers: almost 45% manual workers without occupational qualifications.

3rd. The Moors have a special place: two-thirds are merchants who keep shop, and the last third is made up almost exclusively of butchers who have been classed among the "manual workers."

4th. The most interesting feature is the difference which distinguishes the occupational structure of the districts from that of the quarters: in the first, no shop, either Moorish or Wolof, and practically no artisan; in the second, practically one worker out of two has no occupational qualifications, whereas this proportion drops to 12% in the districts; finally, and above all, out of three heads of families in the former, two are officials, whereas there is no more than one official out of ten in the latter.

362 The reason for this recruitment is solely of an economic
463 nature. Almost all the inhabitants of the districts are owners
[427] of their dwellings or will become such after they have made
[426] their payments. Now, these are spread over five years and have been calculated in such a way that the monthly payment does not exceed a quarter of the salary received. For the cheapest dwellings this is equal to a payment of 5,000,
[465] therefore to a monthly salary of about 20,000. A /175/ guard, houseboy, or a laborer does not earn this sum and is incapable of procuring a dwelling of this type. The dwellings of the districts are thus principally reserved for the officials, and then for the staffs, who have an adequate and
571 an assured salary. We therefore witness here the appearance of this phenomenon of social differentiation observable in many other African countries; it consists of the existence

/177 cont./

464 Proportion of persons over 50 out of the active labor
484 force 25.3%
162 Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers
in Pikine 37%
Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers
in Dakar 16%

Thus, old people prefer the traditional trades, jewelers,
[463] tailors, merchants, which can be carried on locally.

If one considers the fact that the active male labor force numbers 5,530 individuals and that about 70% of this labor force goes to Dakar to work, one can estimate the number of workers whose place of employment is located in Dakar at
464 about 2,800. Another question pertaining to the frequency of
484 journeys to Dakar shows that 62% of the total labor force, that is to say, about 3,700, make the trip at least once a day. This means that not only the workers but the unemployed as well go to Dakar daily. Dakar thus has a double attraction for the workers of Pikine: as an actual place of employment,
494 and as a place of possible hiring. The two principal means of
484 transportation are: for the officials, the cars called "G.G.," thanks to which they can return for lunch at noon, and for the great majority of others the express buses; only a few have
[493] personal means of transportation, mobylettes /bicycles with motors/ or vehicles. The length of the automobile trip from
484 Pikine to the Sandaga market varies from 20 minutes to more than half an hour depending on traffic difficulties. One must add to this the time required to go on foot through the sand from the concession to the bus stop. In a very general way one can say that the worker leaves his house in the morning about seven o'clock and returns to it in the evening between 6:45 and seven o'clock, provided that he does not have errands on
[369] the way. This quick analysis therefore shows the role of
[361] "bedroom community" that Pikine plays to a certain extent in relation to Dakar.

462 After the male labor force, it is necessary to say a word
463 about female work. The great majority of the women do not
162 have any occupation other than that of housework: more than two-thirds. The 32% who draw monetary income from their

S /177 cont./
462 work are divided into very different groups: here is the
463 distribution of female occupations by percentages:
162 /178/ Hairdressers (occupation often held by the griotes)...4.5

Silent partners of weavers	2.2
Dyers	3.7
Saleswomen in markets or stalls	15.5
Cleaning women, laundresses	4.5
Laborer	0.8
Others	68.8
Total	100

S
305 Hairdressing is more an ordinary service than remunera-
565 tive work; it is most often done by the caste women, griotes
463 or jewelers, in exchange for money or for presents which they receive from "free" or "noble" families -- the Wolof term is "guer" -- for whom they are the appointed griotes. It is not unusual, along one of the sandy streets in the shade of a wall, to come across a group of women, one of whom will be braiding the hair of another stretched out flat on her stomach, her head on the knees of her hairdresser.

S
462 Equally traditional are the occupations of dyer or silent
463 partner of a weaver. At the extreme opposite is the laborer
SR of the CAFAL who works daily at fixed hours for a definite
[462] salary. There are only a few of them in our sample, all of whom are Sérère. The women who do housework or who are laundresses must likewise be classed under this rubric of modern work. The way they use their time is indeed much less whimsical than in the case of the first categories. Between the two one must place the most important occupation, that of saleswoman. And here it is again necessary to dis-
S
[443] tinguish several categories of saleswomen: those who keep a shop or a stall by the side of their houses, those who go to sell at the market of Pikine, and finally those who every day go from Pikine to Dakar to sell their vegetables and their produce
S
W at Kermel or at Sandaga.
SR

On the other hand, the positive replies are too numerous
462 to be profitably discussed by ethnic groups and thus to separate
162 out the principal ethnic behaviors. At best it is possible that

/431/

121 Fashion, from a subjective point of view, represents a fleeting custom that depends on the taste and the whims of individuals. Its range of application is universal. It is thus a social and aesthetic phenomenon of the same order as painting, from which it borrows much.

Like all expressions of art, fashion is a language and a magic. It is also a technique, the different aspects of which may be grouped in three categories: the fabrication of the objects (fabrics and garments), the methods of sale, and the motivations for the purchase.

For the social psychologist the problem of the adaptation of the African to European fashions presents itself.

125 Among the various possible methods of investigation, our choice was directed first of all to direct observations and the method of tests. We have taken into consideration both the ethnic origin and the age of the subjects.

I. Female African Population of Dakar

162 1. Resident population on 6-1-55.

We ascertained:

a) the very distinct predominance of the Wolof group (47.8%),

b) the weak representation of the Sérèr and Diola in relation to the Bambara.

/432/

2. Characteristics of this population:

[191] [212] a) Knowledge of French (14 years old and +):

4,844 women and girls speak our language (2,850 of them write it).

162 463 b) Salaried occupations in crafts and business (14 years old and +):

[294] [386] 3,779, of whom: sewing, dressmaking, lingerie, clothing 609

preparation, dyeing..... 142

S /432 cont. /
162
463 The 609 individuals who derive a profit from the fashion trades are divided ethnically as follows:
[294]

Cape Verde group	243
Wolof group	157
Diola group	48
Lebou group	31
Sérèr group	29
Others	101

W
[294]
S
W
[386] The majority of the 142 dyers are Toucouleur /Tukolar/ (77) and Wolof (36).

W
[463] Out of 1,455 Wolof women practicing a trade, for their own benefit or salaried, 598 are tradeswomen, 157 in sewing, 110 business employees.

The Lébou women likewise prefer to carry on a business (150 out of 340 counted as workers).

S
125

II. Experimental Research on the Aesthetic Sense of Dakar Women in the Matter of Clothing

For this study, which is only in its beginnings, two methods are used:

-- direct observation of clothing worn for display by a certain number of women,

-- the result of tests conducted among some of them.

/Table I appears here on an unnumbered page. /

/433/

A. Direct Observation.

1. Circumstances.

S
[114] a) The investigation was conducted in the Médina of Dakar, in the quarters Sapeurs-pompiers /Firemen/ and Champ de courses /Race course/ -- between 9 and 19 November 1956, at the end of an election.

/18 cont./ 369x
the Lebano-Syrians at least 2%. Let us consider in this brief 563
glance only the problem of the relations between Africans and [162]
Europeans.

a) The increase in the number of Europeans -- which
has increased at least sixfold since 1939, while the African popu- [161]
lation has undoubtedly not even tripled -- has been accompanied
by qualitative changes: development of the categories of tech- [463]
nicians, workers, artisans, petty employees, petty merchants.
This population, despite the sense of a strong solidarity (which
is admitted in time of crisis) vis-à-vis the African population,
has seen a division /19/into classes inherited from the society [565]
of origin become marked. At the same time, the European
community has withdrawn into itself, developing its own ser-
vices (specialized merchants, etc.).

b) The evolution of habitat zones reflects these trans- 369x
formations. The close checkerwork of the original plan of 563
Pinet-Laprade still encompasses multi-racial quarters (where 361
the Lebano-Syrians have taken a greater and greater place).
But, in the course of the development of the town, the Médina,
almost exclusively African (1), has been added to them in the

1. Some Europeans live there, [362]
however; the general housing
crisis largely accounts for this.

north, while purely European residential quarters developed
in the south. The recent zones set up on the other side of the
Médina for the residences of functionaries likewise allow for
little mixing. Finally, with the reconstruction of new build-
ings, the European town, starting from the southern zone,
gained on the mixed quarters, and a movement toward a clearer
segregation of the habitat zones is taking shape, segregation
which is in no way official, but which is considered desirable
by the majority of the European population (2) and is based in

2. Differences in way of life,

/81 cont./

361 millet. The old people assemble in the evening under the
[517] large silk-cotton tree that shades the old crumbling mosque of
Takhikao. The women chatter while awaiting their turn to
[312] draw water at the common well, while the children play in
[342] the sand. Gent stands out because of a series of small, low
houses with a rectangular base and a roof of corrugated metal,
all identical and set along the trail that leads to the marigot
[351] /watercourse/ of the mission. A garden and a courtyard, al-
ways littered with laundry, characterize each concession. It
[563] is the quarter of Portuguese half-breeds called "portugalais"
(Plates XI B and XII A).

Diakhao-Nord /North Diakhao/, quiet, airy, arranged
[363] according to a strict plan of lots, contrasts with Diakhao-Sud
w ith narrow, winding lanes bordered on all sides by tapades
of millet stalks and noisy in the evening. The proximity of
[275] the two military bases has made it a place where one amuses
himself with all that this includes in the way of drinking
[525] shops and more or less clandestine gambling dens. Brawls be-
[579] tween drunken men are not rare in these places.

Randoulène, Derrière-la-voie-ferrée, and Bambara,
which form a unique quarter, homogeneous in its density and
in the heterogeneity of its dwellings, have become established
in the immediate vicinity of the railroad repair shops. The
[342] huts of planks, mud, or straw stand one against the other along
[363] the winding lanes laid out according to the desire of the
moment and not without some imagination. These lanes are
[373] noisy with people, and even late at night they walk between
the small shopkeepers' stalls lighted with smoking candle ends.
351 The dense crowd flows over the edges of the street and enters
the interior of the courtyards. The latter, covering barely
[463] a few square meters, often serve as a workshop for the
weaver, the blacksmith, or the jeweler, and as a kitchen for
[252] the housewives of the neighboring huts; it is not rare to see
half a dozen millet pounders there, pounding their mortars
in rhythm in groups of two or three. This is also the gathering
[517] place /82/ /Fig. 4 appears here/ of workers, where, after
[524] work, sitting in the sand amidst the dust and the noise, in a

/85 cont./

443 while the housewife attends to her tasks, the oldest child makes the sale (12).

12. According to an economic investigation made by Mr. Mersadier in Thiès, the returns from these sales[2] do not exceed ten francs profit[4] per day (Bulletin de l'I. F. A. N., July-Oct., 1955, series B, p. 411).

[434] [433]

Thus, the commerce in Thiès (and certainly in most of the cities of French West Africa) is diffused among all of the layers of the society and at the same time has adapted itself extremely well there. The branches of important commercial houses, which in the beginning were violently opposed to this diffusion not controlled directly by them, quickly understood all the benefits that they could draw from this new situation.

463 Paralleling this extension of commerce, the working class, to a more limited extent, has also taken on much greater importance. To the traditional artisans, potters, jewelers, and smiths have been added activities more modern in inspiration: photographers, clockmakers, repairers of phonographs, bicycles, or even trucks, and, in another category of enterprises, small restaurant keepers and /86/ proprietors of drink shops. Finally, the establishment of European artisans (hairdressers, pastry cooks, etc.) is a specific phenomenon of the social evolution in African cities since the last war, and Thiès is not escaping it.

[265] [275] [178]

2. Industry.

498 The industrial activity of Thiès gravitates principally around the repair shops of the Dakar-Niger (13). The

[317] [464] [162]

13. The two phosphate quarries opened by the Société Péchiney some 15 kilometers from the city (Pallo and Lam-Lam)

[2] [ie, by "door-step" merchants - ANALYST]

S /86 cont./
498 manufacturing cost would be high if they were smelted
S in Senegal, are bought on the outside.
498 Originally the repair work, the machining of loco-
463 motive parts or of rolling stock, necessitated only the
563 presence of good mechanics. But putting into service more powerful engines that no longer run on charcoal but on fuel oil requires /87/ precise inspection and minute repairs made by experienced specialists. Most of them are still Europeans, but already some Africans have the technical training required for this delicate work.

S The enterprise, however, has only a small percentage
[162] of Whites: out of 2,500 railway workers there were only 140 Europeans in 1953. And most of them worked in the offices (one European to eight natives); in the workshops this proportion reached only one to 40. While most of the metropolitan specialists are taken from the staffs of the S.N.C.F., the African specialists are recruited from among the students
S [874] coming from the technical schools of Terrasson-de-Fougères in Bamako or William-Ponty in Dakar and from among the former mechanics of the arsenals of the national marine. They constitute the supervisory staffs in the different shops.

The ordinary workers, founders, hammermen, carpenters ...., have generally been trained in the very workshops of the Dakar-Niger where they work for a number of years. Finally, the non-specialized work is done by newcomers from the bush.

S An investigation carried out in 1952 on a quarter of
498 the total number (834) enables one to learn the ethnic
563 composition of all the workshops. One can note a pre-
W eminence of the number of Wolof (301); the Peul and
498 Toucouleur /Tukolor/ number 189; the Bambara come
162 third with 115 individuals. It is necessary to add 39
463 Sarakolé, 40 Khassonké /Kassonke/, and 79 workers belonging to different groups. This list gives an idea of the important mingling of individuals that make up this industrial center. One observes, nevertheless, that the

/105 cont./

465 Domestic work is rare and costly. A cook is paid be-
357 tween 200 and 500 francs a month, a houseboy from 100 to 200 francs. These rates are similar to the ones prevailing in Dakar.

463 The native, moreover, is attracted to the cities only
465 by the high wages. Competition does not come into play, as in Europe. There are only rare specialists or artisans. As
[241] for the laborer, most often he prefers to work his field in the countryside or to hire himself out as an agricultural worker for a native employer who will feed him and leave to him a part of the harvest.

In an agricultural region such as Sine-Saloum, the native is primarily a cultivator.

244 Navétanes. Each year at the time of groundnut culti-
166 vation, Sine-Saloum gets many native cultivators coming
167 from the east and south (Sudan, Portuguese Guinea, Casamance, Upper Gambia, and even Guineans from Fouta-Djallon).

These immigrants are called "navétanes," from the word "navet," which means "rainy season," because these foreigners arrive shortly before the first storms and leave as soon as they have sold their harvest.

About 10,000 to 15,000 of them come each year. A
244 local custom called "Lâdyino" governs the relations between the
466 foreigner and his employer.

[465] This is a verbal agreement according to which the employer assures his co-covenanter food and lodgings for the period of the work and in addition loans him a particular field.

/106/ The navétane works for his employer every morning, except Monday and Thursday. The rest of the time is left to him for his personal crops. The navétane gets seeds from his landlord.

His work consists of the preparation of the field (lougan), sowing, and weeding.

After the harvest has been gathered, the landlord stops feeding him.

At the time of his departure, the navétane must reim-
[465] burse his employer for the cost of his food, which is fixed by

/122 cont./

317 Current production varies from 20,000 to 30,000 tons, which
433 are consumed in the region and exported to Senegal and the
Sudan. This Société is hampered in its development by the
[651] taxes on salt and by transportation costs which particularly
burden this product.

From time immemorial the natives have been exploiting the salt marshes at Tickat, upstream from Kaolack, and on the arms of the Saloum to the west of Fatick. They produce only what is needed for their consumption. /123/
[651] During the time of the Bours, this exploitation was the occasion for a fee in kind for the benefit of the sovereign.

433 Native industrie. In addition to the native salt marshes,
258 we might also mention the fish-drying industry. The many lagoons, marigots, and watercourses of the region contain an abundance of excellent ocean fish (polynemids, pike, skate, sole, etc.). The Niominka race, accustomed to fishing, draw a remunerative advantage from it. The drying of fish is practiced at Fatick, Foundiougne, and in Bas-Saloum. One can estimate the quantity of dried fish at close to 500
[438] tons per year. The consumption is purely local, and the markets of the circle and of neighboring circles are the usual selling places.

433 The only other local industries are those of the potters,
basket makers, and weavers. Some native blacksmiths set
•463 up shop in the villages at the time of cultivation; they are,
[326] moreover, of the Ouoloff or Moorish race.

433 European industries. There is only one European in-
dustry in the circle. An oil factory for the processing of
258 groundnuts has been set up at Kaolack by Engineer Gaudart.
[648] Today this factory belongs to the Société des Huileries et Rizeries Ouest-Africaines /West African Oil Refinery and Rice Company/. Its equipment is modern. Its production is large; it
[439] sells it in the colony, in France, and in the nearby British colonies.

/130 cont./

312 Thus, in the past 15 years, many wells have been dug
653 in Sine-Saloum.

In 1928, 600 reinforced concrete wells and about 400 native wells were counted in the circle. About 10 or 15 wells are completed each year, and as many are mended, repaired, or put in good order. The expenditures are sometimes great, considering that a reinforced concrete well 70 meters deep comes close to 20,000 francs at the present time. There is
[463] one or two well-digging experts per canton, who make up their own teams. We thus have there about 30 natives perfectly informed about this work. Sine-Saloum has loaned
[648] head well-diggers to the neighboring colonies, especially to Mauritania. The governments there have been very satisfied.

Should the policy of the wells be continued? It /Pl. III appears here/ /131/ has produced results. It has permitted going to what is most pressing. In the villages in the bush, it is the wells that for a long time yet will supply the inhabitant and the herds. In the cities there is the problem of bringing in water. Dakar has been considering this since 1903. Wells have been drilled everywhere in the peninsula of Cape Verde. Potable water has been found in the subsoil, but, until very recently, the quantity was barely sufficient for the needs of the city and the port. Today, the catchment centers at Point B give an abundance of water. It was after the mission of Dr. Moineau that drilling points in the vicinity of large agglomerations, such as Dakar, Thiès, Rufisque, Diourbel, and Kaolack, were proposed by this water-diviner.

For Kaolack, not one attempt has been made by the government of Senegal to verify the hypotheses of Dr. Moineau.

But it has called upon a mining engineer, M. Boyer, to undertake surveys to search it for subterranean waters that could be collected.

This engineer began his investigations at Gossas in Sine-Saloum. They were crowned with success in 1927, with water caught at a depth of 195 meters gushing from the soil; the bringing in of water has begun; the problem appears solved for this trade center.

/173/

Pikine
Wolof MS 30
Serer FM 38
Fulani MS 11
Peul

E
W
SR
162
463
S
464

Table 11. Occupations in % within each ethnic group.[7]

		Without	Cultivators	Artisans	Manual Workers	Teachers	Officials	Total
W	Q	7.6	1.8	28.8	44.1	8.5	9.2	100
	D			5.8	17.6	17.8	58.8	100
S	Q		9.1	27.2	63.7			100
	D					33.3	66.7	100
T	Q	2.6	0	21	47.4	13.2	15.8	100
	D				8.5	16.5	75	100
P	Q			20	60	10	10	100
	D				50		50	100
M	Q			64.2	35.8			100
	D							
B	Q				71.4		28.6	100
	D					20	80	100
O	Q		6.5	18.75	62.5		12.5	100
	D					64.7	33.3	100
	Q	4.7	1.9	27.6	48.1	7.5	10.2	100
	D	0	0	2.4	11.9	21.4	64.3	100
Av.		4.3	1.7	25.3	44.9	8.7	15.1	100

7 [For explanation of Table 11, see category 116, p. 26 and 28--Analyst]

/175 cont./

571 of a favored sector of the population with privileged living and working conditions, which is composed largely of officials, but which it is nevertheless difficult, in the present state of research, to characterize as bourgeoisie, or as a class. With what sort of social layer are we dealing? The study of the educational level and schooling will show us this.

464 The investigation does not bear specifically on unemployment; nevertheless, it is impossible to speak of Pikine without mentioning the importance of this problem. That unemployment is considerable may already be deduced from the fact that most of the workers do not have any occupational training which would permit them to find employment. Those who were between 18 and 65 years of age and who were without steady work at the time of the investigation have been regarded as unemployed. This category therefore includes not only those who were unemployed all the time, but also those who did "odd jobs," finding a little work to do here and there to help out a friend, a neighbor, or a relative.

In the first stratum we have listed 79 unemployed, and four in the second, which leads to a total of 1,580 unemployed out of an economically active male population of 5,530, or a rate of unemployment of 29.3%. For the family heads this rate is not quite as high: 26.3%. Here is how it is distributed according to ethnic groups, age classes, and the educational level. /Table 12 appears here./

/176/ Unemployment is naturally much less high among the literate, all of whom have some kind of occupational qualification, than among the illiterate. The former, moreover, are for the most part young people. The proportion of unemployed is at a minimum in the 30-year class. The case of those over 50 years old is more serious, since it is in general a matter of people whose age, lack of occupational qualifications, and often the late date of their immigration gravely jeopardize their chance of finding employment.

Let us note in conclusion that the rate of unemployment of the Toucouleur is the lowest, although their age at immigration is higher, and that their average competence does not exceed that of the other ethnic groups. This fact, as the investigations of the Toucouleur migration by the MISOES

/175/

•464

Table 12

Ethnic Group	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
% of unemployed	28.9	36.4	23.7	40	42.9	28.6	25	26.3
% of unemployed	literate 16					illiterate 29.2		
% of unemployed	20 to 30 years old 25.8		30 to 50 years old 22.7		50 and over 33.6		Average 26.3	

/176 cont./

464 and by A. Diop have shown, is connected with the effective solidarity of the ethnic group; certain occupations are their monopoly, and when a Toucouleur occupying a position wishes to go back to the Fouta, he will see to it that one of his "brothers" succeeds him. No doubt there is the same solidarity with regard to work everywhere, but it does not seem to have the same effectiveness.

464 484 A final point remains to be discussed: where do the residents of Pikine go to work? They rely on two principal places of work: Dakar, and Pikine itself. Furthermore, a certain number of persons are employed either in the Niayes or in the concerns located on the route from Rufisque outside of Dakar to the interior of the peninsula of Cape Verde, and some go still farther, especially some cattle traders or some peddlers whose permanent residence is in Pikine. Here are the respective percentages, by quarters, of workers employed in the different places: /Table 13 appears here./

Table 13

	Quarters	Districts	General Av.
Dakar	66.4	95.2	70.4
Pikine	26.7	4.8	23.7
Cape Verde	6.1	0	5.3
Elsewhere	0.8	0	0.6
Total	100	100	100

464 484 162 The people of Pikine who work locally should be divided into two categories: on the one hand, the employees of the ICOTAF (Industrie /177/ Cotonnière africaine/ African Cotton Industry/); on the other hand, the merchants and artisans. Those who are over fifty have more difficulty in leaving their homes, as a comparison of the three following rates shows:

/177 cont./

464 Proportion of persons over 50 out of the active labor
484 force 25.3%
162 Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers
in Pikine 37%
Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers
in Dakar 16%

[463] Thus, old people prefer the traditional trades, jewelers, tailors, merchants, which can be carried on locally.

If one considers the fact that the active male labor force numbers 5,530 individuals and that about 70% of this labor force goes to Dakar to work, one can estimate the number of workers whose place of employment is located in Dakar at
464 about 2,800. Another question pertaining to the frequency of
484 journeys to Dakar shows that 62% of the total labor force, that is to say, about 3,700, make the trip at least once a day. This means that not only the workers but the unemployed as well go to Dakar daily. Dakar thus has a double attraction for the workers of Pikine: as an actual place of employment,
494 and as a place of possible hiring. The two principal means of
484 transportation are: for the officials, the cars called "G.G.," thanks to which they can return for lunch at noon, and for the great majority of others the express buses; only a few have
[493] personal means of transportation, mobylettes /bicycles with motors/ or vehicles. The length of the automobile trip from
484 Pikine to the Sandaga market varies from 20 minutes to more than half an hour depending on traffic difficulties. One must add to this the time required to go on foot through the sand from the concession to the bus stop. In a very general way one can say that the worker leaves his house in the morning about seven o'clock and returns to it in the evening between 6:45 and seven o'clock, provided that he does not have errands on
[369] the way. This quick analysis therefore shows the role of
[361] "bedroom community" that Pikine plays to a certain extent in relation to Dakar.

462 After the male labor force, it is necessary to say a word
463 about female work. The great majority of the women do not
162 have any occupation other than that of housework: more than two-thirds. The 32% who draw monetary income from their

17: Mercier--18 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/20 cont./

state of tension between certain sectors of each of the two populations that is much more obvious than it was a few years ago. New facts have intervened in this period (not to speak of the grasp of clearer political perception by certain African elements). The number of European (men and women) workers and subordinate employees has increased, and this coincides with a considerable extension of vocational instruction and general instruction (at all levels) among the Africans, resulting in a much greater frequency of competitive situations in the occupational and economic spheres (1). 369x 563

1. The study of unemployment in Dakar is very revealing. Besides the causes of unemployment which one could call classic, one more and more notices those that are due to this competitive situation. [464]

Such a glance shows how numerous, important, and entangled are the problems to be studied. A general publication will later give an account of the various investigations in progress. This account will permit one to place the problems that we shall bring up next. It will also permit one to understand the spirit in which our first inquiries were conducted. 369x

II

The information that we are going to give on the African family structure in the Dakar agglomeration is based, on the one hand, on documentation gathered at the time of the investigation by questionnaires, and, on the other hand, on facts confirmed through broader interviews and applying to a much more restricted number of families. These last have permitted us to observe in a more precise fashion the dynamic aspect of the problem. 125 124

17: Mercier--28 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/26 cont./

There are many who, in the present unemployment crisis, can only maintain themselves in town thanks to the aid of their relatives. This results in a spontaneous form of insurance against unemployment (2).

369x
602
[464]

2. Which has become more and more important in Dakar in the last two years. Without speaking of the seasonal immigrants who find no work, the number of recorded unemployed amounts to more than 2,000.

2. The figures expressing the extent of family groups do not give, in a direct fashion, indications of the importance of this "familial parasitism." The fact of finding work, when it is a matter /27/ of a close relative, does not signify in any way that the group which has formed is going to split up: the tendency toward the traditional familial regrouping is not exercised solely in terms of extreme forms of mutual aid. The other data in figures that we gathered permit in themselves only a first approach to the problem (1). These

1. In fact, even though the idea of salaried person is clear, that of the person enjoying a non-salaried income is very broad; it does not assume that this income is able to assure completely the subsistence of this person (petty trade, piece work, etc.); this person may, since he is attached to a kinship group larger than the restricted family, benefit from partial aid. The investigation conducted at Thiès on

[434]

/85 cont./

443 while the housewife attends to her tasks, the oldest child makes the sale (12).

12. According to an economic investigation made by Mr. Mersadier in Thiès, the returns from these sales[1] do not exceed ten francs profit per day (Bulletin de l'I. F. A. N., July-Oct., 1955, series B, p. 411).

[434]
[433]

Thus, the commerce in Thiès (and certainly in most of the cities of French West Africa) is diffused among all of the layers of the society and at the same time has adapted itself extremely well there. The branches of important commercial houses, which in the beginning were violently opposed to this diffusion not controlled directly by them, quickly understood all the benefits that they could draw from this new situation.

463 Paralleling this extension of commerce, the working class, to a more limited extent, has also taken on much greater importance. To the traditional artisans, potters, jewelers, and smiths have been added activities more modern in inspiration: photographers, clockmakers, repairers of phonographs, bicycles, or even trucks, and, in another category of enterprises, small restaurant keepers and /86/ proprietors of drink shops. Finally, the establishment of European artisans (hairdressers, pastry cooks, etc.) is a specific phenomenon of the social evolution in African cities since the last war, and Thiès is not escaping it.

[265]
[275]
[178]

2. Industry.

498 The industrial activity of Thiès gravitates principally around the repair shops of the Dakar-Niger (13). The

[317]
[464]
[162]

13. The two phosphate quarries opened by the Société Péchiney some 15 kilometers from the city (Pallo and Lam-Lam)

[1] [ie, by "doorstep" merchants - ANALYST]

/86 cont./

498
[317]
[464]
[162]

hardly affect its economy because of the limited number of its workers (200 to 300) and above all the distance from the urban center.

concession of the Dakar-Niger located a short distance from the city would actually form the most important industrial center of French West Africa in terms of the number of its operatives (around 2,500 in 1952). It groups within its enclosure a series of the most diverse workshops: woodworking shop, sawmill, assembly shops for railroad cars, tinsmith shop, and even a foundry. Putting new Diesel tractors into service has brought about the recent creation of new shops where manifold improved machines operate. Power is taken from a high tension line of 30,000 volts coming from Dakar. The enterprise annually consumes 1,700,000 kilowatt-hours, that is to say, more than the total consumption of the city itself. The much smaller consumption of coke and of fuel oil used in the furnace and cupolas of the foundries should be added here.

[162]

[377]

The workshops of the Dakar-Niger present themselves in the form of an industry with vertical integration of an incomplete type. The distance from the mother country, the expenses and above all the slowness of shipments (principally during the last World War) have brought about the installation of an industrial complex that makes it possible to satisfy the greater part of the demands of the work required for the smooth functioning of the service. All the woodworking is carried out in the sawmill-carpentry section; the cars are assembled from imported chassis, wheels, and bogies. Most of the parts of the locomotives can be smelted in Thiès, except when it is a matter of special alloys. Certain elements demanding a machine-finishing precision of 1/100 of a millimeter for Diesel tractors have already been manufactured by the enterprise. Only the parts requiring very special techniques or machines for their manufacture, or whose

/87 cont./

S 498 563 W 498 162 463 workers from the regions neighboring Thiès are not in the majority; the Wolof-Sérère group is made up of 380 units, 45% of the total. Besides, the Wolof and Sérère /Serer/ offer relatively few technicians and supervisory operatives; the Wolof make up only 7% in the supervisory category as against 24% in that of manual workers; the Sérère account for only 5% in the first category and 39% in the second. On the other hand, 17% of the Khassonké and Sarakolé belong to the supervisory staffs as against only 22% of the manual workers and employees. These figures underline the difficulty for the enterprise in recruiting specialized workers in the vicinity of Thiès. It must call upon technicians from distant territories, although a high percentage of non-specialized workers and manual laborers are recruited locally.

S 498 433 Because of the number of its total labor force, the industrial grouping of the Dakar-Niger forms one of the most active elements of the economy of the district. More than 25,000,000 francs C.F.A. are distributed monthly in the form of salaries to all of the personnel.

/88/

3. The Public sector.

S 712 433 Although the installation and extension of the two military camps have in an indirect way increased the importance of the city, it indeed seems that they have little influence on the economy of the district on account of their internal organization within a closed circuit.

S 647 464 The establishment of increasingly more numerous and substantial administrative services affects the economic life of the escale in a more tangible fashion. The administration of the circle /cercle, an administrative district/ and the services for agriculture, education, and public works employ several hundred officials, day laborers, and manual workers.

/92 cont./

369 All of the new elements that swell the urban quarters
166 are young elements coming from the country; 32% of the
[162] population is made up of young people less than 14 years of
[redacted] the so-called facilities of the city have

15. In France this percentage is 24%, the figure estimated according to the census statistics given in the review Population, Oct.-Dec. 1954, p. 718.

attracted. The countryside is being drained of its energetic elements and the city does not have enough work to give to
[464] those who come to settle there. A class of idlers and para-
[574] sites is forming little by little, living on either the generous African hospitality or by expedients. This aspect of the social problem of the large African cities is one of the more urgent to be solved.

369 The public authorities are disturbed by this enormous
168 swelling of the urban populations, which far exceeds the actual needs. It seems that none of the methods adopted up to now for decreasing them /93/ have given appreciable results. Perhaps the efforts that are now being made to improve the conditions of rural life and promote some modernization of agricultural techniques will allow the economic capacity of the countryside to increase and will curb the rural exodus. Greater stability among the urban population would then permit the establishment of more coherent and better balanced social structures.

Georges Savonnet.

/9 cont./

795 have a moral obligation to deliver the products of their labor to the marabouts. With a remarkable ardor for clearing, these
244 Murids have improved new lands and have thus made a "ground-
311 nut front" progressing toward the east, especially on both sides
795 of the Dakar-Niger railroad. This cultivation, however, presents grave dangers, because the Murids essentially concern themselves with groundnuts at the expense of millet; they use the cleared lands in the average proportion of 60% of the area for groundnuts and only 40% for millet. Crop rotation and fallowing are all too rarely respected, and the lands put under cultivation are all the more unstable since the groundnut front now abuts on the zone of the lateritic cuirasses of the east, ushering in the Sudan.

244 The navétanes (4) are the seasonal workers who come
427
[464]
[167]
[113]

4. Fouquet, J., La traite des arachides dans le pays de Kaolack et ses conséquences économiques, sociales et juridiques /The trade of groundnuts in the region of Kaolack and its economic, social, and legal consequences/. Law thesis, Montpellier, 1951, 262 pp.

from the Sudan in particular and, up to 1958, from the north of Guinea. They cultivate the groundnut for the benefit of
[466] the employer, or diatigui, according to the clauses of a ver-
[465] bal contract. The employer furnishes the cleared ground, the seed, lodgings, and food. The navétane prepares the land, sows, weeds, and gathers the harvest. Actually, he devotes scarcely three to four half-days per week in work for the benefit of the diatigui. He utilizes the rest of his time for clearing and cultivating for himself. This labor is very costly for the employer, who is often obliged to borrow at prohibitive rates in order to feed the navétane. Moreover, this system presents grave dangers, because the temporary immigrant, clearing and cultivating land for which he feels no attachment,

/9 cont./

244 shows no regard for it. Finally, the navétane eats millet
407 and does not produce any, which in certain regions aggravates the problem of the supply. Before 1939, in the period of the full development of groundnut cultivation, there were up to 70,000 navétanes in some years. The system of the authoritative organization of labor during the hostilities could by no means support these effectives; therefore, with the return to freedom in 1946, the number of navétanes had fallen to about 12,000. In order to attract them, they were given free travel going and returning. The suppression of these facilities in 1956 and
[648] the closing of the Guinea frontier at the end /10/of 1958 have
[167] considerably diminished the importance of these temporary
[433] migrations, which, in sum, were not very profitable for the economy of Senegal.

Other seasonal movements of labor take place in the
244 framework of groundnut cultivation. The sourga come from
166 the city and take their place among their relatives under the
464 same conditions as the navétanes. The baraguini are laborers
[427] who, in the regions of Tambacounda and Kédougou, offer their assistance to the cultivators during the harvest. They dig up the groundnut stalks, dry them, and detach and clean the seeds.

244 All of these types[1] of groundnut cultivation are charac-
433 terized by small yields: 830 kilograms per hectare on the average in Senegal. These yields, a consequence of the poorness of the traditional technical contrivances, can hardly be improved. In recent decades the increase in volume of the harvest has been linked with that of the area cultivated, which is not without grave dangers: abuses of cultivation on soils that are unstable, and a falling off of food production. After some attempts without results in the years 1920-1930, it is mechanized cultivation which, at the end of the Second World War, seems most capable of increasing production for the benefit of the mother country, which suffered from a grave shortage of fatty substances.

[1] [See Category 116, pp. 3-8 for types of autochthonous cultivation--Analyst]

/22 cont./

258 product, usually crude, each year leaves the Senegalese
[433] factories, which thus operate under their productive capacity.
[439] About 110,000 metric tons are exported. The traditional technique of manufacture by pressure, with recovery of the oil cake, or "expellers," is being replaced more and more by the procedure with solvents, slightly increasing the rate of extraction of oil, but providing poor oil-cake.

This industry of the oil-factory if now localized in five urban centers: Dakar, Lyndiane, Djourbel, Kaolack, and
[464] Ziguinchor. It employs more than 3,000 wage earners, nearly
[563] 300 of whom are European technicians; on the basis of this it is the primary industry /23/ of Senegal, and the more so since
[388] it has had annexed to it the complementary industry of soap-making, which produced more than 15,000 metric tons of soap from the neutralization paste.

258 The development of the Sengalese industry of oil-making
433 represents a considerable evolution of the economy of the country, since the groundnut has ceased to be a product of
[439] trade in the colonial sense of the term. In fact, the product that traditionally constitutes the great agricultural resource has become the principal raw material of local industry; more than ever, the groundnut keeps Senegal alive.

433 3. The essential position of the groundnut in the economy
241 of Senegal. "Whether or not it is desirable, the economy of Senegal can revolve only with the help of the production of groundnuts." This phrase by M. Portères sums up the essential position of the product in the local economy. In 1957, for the
[439] whole of former Mali, the total value of the exports rose to 21,085 billions of francs C.F.A., the products of the groundnut accounting for 18,257 billions of this sum, of which more than 15 billions was for Senegal alone. At the same time, of
[162] 2,230,000 inhabitants of Senegal, only 58,700 were non-agricul-
433 tural workers, that is, non-producers of groundnuts. Actually, however, many of them are supported by them indirectly, in trade, transport, or industry. It is not exaggerated to affirm

162 /384 cont./
369 breeding-places of mosquitoes in the numerous swamps of the
563 peninsula having been successfully undertaken by the federal
[744] authorities, one can better appreciate the exceptionally pleas-
[192] ant climate of Dakar, subject eight months of the year to the "influences of the Canaries" (cool and brisk current, marine trade-wind from the northeast), and an equilibrium tends to be established between men, women, and children, the first nevertheless still remaining the most numerous; in 1955, 39% men against 31% women and 30% children for the total non-African population; and 35% men, 30% women, and 35% children for the non-African population in residence. Among the Africans, one can verify the same phenomenon: 36% men, 31% women, and 35% children less than 14 years of age for the total population; 34% men, 31% women, and 35% children for the population in residence. Despite this tendency toward equilibrium, the fact remains that for the whole population of Dakar, men over 14 years of age are definitely more numerous than women over 14 years of age and than children; the balance sheet gives 37% for the men as against 30% for the women and 35% for the children.

369 This situation is explained by the fact that immigration
563 to Dakar is first of all of interest to the men, for whom it carries
166 the hope of a better position, but it also represents a daring
162 enterprise on which one does not take women and children until definite opportunities for settling down present themselves. This fact is particularly clear for the non-resident population, among whom the proportion of men is very high. Thus, among the non-resident Africans, there are 57% men as against 27% women and 16% children. The proportion is even higher among non-resident foreigners: 77% men as against 12% women and 11 % children.

[464] But though settling in Dakar is almost always linked to employment for the non-African population, it is not the same for Africans. The destruction of the villagers' traditional institutions, modern transportation, the facilities for hospitality

/384 cont./

369 in the city at the home of a relative, at the home of a friend
563 or the friend or relative of a friend, or at the home of a resi-
166 dent originally from the same village or merely from the same
162 region -- all of this ultimately makes up the factors that are
464 more decisive than the salary. Because of this, while among the resident non-Africans the number of persons employed amounts to 43 % of the total and 64% of the economically active, among the resident Africans, the proportion of workers is no more than 27% of the total and 42% /385/ of the economically active. If one adds to that the salaries, on the average
369 much higher among the first than among the second, one finds
511 in Dakar some of the contrasts characteristic of West African
563 cities: on the one hand, among the non-Africans, a high standard of living which is often shown in the appearance of their quarters, and, on the other hand, the mass of the African population whose settling in the city is tied neither to a correlative augmentation of the normal opportunities for lodgings nor to a higher living standard in relation to the bush, which gives to the African city, or at least to some of its quarters, an appearance more wretched than that of the villages of the interior.

369 This situation, formerly very clear, put Dakar in the
563 normal category of West African cities, where a white city and
[361] a black city stand in contrast (22), a contrast that was the result

[113] 22. Dresh, J., "Villes d'Afrique occidentale /Cities of West Africa/," Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 1950.

of a de facto segregation imposed, not by law, but by the norms of urbanism and of hygiene, to which it was impossible for the bulk of the natives to subject themselves, and also by the high
[465] price of rent -- the non-Africans being nearly always lodged by their employers. In 1936 Charles Morazé wrote: "Formerly Europeans and natives lived mixed. Innumerable families lived

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS 30
Trarza MS 24

S 175 439 [648]

From 1836 onwards treaties were made with the chiefs of the Casamance basin, and posts were constructed at Sedhiou, Karaban, and Diembering. These treaties respected Portuguese historic but obsolete rights at Ziguinchor, but effectively guaranteed that the future of the river should be French.

S [567] [422] [464]

The abolition of the status of slavery by France in 1848 deprived the French merchants of a cheap supply of labour, which they had rented from the chiefs, and in 1850 a committee was appointed to consider withdrawal from the colony or, as an alternative, the establishment of French authority. It decided in favour of the latter, and the policy of trade treaties came to an end.

The new French policy, to which Napoleon III was pledged, was summed up as 'absolute freedom of commerce with the suppression of the escales; establishment of security, by force if necessary; the substitution of full and entire authority for the system of treaties and subsidies; methodical organization of expansion towards the interior; and concurrently the development of economic institutions'.

'By Force if Necessary'

S 175 [643]

Faidherbe. It was to carry out this policy that Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in December 1854. He had already had much experience as a soldier and administrator in the colony, and, with a break of eighteen months, he held office till July 1865. His period of office marked a turning-point in the history of Senegal, and he is justly remembered as one of the builders of the modern French Colonial Empire. At first his resources were pitifully small. He had four companies of marine infantry, a company of native infantry formed on the liberation of the slaves in 1848, sixty spahis, and some detachments of artillery and engineers. His naval strength was on a similar scale. Both were substantially strengthened in the next few years.

S [701]

T S W 175 648

The Arabs. Faidherbe decided to deal with the Trarza Arabs. Notwithstanding the treaty of 1835, they had continued their marauding expeditions across the river, and had re-established a supreme influence over the Ouolofs of Oualo. Early in 1855 the Trarza chief Mohammed el Abib insolently demanded the French evacuation of certain islands near the mouth of the Senegal. Faidherbe marched against him and defeated him near St. Louis on 15 February. On 25 February the Ouolofs were defeated near Ross. The French captured more than 2,000 cattle and burned 20 villages.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

redemption money. During 1936 official figures showed 1,000 labourers working under written contracts for private concerns, while 31,800 were working on verbal agreements. For public services there were only 20 working with written contracts and 8,900 without. These figures apply only to regular employment, and they take no account of casual labour of any kind. 466 [675]

The fertile provinces of Baol and Sine-Saloum annually attract thousands of immigrant labourers from French Sudan to grow ground-nuts. It is estimated that, in some years, as many as 60,000 Sudanese labourers (*navétanes*) cross the border, encouraged by cheap fares on the railways and advances of pay from the Chambers of Commerce. In 1932 these advances amounted to 300,000 francs. On their arrival they do not work for daily hire, but each labourer takes up a plot for the season. The landowner provides the seeds, and also board and lodging for the labourer. In return the labourer works on the owner's plot for two, three, or four days a week. At the close of the season the proprietor takes either one-tenth of the crop or double the quantity of seeds that he supplied, leaving the rest of the crop to the labourer. Most labourers return to their homes at the end of the harvest, but occasionally they stay on till they have accumulated the sum they set out to acquire. 167 464 [441] [654] 437 465 167 464

Agriculture

The first director of agriculture of Senegal may be said to have been Richard, one of the survivors of the *Méduse*. Under him experimental gardens were founded at Richard Toll about 1820. These are still in existence. The present organization of the Department of Agriculture is laid down by an order of 22 January 1932. Working in close contact with local administrative officers, it manages experimental gardens and farm schools, gives information and instruction to farmers, conducts campaigns against agricultural pests, and organizes agricultural shows. The Department has a laboratory at Hann and an experimental station at Bambey. This was opened in 1924 and is devoted principally to the study and improvement of ground-nuts. Besides these institutions the Department owns various smaller stations for study, experiment, and instruction. 647 654

Forestry. The Department of Agriculture had charge of forestry until an order of 10 February 1937 created a separate Forestry Department and divided the colony into four forestry districts (*inspections*), with headquarters at St. Louis, Thiès, Ziguinchor, and Tambacounda respectively.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

244 [233] sixth crop of Africa, and 43 per cent. of the total continental production comes from Senegal. The two main groups cultivated are the 'runner' and the 'erect'. The Rufisque and Cayor varieties, both runners, are those grown generally here and also in British West Africa. The method of cultivation is described in Volume I, p. 321. Ground-nuts were originally grown as a staple native crop, but the [439] industrial demand for vegetable oils, coupled with the development of transport facilities, opened up a world market for them. Extra [167] labour for the harvest is provided annually by seasonal immigration from French Sudan, French Guinea, Portuguese Guinea, and the [464] Gambia. In 1938 the number of outside workers was 69,757. Of these, 56,743 went to the Kaolack area, between 1,000 and 3,500 to Sedhiou, Ziguinchor, Kolda, Tambacounda, and Diourbel, and the remainder to Thiès and Linguéré.

[258] There are numerous shelling factories. Early in 1939 new ones were opened at Kaolack, Ziguinchor, and Koungheul.

In 1938 nearly 2,000,000 acres were under cultivation and the [654] experimental station at Bambey distributed 5,414 tons of selected seed. In 1939 7,382 tons of seed were sent out, with a corresponding increase in acreage.

[648] During the British blockade of French West Africa after the fall of [388] France in 1940, ground-nuts were converted into fuel oil. If this practice has been proved worth continuing after the war, cultivation may be greatly extended.

248 *Sisal.* Sisal originated in Mexico, being named after the port of Sisal in Yucatan province, and it was introduced into Senegal at the end of the nineteenth century. The species grown are *Agave rigida sisalana*, *A. rigida elongata*, and *A. rigida zapupe*. The rigid leaves containing the fibre are about 4 feet long and are harvested biennially from the fourth to the eighth or tenth year. When a plant has finished producing it shoots up a tall flower stem, with bulbils or buds on the end, and then withers.

283 The preparation of stem and leaf fibres is lengthy. First the fleshy 288 tissue encasing the fibre is scraped away, and then the fibre is washed, hung out to dry, and brushed. It is now ready for grading. Next it is combed into a continuous sliver of untwisted rope. The final process is the drawing and twisting of the sliver to a uniform thinness for spinning into a rope that is particularly resistant to sea-water. The 248 largest plantation is in French Sudan, and stretches for 12 miles along the bank of the Senegal near Kayes. Other smaller ones are in Tambacounda and on the Cape Verde peninsula. There is oppor-

/104 cont./

745 Medical aid. Medical aid and the struggle against epidemics are assured by the dispensaries set up at Kaolack and Fatick, each directed by a European doctor.

[59] The latter have under their orders native doctors and midwives residing in the chief town or distributed at the medical posts.

The commune of Kaolack also has a municipal dis-
[652] pensary under the direction of a European doctor who is paid out of the funds of the communal budget.

744 Urban hygienic services likewise exist in the principal agglomerations of the circle, especially at Kaolack, Fatick, Foundiougne, Gossas, and Kaffrine.

Anti-variolic vaccination is practiced in even the smallest villages.

III. Economic Development

162 Labor force. The population of the circle is 28,000 natives and 1,300 Europeans and assimilated individuals.

161 The population density is thus 10.8 inhabitants per square kilometer, a proportion higher than the average for the whole of French West Africa, which does not amount to three inhabitants per square kilometer.

464 An employment office operates in the circle.

This does not prevent /Pl. 1 appears here/ /105/ serious difficulties in the recruitment of the labor force. The latter is unstable and inexperienced. Wages are not high at all,
465 especially in the cities.

At the time of the loading of the ships in the port of Kaolack, the wages of the workers sometimes climb to 15 and 20 francs per day. They are set on the average at 12 francs.

In some European operations, as at Latmingué, the agricultural workers have a daily wage of eight francs and in addition receive a ration of rice.

/111 cont./

491 season by truckage, the development of which has grown in
[494] considerable proportions since 1920.

The network of roads is on the whole excellent. Every winter, it is subject to deteriorations; the latter are repaired as soon as the dry season arrives. Thousands of workers making
[464] their annual contribution are employed there under the supervision of native chiefs and under the direction of the European administrative authorities. Some artificial works, embankments, bridges, culverts, gutters, and channels have been constructed in the swampy places or to cross spots of water.

363 In the communes, the roads are gradually being paved with paving stones as the urban streets develop. In Kaolack six kilometers of streets have been paved with stones in the past five years.

505 Inland navigation. As we have already seen, the Saloum is the major channel of inland navigation. Steamers enter it by the maritime passage of Sangomar. In the channel, 120 kilometers long, up to Kaolack, there are some bends or
[502] passages that are quite difficult to negotiate. A pilot is necessary. All of the boats have one, whom they take on at Dakar or Rufisque. The Sine is traveled in the same fashion up to Niamnioroh.

[501] There are countless marigots which are accessible to cutters, small launches, barges, or dugouts. There are several thousand kilometers /112/ of waterways which connect villages, centers of cultivation, and fishing agglomerations.

In the Bas-Saloum in particular, commercial traffic is handled by cutters or by dugouts.

Saboya, on the marigot Miniminian, an affluent of the Gambia, is accessible to ocean-going vessels. Each year boats come to seek the stock of groundnuts produced by this region.

Here are some comparative figures on navigation for the three ports of Kaolack, Foundiougne, and Saboya.

/374 cont./

369 became a relatively flourishing commercial center; each
[438] year more than 20,000 metric tons of groundnuts were handled by the traders of the place and sent by railroad to the ports of Rufisque or Dakar. As early as 1907 the first work on the Thiès-
[496] Kayes railroad was begun. All of this new economic activity
[464] required the employment of many laborers, who were in part recruited on the spot, but also in the neighboring villages.

369 During the dry season, work in the fields is reduced. A
166 number of rural people in the vicinity come to offer their serv-
[464] ices as workers in the factoreries (2) or in the newly opened

[443] 2. Factorerie: shop where everything is sold.

[461] yards /chantiers, dockyards, woodyards, etc./. Some of these villagers feel that this kind of work is less arduous and more remunerative than that of agriculture. They become definitively attached to urban life and come to swell the population of the native quarters previously established.

[484] Others return every evening to the village. During the
[22] rainy season they leave their urban job and devote all their activity to work in the fields.

During this whole period prior to the Great War the suburban village seems to have played the role of intermediary or rather of relay-station between the hamlet in the bush and
[464] the city. The call for non-specialized labor had echos not only in the outskirts /375/ of the city itself, but also in the more distant villages. Curiosity about new things, the opportunity to escape familial tutelage, and especially the promise of relatively high earnings stimulated some immigration movement toward the escales.

[574] By means of the great hospitality that he knows will be shown him by relatives or friends who live in Diakhaté or Keur-Issa-Bambara, the rural person settles in these agglomerations.

369 /385 cont./
of Thiès, it clearly appears that the characteristics of the suburbs of the African cities noticeably differ from those of the cities of the mother country. Can one use the term suburb /banlieue/ for these types of suburban villages? Sapko, Thiès-none, Tiali, and Keur-Issa-Bambara, on the one hand, can be regarded as suburb villages; in fact they possess the essential characteristics: proximity to the city, relatively high percentage of workers traveling daily to the enterprises of Thiès, a considerable number of mixed workers, sale of truck-gardening products in the city, relatively high percentage of improved dwellings...

Keur-Mamour and Karamoko already appear to be outside of the economy of the city and cannot be regarded as suburb villages. Diakhaté would be a marginal type; despite its proximity to the first urban quarters, its economy seems to be little influenced by that of the city (only a fifth of the economically active population works in the city).

On the mother-country plan, a city such as Thiès would
[498] have an important industrial suburb. Let us not forget that the workshops of the Dakar-Niger engage nearly 2,500 native workers.

369 The agrarian economy plays an essential role in these
241 villages, but it has remained traditional. The introduction of new crops and the extension of the zones of gardening and orchards are very slight. The woman has perhaps extended by a few square meters the /386/ area of her vegetable garden for the cultivation of vegetables intended for sale at the market, but no serious systematic arrangement has been made. Traditional cultivation, with its archaic methods, prevails everywhere. If
369 the need for money stimulates the rural person to offer his services
464 in the city, he seems to choose the place of work nearest to his
166 home. Is it truly out of liking that the Wolof of Diakhaté hire themselves out to the workshops of the Dakar-Niger? Is it out of liking that the None near the mercantile quarters hire themselves out as laborers or boys? The proximity of the place of work seems to enter considerably into the choice of urban occupation.

The suburban village, as we have noted several times, has

/386 cont./

369 two important roles in the economy of the escale: it is a re-
464 serve of workers who can be employed temporarily; it is also
166 the position of withdrawal when enforced idleness and strikes interdict work in the city.

[463] A functional examination of the different human groups has in fact revealed that an important proportion of the male elements has a hybrid occupation: half-agricultural, half-laborer. These workers fluctuating between two activities seem like a shock troop of laborers who are employed on the occasion of great undertakings: embankments for the laying of the road from Dakar to Thiès, putting through and establishing new streets, the installation of the military camps, the extraction of phosphate in the Péchiney quarries... The yard closed, they temporarily return to the land.

These villages are also withdrawal points in case of prolonged work stoppages. If the worker is discharged from his establishment, if he suffers from enforced idleness in his occupation, is he totally deprived of money? He knows that he will [574] be able to wait for better times thanks to the hospitality that he will find in the neighboring agglomeration. Settled near the escale, it will be possible for him to look for work every day.

369 Reserve of manpower, reserve of food products intended principally for the native, these are the two points that justify the term suburb given to these few villages.

Their external appearance and their internal organization as we have described it scarcely correspond to our Western view of the suburban phenomenon. But we should place this problem in its African milieu where the conceptions of the city, animal breeding, agriculture... profoundly differ from ours.

How long will this type of suburb of the African cities preserve this rural appearance? Evolution in the modes /387/ of settlement, in interior comfort, in the extension of new crops..., already primed in some villages, will progressively continue in the neighboring agglomerations.

In spite of appearances, modifications occur rapidly

/388/

369 The city of Thiès, 60 kilometers east of Dakar, contains
433 36,000 inhabitants, according to a recent census. All of its
[162] activity seems to be centered around four principal poles: commercial, industrial, administrative, and military.

Its commercial activity is due to its position at the cross-
[487] roads of important paths of communication: railroad lines from Dakar to Saint-Louis, from Dakar to Bamako, and from Thiès to Kaolack, and roads from Dakar to Saint-Louis and from Dakar to Diourbel, Tambacounda, and the Sudan and Guinea.

It also owes the essential part of its industrial activity to
[498] this implantation at an important rail crossroads; the repair
[464] shops of the Dakar-Niger rail system, where nearly 1,000 workers of all grades are employed, have been set up there.

Apart from the workshops of the Dakar-Niger, it must not
[497] be forgotten that Thiès is also where the management of this
[634] system resides. And it is also the principal administrative point of a circle /cercle, an administrative district/. We will thus find, besides the workers, a rather large proportion of office employees, managers, and executives.

[712] Finally, the military function of Thiès is due to the presence of two important camps: the "DMA" (Détachement Motorisé Autonome), and an air base.

Besides these four centers of activities which give this city a modern character (economically speaking, at least), a fifth one intervenes in a not inconsiderable proportion. A rather large
[166] population of cultivators, who in winter cultivate groundnuts and
[241] millet in nearby fields, has settled on the periphery of Thiès. And the city is the point to which, at the time of the groundnut trade, all of the agricultural activity of the circle comes to assert itself. Its commercial importance is thereby further increased.

162 /389/ Here is some numerical information concerning
463 the occupational distribution of the population of Thiès.

Out of an economically active population of 11,040 inhabitants at the date of the census, there were counted:

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

This is a significant fact; high prestige, more or less definitely acknowledged by the whole population, crystallizes around professions, functions or situations which are considered to be 'intellectual'—implying in fact a minimum of Western-type learning. Prestige on economic grounds seems to be definitely on the decline.[1] At Dakar, Thiès and Saint-Louis du Sénégal, adults were questioned about the trade or occupation they would like their children to take up. A vast majority of the socio-vocational categories (unskilled and skilled workers, traders, clerks, civil servants, etc.) from which the population sample under study was taken gave the same answer. Between 65 and 80 per cent mentioned an intellectual profession. Those most frequently cited were teaching (primary or secondary school teacher) and the liberal professions (lawyer, doctor, etc.); the technological professions (engineer etc.) were much more rarely specified.[2] One of the commonest answers was that vague but highly significant term, 'civil servant'. The fact is that the trend of education in the period before 1945 helped to establish a very close link between education and a job in the administration; this is still the case, despite the changes effected in the last few years. Similar attitudes are found in the results of surveys among children in the primary schools at Dakar. Among those who replied specifically[3]—about three-quarters of the children questioned—more than 80 per cent expressed a preference for an occupation considered to be intellectual, irrespective of their father's occupation; next came certain manual trades, with commerce far behind. The choice of an unspecified administrative job was less frequent than among the adults. It follows that the view generally taken about education—including primary education—viz. that it will lead almost inevitably to an intellectual occupation,[4] however modest, remains very stable; but it is less and less in keeping with the realities of the situation.

A brief study of the facts in the development of the educational system will allow us to make a first evaluation of the system. The crude school rate rose rapidly from 1946 to 1953 and has since continued to rise pretty regularly (16 per cent in 1953, 18 per cent in 1954, about 20 per cent in 1955). Senegal's early advance in this respect explains why the increase is less steep there than in most of the other French West African territories.[5] True, the school rate is still relatively low (and a fairly large proportion of the children do not complete even the primary course and will probably soon lose such learning as they have acquired), but a plateau was reached several years ago: primary education turns out many more pupils than the 'administrative bourgeoisie'—characteristic of the colonial period—or its equivalent in private enterprise can absorb. Formerly, the surplus of the educated population could be absorbed by the manual trades or by migration to other territories. But this second door is gradually closing now that these other territories are catching up in education. Moreover, the slow pace of economic expansion precludes any big increase in the number of openings for technical workers or in the supervisory grades in industry.[6] This is the justification for the talk about the educational over-

1. Material security (e.g. that enjoyed by civil servants) seems to be desired more often than actual wealth.
2. They are only beginning to acquire some prestige; the number of students choosing this branch has risen considerably in recent years.
3. Children from 10 to 14, in the 'intermediate' classes.
4. A job in the bureaucracy was for years the standard aim.
5. The school rate in the Ivory Coast almost trebled between 1946 and 1955.
6. Limited, but chronic unemployment, already exists in Dakar.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

178 571 The reason is not to be sought solely in the increase in numbers of this intellectual elite though that was quite substantial. Trained in Europe and remaining in touch with the world outside, it was the first section of the population to become consciously aware of the 'colonial situation',[1] and it immediately made an attempt to build up ideological systems which soon acquired crucial influence. Next, the changed pattern in the relations between Europeans and Africans speeded up the development of situations in which conflicts became inevitable, and encouraged the maintenance of close contact between the new [578] and the colonial elites. I shall revert to this point later. True, tension existed, especially between generations, the older strata of the colonial elite having sometimes to defend the positions they had won.[2] But the younger people tended to identify themselves with the new elite, to accept its guidance and to share, more or less confusedly, in the same awakening to the colonial situation. Thus, the intellectual elite, in the broadest sense of the term, embarked in a new direction, and the political consequences of this change are now beginning to be seen. The problem of relations with the workers' elite which has emerged in the past few years is more complex; I shall come back to it in connexion with trade union activity.

In the typical pre-war situation, the African elite had little chance of competing with the European managing class, which was much less numerous that it is now.[3] It was trained to be what might be called an auxiliary elite. The new elite, on the contrary—notwithstanding the administrative and economic expansion of the past 10 years—will inevitably find itself in competition with Europeans in the managing and supervisory grades in an ever growing number of specific cases. Though still few in numbers, it has difficulty in finding a place in the territory's administrative and technological machine. It is a paradox that in a country immensely in need of responsible personnel, both managers and technicians, demand seems somewhat to exceed supply. [464] In French West Africa, and particularly in Senegal, the government officially recognizes the existence of an 'employment problem for holders of diplomas'. One of the causes of this situation is no doubt the total absence of planning in the training of elites.[4] But the real explanation must be found in political circumstances and race relations.[5] The effort to 'Africanize' the upper grades encounters firm resistance, and so the rise of the elites is apparently seriously checked by the growing number of situations in which Africans and Europeans compete and which the two groups explain in diametrically opposite ways.[6] It is a significant fact that several Senegalese who have completed their studies in France have remained there, because they would be unable to find jobs for which they could apply at home. The problem is obviously even more [167] acute in the private sector than in the administration.[7] Also, the European [563] population has considerably increased in the past 10 years:[8] it has more than doubled in Senegal, tripled at Dakar—where it now represents about 10 per cent of the population.

[113] 1. Cf. the studies of G. Balandier, and in particular: *Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique Noire* (Present sociology of Negro Africa), Paris, 1955.

2. Especially in the administration.

[113] 3. Cf. P. Mercier, 'Le Groupement Européen de Dakar: Orientations d'une Enquête' (The European group at Dakar: Suggested line for a survey), *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, XIX, 1955.

4. An effort is now being made in this direction.

5. Cf. P. Mercier, 'Le Groupement Européen de Dakar . . .', op. cit.

6. Patterns of thought based on the pre-war situation play a fundamental role here.

7. Where the trend, as yet timid, towards 'Africanization' of the upper grades can be discerned.

8. A general phenomenon in French West Africa which involves important changes in relations between Africans and Europeans.

/379 cont./

S 369 [262] Only food seems to have undergone only slight improvement: the couscous of millet or rice (a little fish or meat during periods of abundance) are basic in their diet. Bread, rarely eaten during the meal, is reserved for children; S [271] it takes the place of cake. Water remains the essential drink of the Moslem; [273] water, palm wine (during the harvest), and grape wine (on feast days) are consumed by the non-SR [273] Islamized None.

The frugal housewife profits from the proximity of the S 369 241 438 escale for /380/ the daily sale in the market of the products of her personal garden. She cultivates tomatoes, beans, pumpkins, and okra. At Keur-Issa-Bambara she has tried, with greater or lesser success, to cultivate potatoes and salad greens; the gathering of mangoes also procures a little profit S [372] for her. When the harvest from the garden is exhausted, the collection of dead wood which she will take to sell in the market in the form of little bundles will yield a few coins for her.

In parallel fashion, the husband-cultivator harvests on a plot of his lougan products that are easy to sell on the Thiès market; at Keur-Issa-Bambara he lays out flooded rice-fields and cultivates the sweet potato and manioc, part of which is S SR 369 438 offered to the clientele of the escale.

During the dry season the None principally works at gathering palmyra leaves; they will be sold, as bundles of [314] thatch, for making roofs for the huts of the urban quarters; [342] after the harvest he carries dried groundnut leaves to the city [231] for fodder for the little horses harnessed to the taxicabs.

Despite the ready sale that can be made with cattle, S SR 369 234 438 they are not very numerous. When the epizootic diseases have spared them, they give an appreciable profit to their owner through the sale of milk. At Tiali, the only herd in the village, which contains about 30 animals, belongs to a S SR F single breeder. It is guarded by Peul shepherds who lead it [233] to graze in the neighboring woodlands. The morning milk [465] and the calves belong to the owner; the evening milk goes

S
SR
369
438
[234]
[233]
[465]

/380 cont./

to the shepherd as compensation for services rendered. Although lactation is very poor (one to two liters per day per head), this sale practiced in the city at a relatively high price (30 francs per liter) is a source of not inconsiderable profit.

F
[233]
[465]
SR
[231]
[417]
S
[361]

The Sérère, despite the poor food resources he commands, practices for the benefit of Europeans the raising of pigs in the narrow and miry enclosures formed by stakes driven deeply into the ground and close together.

The mode of settlement and the economy of these suburban villages, although they have not had profound modifications, nevertheless are in the process of continual reorganization and adaptation.

These very modest contributions of the urban economy thin out very rapidly as one goes farther from the city. Karamoko and Keur-Mamour, located six and seven kilometers from the escale, and even Diakhaté, which is nearer, give the appearance of wholly rural villages. The women who each morning leave in Indian file /381/ to sell their products in the city make up the single element that enters into the circuit of the new economy offered to them.

S
121
369

Has the social and economic organization, on the other hand, been more profoundly modified? An examination of the ethnic and functional composition of the groups of the villages will permit an understanding of the data on this problem.

For this study we have grouped the villages under three rubrics:

1. The assemblage of Tiali, Thiès-None, and Sapko; near the escale, but having undergone perturbations in their economy by the loss of part of their land.

2. Keur-Mamour and Karamoko form the group farthest from the city.

3. Diakhaté and Keur-Issa-Bambara are the two villages near the escale which have not suffered any loss of territory.

S
SR
369
162

The first assemblage musters a total population of 405

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

flats and villas are usually beyond the range of the African purse though the difference is being eliminated by the accession of Senegalese, immediately prior to and in particular since independence, to high administrative posts and today there is no real residential separation. Many Europeans live in housing estates built primarily for Africans and not a few live in the Medina or main African quarter. Some trade unions are divided on racial lines between Africans and Europeans, largely because the European workers are skilled technicians and there are even to this day few Africans trained in most of the industrial work done by Europeans.

Nevertheless there are certain cases of bitterness between Africans and Europeans over the question of equal pay for equal work. Though the basic principle is that both groups should be paid the same rate for the same kind of work, the European in many cases gets an expatriation addition of up to two-fifths of his basic salary. This is not true of all classes of work. For instance shop girls in Printania, a local version of Woolworth's, earn the same pay whether white or black though of course the European staff are recruited locally from wives and daughters of Frenchmen working in Dakar. It is surely a healthy sign that Europeans and Africans can work together on equal terms and that Europeans can occupy what in Europe would be considered very humble positions.

One does not detect amongst the French in Senegal any very strong feeling for or against the African. Where any form of racism does manifest itself it is mainly at the level of the artisan worker or the *petit blanc*, a term generally used to describe the poorer white community of small shopkeepers, clerks, mechanics and skilled workers. When the Senegalese are confronted by outbursts of racism from members of this group they are usually inclined to return the abuse in kind, for the Senegalese are naturally an immensely proud people and have very little feeling of racial inferiority. Close contact with a French community

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

463 has enjoyed a much higher rate of education than was possi-
[563] ble in an Islamic community like Senegal, even taking into account French assimilation policy.

There is a pronounced bias in Senegal against entering into commerce, whether at the African level or at the European level. This bias has been observed by many Europeans. It may be thought of as a mere attempt to explain away the lack of success or rather a lack of desire and intention to Africanise commerce, but against this view, M. Assane Seck, one of the leaders of the Opposition
[665] *P.R.A.-Sénégal* and a lecturer at the university, who might normally be only too pleased to pin the slow rate of Africanisation of commerce on the Government, has said that one of the chief obstacles to the Africanisation of economy at its higher levels is the preference of the Senegalese élite,
[571] and even the lesser educated classes, for work in the Admini-
[647] tration. Under the French the Administration seems to have enjoyed a very high status especially as rates of pay
[465] have always been considerably higher than in commerce and industry. Commerce, even when it pays better, has among the Senegalese something of the smear it had in ninteenth-century England.

471 Another barrier to the Africanisation of shopkeeping and
[472] small scale private enterprise is the difficulty the Senegalese have in amassing capital. The obligations towards members
[596] of the extended family are such that a man with money has calls made on it from even his most distant relatives. This social parasitism is much stronger in Senegal than in most West African countries. One of the few important Senegalese business men operating in Dakar today has admitted that he had to reduce his family obligations drastically, not only because he was married to a European, but because unless he did so, he would never be able to keep enough capital in his business. Diop Abdoulaye, in his study of the Tou-
[736] couleur, has protested against the use of the term family parasitism for something which 'makes it possible to help those in need, the unemployed, for example, who can then

467 focussing on some of their asserted poli-
668 cies, revealed that the union struggle was regarded as directed essentially against the government. This must be interpreted not only with regard to the general traits of the colonial system but also in relation to the commanding role that the government played in labor. It was first of all the principal employer: in a city
[369] such as Dakar, a little more than a third of the wage-earners were dependent upon it. It was responsible for setting the
• [465] minimum wage, and it has happened that owing to budgetary considerations and general policy it established a lower figure than non-governmental employers might have adopted. Finally, during the period
[466] in question, a central problem was that of enforcing the Code of Overseas Labor, enacted by Parliament in 1952. The civil administration was responsible for its enforcement, and the strikes of 1953 were
[468] designed to bring pressure on the administration so as to obtain a "fair enforcement" of its provisions. In the interviews mentioned above, conflicts with employers were scarcely mentioned as such. Employers were identified with the civil administration; the terms "civil administration" and "colonialism" seemed almost interchangeable. The adversary of the unions being essentially the civil administration — and a "colonial civil administration" — their action inevitably assumed political significance, broadly defined.[49]

467 (2) In the field of union activities
668 the hostility between the European com-
563 ponent and the African component of the urban population showed itself most vividly. This stemmed not merely from the fact that the civil administration and the employers represented the power of the "whites." It was also noteworthy that European workers, employees, and
[468] officials almost invariably formed separate unions, with goals sharply opposed to

[P. 17 B]

467 468 668 563 those of the African unions.[50] The acute crises produced by certain important strikes gave forceful expression to this rift. The African unions, despite their ideological differences, despite the personal rivalries that brought their leaders into opposition, often engaged in combined and coordinated activities. By contrast, the strikes of the African workers and those of the European workers scarcely ever coincided, though the latter might break out as a response to the [465] former in an effort to maintain the hierarchy of salary scales. As demonstrations of African unity against the civil administration and against European [578] controls in general, strikes were the only occasion in which the underlying tension characterizing the city appeared distinctly and in a generalized fashion. It was because they expressed this tension that their impact and the emotional response to them were so important.

467 468 668 (3) This was also the principal cause of their ultimate success. During such conflicts, demands were expressed that were far more extreme than those made by the parties. Thus, in the strikes of 1953, the union press and the union leaders evoked the possibility that African "loyalism" would be suspended and that the bonds between France and the Overseas Territories would be changed; the question of independence was openly and threateningly discussed. Union activities assumed a certain nationalistic coloring that the parties at that time disregarded. Behind every limited demand regarding salaries or the regulation of working conditions lay the fundamental anti-colonial demand; it was this demand that gave weight to the mass demonstrations and that carried the day.[51] It must be further 467 668 noted that during this period major external ideological elements entered the contest, especially through the unions. An important number of their activists had studied techniques of organization,

[P.18A]

/174 cont./

162 the development of agricultural work; there has been none
463 of this. Indeed, the lands are the property of the Lebou of
[427] neighboring villages and the cost of renting is high. Gardening therefore remains the privileged domain of the old villages of the peninsula, Keur-Massar, Thiaroye-sur-Mer, and Cambérène.

2nd. The great majority of the labor force is made up of non-specialized workers: almost 45% manual workers without occupational qualifications.

3rd. The Moors have a special place: two-thirds are merchants who keep shop, and the last third is made up almost exclusively of butchers who have been classed among the "manual workers."

4th. The most interesting feature is the difference which distinguishes the occupational structure of the districts from that of the quarters: in the first, no shop, either Moorish or Wolof, and practically no artisan; in the second, practically one worker out of two has no occupational qualifications, whereas this proportion drops to 12% in the districts; finally, and above all, out of three heads of families in the former, two are officials, whereas there is no more than one official out of ten in the latter.

362 The reason for this recruitment is solely of an economic
463 nature. Almost all the inhabitants of the districts are owners
[427] of their dwellings or will become such after they have made
[426] their payments. Now, these are spread over five years and have been calculated in such a way that the monthly payment does not exceed a quarter of the salary received. For the cheapest dwellings this is equal to a payment of 5,000,
•[465] therefore to a monthly salary of about 20,000. A /175/ guard, houseboy, or a laborer does not earn this sum and is incapable of procuring a dwelling of this type. The dwellings of the districts are thus principally reserved for the officials, and then for the staffs, who have an adequate and
571 an assured salary. We therefore witness here the appearance of this phenomenon of social differentiation observable in many other African countries; it consists of the existence

/9 cont./

795 have a moral obligation to deliver the products of their labor to the marabouts. With a remarkable ardor for clearing, these 244 Murids have improved new lands and have thus made a "groundnut front" 311 progressing toward the east, especially on both sides 795 of the Dakar-Niger railroad. This cultivation, however, presents grave dangers, because the Murids essentially concern themselves with groundnuts at the expense of millet; they use the cleared lands in the average proportion of 60% of the area for groundnuts and only 40% for millet. Crop rotation and fallowing are all too rarely respected, and the lands put under cultivation are all the more unstable since the groundnut front now abuts on the zone of the lateritic cuirasses of the east, ushering in the Sudan.

244 427 [464] [167] [113] The navétanes (4) are the seasonal workers who come

4. Fouquet, J., La traite des arachides dans le pays de Kaolack et ses conséquences économiques, sociales et juridiques /The trade of groundnuts in the region of Kaolack and its economic, social, and legal consequences/. Law thesis, Montpellier, 1951, 262 pp.

from the Sudan in particular and, up to 1958, from the north of Guinea. They cultivate the groundnut for the benefit of [466] the employer, or diatigui, according to the clauses of a verbal contract. The employer furnishes the cleared ground, the [465] seed, lodgings, and food. The navétane prepares the land, sows, weeds, and gathers the harvest. Actually, he devotes scarcely three to four half-days per week in work for the benefit of the diatigui. He utilizes the rest of his time for clearing and cultivating for himself. This labor is very costly for the employer, who is often obliged to borrow at prohibitive rates in order to feed the navétane. Moreover, this system presents grave dangers, because the temporary immigrant, clearing and cultivating land for which he feels no attachment,

/384 cont./

369 in the city at the home of a relative, at the home of a friend
563 or the friend or relative of a friend, or at the home of a resi-
166 dent originally from the same village or merely from the same
162 region -- all of this ultimately makes up the factors that are
464 more decisive than the salary. Because of this, while among the resident non-Africans the number of persons employed amounts to 43 % of the total and 64% of the economically active, among the resident Africans, the proportion of workers is no more than 27% of the total and 42% /385/ of the economically active. If one adds to that the salaries, on the average
369 much higher among the first than among the second, one finds
511 in Dakar some of the contrasts characteristic of West African
563 cities: on the one hand, among the non-Africans, a high standard of living which is often shown in the appearance of their quarters, and, on the other hand, the mass of the African population whose settling in the city is tied neither to a correlative augmentation of the normal opportunities for lodgings nor to a higher living standard in relation to the bush, which gives to the African city, or at least to some of its quarters, an appearance more wretched than that of the villages of the interior.

369 This situation, formerly very clear, put Dakar in the
563 normal category of West African cities, where a white city and
[361] a black city stand in contrast (22), a contrast that was the result

[113] 22. Dresh, J., "Villes d'Afrique occidentale /Cities of West Africa/," Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 1950.

of a de facto segregation imposed, not by law, but by the norms of urbanism and of hygiene, to which it was impossible for the bulk of the natives to subject themselves, and also by the high
[465] price of rent -- the non-Africans being nearly always lodged by their employers. In 1936 Charles Morazé wrote: "Formerly Europeans and natives lived mixed. Innumerable families lived

/386/

102
491
361
363
496

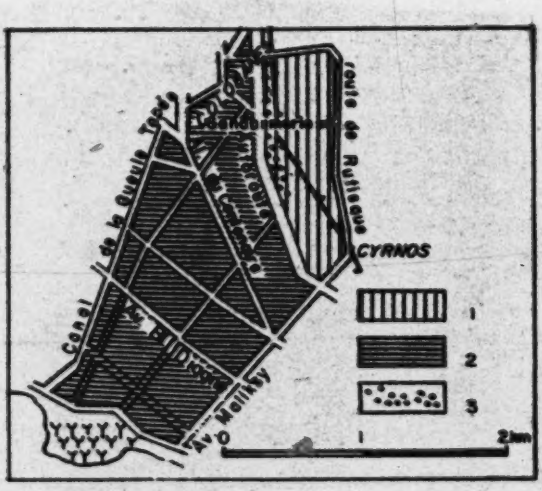


Fig. 4. Médina. -- 1. Industrial zone;
2. quarters more or less urbanized;
3. irregular quarters.

369 which progressively transformed the Dakar agglomeration.
563 There was first the creation of the S. T. A. G. D. (Service temporaire de l'aménagement du Grand-Dakar /Temporary
[361] Office for the Arrangement of Greater Dakar/) for a systematic urbanization of the city. Then there was the decision to promote a policy of lodgings for African officials, while a society for a mixed economy, the Société Immobilière du Cap-Vert (S. I. C. A. P.) /Building Society of Cape Verde/
[362] studied and made up forms for cheap dwellings for mere renting or for rent-sale. At the same time there was the law called "Lamine Gueye," which equalized upward several
[465] elements of the African and non-African wages at the time when "l'africanisation des cadres" /Africanization of the
[647] staffs/ was promoted, which led to a mixture of Africans and Europeans in the administrative lodgings and in the new quarters for officials. Finally, first the staff-law and then autonomy

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

redemption money. During 1936 official figures showed 1,000 labourers working under written contracts for private concerns, while 31,800 were working on verbal agreements. For public services there were only 20 working with written contracts and 8,900 without. These figures apply only to regular employment, and they take no account of casual labour of any kind. 466 [675]

The fertile provinces of Baol and Sine-Saloum annually attract thousands of immigrant labourers from French Sudan to grow ground-nuts. It is estimated that, in some years, as many as 60,000 Sudanese labourers (*navétanes*) cross the border, encouraged by cheap fares on the railways and advances of pay from the Chambers of Commerce. In 1932 these advances amounted to 300,000 francs. On their arrival they do not work for daily hire, but each labourer takes up a plot for the season. The landowner provides the seeds, and also board and lodging for the labourer. In return the labourer works on the owner's plot for two, three, or four days a week. At the close of the season the proprietor takes either one-tenth of the crop or double the quantity of seeds that he supplied, leaving the rest of the crop to the labourer. Most labourers return to their homes at the end of the harvest, but occasionally they stay on till they have accumulated the sum they set out to acquire. 167 464 [441] [654] 477 465 167 464

Agriculture

The first director of agriculture of Senegal may be said to have been Richard, one of the survivors of the *Méduse*. Under him experimental gardens were founded at Richard Toll about 1820. These are still in existence. The present organization of the Department of Agriculture is laid down by an order of 22 January 1932. Working in close contact with local administrative officers, it manages experimental gardens and farm schools, gives information and instruction to farmers, conducts campaigns against agricultural pests, and organizes agricultural shows. The Department has a laboratory at Hann and an experimental station at Bambey. This was opened in 1924 and is devoted principally to the study and improvement of ground-nuts. Besides these institutions the Department owns various smaller stations for study, experiment, and instruction. 647 654

Forestry. The Department of Agriculture had charge of forestry until an order of 10 February 1937 created a separate Forestry Department and divided the colony into four forestry districts (*inspections*), with headquarters at St. Louis, Thiès, Ziguinchor, and Tambacounda respectively.

/104 cont./

743 Medical aid. Medical aid and the struggle against epidemics are assured by the dispensaries set up at Kaolack and Fatick, each directed by a European doctor.

[759] The latter have under their orders native doctors and midwives residing in the chief town or distributed at the medical posts.

[652] The commune of Kaolack also has a municipal dispensary under the direction of a European doctor who is paid out of the funds of the communal budget.

744 Urban hygienic services likewise exist in the principal agglomerations of the circle, especially at Kaolack, Fatick, Foundiougne, Gossas, and Kaffrine.

Anti-variolic vaccination is practiced in even the smallest villages.

III. Economic Development

162 Labor force. The population of the circle is 28,000 natives and 1,300 Europeans and assimilated individuals.

161 The population density is thus 10.8 inhabitants per square kilometer, a proportion higher than the average for the whole of French West Africa, which does not amount to three inhabitants per square kilometer.

464 An employment office operates in the circle.

This does not prevent /Pl. 1 appears here/ /105/ serious difficulties in the recruitment of the labor force. The latter is unstable and inexperienced. Wages are not high at all, 465 especially in the cities.

At the time of the loading of the ships in the port of Kaolack, the wages of the workers sometimes climb to 15 and 20 francs per day. They are set on the average at 12 francs.

In some European operations, as at Latmingué, the agricultural workers have a daily wage of eight francs and in addition receive a ration of rice.

/105 cont./

465 Domestic work is rare and costly. A cook is paid be-
357 tween 200 and 500 francs a month, a houseboy from 100 to 200 francs. These rates are similar to the ones prevailing in Dakar.

463 The native, moreover, is attracted to the cities only
465 by the high wages. Competition does not come into play, as in Europe. There are only rare specialists or artisans. As
[241] for the laborer, most often he prefers to work his field in the countryside or to hire himself out as an agricultural worker for a native employer who will feed him and leave to him a part of the harvest.

In an agricultural region such as Sine-Saloum, the native is primarily a cultivator.

244 Navétanes. Each year at the time of groundnut culti-
166 vation, Sine-Saloum gets many native cultivators coming
167 from the east and south (Sudan, Portuguese Guinea, Casamance, Upper Gambia, and even Guineans from Fouta-Djallon).

These immigrants are called "navétanes," from the word "navet," which means "rainy season," because these foreigners arrive shortly before the first storms and leave as soon as they have sold their harvest.

About 10,000 to 15,000 of them come each year. A
244 local custom called "Lâdyino" governs the relations between the
466 foreigner and his employer.

[465] This is a verbal agreement according to which the employer assures his co-covenanter food and lodgings for the period of the work and in addition loans him a particular field.

/106/ The navétane works for his employer every morning, except Monday and Thursday. The rest of the time is left to him for his personal crops. The navétane gets seeds from his landlord.

His work consists of the preparation of the field (lougan), sowing, and weeding.

After the harvest has been gathered, the landlord stops feeding him.

At the time of his departure, the navétane must reim-
[465] burse his employer for the cost of his food, which is fixed by

/106 cont./

244 contract, depending on the region, between 100 and 120
466 francs.

[465] The European agricultural concessions should draw inspiration from this custom. In order to retain a labor force, it would be proper to assure the native food and lodgings and leave a small field at his disposal, while at the same time allowing him a day or two a week to work for himself.

This formula is applied in Latmingué by the Société des plantations, which exerts all its efforts on the cultivation of manioc.

433 Economic facilities. The economic facilities of the circle include ports, railroads, highways, inland waterways, and a telegraph, telephone, and postal network.

504 Ports. These are river ports where the tide permits ocean-going steamers, not exceeding a certain tonnage, however, to conduct their operations along the wharves or landings built along the steep banks.

The Saloum has two ports of this type: Kaolack and Foundiougne.

The Sine has one port, Niamnioro.

The Miniminian, an affluent of the Gambia, has one port, Saboya.

On the Saloum, between Foundiougne and Kaolack, two more embarkation points are visited: Kamatane, included in the concession of MM. Civrac frères (left bank), and Lyndiane, included in the concession of the Société des Anciens Etablissements Charles Peyrissac et Cie. (right bank).

On all of the other channels or marigots /107/ embarkation and debarkation points -- with wharves -- accessible only to cutters with a tonnage between 25 to 50 tons have been installed. These cutters make the transit and carry their cargo to the big ports of Kaolack, Foundiougne, and Niamnioroh.

Over the past several years, Kaolack has become an important embarkation and debarkation point. It is also the
[496] natural port of the French Sudan because it has the advantage of being linked to this colony by a branch which connects is

/422 cont./ Table XII (cont.)

*511
276

No.	Income	In Proportion to Income				
		Fuel	Illumination	Maintenance	Water	Kola
32	25,000	1.2	0.8	1.0	--	1.3
33	25,000	3.2	0.8	1.0	--	--
34	25,900	1.5	0.4	1.1	--	0.2
35	27,000	2.8	0.2	1.5	--	--
36	34,000	2.0	0.9	1.6	--	--
37	36,000	3.5	0.7	1.1	--	0.1
38	50,000	0.8	0.5	1.4	--	--
39	51,000	1.3	2.5	0.5	1.1	--
40	55,000	3.6	1.2	1.5	--	0.1
41	55,500	2.5	0.5	1.0	--	1.3
42	56,000	1.6	0.5	1.1	--	--
43	81,000	0.4	--	0.6	--	--

/423/

*511 Let us begin with the most obligatory of all, those from which it is most difficult to escape: taxes and the rent of the dwelling (Table XIII).[1]

*511
651
[659]
[602]

Two of our families do not pay taxes. Nearly all of the others devote at least 1% of their income to them. The tax paid would normally be proportional to the number of adults that the restricted family contains. It is quite often lower; one may succeed in escaping the fiscal census. It is sometimes higher: specifically, in three cases where the salaried worker in the city pays the taxes for his relatives who remained in the village.

*511
427
[466]
[423]
[342]

Only 13 families pay rent for the dwelling. Two are given free lodgings by the owner; three are lodged by their employer. The others are "owners." This ownership is often limited to a straw hut, or better a plank hut, constructed on an administrative concession. The most favored build a true house of mud; up to now only one of our family heads has undertaken a "permanent" building.

[1] [see cat 116, pp 62-63. ANALYST]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 that belongs to us, our occupation should be limited to those parts necessary for assuring the suppression of brigandage, the freedom of trade and the tranquillity of an industrious population.

The land cultivated by them will provide produce which will become the object of lucrative trade for the European, the only kind of work he can undertake in this climate.

648 641 [161] [160] [563] By 1865 the colony of Senegal comprised 150,000 inhabitants of whom only some 15,000, living in the original French settlements of St. Louis and Gorée-Dakar, were French citizens. Indeed this number was not to increase noticeably until the end of the century, since the privileges granted to those Africans under French rule in 1848 were never extended to the interior. For whilst Faidherbe pursued a policy of assimilation in the main centres like St. Louis, Gorée and Dakar, he initiated the basis of a system of administration for what was to become the rest of modern Senegal and French black Africa as a whole that was distinctly non-assimilationist. The laws for the *sujets* or those who did not enjoy the rights of French citizens were particularly harsh. [167] They were not allowed to leave the colony, they had no right of meeting or association, and they [466] were subjected to the corvée or forced labour on the maintenance of roads. [653] To obtain this forced labour Faidherbe relied on the chiefs, and indeed one of the main criticisms [631] of him as an exponent of assimilationism is that he leaned so heavily on both the chiefs and Islam. The treaty made by Jauréguiberry (acting-Governor whilst Faidherbe was on leave in 1865) with Abdoul Boubaker of Toro was far removed from the principles of assimilation: 'Art. 2—The Toro will continue to administer itself according to its own laws, traditions and customs.'

The overthrow of the Second Empire and the establishment of the Third Republic in 1870 was to see lukewarm reaffirmation of principles of the revolution and a consequent return to assimilationist principles at least in the [646] political field. In 1871 Senegal regained her deputy. More

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

641 they were made agents of the Administration and responsi-
[631] ble for the enforcement of the corvée when required. The harshness of this authoritarian rule, escaped only by the *evolués* in the other territories, has been vividly described by Geoffrey Gorer in *Africa Dances*, which records a long tour made through French West Africa in the mid-thirties. Even so in 1930 France had signed the Geneva Act for-
[466] bidding forced labour in the colonies; but it was slow to disappear. In 1937 the right to form trade unions, which
[467] hitherto was only granted to Senegalese citizens by a law of 1920, was extended in a restricted form to the *sujets*. That same year a new decree allowed easier conditions for the acquisition of French citizenship by the *sujets*. Out of a population of 1,800,000 in 1936 there were 78,000 citizens compared with some 2,400 in the rest of French West Africa. And in 1939 the *sujets* were granted the right of
[666] electing some of their representatives to the Colonial Council instead of being represented only by nominees of the Administration.

641 This newly acquired right was enjoyed for a very brief
648 period. For in 1940 the authoritarian element in France came to the fore in particularly unhappy circumstances with the fall of France and the establishment of the Vichy Government. Under the Vichy regime, racism manifested itself openly for the first time. This was particularly embittering for the Senegalese élite since they had been much in sympathy with the Popular Front Government which attempted liberal experiments in Algeria and Syria. All Senegalese representative institutions were suppressed. Priority was given to Europeans in rationed goods and in many other spheres. Liberty of association was withdrawn from both races, and whilst European members of the resistance were rarely hanged, Africans themselves rarely escaped the supreme penalty. By contrast in France the future President of Senegal, Léopold Sédar Senghor, was fighting in the French resistance and was later interned in a German concentration camp.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 Council in Senegal but differed little in competence. The
649 only concession made to Senegal and not to the other
[646] territories, and this undoubtedly being influenced by its political history, was the retention of a single college electorate as against the dual colleges prescribed for all other territories. The French penal code was made generally
[671] applicable for Senegal. In January 1946 the three *communes de pleine exercice* (Gorée had by then been incorporated in
[633] Dakar) were given full municipal status as equivalent French towns. Finally and most important, forced labour was
[466] legally abolished; but it survived in covert forms for several years to come. In Senegal, Senghor received the full credit for this measure from his peasant electorate and has been drawing political dividends from it ever since.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

V. AFRICAN REACTION AGAINST ASSIMILATION

I admit that as Negro students in the years 1930–4 we were only an obstruction. I admit that we were racialist; we were intoxicated by the banner of Negritude. At that time no intercourse was possible with Europeans. But since then, because this racialism betrayed our African-Negro humanism, because it led to deadlock by imposing cold war between races and continents, between man and man, we decided upon reflection to make an extra effort. Today we have accomplished this—the results of European decolonisation have contributed to it—we have left behind us the period of denial to embark with you upon the period of construction.

LÉOPOLD SÉDAR SENGHOR

THE 1946 constitution as far as Senegal and the other more advanced territories of French Africa were concerned really fell between two stools. In so far as it was assimilationist, it was not sufficiently so. If France were ever to establish her Franco-African republic it had to be on the basis of the equality implicit in assimilation. And this equality was denied at many turns. In so far as it permitted decentralisation in the form of territorial and federal assemblies, it was to encourage the growth of nationalist and regional politics. In Senegal, where the changes made were of relatively little importance, the failure to put into practice a fully assimilationist policy was to be one of the predominant influences behind the reaction against assimilation that was the distinguishing feature of the next decade of Senegalese politics.

Overseas leaders had been particularly disillusioned with French honesty in the application of the Overseas Labour Code. This code was drawn up at the Brazzaville Conference and promised amongst other things equal pay for equal work,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 a forty hour week, a minimum wage, the development of
641 trade unions and the institution of a labour inspectorate.
466 However the second Constituent Assembly procrastinated in according these economic rights to its overseas citizens and was dissolved before it could bring them into force. It was only in 1952 that the overseas deputies were able to force this measure through.

648 One of the reasons for the break-up of the old *S.F.I.O.*
665 in 1948, which may be taken as symbolic of the reaction against assimilation, was the attitude of the parent party in France to social legislation for the overseas territories. The *S.F.I.O.* had voted against equal pensions for African
[641] and metropolitan French veterans; it had voted against the introduction of the French social security system for the overseas departments, and it had abstained on a motion to abolish the dual college system. But more important was the desire of the newly enfranchised 'bush' peasants for greater participation in the direction of party policy. Hitherto the party, closely linked with the parent body in France, had been tightly ruled by Lamine Guèye from Dakar. At the 1947 Congress of the party a group of members led by Senghor demanded a greater voice in party councils. The people of the bush, so long denied the rights accorded to the privileged of the *Quatre Communes*, once enfranchised showed their resentment against both those who exercised these rights and those who granted them. In the following year Senghor, backed not only by the intellectuals but by the vast majority of the bush, founded the *Bloc Democratique Sénégalais* (*B.D.S.*) declaring that 'Assimilation is an illusion in a world whose people have become aware of their own personality'. He attacked the *S.F.I.O.* for its close ties with France and its failure to take an independent line on African matters. So just as Lamine Guèye has been described as the representative
[668] of the era of assimilation, so Senghor can be dubbed the
648 representative of reaction to this policy.

668 This reaction was at first not part of a concerted

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

433 the Government is trying to do is take out of its hands the
668 control of the basic economy, such as the ground-nut crop,
[491] and to ensure that the maximum benefit accrues to Senegal from overseas investment.

The distinguishing feature of the plan is its reliance not on *investissement humain* on Chinese lines, a method which tends to be favoured by the Guinea and Mali Governments, but on *animation rural*. It is believed that compulsory forced
[466] labour is not satisfactory to the people who are undertaking it, even if it is ostensibly in their own interests, first because it is compulsory, and secondly because it can suffer from excessive planning by the centre, so that the people may be 'investing' their labour in things which in the first place they do not want, and which in the second place fail, as certain agricultural schemes have done in Russia and China, as a result of overcentralised planning.

433 Basically *animation* is what we would call 'community
668 development', but it is to be operated in the context of the general plan for the Senegal, touching on education and
654 medical services as well as economic development. The idea is that people in villages should be asked what they want: a new road; a new dispensary etc. It will then be explained to them that such things have not been achieved up till now through lack of funds but that the Government is prepared to put its services at the disposal of the villagers to build a road or some such if the villagers are prepared to provide labour. The object then is to find out what villag-
[496] ers really want and to stimulate them into wanting them enough to supply labour for them. In any chosen area, then, a member of the Ministry of Planning and Development (Animation Section) will go into the village and enlist the people's co-operation in selecting an intelligent man who is sufficiently respected both by the traditionalists and by the youth to be able to put over these new ideas of community development. He is then sent on an 'animation course' where he is taught improved farming and other methods and is (it is hoped) inspired with the need for

467 focussing on some of their asserted poli-
668 cies, revealed that the union struggle was regarded as directed essentially against the government. This must be interpreted not only with regard to the general traits of the colonial system but also in relation to the commanding role that the government played in labor. It was first of all the principal employer: in a city
[369] such as Dakar, a little more than a third of the wage-earners were dependent upon it. It was responsible for setting the
[465] minimum wage, and it has happened that owing to budgetary considerations and general policy it established a lower figure than non-governmental employers might have adopted. Finally, during the period in question, a central problem was that
[466] of enforcing the Code of Overseas Labor, enacted by Parliament in 1952. The civil administration was responsible for its enforcement, and the strikes of 1953 were
[468] designed to bring pressure on the administration so as to obtain a "fair enforcement" of its provisions. In the interviews mentioned above, conflicts with employers were scarcely mentioned as such. Employers were identified with the civil administration; the terms "civil administration" and "colonialism" seemed almost interchangeable. The adversary of the unions being essentially the civil administration — and a "colonial civil administration" — their action inevitably assumed political significance, broadly defined.[49]

467 (2) In the field of union activities
668 the hostility between the European com-
563 ponent and the African component of the urban population showed itself most vividly. This stemmed not merely from the fact that the civil administration and the employers represented the power of the "whites." It was also noteworthy that European workers, employees, and
[468] officials almost invariably formed separate unions, with goals sharply opposed to

[P. 17 B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[49] This struggle against the civil administration was not confined to local matters. It was affected by events at Paris, both administrative and parliamentary. The use of political precedents seems very clear here. They sometimes brought success, as was the case in the enforcement of the provisions of the Labor Code regarding the hours of work.

[P. 19C]

[466] 668 461

/91 cont./

369 industrial enterprises and in the public function. Even in a
563 professional category a certain hierarchy of a traditional
[182] order survives and is always respected. In the workshops of
[565] the Dakar-Niger, for example, the higher supervisory staffs
are made up of workers belonging to superior castes: free
[466] men, descendants of chiefs' families... Operatives coming
from families of griots or former captives, in spite of their
skill at the work and their training, would have only very
weak authority over their subordinates.

[578] The animosities between individuals belonging to
formerly hostile groups or to opposed religious sects may
sometimes reappear in the course of contacts between in-
dividuals or groups of individuals. Along the same line
[466] of thought, a certain favoritism may creep into the relations
between foreman and subordinates belonging to the same
ethnic category or the same religion.

Within each ethnic minority scattered through the
369 city spontaneous associations spring up, led by the oldest
563 among them. These friendly groups meet periodically. They
573 are at the bottom of the mutual aid to the newcomer, to the
workman who lives temporarily without funds in the escale.
Each of these gatherings is at the same time the occasion for
"folkloristic" celebrations, reminding the members of the
group of their customs and their country of origin.

369 The traditions which have been able to survive by
177 being adapted to the new conditions of the society lose
563 their importance to a certain extent in contact with new
ideas and Western influence. We have already remarked
that the notion of ethnic group is rapidly obliterated when the
individual is transplanted for a long time in a city very far
from his natal village. The family ties, and above all the
[593] authority of the head of the family over each of its members,
become extremely loose in the city. We see a breaking up
of the subordination that subjected each of the members of a
family to the paternal authority. The child is no longer
compelled to adopt the trade of his father; he may choose
the work that he thinks will suit him. The young girl is
[584] rapidly becoming emancipated, and rare are the Thiès

/9 cont./

795 have a moral obligation to deliver the products of their labor to the marabouts. With a remarkable ardor for clearing, these 244 Murids have improved new lands and have thus made a "groundnut front" progressing toward the east, especially on both sides 311 of the Dakar-Niger railroad. This cultivation, however, pre- 795 sents grave dangers, because the Murids essentially concern themselves with groundnuts at the expense of millet; they use the cleared lands in the average proportion of 60% of the area for groundnuts and only 40% for millet. Crop rotation and fallowing are all too rarely respected, and the lands put under cultivation are all the more unstable since the groundnut front now abuts on the zone of the lateritic cuirasses of the east, ushering in the Sudan.

244 The navétanes (4) are the seasonal workers who come
427
[464]
[167]
[113]

4. Fouquet, J., La traite des arachides dans le pays de Kaolack et ses conséquences économiques, sociales et juridiques /The trade of groundnuts in the region of Kaolack and its economic, social, and legal consequences/. Law thesis, Montpellier, 1951, 262 pp.

from the Sudan in particular and, up to 1958, from the north of Guinea. They cultivate the groundnut for the benefit of [466] the employer, or diatigui, according to the clauses of a ver- [465] bal contract. The employer furnishes the cleared ground, the seed, lodgings, and food. The navétane prepares the land, sows, weeds, and gathers the harvest. Actually, he devotes scarcely three to four half-days per week in work for the benefit of the diatigui. He utilizes the rest of his time for clearing and cultivating for himself. This labor is very costly for the employer, who is often obliged to borrow at prohibitive rates in order to feed the navétane. Moreover, this system presents grave dangers, because the temporary immigrant, clearing and cultivating land for which he feels no attachment,

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Courts of Law

692 The Court of Assize sits at Dakar, and the Tribunals of First Instance sit at Dakar, Kaolack, and St. Louis. There is a Magistrate's Court at Ziguinchor, and there are Moslem Courts at Dakar, Rufisque, and St. Louis. In each province and full commune there are the usual native courts, and the Colonial Court of Appeal for Senegal sits at St. Louis. There is a separate one for the District of Dakar.

In addition to the local courts, the West African Court of Appeal and the Supreme Native Court of Appeal are both held at Dakar.

Native Organization

631 177 All the old chiefdoms and kingdoms have now disappeared. On the other hand, owing to their representation on the Colonial Council, chiefs in Senegal to-day exercise greater influence than in other colonies. They are appointed and paid by the Government, and they can usually be relied on to supply an official majority. In 1925 they induced the Government to raise their salaries, which now range from 7,600 francs to 36,500 francs per annum. The chiefs are divided into no less than twelve grades. Most of them have [871] been educated at the École des Fils des Chefs et des Interprêtes at St. Louis.

Land Tenure

423 By 31 December 1937 provisional concessions had been granted over an area of 12 square miles and concessions over 15 square miles. By the same date there had been granted under the immatriculation system 9,630 certificates of title, covering 177 square miles. Under the process of Confirmation of Native Land Rights, 40 certificates had been granted, covering 3½ square miles. These figures are very small for the size and population of the colony.

Labour

466 [646] The Colonial Council is responsible for the fact that forced labour has been redeemable by every person since 1921. This reform did not become universal in the Federation till several years later. In 1930 a resolution of the same council compelled owners of motor vehicles to lend them for work under the same system.

In 1935 there were 408,000 persons on the forced labour rolls, 1,415,000 man-days were worked, and 561,300 francs were paid in

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

redemption money. During 1936 official figures showed 1,000 labourers working under written contracts for private concerns, while 31,800 were working on verbal agreements. For public services there were only 20 working with written contracts and 8,900 without. These figures apply only to regular employment, and they take no account of casual labour of any kind. 466 [675]

The fertile provinces of Baol and Sine-Saloum annually attract thousands of immigrant labourers from French Sudan to grow ground-nuts. It is estimated that, in some years, as many as 60,000 Sudanese labourers (*navétanes*) cross the border, encouraged by cheap fares on the railways and advances of pay from the Chambers of Commerce. In 1932 these advances amounted to 300,000 francs. On their arrival they do not work for daily hire, but each labourer takes up a plot for the season. The landowner provides the seeds, and also board and lodging for the labourer. In return the labourer works on the owner's plot for two, three, or four days a week. At the close of the season the proprietor takes either one-tenth of the crop or double the quantity of seeds that he supplied, leaving the rest of the crop to the labourer. Most labourers return to their homes at the end of the harvest, but occasionally they stay on till they have accumulated the sum they set out to acquire. 167 464 [441] [654] 477 465 167 464

Agriculture

The first director of agriculture of Senegal may be said to have been Richard, one of the survivors of the *Méduse*. Under him experimental gardens were founded at Richard Toll about 1820. These are still in existence. The present organization of the Department of Agriculture is laid down by an order of 22 January 1932. Working in close contact with local administrative officers, it manages experimental gardens and farm schools, gives information and instruction to farmers, conducts campaigns against agricultural pests, and organizes agricultural shows. The Department has a laboratory at Hann and an experimental station at Bambey. This was opened in 1924 and is devoted principally to the study and improvement of ground-nuts. Besides these institutions the Department owns various smaller stations for study, experiment, and instruction. 647 654

Forestry. The Department of Agriculture had charge of forestry until an order of 10 February 1937 created a separate Forestry Department and divided the colony into four forestry districts (*inspections*), with headquarters at St. Louis, Thiès, Ziguinchor, and Tambacounda respectively.

/105 cont./

465 Domestic work is rare and costly. A cook is paid be-
357 tween 200 and 500 francs a month, a houseboy from 100 to 200 francs. These rates are similar to the ones prevailing in Dakar.

463 The native, moreover, is attracted to the cities only
465 by the high wages. Competition does not come into play, as in Europe. There are only rare specialists or artisans. As
[241] for the laborer, most often he prefers to work his field in the countryside or to hire himself out as an agricultural worker for a native employer who will feed him and leave to him a part of the harvest.

In an agricultural region such as Sine-Saloum, the native is primarily a cultivator.

244 Navétanes. Each year at the time of groundnut culti-
166 vation, Sine-Saloum gets many native cultivators coming
167 from the east and south (Sudan, Portuguese Guinea, Casamance, Upper Gambia, and even Guineans from Fouta-Djallon).

These immigrants are called "navétanes," from the word "navet," which means "rainy season," because these foreigners arrive shortly before the first storms and leave as soon as they have sold their harvest.

About 10,000 to 15,000 of them come each year. A
244 local custom called "Lâdyino" governs the relations between the
466 foreigner and his employer.

[465] This is a verbal agreement according to which the employer assures his co-covenanter food and lodgings for the period of the work and in addition loans him a particular field.

/106/ The navétane works for his employer every morning, except Monday and Thursday. The rest of the time is left to him for his personal crops. The navétane gets seeds from his landlord.

His work consists of the preparation of the field (lougan), sowing, and weeding.

After the harvest has been gathered, the landlord stops feeding him.

At the time of his departure, the navétane must reim-
[465] burse his employer for the cost of his food, which is fixed by

/106 cont./

244 contract, depending on the region, between 100 and 120
466 francs.
[465] The European agricultural concessions should draw inspiration from this custom. In order to retain a labor force, it would be proper to assure the native food and lodgings and leave a small field at his disposal, while at the same time allowing him a day or two a week to work for himself.

This formula is applied in Latmingué by the Société des plantations, which exerts all its efforts on the cultivation of manioc.

433 Economic facilities. The economic facilities of the circle include ports, railroads, highways, inland waterways, and a telegraph, telephone, and postal network.

504 Ports. These are river ports where the tide permits ocean-going steamers, not exceeding a certain tonnage, however, to conduct their operations along the wharves or landings built along the steep banks.

The Saloum has two ports of this type: Kaolack and Foundiougne.

The Sine has one port, Niamnioro.

The Miniminian, an affluent of the Gambia, has one port, Saboya.

On the Saloum, between Foundiougne and Kaolack, two more embarkation points are visited: Kamatane, included in the concession of MM. Civrac frères (left bank), and Lyndiane, included in the concession of the Société des Anciens Etablissements Charles Peyrissac et Cie. (right bank).

On all of the other channels or marigots /107/ embarkation and debarkation points -- with wharves -- accessible only to cutters with a tonnage between 25 to 50 tons have been installed. These cutters make the transit and carry their cargo to the big ports of Kaolack, Foundiougne, and Niamnioroh.

Over the past several years, Kaolack has become an important embarkation and debarkation point. It is also the
[496] natural port of the French Sudan because it has the advantage of being linked to this colony by a branch which connects it

/423 cont./

*511 362 427 It would be beyond our purpose to go into the problem of living conditions, since only budgets are in question here and not the standard of living in general. Let us state only that the desire to be the owner of one's home is legitimate if one examines the high cost of rent, and above all the portion of the income that its payment requires: 12% for No. 1, whose income is 5,800 francs (two rooms in a plank hut with a metal roof, where 13 persons are crowded together); 12.6% for No. 2; 14% for No. 16, etc.... The percentages noted after No. 26 are more normal, and the dwellings are more comfortable. But the incomes are from four to ten times higher.

*511 467 We have shown on the same table the percentages calculated for the syndical assessment, the cost of which is the same for everyone in the same syndicate (300 or 350 francs, depending on the syndicate), in order to show the cost, low on the whole, that they represent: one goes down in decreasing order from 0.4%, which is not negligible, to 0.09%, which is significant. No. 43 is a member of the syndicate of doctors, for which the assessment is higher.

*511 After rice, the clothing heading is the most important among many families. Some will be surprised at this, if they are not familiar with the cities of Senegal. Others would be expecting this result.

Table XIV[1] gives us the details for this heading, family by /424/ /Table XIII appears here/ /425/ family. The first verification shown is that the number of families exceeding 10% of the income is larger at the top of the table, where a deficit exists, than at the bottom. Should one conclude from this that they have decided to satisfy their reputed liking for clothing at any price?

The percentages are misleading; it is better for us to give some information on the absolute values.

From No. 1 to No. 10, none of these families devoted more than 10,000 francs to clothing in one year. No. 29 spent

[1] [see cat 116, pp 66-67. ANALYST]

4: Mersadier--62 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

/424/

Table XIII

*511
427
651
467

No.	Occupation	Income	In % in proportion to income: Taxes	Rent	Syndical Assessment
1	Laborer	5,800	--	12	0.4
2	Orderly	6,100	4.0	--	0.4
3	Laborer	6,500	2.0	--	--
4	Laborer	6,700	--	12.6	0.3
5	Orderly	6,745	4.0	--	0.3
6	Mattress-maker	7,000	1.0	--	--
7	Laborer	7,000	1.7	11.4	0.4
8	Orderly	7,410	2.0	--	0.5
9	Baker	7,500	1.1	--	--
10	Cultivator	8,150	1.2	--	--
11	Auxiliary D. N.	8,940	2.6	--	0.2
12	Laborer	9,000	3.4	--	0.2
13	Laborer	9,800	1.7	--	0.2
14	Cultivator	10,000	1.8	--	--
15	Laborer	10,000	3.1	7.5	--
16	Auxiliary	10,675	0.9	14	0.2
17	Auxiliary	10,800	2.1	--	0.2
18	Spec. laborer	11,000	1.1	--	0.2
19	Accountant	11,950	2.0	4.1	0.3
20	Auxiliary	12,000	1.3	--	0.2
21	Clerk	13,000	3.2	--	0.1
22	Auxiliary	14,000	1.3	--	0.1
23	Cultivator	15,000	5.0	--	--
24	Cultivator	15,000	1.6	--	--
25	Auxiliary D. N.	15,630	1.6	--	0.1
26	Employee P. T. T.	15,800	1.7	9.5	0.1
27	Shoemaker	16,200	3.4	--	--
28	Worker D. N.	22,000	4.5	--	0.1
29	Police sargeant	22,000	1.4	1.3	--

/424 cont./ Table XIII (cont.)

*511
427
651
467

No.	Occupation	Income	In % in proportion to income: Taxes	Rent	Syndidal Assessment
30	Weigher	24,000	1.6	--	0.1
31	Carpenter	25,000	1.3	--	0.1
32	Cultivator	25,000	0.7	--	--
33	Chauffeur	25,000	2.5	4	0.1
34	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	1.4	6	0.09
35	Staff employee D.N.	27,000	1.6	3.7	0.09
36	Private accountant	34,000	1.4	--	--
37	Truck-gardener	36,000	1.4	--	--
38	Jeweler	50,000	0.4	4	--
39	Teacher	51,000	1.1	--	--
40	Staffworker D.N.	55,000	1.1	--	0.09
41	Head employee D.N.	55,500	1.4	1.8	--
42	Chief worker	56,000	0.9	--	--
43	Doctor	81,000	3.2	--	0.2

*511 /425 cont./ 9,300 francs; No. 1, 8,000 francs. From No. 11 to No. 23, we exceed 15,000 francs only once (19).

These two groups nearly correspond, on the one hand, to the group of monthly incomes from 5,000 to 10,000 francs and, on the other hand, to the group from 10,000 to 15,000 francs. For the latter, the maximum to be devoted to clothing would thus be equal to a month's income. The figure may seem reasonable, but the proportion is very great for budgets systematically having a deficit. It is true that many do not

[291]
[292]
[796]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

641 they were made agents of the Administration and responsi-
[631] ble for the enforcement of the corvée when required. The harshness of this authoritarian rule, escaped only by the *evolués* in the other territories, has been vividly described by Geoffrey Gorer in *Africa Dances*, which records a long tour made through French West Africa in the mid-thirties. Even so in 1930 France had signed the Geneva Act for-
[466] bidding forced labour in the colonies; but it was slow to disappear. In 1937 the right to form trade unions, which
[467] hitherto was only granted to Senegalese citizens by a law of 1920, was extended in a restricted form to the *sujets*. That same year a new decree allowed easier conditions for the acquisition of French citizenship by the *sujets*. Out of a population of 1,800,000 in 1936 there were 78,000 citizens compared with some 2,400 in the rest of French West Africa. And in 1939 the *sujets* were granted the right of
[666] electing some of their representatives to the Colonial Council instead of being represented only by nominees of the Administration.

641 This newly acquired right was enjoyed for a very brief
648 period. For in 1940 the authoritarian element in France came to the fore in particularly unhappy circumstances with the fall of France and the establishment of the Vichy Government. Under the Vichy regime, racism manifested itself openly for the first time. This was particularly embittering for the Senegalese élite since they had been much in sympathy with the Popular Front Government which attempted liberal experiments in Algeria and Syria. All Senegalese representative institutions were suppressed. Priority was given to Europeans in rationed goods and in many other spheres. Liberty of association was withdrawn from both races, and whilst European members of the resistance were rarely hanged, Africans themselves rarely escaped the supreme penalty. By contrast in France the future President of Senegal, Léopold Sédar Senghor, was fighting in the French resistance and was later interned in a German concentration camp.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

flats and villas are usually beyond the range of the African purse though the difference is being eliminated by the accession of Senegalese, immediately prior to and in particular since independence, to high administrative posts and today there is no real residential separation. Many Europeans live in housing estates built primarily for Africans and not a few live in the Medina or main African quarter. Some trade unions are divided on racial lines between Africans and Europeans, largely because the European workers are skilled technicians and there are even to this day few Africans trained in most of the industrial work done by Europeans.

Nevertheless there are certain cases of bitterness between Africans and Europeans over the question of equal pay for equal work. Though the basic principle is that both groups should be paid the same rate for the same kind of work, the European in many cases gets an expatriation addition of up to two-fifths of his basic salary. This is not true of all classes of work. For instance shop girls in Printania, a local version of Woolworth's, earn the same pay whether white or black though of course the European staff are recruited locally from wives and daughters of Frenchmen working in Dakar. It is surely a healthy sign that Europeans and Africans can work together on equal terms and that Europeans can occupy what in Europe would be considered very humble positions.

One does not detect amongst the French in Senegal any very strong feeling for or against the African. Where any form of racism does manifest itself it is mainly at the level of the artisan worker or the *petit blanc*, a term generally used to describe the poorer white community of small shopkeepers, clerks, mechanics and skilled workers. When the Senegalese are confronted by outbursts of racism from members of this group they are usually inclined to return the abuse in kind, for the Senegalese are naturally an immensely proud people and have very little feeling of racial inferiority. Close contact with a French community

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

live whilst waiting to find work; it permits those who are ill, those incapable of work, and those without resources to be taken care of and not die of hunger.'

Probably the most important barrier to the accumulation of capital has been Senegal's dependence on a one-crop economy of ground-nuts. The method of cultivation of ground-nuts and their comparatively low price per ton have worked against the creation of large scale plantations, for instance of cocoa and coffee, which have supplied individual entrepreneurs in the Western Region of Nigeria, in Ghana and in the Ivory Coast with their capital.

These are all factors to set against a situation which otherwise might be explosive. Africanisation has always been a problem in the Senegal and it has increased as the number of professionally trained Africans has increased. But historically, and even today, it has been most acute in the Administration, employment in which is the goal of most young Senegalese. Thus very often commerce is left with the second best. Even so French commercial houses have done far less comparatively to train up an efficient African subaltern class, let alone a managerial élite, than say a company like the United Africa Company in Nigeria. And whilst Senegal was under French control the Administration did very little indeed to encourage Africanisation of commerce.

The present day Senegalese Government, however, recognises the danger of the present position and its efforts to rectify the situation should not be interpreted as a new form of racism but as an honest attempt to maintain the present excellent racial situation. Though the Government has placed many limitations on the autonomy of the trade unions it could not for long suppress criticism of the present structure of Dakar, particularly as Senegal, like all African countries, is subject to propaganda from every quarter. The truth is that there are far too many Europeans doing jobs that Africans could do. In small tea rooms it is not rare to be served by a French girl, for this tea shop is in

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

goal of return to their tribal home, even Toucouleur, find it more difficult to resist the pressures of their environment, and Dakar has a large number of permanent settlers, who are first and foremost *Dakarois*. 369 563

Many of these have found a common brotherhood above tribe in their trade unions. These, despite various setbacks and restrictions, have been well organised in Senegal. Indeed the 1944 decree restoring liberty of association did much to ensure this, by insisting that trade union officials should have good educational qualifications and that accounts should be scrutinised by the administration. Most of the unions belonged to one of the large French confederations from whom they received considerable help and advice. Since Senegal has until quite recently had over 40 per cent of the organised workers of French West Africa, trade unionism embraced a large number of people of different ethnic groups brought together to seek ends that went far beyond the limited horizons of tribal ambition. 467 563

The influence of the towns extends beyond their limits. Both in the cities, and increasingly in the villages, young men who have come in contact with the new life of Dakar or of the other major towns tend to contract monogamous marriages in the European style. Amongst the Diola, as L. V. Thomas has observed, young men are now building their own houses outside the parental extended home. But probably most important of all in the breakdown of tribal barriers is the increase of economic individualism, the desire to have possessions, and particularly good clothes, all of which run contrary to the traditional social system which leads to the maximum dispersion of a man's gains amongst his relatives. 369 [595] [591] [427]

Only the very strongest survive the effect of the city, in particular a city like Dakar, the most sophisticated, the most European, the city most diametrically opposed to the tribal life of the bush. Indeed among Dakar's inhabitants only the Moors and Toucouleur really withstand the 369 563

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

standing in the modern context does not often completely redeem a traditional inferiority. The latter obviously does not prevent accession to such rank, but it does prevent a man from reaping the full benefit of the prestige which it confers. We shall have to revert to the ambiguity which thus characterizes individual situations, because it is an important aspect of the problem of the modernist elites. The old political organizations have either been destroyed or considerably weakened, though the prestige of the aristocratic families who hold the chefferies or are closely connected with them has not completely disappeared. But an important change has occurred: the power and influence of the traditional political chiefs has to a large extent been transferred to the khalifas of the great Islamic sects;[1] the latter represent today the principal force capable of resisting the modernist elite, and the one with which the latter and the political movements identified with it must to some extent come to terms.[2]

The changes due to the new economic conditions resulting from the colonial period can be discerned at several levels. The rural economy has been radically transformed—progressive abandonment of subsistence farming in favour of a single cash crop throughout a large part of the territory.[3] In contrast with regions where a plantation economy has developed, the average farmer's income has remained extremely low. Consequently, what has elsewhere been termed a 'rural bourgeoisie' has not emerged, and the most favoured economic categories coincide, by and large, with the upper strata of the traditional or semi-traditional type (heads of sects),[4] or with those artificially created on the same model by the colonial administration. Again, the group to which the name 'commercial bourgeoisie' has been given is still too small to have much influence;[5] almost all African traders are small shopkeepers and make no appreciable impact on the affairs of the community as a whole. The most significant changes are found at another level: urbanization and industrialization. Senegal is the most highly urbanized territory of French West Africa; about a quarter of the population live in the big towns and the administrative and trading centres. A very large wage-earning class with a steadily growing nucleus of stable labour has developed.[6] A workers' elite has appeared, and intensive trade union activity in the big towns has brought this class into touch with the educated elite (the administrative bourgeoisie, etc.).

This educated elite deserves special attention; in Senegal more than elsewhere, it represents the dominant element among the modernist elites. The educational policy was definitely conceived and organized at the beginning of the colonial period in the context of a policy and a ideology of assimilation. The educational curriculum introduced in the French establishments in Senegal at the beginning of the nineteenth century was essentially foreign to the tradition and culture of the autochthonous societies. Thus, in a recent paper, the author made much of the point that 'it was not a factor making for integration of the individual in his group, but rather—at any rate in the first historical phase—one making for a break. The adaptation of the curriculum and even of teaching methods

1. Their functions are hereditary.
2. Cf. below, remarks on the political parties of the traditional type.
3. In this case, groundnuts.
4. The economic role of the Mouride brotherhood is particularly important: colonization of new lands, experiments in mechanization, etc.
5. The middle-man trade is practically monopolized by the Lebanese colony; in the town of Dakar alone there are more than 5,000 Lebanese.
6. The region of Dakar alone has more than 30,000 wage earners in the private sector.

6;Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37
450

178 masses, it found in the 'colonial elite' the go-between it needed for the resumption of contact to which it aspired.
571

The activity of this new elite is beginning to be discernible in its political and trade union work, and its basic aspirations can be defined. As has already been said, a Western-type political life was introduced fairly early in one part of Senegal. Political parties were formed; after 1946, their influence extended throughout the territory. In a recent paper[1] we stated that they had become, in the 'four communes', an almost traditional part of the social system. Once they reached the whole of Senegal, they acquired an enormous body of followers, the divisions among whom reflected successively—or simultaneously, according to the district—a number of historical, social, ethnic and family rifts. Thus, the antagonism between the Socialist party and the Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais, which has been a salient factor over recent years, did but reproduce according to time and place, the antagonism between former 'citizens' and former 'subjects', Ouolof and non-Ouolof, Moslems and Catholics, one Moslem sect and another, etc. On the whole, the 'colonial elite' has assumed the leadership of these parties.[2] But recent surveys have shown that, in the urban centres at any rate, membership in a political party might be commoner among the illiterate elements than among the 'educated'. This is a clear indication of the gap between the political parties and the present ambitions of the elites. A strongly held local position or the prestige of certain leaders is the reason why the traditional parties, though ill adapted to the present situation, have succeeded in keeping afloat. However, the waning influence of the Socialist party (the oldest organized party) was the sign after 1950 of the start of a new phase. The young elite from the liberal professions, followed by numerous young members of the 'colonial elite', remained markedly aloof from these movements, which seemed to afford no opportunity for the political action in which they intended to engage. Their sympathies went to a movement of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain type, although they were unable to impose it because of the strong positions held by the traditional parties. Yet some of the more influential members of this young elite finally decided to join the Senegalese party which seemed to have the strongest hold over the popular masses, the Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais.[3] There, they will doubtless play an important role. The point has been reached at which the new elite is seeking to take over the torch from the 'colonial elite', but with political ambitions of a much more radical nature; I shall consider later the ideological aspects of the problem. In the case of the trade unions, the position is slightly different. Their activity,[4] of recent origin, soon acquired deeper significance. The more energetic elements of the 'administrative bourgeoisie', in alliance with the still small working-class elite, embarked in the trade unions on a course of action which was more directly effective than that of the political parties.[5] The climate of thought, directly or indirectly influenced by theories of Marxist origin, favoured the growth of an awareness of the 'colonial situation'. In this respect, however, the new intellectual elite played

[369]
665
178
571
460
178
571
[13]

1. Cf. P. Mercier, *An Experimental Investigation conducted by means of Questionnaires in the town of Dakar*, report presented to the Conference on the Social Impact of Industrialization and Urban Problems, organized by Unesco at Abidjan, 1954.
2. As have, needless to say, certain members of an elite formed from the liberal professions, which had already emerged before the war.
3. In which they represent the 'left' wing.
4. Most of the unions are affiliated to the trade union federations in France.
5. And more resolutely moderate in its outlook.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

only a limited, and very indirect, part. Between this group and the working-class elite certain persisting tensions can be descried; a survey among the younger members—students, young workers—has brought to light more or less radical divergencies. However, the new elite is trying to extend its activity to the trade union sphere. A confederation of African workers independent of the organizations in metropolitan France has recently been founded, in which the young intellectual elite will apparently be extremely influential. This would be the counterpart of its entry into organized political action. In another domain, significant changes are occurring: the 'cultural associations' have a much more important role than their name would imply.[1] These are made up of the intellectual elite (in the widest sense in which I have used this term), which seeks by these means to avoid being relegated to a position of isolation, to acquire greater influence in the education of the people—e.g. through theatrical representations in one of the local languages—and to rediscover the highways of traditional African culture.

It is the new elite that has given expression to this desire for a 'return to the fountain-head'. A reaction, against assimilationist policies has appeared. From the acceptance of assimilation characteristic of he preceding generation opinion turned first to less sharply defined positions—typified by the slogan 'assimilate, don't be assimilated'—and then to attitudes of refusal, the details of which are still not very clear. Such attitudes accompany a lush ideological growth, to which only a very brief reference can be given here. It is not exempt from inconsistency; it is intertwined with growths of very different origin, sometimes hostile to each other. The only point at which all these ideologies concur is that they one and all are the expression of an intense reaction against colonialism—and obviously against the policy of assimilation—and serve as a basis for a growing 'nationalism'.[2] I will mention only the following points: the revival of African cultures and the affirmation of the common elements in a pan-African or, more generally, a Negro culture; the development of a veritable mythology around the notion of 'Negrohood'[3] and of a sort of 'counter-racism', the end-result of which is to shut the door on the outside world—i.e. primarily the Western world; the reinterpretation of history through a reversal of the perspective, a method applied not only to the history of the slave trade and the colonial period, but to the whole history of Africa as well;[4] the forging from Marxist theories of an ideological battering ram, to be used in a specifically African anti-colonial drive. The results of all these efforts make rapid headway throughout the 'educated' classes.[5]

The above picture is unavoidably only an incomplete outline. I have merely sought to bring out the importance of the present transitional phase and its characteristic processes. A new intellectual elite is taking up the torch from the 'colonial elite' which in Senegal had already succeeded in gaining appreciably greater influence than in the other French West African territories; there has been no break between them. And yet tensions and possibilities of conflict exist. Nevertheless, the conscious search for points of contact with

1. The study of political problems is a particularly important part of their activity.
2. In the African context, this term is used very broadly, to cover all anti-colonial movements.
3. The review *Présence Africaine* offers many examples of articles showing the influence of this idea.
4. The recent book by Cheikh Anta Diop, *Nations Nègres et Culture* (Negro nations and culture), Paris, 1955, is a highly significant example of what is being done on these lines.
5. There are still more trends, but they indicate a change of outlook which will probably become deeper with time.

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[P. 3A]
[P.2 contains no textual material]

Political Life in the Urban Centers of Senegal: A Study of a Period of Transition

Senegal and Sudan presently comprise the Mali Federation, which is in the process of achieving sovereignty within the French Community. Senegal itself is one of the most urbanized West African regions, and its cities have been characterized by a gradual growth of modern political life. The author presents some major findings on its urban political activity, based on extensive interviews made in the mid-1950's. The oldest urban elite, almost entirely assimilated into the French way of life, has been only partially successful in developing party organizations that satisfy the interests of the newer urban residents. As a consequence, the most active and radical post-war political activity has been centered in "non-political" bodies, notably labor unions. Also, urban political activity has been increasingly challenged by rural political developments, which have drawn their framework from urban politics. African specialists will note that Senegalese political development has much in common with such development elsewhere in Africa; it also has a number of distinctive features.

The article originally appeared in CAHIERS INTERNATIONAL DE SOCIOLOGIE, XXVII *(July-December, 1959), pp. 55-84, under the title,* "La vie politique dans les centres urbains du Sénégal." *It was translated by T. H. Stevenson.*

369
668
[114
665
467
1511]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 problem of the "old cities" is again relevant. In them, such reactions can remain unorganized or marginal longer in relation to the official forms of political expression. We shall see that this is typical of certain Senegalese cities.

668 Furthermore, some reactions are born and expressed in a much larger framework than that of political life in its strictest sense of party activity. Demands for justice in the colonial situation can be expressed on different planes and in different fields. In South Africa, for example, Africans are largely barred from social and political action, and the chief demands emerge in religious activities.[7] Elsewhere, political life may not be forbidden, but its forms of expression are limited, either openly or in fact—for instance, by means of a judicial system in which people cannot file a case. Thus, the [467] most radical demands are formulated not within the framework of parties — at least, in their official platforms — but in that of unions or other associations. Attitudes, behaviors, and ideologies are formed in such organizations, pending the possibility of full expression at the political level. In the urban centers of Senegal some of the most important popular forces, at least prior to the great transformations that began in 1956, were to be found outside parties.

The Growth of Rural Political Life

369 668 These fundamental demands of the urban population provide models for similar demands that spread from the cities into rural districts. The general preponderance of the cities in political initiative is mentioned above. They are both centers of attraction and centers for the diffusion of foreign influences. An im-

[P.5 B]

668 most vigorous associations, by an investi-
575 gation of the topics discussed by the study groups that they created, and of the content of the discussion.[47] By considering such questions as teaching and the language for teaching, the organization of local communities, economic development, interracial marriages, etc., their study of the political problems resulting from the colonial situation had wide influence.

As for the Youth Council of Senegal,
[369] which comprised the majority of youth associations and was organized primarily in the cities, the orientation of its activity was even clearer. By the nature of its conflicts with the civil administration, by the content of its demands in behalf of youth, by the topics related to the future of youth whose study it was undertaking, it disclosed a "nationalist" potential of some vigor.

It is essential to note the possible role of associations founded on ethnic or territorial bases, in particular those inspired by youths. Centers for contact with territories other than Senegal, they spread
[665] the foreign political influence of the parties predominating within them. This seemed to be the case, for instance, of the grouping of Senegalese youths with relation to the R.D.A. However, these associations were never directly linked with a given partisan organization. The political role that they might temporarily play was very flexible and therefore somewhat indeterminate.

Labor Unions

467 Labor unions should receive especial attention. The union movement in French West Africa is numerically one of the most important, and among the most active, in all of sub-Sahara Africa.
[665] Like the political parties, it took form only in the immediate post-war period.
[P. 16A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

467 In 1954 it had a membership about 100,-
000, or a little less than one-third of all
wage-earners. The unions have reached
[369] their greatest development in Senegal,
especially in the large cities. In 1954
this territory contained more than half
the union members in French West
Africa, more than a third of all Sene-
galese wage-earners. Dakar has a central
role in this field. It is the headquarters
for the largest unions, which were once
affiliated with French federations but
are now autonomous. Dakar also pos-
sesses a very active "Labor Exchange."
By itself it contains more than two-fifths
of the union members in Senegal.

467 To some extent the significance of
668 the unions is more than occupational
and economic. The degree to which they
[667] complete the political machinery of the
[665] city is suggested by a comparison of the
percentages of party memberships with
the percentages of union memberships.
Of 1,200 persons interrogated during the
Dakar survey noted above, about one-
half (52 per cent) stated they were
union members. The potential ambiguity
of such statements was suggested above
in connection with political parties.[48]
However, an analysis of the respondents
by socio-occupational categories gave
meaningful results. The average rate of
union membership was surpassed by
lower-ranking office-workers and govern-
ment employees, higher-ranking office-
workers and government employees, and
professional people; it was equalled by
semi-skilled workers. With the exception
[665] of the first, these are precisely the cate-
gories whose rates of party membership
were lowest. On the other hand, partici-
pation in union activity was distinctly
more important among the categories
comprising the intellectual elements than

[P. 16 B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[47] We acknowledge our indebtedness to the cultural associations for inviting us to participate in their study groups.

[48] Respondents claiming membership in a union often were behind in the payment of their dues, or only heeded the directives of the union without having joined it. Hence the number of union members, so far as it can be estimated from the general survey, is much higher than that given by the unions themselves. The deviations shown for the different categories are more marked than the raw figures of the general survey indicate; the categories with the highest percentages of union members were those in which the exactness of the responses was the greatest, as later samplings emphasized.

[P. 16 C]

668
505
467

467 668 among the semi-skilled workers. The situation was reversed at Thiès, but because of the large Dakar-Niger Railroad [498] shops there, this city is an exceptional case. The traits found at Dakar, by contrast, proved characteristic of unionism in French West Africa. The overall figures, obtained from official sources based on statements by unions, indicated clearly that manual occupations were the least unionized. Out of the 100,000 union members in French West Africa in [647] 1954, more than half were either government officials or government employees. The rate of unionization in the governmental sector was nearly double that in the non-governmental sector. Finally, in the two sectors together, semi-skilled workers comprised only a little more than a fourth of all union members. Furthermore, results of the studies at Dakar and Thiès suggest that union membership and level of schooling corre- [665] late rather closely; this was far from the case with respect to party membership, at least at Dakar. To what degree did unionism offer educated individuals a means of expression that, in the period studied, parties did not offer them? Educated persons, especially youths, were more susceptible to extremist anti-colonial aspirations. And to what degree could union action present itself more clearly as a trial postponement for the existing order than action within the framework of parties?

The particular traits of union struggle markedly demonstrate the fundamental conflicts of the colonial situation. One cannot accurately speak of the "politization" of unions, in the sense many government officials give this term. The [665] limited activities of parties and the very conditions of unionism in a colonial situation have given unionism a marked political coloring.

(1) Interviews of militant unionists,
[p. 17A]

467 668 focussing on some of their asserted policies, revealed that the union struggle was regarded as directed essentially against the government. This must be interpreted not only with regard to the general traits of the colonial system but also in relation to the commanding role that the government played in labor. It was first of all the principal employer: in a city [369] such as Dakar, a little more than a third of the wage-earners were dependent upon it. It was responsible for setting the [465] minimum wage, and it has happened that owing to budgetary considerations and general policy it established a lower figure than non-governmental employers might have adopted. Finally, during the period in question, a central problem was that [466] of enforcing the Code of Overseas Labor, enacted by Parliament in 1952. The civil administration was responsible for its enforcement, and the strikes of 1953 were [468] designed to bring pressure on the administration so as to obtain a "fair enforcement" of its provisions. In the interviews mentioned above, conflicts with employers were scarcely mentioned as such. Employers were identified with the civil administration; the terms "civil administration" and "colonialism" seemed almost interchangeable. The adversary of the unions being essentially the civil administration — and a "colonial civil administration" — their action inevitably assumed political significance, broadly defined.[49]

467 668 563 (2) In the field of union activities the hostility between the European component and the African component of the urban population showed itself most vividly. This stemmed not merely from the fact that the civil administration and the employers represented the power of the "whites." It was also noteworthy that European workers, employees, and [468] officials almost invariably formed separate unions, with goals sharply opposed to

[P. 17 B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[49] This struggle against the civil administration was not confined to local matters. It was affected by events at Paris, both administrative and parliamentary. The use of political precedents seems very clear here. They sometimes brought success, as was the case in the enforcement of the provisions of the Labor Code regarding the hours of work.

[P.1N.C]

46-1
668
[466]

467 468 668 563 those of the African unions.[50] The acute crises produced by certain important strikes gave forceful expression to this rift. The African unions, despite their ideological differences, despite the personal rivalries that brought their leaders into opposition, often engaged in combined and coordinated activities. By contrast, the strikes of the African workers and those of the European workers scarcely ever coincided, though the latter might break out as a response to the [465] former in an effort to maintain the hierarchy of salary scales. As demonstrations of African unity against the civil [578] administration and against European controls in general, strikes were the only occasion in which the underlying tension characterizing the city appeared distinctly and in a generalized fashion. It was because they expressed this tension that their impact and the emotional response to them were so important.

467 468 668 (3) This was also the principal cause of their ultimate success. During such conflicts, demands were expressed that were far more extreme than those made by the parties. Thus, in the strikes of 1953, the union press and the union leaders evoked the possibility that African "loyalism" would be suspended and that the bonds between France and the Overseas Territories would be changed; the question of independence was openly and threateningly discussed. Union activities assumed a certain nationalistic coloring that the parties at that time disregarded. Behind every limited demand regarding salaries or the regulation of working conditions lay the fundamental anti-colonial demand; it was this demand that gave weight to the mass demonstrations and that carried the day.[51] It must be further 467 668 noted that during this period major external ideological elements entered the contest, especially through the unions. An important number of their activists had studied techniques of organization,

[P. 18A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

467 both in France and in other countries.
668 Participation in international congresses put them in contact with the ideological currents of the world. A study of the union press was very revealing in this regard.

[665] To the masses, unions proposed goals that were, in the period under consideration, far different from those of the political parties. Unions were in many ways more systematic and more vigorous. They were much less apt to make [663] differentiations along ethnic, religious, or other lines. The unity of action that they practiced banned their assimilating such hostilities and conflicts, whose meaning was foreign to them. These hostilities yielded before the fundamental hostility brought out by union action. The near-unanimity with which the directives of the union have been followed is very [571] significant. For the elites, on the other hand, unions offered, in an era in which the forms and matrices of customary political expression appeared too narrow, a wider and more adequate field of action. Unionism supplied the most accessible agencies for sharing in power of the modern sort. The intellectual elites furnished [571] the substance of the union framework and played a dominant role on their executive committees.[52] Located at the very center of situations of tension and conflict, they found in union activities the most effective way of asserting modern views and of surmounting the limits barring their advancement in the political and occupational fields.

Developments Since 1956

668 Such were the chief aspects, in a period
369 of transition, of the political life of the large Senegalese urban centers. In the subsequent four years, great changes have occurred. Senegalese political individuality — considerably modified by that of the "old cities" — has remained clear, but it has in great part shifted to

[P. 18 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[50] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Aspects des problemes de stratification sociale," *Cahiers intl. de Soc.* XVIII, 1954.
[51] A scrutiny of union publications in 1953 made this evident.
[52] In a very broad sense; their composition was very heterogeneous and drawn from various strata.

467
468
668
563
[571]

[P.18c]

668 change. The vast increase in the num-
369 ber of Europeans, their greater occupa-
[563] tional diversification, the much stronger reaction to the facts of discrimination, and multiplication of competitive situations — occupational or otherwise — are the most obvious phases of this major phenomenon.[54]

As these factors have come into full operation, a new phase of political life has opened. These are its principal traits:

668 (1) From 1956 on, in unions and in
665 politics, secessions from the original
[467] French bodies — confederations or parties — have multiplied. Previous remarks indicated the development of this process among unions. After some delay it affected the S.F.I.O. itself, which was transformed, not without difficulties, into the African Socialist Movement. The assimilationist tradition declined, or at least was no longer proclaimed openly. After the parties became autonomous, the distinction between direct and indirect forms of political expression began to disappear. Extremist demands of a nationalistic character found expression within the parties, and worked effectively there after 1957 (at the time when the new "organic law" authorized the first Senegalese government).

(2) To a certain degree, the very old Senegalese political tradition once more became a driving force. At the same time the marginal elements, whose existence was particularly marked among in-
[571] tellectuals, entered into real politics, chiefly within the framework of the B.D.S. They comprised the left wing of the new Senegalese Populist Bloc (B.P.S.), which stemmed from the B.D.S., and shared in the creation of the African Convention, which is striving to extend outside Senegal the strictly autonomous orientations of the B.D.S. They tried to organize the B.D.S. as a
[p. 198]

/19 cont./

369x
563
[361]

differences in the daily rhythm are the arguments put forward by those who do not use purely racist arguments.

fact on the differences in economic status.

c) In principle there is no segregation in social life, either; certain public places, however (cafés, bars, etc.), strive directly or indirectly, to secure for themselves a purely European clientele. On the other hand, many clubs and asso- [575] ciations of a recreational nature exclude Africans in fact (it is rarely statutory). The syndicates themselves, although they [467] are not in principle founded on a racial basis, do not effect a mixing of Africans and Europeans, as a result of the diver- [468] gence of interests and claims; the strikes, when they occur, are in practice purely African. Finally, the political parties [665] are for the most part almost exclusively African; the European population as a whole is disinterested in local political activity.

d) Essentially the relations between Africans and Europeans are: relations at the place of work, between colleagues and, much more often, between subordinates and superiors, employees and bosses; relations between masters and domestics at home; common participation in cultural and sportive activities; relations between teachers and pupils or students. Relations of a more personal character(regular relationships, friendships, etc.) are much rarer. Intermarriages -- almost exclusively between African men and European women -- have a particular significance; there are practically none that have been contracted locally.

/20/ e) Here we shall not touch on the area of interracial judgments and attitudes, which must be the subject of more detailed investigations. It will suffice to say that all the observations made permit one to conclude that there is a

/91 cont./

369 177 563 [584] [593] [182] families in which the father imposes on the child the spouse of his choice. The spread of the teaching of the Moslem and Christian religions count for much in this loosening of the too confining ties of family tradition. This breaking up of ancient, too narrow social structures is not a strictly /92/ urban phenomenon; it also occurs in the countryside, but with less force and with a certain delay.

369 565 178 The presence of the industrial bloc of the Dakar-Niger, on the other hand, has had as an effect the formation of a working class, which is a specifically urban phenomenon. Although the ancient system of castes does exist in human contacts, that of social class is little by little being substituted for it. In sum, there actually exists a superposition of the two systems, but the pre-eminence of the second is already being affirmed. Through daily contacts and the rapid [177] diffusion of social ideas coming from the West, the mass of [467] workers is organized, it is grouped by syndicates, it has set up [474] consumer co-operatives. Because of the great number of the members of this worker group, the workshops of the Dakar-Niger and, through repercussion, the city of Thiès itself have become the most active and the busiest centers of French West Africa. The strike that in 1948 paralyzed [468] railroad traffic on the two lines (Dakar-Bamako and Dakar--Saint-Louis) for several months is certainly proof of the influence of a powerful and organized grouping, and a typical urban phenomenon.

369 563 578 Thus there exists in Thiès a somewhat special social climate that sometimes makes the relations between Whites and Blacks strained. Chiefly during these periods of social crises. But these tensions are always temporary and automatically disappear as soon as the conflict is settled.

369 161 A much more important problem that seems general in all of the cities of Black Africa is that of the too rapid, if not excessive, swelling of the urban population. We have [162] seen that the population of Thiès has almost doubled from 1945 (24,000 inhabitants) to 1953 (40,000 inhabitants). Dakar, Conakry, and Abidjan have grown in the same proportions.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal M537
Dakar

Trade

Imports and Exports. Dakar is the outlet for almost the whole of French West Africa north of the forest. In particular it serves the most fertile and prosperous parts of Senegal and French Sudan. The principal export is, of course, ground-nuts, and others are gold, gum, shea butter, kapok, and hides. Imports include manufactured goods of all kinds, coal, oil fuel, wine, sugar, and flour. In 1937 imports totalled 1,298,700 tons to the value of 763,200,000 francs (£6,134,060) and exports 1,284,300 tons to the value of 572,300,000 francs (£4,599,740). This represents some 40 per cent. of the total trade of the Federation. 439 [433] [433]

Manufactures. In or near the town are brickworks, a brewery, candle factories, charcoal furnaces, ice factories, sisal cleaning plants, sack factories, saw-mills, and factories for extracting ground-nut oil. There are also native handicraft workers. West of the town there are two basalt quarries, which are connected to the harbour by a railway line. 438 316

There are several trade unions. 467

Finance. The Port of Dakar has its own budget. In 1938 this balanced at 10,792,486 francs (£66,212). The principal items of revenue were the dues on the loading and discharge of cargo, which brought in 4,150,000 francs, the dues paid by ships, which brought in 1,566,000 francs, and the charges for the use of port equipment, which brought in 1,115,700 francs. The principal items of expenditure were 4,912,166 francs on wages and salaries of employees and 2,551,770 francs on the materials used in the maintenance of the port. 652 [651]

Description of Port

Anchorages. Outside the harbour there is good anchorage in 10 fathoms. Inside depths are greater, and there is space for a large number of vessels. 504

Quays and Wharfs. The main basins of the harbour are divided off from Goree bay and Dakar Roads by the North Jetty. This runs south-eastwards from the shore for nearly 1,200 yards and then turns southwards for its last 550 yards. Here are found the oil berths, and at the end of it is a light. Three moles project from the landward side of the main jetty. Behind No. 5 Mole, the nearest to the land, there is a large open space used for storing dumps of ground-nuts (Vol. I, Plate 84). This end of the harbour is a seaplane base, with a hangar on the shore. On the north-west side there are some [502] [508]

467 focussing on some of their asserted poli-
668 cies, revealed that the union struggle was regarded as directed essentially against the government. This must be interpreted not only with regard to the general traits of the colonial system but also in relation to the commanding role that the government played in labor. It was first of all the principal employer: in a city
[369] such as Dakar, a little more than a third of the wage-earners were dependent upon it. It was responsible for setting the
[465] minimum wage, and it has happened that owing to budgetary considerations and general policy it established a lower figure than non-governmental employers might have adopted. Finally, during the period
[466] in question, a central problem was that of enforcing the Code of Overseas Labor, enacted by Parliament in 1952. The civil administration was responsible for its enforcement, and the strikes of 1953 were
[468] designed to bring pressure on the administration so as to obtain a "fair enforcement" of its provisions. In the interviews mentioned above, conflicts with employers were scarcely mentioned as such. Employers were identified with the civil administration; the terms "civil administration" and "colonialism" seemed almost interchangeable. The adversary of the unions being essentially the civil administration — and a "colonial civil administration" — their action inevitably assumed political significance, broadly defined.[40]

467 (2) In the field of union activities
668 the hostility between the European com-
563 ponent and the African component of the urban population showed itself most vividly. This stemmed not merely from the fact that the civil administration and the employers represented the power of the "whites." It was also noteworthy that European workers, employees, and
[468] officials almost invariably formed separate unions, with goals sharply opposed to

[P. 17 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

467 468 668 563 those of the African unions.[50] The acute crises produced by certain important strikes gave forceful expression to this rift. The African unions, despite their ideological differences, despite the personal rivalries that brought their leaders into opposition, often engaged in combined and coordinated activities. By contrast, the strikes of the African workers and those of the European workers scarcely ever coincided, though the latter might break out as a response to the [465] former in an effort to maintain the hierarchy of salary scales. As demonstrations of African unity against the civil administration and against European [578] controls in general, strikes were the only occasion in which the underlying tension characterizing the city appeared distinctly and in a generalized fashion. It was because they expressed this tension that their impact and the emotional response to them were so important.

467 468 668 (3) This was also the principal cause of their ultimate success. During such conflicts, demands were expressed that were far more extreme than those made by the parties. Thus, in the strikes of 1953, the union press and the union leaders evoked the possibility that African "loyalism" would be suspended and that the bonds between France and the Overseas Territories would be changed; the question of independence was openly and threateningly discussed. Union activities assumed a certain nationalistic coloring that the parties at that time disregarded. Behind every limited demand regarding salaries or the regulation of working conditions lay the fundamental anti-colonial demand; it was this demand that gave weight to the mass demonstrations and that carried the day.[51] It must be further 467 668 noted that during this period major external ideological elements entered the contest, especially through the unions. An important number of their activists had studied techniques of organization,

[P. 18A]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[50] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Aspects des problèmes de stratification sociale," *Cahiers intl. de Soc.* XVIII, 1954.
[51] A scrutiny of union publications in 1953 made this evident.
[52] In a very broad sense; their composition was very heterogeneous and drawn from various strata.

467
468
668
563
[591]

[P.18c]

/19 cont./

369x
563
[361]

differences in the daily rhythm are the arguments put forward by those who do not use purely racist arguments.

fact on the differences in economic status.

c) In principle there is no segregation in social life, either; certain public places, however (cafés, bars, etc.), strive directly or indirectly, to secure for themselves a purely European clientele. On the other hand, many clubs and asso- [575] ciations of a recreational nature exclude Africans in fact (it is rarely statutory). The syndicates themselves, although they [467] are not in principle founded on a racial basis, do not effect a mixing of Africans and Europeans, as a result of the diver- [468] gence of interests and claims; the strikes, when they occur, are in practice purely African. Finally, the political parties [665] are for the most part almost exclusively African; the European population as a whole is disinterested in local political activity.

d) Essentially the relations between Africans and Europeans are: relations at the place of work, between colleagues and, much more often, between subordinates and superiors, employees and bosses; relations between masters and domestics at home; common participation in cultural and sportive activities; relations between teachers and pupils or students. Relations of a more personal character(regular relationships, friendships, etc.) are much rarer. Intermarriages -- almost exclusively between African men and European women -- have a particular significance; there are practically none that have been contracted locally.

/20/ e) Here we shall not touch on the area of interracial judgments and attitudes, which must be the subject of more detailed investigations. It will suffice to say that all the observations made permit one to conclude that there is a

/91 cont./

369 177 563 [584] [593] [182] families in which the father imposes on the child the spouse of his choice. The spread of the teaching of the Moslem and Christian religions count for much in this loosening of the too confining ties of family tradition. This breaking up of ancient, too narrow social structures is not a strictly /92/ urban phenomenon; it also occurs in the countryside, but with less force and with a certain delay.

369 565 178 The presence of the industrial bloc of the Dakar-Niger, on the other hand, has had as an effect the formation of a working class, which is a specifically urban phenomenon. Although the ancient system of castes does exist in human contacts, that of social class is little by little being substituted for it. In sum, there actually exists a superposition of the two systems, but the pre-eminence of the second is already being affirmed. Through daily contacts and the rapid diffusion of social ideas coming from the West, the mass of workers is organized, it is grouped by syndicates, it has set up consumer co-operatives. Because of the great number of the members of this worker group, the workshops of the Dakar-Niger and, through repercussion, the city of Thiès itself have become the most active and the busiest centers of French West Africa. The strike that in 1948 paralyzed railroad traffic on the two lines (Dakar-Bamako and Dakar--Saint-Louis) for several months is certainly proof of the influence of a powerful and organized grouping, and a typical urban phenomenon.

[177] [467] [474] [468]

369 563 578 Thus there exists in Thiès a somewhat special social climate that sometimes makes the relations between Whites and Blacks strained. Chiefly during these periods of social crises. But these tensions are always temporary and automatically disappear as soon as the conflict is settled.

369 161 A much more important problem that seems general in all of the cities of Black Africa is that of the too rapid, if not excessive, swelling of the urban population. We have seen that the population of Thiès has almost doubled from 1945 (24,000 inhabitants) to 1953 (40,000 inhabitants). Dakar, Conakry, and Abidjan have grown in the same proportions.

[162]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

463 has enjoyed a much higher rate of education than was possi-
[563] ble in an Islamic community like Senegal, even taking into account French assimilation policy.

There is a pronounced bias in Senegal against entering into commerce, whether at the African level or at the European level. This bias has been observed by many Europeans. It may be thought of as a mere attempt to explain away the lack of success or rather a lack of desire and intention to Africanise commerce, but against this view, M. Assane Seck, one of the leaders of the Opposition
[665] *P.R.A.-Sénégal* and a lecturer at the university, who might normally be only too pleased to pin the slow rate of Africanisation of commerce on the Government, has said that one of the chief obstacles to the Africanisation of economy at
[571] its higher levels is the preference of the Senegalese élite, and even the lesser educated classes, for work in the Admini-
[647] tration. Under the French the Administration seems to have enjoyed a very high status especially as rates of pay
[465] have always been considerably higher than in commerce and industry. Commerce, even when it pays better, has among the Senegalese something of the smear it had in ninteenth-century England.

• 471 Another barrier to the Africanisation of shopkeeping and
[472] small scale private enterprise is the difficulty the Senegalese have in amassing capital. The obligations towards members
[596] of the extended family are such that a man with money has calls made on it from even his most distant relatives. This social parasitism is much stronger in Senegal than in most West African countries. One of the few important Senegalese business men operating in Dakar today has admitted that he had to reduce his family obligations drastically, not only because he was married to a European, but because unless he did so, he would never be able to keep enough capital in his business. Diop Abdoulaye, in his study of the Tou-
[736] couleur, has protested against the use of the term family parasitism for something which 'makes it possible to help those in need, the unemployed, for example, who can then

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

live whilst waiting to find work; it permits those who are ill, those incapable of work, and those without resources to be taken care of and not die of hunger.' 471 [736]

Probably the most important barrier to the accumulation of capital has been Senegal's dependence on a one-crop economy of ground-nuts. The method of cultivation of ground-nuts and their comparatively low price per ton have worked against the creation of large scale plantations, for instance of cocoa and coffee, which have supplied individual entrepreneurs in the Western Region of Nigeria, in Ghana and in the Ivory Coast with their capital. [433]

These are all factors to set against a situation which otherwise might be explosive. Africanisation has always been a problem in the Senegal and it has increased as the number of professionally trained Africans has increased. But historically, and even today, it has been most acute in the Administration, employment in which is the goal of most young Senegalese. Thus very often commerce is left with the second best. Even so French commercial houses have done far less comparatively to train up an efficient African subaltern class, let alone a managerial élite, than say a company like the United Africa Company in Nigeria. And whilst Senegal was under French control the Administration did very little indeed to encourage Africanisation of commerce. 463 563

The present day Senegalese Government, however, recognises the danger of the present position and its efforts to rectify the situation should not be interpreted as a new form of racism but as an honest attempt to maintain the present excellent racial situation. Though the Government has placed many limitations on the autonomy of the trade unions it could not for long suppress criticism of the present structure of Dakar, particularly as Senegal, like all African countries, is subject to propaganda from every quarter. The truth is that there are far too many Europeans doing jobs that Africans could do. In small tea rooms it is not rare to be served by a French girl, for this tea shop is in [467]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

463 fact a family concern where it is considered more economical
563 to employ the daughter of the family in menial work than a Senegalese. To counter this the Senegalese Government has studiously avoided any open declaration on the undesirability of this situation, but by a series of discriminatory
[651] taxes hopes to make the position of the marginal *petit blanc* untenable. In this way it is hoped that European employment will be reduced by half within the next four years. Thus whilst the European population of Senegal was given
[162] as 46,500 in 1956, about 40,000 in 1960, the Government hopes to have it reduced to about 30,000 by 1965.

[655] One of the ways in which the Government is attempting to overcome the twin problem of European domination of
[471] commerce and the lack of private indigenous capital, is the establishment of state trading companies and co-operatives to compete in the marketing of ground-nuts and other basic Senegalese products. Also in order to reduce Senegal's dependence on expatriate technicians and minor
[874] functionaries it is expanding technical education and spending considerable sums on the training of Africans overseas. In the initial stages this will only remove those Europeans who were doing jobs that can easily be taken over by Senegalese once they have received basic training. There is no reason to suppose that the European Community will diminish by much more than the numbers cited above envisaged by the planners, since the anticipated expansion of the Senegalese economy under the four-year plan should be able to absorb the marginal cases who might otherwise have been forced to return to France. Nor indeed is it the intention of the Senegalese to get rid of the Europeans for the sake of getting rid of them, since the Government still maintains that the two groups can co-exist to their mutual benefit but that it must prevent the seeds of racial tension from germinating.

563 There is of course amongst the young and particularly among students some difference of opinion over this matter.
[208] Not all of them hold such liberal views, particularly

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

school leavers who characterise every West African town from Dakar to Douala, and whose numbers will increase in future under the new plan, since by 1964-65 it is hoped over 50 per cent of children of school age will be at primary school. 433 668 [871]

The whole plan is to cost £135 million, much of the money to be drawn from abroad, and much from private sources. As can be seen from the table below the emphasis is on social improvement rather than the creation of great gesture industries. 433 471 668

	Percentages	
	Of public investments	*Of total investments*
Infrastructure	33·9	18·75
Agriculture	18·0	13·4
Commerce and Industry ..	7·0	44·4
Education	12·2	6·7
Health	5·3	2·9
Housing	7·2	10·9
Administrative	5·5	3·0

It is a socialist plan at heart. The state will be taking over large sectors of the economy. Already the state trading organisation for the marketing of ground-nuts with the aid of local co-operatives has taken over the marketing of over a quarter of the crop from private commerce. But it is doing this in direct competition with them, to ensure that the organisation is commercially viable. Senghor believes 'Where private capitalism comes into peaceful competition with socialism, the latter must, I feel sure, emerge triumphant . . .' [655] [474]

On the other hand Senegal is not trying to discourage private enterprise, for, as can be seen from the above table, it accounts for much of the capital for the plan. Indeed, particularly favourable concessions are made to it. What

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

433 668 [491] the Government is trying to do is take out of its hands the control of the basic economy, such as the ground-nut crop, and to ensure that the maximum benefit accrues to Senegal from overseas investment.

The distinguishing feature of the plan is its reliance not on *investissement humain* on Chinese lines, a method which tends to be favoured by the Guinea and Mali Governments, but on *animation rural*. It is believed that compulsory forced [466] labour is not satisfactory to the people who are undertaking it, even if it is ostensibly in their own interests, first because it is compulsory, and secondly because it can suffer from excessive planning by the centre, so that the people may be 'investing' their labour in things which in the first place they do not want, and which in the second place fail, as certain agricultural schemes have done in Russia and China, as a result of overcentralised planning.

433 668 654 Basically *animation* is what we would call 'community development', but it is to be operated in the context of the general plan for the Senegal, touching on education and medical services as well as economic development. The idea is that people in villages should be asked what they want: a new road; a new dispensary etc. It will then be explained to them that such things have not been achieved up till now through lack of funds but that the Government is prepared to put its services at the disposal of the villagers to build a road or some such if the villagers are prepared to provide labour. The object then is to find out what villag- [496] ers really want and to stimulate them into wanting them enough to supply labour for them. In any chosen area, then, a member of the Ministry of Planning and Development (Animation Section) will go into the village and enlist the people's co-operation in selecting an intelligent man who is sufficiently respected both by the traditionalists and by the youth to be able to put over these new ideas of community development. He is then sent on an 'animation course' where he is taught improved farming and other methods and is (it is hoped) inspired with the need for

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 we plan to build a modern port; and there in the Soudan we hope to develop livestock for export. For that we would need a number of large refrigeration units here in Dakar.'

Thus he continued in detail all over the vast area of French West Africa stretching from St. Louis to the Chad, from the Sahara to the Guinea Coast, with an area of nearly 1,840,000 square miles, and a meagre population of 18 millions. I pointed to Nigeria and Ghana.

'I am afraid we British took the best bits of West Africa. Yet we haven't put nearly as much money into it by comparison. I wonder what Nigeria would be like if you French had got it?'

His eyes looked longingly at the large chunk of red.

471 'That would be something marvellous!' he said. Since the war the French have poured money into West Africa. Private funds have accounted for a lot, but FIDES, the equivalent of our Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, has contributed more than £175,000,000 to these territories, and together with other public funds the total of capital investment (not from private sources) is more than £300,000,000, for a large, but poor and underpopulated territory.

369 This heavy capital investment has created large cities like Dakar, Abidjan and Conakry. The Africans have come into contact not only with urban life, but with industry. In Dakar there has been a minor industrial revolution. In the past six years, largely because of this, the city's population has swollen to nearly 300,000. Africans have flooded into the city seeking work, [62] attracted by tales of its gay life or lured by its glamour and the prospect of easy money.

274 463 I went down to the large brewery in Dakar, to see a modern industry with Africans as employees.

One of the managers there replied to my question, why weren't there any Africans in senior positions in the brewery. 'We have great difficulty in finding Africans to fill our managerial vacancies. You see, though many go to Paris they nearly all want to become lawyers, doctors, and officials. Very few are interested in becoming technicians. We would pay for their studies if we could find suitable candidates—you know, all part of the *Loi Cadre*. We must Africanize!'

'But haven't you found any good enough?'

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

me. Diop, Faye, one of his friends, who was secretary to the local theatre, and I sat round the large bowl eating with spoons. A number of people passed, and one old man came in to watch us.

'That's our Griot,' Diop told me. A Griot is a member of a special caste, to be found in the Jollof and Mandinka tribes, who sings, drums, dances and tells jokes—a sort of family jester.

He started to talk in rapid Jollof and soon Diop and his friend were in hoots of laughter. For his pains the bowl of rice was handed to him, and another man who joined him.

'Who is he?' I asked.

'Another relation. I have to feed him,' Diop replied.

'One of the greatest problems in Dakar,' an official of IFAN had told me, 'is parasitism. A man will come to Dakar and get himself a good job, say at ten pounds a month. He has his immediate family to look after. Then along comes a cousin, and installs himself. An uncle from the bush comes to stay three days, decides he likes Dakar and fails to return to his village. A man like this may find he is supporting between eight and fifteen dependants.'

'I suppose that explains why Dakar's population is much larger than opportunities for work would justify?'

'Yes. It's a great problem, because it prevents any accumulation of capital by Africans. People complain that there is no African bourgeoisie here, that all the trade is in the hands of Lebanese and small Frenchmen. It's largely because an African here cannot, by the laws of hospitality, refuse to give a bed and food to his fellow tribesmen.'

'Of course, in a way that's a good thing, because no one goes hungry, and it's one way of redistributing wealth voluntarily. A sort of voluntary welfare state.'

'Yes, but if the African is to control the economy of his own economy, he must be rid of this scourge.'

In Gorée I met a Frenchman to whom Senegalese soldiers used to come immediately after their discharge from the Army to leave all their new clothes and money, otherwise they would have returned to the town to hear: 'Oh, you are the most wonderful, most bountiful man alive.' After that there would have been little left of their money.

Diop was perhaps a classic example of parasitism. He himself was a borrower, only to have other people borrowing from him.

/76 cont./

369 local products (groundnuts,
441 millet ...) are bought or
563 bartered for.
443

still almost empty quarter of the residence.

Already the economic equilibrium of the city was no
369 longer essentially based on the commerce of trade, subject to
433 price fluctuations, but also on the budding industry which as-
458 sured it a certain stability. It is true that the latter, barely acquired, was put to a harsh test during the world crisis from 1930 to 1934. In the course of this difficult period the price of the groundnut slumped. The old commercial firms which depended solely on the trading were no longer able to meet their payments and liquidate their stock: Société Française du Sénégal, the firms Lacombe, Latrille... The sounder establishments were themselves obliged to close their city branches temporarily, for example, Peyrissac, Maurel Frères. Nevertheless one did not see here a complete slump in commerce with spectacular failures such as occurred in Dakar, but rather commercial liquidations, sales of stocks that were repurchased by Levantines and wholesale companies.

The effects of the crisis, which ended in 1934, re-
[471] sulted in a redistribution of commercial ownership, a re-
[563] adaptation of commerce to the new requirements, along with the definitive establishment of the Levantines.

369 At this date the fusion of the two railroad companies,
498 the Dakar--Saint-Louis and Thiès-Niger, stimulated an ex-
433 pansion of the industrial quarter by regrouping at Thiès the workshops originally installed at Dakar for the Dakar--Saint-Louis railway.

369 On the eve of the Second World War the city reached
the figure of 22,000 inhabitants, 1,200 of them Europeans.
[162] The almost complete disappearance of epidemics, the better
[511] food supply, the construction of comfortable houses (Ballabey
[361] district created as early as 1925 for the railway workers, villas for officers) permit metropolitan families to settle in a permanent fashion. In a parallel manner, the native

/123 cont./

439 Commerce. Commerce has not stopped progressing since the end of the war, for both imports and exports.

Fabrics constitute the principal part of the imports, along with toys and construction materials.

The groundnut is the principal product exported. It is the one that makes up the wealth of the region.

[471] Commerce is for the most part in the hands of French Sociétés /companies/ or individuals, who have established branches in all the important centers. These branches have been multiplying in the past several years and even extend into the small villages which are disposal centers /124/ for the sought-after agricultural product. Today the truck penetrates into the most remote corners. In other words the farmer no longer has to put himself out in order to sell his products. One comes to him to buy his groundnuts at the very place of the harvest. The petty retail trade is in the hands of native [443] traders or Syrian merchants.

Imports. We saw above the figures for the movement of navigation and the tonnage of the goods unloaded in the various ports. The high prices for fabrics that have been reached in the last three or four years have caused a certain drop in business, from which the wholesale trade and the retail trade have suffered.

439 505 Exports. We are giving below the figures for the export of groundnuts. As is known, for Senegal the past two years have been calculated at a tonnage of 483,980 tons in 1926 and 485,608 tons in 1927, with a respective value of 740 million and 616 million.

Out of this total, the share of the ports of the Saloum, going back to 1921, is the following:

/430 cont./

*511 Finally, eight families more or less regularly devote
517 a part of their incomes to the heading "Diversions"; ex-
[541] cluding No. 36 /431/ (he attends the horse races), all go to
[546] the cinema or send their children there. They are the numbers:

No. 16:	1%	No. 36:	1%
No. 22:	3.5%	No. 39:	0.6%
No. 26:	0.9%	No. 40:	0.2%
No. 33:	0.6%	No. 43:	0.6%

[204] There must be added to that five families who read and buy newspapers:

No. 34:	Employee...	0.3%	of the income
No. 36:	Accountant..	0.7%	--
No. 39:	Teacher.....	1.6%	--
No. 41:	Employee...	0.4%	--
No. 43:	Doctor.....	2.5%	--

*511 A final question presents itself. How, when there is
423 any, are the surpluses utilized.

We have been able to get precise data in only two cases: No. 36 built a house to which he devoted in one year, from March 1952 to March 1953, 80,000 francs. On the
[427] other hand, No. 43 has taken in rent-sale a villa in Dakar, and for that he pays 12,300 francs per month.

Moreover, the ambition of many, as we have said, is
[556] to become the owner of their dwelling. Some look further and want some gardens besides. Several already possess one or the other and are only trying to improve or enlarge them. One of them claimed that he had had a well dug, but he was unable or did not want to remember the sums put into this undertaking.

*511 One of the family heads succeeded in starting a trans-
[472] portation business after having purchased two carts and a horse.
[494] Some hoard. We believed that a cultivator had a good-sized
[454] bank account and loaned the money at usurious rates. We have
[426]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 formed as a result of the *loi cadre* reforms, are typical of the
[645] Frenchmen who have identified themselves with the country of their sojourn. Indeed such was the devotion of Peytavin to his party's cause that he was retained as Minister of Finance even after independence and opted for Senegalese nationality, a step that Bonifay found himself unable to take. These were men of high education—Bonifay, a well known lawyer, and Peytavin a veterinary surgeon. There were many others like them, not only applying such principles in the political field, but in the administration and commerce, who helped to dispel from the African what would otherwise have been a dominant impression of an isolationist and sometimes racist French community.

[369] It would be foolish to paint too idealised a picture of
[571] race relations in Dakar. Many Europeans, particularly the *petit blanc*, openly admit to holding the African in contempt. But these are usually Europeans of little economic or political consequence and since independence their opinions have obviously carried negligible weight with the Senegalese.

Furthermore most Europeans in Dakar and the other main towns of Senegal, whatever their prejudices, send their children to local schools, where perforce they mix on terms of equality with Africans. The same is true of
[873] Dakar University which has a large number of French students, the majority of whom are girls whose parents are working in Dakar. Their brothers try if possible to go to French universities. Though friendships tend to be
[572] within the same racial group, there is a considerable number of inter-racial friendships.

563 The main point of conflict would appear to the casual
369 visitor to be the economic domination of private enterprise
463 and the more important subaltern jobs by Europeans.
472 But before analysing any tensions that have arisen from this, it is essential to point to some special features of Senegalese society. In Senegal, by contrast with Nigeria, Ghana and Ivory Coast, there is no entrepreneurial class of

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Africans. Indeed only very small scale trading is in the hands of Africans, otherwise large scale commercial enterprises are run by Europeans, and most of their managerial staff being European. Between these large scale organisations, the whole range of middleman trade is dominated by Lebanese and the so-called *petit blancs*. Small shopkeeping is predominantly in the hands of the Mauritanians, though larger shops particularly in Dakar, are run by Lebanese and Europeans. At first sight this would seem to be an unhealthy situation, and it would be foolish to ignore the inherent dangers in it. But the most ardent critics of this state of affairs are as often as not visiting Africans, not the Senegalese themselves. When a Nigerian shops in Printania or goes to the local bank in Dakar, he is shocked by the number of Frenchwomen employed in jobs he is accustomed to seeing held by Africans in Lagos. But in considering the rather special case of Dakar one must take into account a number of factors that are often overlooked by would-be critics.

Senegal is a territory of only 3,100,000 people and in the normal run of education in French-speaking African states, even taking into account Senegal's special position among them, the percentage of the population available to fill managerial and sub-managerial posts or indeed any 'European-style' job in all sectors of the economy, can hardly match up to the requirements of the most highly industrialised city in West Africa. In addition Dakar has a large international airport and a port that was the third largest in the French Union. It is also the centre of government for Senegal and the terminus of a railway. It is not surprising therefore that Senegal finds it more difficult to find the appropriate number of Africans to fill its senior posts in commerce and industry than Lagos which has a Nigerian population of over 36 million to draw on. Furthermore Lagos is in the centre of an area where missionaries have been active for over a hundred years and consequently

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

463 has enjoyed a much higher rate of education than was possible in an Islamic community like Senegal, even taking into [563] account French assimilation policy.

There is a pronounced bias in Senegal against entering into commerce, whether at the African level or at the European level. This bias has been observed by many Europeans. It may be thought of as a mere attempt to explain away the lack of success or rather a lack of desire and intention to Africanise commerce, but against this view, M. Assane Seck, one of the leaders of the Opposition [665] *P.R.A.-Sénégal* and a lecturer at the university, who might normally be only too pleased to pin the slow rate of Africanisation of commerce on the Government, has said that one of the chief obstacles to the Africanisation of economy at its higher levels is the preference of the Senegalese élite, [571] and even the lesser educated classes, for work in the Administration. [647] Under the French the Administration seems to have enjoyed a very high status especially as rates of pay [465] have always been considerably higher than in commerce and industry. Commerce, even when it pays better, has among the Senegalese something of the smear it had in ninteenth-century England.

471 Another barrier to the Africanisation of shopkeeping and [472] small scale private enterprise is the difficulty the Senegalese have in amassing capital. The obligations towards members [596] of the extended family are such that a man with money has calls made on it from even his most distant relatives. This social parasitism is much stronger in Senegal than in most West African countries. One of the few important Senegalese business men operating in Dakar today has admitted that he had to reduce his family obligations drastically, not only because he was married to a European, but because unless he did so, he would never be able to keep enough capital in his business. Diop Abdoulaye, in his study of the Tou- [736] couleur, has protested against the use of the term family parasitism for something which 'makes it possible to help those in need, the unemployed, for example, who can then

/74 cont./

369 3. The establishment of industries (1923-1945).

498 The event which gave a decisive impulsion to the
[175] commercial escale and which brought Thiès to the rank of a city was without question the establishment of the railroad repair shops in 1923. As early as 1907 the first work had been undertaken to connect Thiès to Bamako directly by rail; difficulties of all kinds and then the war impeded it. In 1923 only the junction of the two sections had been made at Kidira on the Falémé. There was some concern to have the repair shops of the Thiès-Niger established in the center nearest the coast. Thiès, head of the line, was chosen as
[162] the center. In a few years the city grew by 10,000 souls, going from 3,000 inhabitants in 1921 to 13,000 in 1929.

369 The opening of the railroad yards not only brought about
441 the arrival of many workers and their families, but at the same /75/ /Fig. 2 appears here/ time gave a strong impulsion to commerce. The regular injection of credits by this new industry brought about a renewal of commercial activity which showed in the expansion of the firms already established and the creation of new stores. The Africans, who up
[472] to that time worked solely for the profit of firms under
[563] European management and who had been kept out of the retail business, opened small shops for their own profit (4).

[177] 4. It is the military, it seems, who brought back from France this idea of establishing for themselves small grocery stores copied from those encountered in the villages of the mother country.

The latter, appealing to an essentially native clientele, multiplied as soon as the economic scope of the city increased. At the same time the number of artisans increased.

[563] After the war, the Levantines, who had been the only ones able to carry on commerce in complete tranquility for four years, set up businesses for themselves. Their experience

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

433 668 reaching economic development plan. Mamadou Dia has described the plan as the 'décollage' or taking-off point of the country's development. The plan is the expression of the African socialism of which Senghor and Dia have so long dreamed. It has two important points. Relatively little emphasis is placed on industrialisation, and fundamental to the development of the country are [474] 'rural animation' and co-operatives through which the people will be made aware of the great future that could be theirs if only they co-operate in the realisation of this plan. Already 80 per cent of peasant farmers are organised in co-operatives.

Senegal's economy is based today on the export of its ground-nut crop of just under 800,000 tons a year. This has been produced to the detriment of subsistence crops, with the absurd result that Senegal, a basically agricultural country, is importing foodstuffs to the tune of £15 million a year. Furthermore there has been a great disparity in the economic and social development of the towns in com- [369] parison with the bush. Thus whilst Dakar is one of the most modern and prosperous towns in West Africa, the Vallée du Fleuve is abysmally poor and Casamance hitherto neglected. Thus the emphasis is on rural development; the [871] extension of educational facilities to a population only 30 per cent of whose children go to school; then the increase in medical facilities; the supply of water to villages without it; and in particular the opening-up of hitherto neglected regions by improved communications, which includes the [491] tarring of over 1,000 miles of roads and improvement of 600 miles of dirt road. But above all the emphasis is on the increase of home food crops and the widening of the variety of foodstuffs available to the peasants. It is estimated that if the plan works out, then the global index of production, taken as 100 in 1959, will be up to 137 in 1964. New industries such as the phosphate works at Taiba, an oil refinery, chemical factories and textile printing works will provide 10,000 new jobs, and thus absorb some of the unemployed

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

school leavers who characterise every West African town from Dakar to Douala, and whose numbers will increase in future under the new plan, since by 1964-65 it is hoped over 50 per cent of children of school age will be at primary school.

The whole plan is to cost £135 million, much of the money to be drawn from abroad, and much from private sources. As can be seen from the table below the emphasis is on social improvement rather than the creation of great gesture industries.

	Percentages	
	Of public investments	*Of total investments*
Infrastructure	33·9	18·75
Agriculture	18·0	13·4
Commerce and Industry ..	7·0	44·4
Education	12·2	6·7
Health	5·3	2·9
Housing	7·2	10·9
Administrative	5·5	3·0

It is a socialist plan at heart. The state will be taking over large sectors of the economy. Already the state trading organisation for the marketing of ground-nuts with the aid of local co-operatives has taken over the marketing of over a quarter of the crop from private commerce. But it is doing this in direct competition with them, to ensure that the organisation is commercially viable. Senghor believes 'Where private capitalism comes into peaceful competition with socialism, the latter must, I feel sure, emerge triumphant . . .'

On the other hand Senegal is not trying to discourage private enterprise, for, as can be seen from the above table, it accounts for much of the capital for the plan. Indeed, particularly favourable concessions are made to it. What

/91 cont./

369 177 563 [584] [593] [182] families in which the father imposes on the child the spouse of his choice. The spread of the teaching of the Moslem and Christian religions count for much in this loosening of the too confining ties of family tradition. This breaking up of ancient, too narrow social structures is not a strictly /92/ urban phenomenon; it also occurs in the countryside, but with less force and with a certain delay.

369 565 178 The presence of the industrial bloc of the Dakar-Niger, on the other hand, has had as an effect the formation of a working class, which is a specifically urban phenomenon. Although the ancient system of castes does exist in human contacts, that of social class is little by little being substituted for it. In sum, there actually exists a superposition of the two systems, but the pre-eminence of the second is already being affirmed. Through daily contacts and the rapid diffusion of social ideas coming from the West, the mass of workers is organized, it is grouped by syndicates, it has set up consumer co-operatives. Because of the great number of the members of this worker group, the workshops of the Dakar-Niger and, through repercussion, the city of Thiès itself have become the most active and the busiest centers of French West Africa. The strike that in 1948 paralyzed railroad traffic on the two lines (Dakar-Bamako and Dakar--Saint-Louis) for several months is certainly proof of the influence of a powerful and organized grouping, and a typical urban phenomenon.

[177] [467] [474] [468]

369 563 578 Thus there exists in Thiès a somewhat special social climate that sometimes makes the relations between Whites and Blacks strained. Chiefly during these periods of social crises. But these tensions are always temporary and automatically disappear as soon as the conflict is settled.

369 161 A much more important problem that seems general in all of the cities of Black Africa is that of the too rapid, if not excessive, swelling of the urban population. We have seen that the population of Thiès has almost doubled from 1945 (24,000 inhabitants) to 1953 (40,000 inhabitants). Dakar, Conakry, and Abidjan have grown in the same proportions.

[162]

/16 cont./

438 their establishments the manufactured products that the firm
442 delivers to them. They are most often linked with the pro-
[443] ducers by the system of loans that they authorize in cash and
[452] especially in kind during the difficult period of low supplies before the harvest.

The African "sub-traders" most often play the role of
[441] intermediary between the producers and the traders; they very often are transporters and guide the seller to the weighing-machine of a friend.

Since the last war this system has been greatly perturbed by the appearance of new purchasers who more and more compete with the traditional commerce. The local oil-makers
[758] scarcely ever appeal to the large firms. They do business with the traders of the escales, or, more often, they have their
438 own buyers. Since 1952 some pilot co-operatives have made
442 the collection in many escales at little expense; they utilize
474 the personnel and equipment of the S.M.D.R. Moreover, the
656 law of 13 January 1960, creating an "Office de commercialisation agricole" (O.C.A.), has assigned to this body the responsibility of selling the products collected by the co-operatives (Art. 6) and has granted it license to create purchase points for the direct collection of local agricultural products in the sectors where there are as yet no co-operatives (Art. 7). The decree of 20 May 1960, which more precisely relates to the marketing of groundnuts, grants purchasing permits only to organismes stockeurs (O.S.) /storage bodies/, private or co-operative, properly approved by the decision of a Comité régional d'agrément /Regional Committee of Approval/, and to the purchasing posts of the O.C.A. One might ask if these decisions do not constitute a step toward the creation of an "Office de l'arachide" /Office for Groundnuts/, which would have exclusivity of the trade and could normalize a "circuit of groundnuts," now very complex. /Pl. I and II appear here on unnumbered pages./

[The Lebano-Syrian traders --Analyst]

/17/

438 2. The "circuit" of groundnuts. The purchase of the
442 groundnuts in the escale and storing them in the secco of the trader constitute only one step in the complicated circuit that the groundnuts take from the place of production to the port of exportation or to the oil-factories.

492 1) The means of transport. From the place of production
438 to the escale, the groundnuts essentially utilize the traditional modes of transport, donkeys throughout the country and camels
[656] in the north. The decree of 4 September 1935 has forbidden the use of trucks. Its aims were to avoid bulky hauls, purchases at
[231] a low price at the place of production, and, above all, to encourage local animal-husbandry. This system, however, carries with it grave defects. Most often transport on the back of a donkey is more expensive for the producer than transport by truck because the camel-drivers and donkey-drivers impose their own price on the peasants who do not have animals. Moreover, the transporter guides the seller to a trader whom the seller did not choose. Today, however, more and more derogations are permitted, because in the south, where the groundnut is progressing, the tsetse interdicts animal husbandry, and in the other regions the overworked animals are incapable of doing the transporting at the end of trade. Finally, certain
[874] co-operatives which pretend "to collect" and not to buy do send trucks to the places of production.

494 From the secco of the trader to the port nearby or to the
438 railroad station, transport is handled by trucks. It is essentially the commercial firms, the traders, or the local oil-makers who use them. There are few professional transporters because the traffic is essentially seasonal. The generally bad
[491] condition of the unpaved roads, except for the "Transgambienne" from Dakar to Ziguinchor, causes a rapid wearing-out of equipment, whose amortization is a heavy burden on the budget of the merchants.

497 The Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad and especially the Dakar-
438 Niger transport more than 200,000 metric tons of groundnuts

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 21--ANALYST]

/117 cont./

244 are much less suitable for this crop because of their composition which gives a certain acidity to the nuts, thus rendering
433 them less suitable for industrial use in /118/ the production
[134] of fine oils. There have been attempts to correct this defect
[242] and to improve the quality of Bas-Saloum by means of seed selection and by the continued addition of seed from Sine; this has not yet been successful.

Fallow lands, however, are not lacking in the other regions of the circle.

There are 230,000 hectares planted in groundnuts. This figure represents 0.85 hectares per inhabitant. This is about 1/11 of the total area of the circle.

In 1914 this crop extended over 70,000 hectares. It has thus tripled.

The production, which was 75,000 tons in 1918, is about 140,000 tons today. It has doubled in 10 years. It amounts to almost a third of the harvest of Senegal.

One can determine the production of groundnuts in the circle since 1921 by the following figures (in tons):

Years	1921	1922	1923	1924
Tons	80,000	90,000	110,000	125,000
Years	1925	1926	1927	
Tons	135,000	145,000	140,000	

[167] These results are due in part to the increase in the
[242] population by the influx of foreign workers into the circle, who came to settle there or who hire themselves out, and in part to the selection of seeds and their distribution in ever increasing quantities.

[654] The credit for this work is to be given to the administra-
[441] tion, the Société de Prevoyance /Welfare Society/, and the
[474] Chambre de Commerce of Kaolack, whose combined efforts have made it possible to achieve such a fine result.

/119 cont./
483 production of about 14,000 tons, which are entirely con-
[243] sumed on the spot.

[244] Manioc. Manioc is the crop grown in some plantings
[474] around the villages. The native Société de Prevoyance distributed many cuttings in most of the cantons in 1925.

About 5,000 hectares are planted to manioc, with a production of 25,000 tons of fresh manioc.

[243] /120/ Maize. Maize is not planted everywhere. It is cultivated in Bas-Saloum and in Sine, a little in Saloum. There are 2,000 hectares of maize and 2,000 tons of production.

[244] Beans (niébés). The bean called "niébé" is planted on about 15,000 hectares, yielding a harvest of 7,000 tons.

Production, however, remains stationary, because the plant is attacked by various insects (weevils).

[245] Bananas. Two banana plantations, established by the
[654] administration, exist at Sangako and Bani in Bas-Saloum. They could be multiplied in this region.

[249] Sugar cane. This product is not cultivated very much -- the soil is not suitable -- with rare exceptions.

[248] Cotton. Native cotton is cultivated only in small stretches. This crop takes up 700 hectares of land.

[249] Indigo. The region that is the principal producer of indigo is Bas-Saloum. This crop has tended to increase for the past several years.

[314] Kapok. The kapok tree lives in the wild state. There are some in the cantons along the railroad (N'Gahaye-Gossas), but especially to the south, starting at Kaffrine and above all in Koungheul. The native does not harvest it or harvests it poorly. The circle could yield 100 tons of kapok, but it provides only 20 tons at the most, used locally or sold abroad.

/126 cont./

874 young people are inclined to seek our courses which prepare
461 them for officialdom. The elite wishes to be instructed doctorally. It disdains manual trades. It is this state of mind that must be changed. Craftmanship is dying out. The governor of Senegal, under the over-all supervision of the governor-general, has understood this. The vocational courses in the capital of the colony, Saint-Louis, have been revised and improved. Agricultural schools have been established. More must be done. It is necessary to add a vocational workshop to each regional school and even to some of the primary schools. The child should become familiar -- before leaving school -- with the handling of the hammer, the chisel, and the plane; he should know how to use a shovel, spade, and rake. All of these skills should be lifted up out of disrepute, which has no reason for existing. Manual work must be put on an equal footing with intellectual work. We need good workers even more than good writers.

/127/ It is the duty of the administration to prepare the younger generation for the task that awaits them.

654 Agricultural mutuality. The Société de Prevoyance.
474 Within this order of ideas, and in order to develop a spirit
244 of mutuality and a sense of foresight among the natives, the administration has created, like Algeria, native welfare and mutual loan societies. A society of this type has been operating in Sine-Saloum for many years. Its founding goes back to 1907. Its beginnings were modest. At first it brought together 718 cultivators. By 1910, the number of members of the society reached the figure of 1,567. This was still very few. The idea had borne fruit, however. The administration soon brought in the majority and then the totality of the cultivators.

[652] In July 1907, at its founding, the governor of Senegal put at the disposal of the administrator of the circle the sum of 20,000 francs in order to promote this effort for mutuality.

Thanks to this advance, 99,700 kilograms of groundnut seed was loaned to the 718 first adherents, who returned them in kind after the harvest with an interest of 30%.

/127 cont./

654 From 1907 to 1910, storehouses were built to shelter the seeds. In 1910, these storehouses were multiplied in order
● 474 to be more within the reach of the borrowers. On December 6,
244 1910, a decree of the governor of Senegal approved the
[251] definitive statutes of this society. The latter, on the basis of the experience of several years, have just been supplemented and revised.

The society of Sine-Saloum has 19 sections distributed throughout the circle.

As early as 1911 it had 160,000 members, and its cash on hand amounted to 139,499 francs. Its storehouse stock was 317 tons of selected seed.

Today, the society has property valued at more than 1 million. It has an annual income and expenditure budget of 5 million, including the value of the seeds which it keeps /128/ in its storehouses for the loans that it grants to its members for reimbursement in kind.

Since it demands an interest of 20%, it very rapidly increases its stock of seed. Thus, in 1928 it was holding more than 5,000 tons of seed. By 1929, it will have 7,000 tons. This is the precious guarantee for a fruitful harvest.

[242] Because all of this seed is carefully selected by the native chiefs under the control of the administrator, with methodical rigor. Although some chiefs are less strict in the selection, the majority understand their role. In the cantons of Diokoul Gandiaye, Kahone, Birkelane, and in those of Sine, Sokone, Sanghako, Koungheul, and Kaffrine, the seeds are sorted one by one, and only the shells with two nuts are accepted.

The cultivator quickly yields to these requirements, because he has recognized the necessity for them.

These loans are made in the month of June, before sowing time. They are repayable in kind in the month of December, after the harvest, with an interest of 20%, the said interest likewise payable in kind.

No defaults have been reported. The loans are for two hectoliters per cultivator.

/128 cont./

654 In order to enjoy these advantages the society member
474 pays an assessment of one franc per year.

244 He can also request and obtain loans of food, rice, or
[731] millet, if he is justified by a case of great necessity: scarcity as a result of an unfortunate or calamitous event.

[426] Finally, since last year, he has been able to obtain loans in money on the condition of certain guarantees. These loans are granted for cultivation, and also for the improvement of his agricultural equipment, or for starting or enlarging his herd. These loans may amount to as much as 5,000 francs and are to be paid back within several years.

654 In 1927, the members numbered 240,000.

474 The society has 30 storehouses, more than half of which
[251] are built out of permanent materials: laterite stones or cement.

[343] /129/ It has utilized its resources to make wells out of
[312] reinforced concrete in order to procure for the inhabitants the potable water necessary for their needs and for the needs of their animals.

It gives bonuses to the cultivators who exhibit the best harvests. It also awards bonuses for the capture of animals harmful to agriculture.

The work accomplished is remarkable.

[244] The increase in the production of groundnuts in the circle is due to the Société de Prévoyance, under the control of the administration.

In it, commerce has a valuable organization whose usefulness it recognizes and whose incontestable and uncontested services it moreover appreciates.

312 The water problem. Wells. The serious question of water presents itself in the circle as it does everywhere in Senegal. The economic life of the region depends on the water supply of its inhabitants.

In order to prevent the danger of a water shortage, it has been necessary to dig wells. The séanes, natural reservoirs or pockets dug by man, were too small in number. They received rain water, but their volume was limited, and a few weeks sufficed to empty them after the last rainfall.

/129 cont./

312 The native digs wells. But potable water is sometimes reached at great depths. As a result, the wells that are not shored up collapse, or, even if shored up with wooden boards, landslides are produced. The wells are choked up, and it is necessary to do the work over again.

312 653 In 1904, Captain Friry of the Engineers was put in charge of the study of this problem. This officer made numerous soundings, dug experimental wells, and adopted a system of reinforced concrete tubes built gradually as the hole was deepened, which assured both great safety and great rapidity in the work. A movable shaft, with a diameter slightly smaller than that of the well, makes it possible to isolate, in the layer of aquiferous sand, a volume of water sufficient for drawing.

/130/ Captain Friry dug a certain number of them. He trained well-digging teams. They consisted of European and native personnel. The undertaking was tediously long, because it was sometimes a matter of going 70 to 80 meters deep. At times it was necessary in the end to go through a very thick layer of white and compact clay before reaching the water; it is true that the water rose very high in the well, but the work had to be abandoned in several places, the work becoming impossible at a depth of about 80 meters due to the lack of ventilation equipment. There was also the disagreeable surprise of coming upon a pocket of salt water.

In order to avoid these inconveniences, the natives were urged to dig wells without masonry wherever they could, and a promise was made to them that a reinforced concrete well would be built for them next to their own well whenever they found a good supply of water at an acceptable depth.

This promise, made in 1905, was not kept.

[474] [654] Fortunately, the Société de Prévoyance, created two years later, was able to include in its program as early as 1910-1911 the construction of reinforced concrete wells by the Friry system. A public works supervisor, M. Denis, who had worked under the direction of Captain Friry, was hired for this task under the direction of the administrator.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

433 668 [491] the Government is trying to do is take out of its hands the control of the basic economy, such as the ground-nut crop, and to ensure that the maximum benefit accrues to Senegal from overseas investment.

The distinguishing feature of the plan is its reliance not on *investissement humain* on Chinese lines, a method which tends to be favoured by the Guinea and Mali Governments, but on *animation rural*. It is believed that compulsory forced [466] labour is not satisfactory to the people who are undertaking it, even if it is ostensibly in their own interests, first because it is compulsory, and secondly because it can suffer from excessive planning by the centre, so that the people may be 'investing' their labour in things which in the first place they do not want, and which in the second place fail, as certain agricultural schemes have done in Russia and China, as a result of overcentralised planning.

433 668 654 Basically *animation* is what we would call 'community development', but it is to be operated in the context of the general plan for the Senegal, touching on education and medical services as well as economic development. The idea is that people in villages should be asked what they want: a new road; a new dispensary etc. It will then be explained to them that such things have not been achieved up till now through lack of funds but that the Government is prepared to put its services at the disposal of the villagers to build a road or some such if the villagers are prepared to provide labour. The object then is to find out what villag- [476] ers really want and to stimulate them into wanting them enough to supply labour for them. In any chosen area, then, a member of the Ministry of Planning and Development (Animation Section) will go into the village and enlist the people's co-operation in selecting an intelligent man who is sufficiently respected both by the traditionalists and by the youth to be able to put over these new ideas of community development. He is then sent on an 'animation course' where he is taught improved farming and other methods and is (it is hoped) inspired with the need for

/26 cont./

intermediate character of this category, very mixed concerning the level of studies, way of life, etc., is found again in various domains. 369x 565

C. -- The old familial institutions do not always adapt themselves easily to the environment of the new life into which they are transplanted. They were linked with a collective work organization, all the members of the group being assured of enjoying (under the authority of the family head) the revenue of the latter. The notion of individual work, with individual remuneration, has not been introduced without shock. We shall set aside the categories where the work has remained in the family framework despite the necessary transpositions: farmers and fishermen on the one hand, merchants on the other. In the others, the vigor preserved by the traditional familial institutions is sometimes a curb on the raising of the living standard of urbanized elements. There is the problem, commonly called "familial parasitism," which poses itself in all of the African towns; the obligation to come to the aid of all the members of the kinship group is still strongly felt. We shall not proceed here to a detailed examination of the data gathered on the number of salaried persons, and persons practicing a non-salaried occupation, in relation to the total number of adults in the household. But it is necessary to give a survey of them. 369x 59 [476] [461] [602]

1. When questioned about the reasons for their coming to town, less than 10% of those questioned say that they came to rejoin relatives. But subsequent interviews have permitted it to be confirmed that among those persons who had come, according to their statements, to look for work (58%), there were many who would not have been able to subsist except by joining, upon their arrival, a group of relatives already settled. The process has already been described several times, and we shall not return to it (1). 369x 602 166

1. Cf., for example, G. Balandier, op. cit., one of the latest accounts to date.

S /89 cont./

369 not left Africa for 30 or 40 years. Others, more favored by
563 business, take a trip each year to France or western Asia.
573 Generally, the children pursue their studies in their parents'
[484] land of origin and speak French and English fluently. This
[191] new generation of Levantines, to whom one must add a few
[529] Moroccans, is becoming integrated little by little in the
[578] metropolitan milieu through the medium of sports associa-
[477] tions and hunting parties. These amicable relations will perhaps favor to a certain degree a closer relationship between these groups which are so often antagonistic on the commercial level.

/90/

2. The Africans.

S According to the census statistics gathered in 1953, the
369 ethnic composition of the city was the following: out of an
563 African population of 36,050 inhabitants, the Wolof appeared
162 as the most numerous and, with 23,624 individuals, made
W up 65.5% of the population; the Toucouleur, numbering
[162] 3,356, represent 9.3% of the total; the Bambara (Sudanese,
[369] rather) attained third place and accounted for 6.8% of the population with 2,447 individuals; the Sérère, although settled in the vicinity of Thiès, included only 1,856 persons, namely, 5.1% of the total. The Peul and the Moors, respectively 1,074 and 843 individuals, made up 3% and 2.4% of the total. The Sarakolé and the various other groups, represented, respectively, by 650 and 2,190 members, formed 1.8% and 6.1% of the population.

W These details speak eloquently of the ethnic hetero-
[162] geneity of the Thiès population. Still, it should be empha-
[369] sized that the number of true Wolof is certainly less than the
[563] statistical figure given; after a stay of some ten years spent in Thiès, the Khassonké or the Sarakolé, who will have lost almost all contact with his country of origin, who will have married a woman not of his race, who will have adopted the language, the food, the corresponding Wolof name, will speak of himself as belonging to this group.

/79 cont./

361 mahoganies planted at the end of the last century. The very close presence of the station, and the continual coming and going of locomotives, with strident cries that rend the air, destroys the harmony of these quiet spots of small provincial cities, while attempts are made to recreate them.

361 Even more peaceful air is breathed in the Catholic
346 Mission, located to the north of the old "escale." The buildings were constructed at the end of the last century in red laterite, storied buildings /80/ with monastery arcades. They are situated in the middle of a huge garden, always green, extended by a park of magnificent trees. The whole reminds one to some extent of the peaceful site of some metropolitan abbey.

361 The two business quarters (Old Escale and Residence)
563 present the peculiarity of becoming, according to the time of day, the domain of the European in the evening (at the hour
443 for the apéritif) and on Sundays, and that of the African during the day (while the market is open). A place of contact between the Black and the White, this market occupies a very important place in the life of the African city and merits pausing there a bit.

443 It is on the day of the opening of the groundnut trade (at
[438] the beginning of December, for example) that it is proper to visit it. On coming from the station one plunges suddenly into the animation, the dust, the heat, the "sticky" odors of the market. The place is swarming with people where
443 the most diverse means of locomotion are squeezed and
494 mingled together: a small cinder-gray donkey, heavily laden, deciding to block the passage of an automobile, despite the beating by its master; a small, light cart with two rubber wheels serving as a taxi and in quest of a possible passenger; a housewife from the neighboring village, her last-born hanging on her back, and who keeps on her head,
[482] in marvelous balance, a calabash full of market produce; a cyclist, poorly balanced on his machine, now and again running into a pedestrian or a vehicle; a truck with impressive loads, which slowly pushes from the road the human

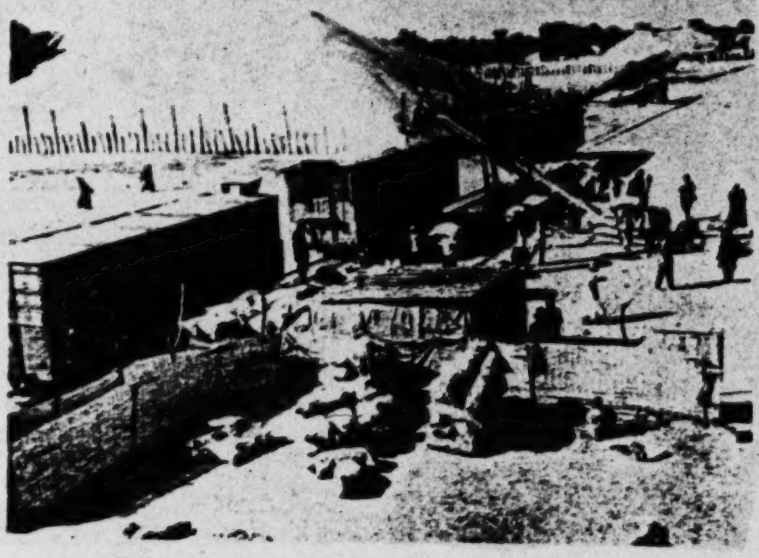
19: Pehaut--20 K-4 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 16-17/ Plate II

492
482
491

A. Trade: transporting the groundnuts to the trader (Diourbel).

496
366



B. Loading the loose groundnuts into the cars at the station in M'Backé.

/14 cont./

*795 The first Magal took place October 19, 1928, at the
796 initiative of Amadou Moustapha and on the occasion of the
788 anniversary of the death of Amadou Bamba.

Since Falilou M'Backé, the second caliph, took over the leadership of the brotherhood, the Magal has changed in date and meaning. It now commemorates Amadou Bamba's return from exile, his prophetic vision, and his permanent establishment at Diourbel. Thus the second caliph linked his action directly to that of the Founder by giving back to the Magal its original meaning, desired as early as 1912 by Amadou Bamba himself when he instituted, with an identical signification, what was then called the second Tabaski.

Since 1928 this manifestation has not ceased to grow in importance, and today more than 200,000 pilgrims go to Touba each year on this occasion.

The pilgrimage lasts three days, although some fanatics often remain for five days, sometimes eight.

The high point is the second day; the last is called the "official day," because then the caliph speaks in public to the pilgrims, before the representatives of authority whom he has invited.

A week before this "official day," the first pilgrims begin
[484] to arrive at Touba; their number increases rapidly and progressively as the opening date for the pilgrimage proper approaches.

484 During these days the pilgrims arrive in the holy city by
494 every means: on foot or by cart for the nearest ones; by train,
788 truck, and taxi for those farther away. Whatever vehicle is used, it is always overloaded: eight or ten ride in a sightseeing car; 90 (and even a few more) in a truck which should carry only 50 persons (this is a matter of four- to five-ton trucks, not covered, on which the travelers crowd together, standing up and pressed against one another between the railings, like canned fish). The trains, too, are jammed, and there are as many
[497] pilgrims on the roofs and bumpers of the cars as inside.

Traffic is thick, but in spite of the conditions, there are few accidents, at least serious accidents, considering the great

/14 cont./

484 number of persons transported. There are sometimes spectacular
494 ones, but cases involving fatalities are fortunately very rare.
788 The transportation of the pilgrims is closely watched by
[497] the /15/ Administration. The Office of Railroads organizes special trains. The subdivision heads grant to the owners of the trucks special transportation authorizations. The circle /cercle, an administrative district/ of Diourbel, aided by the Senegal government, strengthens the security forces and highway police.

788 But that is not the only problem which the organization
*795 and unfolding of the Magal presents for the Caliph-general and the Administration.

Sheltering all these people for three days and more is
[485] another. The provisioning of the pilgrims in water and food must be organized; sanitary and medical service must be ensured; finally, it is necessary to ensure order and discipline in
[625] the city of Touba itself, as is done on the roads, and the commander of the circle of Diourbel can only accomplish this with sizable police reinforcements, set apart in advance almost everywhere (as far as Dakar and Kaolack), which are put at his disposal for this purpose.

At the opening of the pilgrimage, three days before the Official Day, the crowd has reached its maximum size. Touba
[494] then experiences extraordinary activity. The road between Touba and M'Backé is continually furrowed in both directions by files of trucks which run without respite between the two agglomerations. The station platforms disappear under the flood of pilgrims who disembark innumerably from the last trains. The wide avenues of the city are filled with the crowd
[438] of pilgrims who carry out their religious duties or stroll in front
[443] of the little flat baskets where, as in all pilgrimages in the world, the most diverse objects are sold, from articles of clothing, such as babouches or samaras, to perfumes and jewelry, including the most varied articles of piety: prayers or verses from the Koran printed in Arabic, photographs of the Caliph-general or of Amadou Bamba, or even pictures in Oriental

/374 cont./

369 [438] became a relatively flourishing commercial center; each year more than 20,000 metric tons of groundnuts were handled by the traders of the place and sent by railroad to the ports of Rufisque or Dakar. As early as 1907 the first work on the Thiès-[496] Kayes railroad was begun. All of this new economic activity [464] required the employment of many laborers, who were in part recruited on the spot, but also in the neighboring villages.

369 166 During the dry season, work in the fields is reduced. A number of rural people in the vicinity come to offer their serv-[464] ices as workers in the factoreries (2) or in the newly opened

[443] 2. Factorerie: shop where everything is sold.

[461] yards /chantiers, dockyards, woodyards, etc./. Some of these villagers feel that this kind of work is less arduous and more remunerative than that of agriculture. They become definitively attached to urban life and come to swell the population of the native quarters previously established.

[484] [22] Others return every evening to the village. During the rainy season they leave their urban job and devote all their activity to work in the fields.

During this whole period prior to the Great War the suburban village seems to have played the role of intermediary or neither of relay station between the hamlet in the bush and the city. The call for non-specialized labor had echos not [464] only in the outskirts /375/ of the city itself, but also in the more distant villages. Curiosity about new things, the opportunity to escape familial tutelage, and especially the promise of relatively high earnings stimulated some immigration movement toward the escales.

[574] By means of the great hospitality that he knows will be shown him by relatives or friends who live in Diakhaté or Keur-Issa-Bambara, the rural person settles in these agglomerations.

/375 cont./

369 He works the lougan (1) of his host; after a few months he
166
[574]
[425]
[622]

1. Lougan: a Wolof term signifying a cultivated field.

obtains a little grant of land from the head of the village; he builds a hut, and often his family joins him and comes to share his life. Diakhaté and Keur-Issa-Bambara grow. The new settler takes advantage of the inactivity that the dry season imposes on him by offering his services temporarily to the urban establishments. Each year he divides his activities, which become half-urban, half-rural. If stable employment is offered to him in the city, he leaves the care of his lougan to his family and devotes himself entirely to his new activity. For a few months he will accept this daily [484] travel, but he has no deep attachment in the village that welcomed him earlier; tired of his long daily journeys, perhaps also pushed by a kind of pride in becoming a city dweller, he will finally, he and his family, leave the rural life and settle in the huts of the native quarters of Thiès.

369 Perhaps he retained a little lougan in the village?
241 His family will come to maintain it each year. Perhaps he exchanged it for a field located in the vicinity of his new establishment? In general, because of a kind of peasant atavism, he always keeps a little bit of ground near his quarter. The harvest will give some protection against possi- [454] ble shortages; the sale of the products of the soil will be a considerable balance when enforced idleness or lack of money occurs.

369 The period of the maximum development of Keur-
621 Issa-Bambara is set by the old people in the decade 1910-1920. This swelling of the population often required splitting the village in two. For reasons of familial misunderstandings or the necessity of being nearer to fields too far away, this disassociation was brought about in several hamlets (at

/176 cont./

464 and by A. Diop have shown, is connected with the effective solidarity of the ethnic group; certain occupations are their monopoly, and when a Toucouleur occupying a position wishes to go back to the Fouta, he will see to it that one of his "brothers" succeeds him. No doubt there is the same solidarity with regard to work everywhere, but it does not seem to have the same effectiveness.

464 484 A final point remains to be discussed: where do the residents of Pikine go to work? They rely on two principal places of work: Dakar, and Pikine itself. Furthermore, a certain number of persons are employed either in the Niayes or in the concerns located on the route from Rufisque outside of Dakar to the interior of the peninsula of Cape Verde, and some go still farther, especially some cattle traders or some peddlers whose permanent residence is in Pikine. Here are the respective percentages, by quarters, of workers employed in the different places: /Table 13 appears here./

Table 13

	Quarters	Districts	General Av.
Dakar	66.4	95.2	70.4
Pikine	26.7	4.8	23.7
Cape Verde	6.1	0	5.3
Elsewhere	0.8	0	0.6
Total	100	100	100

464 484 162 The people of Pikine who work locally should be divided into two categories: on the one hand, the employees of the ICOTAF (Industrie /177/ Cotonnière africaine/ African Cotton Industry/); on the other hand, the merchants and artisans. Those who are over fifty have more difficulty in leaving their homes, as a comparison of the three following rates shows:

/177 cont./

464 Proportion of persons over 50 out of the active labor
484 force 25.3%
162 Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers
in Pikine 37%
Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers
in Dakar 16%

[463] Thus, old people prefer the traditional trades, jewelers, tailors, merchants, which can be carried on locally.

If one considers the fact that the active male labor force numbers 5,530 individuals and that about 70% of this labor force goes to Dakar to work, one can estimate the number of workers whose place of employment is located in Dakar at
464 about 2,800. Another question pertaining to the frequency of
484 journeys to Dakar shows that 62% of the total labor force, that is to say, about 3,700, make the trip at least once a day. This means that not only the workers but the unemployed as well go to Dakar daily. Dakar thus has a double attraction for the workers of Pikine: as an actual place of employment, a nd as a place of possible hiring. The two principal means of
494 transportation are: for the officials, the cars called "G.G.,"
484 thanks to which they can return for lunch at noon, and for the great majority of others the express buses; only a few have
[493] personal means of transportation, mobylettes /bicycles with motors/ or vehicles. The length of the automobile trip from
484 Pikine to the Sandaga market varies from 20 minutes to more than half an hour depending on traffic difficulties. One must add to this the time required to go on foot through the sand from the concession to the bus stop. In a very general way one can say that the worker leaves his house in the morning about seven o'clock and returns to it in the evening between 6:45 and seven o'clock, provided that he does not have errands on
[369] the way. This quick analysis therefore shows the role of
[361] "bedroom community" that Pikine plays to a certain extent in relation to Dakar.

462 After the male labor force, it is necessary to say a word
463 about female work. The great majority of the women do not
162 have any occupation other than that of housework: more than two-thirds. The 32% who draw monetary income from their

17: Mercier--8 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30
Lebu

/14 cont./

Lebou /Particularism and evolution: the Lebou Fishermen/," Etudes Sénégalaises, No. 3, 1952. Result of investigations made in 1946.

S 369 W 369 S W 563 [113] [162]

the population.(5). Their /15/ customary organization,

5. The estimates, furnished by the way with every reservation by the Dakar Délégation, give 15% Lebou, but for the whole of the commune (suburban villages included); in the town itself the proportion is not as high. We consider only this one, without forgetting, however, that many Lebou living in the villages, and even Rufisque, work in Dakar. In the investigation by questionnaires conducted in Dakar, which gives, if not a true ethnic representation, at least some valuable indications, we encountered a little less than 10% Lebou.

S W [484]

moreover, continues to exist (1), but becomes more and

1. On this subject, cf. C. Michel, "L'organisation coutumière (sociale et politique) de la collectivité Leboue de Dakar /The customary organization (social and political) of the Lebou community of Dakar/," Bull. du Comité d'Etudes Historiques et Scientifiques de l'A.O.F., XXII,

S W [113]

/88 cont./

369 bar, and sometimes its cinema and its swimming pool; /89/
563 they form a small city that is self-sufficient. The officers
573 of the administration by their very functions seem to have more extensive relations in the different milieus.

Among the merchants and artisans, the problem is different because of the very stability of their work and the length of their stay. In this commercial and artisan milieu one could define three very distinct "groupings": the "old ones" who have lived in Thiès for several decades; the "newcomers" from after the war; the Levantine-Moroccan grouping.

The first are not very numerous; they live in their old factorerie, which, in spite of recently added arrangements, preserves something old-fashioned about it. They are able to [191] talk to the native in his own language. Their life, while it has become more comfortable, is lived modestly; they go out little and entertain only among themselves. Every two [484] or three years they take a few months' rest in France during the season of cultivation in Senegal. As a result, their life is quite withdrawn.

The second group, made up of recent emigrants, is entirely different. It primarily contains bachelors or young married people more or less in love with adventure perhaps, but above all seeking a broader existence. They generally [427] live in one or two rooms rented from a Levantine or Moroccan. [265] Since it is difficult for them to cook at home, the restaurant provides for them. In general they adopt a careless attitude, [484] are restless, and speak loudly; their first savings are intended for the purchase of a motorcycle or a small car which will en- [493] able them to escape from the city. Moreover, they are per- [546] sistent spectators at the four local cinemas, which have a new program every day.

The group of Levantines is different from the two preceding ones; their life is spent between their shop and their [484] apartment. Rare changes take them to Dakar on business. [353] Their interior is comfortable, arranged according to Oriental taste; they love vivid colors and pile up cushions. They [484] rarely go back to their country of origin; some of them have

S /89 cont./
369 not left Africa for 30 or 40 years. Others, more favored by
563 business, take a trip each year to France or western Asia.
573 Generally, the children pursue their studies in their parents'
484 land of origin and speak French and English fluently. This
191 new generation of Levantines, to whom one must add a few
529 Moroccans, is becoming integrated little by little in the
578 metropolitan milieu through the medium of sports associa-
477 tions and hunting parties. These amicable relations will perhaps favor to a certain degree a closer relationship between these groups which are so often antagonistic on the commercial level.

/90/

2. The Africans.

S According to the census statistics gathered in 1953, the
369 ethnic composition of the city was the following: out of an
563 African population of 36,050 inhabitants, the Wolof appeared
162 as the most numerous and, with 23,624 individuals, made
W up 65.5% of the population; the Toucouleur, numbering
162 3,356, represent 9.3% of the total; the Bambara (Sudanese,
369 rather) attained third place and accounted for 6.8% of the population with 2,447 individuals; the Sérère, although settled in the vicinity of Thiès, included only 1,856 persons, namely, 5.1% of the total. The Peul and the Moors, respectively 1,074 and 843 individuals, made up 3% and 2.4% of the total. The Sarakolé and the various other groups, represented, respectively, by 650 and 2,190 members, formed 1.8% and 6.1% of the population.

W These details speak eloquently of the ethnic hetero-
162 geneity of the Thiès population. Still, it should be empha-
369 sized that the number of true Wolof is certainly less than the
563 statistical figure given; after a stay of some ten years spent in Thiès, the Khassonké or the Sarakolé, who will have lost almost all contact with his country of origin, who will have married a woman not of his race, who will have adopted the language, the food, the corresponding Wolof name, will speak of himself as belonging to this group.

/14 cont./

484 number of persons transported. There are sometimes spectacular
494 ones, but cases involving fatalities are fortunately very rare.
788 The transportation of the pilgrims is closely watched by
[497] the /15/ Administration. The Office of Railroads organizes special trains. The subdivision heads grant to the owners of the trucks special transportation authorizations. The circle /cercle, an administrative district/ of Diourbel, aided by the Senegal government, strengthens the security forces and highway police.

788 But that is not the only problem which the organization
*795 and unfolding of the Magal presents for the Caliph-general and the Administration.

Sheltering all these people for three days and more is
[485] another. The provisioning of the pilgrims in water and food must be organized; sanitary and medical service must be ensured; finally, it is necessary to ensure order and discipline in
[625] the city of Touba itself, as is done on the roads, and the commander of the circle of Diourbel can only accomplish this with sizable police reinforcements, set apart in advance almost everywhere (as far as Dakar and Kaolack), which are put at his disposal for this purpose.

At the opening of the pilgrimage, three days before the Official Day, the crowd has reached its maximum size. Touba
[494] then experiences extraordinary activity. The road between Touba and M'Backé is continually furrowed in both directions by files of trucks which run without respite between the two agglomerations. The station platforms disappear under the flood of pilgrims who disembark innumerably from the last trains. The wide avenues of the city are filled with the crowd
[438] of pilgrims who carry out their religious duties or stroll in front
[443] of the little flat baskets where, as in all pilgrimages in the world, the most diverse objects are sold, from articles of clothing, such as babouches or samaras, to perfumes and jewelry, including the most varied articles of piety: prayers or verses from the Koran printed in Arabic, photographs of the Caliph-general or of Amadou Bamba, or even pictures in Oriental

/388/

369 The city of Thiès, 60 kilometers east of Dakar, contains
433 36,000 inhabitants, according to a recent census. All of its
[162] activity seems to be centered around four principal poles: commercial, industrial, administrative, and military.

Its commercial activity is due to its position at the cross-
[487] roads of important paths of communication: railroad lines from Dakar to Saint-Louis, from Dakar to Bamako, and from Thiès to Kaolack, and roads from Dakar to Saint-Louis and from Dakar to Diourbel, Tambacounda, and the Sudan and Guinea.

It also owes the essential part of its industrial activity to
[498] this implantation at an important rail crossroads; the repair
[464] shops of the Dakar-Niger rail system, where nearly 1,000 workers of all grades are employed, have been set up there.

Apart from the workshops of the Dakar-Niger, it must not
[497] be forgotten that Thiès is also where the management of this
[634] system resides. And it is also the principal administrative point of a circle /cercle, an administrative district/. We will thus find, besides the workers, a rather large proportion of office employees, managers, and executives.

[712] Finally, the military function of Thiès is due to the presence of two important camps: the "DMA" (Détachement Motorisé Autonome), and an air base.

Besides these four centers of activities which give this city a modern character (economically speaking, at least), a fifth one intervenes in a not inconsiderable proportion. A rather large
[166] population of cultivators, who in winter cultivate groundnuts and
[241] millet in nearby fields, has settled on the periphery of Thiès. And the city is the point to which, at the time of the groundnut trade, all of the agricultural activity of the circle comes to assert itself. Its commercial importance is thereby further increased.

162 /389/ Here is some numerical information concerning
463 the occupational distribution of the population of Thiès.

Out of an economically active population of 11,040 inhabitants at the date of the census, there were counted:

/71 cont./

133 The presence of a marl-calcareous horizon at a slight depth, the arrangement of the layers sloping toward the east, has favored the formation of a perpetual phreatic layer close to the surface and capable of supplying all the wells of the Thiès plateau.

The Thiès slope describes a concave line 40 kilometers long which begins in the north at the height of Mont-Rolland and ends abruptly in the south at the height of the village of [361] Tiao. The brow of the slope, with an average altitude of 100 meters, is cut broadly and deeply only by the "Ravin des Voleurs." At the foot of the slope there stretches a depressed, more or less swampy zone, /72/ /Fig. 1 appears here/ which borders it from north to south. Beyond Mont-Rolland, toward the northwest, accumulations of dune sand extend to the ocean (Fig. 1).

369 175 During the period of the pacification of Senegal by Faidherbe, Thiès was only a small village of unruly Sérère-None /Serer/, pillagers of caravans when the occasion presented itself. [361] This village was established near the actual site of the Faidherbe Redoubt, in a shaded and cool spot, hence the name "Diankhène" which was given to it and which means place of repose.

In 1856 Dakar was founded, and Saint-Louis developed. [648] A treaty concluded with the damel of Cayor (2) authorized the

2. Damel, Wolof word meaning sovereign.

[206] installation of a telegraph line to connect these two cities. But the execution of the work came up against the ill-will of the damel and the continual insecurity that prevailed in the region of Thiès.

After the creation of the post of Mbidjem, near Lake Tanma, the /73/ post of Thiès was built in 1863. Its [361] role was to pacify and to cover, in case of necessity, the troops that operated in the region. The latter, coming [487] from Gorée and from Dakar, took the trail /piste/ from Rufisque to Pout and from there reached the post of Thiès and Cayor by way of the "Ravin des Voleurs," the only easy and direct passage that connected Cayor with the Cape Verde Peninsula.

/372 cont./

369 plateaus made up of two volcanic systems of different ages,
133 separated by a small, low plain, the whole tilting toward the east-northeast. This head of the penisula is savagely attacked by oceanic floods which create on these coasts many capes and little bays, as well as some little detached islands not very far away. It is in one of these little bays, the bay called Dakar,
361 the most extensive and the best protected, that the great modern
369 port is located, between Pointe de la Défense and Pointe de Bel-Air (Fig. 1).[1] Incontestably, this head of the peninsula makes a favorable site for a port city, a site whose equal would be sought in vain in West Africa (Fig. 2).[2]

131 /373/ But even more than the site, it is the location of
361 this forward cape of Africa that constitutes a trump of the first
369 order in the cards of Dakar. Crossed by the north parallel 14°
● 487 40' and located at the center of curvature of the great western bulge of the African continent, almost halfway between the 30th degree north where the desert begins and the regions of the Bénin, former slave-dealers, the peninsula occupied an interesting position in the former navigational system of the central and southern Atlantic, for both the ships coming from the north and those coming from the south. It was in fact chosen as the first place of easy reprovisioning for the sailors who had traveled for several days along a desert-like coast from south of Morocco, while, for the ships coming from the Gulf of Guinea, it was the last place for provisioning available before the Canaries. Moreover, the tip of the peninsula is the most westerly of all the headlands of the Old World. Cape Dunemore in Ireland, which is the most westerly in Europe, does not go beyond 11° west of Greenwich, whereas the peninsula of Cape Verde goes beyond 17° west, even reaching 17° 32' 16" at Cape Almadies. Dakar is thus more than 500 kilometers west of Casablanca (3); it is

[113] 3. Marcel M. Chartier, "Dakar, Port aérien /Dakar, aerial port/," in Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 1948, p. 87.

[1] [See Category 116, p. 5--Analyst]
[2] [See Category 116, p. 11--Analyst]

/373/

369 therefore one of the Old World's closest points to South America
36 (4). Dakar and Natal are about 3,000 kilometers apart.
[131
[487]

4. Cape Roxo and the region of Freetown are closer from Cape St. Roque by 250 kilometers (cf. J. Richard Molard, in "La presqu'île du Cap-Vert /The peninsula of Cape Verde/," I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 10).
[113]

These advantages of site and location, however, should not make one forget that the tip of the peninsula of Cape Verde did not have easy access. On the one hand, the shallow depths
[133] which border it on its north front caused many shipwrecks, the
369 pillage of which in part supported the riparian populations, and,
175 on the other hand, it did not offer any security for the possible
[579] establishment of a settlement because of the very independent character of the Lébou, who were tightly organized in a geronto-theocratic republic under the authority of the "Great Serigne" (5),

5. Great Marabout.

after being freed from the bondage of the Damel (6) around 1809.

6. King of Cayor.

Thus, one should not be surprised that the actual occupation of the peninsula by France was very late. For a long time the island of Gorée better satisfied the needs of the early navigators. Discovered by the Portuguese at the same time as Cape Verde, in 1444, the island, located off the southeastern cape of the peninsula, was still uninhabited when the Hollanders appeared at Cape Verde in 1588. In 1617 the latter bought it from the chiefs of the coast "for iron and some nails" (7). This island of less than a

[113] 7. Dr. Cariou, note on Gorée in "La

/377 cont./

369 that Dakar is designated above all as a port d'escale, "a service
439 station," of the tropical Atlantic, provisioning the ships with
504 water and, above all, combustibles; the latter, represented in former times by coal in particular, are now almost entirely made up of hydrocarbides, the export and import traffic of which sometimes represents more than double that of merchandise: 211.1% in 1954, 233.6% in 1955, 186% in 1959.

369 But, beyond this role as a port d'escale, Dakar thrust ahead
439 as a metropolis, governing a large region. In fact it is via Dakar
487 that food products (rice, flour, sugar, etc.), cloth and thread, industrial products, etc. come in, principally destined for Senegal, Mauritania, and the Sudan, which, in return, send groundnuts, gum, hides wax, etc. to it for export. This situation is the result of struggles in the recent past between Dakar and the old mari-
[505] time or river ports which shared the light traffic of former times. The construction of the port and modern means of communication with the interior permitted Dakar to eliminate its rivals very quickly.

369 The establishment of Gorée, caught in a crisis since the
[505] abolition of slavery, despite the resistance, at first active and then passive, of its municipality (13), has been practically

[113] 13. In the work by J. Charpy (La Fondation de Dakar /The Founding of Dakar/, Larose, Paris, 1958), there is a series of documents on the various aspects of this resistance.

eliminated from the economic circuit since the accomplishment of the great work of the commercial port. Business then emigrated
[162] to the continent, while the city went to sleep, losing more and more of its population; from 3,200 inhabitants in 1872, it went to 2,068 in 1891, 1,249 in 1910, 998 in 1921, so that the com-
[633] mune was abolished and attached to Dakar in 1929, and then the entire island was classified as a historical monument in 1944.

/377 cont./

369 The reconstitution of the municipality in 1956, a simple elec-
633 toral operation, proved /378/ /Fig. 2 appears here/ to be in-
capable of giving life to Gorée; at the beginning of 1961 it was
forced to reattach itself to Dakar, for which it is nothing more
than a tourist annex. Nevertheless, due to the crisis in housing
[362] in Dakar, it offers its old houses to workers from the victorious
great city.

369 The elimination of the other rival centers was not as easy,
but no less radical. The railroad linking Dakar and Saint-Louis,
505 finished in 1885, did not immediately bring about the decline
496 of the old Senegalese capital. On the contrary, asleep since
487 entry up the river became impossible because of the increase in
tonnage of the ships, it seems to have gained a revival of activity,
especially after the construction of the Kayes-Niger section of
the railroad at the end of the century. In fact the products des-
[439] tined for the Sudan or coming from there, which took the path
of the Senegal River, were subjected to an obligatory freight-
break there, which made Saint-Louis a quite important mart.
But the construction of the Thiès-Kayes railroad after the First
World War and the /379/development of automobile traffic had
the effect, on the one hand, of directly annexing the Sudan to
the zone of influence of Dakar, and, on the other hand, of iso-
lating Saint-Louis and the old escales /trading centers/ of the
Senegal River and accelerating their economic decline (Fig. 2).
369 Bakel, Matam, Podor, and Dagana are no more than administra-
[633] tive centers without any great economic activity. Saint-Louis,
continuing as the capital of Senegal, preserved an appearance of
vitality longer. But in 1957 Dakar robbed it of this function to
the great despair of its population, which, after a phase of vio-
lent opposition, complains today in a passive resistance that the
tokens of sympathy and the promises expressed a thousand times
in the official speeches of the state authorities do not come to
anything.

369 As for Rufisque, for a long time it had more economic
505 trump cards than Dakar. In fact, when the port had not yet been
439 constructed at Dakar, it was more advantageous to load the

/380 cont./

369 505 439 groundnut before exportation has given Dakar an undisputed advantage over Kaolack. In 1957 the exports of groundnut products (shelled groundnuts, oil cake, oil), which represented only about a twentieth of the total traffic of merchandise in the port of Dakar, was more than the total of the import and export traffic of Kaolack (292,000 metric tons as against 220,000 metric tons). In any case neither Kaolack nor Ziguinchor, both located on rivers which are difficult to enter because of the shifting banks of sand or mud, can be dangerous rivals in any way for Dakar, which, because of this, practically thrusts itself on all of Senegal, Mauritania, and the Sudan. On the other hand, Dakar dominates from afar the three other large maritime ports of former French West Africa, Conakry, Abidjan, and Cotonou, whose total traffic in 1957 equaled only about three-fifths of the traffic of Dakar.

369 [433] But even though the port is the basic instrument of the power of Dakar, there are other additional elements that reinforce this power.

369 509 [487] First there is the place that Dakar occupies in the sphere of aviation. Since the first direct connection with France via the Mediterranean coast of Spain, Morocco, and Mauritania (16), its role has not ceased to grow on the international plane.

16. Marcel M. Chariter, "Dakar, port aérien," op. cit., p. 84.

[508] The hydrobase of Bel-Air and the airport of Ouakam, which served the first trans-Atlantic airplanes, are outclassed today by the great airport of Yoff, which was begun in 1940. Well equipped, this airport of international class and one of the largest airports of Africa is by far the most important one in former French West Africa, accounting by itself in 1957 for a fourth of the airplanes (arrivals and departures), a third of the passengers embarking or debarking in former French West Africa, and half of the passengers in transit. For certain directions, such as South America, the passengers from all of West Africa must embark at Dakar.

/381 cont./

369 larger than that of Paris. In Dakar, this function as a metrop-
648 olis, which has been confirmed since the construction of the
633 commercial port, preceded and conditioned the development of the city.

369 3. The city. The commercial affairs which thus make
166 African products and products from the outside converge toward
167 the Dakar crossroads could not fail to bring with them a great
[487] number of people. First, there are the Goréans, finally resigned to their fate, who accompany or follow the commercial or administrative establishments being transferred to Dakar; then, non-Africans, administrators, technicians, merchants, etc., usually arriving from Europe by the same route as that of the imported manufactured products. But above all there are the masses who arrive by road and by rail, by these paths of a money economy which have greatly disturbed the villagers' traditional institutions and thus communicated to the people a mobility formerly unknown in the rural world. Willingly or unwillingly, the rural people of Senegal, of the Sudan, of Upper Guinea, and of the Upper Volta take to the road and rails to cast themselves into an /382/ /Fig. 3 appears here/ /383/ adventurous existence which will lead many of them to Dakar and to settle there. Finally, Africans from Guinea, the Ivory Coast, and Dahomey, students at the large educational institutions and officials who come in connection with the functions of the federal capital, also arrive by sea.

369 This human convergence, which since the last decade of
162 the century has continued to grow, has caused a vertiginous increase in the population. To be sure, for the period before 1955
[633] there were only estimations, all the less certain because the boundaries of the commune have often changed, but the official figures (18), even though they should be corrected here or

[113] 18. Synthèse de la situation économique de l'ex-A.O.F. durant la période 1948 à

/391 cont. /

102
491
496
487
433

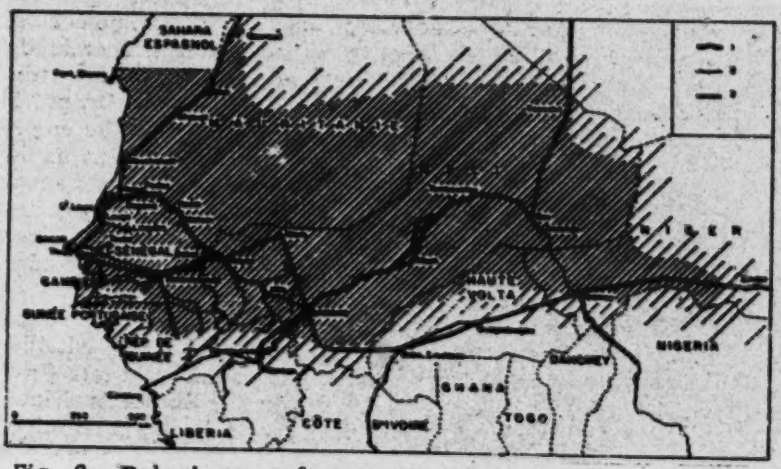


Fig. 6. Dakar's zone of economic influence.
1. Navigable course; 2. railroad;
3. road.

369 Sudanese interior, but also for the whole of former French West
433 Africa through the role of management that the administrative
439 offices, the banks, and the great commercial agencies play from Dakar.

In truth, however, this pre-eminence of Dakar which rests only on its role as a relay-station, a "service station," which receives for redistribution, carries with it grave weaknesses. And first of all it is necessary to note that the influence of Dakar, which extends supremely over a regional assemblage larger than France, is actually /392/ nothing less than a sign of the underdevelopment of the regions thus dominated. It in fact signifies for them an economy of trade, without local conversion of the products, with few urban centers playing an important role in regional management. Now, precisely this influence, while maintaining the economy of trade, prevents any new orientation of the economy in a national sense. Because of this, the ties uniting Dakar with its zone of influence appear to be of the same nature as those that tie the colonies to their mother countries, or, more accurately, they are only shackles; the nationalism of the new states will confuse them in a similar

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

Cape Rouge to Sangomar Point

The hills are near the shore at least as far as the Somone, but the shoreline is fringed with sandy beaches and occasional mangrove swamps. Popenguin, 6 miles from Cape Rouge, has a Roman Catholic church, and, 1½ miles farther, Cape Naze rises to 236 feet. Inland there is a hill of 400 feet. Three miles beyond the cape the river Somone finds its way to the sea through a patch of mangrove-woodland. The coast runs south-eastwards by means of a series of small bays, and the country is more settled and cultivated. A number of sandspits can also be distinguished. These have been built by the prevailing current, and they have either blocked or diverted the short streams and marigots. From the village of Somone, which is a little distance from the river of that name, there is a minor road to Ngaparou, Portudal, and M'Bour (p. 450). Portudal's great days are over, but ships can still anchor about 3½ miles off shore in a depth of 5½ fathoms. There is a reef to seaward of the beach, but west of the village a break allows access to a creek, where landing is possible. There are many other reefs and shoals off this part of the coast. Inland, the road is continued near the shore to Joal, but in many places its surface is very rough indeed. Two miles beyond M'Bour the Balling, a seasonal river, meets the sea, and, 3 miles farther still, is Nianing, a local centre for tracks. From here the coast runs almost due south to Sarène point, a low and sandy promontory. After this the road goes inland a little to avoid a shallow bight, heavily fringed with mangroves and crossed by several marshy streams. South of this, and 1 mile north of Senti point, is the village of Ngazobil, conspicuous by reason of its Roman Catholic church. Joal (p. 450) is 2½ miles farther south-east. From this place onwards the coast is extremely swampy and is cut up by creeks and estuaries. Only the principal features can be noted here.

Eleven and a half miles beyond Joal stands the little village of Diakhanor. This marks the northern end of a strip of land which is strongly reminiscent of the Langue de Barbarie. It has been built by the Saloum and the sea, and it separates them for about 10 miles. An old mouth of the river is clearly observable 6 miles south of Diakhanor, and the end of the strip is called Sangomar point.

Sangomar Point to the Frontier of the Gambia

The Saloum is navigable upstream for sea-going vessels for about 100 miles, and on its banks and those of its tributary the Sine

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

are the ports of Foundiougne (p. 451), Lyndiane, Kaolack (p. 452), and Fatik (p. 451). Its entrance is obstructed by a bar of shifting sandbanks. The principal channel, the New Passage, is immediately east of Sangomar point and has a width of 650 feet and a depth of 11½ feet. Inside the bar the river is rather deeper. Four miles south-south-east of Sangomar point is Sable island, 2¾ miles east of which is Jackonsa point. This marks the west side of the imposing estuary of the Djomboss, which is a distributary of the Saloum, but which is also connected to the Bandiala and the Gambia. Southwards there are many shoals and several islands, and navigation is difficult. The largest of these islands is 3 miles long and its northern tip is 7 miles from Jackonsa point. Its southern tip is almost opposite another wide estuary, the Bandiala, the source or terminus of a score of muddy creeks. Four miles south-east of this estuary is the frontier of the Gambia. The next 40 miles of coast are, therefore, in British territory. [33 [361] [505] [487]

Allahine River to Cape Roxo

It has already been noticed that the Allahine (San Pedro) river forms the international frontier between the Gambia and Senegal. The mouth of this river is blocked by sandbanks, so that it connects with the sea only at high tide. For the next 18 miles the coast is flat and treeless, with white sandy beaches on which the sea breaks heavily. There are no landing-points, and off-shore depths are very shallow. After that there are some minor waterways, and, 33 miles from the Allahine, Diogué point marks the northern shore of the estuary of the Casamance. This river, 2 miles wide at its mouth, is navigable as far as Ziguinchor (p. 453) for vessels drawing 15 feet, and as far as Sedhiou (p. 454) and Kolda for smaller craft; but the last 35 miles of its course are through mangrove swamps. The entrance to the estuary is partly blocked by a bar, but there are two places where this may be crossed. One of these, the North Passage, is off Diogué point and has a depth of 13½ feet, and the other, the South-West Passage, is 1½ feet deeper. The coast that faces this passage has a low sandy beach backed by dunes, and the village of Diembering, 8 miles south-south-west of Diogué point, is behind these dunes. The coast curves gradually south-eastwards, still exhibiting the same features but with a number of shallow bays, and between Cape Skiring and Cape Roxo there are many rocks off shore. The latter cape is also low and sandy, and it marks the international frontier with Portuguese Guinea. [505] [361]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

near the Senegal river, the Fulani in the centre of the colony, and the Mandingos in the east of it. 162 [563]

The District of Dakar

The 66 square miles of the District of Dakar contain 126,929 persons; but the figures for density per square mile mean even less than elsewhere, since most of the inhabitants live in the town itself.

In 1937 there were 118,459 natives and 8,470 Europeans, of whom 6,728 were French. This was about a quarter of the total of Europeans in the whole Federation. [563]

Inland Towns

Bakel (14° 52′; 12° 24′ W.) Population, 2,103. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. Daily market. 36 [131] [162]

Bakel is on the left bank of the Senegal (Plate 83) where the river passes between cliffs some 17 miles below the entrance of the Falémé. It is a local market for gum, ground-nuts, grain, gold dust, hides, and ostrich feathers. Most of the inhabitants are Moslems. [438] [162]

By river it is 531 miles from St. Louis and 84 miles from Kayes, and there is a fortnightly steamer service when the water permits. By colonial road Bakel is 386 miles from St. Louis, 93 miles from Matam, and 32 miles from Kidira. A bus service connects all these places. The river can be crossed by ferry, and from the Mauritanian bank a poor track leads to Sélibaby (32 miles). [487] [505] [491] [494]

Bambey (14° 40′; 16° 25′ W.). Altitude, 59 feet. Population, 4,209. Mixed Commune. Dispensary. Police station. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Garage. Agricultural experimental station. Daily market. [131] [162] [654]

Set in the midst of an area of dense population, Bambey is a prosperous market town. The main product of the locality is ground-nuts, and large quantities of these are put on the train each year. They also form the chief speciality of the agricultural experimental station. [438] [654]

Communications. By railway Bambey is 77 miles from Dakar, 33½ miles from Thiès, 17 miles from Diourbel, and 319 miles from Kidira. It is on the intercolonial road, being 49 miles from Thiès and 16 miles from Diourbel. A colonial road goes almost due south to Fatik (27 miles). There is a daily bus service (p. 473) to Fatik, Foundiougne, and Kaolack. [491] [494]

Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

36 [131] [162] BIGNONA (12° 49′; 16° 16′ W.). Altitude, *c.* 60 feet. Population, 1,611. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Military post. Emergency landing-ground. Garage.

Bignona stands on the left bank of a small and marshy tributary of the Casamance. Canoes carry a certain amount of merchandise, as also do lorries. The principal items of trade are ground-nuts, palm kernels, wax, rice, and fruit. Most of the native inhabitants are Dioulas. [438] [162]

Colonial roads lead south to the Casamance opposite Ziguinchor (16 miles), east to Sedhiou (58 miles) and Kolda (120 miles), and north-west to Diouloulou (35 miles) and the frontier of the Gambia (46 miles). There are also several minor roads and tracks. [491]

[131] [162] DAGANA (16° 27′; 15° 34′ W.). Altitude, 13 feet. Population, *c.* 3,500. District headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Race-course.

Dagana is on the left bank of the Senegal, and its chief economic function is as a market for Mauritanian gum. This is shipped down river to St. Louis, 116 miles away. There is also connexion upstream to Podor (61 miles), Bakel (403 miles), and Kayes (487 miles). [439] [187]

By colonial road Dagana is 86 miles from St. Louis and 332 miles from Kidira. It is on the bus service (p. 474) between these two places. Southwards another colonial road leads across sparsely inhabited country to Dahra (89 miles) and Diourbel (162 miles). From the opposite bank of the Senegal a track goes to Mederdra, some 30 miles distant. [491] [494]

[131] [162] DIOURBEL (14° 39′; 16° 10′ W.). Altitude, 39 feet. Population, 15,442. Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Police headquarters. Emergency landing-ground. Power station. Hotel. Garage. Daily market.

This flourishing town lies across the little Sine river in the middle of a well-cultivated shallow valley. To the north the ground rises somewhat. Diourbel owes its prosperity to ground-nuts, and 100,000 tons of them pass through the town every year. There are several factories for the shelling of the nuts and for the expression of their oil. Besides this, Diourbel is the headquarters of the province of Baol and a route centre. Its inhabitants are mainly Moslems, who have a large and important mosque. There is also a special school for sons of chiefs. [438] [258] [162] [871]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M557 Senegal MS 37

The electric power station has a gas-engine plant that burns the residue from ground-nut presses. 36 [377]

Communications. Diourbel is the railway junction for Routes 3 and 4. By the former it is 50½ miles from Thiès and 302 miles from Kidira, and by the latter it is 31 miles from Touba. The intercolonial road leads westwards to Thiès (65 miles) and Dakar (109 miles) and south-eastwards to Kaolack (40 miles), Tambacounda (230 miles), and Nayes (351 miles). Colonial roads go north-eastwards to Dahra (73 miles) and Dagana (162 miles) and south-westwards to Fatik (25 miles) and Kaolack (53 miles). [496] [491]

LOUGA (15° 37′; 16° 16′ W.). Altitude, 128 feet. Population, 4,390. Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Regional School. Power station. Garage. Race-course. Agricultural experimental station and farm school. Daily market. [131] [162] [654]

Louga is the scene of the most important cattle market in the whole colony. It is this that has made it a route centre. Other local products are ground-nuts, gum, and millet. Administratively, Louga is the headquarters of the province of the same name and also a military headquarters. [438]

Electricity is supplied by an oil-driven plant. [377]

Communications. Louga stands at the junction of railway routes 1 and 2, being 119 miles from Dakar, 44 miles from St. Louis, and 81 miles from Linguéré. It is on the intercolonial road from Dakar (121 miles) to St. Louis (47 miles). A colonial road runs eastwards across the colony to Dahra (59 miles), Linguéré (84 miles), and Matam (242 miles). There are also minor roads and tracks. [496] [491]

PODOR (16° 35′; 15° 02′ W.). Population, 3,168. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. Daily market. [131] [162]

This riverside town is chiefly important for gum arabic. The gum is brought by the Arabs, sold in the market, and shipped down the Senegal to St. Louis. [439]

Communications. By river Podor is 178 miles from St. Louis and 437 miles from Kayes. Throughout the year the Messageries Africaines run a fortnightly service to and from St. Louis. From July to January the boats also go upstream as far as Matam (234 miles) and in August and September to Kayes. Podor is on the colonial road, being 135 miles from St. Louis and 288 miles from Nayes. There is a ferry across the river to connect with tracks to such Mauritanian [487] [505] [491]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
St. Louis

361 The oldest part of St. Louis (Fig. 53) stands on an island in the estuary of the Senegal. This island is some 2,400 yards long and averages 350 yards in width, and its southern extremity is 13¼ miles from the mouth of the river. It has three main suburbs, N'Dar Toute and Guet N'Dar on the Langue de Barbarie, and Sor on the mainland.

History

361 175 [487] [103] Early navigators in search of the gold of Bambouk used the Senegal as a means of entry to the interior, and in 1658 a settlement was founded. This was the first French post in West Africa, and it was named after the patron saint of King Louis XIV. Its story has largely been told elsewhere, since, from the first, it played a prominent part in the general history of French West Africa as a whole and of Senegal in particular. The main events in the past were its capture by [648] the British in 1759, its recapture in 1779, its second capture in 1809, and its final restoration to the French in 1817. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it steadily grew in size and wealth, but in recent years it has been forced, both commercially and politically, to yield to Dakar.

The Town

361 The original island is now almost completely covered with buildings. These include Government House (Senegal), the Law Courts, the principal barracks, the power station, and the Roman Catholic church in the centre; the prison, two mosques, and another barracks to the north; and the hospital and another mosque to the south. N'Dar Toute has Government House (Mauritania) (Plate 92), the market, and yet another barracks, and Sor has the railway stations [964] and the cemeteries. Guet N'Dar is inhabited almost entirely by natives.

491 361 The western arm of the river is crossed by two bridges. The Geôle Bridge, 150 yards long, connects the main town to N'Dar Toute, and it takes its name from the prison near its eastern end. Five hundred and sixty yards south of it is the Servotuis Bridge, the western end of which marks the dividing line between N'Dar Toute and Guet N'Dar. At the other end of it is an open space at present called Place Pétain. In a line with the Servotuis Bridge is the Faidherbe Bridge across the main stream. Built in 1900, this bridge is 570 yards long and has six fixed spans and a roadway 37 feet wide. Near its western end is a swing bridge with two openings each of 30 yards.

22 Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[JOAL]

the British 70 years later, and it did not finally become French until 1763. It is on a sandspit in front of a coastal lagoon. Off shore there is a large sandbank, exposed at low tide. 36 [175]

There is a small wharf, but, owing to the difficulty of access, there is very little trade. In 1937, for example, only 4,600 tons of goods were handled and their value was 4,600,000 francs (£36,970). [504] [439]

The colonial road from Fatik (40 miles) to M'Bour (23 miles) and Rufisque (61 miles) runs through the town. There are also minor roads. From November to June there is a bus service to M'Bour and Thiès four days a week. [491] [494]

FOUNDIOUGNE (14° 06′; 16° 29′ W.). Population, 2,734. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-house. Medical post. [131] [62]

Foundiougne is on an island formed by the Saloum, the Djomboss, and their connecting channels. Much of the district is swampy, but the town itself is on a piece of firm ground on the left bank of the Saloum, 33 miles from the sea.

Anchorage in the river is in 3½ fathoms. There are 8 wharves, of which 1 is owned by the municipality. [504]

The principal export is ground-nuts, but in recent years Foundiougne has declined in prosperity. This is owing to the rise of Kaolack, which is better situated on the north bank of the river and which has much better communications. [439] [433]

There is a ferry across the river, and from its far side a rough road leads to Fatik. South of the river there is a colonial road eastwards to Kaolack (32 miles). Along both these roads there is a bus service, daily in the dry season and fortnightly in the wet. [491] [494]

FATIK (14° 18′; 16° 27′ W.). Population, 3,521, including 128 Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Medical post. Police station. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. [131] [62]

At Nonane, on Marigot de Fatik 14½ miles above its junction with the Saloum, is the site of one of the old *escales*. This is the upper limit for boats drawing 10 feet, but smaller craft can ascend a further 7 miles to Fatik, 58 miles from the sea. The town is on the right bank of the river, which is here called the Sine. [505] [487]

Trade is chiefly in ground-nuts. [439]

Colonial roads lead north to Bambey (27 miles), south-east to Kaolack (28 miles), and south-west to Joal (60 miles), and a minor road south to Foundiougne. [491]

The landing-ground is half a mile west of the town.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

36 [131] [162] KAOLACK (14° 07′; 16° 07′ W.). Population, 21,973. Mixed Commune. Headquarters of the province of Sine-Saloum. Customhouse. Chamber of Commerce. Medical post. Police headquarters. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Regional School. Roman Catholic mission. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Hotels. Garages. Race-course.

[439] Kaolack exports more ground-nuts than any other port in the Federation. It is a well-planned town with squares and trees, and it is on the right bank of the Saloum, 71 miles above its mouth, where [487] [505] the river is 100 yards wide. It is the limit of navigation for sea-going ships.

[162] In 1904 Kaolack had only 300 inhabitants, but the development of communications in the neighbourhood has caused it to grow to its present size. The figure given above is for the permanent population only. [166] At the height of the ground-nut season there are an additional 20,000 temporary inhabitants.

Trade

[439] During the first quarter of 1939 Kaolack exported 32,259 tons of ground-nuts (Plate 122), as against 26,832 tons from Dakar. Owing to the bar across the Saloum, however, many ships do not load to their maximum capacity but go on to Dakar to complete their lading. [258] Across the river from the town is a large salt-works.

The Port

[504] On the north bank there are concrete quays with a total length of over 2,000 feet and on the south bank there is a small wharf. At Lyndiane, 9 miles downstream, is a wharf belonging to the firm of Peyrissac et Cie.

Communications

[498] *Rail.* Kaolack is the terminus of Route 5 to Guinguiné (14 miles), and is therefore 142 miles from Dakar. It is also the terminus of Route 6 to Lyndiane (6½ miles). Both stations are close to the river, and there is a line directly on to the quays.

[491] *Road.* Intercolonial roads lead northward to Gossas (25 miles), Thiès (82 miles), and Dakar (126 miles), eastward to Kaffrine (37 miles) and Tambacounda (188 miles), and south-south-westward to Messira (49 miles) and the frontier of the Gambia (57 miles). The last-named road crosses the Saloum by a bridge. A colonial road goes north-west to Fatik (28 miles), another south-east to Nioro

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal M537

36 [131] [162] SEDHIOU (12° 42′; 15° 31′ W.). Population, 1,653. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School.

Sedhiou is on the right bank of the Casamance, 68 miles above [487] Ziguinchor and 110 miles from the sea, and it is only usable by vessels [505] drawing up to 5 feet. Formerly more prosperous than it is to-day, it has some brick buildings and shops. Many of the traders are [439] Syrians, and there is a modest export of ground-nuts, hides, rice, and wax.

[491] By colonial road Sedhiou is 58 miles from Bignona, 74 miles from Ziguinchor, and 62 miles from Kolda.

11. MINERALS

135 [439] THE principal mineral exported from the colony is ilmenite, which is washed from beach sands between Rufisque and Cape Rouge, between Joal and Diakhanor, and at the mouth of the Casamance. Zircon (Vol. I, pp. 295–6) is obtained from the same sands, the ilmenite:zircon ratio being about 3:1. Other minerals of potential value are phosphates and limestone, both of which occur in Lower Eocene strata. Lenticular beds of phosphate, ranging from 30 to 65 per cent. bone phosphate of lime, are found near Matam and near Thiès. Limestones and marls are more widespread than in any other [339] colony, and at Rufisque they have been worked experimentally for the commercial production of cement. Bitumen has been encountered at Dakar in borings for water, but investigations have shown that the [315] geological structure is unsuited to the accumulation of petroleum.

12. AGRICULTURE

241 THE Gambia divides the millet from the manioc zone, but ground-nuts are the chief crop of both. Sisal-growing is an important, though more recent, industry. South of the Gambia the Casamance Territory provides a rich area for fruit and subsistence crops as well as for ground-nuts.

[439] There is far more production for export than in any other colony.

Food Crops

243 262 *Millets.* Millets form the staple diet of the majority of the native population and are grown all over that part of the colony north of the

/14 cont./

442 during which commercial operations in groundnuts are authorized.
654 It is opened and closed each year by governmental decree. In
438 general it begins at the end of November or the beginning of December and closes at the end of April. The date of opening the campaign is set about two months after the beginning of the harvest, in order to avoid premature uprooting and to favor
438 the reimbursement of the seed advanced. This system never-
442 theless leads to some smuggling in the south, because the
[439] navétanes, anxious to return home, and the peasants, without any money, are tempted to sell in Gambia. At the time of the close, the transactions have been over for a long time, but this decision prevents the eventual sale /15/ of the seed distributed by the Mutuelles. In order to have the commodity brought in gradually and to avoid heavy transactions at the beginning of trade, operations are suspended from Friday to Monday. Nevertheless by the end of the month of January nearly all of the harvest has been negotiated.

366 2) The "points of trade." Since 1932 the operations of
442 selling must take place in the localities called points of trade
438 or "escales" located on the railroad or a road (Circular of 13 July 1932). These points of trade, which were 175 in number in 1935, now number more than 300. The limitation, in 1932, on the number of the points of trade was a response to the desire to moderate the rhythm of the selling and to avoid the proliferation of intermediaries. The recent creation of new escales is
[244] devoted to the conquest of new lands and is an attempt to avoid the abuses of cultivation on the lands near the former points of trade.

The accession of a locality to the rank of escale makes
[369] it legally an urban center, with the obligation of division into lots /lotissement/ and, for the merchants, permanent buildings. The campaign is a period of great animation for the escale.
442 The merchants or traders open their bank of purchase or "factory."
437 Traditionally, intermediaries, or "masters of language," conduct
[492] the producer to the factory. The groundnuts, transported by don-
[488] keys and in bags loaned by the trader, are weighed and emptied

/15 cont./

442 437 [992] [488] [452] [443] [438] into the secco, an area with a floor of hard earth or cement, closed off by sheet metal. The agriculturalist, paid forthwith, immediately spends the sum received, in settling the sums owed to the trader and in buying from among the manufactured objects of the same factory the most diverse articles: cloth, playthings, articles for bicycles, etc. Thus the same trader realizes two profits in the traditional system.

3) The agents of trade. Until the Second World War, 439 441 442 438 the trade in groundnuts was in the hands of about 3,000 private traders organized in a strict hierarchy. At the top, the trade was controlled by the large import-export houses, especially of Bordeaux origin, Maurel et Prom, Peyrissac, Vézia, etc., to which was added the C. F. A. O. of Marseilles origin, and the S. C. O. A. Franco-Switzerland. These firms, whose central agencies for Senegal are in Dakar, make arrangements for the "banks" and "agencies" in the principal localities, for "factories" in the escales, and for "operations" in the bush. These commercial houses concentrate the purchases of their various traders and provide them with imported products. They are supported during the campaign by the banks of the mother country or their agencies in Senegal.

441 442 438 The independent French merchants, often former employees of the firms, play the role of intermediary /demi-grossiste/ in the escales. /16/ They buy directly from the producers or from the African sub-trader and bag and forward /the product/ to the commercial houses in the shipping ports. They have been very harshly affected by the economic crisis of the 1930's and then [563] by the war, in particular by the mobilization, which facilitated the establishment of many Lebano-Syrian traders.

The treaties of 1919 facilitated the arrival in Africa of [563] these Lebano-Syrians. They devote themselves essentially to commerce, and they have on the whole succeeded, because, living near the autochthons, they have adopted their way of life and are contented with much less than the independent 442 443 438 Europeans. During the trade, they are generally commission agents of the firm that they represent. They receive a commission for each metric ton of groundnuts purchased, and sell in

/390 cont./

361 inhabitants. It had an official center and wide streets, which,
369 however, are not yet paved. Despite this city appearance,
[363] however, Pikine is more intimately dependent on Dakar than the other villages of the suburbs; it is a workman's suburb, and all of its provisioning comes from Dakar, while practically all of its inhabitants are employed in the great city. With this exception, the villages of the suburbs have as their essential
[438] role the provisioning of Dakar with fish and fresh vegetables. Many transportation facilities in common connect them with
[489] Dakar-ville from very early in the morning until around the middle of the night (Pl. XXIII B, Pl. XXIV A and B).

This is the arrangement or juxtaposition of the various elements of the Dakar agglomeration, whose present popula-
[162] tion may well have exceeded 300,000 inhabitants.

369 4. Perspectives. The Dakar agglomeration has the appearance of an unfinished city in the process of being organized, even though its function as a West African metropolis has been confirmed for a long time. There are surprises in this situation for those who analyze the old European urban civilizations, where one sees an ancient city existing as /391/ /Fig. 6 appears here/ one that patiently developed its relations in order to become a metropolis and to constitute a solid and dynamic assemblage where urban and metropolitan functions mutually support one another. Dakar, however, is above
369 all a center of relations which has woven with its hinterland
439 connections that have the appearance of complementary ties,
433 but which actually are ties of dependence: dependence in fact because in the Senegalese and Sudanese interior the development of export crops is tied up with the means of evacuation organized by Dakar; dependence also because the export crops, in breaking up the former village autarchy, have given Dakar the role of a great relay-station in the importation of food products in compensation and manufactured products which have become a necessity there where formerly they were unknown; dependence, finally, not only for the Senegalese and

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

874 In 1927 apprentice courses in woodwork and metalwork were started in St. Louis and Kaolack by the Public Works Department for selected schoolboys between the ages of 13 and 16 years.

871 There is a number of educational institutions in Dakar of a higher grade than primary. These are the responsibility of the Federal Government and have been described in Volume I.

Health

743 Senegal is divided into thirteen medical districts, each of which is intended to be under the supervision of a European medical officer. There are 17 medical stations, each under a native auxiliary. There are also 16 maternity centres and 117 posts visited once a week by a medical officer.

In 1937 Senegal and Dakar had 3 major hospitals and 34 minor hospitals and dispensaries. These provided 394 beds for European patients and 1,805 for native. There were 80 European medical officers, 31 native auxiliaries, 30 midwives, 124 male nurses, and 21 female nurses.

[744] In addition there were four travelling parties (*groupes sanitaires mobiles*). One of these specialized in fighting sleeping-sickness in the Casamance Territory, and the other three were concerned with more general sanitary and prophylactic measures.

The Pasteur Institute at Dakar, a federal concern, is justly famous. [797] Some medical work is done by missionaries. Unofficial committees of the Croix-Rouge are concerned with infant welfare at Dakar, Diourbel, St. Louis, and Tivaouane.

[652] In 1937 Senegal voted 12,000,000 francs for medical services and Dakar 11,000,000 francs.

10. PORTS

36 [31] [162] 489 [743] [712] [648] [654] [697] St. Louis (16° 01′; 16° 30′ W.). Population, 30,586, including 1,231 Europeans. Colonial capital of Senegal and of Mauritania. Full Commune. Headquarters of the province of Bas Sénégal. Custom-house. Law courts. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital and dispensary. Army headquarters and barracks. Police headquarters. Belgian Consulate. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Lycée Faidherbe. École des Fils des Chefs et des Interprètes. Higher Primary and Technical Schools. Protestant and Roman Catholic missions. Bank of West Africa. Power station. Prison. Hotels. Garages. Race-course. Botanical gardens. Experimental plantation. Daily market.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

[ST. LOUIS]

206 *Wireless.* The wireless station is to the south of Guet N'Dar.

River. Above Faidherbe Bridge the river is closed to all vessels not 505 flying the French flag. Boats drawing 10 feet can ascend to Podor all [648] the year round, and in the rainy season they can reach Kayes (Vol. I, p. 367). Table V shows how greatly river traffic on the Senegal has declined in recent years.

TABLE V. *Tonnage of Goods from Kayes*

[497] [494]

	1928	1929	1930	1934	1935
Sent by rail or road	9,545	9,555	11,456	5,269	6,224
Sent by river	2,520	5,815	3,425	313	260

Shipping. There are no sea-going ships calling regularly, but the Messageries Africaines and the Messageries du Sénégal run services up-river.

36 DAKAR (14° 39′; 17° 25′ W.). Population, 80,052, including *c.* 6,000 [31] Europeans. Capital of the Federation and Headquarters of the [162] District of Dakar. Full Commune. Custom-house. Law courts. [489] Chamber of Commerce. Pasteur Institute. Hospitals. Naval base [712] and dockyard. General Headquarters of the army in French West Africa. Police headquarters. British Consulate-General. Belgian, [648] Brazilian, Czechoslovakian, Danish, Eireann, Greek, Italian, Netherlands, Norwegian, Swedish, and Swiss Consulates. Argentine, Finnish, Spanish, and Uruguayan Vice-Consulates. Meteoro- [654] logical station. Airport and seaplane base. Wireless stations. [508] Colleges and schools. Protestant churches. Roman Catholic Vicariate Apostolic of Guinea and Vicariate General. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Crédit Foncier de l'Ouest Africain. Banque Belge de l'Afrique. Power station. [697] Prison. Public library. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops. [498] Cinemas. Race-course. Sports stadium. Botanical gardens. [654] Agricultural experimental station. Daily market.

Dakar (Fig. 54) is approximately 2,600 miles distant from South- 361 ampton, from Cape Town, and from Rio de Janeiro. It is, therefore, well placed for taking a share in the trade of the South Atlantic, and it [433] is small wonder that it has become the third port in the French Empire, being surpassed only by Marseilles and Le Havre. It is, moreover, of the first importance strategically.

/373 cont./

S
SR
W
102
131
361
S
491
496
712

/372/

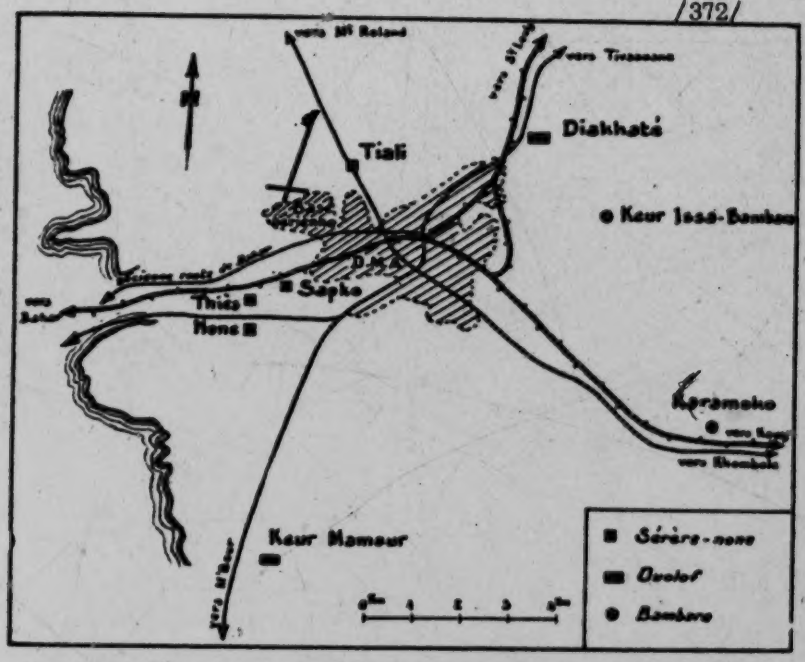


Fig. 1. Thiès, location of the villages mentioned in this study.

S
361 /373 cont./ by its internal plan (it is dispersed in a loose arrangement), but by the arbored countryside that surrounds it.

Karamoko, on the other hand, resembles a Wolof village: few or no trees except around the huts, a monotonous and open countryside.

S
369 The founding and the rapid growth of Thiès seems to have entailed perturbations in the life of the neighboring villages, especially at the end of the last century.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

[redacted] reaching economic development plan. Mamadou Dia has described the plan as the 'décollage' or taking-off point of the country's development. The plan is the expression of the African socialism of which Senghor and Dia have so long dreamed. It has two important points. Relatively little emphasis is placed on industrialisation, and fundamental to the development of the country are [474] 'rural animation' and co-operatives through which the people will be made aware of the great future that could be theirs if only they co-operate in the realisation of this plan. Already 80 per cent of peasant farmers are organised in co-operatives.

Senegal's economy is based today on the export of its ground-nut crop of just under 800,000 tons a year. This has been produced to the detriment of subsistence crops, with the absurd result that Senegal, a basically agricultural country, is importing foodstuffs to the tune of £15 million a year. Furthermore there has been a great disparity in the economic and social development of the towns in com- [369] parison with the bush. Thus whilst Dakar is one of the most modern and prosperous towns in West Africa, the Vallée du Fleuve is abysmally poor and Casamance hitherto neglected. Thus the emphasis is on rural development; the [871] extension of educational facilities to a population only 30 per cent of whose children go to school; then the increase in medical facilities; the supply of water to villages without it; and in particular the opening-up of hitherto neglected regions by improved communications, which includes the [491] tarring of over 1,000 miles of roads and improvement of 600 miles of dirt road. But above all the emphasis is on the increase of home food crops and the widening of the variety of foodstuffs available to the peasants. It is estimated that if the plan works out, then the global index of production, taken as 100 in 1959, will be up to 137 in 1964. New industries such as the phosphate works at Taiba, an oil refinery, chemical factories and textile printing works will provide 10,000 new jobs, and thus absorb some of the unemployed

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

progress. This he then transmits to the village, and in Casamance *animation* has worked to the extent of building a thirty-five kilometre road which cut the journey between two important villages by nearly fifty kilometres. In the Vallée du Fleuve, people who never grew rice before have now quadrupled their incomes by producing rice under a rural animation scheme.

All this President Dia hopes will raise the standard of living of each man by 3.5 per cent each year, doubling it by the fourth four year plan in 1975.

The plan is an ambitious one, an attempt to create a new Senegal synthesising the best of Africa and Europe. If it works, and the political future of both Senghor and Dia may well depend on this, then Senegal may become a pilot nation for Africa both economically and culturally. Senegal will then be in a sense a justification for the French assimilation policy, for although it failed in its attempts to assimilate the Senegalese both culturally and politically it has left profound marks on Senegalese society. And even if the experience of assimilation in Senegal has demonstrated the immense difficulties not only of one group trying to assimilate the other to its own standards, but of even getting the assimilating group to accept the other group as political and cultural equals, the end result may be the production of an African society which, whilst maintaining its own national identity, may prove a bridge between Africa and Europe and their two cultures.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 little misguided. He handed me a copy of the party manifesto.
648 On the front it read:

> 'At the historic moment of Bandung and of the Colonial and Imperialist system, at the moment when political confusion submerges Black Africa under French domination, our duty as Africans obliges us to bring before the masses of our country the problem of national independence and the transformation of our economy into a socialist economy.'

[204] He also handed me a copy of the party newspaper, *La Lutte*, 'The Battle', which is surprisingly well produced at an intellectual level. It even had an article explaining why Sputnik stayed up. On another page a cartoon demonstrated party feeling towards France: Picture I. Thin, Belsen figure, in casque colonial, sucks from straw the lifeblood of Africa—Picture II. Fatter version of this Frenchman leaves for home, a small Africa behind him.

But the magazine was directed not only against France. Jibes were made at the Minister of the Interior of the Senegal, and at the high wages paid to Ministers. Mahjemout Diop was later arrested on the orders of the Minister of the Interior.

OLD SENEGAL

Dakar—Gorée—St. Louis

369 [491] [361] [175] Our third afternoon in Dakar, Arnold and I took the afternoon ferry to Gorée, a tiny island embraced by the bay of Dakar. This island, which until the turn of the century was better known than Dakar itself, was discovered in 1444 by Dinis Dias, one of the early Portuguese explorers, and commands the entrance to the port of Dakar, so that for long it was prized as the most strategic of islands on the Guinea Coast. Today it is no more than an historical relic, but whether against a clear blue sky or of dark grey rain clouds massing for an assault on the mainland, it serves as a reminded that though in Africa the revolution has taken place largely over the last ten years, its groundwork has been prepared by centuries of contact with Europeans and their way of life.

The small ferry was crammed with trippers, armed with

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 Metropolis. Until recently the African élite has always come from
[571] St. Louis. It is a sort of spiritual centre of Black Africa. It had the
[873] first school—Lycée Faidherbe. And in 1866 it was given the first Hotel de Ville of the French Union. It is the cradle of the French Union. It would be a tragedy if it died.'

369 To such men as these it seems scandalous that St. Louis with
175 its great history and traditions should give way to a parvenue like Dakar. Of all West African cities St. Louis is the one with the most illustrious and fascinating history. It was called St. Louis after the great French King, Louis XIII, in the middle of the seventeenth century. However, in the following century it began to expand into a town whose inhabitants were a distinct race, comparable
[563] to the Creoles of Sierra Leone. White and black intermarried to form a group known as the St. Louisians. During the eighteenth
[591] and nineteenth centuries these were the great families of the
[554] Senegal, though today they are losing importance. Names like Carpot, Descanet, Deves, Guillabert and Crespin are still remembered with respect in St. Louis.

[162] By the end of the eighteenth century the town had more than 7,000 inhabitants and in 1778 a mayor, who had to be chosen
[633] from the local population, was charged with the maintenance of good relations between the people and the Governor. In 1833
[641] all inhabitants of St. Louis were given the status of French citizens.

Perhaps the most important date for St. Louis and for West Africa was 1854, when General Faidherbe was appointed Governor. Today his mark is still firmly on St. Louis. The
[361] ordered layout of the city and its streets were his work. The large
[491] bridge connecting the island on which St. Louis stands to the mainland is named after him. The city's most important and famous school is the Lycée Faidherbe. And even now one can listen to old folk sitting on the benches of the park, in which his statue stands, telling tales of the great General, who had fought against the famous Toucouleur chief, El Hadj Omar and brought Senegal, Soudan and Mauretania into the French orbit. Perhaps some of these old people are his own descendants, for he is reputed to have been a prolific father.

[162] By 1878 St. Louis had grown to a city of 16,000 inhabitants, and despite the rapid expansion of Dakar and Rufisque farther down the coast, there was little to worry about the future.

/155/

•491 [131] At kilometer 13 on the Dakar-Rufisque highway and branching off at a right angle to the latter there is a side road with a sign bearing the notice: Dagoudane-Pikine. Two hundred meters farther on, just beyond the church on the left, the road forks, and the right branch, after passing between two gas stations, in turn divides in two. These three roads, after describing several more or less sinuous meanders, take a northwest direction and traverse the agglomeration from end to end, the east road and the west road being symmetrical in relation to the center one.

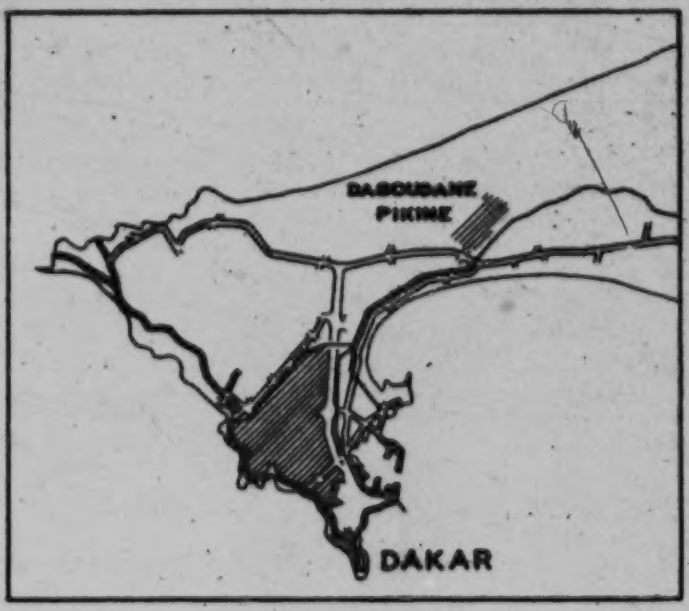
133 361 Viewed from an airplane, the agglomeration has, in general, the shape of a large rectangle laid flat, its length measuring two kilometers and the median width 1,240 meters. This impression of flatness is deceptive, for the ground is slightly hilly, and the 2 CV which ventures into the cross streets may have the disagreeable experience of not being able to climb back up certain sandy slopes. Very schematically the terrain appears thus: the two center streets and the west one extend along the summit of one dune, with a depression between the two. To the west of the west street, the land descends slightly and then rises again before dropping down to the Niayes. The east street, on the contrary, is located halfway up the slope of a dune, the summit of which runs along the center street and is separated from the latter by a depression which sinks down more and more as one turns northward. Finally, to the east, the land rises again slightly before the railway which skirts Pikine and bounds it on the east. On the north it is -- or rather was, for the land was already divided into lots in 1960, the date of the investigation -- the route of the Niayes which forms the line of demarcation, and on the west the Niayes themselves. /156/ On the south, except for the sheds of the ICOTAF in the eastern part, there is no clear boundary.

36 For the visitor who views the agglomeration for the first time, Pikine leaves a contradictory impression: first, of uniformity and monotony. It is undoubtedly easy to orient

/156 cont./

36 oneself once one has grasped the principle of the cutting up of the city into four sections by the three axes of roads, just as it is easy to align the principal landmarks on each of the two extreme axes: on the west road the Chavanel house opposite the first market, then the commissariat, the mosque,

102
131
491
361



36 and on the left, halfway, the / map appears here/ big market with, at the end, the block that houses the cinema El-Karim and a business; on the east road, at the right, the business of the Syrian, then, after the turns, the district /cité/ named after the ICOTAF because it is adjacent to the lands occupied by the factory, a long space as yet unoccupied, and finally, on the left, first the cinema El-Hilal, and, some 200 meters beyond, the second district named after the Pépinière. On the center road, by contrast, there is no notable building, but simply, towards the middle, two large empty spaces on both sides of the road, with a sports field on the right. But if one

/73 cont./

102
131
133
491
496

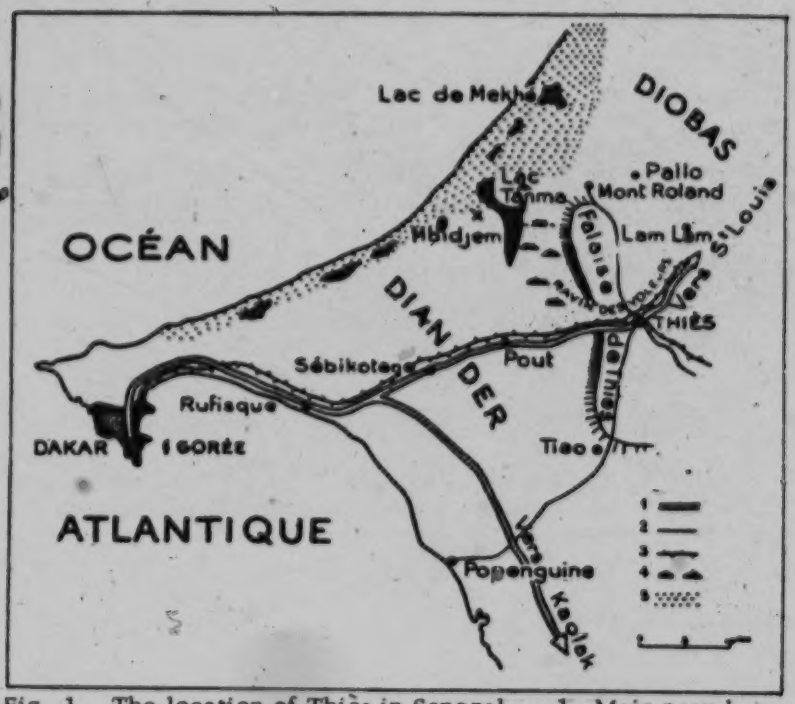


Fig. 1. The location of Thiès in Senegal. 1. Main paved road; 2. secondary road; 3. railroad; 4. swamps; 5. sand.

175 Verde Peninsula. As long ago as this epoch Thiès seems to
369 have been a strategic point and support point of primary im-
361 portance.

As early as 1880 the provinces of Diander and Diobas were pacified. The military posts lost their importance and were abandoned one after the other, for example, Nguiguis (near Tivaouane) and Mbidjem. Only the one at Thiès, because of its exceptional location, survived and developed.

175 2. The commercial escale (1880-1923).
369 The years of the decade 1880-1890 correspond to the
499 period of the development of groundnut cultivation in Senegal
244 and to the construction of the Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad.

/75 cont./

102
361
491
496

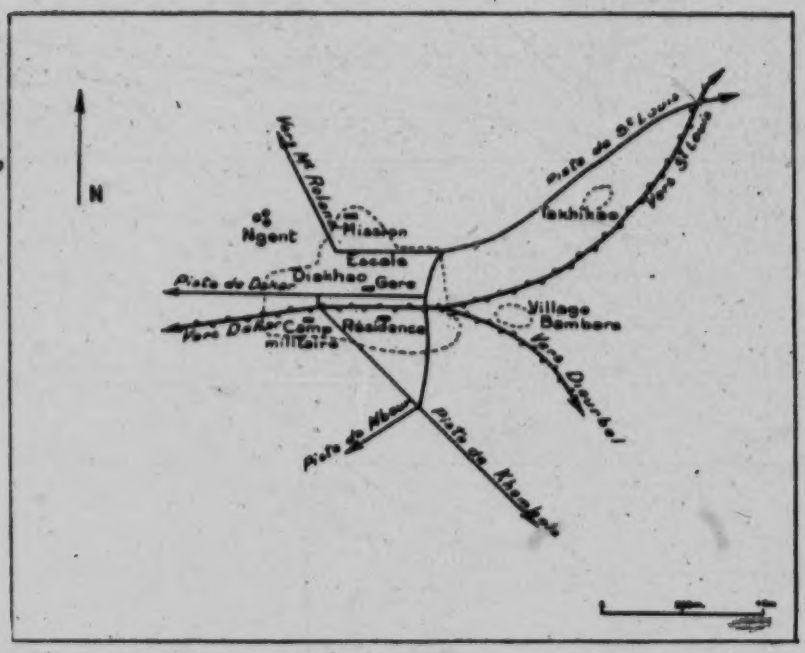


Fig. 2. Thiès in 1910.

369
441
563

acquired during the period of hostilities, their knowledge of the language, and their great aptitude for adapting themselves to the customs of the country and for living under very curtailed conditions /76/ made these newcomers serious competitors whom French commerce tried, but in vain, to eliminate. All the concessions of the northern escale were now occupied (5); the

5. There was no question of extending the first lots farther to the north; the concession ceded to the Mission prevented such an extension.

newcomers -- chiefly Syrians -- set up their factorerie (6) in the

[443]

6. Factorerie: shop where everything is sold and where at the same time

/76 cont./

369 quarters spread out toward the southwest in the vicinity of
361 the workshops: "Derrière la voie ferrée /Behind the Railroad/" and "Bambara" developed on the outskirts of "Randoulène."

4. Thiès, industrial and strategic city (after 1945).

369 The Second World War temporarily slowed down the
712 economic activity of the city. As in 1914, one saw a /77/ very earnest renewal of the military function: an autonomous motorized detachment (D. M. A.) was established in the old military camp which was considerably enlarged; an air base created a little before 1940 doubled the one of Ouakam installed at the gates of Dakar and now inadequate.

The experience of the last war had demonstrated the possible vulnerability of Dakar. Strategy demanded the formation of a strong base in the rear areas of the capital of French West Africa to support it if the need arose. The location and the proximity of Thiès met these requirements. In order to give maximum effectiveness to this enterprise, the means of communication between the two cities had to be improved, the military camps reorganized and modernized.
[491] A strong and wide road was built between these two cities. Its course was different from that of the old trail; it entered Thiès not from the west but from the south. The military camp covered several dozen hectares, the installations of the air base were improved and enlarged, and the annexes permitted the permanent establishment of officers and troops (Fig. 4).

369 From 1947 to 1952 intense activity prevailed in the
361 city. The entire district, except the old escale, formed a veritable workshop where vast avenues cut across the native quarters, where plazas were created, where zones of green were distributed. In the industrial precinct of the Dakar-
[498] Niger, new workshops intended for the repair of Diesel tractors and the construction of passenger coaches were installed. New villas along more modern lines for officials and railway workers rose almost everywhere in the city. The old escale, paralyzed within too narrow limits, was aroused

/78 cont./

102
361
491
496

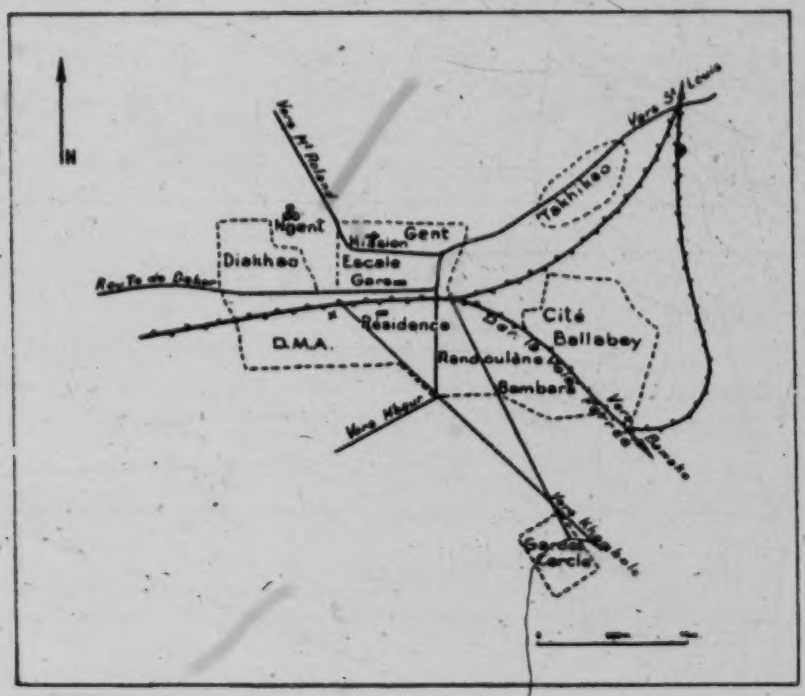


Fig. 3. Thiès in 1940.

351 buildings pierced here and there by a portal which gives access to the courtyards, always littered, of the shop or workshop. /79/ /Fig. 3 appears here./

361 [341] One now sees a modification of this oldish architecture and attempts at renovation. This quarter, built essentially for commercial purposes, did not leave any space free for expansion; no plaza, no small garden offers a pleasant spot in this assemblage dedicated essentially to trade.

The quarter of the Residence is quieter, and also cooler. The arrangement of the settlement pattern is looser; the houses are spread out, and each is separated from its neighbor by a [351] kitchen garden, a courtyard, or a small pleasure garden. Near the administrative buildings care has even been taken to reserve and arrange some public squares in the shade of immense Gambia

18: Savonnet--19 E-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS37 Senegal

/82/
36
102
491
496
712

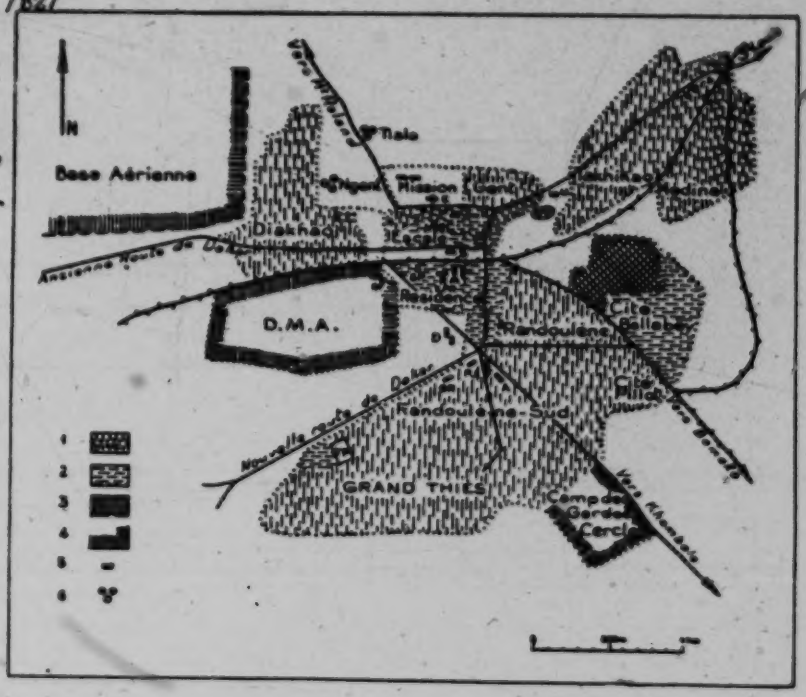


Fig. 4. Thies in 1954.

1. Residential zone of Africans; 2. Residential zone of Europeans; 3. Industrial zone; 4. Military bases; 5. Administrative and religious buildings; 5. Village. E-- Catholic church; U-- Mosque; V-- Posts; C-- College; L-- Police; S-- Station; N-- Gendarmery; P-- Primary school; RF-- Faidherbe Redoubt; SP-- Société de Prévoyance /Welfare Society/; M-- Town Hall. T-- Treasury; R-- Residence of the Commander of the Circle; Pr-- Prison; D-- Dispensary; TP-- Public Works; PJ-- Palace of Justice; GR-- Bus station; P-- Collector's office. A-- Firemen.

/17/

438 2. The "circuit" of groundnuts. The purchase of the
442 groundnuts in the escale and storing them in the secco of the trader constitute only one step in the complicated circuit that the groundnuts take from the place of production to the port of exportation or to the oil-factories.

492 1) The means of transport. From the place of production
438 to the escale, the groundnuts essentially utilize the traditional modes of transport, donkeys throughout the country and camels in the north. The decree of 4 September 1935 has forbidden the
[656] use of trucks. Its aims were to avoid bulky hauls, purchases at a low price at the place of production, and, above all, to en-
[231] courage local animal-husbandry. This system, however, carries with it grave defects. Most often transport on the back of a donkey is more expensive for the producer than transport by truck because the camel-drivers and donkey-drivers impose their own price on the peasants who do not have animals. Moreover, the transporter guides the seller to a trader whom the seller did not choose. Today, however, more and more derogations are permitted, because in the south, where the groundnut is progressing, the tsetse interdicts animal husbandry, and in the other regions the overworked animals are incapable of doing the transporting at the end of trade. Finally, certain
[874] co-operatives which pretend "to collect" and not to buy do send trucks to the places of production.

494 From the secco of the trader to the port nearby or to the
438 railroad station, transport is handled by trucks. It is essentially the commercial firms, the traders, or the local oil-makers who use them. There are few professional transporters because the traffic is essentially seasonal. The generally bad
[491] condition of the unpaved roads, except for the "Transgambienne" from Dakar to Ziguinchor, causes a rapid wearing-out of equipment, whose amortization is a heavy burden on the budget of the merchants.

497 The Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad and especially the Dakar-
438 Niger transport more than 200,000 metric tons of groundnuts

[Text continues on p. 21--Analyst]

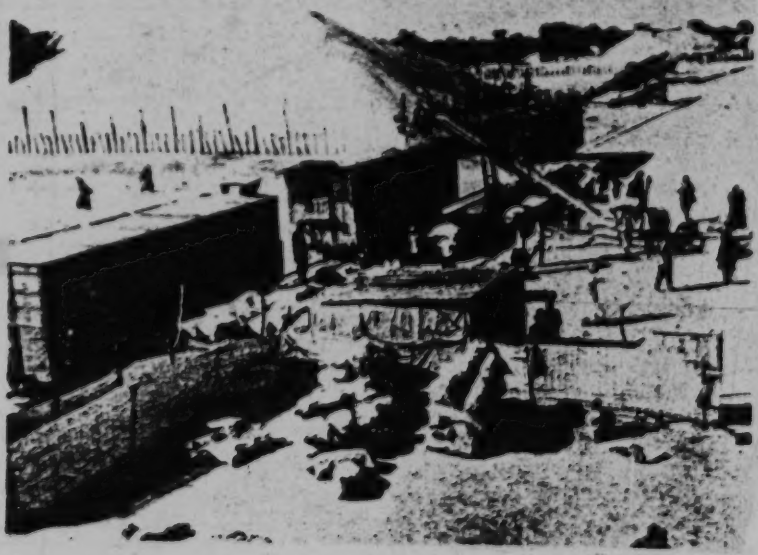
19: Pehaut--20 K-4 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 16-17/ Plate II

492
487
491

A. Trade: transporting the groundnuts to the trader (Diourbel).

496
366



B. Loading the loose groundnuts into the cars at the station in M'Backé.

/379 cont./

107
496
508
504
491
361

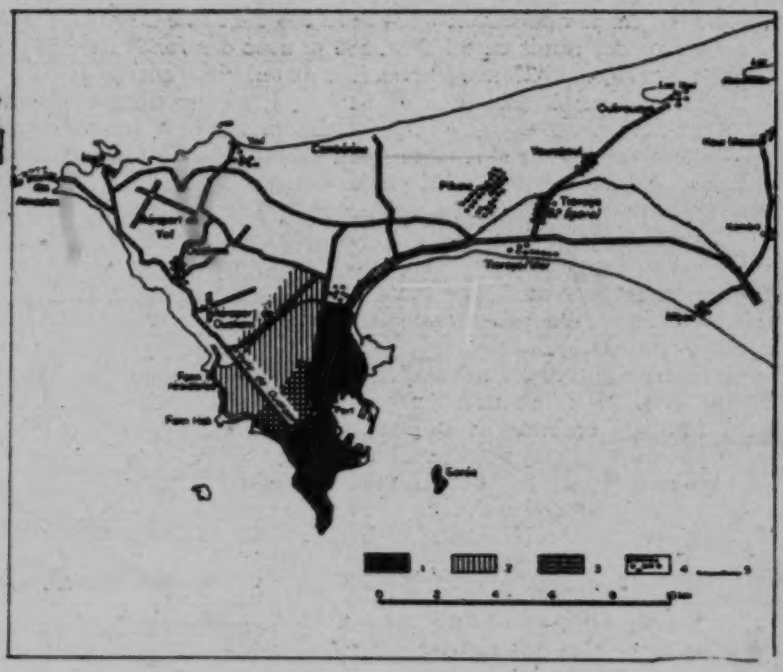


Fig. 2. The quarters of Dakar. --1. Dakar-ville and the industrial zone; 2. Greater Dakar; 3. Médina; 4. villages of the suburbs; 5. railroads.

369
505
439
[441]

groundnuts at Rufisque, nearer to the centers of production in Cayor. Therefore Rufisque soon became the groundnut capital. As early as 1862, 27 European or Goréan merchants were established there (and 12 at Bargny, located three kilometers farther to the east). Three years later, this figure climbed to 35 (14).

14. Note 1 in Fondation de Dakar, op. cit., p. 328.

369
633

The activity at Rufisque was so great and the launching of Dakar so

20: Seck--19 U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 382-383/

36
102
491
496
504
712
743

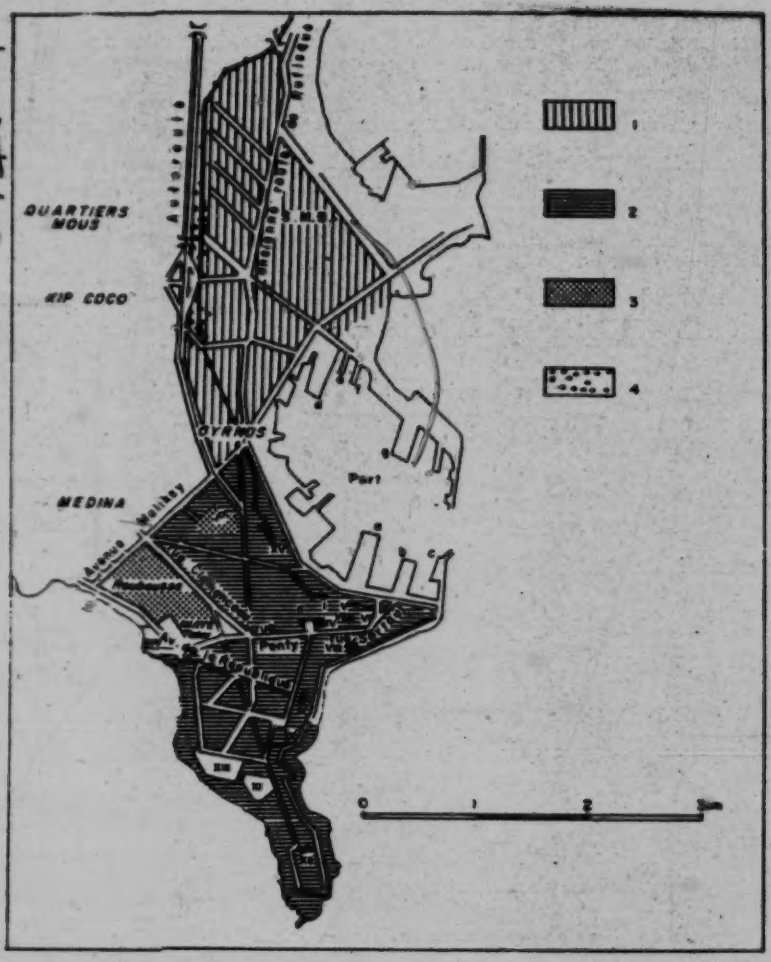


Fig. 3. Dakar. The port and the industrial zone. -- 1. The industrial zone; 2. the very urbanized sections; 3. low quarters; 4. irregular quarters.

(Caption Continued on following page.)

/Fig. 3 Caption cont./

36 102 491 496 504 712 743

a-g. The piers. -- I. Town Hall. -- II. Chambre de Commerce. -- III. Sandaga Market (Ponty-Clemenceau crossroads). -- IV. Former Palace of Justice. -- V. General Postoffice. -- VI. Treasury. -- VII. Kermel Market. -- VIII. Military Circle. -- IX. Residence of the President of the Republic. -- X. Military Hospital. -- XI. African Hospital. -- XII. Palace of Justice. -- XIII. Camp Bornis. -- XIV. Camp Galliéni. -- XV. Station.

369 563 162

/383 cont./ one another in Dakar are Lébou, Ouolof /Wolof/, Toucouleur /Tukolor/, Sérère /Serer/, Sarakolé, Diola, Socé, etc., who are Senegalese, but there are also Mauritanians, Sudanese, Voltaics, Guineans, Ivorians /persons from the Ivory Coast/, Dahomeans, Cape Verdeans, Lebano-Syrians, French, etc. The Lébou, who are the original population of Dakar, today represent scarcely one-tenth of the population, exceeded in number by the Oulof, the Toucouleur (20), and even by the 30,000 non-Africans,

[113]

20. A. Diop, "L'immigration toucouleur à Dakar (enquête /investigation/ 1958-1959)," I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 1. The author, citing an investigation by the M.I.S.O.E.S., gives the figure of 31,000 Toucouleur in 1959.

among whom the French constitute a great majority of close to 23,000 persons in residence. This character of Dakar as a region of call is illustrated first by the fact that only a little more than one-third of the population was born there, /384/ and then by the quite obvious inequality between the number of men and that of women. Before the war, among the Europeans, there were 65% men as against 25% women and 10% children (21). Today the systematic destruction of the

[166] [744]

21. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar," op. cit., p. 630.

/386/

102
491
361
363
496

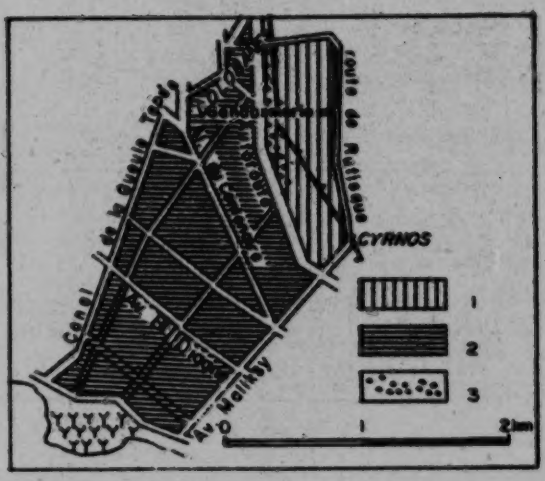


Fig. 4. Médina. -- 1. Industrial zone;
2. quarters more or less urbanized;
3. irregular quarters.

369 which progressively transformed the Dakar agglomeration.
563 There was first the creation of the S. T. A. G. D. (Service temporaire de l'aménagement du Grand-Dakar /Temporary
[361] Office for the Arrangement of Greater Dakar/) for a systematic urbanization of the city. Then there was the decision to promote a policy of lodgings for African officials, while a society for a mixed economy, the Société Immobilière du Cap-Vert (S. I. C. A. P.) /Building Society of Cape Verde/
[362] studied and made up forms for cheap dwellings for mere renting or for rent-sale. At the same time there was the law called "Lamine Gueye," which equalized upward several
[465] elements of the African and non-African wages at the time when "l'africanisation des cadres" /Africanization of the staffs/ was promoted, which led to a mixture of Africans and
[647] Europeans in the administrative lodgings and in the new quarters for officials. Finally, first the staff-law and then autonomy

/391 cont./

107
491
496
487
433

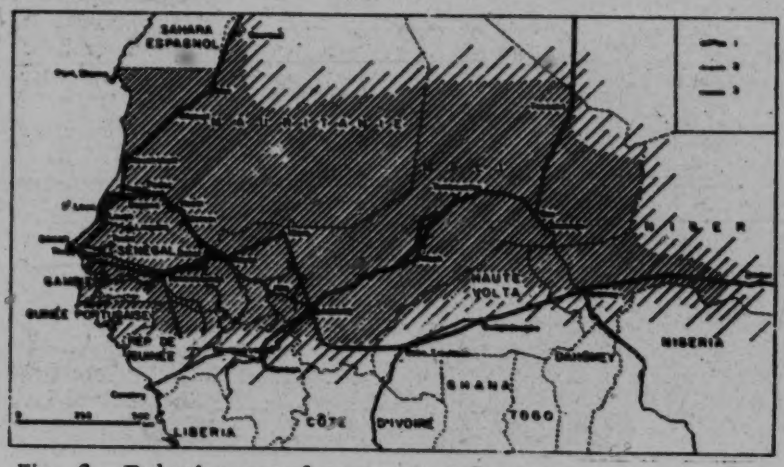


Fig. 6. Dakar's zone of economic influence.
1. Navigable course; 2. railroad;
3. road.

369 Sudanese interior, but also for the whole of former French West
433 Africa through the role of management that the administrative
439 offices, the banks, and the great commercial agencies play from Dakar.

In truth, however, this pre-eminence of Dakar which rests only on its role as a relay-station, a "service station," which receives for redistribution, carries with it grave weaknesses. And first of all it is necessary to note that the influence of Dakar, which extends supremely over a regional assemblage larger than France, is actually /392/ nothing less than a sign of the underdevelopment of the regions thus dominated. It in fact signifies for them an economy of trade, without local conversion of the products, with few urban centers playing an important role in regional management. Now, precisely this influence, while maintaining the economy of trade, prevents any new orientation of the economy in a national sense. Because of this, the ties uniting Dakar with its zone of influence appear to be of the same nature as those that tie the colonies to their mother countries, or, more accurately, they are only shackles; the nationalism of the new states will confuse them in a similar

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Gambia FC1

S
G
102
103
131
133
361
491
S
496

17W
16
15
MAURITANIA
DAMAR
FOUTA
FERLO
St. Louis
Podor
Matam
Bakel
Dagana
Richard Toll
Louga
Kaolack
Tambacounda
Diourbel
Thiès
Tivaouane
Mbour
Fatick
Foundiougne
Ziguinchor
Bissau
Bafatá
Gabú
Bissorã
Farim
Mansoa
Bolama
Cacheu
Bubaque
Bissau
Bathurst
Banjul
Gambia
Kaolack
Kaffrine
Medina
Mansoa
Farim
Bissorã
Bafatá
Gabú
Bolama
Bubaque
Cacheu
Ziguinchor
Oussouye
Dembering
Casamance
Dimbokro
Bouake
Bobo Dioulasso
Ouagadougou
Kaya
Tahoua
Niamey
Zinder
Nguigmi
Fort Lamy
Mao
Bilma
Agadez
Tessalit
Gao
Timbuktu
Mopti
Segou
Bamako
Kayes
Nioro
Nara
Diré
Goundam
Tombouctou
Niafunke
Ouallam
Ouahigouya
Dori
Tillabéry

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 39
Gambia PC1

S
G
102
103
131
133
361
491
S
496

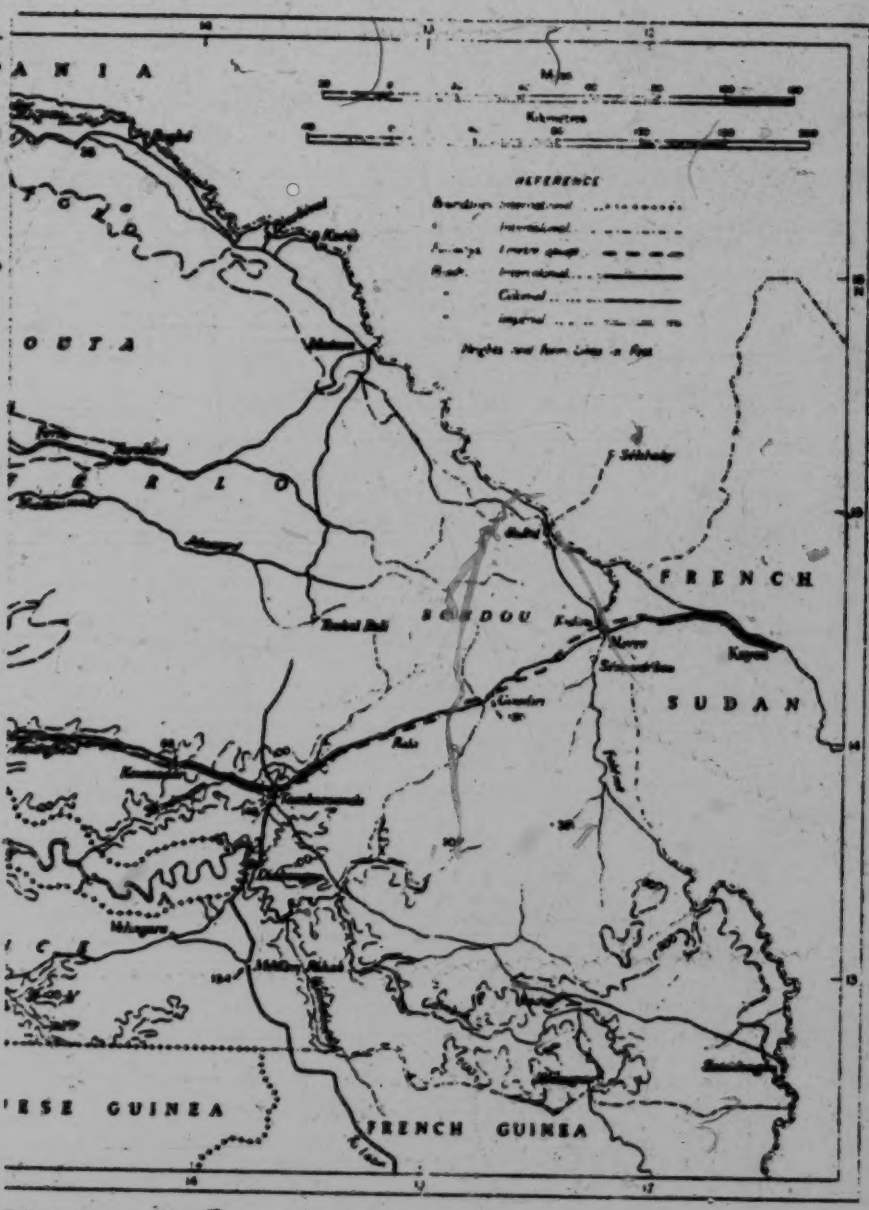


Fig. 47. Senegal

[Facing P. 395(B)]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

river is a sandy bar which sometimes prevents entry by ships for several weeks on end. After this the coast stretches south-south-westwards in a gentle curve of sandy beach. There are dunes along the shore, and, inland from them, the marshy depression already described on p. 397. There are very few villages and, indeed, very few landmarks of any kind. Seventy-four miles from the mouth of the Senegal the village of Kayar is perceptible from the sea. It is connected to Rufisque (17 miles) by a colonial road, and immediately south of it is Lake M'Baouar, which is seldom or never without water. After Kayar the coast trends more definitely south-west. Lake Retba, whose north-eastern end is 6½ miles from Kayar, is a permanent salt lake fed by the sea. There are other lakes and swamps behind the littoral dunes. On the coast itself stands another village, Cambérène, which is 22½ miles from Kayar and behind which rise the Petites Mamelles. These are three grey, isolated, sandy knolls, and they mark the beginning of the Cape Verde peninsula (Fig. 48).

The Cape Verde Peninsula and Goree Bay

Yof island (Plate 108), 3½ miles west of Cambérène, stands off the village (Plate 109) of the same name. The beach on the mainland is accessible to surf-boats in all weathers. Just west of the village is a cable hut, where cables are landed, and a tarmac road runs southwards to Ouakam and Dakar. The coast is now more indented, and, 2½ miles south-west of Yof, is a ledge of rocks which joins the shore to Ngor island and behind which is the village of Ngor. Three-quarters of a mile farther west the coast turns almost due south to reach Almadi point (Plate 110), the extreme west of the mainland of Africa. There is a lighthouse on a rock three-quarters of a mile out to sea. Cape Verde itself is 2 miles to the south-east of Almadi point, and behind it are two conical hills called the Mamelles. It was the stunted brushwood on these hills that gave the cape its name. From here to Cape Manuel the coast continues its south-easterly direction, being formed of red cliffs and small sandy beaches. Fann point, 3¾ miles from Cape Verde, marks the north-western end of Madeleines bay, which washes the south-western side of Dakar (p. 444). Some 2 miles south-west are the four Madeleines islands, all of which are rocky and three of which are inaccessible. At Cape Manuel, which is 131 feet high, the coast turns sharply north to form Bernard bay. North of Dakar is Hann bay, and both of these small bays are on the western side of Goree bay. This is generally considered to stretch from Cape Manuel to Cape Rouge, and in it,

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

133 1½ miles off shore from Dakar, is the historic island of Goree (p. 449).
[504] The bay is protected by the Cape Verde peninsula and affords good anchorage at a depth of 11 fathoms, and its beaches provide numerous landing-points for ships' boats.

[361] The village of Hann, in the middle of the shore of Hann bay, is a

102
●491
133
361
103

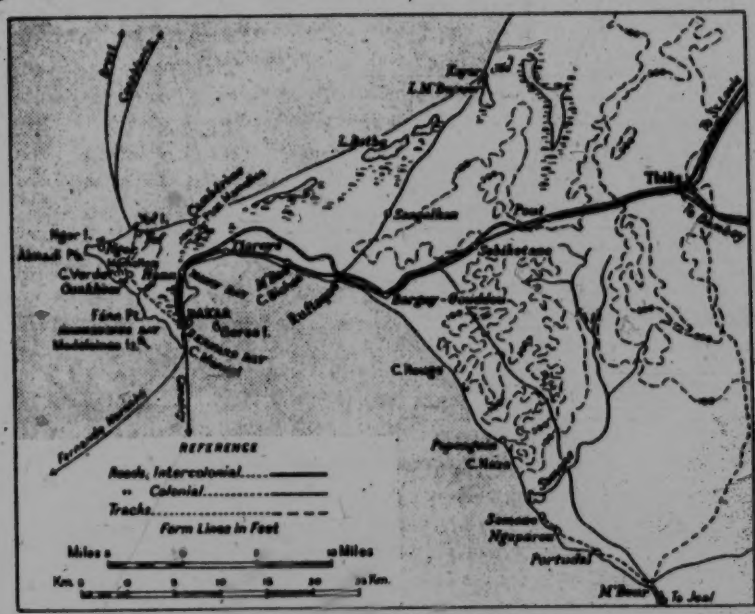


FIG. 48. *The Cape Verde Peninsula*

133
[361] seaside resort for the inhabitants of Dakar. There is also a botanical
[367] garden. The intercolonial road and the railway run near the sea and
[491] are never far from it until they pass Bargny-Gouddou. North-east of
[496] Hann there is a narrow lagoon between the sea and the road, and the coast bears away north-east, east, and east-south-east for the 11 miles to Rufisque (p. 449). There is much marshland, and the sole feature of note is Cape Biches, a low promontory 2 miles before the town. Bargny-Gouddou is 3 miles east-south-east of Rufisque, and beyond it the coast is cut up by creeks and lagoons, which have small seasonal rivers running into them. Behind them are scattered sandhills which rise eastwards to hills of 200 and 300 feet. Cape Rouge, which barely projects into the sea, has red cliffs intersected by wooded ravines.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

Cape Rouge to Sangomar Point

The hills are near the shore at least as far as the Somone, but the shoreline is fringed with sandy beaches and occasional mangrove swamps. Popenguin, 6 miles from Cape Rouge, has a Roman Catholic church, and, 1½ miles farther, Cape Naze rises to 236 feet. Inland there is a hill of 400 feet. Three miles beyond the cape the river Somone finds its way to the sea through a patch of mangrove-woodland. The coast runs south-eastwards by means of a series of small bays, and the country is more settled and cultivated. A number of sandspits can also be distinguished. These have been built by the prevailing current, and they have either blocked or diverted the short streams and marigots. From the village of Somone, which is a little distance from the river of that name, there is a minor road to Ngaparou, Portudal, and M'Bour (p. 450). Portudal's great days are over, but ships can still anchor about 3½ miles off shore in a depth of 5½ fathoms. There is a reef to seaward of the beach, but west of the village a break allows access to a creek, where landing is possible. There are many other reefs and shoals off this part of the coast. Inland, the road is continued near the shore to Joal, but in many places its surface is very rough indeed. Two miles beyond M'Bour the Balling, a seasonal river, meets the sea, and, 3 miles farther still, is Nianing, a local centre for tracks. From here the coast runs almost due south to Sarène point, a low and sandy promontory. After this the road goes inland a little to avoid a shallow bight, heavily fringed with mangroves and crossed by several marshy streams. South of this, and 1 mile north of Senti point, is the village of Ngazobil, conspicuous by reason of its Roman Catholic church. Joal (p. 450) is 2½ miles farther south-east. From this place onwards the coast is extremely swampy and is cut up by creeks and estuaries. Only the principal features can be noted here.

Eleven and a half miles beyond Joal stands the little village of Diakhanor. This marks the northern end of a strip of land which is strongly reminiscent of the Langue de Barbarie. It has been built by the Saloum and the sea, and it separates them for about 10 miles. An old mouth of the river is clearly observable 6 miles south of Diakhanor, and the end of the strip is called Sangomar point.

Sangomar Point to the Frontier of the Gambia

The Saloum is navigable upstream for sea-going vessels for about 100 miles, and on its banks and those of its tributary the Sine

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[p 402]
102
103
133
491
361

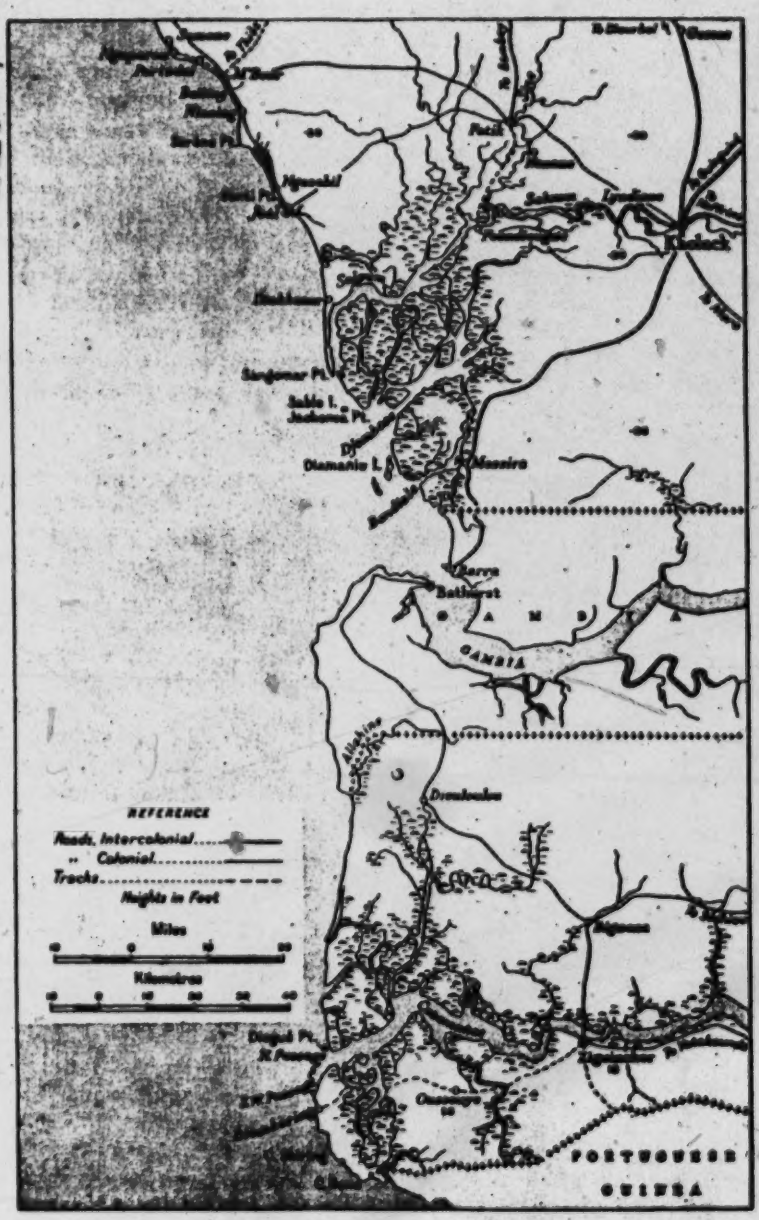


FIG. 49. *Senegal: the Coast from Ngaparou to Cape Roxo*

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

near the Senegal river, the Fulani in the centre of the colony, and the Mandingos in the east of it. 162 [563]

The District of Dakar

The 66 square miles of the District of Dakar contain 126,929 persons; but the figures for density per square mile mean even less than elsewhere, since most of the inhabitants live in the town itself.

In 1937 there were 118,459 natives and 8,470 Europeans, of whom 6,728 were French. This was about a quarter of the total of Europeans in the whole Federation. [563]

Inland Towns

Bakel (14° 52′; 12° 24′ W.) Population, 2,103. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. Daily market. 36 [131] [162]

Bakel is on the left bank of the Senegal (Plate 83) where the river passes between cliffs some 17 miles below the entrance of the Falémé. It is a local market for gum, ground-nuts, grain, gold dust, hides, and ostrich feathers. Most of the inhabitants are Moslems. [438] [162]

By river it is 531 miles from St. Louis and 84 miles from Kayes, and there is a fortnightly steamer service when the water permits. By colonial road Bakel is 386 miles from St. Louis, 93 miles from Matam, and 32 miles from Kidira. A bus service connects all these places. The river can be crossed by ferry, and from the Mauritanian bank a poor track leads to Sélibaby (32 miles). [487] [505] [491] [494]

Bambey (14° 40′; 16° 25′ W.). Altitude, 59 feet. Population, 4,209. Mixed Commune. Dispensary. Police station. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Garage. Agricultural experimental station. Daily market. [131] [162] [654]

Set in the midst of an area of dense population, Bambey is a prosperous market town. The main product of the locality is ground-nuts, and large quantities of these are put on the train each year. They also form the chief speciality of the agricultural experimental station. [438] [654]

Communications. By railway Bambey is 77 miles from Dakar, 33½ miles from Thiès, 17 miles from Diourbel, and 319 miles from Kidira. It is on the intercolonial road, being 49 miles from Thiès and 16 miles from Diourbel. A colonial road goes almost due south to Fatik (27 miles). There is a daily bus service (p. 473) to Fatik, Foundiougne, and Kaolack. [491] [494]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

36 [131] [162] BIGNONA (12° 49′; 16° 16′ W.). Altitude, *c.* 60 feet. Population, 1,611. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Military post. Emergency landing-ground. Garage.

Bignona stands on the left bank of a small and marshy tributary of the Casamance. Canoes carry a certain amount of merchandise, as also do lorries. The principal items of trade are ground-nuts, palm kernels, wax, rice, and fruit. Most of the native inhabitants are Dioulas. [438] [162]

Colonial roads lead south to the Casamance opposite Ziguinchor (16 miles), east to Sedhiou (58 miles) and Kolda (120 miles), and north-west to Diouloulou (35 miles) and the frontier of the Gambia (46 miles). There are also several minor roads and tracks. [491]

[131] [162] DAGANA (16° 27′; 15° 34′ W.). Altitude, 13 feet. Population, *c.* 3,500. District headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Race-course.

Dagana is on the left bank of the Senegal, and its chief economic function is as a market for Mauritanian gum. This is shipped down river to St. Louis, 116 miles away. There is also connexion upstream to Podor (61 miles), Bakel (403 miles), and Kayes (487 miles). [439] [487]

By colonial road Dagana is 86 miles from St. Louis and 332 miles from Kidira. It is on the bus service (p. 474) between these two places. Southwards another colonial road leads across sparsely inhabited country to Dahra (89 miles) and Diourbel (162 miles). From the opposite bank of the Senegal a track goes to Mederdra, some 30 miles distant. [491] [494]

[131] [162] DIOURBEL (14° 39′; 16° 10′ W.). Altitude, 39 feet. Population, 15,442. Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Police headquarters. Emergency landing-ground. Power station. Hotel. Garage. Daily market.

This flourishing town lies across the little Sine river in the middle of a well-cultivated shallow valley. To the north the ground rises somewhat. Diourbel owes its prosperity to ground-nuts, and 100,000 tons of them pass through the town every year. There are several factories for the shelling of the nuts and for the expression of their oil. Besides this, Diourbel is the headquarters of the province of Baol and a route centre. Its inhabitants are mainly Moslems, who have a large and important mosque. There is also a special school for sons of chiefs. [438] [258] [162] [871]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

36

The electric power station has a gas-engine plant that burns the residue from ground-nut presses. [377]

Communications. Diourbel is the railway junction for Routes 3 and 4. By the former it is 50½ miles from Thiès and 302 miles from Kidira, and by the latter it is 31 miles from Touba. The intercolonial road leads westwards to Thiès (65 miles) and Dakar (109 miles) and south-eastwards to Kaolack (40 miles), Tambacounda (230 miles), and Nayes (351 miles). Colonial roads go north-eastwards to Dahra (73 miles) and Dagana (162 miles) and south-westwards to Fatik (25 miles) and Kaolack (53 miles). [496] [491]

LOUGA (15° 37′; 16° 16′ W.). Altitude, 128 feet. Population, 4,390. Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Regional School. Power station. Garage. Race-course. Agricultural experimental station and farm school. Daily market. [131] [162] [654]

Louga is the scene of the most important cattle market in the whole colony. It is this that has made it a route centre. Other local products are ground-nuts, gum, and millet. Administratively, Louga is the headquarters of the province of the same name and also a military headquarters. [438]

Electricity is supplied by an oil-driven plant. [377]

Communications. Louga stands at the junction of railway routes 1 and 2, being 119 miles from Dakar, 44 miles from St. Louis, and 81 miles from Linguéré. It is on the intercolonial road from Dakar (121 miles) to St. Louis (47 miles). A colonial road runs eastwards across the colony to Dahra (59 miles), Linguéré (84 miles), and Matam (242 miles). There are also minor roads and tracks. [496] [491]

PODOR (16° 35′; 15° 02′ W.). Population, 3,168. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. Daily market. [131] [162]

This riverside town is chiefly important for gum arabic. The gum is brought by the Arabs, sold in the market, and shipped down the Senegal to St. Louis. [439]

Communications. By river Podor is 178 miles from St. Louis and 437 miles from Kayes. Throughout the year the Messageries Africaines run a fortnightly service to and from St. Louis. From July to January the boats also go upstream as far as Matam (234 miles) and in August and September to Kayes. Podor is on the colonial road, being 135 miles from St. Louis and 288 miles from Nayes. There is a ferry across the river to connect with tracks to such Mauritanian [487] [505] [491]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

36 towns as Boutilimit and Aleg. There is also a track that runs south-south-westwards to Yang-Yang. For half the year there is a bus [491] service twice a week to St. Louis in one direction and to Kidira in [494] the other. 1/n

[131] TAMBACOUNDA (13° 45′; 13° 39′ W.). Altitude, 148 feet. Population, [162] *c.* 4,000. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Hotel. Garage.

On a slight eminence above a marshy tributary of the Sandougou, [491] Tambacounda is of considerable importance as a route centre. It [496] is not only a road junction but also the most southerly point in Senegal of the Dakar–Niger railway. Near the town is a sisal [248] plantation.

The hotel is open only from December to May.

By rail Tambacounda is 285 miles from Dakar, 111 miles from [496] Kidira, and 170½ miles from Kayes. One intercolonial road runs [491] westwards to Kaolack (188 miles), Thiès (295 miles), and Dakar (339 miles); another north-eastwards to Nayes (121 miles) and Kayes (176 miles); and a third southwards to Diabougou (25 miles) and ultimately to Labé (288 miles). Before the war Tambacounda was [509] connected to Dakar and Bamako by a weekly air service operated by Air France.

[131] THIÈS (14° 49′; 16° 52′ W.). Altitude, 207 feet. Population, 15,451. [162] Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Regional School. [797] Roman Catholic mission. Power station. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops. Cinemas. Daily market.

Since the opening of the railway in 1885 Thiès has grown from a collection of native huts to a large town. The railway workshops [498] employ many hundreds of men, and the market handles considerable [438] quantities of ground-nuts. The town has been built on a slope that declines gently east and north-east to a small stream. The old Fort Faidherbe is still standing, and there is a big Roman Catholic church.

Communications. Thiès is a railway junction, being 43½ miles [496] from Dakar, 119½ miles from St. Louis, and 352½ miles from Kidira. It is also a meeting-place of intercolonial roads. One of these comes [491] from Dakar (44 miles) and goes on to St. Louis (124 miles), while the other branches east to Kaolack (107 miles), Nayes (416 miles), and Kayes (471 miles). There are several minor roads, notably one going [494] south to M'Bour. Along this road there is a regular bus service, with two buses each weekday in either direction.

1/n [From the Town of Podor-- Analyst]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

36
102
491
504
712
133

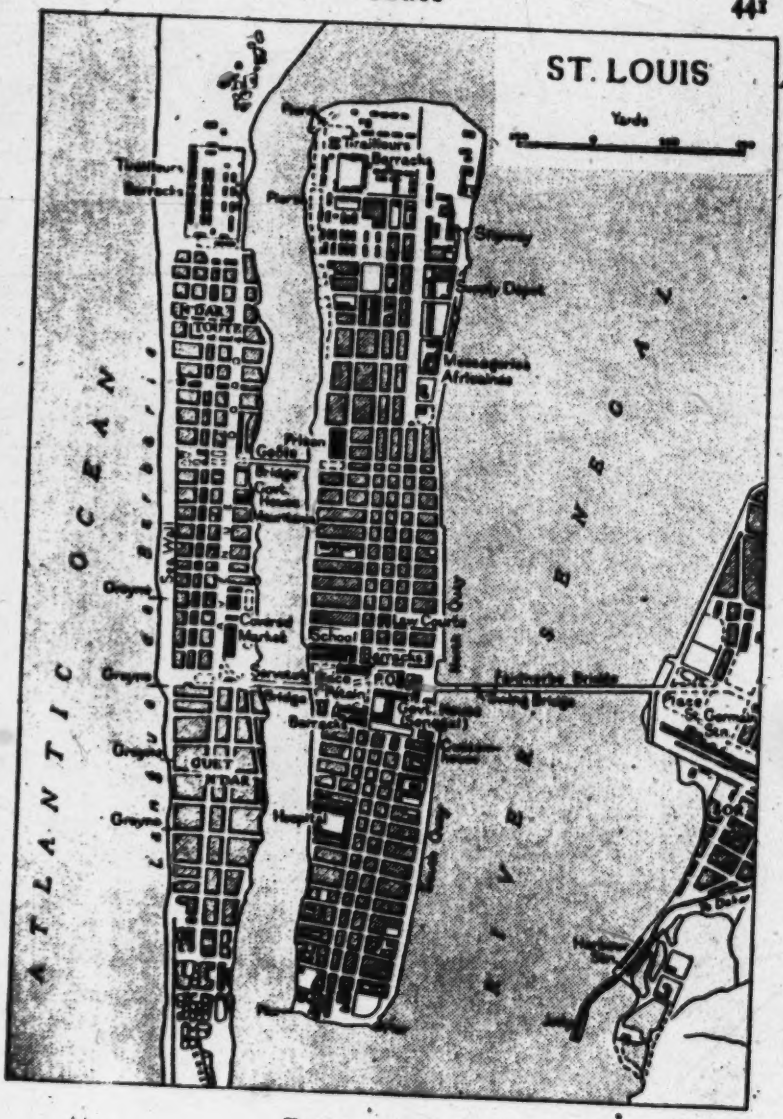


FIG. 53. *St. Louis*

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
ST. LOUIS

361 The oldest part of St. Louis (Fig. 53) stands on an island in the estuary of the Senegal. This island is some 2,400 yards long and averages 350 yards in width, and its southern extremity is 13½ miles from the mouth of the river. It has three main suburbs, N'Dar Toute and Guet N'Dar on the Langue de Barbarie, and Sor on the mainland.

History

361 175 [487] [103] Early navigators in search of the gold of Bambouk used the Senegal as a means of entry to the interior, and in 1658 a settlement was founded. This was the first French post in West Africa, and it was named after the patron saint of King Louis XIV. Its story has largely been told elsewhere, since, from the first, it played a prominent part in the general history of French West Africa as a whole and of Senegal in particular. The main events in the past were its capture by [648] the British in 1759, its recapture in 1779, its second capture in 1809, and its final restoration to the French in 1817. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it steadily grew in size and wealth, but in recent years it has been forced, both commercially and politically, to yield to Dakar.

The Town

361 The original island is now almost completely covered with buildings. These include Government House (Senegal), the Law Courts, the principal barracks, the power station, and the Roman Catholic church in the centre; the prison, two mosques, and another barracks to the north; and the hospital and another mosque to the south. N'Dar Toute has Government House (Mauritania) (Plate 92), the market, and yet another barracks, and Sor has the railway stations [964] and the cemeteries. Guet N'Dar is inhabited almost entirely by natives.

•491 361 The western arm of the river is crossed by two bridges. The Geôle Bridge, 150 yards long, connects the main town to N'Dar Toute, and it takes its name from the prison near its eastern end. Five hundred and sixty yards south of it is the Servotuis Bridge, the western end of which marks the dividing line between N'Dar Toute and Guet N'Dar. At the other end of it is an open space at present called Place Pétain. In a line with the Servotuis Bridge is the Faidherbe Bridge across the main stream. Built in 1900, this bridge is 570 yards long and has six fixed spans and a roadway 37 feet wide. Near its western end is a swing bridge with two openings each of 30 yards.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
ST. LOUIS

30 yards. Immediately east of it is the Place St. Germain, on the south-west side of which stands the main railway station. 361

The western side of the Langue de Barbarie has been reinforced by groynes and a sea-wall.

The town as a whole is well planned, and it has many shops and offices.

Trade

The chief exports are oil-seeds and skins. Imports are mainly manufactured goods. In 1937 the former weighed 30,400 tons and were valued at 31,600,000 francs (£253,990), and the latter weighed 8,300 tons and were valued at 11,900,000 francs (£95,640). 439

Description of Port

Anchorages. Outside the bar at the river mouth there is anchorage in 9–11 fathoms. Inside it there is again a depth of 11 fathoms, which gradually decreases until it is 5 fathoms just below Faidherbe Bridge. 504 [133]

Quays. The principal quays are on the east side of the island. North Quay (Plate 115), above Faidherbe Bridge, is 1,050 feet long, and South Quay, below it, is 1,770 feet long with an alongside depth of 12 fathoms. At the harbour station in Sor there is a jetty 600 feet long with a wharf at its head. There are four small piers on the island, whose positions are shown in Fig. 53.

Equipment. There is a steam crane some 600 yards above the North Quay and a slipway a little higher still. Minor repairs can be effected, but facilities are generally poor.

Fuel. A small stock of coal is kept, but no oil.

Communications

Rail. There are three railway stations (p. 467) in Sor, and the main station is the terminus of the line to Dakar (Route 1). 498

Road. The intercolonial road to Thiès (124 miles) and Dakar (168 miles) starts from the Place St. Germain and then turns south when clear of the goods station. At this point the Imperial road branches off north-east to Rosso (66 miles) and ultimately to Tindouf (1,315 miles). There is a bus service twice a week to and from Matam and Nayes. 491 494

Air. The airfield is 3½ miles north-east of Place St. Germain. Its surface is hard clay and it has one hangar. In normal times there is a weekly Air France service to Dakar. 508 509

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

History

175 361 [197] Until the middle of the nineteenth century Dakar was a Lebou village. In 1846, however, a Roman Catholic convent was built there, and eleven years later the village and the Cape Verde peninsula were officially occupied. In 1858 the French Government signed a contract with the Messageries Impériales (now the Messageries Maritimes) whereby ships sailing between Bordeaux and Rio de Janeiro would call at Dakar. The company acquired 7½ acres of land near Dakar point, and in 1863 a small jetty was built. This was the beginning of the port. In 1864 a lighthouse was constructed near [502] Cape Verde and three years later two others, respectively at Almadi [496] point and at Cape Manuel. In 1885 the railway to St. Louis was opened. It was not, however, until 1898 that the idea was conceived [712] of making Dakar a big naval base, and by 1910 it was capable of accommodating vessels of all types. Further improvements have [504] since been effected, and to-day the dry dock is big enough to take a battleship.

The Town

361 Dakar has grown so as to cover the southern part of the Cape Verde peninsula, but the port is on the east side of the town. On the south-west are the cliffs of Madeleines bay and on the south-east those of Bernard bay. Dakar point marks the northern end of the latter. North of the port is Bel Air point, the southern limit of Hann bay.

The medina or native town, which contains nearly half the population, is to the north-west of the main town. The intercolonial road [491] enters the latter from the north and is continued as the Avenue Gambetta and the Avenue Maginot to an open space where stands [368] the Roman Catholic cathedral. East of the cathedral is the Residence of the Governor-General (Vol. I, Plate 58), magnificently situated on the top of the cliffs overlooking Bernard bay. Farther south are the British Consulate, the Pasteur Institute, the botanical gardens, and, [943] almost at Cape Manuel, the isolation hospital. The buildings of the army headquarters are near Dakar point. West of them are the port offices, the telephone exchange, the principal market, the Mairie (Plate 117), and the law courts. The town contains innumerable shops and offices and many clubs, cafés, hotels, and other amenities of modern civilization.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37 Dakar

504 small piers and a slipway. A quarter of a mile south of the slipway are the naval oil-fuel tanks, which are at the northern end of the dockyard. This has, among other works, a large basin and a dry [498] dock, and behind it are the railway goods station and workshops. Just beyond its southern corner is the main station, but extensions of the line run on to the wharfs. On the south side of the harbour are the three principal commercial basins, separated from each other by moles. The easternmost of these is the South Jetty, at the northern [502] end of which is another light, only 275 yards from the end of North Jetty.

From Dakar point a breakwater runs for 1,000 yards south-east and east.

Alongside depths vary from 21 feet at No. 1 Mole to 34 feet at No. 8 Mole, and the total length of quays and oiling berths, apart from those in the dockyard, is 13,861 feet.

Warehouses. There are warehouses on No. 1 Mole, No. 2 Mole, and No. 3 Mole, and all along the south side of the harbour.

Equipment. The dry dock is 656 feet long and 93 feet wide and can be divided into two parts. There are numerous cranes of all types, including floating cranes. The two largest of these are each of 125 tons. Repair facilities are good, and the port is well supplied with tugs, launches, and lighters.

Fuel. The commercial oil-fuel tanks are on the south shore of Hann bay. Behind them is a goods station. Additional naval oil tanks are farther north-west. A pipe-line connects the commercial tanks to the oil berths at the end of North Jetty. Coal is stored on [439] No. 8 Mole. It is very largely imported from South Wales. Good stocks of both fuels are normally held.

Communications

498 *Rail.* Dakar is the terminus of the railway from Thiès and St. Louis (Route 1). From Thiès Route 2 runs to Kidira (396 miles) and ultimately to Koulikoro (801 miles). The main station is at the south-east corner of the harbour, close to the dockyard.

● 491 *Road.* It has already been stated that the intercolonial road runs north from the end of Avenue Gambetta. It follows the curve of Hann bay to Rufisque (15 miles) before going to Thiès (44 miles). A minor road leads north-westwards to Ouakam (5 miles) and Yof (8 miles). There are also other minor roads.

508 *Air.* The airport lies nearly 5 miles north-west of the main town, 509 and has hangars and workshops. In 1939 Dakar was on the Air France

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

[RUFISQUE]

439 Rufisque was the first port from which ground-nuts were exported, and to-day ground-nuts are still the main article of trade. In the first quarter of 1939 it exported 25,152 tons of them. On the north side
504 of Goree bay, Rufisque can only handle small ships. There is anchorage off shore in 3–7 fathoms, but from July to November heavy swell makes it almost unusable.

633 Since 1937 the town has been in the District of Dakar.

Jetties and Equipment. There are three jetties with alongside depths
504 of at least 9½ feet. Two of these are of iron, one being 603 feet long and 33 feet wide with an extension by a wharf 65 feet long and 52 feet wide. The third is of concrete and is 656 feet long. Decauville tracks connect these jetties to the railway. There is one 5-ton crane and one 2-ton, besides smaller ones. There are 4 tugs and 2 lighters.

Communications

496 *Rail.* By rail Rufisque is 17 miles from Dakar, 26½ miles from Thiès, 146 miles from St. Louis, and 268 miles from Tambacounda.

Road. The intercolonial road runs from Dakar (15 miles) through
● 491 to Thiès (29 miles), where it divides. Eight miles beyond Rufisque a colonial road branches off it to go to M'Bour (38 miles), Joal (61 miles), and Fatik (101 miles). Another colonial road goes northeastwards from the town to Sangalkan (6 miles) and Kayar (17 miles).

36 M'Bour (14° 21′; 16° 57′ W.). Population, *c.* 4,500, including 175
[131] Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-
[162] house. Medical post. Police station.

The town of M'Bour stands at the head of a shallow cove which extends for a mile out to sea as a passage between two reefs. Inside
[504] the cove the water is up to 4½ feet deep, and there is a wharf used by surf-boats. Ships anchor 2½ miles off shore, but heavy swell makes
[439] conditions difficult from June to November. Ground-nuts and millet are exported.

[491] M'Bour is on the colonial road from Rufisque (38 miles) to Joal
[491] (23 miles) and Fatik (63 miles). Several minor roads lead inland,
[494] notably one to Thiès, along which there is a bus service twice a day. For half the year there is also a service to Joal.

[131] Joal (14° 09′; 16° 51′ W.). Population, *c.* 900. Custom-house.
[162] Roman Catholic mission.

Joal was founded by the Norman Company in the middle of the
[175] seventeenth century. It was captured by the Dutch in 1677 and by

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[JOAL]

the British 70 years later, and it did not finally become French until 1763. It is on a sandspit in front of a coastal lagoon. Off shore there is a large sandbank, exposed at low tide. 36 [175]

There is a small wharf, but, owing to the difficulty of access, there is very little trade. In 1937, for example, only 4,600 tons of goods were handled and their value was 4,600,000 francs (£36,970). [504] [439]

The colonial road from Fatik (40 miles) to M'Bour (23 miles) and Rufisque (61 miles) runs through the town. There are also minor roads. From November to June there is a bus service to M'Bour and Thiès four days a week. [491] [494]

FOUNDIOUGNE (14° 06′; 16° 29′ W.). Population, 2,734. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-house. Medical post. [131] [162]

Foundiougne is on an island formed by the Saloum, the Djomboss, and their connecting channels. Much of the district is swampy, but the town itself is on a piece of firm ground on the left bank of the Saloum, 33 miles from the sea.

Anchorage in the river is in 3½ fathoms. There are 8 wharves, of which 1 is owned by the municipality. [504]

The principal export is ground-nuts, but in recent years Foundiougne has declined in prosperity. This is owing to the rise of Kaolack, which is better situated on the north bank of the river and which has much better communications. [A39] [433]

There is a ferry across the river, and from its far side a rough road leads to Fatik. South of the river there is a colonial road eastwards to Kaolack (32 miles). Along both these roads there is a bus service, daily in the dry season and fortnightly in the wet. [491] [494]

FATIK (14° 18′; 16° 27′ W.). Population, 3,521, including 128 Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Medical post. Police station. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. [131] [162]

At Nonane, on Marigot de Fatik 14½ miles above its junction with the Saloum, is the site of one of the old *escales*. This is the upper limit for boats drawing 10 feet, but smaller craft can ascend a further 7 miles to Fatik, 58 miles from the sea. The town is on the right bank of the river, which is here called the Sine. [505] [487]

Trade is chiefly in ground-nuts. [439]

Colonial roads lead north to Bambey (27 miles), south-east to Kaolack (28 miles), and south-west to Joal (60 miles), and a minor road south to Foundiougne. [491]

The landing-ground is half a mile west of the town.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

36 [131] [162] KAOLACK (14° 07′; 16° 07′ W.). Population, 21,973. Mixed Commune. Headquarters of the province of Sine-Saloum. Customhouse. Chamber of Commerce. Medical post. Police headquarters. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Regional School. Roman Catholic mission. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Hotels. Garages. Race-course.

[439] Kaolack exports more ground-nuts than any other port in the Federation. It is a well-planned town with squares and trees, and it is on the right bank of the Saloum, 71 miles above its mouth, where [487] [505] the river is 100 yards wide. It is the limit of navigation for sea-going ships.

[162] In 1904 Kaolack had only 300 inhabitants, but the development of communications in the neighbourhood has caused it to grow to its present size. The figure given above is for the permanent popu- [166] lation only. At the height of the ground-nut season there are an additional 20,000 temporary inhabitants.

Trade

During the first quarter of 1939 Kaolack exported 32,259 tons of [439] ground-nuts (Plate 122), as against 26,832 tons from Dakar. Owing to the bar across the Saloum, however, many ships do not load to their maximum capacity but go on to Dakar to complete their lading. [258] Across the river from the town is a large salt-works.

The Port

On the north bank there are concrete quays with a total length of [504] over 2,000 feet and on the south bank there is a small wharf. At Lyndiane, 9 miles downstream, is a wharf belonging to the firm of Peyrissac et Cie.

Communications

Rail. Kaolack is the terminus of Route 5 to Guinguiné (14 miles), [498] and is therefore 142 miles from Dakar. It is also the terminus of Route 6 to Lyndiane (6½ miles). Both stations are close to the river, and there is a line directly on to the quays.

[491] *Road.* Intercolonial roads lead northward to Gossas (25 miles), Thiès (82 miles), and Dakar (126 miles), eastward to Kaffrine (37 miles) and Tambacounda (188 miles), and south-south-westward to Messira (49 miles) and the frontier of the Gambia (57 miles). The last-named road crosses the Saloum by a bridge. A colonial road goes north-west to Fatik (28 miles), another south-east to Nioro

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[KAOLACK]

(33 miles) and Medina (50 miles), and a third west to Foundiougne (32 miles). 36 [491]

Air. The airfield is 1 mile north-east of the town. [508]

Wireless. The wireless station is in the centre of the town. [206]

Shipping. Boats of the Messageries du Sénégal line call regularly, and the Compagnie de Navigation Paquet maintains a weekly service with Foundiougne, Bathurst, and Dakar. [505]

ZIGUINCHOR (12° 32′; 16° 21′ W.). Population, 6,070. Mixed Commune. Headquarters of the Casamance Territory and of the Province of Ziguinchor. Custom-house. Magistrate's Court. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital and maternity home. Police headquarters. Meteorological station. Emergency landing-ground. Wireless station. Roman Catholic mission. Garages. Daily market. [131] [162] [743]

The first large piece of firm ground upstream from the mouth of the Casamance is nearly 42 miles from the sea, and it is here, on the left bank, that Ziguinchor stands. The depth of the river is 6 fathoms. Jetties have been built at right angles to the waterfront, partly to counteract silting, and ships drawing 15 feet can go alongside them. The quays have a total length of over 3,000 feet and the warehouses a total capacity of some 25,000 tons. There are no cranes, all goods being manhandled. [504]

There is a considerable variety of exports, including ground-nuts, fruit, rice, palm oil, palm kernels, cotton, tobacco, sisal, and hides, but imports are chiefly manufactured goods and building materials. In value of trade Ziguinchor comes between Foundiougne and Rufisque. [439]

Communications

Road. The river is crossed by a ferry, and a colonial road leads north to Bignona (16 miles) and then east to Sedhiou (74 miles) and Kolda (136 miles). Another one goes along the south bank of the Casamance, also to Kolda (130 miles). Minor roads lead south to the frontier of Portuguese Guinea and south-west to Oussouye and Diembering. [491]

Air. Seaplanes can alight in the river, and there is a weekly Aéromaritime service to Bathurst and Dakar. The landing-ground is 1½ miles south of the town. [509]

Wireless. The two wireless stations are housed in the same building. [206]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal M537

36 SEDHIOU (12° 42′; 15° 31′ W.). Population, 1,653. Provincial head-
[131] quarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional
[162] School.

Sedhiou is on the right bank of the Casamance, 68 miles above
[487] Ziguinchor and 110 miles from the sea, and it is only usable by vessels
[505] drawing up to 5 feet. Formerly more prosperous than it is to-day,
it has some brick buildings and shops. Many of the traders are
[439] Syrians, and there is a modest export of ground-nuts, hides, rice, and
wax.

[491] By colonial road Sedhiou is 58 miles from Bignona, 74 miles from Ziguinchor, and 62 miles from Kolda.

11. MINERALS

135 THE principal mineral exported from the colony is ilmenite, which
[439] is washed from beach sands between Rufisque and Cape Rouge, between Joal and Diakhanor, and at the mouth of the Casamance. Zircon (Vol. I, pp. 295–6) is obtained from the same sands, the ilmenite:zircon ratio being about 3:1. Other minerals of potential value are phosphates and limestone, both of which occur in Lower Eocene strata. Lenticular beds of phosphate, ranging from 30 to 65 per cent. bone phosphate of lime, are found near Matam and near Thiès. Limestones and marls are more widespread than in any other
[339] colony, and at Rufisque they have been worked experimentally for the commercial production of cement. Bitumen has been encountered at Dakar in borings for water, but investigations have shown that the
[315] geological structure is unsuited to the accumulation of petroleum.

12. AGRICULTURE

241 THE Gambia divides the millet from the manioc zone, but ground-nuts are the chief crop of both. Sisal-growing is an important, though more recent, industry. South of the Gambia the Casamance Territory provides a rich area for fruit and subsistence crops as well as for ground-nuts.

[439] There is far more production for export than in any other colony.

Food Crops

243 *Millets.* Millets form the staple diet of the majority of the native
262 population and are grown all over that part of the colony north of the

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS37

496
133

Route 2

LOUGA–LINGUÉRÉ

Distance from Louga Km.	Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
0	0	138	LOUGA	The line branches south-east away from the main line from Dakar to St. Louis. It then turns east to maintain a generally eastwards direction. The country varies little in height and is devoid of features of interest. The line is rarely more than a hundred yards from the road. In its last stages it makes use of a oundi commonly called the Ferlo Valley.
22	13	151	OUARRAC	
30	18½	157	COKI	
43	27	164	TIAMEN	
57	35½	190	N'DIAO	
68	42	180	BOUTHROSÉ	
84	52	131	NIANDOUL	
92	57	98	DAHRA	
104	65	138	SOMME	
116	72	118	OUARKHOR	
131	81	33	LINGUÉRÉ	Linguéré itself is a road junction of considerable local importance.

[491]

Route 3

THIÈS–KIDIRA

Distance from Dakar Km.	Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
70	43½	207	THIÈS	Leaving the route for St. Louis, this line bears south-east and then east to descend to Kombole, passing through densely populated areas. From Kombole it runs almost due east-south-east all the way to Diourbel. It crosses a number of minor valleys. At Diourbel is the junction with the branch to Touba. The main line turns sharply south-east through country covered with brushwood and clumps of trees.
85	53	112	THIÈNABA (halt)	
96	60	36	KOMBOLE	
110	68	52	DANGALMA (halt)	
124	77	66	BAMBEY	
139	86	72	DIARAYE LAGNIAR (halt)	
151	94	39	DIOURBEL	
165	102½	81	TOKI (halt)	
178	110½	82	GOSSAS	
197	122	66	GANIEK (halt)	

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

496
133

Distance from Dakar Km.	Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
206	128	65	GUINGUINÉ	The branch line from Kaolack leaves Guinguiné in the same direction as the main line approaches it. The latter curves gently to assume an easterly course. The Saloum, now shrunk to a tiny seasonal stream, is crossed by a culvert shortly after Birkelane. As far as Malème, 4 miles beyond Malème-Hodar station, the line is accompanied by the road, but subsequently runs to its north. The railway comes somewhat south of its most direct route, partly to skirt the arid Ferlo region and partly to divert trade from the Gambia. Most of the villages in this section are the result of the railway. After Sinthiou-Malème the line makes use of the upper part of the valley of the Sandougou, and so reaches Tambacounda, the route's southernmost point in Senegal.
231	143½	33	BIRKELANE	
233	145	..	..	
252	156½	39	KAFFRINE	
280	174	131.	MALÈME-HODAR	
310	193	148	MAKA YOP	
333·5	207	98	KOUNGHEUL	
361	224	79	KOUPENTOUN	
389	242	130	MALÈME-NIANI	
413	257	66	KOUSSANAR	
433	269	39	SINTHIOU-MALÈME	
459	285	148	TAMBACOUNDA	
486	302	72	COTIARI NAOUDÉ	Bearing north-eastwards, the line runs across a marshy but fertile plain, and, beyond Bala, across undulating country. Between Couténabé and Sinthiou Fissa it rises to its highest point, the watershed between the Gambia and the Senegal basins. As far as Couténabé the line keeps in close company with the road, but from this point onwards the two are apart, the road running to Nayes and the railway
521	324	164	BALA	
550	342	223	BOUIGHEUL BAMBA	
573	356	180	GOUDIRI	
592	368	230	COUTÉNABÉ	
607	377	331	..	
620	385	213	SINTHIOU FISSA	

[491]

[361]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Route 6

KAOLACK–LYNDIANE

496
133

Distance from Kaolack Km.	Miles	*Elevation in feet*	*Stations*	*Itinerary*
0	0	..	KAOLACK	After leaving the main line, this railway runs through its own station. It turns north-west and then west-north-west to follow the road. Five miles from the town it curves south-west to reach the landing-stage at Lyndiane.
10·5	6½	..	LYNDIANE	

ROADS

There are 984 miles (1,584 km.) of intercolonial roads, 66 miles (106 km.) of an Imperial road, and some 2,000 miles (3,300 km.) of colonial roads. The impression that these figures give, however, needs two qualifications. Firstly, there are considerable areas of the colony without roads, and, secondly, many of the roads are by no means up to the standard of their class.

491

Intercolonial

Intercolonial roads exist as follows: Dakar–St. Louis, Thiès–Nayes, Tambacounda–border of French Guinea, and Kaolack–frontier of the Gambia.

Itineraries. The road from Dakar to St. Louis follows much the same route as the railway. It goes along the coast to Rufisque (15 miles) and then turns inland to Thiès (44 miles). Running roughly parallel to the Atlantic coast, it goes through Tivaouane (57 miles) and Louga (121 miles) to M'Pal (144 miles). It then turns towards the sea to reach St. Louis (168 miles). This road is one of the best in the Federation. Between Dakar and Thiès the surface is tarmac and between Thiès and St. Louis it is firm laterite. A lorry takes about 11 hours to cover the whole distance.

The second road also follows the railway, except between Gocsas and Kaffrine. Leaving Thiès by the east, it makes a huge curve through Diourbel (64 miles) and Gossas (80 miles) to Kaolack (107 miles). After that it follows a generally easterly direction by way

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

491 of Kaffrine (144 miles) and Koungheul (204 miles) to Tambacounda (295 miles), an important road junction. From there it turns east-north-east to Bala (338 miles) and Nayes (416 miles). The latter is on the Falémé, which forms the boundary with French Sudan, and 55 miles from Kayes. This road is part of the great highway that connects Dakar with Zinder, but its surface varies from indifferent to bad. The section east of Thiès, for example, is sandy with deep ruts; from Kaolack to Kaffrine sand makes the going heavy and slow; and from Tambacounda to Nayes there are numerous marshes. Many stretches east of Kaolack are impracticable in the wet season.

The third road strikes south from Tambacounda, crosses the Gambia river at Diabougou (25 miles), and reaches the border of French Guinea at 108 miles, 180 miles from Labé. The Gambia is crossed by a temporary bridge, which has been built to replace the ferry that was sunk in April 1941. The surface of this road is fair, being metalled with large pieces of laterite.

The road south-west from Kaolack goes to Messira (49 miles), and then turns south to cross the frontier of the Gambia at 57 miles. From this point a road leads to Barra, 10 miles away, from where there is a ferry to Bathurst.

Imperial

The Imperial road leaves St. Louis by its suburb of Sor and goes north-east through Ross (34 miles). The Senegal river, the boundary of Mauritania, is crossed again at Rosso (66 miles), 38 miles south-west of Mederdra. There is a moderately good laterite surface across [133] level sandy country.

Colonial

There is a long road that provides a connexion along the left bank of the Senegal from near St. Louis to Nayes. Fifty-eight miles from the former town it leaves the Imperial road. From that point it goes to Richard Toll (13 miles), Dagana (28 miles), and Podor (77 miles). After that it does not go through any large town for many miles; but at 127 miles there is a turn for Boghé (Mauritania), 4 miles distant, at 182 miles a turn for Diorbivol, 5 miles distant, and at 186 miles a turn for Kaédi (Mauritania), 16 miles distant. The road then proceeds to Matam (235 miles), an important route centre, and Bakel (328 miles), crosses the railway at Kidira (360 miles), and joins the intercolonial road at Nayes (365 miles). Almost the whole length of this road is liable to flooding.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Two other roads start from Matam. One goes south-westwards to Nelbi (56 miles) and then follows the Ferlo valley westwards to Yoroforé (98 miles), Kagnar (130 miles), and Linguéré (158 miles). It then continues westwards to Ouarkhor (166 miles), Dahra (183 miles), Coki (224 miles), and Louga (242 miles). Although ranked as a colonial road, this is in reality a desert track, much of it being across rough and waterless country. The other road from Matam is little better. It goes southwards through Malandou (31 miles) and Toubel Bali (88 miles) to Tambacounda (155 miles). 491

Another road that is very poor for its class begins at Dagana and goes southward across the semi-desert to Yang-Yang (68 miles), crosses the Matam-Louga road at Dahra (89 miles), and then goes through Sagata (98 miles) to the railway terminus at Touba (130 miles). From there the road has a rather better surface to Mbaké (138 miles) and Diourbel (162 miles).

The south-east of the colony is served by a road that runs from Tambacounda to Nieriko (42 miles) on the Gambia and then by way of Dialakoto (48 miles) and Badon (128 miles) to Kédougou (160 miles). From Badon a branch runs south-east for 86 miles to Satadougou, which is just over the border of French Sudan.

In the Casamance Territory there is a road from Ziguinchor through Bignona (16 miles), Sedhiou (74 miles), Kolda (136 miles), and Velingara (205 miles) to meet the intercolonial road at Diabougou (245 miles). A branch runs from Velingara to Médina Pakan (32 miles). Another road traverses districts on the left bank of the Casamance from Ziguinchor to Yatakounda (48 miles) and Kolda (130 miles). From Bignona a road runs north-west to Diouloulou (35 miles), crosses the frontier of the Gambia at 46 miles, and provides a connexion with Bathurst, 47 miles farther to the north. This last road is of fairly modern construction and has a tolerable surface, but the others are poor.

494

Bus Services

Table VI shows the bus services in 1939.

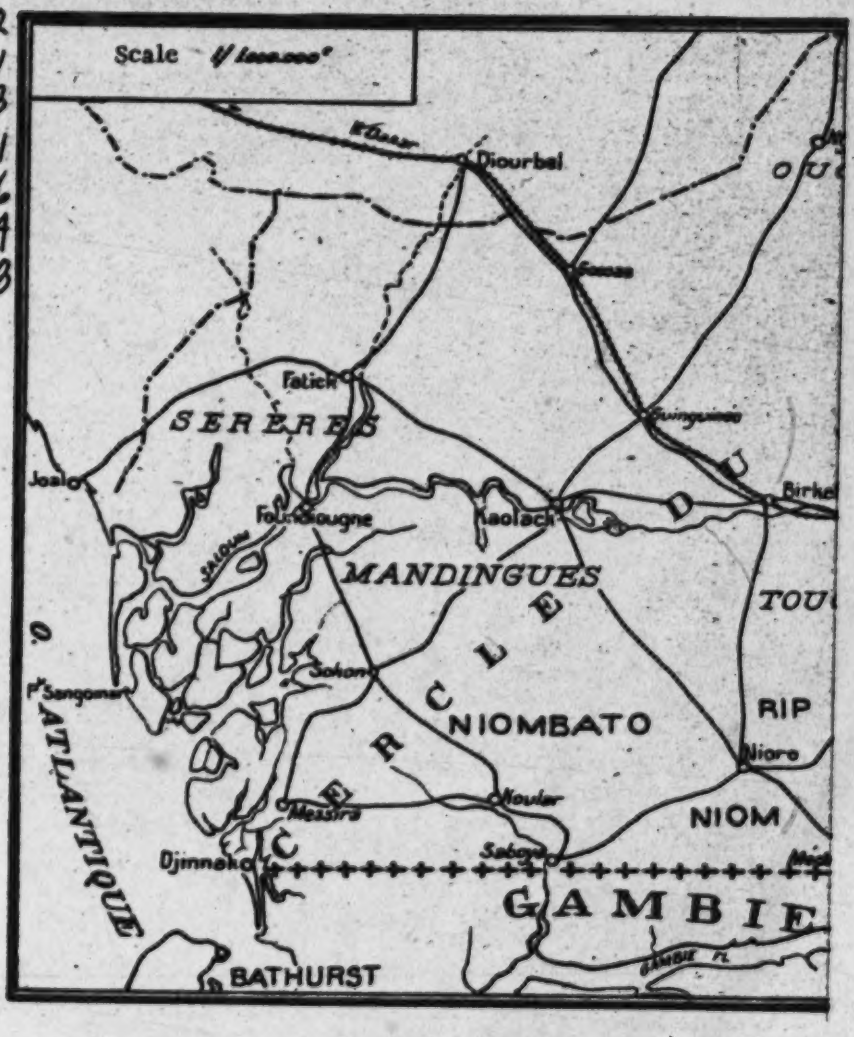
TABLE VI. *Bus Services*

Route	*Service*
Bambey–Fatik–Foundiougne–Kaolack	Bambey–Foundiougne: daily; Foundiougne–Kaolack: daily 15 November to 30 April, fortnightly 1 May to 14 November. Service in conjunction with the railway.

23: Aujas--10 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between 100 and 101/

102
131
133
491
496
634
563

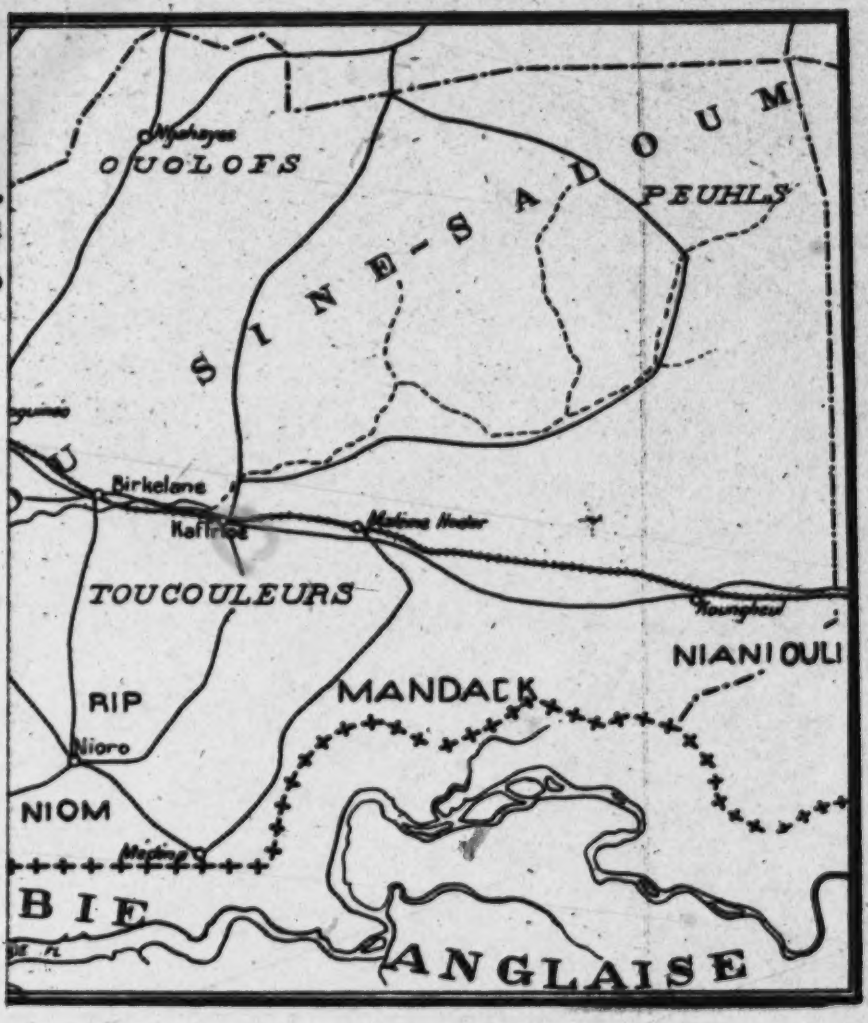


– Circle of Sine Saloum

/left side of map/

23: Aujas--11 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37

102
131
133
491
496
634
563



Circle of Sine Saloum
/right side of map/

/103 cont./

633 instance, a customs office, and a telegraph, telephone, and
[641] post office. The various administrative services are represented
there (public works, treasury, medical aid, education, agri-
culture, veterinary medicine, etc.).

433 Financial situation. Taxes. The circle of Sine-Saloum is constantly increasing in importance because of its size, population, and economic resources.

[496] Because of its exceptional location, the railway from
[491] the Sudan crosses it over a distance of 190 kilometers. Seven
[505] stations mark it out. Its railroad network and its system of highways and canals permit it to drain to Kaolack and
[439] Foundiougne all of the products of the soil. Thus, the total commerce for 1927 (imports and exports combined) amounted
651 to 350 million francs for the circle. The customs duties collected for the benefit of the general budget of French West Africa reached 13 million francs. The taxes from the tax rolls (personal taxes, patents, licenses, etc.) have risen to 25 million francs, whereas they did not exceed the figure of 4,300,000 francs in 1923. The advance is thus remarkable.

Native personal taxes alone in 1927 provided 3,768,355 francs, whereas in 1921 they brought in only 2,791,000 francs.

Taxes on livestock went from 270,000 francs in 1921 to 425,000 francs in 1927.

871 /104/ Education. Instruction is given to the children
[875] by French and native teachers. There is a regional school
[872] with 500 pupils at Kaolack. Primary schools are operating at Fatick, Foundiougne, Sokone, Gossas, Kaffrine, and Nioro. In all, 1,200 children receive instruction; only an elite goes to school. A need for the creation of new centers of education is felt, especially at Birkelane, Koungheul, Gandiaye, Niakhar, and Tataguine. Nevertheless, although instruction in French is given only in our schools, the natives also receive some rudiments of instruction in the Koranic schools. The latter are quite numerous.

[in KAOLACK - ANALYST]

/107 cont./

504 to the Thiès-Niger railroad. The Kayes-Kaolack route saves
[496] about 225 kilometers for the merchandise on the Kayes-Dakar journey, which is appreciable, considering the high cost of the railroad rates.

Exporters, and even importers, therefore have an interest in using the port of Kaolack.

To justify this interest, however, it was necessary: 1st,
[502] to put marker buoys on the Saloum; 2nd, to equip the port.

The buoying was completely redone in 1922; it is examined and repaired each year.

Modern facilities for the port are on the way to being realized.

504 New works at the port of Kaolack. The government of
653 the colony, after having made different studies concerning the arrangements at the port of Kaolack, opened a competition at the beginning of 1927, by means of which it called on the large public-works enterprises to submit proposals for the arrangements on the right bank of the Saloum River for a distance of 350 meters, with the view of enabling ocean-going vessels to load and unload their merchandise directly, without the aid of barges or tenders, and for the construction of a
[491] permanent bridge on the Saloum, about 200 meters long, intended to replace the Noirot bridge, located about two kilometers upstream from the port.

The plans of the Société de constructions Edmond Coignet, of Paris, which were classed No. 1 as being the most adequate for the requirements of commerce and as requiring the least expense, anticipate the following construction and arrangements:

504 A reinforced concrete landing, 350 meters /108/ long and eight meters wide, whose upstream end will be near the Chavanel wharf, and whose downstream end will extend 110 meters toward the present downstream landing of the Thiès-Niger railroad.

The bank of the new work will coincide with the frontage of the approach of the existing landing and in addition will be protected by reinforced concrete pilings every 30 meters.

The landing will be constructed to support a uniformly distributed load of 3,000 kilograms per square meter, as well

/108 cont./

504 as a set of tracks for a five-ton crane and two railroad tracks. At its downstream end, a reinforced concrete bridge will permit connecting the tracks on the landing with the station of Kaolack.

Behind the landing the terrepleins will be embanked in such a way as to constitute a platform about 300 meters deep extending between the new work and the Rue de la Poste. This platform, intended to contain seccos and eventually some sheds, will be cut by five longitudinal streets ten meters wide and four transverse streets 20 meters wide. These streets will be built with concrete and will have special facilities for the drainage of winter rainwater. Tracks connected with the Kaolack station will be embedded in the concrete of the longitudinal streets.

A large maritime station will be built downstream from the terrepleins which have just been described. It will be made up of a number of sections permitting the convoys of cars which have passed through the Kaolack station to be subsequently shunted to the various longitudinal streets of the terrepleins or to the landing.

The assemblage of the works and arrangements schematically described above will permit an important extension of the present port toward the west where three years from now a truly modern port will be built. There the important transfers of goods made between the Thiès-Niger railroad and the ocean-going vessels will be done with the latest types of mechanical manipulations known, which will insure /109/ more and more commercial transport between the Sudan and Europe.

491 [493] The wooden Noirot bridge presently existing, on which the traffic has increased considerably since the introduction of the automobile in French West Africa, will not much longer be able to support with safety the weight of the cars and trucks and should, in accordance with the plan which has been approved, be replaced by a reinforced concrete bridge made up of 13 trusses with a compass of 15 meters, resting on 12 piers based on reinforced concrete piles.

This bridge will be capable of supporting a railroad

/109 cont./

491 line in addition to the normal traffic of pedestrians and vehicles.

653 The colony of Senegal, in concert with the Société Coignet, is currently preparing the agreement, which will be passed immediately and which will require three years for the landing, the embankments of the terrepleins, and the bridge.

The realization of the works and arrangements planned will be an interesting example of close co-operation between the government of the colony, the public works services, the [441] Kaolack Chambre de Commerce, and private enterprise.

433 To demonstrate the importance of the port of Kaolack, it is sufficient to put some figures before the eyes of the reader. One will get an idea of the growth of the commercial movement that the privileged location of Kaolack on the river enabled one to foresee 15 years ago.

433 In 1905, Kaolack was still a small, insignificant vil-
505 lage. Foundiougne was the great port of the Saloum. But Kaolack was the outlet for an entire hinterland much larger; it was the access route of the products from Baol and Haut-Saloum /Upper Saloum/; finally, it was the natural port for the Sudan. Its approach, 120 kilometers from the ocean and made difficult by the passage of the Sangomar channel and [502] the sandbanks of the river, has been facilitated by the buoys. Running aground has become much rarer. Piloting, however, is obligatory.

496 Railroads. The railroad from Thiès to Niger, /110/
433 extended by a branch of 22 kilometers, which starts at Guinguinéo and ends at Kaolack, brought out the full importance of the latter point as the lands located near the railroad were improved. This development will take several years. It is steadily and fully progressing today. Like all railroad lines, the artery of the Thiès-Niger breathes life into formerly deserted regions, which are now being populated and opened for colonization.

418 Undoubtedly Kaolack benefited from the non-application
504 of the Franco-British pact of April 8, 1904. As is known,

/110 cont./

648 according to this agreement, Great Britain left to us on the
504 Gambia River, along with the territory of Kantora, the port of Yarboutenda, which she thought was accessible to ocean-going vessels. If this advantage did not exist, the text added, a port would be selected downstream and ceded to France, along with the lands defined by an arc of one kilometer in radius. Later on, Yarboutenda was discovered to be inaccessible to ocean-going vessels. The French government then had the right to select a port on the Gambia which offered the advantages that the agreement consented to give us. After study, the port of Nianimaro was selected by the Government-general of Dakar. But the negotiations between Paris and London were never concluded.

496 Because of its natural position on a navigable river,
504 Kaolack has remedied a situation which might have been very disadvantageous for our commerce. The rail line was even extended from Kaolack to Lyndiane, over a distance of 12 kilometers, in order to favor a private enterprise established on the river at this place.

Lyndiane is in fact a point on the right bank of the Saloum where vessels can tie up easily. The Etablissements Ch. Peyrissac et Cie., who own this port and have branches in both Senegal and the Sudan, have a real advantage in this privileged situation.

496 We have given some indication above of the development of the railroad: 190 kilometers in Sine-Saloum. The seven stopping stations are: Gossas, Guinguinéo, /111/ Birkelane, Kaffrine, Malem Hodar, Maka-Yop, and Koungheul, all located at the outlet of trade routes carrying groundnuts.

● 491 Roads. Branching off from this railroad line, as well as from all the major centers, many highways streak across the country in every direction. These roads, or rather dirt roads,
[494] are for the most part accessible to automobiles: tourist cars and transport trucks.

There are more than 3,000 kilometers of dirt roads in the circle, of which 2,000 kilometers are used daily in the dry

/111 cont./

491 season by truckage, the development of which has grown in
[494] considerable proportions since 1920.

The network of roads is on the whole excellent. Every winter, it is subject to deteriorations; the latter are repaired as soon as the dry season arrives. Thousands of workers making
[464] their annual contribution are employed there under the supervision of native chiefs and under the direction of the European administrative authorities. Some artificial works, embankments, bridges, culverts, gutters, and channels have been constructed in the swampy places or to cross spots of water.

363 In the communes, the roads are gradually being paved with paving stones as the urban streets develop. In Kaolack six kilometers of streets have been paved with stones in the past five years.

505 Inland navigation. As we have already seen, the Saloum is the major channel of inland navigation. Steamers enter it by the maritime passage of Sangomar. In the channel, 120 kilometers long, up to Kaolack, there are some bends or passages that are quite difficult to negotiate. A pilot is
[502] necessary. All of the boats have one, whom they take on at Dakar or Rufisque. The Sine is traveled in the same fashion up to Niamnioroh.

[501] There are countless marigots which are accessible to cutters, small launches, barges, or dugouts. There are several thousand kilometers /112/ of waterways which connect villages, centers of cultivation, and fishing agglomerations.

In the Bas-Saloum in particular, commercial traffic is handled by cutters or by dugouts.

Saboya, on the marigot Miniminian, an affluent of the Gambia, is accessible to ocean-going vessels. Each year boats come to seek the stock of groundnuts produced by this region.

Here are some comparative figures on navigation for the three ports of Kaolack, Foundiougne, and Saboya.

/73 cont./

175 369 499 133 The surveys for the future course of this railway revealed that the shortest route would have to follow the Atlantic coast, but since this is bordered by dunes it would necessitate some important construction work. The passage across the slope of Thiès was also a serious obstacle, but the "Ravin des Voleurs" made access to the plateau possible; the line would thus follow the valley which cuts the brow of the hill, then the depression which follows the plateau to the east, and would pass in front of the military fort established at its extremity.

175 369 [361] The fortune of Thiès was made: as early as 1885, the date of the opening of the railroad, the merchants of Rufisque set up branches there; a plan for dividing the future city into lots was outlined. This plan, unfortunately, foresaw the development of the city only north of the line, along the trail connecting Thiès with Rufisque and Dakar. A Catholic [797] mission was established in the vicinity, and in 1893 the first civil administrator occupied the new residence built near the Faidherbe redoubt.

175 369 439 [496] [492] The groundnut policy developed successfully; 20,000 tons of groundnuts were shipped by rail from the Thiès station in 1890 (3). Commerce, however, was not established in

3. Convoys of camels competed with the railway up to 1910 and transported their cargo to the port of Rufisque. Thiès was the last stop before reaching the quays of embarkation 50 kilometers away.

[366] permanent fashion in the escale: only during the period of trading (from November to May) did the European employees [441] sent by the firms of Rufisque live in the city and buy groundnuts, millet, cotton ... at their branches; from May to November they returned to Rufisque, and most of the shops in Thiès were closed, the city seemingly dead.

/14 cont./

442 during which commercial operations in groundnuts are authorized.
654 It is opened and closed each year by governmental decree. In
438 general it begins at the end of November or the beginning of December and closes at the end of April. The date of opening the campaign is set about two months after the beginning of the harvest, in order to avoid premature uprooting and to favor
438 the reimbursement of the seed advanced. This system never-
442 theless leads to some smuggling in the south, because the
[439] navétanes, anxious to return home, and the peasants, without any money, are tempted to sell in Gambia. At the time of the close, the transactions have been over for a long time, but this decision prevents the eventual sale /15/ of the seed distributed by the Mutuelles. In order to have the commodity brought in gradually and to avoid heavy transactions at the beginning of trade, operations are suspended from Friday to Monday. Nevertheless by the end of the month of January nearly all of the harvest has been negotiated.

366 2) The "points of trade." Since 1932 the operations of
442 selling must take place in the localities called points of trade
438 or "escales" located on the railroad or a road (Circular of 13 July 1932). These points of trade, which were 175 in number in 1935, now number more than 300. The limitation, in 1932, on the number of the points of trade was a response to the desire to moderate the rhythm of the selling and to avoid the proliferation of intermediaries. The recent creation of new escales is
[244] devoted to the conquest of new lands and is an attempt to avoid the abuses of cultivation on the lands near the former points of trade.

The accession of a locality to the rank of escale makes
[369] it legally an urban center, with the obligation of division into lots /lotissement/ and, for the merchants, permanent buildings. The campaign is a period of great animation for the escale.
442 The merchants or traders open their bank of purchase or "factory."
437 Traditionally, intermediaries, or "masters of language," conduct
[492] the producer to the factory. The groundnuts, transported by don-
[488] keys and in bags loaned by the trader, are weighed and emptied

/15 cont./

442 437 [992] [488] [452] [443] [438] into the secco, an area with a floor of hard earth or cement, closed off by sheet metal. The agriculturalist, paid forthwith, immediately spends the sum received, in settling the sums owed to the trader and in buying from among the manufactured objects of the same factory the most diverse articles: cloth, playthings, articles for bicycles, etc. Thus the same trader realizes two profits in the traditional system.

3) The agents of trade. Until the Second World War, 439 441 442 438 the trade in groundnuts was in the hands of about 3,000 private traders organized in a strict hierarchy. At the top, the trade was controlled by the large import-export houses, especially of Bordeaux origin, Maurel et Prom, Peyrissac, Vézia, etc., to which was added the C. F. A. O. of Marseilles origin, and the S. C. O. A. Franco-Switzerland. These firms, whose central agencies for Senegal are in Dakar, make arrangements for the "banks" and "agencies" in the principal localities, for "factories" in the escales, and for "operations" in the bush. These commercial houses concentrate the purchases of their various traders and provide them with imported products. They are supported during the campaign by the banks of the mother country or their agencies in Senegal.

441 442 438 The independent French merchants, often former employees of the firms, play the role of intermediary /demi-grossiste/ in the escales. /16/ They buy directly from the producers or from the African sub-trader and bag and forward /the product/ to the commercial houses in the shipping ports. They have been very harshly affected by the economic crisis of the 1930's and then [563] by the war, in particular by the mobilization, which facilitated the establishment of many Lebano-Syrian traders.

The treaties of 1919 facilitated the arrival in Africa of [563] these Lebano-Syrians. They devote themselves essentially to commerce, and they have on the whole succeeded, because, living near the autochthons, they have adopted their way of life and are contented with much less than the independent 442 443 438 Europeans. During the trade, they are generally commission agents of the firm that they represent. They receive a commission for each metric ton of groundnuts purchased, and sell in

/17/

438 2. The "circuit" of groundnuts. The purchase of the
442 groundnuts in the escale and storing them in the secco of the trader constitute only one step in the complicated circuit that the groundnuts take from the place of production to the port of exportation or to the oil-factories.

492 1) The means of transport. From the place of production
438 to the escale, the groundnuts essentially utilize the traditional modes of transport, donkeys throughout the country and camels in the north. The decree of 4 September 1935 has forbidden the
[656] use of trucks. Its aims were to avoid bulky hauls, purchases at
[231] a low price at the place of production, and, above all, to encourage local animal-husbandry. This system, however, carries with it grave defects. Most often transport on the back of a donkey is more expensive for the producer than transport by truck because the camel-drivers and donkey-drivers impose their own price on the peasants who do not have animals. Moreover, the transporter guides the seller to a trader whom the seller did not choose. Today, however, more and more derogations are permitted, because in the south, where the groundnut is progressing, the tsetse interdicts animal husbandry, and in the other regions the overworked animals are incapable of doing the transporting at the end of trade. Finally, certain
[874] co-operatives which pretend "to collect" and not to buy do send trucks to the places of production.

494 From the secco of the trader to the port nearby or to the
438 railroad station, transport is handled by trucks. It is essentially the commercial firms, the traders, or the local oil-makers who use them. There are few professional transporters because the traffic is essentially seasonal. The generally bad
[491] condition of the unpaved roads, except for the "Transgambienne" from Dakar to Ziguinchor, causes a rapid wearing-out of equipment, whose amortization is a heavy burden on the budget of the merchants.

497 The Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad and especially the Dakar-
438 Niger transport more than 200,000 metric tons of groundnuts

[Text continues on p. 21--Analyst]

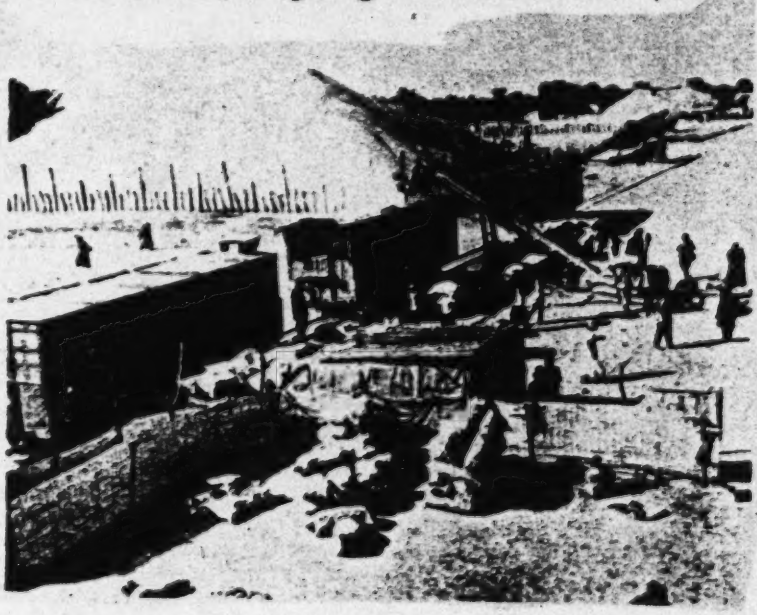
19: Pehaut--20 K-4 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 16-17/ Plate II

492
482
491

A. Trade: transporting the groundnuts to the trader (Diourbel).

496
366



B. Loading the loose groundnuts into the cars at the station in M'Backé.

/121 cont./

233 animals to drink. Nevertheless, cattle-raising remains a worthwhile enterprise, a herd doubling in three years.

[232] No serious attempt to improve the breed of cattle has
[654] been made by the administration.

Since the multiplication of automobiles, the horse has
[492] been somewhat forsaken. The breed is small, but sturdy.

/122/ As for sheep and goats, their rustic breed is resistant. This breeding does not require any care.

313 Forests. Forests cover a notable part of the circle. They must be protected because they are on the way to progressive disappearance as a result of the abuses of brush fires and systematic clearing by the native, wishing to increase his crops.

There is no methodical exploitation of the forests. The exploitation is confined to the cutting of palm trees for the production of charcoal. There still exist, however, some beautiful stands of hardwoods, especially of Gambia mahogany, or false mahogany, particularly in Bas-Saloum.

To the east, between Kaffrine and Koungheul, stocks of small bamboos exist, especially in the humid depressions.
[342] These bamboos are cut by the natives who make panels out of them, called "crintings," to serve as closings or veranda par-
[435] titions. The price of these panels, from two to three meters long, varies between 15 and 25 francs.

316 Quarries. There are many laterite quarries, exploited for the most part. The stone is not as hard as at Rufisque or at Dakar.

317 Salt marshes. There is industrial exploitation of the
433 salt marshes at Kaolack. The Société des Salines of Sine-Saloum has exploited the salt marshes at Diorana since 1915. The region of the Saloum is very fortunate from this viewpoint. The constant evaporation of the water of this arm of the sea and its many branches gives the liquid mass a degree of saturation much higher than that of the ocean water.

/426 cont./

*511 352 lists is the bed (1). In nearly all of the African lodgings we

1. The 13.3% of the cultivator, No. 32, arose from the purchase of a cart and a horse.

find at least a bed, but there is rarely one for everyone. And [369] to sleep in a bed has become the best proof that one can give of his acclimatization to the city.

If the income is higher, one may be able to buy more important pieces of furniture. Then, in the order of their urgency, the armchairs, the rugs, and then the tables and wardrobes appear.

*511 Then we come to the rubric "Exceptional Expenses," those for which no absolute necessity is felt. Moreover they are rarer at the top of the table, only three, and then they multiply (Table XIV).

[405] The first thing that we find here is the watch or the alarm [301] clock, closely followed by the jewelry of the wife or wives. [493] There follow, but only in the highest incomes, the bicycle, [207] or, depending on the possibilities, the bicycle with a motor on it or the motorcycle, then the battery radio. There is [301] nothing very original in all this, and, except perhaps for the importance given to the jewelry of the women, we would find similar pretensions among European families having equivalent incomes.

*511 In the last table (Table XV)[1] we have grouped a series of 794 expenses that have a common origin, the religion of the fami- [791] lies investigated, all Moslems except one. Two Moslem holidays are involved, Tabaski and Korité, religious assessments, /427/ /Table XIV appears here/ /428/ offerings to the marabouts, and, finally, expenses arising from sending children to the Koranic school.

*511 For Tabaski, each family slaughters a sheep. There 796

1 [see cat 116, pp 69-71. ANALYST]

/177 cont./

464 Proportion of persons over 50 out of the active labor
484 force 25.3%
162 Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers
in Pikine 37%
Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers
in Dakar 16%

[463] Thus, old people prefer the traditional trades, jewelers, tailors, merchants, which can be carried on locally.

If one considers the fact that the active male labor force numbers 5,530 individuals and that about 70% of this labor force goes to Dakar to work, one can estimate the number of workers whose place of employment is located in Dakar at
464 about 2,800. Another question pertaining to the frequency of
484 journeys to Dakar shows that 62% of the total labor force, that is to say, about 3,700, make the trip at least once a day. This means that not only the workers but the unemployed as well go to Dakar daily. Dakar thus has a double attraction for the workers of Pikine: as an actual place of employment, and as a place of possible hiring. The two principal means of
494 transportation are: for the officials, the cars called "G.G.,"
484 thanks to which they can return for lunch at noon, and for the great majority of others the express buses; only a few have
[493] personal means of transportation, mobylettes /bicycles with motors/ or vehicles. The length of the automobile trip from
484 Pikine to the Sandaga market varies from 20 minutes to more than half an hour depending on traffic difficulties. One must add to this the time required to go on foot through the sand from the concession to the bus stop. In a very general way one can say that the worker leaves his house in the morning about seven o'clock and returns to it in the evening between 6:45 and seven o'clock, provided that he does not have errands on
[369] the way. This quick analysis therefore shows the role of
[361] "bedroom community" that Pikine plays to a certain extent in relation to Dakar.

462 After the male labor force, it is necessary to say a word
463 about female work. The great majority of the women do not
162 have any occupation other than that of housework: more than two-thirds. The 32% who draw monetary income from their

/80 cont./

443 flood rapidly closing in again behind it. All these noisy peo-
[493] ple carry with them a flavor of the neighboring bush, warm and dusty.

The market of dried fish readily reveals itself by the strong odor that it gives off; farther on is the stall of the
[563] butcher for Europeans; very close to it the merchant of the tripe trade who grills some skewers of small pieces on a charcoal fire. Elsewhere the sellers of colas, of condiments and cloth from Guinea, the cobblers offering their products among the very mixed odors in a halo of dust raised by the crowd. It is a delight for the eyes to see, in the bright sunlight under a very clear and pure blue sky, the shimmer of full garments of vivid hues moving with deliberation and majesty.

443 The animation reaches its greatest intensity between
512 nine and ten o'clock in the morning; the pedestrian is king, he blocks all traffic. Then, little by little, sellers and buyers disperse, and everyone falls into a blessed torpor at the noon hour. The afternoon is quiet, and at five o'clock each merchant has left his premises. This animation, which has only a temporary character in the commercial quarters of /Plates XI and XII appear here/ /81/ European type, is permanent in certain native quarters, but with a maximum amplitude in the evening after work.

2. The native quarters.

361 The native quarters also have their peculiar characteristics, a function of their antiquity, of their proximity or their distance from a center of activity, and, naturally, of the social category of their inhabitants.

Takhikao and Gent were among the first quarters created. Except for the nearness of the road from Thiès to Tivaouane, which attracts the merchants' small shops of planks or straw, they have kept their rural character: dwell-
[351] ings arranged in a loose order, surrounded by an orchard protected by a tapade /walling/ of branches or stalks of millet.

[Text continues on p. 18]

18: Savonnet--16 E-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37
/Between pp. 80 and 81./

342
137
493
363
361

Plate XI

A. Thiès. Quarter of Derrière-la-voie-ferrée. Juxtaposition of houses of mud covered with sheet metal, sheet metal, and of straw.

346

B. The site of one of the oldest mosques of Thiès: quarter of Takhikao.

/88 cont./

369 bar, and sometimes its cinema and its swimming pool; /89/
563 they form a small city that is self-sufficient. The officers
573 of the administration by their very functions seem to have more extensive relations in the different milieus.

Among the merchants and artisans, the problem is different because of the very stability of their work and the length of their stay. In this commercial and artisan milieu one could define three very distinct "groupings": the "old ones" who have lived in Thiès for several decades; the "newcomers" from after the war; the Levantine-Moroccan grouping.

The first are not very numerous; they live in their old factorerie, which, in spite of recently added arrangements, preserves something old-fashioned about it. They are able to [191] talk to the native in his own language. Their life, while it has become more comfortable, is lived modestly; they go out little and entertain only among themselves. Every two [484] or three years they take a few months' rest in France during the season of cultivation in Senegal. As a result, their life is quite withdrawn.

The second group, made up of recent emigrants, is entirely different. It primarily contains bachelors or young married people more or less in love with adventure perhaps, but above all seeking a broader existence. They generally [427] live in one or two rooms rented from a Levantine or Moroccan. [265] Since it is difficult for them to cook at home, the restaurant [484] provides for them. In general they adopt a careless attitude, [493] are restless, and speak loudly; their first savings are intended for the purchase of a motorcycle or a small car which will enable them to escape from the city. Moreover, they are per- [546] sistent spectators at the four local cinemas, which have a new program every day.

The group of Levantines is different from the two preceding ones; their life is spent between their shop and their [484] apartment. Rare changes take them to Dakar on business. [353] Their interior is comfortable, arranged according to Oriental taste; they love vivid colors and pile up cushions. They [484] rarely go back to their country of origin; some of them have

20: Seck--16 U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 380-381/ Plate XXII

363
493
137

A. The avenue Blaise-Diagne.

363
137

B. A street in the old Médina. Street 13, Corner 6.
Photo. Assane Seck.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS.37

Locomotives. In 1939 the following locomotives were in service: 493

Makers and type	*Adhesive weight in tons*	*Number*
Mallet articulated . .	43–50	10
Mikado 2-8-0. .	30–40	42
Pignet	29	34
Cail	27	24
Cail, Corpet, Weidknecht, Decauville . . .	13–27	75
	Total	185

Since that date 2 Micheline railcars, 3 Als-Thorn diesel electric locomotives, and 2 Beyer-Garratts have been brought into use. The Beyer-Garratts are 4-4-2+2-4-4 articulated with an adhesive weight of 91 tons.

Fuel. Neither coal nor wood is found locally. Before 1940 some 60,000 tons of briquettes were annually imported. At the present time these are hard to obtain, and they are supplemented by whatever wood is available and by briquetted ground-nut shells. 372

Carriages and Wagons. In 1939 there were 254 passenger coaches and 2,105 goods wagons in service. The passenger coaches included restaurant cars and sleeping cars. At the end of 1939, 177 covered goods wagons were delivered from France. 493

State of Repair. There are excellent workshops at Thiès; but the general standard of upkeep, never very high, has greatly deteriorated as a result of stocks of material becoming almost exhausted. 497 498

Traffic

The following table gives figures for 1937 and 1938: 497

	1937	1938
Passengers. . .	2,603,341	2,660,497
Passenger miles . .	118,433,207	120,600,300
Freight in tons . .	615,043	591,593
Ton miles . .	120,570,598	107,970,715
Revenue . . .	£876,411	£684,788

The principal items of freight handled were ground-nuts, shea butter, gum arabic, sisal, and fuel. [438]

/108 cont./

504 as a set of tracks for a five-ton crane and two railroad tracks. At its downstream end, a reinforced concrete bridge will permit connecting the tracks on the landing with the station of Kaolack.

Behind the landing the terrepleins will be embanked in such a way as to constitute a platform about 300 meters deep extending between the new work and the Rue de la Poste. This platform, intended to contain seccos and eventually some sheds, will be cut by five longitudinal streets ten meters wide and four transverse streets 20 meters wide. These streets will be built with concrete and will have special facilities for the drainage of winter rainwater. Tracks connected with the Kaolack station will be embedded in the concrete of the longitudinal streets.

A large maritime station will be built downstream from the terrepleins which have just been described. It will be made up of a number of sections permitting the convoys of cars which have passed through the Kaolack station to be subsequently shunted to the various longitudinal streets of the terrepleins or to the landing.

The assemblage of the works and arrangements schematically described above will permit an important extension of the present port toward the west where three years from now a truly modern port will be built. There the important transfers of goods made between the Thiès-Niger railroad and the ocean-going vessels will be done with the latest types of mechanical manipulations known, which will insure /109/ more and more commercial transport between the Sudan and Europe.

491 [493] The wooden Noirot bridge presently existing, on which the traffic has increased considerably since the introduction of the automobile in French West Africa, will not much longer be able to support with safety the weight of the cars and trucks and should, in accordance with the plan which has been approved, be replaced by a reinforced concrete bridge made up of 13 trusses with a compass of 15 meters, resting on 12 piers based on reinforced concrete piles.

This bridge will be capable of supporting a railroad

/14 cont./

*795 The first Magal took place October 19, 1928, at the
796 initiative of Amadou Moustapha and on the occasion of the
788 anniversary of the death of Amadou Bamba.

Since Falilou M'Backé, the second caliph, took over the leadership of the brotherhood, the Magal has changed in date and meaning. It now commemorates Amadou Bamba's return from exile, his prophetic vision, and his permanent establishment at Diourbel. Thus the second caliph linked his action directly to that of the Founder by giving back to the Magal its original meaning, desired as early as 1912 by Amadou Bamba himself when he instituted, with an identical signification, what was then called the second Tabaski.

Since 1928 this manifestation has not ceased to grow in importance, and today more than 200,000 pilgrims go to Touba each year on this occasion.

The pilgrimage lasts three days, although some fanatics often remain for five days, sometimes eight.

The high point is the second day; the last is called the "official day," because then the caliph speaks in public to the pilgrims, before the representatives of authority whom he has invited.

A week before this "official day," the first pilgrims begin
[484] to arrive at Touba; their number increases rapidly and progressively as the opening date for the pilgrimage proper approaches.

484 During these days the pilgrims arrive in the holy city by
•494 every means: on foot or by cart for the nearest ones; by train,
788 truck, and taxi for those farther away. Whatever vehicle is used, it is always overloaded: eight or ten ride in a sightseeing car; 90 (and even a few more) in a truck which should carry only 50 persons (this is a matter of four- to five-ton trucks, not covered, on which the travelers crowd together, standing up and pressed against one another between the railings, like canned fish). The trains, too, are jammed, and there are as many
[497] pilgrims on the roofs and bumpers of the cars as inside.

Traffic is thick, but in spite of the conditions, there are few accidents, at least serious accidents, considering the great

/14 cont./

484 number of persons transported. There are sometimes spectacular
494 ones, but cases involving fatalities are fortunately very rare.
788 The transportation of the pilgrims is closely watched by
[497] the /15/ Administration. The Office of Railroads organizes special trains. The subdivision heads grant to the owners of the trucks special transportation authorizations. The circle /cercle, an administrative district/ of Diourbel, aided by the Senegal government, strengthens the security forces and highway police.

788 But that is not the only problem which the organization
*795 and unfolding of the Magal presents for the Caliph-general and the Administration.

Sheltering all these people for three days and more is
[485] another. The provisioning of the pilgrims in water and food must be organized; sanitary and medical service must be ensured; finally, it is necessary to ensure order and discipline in
[625] the city of Touba itself, as is done on the roads, and the commander of the circle of Diourbel can only accomplish this with sizable police reinforcements, set apart in advance almost everywhere (as far as Dakar and Kaolack), which are put at his disposal for this purpose.

At the opening of the pilgrimage, three days before the Official Day, the crowd has reached its maximum size. Touba
[494] then experiences extraordinary activity. The road between Touba and M'Backé is continually furrowed in both directions by files of trucks which run without respite between the two agglomerations. The station platforms disappear under the flood of pilgrims who disembark innumerably from the last trains. The wide avenues of the city are filled with the crowd
[438] of pilgrims who carry out their religious duties or stroll in front
[443] of the little flat baskets where, as in all pilgrimages in the world, the most diverse objects are sold, from articles of clothing, such as babouches or samaras, to perfumes and jewelry, including the most varied articles of piety: prayers or verses from the Koran printed in Arabic, photographs of the Caliph-general or of Amadou Bamba, or even pictures in Oriental

/430 cont./

*511 Finally, eight families more or less regularly devote
517 a part of their incomes to the heading "Diversions"; ex-
[541] cluding No. 36 /431/ (he attends the horse races), all go to
[546] the cinema or send their children there. They are the numbers:

No. 16:	1%	No. 36:	1%
No. 22:	3.5%	No. 39:	0.6%
No. 26:	0.9%	No. 40:	0.2%
No. 33:	0.6%	No. 43:	0.6%

[204] There must be added to that five families who read and buy newspapers:

No. 34:	Employee...	0.3%	of the income
No. 36:	Accountant..	0.7%	--
No. 39:	Teacher.....	1.6%	--
No. 41:	Employee...	0.4%	--
No. 43:	Doctor.....	2.5%	--

*511 A final question presents itself. How, when there is
423 any, are the surpluses utilized.

We have been able to get precise data in only two cases: No. 36 built a house to which he devoted in one year, from March 1952 to March 1953, 80,000 francs. On the
[427] other hand, No. 43 has taken in rent-sale a villa in Dakar, and for that he pays 12,300 francs per month.

Moreover, the ambition of many, as we have said, is
[556] to become the owner of their dwelling. Some look further and want some gardens besides. Several already possess one or the other and are only trying to improve or enlarge them. One of them claimed that he had had a well dug, but he was unable or did not want to remember the sums put into this undertaking.

*511 One of the family heads succeeded in starting a trans-
[472] portation business after having purchased two carts and a horse.
[494] Some hoard. We believed that a cultivator had a good-sized
[454] bank account and loaned the money at usurious rates. We have
[426]

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

2

The Revolution

494 OUR bus had been travelling across monotonous scrub country for several hours. The road was excellent, but the journey uncomfortable in the heat of the afternoon sun. The goats on the roof had not stopped screaming since we left Kaolak and 302 the hair of two Mauretanian women sitting in front of me exuded a suffocating odour of rancid butter, with which it was greased, attracting a large swarm of flies. The bus had a drowsy lethargic atmosphere in which we could neither sleep nor think.

133 After we had been travelling for what seemed an eternity, the skyline was broken by some small hills, covered with lemon-leafed trees. I cannot adequately describe the visual relief those hills afforded. For their significance, they might have been mountains. Towards evening we left these hills behind us and our road quite suddenly came upon the sea, which stretched out before us an undecided compromise between grey and blue. Its [361] shore was skirted by mud huts, from which hung long fishing nets, tied to gaily painted canoes.

361 There was a sudden stir in the front of the bus. A voice cried: 369 'Dakar, ici Dakar.' I looked beyond the fretwork silhouette of the fishing village, beyond the cold grey of the sea to an incredible backdrop: a vast city of giant houses, gleaming in the late sun, rode the horizon like some fantastic flotilla of the future.

'Dakar, ici Dakar.' The voice cried once more and the excited passengers took up the refrain.

Our bus pulled up into a large lorry station, in a part of [498] Dakar whose resemblance to the Motte-Picquet-Grenelle suburb of Paris immediately struck me, except that Africans had been substituted for Algerians. At once there was a mad scramble to get

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30

out of the bus and it was only with difficulty that Arnold and I managed to extricate ourselves. We took a taxi, at almost greater cost than the journey from Kaolak to Dakar, to a dingy little hotel, in the old quarter of the city. To reach it we passed through the centre of Dakar. Trees lined the streets and the architecture of both offices and houses was admirably suited to its tropical setting. It was at once evident that Dakar was a city and not just a town that had, like Lagos, rambled and sprawled and got too big. With its statuesque young skyscrapers and its wide streets, Dakar seemed a model city for the new West Africa. It was neither distinctly African nor European, but had its affinity with the modern cities of South America.

Arnold, accustomed to the higgledy-piggledy, chaotic sprawl of Lagos, and the quiet Victorian dignity of Freetown, could not quite take this in. He seemed almost to resent it as an imposition on Africa, as something that was not African. True, I found that against this background the African appeared, at first, to be an intruder. Nothing seemed more incongruous than a vast Jollof belle, dressed in her traditional robes of lace and muslin, sweeping past the more outrageous examples of *cinema moderna* architecture, or standing pensively beneath a marble plaque depicting a naked African surrounded by the fruits of progress. More incongruous still was the sight of them being spooned in and out of fast American cars or staring into patisserie windows—just imagine one of those muslin cocoons tackling a chocolate éclair. Yet the Africans seemed to have accepted their surroundings with such aplomb that very soon I was to feel that it was the Europeans who were out of place. There seemed nothing unnatural in half a dozen Africans making up their bed for the night on the pavement outside a twelve-story bank, or the young men in tight jeans standing on the street corners eyeing passing girls, just like Saturday night back at the Buildings.

We stayed one night in the Hotel des Fleurs, the cheapest I could find in Dakar. It was owned by a Lebanese, and for Dakar, a city which is almost prohibitive in price for an Englishman, it was remarkably cheap. A haircut in Dakar is 12s., and it has one of the highest cost of living indices in the world.

That night when I entered a bar called appropriately 'Café de Paris', I was unable to believe that we were still in Africa. It had

/177 cont./

464 Proportion of persons over 50 out of the active labor
484 force 25.3%
162 Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers
in Pikine 37%
Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers
in Dakar 16%

[463] Thus, old people prefer the traditional trades, jewelers, tailors, merchants, which can be carried on locally.

If one considers the fact that the active male labor force numbers 5,530 individuals and that about 70% of this labor force goes to Dakar to work, one can estimate the number of workers whose place of employment is located in Dakar at about 2,800. Another question pertaining to the frequency of
464 journeys to Dakar shows that 62% of the total labor force,
484 that is to say, about 3,700, make the trip at least once a day. This means that not only the workers but the unemployed as well go to Dakar daily. Dakar thus has a double attraction for the workers of Pikine: as an actual place of employment, a nd as a place of possible hiring. The two principal means of
494 transportation are: for the officials, the cars called "G.G.,"
484 thanks to which they can return for lunch at noon, and for the great majority of others the express buses; only a few have
[493] personal means of transportation, mobylettes /bicycles with motors/ or vehicles. The length of the automobile trip from
484 Pikine to the Sandaga market varies from 20 minutes to more than half an hour depending on traffic difficulties. One must add to this the time required to go on foot through the sand from the concession to the bus stop. In a very general way one can say that the worker leaves his house in the morning about seven o'clock and returns to it in the evening between 6:45 and seven o'clock, provided that he does not have errands on
[369] the way. This quick analysis therefore shows the role of
[361] "bedroom community" that Pikine plays to a certain extent in relation to Dakar.

462 After the male labor force, it is necessary to say a word
463 about female work. The great majority of the women do not
162 have any occupation other than that of housework: more than two-thirds. The 32% who draw monetary income from their

/79 cont./

361 mahoganies planted at the end of the last century. The very close presence of the station, and the continual coming and going of locomotives, with strident cries that rend the air, destroys the harmony of these quiet spots of small provincial cities, while attempts are made to recreate them.

361 Even more peaceful air is breathed in the Catholic
346 Mission, located to the north of the old "escale." The buildings were constructed at the end of the last century in red laterite, storied buildings /80/ with monastery arcades. They are situated in the middle of a huge garden, always green, extended by a park of magnificent trees. The whole reminds one to some extent of the peaceful site of some metropolitan abbey.

361 The two business quarters (Old Escale and Residence)
563 present the peculiarity of becoming, according to the time of day, the domain of the European in the evening (at the hour
443 for the apéritif) and on Sundays, and that of the African during the day (while the market is open). A place of contact between the Black and the White, this market occupies a very important place in the life of the African city and merits pausing there a bit.

443 It is on the day of the opening of the groundnut trade (at
[438] the beginning of December, for example) that it is proper to visit it. On coming from the station one plunges suddenly into the animation, the dust, the heat, the "sticky" odors of the market. The place is swarming with people where
443 the most diverse means of locomotion are squeezed and mingled together: a small cinder-gray donkey, heavily
● 494 laden, deciding to block the passage of an automobile, despite the beating by its master; a small, light cart with two rubber wheels serving as a taxi and in quest of a possible passenger; a housewife from the neighboring village, her
[482] last-born hanging on her back, and who keeps on her head, in marvelous balance, a calabash full of market produce; a cyclist, poorly balanced on his machine, now and again running into a pedestrian or a vehicle; a truck with impressive loads, which slowly pushes from the road the human

/17/

438 2. The "circuit" of groundnuts. The purchase of the
442 groundnuts in the escale and storing them in the secco of the trader constitute only one step in the complicated circuit that the groundnuts take from the place of production to the port of exportation or to the oil-factories.

492 1) The means of transport. From the place of production
438 to the escale, the groundnuts essentially utilize the traditional modes of transport, donkeys throughout the country and camels in the north. The decree of 4 September 1935 has forbidden the
[656] use of trucks. Its aims were to avoid bulky hauls, purchases at a low price at the place of production, and, above all, to en-
[231] courage local animal-husbandry. This system, however, carries with it grave defects. Most often transport on the back of a donkey is more expensive for the producer than transport by truck because the camel-drivers and donkey-drivers impose their own price on the peasants who do not have animals. Moreover, the transporter guides the seller to a trader whom the seller did not choose. Today, however, more and more derogations are permitted, because in the south, where the groundnut is progressing, the tsetse interdicts animal husbandry, and in the other regions the overworked animals are incapable of doing the transporting at the end of trade. Finally, certain
[874] co-operatives which pretend "to collect" and not to buy do send trucks to the places of production.

494 From the secco of the trader to the port nearby or to the
438 railroad station, transport is handled by trucks. It is essentially the commercial firms, the traders, or the local oil-makers who use them. There are few professional transporters because the traffic is essentially seasonal. The generally bad
[491] condition of the unpaved roads, except for the "Transgambienne" from Dakar to Ziguinchor, causes a rapid wearing-out of equipment, whose amortization is a heavy burden on the budget of the merchants.

497 The Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad and especially the Dakar-
438 Niger transport more than 200,000 metric tons of groundnuts

[Text continues on p. 21--Analyst]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

near the Senegal river, the Fulani in the centre of the colony, and the Mandingos in the east of it. 162 [563]

The District of Dakar

The 66 square miles of the District of Dakar contain 126,929 persons; but the figures for density per square mile mean even less than elsewhere, since most of the inhabitants live in the town itself.

In 1937 there were 118,459 natives and 8,470 Europeans, of whom 6,728 were French. This was about a quarter of the total of Europeans in the whole Federation. [563]

Inland Towns

Bakel (14° 52′; 12° 24′ W.) Population, 2,103. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. Daily market. 36 [131] [162]

Bakel is on the left bank of the Senegal (Plate 83) where the river passes between cliffs some 17 miles below the entrance of the Falémé. It is a local market for gum, ground-nuts, grain, gold dust, hides, and ostrich feathers. Most of the inhabitants are Moslems. [438] [162]

By river it is 531 miles from St. Louis and 84 miles from Kayes, and there is a fortnightly steamer service when the water permits. By colonial road Bakel is 386 miles from St. Louis, 93 miles from Matam, and 32 miles from Kidira. A bus service connects all these places. The river can be crossed by ferry, and from the Mauritanian bank a poor track leads to Sélibaby (32 miles). [487] [505] [491] [494]

Bambey (14° 40′; 16° 25′ W.). Altitude, 59 feet. Population, 4,209. Mixed Commune. Dispensary. Police station. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Garage. Agricultural experimental station. Daily market. [131] [162] [654]

Set in the midst of an area of dense population, Bambey is a prosperous market town. The main product of the locality is ground-nuts, and large quantities of these are put on the train each year. They also form the chief speciality of the agricultural experimental station. [438] [654]

Communications. By railway Bambey is 77 miles from Dakar, 33½ miles from Thiès, 17 miles from Diourbel, and 319 miles from Kidira. It is on the intercolonial road, being 49 miles from Thiès and 16 miles from Diourbel. A colonial road goes almost due south to Fatik (27 miles). There is a daily bus service (p. 473) to Fatik, Foundiougne, and Kaolack. [491] [494]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

36 [131] [162] BIGNONA (12° 49′; 16° 16′ W.). Altitude, *c.* 60 feet. Population, 1,611. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Military post. Emergency landing-ground. Garage.

Bignona stands on the left bank of a small and marshy tributary of the Casamance. Canoes carry a certain amount of merchandise, as also do lorries. The principal items of trade are ground-nuts, palm kernels, wax, rice, and fruit. Most of the native inhabitants are Dioulas. [438] [162]

Colonial roads lead south to the Casamance opposite Ziguinchor (16 miles), east to Sedhiou (58 miles) and Kolda (120 miles), and north-west to Diouloulou (35 miles) and the frontier of the Gambia (46 miles). There are also several minor roads and tracks. [491]

[131] [162] DAGANA (16° 27′; 15° 34′ W.). Altitude, 13 feet. Population, *c.* 3,500. District headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Race-course.

Dagana is on the left bank of the Senegal, and its chief economic function is as a market for Mauritanian gum. This is shipped down river to St. Louis, 116 miles away. There is also connexion upstream to Podor (61 miles), Bakel (403 miles), and Kayes (487 miles). [439] [487]

By colonial road Dagana is 86 miles from St. Louis and 332 miles from Kidira. It is on the bus service (p. 474) between these two places. Southwards another colonial road leads across sparsely inhabited country to Dahra (89 miles) and Diourbel (162 miles). From the opposite bank of the Senegal a track goes to Mederdra, some 30 miles distant. [491] [494]

[131] [162] DIOURBEL (14° 39′; 16° 10′ W.). Altitude, 39 feet. Population, 15,442. Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Police headquarters. Emergency landing-ground. Power station. Hotel. Garage. Daily market.

This flourishing town lies across the little Sine river in the middle of a well-cultivated shallow valley. To the north the ground rises somewhat. Diourbel owes its prosperity to ground-nuts, and 100,000 tons of them pass through the town every year. There are several factories for the shelling of the nuts and for the expression of their oil. Besides this, Diourbel is the headquarters of the province of Baol and a route centre. Its inhabitants are mainly Moslems, who have a large and important mosque. There is also a special school for sons of chiefs. [438] [258] [162] [871]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

36 towns as Boutilimit and Aleg. There is also a track that runs south-
[491] south-westwards to Yang-Yang. For half the year there is a bus
[494] service twice a week to St. Louis in one direction and to Kidira in the other. 1/n

[131] TAMBACOUNDA (13° 45′; 13° 39′ W.). Altitude, 148 feet. Population,
[162] c. 4,000. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Hotel. Garage.

On a slight eminence above a marshy tributary of the Sandougou,
[491] Tambacounda is of considerable importance as a route centre. It
[496] is not only a road junction but also the most southerly point in Senegal of the Dakar–Niger railway. Near the town is a sisal
[248] plantation.

The hotel is open only from December to May.

By rail Tambacounda is 285 miles from Dakar, 111 miles from
[496] Kidira, and 170½ miles from Kayes. One intercolonial road runs
[491] westwards to Kaolack (188 miles), Thiès (295 miles), and Dakar (339 miles); another north-eastwards to Nayes (121 miles) and Kayes (176 miles); and a third southwards to Diabougou (25 miles) and ultimately to Labé (288 miles). Before the war Tambacounda was
[509] connected to Dakar and Bamako by a weekly air service operated by Air France.

[131] THIÈS (14° 49′; 16° 52′ W.). Altitude, 207 feet. Population, 15,451.
[162] Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Regional School.
[797] Roman Catholic mission. Power station. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops. Cinemas. Daily market.

Since the opening of the railway in 1885 Thiès has grown from a collection of native huts to a large town. The railway workshops
[498] employ many hundreds of men, and the market handles considerable
[438] quantities of ground-nuts. The town has been built on a slope that declines gently east and north-east to a small stream. The old Fort Faidherbe is still standing, and there is a big Roman Catholic church.

Communications. Thiès is a railway junction, being 43½ miles
[496] from Dakar, 119½ miles from St. Louis, and 352½ miles from Kidira.
[491] It is also a meeting-place of intercolonial roads. One of these comes from Dakar (44 miles) and goes on to St. Louis (124 miles), while the other branches east to Kaolack (107 miles), Nayes (416 miles), and Kayes (471 miles). There are several minor roads, notably one going
[494] south to M'Bour. Along this road there is a regular bus service, with two buses each weekday in either direction.

1/n [From The Town of Podor-- Analyst]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
ST. LOUIS

30 yards. Immediately east of it is the Place St. Germain, on the south-west side of which stands the main railway station. 361

The western side of the Langue de Barbarie has been reinforced by groynes and a sea-wall.

The town as a whole is well planned, and it has many shops and offices.

Trade

The chief exports are oil-seeds and skins. Imports are mainly manufactured goods. In 1937 the former weighed 30,400 tons and were valued at 31,600,000 francs (£253,990), and the latter weighed 8,300 tons and were valued at 11,900,000 francs (£95,640). 439

Description of Port

Anchorages. Outside the bar at the river mouth there is anchorage in 9–11 fathoms. Inside it there is again a depth of 11 fathoms, which gradually decreases until it is 5 fathoms just below Faidherbe Bridge. 504 [133]

Quays. The principal quays are on the east side of the island. North Quay (Plate 115), above Faidherbe Bridge, is 1,050 feet long, and South Quay, below it, is 1,770 feet long with an alongside depth of 12 fathoms. At the harbour station in Sor there is a jetty 600 feet long with a wharf at its head. There are four small piers on the island, whose positions are shown in Fig. 53.

Equipment. There is a steam crane some 600 yards above the North Quay and a slipway a little higher still. Minor repairs can be effected, but facilities are generally poor.

Fuel. A small stock of coal is kept, but no oil.

Communications

Rail. There are three railway stations (p. 467) in Sor, and the main station is the terminus of the line to Dakar (Route 1). 498

Road. The intercolonial road to Thiès (124 miles) and Dakar (168 miles) starts from the Place St. Germain and then turns south when clear of the goods station. At this point the Imperial road branches off north-east to Rosso (66 miles) and ultimately to Tindouf (1,315 miles). There is a bus service twice a week to and from Matam and Nayes. 491 494

Air. The airfield is 3¼ miles north-east of Place St. Germain. Its surface is hard clay and it has one hangar. In normal times there is a weekly Air France service to Dakar. 508 509

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

[ST. LOUIS]

206 *Wireless.* The wireless station is to the south of Guet N'Dar.

River. Above Faidherbe Bridge the river is closed to all vessels not
505 flying the French flag. Boats drawing 10 feet can ascend to Podor all
[648] the year round, and in the rainy season they can reach Kayes (Vol. I, p. 367). Table V shows how greatly river traffic on the Senegal has declined in recent years.

TABLE V. *Tonnage of Goods from Kayes*

	1928	1929	1930	1934	1935
[497] Sent by rail or road	9,545	9,555	11,456	5,269	6,224
[494] Sent by river	2,520	5,815	3,425	313	260

Shipping. There are no sea-going ships calling regularly, but the Messageries Africaines and the Messageries du Sénégal run services up-river.

36 DAKAR (14° 39′; 17° 25′ W.). Population, 80,052, including *c.* 6,000
[131] Europeans. Capital of the Federation and Headquarters of the
[162] District of Dakar. Full Commune. Custom-house. Law courts.
[489] Chamber of Commerce. Pasteur Institute. Hospitals. Naval base
[712] and dockyard. General Headquarters of the army in French West Africa. Police headquarters. British Consulate-General. Belgian,
[648] Brazilian, Czechoslovakian, Danish, Eireann, Greek, Italian, Netherlands, Norwegian, Swedish, and Swiss Consulates. Argentine, Finnish, Spanish, and Uruguayan Vice-Consulates. Meteoro-
[654] logical station. Airport and seaplane base. Wireless stations.
[508] Colleges and schools. Protestant churches. Roman Catholic Vicariate Apostolic of Guinea and Vicariate General. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Crédit Foncier de l'Ouest Africain. Banque Belge de l'Afrique. Power station.
[697] Prison. Public library. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops.
[498] Cinemas. Race-course. Sports stadium. Botanical gardens.
[654] Agricultural experimental station. Daily market.

Dakar (Fig. 54) is approximately 2,600 miles distant from South-
361 ampton, from Cape Town, and from Rio de Janeiro. It is, therefore, well placed for taking a share in the trade of the South Atlantic, and it
[433] is small wonder that it has become the third port in the French Empire, being surpassed only by Marseilles and Le Havre. It is, moreover, of the first importance strategically.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

[RUFISQUE]

439 Rufisque was the first port from which ground-nuts were exported, and to-day ground-nuts are still the main article of trade. In the first quarter of 1939 it exported 25,152 tons of them. On the north side
504 of Goree bay, Rufisque can only handle small ships. There is anchorage off shore in 3–7 fathoms, but from July to November heavy swell makes it almost unusable.

633 Since 1937 the town has been in the District of Dakar.

Jetties and Equipment. There are three jetties with alongside depths
504 of at least 9½ feet. Two of these are of iron, one being 603 feet long and 33 feet wide with an extension by a wharf 65 feet long and 52 feet wide. The third is of concrete and is 656 feet long. Decauville tracks connect these jetties to the railway. There is one 5-ton crane and one 2-ton, besides smaller ones. There are 4 tugs and 2 lighters.

Communications

496 *Rail.* By rail Rufisque is 17 miles from Dakar, 26½ miles from Thiès, 146 miles from St. Louis, and 268 miles from Tambacounda.

Road. The intercolonial road runs from Dakar (15 miles) through
491 to Thiès (29 miles), where it divides. Eight miles beyond Rufisque a colonial road branches off it to go to M'Bour (38 miles), Joal (61 miles), and Fatik (101 miles). Another colonial road goes northeastwards from the town to Sangalkan (6 miles) and Kayar (17 miles).

36 M'Bour (14° 21′; 16° 57′ W.). Population, *c.* 4,500, including 175
[131] Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-
[162] house. Medical post. Police station.

The town of M'Bour stands at the head of a shallow cove which extends for a mile out to sea as a passage between two reefs. Inside
[504] the cove the water is up to 4½ feet deep, and there is a wharf used by surf-boats. Ships anchor 2½ miles off shore, but heavy swell makes
[439] conditions difficult from June to November. Ground-nuts and millet are exported.

[491] M'Bour is on the colonial road from Rufisque (38 miles) to Joal (23 miles) and Fatik (63 miles). Several minor roads lead inland,
[494] notably one to Thiès, along which there is a bus service twice a day. For half the year there is also a service to Joal.

[131] Joal (14° 09′; 16° 51′ W.). Population, *c.* 900. Custom-house.
[162] Roman Catholic mission.

Joal was founded by the Norman Company in the middle of the
[175] seventeenth century. It was captured by the Dutch in 1677 and by

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[JOAL]

the British 70 years later, and it did not finally become French until 1763. It is on a sandspit in front of a coastal lagoon. Off shore there is a large sandbank, exposed at low tide. 36 [175]

There is a small wharf, but, owing to the difficulty of access, there is very little trade. In 1937, for example, only 4,600 tons of goods were handled and their value was 4,600,000 francs (£36,970). [504] [439]

The colonial road from Fatik (40 miles) to M'Bour (23 miles) and Rufisque (61 miles) runs through the town. There are also minor roads. From November to June there is a bus service to M'Bour and Thiès four days a week. [491] [494]

FOUNDIOUGNE (14° 06′; 16° 29′ W.). Population, 2,734. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-house. Medical post. [131] [162]

Foundiougne is on an island formed by the Saloum, the Djomboss, and their connecting channels. Much of the district is swampy, but the town itself is on a piece of firm ground on the left bank of the Saloum, 33 miles from the sea.

Anchorage in the river is in 3½ fathoms. There are 8 wharves, of which 1 is owned by the municipality. [504]

The principal export is ground-nuts, but in recent years Foundiougne has declined in prosperity. This is owing to the rise of Kaolack, which is better situated on the north bank of the river and which has much better communications. [439] [433]

There is a ferry across the river, and from its far side a rough road leads to Fatik. South of the river there is a colonial road eastwards to Kaolack (32 miles). Along both these roads there is a bus service, daily in the dry season and fortnightly in the wet. [491] [494]

FATIK (14° 18′; 16° 27′ W.). Population, 3,521, including 128 Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Medical post. Police station. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. [131] [162]

At Nonane, on Marigot de Fatik 14½ miles above its junction with the Saloum, is the site of one of the old *escales*. This is the upper limit for boats drawing 10 feet, but smaller craft can ascend a further 7 miles to Fatik, 58 miles from the sea. The town is on the right bank of the river, which is here called the Sine. [505] [487]

Trade is chiefly in ground-nuts. [439]

Colonial roads lead north to Bambey (27 miles), south-east to Kaolack (28 miles), and south-west to Joal (60 miles), and a minor road south to Foundiougne. [491]

The landing-ground is half a mile west of the town.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Two other roads start from Matam. One goes south-westwards to Nelbi (56 miles) and then follows the Ferlo valley westwards to Yoroforé (98 miles), Kagnar (130 miles), and Linguéré (158 miles). It then continues westwards to Ouarkhor (166 miles), Dahra (183 miles), Coki (224 miles), and Louga (242 miles). Although ranked as a colonial road, this is in reality a desert track, much of it being across rough and waterless country. The other road from Matam is little better. It goes southwards through Malandou (31 miles) and Toubel Bali (88 miles) to Tambacounda (155 miles). 491

Another road that is very poor for its class begins at Dagana and goes southward across the semi-desert to Yang-Yang (68 miles), crosses the Matam-Louga road at Dahra (89 miles), and then goes through Sagata (98 miles) to the railway terminus at Touba (130 miles). From there the road has a rather better surface to Mbaké (138 miles) and Diourbel (162 miles).

The south-east of the colony is served by a road that runs from Tambacounda to Nieriko (42 miles) on the Gambia and then by way of Dialakoto (48 miles) and Badon (128 miles) to Kédougou (160 miles). From Badon a branch runs south-east for 86 miles to Satadougou, which is just over the border of French Sudan.

In the Casamance Territory there is a road from Ziguinchor through Bignona (16 miles), Sedhiou (74 miles), Kolda (136 miles), and Velingara (205 miles) to meet the intercolonial road at Diabougou (245 miles). A branch runs from Velingara to Médina Pakan (32 miles). Another road traverses districts on the left bank of the Casamance from Ziguinchor to Yatakounda (48 miles) and Kolda (130 miles). From Bignona a road runs north-west to Diouloulou (35 miles), crosses the frontier of the Gambia at 46 miles, and provides a connexion with Bathurst, 47 miles farther to the north. This last road is of fairly modern construction and has a tolerable surface, but the others are poor.

494

Bus Services

Table VI shows the bus services in 1939.

TABLE VI. *Bus Services*

Route	*Service*
Bambey–Fatik–Foundiougne–Kaolack	Bambey–Foundiougne: daily; Foundiougne–Kaolack: daily 15 November to 30 April, fortnightly 1 May to 14 November. Service in conjunction with the railway.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

494

Route	*Service*
Thiès-M'Bour-Joal	Thiès-M'Bour: twice each weekday; M'Bour-Joal: 4 days a week 1 November to 30 June only.
St. Louis-Dagana-Matam-Kidira	Twice a week 1 December to 30 June. Journey time: 50 hours.
Ziguinchor-Sedhiou-Kolda	Dry season: daily. Wet season: as practicable and as required. Journey time: 7½ hours. Occasional extensions to Tambacounda.

SIGNALS

Cables

206 Dakar is connected by cable to Conakry, Fernando Noronha (Brazil), Casablanca, and Brest. In 1939 to send a message to France cost 11·70 francs (1*s.* 4*d.*) a word.

Telegraphs and Telephones

Telegraph lines run alongside the railways and the following roads:

St. Louis-Dagana-Matam-Bakel-Kidira.
Thiès-M'Bour-Joal-Fatik-Bambey.
Tambacounda-Diabougou-Médina Pakan-border of French Guinea.
Diabougou-Kolda-Sedhiou-Bignona-Ziguinchor.
Bignona-Bathurst (the Gambia).

There are also connexions across the Senegal into Mauritania. The colony has more miles of telephone line than all the others combined. Lines are laid alongside the following roads: Dakar-Thiès-St. Louis; Thiès-Diourbel-Kaolack; Rufisque-M'Bour-Joal-Fatik-Kaolack; and Ziguinchor-Bignona-Sedhiou-Kolda. The standard of efficiency is low.

Wireless

207 There are stations at Dakar, Kaolack, Ross, St. Louis, Tambacounda, and Ziguinchor, of which Dakar is the only one to do any broadcasting. Details are given in Table VII. In 1939 radio-telegrams to France cost 9·75 francs (1*s.* 1*d.*) a word.

[206]

/110 cont./

648 according to this agreement, Great Britain left to us on the
504 Gambia River, along with the territory of Kantora, the port of Yarboutenda, which she thought was accessible to ocean-going vessels. If this advantage did not exist, the text added, a port would be selected downstream and ceded to France, along with the lands defined by an arc of one kilometer in radius. Later on, Yarboutenda was discovered to be inaccessible to ocean-going vessels. The French government then had the right to select a port on the Gambia which offered the advantages that the agreement consented to give us. After study, the port of Nianimaro was selected by the Government-general of Dakar. But the negotiations between Paris and London were never concluded.

496 Because of its natural position on a navigable river,
504 Kaolack has remedied a situation which might have been very disadvantageous for our commerce. The rail line was even extended from Kaolack to Lyndiane, over a distance of 12 kilometers, in order to favor a private enterprise established on the river at this place.

Lyndiane is in fact a point on the right bank of the Saloum where vessels can tie up easily. The Etablissements Ch. Peyrissac et Cie., who own this port and have branches in both Senegal and the Sudan, have a real advantage in this privileged situation.

496 We have given some indication above of the development of the railroad: 190 kilometers in Sine-Saloum. The seven stopping stations are: Gossas, Guinguinéo, /111/ Birkelane, Kaffrine, Malem Hodar, Maka-Yop, and Koungheul, all located at the outlet of trade routes carrying groundnuts.

491 Roads. Branching off from this railroad line, as well as from all the major centers, many highways streak across the country in every direction. These roads, or rather dirt roads,
[494] are for the most part accessible to automobiles: tourist cars and transport trucks.

There are more than 3,000 kilometers of dirt roads in the circle, of which 2,000 kilometers are used daily in the dry

/111 cont./

491 season by truckage, the development of which has grown in
[494] considerable proportions since 1920.

The network of roads is on the whole excellent. Every winter, it is subject to deteriorations; the latter are repaired as soon as the dry season arrives. Thousands of workers making
[464] their annual contribution are employed there under the supervision of native chiefs and under the direction of the European administrative authorities. Some artificial works, embankments, bridges, culverts, gutters, and channels have been constructed in the swampy places or to cross spots of water.

363 In the communes, the roads are gradually being paved with paving stones as the urban streets develop. In Kaolack six kilometers of streets have been paved with stones in the past five years.

505 Inland navigation. As we have already seen, the Saloum is the major channel of inland navigation. Steamers enter it by the maritime passage of Sangomar. In the channel, 120 kilometers long, up to Kaolack, there are some bends or passages that are quite difficult to negotiate. A pilot is
[502] necessary. All of the boats have one, whom they take on at Dakar or Rufisque. The Sine is traveled in the same fashion up to Niamnioroh.

There are countless marigots which are accessible to
[501] cutters, small launches, barges, or dugouts. There are several thousand kilometers /112/ of waterways which connect villages, centers of cultivation, and fishing agglomerations.

In the Bas-Saloum in particular, commercial traffic is handled by cutters or by dugouts.

Saboya, on the marigot Miniminian, an affluent of the Gambia, is accessible to ocean-going vessels. Each year boats come to seek the stock of groundnuts produced by this region.

Here are some comparative figures on navigation for the three ports of Kaolack, Foundiougne, and Saboya.

/11 cont./

*795 It is to Touba that the young Murids come to learn the
[793] Koran; each marabout there has his own school which forms his young talibés.

It is in Touba also that, grouped around their marabout (or his residence), the faithful dwell, those who wish to live a holier life in permanent contact with their religious leader and working each day for them and with them.

[788] It is to Touba, finally, that every good Murid must go once
[778] a year in order to pray at the tomb of the founding saint of the brotherhood, at that of the khalife /caliph/, first successor, and especially in order to pay a visit to the present Caliph-general and to give him the offerings intended in particular for the continuation of the work on the mosque; this is the Magal of which we shall speak again below.

361 /12/ The city appears like a great "escale" /commercial
*795 center/ of the bush. Wide avenues separate the vast carrés /compounds/ of the various marabouts from one another. A plan for division into lots was drawn up, but it has not yet been applied, Falilou M'Backé, the Caliph-general, having feared, at the last moment, the far-reaching consequences.

Touba is thus a great center. Its development and the considerable number of persons who come there for the Magal have
[312] necessitated special arrangements. Drillings have been made in order to ensure the water supply of the holy city, which is, more-
[496] over, linked to M'Backé and Diourbel by a railroad. On the other hand, no commercial establishment has settled in Touba, and the trading center has been fixed at M'Backé.

346 Touba's center of attraction is its mosque, an Islamic
*795 monument unique in Senegal.

It was Amadou Bamba himself who decided to have it constructed, and in 1926 he asked his faithful to bring the first stones for it to Touba, but it was Amadou Mustapha, his son and first successor, who began the first work on it, after receiving by lease from the Administration a piece of ground of 400 hectares on which he could build it.

/371/

121
369

To complement an urban geographical study of Thiès (1),

1. "La ville de Thiès /The City of Thiès/," to appear soon in Études Sénégalaises.

a city located about 60 kilometers as the crow flies from Dakar, we have made an investigation in the villages of its suburbs.

[175
496]

The sole object of this investigation was to learn to what extent the presence of a city founded entirely by Europeans as early as 1885 (date of the running of the Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad) may have effects on the neighboring rural groupings.

Consequently, this study will deal only with the relations that may exist between the city and the neighboring villages; agricultural problems will be dealt with only to the extent that they help to clarify certain aspects of the question.

[563]

Seven villages were chosen. These agglomerations contain populations that belong to the principal ethnic groups of the region: Sérère-none /Serer/ at Tiali, Thiès-none, and Sapko; Wolof at Diakhaté and Keur-Mamour; Bambara and Wassoulonké at Karamoko and at Keur-Issa-Bambara (see the sketch below). All of these localities are located within a radius of less than ten kilometers around the city.

The presence of a city in a given region may have disturbed rural life in very different ways, depending on the distance from the village to the city and depending on its ethnic composition.

It may have acted on the choice of the site for the village, on its arrangement, on the creation of new rural groupings.

It may have caused modifications in the type of the traditional settlement, in its interior comforts, in its modes and methods of cultivation.

/372/ Finally, and above all, it may have led to more or less profound perturbations in the social and economic organization of the village.

Before developing these three points it seems necessary to

3: Savonnet --3 E-5 (no date) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

Serer FA32
Wolof MS30

/373 cont./

S
SR
W
102
131
361
S
491
496
712

/372/

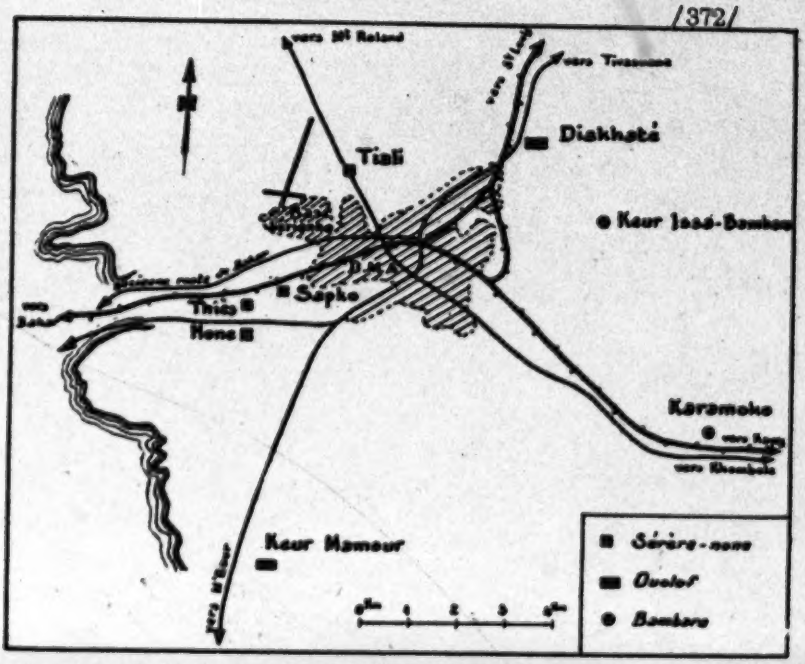


Fig. 1. Thiès, location of the villages mentioned in this study.

S
361 /373 cont./ by its internal plan (it is dispersed in a loose arrangement), but by the arbored countryside that surrounds it.

Karamoko, on the other hand, resembles a Wolof village: few or no trees except around the huts, a monotonous and open countryside.

S
369 The founding and the rapid growth of Thiès seems to have entailed perturbations in the life of the neighboring villages, especially at the end of the last century.

/374 cont./

369 [438] became a relatively flourishing commercial center; each year more than 20,000 metric tons of groundnuts were handled by the traders of the place and sent by railroad to the ports of Rufisque or Dakar. As early as 1907 the first work on the Thiès-[496] Kayes railroad was begun. All of this new economic activity [464] required the employment of many laborers, who were in part recruited on the spot, but also in the neighboring villages.

369 166 During the dry season, work in the fields is reduced. A number of rural people in the vicinity come to offer their serv-[464] ices as workers in the factoreries (2) or in the newly opened

[443] 2. Factorerie: shop where everything is sold.

[461] yards /chantiers, dockyards, woodyards, etc./. Some of these villagers feel that this kind of work is less arduous and more remunerative than that of agriculture. They become definitively attached to urban life and come to swell the population of the native quarters previously established.

[484] [22] Others return every evening to the village. During the rainy season they leave their urban job and devote all their activity to work in the fields.

During this whole period prior to the Great War the suburban village seems to have played the role of intermediary or rather of relay-station between the hamlet in the bush and [464] the city. The call for non-specialized labor had echos not only in the outskirts /375/ of the city itself, but also in the more distant villages. Curiosity about new things, the opportunity to escape familial tutelage, and especially the promise of relatively high earnings stimulated some immigration movement toward the escales.

[574] By means of the great hospitality that he knows will be shown him by relatives or friends who live in Diakhaté or Keur-Issa-Bambara, the rural person settles in these agglomerations.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Africans. Indeed only very small scale trading is in the hands of Africans, otherwise large scale commercial enterprises are run by Europeans, and most of their managerial staff being European. Between these large scale organisations, the whole range of middleman trade is dominated by Lebanese and the so-called *petit blancs*. Small shopkeeping is predominantly in the hands of the Mauritanians, though larger shops particularly in Dakar, are run by Lebanese and Europeans. At first sight this would seem to be an unhealthy situation, and it would be foolish to ignore the inherent dangers in it. But the most ardent critics of this state of affairs are as often as not visiting Africans, not the Senegalese themselves. When a Nigerian shops in Printania or goes to the local bank in Dakar, he is shocked by the number of Frenchwomen employed in jobs he is accustomed to seeing held by Africans in Lagos. But in considering the rather special case of Dakar one must take into account a number of factors that are often overlooked by would-be critics.

Senegal is a territory of only 3,100,000 people and in the normal run of education in French-speaking African states, even taking into account Senegal's special position among them, the percentage of the population available to fill managerial and sub-managerial posts or indeed any 'European-style' job in all sectors of the economy, can hardly match up to the requirements of the most highly industrialised city in West Africa. In addition Dakar has a large international airport and a port that was the third largest in the French Union. It is also the centre of government for Senegal and the terminus of a railway. It is not surprising therefore that Senegal finds it more difficult to find the appropriate number of Africans to fill its senior posts in commerce and industry than Lagos which has a Nigerian population of over 36 million to draw on. Furthermore Lagos is in the centre of an area where missionaries have been active for over a hundred years and consequently

/73 cont./

102
131
133
491
496

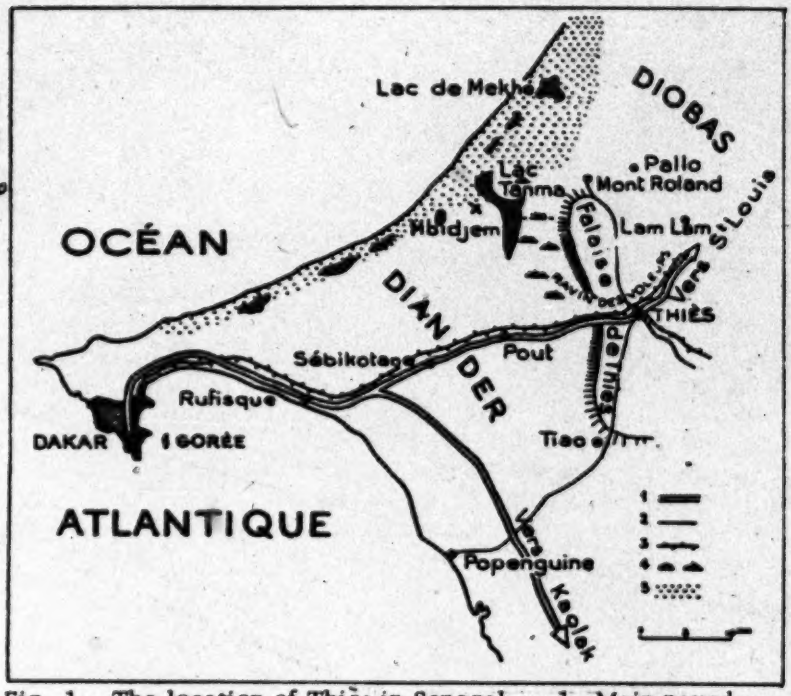


Fig. 1. The location of Thiès in Senegal. 1. Main paved road; 2. secondary road; 3. railroad; 4. swamps; 5. sand.

175 Verde Peninsula. As long ago as this epoch Thiès seems to
369 have been a strategic point and support point of primary im-
361 portance.

As early as 1880 the provinces of Diander and Diobas were pacified. The military posts lost their importance and were abandoned one after the other, for example, Nguiguis (near Tivaouane) and Mbidjem. Only the one at Thiès, because of its exceptional location, survived and developed.

175 2. The commercial escale (1880-1923).
369 The years of the decade 1880-1890 correspond to the
499 period of the development of groundnut cultivation in Senegal
244 and to the construction of the Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad.

/73 cont./

175 The surveys for the future course of this railway re-
369 vealed that the shortest route would have to follow the
499 Atlantic coast, but since this is bordered by dunes it would
133 necessitate some important construction work. The passage across the slope of Thiès was also a serious obstacle, but the "Ravin des Voleurs" made access to the plateau possible; the line would thus follow the valley which cuts the brow of the hill, then the depression which follows the plateau to the east, and would pass in front of the military fort established at its extremity.

175 The fortune of Thiès was made: as early as 1885, the
369 date of the opening of the railroad, the merchants of
[361] Rufisque set up branches there; a plan for dividing the future city into lots was outlined. This plan, unfortunately, foresaw the development of the city only north of the line, along the trail connecting Thiès with Rufisque and Dakar. A Catholic
[797] mission was established in the vicinity, and in 1893 the first civil administrator occupied the new residence built near the Faidherbe redoubt.

175 The groundnut policy developed successfully; 20,000
369 tons of groundnuts were shipped by rail from the Thiès station
439 in 1890 (3). Commerce, however, was not established in

[496]
[492]

3. Convoys of camels competed with the railway up to 1910 and transported their cargo to the port of Rufisque. Thiès was the last stop before reaching the quays of embarkation 50 kilometers away.

[366] permanent fashion in the escale: only during the period of trading (from November to May) did the European employees
[441] sent by the firms of Rufisque live in the city and buy groundnuts, millet, cotton ... at their branches; from May to November they returned to Rufisque, and most of the shops in Thiès were closed, the city seemingly dead.

/75 cont./

102
361
491
496

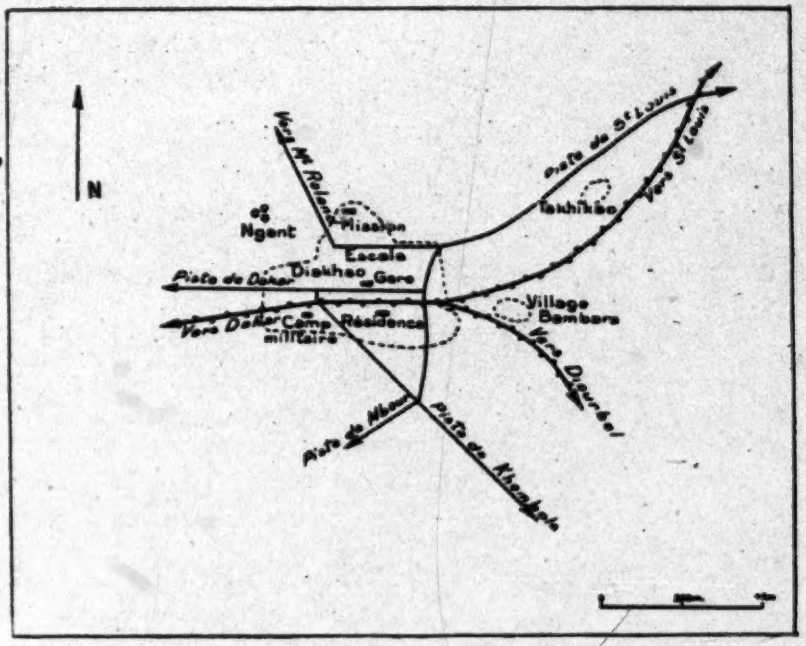


Fig. 2. Thiès in 1910.

369
441
563

acquired during the period of hostilities, their knowledge of the language, and their great aptitude for adapting themselves to the customs of the country and for living under very curtailed conditions /76/ made these newcomers serious competitors whom French commerce tried, but in vain, to eliminate. All the concessions of the northern escale were now occupied (5); the

5. There was no question of extending the first lots farther to the north; the concession ceded to the Mission prevented such an extension.

newcomers -- chiefly Syrians -- set up their factorerie (6) in the

[443]

6. Factorerie: shop where everything is sold and where at the same time

/78 cont./

102
361
491
496

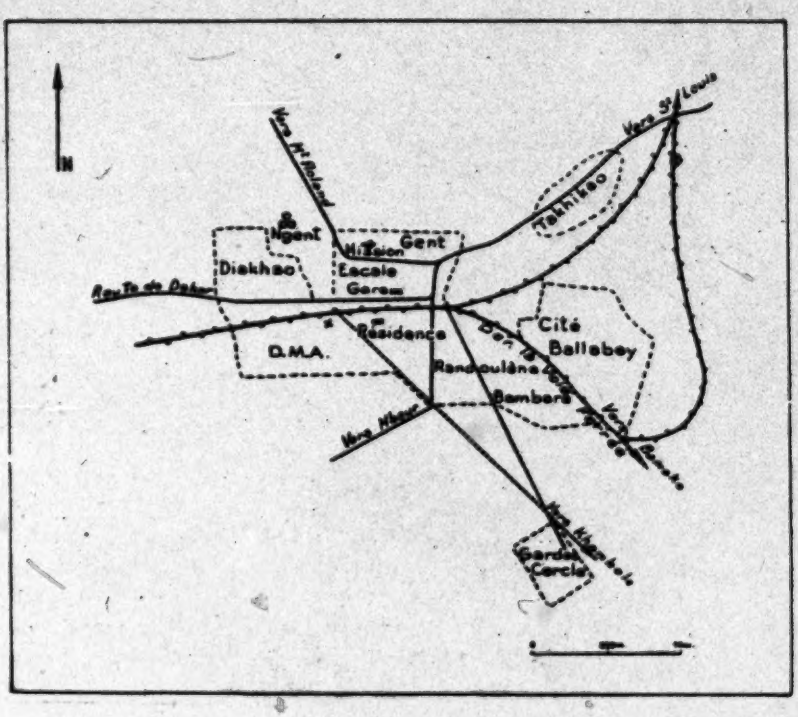


Fig. 3. Thiès in 1940.

351 buildings pierced here and there by a portal which gives access to the courtyards, always littered, of the shop or workshop. /79/ /Fig. 3 appears here./

361 [341] One now sees a modification of this oldish architecture and attempts at renovation. This quarter, built essentially for commercial purposes, did not leave any space free for expansion; no plaza, no small garden offers a pleasant spot in this assemblage dedicated essentially to trade.

The quarter of the Residence is quieter, and also cooler. The arrangement of the settlement pattern is looser; the houses are spread out, and each is separated from its neighbor by a [351] kitchen garden, a courtyard, or a small pleasure garden. Near the administrative buildings care has even been taken to reserve and arrange some public squares in the shade of immense Gambia

18: Savonnet--19 E-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS37 Senegal

/82/

36
102
491
496
712

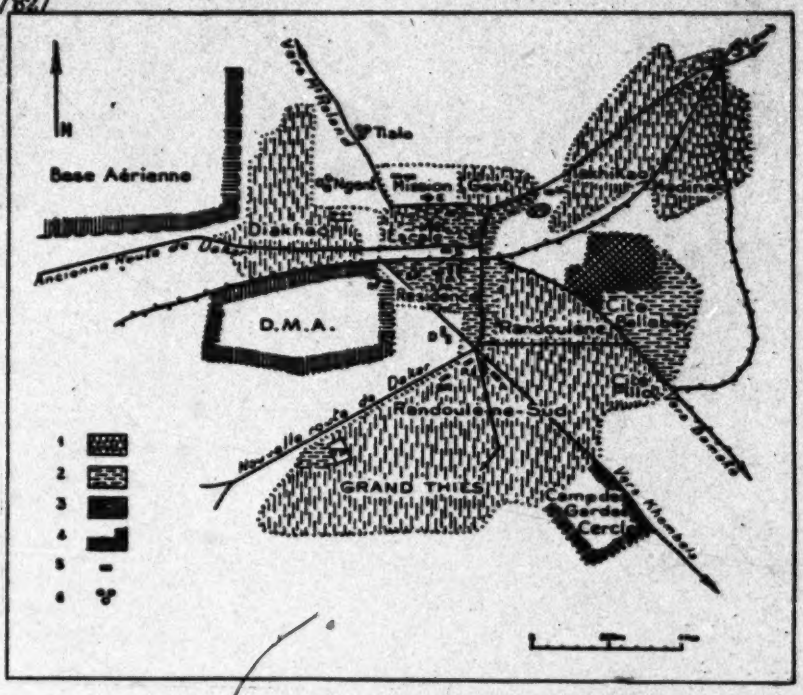


Fig. 4. Thies in 1954.

1. Residential zone of Africans; 2. Residential zone of Europeans; 3. Industrial zone; 4. Military bases;5. Administrative and religious buildings; 5. Village. E-- Catholic church; U-- Mosque; V-- Posts; C-- College; L-- Police; S-- Station; N-- Gendarmery; P-- Primary school; RF-- Faidherbe Redoubt; SP-- Société de Prévoyance /Welfare Society/; M-- Town Hall. T-- Treasury; R-- Residence of the Commander of the Circle; Pr-- Prison; D-- Dispensary; TP-- Public Works; PJ-- Palace of Justice; GR-- Bus station; P-- Collector's office. A-- Firemen.

/5 cont./

177 early as 1560 Alvarez de Almada speaks of the abundant har-
244 vests of mantiga eaten fresh by the Mandingue /Mandingo/. In 1840 a Paris chemist, Rousseau, discovered the wealth of oil in the groundnut. In 1841 the brig "Zénith" transported 70 metric tons of nuts to Rouen. Protêt and Faidherbe encouraged this crop, which, in the framework of the colonial economic system, progressed rapidly from the coast toward the interior, thanks to the possibilities of the natural environment.

132 From the Senegal River in the north to the Casamance in the south, the climate of the country changes by successive transitions from Sahelian characteristics to Sudanese aspects. A long dry season of nine months in the north, shorter in the south, from October or December to May-June, contrasts with a "winter season" of three to five months, depending on the region. The frequency and the importance of the precipitations increase from north to south. They go from 350 millimeters in the region of Louga to 1,200 millimeters in that of Ziguinchor. Whereas the coast is moistened by the humid trade wind, the Ferlo to the east is like a desert. These conditions are nearly /6/ ideal for a
244 plant whose vegetative cycle is short -- about 120 days -- and which germinates easily in a slightly moistened soil, develops under heavy rains, and bears fruit best during the dry days that follow.

134 The soil conditions also seem to be wholly favorable.
244 The plant is not very demanding with respect to fertility; essentially it requires a light soil, because the fructification is underground. The silico-argillaceous soils of the center of Senegal (the dek of the Ouoloff /Wolof/) and the sandy soils of the north (the dior of the Ouoloff) suit the groundnut perfectly.

496 The expansion of the area of cultivation, from the coast
244 and the estuaries toward the interior, has been led by the rail-
311 roads. The Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad, built in 1885, explains the essential role of Cayor in groundnut production at the beginning of the century, since it was along the Dakar-Niger line, achieved in 1888, that the groundnut front progressed toward the east. Today this front, which in the south has broken into the

/6/
496 edges of the woodlands of Casamance, has reached the Ferlo
244 and the zone of the lateritic cuirasses of the east.
311

I. The Types of Groundnut Cultivation in Senegal

244 The very symbol of the product of "trade," the groundnut
[433] is essentially cultivated by the autochthonous peasants, who devote to it an important part of their activities.

1. The types of autochthonous cultivation. Whatever the place of the groundnut may be in the system of crops, one always finds, within the framework of the very short agricultural cycle of winter, the same techniques for the preparation of the soil, the same kinds of tillage.

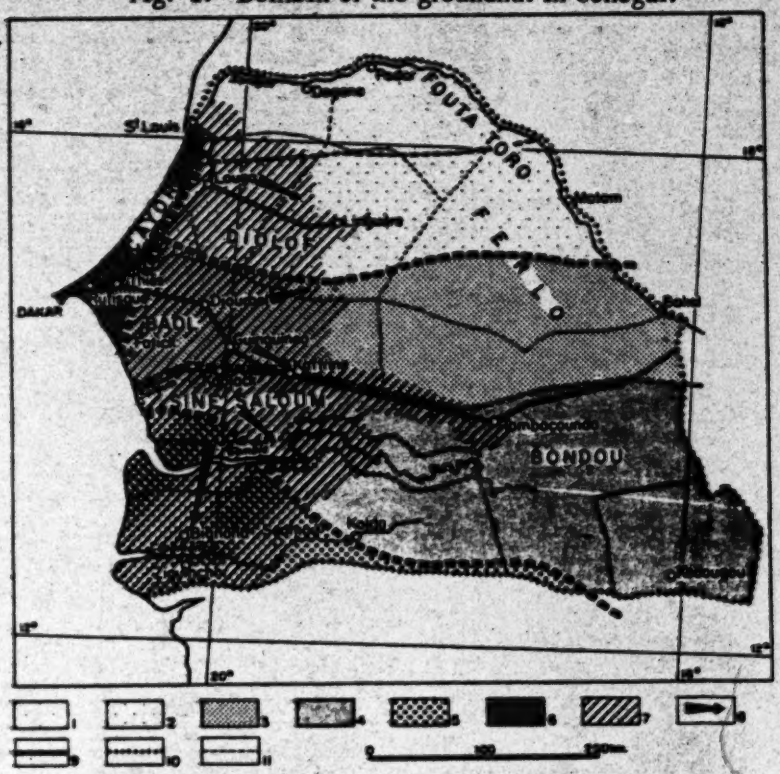
Everywhere in Senegal the traditional technical contrivances are primitive and permit only rather crude tillage. The
[418] lopping tool, the rhock, a kind of fork with two prongs, the hilaire, formed by a quite long handle and a flat blade in the shape of an ace of hearts, and the hoe, or daba, constitute the essential equipment.

In the spring, at the end of the dry season, the trees and bushes are topped with the lopping tool to 60 or 70 centimeters from the ground. Only the "Faidherbia," stripped of their leaves in winter, are spared. The branches are burned on the spot; their ashes are the sole fertilizer for the field recovered from the bush. The mutilated and burned trunks, the stumps left in place, give it an unfinished and disorderly appearance. Soon after the first rains, generally in June, one proceeds with the sowing. In the holes /7/ four to five centimeters deep, made with the daba or with the handle of the rhock, the cultivator puts one or two groundnut seeds and then, with the heel, covers them with soil. These holes, made in a row, are generally 30 centimeters apart. In July and August, one proceeds with several weedings and dressings with the daba in order to mellow the soil. In September the last cleaning out of foul grasses is done by hand. When the stalks wither, the shells have reached maturity,

/8 cont./

Fig. 1. Domain of the groundnut in Senegal.

102
103
131
244
311
496



1. Sahelo-Saharan zone:
2. Sahelo-Sudanese zone;
3. Sudano-Sahelian zone .
4. Sudano-Guinea zone.
5. Guinea zone.
6. Coastal zone with relics of the Guinea woodland.
7. Groundnuts.
8. Progression of the domain of the groundnut.
9. Railroad.
10. Boundaries of the states.
11. Boundaries of the circles.

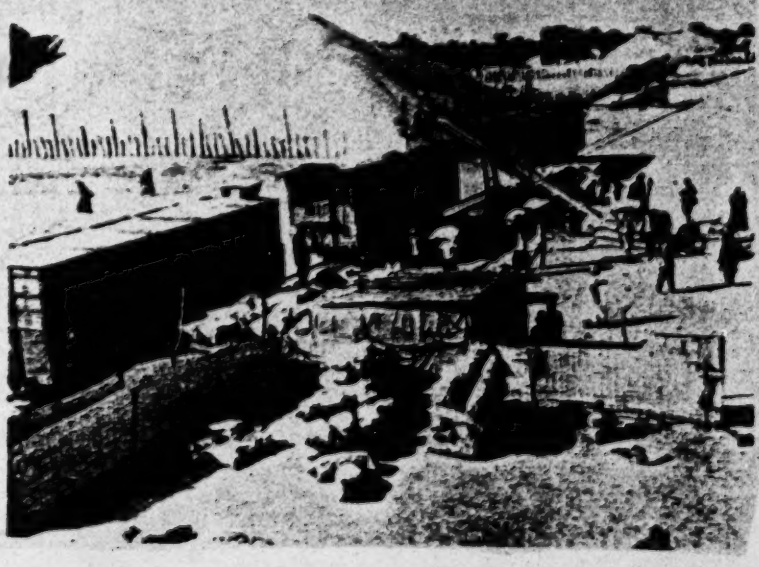
19: Pehaut--20 K-4 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 16-17/ Plate II

492
482
491

A. Trade: transporting the groundnuts to the trader (Diourbel).

496
366



B. Loading the loose groundnuts into the cars at the station in M'Backé.

/377 cont./

369 The reconstitution of the municipality in 1956, a simple elec-
633 toral operation, proved /378/ /Fig. 2 appears here/ to be in-
capable of giving life to Gorée; at the beginning of 1961 it was
forced to reattach itself to Dakar, for which it is nothing more
than a tourist annex. Nevertheless, due to the crisis in housing
[362] in Dakar, it offers its old houses to workers from the victorious
great city.

The elimination of the other rival centers was not as easy,
369 but no less radical. The railroad linking Dakar and Saint-Louis,
505 finished in 1885, did not immediately bring about the decline
496 of the old Senegalese capital. On the contrary, asleep since
487 entry up the river became impossible because of the increase in
tonnage of the ships, it seems to have gained a revival of activity,
especially after the construction of the Kayes-Niger section of
the railroad at the end of the century. In fact the products des-
[439] tined for the Sudan or coming from there, which took the path
of the Senegal River, were subjected to an obligatory freight-
break there, which made Saint-Louis a quite important mart.
But the construction of the Thiès-Kayes railroad after the First
World War and the /379/development of automobile traffic had
the effect, on the one hand, of directly annexing the Sudan to
the zone of influence of Dakar, and, on the other hand, of iso-
lating Saint-Louis and the old escales /trading centers/ of the
Senegal River and accelerating their economic decline (Fig. 2).
369 Bakel, Matam, Podor, and Dagana are no more than administra-
[633] tive centers without any great economic activity. Saint-Louis,
continuing as the capital of Senegal, preserved an appearance of
vitality longer. But in 1957 Dakar robbed it of this function to
the great despair of its population, which, after a phase of vio-
lent opposition, complains today in a passive resistance that the
tokens of sympathy and the promises expressed a thousand times
in the official speeches of the state authorities do not come to
anything.

369 As for Rufisque, for a long time it had more economic
505 trump cards than Dakar. In fact, when the port had not yet been
439 constructed at Dakar, it was more advantageous to load the

/379 cont./

102
496
508
504
491
361

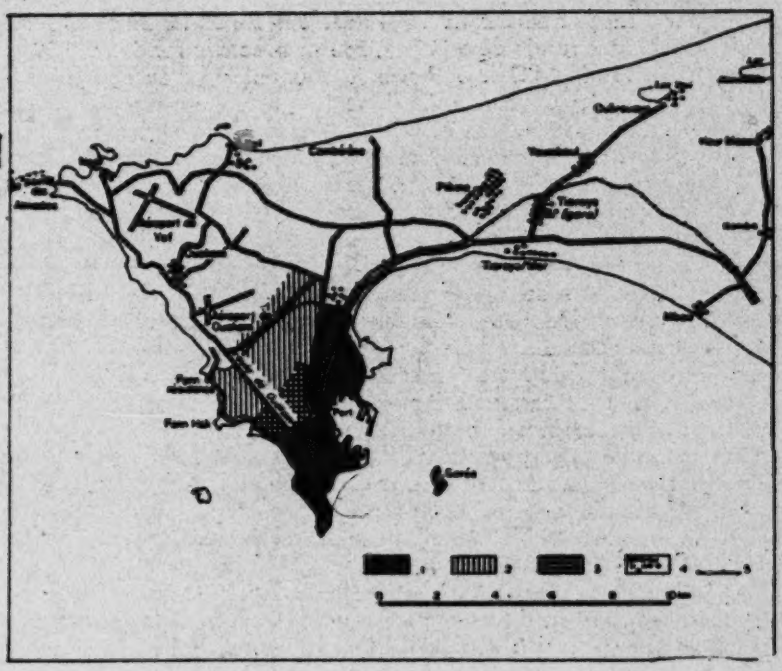


Fig. 2. The quarters of Dakar. --1. Dakar-ville and the industrial zone; 2. Greater Dakar; 3. Médina; 4. villages of the suburbs; 5. railroads.

369 groundnuts at Rufisque, nearer to the centers of production in
505 Cayor. Therefore Rufisque soon became the groundnut capital.
439 As early as 1862, 27 European or Goréan merchants were estab-
[441] lished there (and 12 at Bargny, located three kilometers farther to the east). Three years later, this figure climbed to 35 (14).

14. Note 1 in Fondation de Dakar, op. cit., p. 328.

369
633 The activity at Rufisque was so great and the launching of Dakar so

/383 cont./

369 162 [113] 1958, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 35: 1910, 24,000; 1921, 32,000; 1931, 54,000; 1945, 132,000; 1955-56, 231,000.

[633] there, nevertheless give an acceptable idea of the direction of the development of the population of Dakar. The first 20 years that followed the construction of the port were characterized by a not very spectacular progression, the population merely having doubled, going from 24,900 in 1910 to 54,000 in 1931. This relative slowness of growth should undoubedly be attributed to some check due to the First World War, but it is basically explained by the then very imcomplete [496] character of the modern paths of penetration, the railroads from Thiès to Kayes and from Louga to Linguère not having been finished until after the war. By contrast, the progression has been particularly rapid in the 20 years that followed, and, in spite of the checks that would seemingly have been put into operation by the Second World War, the population has more than quadrupled between 1931 and 1955, reaching 230,000 inhabitants at the latter date (19).

[113] 19. Recensement démographique de Dakar 1955. Résultats définitifs, 1er fascicule /Demographic census of Dakar for 1955. Final Results, No. 1/. Publication of the Service de la statistique de l'ex-A.O.F., July 1958. The following figures given for the population of Dakar have been taken from this number or have been calculated from the figures that it gives.

369 563 162 This Dakar population, very diverse in its make-up, is an almost complete sampling of the ethnic groups of Senegal, to which are added elements from the other territories of former French West Africa and also some non-Africans. Thus, jostling

[Text continues on P. 20--Analyst]

20: Seck--19 U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 382-383/

36
102
491
496
504
712
743

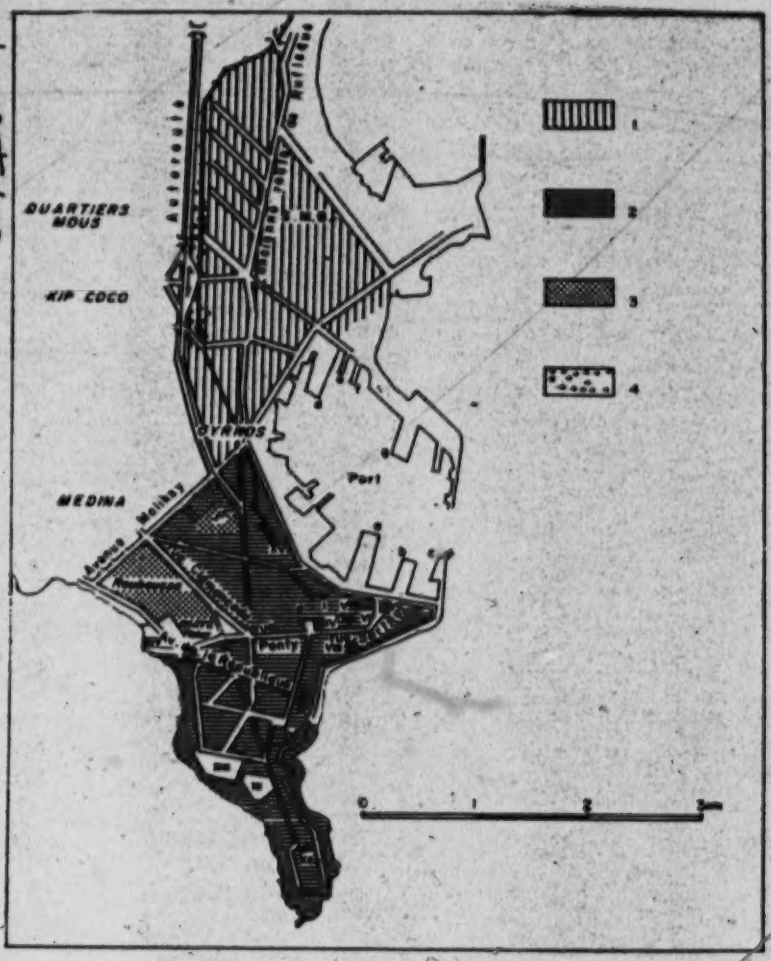


Fig. 3. Dakar. The port and the industrial zone. -- 1. The industrial zone; 2. the very urbanized sections; 3. low quarters; 4. irregular quarters.

(Caption Continued on following page.)

/Fig. 3 Caption cont./

36
102
491
496
504
712
743

a-g. The piers. -- I. Town Hall. -- II. Chambre de Commerce. -- III. Sandaga Market (Ponty-Clemenceau crossroads). -- IV. Former Palace of Justice. -- V. General Postoffice. -- VI. Treasury. -- VII. Kermel Market. -- VIII. Military Circle. -- IX. Residence of the President of the Republic. -- X. Military Hospital. -- XI. African Hospital. -- XII. Palace of Justice. -- XIII. Camp Bornis. -- XIV. Camp Galliéni. -- XV. Station.

369
563
162

/383 cont./ one another in Dakar are Lébou, Ouolof /Wolof/, Toucouleur /Tukolor/, Sérère /Serer/, Sarakolé, Diola, Socé, etc., who are Senegalese, but there are also Mauritanians, Sudanese, Voltaics, Guineans, Ivorians /persons from the Ivory Coast/, Dahomeans, Cape Verdeans, Lebano-Syrians, French, etc. The Lébou, who are the original population of Dakar, today represent scarcely one-tenth of the population, exceeded in number by the Oulof, the Toucouleur (20), and even by the 30,000 non-Africans,

[113]

20. A. Diop, "L'immigration toucouleur à Dakar (enquête /investigation/ 1958-1959)," I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 1. The author, citing an investigation by the M.I.S.O.E.S., gives the figure of 31,000 Toucouleur in 1959.

among whom the French constitute a great majority of close to 23,000 persons in residence. This character of Dakar as a [166] region of call is illustrated first by the fact that only a little more than one-third of the population was born there. /384/ and then by the quite obvious inequality between the number of men and that of women. Before the war, among the Europeans, there were 65% men as against 25% women and 10% [744] children (21). Today the systematic destruction of the

21. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar," op. cit., p. 630.

/386/

102
491
361
363
• 496

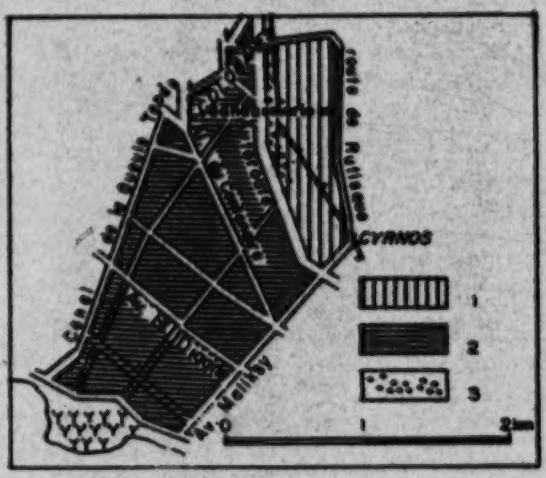


Fig. 4. Médina. -- 1. Industrial zone;
2. quarters more or less urbanized;
3. irregular quarters.

369 which progressively transformed the Dakar agglomeration.
563 There was first the creation of the S. T. A. G. D. (Service temporaire de l'aménagement du Grand-Dakar /Temporary
[361] Office for the Arrangement of Greater Dakar/) for a systematic urbanization of the city. Then there was the decision to promote a policy of lodgings for African officials, while a society for a mixed economy, the Société Immobilière du Cap-Vert (S. I. C. A. P.) /Building Society of Cape Verde/
[362] studied and made up forms for cheap dwellings for mere renting or for rent-sale. At the same time there was the law called "Lamine Gueye," which equalized upward several
[465] elements of the African and non-African wages at the time when "l'africanisation des cadres" /Africanization of the staffs/ was promoted, which led to a mixture of Africans and
[647] Europeans in the administrative lodgings and in the new quarters for officials. Finally, first the staff-law and then autonomy

/391 cont. /

102
491
496
487
433

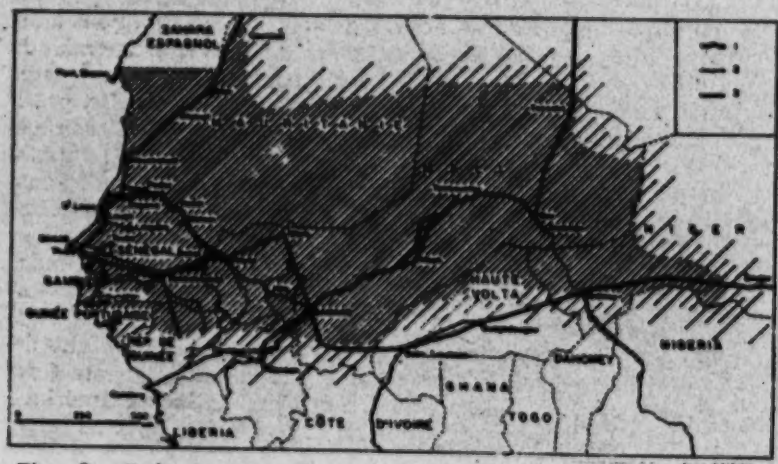


Fig. 6. Dakar's zone of economic influence.
1. Navigable course; 2. railroad;
3. road.

369 Sudanese interior, but also for the whole of former French West
433 Africa through the role of management that the administrative
439 offices, the banks, and the great commercial agencies play from Dakar.

In truth, however, this pre-eminence of Dakar which rests only on its role as a relay-station, a "service station," which receives for redistribution, carries with it grave weaknesses. And first of all it is necessary to note that the influence of Dakar, which extends supremely over a regional assemblage larger than France, is actually /392/ nothing less than a sign of the underdevelopment of the regions thus dominated. It in fact signifies for them an economy of trade, without local conversion of the products, with few urban centers playing an important role in regional management. Now, precisely this influence, while maintaining the economy of trade, prevents any new orientation of the economy in a national sense. Because of this, the ties uniting Dakar with its zone of influence appear to be of the same nature as those that tie the colonies to their mother countries, or, more accurately, they are only shackles; the nationalism of the new states will confuse them in a similar

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal M537
Gambia FC1

S
G
102
103
131
133
361
491
S
496

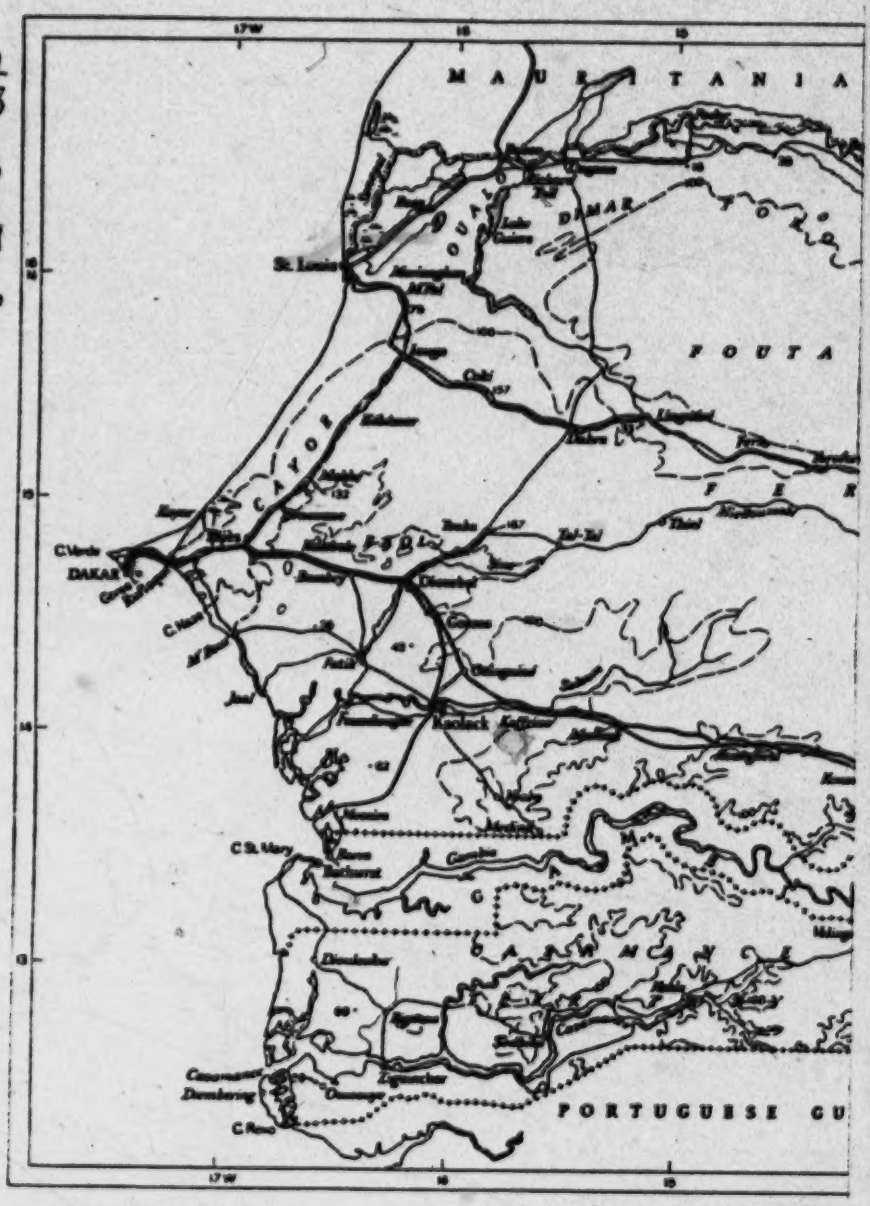


FIG. 47. Senegal

[Facing P. 395 (A)]

[Pp i-xvi and pp. 1-394 not processed]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 39
Gambia FC1

S
G
102
103
131
133
361
991
S
496

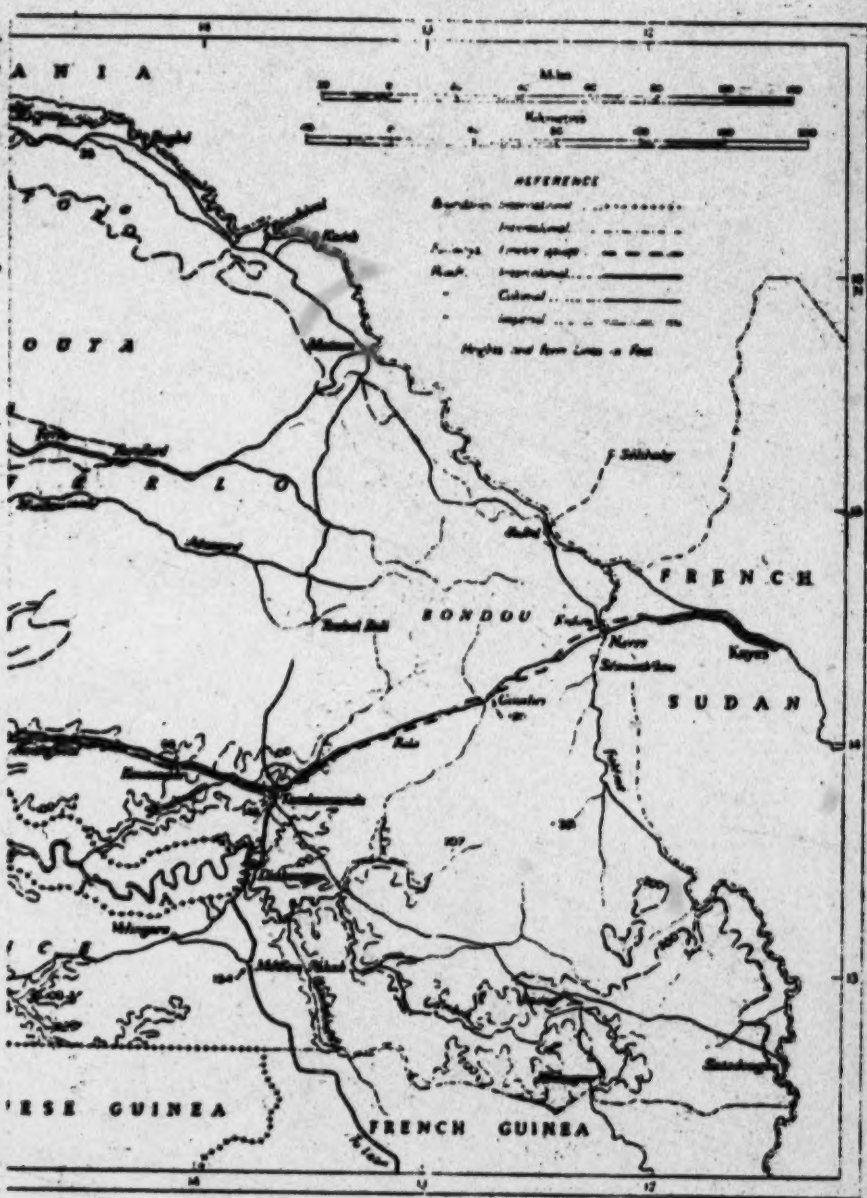


Fig. 47. Senegal

[Facing P. 395(B)]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

133 to an average height of some 130 feet. Rocky outcrops frequently break its lateritic surface, and the rise from the valleys is invariably abrupt.

The south-east of the colony is mainly the basin of the Gambia, but some parts are drained to the Falémé. Much land is over 300 feet, and, as the surface rises to the Palaeozoic sandstones and pre-Cambrian quartzites of Fouta Jalon, the valleys of the Gambia and of its tributaries, the Nieri Mango, the Niocolo Koba, and the Koulountou, are proportionately deeper. The side valleys of the first two, indeed, are little more than very narrow gullies. Just east of the 13th meridian steep hills rise on either side of the Gambia itself, and, some 15 miles west of Kédougou, a broken spur strikes north from French Guinea. Upon it heights of over 1,300 feet rise above scarps of 300 or 400 feet, and, although the river now beheads its northern end, it has forced the Gambia to take a great northward loop. East of Kédougou the country is more open, for the intercolonial boundary follows the scarps that mark the northern limits of Fouta Jalon.

3. THE COAST

THE total distance from the Mauritanian boundary to Cape Roxo is 333 miles, but 40 miles of this are in the Gambia. The coast of Senegal may be divided into four unequal parts: the mouth of the Senegal river, the smooth curve that flanks the interior plain, the Cape Verde peninsula, and the creeks and estuaries of the south.

The Canary current sets southward along the northern part of the coast, but south of Cape Verde it varies with the seasons. From January to June it flows south or south-east, from June to August north or north-west, and in late August east. During the rest of the year it is variable.

Swell is strong and surf is heavy.

The Langue de Barbarie to the Cape Verde Peninsula

The Langue de Barbarie is some 27 miles long and has been built by the combined efforts of the Canary current and the Senegal. For its last 15 miles it is nowhere more than half a mile wide and it separates the river from the sea. St. Louis (p. 440) stands on an [36] island in the river, but has three suburbs, two on the Langue de Barbarie and one on the mainland. From this mainland suburb, Sor, [996] the railway begins its journey to Dakar. Across the mouth of the

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

133 1½ miles off shore from Dakar, is the historic island of Goree (p. 449).
[504] The bay is protected by the Cape Verde peninsula and affords good anchorage at a depth of 11 fathoms, and its beaches provide numerous landing-points for ships' boats.

[361] The village of Hann, in the middle of the shore of Hann bay, is a

102
491
133
361
103

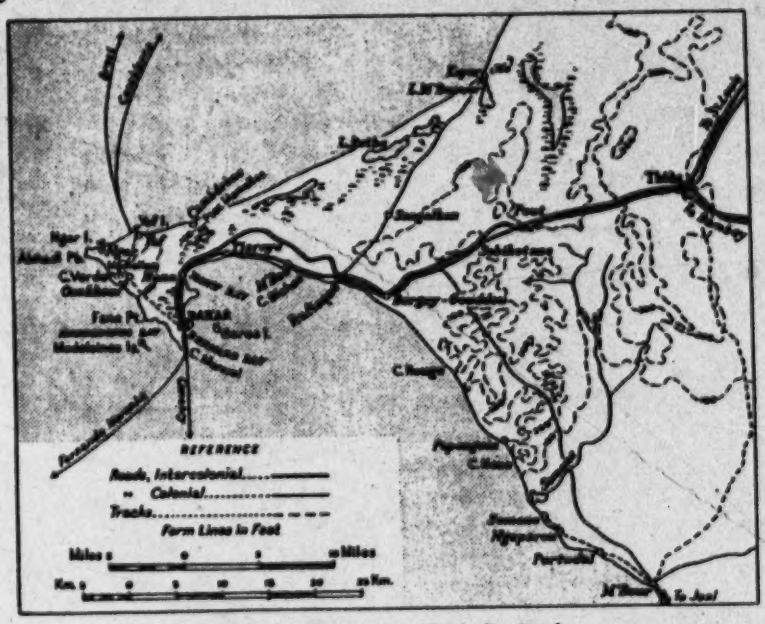


FIG. 48. *The Cape Verde Peninsula*

133
[361] seaside resort for the inhabitants of Dakar. There is also a botanical
[369] garden. The intercolonial road and the railway run near the sea and
[491] are never far from it until they pass Bargny-Gouddou. North-east of
[496] Hann there is a narrow lagoon between the sea and the road, and the coast bears away north-east, east, and east-south-east for the 11 miles to Rufisque (p. 449). There is much marshland, and the sole feature of note is Cape Biches, a low promontory 2 miles before the town.
[361] Bargny-Gouddou is 3 miles east-south-east of Rufisque, and beyond it the coast is cut up by creeks and lagoons, which have small seasonal rivers running into them. Behind them are scattered sandhills which rise eastwards to hills of 200 and 300 feet. Cape Rouge, which barely projects into the sea, has red cliffs intersected by wooded ravines.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

The electric power station has a gas-engine plant that burns the residue from ground-nut presses. 36 [377]

Communications. Diourbel is the railway junction for Routes 3 and 4. By the former it is 50½ miles from Thiès and 302 miles from Kidira, and by the latter it is 31 miles from Touba. The intercolonial road leads westwards to Thiès (65 miles) and Dakar (109 miles) and south-eastwards to Kaolack (40 miles), Tambacounda (230 miles), and Nayes (351 miles). Colonial roads go north-eastwards to Dahra (73 miles) and Dagana (162 miles) and south-westwards to Fatik (25 miles) and Kaolack (53 miles). [496] [491]

LOUGA (15° 37′; 16° 16′ W.). Altitude, 128 feet. Population, 4,390. Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Regional School. Power station. Garage. Race-course. Agricultural experimental station and farm school. Daily market. [131] [162] [654]

Louga is the scene of the most important cattle market in the whole colony. It is this that has made it a route centre. Other local products are ground-nuts, gum, and millet. Administratively, Louga is the headquarters of the province of the same name and also a military headquarters. [438]

Electricity is supplied by an oil-driven plant. [377]

Communications. Louga stands at the junction of railway routes 1 and 2, being 119 miles from Dakar, 44 miles from St. Louis, and 81 miles from Linguéré. It is on the intercolonial road from Dakar (121 miles) to St. Louis (47 miles). A colonial road runs eastwards across the colony to Dahra (59 miles), Linguéré (84 miles), and Matam (242 miles). There are also minor roads and tracks. [496] [491]

PODOR (16° 35′; 15° 02′ W.). Population, 3,168. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. Daily market. [131] [162]

This riverside town is chiefly important for gum arabic. The gum is brought by the Arabs, sold in the market, and shipped down the Senegal to St. Louis. [439]

Communications. By river Podor is 178 miles from St. Louis and 437 miles from Kayes. Throughout the year the Messageries Africaines run a fortnightly service to and from St. Louis. From July to January the boats also go upstream as far as Matam (234 miles) and in August and September to Kayes. Podor is on the colonial road, being 135 miles from St. Louis and 288 miles from Nayes. There is a ferry across the river to connect with tracks to such Mauritanian [487] [505] [491]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

36 towns as Boutilimit and Aleg. There is also a track that runs south-
[491] south-westwards to Yang-Yang. For half the year there is a bus
[494] service twice a week to St. Louis in one direction and to Kidira in the other. 1/n

[131] TAMBACOUNDA (13° 45′; 13° 39′ W.). Altitude, 148 feet. Population,
[162] *c.* 4,000. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Hotel. Garage.

On a slight eminence above a marshy tributary of the Sandougou,
[491] Tambacounda is of considerable importance as a route centre. It
[496] is not only a road junction but also the most southerly point in Senegal of the Dakar–Niger railway. Near the town is a sisal
[248] plantation.

The hotel is open only from December to May.

By rail Tambacounda is 285 miles from Dakar, 111 miles from
[496] Kidira, and 170½ miles from Kayes. One intercolonial road runs
[491] westwards to Kaolack (188 miles), Thiès (295 miles), and Dakar (339 miles); another north-eastwards to Nayes (121 miles) and Kayes (176 miles); and a third southwards to Diabougou (25 miles) and ultimately to Labé (288 miles). Before the war Tambacounda was
[509] connected to Dakar and Bamako by a weekly air service operated by Air France.

[131] THIÈS (14° 49′; 16° 52′ W.). Altitude, 207 feet. Population, 15,451.
[162] Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Regional School.
[797] Roman Catholic mission. Power station. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops. Cinemas. Daily market.

Since the opening of the railway in 1885 Thiès has grown from a collection of native huts to a large town. The railway workshops
[498] employ many hundreds of men, and the market handles considerable
[438] quantities of ground-nuts. The town has been built on a slope that declines gently east and north-east to a small stream. The old Fort Faidherbe is still standing, and there is a big Roman Catholic church.

Communications. Thiès is a railway junction, being 43½ miles
[496] from Dakar, 119½ miles from St. Louis, and 352½ miles from Kidira.
[491] It is also a meeting-place of intercolonial roads. One of these comes from Dakar (44 miles) and goes on to St. Louis (124 miles), while the other branches east to Kaolack (107 miles), Nayes (416 miles), and Kayes (471 miles). There are several minor roads, notably one going
[494] south to M'Bour. Along this road there is a regular bus service, with two buses each weekday in either direction.

1/n [From The Town of Podor-- Analyst]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37 Dakar

History

175 361 [797] Until the middle of the nineteenth century Dakar was a Lebou village. In 1846, however, a Roman Catholic convent was built there, and eleven years later the village and the Cape Verde peninsula were officially occupied. In 1858 the French Government signed a contract with the Messageries Impériales (now the Messageries Maritimes) whereby ships sailing between Bordeaux and Rio de Janeiro would call at Dakar. The company acquired 7½ acres of land near Dakar point, and in 1863 a small jetty was built. This was the beginning of the port. In 1864 a lighthouse was constructed near [502] Cape Verde and three years later two others, respectively at Almadi [496] point and at Cape Manuel. In 1885 the railway to St. Louis was opened. It was not, however, until 1898 that the idea was conceived [712] of making Dakar a big naval base, and by 1910 it was capable of accommodating vessels of all types. Further improvements have [504] since been effected, and to-day the dry dock is big enough to take a battleship.

The Town

361 Dakar has grown so as to cover the southern part of the Cape Verde peninsula, but the port is on the east side of the town. On the south-west are the cliffs of Madeleines bay and on the south-east those of Bernard bay. Dakar point marks the northern end of the latter. North of the port is Bel Air point, the southern limit of Hann bay.

The medina or native town, which contains nearly half the population, is to the north-west of the main town. The intercolonial road [491] enters the latter from the north and is continued as the Avenue Gambetta and the Avenue Maginot to an open space where stands [368] the Roman Catholic cathedral. East of the cathedral is the Residence of the Governor-General (Vol. I, Plate 58), magnificently situated on the top of the cliffs overlooking Bernard bay. Farther south are the British Consulate, the Pasteur Institute, the botanical gardens, and, [943] almost at Cape Manuel, the isolation hospital. The buildings of the army headquarters are near Dakar point. West of them are the port offices, the telephone exchange, the principal market, the Mairie (Plate 117), and the law courts. The town contains innumerable shops and offices and many clubs, cafés, hotels, and other amenities of modern civilization.

[RUFISQUE]

439 Rufisque was the first port from which ground-nuts were exported, and to-day ground-nuts are still the main article of trade. In the first quarter of 1939 it exported 25,152 tons of them. On the north side
504 of Goree bay, Rufisque can only handle small ships. There is anchorage off shore in 3–7 fathoms, but from July to November heavy swell makes it almost unusable.

633 Since 1937 the town has been in the District of Dakar.

Jetties and Equipment. There are three jetties with alongside depths
504 of at least 9½ feet. Two of these are of iron, one being 603 feet long and 33 feet wide with an extension by a wharf 65 feet long and 52 feet wide. The third is of concrete and is 656 feet long. Decauville tracks connect these jetties to the railway. There is one 5-ton crane and one 2-ton, besides smaller ones. There are 4 tugs and 2 lighters.

Communications

496 *Rail.* By rail Rufisque is 17 miles from Dakar, 26½ miles from Thiès, 146 miles from St. Louis, and 268 miles from Tambacounda.

491 *Road.* The intercolonial road runs from Dakar (15 miles) through to Thiès (29 miles), where it divides. Eight miles beyond Rufisque a colonial road branches off it to go to M'Bour (38 miles), Joal (61 miles), and Fatik (101 miles). Another colonial road goes north-eastwards from the town to Sangalkan (6 miles) and Kayar (17 miles).

36 M'Bour (14° 21′; 16° 57′ W.). Population, *c.* 4,500, including 175
[131] Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-
[162] house. Medical post. Police station.

The town of M'Bour stands at the head of a shallow cove which extends for a mile out to sea as a passage between two reefs. Inside
[504] the cove the water is up to 4½ feet deep, and there is a wharf used by surf-boats. Ships anchor 2½ miles off shore, but heavy swell makes
[439] conditions difficult from June to November. Ground-nuts and millet are exported.

[491] M'Bour is on the colonial road from Rufisque (38 miles) to Joal (23 miles) and Fatik (63 miles). Several minor roads lead inland,
[494] notably one to Thiès, along which there is a bus service twice a day. For half the year there is also a service to Joal.

[131] Joal (14° 09′; 16° 51′ W.). Population, *c.* 900. Custom-house.
[162] Roman Catholic mission.

Joal was founded by the Norman Company in the middle of the
[175] seventeenth century. It was captured by the Dutch in 1677 and by

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

	Francs
Federal administration (salaries)	10,206,400
Federal administration (other expenses)	1,636,000
Financial department (salaries)	1,447,000
Financial department (other expenses)	370,000
Posts, telegraphs, &c. (salaries and wages)	6,631,000
Posts, telegraphs, &c. (plant and materials)	3,492,000
Public works	6,782,000
Social and economic departments (salaries)	8,868,000
Social and economic departments (other expenditure)	10,850,000
Sundry disbursements	2,726,000
Secret funds	12,600
Unforeseen expenses	25,000
Water department (salaries)	748,000
Water department (other expenditure)	5,545,500
TOTAL	60,033,000

652
633

In 1937, however, Extraordinary Expenditure amounted to 8,445,000 francs (£67,875).

The budget for the Port of Dakar has already been given on p. 47.

14. COMMUNICATIONS

WATERWAYS

THE navigable rivers and estuaries of the colony have been fully described in Volume I, pp. 366–7. The principal distances from St. Louis up the Senegal river are as follows:

133
361

	Miles
St. Louis	0
Rosso	82
Dagana	116
Podor	177
Boghé (Mauritania)	247
Kaédi (Mauritania)	341
Matam	400
Bakel	519
Ambidedi (French Sudan)	574
Kayes (French Sudan)	603

RAILWAYS

There are 648 miles (1,043 km.) of railway in the colony, all of metre gauge. For purposes of description six lines may be distinguished.

496

1. Dakar–St. Louis (163 miles).
2. Louga–Linguéré (81 miles).

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Mali MS35

S 496

3. Thiès–Kidira (352½ miles).
4. Diourbel–Touba (31 miles).
5. Guinguiné–Kaolack (14 miles).
6. Kaolack–Lyndiane (6½ miles).

S M 499 175

History

The first plan for a railway was made by Pinet-Laprade in 1857. It was to connect the head of navigation on the Senegal with a suitable point on the Niger, and in 1863 Mage prospected the country between Medine and Bamako. During the next fifteen years or so various other schemes were proposed. All of them were chiefly concerned with the military conquest of Cayor, of the middle Niger basin, and of the lands between Timbuktu and Algeria. Many of them envisaged a trans-Saharan line, and there seems to have been little thought of economic development.

On 5 February 1880 a Bill was introduced into the French Chamber of Deputies to authorize a line from Dakar to St. Louis with a branch to Medine and the middle Niger. It was considerably amended before being passed, the chief alteration being the excision of the section from St. Louis to Medine.

S 499 175

Surveys of the two other sections were made, and on 21 June 1882 a contract was signed with the Société de Construction des Batignolles to build a line from Dakar to St. Louis. This company remained the owner of the line until it was bought out by the Government in 1933. European labour was largely employed in construction, and this meant that work had to be suspended from July to November each year. In spite of this and other difficulties, the line was opened on 6 July 1885. This was the first railway in West Africa.

It soon became apparent that faulty methods had been used. The wooden sleepers were eaten by termites and the track had been very poorly ballasted. These defects, however, were eventually remedied.

S [433]

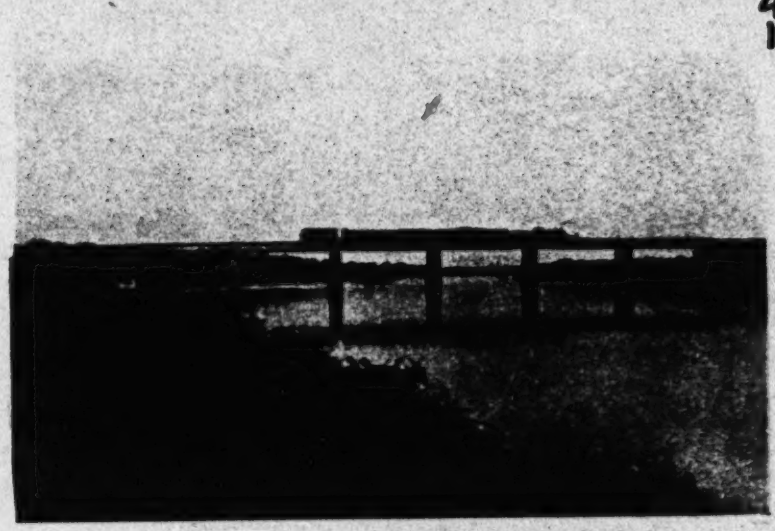
The railway achieved its military purpose, but its economic results were of equal value. In particular, it stimulated the production of ground-nuts by providing means for their export. This had important effects on the development of Dakar and of Rufisque.

S M 499 175 [505]

Meanwhile a little progress had been made on the section linking the Senegal with the Niger. In contradistinction to the Dakar–St. Louis line, the work was done by the Government. It had an inauspicious beginning. Medine is 625 miles by river from St. Louis and can only be reached by barge in August and September. Material brought from the port was seldom taken farther than Kayes, and goods

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

496
133



123. *Railway bridge across the Falémé at Kidira*

498
496

124. *Diourbel: the railway station*

[facing p 464]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Mali MS35

S M 499 175

was at Koussanar, and when war came in 1914 it had reached a place called Cotiari Naoudé, 258 miles from Thiès. In 1920 a force of 8,000 labourers was recruited, and the line was completed on 5 August 1923.

S 499 175 [433]

Branch Lines. Work on the branch from Guinguiné to Kaolack began on 6 June 1911, and the line was officially opened on 1 January 1912. This railway, of course, has transformed Kaolack and has been the prime factor in its growth to its present importance. The private line from Kaolack to Lyndiane was built by the firm of Charles Peyrissac et Cie in 1925.

The line from Diourbel was originally planned to go to Tal-Tal and Thiel. Construction began on 1 December 1929, and the line reached Touba on 1 March 1931. Financial difficulties postponed further extension, and nothing more has been done up to the present. This branch has proved valuable to local producers of ground-nuts and has been more successful than its contemporary to Linguéré.

This latter was begun from Louga early in 1929 and reached Coki (18½ miles) on 1 October that year. Railhead was at Dahra on 1 October 1930 and the whole line was finished on 1 October 1931. Results have not been quite as good as had been hoped.

S M 496

Permanent Way, Locomotives, and Rolling-stock

Rails and Sleepers. The section from Dakar to St. Louis has rails weighing 30 kg. per metre (61 lb. per yard) bought second-hand from the Nord Railway of France in 1929, and that from Thiès to Kayes has rails weighing 25 kg. and 26 kg. per metre (50½ lb. and 52½ lb. per yard). The track from Kayes to Koulikoro was originally laid with rails weighing 20 kg. per metre (40 lb. per yard) and was notorious for its numerous rail breakages; but it is now in process of being relaid on a new alinement with rails weighing 30 kg. per metre (61 lb. per yard). The Louga–Linguéré branch was given the old rails from the Dakar–St. Louis line. These weigh 20 kg. per metre (40 lb. per yard).

S 496

Sleepers are of steel.

Gradients and Curvature. These vary considerably, but there are no gradients steeper than 1: 30, and the minimum radius of curves is 197 yards. It is intended ultimately to reduce these figures to 1: 71 and 219 yards respectively.

Bridges. The principal bridges are noted in the itineraries below. Minor bridges are of steel and concrete, and in many cases old rails are used as reinforcing bars. Culverts are numerous.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M337 Senegal MS 37

Itineraries

Route 1

DAKAR–ST. LOUIS

496
498
133

Distance from Dakar Km.	Distance from Dakar Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
0	0	..	DAKAR	The main passenger station is by the Bassin Ouest. Immediately north-west are workshops and a goods station. Numerous tracks run along the sides of the basins, and, ¾ mile from the station, there is a branch that connects to the quarries, 3 miles to the west.
4	2½	..	..	At 2½ miles a track turns south-east to the goods station by the oil-fuel depot. At first the main line runs north, but it gradually bends east in conformity with the shape of Hann bay. It is close to the sea across the marigot of Hann, but turns a little inland to reach Tiaroye station. This is 1½ miles from its village. The line continues inland, avoiding plantations of palm trees, and follows a somewhat winding course to Rufisque. The station is on the north side of the town, about ½ mile from the sea. The line keeps parallel to the shore as far as the village of Bargny-Gouddou. Here it swings north-east through wooded undulating country to the brushwood Forest of Thiès. This is on the top and face of a scarp, and the railway makes use of a narrow valley to reach
13	8	33	TIAROYE	
20	12½	..	M'BAÔ (halt)	
27	17	33	RUFISQUE	
32	20	..	..	
46	28½	82	SEBIKOTANE	
55	34	66	POUT	

496
133

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

496
133

Distance from Dakar Km.	Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
70	43½	207	THIÈS	the important junction of Thiès, the highest station of this part of the railway. There are sidings and workshops. The line to Koulikoro continues to the east, but that to St. Louis turns north-east, running parallel with and about 20 miles from the coast. It traverses a sandy and inhospitable region, which is, nevertheless, important for ground-nuts. The line runs in long straight stretches and is never far from the road. At Louga there is a junction with the branch that goes south-east to Linguéré. The main line adopts a more winding course across a thinly vegetated area, descending gently. At M'Pal it turns west over sandy country to reach the coastal marshlands at Leybar. The Leybar marsh itself is crossed by a bridge of 4 spans, respectively of 89 feet, 108 feet, 89 feet, and 108 feet. The line terminates at Sor (Fig. 53), where there are three stations: goods, main, and harbour. The last named is on a branch track, which runs on to the principal jetty. There is no railway bridge across the Senegal.
92	57	164	TIVAOUANE	
104	64½	131	PIRÉ-GOURETTE	
120	74½	132	MERRIÉ	
130	81	125	KELLÉ	
142	88	130	N'DANDÉ	
155	96	133	KÉRÉMBER	
171	106	131	GOUMBO GUBOUL	
192	119	128	LOUGA	
217	135	66	SAKAL	
230	143	33	M'PAL	
244	151½	16	RAO	
257	159½	..	LEYBAR (halt)	
258	160	..	..	
262	163	7	ST. LOUIS	

[498]

[498]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M837 Senegal MS37

496
133

Route 2

LOUGA–LINGUÈRE

Distance from Louga Km.	Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
0	0	138	LOUGA	The line branches south-east away from the main line from Dakar to St. Louis. It then turns east to maintain a generally eastwards direction. The country varies little in height and is devoid of features of interest. The line is rarely more than a hundred yards from the road. In its last stages it makes use of a oueli commonly called the Ferlo Valley.
22	13	151	OUARRAC	
30	18½	157	COKI	
43	27	164	TIAMEN	
57	35½	190	N'DIAO	
68	42	180	BOUTHIOUÉ	
84	52	131	NIANDOUL	
92	57	98	DAHRA	
104	65	138	SOMME	
116	72	118	OUARKHOR	
131	81	33	LINGUÈRE	Linguéré itself is a road junction of considerable local importance.

[491]

Route 3

THIÈS–KIDIRA

Distance from Dakar Km.	Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
70	43½	207	THIÈS	Leaving the route for St. Louis, this line bears south-east and then east to descend to Kombole, passing through densely populated areas. From Kombole it runs almost due east-south-east all the way to Diourbel. It crosses a number of minor valleys. At Diourbel is the junction with the branch to Touba. The main line turns sharply south-east through country covered with brushwood and clumps of trees.
85	53	112	THIÈMBA (halt)	
96	60	36	KOMBOLE	
110	68	52	DANGALMA (halt)	
124	77	66	BAMBEY	
139	86	72	DIABAYE LAGNAR (halt)	
151	94	39	DIOURBEL	
165	102½	81	TOKI (halt)	
178	110½	82	GOSSAS	
197	122	66	GANIEK (halt)	

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

496
133

Distance from Dakar Km.	Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
206	128	65	GUINGUINÉ	The branch line from Kaolack leaves Guinguiné in the same direction as the main line approaches it. The latter curves gently to assume an easterly course. The Saloum, now shrunk to a tiny seasonal stream, is crossed by a culvert shortly after Birkelane. As far as Malème, 4 miles beyond Malème-Hodar station, the line is accompanied by the road, but subsequently runs to its north. The railway comes somewhat south of its most direct route, partly to skirt the arid Ferlo region and partly to divert trade from the Gambia. Most of the villages in this section are the result of the railway. After Sinthiou-Malème the line makes use of the upper part of the valley of the Sandougou, and so reaches Tambacounda, the route's southernmost point in Senegal.
231	143½	33	BIRKELANE	
233	145	..	..	
252	156½	39	KAFFRINE	
280	174	131	MALÈME-HODAR	
310	193	148	MAKA YOP	
333·5	207	98	KOUNGHEUL	
361	224	70	KOUPENTOUN	
389	242	130	MALÈME-NIANI	
413	257	66	KOUSSANAR	
433	269	39	SINTHIOU-MALÈME	
459	285	148	TAMBACOUNDA	
486	302	72	COTIARI NAOUDÉ	Bearing north-eastwards, the line runs across a marshy but fertile plain, and, beyond Bala, across undulating country. Between Couténabé and Sinthiou Fissa it rises to its highest point, the watershed between the Gambia and the Senegal basins. As far as Couténabé the line keeps in close company with the road, but from this point onwards the two are apart, the road running to Nayes and the railway
521	324	164	BALA	
550	342	223	BOUIGHEUL BAMBA	
573	356	180	GOUDIRI	
592	368	230	COUTÉNABÉ	
607	377	331	..	
620	385	213	SINTHIOU FISSA	

[491]

[361]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37.

496
133

Distance from Dakar Km.	Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
638	396	98	KIDIRA	to Kidira. The latter is on the Falémé, which is the border of French Sudan, and it is 39½ miles from Kayes and 405 miles from Koulikoro.

Route 4

DIOURBEL-TOUBA

Distance from Diourbel Km.	Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
0	0	39	DIOURBEL	Leaving the main line a little over a mile from Diourbel station, this branch line bears north-east. It maintains this general direction throughout its course, having only gentle curves and gradients. The country on either side of the line is extensively cultivated for groundnuts.
16·5	10	34	DOULO	
29	18	102	DALA	
39	24	161	MBAKÉ	
50	31	167	TOUBA	

Route 5

GUINGUINÉ-KAOLACK

Distance from Guinguiné Km.	Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
0	0	65	GUINGUINÉ	Coming out of Guinguiné by the north-west, the line curves very abruptly to run south-west. It is alongside the road all the way. At Kaolack the main station is almost on the bank of the Saloum, but just before it there is a junction with the line to Lyndiane.
22	14	12	KAOLACK	

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

Route 6

KAOLACK–LYNDIANE

496 133

Distance from Kaolack Km.	Miles	*Elevation in feet*	*Stations*	*Itinerary*
0	0	..	KAOLACK	After leaving the main line, this railway runs through its own station. It turns north-west and then west-north-west to follow the road. Five miles from the town it curves south-west to reach the landing-stage at Lyndiane.
10·5	6½	..	LYNDIANE	

ROADS

There are 984 miles (1,584 km.) of intercolonial roads, 66 miles (106 km.) of an Imperial road, and some 2,000 miles (3,300 km.) of colonial roads. The impression that these figures give, however, needs two qualifications. Firstly, there are considerable areas of the colony without roads, and, secondly, many of the roads are by no means up to the standard of their class. 491

Intercolonial

Intercolonial roads exist as follows: Dakar–St. Louis, Thiès–Nayes, Tambacounda–border of French Guinea, and Kaolack–frontier of the Gambia.

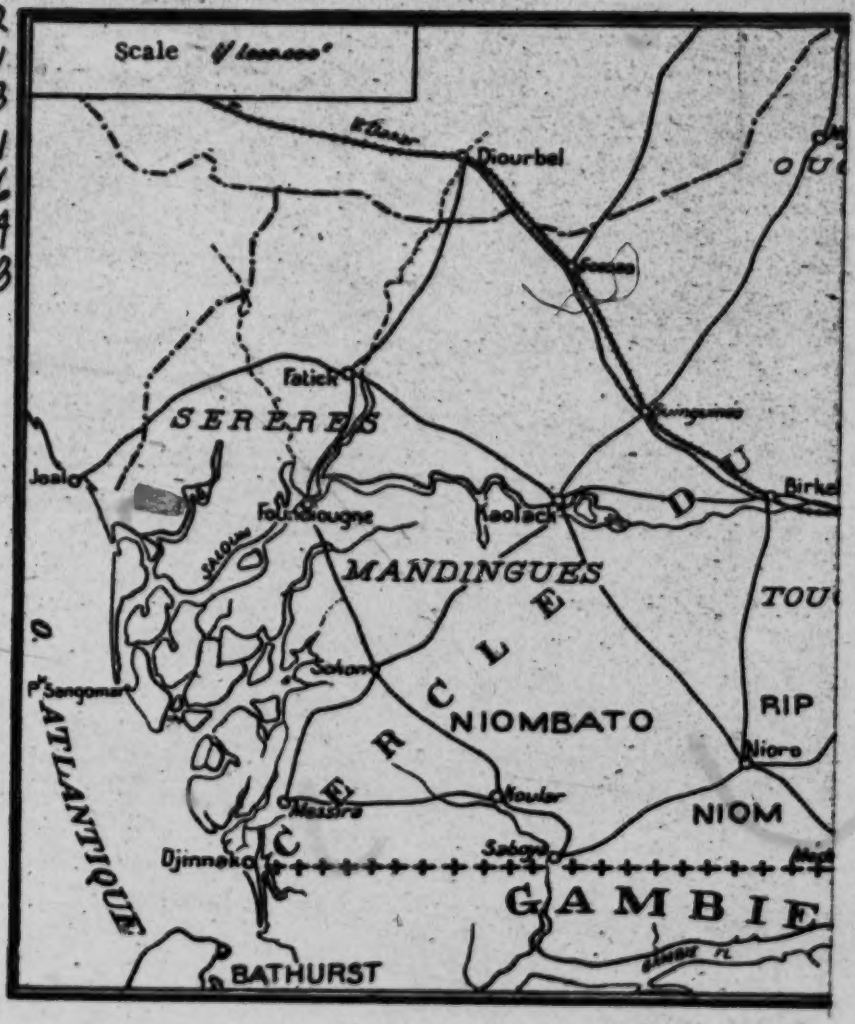
Itineraries. The road from Dakar to St. Louis follows much the same route as the railway. It goes along the coast to Rufisque (15 miles) and then turns inland to Thiès (44 miles). Running roughly parallel to the Atlantic coast, it goes through Tivaouane (57 miles) and Louga (121 miles) to M'Pal (144 miles). It then turns towards the sea to reach St. Louis (168 miles). This road is one of the best in the Federation. Between Dakar and Thiès the surface is tarmac and between Thiès and St. Louis it is firm laterite. A lorry takes about 11 hours to cover the whole distance.

The second road also follows the railway, except between Gossas and Kaffrine. Leaving Thiès by the east, it makes a huge curve through Diourbel (64 miles) and Gossas (80 miles) to Kaolack (107 miles). After that it follows a generally easterly direction by way

23: Aujas--10 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between 100 and 101/

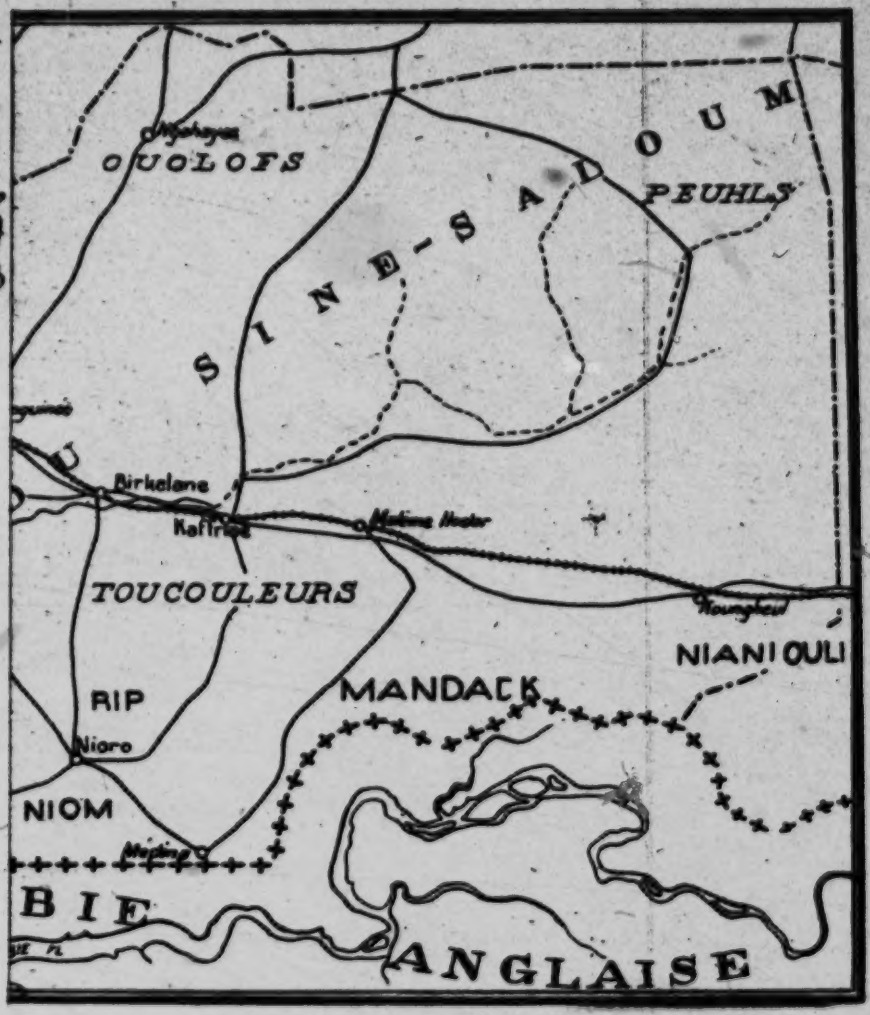
102
131
133
491
496
634
563



Circle of Sine Saloum

/left side of map/

102
131
133
491
496
634
563



Circle of Sine Saloum

/right side of map/

/103 cont./

633 instance, a customs office, and a telegraph, telephone, and
[647] post office. The various administrative services are represented
there (public works, treasury, medical aid, education, agri-
culture, veterinary medicine, etc.).

433 Financial situation. Taxes. The circle of Sine-Saloum is constantly increasing in importance because of its size, population, and economic resources.

[496] Because of its exceptional location, the railway from
[491] the Sudan crosses it over a distance of 190 kilometers. Seven
[505] stations mark it out. Its railroad network and its system of
highways and canals permit it to drain to Kaolack and
[439] Foundiougne all of the products of the soil. Thus, the total
commerce for 1927 (imports and exports combined) amounted
651 to 350 million francs for the circle. The customs duties col-
lected for the benefit of the general budget of French West Africa reached 13 million francs. The taxes from the tax rolls (personal taxes, patents, licenses, etc.) have risen to 25 million francs, whereas they did not exceed the figure of 4,300,000 francs in 1923. The advance is thus remarkable.

Native personal taxes alone in 1927 provided 3,768,355 francs, whereas in 1921 they brought in only 2,791,000 francs.

Taxes on livestock went from 270,000 francs in 1921 to 425,000 francs in 1927.

871 /104/ Education. Instruction is given to the children
[875] by French and native teachers. There is a regional school
[872] with 500 pupils at Kaolack. Primary schools are operating
at Fatick, Foundiougne, Sokone, Gossas, Kaffrine, and Nioro. In all, 1,200 children receive instruction; only an elite goes to school. A need for the creation of new centers of education is felt, especially at Birkelane, Koungheul, Gandiaye, Niakhar, and Tataguine. Nevertheless, although instruction in French is given only in our schools, the natives also receive some rudiments of instruction in the Koranic schools. The latter are quite numerous.

[in KAOLACK - ANALYST]

/106 cont./

244 contract, depending on the region, between 100 and 120
466 francs.
[465] The European agricultural concessions should draw inspiration from this custom. In order to retain a labor force, it would be proper to assure the native food and lodgings and leave a small field at his disposal, while at the same time allowing him a day or two a week to work for himself.

This formula is applied in Latmingué by the Société des plantations, which exerts all its efforts on the cultivation of manioc.

433 Economic facilities. The economic facilities of the circle include ports, railroads, highways, inland waterways, and a telegraph, telephone, and postal network.

504 Ports. These are river ports where the tide permits ocean-going steamers, not exceeding a certain tonnage, however, to conduct their operations along the wharves or landings built along the steep banks.

The Saloum has two ports of this type: Kaolack and Foundiougne.

The Sine has one port, Niamnioro.

The Miniminian, an affluent of the Gambia, has one port, Saboya.

On the Saloum, between Foundiougne and Kaolack, two more embarkation points are visited: Kamatane, included in the concession of MM. Civrac frères (left bank), and Lyndiane, included in the concession of the Société des Anciens Etablissements Charles Peyrissac et Cie. (right bank).

On all of the other channels or marigots /107/ embarkation and debarkation points -- with wharves -- accessible only to cutters with a tonnage between 25 to 50 tons have been installed. These cutters make the transit and carry their cargo to the big ports of Kaolack, Foundiougne, and Niamnioroh.

Over the past several years, Kaolack has become an important embarkation and debarkation point. It is also the
[496] natural port of the French Sudan because it has the advantage of being linked to this colony by a branch which connects it

/107 cont./

504 to the Thiès-Niger railroad. The Kayes-Kaolack route saves
[496] about 225 kilometers for the merchandise on the Kayes-Dakar journey, which is appreciable, considering the high cost of the railroad rates.

Exporters, and even importers, therefore have an interest in using the port of Kaolack.

To justify this interest, however, it was necessary: 1st,
[502] to put marker buoys on the Saloum; 2nd, to equip the port.

The buoying was completely redone in 1922; it is examined and repaired each year.

Modern facilities for the port are on the way to being realized.

504 New works at the port of Kaolack. The government of
653 the colony, after having made different studies concerning the arrangements at the port of Kaolack, opened a competition at the beginning of 1927, by means of which it called on the large public-works enterprises to submit proposals for the arrangements on the right bank of the Saloum River for a distance of 350 meters, with the view of enabling ocean-going vessels to load and unload their merchandise directly, without the aid of barges or tenders, and for the construction of a
[491] permanent bridge on the Saloum, about 200 meters long, intended to replace the Noirot bridge, located about two kilometers upstream from the port.

The plans of the Société de constructions Edmond Coignet, of Paris, which were classed No. 1 as being the most adequate for the requirements of commerce and as requiring the least expense, anticipate the following construction and arrangements:

504 A reinforced concrete landing, 350 meters /108/ long and eight meters wide, whose upstream end will be near the Chavanel wharf, and whose downstream end will extend 110 meters toward the present downstream landing of the Thiès-Niger railroad.

The bank of the new work will coincide with the frontage of the approach of the existing landing and in addition will be protected by reinforced concrete pilings every 30 meters.

The landing will be constructed to support a uniformly distributed load of 3,000 kilograms per square meter, as well

/109 cont./

491 line in addition to the normal traffic of pedestrians and vehicles.

653 The colony of Senegal, in concert with the Société Coignet, is currently preparing the agreement, which will be passed immediately and which will require three years for the landing, the embankments of the terrepleins, and the bridge.

The realization of the works and arrangements planned will be an interesting example of close co-operation between the government of the colony, the public works services, the [441] Kaolack Chambre de Commerce, and private enterprise.

433 To demonstrate the importance of the port of Kaolack, it is sufficient to put some figures before the eyes of the reader. One will get an idea of the growth of the commercial movement that the privileged location of Kaolack on the river enabled one to foresee 15 years ago.

433 In 1905, Kaolack was still a small, insignificant vil-
505 lage. Foundiougne was the great port of the Saloum. But Kaolack was the outlet for an entire hinterland much larger; it was the access route of the products from Baol and Haut-Saloum /Upper Saloum/; finally, it was the natural port for the Sudan. Its approach, 120 kilometers from the ocean and made difficult by the passage of the Sangomar channel and [502] the sandbanks of the river, has been facilitated by the buoys. Running aground has become much rarer. Piloting, however, is obligatory.

496 Railroads. The railroad from Thiès to Niger, /110/
433 extended by a branch of 22 kilometers, which starts at Guinguinéo and ends at Kaolack, brought out the full importance of the latter point as the lands located near the railroad were improved. This development will take several years. It is steadily and fully progressing today. Like all railroad lines, the artery of the Thiès-Niger breathes life into formerly deserted regions, which are now being populated and opened for colonization.

648 Undoubtedly Kaolack benefited from the non-application
504 of the Franco-British pact of April 8, 1904. As is known,

/110 cont./

648 according to this agreement, Great Britain left to us on the
504 Gambia River, along with the territory of Kantora, the port of Yarboutenda, which she thought was accessible to ocean-going vessels. If this advantage did not exist, the text added, a port would be selected downstream and ceded to France, along with the lands defined by an arc of one kilometer in radius. Later on, Yarboutenda was discovered to be inaccessible to ocean-going vessels. The French government then had the right to select a port on the Gambia which offered the advantages that the agreement consented to give us. After study, the port of Nianimaro was selected by the Government-general of Dakar. But the negotiations between Paris and London were never concluded.

496 Because of its natural position on a navigable river,
504 Kaolack has remedied a situation which might have been very disadvantageous for our commerce. The rail line was even extended from Kaolack to Lyndiane, over a distance of 12 kilometers, in order to favor a private enterprise established on the river at this place.

Lyndiane is in fact a point on the right bank of the Saloum where vessels can tie up easily. The Etablissements Ch. Peyrissac et Cie., who own this port and have branches in both Senegal and the Sudan, have a real advantage in this privileged situation.

496 We have given some indication above of the development of the railroad: 190 kilometers in Sine-Saloum. The seven stopping stations are: Gossas, Guinguinéo, /111/ Birkelane, Kaffrine, Malem Hodar, Maka-Yop, and Koungheul, all located at the outlet of trade routes carrying groundnuts.

491 Roads. Branching off from this railroad line, as well as from all the major centers, many highways streak across the country in every direction. These roads, or rather dirt roads,
[494] are for the most part accessible to automobiles: tourist cars and transport trucks.

There are more than 3,000 kilometers of dirt roads in the circle, of which 2,000 kilometers are used daily in the dry

/14 cont./

*795 The first Magal took place October 19, 1928, at the
796 initiative of Amadou Moustapha and on the occasion of the
788 anniversary of the death of Amadou Bamba.

Since Falilou M'Backé, the second caliph, took over the leadership of the brotherhood, the Magal has changed in date and meaning. It now commemorates Amadou Bamba's return from exile, his prophetic vision, and his permanent establishment at Diourbel. Thus the second caliph linked his action directly to that of the Founder by giving back to the Magal its original meaning, desired as early as 1912 by Amadou Bamba himself when he instituted, with an identical signification, what was then called the second Tabaski.

Since 1928 this manifestation has not ceased to grow in importance, and today more than 200,000 pilgrims go to Touba each year on this occasion.

The pilgrimage lasts three days, although some fanatics often remain for five days, sometimes eight.

The high point is the second day; the last is called the "official day," because then the caliph speaks in public to the pilgrims, before the representatives of authority whom he has invited.

A week before this "official day," the first pilgrims begin
[484] to arrive at Touba; their number increases rapidly and progressively as the opening date for the pilgrimage proper approaches.

484 During these days the pilgrims arrive in the holy city by
494 every means: on foot or by cart for the nearest ones; by train,
788 truck, and taxi for those farther away. Whatever vehicle is used, it is always overloaded: eight or ten ride in a sightseeing car; 90 (and even a few more) in a truck which should carry only 50 persons (this is a matter of four- to five-ton trucks, not covered, on which the travelers crowd together, standing up and pressed against one another between the railings, like canned fish). The trains, too, are jammed, and there are as many
• [497] pilgrims on the roofs and bumpers of the cars as inside.

Traffic is thick, but in spite of the conditions, there are few accidents, at least serious accidents, considering the great

/14 cont./

484 number of persons transported. There are sometimes spectacular
494 ones, but cases involving fatalities are fortunately very rare.
788 The transportation of the pilgrims is closely watched by
[497] the /15/ Administration. The Office of Railroads organizes special trains. The subdivision heads grant to the owners of the trucks special transportation authorizations. The circle /cercle, an administrative district/ of Diourbel, aided by the Senegal government, strengthens the security forces and highway police.

788 But that is not the only problem which the organization
*795 and unfolding of the Magal presents for the Caliph-general and the Administration.

Sheltering all these people for three days and more is
[485] another. The provisioning of the pilgrims in water and food must be organized; sanitary and medical service must be ensured; finally, it is necessary to ensure order and discipline in
[625] the city of Touba itself, as is done on the roads, and the commander of the circle of Diourbel can only accomplish this with sizable police reinforcements, set apart in advance almost everywhere (as far as Dakar and Kaolack), which are put at his disposal for this purpose.

At the opening of the pilgrimage, three days before the Official Day, the crowd has reached its maximum size. Touba then experiences extraordinary activity. The road between
[494] Touba and M'Backé is continually furrowed in both directions by files of trucks which run without respite between the two agglomerations. The station platforms disappear under the flood of pilgrims who disembark innumerably from the last trains. The wide avenues of the city are filled with the crowd
[438] of pilgrims who carry out their religious duties or stroll in front
[443] of the little flat baskets where, as in all pilgrimages in the world, the most diverse objects are sold, from articles of clothing, such as babouches or samaras, to perfumes and jewelry, including the most varied articles of piety: prayers or verses from the Koran printed in Arabic, photographs of the Caliph-general or of Amadou Bamba, or even pictures in Oriental

/388/

369 The city of Thiès, 60 kilometers east of Dakar, contains
433 36,000 inhabitants, according to a recent census. All of its
[162] activity seems to be centered around four principal poles: commercial, industrial, administrative, and military.

Its commercial activity is due to its position at the cross-
[487] roads of important paths of communication: railroad lines from Dakar to Saint-Louis, from Dakar to Bamako, and from Thiès to Kaolack, and roads from Dakar to Saint-Louis and from Dakar to Diourbel, Tambacounda, and the Sudan and Guinea.

It also owes the essential part of its industrial activity to
[498] this implantation at an important rail crossroads; the repair
[464] shops of the Dakar-Niger rail system, where nearly 1,000 workers of all grades are employed, have been set up there.

Apart from the workshops of the Dakar-Niger, it must not
[497] be forgotten that Thiès is also where the management of this
[634] system resides. And it is also the principal administrative point of a circle /cercle, an administrative district/. We will thus find, besides the workers, a rather large proportion of office employees, managers, and executives.

[712] Finally, the military function of Thiès is due to the presence of two important camps: the "DMA" (Détachement Motorisé Autonome), and an air base.

Besides these four centers of activities which give this city a modern character (economically speaking, at least), a fifth one intervenes in a not inconsiderable proportion. A rather large
[166] population of cultivators, who in winter cultivate groundnuts and
[241] millet in nearby fields, has settled on the periphery of Thiès. And the city is the point to which, at the time of the groundnut trade, all of the agricultural activity of the circle comes to assert itself. Its commercial importance is thereby further increased.

162 /389/ Here is some numerical information concerning
463 the occupational distribution of the population of Thiès.

Out of an economically active population of 11,040 inhabitants at the date of the census, there were counted:

/17/

438 2. The "circuit" of groundnuts. The purchase of the
442 groundnuts in the escale and storing them in the secco of the trader constitute only one step in the complicated circuit that the groundnuts take from the place of production to the port of exportation or to the oil-factories.

492 1) The means of transport. From the place of production
438 to the escale, the groundnuts essentially utilize the traditional modes of transport, donkeys throughout the country and camels in the north. The decree of 4 September 1935 has forbidden the
[656] use of trucks. Its aims were to avoid bulky hauls, purchases at a low price at the place of production, and, above all, to en-
[231] courage local animal-husbandry. This system, however, carries with it grave defects. Most often transport on the back of a donkey is more expensive for the producer than transport by truck because the camel-drivers and donkey-drivers impose their own price on the peasants who do not have animals. Moreover, the transporter guides the seller to a trader whom the seller did not choose. Today, however, more and more derogations are permitted, because in the south, where the groundnut is progressing, the tsetse interdicts animal husbandry, and in the other regions the overworked animals are incapable of doing the transporting at the end of trade. Finally, certain
[874] co-operatives which pretend "to collect" and not to buy do send trucks to the places of production.

494 From the secco of the trader to the port nearby or to the
438 railroad station, transport is handled by trucks. It is essentially the commercial firms, the traders, or the local oil-makers who use them. There are few professional transporters because the traffic is essentially seasonal. The generally bad
[491] condition of the unpaved roads, except for the "Transgambienne" from Dakar to Ziguinchor, causes a rapid wearing-out of equipment, whose amortization is a heavy burden on the budget of the merchants.

497 The Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad and especially the Dakar-
438 Niger transport more than 200,000 metric tons of groundnuts

[Text continues on p. 21--Analyst]

/17 cont./

499 each year. In spite of the use of cars of great capacity, the
438 transport facilities are insufficient during the first months of trade. However, the practice of degressive tariffs, so as not to place at a disadvantage the production of regions that are
[651] farther from the place of destination, limits all the more the possibility of an increase of vehicles, since the traffic in groundnuts is essentially seasonal and it poses a problem of return freight. The three ports of Dakar, Kaolack, and
438 Ziguinchor consitute, for exports, freight breaking-points
[504] between land transport and maritime transport. The latter
[505] is handled for the most part by the vessels of companies who undertake regular service: Delmas et Vieljeux, Maurel et Prom, etc.; they also have competition from the tramps.
435 These /18/ multiple freight-breaks weigh quite heavily on
438 the price of groundnuts, quite low at the outset, due to the fact that each of them is accompanied by multiple manipulations.

2) The manipulations. In its present organization, the circuit of the groundnuts involves many manipulations, because the product is transported in bags. At each step it is necessary to weigh the bags, to empty them into the secco, and then, when they are again forwarded, to proceed to another weighing and rebagging. Over and above the cost of the labor, the firms and sometimes the traders must bear the great expense of buying and repairing great quantities of bags which quickly wear out or go astray. M. Barbier estimates that a bag of groundnuts undergoes 16 handlings at the minimum from the place of production to the port. A solution to this problem might be found in transporting the product loose, by trucks and cars with gratins, loaded by mechanical transporters. These transformations presuppose great investments, which the groundnut, a cheap and, above all, seasonal product, cannot amortize.

3) Regulation of the condition. The decree of 11 January
[656] 1926 created an Office d'inspection et de conditionnement de l'arachide /Office of Inspection and of the Condition of

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

[ST. LOUIS]

206 *Wireless.* The wireless station is to the south of Guet N'Dar.

River. Above Faidherbe Bridge the river is closed to all vessels not 505 flying the French flag. Boats drawing 10 feet can ascend to Podor all [648] the year round, and in the rainy season they can reach Kayes (Vol. I, p. 367). Table V shows how greatly river traffic on the Senegal has declined in recent years.

TABLE V. *Tonnage of Goods from Kayes*

[497] [494]

	1928	1929	1930	1934	1935
Sent by rail or road	9,545	9,555	11,456	5,269	6,224
Sent by river	2,520	5,815	3,425	313	260

Shipping. There are no sea-going ships calling regularly, but the Messageries Africaines and the Messageries du Sénégal run services up-river.

36 DAKAR (14° 39′; 17° 25′ W.). Population, 80,052, including *c.* 6,000 [131] Europeans. Capital of the Federation and Headquarters of the [162] District of Dakar. Full Commune. Custom-house. Law courts. [489] Chamber of Commerce. Pasteur Institute. Hospitals. Naval base [712] and dockyard. General Headquarters of the army in French West Africa. Police headquarters. British Consulate-General. Belgian, [648] Brazilian, Czechoslovakian, Danish, Eireann, Greek, Italian, Netherlands, Norwegian, Swedish, and Swiss Consulates. Argentine, Finnish, Spanish, and Uruguayan Vice-Consulates. Meteoro- [654] logical station. Airport and seaplane base. Wireless stations. [508] Colleges and schools. Protestant churches. Roman Catholic Vicariate Apostolic of Guinea and Vicariate General. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Crédit Foncier de l'Ouest Africain. Banque Belge de l'Afrique. Power station. [697] Prison. Public library. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops. [498] Cinemas. Race-course. Sports stadium. Botanical gardens. [654] Agricultural experimental station. Daily market.

361 Dakar (Fig. 54) is approximately 2,600 miles distant from Southampton, from Cape Town, and from Rio de Janeiro. It is, therefore, well placed for taking a share in the trade of the South Atlantic, and it [433] is small wonder that it has become the third port in the French Empire, being surpassed only by Marseilles and Le Havre. It is, moreover, of the first importance strategically.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

Locomotives. In 1939 the following locomotives were in service: 493

Makers and type	*Adhesive weight in tons*	*Number*
Mallet articulated . .	43–50	10
Mikado 2–8–0. . .	30–40	42
Pignet	29	34
Cail	27	24
Cail, Corpet, Weidknecht, Decauville . . .	13–27	75
	Total	185

Since that date 2 Micheline railcars, 3 Als-Thorn diesel electric locomotives, and 2 Beyer-Garratts have been brought into use. The Beyer-Garratts are 4–4–2+2–4–4 articulated with an adhesive weight of 91 tons.

Fuel. Neither coal nor wood is found locally. Before 1940 some 60,000 tons of briquettes were annually imported. At the present time these are hard to obtain, and they are supplemented by whatever wood is available and by briquetted ground-nut shells. 372

Carriages and Wagons. In 1939 there were 254 passenger coaches and 2,105 goods wagons in service. The passenger coaches included restaurant cars and sleeping cars. At the end of 1939, 177 covered goods wagons were delivered from France. 493

State of Repair. There are excellent workshops at Thiès; but the general standard of upkeep, never very high, has greatly deteriorated as a result of stocks of material becoming almost exhausted. 497 498

Traffic

The following table gives figures for 1937 and 1938: 497

	1937	*1938*
Passengers. . .	2,603,341	2,660,497
Passenger miles . .	118,433,207	120,620,300
Freight in tons . .	615,043	501,593
Ton miles . .	120,570,598	107,970,715
Revenue . . .	£876,411	£684,788

The principal items of freight handled were ground-nuts, shea butter, gum arabic, sisal, and fuel. [438]

/375 cont./

369 Diakhaté, for example).

621 Sometimes the discord between religious heads be-
[798] longing to different sects provoked the separation in fact of the two opposite camps (Keur-Mamour).

Up to here the presence of the city acted only indirectly in stimulating /376/ the swelling or the splitting up of the village and the temporary or definitive emigration of some elements. It may also have more direct effects on the agglomerations.

369 During the last three decades, through the establish-
[498] ment of the great repair workshops /ateliers de réparation/ of the Dakar-Niger, Thiès has been in the process of becoming
[712] an industrial city; in a parallel way the military bases are becoming larger at the expense of the neighboring rural territories.

369 Even before this last war, the None village of Tiali,
423 located one kilometer from the city, was the first to be de-
[712] prived of about a third of its land by the establishment of the camp of military aviation. In 1947 plans to extend this same base brought about the complete evacuation of Thiès-none which was established south of the railroad, in the vicinity of Sapko. Almost all of these fields were relinquished to the military authorities. Finally, in 1953, execution of the plan for the urbanization of the city obliged the inhabitants of Wango to rebuild their huts in the quarter of Greater Thiès. Part of these lands have been relinquished to the municipality.

369 The land shrinks, the population grows; in order to subsist, a part of the rural population is obliged to go to work in the city.

[361] But before studying this question of the changing of the rural worker into an urban worker, we shall see whether the presence of the city has an influence on the plan of the village and especially on the settlement pattern.

/384 cont./

S 563 162 166 this problem.

At Keur-Issa-Bambara, out of 37 individuals born in the Sudan, 20 are over 40 years of age. At Karamoko, 28 are natives of the Sudan, but 18 have reached 40 years of age. Out of 65 individuals of Sudanese origin, only 27 are young elements. Over half of those classed under the rubric "emigrant" were aged persons, some of whom perhaps assisted in the creation of the village in Senegal.

These few figures are an index of the mediocrity of the present immigration of the Sudanese to the region of Thiès. The unions and the displacements of families or of familial elements seem to occur now between relatively close villages.

S 162 463 369 An examination of the division of activities at Diakhaté and at Keur-Issa-Bambara will permit to some extent "gauging" their index of urbanization.

W [162] [463] [369] At Diakhaté, 20% of the economically active male population work /385/ at Thiès, 60% have remained agriculturalists, and the remainder, 20%, is composed of workers of mixed activities, half-rural, half-urban. Keur-Issa-Bambara shows only a very low percentage of workers in mixed activities: 60% are rural; more than 30% work in the city (one sees that this latter figure is slightly higher than that for the None villages, 27%).

S [498] The workshops of the Dakar-Niger employ a considerable number of permanent or temporary workers from these two villages. These two localities in fact furnish 19 permanent city workers, 15 of whom are employed on the Dakar-Niger; among the four temporary workers from Keur-Issa-Bambara, three have worked in this enterprise. In addition, Diakhaté furnishes temporarily for the city: four tailors, one mason, and one carpenter.

W [463]

S 162 [191] [871] Let us add that a minority of natives, despite the contacts that they can have with Europeans, understand our language, a little less than 5%. The number of children who go to the European school is almost null, scarcely 1%.

S 369 After this quick study of some types of villages in the vicinity

369 /385 cont./
of Thiès, it clearly appears that the characteristics of the suburbs of the African cities noticeably differ from those of the cities of the mother country. Can one use the term suburb /banlieue/ for these types of suburban villages? Sapko, Thiès-none, Tiali, and Keur-Issa-Bambara, on the one hand, can be regarded as suburb villages; in fact they possess the essential characteristics: proximity to the city, relatively high percentage of workers traveling daily to the enterprises of Thiès, a considerable number of mixed workers, sale of truck-gardening products in the city, relatively high percentage of improved dwellings...

Keur-Mamour and Karamoko already appear to be outside of the economy of the city and cannot be regarded as suburb villages. Diakhaté would be a marginal type; despite its proximity to the first urban quarters, its economy seems to be little influenced by that of the city (only a fifth of the economically active population works in the city).

On the mother-country plan, a city such as Thiès would
•[498] have an important industrial suburb. Let us not forget that the workshops of the Dakar-Niger engage nearly 2,500 native workers.

369 The agrarian economy plays an essential role in these
241 villages, but it has remained traditional. The introduction of new crops and the extension of the zones of gardening and orchards are very slight. The woman has perhaps extended by a few square meters the /386/ area of her vegetable garden for the cultivation of vegetables intended for sale at the market, but no serious systematic arrangement has been made. Traditional cultivation, with its archaic methods, prevails everywhere. If
369 the need for money stimulates the rural person to offer his services
464 in the city, he seems to choose the place of work nearest to his
166 home. Is it truly out of liking that the Wolof of Diakhaté hire themselves out to the workshops of the Dakar-Niger? Is it out of liking that the None near the mercantile quarters hire themselves out as laborers or boys? The proximity of the place of work seems to enter considerably into the choice of urban occupation.

The suburban village, as we have noted several times, has

/388/

369 The city of Thiès, 60 kilometers east of Dakar, contains
433 36,000 inhabitants, according to a recent census. All of its
[162] activity seems to be centered around four principal poles: commercial, industrial, administrative, and military.

Its commercial activity is due to its position at the cross-
[487] roads of important paths of communication: railroad lines from Dakar to Saint-Louis, from Dakar to Bamako, and from Thiès to Kaolack, and roads from Dakar to Saint-Louis and from Dakar to Diourbel, Tambacounda, and the Sudan and Guinea.

It also owes the essential part of its industrial activity to
[498] this implantation at an important rail crossroads; the repair
[464] shops of the Dakar-Niger rail system, where nearly 1,000 workers of all grades are employed, have been set up there.

Apart from the workshops of the Dakar-Niger, it must not
[497] be forgotten that Thiès is also where the management of this
[634] system resides. And it is also the principal administrative point of a circle /cercle, an administrative district/. We will thus find, besides the workers, a rather large proportion of office employees, managers, and executives.

[712] Finally, the military function of Thiès is due to the presence of two important camps: the "DMA" (Détachement Motorisé Autonome), and an air base.

Besides these four centers of activities which give this city a modern character (economically speaking, at least), a fifth
[166] one intervenes in a not inconsiderable proportion. A rather large
[241] population of cultivators, who in winter cultivate groundnuts and millet in nearby fields, has settled on the periphery of Thiès. And the city is the point to which, at the time of the groundnut trade, all of the agricultural activity of the circle comes to assert itself. Its commercial importance is thereby further increased.

162 /389/ Here is some numerical information concerning
463 the occupational distribution of the population of Thiès.

Out of an economically active population of 11,040 inhabitants at the date of the census, there were counted:

7;Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

2

The Revolution

494 OUR bus had been travelling across monotonous scrub country for several hours. The road was excellent, but the journey uncomfortable in the heat of the afternoon sun. The goats on the roof had not stopped screaming since we left Kaolak and the hair of two Mauretanian women sitting in front of me 302 exuded a suffocating odour of rancid butter, with which it was greased, attracting a large swarm of flies. The bus had a drowsy lethargic atmosphere in which we could neither sleep nor think.

After we had been travelling for what seemed an eternity, the 133 skyline was broken by some small hills, covered with lemon-leafed trees. I cannot adequately describe the visual relief those hills afforded. For their significance, they might have been mountains. Towards evening we left these hills behind us and our road quite suddenly came upon the sea, which stretched out before us an undecided compromise between grey and blue. Its [361] shore was skirted by mud huts, from which hung long fishing nets, tied to gaily painted canoes.

361 There was a sudden stir in the front of the bus. A voice cried: 369 'Dakar, ici Dakar.' I looked beyond the fretwork silhouette of the fishing village, beyond the cold grey of the sea to an incredible backdrop: a vast city of giant houses, gleaming in the late sun, rode the horizon like some fantastic flotilla of the future.

'Dakar, ici Dakar.' The voice cried once more and the excited passengers took up the refrain.

Our bus pulled up into a large lorry station, in a part of [498] Dakar whose resemblance to the Motte-Picquet-Grenelle suburb of Paris immediately struck me, except that Africans had been substituted for Algerians. At once there was a mad scramble to get

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

467 among the semi-skilled workers. The
668 situation was reversed at Thiès, but be-
cause of the large Dakar-Niger Railroad
[498] shops there, this city is an exceptional
case. The traits found at Dakar, by
contrast, proved characteristic of union-
ism in French West Africa. The overall
figures, obtained from official sources
based on statements by unions, indicated
clearly that manual occupations were the
least unionized. Out of the 100,000
union members in French West Africa in
[647] 1954, more than half were either govern-
ment officials or government employees.
The rate of unionization in the govern-
mental sector was nearly double that in
the non-governmental sector. Finally, in
the two sectors together, semi-skilled
workers comprised only a little more
than a fourth of all union members.
Furthermore, results of the studies at
Dakar and Thiès suggest that union
membership and level of schooling corre-
[665] lat rather closely; this was far from the
case with respect to party membership,
at least at Dakar. To what degree did
unionism offer educated individuals a
means of expression that, in the period
studied, parties did not offer them? Edu-
cated persons, especially youths, were
more susceptible to extremist anti-colonial
aspirations. And to what degree could
union action present itself more clearly
as a trial postponement for the existing
order than action within the framework
of parties?

The particular traits of union struggle
markedly demonstrate the fundamental
conflicts of the colonial situation. One
cannot accurately speak of the "politiza-
tion" of unions, in the sense many gov-
ernment officials give this term. The
[665] limited activities of parties and the very
conditions of unionism in a colonial situ-
ation have given unionism a marked
political coloring.

(1) Interviews of militant unionists,
[P. 17A]

/74 cont./

369 3. The establishment of industries (1923-1945).

498 The event which gave a decisive impulsion to the
[175] commercial escale and which brought Thiès to the rank of a city was without question the establishment of the railroad repair shops in 1923. As early as 1907 the first work had been undertaken to connect Thiès to Bamako directly by rail; difficulties of all kinds and then the war impeded it. In 1923 only the junction of the two sections had been made at Kidira on the Falémé. There was some concern to have the repair shops of the Thiès-Niger established in the center nearest the coast. Thiès, head of the line, was chosen as
[162] the center. In a few years the city grew by 10,000 souls, going from 3,000 inhabitants in 1921 to 13,000 in 1929.

369 The opening of the railroad yards not only brought about
441 the arrival of many workers and their families, but at the same /75/ /Fig. 2 appears here/ time gave a strong impulsion to commerce. The regular injection of credits by this new industry brought about a renewal of commercial activity which showed in the expansion of the firms already established and the creation of new stores. The Africans, who up
[472] to that time worked solely for the profit of firms under
[563] European management and who had been kept out of the retail business, opened small shops for their own profit (4).

[177]

> 4. It is the military, it seems, who brought back from France this idea of establishing for themselves small grocery stores copied from those encountered in the villages of the mother country.

The latter, appealing to an essentially native clientele, multiplied as soon as the economic scope of the city increased. At the same time the number of artisans increased.

[563] After the war, the Levantines, who had been the only ones able to carry on commerce in complete tranquility for four years, set up businesses for themselves. Their experience

/76 cont./

369 441 563 443

local products (groundnuts, millet ...) are bought or bartered for.

still almost empty quarter of the residence.

369 433 458 Already the economic equilibrium of the city was no longer essentially based on the commerce of trade, subject to price fluctuations, but also on the budding industry which assured it a certain stability. It is true that the latter, barely acquired, was put to a harsh test during the world crisis from 1930 to 1934. In the course of this difficult period the price of the groundnut slumped. The old commercial firms which depended solely on the trading were no longer able to meet their payments and liquidate their stock: Société Française du Sénégal, the firms Lacombe, Latrille... The sounder establishments were themselves obliged to close their city branches temporarily, for example, Peyrissac, Maurel Frères. Nevertheless one did not see here a complete slump in commerce with spectacular failures such as occurred in Dakar, but rather commercial liquidations, sales of stocks that were repurchased by Levantines and wholesale companies.

[471] [563] The effects of the crisis, which ended in 1934, resulted in a redistribution of commercial ownership, a readaptation of commerce to the new requirements, along with the definitive establishment of the Levantines.

369 498 433 At this date the fusion of the two railroad companies, the Dakar--Saint-Louis and Thiès-Niger, stimulated an expansion of the industrial quarter by regrouping at Thiès the workshops originally installed at Dakar for the Dakar--Saint-Louis railway.

369 [162] [511] [361] On the eve of the Second World War the city reached the figure of 22,000 inhabitants, 1,200 of them Europeans. The almost complete disappearance of epidemics, the better food supply, the construction of comfortable houses (Ballabey district created as early as 1925 for the railway workers, villas for officers) permit metropolitan families to settle in a permanent fashion. In a parallel manner, the native

/76 cont./

369 quarters spread out toward the southwest in the vicinity of
361 the workshops; "Derrière la voie ferrée /Behind the Railroad/" and "Bambara" developed on the outskirts of "Randoulène."

4. Thiès, industrial and strategic city (after 1945).

369 The Second World War temporarily slowed down the
712 economic activity of the city. As in 1914, one saw a /77/ very earnest renewal of the military function: an autonomous motorized detachment (D. M. A.) was established in the old military camp which was considerably enlarged; an air base created a little before 1940 doubled the one of Ouakam installed at the gates of Dakar and now inadequate.

The experience of the last war had demonstrated the possible vulnerability of Dakar. Strategy demanded the formation of a strong base in the rear areas of the capital of French West Africa to support it if the need arose. The location and the proximity of Thiès met these requirements. In order to give maximum effectiveness to this enterprise, the means of communication between the two cities had to be improved, the military camps reorganized and modernized.
[491] A strong and wide road was built between these two cities. Its course was different from that of the old trail; it entered Thiès not from the west but from the south. The military camp covered several dozen hectares, the installations of the air base were improved and enlarged, and the annexes permitted the permanent establishment of officers and troops (Fig. 4).

369 From 1947 to 1952 intense activity prevailed in the
361 city. The entire district, except the old escale, formed a veritable workshop where vast avenues cut across the native quarters, where plazas were created, where zones of green were distributed. In the industrial precinct of the Dakar-
[498] Niger, new workshops intended for the repair of Diesel tractors and the construction of passenger coaches were installed. New villas along more modern lines for officials and railway workers rose almost everywhere in the city. The old escale, paralyzed within too narrow limits, was aroused

/85 cont./

443 while the housewife attends to her tasks, the oldest child makes the sale (12).

12. According to an economic investigation made by Mr. Mersadier in Thiès, the returns from these sales[1] do not exceed ten francs profit per day (Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N., July-Oct., 1955, series B, p. 411).

[434] [433]

Thus, the commerce in Thiès (and certainly in most of the cities of French West Africa) is diffused among all of the layers of the society and at the same time has adapted itself extremely well there. The branches of important commercial houses, which in the beginning were violently opposed to this diffusion not controlled directly by them, quickly understood all the benefits that they could draw from this new situation.

463 Paralleling this extension of commerce, the working class, to a more limited extent, has also taken on much greater importance. To the traditional artisans, potters, jewelers, and smiths have been added activities more modern in inspiration: photographers, clockmakers, repairers of phonographs, bicycles, or even trucks, and, in another category of enterprises, small restaurant keepers and /86/ proprietors of drink shops. Finally, the establishment of European artisans (hairdressers, pastry cooks, etc.) is a specific phenomenon of the social evolution in African cities since the last war, and Thiès is not escaping it.

[265] [275] [178]

2. Industry.

498 The industrial activity of Thiès gravitates principally around the repair shops of the Dakar-Niger (13). The

[317] [464] [162]

13. The two phosphate quarries opened by the Société Péchiney some 15 kilometers from the city (Pallo and Lam-Lam)

[1] [ie, by "doorstep" merchants - ANALYST]

498 [317] [464] [162]

/86 cont./

hardly affect its economy because of the limited number of its workers (200 to 300) and above all the distance from the urban center.

concession of the Dakar-Niger located a short distance from the city would actually form the most important industrial center of French West Africa in terms of the number of its operatives (around 2,500 in 1952). It groups within its enclosure a series of the most diverse workshops: woodworking shop, sawmill, assembly shops for railroad cars, tinsmith shop, and even a foundry. Putting new Diesel tractors into service has brought about the recent creation of new shops where manifold improved machines operate. Power is taken from a high tension line of 30,000 volts coming from Dakar. The enterprise annually consumes 1,700,000 kilowatt-hours, that is to say, more than the total consumption of the city itself. The much smaller consumption of coke and of fuel oil used in the furnace and cupolas of the foundries should be added here.

[162] [317]

The workshops of the Dakar-Niger present themselves in the form of an industry with vertical integration of an incomplete type. The distance from the mother country, the expenses and above all the slowness of shipments (principally during the last World War) have brought about the installation of an industrial complex that makes it possible to satisfy the greater part of the demands of the work required for the smooth functioning of the service. All the woodworking is carried out in the sawmill-carpentry section; the cars are assembled from imported chassis, wheels, and bogies. Most of the parts of the locomotives can be smelted in Thiès, except when it is a matter of special alloys. Certain elements demanding a machine-finishing precision of 1/100 of a millimeter for Diesel tractors have already been manufactured by the enterprise. Only the parts requiring very special techniques or machines for their manufacture, or whose

S /86 cont./
498 manufacturing cost would be high if they were smelted
S in Senegal, are bought on the outside.
498 Originally the repair work, the machining of loco-
463 motive parts or of rolling stock, necessitated only the
563 presence of good mechanics. But putting into service
more powerful engines that no longer run on charcoal but on fuel oil requires /87/ precise inspection and minute repairs made by experienced specialists. Most of them are still Europeans, but already some Africans have the technical training required for this delicate work.

S The enterprise, however, has only a small percentage
[162] of Whites: out of 2,500 railway workers there were only 140 Europeans in 1953. And most of them worked in the offices (one European to eight natives); in the workshops this proportion reached only one to 40. While most of the metropolitan specialists are taken from the staffs of the S.N.C.F., the African specialists are recruited from among the students
S [874] coming from the technical schools of Terrasson-de-Fougères in Bamako or William-Ponty in Dakar and from among the former mechanics of the arsenals of the national marine. They constitute the supervisory staffs in the different shops.

The ordinary workers, founders, hammermen, carpenters . . . . , have generally been trained in the very workshops of the Dakar-Niger where they work for a number of years. Finally, the non-specialized work is done by newcomers from the bush.

S An investigation carried out in 1952 on a quarter of
498 the total number (834) enables one to learn the ethnic
563 composition of all the workshops. One can note a pre-
W eminence of the number of Wolof (301); the Peul and
498 Toucouleur /Tukolor/ number 189; the Bambara come
162 third with 115 individuals. It is necessary to add 39
463 Sarakolé, 40 Khassonké /Kassonke/, and 79 workers belonging to different groups. This list gives an idea of the important mingling of individuals that make up this industrial center. One observes, nevertheless, that the

/87 cont./

S 498 563 W 498 162 463

workers from the regions neighboring Thiès are not in the majority; the Wolof-Sérère group is made up of 380 units, 45% of the total. Besides, the Wolof and Sérère /Serer/ offer relatively few technicians and supervisory operatives; the Wolof make up only 7% in the supervisory category as against 24% in that of manual workers; the Sérère account for only 5% in the first category and 39% in the second. On the other hand, 17% of the Khassonké and Sarakolé belong to the supervisory staffs as against only 22% of the manual workers and employees. These figures underline the difficulty for the enterprise in recruiting specialized workers in the vicinity of Thiès. It must call upon technicians from distant territories, although a high percentage of non-specialized workers and manual laborers are recruited locally.

S 498 433

Because of the number of its total labor force, the industrial grouping of the Dakar-Niger forms one of the most active elements of the economy of the district. More than 25,000,000 francs C.F.A. are distributed monthly in the form of salaries to all of the personnel.

/88/

3. The Public sector.

S 712 433

Although the installation and extension of the two military camps have in an indirect way increased the importance of the city, it indeed seems that they have little influence on the economy of the district on account of their internal organization within a closed circuit.

S 647 464

The establishment of increasingly more numerous and substantial administrative services affects the economic life of the escale in a more tangible fashion. The administration of the circle /cercle, an administrative district/ and the services for agriculture, education, and public works employ several hundred officials, day laborers, and manual workers.

Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

36 towns as Boutilimit and Aleg. There is also a track that runs south-
[491] south-westwards to Yang-Yang. For half the year there is a bus
[494] service twice a week to St. Louis in one direction and to Kidira in the other. 1/n

[131] TAMBACOUNDA (13° 45′; 13° 39′ W.). Altitude, 148 feet. Population,
[62] c. 4,000. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Hotel. Garage.

On a slight eminence above a marshy tributary of the Sandougou,
[491] Tambacounda is of considerable importance as a route centre. It
[496] is not only a road junction but also the most southerly point in Senegal of the Dakar–Niger railway. Near the town is a sisal
[248] plantation.

The hotel is open only from December to May.

[496] By rail Tambacounda is 285 miles from Dakar, 111 miles from Kidira, and 170½ miles from Kayes. One intercolonial road runs
[491] westwards to Kaolack (188 miles), Thiès (295 miles), and Dakar (339 miles); another north-eastwards to Nayes (121 miles) and Kayes (176 miles); and a third southwards to Diabougou (25 miles) and ultimately to Labé (288 miles). Before the war Tambacounda was
[509] connected to Dakar and Bamako by a weekly air service operated by Air France.

[131] THIÈS (14° 49′; 16° 52′ W.). Altitude, 207 feet. Population, 15,451.
[62] Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Regional School.
[797] Roman Catholic mission. Power station. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops. Cinemas. Daily market.

Since the opening of the railway in 1885 Thiès has grown from a collection of native huts to a large town. The railway workshops
[498] employ many hundreds of men, and the market handles considerable
[438] quantities of ground-nuts. The town has been built on a slope that declines gently east and north-east to a small stream. The old Fort Faidherbe is still standing, and there is a big Roman Catholic church.

Communications. Thiès is a railway junction, being 43½ miles
[496] from Dakar, 119½ miles from St. Louis, and 352½ miles from Kidira.
[491] It is also a meeting-place of intercolonial roads. One of these comes from Dakar (44 miles) and goes on to St. Louis (124 miles), while the other branches east to Kaolack (107 miles), Nayes (416 miles), and Kayes (471 miles). There are several minor roads, notably one going
[494] south to M'Bour. Along this road there is a regular bus service, with two buses each weekday in either direction.

1/n [From The Town of Podor-- Analyst]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
ST. LOUIS

30 yards. Immediately east of it is the Place St. Germain, on the south-west side of which stands the main railway station. 361

The western side of the Langue de Barbarie has been reinforced by groynes and a sea-wall.

The town as a whole is well planned, and it has many shops and offices.

Trade

The chief exports are oil-seeds and skins. Imports are mainly manufactured goods. In 1937 the former weighed 30,400 tons and were valued at 31,600,000 francs (£253,990), and the latter weighed 8,300 tons and were valued at 11,900,000 francs (£95,640). 439

Description of Port

Anchorages. Outside the bar at the river mouth there is anchorage in 9–11 fathoms. Inside it there is again a depth of 11 fathoms, which gradually decreases until it is 5 fathoms just below Faidherbe Bridge. 504 [133]

Quays. The principal quays are on the east side of the island. North Quay (Plate 115), above Faidherbe Bridge, is 1,050 feet long, and South Quay, below it, is 1,770 feet long with an alongside depth of 12 fathoms. At the harbour station in Sor there is a jetty 600 feet long with a wharf at its head. There are four small piers on the island, whose positions are shown in Fig. 53.

Equipment. There is a steam crane some 600 yards above the North Quay and a slipway a little higher still. Minor repairs can be effected, but facilities are generally poor.

Fuel. A small stock of coal is kept, but no oil.

Communications

Rail. There are three railway stations (p. 467) in Sor, and the main station is the terminus of the line to Dakar (Route 1). 498

Road. The intercolonial road to Thiès (124 miles) and Dakar (168 miles) starts from the Place St. Germain and then turns south when clear of the goods station. At this point the Imperial road branches off north-east to Rosso (66 miles) and ultimately to Tindouf (1,315 miles). There is a bus service twice a week to and from Matam and Nayes. 491 494

Air. The airfield is 3½ miles north-east of Place St. Germain. Its surface is hard clay and it has one hangar. In normal times there is a weekly Air France service to Dakar. 508 509

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

[ST. LOUIS]

206 *Wireless.* The wireless station is to the south of Guet N'Dar.

River. Above Faidherbe Bridge the river is closed to all vessels not
505 flying the French flag. Boats drawing 10 feet can ascend to Podor all
[648] the year round, and in the rainy season they can reach Kayes (Vol. I, p. 367). Table V shows how greatly river traffic on the Senegal has declined in recent years.

TABLE V. *Tonnage of Goods from Kayes*

[497]
[494]

	1928	1929	1930	1934	1935
Sent by rail or road	9,545	9,555	11,456	5,269	6,224
Sent by river	2,520	5,815	3,425	313	260

Shipping. There are no sea-going ships calling regularly, but the Messageries Africaines and the Messageries du Sénégal run services up-river.

36 DAKAR (14° 39′; 17° 25′ W.). Population, 80,052, including *c.* 6,000
[31] Europeans. Capital of the Federation and Headquarters of the
[162] District of Dakar. Full Commune. Custom-house. Law courts.
[489] Chamber of Commerce. Pasteur Institute. Hospitals. Naval base
[712] and dockyard. General Headquarters of the army in French West Africa. Police headquarters. British Consulate-General. Belgian,
[648] Brazilian, Czechoslovakian, Danish, Eireann, Greek, Italian, Netherlands, Norwegian, Swedish, and Swiss Consulates. Argentine, Finnish, Spanish, and Uruguayan Vice-Consulates. Meteoro-
[654] logical station. Airport and seaplane base. Wireless stations.
[508] Colleges and schools. Protestant churches. Roman Catholic Vicariate Apostolic of Guinea and Vicariate General. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Crédit Foncier de l'Ouest Africain. Banque Belge de l'Afrique. Power station.
[697] Prison. Public library. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops.
[498] Cinemas. Race-course. Sports stadium. Botanical gardens.
[654] Agricultural experimental station. Daily market.

Dakar (Fig. 54) is approximately 2,600 miles distant from South-
361 ampton, from Cape Town, and from Rio de Janeiro. It is, therefore, well placed for taking a share in the trade of the South Atlantic, and it
[433] is small wonder that it has become the third port in the French Empire, being surpassed only by Marseilles and Le Havre. It is, moreover, of the first importance strategically.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[p 445]

36
504
764
206
502
102
743
712
498
133

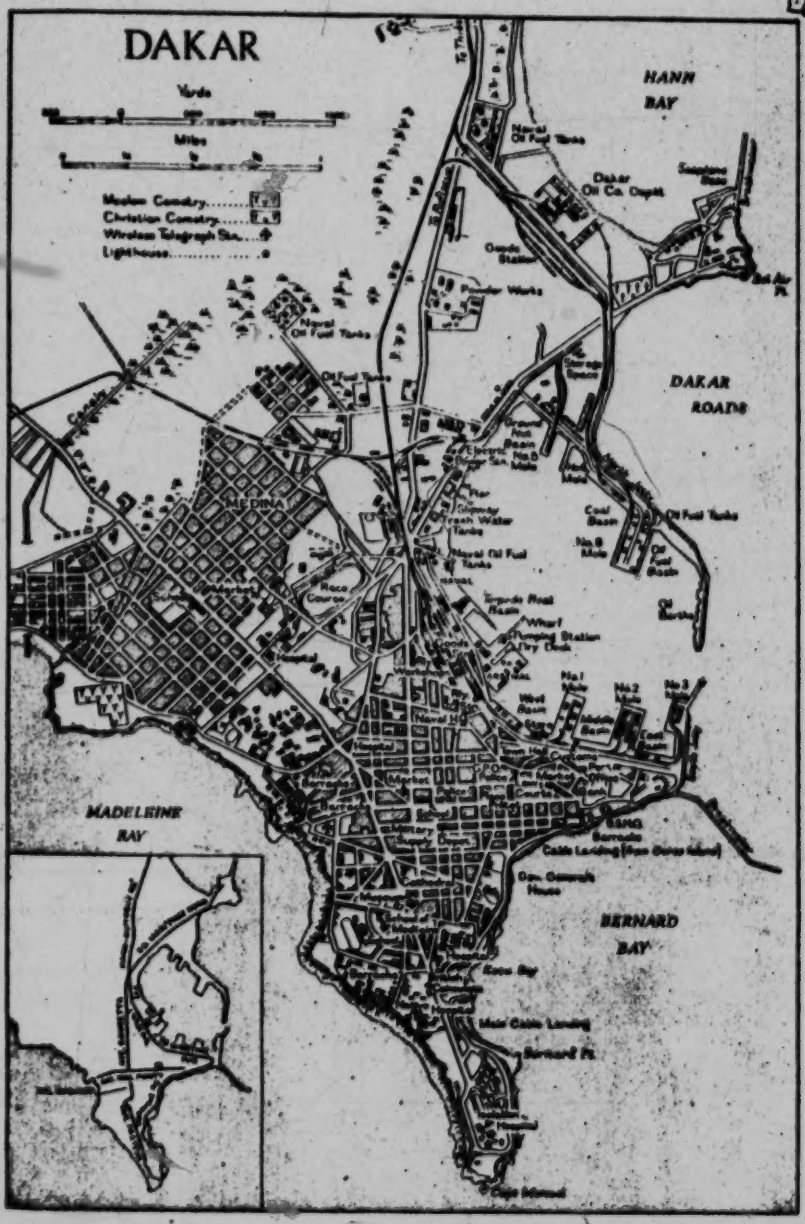


FIG. 54. *Dakar*

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Dakar

504 small piers and a slipway. A quarter of a mile south of the slipway are the naval oil-fuel tanks, which are at the northern end of the dockyard. This has, among other works, a large basin and a dry [498] dock, and behind it are the railway goods station and workshops. Just beyond its southern corner is the main station, but extensions of the line run on to the wharfs. On the south side of the harbour are the three principal commercial basins, separated from each other by moles. The easternmost of these is the South Jetty, at the northern [502] end of which is another light, only 275 yards from the end of North Jetty.

From Dakar point a breakwater runs for 1,000 yards south-east and east.

Alongside depths vary from 21 feet at No. 1 Mole to 34 feet at No. 8 Mole, and the total length of quays and oiling berths, apart from those in the dockyard, is 13,861 feet.

Warehouses. There are warehouses on No. 1 Mole, No. 2 Mole, and No. 3 Mole, and all along the south side of the harbour.

Equipment. The dry dock is 656 feet long and 93 feet wide and can be divided into two parts. There are numerous cranes of all types, including floating cranes. The two largest of these are each of 125 tons. Repair facilities are good, and the port is well supplied with tugs, launches, and lighters.

Fuel. The commercial oil-fuel tanks are on the south shore of Hann bay. Behind them is a goods station. Additional naval oil tanks are farther north-west. A pipe-line connects the commercial tanks to the oil berths at the end of North Jetty. Coal is stored on [439] No. 8 Mole. It is very largely imported from South Wales. Good stocks of both fuels are normally held.

Communications

498 *Rail.* Dakar is the terminus of the railway from Thiès and St. Louis (Route 1). From Thiès Route 2 runs to Kidira (396 miles) and ultimately to Koulikoro (801 miles). The main station is at the south-east corner of the harbour, close to the dockyard.

491 *Road.* It has already been stated that the intercolonial road runs north from the end of Avenue Gambetta. It follows the curve of Hann bay to Rufisque (15 miles) before going to Thiès (44 miles). A minor road leads north-westwards to Ouakam (5 miles) and Yof (8 miles). There are also other minor roads.

508 *Air.* The airport lies nearly 5 miles north-west of the main town,
509 and has hangars and workshops. In 1939 Dakar was on the Air France

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M837 Senegal MS 37

36 [13] [162] KAOLACK (14° 07′; 16° 07′ W.). Population, 21,973. Mixed Commune. Headquarters of the province of Sine-Saloum. Customhouse. Chamber of Commerce. Medical post. Police headquarters. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Regional School. Roman Catholic mission. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Hotels. Garages. Race-course.

[439] Kaolack exports more ground-nuts than any other port in the Federation. It is a well-planned town with squares and trees, and it is on the right bank of the Saloum, 71 miles above its mouth, where [487] [505] the river is 100 yards wide. It is the limit of navigation for sea-going ships.

[162] In 1904 Kaolack had only 300 inhabitants, but the development of communications in the neighbourhood has caused it to grow to its present size. The figure given above is for the permanent population only. [166] At the height of the ground-nut season there are an additional 20,000 temporary inhabitants.

Trade

[439] During the first quarter of 1939 Kaolack exported 32,259 tons of ground-nuts (Plate 122), as against 26,832 tons from Dakar. Owing to the bar across the Saloum, however, many ships do not load to their maximum capacity but go on to Dakar to complete their lading. [258] Across the river from the town is a large salt-works.

The Port

[504] On the north bank there are concrete quays with a total length of over 2,000 feet and on the south bank there is a small wharf. At Lyndiane, 9 miles downstream, is a wharf belonging to the firm of Peyrissac et Cie.

Communications

[498] *Rail.* Kaolack is the terminus of Route 5 to Guinguiné (14 miles), and is therefore 142 miles from Dakar. It is also the terminus of Route 6 to Lyndiane (6½ miles). Both stations are close to the river, and there is a line directly on to the quays.

[491] *Road.* Intercolonial roads lead northward to Gossas (25 miles), Thiès (82 miles), and Dakar (126 miles), eastward to Kaffrine (37 miles) and Tambacounda (188 miles), and south-south-westward to Messira (49 miles) and the frontier of the Gambia (57 miles). The last-named road crosses the Saloum by a bridge. A colonial road goes north-west to Fatik (28 miles), another south-east to Nioro

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

496
133

123. *Railway bridge across the Falémé at Kidira*

498
496

124. *Diourbel: the railway station*

[facing p 464]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

Locomotives. In 1939 the following locomotives were in service: 493

Makers and type	*Adhesive weight in tons*	*Number*
Mallet articulated . .	43–50	10
Mikado 2-8-0. . .	30–40	42
Pignet	29	34
Cail	27	24
Cail, Corpet, Weidknecht, Decauville . . .	13–27	75
	Total	185

Since that date 2 Micheline railcars, 3 Als-Thorn diesel electric locomotives, and 2 Beyer-Garratts have been brought into use. The Beyer-Garratts are 4-4-2+2-4-4 articulated with an adhesive weight of 91 tons.

Fuel. Neither coal nor wood is found locally. Before 1940 some 60,000 tons of briquettes were annually imported. At the present time these are hard to obtain, and they are supplemented by whatever wood is available and by briquetted ground-nut shells. 372

Carriages and Wagons. In 1939 there were 254 passenger coaches and 2,105 goods wagons in service. The passenger coaches included restaurant cars and sleeping cars. At the end of 1939, 177 covered goods wagons were delivered from France. 493

State of Repair. There are excellent workshops at Thiès; but the general standard of upkeep, never very high, has greatly deteriorated as a result of stocks of material becoming almost exhausted. 497 498

Traffic

The following table gives figures for 1937 and 1938: 497

	1937	*1938*
Passengers. . .	2,603,341	2,660,497
Passenger miles . .	118,433,207	120,620,300
Freight in tons . .	615,043	501,593
Ton miles . .	120,570,598	107,970,715
Revenue . . .	£876,411	£684,788

The principal items of freight handled were ground-nuts, shea butter, gum arabic, sisal, and fuel. [438]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Itineraries

Route 1

DAKAR–ST. LOUIS

496
498
133

Distance from Dakar Km.	Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
0	0	..	DAKAR	The main passenger station is by the Bassin Ouest. Immediately north-west are workshops and a goods station. Numerous tracks run along the sides of the basins, and, ¼ mile from the station, there is a branch that connects to the quarries, 3 miles to the west.
4	2½	..	..	At 2½ miles a track turns south-east to the goods station by the oil-fuel depot. At first the main line runs north, but it gradually bends east in conformity with the shape of Hann bay. It is close to the sea across the marigot of Hann, but turns a little inland to reach Tiaroye station. This is 1½ miles from its village. The line continues inland, avoiding plantations of palm trees, and follows a somewhat winding course to Rufisque. The station is on the north side of the town, about ½ mile from the sea. The line keeps parallel to the shore as far as the village of Bargny-Gouddou. Here it swings north-east through wooded undulating country to the brushwood Forest of Thiès. This is on the top and face of a scarp, and the railway makes use of a narrow valley to reach
13	8	33	TIAROYE	
20	12½	..	M'BAÔ (halt)	
27	17	33	RUFISQUE	
32	20	..	..	
46	28½	82	SEBIKOTANE	
55	34	66	POUT	

496
133

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 317

496
133

Distance from Dakar Km.	Miles	Elevation in feet	Stations	Itinerary
70	43½	207	THIÈS	the important junction of Thiès, the highest station of this part of the railway. There are sidings and workshops. The line to Koulikoro continues to the east, but that to St. Louis turns north-east, running parallel with and about 20 miles from the coast. It traverses a sandy and inhospitable region, which is, nevertheless, important for ground-nuts. The line runs in long straight stretches and is never far from the road.
92	57	164	TIVAOUANE	
104	64½	131	PIRÉ-GOUREYE	
120	74½	132	MEKHÉ	
130	81	125	KELLÉ	
142	88	130	N'DANDE	
155	96	133	KÉBÉMER	
171	106	131	GOUMBO GUBOUL	
192	119	128	LOUGA	At Louga there is a junction with the branch that goes south-east to Linguéré. The main line adopts a more winding course across a thinly vegetated area, descending gently. At M'Pal it turns west over sandy country to reach the coastal marshlands at Leybar. The Leybar marsh itself is crossed by a bridge of 4 spans, respectively of 89 feet, 108 feet, 89 feet, and 108 feet. The line terminates at Sor (Fig. 53), where there are three stations: goods, main, and harbour. The last named is on a branch track, which runs on to the principal jetty. There is no railway bridge across the Senegal.
217	135	66	SAKAL	
230	143	33	M'PAL	
244	151½	16	RAO	
257	159½	..	LEYBAR (halt)	
258	160	..	..	
262	163	7	ST. LOUIS	

[998]
[998]

/73 cont./

102
131
133
491
496

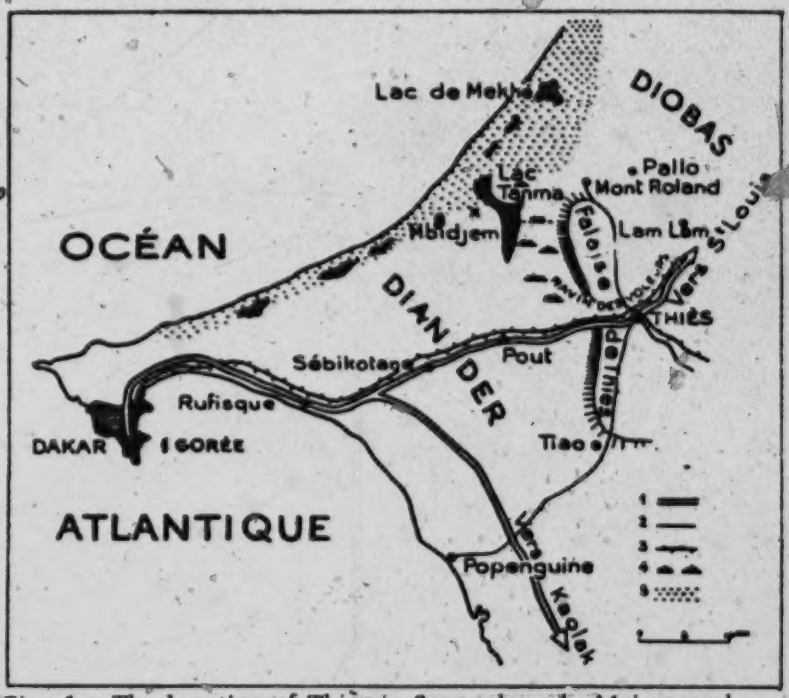


Fig. 1. The location of Thiès in Senegal. 1. Main paved road; 2, secondary road; 3. railroad; 4. swamps; 5. sand.

175 Verde Peninsula. As long ago as this epoch Thiès seems to
369 have been a strategic point and support point of primary im-
361 portance.

As early as 1880 the provinces of Diander and Diobas were pacified. The military posts lost their importance and were abandoned one after the other, for example, Nguiguis (near Tivaouane) and Mbidjem. Only the one at Thiès, because of its exceptional location, survived and developed.

175 2. The commercial escale (1880-1923).
369 The years of the decade 1880-1890 correspond to the
499 period of the development of groundnut cultivation in Senegal
244 and to the construction of the Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad.

/73 cont./

175 369 499 133 The surveys for the future course of this railway revealed that the shortest route would have to follow the Atlantic coast, but since this is bordered by dunes it would necessitate some important construction work. The passage across the slope of Thiès was also a serious obstacle, but the "Ravin des Voleurs" made access to the plateau possible; the line would thus follow the valley which cuts the brow of the hill, then the depression which follows the plateau to the east, and would pass in front of the military fort established at its extremity.

175 369 [361] The fortune of Thiès was made: as early as 1885, the date of the opening of the railroad, the merchants of Rufisque set up branches there; a plan for dividing the future city into lots was outlined. This plan, unfortunately, foresaw the development of the city only north of the line, along the trail connecting Thiès with Rufisque and Dakar. A Catholic [797] mission was established in the vicinity, and in 1893 the first civil administrator occupied the new residence built near the Faidherbe redoubt.

175 369 439 [496] [492] The groundnut policy developed successfully; 20,000 tons of groundnuts were shipped by rail from the Thiès station in 1890 (3). Commerce, however, was not established in

3. Convoys of camels competed with the railway up to 1910 and transported their cargo to the port of Rufisque. Thiès was the last stop before reaching the quays of embarkation 50 kilometers away.

[366] permanent fashion in the escale: only during the period of trading (from November to May) did the European employees [441] sent by the firms of Rufisque live in the city and buy groundnuts, millet, cotton ... at their branches; from May to November they returned to Rufisque, and most of the shops in Thiès were closed, the city seemingly dead.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS37
Mali MS35

S 496

3. Thiès–Kidira (352½ miles).
4. Diourbel–Touba (31 miles).
5. Guinguiné–Kaolack (14 miles).
6. Kaolack–Lyndiane (6½ miles).

S M 499 175

History

The first plan for a railway was made by Pinet-Laprade in 1857. It was to connect the head of navigation on the Senegal with a suitable point on the Niger, and in 1863 Mage prospected the country between Medine and Bamako. During the next fifteen years or so various other schemes were proposed. All of them were chiefly concerned with the military conquest of Cayor, of the middle Niger basin, and of the lands between Timbuktu and Algeria. Many of them envisaged a trans-Saharan line, and there seems to have been little thought of economic development.

On 5 February 1880 a Bill was introduced into the French Chamber of Deputies to authorize a line from Dakar to St. Louis with a branch to Medine and the middle Niger. It was considerably amended before being passed, the chief alteration being the excision of the section from St. Louis to Medine.

S 499 175

Surveys of the two other sections were made, and on 21 June 1882 a contract was signed with the Société de Construction des Batignolles to build a line from Dakar to St. Louis. This company remained the owner of the line until it was bought out by the Government in 1933. European labour was largely employed in construction, and this meant that work had to be suspended from July to November each year. In spite of this and other difficulties, the line was opened on 6 July 1885. This was the first railway in West Africa.

It soon became apparent that faulty methods had been used. The wooden sleepers were eaten by termites and the track had been very poorly ballasted. These defects, however, were eventually remedied.

S [433]

The railway achieved its military purpose, but its economic results were of equal value. In particular, it stimulated the production of ground-nuts by providing means for their export. This had important effects on the development of Dakar and of Rufisque.

S M 499 175 [505]

Meanwhile a little progress had been made on the section linking the Senegal with the Niger. In contradistinction to the Dakar–St. Louis line, the work was done by the Government. It had an inauspicious beginning. Medine is 625 miles by river from St. Louis and can only be reached by barge in August and September. Material brought from the port was seldom taken farther than Kayes, and goods

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Mali MS 35

were dumped there and at places even farther downstream. These had to be transported upstream in barges drawn by men. Diseases, especially yellow fever, caused many deaths, and there were endless difficulties with workmen, both European and native. Furthermore, the country was not fully known and only half pacified. Work began at Medine in the middle of 1881, but the military post at Kita was less than six months old, and that at Bamako was not set up until 1883. By the end of 1881 precisely one kilometre of the line had been completed. In the following year the ships started from St. Louis too late and could not even reach Kayes. There were several epidemics of typhoid and several fires in the store dumps.

By 1884 there were 34 miles of track, but it was so badly constructed as to be incapable of supporting the weight of a locomotive. There was no ballast, poor local wood was used for sleepers, curves were too sharp, and gradients were too severe. In 1888 the work was handed over to the French Marines, who made some improvements in the existing track and extended it to Mahina, a distance of 66 miles. It was still unusable. In the following year a Commission was appointed, and made various recommendations, some of which showed that the original purpose of the line had become obscured. By 1891 there were 79 miles of metre-gauge track from Kayes to Mahina, a ferry across the Bafing, 24 miles of 60 cm.-gauge track from there to Diouléba, and 3 miles of 50 cm.-gauge track beyond that place. In the same year another Commission was appointed, and in the following year a party of engineers was sent out under the command of Major Joffre. Substantial improvements were rapidly effected, and in 1893 the first train ran from Kayes to Mahina. In 1896 the Bafing was bridged. In May 1904 the line, metre-gauge all the way, reached the Niger at Bamako and on 10 December that year it reached Koulikoro. It has since been considerably improved.

In the summer of 1902 the Senegal failed to rise. This prevented any effective provisioning of the posts in French Sudan and also gave a stimulus to railway construction. The original plan for a line from St. Louis to Kayes was dropped, and Thiès was chosen as the junction. The new railway was intended not only to provide a link between existing lines but also to find and attract local traffic. Various routes were discussed, and in 1907 construction began from both ends. The section from Kayes to Ambidedi (26 miles) was opened in December 1908 and that from Thiès to Diourbel (50½ miles) on 16 July 1909. Work on the latter began again in February 1910 and the line reached Guinguiné in the December of that year. By the middle of 1913 it

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Mali MS35

was at Koussanar, and when war came in 1914 it had reached a place called Cotiari Naoudé, 258 miles from Thiès. In 1920 a force of 8,000 labourers was recruited, and the line was completed on 5 August 1923.

Branch Lines. Work on the branch from Guinguiné to Kaolack began on 6 June 1911, and the line was officially opened on 1 January 1912. This railway, of course, has transformed Kaolack and has been the prime factor in its growth to its present importance. The private line from Kaolack to Lyndiane was built by the firm of Charles Peyrissac et Cie in 1925.

The line from Diourbel was originally planned to go to Tal-Tal and Thiel. Construction began on 1 December 1929, and the line reached Touba on 1 March 1931. Financial difficulties postponed further extension, and nothing more has been done up to the present. This branch has proved valuable to local producers of ground-nuts and has been more successful than its contemporary to Linguéré.

This latter was begun from Louga early in 1929 and reached Coki (18½ miles) on 1 October that year. Railhead was at Dahra on 1 October 1930 and the whole line was finished on 1 October 1931. Results have not been quite as good as had been hoped.

Permanent Way, Locomotives, and Rolling-stock

Rails and Sleepers. The section from Dakar to St. Louis has rails weighing 30 kg. per metre (61 lb. per yard) bought second-hand from the Nord Railway of France in 1929, and that from Thiès to Kayes has rails weighing 25 kg. and 26 kg. per metre (50½ lb. and 52½ lb. per yard). The track from Kayes to Koulikoro was originally laid with rails weighing 20 kg. per metre (40 lb. per yard) and was notorious for its numerous rail breakages; but it is now in process of being relaid on a new alinement with rails weighing 30 kg. per metre (61 lb. per yard). The Louga–Linguéré branch was given the old rails from the Dakar–St. Louis line. These weigh 20 kg. per metre (40 lb. per yard).

Sleepers are of steel.

Gradients and Curvature. These vary considerably, but there are no gradients steeper than 1 : 30, and the minimum radius of curves is 197 yards. It is intended ultimately to reduce these figures to 1 : 71 and 219 yards respectively.

Bridges. The principal bridges are noted in the itineraries below. Minor bridges are of steel and concrete, and in many cases old rails are used as reinforcing bars. Culverts are numerous.

20: Seck--30 U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 388-389/ Plate XXIV

501
361

A. Yoff, suburb of fishermen.

361

B. Thiaroye, truck-gardening suburb.

Photo. Assane Seck.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

501
133

107. *Fishermen of the Langue de Barbarie*

133

108. *The coast near Yof*

[facing p. 398]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

133
361

114. *St. Louis*

501
504

115. *St. Louis: the North Quay*

[facing p. 433]

23: Aujas--16 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37

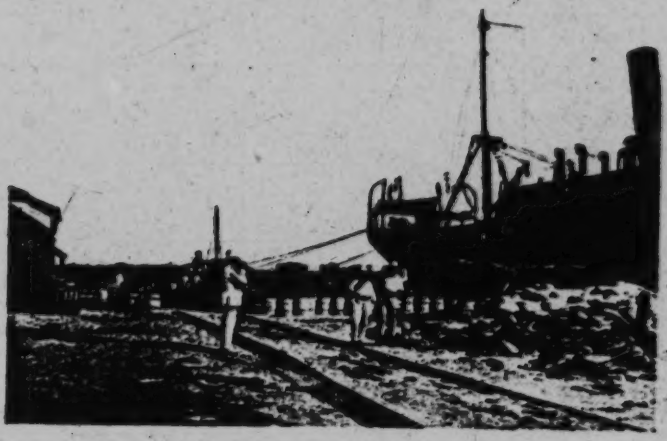
/Between pp. 104 and 105/

Plate I

502

Pilot Station at the Pointe de Sangomar.

504
501



The Port of Kaolack: the quays.

/111 cont./

491 season by truckage, the development of which has grown in
[494] considerable proportions since 1920.

The network of roads is on the whole excellent. Every winter, it is subject to deteriorations; the latter are repaired as soon as the dry season arrives. Thousands of workers making
[464] their annual contribution are employed there under the supervision of native chiefs and under the direction of the European administrative authorities. Some artificial works, embankments, bridges, culverts, gutters, and channels have been constructed in the swampy places or to cross spots of water.

363 In the communes, the roads are gradually being paved with paving stones as the urban streets develop. In Kaolack six kilometers of streets have been paved with stones in the past five years.

505 Inland navigation. As we have already seen, the Saloum is the major channel of inland navigation. Steamers enter it by the maritime passage of Sangomar. In the channel, 120 kilometers long, up to Kaolack, there are some bends or passages that are quite difficult to negotiate. A pilot is
[502] necessary. All of the boats have one, whom they take on at Dakar or Rufisque. The Sine is traveled in the same fashion up to Niamnioroh.

[501] There are countless marigots which are accessible to cutters, small launches, barges, or dugouts. There are several thousand kilometers /112/ of waterways which connect villages, centers of cultivation, and fishing agglomerations.

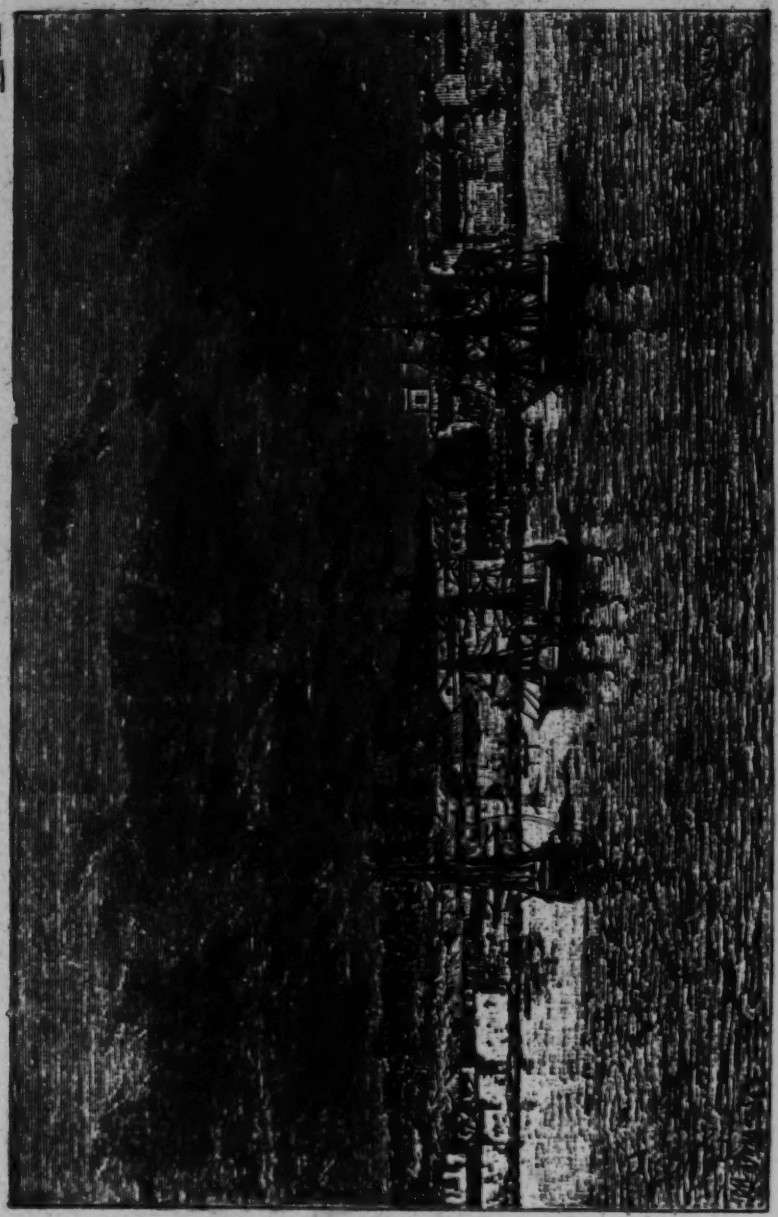
In the Bas-Saloum in particular, commercial traffic is handled by cutters or by dugouts.

Saboya, on the marigot Miniminian, an affluent of the Gambia, is accessible to ocean-going vessels. Each year boats come to seek the stock of groundnuts produced by this region.

Here are some comparative figures on navigation for the three ports of Kaolack, Foundiougne, and Saboya.

34: Faidherbe--2 G-5 (ca. 1854-1865) 1889 MS30 Wolof
Senegal MS37

361
501



View of Gorée

/375 cont./

175 name of France by the post-captain Protet, who materialized
369 this taking of possession by the construction of a protective fort,
[712] from which outfitting soon began. Work on the port[7] began in
[505] 1862, and, on 4 November 1866, the first accomplishments were inaugurated by the first passage of a packet-boat. As early
[502] as the first of April 1864, the lighthouse of the Grande-Mamelle was lighted, followed two years later, on the first of December 1866, by the two lighthouses with fixed lights at Cape Manuel and the Pointe des Almadies /Cape Almadies/. A first plan for the future city was approved by the decree of 1 July 1862, while from this time on a plan for a railroad to link Dakar and Saint-Louis agitated opinion.

Nevertheless, despite these efforts, the launching of Dakar, put under the administrative guidance of Gorée, was difficult; the city was unpopulated, the Goréans monopolizing the lands without wanting to leave their island. Moreover, Rufisque, closer to the regions where groundnuts were cultivated, was better located for commerce with the interior and, because of this, contributed to blocking the development of Dakar. But
[633] the decree of 17 June 1887 separating Dakar from Gorée marked a decisive turning point (1885) in the life of the new creation.

369 2. Dakar, metropolis before being a city. Having become an autonomous center as a result of the Conference of Berlin, at a period when the colonial rivalries between the great powers were accentuated, Dakar benefited from the effective support /376/ of a mother country determined to make it a base for its expansion in West Africa.

504 It was the port in particular that was to be the essential
369 instrument of the launching and of the power of Dakar. Its first elements constructed shortly after the occupation were clearly insufficient, and as early as 1892 it was necessary to extend the old embankment by 200 meters and to add on to it a pier of 280 meters (present Pier III). But it was especially from 1899 that
[712] the great works began. The military port, which had to serve as

7 [i.e., the port of Dakar--Analyst]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

river is a sandy bar which sometimes prevents entry by ships for several weeks on end. After this the coast stretches south-south-westwards in a gentle curve of sandy beach. There are dunes along the shore, and, inland from them, the marshy depression already described on p. 397. There are very few villages and, indeed, very few landmarks of any kind. Seventy-four miles from the mouth of the Senegal the village of Kayar is perceptible from the sea. It is connected to Rufisque (17 miles) by a colonial road, and immediately south of it is Lake M'Baouar, which is seldom or never without water. After Kayar the coast trends more definitely south-west. Lake Retba, whose north-eastern end is 6½ miles from Kayar, is a permanent salt lake fed by the sea. There are other lakes and swamps behind the littoral dunes. On the coast itself stands another village, Cambérène, which is 22½ miles from Kayar and behind which rise the Petites Mamelles. These are three grey, isolated, sandy knolls, and they mark the beginning of the Cape Verde peninsula (Fig. 48).

The Cape Verde Peninsula and Goree Bay

Yof island (Plate 108), 3½ miles west of Cambérène, stands off the village (Plate 109) of the same name. The beach on the mainland is accessible to surf-boats in all weathers. Just west of the village is a cable hut, where cables are landed, and a tarmac road runs southwards to Ouakam and Dakar. The coast is now more indented, and, 2½ miles south-west of Yof, is a ledge of rocks which joins the shore to Ngor island and behind which is the village of Ngor. Three-quarters of a mile farther west the coast turns almost due south to reach Almadi point (Plate 110), the extreme west of the mainland of Africa. There is a lighthouse on a rock three-quarters of a mile out to sea. Cape Verde itself is 2 miles to the south-east of Almadi point, and behind it are two conical hills called the Mamelles. It was the stunted brushwood on these hills that gave the cape its name. From here to Cape Manuel the coast continues its south-easterly direction, being formed of red cliffs and small sandy beaches. Fann point, 3¾ miles from Cape Verde, marks the north-western end of Madeleines bay, which washes the south-western side of Dakar (p. 444). Some 2 miles south-west are the four Madeleines islands, all of which are rocky and three of which are inaccessible. At Cape Manuel, which is 131 feet high, the coast turns sharply north to form Bernard bay. North of Dakar is Hann bay, and both of these small bays are on the western side of Goree bay. This is generally considered to stretch from Cape Manuel to Cape Rouge, and in it,

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[p 445]

36
504
764
206
502
102
743
712
498
133

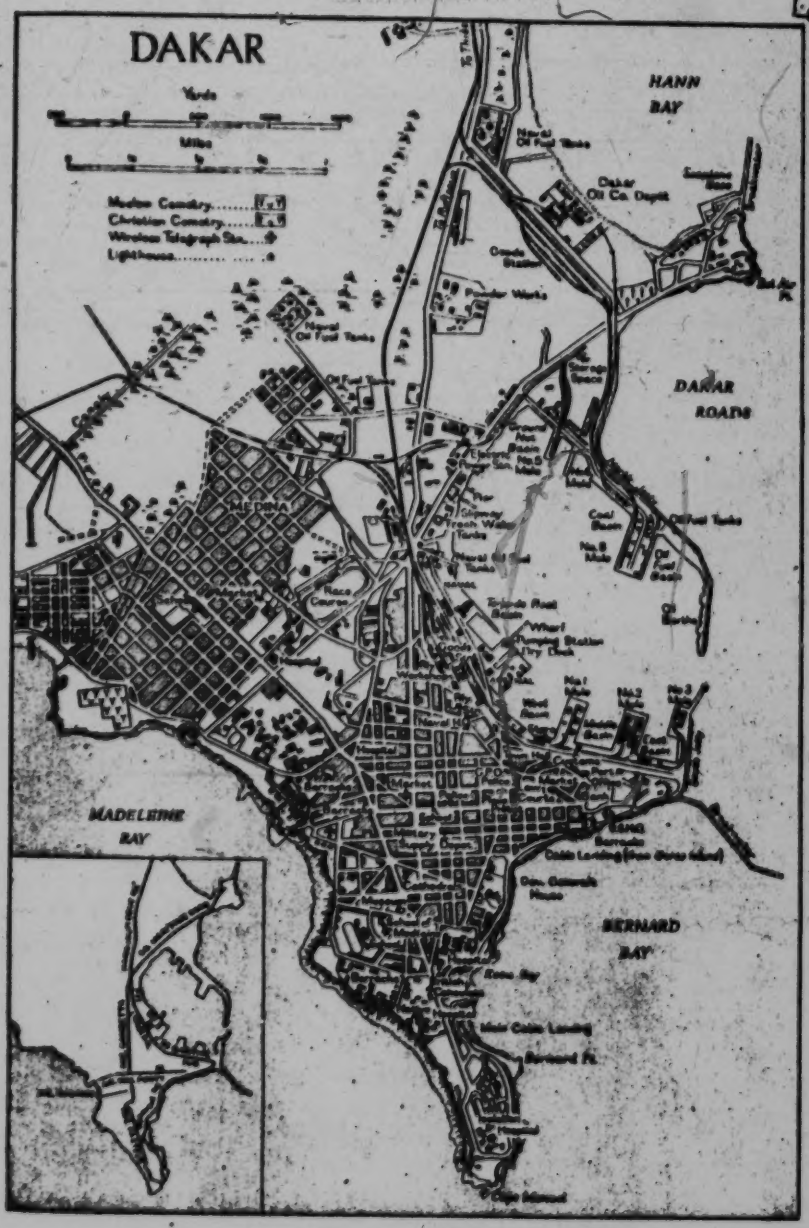


FIG. 54. Dakar

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

History

175 361 [797] Until the middle of the nineteenth century Dakar was a Lebou village. In 1846, however, a Roman Catholic convent was built there, and eleven years later the village and the Cape Verde peninsula were officially occupied. In 1858 the French Government signed a contract with the Messageries Impériales (now the Messageries Maritimes) whereby ships sailing between Bordeaux and Rio de Janeiro would call at Dakar. The company acquired 7½ acres of land near Dakar point, and in 1863 a small jetty was built. This was the beginning of the port. In 1864 a lighthouse was constructed near [502] Cape Verde and three years later two others, respectively at Almadi [496] point and at Cape Manuel. In 1885 the railway to St. Louis was [712] opened. It was not, however, until 1898 that the idea was conceived of making Dakar a big naval base, and by 1910 it was capable of accommodating vessels of all types. Further improvements have [504] since been effected, and to-day the dry dock is big enough to take a battleship.

The Town

361 Dakar has grown so as to cover the southern part of the Cape Verde peninsula, but the port is on the east side of the town. On the south-west are the cliffs of Madeleines bay and on the south-east those of Bernard bay. Dakar point marks the northern end of the latter. North of the port is Bel Air point, the southern limit of Hann bay.

The medina or native town, which contains nearly half the population, is to the north-west of the main town. The intercolonial road [491] enters the latter from the north and is continued as the Avenue Gambetta and the Avenue Maginot to an open space where stands [368] the Roman Catholic cathedral. East of the cathedral is the Residence of the Governor-General (Vol. I, Plate 58), magnificently situated on the top of the cliffs overlooking Bernard bay. Farther south are the British Consulate, the Pasteur Institute, the botanical gardens, and, [943] almost at Cape Manuel, the isolation hospital. The buildings of the army headquarters are near Dakar point. West of them are the port offices, the telephone exchange, the principal market, the Mairie (Plate 117), and the law courts. The town contains innumerable shops and offices and many clubs, cafés, hotels, and other amenities of modern civilization.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal M537
Dakar

Trade

Imports and Exports. Dakar is the outlet for almost the whole of French West Africa north of the forest. In particular it serves the most fertile and prosperous parts of Senegal and French Sudan. The principal export is, of course, ground-nuts, and others are gold, gum, shea butter, kapok, and hides. Imports include manufactured goods of all kinds, coal, oil fuel, wine, sugar, and flour. In 1937 imports totalled 1,298,700 tons to the value of 763,200,000 francs (£6,134,060) and exports 1,284,300 tons to the value of 572,300,000 francs (£4,599,740). This represents some 40 per cent. of the total trade of the Federation. 439 [433] [433]

Manufactures. In or near the town are brickworks, a brewery, candle factories, charcoal furnaces, ice factories, sisal cleaning plants, sack factories, saw-mills, and factories for extracting ground-nut oil. There are also native handicraft workers. West of the town there are two basalt quarries, which are connected to the harbour by a railway line. 438 316

There are several trade unions. 467

Finance. The Port of Dakar has its own budget. In 1938 this balanced at 10,792,486 francs (£66,212). The principal items of revenue were the dues on the loading and discharge of cargo, which brought in 4,150,000 francs, the dues paid by ships, which brought in 1,566,000 francs, and the charges for the use of port equipment, which brought in 1,115,700 francs. The principal items of expenditure were 4,912,166 francs on wages and salaries of employees and 2,551,770 francs on the materials used in the maintenance of the port. 652 [651]

Description of Port

Anchorages. Outside the harbour there is good anchorage in 10 fathoms. Inside depths are greater, and there is space for a large number of vessels. 504

Quays and Wharfs. The main basins of the harbour are divided off from Goree bay and Dakar Roads by the North Jetty. This runs south-eastwards from the shore for nearly 1,200 yards and then turns southwards for its last 550 yards. Here are found the oil berths, and at the end of it is a light. Three moles project from the landward side of the main jetty. Behind No. 5 Mole, the nearest to the land, there is a large open space used for storing dumps of ground-nuts (Vol. [illegible], Plate [illegible]). This end of the harbour is a seaplane base, with a hangar on the shore. On the north-west side there are some [502] [508]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37 Dakar

504 small piers and a slipway. A quarter of a mile south of the slipway are the naval oil-fuel tanks, which are at the northern end of the dockyard. This has, among other works, a large basin and a dry [498] dock, and behind it are the railway goods station and workshops. Just beyond its southern corner is the main station, but extensions of the line run on to the wharfs. On the south side of the harbour are the three principal commercial basins, separated from each other by moles. The easternmost of these is the South Jetty, at the northern [502] end of which is another light, only 275 yards from the end of North Jetty.

From Dakar point a breakwater runs for 1,000 yards south-east and east.

Alongside depths vary from 21 feet at No. 1 Mole to 34 feet at No. 8 Mole, and the total length of quays and oiling berths, apart from those in the dockyard, is 13,861 feet.

Warehouses. There are warehouses on No. 1 Mole, No. 2 Mole, and No. 3 Mole, and all along the south side of the harbour.

Equipment. The dry dock is 656 feet long and 93 feet wide and can be divided into two parts. There are numerous cranes of all types, including floating cranes. The two largest of these are each of 125 tons. Repair facilities are good, and the port is well supplied with tugs, launches, and lighters.

Fuel. The commercial oil-fuel tanks are on the south shore of Hann bay. Behind them is a goods station. Additional naval oil tanks are farther north-west. A pipe-line connects the commercial tanks to the oil berths at the end of North Jetty. Coal is stored on [439] No. 8 Mole. It is very largely imported from South Wales. Good stocks of both fuels are normally held.

Communications

498 *Rail.* Dakar is the terminus of the railway from Thiès and St. Louis (Route 1). From Thiès Route 2 runs to Kidira (396 miles) and ultimately to Koulikoro (801 miles). The main station is at the south-east corner of the harbour, close to the dockyard.

491 *Road.* It has already been stated that the intercolonial road runs north from the end of Avenue Gambetta. It follows the curve of Hann bay to Rufisque (15 miles) before going to Thiès (44 miles). A minor road leads north-westwards to Ouakam (5 miles) and Yof (8 miles). There are also other minor roads.

508 *Air.* The airport lies nearly 5 miles north-west of the main town, 509 and has hangars and workshops. In 1939 Dakar was on the Air France

/92/

I. General Information

131 634 a) Geographical survey. The circle /cercle, an administrative district/ of Sine-Saloum is a vast region of 26,000 square kilometers in area. It is one of the most important parts of the colony of Senegal. It is a heavily populated region. Finally, it has an economic value greater than that of the other territories which, together with it, constitute the Government of Senegal in French West Africa.

Bounded on the west by the Atlantic Ocean, it touches on the upper basin of the Gambia to the east and therefore on the very borders of the western Sudan, from which it is separated only by the circle of Tambacounda.

To the north, it reaches the desert of the Ferlo and the Djoloff region.

Along the entire southern part, its frontier runs along the territory of the British colony of Gambia, following precisely the parallel 13° 35' 36", conforming to the delimitation of the International Commission of 1891.

Such are its geographic limits.

133 A great navigable route crosses it from east to west, ending at the ocean; this is the Saloum River, which today is no more than a long maritime channel, narrow in its upper part, which the mud ruins by obstructing it, and ending in a vast estuary with a thousand /93/ ramifications, bordered by banks of sand and providing passage for ocean-going vessels at the place called Pointe de Sangomar, where there is a very narrow and not very deep passage. At low tide, in fact, the depths there are only three and a half to four meters. Under the influence of the trade winds and the tide race, the bar is subject to displacements which the hydrographic [502] service rectifies by a series of buoys which is continued even [361] beyond the estuary and up to Kaolack, a port about 100 kilometers from the coast.

[505] In this sea arm of the Saloum, the tide makes its effects felt almost to Birkelane, 130 kilometers from the ocean. The

23: Aujas--16 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37

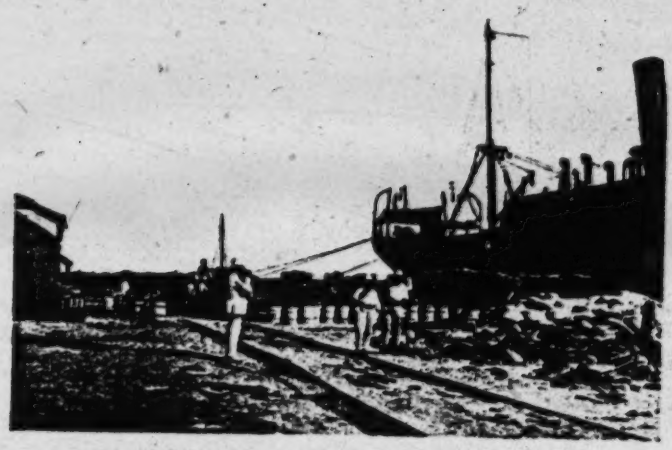
/Between pp. 104 and 105/

Plate I

●502

Pilot Station at the Pointe de Sangomar.

504
501



The Port of Kaolack: the quays.

/107 cont./

504 to the Thiès-Niger railroad. The Kayes-Kaolack route saves
[496] about 225 kilometers for the merchandise on the Kayes-Dakar journey, which is appreciable, considering the high cost of the railroad rates.

Exporters, and even importers, therefore have an interest in using the port of Kaolack.

To justify this interest, however, it was necessary: 1st,
[502] to put marker buoys on the Saloum; 2nd, to equip the port.

The buoying was completely redone in 1922; it is examined and repaired each year.

Modern facilities for the port are on the way to being realized.

504 New works at the port of Kaolack. The government of
653 the colony, after having made different studies concerning the arrangements at the port of Kaolack, opened a competition at the beginning of 1927, by means of which it called on the large public-works enterprises to submit proposals for the arrangements on the right bank of the Saloum River for a distance of 350 meters, with the view of enabling ocean-going vessels to load and unload their merchandise directly, without the aid of barges or tenders, and for the construction of a
[491] permanent bridge on the Saloum, about 200 meters long, intended to replace the Noirot bridge, located about two kilometers upstream from the port.

The plans of the Société de constructions Edmond Coignet, of Paris, which were classed No. 1 as being the most adequate for the requirements of commerce and as requiring the least expense, anticipate the following construction and arrangements:

504 A reinforced concrete landing, 350 meters /108/ long and eight meters wide, whose upstream end will be near the Chavanel wharf, and whose downstream end will extend 110 meters toward the present downstream landing of the Thiès-Niger railroad.

The bank of the new work will coincide with the frontage of the approach of the existing landing and in addition will be protected by reinforced concrete pilings every 30 meters.

The landing will be constructed to support a uniformly distributed load of 3,000 kilograms per square meter, as well

/109 cont./

491 line in addition to the normal traffic of pedestrians and vehicles.

653 The colony of Senegal, in concert with the Société Coignet, is currently preparing the agreement, which will be passed immediately and which will require three years for the landing, the embankments of the terrepleins, and the bridge.

The realization of the works and arrangements planned will be an interesting example of close co-operation between the government of the colony, the public works services, the [441] Kaolack Chambre de Commerce, and private enterprise.

433 To demonstrate the importance of the port of Kaolack, it is sufficient to put some figures before the eyes of the reader. One will get an idea of the growth of the commercial movement that the privileged location of Kaolack on the river enabled one to foresee 15 years ago.

433 In 1905, Kaolack was still a small, insignificant vil-
505 lage. Foundiougne was the great port of the Saloum. But Kaolack was the outlet for an entire hinterland much larger; it was the access route of the products from Baol and Haut-Saloum /Upper Saloum/; finally, it was the natural port for the Sudan. Its approach, 120 kilometers from the ocean and made difficult by the passage of the Sangomar channel and [502] the sandbanks of the river, has been facilitated by the buoys. Running aground has become much rarer. Piloting, however, is obligatory.

496 Railroads. The railroad from Thiès to Niger, /110/
433 extended by a branch of 22 kilometers, which starts at Guinguinéo and ends at Kaolack, brought out the full importance of the latter point as the lands located near the railroad were improved. This development will take several years. It is steadily and fully progressing today. Like all railroad lines, the artery of the Thiès-Niger breathes life into formerly deserted regions, which are now being populated and opened for colonization.

648 Undoubtedly Kaolack benefited from the non-application
504 of the Franco-British pact of April 8, 1904. As is known,

/111 cont./

491 season by truckage, the development of which has grown in
[494] considerable proportions since 1920.

The network of roads is on the whole excellent. Every winter, it is subject to deteriorations; the latter are repaired as soon as the dry season arrives. Thousands of workers making
[464] their annual contribution are employed there under the supervision of native chiefs and under the direction of the European administrative authorities. Some artificial works, embankments, bridges, culverts, gutters, and channels have been constructed in the swampy places or to cross spots of water.

363 In the communes, the roads are gradually being paved with paving stones as the urban streets develop. In Kaolack six kilometers of streets have been paved with stones in the past five years.

505 Inland navigation. As we have already seen, the Saloum is the major channel of inland navigation. Steamers enter it by the maritime passage of Sangomar. In the channel, 120 kilometers long, up to Kaolack, there are some bends or passages that are quite difficult to negotiate. A pilot is
[502] necessary. All of the boats have one, whom they take on at Dakar or Rufisque. The Sine is traveled in the same fashion up to Niamnioroh.

There are countless marigots which are accessible to
[501] cutters, small launches, barges, or dugouts. There are several thousand kilometers /112/ of waterways which connect villages, centers of cultivation, and fishing agglomerations.

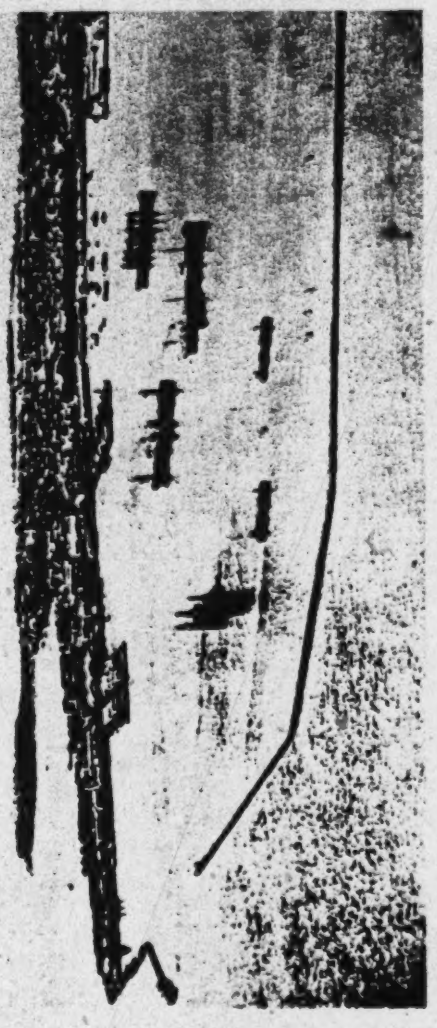
In the Bas-Saloum in particular, commercial traffic is handled by cutters or by dugouts.

Saboya, on the marigot Miniminian, an affluent of the Gambia, is accessible to ocean-going vessels. Each year boats come to seek the stock of groundnuts produced by this region.

Here are some comparative figures on navigation for the three ports of Kaolack, Foundiougne, and Saboya.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

361
504
●503



119. *Dakar: the port*

[facing p. 449]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Africans. Indeed only very small scale trading is in the hands of Africans, otherwise large scale commercial enterprises are run by Europeans, and most of their managerial staff being European. Between these large scale organisations, the whole range of middleman trade is dominated by Lebanese and the so-called *petit blancs*. Small shopkeeping is predominantly in the hands of the Mauritanians, though larger shops particularly in Dakar, are run by Lebanese and Europeans. At first sight this would seem to be an unhealthy situation, and it would be foolish to ignore the inherent dangers in it. But the most ardent critics of this state of affairs are as often as not visiting Africans, not the Senegalese themselves. When a Nigerian shops in Printania or goes to the local bank in Dakar, he is shocked by the number of Frenchwomen employed in jobs he is accustomed to seeing held by Africans in Lagos. But in considering the rather special case of Dakar one must take into account a number of factors that are often overlooked by would-be critics.

Senegal is a territory of only 3,100,000 people and in the normal run of education in French-speaking African states, even taking into account Senegal's special position among them, the percentage of the population available to fill managerial and sub-managerial posts or indeed any 'European-style' job in all sectors of the economy, can hardly match up to the requirements of the most highly industrialised city in West Africa. In addition Dakar has a large international airport and a port that was the third largest in the French Union. It is also the centre of government for Senegal and the terminus of a railway. It is not surprising therefore that Senegal finds it more difficult to find the appropriate number of Africans to fill its senior posts in commerce and industry than Lagos which has a Nigerian population of over 36 million to draw on. Furthermore Lagos is in the centre of an area where missionaries have been active for over a hundred years and consequently

/17 cont./

499 each year. In spite of the use of cars of great capacity, the
438 transport facilities are insufficient during the first months of trade. However, the practice of degressive tariffs, so as not to place at a disadvantage the production of regions that are
[651] farther from the place of destination, limits all the more the possibility of an increase of vehicles, since the traffic in groundnuts is essentially seasonal and it poses a problem of return freight. The three ports of Dakar, Kaolack, and
438 Ziguinchor consitute, for exports, freight breaking-points
[504] between land transport and maritime transport. The latter
[505] is handled for the most part by the vessels of companies who undertake regular service: Delmas et Vieljeux, Maurel et Prom, etc.; they also have competition from the tramps.
435 These /18/ multiple freight-breaks weigh quite heavily on
438 the price of groundnuts, quite low at the outset, due to the fact that each of them is accompanied by multiple manipulations.

2) The manipulations. In its present organization, the circuit of the groundnuts involves many manipulations, because the product is transported in bags. At each step it is necessary to weigh the bags, to empty them into the secco, and then, when they are again forwarded, to proceed to another weighing and rebagging. Over and above the cost of the labor, the firms and sometimes the traders must bear the great expense of buying and repairing great quantities of bags which quickly wear out or go astray. M. Barbier estimates that a bag of groundnuts undergoes 16 handlings at the minimum from the place of production to the port. A solution to this problem might be found in transporting the product loose, by trucks and cars with gratins, loaded by mechanical transporters. These transformations presuppose great investments, which the groundnut, a cheap and, above all, seasonal product, cannot amortize.

3) Regulation of the condition. The decree of 11 January
[656] 1926 created an Office d'inspection et de conditionnement de l'arachide /Office of Inspection and of the Condition of

/375 cont./

175 369 [712] name of France by the post-captain Protet, who materialized this taking of possession by the construction of a protective fort, from which outfitting soon began. Work on the port[1] began in [505] 1862, and, on 4 November 1866, the first accomplishments were inaugurated by the first passage of a packet-boat. As early [502] as the first of April 1864, the lighthouse of the Grande-Mamelle was lighted, followed two years later, on the first of December 1866, by the two lighthouses with fixed lights at Cape Manuel and the Pointe des Almadies /Cape Almadies/. A first plan for the future city was approved by the decree of 1 July 1862, while from this time on a plan for a railroad to link Dakar and Saint-Louis agitated opinion.

Nevertheless, despite these efforts, the launching of Dakar, put under the administrative guidance of Gorée, was difficult; the city was unpopulated, the Goréans monopolizing the lands without wanting to leave their island. Moreover, Rufisque, closer to the regions where groundnuts were cultivated, was better located for commerce with the interior and, because of this, contributed to blocking the development of Dakar. But [633] the decree of 17 June 1887 separating Dakar from Gorée marked a decisive turning point (1885) in the life of the new creation.

369 2. Dakar, metropolis before being a city. Having become an autonomous center as a result of the Conference of Berlin, at a period when the colonial rivalries between the great powers were accentuated, Dakar benefited from the effective support /376/ of a mother country determined to make it a base for its expansion in West Africa.

●504 369 It was the port in particular that was to be the essential instrument of the launching and of the power of Dakar. Its first elements constructed shortly after the occupation were clearly insufficient, and as early as 1892 it was necessary to extend the old embankment by 200 meters and to add on to it a pier of 280 meters (present Pier III). But it was especially from 1899 that [712] the great works began. The military port, which had to serve as

[1] [i.e., The Port of Dakar--Analyst]

/376 cont./

504 369 712 the support point for the whole military organization of the West African coast, was constructed between 1899 and 1902. Some of these accomplishments, such as the north jetty, the extension of the south jetty, and the dry dock, also concerned the commercial port, the construction of which began immediately afterwards and continued from 1903 to 1910. Two new piers were added to the first one, delimiting three docks between the south jetty and the military port, while the outfitting of the platforms was vigorously carried on (9).

[113] 9. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar", Annales de Géographie, 1936, pp. 607-671.

369 648 This phase of the construction of the port was accompanied by a very important act which was to serve as support for the development of Dakar: the transfer in 1902 of the office of the Government-general of West Africa from Saint-Louis to Dakar, which led to the establishment of high administrative offices in this city (Contrôle Financier, Treasury, Public Works, etc.) (10), although the Governor-general, awaiting

10. Morazé, Ch., op. cit., p. 620.

the construction of his palace, was installed at Gorée, where he remained until 1907, an event adding considerably to the accomplishments on the port and which marked the beginning of the prodigious vigor of Dakar (Fig. 3). 1/1

369 [505] As early as 1911 the port registered a tonnage of more than four million tons; it exceeded 5.6 millions in 1913. During the course of the First World War it played a role that greatly surpassed anything that the founders could have hoped for: in 1917, a tonnage of 10.5 million tons. To be sure, the end of the war led to a sharp decrease in the arrivals and departures, [504] but the recovery that followed the war was such that new works for the port soon became necessary. They were done between

1/1 [See Category 116, P.19-- Analyst]

/376 cont./

369 1927 and 1933 in the northern zone, where laying out a
504 platform intended for groundnuts was undertaken with the construction of three new piers, one of which was intended for traffic in combustibles. Finally, a maritime wet-dock was installed in the southern zone (11).

11. Coursin (L.) op. cit., p. 278.

Moreover, these new works did not end the construction of the port. Outfitting and new arrangements continued up to the eve of the Second World War and were taken up again immediately afterwards, making the port the complex organ that it is today: /377/ 6,904 meters of quays, of which 2,794 have depths of 20 meters and more, 2,103 meters with depths of 8 to 9 meters, 580 meters with depths of 6.50 to 7.50 meters, and, finally, 1,427 meters reserved for small boats, the total providing quay posts for 31 ships at a time; a water surface of 210 hectares; 682,000 square meters of platforms, of which 53,940 square meters are covered; and, finally, 240,000 square meters of storage space for hydrocarbides (12). These

[113] 12. Synthèse de la situation économique de l'ex-A.O.F. durant la période 1948 à 1958, Vol. IV, p. 712. Publication of the Chambre de Commerce, d'Agriculture et d'Industrie de Dakar.

are the essential elements of the infrastructure of the port of Dakar, which has become a very effective instrument, fully valorizing a favorable location at the crossroads of the heavily traveled maritime routes. Dakar thus receives ships from practically all of the countries possessing a merchant marine; only the flags of Saudi Arabia, Iran, China, and Russia do not wave in the port of Dakar.

[439] This great frequentation comes about first from the fact

/377 cont./

369 that Dakar is designated above all as a port d'escale, "a service
439 station," of the tropical Atlantic, provisioning the ships with
504 water and, above all, combustibles; the latter, represented in former times by coal in particular, are now almost entirely made up of hydrocarbides, the export and import traffic of which sometimes represents more than double that of merchandise: 211.1% in 1954, 233.6% in 1955, 186% in 1959.

369 But, beyond this role as a port d'escale, Dakar thrust ahead
439 as a metropolis, governing a large region. In fact it is via Dakar
487 that food products (rice, flour, sugar, etc.), cloth and thread, industrial products, etc. come in, principally destined for Senegal, Mauritania, and the Sudan, which, in return, send groundnuts, gum, hides wax, etc. to it for export. This situation is the result of struggles in the recent past between Dakar and the old mari-
[505] time or river ports which shared the light traffic of former times. The construction of the port and modern means of communication with the interior permitted Dakar to eliminate its rivals very quickly.

369 The establishment of Gorée, caught in a crisis since the
[505] abolition of slavery, despite the resistance, at first active and then passive, of its municipality (13), has been practically

[113] 13. In the work by J. Charpy (La Fondation de Dakar /The Founding of Dakar/, Larose, Paris, 1958), there is a series of documents on the various aspects of this resistance.

eliminated from the economic circuit since the accomplishment of the great work of the commercial port. Business then emigrated
[162] to the continent, while the city went to sleep, losing more and more of its population; from 3,200 inhabitants in 1872, it went to 2,068 in 1891, 1,249 in 1910, 998 in 1921, so that the com-
[633] mune was abolished and attached to Dakar in 1929, and then the entire island was classified as a historical monument in 1944.

/379 cont./

102
496
508
504
491
361

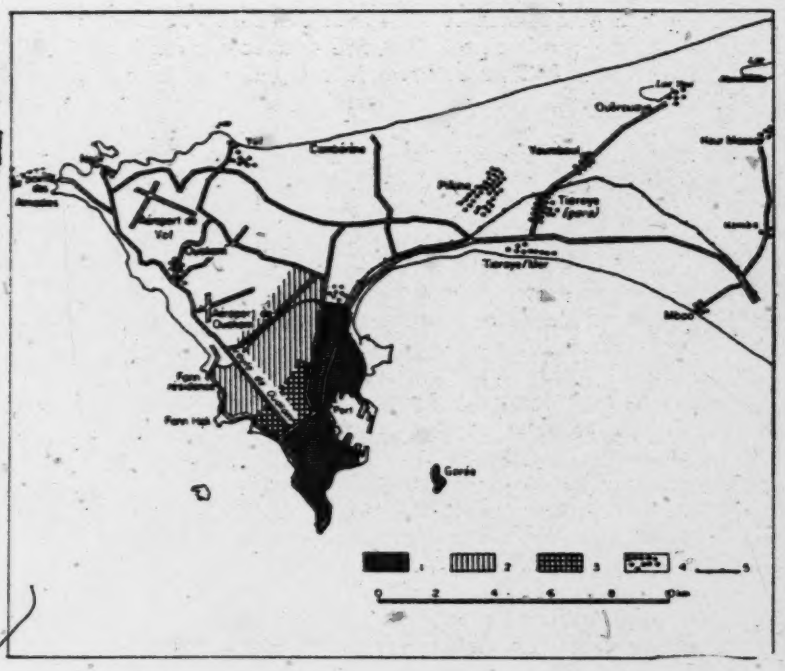


Fig. 2. The quarters of Dakar. --1. Dakar-ville and the industrial zone; 2. Greater Dakar; 3. Médina; 4. villages of the suburbs; 5. railroads.

369
505
439
[441]

groundnuts at Rufisque, nearer to the centers of production in Cayor. Therefore Rufisque soon became the groundnut capital. As early as 1862, 27 European or Gorean merchants were established there (and 12 at Bargny, located three kilometers farther to the east). Three years later, this figure climbed to 35 (14).

14. Note 1 in Fondation de Dakar, op. cit., p. 328.

369
633

The activity at Rufisque was so great and the launching of Dakar so

/379 cont./

369 difficult that the commandant of Gorée, Pinet-Laprade, in a
633 letter of 9 May 1862 (15), proposed to the governor of Senegal

15. Archives of the G. G. A. O. F. 4 B 20, 13 G 299, L 9, in Fondation de Dakar, op. cit., pp. 327-329.

that the authority of the settlement of Rufisque be abolished in order to avoid stifling Dakar. Evidently Pinet-Laprade was not followed, and the declassing of Rufisque, which nevertheless was to intervene later, was the result of a bitter struggle. As
369 soon as it was possible to draw up alongside the quay at the port
505 of Dakar, Rufisque lost the advantage of its situation, which had
●504 permitted a saving, in relation to Dakar, of some 30 kilometers of land travel. Actually, this drawing up to the quay by the ships ended the slow transshipments which caused a great loss of
[633] time at Rufisque. Therefore, as early as about 1930, Rufisque had been declassed; in 1933, after the construction of the groundnut platform at the port of Dakar, it did not load more than 10% of the harvest of Senegal, as against 28% at Dakar. Today no maritime loading is done at Rufisque, and the city maintains some economic activity only by grace of a new orientation tending to make it an industrial annex of Dakar.

369 Thus, the elimination of rivals has resulted in a tendency
505 for all of the activity of collecting the products of Senegal,
439 Mauritania, and the Sudan to be concentrated at a single pole. Only two ports, Kaolack and Ziguinchor, have succeeded in maintaining themselves /380/ and even developing themselves as ports of direct importation and exportation. In 1933 Kaolack exported 52% of the Senegalese harvest of groundnuts, and Ziguinchor nearly 10%, while Dakar had only 28%. Specifically, in addition to a regional exportation equal to half of the Senegalese harvest, Kaolack handled the rail shipments of a large part of the production of eastern Senegal and even of the Sudan. In the case of Ziguinchor, it handled the production of Casamance, which has no other export port. Today the conversion of the

20: Seck--19 U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 382-383/

36
102
491
496
504
712
743

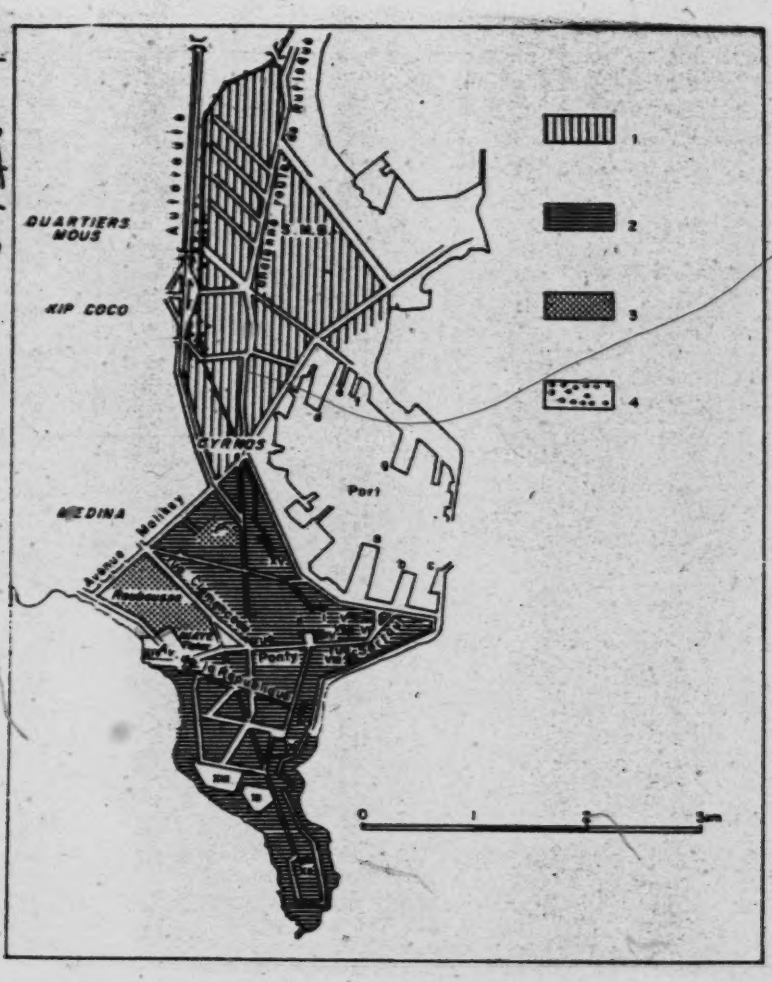


Fig. 3. Dakar. The port and the industrial zone. -- 1. The industrial zone; 2. the very urbanized sections; 3. low quarters; 4. irregular quarters.

(Caption Continued on following page.)

/Fig. 3 Caption cont./

36
102
491
496
504
712
743

a-g. The piers. -- I. Town Hall. -- II. Chambre de Commerce. -- III. Sandaga Market (Ponty-Clemenceau crossroads). -- IV. Former Palace of Justice. -- V. General Postoffice. -- VI. Treasury. -- VII. Kermel Market. -- VIII. Military Circle. -- IX. Residence of the President of the Republic. -- X. Military Hospital. -- XI. African Hospital. -- XII. Palace of Justice. -- XIII. Camp Bornis. -- XIV. Camp Galliéni. -- XV. Station.

369
563
162

/383 cont./ one another in Dakar are Lébou, Ouolof /Wolof/, Toucouleur /Tukolor/, Sérère /Serer/, Sarakolé, Diola, Socé, etc., who are Senegalese, but there are also Mauritanians, Sudanese, Voltaics, Guineans, Ivorians /persons from the Ivory Coast/, Dahomeans, Cape Verdeans, Lebano-Syrians, French, etc. The Lébou, who are the original population of Dakar, today represent scarcely one-tenth of the population, exceeded in number by the Oulof, the Toucouleur (20), and even by the 30,000 non-Africans,

[113]

20. A. Diop, "L'immigration toucouleur à Dakar (enquête /investigation/ 1958-1959)," I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 1. The author, citing an investigation by the M.I.S.O.E.S., gives the figure of 31,000 Toucouleur in 1959.

among whom the French constitute a great majority of close to 23,000 persons in residence. This character of Dakar as a [166] region of call is illustrated first by the fact that only a little more than one-third of the population was born there, /384/ and then by the quite obvious inequality between the number of men and that of women. Before the war, among the Europeans, there were 65% men as against 25% women and 10% [744] children (21). Today the systematic destruction of the

21. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar," op. cit., p. 630.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

river is a sandy bar which sometimes prevents entry by ships for several weeks on end. After this the coast stretches south-south-westwards in a gentle curve of sandy beach. There are dunes along the shore, and, inland from them, the marshy depression already described on p. 397. There are very few villages and, indeed, very few landmarks of any kind. Seventy-four miles from the mouth of the Senegal the village of Kayar is perceptible from the sea. It is connected to Rufisque (17 miles) by a colonial road, and immediately south of it is Lake M'Baouar, which is seldom or never without water. After Kayar the coast trends more definitely south-west. Lake Retba, whose north-eastern end is 6½ miles from Kayar, is a permanent salt lake fed by the sea. There are other lakes and swamps behind the littoral dunes. On the coast itself stands another village, Cambérène, which is 22½ miles from Kayar and behind which rise the Petites Mamelles. These are three grey, isolated, sandy knolls, and they mark the beginning of the Cape Verde peninsula (Fig. 48).

133 [361] [491] [361]

The Cape Verde Peninsula and Goree Bay

Yof island (Plate 108), 3½ miles west of Cambérène, stands off the village (Plate 109) of the same name. The beach on the mainland is accessible to surf-boats in all weathers. Just west of the village is a cable hut, where cables are landed, and a tarmac road runs southwards to Ouakam and Dakar. The coast is now more indented and, 2½ miles south-west of Yof, is a ledge of rocks which joins the shore to Ngor island and behind which is the village of Ngor. Three-quarters of a mile farther west the coast turns almost due south to reach Almadi point (Plate 110), the extreme west of the mainland of Africa. There is a lighthouse on a rock three-quarters of a mile out to sea. Cape Verde itself is 2 miles to the south-east of Almadi point, and behind it are two conical hills called the Mamelles. It was the stunted brushwood on these hills that gave the cape its name. From here to Cape Manuel the coast continues its south-easterly direction, being formed of red cliffs and small sandy beaches. Fann point, 3¾ miles from Cape Verde, marks the north-western end of Madeleines bay, which washes the south-western side of Dakar (p. 444). Some 2 miles south-west are the four Madeleines islands, all of which are rocky and three of which are inaccessible. At Cape Manuel, which is 131 feet high, the coast turns sharply north to form Bernard bay. North of Dakar is Hann bay, and both of these small bays are on the western side of Goree bay. This is generally considered to stretch from Cape Manuel to Cape Rouge, and in it,

[361] [206] [491] [361] [502] [137] [103] [504]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

133 1½ miles off shore from Dakar, is the historic island of Goree (p. 449).
[504] The bay is protected by the Cape Verde peninsula and affords good anchorage at a depth of 11 fathoms, and its beaches provide numerous landing-points for ships' boats.

[361] The village of Hann, in the middle of the shore of Hann bay, is a

102
491
133
361
103

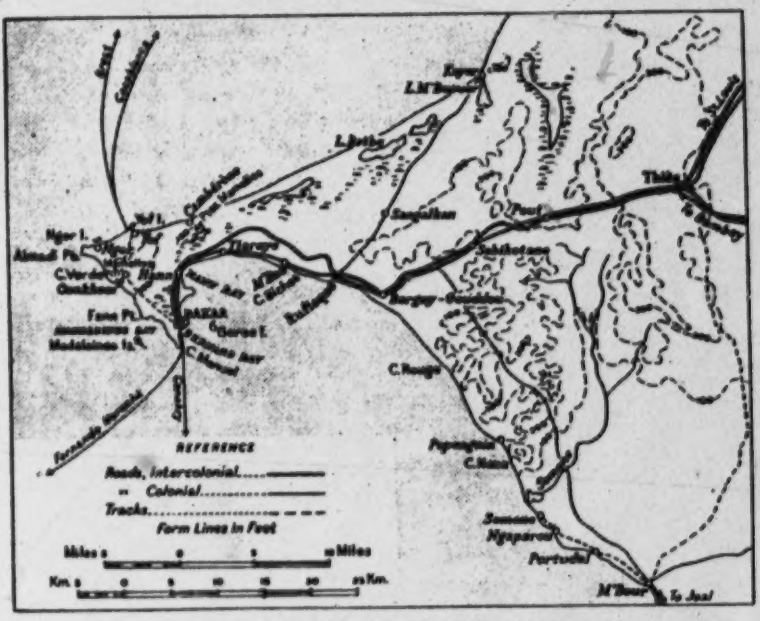


FIG. 48. *The Cape Verde Peninsula*

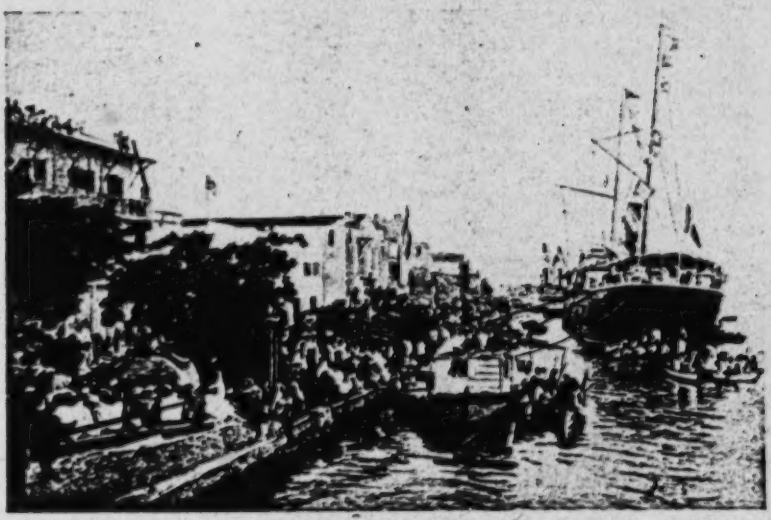
133
[361] seaside resort for the inhabitants of Dakar. There is also a botanical
[367] garden. The intercolonial road and the railway run near the sea and
[491] are never far from it until they pass Bargny-Gouddou. North-east of
[496] Hann there is a narrow lagoon between the sea and the road, and the coast bears away north-east, east, and east-south-east for the 11 miles to Rufisque (p. 449). There is much marshland, and the sole feature
[36] of note is Cape Biches, a low promontory 2 miles before the town. Bargny-Gouddou is 3 miles east-south-east of Rufisque, and beyond it the coast is cut up by creeks and lagoons, which have small seasonal rivers running into them. Behind them are scattered sandhills which rise eastwards to hills of 200 and 300 feet. Cape Rouge, which barely projects into the sea, has red cliffs intersected by wooded ravines.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

133
361

114. *St. Louis*

501
504



115. *St. Louis: the North Quay*

[facing p. 433]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

36
102
491
504
712
133

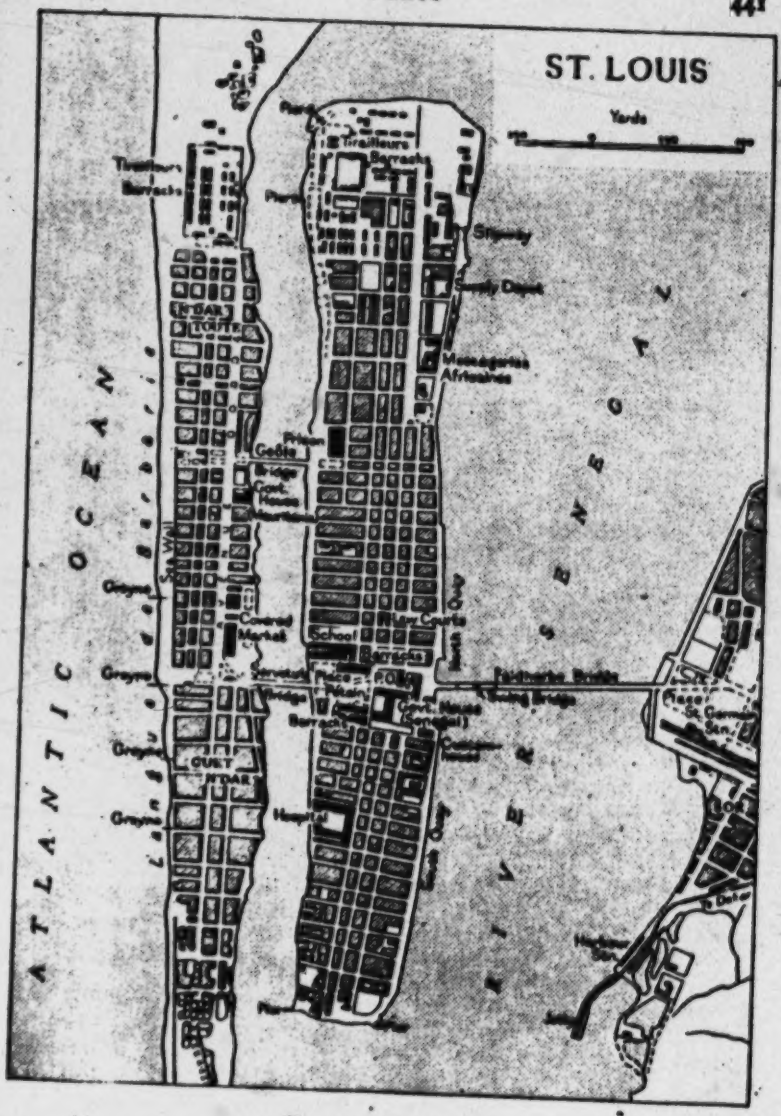


FIG. 53. *St. Louis*

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 39
St. Louis

30 yards. Immediately east of it is the Place St. Germain, on the south-west side of which stands the main railway station. 361

The western side of the Langue de Barbarie has been reinforced by groynes and a sea-wall.

The town as a whole is well planned, and it has many shops and offices.

Trade

The chief exports are oil-seeds and skins. Imports are mainly manufactured goods. In 1937 the former weighed 30,400 tons and were valued at 31,600,000 francs (£253,990), and the latter weighed 8,300 tons and were valued at 11,900,000 francs (£95,640). 439

Description of Port

Anchorages. Outside the bar at the river mouth there is anchorage in 9–11 fathoms. Inside it there is again a depth of 11 fathoms, which gradually decreases until it is 5 fathoms just below Faidherbe Bridge. 504 [133]

Quays. The principal quays are on the east side of the island. North Quay (Plate 115), above Faidherbe Bridge, is 1,050 feet long, and South Quay, below it, is 1,770 feet long with an alongside depth of 12 fathoms. At the harbour station in Sor there is a jetty 600 feet long with a wharf at its head. There are four small piers on the island, whose positions are shown in Fig. 53.

Equipment. There is a steam crane some 600 yards above the North Quay and a slipway a little higher still. Minor repairs can be effected, but facilities are generally poor.

Fuel. A small stock of coal is kept, but no oil.

Communications

Rail. There are three railway stations (p. 467) in Sor, and the main station is the terminus of the line to Dakar (Route 1). 498

Road. The intercolonial road to Thiès (124 miles) and Dakar (168 miles) starts from the Place St. Germain and then turns south when clear of the goods station. At this point the Imperial road branches off north-east to Rosso (66 miles) and ultimately to Tindouf (1,315 miles). There is a bus service twice a week to and from Matam and Nayes. 491 494

Air. The airfield is 3¼ miles north-east of Place St. Germain. Its surface is hard clay and it has one hangar. In normal times there is a weekly Air France service to Dakar. 508 509

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[p 445]

36
504
764
206
502
102
743
712
498
133

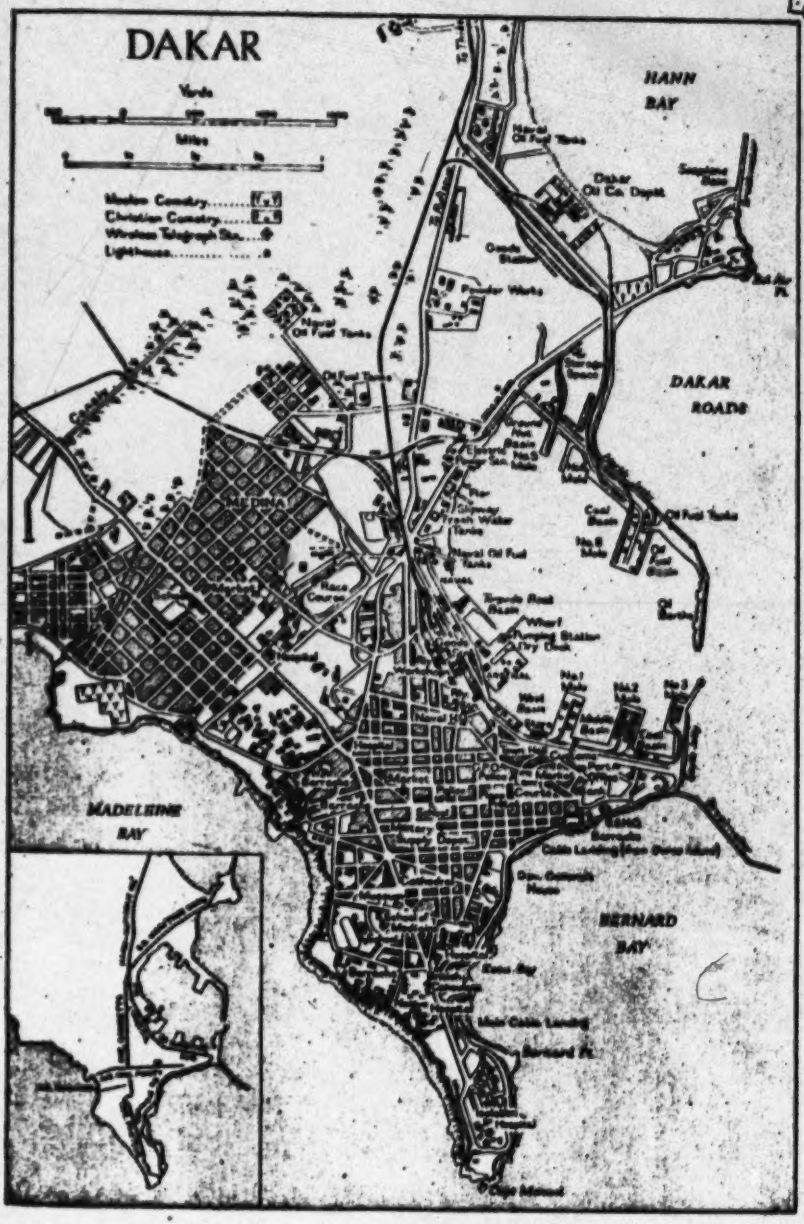


FIG. 54. *Dakar*

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

History

175 361 [797] Until the middle of the nineteenth century Dakar was a Lebou village. In 1846, however, a Roman Catholic convent was built there, and eleven years later the village and the Cape Verde peninsula were officially occupied. In 1858 the French Government signed a contract with the Messageries Impériales (now the Messageries Maritimes) whereby ships sailing between Bordeaux and Rio de Janeiro would call at Dakar. The company acquired 7½ acres of land near Dakar point, and in 1863 a small jetty was built. This was the beginning of the port. In 1864 a lighthouse was constructed near [502] Cape Verde and three years later two others, respectively at Almadi [496] point and at Cape Manuel. In 1885 the railway to St. Louis was [712] opened. It was not, however, until 1898 that the idea was conceived of making Dakar a big naval base, and by 1910 it was capable of accommodating vessels of all types. Further improvements have ●[504] since been effected, and to-day the dry dock is big enough to take a battleship.

The Town

361 Dakar has grown so as to cover the southern part of the Cape Verde peninsula, but the port is on the east side of the town. On the south-west are the cliffs of Madeleines bay and on the south-east those of Bernard bay. Dakar point marks the northern end of the latter. North of the port is Bel Air point, the southern limit of Hann bay.

The medina or native town, which contains nearly half the population, is to the north-west of the main town. The intercolonial road [491] enters the latter from the north and is continued as the Avenue Gambetta and the Avenue Maginot to an open space where stands [368] the Roman Catholic cathedral. East of the cathedral is the Residence of the Governor-General (Vol. I, Plate 58), magnificently situated on the top of the cliffs overlooking Bernard bay. Farther south are the British Consulate, the Pasteur Institute, the botanical gardens, and, [943] almost at Cape Manuel, the isolation hospital. The buildings of the army headquarters are near Dakar point. West of them are the port offices, the telephone exchange, the principal market, the Mairie (Plate 117), and the law courts. The town contains innumerable shops and offices and many clubs, cafés, hotels, and other amenities of modern civilization.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

Trade

Imports and Exports. Dakar is the outlet for almost the whole of French West Africa north of the forest. In particular it serves the most fertile and prosperous parts of Senegal and French Sudan. The principal export is, of course, ground-nuts, and others are gold, gum, shea butter, kapok, and hides. Imports include manufactured goods of all kinds, coal, oil fuel, wine, sugar, and flour. In 1937 imports totalled 1,298,700 tons to the value of 763,200,000 francs (£6,134,060) and exports 1,284,300 tons to the value of 572,300,000 francs (£4,599,740). This represents some 40 per cent. of the total trade of the Federation. 439 [433] [433]

Manufactures. In or near the town are brickworks, a brewery, candle factories, charcoal furnaces, ice factories, sisal cleaning plants, sack factories, saw-mills, and factories for extracting ground-nut oil. There are also native handicraft workers. West of the town there are two basalt quarries, which are connected to the harbour by a railway line. 438 316

There are several trade unions. 467

Finance. The Port of Dakar has its own budget. In 1938 this balanced at 10,792,486 francs (£66,212). The principal items of revenue were the dues on the loading and discharge of cargo, which brought in 4,150,000 francs, the dues paid by ships, which brought in 1,566,000 francs, and the charges for the use of port equipment, which brought in 1,115,700 francs. The principal items of expenditure were 4,912,166 francs on wages and salaries of employees and 2,551,770 francs on the materials used in the maintenance of the port. 652 [651]

Description of Port

Anchorages. Outside the harbour there is good anchorage in 10 fathoms. Inside depths are greater, and there is space for a large number of vessels. 504

Quays and Wharfs. The main basins of the harbour are divided off from Goree bay and Dakar Roads by the North Jetty. This runs south-eastwards from the shore for nearly 1,200 yards and then turns southwards for its last 550 yards. Here are found the oil berths, and at the end of it is a light. Three moles project from the landward side of the main jetty. Behind No. 5 Mole, the nearest to the land, there is a large open space used for storing dumps of ground-nuts (Vol. I, Plate 84). This end of the harbour is a seaplane base, with a hangar on the shore. On the north-west side there are some [502] [508]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

361
504

118. *Dakar from above the South Jetty*

[facing p 448]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37 Dakar

504 small piers and a slipway. A quarter of a mile south of the slipway are the naval oil-fuel tanks, which are at the northern end of the dockyard. This has, among other works, a large basin and a dry dock, and behind it are the railway goods station and workshops. [498] Just beyond its southern corner is the main station, but extensions of the line run on to the wharfs. On the south side of the harbour are the three principal commercial basins, separated from each other by moles. The easternmost of these is the South Jetty, at the northern [502] end of which is another light, only 275 yards from the end of North Jetty.

From Dakar point a breakwater runs for 1,000 yards south-east and east.

Alongside depths vary from 21 feet at No. 1 Mole to 34 feet at No. 8 Mole, and the total length of quays and oiling berths, apart from those in the dockyard, is 13,861 feet.

Warehouses. There are warehouses on No. 1 Mole, No. 2 Mole, and No. 3 Mole, and all along the south side of the harbour.

Equipment. The dry dock is 656 feet long and 93 feet wide and can be divided into two parts. There are numerous cranes of all types, including floating cranes. The two largest of these are each of 125 tons. Repair facilities are good, and the port is well supplied with tugs, launches, and lighters.

Fuel. The commercial oil-fuel tanks are on the south shore of Hann bay. Behind them is a goods station. Additional naval oil tanks are farther north-west. A pipe-line connects the commercial tanks to the oil berths at the end of North Jetty. Coal is stored on [439] No. 8 Mole. It is very largely imported from South Wales. Good stocks of both fuels are normally held.

Communications

498 *Rail.* Dakar is the terminus of the railway from Thiès and St. Louis (Route 1). From Thiès Route 2 runs to Kidira (396 miles) and ultimately to Koulikoro (801 miles). The main station is at the south-east corner of the harbour, close to the dockyard.

491 *Road.* It has already been stated that the intercolonial road runs north from the end of Avenue Gambetta. It follows the curve of Hann bay to Rufisque (15 miles) before going to Thiès (44 miles). A minor road leads north-westwards to Ouakam (5 miles) and Yof (8 miles). There are also other minor roads.

508 *Air.* The airport lies nearly 5 miles north-west of the main town, 509 and has hangars and workshops. In 1939 Dakar was on the Air France

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[DAKAR]

route from Paris to Santiago and was also the terminus of local services to Bamako and to St. Louis. The Aéromaritime company used to run flying-boat services to Conakry, Abidjan, Lagos, Douala, and Pointe Noire. 509

Wireless. The broadcasting station is near Madeleines bay, 700 yards north-west of the cathedral. A small station, transmitting to ships, is on Bel Air point. 206

Cable. Dakar is connected by cable to Casablanca, to Brest, to Fernando Noronha (Brazil), and to Conakry. The two latter cables are landed in the south-west of Bernard bay, not far from the Pasteur Institute. There is, however, a telephone cable to Goree island. This is landed on the north-west shore of the same bay.

Shipping. Lines normally serving the port include the following: America West African, Bull, Chargeurs Réunis, Elder Dempster, Fabre, Fraissinet, Gdynia America, Hamburg-Bremen, Holland West Afrika, Italia, Lloyd Triestino, Maurel et Prom, Messageries du Sénégal, Navigazione Generale Italiana, Société Générale des Transports, Société Maritime Belge des Transports, and Société Navale de l'Ouest. 505

Coasting vessels sail regularly for Port Etienne, St. Louis, Kaolack, and Ziguinchor.

GOREE (14° 39′; 17° 23′ W.). Population, 714. Custom-house. Barracks and military hospital. 36 [131] [162] [112]

The rocky island of Goree (Plate 112) has an area of 138 acres. The first Europeans to land on it were the Portuguese in 1445, and since then it has had a chequered history, which has been told elsewhere in these volumes. [175]

Most of the centre of the island is occupied by buildings, and in the south there is the old fort. In the extreme north is a large lime-kiln. [381]

The only source of water is an artesian well in the fort. [312]

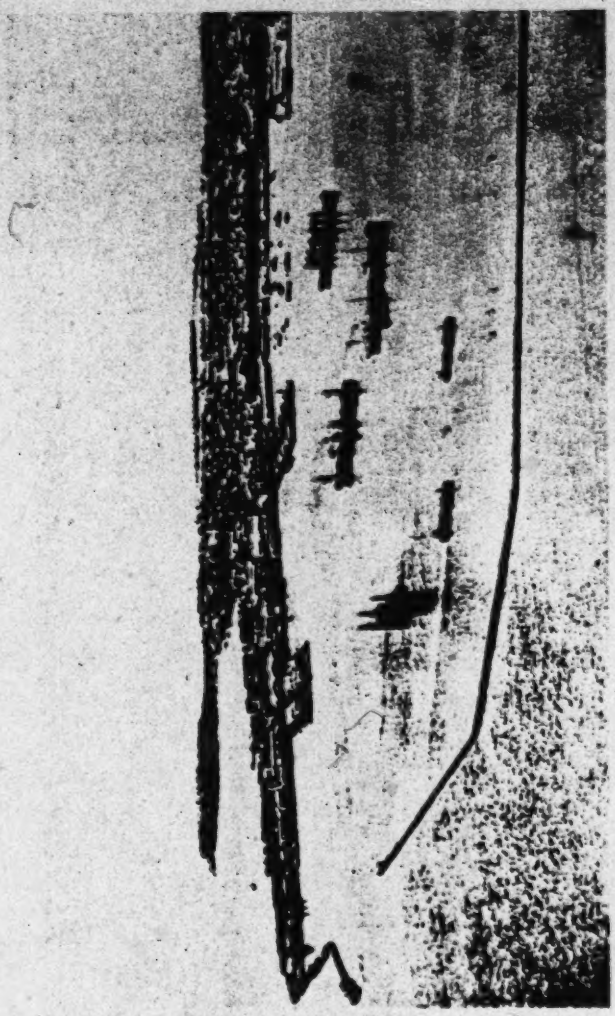
Trade. Trade is now limited to the ordinary requirements of the islanders, and traffic to taking them and their goods to and from the mainland. [438]

Harbour. In the north-east of the island there is a little bay where there are three jetties, only one of which (Plate 121) is now in use. The depth at its head is 10 feet. [504]

RUFISQUE (14° 41′; 17° 12′ W.). Population, 19,764, including 180 Europeans. Full Commune. Custom-house. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Power station. Hotel. Garage. [131] [162] [112]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

361
504
503



119. *Dakar: the port*

[facing p. 449]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

[RUFISQUE]

439 Rufisque was the first port from which ground-nuts were exported, and to-day ground-nuts are still the main article of trade. In the first quarter of 1939 it exported 25,152 tons of them. On the north side
504 of Goree bay, Rufisque can only handle small ships. There is anchorage off shore in 3–7 fathoms, but from July to November heavy swell makes it almost unusable.

633 Since 1937 the town has been in the District of Dakar.

Jetties and Equipment. There are three jetties with alongside depths
504 of at least 9½ feet. Two of these are of iron, one being 603 feet long and 33 feet wide with an extension by a wharf 65 feet long and 52 feet wide. The third is of concrete and is 656 feet long. Decauville tracks connect these jetties to the railway. There is one 5-ton crane and one 2-ton, besides smaller ones. There are 4 tugs and 2 lighters.

Communications

496 *Rail.* By rail Rufisque is 17 miles from Dakar, 26½ miles from Thiès, 146 miles from St. Louis, and 268 miles from Tambacounda.

Road. The intercolonial road runs from Dakar (15 miles) through
491 to Thiès (29 miles), where it divides. Eight miles beyond Rufisque a colonial road branches off it to go to M'Bour (38 miles), Joal (61 miles), and Fatik (101 miles). Another colonial road goes north-eastwards from the town to Sangalkan (6 miles) and Kayar (17 miles).

36 M'Bour (14° 21′; 16° 57′ W.). Population, *c.* 4,500, including 175
[131] Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-
[162] house. Medical post. Police station.

The town of M'Bour stands at the head of a shallow cove which extends for a mile out to sea as a passage between two reefs. Inside
[504] the cove the water is up to 4½ feet deep, and there is a wharf used by surf-boats. Ships anchor 2½ miles off shore, but heavy swell makes
[439] conditions difficult from June to November. Ground-nuts and millet are exported.

[491] M'Bour is on the colonial road from Rufisque (38 miles) to Joal (23 miles) and Fatik (63 miles). Several minor roads lead inland,
[494] notably one to Thiès, along which there is a bus service twice a day. For half the year there is also a service to Joal.

[131] Joal (14° 09′; 16° 51′ W.). Population, *c.* 900. Custom-house.
[162] Roman Catholic mission.

Joal was founded by the Norman Company in the middle of the
[175] seventeenth century. It was captured by the Dutch in 1677 and by

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[JOAL]

the British 70 years later, and it did not finally become French until 1763. It is on a sandspit in front of a coastal lagoon. Off shore there is a large sandbank, exposed at low tide. 36 [175]

There is a small wharf, but, owing to the difficulty of access, there is very little trade. In 1937, for example, only 4,600 tons of goods were handled and their value was 4,600,000 francs (£36,970). [504] [439]

The colonial road from Fatik (40 miles) to M'Bour (23 miles) and Rufisque (61 miles) runs through the town. There are also minor roads. From November to June there is a bus service to M'Bour and Thiès four days a week. [491] [494]

FOUNDIOUGNE (14° 06′; 16° 29′ W.). Population, 2,734. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-house. Medical post. [131] [162]

Foundiougne is on an island formed by the Saloum, the Djomboss, and their connecting channels. Much of the district is swampy, but the town itself is on a piece of firm ground on the left bank of the Saloum, 33 miles from the sea.

Anchorage in the river is in 3½ fathoms. There are 8 wharves, of which 1 is owned by the municipality. [504]

The principal export is ground-nuts, but in recent years Foundiougne has declined in prosperity. This is owing to the rise of Kaolack, which is better situated on the north bank of the river and which has much better communications. [A39] [433]

There is a ferry across the river, and from its far side a rough road leads to Fatik. South of the river there is a colonial road eastwards to Kaolack (32 miles). Along both these roads there is a bus service, daily in the dry season and fortnightly in the wet. [491] [494]

FATIK (14° 18′; 16° 27′ W.). Population, 3,521, including 128 Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Medical post. Police station. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. [131] [162]

At Nonane, on Marigot de Fatik 14½ miles above its junction with the Saloum, is the site of one of the old *escales*. This is the upper limit for boats drawing 10 feet, but smaller craft can ascend a further 7 miles to Fatik, 58 miles from the sea. The town is on the right bank of the river, which is here called the Sine. [505] [487]

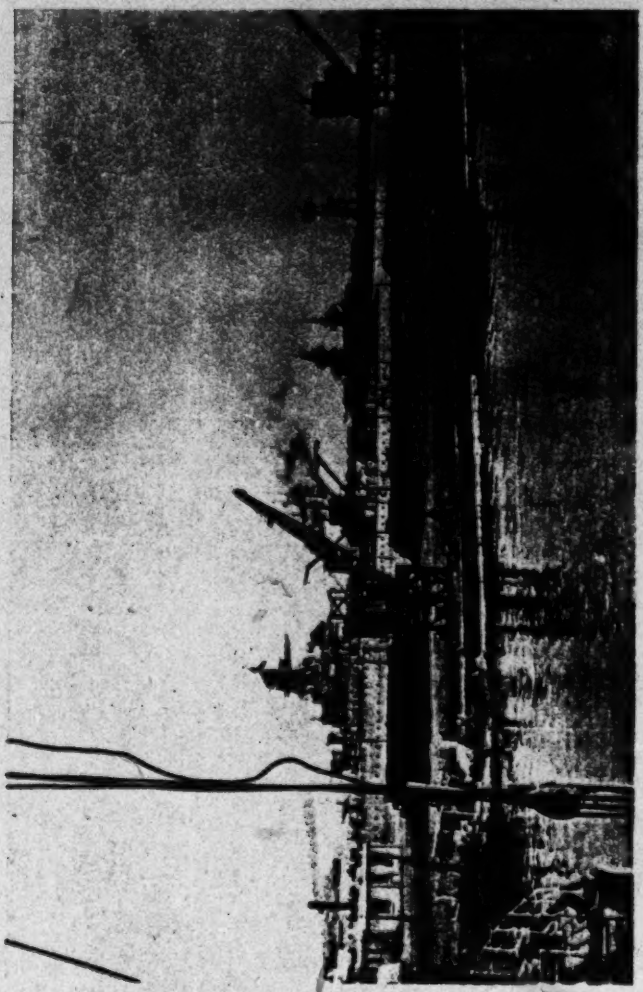
Trade is chiefly in ground-nuts. [439]

Colonial roads lead north to Bambey (27 miles), south-east to Kaolack (28 miles), and south-west to Joal (60 miles), and a minor road south to Foundiougne. [491]

The landing-ground is half a mile west of the town.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

504



120. *Dakar: Mole No. 8*

[facing p 452]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

3/6 [13] [162] KAOLACK (14° 07′; 16° 07′ W.). Population, 21,973. Mixed Commune. Headquarters of the province of Sine-Saloum. Customhouse. Chamber of Commerce. Medical post. Police headquarters. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Regional School. Roman Catholic mission. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Hotels. Garages. Race-course.

[439] Kaolack exports more ground-nuts than any other port in the Federation. It is a well-planned town with squares and trees, and it is on the right bank of the Saloum, 71 miles above its mouth, where [487] [505] the river is 100 yards wide. It is the limit of navigation for sea-going ships.

[162] In 1904 Kaolack had only 300 inhabitants, but the development of communications in the neighbourhood has caused it to grow to its present size. The figure given above is for the permanent population only. [166] At the height of the ground-nut season there are an additional 20,000 temporary inhabitants.

Trade

During the first quarter of 1939 Kaolack exported 32,259 tons of [439] ground-nuts (Plate 122), as against 26,832 tons from Dakar. Owing to the bar across the Saloum, however, many ships do not load to their maximum capacity but go on to Dakar to complete their lading. [258] Across the river from the town is a large salt-works.

The Port

On the north bank there are concrete quays with a total length of [504] over 2,000 feet and on the south bank there is a small wharf. At Lyndiane, 9 miles downstream, is a wharf belonging to the firm of Peyrissac et Cie.

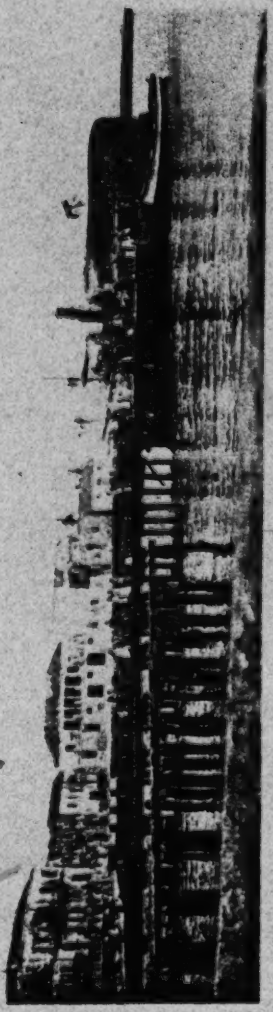
Communications

[498] *Rail.* Kaolack is the terminus of Route 5 to Guinguiné (14 miles), and is therefore 142 miles from Dakar. It is also the terminus of Route 6 to Lyndiane (6½ miles). Both stations are close to the river, and there is a line directly on to the quays.

[491] *Road.* Intercolonial roads lead northward to Gossas (25 miles), Thiès (82 miles), and Dakar (126 miles), eastward to Kaffrine (37 miles) and Tambacounda (188 miles), and south-south-westward to Messira (49 miles) and the frontier of the Gambia (57 miles). The last-named road crosses the Saloum by a bridge. A colonial road goes north-west to Fatik (28 miles), another south-east to Nioro

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

504



121. *The jetty at Goree*

122. *Ground-nut dumps at Kaolack*

[facing p. 453]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M837 Senegal MS 37

[KAOLACK]

(33 miles) and Medina (50 miles), and a third west to Foundiougne (32 miles). 36 [491]

Air. The airfield is 1 mile north-east of the town. [508]

Wireless. The wireless station is in the centre of the town. [206]

Shipping. Boats of the Messageries du Sénégal line call regularly, and the Compagnie de Navigation Paquet maintains a weekly service with Foundiougne, Bathurst, and Dakar. [505]

ZIGUINCHOR (12° 32′; 16° 21′ W.). Population, 6,070. Mixed Commune. Headquarters of the Casamance Territory and of the Province of Ziguinchor. Custom-house. Magistrate's Court. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital and maternity home. Police headquarters. Meteorological station. Emergency landing-ground. Wireless station. Roman Catholic mission. Garages. Daily market. [131] [162] [743]

The first large piece of firm ground upstream from the mouth of the Casamance is nearly 42 miles from the sea, and it is here, on the left bank, that Ziguinchor stands. The depth of the river is 6 fathoms. Jetties have been built at right angles to the waterfront, partly to counteract silting, and ships drawing 15 feet can go alongside them. The quays have a total length of over 3,000 feet and the warehouses a total capacity of some 25,000 tons. There are no cranes, all goods being manhandled. [504]

There is a considerable variety of exports, including ground-nuts, fruit, rice, palm oil, palm kernels, cotton, tobacco, sisal, and hides, but imports are chiefly manufactured goods and building materials. In value of trade Ziguinchor comes between Foundiougne and Rufisque. [439]

Communications

Road. The river is crossed by a ferry, and a colonial road leads north to Bignona (16 miles) and then east to Sedhiou (74 miles) and Kolda (136 miles). Another one goes along the south bank of the Casamance, also to Kolda (130 miles). Minor roads lead south to the frontier of Portuguese Guinea and south-west to Oussouye and Diembering. [491]

Air. Seaplanes can alight in the river, and there is a weekly Aéromaritime service to Bathurst and Dakar. The landing-ground is 1½ miles south of the town. [509]

Wireless. The two wireless stations are housed in the same building. [206]

23: Aujas--16 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37

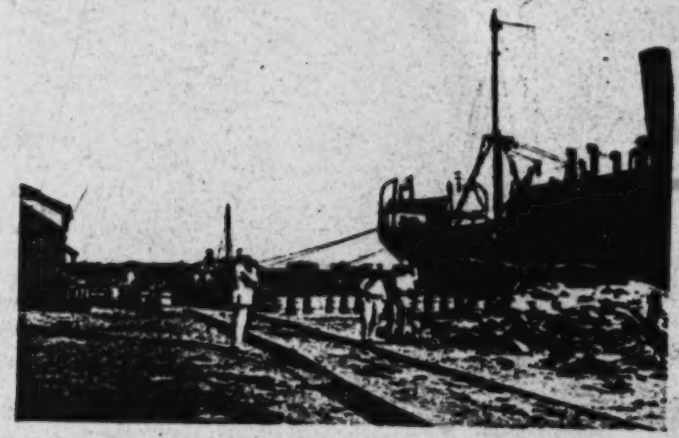
/Between pp. 104 and 105/

Plate I

502

Pilot Station at the Pointe de Sangomar.

504
501



The Port of Kaolack: the quays.

/106 cont./

244 contract, depending on the region, between 100 and 120
466 francs.

[465] The European agricultural concessions should draw inspiration from this custom. In order to retain a labor force, it would be proper to assure the native food and lodgings and leave a small field at his disposal, while at the same time allowing him a day or two a week to work for himself.

This formula is applied in Latmingué by the Société des plantations, which exerts all its efforts on the cultivation of manioc.

433 Economic facilities. The economic facilities of the circle include ports, railroads, highways, inland waterways, and a telegraph, telephone, and postal network.

504 Ports. These are river ports where the tide permits ocean-going steamers, not exceeding a certain tonnage, however, to conduct their operations along the wharves or landings built along the steep banks.

The Saloum has two ports of this type: Kaolack and Foundiougne.

The Sine has one port, Niamnioro.

The Miniminian, an affluent of the Gambia, has one port, Saboya.

On the Saloum, between Foundiougne and Kaolack, two more embarkation points are visited: Kamatane, included in the concession of MM. Civrac frères (left bank), and Lyndiane, included in the concession of the Société des Anciens Etablissements Charles Peyrissac et Cie. (right bank).

On all of the other channels or marigots /107/ embarkation and debarkation points -- with wharves -- accessible only to cutters with a tonnage between 25 to 50 tons have been installed. These cutters make the transit and carry their cargo to the big ports of Kaolack, Foundiougne, and Niamnioroh.

Over the past several years, Kaolack has become an important embarkation and debarkation point. It is also the
[496] natural port of the French Sudan because it has the advantage of being linked to this colony by a branch which connects in

/107 cont./

504 to the Thiès-Niger railroad. The Kayes-Kaolack route saves
[196] about 225 kilometers for the merchandise on the Kayes-Dakar journey, which is appreciable, considering the high cost of the railroad rates.

Exporters, and even importers, therefore have an interest in using the port of Kaolack.

To justify this interest, however, it was necessary: 1st,
[502] to put marker buoys on the Saloum; 2nd, to equip the port.

The buoying was completely redone in 1922; it is examined and repaired each year.

Modern facilities for the port are on the way to being realized.

504 New works at the port of Kaolack. The government of
653 the colony, after having made different studies concerning the arrangements at the port of Kaolack, opened a competition at the beginning of 1927, by means of which it called on the large public-works enterprises to submit proposals for the arrangements on the right bank of the Saloum River for a distance of 350 meters, with the view of enabling ocean-going vessels to load and unload their merchandise directly, without the aid of barges or tenders, and for the construction of a
[491] permanent bridge on the Saloum, about 200 meters long, intended to replace the Noirot bridge, located about two kilometers upstream from the port.

The plans of the Société de constructions Edmond Coignet, of Paris, which were classed No. 1 as being the most adequate for the requirements of commerce and as requiring the least expense, anticipate the following construction and arrangements:

-504 A reinforced concrete landing, 350 meters /108/ long and eight meters wide, whose upstream end will be near the Chavanel wharf, and whose downstream end will extend 110 meters toward the present downstream landing of the Thiès-Niger railroad.

The bank of the new work will coincide with the frontage of the approach of the existing landing and in addition will be protected by reinforced concrete pilings every 30 meters.

The landing will be constructed to support a uniformly distributed load of 3,000 kilograms per square meter, as well

/108 cont./

504 as a set of tracks for a five-ton crane and two railroad tracks. At its downstream end, a reinforced concrete bridge will permit connecting the tracks on the landing with the station of Kaolack.

Behind the landing the terrepleins will be embanked in such a way as to constitute a platform about 300 meters deep extending between the new work and the Rue de la Poste. This platform, intended to contain seccos and eventually some sheds, will be cut by five longitudinal streets ten meters wide and four transverse streets 20 meters wide. These streets will be built with concrete and will have special facilities for the drainage of winter rainwater. Tracks connected with the Kaolack station will be embedded in the concrete of the longitudinal streets.

A large maritime station will be built downstream from the terrepleins which have just been described. It will be made up of a number of sections permitting the convoys of cars which have passed through the Kaolack station to be subsequently shunted to the various longitudinal streets of the terrepleins or to the landing.

The assemblage of the works and arrangements schematically described above will permit an important extension of the present port toward the west where three years from now a truly modern port will be built. There the important transfers of goods made between the Thiès-Niger railroad and the ocean-going vessels will be done with the latest types of mechanical manipulations known, which will insure /109/ more and more commercial transport between the Sudan and Europe.

491 [493] The wooden Noirot bridge presently existing, on which the traffic has increased considerably since the introduction of the automobile in French West Africa, will not much longer be able to support with safety the weight of the cars and trucks and should, in accordance with the plan which has been approved, be replaced by a reinforced concrete bridge made up of 13 trusses with a compass of 15 meters, resting on 12 piers based on reinforced concrete piles.

This bridge will be capable of supporting a railroad

/109 cont./

491 line in addition to the normal traffic of pedestrians and vehicles.

653 The colony of Senegal, in concert with the Société Coignet, is currently preparing the agreement, which will be passed immediately and which will require three years for the landing, the embankments of the terrepleins, and the bridge.

The realization of the works and arrangements planned will be an interesting example of close co-operation between the government of the colony, the public works services, the [441] Kaolack Chambre de Commerce, and private enterprise.

433 To demonstrate the importance of the port of Kaolack, it is sufficient to put some figures before the eyes of the reader. One will get an idea of the growth of the commercial movement that the privileged location of Kaolack on the river enabled one to foresee 15 years ago.

433 In 1905, Kaolack was still a small, insignificant vil-
505 lage. Foundiougne was the great port of the Saloum. But Kaolack was the outlet for an entire hinterland much larger; it was the access route of the products from Baol and Haut-Saloum /Upper Saloum/; finally, it was the natural port for the Sudan. Its approach, 120 kilometers from the ocean and made difficult by the passage of the Sangomar channel and [502] the sandbanks of the river, has been facilitated by the buoys. Running aground has become much rarer. Piloting, however, is obligatory.

496 Railroads. The railroad from Thiès to Niger, /110/
433 extended by a branch of 22 kilometers, which starts at Guinguinéo and ends at Kaolack, brought out the full importance of the latter point as the lands located near the railroad were improved. This development will take several years. It is steadily and fully progressing today. Like all railroad lines, the artery of the Thiès-Niger breathes life into formerly deserted regions, which are now being populated and opened for colonization.

648 Undoubtedly Kaolack benefited from the non-application
● 504 of the Franco-British pact of April 8, 1904. As is known,

/110 cont./

648 according to this agreement, Great Britain left to us on the
504 Gambia River, along with the territory of Kantora, the port of Yarboutenda, which she thought was accessible to ocean-going vessels. If this advantage did not exist, the text added, a port would be selected downstream and ceded to France, along with the lands defined by an arc of one kilometer in radius. Later on, Yarboutenda was discovered to be inaccessible to ocean-going vessels. The French government then had the right to select a port on the Gambia which offered the advantages that the agreement consented to give us. After study, the port of Nianimaro was selected by the Government-general of Dakar. But the negotiations between Paris and London were never concluded.

496 Because of its natural position on a navigable river,
504 Kaolack has remedied a situation which might have been very disadvantageous for our commerce. The rail line was even extended from Kaolack to Lyndiane, over a distance of 12 kilometers, in order to favor a private enterprise established on the river at this place.

Lyndiane is in fact a point on the right bank of the Saloum where vessels can tie up easily. The Etablissements Ch. Peyrissac et Cie., who own this port and have branches in both Senegal and the Sudan, have a real advantage in this privileged situation.

496 We have given some indication above of the development of the railroad: 190 kilometers in Sine-Saloum. The seven stopping stations are: Gossas, Guinguinéo, /111/ Birkelane, Kaffrine, Malem Hodar, Maka-Yop, and Koungheul, all located at the outlet of trade routes carrying groundnuts.

491 Roads. Branching off from this railroad line, as well as from all the major centers, many highways streak across the country in every direction. These roads, or rather dirt roads,
[494] are for the most part accessible to automobiles: tourist cars and transport trucks.

There are more than 3,000 kilometers of dirt roads in the circle, of which 2,000 kilometers are used daily in the dry

/17 cont./

499 each year. In spite of the use of cars of great capacity, the
438 transport facilities are insufficient during the first months of trade. However, the practice of degressive tariffs, so as not to place at a disadvantage the production of regions that are
[651] farther from the place of destination, limits all the more the possibility of an increase of vehicles, since the traffic in groundnuts is essentially seasonal and it poses a problem of return freight. The three ports of Dakar, Kaolack, and
438 Ziguinchor consitute, for exports, freight breaking-points
[504] between land transport and maritime transport. The latter
[505] is handled for the most part by the vessels of companies who undertake regular service: Delmas et Vieljeux, Maurel et Prom, etc.; they also have competition from the tramps.
435 These /18/ multiple freight-breaks weigh quite heavily on
438 the price of groundnuts, quite low at the outset, due to the fact that each of them is accompanied by multiple manipulations.

2) The manipulations. In its present organization, the circuit of the groundnuts involves many manipulations, because the product is transported in bags. At each step it is necessary to weigh the bags, to empty them into the secco, and then, when they are again forwarded, to proceed to another weighing and rebagging. Over and above the cost of the labor, the firms and sometimes the traders must bear the great expense of buying and repairing great quantities of bags which quickly wear out or go astray. M. Barbier estimates that a bag of groundnuts undergoes 16 handlings at the minimum from the place of production to the port. A solution to this problem might be found in transporting the product loose, by trucks and cars with gratins, loaded by mechanical transporters. These transformations presuppose great investments, which the groundnut, a cheap and, above all, seasonal product, cannot amortize.

3) Regulation of the condition. The decree of 11 January
[656] 1926 created an Office d'inspection et de conditionnement de l'arachide /Office of Inspection and of the Condition of

/372/

369 "Dakar is the only city, in the European (or Western)
[361] sense, in all of West Africa," wrote D. Wittlesey in 1941 (1).

[113] 1. Derwint Wittlesey, "Dakar and other Cap Verde Settlements," The Geographical Review, 1941, p. 609.

Things have changed since then; Conakry, Bamako, Abidjan, and other centers have become true cities. It is incontestable
[162] that the 230,000 inhabitants counted in the census in 1955, of
[563] whom more than 30,000 were non-Africans, make Dakar the most important city in all of the Black Africa of French expres-
[505] sion. In 1957 its port had more traffic than all the other ports of former French West Africa; in 1960, 8,000 vessels, with a capacity of 21,000,000 tons (2), put it among the most frequented

2. The official figures are 7,948 vessels and 20,992,111 tons.

[162] ports of Africa. But 50 years ago Dakar did not have 25,000 inhabitants. The rhythm of its growth is thus on a level with that of certain mushrooming cities in the United States of America. Dakar does not owe this extraordinarily rapid development solely to favorable natural conditions, as is often said, but also and especially to a complex interaction of historical, economic, and political factors. It is a crossroads born out of the effective integration of the African world and South America in the European economic system, an integration linked with the search for raw materials and markets, made possible and necessary by the great technical progress realized since the middle of the nineteenth century. City-crossroads, all of its vitality depends on the state of its relations.

[133] 1. Birth of Dakar. The head of the peninsula of Cape Verde, on which Dakar was established, is an assemblage of

/375 cont./

175 name of France by the post-captain Protet, who materialized
369 this taking of possession by the construction of a protective fort,
[712] from which outfitting soon began. Work on the port[1] began in
[505] 1862, and, on 4 November 1866, the first accomplishments were inaugurated by the first passage of a packet-boat. As early
[502] as the first of April 1864, the lighthouse of the Grande-Mamelle was lighted, followed two years later, on the first of December 1866, by the two lighthouses with fixed lights at Cape Manuel and the Pointe des Almadies /Cape Almadies/. A first plan for the future city was approved by the decree of 1 July 1862, while from this time on a plan for a railroad to link Dakar and Saint-Louis agitated opinion.

Nevertheless, despite these efforts, the launching of Dakar, put under the administrative guidance of Gorée, was difficult; the city was unpopulated, the Goréans monopolizing the lands without wanting to leave their island. Moreover, Rufisque, closer to the regions where groundnuts were cultivated, was better located for commerce with the interior and, because of this, contributed to blocking the development of Dakar. But
[633] the decree of 17 June 1887 separating Dakar from Gorée marked a decisive turning point (1885) in the life of the new creation.

369 2. Dakar, metropolis before being a city. Having become an autonomous center as a result of the Conference of Berlin, at a period when the colonial rivalries between the great powers were accentuated, Dakar benefited from the effective support /376/ of a mother country determined to make it a base for its expansion in West Africa.

504 It was the port in particular that was to be the essential
369 instrument of the launching and of the power of Dakar. Its first elements constructed shortly after the occupation were clearly insufficient, and as early as 1892 it was necessary to extend the old embankment by 200 meters and to add on to it a pier of 280 meters (present Pier III). But it was especially from 1899 that
[712] the great works began. The military port, which had to serve as

[1] [i.e., the port of Dakar--Analyst]

/376 cont./

504 the support point for the whole military organization of the
369 West African coast, was constructed between 1899 and 1902.
712 Some of these accomplishments, such as the north jetty, the extension of the south jetty, and the dry dock, also concerned the commercial port, the construction of which began immediately afterwards and continued from 1903 to 1910. Two new piers were added to the first one, delimiting three docks between the south jetty and the military port, while the outfitting of the platforms was vigorously carried on (9).

9. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar",
[113] Annales de Géographie, 1936, pp. 607-671.

369 This phase of the construction of the port was accom-
648 panied by a very important act which was to serve as support for the development of Dakar: the transfer in 1902 of the office of the Government-general of West Africa from Saint-Louis to Dakar, which led to the establishment of high administrative offices in this city (Contrôle Financier, Treasury, Public Works, etc.) (10), although the Governor-general, awaiting

10. Morazé, Ch., op. cit., p. 620.

the construction of his palace, was installed at Gorée, where he remained until 1907, an event adding considerably to the accomplishments on the port and which marked the beginning of the prodigious vigor of Dakar (Fig. 3). 7

369 As early as 1911 the port registered a tonnage of more
•[505] than four million tons; it exceeded 5.6 millions in 1913. During the course of the First World War it played a role that greatly surpassed anything that the founders could have hoped for: in 1917, a tonnage of 10.5 million tons. To be sure, the end of the war led to a sharp decrease in the arrivals and departures,
[504] but the recovery that followed the war was such that new works for the port soon became necessary. They were done between

7 [See Category 116, P.19-- Analyst]

/377 cont./

369 that Dakar is designated above all as a port d'escale, "a service
439 station," of the tropical Atlantic, provisioning the ships with
504 water and, above all, combustibles; the latter, represented in former times by coal in particular, are now almost entirely made up of hydrocarbides, the export and import traffic of which sometimes represents more than double that of merchandise: 211.1% in 1954, 233.6% in 1955, 186% in 1959.

369 But, beyond this role as a port d'escale, Dakar thrust ahead
439 as a metropolis, governing a large region. In fact it is via Dakar
487 that food products (rice, flour, sugar, etc.), cloth and thread, industrial products, etc. come in, principally destined for Senegal, Mauritania, and the Sudan, which, in return, send groundnuts, gum, hides wax, etc. to it for export. This situation is the result of struggles in the recent past between Dakar and the old mari-
[505] time or river ports which shared the light traffic of former times. The construction of the port and modern means of communication with the interior permitted Dakar to eliminate its rivals very quickly.

369 The establishment of Gorée, caught in a crisis since the
[505] abolition of slavery, despite the resistance, at first active and then passive, of its municipality (13), has been practically

[113] 13. In the work by J. Charpy (La Fondation de Dakar /The Founding of Dakar/, Larose, Paris, 1958), there is a series of documents on the various aspects of this resistance.

eliminated from the economic circuit since the accomplishment of the great work of the commercial port. Business then emigrated
[162] to the continent, while the city went to sleep, losing more and more of its population; from 3,200 inhabitants in 1872, it went to 2,068 in 1891, 1,249 in 1910, 998 in 1921, so that the com-
[633] mune was abolished and attached to Dakar in 1929, and then the entire island was classified as a historical monument in 1944.

/377 cont./

369 The reconstitution of the municipality in 1956, a simple elec-
633 toral operation, proved /378/ /Fig. 2 appears here/ to be in-
capable of giving life to Gorée; at the beginning of 1961 it was
forced to reattach itself to Dakar, for which it is nothing more
than a tourist annex. Nevertheless, due to the crisis in housing
[362] in Dakar, it offers its old houses to workers from the victorious
great city.

369 The elimination of the other rival centers was not as easy,
but no less radical. The railroad linking Dakar and Saint-Louis,
●505 finished in 1885, did not immediately bring about the decline
496 of the old Senegalese capital. On the contrary, asleep since
487 entry up the river became impossible because of the increase in
tonnage of the ships, it seems to have gained a revival of activity,
especially after the construction of the Kayes-Niger section of
the railroad at the end of the century. In fact the products des-
[439] tined for the Sudan or coming from there, which took the path
of the Senegal River, were subjected to an obligatory freight-
break there, which made Saint-Louis a quite important mart.
But the construction of the Thiès-Kayes railroad after the First
World War and the /379/development of automobile traffic had
the effect, on the one hand, of directly annexing the Sudan to
the zone of influence of Dakar, and, on the other hand, of iso-
lating Saint-Louis and the old escales /trading centers/ of the
Senegal River and accelerating their economic decline (Fig. 2).
369 Bakel, Matam, Podor, and Dagana are no more than administra-
tive centers without any great economic activity. Saint-Louis,
[633] continuing as the capital of Senegal, preserved an appearance of
vitality longer. But in 1957 Dakar robbed it of this function to
the great despair of its population, which, after a phase of vio-
lent opposition, complains today in a passive resistance that the
tokens of sympathy and the promises expressed a thousand times
in the official speeches of the state authorities do not come to
anything.

369 As for Rufisque, for a long time it had more economic
505 trump cards than Dakar. In fact, when the port had not yet been
439 constructed at Dakar, it was more advantageous to load the

/379 cont./

102
496
508
504
491
361

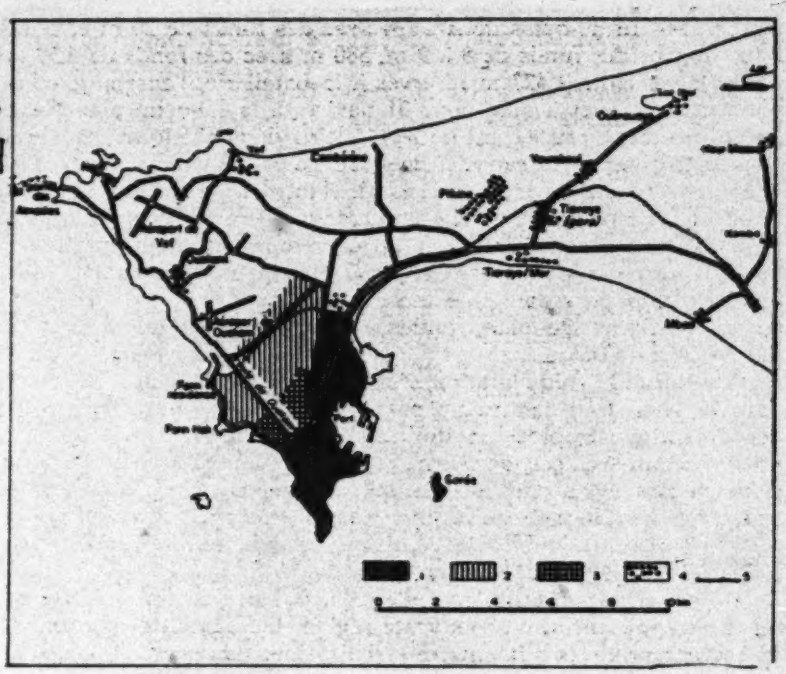


Fig. 2. The quarters of Dakar. --1. Dakar-ville and the industrial zone; 2. Greater Dakar; 3. Médina; 4. villages of the suburbs; 5. railroads.

369
505
439
[441]

groundnuts at Rufisque, nearer to the centers of production in Cayor. Therefore Rufisque soon became the groundnut capital. As early as 1862, 27 European or Gorêan merchants were established there (and 12 at Bargny, located three kilometers farther to the east). Three years later, this figure climbed to 35 (14).

14. Note 1 in Fondation de Dakar, op. cit., p. 328.

369
633

The activity at Rufisque was so great and the launching of Dakar so

/379 cont./

369 difficult that the commandant of Gorée, Pinet-Laprade, in a
633 letter of 9 May 1862 (15), proposed to the governor of Senegal

15. Archives of the G. G. A. O. F.
4 B 20, 13 G 299, L 9, in Fondation
de Dakar, op. cit., pp. 327-329.

that the authority of the settlement of Rufisque be abolished in order to avoid stifling Dakar. Evidently Pinet-Laprade was not followed, and the declassing of Rufisque, which nevertheless was to intervene later, was the result of a bitter struggle. As
369 soon as it was possible to draw up alongside the quay at the port
•505 of Dakar, Rufisque lost the advantage of its situation, which had
504 permitted a saving, in relation to Dakar, of some 30 kilometers of land travel. Actually, this drawing up to the quay by the ships ended the slow transshipments which caused a great loss of time at Rufisque. Therefore, as early as about 1930, Rufisque
[633] had been declassed; in 1933, after the construction of the groundnut platform at the port of Dakar, it did not load more than 10% of the harvest of Senegal, as against 28% at Dakar. Today no maritime loading is done at Rufisque, and the city maintains some economic activity only by grace of a new orientation tending to make it an industrial annex of Dakar.

369 Thus, the elimination of rivals has resulted in a tendency
505 for all of the activity of collecting the products of Senegal,
439 Mauritania, and the Sudan to be concentrated at a single pole. Only two ports, Kaolack and Ziguinchor, have succeeded in maintaining themselves /380/ and even developing themselves as ports of direct importation and exportation. In 1933 Kaolack exported 52% of the Senegalese harvest of groundnuts, and Ziguinchor nearly 10%, while Dakar had only 28%. Specifically, in addition to a regional exportation equal to half of the Senegalese harvest, Kaolack handled the rail shipments of a large part of the production of eastern Senegal and even of the Sudan. In the case of Ziguinchor, it handled the production of Casamance, which has no other export port. Today the conversion of the

/380 cont./

369 groundnut before exportation has given Dakar an undisputed
505 advantage over Kaolack. In 1957 the exports of groundnut
439 products (shelled groundnuts, oil cake, oil), which represented only about a twentieth of the total traffic of merchandise in the port of Dakar, was more than the total of the import and export traffic of Kaolack (292,000 metric tons as against 220,000 metric tons). In any case neither Kaolack nor Ziguinchor, both located on rivers which are difficult to enter because of the shifting banks of sand or mud, can be dangerous rivals in any way for Dakar, which, because of this, practically thrusts itself on all of Senegal, Mauritania, and the Sudan. On the other hand, Dakar dominates from afar the three other large maritime ports of former French West Africa, Conakry, Abidjan, and Cotonou, whose total traffic in 1957 equaled only about three-fifths of the traffic of Dakar.

369 But even though the port is the basic instrument of the
[433] power of Dakar, there are other additional elements that reinforce this power.

369 First there is the place that Dakar occupies in the sphere
509 of aviation. Since the first direct connection with France via
[487] the Mediterranean coast of Spain, Morocco, and Mauritania (16), its role has not ceased to grow on the international plane.

16. Marcel M. Chariter, "Dakar, port aérien," op. cit., p. 84.

The hydrobase of Bel-Air and the airport of Ouakam, which
[508] served the first trans-Atlantic airplanes, are outclassed today by the great airport of Yoff, which was begun in 1940. Well equipped, this airport of international class and one of the largest airports of Africa is by far the most important one in former French West Africa, accounting by itself in 1957 for a fourth of the airplanes (arrivals and departures), a third of the passengers embarking or debarking in former French West Africa, and half of the passengers in transit. For certain directions, such as South America, the passengers from all of West Africa must embark at Dakar.

/392 cont./

369 condemnation.

433 Consequently it is necessary to emphasize the same

439 instability of this role of Dakar as a relay-station. Already strongly rivaled in its function of provisioning ships by such

[505] ports as Las Palmas and Santa Cruz of Tenerife (25), better

[113]

25. Nicolas, J. -P., "Les hydrocarbures de soute à Dakar; 2e rapport. Eléments d'information sur la position concurrentielle des îles Canaries, 15 Nov. 1960 /The hydrocarbides stored at Dakar; 2nd report. Data on the competitive position of the Canary Islands, 15 Nov. 1960/," I.F.A.N., Dakar.

located on the direct route between Europe and South America. Dakar is no longer an imperative stop in the tropical Atlantic because of the greater autonomy of the ships in the matter of provisioning. On the other hand, the recent political evolution which has led to the "Balkanization" of former French West Africa has not only broken all the administrative and political ties which were among the most notable elements of the power of Dakar, but it has also permitted at Conakry, Abidjan, and Cotonou other possible relay-stations for the interior regions to become rivals, more and more limiting the zone of influence of Dakar. The recent breakup of the Federation of Mali, completely and at a single stroke turning the traffic between Senegal and the Sudan toward Abidjan in particular and to a lesser extent toward Conakry, is a particularly striking example of the instability of the position of Dakar. In the present state of affairs, nothing remains for Dakar but the Senegalese interior and Mauritania, and this latter country, which is building its own port at Port-Etienne, is seeking to free itself (Fig. 6).

Thus, grave threats weigh on the metropolis of Dakar. In any case, even in the eventuality of a recovery in the

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

Cape Rouge to Sangomar Point

The hills are near the shore at least as far as the Somone, but the shoreline is fringed with sandy beaches and occasional mangrove swamps. Popenguin, 6 miles from Cape Rouge, has a Roman Catholic church, and, 1½ miles farther, Cape Naze rises to 236 feet. Inland there is a hill of 400 feet. Three miles beyond the cape the river Somone finds its way to the sea through a patch of mangrove-woodland. The coast runs south-eastwards by means of a series of small bays, and the country is more settled and cultivated. A number of sandspits can also be distinguished. These have been built by the prevailing current, and they have either blocked or diverted the short streams and marigots. From the village of Somone, which is a little distance from the river of that name, there is a minor road to Ngaparou, Portudal, and M'Bour (p. 450). Portudal's great days are over, but ships can still anchor about 3½ miles off shore in a depth of 5½ fathoms. There is a reef to seaward of the beach, but west of the village a break allows access to a creek, where landing is possible. There are many other reefs and shoals off this part of the coast. Inland, the road is continued near the shore to Joal, but in many places its surface is very rough indeed. Two miles beyond M'Bour the Balling, a seasonal river, meets the sea, and, 3 miles farther still, is Nianing, a local centre for tracks. From here the coast runs almost due south to Sarène point, a low and sandy promontory. After this the road goes inland a little to avoid a shallow bight, heavily fringed with mangroves and crossed by several marshy streams. South of this, and 1 mile north of Senti point, is the village of Ngazobil, conspicuous by reason of its Roman Catholic church. Joal (p. 450) is 2½ miles farther south-east. From this place onwards the coast is extremely swampy and is cut up by creeks and estuaries. Only the principal features can be noted here.

133 361 [368] [491] [491] [491] [368]

Eleven and a half miles beyond Joal stands the little village of Diakhanor. This marks the northern end of a strip of land which is strongly reminiscent of the Langue de Barbarie. It has been built by the Saloum and the sea, and it separates them for about 10 miles. An old mouth of the river is clearly observable 6 miles south of Diakhanor, and the end of the strip is called Sangomar point.

Sangomar Point to the Frontier of the Gambia

The Saloum is navigable upstream for sea-going vessels for about 100 miles, and on its banks and those of its tributary the Sine

[505] [487]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

are the ports of Foundiougne (p. 451), Lyndiane, Kaolack (p. 452), and Fatik (p. 451). Its entrance is obstructed by a bar of shifting sandbanks. The principal channel, the New Passage, is immediately east of Sangomar point and has a width of 650 feet and a depth of 11½ feet. Inside the bar the river is rather deeper. Four miles south-south-east of Sangomar point is Sable island, 2¾ miles east of which is Jackonsa point. This marks the west side of the imposing estuary of the Djomboss, which is a distributary of the Saloum, but which is also connected to the Bandiala and the Gambia. Southwards there are many shoals and several islands, and navigation is difficult. The largest of these islands is 3 miles long and its northern tip is 7 miles from Jackonsa point. Its southern tip is almost opposite another wide estuary, the Bandiala, the source or terminus of a score of muddy creeks. Four miles south-east of this estuary is the frontier of the Gambia. The next 40 miles of coast are, therefore, in British territory. 133 [361] [505] [487]

Allahine River to Cape Roxo

It has already been noticed that the Allahine (San Pedro) river forms the international frontier between the Gambia and Senegal. The mouth of this river is blocked by sandbanks, so that it connects with the sea only at high tide. For the next 18 miles the coast is flat and treeless, with white sandy beaches on which the sea breaks heavily. There are no landing-points, and off-shore depths are very shallow. After that there are some minor waterways, and, 33 miles from the Allahine, Diogué point marks the northern shore of the estuary of the Casamance. This river, 2 miles wide at its mouth, is navigable as far as Ziguinchor (p. 453) for vessels drawing 15 feet, and as far as Sedhiou (p. 454) and Kolda for smaller craft; but the last 35 miles of its course are through mangrove swamps. The entrance to the estuary is partly blocked by a bar, but there are two places where this may be crossed. One of these, the North Passage, is off Diogué point and has a depth of 13½ feet, and the other, the South-West Passage, is 1½ feet deeper. The coast that faces this passage has a low sandy beach backed by dunes, and the village of Diembering, 8 miles south-south-west of Diogué point, is behind these dunes. The coast curves gradually south-eastwards, still exhibiting the same features but with a number of shallow bays, and between Cape Skiring and Cape Roxo there are many rocks off shore. The latter cape is also low and sandy, and it marks the international frontier with Portuguese Guinea. [505] [361]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

near the Senegal river, the Fulani in the centre of the colony, and the Mandingos in the east of it. 162 [563]

The District of Dakar

The 66 square miles of the District of Dakar contain 126,929 persons; but the figures for density per square mile mean even less than elsewhere, since most of the inhabitants live in the town itself.

In 1937 there were 118,459 natives and 8,470 Europeans, of whom 6,728 were French. This was about a quarter of the total of Europeans in the whole Federation. [563]

Inland Towns

Bakel (14° 52′; 12° 24′ W.) Population, 2,103. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. Daily market. 36 [131] [162]

Bakel is on the left bank of the Senegal (Plate 83) where the river passes between cliffs some 17 miles below the entrance of the Falémé. It is a local market for gum, ground-nuts, grain, gold dust, hides, and ostrich feathers. Most of the inhabitants are Moslems. [438] [162]

By river it is 531 miles from St. Louis and 84 miles from Kayes, and there is a fortnightly steamer service when the water permits. By colonial road Bakel is 386 miles from St. Louis, 93 miles from Matam, and 32 miles from Kidira. A bus service connects all these places. The river can be crossed by ferry, and from the Mauritanian bank a poor track leads to Sélibaby (32 miles). [487] [505] [491] [494]

Bambey (14° 40′; 16° 25′ W.). Altitude, 59 feet. Population, 4,209. Mixed Commune. Dispensary. Police station. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Garage. Agricultural experimental station. Daily market. [131] [162] [654]

Set in the midst of an area of dense population, Bambey is a prosperous market town. The main product of the locality is ground-nuts, and large quantities of these are put on the train each year. They also form the chief speciality of the agricultural experimental station. [438] [654]

Communications. By railway Bambey is 77 miles from Dakar, 33½ miles from Thiès, 17 miles from Diourbel, and 319 miles from Kidira. It is on the intercolonial road, being 49 miles from Thiès and 16 miles from Diourbel. A colonial road goes almost due south to Fatik (27 miles). There is a daily bus service (p. 473) to Fatik, Foundiougne, and Kaolack. [491] [494]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

The electric power station has a gas-engine plant that burns the residue from ground-nut presses. 36 [377]

Communications. Diourbel is the railway junction for Routes 3 and 4. By the former it is 50½ miles from Thiès and 302 miles from Kidira, and by the latter it is 31 miles from Touba. The intercolonial road leads westwards to Thiès (65 miles) and Dakar (109 miles) and south-eastwards to Kaolack (40 miles), Tambacounda (230 miles), and Nayes (351 miles). Colonial roads go north-eastwards to Dahra (73 miles) and Dagana (162 miles) and south-westwards to Fatik (25 miles) and Kaolack (53 miles). [496] [491]

Louga (15° 37′; 16° 16′ W.). Altitude, 128 feet. Population, 4,390. Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Regional School. Power station. Garage. Race-course. Agricultural experimental station and farm school. Daily market. [131] [162] [654]

Louga is the scene of the most important cattle market in the whole colony. It is this that has made it a route centre. Other local products are ground-nuts, gum, and millet. Administratively, Louga is the headquarters of the province of the same name and also a military headquarters. [438]

Electricity is supplied by an oil-driven plant. [377]

Communications. Louga stands at the junction of railway routes 1 and 2, being 119 miles from Dakar, 44 miles from St. Louis, and 81 miles from Linguéré. It is on the intercolonial road from Dakar (121 miles) to St. Louis (47 miles). A colonial road runs eastwards across the colony to Dahra (59 miles), Linguéré (84 miles), and Matam (242 miles). There are also minor roads and tracks. [496] [491]

Podor (16° 35′; 15° 02′ W.). Population, 3,168. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. Daily market. [131] [162]

This riverside town is chiefly important for gum arabic. The gum is brought by the Arabs, sold in the market, and shipped down the Senegal to St. Louis. [439]

Communications. By river Podor is 178 miles from St. Louis and 437 miles from Kayes. Throughout the year the Messageries Africaines run a fortnightly service to and from St. Louis. From July to January the boats also go upstream as far as Matam (234 miles) and in August and September to Kayes. Podor is on the colonial road, being 135 miles from St. Louis and 288 miles from Nayes. There is a ferry across the river to connect with tracks to such Mauritanian [487] [505] [491]

22h Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal M537

[ST. LOUIS]

206 *Wireless.* The wireless station is to the south of Gust N'Dar.

River. Above Faidherbe Bridge the river is closed to all vessels not
•505 flying the French flag. Boats drawing 10 feet can ascend to Podor all
[648] the year round, and in the rainy season they can reach Kayes (Vol. I, p. 367). Table V shows how greatly river traffic on the Senegal has declined in recent years.

TABLE V. *Tonnage of Goods from Kayes*

	1928	1929	1930	1934	1935
[497] Sent by rail or road	9,545	9,555	11,456	5,269	6,224
[494] Sent by river	2,520	5,815	3,425	313	260

Shipping. There are no sea-going ships calling regularly, but the Messageries Africaines and the Messageries du Sénégal run services up-river.

36 DAKAR (14° 39′; 17° 25′ W.). Population, 80,052, including *c.* 6,000
[131] Europeans. Capital of the Federation and Headquarters of the
[162] District of Dakar. Full Commune. Custom-house. Law courts.
[489] Chamber of Commerce. Pasteur Institute. Hospitals. Naval base
[712] and dockyard. General Headquarters of the army in French West Africa. Police headquarters. British Consulate-General. Belgian,
[648] Brazilian, Czechoslovakian, Danish, Eireann, Greek, Italian, Netherlands, Norwegian, Swedish, and Swiss Consulates. Argentine, Finnish, Spanish, and Uruguayan Vice-Consulates. Meteoro-
[654] logical station. Airport and seaplane base. Wireless stations.
[508] Colleges and schools. Protestant churches. Roman Catholic Vicariate Apostolic of Guinea and Vicariate General. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Crédit Foncier de l'Ouest Africain. Banque Belge de l'Afrique. Power station.
[697] Prison. Public library. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops.
[498] Cinemas. Race-course. Sports stadium. Botanical gardens.
[654] Agricultural experimental station. Daily market.

361 Dakar (Fig. 54) is approximately 2,600 miles distant from South-
ampton, from Cape Town, and from Rio de Janeiro. It is, therefore, well placed for taking a share in the trade of the South Atlantic, and it
[433] is small wonder that it has become the third port in the French Empire, being surpassed only by Marseilles and Le Havre. It is, moreover, of the first importance strategically.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[DAKAR]

route from Paris to Santiago and was also the terminus of local services to Bamako and to St. Louis. The Aéromaritime company used to run flying-boat services to Conakry, Abidjan, Lagos, Douala, and Pointe Noire. 509

Wireless. The broadcasting station is near Madeleines bay, 700 yards north-west of the cathedral. A small station, transmitting to ships, is on Bel Air point. 206

Cable. Dakar is connected by cable to Casablanca, to Brest, to Fernando Noronha (Brazil), and to Conakry. The two latter cables are landed in the south-west of Bernard bay, not far from the Pasteur Institute. There is, however, a telephone cable to Goree island. This is landed on the north-west shore of the same bay.

Shipping. Lines normally serving the port include the following: America West African, Bull, Chargeurs Réunis, Elder Dempster, Fabre, Fraissinet, Gdynia America, Hamburg-Bremen, Holland West Afrika, Italia, Lloyd Triestino, Maurel et Prom, Messageries du Sénégal, Navigazione Generale Italiana, Société Générale des Transports, Société Maritime Belge des Transports, and Société Navale de l'Ouest. 505

Coasting vessels sail regularly for Port Etienne, St. Louis, Kaolack, and Ziguinchor.

GOREE (14° 39′; 17° 23′ W.). Population, 714. Custom-house. Barracks and military hospital. 36 [131] [162] [712]

The rocky island of Goree (Plate 112) has an area of 138 acres. The first Europeans to land on it were the Portuguese in 1445, and since then it has had a chequered history, which has been told elsewhere in these volumes. [175]

Most of the centre of the island is occupied by buildings, and in the south there is the old fort. In the extreme north is a large lime-kiln. [381]

The only source of water is an artesian well in the fort. [312]

Trade. Trade is now limited to the ordinary requirements of the islanders, and traffic to taking them and their goods to and from the mainland. [438]

Harbour. In the north-east of the island there is a little bay where there are three jetties, only one of which (Plate 121) is now in use. The depth at its head is 10 feet. [504]

RUFISQUE (14° 41′; 17° 12′ W.). Population, 19,764, including 180 Europeans. Full Commune. Custom-house. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Power station. Hotel. Garage. [131] [162] [712]

Rt Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M237 Senegal MS 37

[JOAL]

the British 70 years later, and it did not finally become French until 1763. It is on a sandspit in front of a coastal lagoon. Off shore there is a large sandbank, exposed at low tide. 36 [175]

There is a small wharf, but, owing to the difficulty of access, there is very little trade. In 1937, for example, only 4,600 tons of goods were handled and their value was 4,600,000 francs (£36,970). [504] [439]

The colonial road from Fatik (40 miles) to M'Bour (23 miles) and Rufisque (61 miles) runs through the town. There are also minor roads. From November to June there is a bus service to M'Bour and Thiès four days a week. [491] [494]

FOUNDIOUGNE (14° 06′; 16° 29′ W.). Population, 2,734. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-house. Medical post. [131] [62]

Foundiougne is on an island formed by the Saloum, the Djomboss, and their connecting channels. Much of the district is swampy, but the town itself is on a piece of firm ground on the left bank of the Saloum, 33 miles from the sea.

Anchorage in the river is in 3½ fathoms. There are 8 wharves, of which 1 is owned by the municipality. [504]

The principal export is ground-nuts, but in recent years Foundiougne has declined in prosperity. This is owing to the rise of Kaolack, which is better situated on the north bank of the river and which has much better communications. [439] [433]

There is a ferry across the river, and from its far side a rough road leads to Fatik. South of the river there is a colonial road eastwards to Kaolack (32 miles). Along both these roads there is a bus service, daily in the dry season and fortnightly in the wet. [491] [494]

FATIK (14° 18′; 16° 27′ W.). Population, 3,521, including 128 Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Medical post. Police station. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. [131] [62]

At Nonane, on Marigot de Fatik 14½ miles above its junction with the Saloum, is the site of one of the old *escales*. This is the upper limit for boats drawing 10 feet, but smaller craft can ascend a further 7 miles to Fatik, 58 miles from the sea. The town is on the right bank of the river, which is here called the Sine. [505] [487]

Trade is chiefly in ground-nuts. [439]

Colonial roads lead north to Bambey (27 miles), south-east to Kaolack (28 miles), and south-west to Joal (60 miles), and a minor road south to Foundiougne. [491]

The landing-ground is half a mile west of the town.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

36 [131] [162] KAOLACK (14° 07′; 16° 07′ W.). Population, 21,973. Mixed Commune. Headquarters of the province of Sine-Saloum. Custom-house. Chamber of Commerce. Medical post. Police headquarters. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Regional School. Roman Catholic mission. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Hotels. Garages. Race-course.

[439] Kaolack exports more ground-nuts than any other port in the Federation. It is a well-planned town with squares and trees, and it is on the right bank of the Saloum, 71 miles above its mouth, where [487] the river is 100 yards wide. It is the limit of navigation for sea-going [505] ships.

[162] In 1904 Kaolack had only 300 inhabitants, but the development of communications in the neighbourhood has caused it to grow to its present size. The figure given above is for the permanent population only. At the height of the ground-nut season there are an [166] additional 20,000 temporary inhabitants.

Trade

During the first quarter of 1939 Kaolack exported 32,259 tons of [439] ground-nuts (Plate 122), as against 26,832 tons from Dakar. Owing to the bar across the Saloum, however, many ships do not load to their maximum capacity but go on to Dakar to complete their lading. [258] Across the river from the town is a large salt-works.

The Port

On the north bank there are concrete quays with a total length of [504] over 2,000 feet and on the south bank there is a small wharf. At Lyndiane, 9 miles downstream, is a wharf belonging to the firm of Peyrissac et Cie.

Communications

[498] *Rail.* Kaolack is the terminus of Route 5 to Guinguiné (14 miles), and is therefore 142 miles from Dakar. It is also the terminus of Route 6 to Lyndiane (6½ miles). Both stations are close to the river, and there is a line directly on to the quays.

[491] *Road.* Intercolonial roads lead northward to Gossas (25 miles), Thiès (82 miles), and Dakar (126 miles), eastward to Kaffrine (37 miles) and Tambacounda (188 miles), and south-south-westward to Messira (49 miles) and the frontier of the Gambia (57 miles). The last-named road crosses the Saloum by a bridge. A colonial road goes north-west to Fatik (28 miles), another south-east to Nioro

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[KAOLACK]

(33 miles) and Medina (50 miles), and a third west to Foundiougne (32 miles). 36 [491]

Air. The airfield is 1 mile north-east of the town. [508]

Wireless. The wireless station is in the centre of the town. [206]

Shipping. Boats of the Messageries du Sénégal line call regularly, and the Compagnie de Navigation Paquet maintains a weekly service with Foundiougne, Bathurst, and Dakar. [505]

ZIGUINCHOR (12° 32′; 16° 21′ W.). Population, 6,070. Mixed Commune. Headquarters of the Casamance Territory and of the Province of Ziguinchor. Custom-house. Magistrate's Court. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital and maternity home. Police headquarters. Meteorological station. Emergency landing-ground. Wireless station. Roman Catholic mission. Garages. Daily market. [131] [162] [743]

The first large piece of firm ground upstream from the mouth of the Casamance is nearly 42 miles from the sea, and it is here, on the left bank, that Ziguinchor stands. The depth of the river is 6 fathoms. Jetties have been built at right angles to the waterfront, partly to counteract silting, and ships drawing 15 feet can go alongside them. The quays have a total length of over 3,000 feet and the warehouses a total capacity of some 25,000 tons. There are no cranes, all goods being manhandled. [504]

There is a considerable variety of exports, including ground-nuts, fruit, rice, palm oil, palm kernels, cotton, tobacco, sisal, and hides, but imports are chiefly manufactured goods and building materials. In value of trade Ziguinchor comes between Foundiougne and Rufisque. [439]

Communications

Road. The river is crossed by a ferry, and a colonial road leads north to Bignona (16 miles) and then east to Sedhiou (74 miles) and Kolda (136 miles). Another one goes along the south bank of the Casamance, also to Kolda (130 miles). Minor roads lead south to the frontier of Portuguese Guinea and south-west to Oussouye and Diembering. [491]

Air. Seaplanes can alight in the river, and there is a weekly Aéromaritime service to Bathurst and Dakar. The landing-ground is 1½ miles south of the town. [509]

Wireless. The two wireless stations are housed in the same building. [206]

Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal [439]

36 [131] [68] SEDHIOU (12° 42′; 15° 31′ W.). Population, 1,653. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School.

Sedhiou is on the right bank of the Casamance, 68 miles above [487] Ziguinchor and 110 miles from the sea, and it is only usable by vessels [505] drawing up to 5 feet. Formerly more prosperous than it is to-day, it has some brick buildings and shops. Many of the traders are [439] Syrians, and there is a modest export of ground-nuts, hides, rice, and wax.

[491] By colonial road Sedhiou is 58 miles from Bignona, 74 miles from Ziguinchor, and 62 miles from Kolda.

11. MINERALS

135 [439] THE principal mineral exported from the colony is ilmenite, which is washed from beach sands between Rufisque and Cape Rouge, between Joal and Diakhanor, and at the mouth of the Casamance. Zircon (Vol. I, pp. 295–6) is obtained from the same sands, the ilmenite:zircon ratio being about 3:1. Other minerals of potential value are phosphates and limestone, both of which occur in Lower Eocene strata. Lenticular beds of phosphate, ranging from 30 to 65 per cent. bone phosphate of lime, are found near Matam and near Thiès. Limestones and marls are more widespread than in any other [339] colony, and at Rufisque they have been worked experimentally for the commercial production of cement. Bitumen has been encountered at Dakar in borings for water, but investigations have shown that the [315] geological structure is unsuited to the accumulation of petroleum.

12. AGRICULTURE

241 THE Gambia divides the millet from the manioc zone, but ground-nuts are the chief crop of both. Sisal-growing is an important, though more recent, industry. South of the Gambia the Casamance Territory provides a rich area for fruit and subsistence crops as well as for ground-nuts.

[439] There is far more production for export than in any other colony.

Food Crops

243 262 *Millets.* Millets form the staple diet of the majority of the native population and are grown all over that part of the colony north of the

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Mali MS35

S 496

3. Thiès–Kidira (352½ miles).
4. Diourbel–Touba (31 miles).
5. Guinguiné–Kaolack (14 miles).
6. Kaolack–Lyndiane (6½ miles).

S M 499 175

History

The first plan for a railway was made by Pinet-Laprade in 1857. It was to connect the head of navigation on the Senegal with a suitable point on the Niger, and in 1863 Mage prospected the country between Medine and Bamako. During the next fifteen years or so various other schemes were proposed. All of them were chiefly concerned with the military conquest of Cayor, of the middle Niger basin, and of the lands between Timbuktu and Algeria. Many of them envisaged a trans-Saharan line, and there seems to have been little thought of economic development.

On 5 February 1880 a Bill was introduced into the French Chamber of Deputies to authorize a line from Dakar to St. Louis with a branch to Medine and the middle Niger. It was considerably amended before being passed, the chief alteration being the excision of the section from St. Louis to Medine.

S 499 175

Surveys of the two other sections were made, and on 21 June 1882 a contract was signed with the Société de Construction des Batignolles to build a line from Dakar to St. Louis. This company remained the owner of the line until it was bought out by the Government in 1933. European labour was largely employed in construction, and this meant that work had to be suspended from July to November each year. In spite of this and other difficulties, the line was opened on 6 July 1885. This was the first railway in West Africa.

It soon became apparent that faulty methods had been used. The wooden sleepers were eaten by termites and the track had been very poorly ballasted. These defects, however, were eventually remedied.

S [433]

The railway achieved its military purpose, but its economic results were of equal value. In particular, it stimulated the production of ground-nuts by providing means for their export. This had important effects on the development of Dakar and of Rufisque.

S M 499 175 [505]

Meanwhile a little progress had been made on the section linking the Senegal with the Niger. In contradistinction to the Dakar–St. Louis line, the work was done by the Government. It had an inauspicious beginning. Medine is 625 miles by river from St. Louis and can only be reached by barge in August and September. Material brought from the port was seldom taken farther than Kayes, and goods

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Mali MS 35

were dumped there and at places even farther downstream. These had to be transported upstream in barges drawn by men. Diseases, especially yellow fever, caused many deaths, and there were endless difficulties with workmen, both European and native. Furthermore, the country was not fully known and only half pacified. Work began at Medine in the middle of 1881, but the military post at Kita was less than six months old, and that at Bamako was not set up until 1883. By the end of 1881 precisely one kilometre of the line had been completed. In the following year the ships started from St. Louis too late and could not even reach Kayes. There were several epidemics of typhoid and several fires in the store dumps.

By 1884 there were 34 miles of track, but it was so badly constructed as to be incapable of supporting the weight of a locomotive. There was no ballast, poor local wood was used for sleepers, curves were too sharp, and gradients were too severe. In 1888 the work was handed over to the French Marines, who made some improvements in the existing track and extended it to Mahina, a distance of 66 miles. It was still unusable. In the following year a Commission was appointed, and made various recommendations, some of which showed that the original purpose of the line had become obscured. By 1891 there were 79 miles of metre-gauge track from Kayes to Mahina, a ferry across the Bafing, 24 miles of 60 cm.-gauge track from there to Diouléba, and 3 miles of 50 cm.-gauge track beyond that place. In the same year another Commission was appointed, and in the following year a party of engineers was sent out under the command of Major Joffre. Substantial improvements were rapidly effected, and in 1893 the first train ran from Kayes to Mahina. In 1896 the Bafing was bridged. In May 1904 the line, metre-gauge all the way, reached the Niger at Bamako and on 10 December that year it reached Koulikoro. It has since been considerably improved.

In the summer of 1902 the Senegal failed to rise. This prevented any effective provisioning of the posts in French Sudan and also gave a stimulus to railway construction. The original plan for a line from St. Louis to Kayes was dropped, and Thiès was chosen as the junction. The new railway was intended not only to provide a link between existing lines but also to find and attract local traffic. Various routes were discussed, and in 1907 construction began from both ends. The section from Kayes to Ambidedi (26 miles) was opened in December 1908 and that from Thiès to Diourbel (50½ miles) on 16 July 1909. Work on the latter began again in February 1910 and the line reached Guinguiné in the December of that year. By the middle of 1913 it

/92/

I. General Information

131 634 a) Geographical survey. The circle /cercle, an administrative district/ of Sine-Saloum is a vast region of 26,000 square kilometers in area. It is one of the most important parts of the colony of Senegal. It is a heavily populated region. Finally, it has an economic value greater than that of the other territories which, together with it, constitute the Government of Senegal in French West Africa.

Bounded on the west by the Atlantic Ocean, it touches on the upper basin of the Gambia to the east and therefore on the very borders of the western Sudan, from which it is separated only by the circle of Tambacounda.

To the north, it reaches the desert of the Ferlo and the Djoloff region.

Along the entire southern part, its frontier runs along the territory of the British colony of Gambia, following precisely the parallel 13° 35' 36", conforming to the delimitation of the International Commission of 1891.

Such are its geographic limits.

133 A great navigable route crosses it from east to west, ending at the ocean; this is the Saloum River, which today is no more than a long maritime channel, narrow in its upper part, which the mud ruins by obstructing it, and ending in a vast estuary with a thousand /93/ ramifications, bordered by banks of sand and providing passage for ocean-going vessels at the place called Pointe de Sangomar, where there is a very narrow and not very deep passage. At low tide, in fact, the depths there are only three and a half to four meters. Under the influence of the trade winds and the tide race, the bar is subject to displacements which the hydrographic [502] service rectifies by a series of buoys which is continued even [361] beyond the estuary and up to Kaolack, a port about 100 kilometers from the coast.

[505] In this sea arm of the Saloum, the tide makes its effects felt almost to Birkelane, 130 kilometers from the ocean. The

/93 cont./

133 channel, however, is accessible to ocean-going vessels of
505 4,000 to 6,000 tons (1) only as far as Kaolack, whose im-

1. This is about the tonnage of the vessels of the Compagnie Paquet, of the House of Manrel and Prom, and of the foreign vessels which visit the port of Kaolack.

[439]

portance with respect to navigation we shall discuss below.

The Saloum extends into the interior of the land a series of arms which are so many channels or "marigots" /watercourses/ open to cutters and to the native dugouts.

One of the most important is the Sine, which starts at Foundiougne and runs, after many meanders, to the port of Fatick, coming out from the Sérère /Serer/ region, which, however, only cutters of 40 tons can reach.

Nevertheless, the Sine allows steamers of considerable tonnage to tie up at the wharves of Niamnioroh, a small locality which over the past several years has become the gateway to the regions of Sine and western Baol.

133 The appearance of the part neighboring the ocean up to Bathurst is one of a vast fluvial network encompassing islets of low, clayey or sandy land, bordered by huge mangrove trees; this is the region called Bas-Saloum /Lower Saloum/, a fertile area of the same nature as Basse-Casamance /Lower Casamance/, a region of palm trees and of quite dense forests, where unfortunately the clearing of land has begun its devastating work.

From the orographic viewpoint, the region of Sine-Saloum /94/ is a flat region with very slight undulations of the terrain.

Broad longitudinal valleys in a north-south direction descend from the clayey and semi-desert plateaus of the Ferlo and end at the Gambia.

During the rainy season, these depressions in the vicinity of this river form copious streams which dry up rapidly.

/94 cont./

133 On the right bank of the Saloum, these valleys form a more or less continuous string of ponds during the winter.

One of these valleys bears the name of Bao-Bolon; it is several kilometers wide and is the outlet of the region of Birkelane-Kaffrine. The natives report that 50 years ago [505] cutters from Gambia were able to go up this affluent as far as a passage between Nioro-Rip and Médina, about 20 kilometers to the north upstream from the river.

133 134 In the lower valley of the Saloum, along the marigots, one finds the "tannes," marshy depressions covered with water during the winter, but where, during the dry season, the mud is covered with a layer of sand, which, with saline efflorescences, hardens to the point of constituting a rather firm soil. Here one finds a composite of lime and salt; this is the "poto-poto," feared by travelers, motorists, and pedestrians, who can very easily be swallowed up by it. Between Sangomar and the Gambia, the marine affluents of the Diomboss and the Bandiala and the marigots of Dionouar, Toubacouta, Sokone, Messira, and Djinnack are disclosed.

The upper valley of the Saloum, oriented from east to west, presents less sandy soil with outcrops of laterite. Some undulations of the terrain are more pronounced toward the west, in the region of Pakalla Mandack and Niani-Ouli, where the ravines are at times very deep. The plain and the bottom of [137] the depressions are wooded or covered with a very flourishing vegetation.

The northern part of the circle, which is traversed by the valley of the Sine, is made up of sandy soil, very propitious for the cultivation of groundnuts. This valley, 133 formerly watered by streams, has been entirely overrun by the /95/ sea. This drying up of the region is moreover characteristic of almost all of Senegal. One sees it there in the diminution of the volume of certain rivers, a diminution that sometimes, as in the Cayor, Ferlo, Baol, Sine, and Saloum, extends to the total disappearance of the water.

Moreover, one notes that, as a result of the evaporation of the waters of the Saloum, the salt content of these waters is greater than that of the ocean.

/103 cont./

633 instance, a customs office, and a telegraph, telephone, and
[647] post office. The various administrative services are represented
there[1] (public works, treasury, medical aid, education, agri-
culture, veterinary medicine, etc.).

433 Financial situation. Taxes. The circle of Sine-Saloum is constantly increasing in importance because of its size, population, and economic resources.

[496] Because of its exceptional location, the railway from
[49] the Sudan crosses it over a distance of 190 kilometers. Seven
[505] stations mark it out. Its railroad network and its system of
highways and canals permit it to drain to Kaolack and
[439] Foundiougne all of the products of the soil. Thus, the total
commerce for 1927 (imports and exports combined) amounted
651 to 350 million francs for the circle. The customs duties collected for the benefit of the general budget of French West Africa reached 13 million francs. The taxes from the tax rolls (personal taxes, patents, licenses, etc.) have risen to 25 million francs, whereas they did not exceed the figure of 4,300,000 francs in 1923. The advance is thus remarkable.

Native personal taxes alone in 1927 provided 3,768,355 francs, whereas in 1921 they brought in only 2,791,000 francs.

Taxes on livestock went from 270,000 francs in 1921 to 425,000 francs in 1927.

871 /104/ Education. Instruction is given to the children
[875] by French and native teachers. There is a regional school
[872] with 500 pupils at Kaolack. Primary schools are operating
at Fatick, Foundiougne, Sokone, Gossas, Kaffrine, and Nioro. In all, 1,200 children receive instruction; only an elite goes to school. A need for the creation of new centers of education is felt, especially at Birkelane, Koungheul, Gandiaye, Niakhar, and Tataguine. Nevertheless, although instruction in French is given only in our schools, the natives also receive some rudiments of instruction in the Koranic schools. The latter are quite numerous.

1 [in KAOLACK - ANALYST]

/109 cont./

491 line in addition to the normal traffic of pedestrians and vehicles.

653 The colony of Senegal, in concert with the Société Coignet, is currently preparing the agreement, which will be passed immediately and which will require three years for the landing, the embankments of the terrepleins, and the bridge.

The realization of the works and arrangements planned will be an interesting example of close co-operation between the government of the colony, the public works services, the [441] Kaolack Chambre de Commerce, and private enterprise.

433 To demonstrate the importance of the port of Kaolack, it is sufficient to put some figures before the eyes of the reader. One will get an idea of the growth of the commercial movement that the privileged location of Kaolack on the river enabled one to foresee 15 years ago.

433 In 1905, Kaolack was still a small, insignificant vil-
505 lage. Foundiougne was the great port of the Saloum. But Kaolack was the outlet for an entire hinterland much larger; it was the access route of the products from Baol and Haut-Saloum /Upper Saloum/; finally, it was the natural port for the Sudan. Its approach, 120 kilometers from the ocean and made difficult by the passage of the Sangomar channel and [502] the sandbanks of the river, has been facilitated by the buoys. Running aground has become much rarer. Piloting, however, is obligatory.

496 Railroads. The railroad from Thiès to Niger, /110/
433 extended by a branch of 22 kilometers, which starts at Guinguinéo and ends at Kaolack, brought out the full importance of the latter point as the lands located near the railroad were improved. This development will take several years. It is steadily and fully progressing today. Like all railroad lines, the artery of the Thiès-Niger breathes life into formerly deserted regions, which are now being populated and opened for colonization.

648 Undoubtedly Kaolack benefited from the non-application
504 of the Franco-British pact of April 8, 1904. As is known,

/111 cont./

491 season by truckage, the development of which has grown in
[494] considerable proportions since 1920.

The network of roads is on the whole excellent. Every winter, it is subject to deteriorations; the latter are repaired as soon as the dry season arrives. Thousands of workers making
[464] their annual contribution are employed there under the supervision of native chiefs and under the direction of the European administrative authorities. Some artificial works, embankments, bridges, culverts, gutters, and channels have been constructed in the swampy places or to cross spots of water.

363 In the communes, the roads are gradually being paved with paving stones as the urban streets develop. In Kaolack six kilometers of streets have been paved with stones in the past five years.

● 505 Inland navigation. As we have already seen, the Saloum is the major channel of inland navigation. Steamers enter it by the maritime passage of Sangomar. In the channel, 120 kilometers long, up to Kaolack, there are some bends or passages that are quite difficult to negotiate. A pilot is
[502] necessary. All of the boats have one, whom they take on at Dakar or Rufisque. The Sine is traveled in the same fashion up to Niamnioroh.

There are countless marigots which are accessible to
[501] cutters, small launches, barges, or dugouts. There are several thousand kilometers /112/ of waterways which connect villages, centers of cultivation, and fishing agglomerations.

In the Bas-Saloum in particular, commercial traffic is handled by cutters or by dugouts.

Saboya, on the marigot Miniminian, an affluent of the Gambia, is accessible to ocean-going vessels. Each year boats come to seek the stock of groundnuts produced by this region.

Here are some comparative figures on navigation for the three ports of Kaolack, Foundiougne, and Saboya.

/112 cont./

Port of Kaolack

505 In 1913, the ports of Kaolack and Foundiougne already saw a total of 1,041 incoming and outgoing vessels, but the port of Kaolack did not exceed 200 out of this figure: 100 incoming and 100 outgoing. This was because no customs [651] office existed at Kaolack at that time. Foundiougne was the major center of customs operations. It remained so until 1922. Starting in 1923, Kaolack took flight; Foundiougne then became the second-largest port on the Saloum.

Here are the figures for Kaolack for the years 1922-1927:

(See the following tables.)

23: Aujas--25 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37
/113/
505
439

Port of Kaolack

Years	Vessels		Total	Imports		Exports		Total	
	In-coming	Out-going		Weight	Value	Weight	Value	Weight	Value
				tons	francs	tons	francs	tons	francs
1922	191	183	374	2,773	5,051,568	33,396	15,511,484	36,169	20,563,052
1923	147	581	1,228	44,808	27,954,644	79,721	48,360,455	124,529	76,305,100
1924	516	511	1,027	31,300	43,081,146	94,800	99,230,755	126,107	142,311,901
1925	482	483	965	51,150	71,165,898	121,241	139,292,637	172,391	161,401,932
1926	791	791	1,582	57,245	128,869,032	140,386	218,488,749	197,631	348,357,781
1927	828	829	1,657	60,789	116,138,356	138,664	213,889,002	199,453	330,027,358

23; Aujas--26 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37

505
439

PORT OF FOUNDIOUGNE

Years	Vessels		Total	Imports		Exports		Total	
	In-coming	Out-going		Weight	Value	Weight	Value	Weight	Value
				tons	francs	tons	francs	tons	francs
1922	624	630	1,254	5,741	15,742,749	85,507	45,523,369	91,245	61,275,118
1923	822	785	1,607	6,292	15,024,623	43,303	27,129,527	49,595	42,154,250
1924	744	739	1,483	10,957	28,304,623	43,422	41,882,147	54,379	70,186,770
1925	650	661	1,311	13,453	32,501,849	59,[illegible]	1,006,933	72,484	94,408,782
1926	707	747	1,454	14,644	41,776,166	65,226	90,798,776	79,869	132,574,942
1927	727	753	1,480	10,427	36,343,264	57,471	81,325,445	67,898	117,668,709

23: Aufas--27 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal /1115/ 1937

505 139

PORT OF SABOYA

Years	Vessels		Total	Imports		Exports		Total	
	In-coming	Out-going		Weight	Value	Weight	Value	Weight	Value
				tons	francs	tons	francs	tons	francs
1922	Noth-ing	Noth-ing							
1923	7	7	14	43	78,282	1,657	831,147	1,700	909,429
1924	9	9	18	107	290,000	1,601	6,710,000	4,279	6,810,000
1925	11	8	19	149	331,000	1,609	2,020,011	4,069	2,351,011
1926	6	4	10	75	150,000	3,834	5,443,800	3,909	5,593,800
1927	3	3	6	21	100,000	4,258	6,710,000	4,279	6,810,000

23: Aujas--28 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37
/116/
•505
439

Movement of the Ports of Sine-Saloum: Kaolack, Foundiougne, and Saboya

Years	Vessels		Total	Imports		Exports		Total	
	In-coming	Out-going		Weight	Value	Weight	Value	Weight	Value
				tons	francs	tons	francs	tons	francs
1922	815	813	1,628	8,514	20,794,317	118,903	61,043,853	127,417	81,838,170
1923	1,476	1,373	2,849	51,143	42,979,267	124,681	76,321,129	175,824	119,368,779
1924	1,269	1,259	2,528	42,364	71,675,769	139,823	141,112,902	182,194	214,398,421
1925	1,143	1,152	2,295	64,752	103,998,747	182,192	202,319,581	246,944	258,161,725
1926	1,504	1,542	3,046	71,964	170,795,198	209,446	309,287,525	281,409	486,526,523
1927	1,558	1,585	3,143	71,237	152,581,620	200,393	301,924,447	271,630	454,506,067

23: Aujas--29 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37
SINE-SALOUM

/117/

Total Traffic for the Circle
(Kaolack, Foundiougne, Saboya)

505

Periods	Tonnage Unloaded	Tonnage Loaded	Tonnage Unloaded and Loaded
1909-1913	12,076 t.	49,189 t.	61, 265 t.
1914-1918	12,333	70,767	83,100
1919-1923	17,438	99,803	17,241
1924	42,288	139,712	182,000
1925	64,668	182,277	246,945
1926	71,964	209,446	281,410
1927	71,237	200,393	271,630

433 The tonnage decreased by about 10,000 tons in 1927,
505 but this was solely due to the fact that the groundnut harvest was slightly deficient as a consequence of an overabundance of rain. On the whole, one can say that there has been constant and uninterrupted progress since the pre-war period. The announcement of this figure indicates the flourishing situation of the region of Sine-Saloum.

433 In 1927 the total value of imports and exports for the
439 circle amounted to 454 million francs, 330 million of which were for Kaolack. With what left by way of the small customs stations along the border with Gambia, one can acknowledge that the value of general commerce in 1927 was almost 500 million, or almost a third of the total commerce of the colony of Senegal, which in 1927 amounted to 1 billion 562 million.

These figures speak for themselves.

Agricultural Resources of the Region: Crops

244 The principal crop of Sine-Saloum is the groundnut.
433 This plant is cultivated everywhere, but the best lands are
[134] in Sine and north of the railroad. The lands of Bas-Saloum

/123 cont./

439 Commerce. Commerce has not stopped progressing since the end of the war, for both imports and exports.

Fabrics constitute the principal part of the imports, along with toys and construction materials.

The groundnut is the principal product exported. It is the one that makes up the wealth of the region.

[471] Commerce is for the most part in the hands of French Sociétés /companies/ or individuals, who have established branches in all the important centers. These branches have been multiplying in the past several years and even extend into the small villages which are disposal centers /124/ for the sought-after agricultural product. Today the truck penetrates into the most remote corners. In other words the farmer no longer has to put himself out in order to sell his products. One comes to him to buy his groundnuts at the very place of the harvest. The petty retail trade is in the hands of native [443] traders or Syrian merchants.

Imports. We saw above the figures for the movement of navigation and the tonnage of the goods unloaded in the various ports. The high prices for fabrics that have been reached in the last three or four years have caused a certain drop in business, from which the wholesale trade and the retail trade have suffered.

439 Exports. We are giving below the figures for the export
505 of groundnuts. As is known, for Senegal the past two years have been calculated at a tonnage of 483,980 tons in 1926 and 485,608 tons in 1927, with a respective value of 740 million and 616 million.

Out of this total, the share of the ports of the Saloum, going back to 1921, is the following:

/124 cont./

439
505

	Kaolack	Foundiougne	Totals (1)
1921		73,885 t.	73,885 t.
1922	29,192 t.	79,882	109,074
1923	75,503	36,954	112,457
1924	90,421	39,221	129,633
1925	110,787	52,986	163,773
1926	135,899	58,271	194,170
1927	134,947	51,808	186,755

1. Kaolack, up to 1922, had no customs office. It was Foundiougne which centralized all the operations.

To the above figures must be added those for the port of Saboya which we gave above.

On the whole, the tonnage of groundnuts exported by way of the ports of the circle was 198,000 tons in 1926; in 1927, 191,000 tons, or 40% of the /125/ total exports of groundnuts from Senegal. It should be noted that in 1906 the tonnage exported amounted to only 31,000 tons.

439
505
433

The production of the circle being 140,000 tons, the difference over that comes from the harvest of the regions of Baol, Tambacounda, and the Sudan, which is shipped to Kaolack and Foundiougne. If one compares these figures with the production of 1913, which was 60,000 tons, one sees how much progress has marked the cultivation of groundnuts.

Imports and exports combined make the general commerce of the circle reach close to 300,000 tons at present.

651

Customs receipts. The Kaolack customs office took in as receipts the sum of 13,901,810 francs in 1927.

The one at Foundiougne, 4,001,249 francs.

Or a total of 17,903,059 francs.

If one adds to this the receipts from Saboya and those from the frontier posts of the Gambia, the total receipts exceed 18 million francs. We are far from the figure for 1905: 405,000 francs.

22: Poix--1 G.T-5 (1822) 1955 MS30 Wolof MS30
Senegal MS37

/41/

Foreword

A curious figure, Christophe Paulin de la Poix, Chevalier de Fréminville, captain of the frigates of the king. W 114

There were three different persons in him: the sailor, the writer and natural scientist, and the eccentric (his custom of dressing as a woman caused him to be nicknamed "la chevalière").

Born in 1787, he served under Napoleon, then under the Restoration. It was in 1822 that he made the voyage to Senegal aboard "la Néreide" which is reported here.

Unfortunately we have only extracts from the memoirs of the Chevalier; the picturesque recollection of Dakar that he relates to us makes us regret that we do not possess the complete work, but we do not know who has it.

We hereby thank the Librairie Champion for having kindly authorized us to reproduce the following pages (pages 107-125) taken from the Mémoires du Chevalier de Fréminville (1787-1849), collected by E. Herpin, Paris, Champion, 1913. We have added to it some short notes intended to clarify the text. (N. D. L. R.).

/42/ On the fourth of April (1822), in the morning, the sea had manifestly changed color. We made ready to strike for the coast of Saint-Louis, a little to the north of the Senegal River. We did not reach it until the next day. W 123

We were scarcely at anchor when the lighter la Cauchoise, commanded by the chevalier de Missielly, post lieutenant /lieutenant de vaisseau/, passed our stern. Its whole crew, gathered at the side, saluted us three times with the shout of "Long live the King!" We returned the salute with three similar shouts.

Not until the seventh did the state of the bar permit a pilot from Saint-Louis to come on board. This pilot brought us, on behalf of M. Roger (1), governor of the colony, the most S 505

1. Baron Roger, governor of Senegal from 1822 to 1827, a

S [175] [654]

/42 cont./

remarkable man -- in spite of the estimation of Fréminville. Aided by the gardener Richard, he gave a vigorous push to agronomic research in Senegal.

S 505 [175] [654]

singular letter. M. Roger, ex-barrister, then housing administrator, and subsequently having become -- nobody knows how -- governor, was asking us what our tonnage was, the nature of our cargo, the name of our firm...

Wanting to laugh at his expense, our commander answered him that the frigate of the King of France, la Néreide, was sent from Brest by M. Louis, citizen of Paris, foremost merchant of the kingdom; that she carried a load of powder and balls, as well as 325 soldiers destined for the colony; that therefore he requested him to send us as soon as possible some small boats in order to transport our passengers to land.

W 123

The debarkation of our troops dragged on until the fourteenth under the most deplorable conditions.

Just at that date 130 men arrived for us, coming from Africa and destined for Gorée. They were commanded by M. de Lâge, battalion chief and chevalier de Saint-Louis. This officer was accompanied by his wife, his son, and his daughter. The latter, 15 years old, was very pretty.

W 439

We also received a multitude of parrots, parakeets, and monkeys brought by Negroes, and everyone amused himself by buying some of them. As a result, there was an unendurable concert on board.

Much more welcome than all this menagerie, abundant provisions of oranges, lemons, coconuts, and bananas were also brought to us by a schooner which arrived from Cape Verde.

W 123 [136]

We got under way on the eighteenth. All day long we hugged the shore of a low, sandy land. Night brought us a very strange concert. It was given for us by lions who were bathing in the waves near the shore. In the darkness of the evening these roars reminded one of the noise of thunder, but had a much more curious and frightening character.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

TABLE VII. *Wireless Stations*

206
207
507

Station	*Approx. position*	*Wave-length: long, medium, or short*	*Power in kilowatts*	*Owner and remarks*
Dakar	14° 42′ N. 17° 25′ W.	9 short	Unknown	Naval station. Services with Casablanca, Fort de France, and Toulon; also with flying-boats.
Dakar	14° 40′ N. 17° 27′ W.	3 medium 22 short	20·0 5·0 1·0 0·5 0·2 and unknown	Coast, commercial, and broadcasting stations with service to France, French colonies, and the interior. Broadcasting at 0·35 kW. midday and in the evening, except for one station at 0·2 kW. Meteorological bulletins.
Dakar Aéradio and Aérogonio	14° 42′ N. 17° 28′ W.	4 medium 5 short	2·0 0·6	Aeronautical and direction-finding station.
Kaolack	14° 07′ N. 16° 07′ W.	3 short	0·1	Commercial station. Interior service.
Kaolack Aéradio	14° 07′ N. 16° 07′ W.	2 medium 4 short	0·1	Aeronautical station.
Ross	16° 14′ N. 15° 49′ W.	2 short	0·01 0·01	Commercial station. Interior service.
St. Louis	16° 00′ N. 16° 31′ W.	5 short	0·25 0·05 0·02 and unknown	Commercial and military station. Interior service.
St. Louis Aéradio	16° 00′ N. 16° 31′ W.	2 medium 5 short	1·0 0·5 and unknown	Aeronautical and direction-finding station.
Tambacounda	13° 46′ N. 13° 41′ W.	3 short	0·2 0·08	Commercial station. Interior service.
Tambacounda Aéradio	13° 46′ N. 13° 41′ W.	2 medium 4 short	0·1	Aeronautical station.
Ziguinchor	12° 32′ N. 16° 21′ W.	3 short	0·02	Commercial station. Interior service.
Ziguinchor Aéradio	12° 32′ N. 16° 21′ W.	1 medium 3 short	0·1	Aeronautical station.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Africans. Indeed only very small scale trading is in the hands of Africans, otherwise large scale commercial enterprises are run by Europeans, and most of their managerial staff being European. Between these large scale organisations, the whole range of middleman trade is dominated by Lebanese and the so-called *petit blancs*. Small shopkeeping is predominantly in the hands of the Mauritanians, though larger shops particularly in Dakar, are run by Lebanese and Europeans. At first sight this would seem to be an unhealthy situation, and it would be foolish to ignore the inherent dangers in it. But the most ardent critics of this state of affairs are as often as not visiting Africans, not the Senegalese themselves. When a Nigerian shops in Printania or goes to the local bank in Dakar, he is shocked by the number of Frenchwomen employed in jobs he is accustomed to seeing held by Africans in Lagos. But in considering the rather special case of Dakar one must take into account a number of factors that are often overlooked by would-be critics.

Senegal is a territory of only 3,100,000 people and in the normal run of education in French-speaking African states, even taking into account Senegal's special position among them, the percentage of the population available to fill managerial and sub-managerial posts or indeed any 'European-style' job in all sectors of the economy, can hardly match up to the requirements of the most highly industrialised city in West Africa. In addition Dakar has a large international airport and a port that was the third largest in the French Union. It is also the centre of government for Senegal and the terminus of a railway. It is not surprising therefore that Senegal finds it more difficult to find the appropriate number of Africans to fill its senior posts in commerce and industry than Lagos which has a Nigerian population of over 36 million to draw on. Furthermore Lagos is in the centre of an area where missionaries have been active for over a hundred years and consequently

/379 cont./

102
496
508
504
491
361

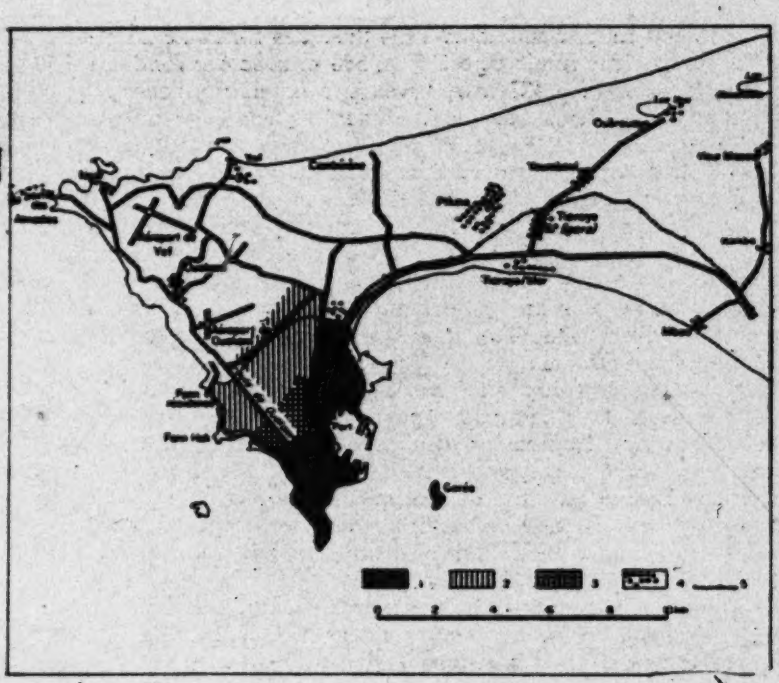


Fig. 2. The quarters of Dakar. --1. Dakar-ville and the industrial zone; 2. Greater Dakar; 3. Médina; 4. villages of the suburbs; 5. railroads.

369 groundnuts at Rufisque, nearer to the centers of production in
505 Cayor. Therefore Rufisque soon became the groundnut capital.
439 As early as 1862, 27 European or Goréan merchants were estab-
[441] lished there (and 12 at Bargny, located three kilometers farther to the east). Three years later, this figure climbed to 35 (14).

14. Note 1 in Fondation de Dakar, op. cit., p. 328.

369
633 The activity at Rufisque was so great and the launching of Dakar so

/380 cont./

369 505 439 groundnut before exportation has given Dakar an undisputed advantage over Kaolack. In 1957 the exports of groundnut products (shelled groundnuts, oil cake, oil), which represented only about a twentieth of the total traffic of merchandise in the port of Dakar, was more than the total of the import and export traffic of Kaolack (292,000 metric tons as against 220,000 metric tons). In any case neither Kaolack nor Ziguinchor, both located on rivers which are difficult to enter because of the shifting banks of sand or mud, can be dangerous rivals in any way for Dakar, which, because of this, practically thrusts itself on all of Senegal, Mauritania, and the Sudan. On the other hand, Dakar dominates from afar the three other large maritime ports of former French West Africa, Conakry, Abidjan, and Cotonou, whose total traffic in 1957 equaled only about three-fifths of the traffic of Dakar.

369 [433] But even though the port is the basic instrument of the power of Dakar, there are other additional elements that reinforce this power.

369 509 [487] First there is the place that Dakar occupies in the sphere of aviation. Since the first direct connection with France via the Mediterranean coast of Spain, Morocco, and Mauritania (16), its role has not ceased to grow on the international plane.

16. Marcel M. Chariter, "Dakar, port aérien," op. cit., p. 84.

[508] The hydrobase of Bel-Air and the airport of Ouakam, which served the first trans-Atlantic airplanes, are outclassed today by the great airport of Yoff, which was begun in 1940. Well equipped, this airport of international class and one of the largest airports of Africa is by far the most important one in former French West Africa, accounting by itself in 1957 for a fourth of the airplanes (arrivals and departures), a third of the passengers embarking or debarking in former French West Africa, and half of the passengers in transit. For certain directions, such as South America, the passengers from all of West Africa must embark at Dakar.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
St. Louis

30 yards. Immediately east of it is the Place St. Germain, on the south-west side of which stands the main railway station. 361

The western side of the Langue de Barbarie has been reinforced by groynes and a sea-wall.

The town as a whole is well planned, and it has many shops and offices.

Trade

The chief exports are oil-seeds and skins. Imports are mainly manufactured goods. In 1937 the former weighed 30,400 tons and were valued at 31,600,000 francs (£253,990), and the latter weighed 8,300 tons and were valued at 11,900,000 francs (£95,640). 439

Description of Port

Anchorages. Outside the bar at the river mouth there is anchorage in 9–11 fathoms. Inside it there is again a depth of 11 fathoms, which gradually decreases until it is 5 fathoms just below Faidherbe Bridge. 504 [133]

Quays. The principal quays are on the east side of the island. North Quay (Plate 115), above Faidherbe Bridge, is 1,050 feet long, and South Quay, below it, is 1,770 feet long with an alongside depth of 12 fathoms. At the harbour station in Sor there is a jetty 600 feet long with a wharf at its head. There are four small piers on the island, whose positions are shown in Fig. 53.

Equipment. There is a steam crane some 600 yards above the North Quay and a slipway a little higher still. Minor repairs can be effected, but facilities are generally poor.

Fuel. A small stock of coal is kept, but no oil.

Communications

Rail. There are three railway stations (p. 467) in Sor, and the main station is the terminus of the line to Dakar (Route 1). 498

Road. The intercolonial road to Thiès (124 miles) and Dakar (168 miles) starts from the Place St. Germain and then turns south when clear of the goods station. At this point the Imperial road branches off north-east to Rosso (66 miles) and ultimately to Tindouf (1,315 miles). There is a bus service twice a week to and from Matam and Nayes. 491 494

Air. The airfield is 3½ miles north-east of Place St. Germain. Its surface is hard clay and it has one hangar. In normal times there is a weekly Air France service to Dakar. 508 509

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[ST. LOUIS]

206 *Wireless.* The wireless station is to the south of Guet N'Dar.

River. Above Faidherbe Bridge the river is closed to all vessels not 505 flying the French flag. Boats drawing 10 feet can ascend to Podor all [648] the year round, and in the rainy season they can reach Kayes (Vol. I, p. 367). Table V shows how greatly river traffic on the Senegal has declined in recent years.

TABLE V. *Tonnage of Goods from Kayes*

[497] [494]

	1928	1929	1930	1934	1935
Sent by rail or road . .	9,545	9,555	11,456	5,269	6,224
Sent by river	2,520	5,815	3,425	313	260

Shipping. There are no sea-going ships calling regularly, but the Messageries Africaines and the Messageries du Sénégal run services up-river.

36 DAKAR (14° 39′; 17° 25′ W.). Population, 80,052, including *c.* 6,000 [131] Europeans. Capital of the Federation and Headquarters of the [162] District of Dakar. Full Commune. Custom-house. Law courts. [489] Chamber of Commerce. Pasteur Institute. Hospitals. Naval base [712] and dockyard. General Headquarters of the army in French West Africa. Police headquarters. British Consulate-General. Belgian, [648] Brazilian, Czechoslovakian, Danish, Eireann, Greek, Italian, Netherlands, Norwegian, Swedish, and Swiss Consulates. Argentine, Finnish, Spanish, and Uruguayan Vice-Consulates. Meteoro- [654] logical station. Airport and seaplane base. Wireless stations. [508] Colleges and schools. Protestant churches. Roman Catholic Vicariate Apostolic of Guinea and Vicariate General. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Crédit Foncier de l'Ouest Africain. Banque Belge de l'Afrique. Power station. [697] Prison. Public library. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops. [498] Cinemas. Race-course. Sports stadium. Botanical gardens. [654] Agricultural experimental station. Daily market.

Dakar (Fig. 54) is approximately 2,600 miles distant from South- 361 ampton, from Cape Town, and from Rio de Janeiro. It is, therefore, well placed for taking a share in the trade of the South Atlantic, and it [433] is small wonder that it has become the third port in the French Empire, being surpassed only by Marseilles and Le Havre. It is, moreover, of the first importance strategically.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

Trade

Imports and Exports. Dakar is the outlet for almost the whole of French West Africa north of the forest. In particular it serves the most fertile and prosperous parts of Senegal and French Sudan. The principal export is, of course, ground-nuts, and others are gold, gum, shea butter, kapok, and hides. Imports include manufactured goods of all kinds, coal, oil fuel, wine, sugar, and flour. In 1937 imports totalled 1,298,700 tons to the value of 763,200,000 francs (£6,134,060) and exports 1,284,300 tons to the value of 572,300,000 francs (£4,599,740). This represents some 40 per cent. of the total trade of the Federation. 439 [433] [433]

Manufactures. In or near the town are brickworks, a brewery, candle factories, charcoal furnaces, ice factories, sisal cleaning plants, sack factories, saw-mills, and factories for extracting ground-nut oil. There are also native handicraft workers. West of the town there are two basalt quarries, which are connected to the harbour by a railway line. 438 316

There are several trade unions. 467

Finance. The Port of Dakar has its own budget. In 1938 this balanced at 10,792,486 francs (£66,212). The principal items of revenue were the dues on the loading and discharge of cargo, which brought in 4,150,000 francs, the dues paid by ships, which brought in 1,566,000 francs, and the charges for the use of port equipment, which brought in 1,115,700 francs. The principal items of expenditure were 4,912,166 francs on wages and salaries of employees and 2,551,770 francs on the materials used in the maintenance of the port. 652 [651]

Description of Port

Anchorages. Outside the harbour there is good anchorage in 10 fathoms. Inside depths are greater, and there is space for a large number of vessels. 504

Quays and Wharfs. The main basins of the harbour are divided off from Goree bay and Dakar Roads by the North Jetty. This runs south-eastwards from the shore for nearly 1,200 yards and then turns southwards for its last 550 yards. Here are found the oil berths, and at the end of it is a light. Three moles project from the landward side of the main jetty. Behind No. 5 Mole, the nearest to the land, there is a large open space used for storing dumps of ground-nuts (Vol. I, Plate 84). This end of the harbour is a seaplane base, with a hangar on the shore. On the north-west side there are some [502] [508]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37
Dakar

504 small piers and a slipway. A quarter of a mile south of the slipway are the naval oil-fuel tanks, which are at the northern end of the dockyard. This has, among other works, a large basin and a dry [998] dock, and behind it are the railway goods station and workshops. Just beyond its southern corner is the main station, but extensions of the line run on to the wharfs. On the south side of the harbour are the three principal commercial basins, separated from each other by moles. The easternmost of these is the South Jetty, at the northern [502] end of which is another light, only 275 yards from the end of North Jetty.

From Dakar point a breakwater runs for 1,000 yards south-east and east.

Alongside depths vary from 21 feet at No. 1 Mole to 34 feet at No. 8 Mole, and the total length of quays and oiling berths, apart from those in the dockyard, is 13,861 feet.

Warehouses. There are warehouses on No. 1 Mole, No. 2 Mole, and No. 3 Mole, and all along the south side of the harbour.

Equipment. The dry dock is 656 feet long and 93 feet wide and can be divided into two parts. There are numerous cranes of all types, including floating cranes. The two largest of these are each of 125 tons. Repair facilities are good, and the port is well supplied with tugs, launches, and lighters.

Fuel. The commercial oil-fuel tanks are on the south shore of Hann bay. Behind them is a goods station. Additional naval oil tanks are farther north-west. A pipe-line connects the commercial tanks to the oil berths at the end of North Jetty. Coal is stored on [439] No. 8 Mole. It is very largely imported from South Wales. Good stocks of both fuels are normally held.

Communications

498 *Rail.* Dakar is the terminus of the railway from Thiès and St. Louis (Route 1). From Thiès Route 2 runs to Kidira (396 miles) and ultimately to Koulikoro (801 miles). The main station is at the south-east corner of the harbour, close to the dockyard.

491 *Road.* It has already been stated that the intercolonial road runs north from the end of Avenue Gambetta. It follows the curve of Hann bay to Rufisque (15 miles) before going to Thiès (44 miles). A minor road leads north-westwards to Ouakam (5 miles) and Yof (8 miles). There are also other minor roads.

● 508 *Air.* The airport lies nearly 5 miles north-west of the main town, 509 and has hangars and workshops. In 1939 Dakar was on the Air France

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[KAOLACK]

(33 miles) and Medina (50 miles), and a third west to Foundiougne (32 miles). 36 [491]

Air. The airfield is 1 mile north-east of the town. [508]

Wireless. The wireless station is in the centre of the town. [206]

Shipping. Boats of the Messageries du Sénégal line call regularly, and the Compagnie de Navigation Paquet maintains a weekly service with Foundiougne, Bathurst, and Dakar. [505]

ZIGUINCHOR (12° 32′; 16° 21′ W.). Population, 6,070. Mixed Commune. Headquarters of the Casamance Territory and of the Province of Ziguinchor. Custom-house. Magistrate's Court. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital and maternity home. Police headquarters. Meteorological station. Emergency landing-ground. Wireless station. Roman Catholic mission. Garages. Daily market. [131] [162] [743]

The first large piece of firm ground upstream from the mouth of the Casamance is nearly 42 miles from the sea, and it is here, on the left bank, that Ziguinchor stands. The depth of the river is 6 fathoms. Jetties have been built at right angles to the waterfront, partly to counteract silting, and ships drawing 15 feet can go alongside them. The quays have a total length of over 3,000 feet and the warehouses a total capacity of some 25,000 tons. There are no cranes, all goods being manhandled. [504]

There is a considerable variety of exports, including ground-nuts, fruit, rice, palm oil, palm kernels, cotton, tobacco, sisal, and hides, but imports are chiefly manufactured goods and building materials. In value of trade Ziguinchor comes between Foundiougne and Rufisque. [439]

Communications

Road. The river is crossed by a ferry, and a colonial road leads north to Bignona (16 miles) and then east to Sedhiou (74 miles) and Kolda (136 miles). Another one goes along the south bank of the Casamance, also to Kolda (130 miles). Minor roads lead south to the frontier of Portuguese Guinea and south-west to Oussouye and Diembering. [491]

Air. Seaplanes can alight in the river, and there is a weekly Aéromaritime service to Bathurst and Dakar. The landing-ground is 1½ miles south of the town. [509]

Wireless. The two wireless stations are housed in the same building. [206]

/380 cont./

369 505 439 groundnut before exportation has given Dakar an undisputed advantage over Kaolack. In 1957 the exports of groundnut products (shelled groundnuts, oil cake, oil), which represented only about a twentieth of the total traffic of merchandise in the port of Dakar, was more than the total of the import and export traffic of Kaolack (292,000 metric tons as against 220,000 metric tons). In any case neither Kaolack nor Ziguinchor, both located on rivers which are difficult to enter because of the shifting banks of sand or mud, can be dangerous rivals in any way for Dakar, which, because of this, practically thrusts itself on all of Senegal, Mauritania, and the Sudan. On the other hand, Dakar dominates from afar the three other large maritime ports of former French West Africa, Conakry, Abidjan, and Cotonou, whose total traffic in 1957 equaled only about three-fifths of the traffic of Dakar.

369 [433] But even though the port is the basic instrument of the power of Dakar, there are other additional elements that reinforce this power.

369 509 [487] First there is the place that Dakar occupies in the sphere of aviation. Since the first direct connection with France via the Mediterranean coast of Spain, Morocco, and Mauritania (16), its role has not ceased to grow on the international plane.

16. Marcel M. Chariter, "Dakar, port aérien," op. cit., p. 84.

The hydrobase of Bel-Air and the airport of Ouakam, which served the first trans-Atlantic airplanes, are outclassed today [508] by the great airport of Yoff, which was begun in 1940. Well equipped, this airport of international class and one of the largest airports of Africa is by far the most important one in former French West Africa, accounting by itself in 1957 for a fourth of the airplanes (arrivals and departures), a third of the passengers embarking or debarking in former French West Africa, and half of the passengers in transit. For certain directions, such as South America, the passengers from all of West Africa must embark at Dakar.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

36 towns as Boutilimit and Aleg. There is also a track that runs south-
[491] south-westwards to Yang-Yang. For half the year there is a bus
[494] service twice a week to St. Louis in one direction and to Kidira in the other. 1/n

[131] TAMBACOUNDA (13° 45′; 13° 39′ W.). Altitude, 148 feet. Population,
[162] *c.* 4,000. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Hotel. Garage.

On a slight eminence above a marshy tributary of the Sandougou,
[491] Tambacounda is of considerable importance as a route centre. It
[496] is not only a road junction but also the most southerly point in Senegal of the Dakar–Niger railway. Near the town is a sisal
[248] plantation.

The hotel is open only from December to May.

By rail Tambacounda is 285 miles from Dakar, 111 miles from
[496] Kidira, and 170½ miles from Kayes. One intercolonial road runs
[491] westwards to Kaolack (188 miles), Thiès (295 miles), and Dakar (339 miles); another north-eastwards to Nayes (121 miles) and Kayes (176 miles); and a third southwards to Diabougou (25 miles) and ultimately to Labé (288 miles). Before the war Tambacounda was
[509] connected to Dakar and Bamako by a weekly air service operated by Air France.

[131] THIÈS (14° 49′; 16° 52′ W.). Altitude, 207 feet. Population, 15,451.
[162] Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Regional School.
[797] Roman Catholic mission. Power station. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops. Cinemas. Daily market.

Since the opening of the railway in 1885 Thiès has grown from a collection of native huts to a large town. The railway workshops
[498] employ many hundreds of men, and the market handles considerable
[438] quantities of ground-nuts. The town has been built on a slope that declines gently east and north-east to a small stream. The old Fort Faidherbe is still standing, and there is a big Roman Catholic church.

Communications. Thiès is a railway junction, being 43½ miles
[496] from Dakar, 119½ miles from St. Louis, and 352½ miles from Kidira.
[491] It is also a meeting-place of intercolonial roads. One of these comes from Dakar (44 miles) and goes on to St. Louis (124 miles), while the other branches east to Kaolack (107 miles), Nayes (416 miles), and Kayes (471 miles). There are several minor roads, notably one going
[494] south to M'Bour. Along this road there is a regular bus service, with two buses each weekday in either direction.

1/n [From The Town of Podor-- Analyst]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
St. Louis

30 yards. Immediately east of it is the Place St. Germain, on the south-west side of which stands the main railway station. 361

The western side of the Langue de Barbarie has been reinforced by groynes and a sea-wall.

The town as a whole is well planned, and it has many shops and offices.

Trade

The chief exports are oil-seeds and skins. Imports are mainly manufactured goods. In 1937 the former weighed 30,400 tons and were valued at 31,600,000 francs (£253,990), and the latter weighed 8,300 tons and were valued at 11,900,000 francs (£95,640). 439

Description of Port

Anchorages. Outside the bar at the river mouth there is anchorage in 9–11 fathoms. Inside it there is again a depth of 11 fathoms, which gradually decreases until it is 5 fathoms just below Faidherbe Bridge. 504 [133]

Quays. The principal quays are on the east side of the island. North Quay (Plate 115), above Faidherbe Bridge, is 1,050 feet long, and South Quay, below it, is 1,770 feet long with an alongside depth of 12 fathoms. At the harbour station in Sor there is a jetty 600 feet long with a wharf at its head. There are four small piers on the island, whose positions are shown in Fig. 53.

Equipment. There is a steam crane some 600 yards above the North Quay and a slipway a little higher still. Minor repairs can be effected, but facilities are generally poor.

Fuel. A small stock of coal is kept, but no oil.

Communications

Rail. There are three railway stations (p. 467) in Sor, and the main station is the terminus of the line to Dakar (Route 1). 498

Road. The intercolonial road to Thiès (124 miles) and Dakar (168 miles) starts from the Place St. Germain and then turns south when clear of the goods station. At this point the Imperial road branches off north-east to Rosso (66 miles) and ultimately to Tindouf (1,315 miles). There is a bus service twice a week to and from Matam and Nayes. 491 494

Air. The airfield is 3½ miles north-east of Place St. Germain. Its surface is hard clay and it has one hanger. In normal times there is a weekly Air France service to Dakar. 508 509

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Dakar

504 small piers and a slipway. A quarter of a mile south of the slipway are the naval oil-fuel tanks, which are at the northern end of the dockyard. This has, among other works, a large basin and a dry [498] dock, and behind it are the railway goods station and workshops. Just beyond its southern corner is the main station, but extensions of the line run on to the wharfs. On the south side of the harbour are the three principal commercial basins, separated from each other by moles. The easternmost of these is the South Jetty, at the northern [502] end of which is another light, only 275 yards from the end of North Jetty.

From Dakar point a breakwater runs for 1,000 yards south-east and east.

Alongside depths vary from 21 feet at No. 1 Mole to 34 feet at No. 8 Mole, and the total length of quays and oiling berths, apart from those in the dockyard, is 13,861 feet.

Warehouses. There are warehouses on No. 1 Mole, No. 2 Mole, and No. 3 Mole, and all along the south side of the harbour.

Equipment. The dry dock is 656 feet long and 93 feet wide and can be divided into two parts. There are numerous cranes of all types, including floating cranes. The two largest of these are each of 125 tons. Repair facilities are good, and the port is well supplied with tugs, launches, and lighters.

Fuel. The commercial oil-fuel tanks are on the south shore of Hann bay. Behind them is a goods station. Additional naval oil tanks are farther north-west. A pipe-line connects the commercial tanks to the oil berths at the end of North Jetty. Coal is stored on [439] No. 8 Mole. It is very largely imported from South Wales. Good stocks of both fuels are normally held.

Communications

498 *Rail.* Dakar is the terminus of the railway from Thiès and St. Louis (Route 1). From Thiès Route 2 runs to Kidira (396 miles) and ultimately to Koulikoro (801 miles). The main station is at the south-east corner of the harbour, close to the dockyard.

491 *Road.* It has already been stated that the intercolonial road runs north from the end of Avenue Gambetta. It follows the curve of Hann bay to Rufisque (15 miles) before going to Thiès (44 miles). A minor road leads north-westwards to Ouakam (5 miles) and Yof (8 miles). There are also other minor roads.

508 *Air.* The airport lies nearly 5 miles north-west of the main town, 509 and has hangars and workshops. In 1939 Dakar was on the Air France

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[DAKAR]

route from Paris to Santiago and was also the terminus of local services to Bamako and to St. Louis. The Aéromaritime company used to run flying-boat services to Conakry, Abidjan, Lagos, Douala, and Pointe Noire. 509

Wireless. The broadcasting station is near Madeleines bay, 700 yards north-west of the cathedral. A small station, transmitting to ships, is on Bel Air point. 206

Cable. Dakar is connected by cable to Casablanca, to Brest, to Fernando Noronha (Brazil), and to Conakry. The two latter cables are landed in the south-west of Bernard bay, not far from the Pasteur Institute. There is, however, a telephone cable to Goree island. This is landed on the north-west shore of the same bay.

Shipping. Lines normally serving the port include the following: America West African, Bull, Chargeurs Réunis, Elder Dempster, Fabre, Fraissinet, Gdynia America, Hamburg-Bremen, Holland West Afrika, Italia, Lloyd Triestino, Maurel et Prom, Messageries du Sénégal, Navigazione Generale Italiana, Société Générale des Transports, Société Maritime Belge des Transports, and Société Navale de l'Ouest. 505

Coasting vessels sail regularly for Port Etienne, St. Louis, Kaolack, and Ziguinchor.

GOREE (14° 39′; 17° 23′ W.). Population, 714. Custom-house. Barracks and military hospital. 36 [131] [162] [712]

The rocky island of Goree (Plate 112) has an area of 138 acres. The first Europeans to land on it were the Portuguese in 1445, and since then it has had a chequered history, which has been told elsewhere in these volumes. [175]

Most of the centre of the island is occupied by buildings, and in the south there is the old fort. In the extreme north is a large lime-kiln. [381]

The only source of water is an artesian well in the fort. [312]

Trade. Trade is now limited to the ordinary requirements of the islanders, and traffic to taking them and their goods to and from the mainland. [938]

Harbour. In the north-east of the island there is a little bay where there are three jetties, only one of which (Plate 121) is now in use. The depth at its head is 10 feet. [504]

RUFISQUE (14° 41′; 17° 12′ W.). Population, 19,764, including 180 Europeans. Full Commune. Custom-house. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Power station. Hotel. Garage. [131] [162] [712]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[KAOLACK]

(33 miles) and Medina (50 miles), and a third west to Foundiougne (32 miles). 36 [491]

Air. The airfield is 1 mile north-east of the town. [508]

Wireless. The wireless station is in the centre of the town. [206]

Shipping. Boats of the Messageries du Sénégal line call regularly, and the Compagnie de Navigation Paquet maintains a weekly service with Foundiougne, Bathurst, and Dakar. [505]

ZIGUINCHOR (12° 32′; 16° 21′ W.). Population, 6,070. Mixed Commune. Headquarters of the Casamance Territory and of the Province of Ziguinchor. Custom-house. Magistrate's Court. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital and maternity home. Police headquarters. Meteorological station. Emergency landing-ground. Wireless station. Roman Catholic mission. Garages. Daily market. [131] [162] [743]

The first large piece of firm ground upstream from the mouth of the Casamance is nearly 42 miles from the sea, and it is here, on the left bank, that Ziguinchor stands. The depth of the river is 6 fathoms. Jetties have been built at right angles to the waterfront, partly to counteract silting, and ships drawing 15 feet can go alongside them. The quays have a total length of over 3,000 feet and the warehouses a total capacity of some 25,000 tons. There are no cranes, all goods being manhandled. [504]

There is a considerable variety of exports, including ground-nuts, fruit, rice, palm oil, palm kernels, cotton, tobacco, sisal, and hides, but imports are chiefly manufactured goods and building materials. In value of trade Ziguinchor comes between Foundiougne and Rufisque. [439]

Communications

Road. The river is crossed by a ferry, and a colonial road leads north to Bignona (16 miles) and then east to Sedhiou (74 miles) and Kolda (136 miles). Another one goes along the south bank of the Casamance, also to Kolda (130 miles). Minor roads lead south to the frontier of Portuguese Guinea and south-west to Oussouye and Diembering. [491]

Air. Seaplanes can alight in the river, and there is a weekly Aéromaritime service to Bathurst and Dakar. The landing-ground is 1½ miles south of the town. [509]

Wireless. The two wireless stations are housed in the same building. [206]

4: Mersadier MS37 Senegal MS37

● 511

/For detailed information on the family budgets of 43 families in the city of Thiès, see category 116, pp. 6-74./

/390 cont./

114 collected seemed to us later to lack precision.

125 The method that we have used is simple. For the seven African investigators (each concerning himself with six or seven families) and for the director of the investigation, it was primarily a matter of being present as often as possible and as long as possible with each family and of noting in a notebook devised for this use all of the financial activities of the family each day during a month of 31 days (1)

1. For detailed information on the method followed for this investigation, cf. Y. Mersadier, "Un essai d'enquête sur le niveau de vie d'une population urbaine /An attempt to investigate the living standard of an urban population/" [communication at the conference of experts on the social consequences of industrialization and the urban problems in Africa, Abidjan, September 1954].

[511] (the month of March 1954). We obtained quite accurate data on the "routine" expenses of the month, principally food, fuel, illumination, and maintenance, and basic elements for the calculation of other categories of expenses, clothing, material, equipment, various familial expenses, religious expenses, etc., which we wanted to estimate for the period of a year. But here we had to rely in part on the statements of the persons investigated. Nevertheless the almost continual presence of the investigator with the families for a month permitted him, in several questionings and by rechecking, to arrive at figures which we believe are quite close to reality.

125 The real income was often quite difficult to estimate.
434 In principle there should have been no difficulties in the case of salaried workers, who willingly show their pay receipt. For the

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30

out of the bus and it was only with difficulty that Arnold and I managed to extricate ourselves. We took a taxi, at almost greater cost than the journey from Kaolak to Dakar, to a dingy little hotel, in the old quarter of the city. To reach it we passed through the centre of Dakar. Trees lined the streets and the architecture of both offices and houses was admirably suited to its tropical setting. It was at once evident that Dakar was a city and not just a town that had, like Lagos, rambled and sprawled and got too big. With its statuesque young skyscrapers and its wide streets, Dakar seemed a model city for the new West Africa. It was neither distinctly African nor European, but had its affinity with the modern cities of South America.

Arnold, accustomed to the higgledy-piggledy, chaotic sprawl of Lagos, and the quiet Victorian dignity of Freetown, could not quite take this in. He seemed almost to resent it as an imposition on Africa, as something that was not African. True, I found that against this background the African appeared, at first, to be an intruder. Nothing seemed more incongruous than a vast Jollof belle, dressed in her traditional robes of lace and muslin, sweeping past the more outrageous examples of *cinema moderna* architecture, or standing pensively beneath a marble plaque depicting a naked African surrounded by the fruits of progress. More incongruous still was the sight of them being spooned in and out of fast American cars or staring into patisserie windows—just imagine one of those muslin cocoons tackling a chocolate éclair. Yet the Africans seemed to have accepted their surroundings with such aplomb that very soon I was to feel that it was the Europeans who were out of place. There seemed nothing unnatural in half a dozen Africans making up their bed for the night on the pavement outside a twelve-story bank, or the young men in tight jeans standing on the street corners eyeing passing girls, just like Saturday night back at the Buildings.

We stayed one night in the Hotel des Fleurs, the cheapest I could find in Dakar. It was owned by a Lebanese, and for Dakar, a city which is almost prohibitive in price for an Englishman, it was remarkably cheap. A haircut in Dakar is 12s., and it has one of the highest cost of living indices in the world.

That night when I entered a bar called appropriately 'Café de Paris', I was unable to believe that we were still in Africa. It had

/189 cont./

351 there again the small one-room structures of wood or straw are an exception to the rule and are distributed at random over the concession.

Each owner or tenant likes very much to see his parcel clearly delimited, and the wall is the general rule. But its forms are very different, and this in one and the same parcel, ranging from the house itself or a high wall of durable material to a line of pickets running along a simple heap of rubble. In any case, the parcels that are not completely enclosed, with merely an opening on the street, are rare.

343 What else does one find within the parcel or in the
351 structures serving as dwellings? Two things: a little hovel sheltering the Madagascan stove and serving as kitchen, and then, in a corner of the parcel, an enclosure surrounded by
[783] secco, with a kettle containing the water needed for ablutions, which gives off a characteristic ammoniacal odor, yet not enough to inconvenience the inhabitants.

362 Let us complete this description with the table of the
●511 number of buildings, shown according to the number of rooms
342 and the material used. /Table 24 appears here./

More than 50% of the wooden structures (113 out of 206) have only one or two rooms, that is, fall into the first category. Thus the whole habitat does not show a very high standard of living.

511 /190/ This is still more true if one now considers the
364 equipment of the huts. 228 homes out of 258, nearly 90 %,
354 have neither water, electricity, nor w.c. in the concession;
312 26 have electricity only; one has a w.c. without running water or electricity, one likewise has a w.c. plus electricity (in these two cases the w.c. consists of a septic pit dug into the sand in one corner of the parcel by the person concerned under the control of the Service d'hygiene). One has water and electricity. Ten per cent of the homes are thus lighted with electricity, and the remainder with kerosene, which is very few in a city where, except in the very last quarters, it is possible to have a meter installed in each parcel.

10: Thoré--51 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37
/189/
362
511
342

Table 24

Material \ Number of Rooms	1	2	3	4	5	6	7+	Total
Wood	46	67	27	25	27	4	10	206
Durable material	9	15	16	2	2	1	0	45
Crinting	3	3	1	0	2	3	0	12
Straw (1)	7	7	1	1	2	0	0	18
Total	65	91	45	29	33	8	10	281

1. Each hut of straw contains only one room. When we divide them up under the rubrics of 2, 3, or 5 rooms, this means that there are 2, 3, or 5 straw huts on the same parcel.

/190 cont./

511 207 Nevertheless, ingenuity and mutual helpfulness make up for the poverty of the equipment, and if one comes across well over 10% of owners of radio sets, it is because in a number of cases the owner attaches his radio to the current which comes into the house of his immediate -- or distant -- neighbor.

364 514 A very serious inconvenience, as much from the point of view of hygiene as from the point of view of comfort, results from the total absence of sanitary equipment. Without doubt, an enclosure on the parcel has its particular spot, but this little corner cannot serve everyone, and for those who are on the edge of the agglomeration it is the bush which serves as a comfort station; for the others whose parcel is located far from the outskirts it is the vacant land within Pikine. This state of affairs is unfortunate for many reasons: first of all, for a good many inhabitants it is a veritable expedition, in a word, to go to the toilet; one can imagine what this means for the old people or for the sick. Besides, it is unhealthy, and to get an idea of this it will suffice to go out one winter evening after a tornado and breathe this nauseous odor which the wind blows from the vacant land over the rest of the agglomeration (1).

[515] [653]

1. At the beginning of 1961 the public authorities undertook the construction of several groups of "showers" in 12 places. One can only wish for the extension of the anticipated program and its rapid completion.

511 364 354 312 In the districts, while all are not the owners of a septic tank, the situation is better. Only 12% of the homes are counted as not having either water, electricity, or w.c., 12% have electricity in addition to w.c. without a water line in the concession, 21% have water and electricity, and the remainder, some 34%, have complete modern equipment.

[331] It should also be noted that the Office de l'Habitat no longer builds structures without a septic tank in its subdivisions.

/190 cont./

000 builds structures without a septic tank in its subdivisions. The
511 difference between the two groups of habitat is therefore very
362 noticeable: only the districts /191/ constitute a modern type of housing adapted to the exigencies of the city, while the vast majority of the inhabitants of the other quarters are deprived of the comfort which the modern city affords.

Can one say as well that they live in "shantytowns"? Certainly not. What characterizes the "shantytowns" is the crowding of the population in a limited space and the disorder of the huts. This is by no means the case here: the
[363] streets, although of sand, are well defined, and, above all, the parcels are large; there is actual space with its psychological reverberation which permits the inhabitants of a parcel to feel that they are by themselves. To the further question asked, "what is it that you like about your housing in Pikine?" the replies have brought out the existence of this feeling of "home" /quoted in English/, of "one's own home," which in most cases was associated with the space occupied and the tranquility that it provided.

This material and psychological reality of free space is all the more important since one realizes, if one relates the number of rooms utilized to the number of persons, that the relative scantiness of space brings with it an undeniable crowding in many instances. Here (p. 55) is the table, in absolute figures, of the homes, which have been listed simultaneously according to the number of persons and according to the number of rooms. The horizontal line gives the number of persons, and the vertical line that of rooms. For example, in the case located at the intersection of horizontal line No. 2 and the vertical indicated by the figure 6 and 7, the number 12 means that there are 12 households in which the number of persons is six or seven and that they occupy only two rooms. The first table gives the distribution in the quarters, the second that of the districts.

The broken line in the middle of the table separates it into two parts; inasmuch as in general one room has an area of about ten square meters, we have considered that the

/191 cont./

511 limit of reasonable occupancy has been passed when one
362 figures an average of more than two persons per room. Thus at the left of this line are the households which do not exceed this relation of one room for two persons, at the right those for whom occupancy becomes crowded. Now let us add all the figures at the right of the line of separation, and let us refer this total of "crowded" homes in each table to the general total. One finds that this result, which one may call the "index of occupancy," is much higher in the districts
162 than in the quarters: 26.4% as against 45.2%. This phenome-
592 non indicates that the families are much more /192/ /Table
511 25 appears here/ numerous in the districts. It is possible to
362 verify this in two ways: first, by comparing the average number of persons per household, which gives 7.43 as against 4.86; or else by constructing from the preceding tables the histogram of the various families in percentages. One then finds that in the first case the median runs between seven and eight persons, and in the second between four and five; in other words, that 47% of the homes in the districts have at least eight persons, while in the quarters one counts only 47% of the homes with five or more persons.

511 The same tendency is shown in the matter of the rela-
352 tion of the furnishings to the number of persons. We have therefore drawn up a table identical to the preceding one and substituted the number of beds for the number of rooms, for it is the bed that constitutes the principal article of furniture. Obviously the data obtained do not have the same value, since it has not been possible /193/ /Table 26 appears here/ to distinguish the various kinds of beds: beds in one or two places, wooden or metal springs. Nevertheless, it is shown that the ratio of the number of persons to the number of beds is higher in the districts than in the quarters. The total result is the following: in the former 47, in the latter 38 beds per 100 persons. One finds only five or six instances where the bed is nothing but a simple mat thrown on the beaten earth in the huts of the quarters.

10: Thoré--55 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37

511
362

Table 25. Number of rooms per person. 1) Quarters.

	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-9	10 to 15	15 +	TOTAL
1	15	10	11	10	8	4	1	0	0	59
2	4	13	10	15	8	12	3	3	0	68
3	0	5	7	12	4	8	5	1	0	42
4	2	4	1	5	1	7	5	1	0	26
5	0	2	2	4	4	12	9	6	0	39
6	0	1	0	0	0	4	3	3	0	11
7 +	0	1	0	0	1	2	4	3	1	12
Total	21	36	31	46	26	49	30	17	1	257

511
592

What can be concluded from these various remarks? That in general the inadequacy of housing conditions explains why the people of Pikine attach so much importance to the land of their parcel, and why this space, as much if not more than the interior, is the center of family life and activity. The rooms of the dwelling serve mainly as a shelter for sleeping and to screen a conversation or a tête-à-tête from indiscreet eyes and ears. During the day one is better off outside than inside, and this is the reason why the veranda is so important. It is the link /194/ between outdoors and indoors; when one is sitting there, one is outside in the air and yet sheltered from the rain, the sun, and the stifling heat inside.

In the second place, it is undeniable that augmentation of the comfort of the habitat is accompanied by an enlargement

Table 26. -- 2) Districts

511
362

	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-9	10 to 15	15 +	TOTAL
1										
2			2	1	2	2	1			8
3		1	3		4	4	3	5		20
4	1					1	2	4	1	9
5				1			2		1	4
6						1				1
7										
Total.....	1	1	5	2	6	8	8	9	2	42

/194 cont./

511 of the family. This is an extremely important phenomenon. In
592 order to understand it better, a study of the group occupying the parcel is now in order.

427 A first distinction arises regarding the mode of occupation.
511 Aside from the tenants and owners of their parcels, there are also those who are neither the one nor the other and who live
[592] gratuitously in a hut that does not belong to them, generally because of their kinship ties with the owner. Here is the table in percentages of these three categories arranged by ethnic groups. /Table 27 appears here./

62% of the occupants are thus owners, but we have seen
[369] that only 45% have been expelled from Dakar and have therefore from this fact become owners of the parcel that has been granted

10: Thoré--57 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37

511 592 4217

/184/

Table 27

Ethnic Groups	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Owner	67	58	60	53	50	63	68	62
Renter	19	23	32	30	42	27	18	23
Occupant without paying	14	19	8	17	8	10	14	15
Total	100							100

/194 cont./

511 them. As a result, a certain number of family heads, around
427 17%, are owners only because they have bought their parcel.
[369] This fact therefore shows that Pikine has become a choice locality where it is worth the trouble to spend money in order to establish oneself, and thus corroborates the hypothesis set forth above, that the evolution of Pikine today attests to an indisputable degree of urban maturity.

In the districts one counts only 9% who are tenants; all the others are owners or on the way to it. But while the rent of a room in a hut located in the quarters costs an average of 500 francs, the price is much higher in the districts, and this income permits the owner, who for his part is obliged to make a monthly payment to the Office de l'Habitat hardly higher /195/ than the amount of the rent, to acquire at the end of five years a dwelling by paying, in a word, only a ridiculous amount. It is difficult to evaluate the frequency of this abusive practice; in our sample it was three out of four tenants.

351 Another point has to do with the possibility of dividing
511 the parcel into half parcels or of two and even three homes being associated on the land of a single parcel. This possibility does not exist in the districts, where, in practice, economic obligations and the arrangement of the habitat as a rule require having only a single home per parcel. In the quarter, out of 264 homes, one counts 191 of them, namely, 72%, that are alone on the land; 46, or 17%, are in groups of two; and 27, or 11%, are in groups of three.

511 The types of association are very diverse, from the
592 households which are united by a bond of kinship and which represent 22% of the cases of association, that is to say, 6% of the total, to homes living on two half-parcels rigorously separated. The most frequent case is that of two unrelated households living together, who share, if not the same hut, at least the same inner court, each having its fire and doing its cooking separately. In general, the families thus grouped contain only a limited number of members, the scantiness of a half parcel not being favorable to the installation of numerous families. Since this factor does not

/195 cont./

511 exist in the districts, where the parcel is individual, one can
592 see in it one of the reasons why the average number of individuals per home is higher there than elsewhere.

592 The analysis of the qualitative composition of the
162 family group discloses another reason. Schematically one may distinguish four principal kinds of family, if one considers its qualitative composition: the lone adult; the adult living with one or more children, where it is a matter of his own or of young brothers; the family called "elementary," composed of the husband, his wife or wives, and their children; finally, the elementary family to which are added either the collateral relatives, or outsiders, or both.

Here (p. 60) is the table of the percentages of these different types listed by ethnic groups; the first is that of the quarters, the second that of the districts.

When one goes from the quarters to the districts, the total shows that:

1st. The number of elementary families increases.

2nd. The proportion of the "extended" families -- in the very broad sense of the term -- remains the same in the two cases.

/196/ 3rd. This increase in the rate of the conjugal family is thus due to the almost total disappearance in the districts of single persons living alone or in the company of children who are in their charge, especially divorced women. /Table 28 appears here./

592 One may ask whether this factor suffices in itself to
162 explain this increase in the number of individuals per household
595 which we have listed above. There is another difference between the districts and the quarters which may likewise contribute to this explanation: it is the rate of polygamy. We mean by that the number of household heads who are polygamists in relation to the total number of male heads of households. Out of 100 family heads 21 are polygamists in the quarters and 31 in the districts. The difference is notable.

/196 cont./

511 595 The raising of the standard of living, which is symbolized and realized by the acquisition of a durable dwelling provided with modern conveniences, thus seems to go hand in hand with an increase in polygamy. Another factor should also be correlated with it: the educational level. The proportion of polygamists among the literate is higher than the corresponding proportion among the illiterate: 26.5% as against 21.6%.

511 But, as the preceding figures suggest, it seems that the principal cause is to be found in the improvement of economic conditions, and education in this case plays only the role of a /197/ second cause, which is the very thing that permits access to a higher income. Another index runs along the same lines: the average number of persons under [602] the care of the head of the family, persons who do not live in the concession, but either in the city or village. This average figure is distinctly larger for the districts: 219 as against 142 persons under the care of 100 heads of families, in addition to those who live with him.

It is now possible to draw some conclusions which are to be found at the point of convergence with the preceding remarks.

511 592 602 1) It does not seem that what is designated by the deplorable name of "familial parasitism" (1) can be held

1. It is not a question of denying the negative and paralyzing influence which a family can exert on the best of its members and which is ordinarily designated by the name of parasitism. But neither should one ignore the positive aspect of solidarity that makes up for the detrimental consequences of migration and eases for the immigrant the transition from the traditional environment to the urban environment.

responsible for the relative increase of the number of persons

/197 cont./

511 592 602 per home in the districts. This fact may be explained by two other reasons: on the one hand, the disappearance of homes reduced to single or divorced persons, in favor of the conjugal family; on the other hand, as part of this, an increase in the number of spouses.

2) Family solidarity is no less a patent fact in the districts than in the quarters. It works in two ways: the first consists of taking complete charge of the housing and support of brothers, nephews, or other relatives. This is shown in the figure of 38% of the families who extend beyond the framework of the conjugal family properly speaking. In this respect the inhabitants of the districts behave much the same as the others. But they make a greater effort with respect to the second form of family solidarity: sending money to relatives to all or part of their living expenses.

369 3) The betterment of living conditions and the participation to a certain degree in the material comfort that the urban environment brings with it do not necessarily mean a rupture and an overthrow of traditional social behavior. On the contrary, on two points, polygamy and family solidarity, there is a reinforcement of these behaviors, and, if one may apply this terminology to Senegal, it is not "detribalization" which should be spoken of, but "supertribalization."

/198/ Conclusion

Despite its youth, Dagoudane-Pikine is a definite city no less than Dakar, although closely dependent upon the latter. It is a city by reason of its area, the size of its population, the effort undertaken with regard to equipment, especially with regard to schools, and finally by the type of work offered to an important part of the economically active population. It is also a typical African city, with its small number of durable buildings, the considerable unemployment, the large number of young people, and above all, its gross [444] [443] deficiencies of public equipment. We have not spoken of its health equipment; it is still terribly inadequate, although

[12 cont.]

369 that [13] prevailed there. This has been made obvious by the
178 war; the modern households have suffered from economic diffi-
562 culties much less than the others, because the women proved to
[511] be much more skillful in getting out of difficulties with the little that could be obtained.

369 Will the custom of such sumptuous expenses with regard
581 to marriage last? It is difficult to tell. It evidently greatly satisfies the pride of the man of Saint-Louis by exhibiting his
[556] wealth and his generosity. If it makes marriage difficult for young people, this is very regrettable, because the precious years of youth are lost and the children will come too late; it makes marriage the great affair of one's life, which is good,
[562] and it has contributed in a very large measure to the freeing of the girls, which, except for some extravagances, is a great benefit.

Diagne Oumar Syr

Instructor at N'Dioum
(Circle of Podor)

/76 cont./

369 local products (groundnuts,
441 millet ...) are bought or
563 bartered for.
443

still almost empty quarter of the residence.

Already the economic equilibrium of the city was no
369 longer essentially based on the commerce of trade, subject to
433 price fluctuations, but also on the budding industry which as-
458 sured it a certain stability. It is true that the latter, barely acquired, was put to a harsh test during the world crisis from 1930 to 1934. In the course of this difficult period the price of the groundnut slumped. The old commercial firms which depended solely on the trading were no longer able to meet their payments and liquidate their stock: Société Française du Sénégal, the firms Lacombe, Latrille... The sounder establishments were themselves obliged to close their city branches temporarily, for example, Peyrissac, Maurel Frères. Nevertheless one did not see here a complete slump in commerce with spectacular failures such as occurred in Dakar, but rather commercial liquidations, sales of stocks that were repurchased by Levantines and wholesale companies.

The effects of the crisis, which ended in 1934, re-
[471] sulted in a redistribution of commercial ownership, a re-
[563] adaptation of commerce to the new requirements, along with the definitive establishment of the Levantines.

369 At this date the fusion of the two railroad companies,
498 the Dakar--Saint-Louis and Thiès-Niger, stimulated an ex-
433 pansion of the industrial quarter by regrouping at Thiès the workshops originally installed at Dakar for the Dakar--Saint-Louis railway.

369 On the eve of the Second World War the city reached
the figure of 22,000 inhabitants, 1,200 of them Europeans.
[162] The almost complete disappearance of epidemics, the better
[511] food supply, the construction of comfortable houses (Ballabey
[361] district created as early as 1925 for the railway workers, villas for officers) permit metropolitan families to settle in a permanent fashion. In a parallel manner, the native

/384 cont./

369 in the city at the home of a relative, at the home of a friend
563 or the friend or relative of a friend, or at the home of a resi-
166 dent originally from the same village or merely from the same
162 region -- all of this ultimately makes up the factors that are
464 more decisive than the salary. Because of this, while among the resident non-Africans the number of persons employed amounts to 43 % of the total and 64% of the economically active, among the resident Africans, the proportion of workers is no more than 27% of the total and 42% /385/ of the economically active. If one adds to that the salaries, on the average
369 much higher among the first than among the second, one finds
511 in Dakar some of the contrasts characteristic of West African
563 cities: on the one hand, among the non-Africans, a high standard of living which is often shown in the appearance of their quarters, and, on the other hand, the mass of the African population whose settling in the city is tied neither to a correlative augmentation of the normal opportunities for lodgings nor to a higher living standard in relation to the bush, which gives to the African city, or at least to some of its quarters, an appearance more wretched than that of the villages of the interior.

369 This situation, formerly very clear, put Dakar in the
563 normal category of West African cities, where a white city and
[361] a black city stand in contrast (22), a contrast that was the result

[113] 22. Dresh, J., "Villes d'Afrique occidentale /Cities of West Africa/," Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 1950.

of a de facto segregation imposed, not by law, but by the norms of urbanism and of hygiene, to which it was impossible for the bulk of the natives to subject themselves, and also by the high
[465] price of rent -- the non-Africans being nearly always lodged by their employers. In 1936 Charles Morazé wrote: "Formerly Europeans and natives lived mixed. Innumerable families lived

/80 cont./

443 flood rapidly closing in again behind it. All these noisy peo-
[493] ple carry with them a flavor of the neighboring bush, warm and dusty.

The market of dried fish readily reveals itself by the strong odor that it gives off; farther on is the stall of the
[563] butcher for Europeans; very close to it the merchant of the tripe trade who grills some skewers of small pieces on a charcoal fire. Elsewhere the sellers of colas, of condiments and cloth from Guinea, the cobblers offering their products among the very mixed odors in a halo of dust raised by the crowd. It is a delight for the eyes to see, in the bright sunlight under a very clear and pure blue sky, the shimmer of full garments of vivid hues moving with deliberation and majesty.

443 The animation reaches its greatest intensity between
512 nine and ten o'clock in the morning; the pedestrian is king, he blocks all traffic. Then, little by little, sellers and buyers disperse, and everyone falls into a blessed torpor at the noon hour. The afternoon is quiet, and at five o'clock each merchant has left his premises. This animation, which has only a temporary character in the commercial quarters of /Plates XI and XII appear here/ /81/ European type, is permanent in certain native quarters, but with a maximum amplitude in the evening after work.

2. The native quarters.

361 The native quarters also have their peculiar characteristics, a function of their antiquity, of their proximity or their distance from a center of activity, and, naturally, of the social category of their inhabitants.

Takhikao and Gent were among the first quarters created. Except for the nearness of the road from Thiès to Tivaouane, which attracts the merchants' small shops of planks or straw, they have kept their rural character: dwell-
[351] ings arranged in a loose order, surrounded by an orchard protected by a tapade /walling/ of branches or stalks of millet.

[Text continues on p. 18]

/25 cont./

*795 refrigerator, radio, power plant, powerful American cars, etc
793 .... Certain ones even own real estate in Dakar which they rent for a good price, increasing their revenues by that much more.

If this standard of living is the result of the attachment and the fanatical work of the talibés, reciprocally this luxury increases their prestige in the eyes of these same talibés. These simple people see in this exterior wealth a sign of the greatness, power, and glory of their marabout. They are proud to see him rich and influential, as if they themselves participated in this wealth and influence.

Still another anecdote will underline, it seems, this blind admiration of the faithful for their religious leaders in spite of (and perhaps because of) the exterior signs of their wealth.

The domestic servant of a European official had accompanied his employer to Touba, to the home of Failou M'Backé. Thus he could enter the carré of "his" marabout (for he was a Murid). Upon returning, he said to his employer in a tone of sincere admiration and without a critical afterthought: "My
[352] marabout is a great marabout; his carré has many bedrooms and in each bedroom there is a good bed." When one knows
[513] that the majority of the Blacks usually sleep on wretched pallets or even on mats, and that to possess a good bed is one of the first objectives of the African who advances, one will appreciate the full value of this remark...

793 After that no one will be surprised that some people have
*795 labeled as "servitude" the situation which the Murid marabouts
244 reserve for the talibés who work on their plantations. They are,
555 in fact, grouped in teams of ten to 20, and each team has a piece of land to cultivate. Of course the teams compete zealously to bring to the marabout the handsomest harvest. The zeal of the teams is all the greater because each member can hope, if the marabout notices his own zeal, to be initiated at the end of several years to the Murid dikr and to have in his turn a Murid village to superintend. He can even hope to have assigned to him a new area to be attached to the brotherhood

S SR /379 cont./
369 and at Diakhaté where the hut of straw or purely of mud
[342] prevails. Could it be that the occupation of mason to which
W some None seem to devote themselves is a factor in this
[342] modernization of their settlements?

SR A certain "coquetry" absent in the bush villages leads
[463] some autochthones to lay out a little flower garden near their
S hut (Tiali, Keur-Issa-Bambara)..
[351]

The presence of the city is also reflected in the equip-
S 369 ment used by the rural people. The furniture is always sum-
352 mary, but more and more the iron bed is replacing the lat-
[513] tice of wood or the mat put on the ground itself. A mattress,
a military blanket, and commonly a mosquito net of a very
light fabric complete this relative comfort. Often a little
table of unpainted wood, a chair made of old boxes, a bit
S of mirror hung on the wall, and sometimes an impressive
[353] number of photographs, or, lacking them, pages cut out of
an illustrated magazine pasted to the walls, give a special
stamp to this interior, which is no longer typically rural.
Sometimes one even has the surprise of encountering in
these modest interiors a wardrobe and a little buffet, which
adorn, the more since they are not utilized, the room of a
privileged native. But this comfort is an exception.

S The calabash, which is the very foundation of the
369 kitchen utensils, is still commonly utilized for household
415 tasks and for the common meals. Nevertheless the cast-iron
or aluminum saucepan is no longer a luxury; the glass and
above all the bottle are in common use.

S The clothing, too, has been modified. The loincloth
369 in bright colors, laboriously woven by the Toucouleur
291 /Tukolor/ weaver, durable but expensive, has become a
177 luxury. Imported printed cloth of moderate price has sup-
planted it everywhere. The white robe with embroidery has
S become the festive garment par excellence; the shorts, the
[292] trousers, and the jacket, often furnished by the European,
are now the clothes utilized for work.

/38/

Maize (Zea mays L.): Succeeds well when sown at the beginning of the winter season. The native species sown under these conditions is very beautiful and gives large yellow ears, very well filled out. The Africans eat fresh roasted corn, and, when it is hard, they make couscous of it. The infusion prepared with the fruit is emollient and diuretic. The styles or stigmas of maize are famous as diuretics and cure several ailments of the urinary tract (cystitis, gravel, dysuria, etc.); the young kernels, when cooked, constitute an excellent vegetable and replace peas; the flour gives a beer and an alcoholic extract. The husks of the ears serve to make quite springy mattresses. 243 262 757 [273] [513]

II. -- Useful Gramineae

(not being subject to any cultivation)

Bamboo. -- Grows in the wild state in the Ravin des Voleurs /Ravine of Thieves/ near Thiès. The native species is rather small. Stakes, frames, masts of dugouts, huts, and fences, but especially clinting (constructions of bamboo filled in with lime) are made of it. The young shoots are said to be edible, and the sweet sap is supposed to be an agreeable drink. In Casamance a small species of bamboo grows in shady places; pipestems are made of it. 824 [313] [342] [262] [272] [276]

Begnefala (Andropogon shirensis). -- A tall gramineous plant with a penetrating aromatic odor. It is used in African medicine and the old colonials used it with success at the time of the great epidemic of yellow fever at Dakar in 1927. For fevers, one pounds the floral heads mixed with lemon or vinegar and energetically rubs the body with this mixture. [757]

Hada (Imperata cylindrica). -- A gramineous plant with a very hard leaf and whitish ear, which is used for covering the roofs of huts. [342]

Hat (Andropogon gayanus). -- Tall grass whose stem is used in making fences around huts. [351]

Haham or cram-cram (Cenchrus biflorus). -- Its seeds fasten themselves to clothing and are very disagreeable. Is gathered and [262]

/190 cont./

511 Nevertheless, ingenuity and mutual helpfulness make up for
207 the poverty of the equipment, and if one comes across well over 10% of owners of radio sets, it is because in a number of cases the owner attaches his radio to the current which comes into the house of his immediate -- or distant -- neighbor.

364 A very serious inconvenience, as much from the point of
514 view of hygiene as from the point of view of comfort, results from the total absence of sanitary equipment. Without doubt, an enclosure on the parcel has its particular spot, but this little corner cannot serve everyone, and for those who are on the edge of the agglomeration it is the bush which serves as a comfort station; for the others whose parcel is located far from the outskirts it is the vacant land within Pikine. This state of affairs is unfortunate for many reasons: first of all, for a good many inhabitants it is a veritable expedition, in a word, to go to the toilet; one can imagine what this means for the old people or for the sick. Besides, it is unhealthy, and to get an idea of this it will suffice to go out one winter evening after a tornado and breathe this nauseous odor which the wind blows from the vacant land over the rest of the agglomeration (1).

[515] [653] 1. At the beginning of 1961 the public authorities undertook the construction of several groups of "showers" in 12 places. One can only wish for the extension of the anticipated program and its rapid completion.

511 In the districts, while all are not the owners of a
364 septic tank, the situation is better. Only 12% of the homes
354 are counted as not having either water, electricity, or w.c.,
312 12% have electricity in addition to w.c. without a water line in the concession, 21% have water and electricity, and the remainder, some 34%, have complete modern equipment.

[331] It should also be noted that the Office de l'Habitat no longer builds structures without a septic tank in its subdivisions.

/190 cont./

511 Nevertheless, ingenuity and mutual helpfulness make up for
207 the poverty of the equipment, and if one comes across well over 10% of owners of radio sets, it is because in a number of cases the owner attaches his radio to the current which comes into the house of his immediate -- or distant -- neighbor.

364 A very serious inconvenience, as much from the point of
514 view of hygiene as from the point of view of comfort, results from the total absence of sanitary equipment. Without doubt, an enclosure on the parcel has its particular spot, but this little corner cannot serve everyone, and for those who are on the edge of the agglomeration it is the bush which serves as a comfort station; for the others whose parcel is located far from the outskirts it is the vacant land within Pikine. This state of affairs is unfortunate for many reasons: first of all, for a good many inhabitants it is a veritable expedition, in a word, to go to the toilet; one can imagine what this means for the old people or for the sick. Besides, it is unhealthy, and to get an idea of this it will suffice to go out one winter evening after a tornado and breathe this nauseous odor which the wind blows from the vacant land over the rest of the agglomeration (1).

[515] [653]

1. At the beginning of 1961 the public authorities undertook the construction of several groups of "showers" in 12 places. One can only wish for the extension of the anticipated program and its rapid completion.

511 In the districts, while all are not the owners of a
364 septic tank, the situation is better. Only 12% of the homes
354 are counted as not having either water, electricity, or w.c.,
312 12% have electricity in addition to w.c. without a water line in the concession, 21% have water and electricity, and the remainder, some 34%, have complete modern equipment.

[331] It should also be noted that the Office de l'Habitat no longer builds structures without a septic tank in its subdivisions.

/37 cont./

This is the most common preparation, but the native cuisine is acquainted with a host of others. The couscous is light, refreshing, and very nourishing. S 262

Millet is also given to horses. Basi is used the most in this [redacted] souna gives them more vigor, although heating them up more. S 231

The Africans, by making millet germinate and putting it in water to boil for several days, obtain a kind of invigorating beer (pouh in Wolof), but one which, if taken in great quantities, produces a very heavy drunkenness. Millet, just like maize, fattens animals quickly, especially poultry. S W 273 S 231

Sorghum is a plant widely cultivated in Senegal. It is necessary to accustom the Senegalese farmer as rapidly as possible to replacing the ordinary variety by that of the sweet sorghum, that is, the saccharatum variety, which would have the advantage of giving sugar and grain. This saccharatum variety is utilized a great deal in the United States for the production of sugar. Then a sugar refinery could be created, which would be one more source of wealth for this country, wealth all the more appreciable because the African is fond of delicacies and a great consumer of sugar (mint tea, Moorish coffee, and infusions). S 243 S [433] [263] [272]

Rice. It is cultivated in Senegal in damp places, on the edges of marigots /watercourses/, in Sine, in Casamance, and at the mouth of the river (Richard-Toll, etc.). A large number of varieties is known, some of which grow in relatively dry and high places; black rice is one of them.

The African rice is Oryza glaberrima, but wild rice grows by itself; this is Oryza latifolia (punctata and sylvestris). The native rice is much more in demand by the Africans and often even by the Europeans than foreign rice. African cooks excel in preparing rice in all kinds of ways. S [137] S 262

Rice is emollient, soothing, very nourishing, and not at all binding or constipating as is sometimes thought. It also gives a beer by fermentation. Rice water renders great service in dysentery, as a beverage, and for bathing. Rice water is also a cooling drink for feverish and inflammatory ailments. Finally, rice powder is useful as an absorbent for skin diseases. S 273 757 [272] [515]

11: Lèques--20 P-5 (1956) 1957 MS37 Senegal Ms 37

142
516
291

Fig. 3. Taille-Basse (Dakar) (Lèques photo and plate).

18: Savonnet--17 E-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37
/Between pp. 80 and 81./

363
357
291

Plate XII

A. Thiès. The Takhikao square after winter.

291
443
516

B. Thiès. Market scene.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

516
291
635

113. *Senegal: a Council of Notables*

[facing p. 432]

/430 cont./

*511 Finally, eight families more or less regularly devote
517 a part of their incomes to the heading "Diversions"; ex-
[541] cluding No. 36 /431/ (he attends the horse races), all go to
[546] the cinema or send their children there. They are the numbers:

No. 16:	1%	No. 36:	1%
No. 22:	3.5%	No. 39:	0.6%
No. 26:	0.9%	No. 40:	0.2%
No. 33:	0.6%	No. 43:	0.6%

[204] There must be added to that five families who read and buy newspapers:

No. 34:	Employee...	0.3%	of the income
No. 36:	Accountant..	0.7%	--
No. 39:	Teacher.....	1.6%	--
No. 41:	Employee...	0.4%	--
No. 43:	Doctor.....	2.5%	--

*511. A final question presents itself. How, when there is
423 any, are the surpluses utilized.

We have been able to get precise data in only two cases: No. 36 built a house to which he devoted in one year, from March 1952 to March 1953, 80,000 francs. On the
[427] other hand, No. 43 has taken in rent-sale a villa in Dakar, and for that he pays 12,300 francs per month.

Moreover, the ambition of many, as we have said, is
[556] to become the owner of their dwelling. Some look further and want some gardens besides. Several already possess one or the other and are only trying to improve or enlarge them. One of them claimed that he had had a well dug, but he was unable or did not want to remember the sums put into this undertaking.

*511 One of the family heads succeeded in starting a trans-
[472] portation business after having purchased two carts and a horse.
[494] Some hoard. We believed that a cultivator had a good-sized
[454] bank account and loaned the money at usurious rates. We have
[426]

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

called 'Les Ballets Sereres du Sine Saloum,' a group of dancers 545
who had won the Territorial Cup in 1957.

The theatre was packed. I was sitting next to an ample Jollof matron, a small child strapped to her back, its tiny nose buried [854] in the pink muslin of her dress. Another child sat on her knee, beturbanned and clothed just like its mother. From the woman's [291] forehead dangled three shining American dollars. Unfortunately a similar Jollof woman sat immediately in front of me, her black horsehair wig and tall tulle turban almost totally obscuring my view. A strong scent of 'Bint El Sudan' manufactured in East [302] London perfumed the room as the curtains rose to the first dance, 'Love and its Caprices', which was to be the theme of the evening. The variations, the programme told me, were to include '*Allo M'Bissine*'—'My fiancée has beaten me because a boy who loves me told me "Hello M'Bissine" ', and later '*Khodia Kha Lola*'--'Why do you cry Khodia? Only the Gods understand what a tear says'. Ending with an initiation dance of future circumcision candidates. One of the most memorable dances was a solo by a woman with a baby strapped to her back, its head swaying backwards and forwards like a punch ball. The child uttered not a murmur as its mother danced into a frenzy, singing at the top of her voice, and in the background a corps of drums beat an hysterical rhythm. It was an entertaining evening, with a beautiful dance of a slight youth, his black-brown body shining sleekly in the glow of the footlights, contrasting with the powdered copper of his lissom partner, a girl of singular beauty with entrancing opalescent eyes.

After the performance there was a cast party to which Faye, 536 the young secretary of the theatre, invited me. The dancers, [517] various guests, European and African, drank bottles of Coca-Cola [272] and orange squash. Amongst them was Ka Abdou Anta.

He was a handsome young man, but he dragged continuously at a cigarette and his teeth were discoloured with nicotine. His jacket, once well cut, was misshapen by papers stuffed into the pockets. My first meeting with Ka had been two years before but we had not been introduced. He was rehearsing a scene from his play *La Fille des Dieux*, which he was producing for the Théâtre du Palais. It was highly symbolic: a somewhat uneasy compromise between tribal metaphysics and the classical French

/81 cont./

361 millet. The old people assemble in the evening under the
[517] large silk-cotton tree that shades the old crumbling mosque of
[312] Takhikao. The women chatter while awaiting their turn to
draw water at the common well, while the children play in
[342] the sand. Gent stands out because of a series of small, low
houses with a rectangular base and a roof of corrugated metal,
all identical and set along the trail that leads to the marigot
[351] /watercourse/ of the mission. A garden and a courtyard, al-
[563] ways littered with laundry, characterize each concession. It
is the quarter of Portuguese half-breeds called "portugalais"
(Plates XI B and XII A).

Diakhao-Nord /North Diakhao/, quiet, airy, arranged
[363] according to a strict plan of lots, contrasts with Diakhao-Sud
w ith narrow, winding lanes bordered on all sides by tapades
of millet stalks and noisy in the evening. The proximity of
[275] the two military bases has made it a place where one amuses
[525] himself with all that this includes in the way of drinking
[579] shops and more or less clandestine gambling dens. Brawls be-
tween drunken men are not rare in these places.

Randoulène, Derrière-la-voie-ferrée, and Bambara,
which form a unique quarter, homogeneous in its density and
in the heterogeneity of its dwellings, have become established
[342] in the immediate vicinity of the railroad repair shops. The
[363] huts of planks, mud, or straw stand one against the other along
the winding lanes laid out according to the desire of the
[373] moment and not without some imagination. These lanes are
noisy with people, and even late at night they walk between
351 the small shopkeepers' stalls lighted with smoking candle ends.
The dense crowd flows over the edges of the street and enters
the interior of the courtyards. The latter, covering barely
[463] a few square meters, often serve as a workshop for the
[252] weaver, the blacksmith, or the jeweler, and as a kitchen for
the housewives of the neighboring huts; it is not rare to see
half a dozen millet pounders there, pounding their mortars
[517] in rhythm in groups of two or three. This is also the gathering
[524] place /82/ /Fig. 4 appears here/ of workers, where, after
work, sitting in the sand amidst the dust and the noise, in a

/82 cont./

35 heat heavily laden with the most diverse odors, they play
[517] cards or checkers. There is no question in such crowded
[524] quarters of removing all the household rubbish and used water.
[364] It is frequent in the course of walks within this zone to run into piles of refuse or to cross several ditches full of stagnant, dirty, and malodorous water. Sometimes at a bend in a street one is surprised to discover some straw huts in the middle of a spacious courtyard (Plate XI A).

361 The quarters of the south, newly divided into lots, re-
351 mind one of that of North Diakhao with its embryos of streets intersecting at a right angle, /83/ its huts arranged in a loose order inside each square and huddled in the shade of mango trees.

Each concession of Médina, in distinct geometric forms, marked off by tapades of millet stalks, is of a meticulous neatness that contrasts with the other quarters of the city.
[795] This strict order, this rigid arrangement where all imagination is banished, is a reflection of the peculiar character of the Moslem Murid sect that occupies it.

361 The Cité Pillot, finally, built for the higher operatives and the specialized workers of the Dakar-Niger, to the south of the Bamako railroad, gives the appearance of a series of buildings that resemble those of barracks. The arrangement
[342] of the new constructions is that of small houses with twin apartments.

369 Thus, each of the European-type quarters, like the native quarters, possesses some particular trait or even its own individuality, which seems to correspond to a definite social structure: milieu of merchants, millieu of officials, milieu of artisans, of laborers, of cultivators.

At the same time, each stage of its evolution has stamped this or that part of the city with its original imprint, which makes it possible to follow quite easily the successive periods of its expansion.

/81 cont./

361 millet. The old people assemble in the evening under the
[517] large silk-cotton tree that shades the old crumbling mosque of
Takhikao. The women chatter while awaiting their turn to
[312] draw water at the common well, while the children play in
[342] the sand. Gent stands out because of a series of small, low
houses with a rectangular base and a roof of corrugated metal,
all identical and set along the trail that leads to the marigot
[351] /watercourse/ of the mission. A garden and a courtyard, al-
ways littered with laundry, characterize each concession. It
[563] is the quarter of Portuguese half-breeds called "portugalais"
(Plates XI B and XII A).

Diakhao-Nord /North Diakhao/, quiet, airy, arranged
[363] according to a strict plan of lots, contrasts with Diakhao-Sud
w ith narrow, winding lanes bordered on all sides by tapades
of millet stalks and noisy in the evening. The proximity of
[275] the two military bases has made it a place where one amuses
himself with all that this includes in the way of drinking
[525] shops and more or less clandestine gambling dens. Brawls be-
[579] tween drunken men are not rare in these places.

Randoulène, Derrière-la-voie-ferrée, and Bambara,
which form a unique quarter, homogeneous in its density and
in the heterogeneity of its dwellings, have become established
in the immediate vicinity of the railroad repair shops. The
[342] huts of planks, mud, or straw stand one against the other along
[363] the winding lanes laid out according to the desire of the
moment and not without some imagination. These lanes are
[373] noisy with people, and even late at night they walk between
the small shopkeepers' stalls lighted with smoking candle ends.
351 The dense crowd flows over the edges of the street and enters
the interior of the courtyards. The latter, covering barely
[463] a few square meters, often serve as a workshop for the
weaver, the blacksmith, or the jeweler, and as a kitchen for
[252] the housewives of the neighboring huts; it is not rare to see
half a dozen millet pounders there, pounding their mortars
in rhythm in groups of two or three. This is also the gathering
[517] place /82/ /Fig. 4 appears here/ of workers, where, after
[524] work, sitting in the sand amidst the dust and the noise, in a

/82 cont./

35 heat heavily laden with the most diverse odors, they play
[517] cards or checkers. There is no question in such crowded
[524] quarters of removing all the household rubbish and used water.
[364] It is frequent in the course of walks within this zone to run into piles of refuse or to cross several ditches full of stagnant, dirty, and malodorous water. Sometimes at a bend in a street one is surprised to discover some straw huts in the middle of a spacious courtyard (Plate XI A).

361 The quarters of the south, newly divided into lots, re-
351 mind one of that of North Diakhao with its embryos of streets intersecting at a right angle, /83/ its huts arranged in a loose order inside each square and huddled in the shade of mango trees.

Each concession of Médina, in distinct geometric forms, marked off by tapades of millet stalks, is of a meticulous neatness that contrasts with the other quarters of the city.
[795] This strict order, this rigid arrangement where all imagination is banished, is a reflection of the peculiar character of the Moslem Murid sect that occupies it.

361 The Cité Pillot, finally, built for the higher operatives and the specialized workers of the Dakar-Niger, to the south of the Bamako railroad, gives the appearance of a series of buildings that resemble those of barracks. The arrangement
[342] of the new constructions is that of small houses with twin apartments.

369 Thus, each of the European-type quarters, like the native quarters, possesses some particular trait or even its own individuality, which seems to correspond to a definite social structure: milieu of merchants, millieu of officials, milieu of artisans, of laborers, of cultivators.

At the same time, each stage of its evolution has stamped this or that part of the city with its original imprint, which makes it possible to follow quite easily the successive periods of its expansion.

/81 cont./

361 millet. The old people assemble in the evening under the
[517] large silk-cotton tree that shades the old crumbling mosque of
[312] Takhikao. The women chatter while awaiting their turn to
draw water at the common well, while the children play in
[342] the sand. Gent stands out because of a series of small, low
houses with a rectangular base and a roof of corrugated metal,
all identical and set along the trail that leads to the marigot
[351] /watercourse/ of the mission. A garden and a courtyard, al-
ways littered with laundry, characterize each concession. It
[563] is the quarter of Portuguese half-breeds called "portugalais"
(Plates XI B and XII A).

Diakhao-Nord /North Diakhao/, quiet, airy, arranged
[363] according to a strict plan of lots, contrasts with Diakhao-Sud
w ith narrow, winding lanes bordered on all sides by tapades
of millet stalks and noisy in the evening. The proximity of
[275] the two military bases has made it a place where one amuses
[525] himself with all that this includes in the way of drinking
[579] shops and more or less clandestine gambling dens. Brawls be-
tween drunken men are not rare in these places.

Randoulène, Derrière-la-voie-ferrée, and Bambara,
which form a unique quarter, homogeneous in its density and
in the heterogeneity of its dwellings, have become established
in the immediate vicinity of the railroad repair shops. The
[342] huts of planks, mud, or straw stand one against the other along
[363] the winding lanes laid out according to the desire of the
moment and not without some imagination. These lanes are
[373] noisy with people, and even late at night they walk between
the small shopkeepers' stalls lighted with smoking candle ends.
351 The dense crowd flows over the edges of the street and enters
the interior of the courtyards. The latter, covering barely
[463] a few square meters, often serve as a workshop for the
[252] weaver, the blacksmith, or the jeweler, and as a kitchen for
the housewives of the neighboring huts; it is not rare to see
half a dozen millet pounders there, pounding their mortars
in rhythm in groups of two or three. This is also the gathering
[517] place /82/ /Fig. 4 appears here/ of workers, where, after
[524] work, sitting in the sand amidst the dust and the noise, in a

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 spected figures, with the aim of keeping
[193] such matters on a purely religious plane, has had little success. The Tidjane chieftans have been too enmeshed in politics to listen.

527 665 578 (3) A last example involves recreational activities organized at the end of the year around the exhibition of the "lanterns."[41] These activities provided a basis for the formation of temporary groupings founded on ethnic background, neighborhood, occupation, etc. Such groupings undertook the making of a "lantern," and exhibited it to neighbors, relatives and others, eventually by forming a parade. An element of competition entered; the most noteworthy "lanterns" won rather imposing gifts and a brief prestige for the groupings that exhibited them. The parties seized on this competitive aspect. Party sections themselves created "lantern" groupings. With access to considerable material means and a large number of workers, they made "lanterns" that were veritable carnival floats, huge and very elaborate. Their exhibition brought together in a procession the typical rabble of large political demonstrations. At the same time it aroused friction between hostile parties.[42] They had taken over, almost entirely at their expense, demonstrations whose character they had utterly changed. This is a typical example of the way in which disparate activities have been infused by the two-party rivalry.

369 665 This process also has another side: the parties have seen a decline in their opportunities for expressing political drives. In the old cities, they experienced relative stagnation for some years, while social changes accelerated and intensified. Elements just becoming aware of the world

[P. 14A]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[41] At first these were merely decorated lanterns. The custom[1] certainly has a European origin; it is typical of the "old cities" of Senegal.
[42] In 1954 the parades of "lanterns" were prohibited by administrative edict.
[43] The results at Dakar and at Thiès cannot be compared in detail. However, the informative value of these general results could, in each case, be verified at other stages in the research.
[44] It should be noted that in the case of Thiès the category of unskilled workers was much closer to that of semi-skilled workers. The unskilled workers, largely employed by the railroad, comprise a more stable group than at Dakar.

[1 [i.e. an exhibition of "lanterns" at the end of the year accompanied by recreational activities — See category 116, P. 14A -- Analyst]

[P. 14C]

665
369
[527]
[197]
[463]
[578]

S /89 cont./

369 not left Africa for 30 or 40 years. Others, more favored by
563 business, take a trip each year to France or western Asia.
573 Generally, the children pursue their studies in their parents'
[484] land of origin and speak French and English fluently. This
[191] new generation of Levantines, to whom one must add a few
[529] Moroccans, is becoming integrated little by little in the
[578] metropolitan milieu through the medium of sports associa-
[477] tions and hunting parties. These amicable relations will perhaps favor to a certain degree a closer relationship between these groups which are so often antagonistic on the commercial level.

/90/

2. The Africans.

S According to the census statistics gathered in 1953, the
369 ethnic composition of the city was the following: out of an
563 African population of 36,050 inhabitants, the Wolof appeared
162 as the most numerous and, with 23,624 individuals, made
W up 65.5% of the population; the Toucouleur, numbering
[162] 3,356, represent 9.3% of the total; the Bambara (Sudanese,
[369] rather) attained third place and accounted for 6.8% of the population with 2,447 individuals; the Sérère, although settled in the vicinity of Thiès, included only 1,856 persons, namely, 5.1% of the total. The Peul and the Moors, respectively 1,074 and 843 individuals, made up 3% and 2.4% of the total. The Sarakolé and the various other groups, represented, respectively, by 650 and 2,190 members, formed 1.8% and 6.1% of the population.

W These details speak eloquently of the ethnic hetero-
[162] geneity of the Thiès population. Still, it should be empha-
[369] sized that the number of true Wolof is certainly less than the
[563] statistical figure given; after a stay of some ten years spent in Thiès, the Khassonké or the Sarakolé, who will have lost almost all contact with his country of origin, who will have married a woman not of his race, who will have adopted the language, the food, the corresponding Wolof name, will speak of himself as belonging to this group.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

movement, though by the late fifties it amounted to a definite 648
revolt against the basic assumption of an assimilationist 668
policy that there was nothing of worth in African culture and that the greatest benefit France could bring to Africans was to make them French. It was hardly surprising that those to whom this policy had been most heavily applied should be the first to react. Thus in political and cultural affairs the Senegalese were in the vanguard of the campaign for the recognition of the African personality, or in French African terms *la négritude*. This new movement showed itself in many fields. In politics it was to manifest itself in a [665]
rupture with the metropolitan French parties, and the assertion of the necessity of the incorporation of traditional African values into European-type political systems. On the human plane it insisted on the dignity of the African, the originality of his personality and his contribution to the achievement of the human race. In the cultural field it implied a return to the values of African art, which educated [532]
Africans until recently had themselves tended to reject. As regards history, it denied the common European allegation that Africans had no history and asserted that Africans had in fact made a far greater contribution to world history than was revealed in text books. Finally it was to produce a picture of a suffering Africa, exploited and abused by the white man, awakening slowly to a glorious day of freedom.

The policy of Senghor's new party, which was not allied 665
to any metropolitan party, was characteristic of this revolt. 668
Its declared aim was to promote a new form of African 648
socialism, related to the realities of the African situation. Accordingly the party was to be organised to correspond with the socio-ethnic structure of the country. It demanded a greatly increased autonomy for Senegal and other African countries, and whilst not demanding independence, a word that did not touch the public lips of any major French African politician for another ten years, it advocated a federal relationship between France and her overseas territories.

/15 cont./

788 style, violently colored like our Épinal pictures and representing
*795 the holy places of Islam or personages of Koranic tradition.

[438] Finally, to complete this immense and noisy fair over which
[443] floats an impalpable dust, there, in a corner of the city not far from the mosque, are the keepers of the cook-shops: they cook
[265] in the open the appetizing dishes which they will offer at modest prices to the famished pilgrims.

Evening does not slow down these activities; on the contrary, the pilgrims regroup at the homes of the various marabouts, and sessions of religious songs are organized there. They will
[533] last far into the night, which will resound until dawn with these litanies amplified by numerous loud-speakers.

/16/ In the course of this pilgrimage, the believers have several obligations to fulfill:

1) to call on the Caliph-general,

2) to go to meditate at the tomb of Amadou Bamba and that of Amadou Moustapha,

3) to visit the mosque,

4) to go to see their own marabout,

5) to visit at the cemetery the Sacred Tree and the graves
[778] of certain deceased notables of the brotherhood.

At the entrance to the carré of the Caliph, the faithful, in a long line, patiently await their turn to go into the residence of their supreme spiritual leader.

After passing through several walls (at the gate of which are talibé-cashiers who claim their offerings from them), they arrive at the hut in which the Caliph receives.

The circle guards maintaining order have them enter one by one into the straw hut where Falílou awaits them, assisted by his secretary and some of his close collaborators. Each pilgrim kneels before the Caliph while presenting to him his offering (hadia), which the sérigne will immediately have passed on to one of his followers. The pilgrim then rises and goes out in order to give his place to another.

His visit to the Caliph ended, he goes to the sacred tombs
[778] of Amadou Bamba and Amadou Moustapha.

/18 cont./

788 *795 to it out of curiosity, but do not fail to be touched by the strength and cohesion of Muridism, and sometimes some of them become disciples of Amadou Bamba.

Besides, the repercussions of the pilgrimage go beyond the bounds of Touba and the brotherhood. The local press, the [204] [207] official information services, and Radio-Dakar attend and participate in it. Radio reporting, newspapers, and films spread sonorous echoes and vivid images of the Magal, not only throughout the Territory, /19/ but throughout the Federation, and this contributes no little toward increasing the glory and prestige of the brotherhood and its leaders in Senegal.

793 *795 If the Magal has assured this character and this importance, it is thanks to the present head of the brotherhood, Falilou M'Backé, and, reciprocally, the aspect thus assumed by this pilgrimage has been one of the elements which have established the second Caliph at the head of the brotherhood.

Actually, at the time of his nomination as Caliph-general, he had to overcome the opposition of his nephew, Cheikh M'Backé, son of Moustapha (who aspired to succeed the latter as he had succeeded his father, Amadou Bamba), whom the council of the Murids had removed from the succession for his benefit.

By directly tying again the tradition of the Magal to the first intentions of Amadou Bamba, he brought about the unity of the Murids around himself.

He has also devoted himself to the building of the mosque, to which he applies all his attention. Not only does he collect for this purpose considerable sums at the time of the Magal, but he also seizes every opportunity to make collections or to have collections made for the benefit of this work. In particular he [533] has his representatives organize throughout the territory night sessions of religious singing in the course of which funds for the mosque are collected.

Thus he has appeared, in the eyes of the Murids, less as the successor to Amadou Moustapha than as the direct continuater

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 565 582 S [595] caste from his own tribe. The extent to which caste matters is brought out by the case of a young Catholic girl from a devout family who, rather than marry a fellow Catholic out of caste, in the end became the polygamous wife of a Muslim of the same caste. Within any ethnic group in Senegal marriage out of caste is extremely rare.

S 565 W [565] S [533] [814] The caste system is not vicious in any real sense. For the privileges of a high caste entail many obligations. Thus a noble Wolof family will be obliged to feed and pay frequent sums of money to its family griots (minstrels, praise-singers and family historians) and if they fail to do this the griot is able to shame them publicly as a poor or mean family, something a Wolof would avoid at all costs. Likewise the artisan castes have a monopoly in their respective trades, S [463] [326] since it would be impossible for a noble or free man to undertake the work of a jeweller or smith. Nevertheless in Senegalese society the term 'bijoutier' or 'tisserand' has slight contempt attached to it. The only caste to suffer S [561] socially in any way is of course that designated slave, because of the implications of such a status. In social investigations amongst the factory workers of Dakar, M. André Hauser found very few indeed who would admit to being of slave caste.

At present it is certainly a disadvantage to belong to any of the inferior castes, and though one hears of a few cases of open clashes between castes, in the present state of affairs it is certain that a number of young men resent this classification of people into superior and inferior groups and it is very much less important to them than to the older generation.

S 565 764 578 Early in 1961 *Agence Presse Sénégalaise* reported 'bloody clashes between griots and non-griots at Diack'. These ended with several dead and a number of wounded and started as a result of the refusal of non-griots to accept the burial of griots in their burial ground. The Minister of the S [641] Interior himself went to settle the dispute and gathered the whole population to tell them that his Government gave

[10 cont.]

369 The griots, those "vipers' tongues," have put together
533 new songs in order to make up for the loss of the spoils of war never to be hoped for again. Without exaggeration or error, one
[583] can assert that the very high cost of the marriage expenses is due only to the griots, who, using their malevolent genius, contrast in their chants the generosity of such and such a man with the parsimony of the other, spicing all the praises with references to his always legendary and generous ancestors.

369 To dazzle the girl and her relatives with his generosity
583 and his wealth, to wrest from the rivals acknowledgment of their poverty, to overwhelm with goods persons of inferior castes whose praises will never cease, to enrich the prestige and the dignity of his parents-in-law -- there is the origin of the enormous expenses which must be faced by those who marry in Saint-Louis.

The phases of Marriage and their cost

369 This is not the place to show what role the girl plays in
565 the act which is going to decide her life. Nevertheless, let
582 us be permitted to affirm that today some freedom is permitted
[584] the girl in choosing a spouse, always with the condition that her choice must be a man of her rank. Native society is, in effect, compartmented, and the smith, the jeweler, the cobbler, the griot never becomes attached to a guer (2) woman with the

2. All the persons who do not belong to an inferior caste -- griot, cobbler, etc. Not to be confused with gor, free man, who is not a slave or a freed man.

permission of his parents. Conversely, the guer must remain in his domain, and the custom which formerly authorized the
[631] chiefs to contract marriages with caste women, always under the pretense of conquest in battle, is tending to disappear.

/390 cont./

125 434 artisans it was necessary, aside from their family accounts, to consider those of their occupational activity; with regard to the cultivators, it is certainly /391/ among them that the greatest percentage of error is found. We have taken into account the proceeds from the sale of their harvest, often underestimated by the one concerned, the portion for home consumption, and the income obtained by supplementary activities practiced in the dry season, in order to arrive at an income figure that could be compared to that for salaried workers.

125 434 462 But, nearly all of the women, almost all of whom declare themselves to be "without occupation," have minor sources of income that permit them to balance a budget, or at least partially to make up a deficit. It is often a matter of small-scale commerce, sometimes domestic work, and sometimes the talents [536] [565] of an actress which attract sympathy and gifts, as we verified for a family of the griot /singer, storyteller/ caste. It was therefore necessary to look closely at each case before setting an exact figure. We nevertheless believe that we have been mistaken in two or three cases, which will reveal themselves below.

125 434 592 Of course, there were often cases where in a family, or rather let us say in the same "unit of consumption," since this is the term that we shall use most often (1), several persons

[104] [594] 1. Each time that we speak of "family," it is actually the unit of consumption that is involved. To designate the familial grouping in the Western sense of the word, we shall use the term "restricted family."

received income. The entire income retained is not always the sum of these incomes. We have studied the budgets of groups and not the budgets of individuals. Now, these groups, these "units of consumption," only rarely correspond to the restricted family of Western type. They often contain individuals who, whether or not they have a kin tie with a member of the restricted family, on the one hand participate in the economic

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

called 'Les Ballets Sereres du Sine Saloum,' a group of dancers who had won the Territorial Cup in 1957. 545

The theatre was packed. I was sitting next to an ample Jollof matron, a small child strapped to her back, its tiny nose buried in the pink muslin of her dress. Another child sat on her knee, beturbanned and clothed just like its mother. From the woman's forehead dangled three shining American dollars. Unfortunately a similar Jollof woman sat immediately in front of me, her black horsehair wig and tall tulle turban almost totally obscuring my view. A strong scent of 'Bint El Sudan' manufactured in East London perfumed the room as the curtains rose to the first dance, 'Love and its Caprices', which was to be the theme of the evening. The variations, the programme told me, were to include '*Allo M'Bissine*'—'My fiancée has beaten me because a boy who loves me told me "Hello M'Bissine" ', and later '*Khodia Kha Lola*'—'Why do you cry Khodia? Only the Gods understand what a tear says'. Ending with an initiation dance of future circumcision candidates. One of the most memorable dances was a solo by a woman with a baby strapped to her back, its head swaying backwards and forwards like a punch ball. The child uttered not a murmur as its mother danced into a frenzy, singing at the top of her voice, and in the background a corps of drums beat an hysterical rhythm. It was an entertaining evening, with a beautiful dance of a slight youth, his black-brown body shining sleekly in the glow of the footlights, contrasting with the powdered copper of his lissom partner, a girl of singular beauty with entrancing opalescent eyes. [854] [291] [302]

After the performance there was a cast party to which Faye, the young secretary of the theatre, invited me. The dancers, various guests, European and African, drank bottles of Coca-Cola and orange squash. Amongst them was Ka Abdou Anta. 536 [517] [212]

He was a handsome young man, but he dragged continuously at a cigarette and his teeth were discoloured with nicotine. His jacket, once well cut, was misshapen by papers stuffed into the pockets. My first meeting with Ka had been two years before but we had not been introduced. He was rehearsing a scene from his play *La Fille des Dieux*, which he was producing for the Théâtre du Palais. It was highly symbolic: a somewhat uneasy compromise between tribal metaphysics and the classical French

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

536 theatre. But the writing was powerful and distinguished. My most vivid memory of Ka at that time was an ear-shattering torrent of abuse directed at his leading lady: 'Pas de Fred Astaire ici. Çe n'est pas le Music Hall.'

Today that play is a thing of the past, which nevertheless brought him fame. Now he is engrossed in a piece about a young schoolteacher who is sent to a pagan animist village in the south of the Senegal, to found its first school. The play centres on the conflict between the educated teacher and the local witchdoctor who opposes the school. Deep in Ka's intellect is a striking preoccupation with the conflict of occidental reason with the seemingly irrational metaphysics of the forest and the bush.

Ka was seized by numerous other friends so we agreed to meet the following day at a café in the Avenue William Ponty, Dakar's main thoroughfare.

[547] The small café was crowded. Across the street the Café de Paris with its large, bad painting of Montmartre, was half empty and its clientele, sitting at the iron street tables, stared at us with vague interest. Ka was talking animatedly about nineteenth-century Russian novelists and the decline of Russian literature today. He was very typically '*rive gauche*' and indeed we might well have been in St. Germain des Prés.

'Of course, I think that Huxley is more essentially English than Graham Greene,' my companion continued in a new vein.

Later I went with Ka to his room in a small, dingy hotel in the back streets of Dakar. 'I prefer living here, away from my relations. At least one is free.' I wondered whether it wasn't because it reminded him of his life in Paris.

Together we read his latest play about Chaka, in which he treats the great Zulu as a narcissist. Once again I was struck by the power of his writing, the economy of his style. We fingered through copies of *Présence Africaine*, *Traits d'Union* and *Afrique en Marche* [204] where he and his fellow intellectuals have their works published.

668 571 Most striking of all is the cultural revolution, so marked in Dakar, but gaining momentum from all parts of the French West African Federation. Ka Abdou Anta is a part of this revolution, which has produced a generation, albeit small, of intellectuals who can vie on equal terms with their counterparts in Europe.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 personality, its uniqueness as Senghor saw it, is best understood from this quotation:

> That is to say that the Negro, traditionally, is not devoid of reason, as people would have me say. But his reason is not discursive, it is synthetic; it is not antagonistic but sympathetic. It has a different mode of perception. Negro reasoning does not detract from the things it contemplates, it does not mould them into two rigid schemes, thereby ignoring their very essence; it flows through the veins of things to arrive at the living heart of reality. The reasoning of the white man is analytical by utilisation, that of the Negro intuitive by participation.

Whether all the advocates of the African personality held so abstruse and philosophical a concept of its character is doubtful. But as the young poet Lamine Diakhite, a close disciple of Senghor, has written: 'Let us admit it, it is thanks to Senghor and Césaire that my generation became aware of itself, that it embarked upon the path of asserting its personality.'

[571] This movement, started in the late forties, was to touch mainly the intellectuals, those who had been most assimilated by the French. The poorer classes had of course not been so effectively alienated from their past. These intellectuals were during the next years to question everything in the light of this newly discovered or rediscovered African personality. Some advocated the shutting of the door against Europe and some of Cheikh Anta Diop's writings have elements of counter-racism. Whilst Europeans have been asserting their superiority over Africans for so long, he counters by asserting the Negro superiority over Europeans. Fortunately this negative attitude did not survive to any important degree.

There was also a healthy questioning of the values of European or Western culture, though this often went to the extremes of outright rejection. David Diop, the young Senegalese poet who died recently in an air crash, accuses [539] the white man's civilisation of hypocrisy:

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

 668

In the country where the houses touch the sky
but where the heart is not touched [539]
In the country where the hand is placed on the Bible
but where the Bible remains closed.*

The forum for this great re-examination of the African 204
past was to be *Présence Africaine*, a bi-monthly review of 668
Negro African culture, founded by a Senegalese called Alioune Diop in 1947 and open 'to all contributors of good-will (white, yellow or black), who might be able to help define African originality and to hasten its introduction into the modern world'. Although the review was Pan-Negro in outlook, its original inspiration came from a small group of Senegalese intellectuals in association [571] with West Indians like Césaire and Haitians like Price-Mars. There was of course nothing parochial about this. It was only that the Senegalese were the first, for the reasons outlined above, to feel really strongly about the reassertion of African culture. And when in 1956 *Présence Africaine's* efforts culminated in the first Congress of Negro Writers and Artists, the Senegalese were to play a dominant role. In his opening speech to the conference Alioune 668
Diop, the secretary and backbone of the organisation, made a moving protest against the myth of a people without culture, a protest that earned the support of all delegates. But his attacks on assimilation can have had relatively little meaning for delegates from the English-speaking territories; whilst some of the American Negro delegates like Richard Wright felt that as far as they were concerned it was impossible to return to a past from which they had been physically and culturally removed for over three centuries. Replying to a brilliant discourse by Senghor on 'The Laws of the Negro African Culture', he asked: 'I wonder where do I, an American Negro, conditioned by the harsh industrial, abstract force of the Western world that has used stern, political prejudices

* Translated by Ulli Beier.

/430 cont./

*511 Finally, eight families more or less regularly devote
517 a part of their incomes to the heading "Diversions"; ex-
[541] cluding No. 36 /431/ (he attends the horse races), all go to
[546] the cinema or send their children there. They are the numbers:

No. 16: 1%	No. 36: 1%
No. 22: 3.5%	No. 39: 0.6%
No. 26: 0.9%	No. 40: 0.2%
No. 33: 0.6%	No. 43: 0.6%

[204] There must be added to that five families who read and buy newspapers:

No. 34:	Employee...	0.3%	of the income
No. 36:	Accountant..	0.7%	--
No. 39:	Teacher.....	1.6%	--
No. 41:	Employee...	0.4%	--
No. 43:	Doctor.....	2.5%	--

*511 A final question presents itself. How, when there is
423 any, are the surpluses utilized.

We have been able to get precise data in only two cases: No. 36 built a house to which he devoted in one year, from March 1952 to March 1953, 80,000 francs. On the
[427] other hand, No. 43 has taken in rent-sale a villa in Dakar, and for that he pays 12,300 francs per month.

Moreover, the ambition of many, as we have said, is
[556] to become the owner of their dwelling. Some look further and want some gardens besides. Several already possess one or the other and are only trying to improve or enlarge them. One of them claimed that he had had a well dug, but he was unable or did not want to remember the sums put into this undertaking.

*511 One of the family heads succeeded in starting a trans-
[472] portation business after having purchased two carts and a horse.
[494] Some hoard. We believed that a cultivator had a good-sized
[454] bank account and loaned the money at usurious rates. We have
[426]

/125 cont./

443 Markets. Fairs. Daily markets have been established in the mixed communes of Kaolack, Foundiougne, Fatick, and Gossas, as well as in the important centers such as Guinguinéo, Birkelane, Kaffrine, Koungheul, Nioro, Saboya, Sokone, and Gandiaye. Those of the mixed communes and important ports are much frequented and have a good trade.

In addition, cattle markets have been held monthly at Kaolack since 1924.

543 Fairs have been instituted in order to familiarize the public with the principal products of the region. A first Fair-Exposition was held at Kaolack in June 1925; it was a great success. It had been organized with the co-operation of the administration and commerce. This happy attempt was renewed in April 1926 with the same success. The governor-general, M. Carde, was present at these two fine manifestations of the economic life of a region in full development.

453 /126/ Banks. The dependable index of the development of commercial transactions is given to us by the banking groups which have been established at Kaolack.

The Banque de l'Afrique Occidentale Française opened a branch in the chief town of the circle in 1927. Moreover, other credit establishments had preceded it. An agency of the Banque française d'Afrique was opened in 1924. The Banque Commerciale africaine followed in 1925.

871 Education. It is necessary to educate the native if we want him later to be our collaborator in the work of colonization. We are realizing this duty by the public schooling which is given at Kaolack in a regional school attended by nearly 500 children; a home economics school is attached to it. Primary schools where the number of pupils is very great are in operation at Fatick, Foundiougne, Gossas, Kaffrine, Nioro, and Sokone.

874 461 It is also necessary to develop vocational education because we lack good workers. We are going to be in want of artisans if we do not remedy a situation which had already appeared in this region several years ago. Unfortunately, the

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

W 302 hair fixed on either side of the head, from which they protrude like thin curled horns. Another trick is to fix balls of black velvet or twists of black sisal. Strands of soft black silk are commonly used in their coiffure today, and they hang in nearly every small store, a baffling commodity to those unacquainted with Jollof fashions.

W 301 To these wigs the rich and fashionable Jollof woman fixes huge pendants of gold filigree, beautifully worked by the local craftsmen. The really chic touch is a bunch of gold coins—Louis D'Ors, American dollars and Franz-Josephs, or English Guineas—hanging from false plaits over the forehead, preferably coquettishly to one side. Gold is indispensable to their ensemble. A really W [556] wealthy Jollof lady seems to be covered with it: great ear-rings, pin brooches, heavy gold rings on the finger, ear-rings and tiny rings placed all round the outside of the ear and Tudor toe-rings.

W 302 A Jollof woman spends considerable time on her make-up. Her lips are tattooed with indigo, sometimes even on their pink [304] insides. A thin blue line is tattooed on to the lower eyelid, immediately under the lashes, making her eyes seem much larger than they are. Eyelashes are painted with black dye, and the white palms of the hands and the soles of the feet are stained black as well. Their long, bejewelled fingers are crowned with nails W painted with red nail varnish or an orange stain.

291 This ensemble gives the Jollof woman something of the 177 gracious artificiality of appearance that marked the fashions of the Empire period. Geoffrey Gover,† in his book *Africa Dances*, described their behaviour as continually provocative. 'Their W [832] movement, their glances, their sighs, their manner of speaking, are all, almost subconsciously, alluring.'

So striking is the Jollof dress that it has been adapted by African women all over the Senegal, and is copied as far distant as Niger and Ivory Coast.

A CULTURAL DILEMMA

Dakar

S 545 One evening Arnold and I went to the Théâtre du Palais, a [368] small, neat theatre owned by the Government in the centre of [655] Dakar. We were to see a production of tribal dancing by Sereres

† [this should read Gorer--Analyst]

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

called 'Les Ballets Sereres du Sine Saloum,' a group of dancers 545
who had won the Territorial Cup in 1957.

The theatre was packed. I was sitting next to an ample Jollof matron, a small child strapped to her back, its tiny nose buried [854] in the pink muslin of her dress. Another child sat on her knee, [291] beturbanned and clothed just like its mother. From the woman's forehead dangled three shining American dollars. Unfortunately a similar Jollof woman sat immediately in front of me, her black horsehair wig and tall tulle turban almost totally obscuring my view. A strong scent of 'Bint El Sudan' manufactured in East [302] London perfumed the room as the curtains rose to the first dance, 'Love and its Caprices', which was to be the theme of the evening. The variations, the programme told me, were to include '*Allo M'Bissine*'—'My fiancée has beaten me because a boy who loves me told me "Hello M'Bissine" ', and later '*Khodia Kha Lola*'—'Why do you cry Khodia? Only the Gods understand what a tear says'. Ending with an initiation dance of future circumcision candidates. One of the most memorable dances was a solo by a woman with a baby strapped to her back, its head swaying backwards and forwards like a punch ball. The child uttered not a murmur as its mother danced into a frenzy, singing at the top of her voice, and in the background a corps of drums beat an hysterical rhythm. It was an entertaining evening, with a beautiful dance of a slight youth, his black-brown body shining sleekly in the glow of the footlights, contrasting with the powdered copper of his lissom partner, a girl of singular beauty with entrancing opalescent eyes.

After the performance there was a cast party to which Faye, 536
the young secretary of the theatre, invited me. The dancers, [517]
various guests, European and African, drank bottles of Coca-Cola [272]
and orange squash. Amongst them was Ka Abdou Anta.

He was a handsome young man, but he dragged continuously at a cigarette and his teeth were discoloured with nicotine. His jacket, once well cut, was misshapen by papers stuffed into the pockets. My first meeting with Ka had been two years before but we had not been introduced. He was rehearsing a scene from his play *La Fille des Dieux*, which he was producing for the Théâtre du Palais. It was highly symbolic: a somewhat uneasy compromise between tribal metaphysics and the classical French

/430 cont./

*511 Finally, eight families more or less regularly devote
517 a part of their incomes to the heading "Diversions"; ex-
[541 cluding No. 36 /431/ (he attends the horse races), all go to
[546 the cinema or send their children there. They are the numbers:

No. 16:	1%	No. 36:	1%
No. 22:	3.5%	No. 39:	0.6%
No. 26:	0.9%	No. 40:	0.2%
No. 33:	0.6%	No. 43:	0.6%

[204 There must be added to that five families who read and buy newspapers:

No. 34:	Employee...	0.3%	of the income
No. 36:	Accountant..	0.7%	--
No. 39:	Teacher.....	1.6%	--
No. 41:	Employee...	0.4%	--
No. 43:	Doctor.....	2.5%	--

*511 A final question presents itself. How, when there is
423 any, are the surpluses utilized.

We have been able to get precise data in only two cases: No. 36 built a house to which he devoted in one year, from March 1952 to March 1953, 80,000 francs. On the
[427 other hand, No. 43 has taken in rent-sale a villa in Dakar, and for that he pays 12,300 francs per month.

Moreover, the ambition of many, as we have said, is
[556 to become the owner of their dwelling. Some look further and want some gardens besides. Several already possess one or the other and are only trying to improve or enlarge them. One of them claimed that he had had a well dug, but he was unable or did not want to remember the sums put into this undertaking.

*511 One of the family heads succeeded in starting a trans-
[472 portation business after having purchased two carts and a horse.
[494 Some hoard. We believed that a cultivator had a good-sized
[454 bank account and loaned the money at usurious rates. We have
[426

/88 cont./

369 bar, and sometimes its cinema and its swimming pool; /89/
563 they form a small city that is self-sufficient. The officers
573 of the administration by their very functions seem to have more extensive relations in the different milieus.

Among the merchants and artisans, the problem is different because of the very stability of their work and the length of their stay. In this commercial and artisan milieu one could define three very distinct "groupings": the "old ones" who have lived in Thiès for several decades; the "newcomers" from after the war; the Levantine-Moroccan grouping.

The first are not very numerous; they live in their old factorerie, which, in spite of recently added arrangements, preserves something old-fashioned about it. They are able to [191] talk to the native in his own language. Their life, while it has become more comfortable, is lived modestly; they go out little and entertain only among themselves. Every two [484] or three years they take a few months' rest in France during the season of cultivation in Senegal. As a result, their life is quite withdrawn.

The second group, made up of recent emigrants, is entirely different. It primarily contains bachelors or young married people more or less in love with adventure perhaps, but above all seeking a broader existence. They generally [427] live in one or two rooms rented from a Levantine or Moroccan. [265] Since it is difficult for them to cook at home, the restaurant provides for them. In general they adopt a careless attitude, [484] are restless, and speak loudly; their first savings are intended [493] for the purchase of a motorcycle or a small car which will enable them to escape from the city. Moreover, they are per- [546] sistent spectators at the four local cinemas, which have a new program every day.

The group of Levantines is different from the two preceding ones; their life is spent between their shop and their [484] apartment. Rare changes take them to Dakar on business. [353] Their interior is comfortable, arranged according to Oriental taste; they love vivid colors and pile up cushions. They [484] rarely go back to their country of origin; some of them have

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

536 theatre. But the writing was powerful and distinguished. My most vivid memory of Ka at that time was an ear-shattering torrent of abuse directed at his leading lady: 'Pas de Fred Astaire ici. Çe n'est pas le Music Hall.'

Today that play is a thing of the past, which nevertheless brought him fame. Now he is engrossed in a piece about a young schoolteacher who is sent to a pagan animist village in the south of the Senegal, to found its first school. The play centres on the conflict between the educated teacher and the local witchdoctor who opposes the school. Deep in Ka's intellect is a striking preoccupation with the conflict of occidental reason with the seemingly irrational metaphysics of the forest and the bush.

Ka was seized by numerous other friends so we agreed to meet the following day at a café in the Avenue William Ponty, Dakar's main thoroughfare.

[547] The small café was crowded. Across the street the Café de Paris with its large, bad painting of Montmartre, was half empty and its clientele, sitting at the iron street tables, stared at us with vague interest. Ka was talking animatedly about nineteenth-century Russian novelists and the decline of Russian literature today. He was very typically '*rive gauche*' and indeed we might well have been in St. Germain des Prés.

'Of course, I think that Huxley is more essentially English than Graham Greene,' my companion continued in a new vein.

Later I went with Ka to his room in a small, dingy hotel in the back streets of Dakar. 'I prefer living here, away from my relations. At least one is free.' I wondered whether it wasn't because it reminded him of his life in Paris.

Together we read his latest play about Chaka, in which he treats the great Zulu as a narcissist. Once again I was struck by the power of his writing, the economy of his style. We fingered through copies of *Présence Africaine*, *Traits d'Union* and *Afrique* [204] *en Marche* where he and his fellow intellectuals have their works published.

668 Most striking of all is the cultural revolution, so marked in
571 Dakar, but gaining momentum from all parts of the French West African Federation. Ka Abdou Anta is a part of this revolution, which has produced a generation, albeit small, of intellectuals who can vie on equal terms with their counterparts in Europe.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

369 all the accoutrements of a Montmartre bistro, together with a
275 large, bad painting of the Sacré Coeur above the bar. Drinks were served by a tall barmaid, with long flaxen hair and make-up applied so that she looked like a German-doll. The clientele was mainly composed of soldiers from the barracks by the sea-front, but at our table sat two elegant Jollof girls, both very drunk.
[548] They made it fairly clear they were prostitutes and it was not long before a policeman came to arrest the more intoxicated of the two. She spat, screamed furiously and struggled to break away. Just as she was about to enter the car, she demanded: 'Let me finish my drink.' She was allowed to return to her table, where she drank her beer slowly, eyeing us all as if we were vermin. Then just as slowly, with the comic dignity that comes so naturally to a drunk, she swept to her feet, stood with her henna'd hands on her hips, spat with incredible accuracy at the feet of a nearby soldier and shouted in a voice ringing with anger, and looking at us with contempt: 'Salauds.'

Then an African sergeant came in, asked for a drink, which
[563] the flaxen doll served him. She served African and European alike. I found this hard to believe after the Gambia, where no white woman could serve drinks behind a bar to Europeans, let alone to Africans.

369 Next morning, I was even more surprised when Arnold took
563 me into a large department store and pointed to the counter-girls. Seventy-five per cent of them were white. Outside a French-woman was selling vegetables at a small stall. Of course, in this respect Dakar is exceptional for West Africa. It is the only city with a large population of Colons. Over 25,000 Europeans live
[162] there. They came from every walk of life and have more affinity with the Colons of Algeria than anything else one can cite on the Coast. You can walk into the most ramshackle bar and yet be served by a Parisienne. You will find poor whites living in the Médina, as the African quarter is known. Each year, 'Les Girls' from a Paris night club do a season at the *Bodega*. The N'Gor Hotel and the 'Croix du Sud' are as fine as you will find in France. Dakar's Colons have re-created Paris in Africa. Most of them have never ventured out of the city, and if they had to go into 'the bush' they would probably prepare for it as though they were Mungo Park setting out to discover the Niger.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

was a borrower, only to have other people borrowing from him.

The morning after I had lunch with Diop I went to a Conference in the High Commission on Alcoholism. This, it appeared, was a grave problem in Dakar. The creation of the new Africa has its ugly sides, and this was perhaps one of its most ugly. A favourite drink, named after the local bus service, was the 'Car Rapide'. To make it you mix beer, methylated spirits and a drop of petrol. It is guaranteed to knock you out in one go. In Zuiginchor a more potent drink was made by adding a well-known Parisian perfume to beer.

A day before the Conference *Paris-Dakar*, the local daily newspaper, published an article on alcoholism in M'Backé, a large Senegalese town:

ALCOHOLISM MUST BE FOUGHT

An all out police attack is needed and would be appreciated to seek out and rid our town of a gang of drunks of both sexes who spend their time in the small shops and sordid bars which are hidden all over the town in the guise of restaurants and small eating places.

Most of the proprietors of these cafés add to their miserable occupations that of pimping. Favouring alcoholism, they nevertheless indulge in all revolting forms of debauchery.

In most parts of our town one finds these small cafés nicely divided, serving as homes and places of business.

A few posts in the ground, a roof of polished tiles, a wooden fence and there you have the ideal café.

The interior of these hovels is divided into small compartments with no ventilation and on the ground a few mattresses covered with dirty blankets. The decoration consists of a few old newspapers pasted here and there to keep out the sun. The bar stock lies among packing cases and hidden under the mattresses. In holes made for the purpose are bottles of wine, red, rosé and white, and beer.

To cover up this business known to be officially disliked, the café proprietors keep a kitchen where periodically they prepare meals, hygienically leaving a lot to be desired.

In these sordid places, the atmosphere heavy with noxious smells, they give themselves up to their anti-social pastimes. Debauchery has been given a home here. These are also the rendezvous of scoundrels and receivers of stolen goods.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 275 733 After the great Magal de Touba[1] our town inherited bands of homeless among whom were notorious criminals.

S 369 694 Alcoholism was not the only form of moral decadence in a city like Dakar. Actually crimes of violence, robbing and murder were almost unknown. There were rarely any reference to them in the papers, and a police officer assured me that this was true. However, one read frequently of crimes of passion, such as a man stabbing his friend to death in the course of a quarrel.

S 369 548 There was, I was told, an enormous amount of prostitution in Dakar. I was shown one of the city's more notorious brothels in Rebeusse suburb, a rambling shack that had been raided more than once by police. On the whole prostitution is not organized S [563] because of legal difficulties. A number of prostitutes were white women, who receive patronage mainly from Lebanese and Syrians. I was told of one who went around the Médina in a W small car, serving the local population.

S 369 838 548 On the other hand homosexuality had a much freer rein, being prevalent amongst Africans, Mauretanians and Europeans alike. In Place Prôtet, the main square of Dakar, young African boys, more often than not Jollofs, could be seen waiting to be picked up. Under the Code Napoleon it is, of course, legal, and in theory presents no problem, though many people are worried by its spread in the city.

Of course, to many of these boys with no work, it is one way of making money. But amongst the Jollofs it seems to be more deeply rooted. Contact with Frenchmen in St. Louis, who often preferred black boys to black mistresses and contact with the Mauretanians may provide an explanation.

Today one can even see Jollof men dressed in women's clothes. I once met one in a small bar outside Dakar. He was obviously pathetically feminine. The Jollof must be used to this since they even have a word for them—Gor-Digen. The elders and faithful Muslims condemn men for this, but it is typical of African tolerance that they are left very much alone by the rest W of the people.

589 One reason for the growing tendency of Jollof men to remain bachelors to an age much older than is usual in Africa, if not for their homosexuality, is the character of the Jollof women.

[1] Celebration of Birth of Prophet.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

equal status to all Senegalese and wanted to make everyone true Senegalese citizens whether they were griots, leather-workers or jewellers. Afterwards the non-griots agreed that the griots who had just died should be buried 'in the same way as anyone else, and as a beginning they agreed to let the burial of the victim of the incident take place, not in the traditional baobab but in Diack earth.' 565 764 578 [641]

In the Government today there are, amongst those members belonging to tribes with a class system only two of inferior caste, one being a 'bijoutier' and one a griot. It is said of another that he is of slave origin, but this is not certain because politicians often try to attribute inferior caste to their opponents. In the Assembly, of the members with caste all are noble or freeborn with the exception of one 'bijoutier', and one griot. It is thus at present difficult to get on in politics unless one is noble or freeborn. Indeed chiefly connexion is important, even though chiefs are no longer of significance administratively. Thus in 1957 Kenneth Robinson wrote: 565 [646] [631]

> Membership of chiefly families is, nevertheless, an important source not only of prestige but of political interest. In many interviews with political leaders in the smaller townships and villages they almost invariably defined their own position, and that of their fellows, in part by reference to their relationship with the ruling families, or with the indigenous caste system. [554]

Mr. William Foltz, who is making a detailed survey of Senegalese politics, has however observed that the local party groups in the country are increasingly representative of the inferior castes and many of the important backroom boys are of inferior caste, which suggests that there may be a change from the present situation at the next elections. But so far, as Mercier has observed, it does not look as though high standing in the modern context can yet completely redeem traditional inferiority. [665] [554]

The caste system in Senegal is one of the most delicate problems confronting the Senegalese Government today.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

571 178 preserve much of their prestige;[1] they are sometimes in diametrical opposition to the modernist elites and sometimes try to come to terms with them; occasionally, as the result of historical conditions, the two elites are closely interlocked.[2]

4. Types and degree of tension between the African modernist elites and the European groups. The latter occupy the position of ruling class in the whole community represented by each territorial unit. The conflict is fundamental, yet a balance, however temporary and precarious, between the two groups may sometimes be discerned, though it varies enormously in degree from one region to another and at different times.[3]

The situation in Senegal, compared with that in other parts of French West Africa, exhibits certain special features. Senegal was the first of these territories to be colonized.[4] At the beginning of the new phase which opened after the war, it had the largest number of educated and partly Westernized persons, and it has for several decades had a political life modelled on the West, though of a summary and limited character.[5] At this level of political life, the course of events during the past 10 years affords us a first glimpse of regional diver-
[668] gencies. It is a significant fact that Senegal was not the first French West African territory in which a movement making political demands of some magnitude arose. The acute crises of the immediate post-war period developed elsewhere—in the Ivory Coast—with the founding and expansion of the
[665] Rassemblement Démocratique Africain, the first political party in French Africa (Black) with nationalistic tendencies. The Rassemblement Démocratique Africain never succeeded in establishing itself firmly in Senegal, either before or after its change of policy in the 1950's.[6] There is no space here to describe in detail the historical and social background of such events, though I shall have to refer to it several times later in this paper. Some of the basic traits will suffice for mention: aspects of the traditional structures, of contemporary economic development, of the schools' endeavour to promote assimilation.

[563] The principal racial groups inhabiting Senegal,[7] whatever their cultural differences, and whatever their traditional hostility to one another (which has still by no means completely disappeared) all had the same type of social and political organization. They were strictly graded societies divided into endogamous castes, each with its special economic, political, ritual and other functions. In the present context, inter-caste antagonisms and incompatibilities are as a rule more important than racial antagonisms, since several racial groups may have equivalent social gradings or one may have borrowed and adapted another's gradings. This is a fundamental feature; it indicates the framework within which we can explain the problem of relations between
[554] the traditional and the modernist elites. For instance, prestige due to education may be superimposed on prestige based on tradition, in particular prestige due to caste; or else the two may be completely separate.[8] Even today a high

1. Either officially or more or less 'clandestinely'.
2. E.g. in South Dahomey.
3. In the Ivory Coast, for example, a period of calm and co-operation followed when the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain dropped certain extreme claims.
[175] 4. Trade centres have existed for more than three centuries and the more specifically colonial period began more than a hundred years ago.
5. It had four municipalities with full privileges which sent a deputy to the French Parliament.
6. It broke off its alliance with the French Communist party.
7. The Ouolof, the Toucouleur and the Serer.
[179] 8. The resistance of the traditional ruling strata to foreign influence explains why, in certain cases, the lower castes were the first to go to school.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

standing in the modern context does not often completely redeem a traditional inferiority. The latter obviously does not prevent accession to such rank, but it does prevent a man from reaping the full benefit of the prestige which it confers. We shall have to revert to the ambiguity which thus characterizes individual situations, because it is an important aspect of the problem of the modernist elites. The old political organizations have either been destroyed or considerably weakened, though the prestige of the aristocratic families who hold the chefferies or are closely connected with them has not completely disappeared. But an important change has occurred: the power and influence of the traditional political chiefs has to a large extent been transferred to the khalifas of the great Islamic sects;[1] the latter represent today the principal force capable of resisting the modernist elite, and the one with which the latter and the political movements identified with it must to some extent come to terms.[2]

The changes due to the new economic conditions resulting from the colonial period can be discerned at several levels. The rural economy has been radically transformed—progressive abandonment of subsistence farming in favour of a single cash crop throughout a large part of the territory.[3] In contrast with regions where a plantation economy has developed, the average farmer's income has remained extremely low. Consequently, what has elsewhere been termed a 'rural bourgeoisie' has not emerged, and the most favoured economic categories coincide, by and large, with the upper strata of the traditional or semi-traditional type (heads of sects),[4] or with those artificially created on the same model by the colonial administration. Again, the group to which the name 'commercial bourgeoisie' has been given is still too small to have much influence;[5] almost all African traders are small shopkeepers and make no appreciable impact on the affairs of the community as a whole. The most significant changes are found at another level: urbanization and industrialization. Senegal is the most highly urbanized territory of French West Africa; about a quarter of the population live in the big towns and the administrative and trading centres. A very large wage-earning class with a steadily growing nucleus of stable labour has developed.[6] A workers' elite has appeared, and intensive trade union activity in the big towns has brought this class into touch with the educated elite (the administrative bourgeoisie, etc.).

This educated elite deserves special attention; in Senegal more than elsewhere, it represents the dominant element among the modernist elites. The educational policy was definitely conceived and organized at the beginning of the colonial period in the context of a policy and a ideology of assimilation. The educational curriculum introduced in the French establishments in Senegal at the beginning of the nineteenth century was essentially foreign to the tradition and culture of the autochthonous societies. Thus, in a recent paper, the author made much of the point that 'it was not a factor making for integration of the individual in his group, but rather—at any rate in the first historical phase—one making for a break. The adaptation of the curriculum and even of teaching methods

1. Their functions are hereditary.
2. Cf. below, remarks on the political parties of the traditional type.
3. In this case, groundnuts.
4. The economic role of the Mouridie brotherhood is particularly important: colonization of new lands, experiments in mechanization, etc.
5. The middle-man trade is practically monopolized by the Lebanese colony; in the town of Dakar alone there are more than 3,000 Lebanese.
6. The region of Dakar alone has more than 30,000 wage earners in the private sector.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

to the African social environment was scarcely taken into consideration. The fact that the African languages were, and still are, totally excluded, even in the lowest school classes, brings out this tendency quite clearly, whatever the jutification that may have been offered on practical grounds. The original policy has of course been relaxed in certain points; the principle of adjusting the French educational system to local conditions has been accepted—the adaptations being concerned however more with the physical than with the social and human framework. But the basic tendency remains.'

However, the schools could reach—and still reach—only a fraction of the population. And so the training of an 'elite' came soon to be regarded as a necessary first stage in the process of assimilation. The two ideas emerge closely intertwined in Faidherbe's famous declaration of 1860: 'Everyone can reach the same goal when he satisfies the conditions required of all of you alike, conditions which we are today putting within your reach. You see young men from the Christian families of Saint-Louis, who after a good start in the mission schools, go and continue their studies in a secondary school in France, come back fit for filling the highest positions in the colony. That road is open to you all alike. We are ready to facilitate access to the liberal professions for every child who shows exceptional talent at school. . . .' As a matter of fact, those, as yet few in number, who at the start of the colonial period received instruction on Western lines were supposed to be the answer to immediate, limited needs. The main object was to train interpreters, lower grade civil servants, clerks, etc., as the indispensable auxiliaries in the establishment of a colonial administrative and commercial system. Their role was a humble one, but they shared in the prestige of the European group and also, to some extent, in its privileged economic position. The notion of an elite rapidly acquired a wider and hazier signification; it came to cover all those who were thought to serve as a link between the colonizers, the bearers of civilization, and the untaught masses who were destined gradually to acquire it. In fact, the eager adoption of European values, and the acceptance of assimilationist policies characteristic of the period up to the last war, accentuated the trend towards a rift between the indigenous elite and the masses who still adhered to their traditional cultural and social systems.[1] A point deserving emphasis is the considerable attraction exerted by the centres of assimilation, notably the 'four communes',[2] the natives of which very soon received French citizenship, and in which education developed much more rapidly than elsewhere.[3] These events in the recent history of Senegal explain why prestige in modern times was focused on the 'intellectual' elite,[4] and why the latter made a considerable impact on that colony sooner than they did on the other French West African territories.

Intensive investigations have been made in the principal urban centres of Senegal[5] to ascertain the aspirations of the various population classes and the models they adopt. They cover adults as well as children. More summary samplings taken in rural surroundings show that there is less difference in this matter between the city and the country than might have been supposed.

1. Firm links subsisted, however, as will be seen later on.
2. Dakar, Gorée, Saint-Louis, Rufisque.
3. Multiplication of primary schools, introduction of secondary education, etc.
4. Taken in a very broad sense; for a long time, the mass type of this new intellectual elite was the *ceddo* (the holder of the primary school certificate).
5. By the sociology section of the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

This is a significant fact; high prestige, more or less definitely acknowledged by the whole population, crystallizes around professions, functions or situations which are considered to be 'intellectual'—implying in fact a minimum of Western-type learning. Prestige on economic grounds seems to be definitely on the decline.[1] At Dakar, Thiès and Saint-Louis du Sénégal, adults were questioned about the trade or occupation they would like their children to take up. A vast majority of the socio-vocational categories (unskilled and skilled workers, traders, clerks, civil servants, etc.) from which the population sample under study was taken gave the same answer. Between 65 and 80 per cent mentioned an intellectual profession. Those most frequently cited were teaching (primary or secondary school teacher) and the liberal professions (lawyer, doctor, etc.); the technological professions (engineer etc.) were much more rarely specified.[2] One of the commonest answers was that vague but highly significant term, 'civil servant'. The fact is that the trend of education in the period before 1945 helped to establish a very close link between education and a job in the administration; this is still the case, despite the changes effected in the last few years. Similar attitudes are found in the results of surveys among children in the primary schools at Dakar. Among those who replied specifically[3]—about three-quarters of the children questioned—more than 80 per cent expressed a preference for an occupation considered to be intellectual, irrespective of their father's occupation; next came certain manual trades, with commerce far behind. The choice of an unspecified administrative job was less frequent than among the adults. It follows that the view generally taken about education—including primary education—viz. that it will lead almost inevitably to an intellectual occupation,[4] however modest, remains very stable; but it is less and less in keeping with the realities of the situation.

A brief study of the facts in the development of the educational system will allow us to make a first evaluation of the system. The crude school rate rose rapidly from 1946 to 1953 and has since continued to rise pretty regularly (16 per cent in 1953, 18 per cent in 1954, about 20 per cent in 1955). Senegal's early advance in this respect explains why the increase is less steep there than in most of the other French West African territories.[5] True, the school rate is still relatively low (and a fairly large proportion of the children do not complete even the primary course and will probably soon lose such learning as they have acquired), but a plateau was reached several years ago: primary education turns out many more pupils than the 'administrative bourgeoisie'—characteristic of the colonial period—or its equivalent in private enterprise can absorb. Formerly, the surplus of the educated population could be absorbed by the manual trades or by migration to other territories. But this second door is gradually closing now that these other territories are catching up in education. Moreover, the slow pace of economic expansion precludes any big increase in the number of openings for technical workers or in the supervisory grades in industry.[6] This is the justification for the talk about the educational over-

1. Material security (e.g. that enjoyed by civil servants) seems to be desired more often than actual wealth.
2. They are only beginning to acquire some prestige; the number of students choosing this branch has risen considerably in recent years.
3. Children from 10 to 14, in the 'intermediate' classes.
4. A job in the bureaucracy was for years the standard aim.
5. The school rate in the Ivory Coast almost trebled between 1946 and 1955.
6. Limited, but chronic unemployment, already exists in Dakar.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

the individuals questioned; and these differences are likely to become sharper—45 per cent were farmers' sons, but considerable variations appeared according to the socio-vocational category. The proportion of unskilled workers was 80 per cent; it was only 42 per cent for skilled workers and craftsmen; still lower (33 per cent) for civil servants and subordinate office employees (the widest category of the 'administrative bourgeoisie' characteristic of the colonial period), 28 per cent for senior clerks and civil servants;[1] for members of the liberal professions in the widest sense[2] it was no more than 21 per cent. These last three categories taken as a whole represent the 'intellectual professions', according to the meaning still ascribed by the great majority of Senegalese to that phrase. Of those who had a father already in one of these professions, three-quarters were engaged in the same work. The same process of stabilization can, however, be observed, though less clearly, among specialized workers; of those whose father was a worker, nearly two-thirds still belonged to the same class; most of the others had been absorbed into the 'administrative bourgeoisie'. These, moreover, are the two chief categories,[3] from which there has emerged a new type of elite which really began to grow in size only after the last war.

178 571 369 463

Important changes in outlook, not only in Senegal, but in the whole of French West Africa, have accompanied this most recent historical phase. From the elite of the strictly colonial type as defined above there has begun to emerge—and even to take on separate existence—a new intellectual elite, still a relatively small group.[4] This elite, which might be termed that of the liberal professions—this time in the strict sense of the phrase—having a distinctly higher level of education and more definite professional competence, is able to lay claim to a quantity of posts until now almost exclusively held by Europeans. The category was not completely non-existent during the pre-war period; it developed earlier in Senegal than in the other French West African territories as a result of Senegal's possession of an embryonic system of secondary education.[5] Being numerically weak, this elite had an opportunity of associating, to a certain extent, with the European population, a fact which manifestly lessened its prospects of playing an active role and assuming the leadership of the African masses. Furthermore, it continued to follow the policy of assimilation and was the only element in the 'colonial elit e' which succeeded in achieving it. It could find only a limited field of action in the political life of the 'four communes'. It consisted mainly of lawyers, a few members of the teaching profession and doctors and even a few administrators. It doubtless set an example for a colonial elite of a far inferior grade from which it was not entirely cut off; it showed them the road to be taken by the seeker after modern knowledge. Prestige of the kind hitherto enjoyed only by Europeans was transferred to them and was thus seen to be no longer out of reach and so engendered ideas of power—a share, even if limited, of political and administrative powers—and wealth, or material security, at the lowest. This role continued to develop after the war, though with a rather abrupt change of direction.

178 571 [463] [873] [554]

1. i.e. those holding posts of responsibility, regardless of their educational level.
2. Mainly, teaching, medicine, etc.
3. The first, especially.
4. Only a few hundred individuals, including members of the 'colonial elite' who were belatedly given fresh opportunities for completing their studies and reaching a higher status.
5. *Lycées* at Saint-Louis, later at Dakar.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

cent of the population. Thus, the number of Europeans in intermediate or subordinate posts has substantially increased and the range of competitive situations, instead of growing less is being regularly extended. This affects not only the new elite, but a large segment of the old 'administrative bourgeoisie', and even, to some extent, the workers and lower supervisory grades in industry. And so, while—in theory—opportunities for reaching the highest ranks and simultaneously entering the European group (a consequence foreseen by assimilationist ideology) have increased with the development of education, in reality a radical change in the whole social structure has multiplied the causes of conflict. New factors have cropped up abruptly; further assimilation is gainsaid, Europeans and Africans become more and more sensitive to the realities of race, etc. Obviously, the political consequences of such conflicts are considerable.

I have mentioned cases in which a rift occurred between the elites and the masses, in the early years, at any rate, of the 'colonial elite'. This fact needs some further explanation, while the question of the relations between the 'educated' and the 'traditional' categories calls for re-examination on a wider basis. The stereotyped patterns maintained by the European administration underline the points of divergence. The administration has besides had a tendency—and not only in Senegal—to underestimate the influence of modernist elites and to depreciate their impact upon the population as a whole. True, important tensions can be observed, and some antagonism developed between the citizens (those of the 'four communes'), from whom the major part of the 'colonial élite' came, and the subjects in the other parts of the territory; but such tensions virtually disappeared with the legal changes introduced immediately after the war, a fact which is proof enough how superficial the points of divergence were. The 'educated' classes, moreover, sought to reap all possible profit from the power they acquired in their administrative functions, or in their role of intermediary between producers and the big commercial companies; and that attitude naturally set up a great many local conflicts. Sometimes they sought compensation for their inferior standing in the traditional framework by asserting themselves in the exercise of their new functions. As we have already shown, however, the population as a whole recognized the prestige of the new intellectual elite. True, their prestige did not necessarily displace the traditional prestige, but the two can coexist, a circumstance which stands out most clearly in rural districts. So, even if the 'educated' African has difficulty in fitting into the traditional system or even the family group, even if he is often a maladjusted element, he is rarely the fish out of water whom so many colonial observers considered him. All the elements of the population are still continually in touch.[1] There are two basic reasons for this. First, the range of family relationships is still a very wide one and they themselves are still effective; they maintain their hold on the 'educated' African even when he has left his birthplace. Secondly, religion—chiefly Islam in Senegal—and above all, membership of a sect, which is practically hereditary, continue to be important. The fact that tension between elites and masses led to nothing but quite limited and temporary breaks explains why the recent and entirely conscious effort to retie loose bonds was carried through with comparative ease. It was the new elite that, with political aims in view, inspired this effort. Usually too far removed from the

1. The vitality of racial or regional associations is significant in this respect.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 Metropolis. Until recently the African élite has always come from
[571] St. Louis. It is a sort of spiritual centre of Black Africa. It had the
[873] first school—Lycée Faidherbe. And in 1866 it was given the first Hotel de Ville of the French Union. It is the cradle of the French Union. It would be a tragedy if it died.'

369 To such men as these it seems scandalous that St. Louis with
175 its great history and traditions should give way to a parvenue like Dakar. Of all West African cities St. Louis is the one with the most illustrious and fascinating history. It was called St. Louis after the great French King, Louis XIII, in the middle of the seventeenth century. However, in the following century it began to expand into a town whose inhabitants were a distinct race, comparable
[563] to the Creoles of Sierra Leone. White and black intermarried to form a group known as the St. Louisians. During the eighteenth
[591] and nineteenth centuries these were the great families of the
[554] Senegal, though today they are losing importance. Names like Carpot, Descanet, Deves, Guillabert and Crespin are still remembered with respect in St. Louis.

[162] By the end of the eighteenth century the town had more than 7,000 inhabitants and in 1778 a mayor, who had to be chosen
[633] from the local population, was charged with the maintenance of good relations between the people and the Governor. In 1833
[641] all inhabitants of St. Louis were given the status of French citizens.

Perhaps the most important date for St. Louis and for West Africa was 1854, when General Faidherbe was appointed Governor. Today his mark is still firmly on St. Louis. The
[361] ordered layout of the city and its streets were his work. The large
[491] bridge connecting the island on which St. Louis stands to the mainland is named after him. The city's most important and famous school is the Lycée Faidherbe. And even now one can listen to old folk sitting on the benches of the park, in which his statue stands, telling tales of the great General, who had fought against the famous Toucouleur chief, El Hadj Omar and brought Senegal, Soudan and Mauretania into the French orbit. Perhaps some of these old people are his own descendants, for he is reputed to have been a prolific father.

[162] By 1878 St. Louis had grown to a city of 16,000 inhabitants, and despite the rapid expansion of Dakar and Rufisque farther down the coast, there was little to worry about the future.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

their homosexuality, is the character of the Jollof women. They are Africa's most beautiful women: they must also be the most demanding. Few people have much good to say for these elegant *femmes fatales*. They are lazy, selfish and fickle. They dislike housework and many of them stick with their husbands only as long as they are prepared to pay out vast sums for their clothes and jewellery. Since the elegant woman (and every Jollof girl aspires to be that) costs about £100 a year to keep in clothes and jewellery, it is little wonder that Jollof men are seeking wives from other tribes, where competence within the house rather than elegance is the standard by which a woman is judged.

Such is Jollof preoccupation with fashion that there is a fashion house in Dakar with Jollof mannequins. These women are chosen not only for their beauty but for their position in society. For if they come from a good family they are sure to be noticed by other Jollof women in the streets, and immediately the clothes they are wearing will be remarked on, and to Pierre Grosse's shop the fashion-crazy Jollofs will rush.

The Jollof dress originates from St. Louis, when the French re-occupied it after the Napoleonic wars. At that time fashionable ladies were wearing the Empire style with its high waistline and long, flowing dresses. Since then the Jollofs have made this style their national dress. They have the same high waistline, the long dresses, sometimes modified by a bodice, and great candy-floss turbans. To show off their magnificent shoulders they have enlarged the neckline, and puffed up the sleeves, stiffened with starch, to half-moon shapes that stand out crisply from the body. The sleeve is usually dropped off one shoulder to reveal the full beauty of its owner.

Over the dress a great docket or cloak of muslin, tulle or organdie is thrown, usually in a colour contrasting with the dress. Materials are chosen with great care. One has only to see these women in Pierre Grosse's handling great lengths of cloth with expert and tender attention to know that no cheap cotton print can be palmed off on the most discriminating buyers on the West African market.

The Jollof's ensemble is not complete without wig, jewellery and make-up. Wigs are of several designs. The most typical, though not the most frequently seen, are two stiff plaits of horse-

/25 cont./

*795 refrigerator, radio, power plant, powerful American cars, etc
793 .... Certain ones even own real estate in Dakar which they rent for a good price, increasing their revenues by that much more.

If this standard of living is the result of the attachment and the fanatical work of the talibés, reciprocally this luxury increases their prestige in the eyes of these same talibés. These simple people see in this exterior wealth a sign of the greatness, power, and glory of their marabout. They are proud to see him rich and influential, as if they themselves participated in this wealth and influence.

Still another anecdote will underline, it seems, this blind admiration of the faithful for their religious leaders in spite of (and perhaps because of) the exterior signs of their wealth.

The domestic servant of a European official had accompanied his employer to Touba, to the home of Failou M'Backé. Thus he could enter the carré of "his" marabout (for he was a Murid). Upon returning, he said to his employer in a tone of sincere admiration and without a critical afterthought: "My
[352] marabout is a great marabout; his carré has many bedrooms and in each bedroom there is a good bed." When one knows
[513] that the majority of the Blacks usually sleep on wretched pallets or even on mats, and that to possess a good bed is one of the first objectives of the African who advances, one will appreciate the full value of this remark...

793 After that no one will be surprised that some people have
*795 labeled as "servitude" the situation which the Murid marabouts
244 reserve for the talibés who work on their plantations. They are,
●555 in fact, grouped in teams of ten to 20, and each team has a piece of land to cultivate. Of course the teams compete zealously to bring to the marabout the handsomest harvest. The zeal of the teams is all the greater because each member can hope, if the marabout notices his own zeal, to be initiated at the end of several years to the Murid dikr and to have in his turn a Murid village to superintend. He can even hope to have assigned to him a new area to be attached to the brotherhood

/25 cont./

793 and to receive the title of Cheikh, with the advantages which
* 795 that confers. While waiting, he works at hoeing and clearing
244 land without counting or measuring all the lands capable of pro-
[555] ducing the groundnuts which make up the fortune of his mara-
bout.

It is this way of colonizing the lands, and more particularly the new lands, which has made the brotherhood play an important role in the economy of Senegal in recent years. The Murid marabouts have been and remain clearers /26/ of land and large-
[433] scale producers of groundnuts. It can be estimated that they alone produce a little more than half of the total harvest of the Territory.

793 This brilliant picture is nevertheless not without shadows.
*795 Even though the influence of the Murid leaders is not dangerous
578 on the political level as a consequence of the good understanding which exists between them and the Administration, even though there is no reason to fear that they may incite the members of the brotherhood to insubordination, their presence in the villages does pose problems. There are problems when they have settled in villages whose chiefs are not Murids (if not, sometimes, anti-Murid). In these cases it often happens that there are collisions
[622] between the customary chiefs and the Murid marabouts, principally since the reforms of 1945 which diminished considerably the powers of the chiefs and their prestige in the eyes of the people at a time when the influence and glory of the marabouts were increasing. Many times the Murids of a canton want to obey
[632] only their religious leader and willfully ignore the canton chief. In addition, in the face of the invading agricultural activity of the Murids, the non-Murid populations stiffen themselves more and more and try to resist their agrarian encroachments. That sometimes creates quarrels; indeed it even provokes violent disorders which have to be arbitrated or stopped.

793 On the other hand, the recent political evolution which is
*795 resulting in giving the right to vote to all Senegalese men and
666 all Senegalese women has prompted the politicians to seek the collaboration and friendship of the Murid leaders... so that they

/430 cont./

*511 Finally, eight families more or less regularly devote
517 a part of their incomes to the heading "Diversions"; ex-
[541] cluding No. 36 /431/ (he attends the horse races), all go to
[546] the cinema or send their children there. They are the numbers:

No. 16:	1%	No. 36:	1%
No. 22:	3.5%	No. 39:	0.6%
No. 26:	0.9%	No. 40:	0.2%
No. 33:	0.6%	No. 43:	0.6%

[204] There must be added to that five families who read and buy newspapers:

No. 34:	Employee...	0.3%	of the income
No. 36:	Accountant..	0.7%	--
No. 39:	Teacher.....	1.6%	--
No. 41:	Employee...	0.4%	--
No. 43:	Doctor.....	2.5%	--

*511 A final question presents itself. How, when there is
423 any, are the surpluses utilized.

We have been able to get precise data in only two cases: No. 36 built a house to which he devoted in one year, from March 1952 to March 1953, 80,000 francs. On the
[427] other hand, No. 43 has taken in rent-sale a villa in Dakar, and for that he pays 12,300 francs per month.

Moreover, the ambition of many, as we have said, is
[554] to become the owner of their dwelling. Some look further and want some gardens besides. Several already possess one or the other and are only trying to improve or enlarge them. One of them claimed that he had had a well dug, but he was unable or did not want to remember the sums put into this undertaking.

*511 One of the family heads succeeded in starting a trans-
[472] portation business after having purchased two carts and a horse.
[494] Some hoard. We believed that a cultivator had a good-sized
[454] bank account and loaned the money at usurious rates. We have
[426]

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

This is a significant fact; high prestige, more or less definitely acknowledged by the whole population, crystallizes around professions, functions or situations which are considered to be 'intellectual'—implying in fact a minimum of Western-type learning. Prestige on economic grounds seems to be definitely on the decline.[1] At Dakar, Thiès and Saint-Louis du Sénégal, adults were questioned about the trade or occupation they would like their children to take up. A vast majority of the socio-vocational categories (unskilled and skilled workers, traders, clerks, civil servants, etc.) from which the population sample under study was taken gave the same answer. Between 65 and 80 per cent mentioned an intellectual profession. Those most frequently cited were teaching (primary or secondary school teacher) and the liberal professions (lawyer, doctor, etc.); the technological professions (engineer etc.) were much more rarely specified.[2] One of the commonest answers was that vague but highly significant term, 'civil servant'. The fact is that the trend of education in the period before 1945 helped to establish a very close link between education and a job in the administration; this is still the case, despite the changes effected in the last few years. Similar attitudes are found in the results of surveys among children in the primary schools at Dakar. Among those who replied specifically[3]—about three-quarters of the children questioned—more than 80 per cent expressed a preference for an occupation considered to be intellectual, irrespective of their father's occupation; next came certain manual trades, with commerce far behind. The choice of an unspecified administrative job was less frequent than among the adults. It follows that the view generally taken about education—including primary education—viz. that it will lead almost inevitably to an intellectual occupation,[4] however modest, remains very stable; but it is less and less in keeping with the realities of the situation.

A brief study of the facts in the development of the educational system will allow us to make a first evaluation of the system. The crude school rate rose rapidly from 1946 to 1953 and has since continued to rise pretty regularly (16 per cent in 1953, 18 per cent in 1954, about 20 per cent in 1955). Senegal's early advance in this respect explains why the increase is less steep there than in most of the other French West African territories.[5] True, the school rate is still relatively low (and a fairly large proportion of the children do not complete even the primary course and will probably soon lose such learning as they have acquired), but a plateau was reached several years ago: primary education turns out many more pupils than the 'administrative bourgeoisie'—characteristic of the colonial period—or its equivalent in private enterprise can absorb. Formerly, the surplus of the educated population could be absorbed by the manual trades or by migration to other territories. But this second door is gradually closing now that these other territories are catching up in education. Moreover, the slow pace of economic expansion precludes any big increase in the number of openings for technical workers or in the supervisory grades in industry.[6] This is the justification for the talk about the educational over-

---

1. Material security (e.g. that enjoyed by civil servants) seems to be desired more often than actual wealth.
2. They are only beginning to acquire some prestige; the number of students choosing this branch has risen considerably in recent years.
3. Children from 10 to 14, in the 'intermediate' classes.
4. A job in the bureaucracy was for years the standard aim.
5. The school rate in the Ivory Coast almost trebled between 1946 and 1955.
6. Limited, but chronic unemployment, already exists in Dakar.

[12 cont.]

369 178 562 [511] that [13] prevailed there. This has been made obvious by the war; the modern households have suffered from economic difficulties much less than the others, because the women proved to be much more skillful in getting out of difficulties with the little that could be obtained.

369 581 [556] Will the custom of such sumptuous expenses with regard to marriage last? It is difficult to tell. It evidently greatly satisfies the pride of the man of Saint-Louis by exhibiting his wealth and his generosity. If it makes marriage difficult for young people, this is very regrettable, because the precious years of youth are lost and the children will come too late; it makes marriage the great affair of one's life, which is good, [562] and it has contributed in a very large measure to the freeing of the girls, which, except for some extravagances, is a great benefit.

Diagne Oumar Syr

Instructor at N'Dioum
(Circle of Podor)

[12 cont.]

369 always temporary marriages, so great is the attachment of the
178 Saint-Louis man for his city and for the girls of his city. Al-
[584] though this situation is very unfortunate for the boys, it is less
[581] so for the girls. Although some of them are still sacrificed very
[562] young to rich old men, many wait to meet the young man of
their choice before marrying. The marriages of infant girls
have become very rare: the girls of Saint-Louis now marry at a
[582] reasonable age, at about 20, much like French girls. It is a
369 profound change. Convinced of being obliged to wait a long
178 time for a husband, they are acquiring an independence that
562 their mothers have not known; they go out, they go to dances
[191] where they dance European dances, they dare to sit at a table
in a café, they dress according to their taste, they speak French.
They go to school without constraint, which is also a revolution,
and they, like the boys, look for a salaried position, which
allows them a very broad life, like single persons, and which,
within the household, frees them from the guardianship of the
[595] husband. Polygamy, which the modern [evoluées] women
generally refuse, is more and more rare in Saint-Louis (4).

> 4. A polygamous husband most often shuns
> the modern women for the sake of peace
> in his household, because the personal
> earnings of these women permit them to
> buy finery other than that which he periodi-
> [578] cally distributes to his spouses, and this
> provokes jealousy and quarrels. Recently
> a young female official was supposed to
> enter the home of a Saint-Louis official
> as the third or fourth wife. She opposed
> her parents and married according to her
> inclination.

Educated girls have long been judged quite harshly, but this is passing. Many of the young girls who married against the wishes of their parents have been quickly forgiven when the latter saw the good appearance of the household and the affluence

[12 cont.]

369 that [13] prevailed there. This has been made obvious by the
178 war; the modern households have suffered from economic diffi-
562 culties much less than the others, because the women proved to
[511] be much more skillful in getting out of difficulties with the little that could be obtained.

369 Will the custom of such sumptuous expenses with regard
581 to marriage last? It is difficult to tell. It evidently greatly satisfies the pride of the man of Saint-Louis by exhibiting his
[556] wealth and his generosity. If it makes marriage difficult for young people, this is very regrettable, because the precious years of youth are lost and the children will come too late; it makes marriage the great affair of one's life, which is good,
[562] and it has contributed in a very large measure to the freeing of the girls, which, except for some extravagances, is a great benefit.

Diagne Oumar Syr

Instructor at N'Dioum
(Circle of Podor)

/371/

121
369

To complement an urban geographical study of Thiès (1),

1. "La ville de Thiès /The City of Thiès/," to appear soon in Études Sénégalaises.

a city located about 60 kilometers as the crow flies from Dakar, we have made an investigation in the villages of its suburbs.

The sole object of this investigation was to learn to what [175 496] extent the presence of a city founded entirely by Europeans as early as 1885 (date of the running of the Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad) may have effects on the neighboring rural groupings.

Consequently, this study will deal only with the relations that may exist between the city and the neighboring villages; agricultural problems will be dealt with only to the extent that they help to clarify certain aspects of the question.

Seven villages were chosen. These agglomerations con- [563] tain populations that belong to the principal ethnic groups of the region: Sérère-none /Serer/ at Tiali, Thiès-none, and Sapko; Wolof at Diakhaté and Keur-Mamour; Bambara and Wassoulonké at Karamoko and at Keur-Issa-Bambara (see the sketch below). All of these localities are located within a radius of less than ten kilometers around the city.

The presence of a city in a given region may have disturbed rural life in very different ways, depending on the distance from the village to the city and depending on its ethnic composition.

It may have acted on the choice of the site for the village, on its arrangement, on the creation of new rural groupings.

It may have caused modifications in the type of the traditional settlement, in its interior comforts, in its modes and methods of cultivation.

/372/ Finally, and above all, it may have led to more or less profound perturbations in the social and economic organization of the village.

Before developing these three points it seems necessary to

S SR 369 [162] /381 cont./ inhabitants. These three villages are located less than two kilometers from the first urban quarters, consequently a favorable location for the daily departure of workers for the escale.

S SR 369 162 [563] The ethnic composition of these agglomerations, despite the urban proximity (favorable for the mixing of peoples), has remained homogeneous. At Sapko there is no foreign element; at Tiali two Wolof and one Sérère-Sine were working there temporarily at the time of the time of the inquiry; by contrast, nearly a tenth of the population of Thiès-None is made up of individuals belonging to non-Sérère ethnic groups (Wolof, Toucouleur, Peul). A parallel must be drawn between this quite relative heterogeneity and the almost total Islamization of the locality. Nearly four-fifths of the population of Thiès-None has embraced this religion; Sapko and Tiali, by contrast, remain essentially Catholic or fetishistic, the Moslems living there generally being transient elements.

S SR [771]

S SR 582 794 [563] A kind of self-defense by the Catholic group that lives in a region largely Islamized seems to be one of the primary reasons for this ethnic integrity. Under the influence of the fathers, who possess, it seems, a profound authority over every Christian agglomeration, marriages occur from None village to None village and between Catholics (1).

S SR [177] 1. The woman seems to be the element through which the transition from the Catholic religion to the Moslem religion occurs. The young Christian who marries a Moslem no longer practices and quickly abjures her first religion; her children and the whole line will become Islamized under the paternal influence.

S SR 162 369 /382/ An examination of the male and economically active population of these three agglomerations gives the result that 38% of its elements have remained essentially

/382 cont./

S 162 An examination of the suburban villages farthest from Thiès will give even lower figures.

S 162 563 Karamoko, located seven kilometers from the city, musters 106 inhabitants. Its ethnic composition is clearly different from that of the above None villages. Very great heterogeneity prevails there; it is made up of 30% Bambara, 30% Wassoulonké, and 25% Peul-Toucouleur. The Bambara and Wassoulonké form the ethnic base of the village, of which they were the creators. The other elements through the play of marriages have superimposed themselves on these groups.

W [563] /383/ Keur-Mamour, by contrast, has remained Wolof; only a few Peul shepherds have infiltrated into the village.

S 162 369 463 The distance from the urban center has considerably reduced the relations with Thiès. They have both remained rural: less than 10% of the economically active male population have non-agricultural work; more than 60% have remained wholly faithful to the land.

S W 369 463 317 At Keur-Mamour, although some elements were formerly employed in the escale itself, at the time of the inquiry only one-tenth were employed as laborers at the Péchiney phosphate quarries located in the vicinity of their village. (We have here an indirect effect of the urban presence: the opening of extra-urban yards offering extra-rural work to the neighboring villages.) As a consequence no worker was employed in the city itself.

S 369 Karamoko and Keur-Mamour thus present limited characteristics of the urban suburbs.

Keur-Issa-Bambara and Diakhaté, located in the vicinity of the escale (about one kilometer from the first outskirts), would have to form the type proper of the suburb.

S 369 563 162 W [563] The ethnic composition is essentially Wolof at Diakhaté, composite at Keur-Issa-Bambara. In this latter agglomeration the Bambara, the Peul, and the Toucouleur respectively account for 30% in the composition of the group. The remainder is made up of Wassoulonké, Wolof, Malinké, and Sarakolé. Consequently the heterogeneity seems to be greater there than

/383 cont./

369 563 162 at Karamoko. This leads to the supposition that there is great instability on the part of the families who, coming from the Sudan, for example, momentarily settle in the village before being integrated into the urban population of Thiès.

An examination of the table below[1] will permit a comparison of the structure of the four non-None villages (the None villages are homogeneous, as we have seen above).

/384/ In the predominately rural villages, the number 369 563 162 166 of individuals born in the village almost balances the number of those born outside: Karamoko, 34 as against 35; Keur-Mamour, 28 as against 22. It should be emphasized that at Keur-Mamour most of the men were born in the village itself, 21 as against 3, but by contrast most of the women are of outside origin, 19 as against 7. At Karamoko, on the other hand, an equal number of men and women leave their village of birth to settle elsewhere.

In the predominately urban agglomerations, the individuals who come from the outside are clearly in the majority. At Diakhaté, 31 are natives of the village as against 48 from the outside. At Keur-Issa-Bambara, only 23 are natives of the village as against 51 from the outside. Let us note that the number of men and the number of women born outside of the village are nearly identical: 22 men as against 29 women at Keur-Issa-Bambara, 23 as against 25 at Diakhaté.

These comparative figures emphasize a greater ethnic mixture in the villages whose economy is marked by the presence of the city.

The villages of Sudanese origin in particular require complementary data concerning the place of origin of the emigration. 563 162 166 To what extent do these villages maintain relations with their country of origin? Does the emigration movement toward Senegal, primed at the end of the last century, continue with as much strength in our day?

An examination of the place of birth of individuals belonging to the over-40 age group (early emigration) and the individuals not having reached this age (recent emigration) will illuminate

[1] [see cat 116, p 18 - ANALYST]

/384 cont./

S 563 162 166 this problem.

At Keur-Issa-Bambara, out of 37 individuals born in the Sudan, 20 are over 40 years of age. At Karamoko, 28 are natives of the Sudan, but 18 have reached 40 years of age. Out of 65 individuals of Sudanese origin, only 27 are young elements. Over half of those classed under the rubric "emigrant" were aged persons, some of whom perhaps assisted in the creation of the village in Senegal.

These few figures are an index of the mediocrity of the present immigration of the Sudanese to the region of Thiès. The unions and the displacements of families or of familial elements seem to occur now between relatively close villages.

S 162 463 369 An examination of the division of activities at Diakhaté and at Keur-Issa-Bambara will permit to some extent "gauging" their index of urbanization.

At Diakhaté, 20% of the economically active male population work /385/ at Thiès, 60% have remained agriculturalists, and the remainder, 20%, is composed of workers of mixed activities, half-rural, half-urban. Keur-Issa-Bambara shows only a very low percentage of workers in mixed activities: 60% are rural; more than 30% work in the city (one sees that this latter figure is slightly higher than that for the None villages, 27%).

W [162] [463] [369]

S [498] The workshops of the Dakar-Niger employ a considerable number of permanent or temporary workers from these two villages. These two localities in fact furnish 19 permanent city workers, 15 of whom are employed on the Dakar-Niger; among the four temporary workers from Keur-Issa-Bambara, three have worked in this enterprise. In addition, Diakhaté furnishes temporarily for the city: four tailors, one mason, and one carpenter.

W [463]

S 162 [191] [871] Let us add that a minority of natives, despite the contacts that they can have with Europeans, understand our language, a little less than 5%. The number of children who go to the European school is almost null, scarcely 1%.

S 369 After this quick study of some types of villages in the vicinity

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

established. Until recent years Senegal was the only territory with an educational system in any way compatible with a policy of assimilation. 648

Thus, with the exception of Senegal, there evolved a mixed policy containing elements of assimilation and separation which came to be known as the policy of association. Even so, as Lord Hailey wrote in his recent *African Survey*, 'the underlying assumption remained that, on a long view, the future of the overseas territories must be one of eventual integration with France in a larger political unit'. And though assimilationist policy was never really successful on the political level, on the personal level, particularly in education where equality of black and white was so frequently demonstrated, it left deep marks. To quote Lord Hailey once again, this time from his 1939 *African Survey*, 'it is not easy to exaggerate the effect on native outlook of a system which permits Africans to sit side by side with French children and to compete with them on equal terms in examinations'.

Since assimilation was only practised in any real measure in Senegal, it is the most interesting of all the French African colonies as the one most marked by contact with the metropolitan power. This book is therefore a study of Senegal with particular reference to a special kind of race relations whereby one people, whilst accepting the fundamental equality of the other, attempts to assimilate it to its own standards in every sphere of life. An attempt will be made to assess to what extent French assimilation was successful in Senegal and why the Senegalese eventually reacted against it; the subsequent marks it was to leave on this newly independent state; the extent to which indigenous culture withstood assimilationist policy; and finally what sort of society the Senegalese, now independent of France, are trying to create for themselves. 121

Senegal becomes even more interesting as a present day case study. For in applying their policy of assimilation, the French Government had to remember that Senegal was the [563]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

121 563 only black African territory where there was a sizeable French community. In Dakar alone the French numbered [169] 6,600 in 1931, 17,300 in 1948 and increased to nearly 30,000 in recent years. It is interesting to examine how the *colons* on the spot reacted to the acceptance of Africans as [369] equals in law and political rights and finally how far assimilation, by providing a new common culture, was able to break down traditional indigenous inter-ethnic hostilities.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

175 small island of Gorée further down the coast. However this did not mean that the French lacked interest in the interior. From 1749-53 Michel Adanson explored the Senegalese coast and undertook the first really scientific description of West Africa. His writings were largely responsible for the later hope that European colonisation of this part of Africa would be possible. But for the rest of the eighteenth century France's hold on St. Louis was too tenuous for anything of this nature to be undertaken. Indeed during the Seven Years' War the town fell to the British and was only returned in 1779. By the end of the eighteenth century St. Louis with a population of 7,000, had a European colony numbering 600, the largest on the whole of the West Coast. It also had an important assimilated mulatto community, whose descendants are known today as St. Louisiens. Indeed there had been a very high degree of *métissage* by the end of the eighteenth century, since most Frenchmen there took permanent African mistresses known as *signares*, and ensured the education of any children they had by them. Indeed in all but legal status these *signares* were wives and their 'marriages' were celebrated by their families with all the pomp of a normal wedding. However, with the improvement of communications between Senegal and France and the arrival of larger numbers of soldiers in the middle of the nineteenth century, mistresses were much more temporary in nature and the number of Frenchmen prepared to educate resulting offspring was considerably reduced.

175 563 369 [162]

In 1789 St. Louis sent its *cahier* of grievances to the States-General on the eve of the French Revolution, demanding the end of the monopoly of the great companies, freedom of trade and the abolition of slavery, which had hitherto formed the main item of export from St. Louis. These grievances were heeded. Slavery was abolished and the companies had their charters withdrawn. But the position of slaves and slave-trading in the colonies was not in fact settled until the end of the wars that followed the French Revolution.

175 567 [439]

During these wars St. Louis once again fell to the British

175 648

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 648 [175]

and only under the terms of the Treaty of Paris which ended the Napoleonic Wars was it finally returned to the French in 1817. Under King Louis XVIII, France embarked on a policy of European colonisation of Senegal. Colonel Schmaltz negotiated with Moctar Diop, the Lebou chief of the small village of Dakar, for land to settle 200 emigrants to be despatched from France under the auspices of the *Société Coloniale Philanthropique*. But climate and disease soon put an end to this venture. Nevertheless Schmaltz persisted with his schemes in St. Louis so that Senegal could by its products enrich the mother country. He made agreements with local chiefs for the agricultural settlement of part of the Oualo or hinterland of St. Louis and in 1819 a model farm was established to experiment in the growing of cotton, olives, dates, coconuts and coffee. This policy was pursued enthusiastically by his successor, Baron Roger, and a number of experiments, mainly concerned with cotton, were undertaken in the next few years. By 1822 nearly fifty concessions had been granted to the French by local chiefs and for the next five years further experiments were carried out by Monsieur Richard who started a full scale research station at what is now called Richard-Toll or Richard's field. But his efforts were not crowned with success, and later governors influenced by the reaction against colonialism in France lost interest in agricultural settlement. This was perhaps fortunate for modern Senegal, since had these first experiments been fruitful she might have been saddled with a settler problem today.

S W 648

S 648

France was already working towards an assimilationist policy. A governmental despatch to Schmaltz informed him that his political aim should be 'to introduce gradually among the blacks of Senegal a civilisation based on free labour . . . education, and public peace . . .' It continued: 'A mulatto is now mayor of the capital of our possessions, and a black could become so too.' Two years later Baron Roger was informed that since most of the free population of St. Louis was mulatto or African it was 'very important

S [563] [369]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 not to let the same discriminations and prejudices such as
[563] exist in other colonies be introduced among them.' At
[369] the same time the metropolitan Government was asking whether Africans would make suitable corporals and under-officers. Furthermore Schmaltz, whilst advocating a system of economic exploitation that seemed to be entirely to the advantage of France, maintained that the Senegalese were not merely to be auxiliaries and that they would be encouraged by fixed prices for their crops to produce more and become 'civilised' by their contact with Europe.

648 So far France had made no definition of the position of
567 non-French inhabitants of her colonies. Even though France
641 by the decree of 16 Pluviose Year II (1792) had abolished slavery and declared that 'all men, without distinction of colour, domiciled in French colonies, are French citizens, and enjoy all the rights assured by the Constitution', and even though the slave trade had been outlawed in 1818, until 1833 freed slaves had uncertain status in law, and domestic slaves still existed in large numbers. A royal ordinance of that year proclaimed that 'Any person born free or having legally acquired his liberty enjoys in the French colonies: (1) civil rights; (2) political rights under conditions prescribed by law'. But only in 1848 was the status of *captif* or domestic slave abolished, though the majority of *captifs* continued to serve with their former masters. Naturally this law only affected inhabitants of St. Louis and Gorée and the other French posts like Dagana and Richard-Toll.

648 The most important result of these two laws was to give
[641] about 12,000 Africans, mostly illiterate, the full rights of
[818] French citizens. Of these less than a thousand had been
[797] converted to Christianity by their French, mulatto or Christian African masters. Educational facilities, which would have to accompany any effective conversion of illiterates into full scale French citizens were still rudimentary. But it must be remembered that in France, at the time, the electorate was suddenly increased from 200,000 to

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

9,000,000 most of whom were illiterate. Balzac, in 1845, wrote in his book *Les paysans*: 648

> For twenty million beings in France the law is merely a piece of white paper stuck on the door of the Church or the Town Hall . . . Many mayors of cantons turn their copies of the *Bulletin des Lois* into bags for holding raisins and seeds. As for the mere mayors of communes you would be shocked by the number who cannot read or write and by the way in which the civil registers are kept.

Most remarkable of the innovations of the short lived French Second Republic of 1848-52, in which the Revolution once more came into its own, was the granting of the right to Senegal of sending a deputy to the National Assembly in France. Grandly it was announced, 'The Colonies purified of slavery . . . will be represented in the National Assembly'. Effectively, such a deputy would be representing an overwhelming majority of African 'citizens' for metropolitan Frenchmen numbered then only some 500. However it was to take some time before the African citizens were to use this newly acquired right to elect one of their own number to the Assembly. [162] [563] [666]

The 1848 Revolution thus embroidered on the 1833 ordinance of the French monarchy by introducing a full scale assimilationist policy for the colonies of France. In Senegal it affected only a small number of people. And never again would France in her expansion through Africa apply this trend in her colonial policy so liberally to her newly acquired territories. Thereafter there was to be a tussle with those administrators who either felt that the inhabitants of the colonial territories were different and should be treated as such, or were overwhelmed by the practical problems involved in applying an assimilationist policy to a largely illiterate population spread over an area eight times the size of France.

The reaction to the liberal thinking of the second republic soon came with Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* by which an authoritarian Second Empire was established. In 1854 the right of electing a deputy was withdrawn from all

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 colonies other than Martinique, Guadeloupe and Réunion and at the same time they were subjected to rule by direct decree of the Emperor.

[167] It was under the Second Empire that the first great period of French colonial expansion in black Africa took place. It was during that regime that Faidherbe, who was to Senegal what Lugard was to Nigeria, first embarked on his African conquests. Faidherbe himself embodied this dichotomy in French colonial policy: an authoritarian agent of an authoritarian regime, he was often found introducing reforms and innovations that conformed with the most liberal application of an assimilationist policy.

[643] 362 [162] [563] [872] [797] [361] Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in 1854. At the time St. Louis, according to Abbé Boilaut in his *Esquisses sénégalaises* was a city of 12,336 inhabitants with only 177 Europeans. There were two primary schools run by Catholic missionaries. A full scale administration had succeeded in imposing on a town otherwise consisting mainly of single storey houses, a governor's palace, a 'very elegant Palace of Justice', a large naval hospital, a fine church and an army barracks.

648 643 From his base at St. Louis, Faidherbe, in a series of brilliant campaigns, notably against the powerful emir of Trarza and the Muslim reformist and Toucouleur leader, El Hadj Omar, was to lay the foundations of France's West African empire. To do this he organised the now famous *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, since Europeans did not stand up well to the climate and the prevalent diseases. By conquest or by treaty he brought most of modern Senegal and much of Soudan (Mali) under French rule. He installed an efficient military administration, and even published an official newspaper the *Moniteur du Sénégal*. Altogether Faidherbe was a remarkable man. He was a firm believer in the equality of races, and did much to increase the educational facilities of the colony. He established a school for the sons of chiefs, and lay schools for Muslims, who objected to attending the mission schools. Whilst Faidherbe wanted to

643 [804] [871] [797]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 that belongs to us, our occupation should be limited to those parts necessary for assuring the suppression of brigandage, the freedom of trade and the tranquillity of an industrious population.

The land cultivated by them will provide produce which will become the object of lucrative trade for the European, the only kind of work he can undertake in this climate.

648 641 [161] [160] [563] By 1865 the colony of Senegal comprised 150,000 inhabitants of whom only some 15,000, living in the original French settlements of St. Louis and Gorée-Dakar, were French citizens. Indeed this number was not to increase noticeably until the end of the century, since the privileges granted to those Africans under French rule in 1848 were never extended to the interior. For whilst Faidherbe pursued a policy of assimilation in the main centres like St. Louis, Gorée and Dakar, he initiated the basis of a system of administration for what was to become the rest of modern Sénegal and French black Africa as a whole that was distinctly non-assimilationist. The laws for the *sujets* or those who did not enjoy the rights of French citizens were particularly harsh. They were not allowed to leave the colony, they had no right of meeting or association, and they were subjected to the corvée or forced labour on the maintenance of roads. To obtain this forced labour Faidherbe relied on the chiefs, and indeed one of the main criticisms of him as an exponent of assimilationism is that he leaned so heavily on both the chiefs and Islam. The treaty made by Jauréguiberry (acting-Governor whilst Faidherbe was on leave in 1865) with Abdoul Boubaker of Toro was far removed from the principles of assimilation: 'Art. 2—The Toro will continue to administer itself according to its own laws, traditions and customs.'

[167] [466] [653] [631]

The overthrow of the Second Empire and the establishment of the Third Republic in 1870 was to see lukewarm reaffirmation of principles of the revolution and a consequent return to assimilationist principles at least in the political field. In 1871 Senegal regained her deputy. More

[646]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

III. FRENCH REACTION AGAINST ASSIMILATION

France had made a great mistake in granting suffrage to the Natives. She did not withdraw her present, but took good care not to repeat it elsewhere.

PIERRE MILLE: *The Black Vote in Senegal.*

648 UNTIL 1913 all the Senegalese deputies in the French Chamber of Deputies were citizens of metropolitan origin. And in the General Council and the municipal 646 [633] [563] councils Europeans, even when they were not in a majority, more often than not succeeded in controlling proceedings. With this European domination of the representative institutions, it may come as a surprise that France not only failed to extend the experiment to other parts of French Africa, but indeed did her best to suppress those rights already granted in Senegal. First of all many of the Gover- 643 646 [652] nors resented the control the General Council had over the territorial budget, albeit limited. Secondly they found that the General Council tried to run a peace-time administration for that part of Senegal under direct rule, whilst the Governors were more concerned with the pacification of the much larger hinterland, for in those days Senegal included much of what is now Mali. As one historian of Senegal, André Villard, has put it: 'The Colony thought it had the right to lead the quiet life of a French *arrondissement* at the very time when expansion towards the east necessitated exceptional political and military efforts.' An authoritarian Governor like Brière de l'Isle found it particularly galling to be saddled with a democratically 646 563 633 elected legislative council. Furthermore the General-Councillors, who were mainly European or half-caste up

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

till the end of the nineteenth century, neglected the Protectorate and seemed to think that the only parts of the country that mattered were the four communes. Naturally their official business with the Protectorate was limited, but they did control the three main ports of the country through which the products of the interior passed to France. The councillors, too, restricted education largely to the communes, where on the whole it reached a satisfactory level. They even sent students on scholarships to France, but unfortunately too few of these returned to Senegal to use their newly acquired talents. It was not until the establishment of the Government-General of French West Africa in 1905 that educational facilities were extended to the Protectorate in any great measure.

The increase in education amongst citizens of African origin meant that by the turn of the nineteenth century they were less willing to accept European domination in the communes and the General Council. The assertion of their rights is one of the main factors behind the attempts of the administration to deprive the indigenous Senegalese of their position as *citoyens*. Actually the Administration was batting on a good wicket. Technically a French citizen was one who accepted French rights and duties without qualification. In the case of the Africans in Senegal they had been allowed to retain their own *statut personnel*, that is private law, with reference to civil disputes, matrimony, divorce, inheritance and land. But this seemed to conflict openly with the definition of a French citizen. It seemed wrong that a man should exercise the rights of a French citizen and not accept the consequent obligations. Many Frenchmen felt it quite illogical that an African with four wives could yet be a citizen. And indeed in later years the main obstacle to granting citizenship to other colonial peoples was to be the question of retention of the *statut personnel*. Thus many of the attempts by the French to deprive the Senegalese citizens of their rights were the result of quite genuine objections to the illogicality of their position. Faidherbe,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

taxes, but thereafter relations between chiefs and Government on the one hand and citizens on the other were rarely cordial. 646 633 631

The powers of the Council were very restricted, having legislative rights over minor matters like the classification of roads and the management of public properties. Even these limited powers were subject to the veto of the Governor-General of French West Africa. Its main deliberative competence was over the budget, which though drawn up by the Governor could be criticised by the councillors. This power was watered down by the classification of a large section of the budget as obligatory expenditure. Nevertheless the council was an exceptional institution in West Africa. As R. L. Buell in his *The Native Problem in Africa* wrote: 648 652 643

That the eight Europeans who participated in the Council should have exactly the same status as the thirty-two blacks is a situation which would strike the Anglo-Saxon as anomalous to say the least. The visitor to the Council will frequently witness a black president calling a European member to order for rowdiness. It does not appear, however, that the council is divided upon racial lines, i.e. of white versus black, except on the issue of higher pay for European officials—a policy which was, in fact, attacked as vigorously by the Europeans as by the native members. The real alignment so far has been the citizen members—both black and European—against the government supported by the chiefs. Black members as we have seen, have unmercifully criticised officials in Senegal. No British colony would tolerate the attacks which the natives make upon European officials in Senegal. 563 646

Buell pin-pointed a growing division in the territory—that between the *originaires* and the *sujets* of the Protectorate. The *originaires*, especially since the election of one of their own number as deputy, became increasingly jealous of their privileges. Meanwhile the rest of the territory was administered according to the same principles of administration as were applied throughout the rest of West Africa. Though traditional chiefs were stripped of their traditional powers 641 631

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

VII. THE FRENCH IN SENEGAL

ooo The less intelligent the white man, the more stupid the black man seems to him.

ANDRÉ GIDE

563 369 THE first thing that strikes the casual visitor to Dakar is the large number of Europeans and the apparent absence of any colour problem. Senegal in fact has an exceptionally good record of race relations, especially when one considers that the proportion of Europeans to Africans is much higher than in many countries with acute racial problems. The French in Senegal today probably [162] number some 40,000 of which nearly 30,000 live in Dakar alone. In comparison with other territories of French speaking Africa, Senegal has always had a large European minority, and this has increased rapidly since the war. Thus in Senegal the policy of assimilation was not applied in the abstract by the metropolitan Government to a people who, with the exception of administrative officials, had practically no daily contact with Frenchmen. In the major towns the Senegalese have been used to the presence of a substantial French community for well over seventy years. But, as we shall see, it was one thing for the metropolitan Government to initiate a policy of assimilation and quite another to expect its citizens to apply it on a personal level in their relations with the people who were being assimilated.

Though the French community in Senegal is relatively [162] large and in Dakar constitutes at least a tenth of the population, it must not be confused in character with the settler communities of Kenya and Rhodesia.

563 The great majority of Frenchmen have no intention of remaining in Senegal after their retirement. On independence few Frenchman opted for Senegalese nationality

[p 64]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

though few picked up their bags and left 'in disgust at the new order of things'. Of course in certain uninformed quarters there was the inevitable short-lived panic about what independence would mean for the French community, and even today, despite reassurances from the Government, certain sectors remain oversensitive to each move or speech made by a Minister. For many Frenchmen their stay in Senegal is not longer than five years, and as a result there is a higher proportion of bachelors than one would normally expect in a community that had intentions of making the country its permanent home. This proportion is largely accounted for by the presence of a French army base.

On the other hand the Dakar European population has none of the temporary character of the English communities in West Africa. Far from living in reservations outside the city, as is still the case with the European population of Lagos, they have moved into the centre of the town and made it a small corner of Europe, and the more the French population has increased the more it has tended to create a metropolitan life for itself in Africa. The range of European-style shops, the number of restaurants, night-clubs, and women's hairdressers shows that although the Dakar Frenchman may have no intention of settling in the city for good, he is determined to live his life in the maximum comfort during his stay. There is relatively little of the attitude of living for the next leave.

Another distinguishing feature of the European community in Senegal is that not only is it not a true settler community but also its economic interests, whilst vast, have not involved any important alienation of land and until very recently have not brought it into conflict with African economic interests. Dakar can in no way be considered a small Algiers. The majority of Europeans, whose per capita income is about £600 a year, are employed by the Administration or commercial and industrial undertakings in executive posts or in technical and clerical positions

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 369 [463] for which no trained African staff is available. There is a wide range of professional occupations, but private enterprise by individuals is largely restricted to higher-class shopkeeping and the running of bars and restaurants. Most of the export and import trade is still in the hands of [439] the large commercial houses controlled from France as distinct from individual Frenchmen in Dakar.

Relations between the African and European communities have been remarkably good. There have been no really significant racial conflicts in Dakar since the war. But relations are *negatively* good. That is to say that there is almost no contact between the two groups outside work. The French in Dakar, despite the official assimilationist policy of the mother country, have shown little inclination to extend it on a personal plane during their sojourn in Dakar. On the other hand when they were officially representatives of the colonial Power they rarely attempted to enforce discrimination against Africans. Apart from the time of the unfortunate Vichy episode there has never been any open discrimination in Dakar. Africans always had legal access to all places the French had, though inevitably there were a number of private associations such as the *Amicales des Provinces Françaises* which excluded Africans by definition though never by statute. A visitor might be tempted to think that the absence of Africans from the French-style cafés in the main streets of Dakar indicated some subtle form of discrimination, but in fact any African entering would be served, and the sparseness of African clientele is determined by economic and social reasons. Drinks are enormously expensive in such bistros, and few [162] Muslims, who form the majority of the population in Dakar, [779] care to be seen drinking in public. Nevertheless it is true that proprietors of certain bars do their best to maintain a white clientele.

There is a certain residential separation, once more largely determined by economics. The expensive European

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

flats and villas are usually beyond the range of the African purse though the difference is being eliminated by the accession of Senegalese, immediately prior to and in particular since independence, to high administrative posts and today there is no real residential separation. Many Europeans live in housing estates built primarily for Africans and not a few live in the Medina or main African quarter. Some trade unions are divided on racial lines between Africans and Europeans, largely because the European workers are skilled technicians and there are even to this day few Africans trained in most of the industrial work done by Europeans.

Nevertheless there are certain cases of bitterness between Africans and Europeans over the question of equal pay for equal work. Though the basic principle is that both groups should be paid the same rate for the same kind of work, the European in many cases gets an expatriation addition of up to two-fifths of his basic salary. This is not true of all classes of work. For instance shop girls in Printania, a local version of Woolworth's, earn the same pay whether white or black though of course the European staff are recruited locally from wives and daughters of Frenchmen working in Dakar. It is surely a healthy sign that Europeans and Africans can work together on equal terms and that Europeans can occupy what in Europe would be considered very humble positions.

One does not detect amongst the French in Senegal any very strong feeling for or against the African. Where any form of racism does manifest itself it is mainly at the level of the artisan worker or the *petit blanc*, a term generally used to describe the poorer white community of small shopkeepers, clerks, mechanics and skilled workers. When the Senegalese are confronted by outbursts of racism from members of this group they are usually inclined to return the abuse in kind, for the Senegalese are naturally an immensely proud people and have very little feeling of racial inferiority. Close contact with a French community

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 that ranges from the Olympian civil servant to a taxi driver and a clerk without work, has left them under no illusion about the equal fallibility of the European. This is in direct contrast to Nigeria where until very recently all Europeans held executive posts, lived in large houses in separate reservations, had cars, servants and high incomes, all of which gave the impression to the vast majority of Nigerians who had not travelled overseas that the English were a race which commanded and did not occupy itself with subaltern work. Thus to this day, even in Lagos, the European is still a 'remarkable' being. In [369] Dakar the Frenchman passes unremarked, and the *Dakarois* is as used to seeing him on foot or on a velo-cycle as in a car, with the result that the Senegalese on the whole do not have any complex about the European as a person although he does about the technical superiority of the European and about France's insistence on the superiority of its culture.

P. Mercier, the French sociologist, in an investigation into [369] the habits of the European community in Dakar, found that very few Europeans had African friends outside work, and that contact between white and black was largely limited to the following spheres: among colleagues, employees, and domestic servants, in cultural and sporting activities, and in schools. Few marriages take place between African and European in Dakar and when they do they are usually between African male and European female, and are contracted in Paris. There are two obvious explanations for this. For many it is impossible to find a wife of the same intellectual level in a society where Islam has retarded female education. For many others the need for a companion leads to love affairs and eventual marriage with women whom they would not consider marrying at home. The reason that few French women marry Africans in Senegal, as distinct from in France, is that they become more aware of the type of society into which they are [596] marrying. It is very difficult for the European woman,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

with her restricted notions about the family, to integrate successfully into the extended family, especially in a territory like Senegal where family relations are of such importance that it is practically forbidden to refer to the economic burden they cause. The European wife often insists on her husband breaking with the extended family and restricting the family to the usual European size. Instances of marriage between European male and African females are rare because of the small number of well educated African females. 563 [596]

This all builds up to a picture of a French community with little interest in assimilating the Senegalese to their own standards. But a number of points must be stressed. On the whole the French have always accepted the Senegalese as equals. There is a strict code of mutual courtesy between Senegalese and all but the most uncouth Frenchmen. As Claude Duchemin of the *Institut Francais d'Afrique Noire* has written: 'A genuine "niceness" was apparent in their daily contacts, simply and with no ostentation, as if it were quite natural. It seemed that each wanted to prove to the other his wish to play the game loyally, without complexes.' Also there has been remarkably little use of 'pidgin' in Senegal, a debased form of French which by implication infers an inferior recipient. [576] [198]

But most important of all is the fact that a small minority of Frenchmen, fortunately usually in positions of authority have followed personally an assimilationist policy. This has been most marked in the political sphere. Though the great majority of Frenchmen who were interviewed by Mercier had nothing to do with local politics and even talked in terms of maintaining 'white solidarity' a few were militant politicians alongside men like Senghor and Lamine Guèye. Men like Maître Paul Bonifay, until recently deputy Mayor of Dakar, who was Secretary of the *S.F.I.O.* in Dakar for many years, or André Peytavin, who worked closely with Senghor in the early days of the *B.D.S.* and was chosen as Minister of Finance in the Government [645]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 formed as a result of the *loi cadre* reforms, are typical of the
[645] Frenchmen who have identified themselves with the country of their sojourn. Indeed such was the devotion of Peytavin to his party's cause that he was retained as Minister of Finance even after independence and opted for Senegalese nationality, a step that Bonifay found himself unable to take. These were men of high education—Bonifay, a well known lawyer, and Peytavin a veterinary surgeon. There were many others like them, not only applying such principles in the political field, but in the administration and commerce, who helped to dispel from the African what would otherwise have been a dominant impression of an isolationist and sometimes racist French community.

[369] It would be foolish to paint too idealised a picture of
[571] race relations in Dakar. Many Europeans, particularly the *petit blanc*, openly admit to holding the African in contempt. But these are usually Europeans of little economic or political consequence and since independence their opinions have obviously carried negligible weight with the Senegalese.

Furthermore most Europeans in Dakar and the other main towns of Senegal, whatever their prejudices, send their children to local schools, where perforce they mix on terms of equality with Africans. The same is true of
[873] Dakar University which has a large number of French students, the majority of whom are girls whose parents are working in Dakar. Their brothers try if possible to go to French universities. Though friendships tend to be
[572] within the same racial group, there is a considerable number of inter-racial friendships.

563 The main point of conflict would appear to the casual
369 visitor to be the economic domination of private enterprise
463 and the more important subaltern jobs by Europeans.
472 But before analysing any tensions that have arisen from this, it is essential to point to some special features of Senegalese society. In Senegal, by contrast with Nigeria, Ghana and Ivory Coast, there is no entrepreneurial class of

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Africans. Indeed only very small scale trading is in the hands of Africans, otherwise large scale commercial enterprises are run by Europeans, and most of their managerial staff being European. Between these large scale organisations, the whole range of middleman trade is dominated by Lebanese and the so-called *petit blancs*. Small shopkeeping is predominantly in the hands of the Mauritanians, though larger shops particularly in Dakar, are run by Lebanese and Europeans. At first sight this would seem to be an unhealthy situation, and it would be foolish to ignore the inherent dangers in it. But the most ardent critics of this state of affairs are as often as not visiting Africans, not the Senegalese themselves. When a Nigerian shops in Printania or goes to the local bank in Dakar, he is shocked by the number of Frenchwomen employed in jobs he is accustomed to seeing held by Africans in Lagos. But in considering the rather special case of Dakar one must take into account a number of factors that are often overlooked by would-be critics.

Senegal is a territory of only 3,100,000 people and in the normal run of education in French-speaking African states, even taking into account Senegal's special position among them, the percentage of the population available to fill managerial and sub-managerial posts or indeed any 'European-style' job in all sectors of the economy, can hardly match up to the requirements of the most highly industrialised city in West Africa. In addition Dakar has a large international airport and a port that was the third largest in the French Union. It is also the centre of government for Senegal and the terminus of a railway. It is not surprising therefore that Senegal finds it more difficult to find the appropriate number of Africans to fill its senior posts in commerce and industry than Lagos which has a Nigerian population of over 36 million to draw on. Furthermore Lagos is in the centre of an area where missionaries have been active for over a hundred years and consequently

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

463 has enjoyed a much higher rate of education than was possible in an Islamic community like Senegal, even taking into account French assimilation policy.

There is a pronounced bias in Senegal against entering into commerce, whether at the African level or at the European level. This bias has been observed by many Europeans. It may be thought of as a mere attempt to explain away the lack of success or rather a lack of desire and intention to Africanise commerce, but against this view, M. Assane Seck, one of the leaders of the Opposition *P.R.A.-Sénégal* and a lecturer at the university, who might normally be only too pleased to pin the slow rate of Africanisation of commerce on the Government, has said that one of the chief obstacles to the Africanisation of economy at its higher levels is the preference of the Senegalese élite, and even the lesser educated classes, for work in the Administration. Under the French the Administration seems to have enjoyed a very high status especially as rates of pay have always been considerably higher than in commerce and industry. Commerce, even when it pays better, has among the Senegalese something of the smear it had in ninteenth-century England.

Another barrier to the Africanisation of shopkeeping and small scale private enterprise is the difficulty the Senegalese have in amassing capital. The obligations towards members of the extended family are such that a man with money has calls made on it from even his most distant relatives. This social parasitism is much stronger in Senegal than in most West African countries. One of the few important Senegalese business men operating in Dakar today has admitted that he had to reduce his family obligations drastically, not only because he was married to a European, but because unless he did so, he would never be able to keep enough capital in his business. Diop Abdoulaye, in his study of the Toucouleur, has protested against the use of the term family parasitism for something which 'makes it possible to help those in need, the unemployed, for example, who can then

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

live whilst waiting to find work; it permits those who are ill, those incapable of work, and those without resources to be taken care of and not die of hunger.'

Probably the most important barrier to the accumulation of capital has been Senegal's dependence on a one-crop economy of ground-nuts. The method of cultivation of ground-nuts and their comparatively low price per ton have worked against the creation of large scale plantations, for instance of cocoa and coffee, which have supplied individual entrepreneurs in the Western Region of Nigeria, in Ghana and in the Ivory Coast with their capital.

These are all factors to set against a situation which otherwise might be explosive. Africanisation has always been a problem in the Senegal and it has increased as the number of professionally trained Africans has increased. But historically, and even today, it has been most acute in the Administration, employment in which is the goal of most young Senegalese. Thus very often commerce is left with the second best. Even so French commercial houses have done far less comparatively to train up an efficient African subaltern class, let alone a managerial élite, than say a company like the United Africa Company in Nigeria. And whilst Senegal was under French control the Administration did very little indeed to encourage Africanisation of commerce.

The present day Senegalese Government, however, recognises the danger of the present position and its efforts to rectify the situation should not be interpreted as a new form of racism but as an honest attempt to maintain the present excellent racial situation. Though the Government has placed many limitations on the autonomy of the trade unions it could not for long suppress criticism of the present structure of Dakar, particularly as Senegal, like all African countries, is subject to propaganda from every quarter. The truth is that there are far too many Europeans doing jobs that Africans could do. In small tea rooms it is not rare to be served by a French girl, for this tea shop is in

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

463 fact a family concern where it is considered more economical
●563 to employ the daughter of the family in menial work than a Senegalese. To counter this the Senegalese Government has studiously avoided any open declaration on the undesirability of this situation, but by a series of discriminatory
[651] taxes hopes to make the position of the marginal *petit blanc* untenable. In this way it is hoped that European employment will be reduced by half within the next four years. Thus whilst the European population of Senegal was given
[162] as 46,500 in 1956, about 40,000 in 1960, the Government hopes to have it reduced to about 30,000 by 1965.

[655] One of the ways in which the Government is attempting to overcome the twin problem of European domination of
[471] commerce and the lack of private indigenous capital, is the establishment of state trading companies and co-operatives to compete in the marketing of ground-nuts and other basic Senegalese products. Also in order to reduce Senegal's dependence on expatriate technicians and minor
[874] functionaries it is expanding technical education and spending considerable sums on the training of Africans overseas. In the initial stages this will only remove those Europeans who were doing jobs that can easily be taken over by Senegalese once they have received basic training. There is no reason to suppose that the European Community will diminish by much more than the numbers cited above envisaged by the planners, since the anticipated expansion of the Senegalese economy under the four-year plan should be able to absorb the marginal cases who might otherwise have been forced to return to France. Nor indeed is it the intention of the Senegalese to get rid of the Europeans for the sake of getting rid of them, since the Government still maintains that the two groups can co-exist to their mutual benefit but that it must prevent the seeds of racial tension from germinating.

563 There is of course amongst the young and particularly
among students some difference of opinion over this matter.
[208] Not all of them hold such liberal views, particularly

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

those who have been influenced by the barrage of anti-colonial and especially anti-French propaganda that has been current in Africa during the last two years. Many young men declare that the best thing they can do is to get rid of the French since the economy is being strangled or alternatively dominated by their former colonial masters. But this does not reflect a deep-seated dislike for France as such, indeed the opposite is nearer the case. The young man who is demanding the expulsion of the French in a heated moment today, may well be packing his bag to go and find work in France tomorrow. Once again, this division is removed when one suggests that the young Senegalese may be against the French as such in Dakar, but this does not imply that he is against either individual Frenchmen—he may well count a number amongst his personal friends—or against France and what France stands for from the point of view of culture and civilisation. Like all those who have led the anti-assimilationist campaign since the war, he is also aware of the dominating role French culture still plays in his daily life. And the wish to remove the French from Dakar may be considered an attempt to compensate for a psychological domination he resents rather than as a reaction against the French community for anything they may have done.

The real danger will come if the younger generation becomes economically frustrated by the French community, a situation which could lead to real racial tension. And it is this again that the Senegalese Government in its present planning intends to avert. The Senegalese leaders at present in power believe that it is their role to show how various racial groups can live together in harmony. Here it is essential to remember that Senegal has three other substantial racial minorities, the Cape Verdians, Lebanese, and Mauretanians of Arab stock, but they are not important for the purposes of this study which is primarily concerned with the effects of assimilation on the indigenous Senegalese.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

VIII. THE SENEGALESE

•563 The case of the one and only Senegalese is interesting. There you have a man no longer designated by his tribe, but by his colony. We are not told what tribe in Senegal he belongs to, Serer, Wolof or Lebu. That he comes from the Colony of Senegal is enough to give him some sort of status, and for native policy to know whom it is dealing with. He is not a *déracini* from a small isolated Africa; in Bobo *cercle* he is son of the mother colony of all the colonies of the Federation. He is settled in Bobo as he might elsewhere, as a man of the new African world that has got beyond race, where natives of all races give life to the colonial structure and break it open from within.

ROBERT DELAVIGNETTE: *Freedom and Authority in French West Africa*

If the first thing that strikes the visitor to Dakar is the large number of Europeans, the second is the homogeneous character of Senegalese society itself. It is not possible, as it is in Lagos or Leopoldville, to tell from a glance at a man or a woman's clothes from which ethnic group he or she comes. Senegal not only has an excellent record of race relations between Europeans and Africans but between the various indigenous ethnic groups. This happy position is typified by the President of the Republic, Léopold Sédar Senghor, who comes neither from the majority tribe nor the dominant religion of the country, but is a Serer and Catholic. Furthermore he is married to a French woman.

[369] [292]

563 162 Senegal has six major ethnic groups accounting for all but 130,000 of its population of 3,100,000. The last census figures gave the Wolof as the largest ethnic group with 35 per cent, followed by the Fula with 17 per cent, the Serer, 16 per cent, Toucouleur, 9 per cent, Diola, 9 per cent, and the Mandingo 7 per cent.

[p 76]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S

The French sociologist Mercier has already remarked the 563 fundamental homogeneity of Senegal's main ethnic groups, [184] which 'Whatever their cultural differences and whatever their traditional hostility to one another (which has by no means completely disappeared) all had the same type of social and political organisation.'

W

Of the major groups the Wolof and the Lebou are for all [101] intents and purposes indistinguishable, the Lebou being the Wolof-speaking inhabitants of the Cape Verde peninsula. The Serer are also very closely related to the Wolof, being considered as tribal cousins. The Toucouleur, Serer and Fula are traditionally connected, it being held that the Toucouleur are the result of an ancient mixing between the Serers, with whom they have a strong joke-relationship, and the Fulas whose language is very close to their own. Thus nearly three-quarters of the population have closer historical and ethnic connexions than exist in any other area of West Africa save Hausaland in Northern Nigeria. g With the exception of the Serers, of whom a substantial [771] minority is Christian, these people are almost exclusively Muslim. They also tend today to use Wolof as a lingua S franca. Even the Diola, from the Casamance, which is [197] in many ways a minority area of Senegal, especially because it is cut off from the north by the Gambia, have strong traditional connexions with the Serer and assert in effect that they are descended from the same ancestor. This leaves only the Mandingo people out of the pattern and as we shall see they do tend to be a minority group in Senegal.

S

There is thus at the basis of Senegalese society an in- 184 digenous homegeneity that is nothing to do with the 563 French policy of assimilation, and which has been greatly S encouraged by a common adherence to Islam, where [192] Marabouts or religious leaders of one tribe have considerable influence over Muslims of other ethnic origins.

S

The French administration, however, through its policy of [631] direct rule did in fact make one major contribution towards

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

184 563 [631] this homogeneity by reducing the traditional authority of the chiefs who more than anyone else are responsible for the preservation of ethnic differences, in being the repositories of tribal customs.

For Senegal as a whole, this homogeneity does not go beyond similarities in socio-political structure, a common adherence to Islam, uniformity in styles of dress, a tradition of common relationship and a growing use of Wolof as a lingua franca. Only in the larger towns has there been 563 [369] any general break-down of traditional tribal barriers and only in the town does one find a high incidence of inter-ethnic habitation and, more important still, inter-ethnic marriage. And since it was mainly in the towns that the French applied their policy of assimilation it is reasonable to assume that there is probably some correlation between the two. In the first place the French in Senegal have always tended to think of the local inhabitants as Senegalese rather than Wolof or Serer, which runs contrary to the common European attitude to ethnic divisions, particularly in British territories where the tendency was always to emphasise the tribal origin of an African rather than the colony in which he lived. Indeed the British administrators, as Lord Lugard himself observed, were always great partisans of particular ethnic groups. Such an attitude, however, has not always been absent in Senegal. For instance Mercier has remarked that certain European foremen in factories tended to choose workers of the same ethnic group in order to avoid possible friction, but he adds that this was not always justified.

563 619 [369] In the *Quatre Communes*, which for a long time *were* Senegal as far as the French were concerned, the inhabitants came to accept from early on the idea of being Senegalese as well as Wolof and Serers. Or they might have thought of themselves parochially as St. Louisiens or Dakarois. With their elected deputy, their *Conseil-Général*, and their municipal councils, the Senegalese crossed early on the barrier between tribalism and nationalism, a result for which other African

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

leaders had to work so ardently and patiently many decades later. Where it has often seemed to be the policy of European powers to divide and rule, here the French positively encouraged the creation of a Senegalese identity. Faidherbe created the *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, whereas Lugard called his force the Hausa Constabulary. For many years, Senegal has had a romantic and sentimental place in the eyes of the French, and the *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, who in fact enjoyed the services of recruits from all over West Africa, are known by most Frenchmen for their services to France in both world wars. This concept of national as distinct from tribal identity in the *Quatre Communes* also influenced the educated élite from the Protectorate who were determined to participate in the privileges of the *originaires*.

A policy of assimilation that has the aim of eradicating the African past and the creation of 'black Frenchmen', when applied thoroughly, did in fact help to eliminate tribal differences and create a new common culture. In particular, education, which grouped children of different ethnic groups side by side, made no concession to local circumstances. They were taught about 'our ancestors the Gauls' and in the best schools standards were the same as those in France. Instruction was in French from the very first years, and the school uniform was in European style. They were thus given a common meeting ground from the earliest age, with almost no concessions made to their own ethnic differences. Large numbers of Senegalese have been to France for their education ever since the days of Faidherbe, and in France they found themselves automatically dubbed as Senegalese, for few Frenchmen had time for the niceties of tribal distinctions.

It is not surprising, then, that particularly among young men many friendships were made outside the tribe. Indeed today in Dakar it would be rare to find a young man with primary education who could not count many friends from outside his own ethnic group. Marriage presented different problems. For if the young man had overcome sensitivities

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

S 563 [587] about tribe, the women, who in a Muslim society rarely gained the opportunity of education, tended naturally to be more conservative in such matters. Nevertheless many *originaires* have married outside their ethnic group and can claim to be Senegalese and Senegalese only, for how else, they ask, can they describe themselves when one grandparent is Wolof, another Toucouleur and yet another Serer? This is by no means common in Senegal, but its highest incidence is amongst the most assimilated groups in Senegal.

S 563 587 [619] [369] One of the most difficult barriers to break down in African tribal society is that of the taboo on marriage outside the tribe or clan. Onuora Nzekwu in his *Wand of Noble Wood* gives a very illuminating study of this problem. In Senegal however, there is an exceptionally high rate of inter-ethnic marriage for Africa. Mercier, in his study of Dakar, observed that the rate of inter-ethnic marriage was below the W [582] Senegalese average amongst the Diola, Serer, and Wolof where endogamy is clearest, whilst the Bambaras and groups of the south, and particularly the Lebou who are inter-marrying increasingly with the Wolof, were above the average. Out of 696 monogamous families investigated, 71 per cent had married a woman of the same tribe, but the figure of 29 per cent for mixed marriages must be S [595] considered extremely high for Africa. Out of 228 polygamous families interviewed 43 per cent were all of the same ethnic group but 57 per cent had at least one wife of different ethnic origin. The highest incidence of inter-ethnic marriages in Dakar occurs amongst clerks, administrators, S [369] employees of commercial houses and the professional classes, i.e. those who have been most affected by French assimilation and for whom ethnic considerations are considerably S [619] less important than for the peasant, who is so much closer to the traditional concepts of the tribe. There is then in Dakar, and one could apply this to other main towns, a S [369] [582] significant increase in inter-ethnic marriages, though as far as Senegal as a whole is concerned ethnic considerations in marriage are still very important. But the multiplication

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

of inter-ethnic marriages in the towns is indicative of a major social change and a reflection of the effects of an assimilationist policy on the Senegalese.

Though many communities in Dakar are based on ethnic and family ties, particularly amongst the immigrant Toucouleurs from the Vallée du Fleuve, Dakar is on the whole a heterogeneous city. Mercier has observed that inter-ethnic habitation is particularly frequent among young bachelors, who often club together to hire a room. This is still relatively rare in Africa except amongst educated élites. But in Senegal many young men resent being asked the question whether they are Wolof or Serer, answering only to the name Senegalese. As far as friendship outside the ethnic group and in particular living with someone from another tribe is concerned, one great advantage is the existence of a common cuisine for Wolof, Serer, Toucouleur and Lebou. There is even a national dish known as *riz sénégalais*, known further down the coast as Jollof rice. This means that not only can friends share the same plate, but a man is not frustrated in his desire to marry outside his ethnic group by fear of a foreign cuisine.

Another important factor in the breakdown of tribal barriers has been the urbanisation of Senegal. Over 25 per cent of the population live in towns, the bulk in Dakar, Rufisque and St. Louis and Kaolack. This represents a higher rate of urbanisation than in any other West African territory except the Western Region of Nigeria, where, it must be pointed out, urbanisation was intense long before the arrival of the Europeans and therefore does not owe its origin to colonisation as it does in Senegal. It is difficult in the present stage of research to measure the results of the inter-mixing of races in urban agglomerations. But in an environment whose *raison d'être* is completely different from that of the tribal village, the individual is subjected to so many pressures that his ethnic individuality has to be extremely strong for him not to assimilate both ideas and customs from his neighbours and above all from the

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 369 563 French. The Moors are an obvious exception to this, as P. Dubié has pointed out. Though they work in all the major towns of Senegal they have retained complete identity of tribal customs, even maintaining abroad the traditional hostilities between their own tribal subdivisions. The tribal structure of Dakar, which is the most heavily W [369] industrialised single city in West Africa, gives an idea of the common melting pot that the new cities and towns in S [162] Senegal represent: Wolof constitute 25 per cent; Lebou, the original inhabitants, 15 per cent; mixed Wolof-Lebou, 11 per cent; Serer, 3 per cent; Bambara, 9 per cent; Toucouleur, 10 per cent; Fula, 5 per cent; Moors, 4 per cent; Diola, 5 per cent; Soussou, 2 per cent; Cape Verdians 2 per cent. The result is that the inhabitants S [197] of Dakar are forced to learn some form of *lingua franca*, in this case Wolof or French, if they are to live in the city.

In the modern economy of the city, where one seeks work where work is and where housing is short and expensive, it is difficult for any of these groups to keep up any pretence at tribal solidarity. However, as Schapera has shown, it is possible for the African migrant working in industry 'to maintain two quite distinct spheres of human relations. The African who leaves his tribe to go and work in the town will take part in the social organisations, e.g. trade unions, he finds there, but these will affect him only as a factory worker, and will have no place in the subsistence economy which is governed by traditional tribal and social relationships. The two spheres are distinct spatially as wellas socially, and despite the exchange of ideas between them they remain none the less parallel.'

In Dakar this is particularly true of the immigrant Toucouleur from the Vallée du Fleuve, as A. Diop shows in his excellent study of Toucouleur immigration to Dakar. S [166] But it should be noted here that the Toucouleur are not permanent emigrants from their areas, and have only come to Dakar temporarily to supplement the low incomes of the Vallée du Fleuve. Permanent settlers without the ultimate

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

goal of return to their tribal home, even Toucouleur, find it more difficult to resist the pressures of their environment, and Dakar has a large number of permanent settlers, who are first and foremost *Dakarois*. 369 563

Many of these have found a common brotherhood above tribe in their trade unions. These, despite various setbacks and restrictions, have been well organised in Senegal. Indeed the 1944 decree restoring liberty of association did much to ensure this, by insisting that trade union officials should have good educational qualifications and that accounts should be scrutinised by the administration. Most of the unions belonged to one of the large French confederations from whom they received considerable help and advice. Since Senegal has until quite recently had over 40 per cent of the organised workers of French West Africa, trade unionism embraced a large number of people of different ethnic groups brought together to seek ends that went far beyond the limited horizons of tribal ambition. 467 563

The influence of the towns extends beyond their limits. Both in the cities, and increasingly in the villages, young men who have come in contact with the new life of Dakar or of the other major towns tend to contract monogamous marriages in the European style. Amongst the Diola, as L. V. Thomas has observed, young men are now building their own houses outside the parental extended home. But probably most important of all in the breakdown of tribal barriers is the increase of economic individualism, the desire to have possessions, and particularly good clothes, all of which run contrary to the traditional social system which leads to the maximum dispersion of a man's gains amongst his relatives. 369 [595] [591] [922]

Only the very strongest survive the effect of the city, in particular a city like Dakar, the most sophisticated, the most European, the city most diametrically opposed to the tribal life of the bush. Indeed among Dakar's inhabitants only the Moors and Toucouleur really withstand the 369 563

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 369 563 immense impact of the town. They I live in small villages made up of relations and fellow villagers. They even club together, subscribing to a common fund to receive their fellows from the Fleuve, and as far as work is concerned they S [463] virtually monopolise certain jobs such as bootboys, waiters, and newspaper sellers. This maintenance of tribal cohesion is a difficult task in this city of French creation, where a new community of Dakarois is rapidly coming into existence.

S 665 563 [619] 182 An important factor in the breakdown of tribal ties has been the creation of political parties and the creation of a new political élite that thinks in national terms. Experience in Africa has shown, however, that this can work two ways, for many political parties are in effect organisations intended to defend ethnic interests. Senegalese politics have on the whole been remarkably free from tribalism, though Senghor did in fact achieve much of his success in the early days of the *B.D.S.* though the emphasis he laid on ethnic considerations in the organisations of his party, and certainly there have existed specifically regional and ethnic parties like *Le Mouvement Démocratique Casamançais* and the *Union Générale de la Vallée du Fleuve.* But, as Kenneth Robinson pointed out in his study of Senegalese politics in *Five Elections in Africa*, these ethnic and regional aspects were compensated for by the federal aspect of the major party, *Le Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais.* In 1954, in fact, all ethnic and regional sub-sections of the *B.D.S.* were abolished and individual membership was insisted on. But though this led to the breaking-away of certain elements in the Casamance, it would be fair to say that the party has been much less dominated by those regional differences that normally influence political parties in West Africa. Nevertheless, as Robinson found in the 1957 S [666] election, there were a number of constituencies where ethnic rivalries were more important than political issues. W [666] [665] At Linguère, a single member constituency, the population was divided between Fula and Wolof in the proportion of three to two. When the sitting member, a Fula, was

7 [i.e., The Moors and Toucouleurs in Dakar--Analyst]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

renominated, the Wolofs created a *Bloc Démocratique du Djollof* which polled 6,000 votes to the 8,000 of the Fula candidate.

A further commentary on the lack of tribalism in Senegal is the ethnic structure of the Government and the national assembly. The Government is composed of the President of the Republic, who is a Serer, a President of the Council of Ministers who is Toucouleur with strong Wolof ancestry, and fourteen Ministers of whom nine are Wolof, two are half-caste, one a Frenchman who has opted for Senegalese nationality, one a Diola and one a Lebou.

The ethnic repartition of the Senegalese National Assembly is equally revealing*:

Tribe	*Percentage of population*	*Number of Deputies*	*Percentage of Deputies*
Wolof	35·0	33	41
Serer	16·0	5	6
Lebou	0·2	10	13
Toucouleur	9·0	10	13
Fula	17·0	5	6
Diola	9·0	5	6
Mandingo/Bambara	7·0	3	4
European	0·1	3	4
Metis	0·1	5	6
Rest	4·7	1	1

The above figures, with the reservations footnoted, show that the National Assembly with one or two exceptions

* These figures were supplied to me by William J. Foltz and are based on his own research and ethnic data from the *S.E.R.E.S.A. Rapport General* lère partie, Ch. 1., p. 38. The population figures are based on old administrative censuses, which may be somewhat conservative. The figures for the Lebou seem surprisingly low. Furthermore, placing deputies under a particular ethnic grouping is often an arbitrary process, since it is in the educated classes that the highest rate of inter-ethnic marriage occurs. Furthermore the large number of Wolofs can partly be explained by the fact that anyone of mixed ethnic origin, in which one parent is Wolof, tends to call himself Wolof.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 646 is excellently balanced from a tribal point of view. The large number of Lebou deputies is accounted for by the fact that the Lebou were the original inhabitants of Dakar, and therefore had greater facilities for education than other groups. The relatively small number of Serer deputies can be explained by the fact that the distinction between Wolof and Serer is not very pronounced. Again, the small number of Fula deputies in proportion to their size as an ethnic group is partly the result of the fact that they are a nomadic people, and partly because they are very close to the Toucouleur who have a relatively high representation. The only grossly under-represented group are the Mande, for though the Mandingo-Bambara peoples make up 7 per cent of the population and have 4 per cent of the deputies, only one of the three deputies in this group is actually Mande, who make up the greater part of this 7 per cent. Both in Senegal and neighbouring Gambia the Mandingo seem to have fared badly as a group in politics. Though only [162] 5 per cent of Senegal is Christian, five members of the [771] Government and nearly a fifth of the National Assembly are Christian. Nor does one have to be a member of the majority tribe in a constituency to be elected by it*.

563 A source of possible conflict in Senegal is the existence of [771] a large Muslim majority and a small Christian minority representing only 5 per cent of the population. The French as the colonial power, despite their policy of assimilation, were unable to establish a strong Catholic Church in Senegal since Islam had been with the Toucouleur since the eleventh century and had already embraced most of the country by the time Faidherbe extended his protectorate. Islam in Senegal is peculiarly tolerant, not only in its concessions to traditional beliefs among more recently converted groups, but also towards Christians. In few other predominantly Muslim countries would it be possible not only to have a Catholic President but to have such a

* I am indebted to Mr. W. J. Foltz for supplying me with most of the data on which this paragraph is based.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

large proportion of Christians in the National Assembly. 563
At the time of the break up of the Mali Federation there was some attempt to disparage Senghor because of his religion, but it never gained ground. And whilst there is still in certain quarters some criticism of the presence of a Catholic President, it is not widespread. The fact that neighbouring Gambia's Chief Minister Njie is also a Catholic in a predominantly Muslim country suggests that a tolerance that is so rare amongst Muslim communities may be local to this part of the coast rather than peculiar to Senegal. Senghor himself has been particularly assiduous in his courting of the great Muslim leaders of the country. However French assimilation policy was certainly a contributory factor. Long contact with France and particularly the large number of Senegalese who have studied in France have meant that the modern élite is accustomed to the idea of Catholicism and is able to co-exist with it.

So far the picture we have drawn of modern Senegal is rather an idealised one: a large European minority is tolerated by the African majority and there is remarkably little theoretical or actual animosity towards it; it has a particularly homogeneous population in which traditional ethnic barriers are breaking down, particularly in the major towns which have been most heavily assimilated by France; there is little political friction of ethnic origin and religion does not play an important rôle in the determination of the country's affairs. Indeed the planning of Senegal's economic development was confided to a Catholic priest not by Senghor, as one might have imagined, but by the Premier, Mamadou Dia, a particularly devout Muslim. In some ways Senegal from a racial and ethnic point of view represents the ideal West African state. But it has its minority problems.

In a sense the Vallée du Fleuve du Sénégal can be called a minority area, but in many ways it is an economic rather than racial problem. Though the Toucouleur tend to look down on, say, the Wolof, because they do not consider [433] [735]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 them strict enough Muslims, the main distinguishing
[433] feature of their homeland, the Vallée du Fleuve du Sénégal,
[735] is its poverty compared with that of other parts of Senegal. Diop Abdoulaye in his study of Toucouleur immigration into Dakar estimates that the average *per capita* income of a Toucouleur of that region is little more than 4,000 *C.F.A.*
[434] per annum, i.e. about £6 a year. It is this rather than any real tribal differences that makes the Vallée a special
[665] problem, and this as much as any ethnic factor accounted for the existence of the *Union Générale de la Vallée du Fleuve.*

563 The only real minority area in the Senegal is the Casa-
619 mance, whose special position is further emphasised by its separation from the main block of Senegal by the Gambia. In the past it has been thought of as geographically, economically, socially and even religiously separate from the rest of Senegal. A forest zone closer to its neighbours Portuguese Guinea and the Republic of Guinea, it remained very underdeveloped by the French, though the present Government is taking this fact into account with a special development programme for the area. This separateness was emphasised by the very name Casamance. The people describe themselves to this day as *Casamançais* rather than Senegalese, though this could well be accepted on the same terms as a Briton describing himself as Scots or Welsh. It is fortunate that the tendency is to talk in terms of regional rather than tribal origin. However one of the important factors in the Casamance has been tribal. The Diolas were until very recently an animist people with an entirely different social organisation from that of the main groups of Senegal, though as we have already pointed out they had traditional ties with the Serer which went as far as the injunction that a Diola should never spill the blood of a Serer. But today the Diola are being drawn into the main socio-religious pattern of Senegal. In the most recent estimate of the religious
[162] adherence of the population of Casamance, estimated at
[771] 327,500, 284,000 were Muslims, only 28,000 Christians and

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

the rest animists. Of course this includes the exclusively Muslim Mandingo inhabitants of the Casamance who have been largely responsible for this proselytisation. The Diola too is inclined more and more to imitate his Mandingo and Wolof neighbours. L. V. Thomas, who has written a monumental study on the Diola, fears: 'Soon the Diola country may be, at least in its landscape, like Senegal if no power intervenes to limit the extension of the bushfire; it will certainly become, in its people, just another African country, where only a few anthropological remains fixed by heredity will enable us to distinguish the Diola from the Wolof or the Mandingo.'

The Casamance may well be coming closer to the rest of the Senegal, but it still remains a seat of opposition to the Government of Senghor and Dia, and votes heavily for the opposition *P.R.A.-Sénégal*. However neither of the leaders of this party, Ly Abdoulaye or Assane Seck, is *Casamançais*, and there is strong support in many towns for the *U.P.S.*, which indicates that Diola-Casamance politics are not necessarily either regional or tribal, though these are important factors.

The main social problem of the Senegal, and one which both assimilation and religion seem to have been unable to break down, is that of caste or a class structure very similar to caste. All the main Senegalese tribes—the Wolof, Lebou, Toucouleur, Serer—are divided into a series of endogamous castes. These castes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but roughly they are divided thus:

Nobles and Freeborn
Artisans (jewellers, smiths, weavers, leatherworkers)
Griots or minstrels
Liberated slaves
Slaves

(Of course domestic slaves no longer exist as such in Senegal, but families know who their slaves were.)

It is certainly easier in Senegal for a Toucouleur noble to marry a Wolof noble than to marry a woman of inferior

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

565 [563] Influenced heavily by the Revolutionary doctrine of liberty, equality and fraternity, and having broken down barriers to this at the inter-ethnic level, the Government finds it most difficult to break it down at the level of the caste. Significantly, it was the Minister of the Interior himself who laid down government attitudes to caste at the troubles at Diack and one must hope that such trouble will soon disappear.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

spent most of his time on the rehabilitation of African history.

631 Of course there would be considerable justification for such criticisms if Senghor and his Government were not in fact getting down to the fundamental reorganisation of Senegal. Already since the days of the French, the whole country has undergone a complete administrative transformation. Before independence the country was divided into *cercles* and *subdivisions*, under French and occasionally African administrators, and *cantons*, run by traditional chiefs as agents of the administration. This structure has been completely changed to give the administration and therefore the Government closer contact with the people. Previously the traditional chief, albeit an agent of the administration, was interposed between the administrator and his people. Now that the *chef de canton* has been eliminated and the *canton* has been redesignated as an *arrondissement*, presided over by an administrative official, working under the *commandant de cercle*, the Government has rid the country of what the Minister of Interior, Valdiodio N'Diaye, has described as an anachronistic institution. The *cercles* [635] are grouped into seven regions, each with its Governor and regional assembly, which deliberates on the regional budget. These seven regions have been laid out so as to correspond with the major economic zones of the country, making concessions only to ethnic factors and problems of communications. The whole field administration outside headquarters has been completely Africanised since July [563] 1960, though there are many Europeans serving as 'technical advisers' in the Government in Dakar.

668 But most important of all is the proposed four-year development plan for the Senegal which envisages a major revolution in the education, health and economy of the country. This plan was drawn up after nearly eighteen months of intensive research in Senegal by the Révérend Père Lebret, and his team of European and African researchers. The whole plan was directed by Mamadou Dia,

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

571 178 preserve much of their prestige;[1] they are sometimes in diametrical opposition to the modernist elites and sometimes try to come to terms with them; occasionally, as the result of historical conditions, the two elites are closely interlocked.[2]

4. Types and degree of tension between the African modernist elites and the European groups. The latter occupy the position of ruling class in the whole community represented by each territorial unit. The conflict is fundamental, yet a balance, however temporary and precarious, between the two groups may sometimes be discerned, though it varies enormously in degree from one region to another and at different times.[3]

The situation in Senegal, compared with that in other parts of French West Africa, exhibits certain special features. Senegal was the first of these territories to be colonized.[4] At the beginning of the new phase which opened after the war, it had the largest number of educated and partly Westernized persons, and it has for several decades had a political life modelled on the West, though of a summary and limited character.[5] At this level of political life, the course of events during the past 10 years affords us a first glimpse of regional diver-
[668] gencies. It is a significant fact that Senegal was not the first French West African territory in which a movement making political demands of some magnitude arose. The acute crises of the immediate post-war period developed elsewhere—in the Ivory Coast—with the founding and expansion of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain, the first political party in French
[665] Africa (Black) with nationalistic tendencies. The Rassemblement Démocratique Africain never succeeded in establishing itself firmly in Senegal, either before or after its change of policy in the 1950's.[6] There is no space here to describe in detail the historical and social background of such events, though I shall have to refer to it several times later in this paper. Some of the basic traits will suffice for mention: aspects of the traditional structures, of contemporary economic development, of the schools' endeavour to promote assimilation.

[563] The principal racial groups inhabiting Senegal,[7] whatever their cultural differences, and whatever their traditional hostility to one another (which has still by no means completely disappeared) all had the same type of social and political organization. They were strictly graded societies divided into endogamous castes, each with its special economic, political, ritual and other functions. In the present context, inter-caste antagonisms and incompatibilities are as a rule more important than racial antagonisms, since several racial groups may have equivalent social gradings or one may have borrowed and adapted another's gradings./This is a fundamental feature; it indicates the framework within which we can explain the problem of relations between
[554] the traditional and the modernist elites. For instance, prestige due to education may be superimposed on prestige based on tradition, in particular prestige due to caste; or else the two may be completely separate.[8] Even today a high

1. Either officially or more or less 'clandestinely'.
2. E.g. in South Dahomey.
3. In the Ivory Coast, for example, a period of calm and co-operation followed when the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain dropped certain extreme claims.
[175] 4. Trade counters have existed for more than three centuries and the more specifically colonial period began more than a hundred years ago.
5. It had four municipalities with full privileges which sent a deputy to the French Parliament.
6. It broke off its alliance with the French Communist party.
7. The Ouolof, the Toucouleur and the Serer.
8. The resistance of the traditional ruling strata to foreign influence explains why, in certain cases, the lower castes were the first to go to school.
[177]

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

standing in the modern context does not often completely redeem a traditional inferiority. The latter obviously does not prevent accession to such rank, but it does prevent a man from reaping the full benefit of the prestige which it confers. We shall have to revert to the ambiguity which thus characterizes individual situations, because it is an important aspect of the problem of the modernist elites. The old political organizations have either been destroyed or considerably weakened, though the prestige of the aristocratic families who hold the chefferies or are closely connected with them has not completely disappeared. But an important change has occurred: the power and influence of the traditional political chiefs has to a large extent been transferred to the khalifas of the great Islamic sects;[1] the latter represent today the principal force capable of resisting the modernist elite, and the one with which the latter and the political movements identified with it must to some extent come to terms.[2]

The changes due to the new economic conditions resulting from the colonial period can be discerned at several levels. The rural economy has been radically transformed—progressive abandonment of subsistence farming in favour of a single cash crop throughout a large part of the territory.[3] In contrast with regions where a plantation economy has developed, the average farmer's income has remained extremely low. Consequently, what has elsewhere been termed a 'rural bourgeoisie' has not emerged, and the most favoured economic categories coincide, by and large, with the upper strata of the traditional or semi-traditional type (heads of sects),[4] or with those artificially created on the same model by the colonial administration. Again, the group to which the name 'commercial bourgeoisie' has been given is still too small to have much influence;[5] almost all African traders are small shopkeepers and make no appreciable impact on the affairs of the community as a whole. The most significant changes are found at another level: urbanization and industrialization. Senegal is the most highly urbanized territory of French West Africa; about a quarter of the population live in the big towns and the administrative and trading centres. A very large wage-earning class with a steadily growing nucleus of stable labour has developed.[6] A workers' elite has appeared, and intensive trade union activity in the big towns has brought this class into touch with the educated elite (the administrative bourgeoisie, etc.).

This educated elite deserves special attention; in Senegal more than elsewhere, it represents the dominant element among the modernist elites. The educational policy was definitely conceived and organized at the beginning of the colonial period in the context of a policy and a ideology of assimilation. The educational curriculum introduced in the French establishments in Senegal at the beginning of the nineteenth century was essentially foreign to the tradition and culture of the autochthonous societies. Thus, in a recent paper, the author made much of the point that 'it was not a factor making for integration of the individual in his group, but rather—at any rate in the first historical phase—one making for a break. The adaptation of the curriculum and even of teaching methods

1. Their functions are hereditary.
2. Cf. below, remarks on the political parties of the traditional type.
3. In this case, groundnuts.
4. The economic role of the Mourido brotherhood is particularly important: colonization of new lands, experiments in mechanization, etc.
5. The middle-man trade is practically monopolized by the Lebanese colony; in the town of Dakar alone there are more than 3,000 Lebanese.
6. The region of Dakar alone has more than 30,000 wage earners in the private sector.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

178 571 The reason is not to be sought solely in the increase in numbers of this intellectual elite though that was quite substantial. Trained in Europe and remaining in touch with the world outside, it was the first section of the population to become consciously aware of the 'colonial situation',[1] and it immediately made an attempt to build up ideological systems which soon acquired crucial influence. Next, the changed pattern in the relations between Europeans and Africans speeded up the development of situations in which conflicts became inevitable, and encouraged the maintenance of close contact between the new [578] and the colonial elites. I shall revert to this point later. True, tension existed, especially between generations, the older strata of the colonial elite having sometimes to defend the positions they had won.[2] But the younger people tended to identify themselves with the new elite, to accept its guidance and to share, more or less confusedly, in the same awakening to the colonial situation. Thus, the intellectual elite, in the broadest sense of the term, embarked in a new direction, and the political consequences of this change are now beginning to be seen. The problem of relations with the workers' elite which has emerged in the past few years is more complex; I shall come back to it in connexion with trade union activity.

In the typical pre-war situation, the African elite had little chance of competing with the European managing class, which was much less numerous that it is now.[3] It was trained to be what might be called an auxiliary elite. The new elite, on the contrary—notwithstanding the administrative and economic expansion of the past 10 years—will inevitably find itself in competition with Europeans in the managing and supervisory grades in an ever growing number of specific cases. Though still few in numbers, it has difficulty in finding a place in the territory's administrative and technological machine. It is a paradox that in a country immensely in need of responsible personnel, both managers and technicians, demand seems somewhat to exceed supply. [464] In French West Africa, and particularly in Senegal, the government officially recognizes the existence of an 'employment problem for holders of diplomas'. One of the causes of this situation is no doubt the total absence of planning in the training of elites.[4] But the real explanation must be found in political circumstances and race relations.[5] The effort to 'Africanize' the upper grades encounters firm resistance, and so the rise of the elites is apparently seriously checked by the growing number of situations in which Africans and Europeans compete and which the two groups explain in diametrically opposite ways.[6] It is a significant fact that several Senegalese who have completed their studies in France have remained there, because they would be unable to find jobs for which they could apply at home. The problem is obviously even more [167] acute in the private sector than in the administration.[7] Also, the European [563] population has considerably increased in the past 10 years:[8] it has more than doubled in Senegal, tripled at Dakar—where it now represents about 10 per cent of the population.

[113] 1. Cf. the studies of G. Balandier, and in particular: *Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique Noire* (Present sociology of Negro Africa), Paris, 1955.

2. Especially in the administration.

[113] 3. Cf. P. Mercier, 'Le Groupement Européen de Dakar: Orientations d'une Enquête' (The European group at Dakar: Suggested line for a survey), *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, XIX, 1955.

4. An effort is now being made in this direction.

5. Cf. P. Mercier, 'Le Groupement Européen de Dakar . . .', op. cit.

6. Patterns of thought based on the pre-war situation play a fundamental role here.

7. Where the trend, as yet timid, towards 'Africanization' of the upper grades can be discerned.

8. A general phenomenon in French West Africa which involves important changes in relations between Africans and Europeans.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

cent of the population. Thus, the number of Europeans in intermediate or subordinate posts has substantially increased and the range of competitive situations, instead of growing less is being regularly extended. This affects not only the new elite, but a large segment of the old 'administrative bourgeoisie', and even, to some extent, the workers and lower supervisory grades in industry. And so, while—in theory—opportunities for reaching the highest ranks and simultaneously entering the European group (a consequence foreseen by assimilationist ideology) have increased with the development of education, in reality a radical change in the whole social structure has multiplied the causes of conflict. New factors have cropped up abruptly: further assimilation is gainsaid, Europeans and Africans become more and more sensitive to the realities of race, etc. Obviously, the political consequences of such conflicts are considerable.

I have mentioned cases in which a rift occurred between the elites and the masses, in the early years, at any rate, of the 'colonial elite'. This fact needs some further explanation, while the question of the relations between the 'educated' and the 'traditional' categories calls for re-examination on a wider basis. The stereotyped patterns maintained by the European administration underline the points of divergence. The administration has besides had a tendency—and not only in Senegal—to underestimate the influence of modernist elites and to depreciate their impact upon the population as a whole. True, important tensions can be observed, and some antagonism developed between the citizens (those of the 'four communes'), from whom the major part of the 'colonial élite' came, and the subjects in the other parts of the territory; but such tensions virtually disappeared with the legal changes introduced immediately after the war, a fact which is proof enough how superficial the points of divergence were. The 'educated' classes, moreover, sought to reap all possible profit from the power they acquired in their administrative functions, or in their role of intermediary between producers and the big commercial companies; and that attitude naturally set up a great many local conflicts. Sometimes they sought compensation for their inferior standing in the traditional framework by asserting themselves in the exercise of their new functions. As we have already shown, however, the population as a whole recognized the prestige of the new intellectual elite. True, their prestige did not necessarily displace the traditional prestige, but the two can coexist, a circumstance which stands out most clearly in rural districts. So, even if the 'educated' African has difficulty in fitting into the traditional system or even the family group, even if he is often a maladjusted element, he is rarely the fish out of water whom so many colonial observers considered him. All the elements of the population are still continually in touch.[1] There are two basic reasons for this. First, the range of family relationships is still a very wide one and they themselves are still effective; they maintain their hold on the 'educated' African even when he has left his birthplace. Secondly, religion—chiefly Islam in Senegal—and above all, membership of a sect, which is practically hereditary, continue to be important. The fact that tension between elites and masses led to nothing but quite limited and temporary breaks explains why the recent and entirely conscious effort to retie loose bonds was carried through with comparative ease. It was the new elite that, with political aims in view, inspired this effort. Usually too far removed from the

1. The vitality of racial or regional associations is significant in this respect.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30

out of the bus and it was only with difficulty that Arnold and I managed to extricate ourselves. We took a taxi, at almost greater cost than the journey from Kaolak to Dakar, to a dingy little hotel, in the old quarter of the city. To reach it we passed through the centre of Dakar. Trees lined the streets and the architecture of both offices and houses was admirably suited to its tropical setting. It was at once evident that Dakar was a city and not just a town that had, like Lagos, rambled and sprawled and got too big. With its statuesque young skyscrapers and its wide streets, Dakar seemed a model city for the new West Africa. It was neither distinctly African nor European, but had its affinity with the modern cities of South America.

Arnold, accustomed to the higgledy-piggledy, chaotic sprawl of Lagos, and the quiet Victorian dignity of Freetown, could not quite take this in. He seemed almost to resent it as an imposition on Africa, as something that was not African. True, I found that against this background the African appeared, at first, to be an intruder. Nothing seemed more incongruous than a vast Jollof belle, dressed in her traditional robes of lace and muslin, sweeping past the more outrageous examples of *cinema moderna* architecture, or standing pensively beneath a marble plaque depicting a naked African surrounded by the fruits of progress. More incongruous still was the sight of them being spooned in and out of fast American cars or staring into patisserie windows—just imagine one of those muslin cocoons tackling a chocolate éclair. Yet the Africans seemed to have accepted their surroundings with such aplomb that very soon I was to feel that it was the Europeans who were out of place. There seemed nothing unnatural in half a dozen Africans making up their bed for the night on the pavement outside a twelve-story bank, or the young men in tight jeans standing on the street corners eyeing passing girls, just like Saturday night back at the Buildings.

We stayed one night in the Hotel des Fleurs, the cheapest I could find in Dakar. It was owned by a Lebanese, and for Dakar, a city which is almost prohibitive in price for an Englishman, it was remarkably cheap. A haircut in Dakar is 12s., and it has one of the highest cost of living indices in the world.

That night when I entered a bar called appropriately 'Café de Paris', I was unable to believe that we were still in Africa. It had

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

369 all the accoutrements of a Montmartre bistro, together with a
275 large, bad painting of the Sacré Coeur above the bar. Drinks were served by a tall barmaid, with long flaxen hair and make-up applied so that she looked like a German-doll: The clientele was mainly composed of soldiers from the barracks by the sea-front, but at our table sat two elegant Jollof girls, both very drunk.
[548] They made it fairly clear they were prostitutes and it was not long before a policeman came to arrest the more intoxicated of the two. She spat, screamed furiously and struggled to break away. Just as she was about to enter the car, she demanded: 'Let me finish my drink.' She was allowed to return to her table, where she drank her beer slowly, eyeing us all as if we were vermin. Then just as slowly, with the comic dignity that comes so naturally to a drunk, she swept to her feet, stood with her henna'd hands on her hips, spat with incredible accuracy at the feet of a nearby soldier and shouted in a voice ringing with anger, and looking at us with contempt: 'Salauds.'

Then an African sergeant came in, asked for a drink, which
[563] the flaxen doll served him. She served African and European alike. I found this hard to believe after the Gambia, where no white woman could serve drinks behind a bar to Europeans, let alone to Africans.

369 Next morning, I was even more surprised when Arnold took
563 me into a large department store and pointed to the counter-girls. Seventy-five per cent of them were white. Outside a French-woman was selling vegetables at a small stall. Of course, in this respect Dakar is exceptional for West Africa. It is the only city with a large population of Colons. Over 25,000 Europeans live
[162] there. They came from every walk of life and have more affinity with the Colons of Algeria than anything else one can cite on the Coast. You can walk into the most ramshackle bar and yet be served by a Parisienne. You will find poor whites living in the Médina, as the African quarter is known. Each year, 'Les Girls' from a Paris night club do a season at the *Bodega*. The N'Gor Hotel and the 'Croix du Sud' are as fine as you will find in France. Dakar's Colons have re-created Paris in Africa. Most of them have never ventured out of the city, and if they had to go into 'the bush' they would probably prepare for it as though they were Mungo Park setting out to discover the Niger.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS 30

S 369 563

Arnold was critical of these Colons, for in British West Africa there is no such class. Indeed he seemed almost to resent their presence, though he has no dislike of Europeans. His opinion is shared by a number of Africans who come into competition with whites for jobs.

'In Lagos the counter girls are African. Why shouldn't they be here?' Arnold argued.

On the other hand in Lagos service and shopping facilities are infinitely inferior to those of Dakar. Another thing that struck Arnold was the absence of Africans from the main cafés and hotels. Surely this indicated a subtle colour bar, he argued. However, I had the answer to this from an African whom I invited to have a drink in a café with me. He declined, because as a Muslim it would not do for him to be seen in a café by any of his friends or relations. If they did see him there would be terrible trouble.

S [873] [369]

The Jollofs, Dakar's main tribe, are proud of their race and not over-keen on mixing with whites. Nevertheless relations between African and European in Dakar are extremely cordial. France is still aware of the debt that she owes the Senegalese troops for their part in the last war. There is, moreover, none of the patronizing attitude in the French approach to the African. If anything, as many French complain, the Jollof is the one who does the patronizing.

W [563]

S 123 [815]

We went from the Hotel de Fleurs to some rooms in IFAN, the Institut Français D'Afrique Noire, which were lent us by its Director, Professor Theodore Monod, whom I had met on my last visit to Dakar. Professor Monod is one of the most impressive men I have ever met. He received us both in his large, book-lined office without looking up from his work. We both fumbled and fidgeted nervously studying the pictures on the wall, many of which were religious paintings or texts from the Bible. When I was beginning to feel acutely embarrassed, he looked up from his work revealing a gaunt, hollow face with deep-set piercing eyes, half obscured behind the glass of his horn-rimmed spectacles. I informed him that we had met some two years before, and that I should be grateful for his help on my journey. He looked at me vaguely, smiled, and then suddenly seemed to come into contact with the world we inhabited, and promised to arrange for letters

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Goree

expensive cameras and an intriguing assortment of seaside 369
equipment. The boat ploughed through the brisk waters of the bay before it pulled alongside the jetty, at Gorée, where the passengers climbed out with great difficulty because of the swell in the ice-blue waters, so transparent that I could see myriad fish lurking on the sandy bottom. I was cluttered up with cameras, so a tall, light-skinned African helped me on to the jetty. His fine, [563] almost European features revealed that he was a Fulani, a curious tribe of cattle nomads to be found throughout West Africa. Some of the tribe have settled in the towns, as a superior aristocracy. The young man, a guide book in his hand, introduced himself as Seyni Djibey, and asked me whether this was the first time I had been to Gorée.

'No, I've been here before. Two years ago,' I replied.

'But you're not French,' he remarked with some astonishment. He looked at Arnold. 'I could tell because of him. The clothes he is wearing are not what the French Africans would wear,' he added.

'Where do you come from?' I asked.

'From Niamey, that's in Niger, you know!' he replied.

'Yes, I'm going there,' and before he could ask me why, I asked him a similar question.

'But what are you doing here in Senegal?'

'I just came to look. I had leave from my job, so I decided to spend some money I had saved up, travelling around West Africa. I've already been to Bamako. Next week I'm going to Conakry and Abidjan. I wanted to come here and see what Gorée is like.'

He walked towards the house of a friend to whom I had been given an introduction. The beach was littered with naked bodies, white and black, roasting in the sun that glared through a thin veil of cloud. Overlooking the right-hand wall of the beach was [366] the picturesque Hostelerie du Chevalier de Boufflers, from which stretched in a generous semi-circle an intricacy of old houses, each one a perfect example of nineteenth-century French colonial architecture, with crumbling plaster façades, slatted shutters, large sash windows and delicately patterned verandas. Old wrought iron lamps clung to the walls of each house, giving a strangely Victorian atmosphere to the narrow street.

Seyni, looking up from his guide book, pointed to an old fort.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 Metropolis. Until recently the African élite has always come from
[571] St. Louis. It is a sort of spiritual centre of Black Africa. It had the
[873] first school—Lycée Faidherbe. And in 1866 it was given the first Hotel de Ville of the French Union. It is the cradle of the French Union. It would be a tragedy if it died.'

369 To such men as these it seems scandalous that St. Louis with
175 its great history and traditions should give way to a parvenue like Dakar. Of all West African cities St. Louis is the one with the most illustrious and fascinating history. It was called St. Louis after the great French King, Louis XIII, in the middle of the seventeenth century. However, in the following century it began to expand into a town whose inhabitants were a distinct race, comparable
[563] to the Creoles of Sierra Leone. White and black intermarried to form a group known as the St. Louisians. During the eighteenth
[591] and nineteenth centuries these were the great families of the
[554] Senegal, though today they are losing importance. Names like Carpot, Descanet, Deves, Guillabert and Crespin are still remembered with respect in St. Louis.

[162] By the end of the eighteenth century the town had more than 7,000 inhabitants and in 1778 a mayor, who had to be chosen
[633] from the local population, was charged with the maintenance of good relations between the people and the Governor. In 1833
[641] all inhabitants of St. Louis were given the status of French citizens.

Perhaps the most important date for St. Louis and for West Africa was 1854, when General Faidherbe was appointed Governor. Today his mark is still firmly on St. Louis. The
[361] ordered layout of the city and its streets were his work. The large
[491] bridge connecting the island on which St. Louis stands to the mainland is named after him. The city's most important and famous school is the Lycée Faidherbe. And even now one can listen to old folk sitting on the benches of the park, in which his statue stands, telling tales of the great General, who had fought against the famous Toucouleur chief, El Hadj Omar and brought Senegal, Soudan and Mauretania into the French orbit. Perhaps some of these old people are his own descendants, for he is reputed to have been a prolific father.

[162] By 1878 St. Louis had grown to a city of 16,000 inhabitants, and despite the rapid expansion of Dakar and Rufisque farther down the coast, there was little to worry about the future.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 295 733 After the great Magal de Touba[1] our town inherited bands of homeless among whom were notorious criminals.

S 369 694 Alcoholism was not the only form of moral decadence in a city like Dakar. Actually crimes of violence, robbing and murder were almost unknown. There were rarely any reference to them in the papers, and a police officer assured me that this was true. However, one read frequently of crimes of passion, such as a man stabbing his friend to death in the course of a quarrel.

S 369 548 There was, I was told, an enormous amount of prostitution in Dakar. I was shown one of the city's more notorious brothels in Rebeusse suburb, a rambling shack that had been raided more than once by police. On the whole prostitution is not organized S [563] because of legal difficulties. A number of prostitutes were white women, who receive patronage mainly from Lebanese and Syrians. I was told of one who went around the Médina in a W small car, serving the local population.

S 369 838 548 On the other hand homosexuality had a much freer rein, being prevalent amongst Africans, Mauretanians and Europeans alike. In Place Prôtet, the main square of Dakar, young African boys, more often than not Jollofs, could be seen waiting to be picked up. Under the Code Napoleon it is, of course, legal, and in theory presents no problem, though many people are worried by its spread in the city.

Of course, to many of these boys with no work, it is one way of making money. But amongst the Jollofs it seems to be more deeply rooted. Contact with Frenchmen in St. Louis, who often preferred black boys to black mistresses and contact with the Mauretanians may provide an explanation.

Today one can even see Jollof men dressed in women's clothes. I once met one in a small bar outside Dakar. He was obviously pathetically feminine. The Jollof must be used to this since they even have a word for them—Gor-Digen. The elders and faithful Muslims condemn men for this, but it is typical of African tolerance that they are left very much alone by the rest of the people.

W 589 One reason for the growing tendency of Jollof men to remain bachelors to an age much older than is usual in Africa, if not for their homosexuality, is the character of the Jollof women.

[1] Celebration of Birth of Prophet.

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

The New Political Life

369 More importantly, the urban centers
668 deserve attention because of the role they have played in the development of a radically new type of political life, one
[177] whose forms have been largely borrowed from outside Africa. The first attempts at political organization and activity were born in the cities. More recently some political movements have appeared in a rural context, as a reflection of rural conditions, but they have drawn much of their pattern from the cities, or from among elements subject to urban influences.

The modern African city presents a set of conditions favorable to the development of especially intense political reac-
369 tions. The position of the colonizing power is most sharply apparent in the city, and the instruments of its power are concentrated there. The rootless condition of the African population seems at its extreme; the masses that gather in the city are unsettled, poorly established in their occupations, and suffer from
[571] every form of insecurity. The new elites created and shaped by urban life feel restricted and disappointed in their desires for social advancement and for a share in authority and in modern symbols of prestige.[5] Finally, the city brings together a white society and a Negro
• [563] society, though often clearly separated by topography. In these circumstances racial tensions can develop to their maximum. Moreover, they assume varied aspects, *e.g.*, competitive situations in various spheres, official or unofficial discrimination.[6] Intense reactions to such conditions may take no organized form and may not manifest themselves except after some delay, however. Here the

[P. 5A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

"The Four Communes of Senegal"

369
633
175

The four coastal cities have had the longest experience with political rights. All are fairly old; Dakar was founded most recently, in 1857. St. Louis of Senegal, founded in the time of the slave-trade, is the oldest, and a typical example of the "old colonial city." In 1659 a warehouse of the Company of the Senegal was built on the site, the first French settlement in the region. It was a commercial post oriented toward the river, and a small military outpost; it became the jumping-off place for the conquest of the African territories. The general traits of the old African city may still be found in St. Louis' central section, despite recent changes. In such a center the African population was relatively stable.[18] A few European families established residence, and a rather important mixed-blood population developed. By the mid-19th century an urban community with a homogeneous way of life had emerged.

[563]

The Isle of Gorée, which became the second commune in Senegal, was occupied in 1677; it was oriented toward the Petite-Cote and the factories of Rufisque, Joal, and Portudal. Of these, only Rufisque developed; it became the third commune. St. Louis and Gorée underwent many vicissitudes before 1815, when they were restored to France. They then returned to "legal" commerce, which was centered in the valley of the Senegal. St. Louis retained its dominance. By the end of the 18th century it had had nearly 7,000 inhabitants, about half of whom were free and almost a tenth European. In the 1870's its population was about 15,000, while Gorée had but 3,000; Rufisque was growing as was Dakar. Finally, the interior back of the Petite-Cote was opening up, and Thiès was founded. In the following period St.

[162]
[563]

[P.7A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 Louis stagnated[14] and Gorée declined,
633 losing people at the expense of Dakar and
175 Rufisque; Rufisque grew rapidly, as the
[162] port for the ground-nut. Dakar entered
[439] a period of prosperity at the turn of the
century.[15] During the late 19th century
the composition of the population already
was beginning to change fairly rapidly,
especially in the expanding centers, but
the old core of urban population con-
tinued to hold a dominant place, not
only in urban life but also in the colony
of Senegal as a whole, whose constitution
had come into effect. The people of
St. Louis most notably served as essential
instruments of the colonization effort.

This dominance was expressed very
clearly in the political realm. The coastal
cities, in contrast to the interior cities
and rural areas, had been introduced to
the structure and organization through
which modern political life is conducted
long before the reforms of 1946. Political
activity of the modern type was first
limited to the European settlers but was
soon extended to the mixed-blood elem[illegible]
[563] and then to the Negro population. Begin-
ning in the late 18th century, St. Louis
had a mayor, always a mixed-blood, who
served as intermediary between the gov-
ernor and the populace. In 1789 the
[668] colony participated in metropolitan polit-
ical activities, sending to the States-
General a petition of grievances that de-
manded commercial freedom — *i.e.*,
abolition of the Company monopoly —
and the end of slavery. A satisfactory
agreement was reached among employees
of the Company, European businessmen,
and mixed-blood businessmen, but it was
never brought to fruition; a period of
disorder set in and persisted until the
rebirth of the colony in 1815.

[641] In 1833 French citizenship was con-
ferred upon all free inhabitants of St.
Louis and Gorée by royal decree. Citizen-
ship was extended to all inhabitants of

[P.7B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 633 175 [666] in some years. Since the beginning of the 20th century, however, urban citizens have taken an increasingly lively interest in political matters.[18]

In this restricted political system the relative importance of the roles played by •563 668 different ethnic groupings and different cities varied continuously. Ethnic dominance, first held by the old European families, passed gradually to mixed-blood society, which came into being in the 18th century and rapidly acquired wealth, education, and influence. By the mid-19th century mixed-bloods made up the majority of the westernized population. But the entry of the emancipated slaves, [166] the first sizable migration toward the cities, quickly reduced the mixed-bloods to a minority. In 1900 they numbered [162] less than 5,000 in the four communes together, though for several decades their economic and political influence remained quite disproportionate to their numbers. 668 [369] Among the cities, St. Louis was predominant until WW I. At the beginning of the century it practically controlled the deputation to the French legislature and the Council-general — and hence the economic life of the territory. Then Gorée-Dakar came to the fore;[19] in 1914 a citizen of Gorée, Blaise Diagne, was elected deputy, followed by Galandou Diouf and Lebou. These men [645] were the first elected Senegalese to win broad support at Paris; Diagne himself was appointed a Secretary of State [a subministerial post, equivalent to a U.S. Under-Secretary]. In Senegal, the au- [642] thority of elected officials — deputies and Councillors-general — increased, and clashes with the civil administration were frequent.[20]

[P. 8 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 elements that have been urbanized the
369 longest, the percentage of party memberships has been as high among women as among men. This was a peculiar aspect of the Dakar situation, not found, for instance, at Thiès (where the percentage of memberships among women, depending upon the ethnic group, was from one-half to one-tenth that among men). At Dakar the women's branches on occasion could mobilize large crowds, adorned in party colors. Study of about 30 of these individual cases suggested that the conscious essence of political attachment consisted almost entirely of the relation with the leader.

665 The formalization noted above can be
578 studied from various points of view. The fundamental bipartition of political life in a way was responsible for the indirect expression of intragroup and intergroup divisions and rivalries whose nature was other than political. This explains why the line of separation between the two political blocs did not have the same significance to all sectors of the population. In specific situations it assumed many meanings. For example, one could find: (1) hostility between the Lebou-Wolof grouping and the rest of the population (which resembled, without exactly cor-
[563] responding to, the fundamental division noted above); (2) hostility, more or less muted, between Wolof and Lebou; and (3) hostilities within each of the two groups, in proportion to diversities of origin, status, etc.

This accounts for the relative flexibility prevailing in the composition of the clienteles that made up the parties.[39] Since the clienteles represented varied levels, however, they introduced new divisions, or revived and solidified old hostilities.

665 (1) A fundamental problem arises from the interactions between the modern political system and what remains of the traditional or semi-traditional sys-
[P.13A]

467 focussing on some of their asserted poli-
668 cies, revealed that the union struggle was regarded as directed essentially against the government. This must be interpreted not only with regard to the general traits of the colonial system but also in relation to the commanding role that the government played in labor. It was first of all the principal employer: in a city
[369] such as Dakar, a little more than a third of the wage-earners were dependent upon it. It was responsible for setting the
[465] minimum wage, and it has happened that owing to budgetary considerations and general policy it established a lower figure than non-governmental employers might have adopted. Finally, during the period
[466] in question, a central problem was that of enforcing the Code of Overseas Labor, enacted by Parliament in 1952. The civil administration was responsible for its enforcement, and the strikes of 1953 were
[468] designed to bring pressure on the administration so as to obtain a "fair enforcement" of its provisions. In the interviews mentioned above, conflicts with employers were scarcely mentioned as such. Employers were identified with the civil administration; the terms "civil administration" and "colonialism" seemed almost interchangeable. The adversary of the unions being essentially the civil administration — and a "colonial civil administration" — their action inevitably assumed political significance, broadly defined.[49]

467 (2) In the field of union activities
668 the hostility between the European com-
•563 ponent and the African component of the urban population showed itself most vividly. This stemmed not merely from the fact that the civil administration and the employers represented the power of the "whites." It was also noteworthy that European workers, employees, and
[468] officials almost invariably formed separate unions, with goals sharply opposed to

[P. 17B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

467 468 668 563 those of the African unions.[50] The acute crises produced by certain important strikes gave forceful expression to this rift. The African unions, despite their ideological differences, despite the personal rivalries that brought their leaders into opposition, often engaged in combined and coordinated activities. By contrast, the strikes of the African workers and those of the European workers scarcely ever coincided, though the latter might break out as a response to the [465] former in an effort to maintain the hierarchy of salary scales. As demonstrations of African unity against the civil administration and [578] against European controls in general, strikes were the only occasion in which the underlying tension characterizing the city appeared distinctly and in a generalized fashion. It was because they expressed this tension that their impact and the emotional response to them were so important.

467 468 668 (3) This was also the principal cause of their ultimate success. During such conflicts, demands were expressed that were far more extreme than those made by the parties. Thus, in the strikes of 1953, the union press and the union leaders evoked the possibility that African "loyalism" would be suspended and that the bonds between France and the Overseas Territories would be changed; the question of independence was openly and threateningly discussed. Union activities assumed a certain nationalistic coloring that the parties at that time disregarded. Behind every limited demand regarding salaries or the regulation of working conditions lay the fundamental anti-colonial demand; it was this demand that gave weight to the mass demonstrations and that carried the day.[51] It must be further 467 668 noted that during this period major external ideological elements entered the contest, especially through the unions. An important number of their activists had studied techniques of organization,

[P. 18A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

467 both in France and in other countries.
668 Participation in international congresses put them in contact with the ideological currents of the world. A study of the union press was very revealing in this regard.

[665] To the masses, unions proposed goals that were, in the period under consideration, far different from those of the political parties. Unions were in many ways more systematic and more vigorous. They were much less apt to make
• [563] differentiations along ethnic, religious, or other lines. The unity of action that they practiced banned their assimilating such hostilities and conflicts, whose meaning was foreign to them. These hostilities yielded before the fundamental hostility brought out by union action. The near-unanimity with which the directives of the union have been followed is very
[571] significant. For the elites, on the other hand, unions offered, in an era in which the forms and matrices of customary political expression appeared too narrow, a wider and more adequate field of action. Unionism supplied the most accessible agencies for sharing in power of the modern sort. The intellectual elites furnished
[571] the substance of the union framework and played a dominant role on their executive committees.[52] Located at the very center of situations of tension and conflict, they found in union activities the most effective way of asserting modern views and of surmounting the limits barring their advancement in the political and occupational fields.

Developments Since 1956

668 Such were the chief aspects, in a period
369 of transition, of the political life of the large Senegalese urban centers. In the subsequent four years, great changes have occurred. Senegalese political individuality — considerably modified by that of the "old cities" — has remained clear, but it has in great part shifted to

[P. 18 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[50] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Aspects des problemes de stratification sociale," *Cahiers intl. de Soc.* XVIII, 1954.
[51] A scrutiny of union publications in 1953 made this evident.
[52] In a very broad sense; their composition was very heterogeneous and drawn from various strata.

467
468
668
563
[511]

[P.18C]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

other fields.

668 369 In the "old cities," changes have taken place that were already evident when the investigations noted above were being conducted. The importance of these facts must be emphasized:

(1) The separation between the cities and the countryside, and more particularly between the old cities and the rest of the territory, is becoming less sharp. This fact has already been pointed out in connection with recent demographic developments and the growth of the B.D.S. There are other indications. The 571 intellectual elites have more diversified 668 origins; though the oldest nuclei of urban 369 population remain important in their composition, they are steadily decreasing in size. The bonds among the different sections of the territory are tightening. On the other hand, the old elites are becoming active outside city boundaries, and give a place in their considerations to the problems of rural modernization and evolution. Certain projects established by the youth associations and the unions have contributed to this orientation.

(2) These facts are connected with a shift in generations that has extensive effects. The attitude of youthful elites has been different; they feel themselves competent to assume broader responsibilities.[58] At the same time they are diverging more or less impetuously from the paths of "assimilation," and are striving to rediscover and revive specifically African values. An effort to prove themselves individually by integrating themselves into the existing system is being succeeded by an effort to prove themselves as representatives and guides for a host that must be freed from this system. This is a trend toward nationalism, in the widest sense of the term.

668 369 563 (3) In the coastal cities, the growing strength of racial tensions since the last war cannot fail to encourage such a

[P. 19 A]

668 change. The vast increase in the num-
369 ber of Europeans, their greater occupa-
[563] tional diversification, the much stronger reaction to the facts of discrimination, and multiplication of competitive situations — occupational or otherwise — are the most obvious phases of this major phenomenon.[54]

As these factors have come into full operation, a new phase of political life has opened. These are its principal traits:

668 (1) From 1956 on, in unions and in
665 politics, secessions from the original
[467] French bodies — confederations or parties — have multiplied. Previous remarks indicated the development of this process among unions. After some delay it affected the S.F.I.O. itself, which was transformed, not without difficulties, into the African Socialist Movement. The assimilationist tradition declined, or at least was no longer proclaimed openly. After the parties became autonomous, the distinction between direct and indirect forms of political expression began to disappear. Extremist demands of a nationalistic character found expression within the parties, and worked effectively there after 1957 (at the time when the new "organic law" authorized the first Senegalese government).

(2) To a certain degree, the very old Senegalese political tradition once more became a driving force. At the same time the marginal elements, whose exist-
[571] ence was particularly marked among intellectuals, entered into real politics, chiefly within the framework of the B.D.S. They comprised the left wing of the new Senegalese Populist Bloc (B.P.S.), which stemmed from the B.D.S., and shared in the creation of the African Convention, which is striving to extend outside Senegal the strictly autonomous orientations of the B.D.S. They tried to organize the B.D.S. as a
[p. 198]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[53] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Evolution des élites sénégalaises," *Bull. intl. des Sci. soc.*, VIII (#4, '56).
[54] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Le groupement européen de Dakar," *Cahiers intl. de Soc.*, XIX, 1955.

369
668
[511]
[563]

[P.19C]

/667 cont./

125 [143] such as caste and the degree of kinship of each actual union [8].

In this region the person questioned, mostly in public, did [565] not make any difficulty about declaring to which caste he be- [124] longed. Moreover, this is known by all the inhabitants of the village and has such social importance that if one asks a child in the street, "Who are you?" he replies, "I am of such and such a caste." As for the degree of kinship of the spouses, a previous study among the sedentary Peul of the Fouta Djallon [9] has shown that it was possible to obtain this without a cumbersome demographic investigation; the individuals are well acquainted with the fact in regions where consanguineous unions are the custom.

The investigator asks whether or not the woman is married to a near relative, and, in the case of an affirmative answer, if the spouses have the same grandfather or grandmother (fourth degree) or in what other way they are related. A total number of 6,208 married women were questioned in this manner, and in order to correct possible errors of observation in such a sample, a control was established in a subsample of 382 sedentary couples by noting the names of the parents, grandparents, and eventually great-grandparents. At this stage there is uncertainty, but this can be removed only by laboriously working out genealogies. That is why the proportion of marriages to the sixth degree, which we indicate below and which are beyond the kinship ties known with sufficient accuracy, are perhaps more important in reality.

•563 The ethnic groups. The region studied contains 341,000 inhabitants divided into five principal ethnic groups: Moors, Toucouleur [Tukuler], Peul, Saracolé [Sarakole], and Wolof (Table I). The ethnic groups are distinguished by such characteristics as the way of life, social structure, group consciousness, [186] the name given them by other groups, and language, except for [197] the Peul and the Toucouleur, who speak the same language, Poular. Aside from the Moors, the population is grouped in five [36] port cities and 800 villages and communities.

The Toucouleur form the largest aggregate (187,000 per- [162] sons) and occupy the center of the region on the two rivers. The

/667 cont./

563 term Toucouleur often erroneously designates all the inhabitants of the Fouta Toro; we shall use it here in the way the Toucouleur speak of themselves, namely, Halpoularen (speaking the lan-
[197] guage of the Peul), distinct from the Wolof, who have their own language, and from the Saracolé, who speak a Mandé dialect.

/668/ Downstream the boundary between the Wolof and the Toucouleur is not clearly defined and several Wolof villages have been established in the very heart of Toucouleur country and
[186] have preserved their ethnic individuality. They are regarded as foreigners. It is the same upriver on the part of the Saracolé.

The Peul live in the midst of the three groups mentioned
[175] above, and the Peul ethnic group in the valley of the Senegal is itself composed of several waves /nappes/ which have successively spread throughout the region. The oldest are also the most sedentary and the most Islamized (Foulbé walo) and have a way of life very much like that of the Toucouleur, with whom they sometimes intermarry. The others, who have come more re-
[221] cently (Foulbé Diéri), are seminomads and only in winter culti-
[162] vate the sands of the hills which border the valley (Diéri). There
[613] is a total of 47,000 Peul in this region, but we do not know the actual number of each wave, itself divided into relatively
[175] endogamous lineages /lignages/ or pseudo-lineages. The latter, designated by the administration as communities, served as census units for the Peul, while for the others this unit was the village. The location of these communities often changes because of the seminomadic character of the Peul way of life, which is devoted principally to livestock-raising.

[162] Among the 56,000 Moors, although some of them (6,000) are settled in the river ports, the majority merely meet on the Mauritainian shore and only part of the year; they camp there
[221] during the dry season in order to cultivate the alluvial soil (walo), and they return after the harvest to camps sometimes located several dozen kilometers from there. These farmers for the most part are Haratin of the black race, that is to say, ancient serfs of the Moors, from whom they continue to lease land.

125 Since they occupy a very marginal position in relation to the totality of the inhabitants of the valley, they will not be studied here. /Table I appears here./

/668 cont./

162 Table I. Division of the population of the Senegalese Fouta according to ethnic groups.

Ethnic Group	Actual Number	Percentage
Toucouleur	187,000	54.8
Wolof	36,000	10.6
Saracolé	13,000	3.8
Peul	47,000	13.8
Moor	56,000	16.4
Miscellaneous	2,000	0.6
Total	341,000	100.0

582 563 The ethnic groups are relatively endogamous, because marriages between persons of different ethnic groups are very rare, except perhaps, as we have seen, between Toucouleur and Peul (Foulbé walo). The Toucouleur /669/ are the only group entirely 563 within the Fouta, aside from some fractions that emigrated in the [166] course of religious crusades into Macina, Boundou, and elsewhere.

Each of the other ethnic groups is merely an extension into the valley of a group whose bulk occupies the neighboring regions, the Wolof in the northern part of Senegal, the Saracolé in western Sudan, the Peul near the Ferlo and the Assaba. But each of these ethnic groups is itself divided into several populations: the castes.

565 Castes and social conditions. The castes, in reality, present [582] a matrimonial barrier more difficult to overcome than that of ethnic affiliation. The term "caste" is used here in the general sense of social class, exclusive in nature, and not in the sense [564] that is given it in the valley where the term is reserved for artisan castes.

[567] Social conditions first of all distinguish the captives from [422] the free men. The captives are regarded as the personal property

/166 cont./

166 Coming to Pikine means coming to the city, and that is an
369 indication of urban maturity which shows that Pikine is tending toward a relative sociological autonomy with respect to Dakar (1). /167/ /Table 4 appears here./

1. Autonomy does not mean independence, and it is quite certain that Pikine is a result of Dakar and that without Dakar there would be no Pikine. We wish to say simply this: migration to Pikine effectively brings about insertion into an urban environment through its distance from the Dakar agglomeration, and permits a migrant to participate in the economic and social advantages of the city.

166 /168/ As for the high percentages of non-expelled among the Peul, Moors, and the other ethnic groups, it is difficult to give a reason for them. All that one can suggest as far as the Moors are concerned is that they are chiefly
[563] merchants and that they establish their shops where the population is to be found. It is therefore normal that their presence in Pikine is the result, not of compulsion born of expulsion, but of choice for commercial motives.

Except for several hundred children less than five years old, no resident was born in Pikine. Two things are interesting to know:

1) Where do they come from, what is the respective proportion of their region of origin?

2) When did they arrive in Dakar?

Here is first, for the male heads of families, a detailed table, in absolute figures, for the places of birth divided according to age classes, and then the table in percentages from the principal regions, regrouped this time into only five categories in order to make the principal tendencies more apparent. /Table 5 appears here./

/181 cont./

191 871 academic training.

2) The great difference between the districts and the other quarters: the percentage of literates in the districts is almost four times the corresponding percentage in the quarters.

191 871 563 3) The very special situation of the Moors: they seem distinctly refractory with regard to modern education and do not show any more evidence of an aptitude or a very urgent desire for the study of French. This trait is characteristic of the originality of the Moorish community. It is not merely a sign, however, but is also a factor, and, as such, it contributes strongly to the withdrawal of this community and to its cultural isolation in the midst of the nascent urban civilization. The Moor has managed to integrate himself in the city -- it would be more accurate to say thrust himself into the city -- without changing his habits of life very much and by keeping intact the compact homogeneity of the group.

191 It is likewise necessary to note another tendency, although less obvious than the preceding ones: the Wolof and Sérère family heads who do not speak French are superior in number to those who speak it; this proportion is, on the contrary, reversed in the other ethnic groups. One must probably seek the cause of this variation in the fact that Pikine is a city close to the Wolof regions and that Wolof is the lingua franca there. The Toucouleur, Bambara, Soussou /Susu/, or Mossi come from much farther away, they have often "labored" in several places before ending up in Dakar, and this experience has not failed to give them some rudiments of French acquired in the course of their previous migrations.

191 871 The evaluation of the preceding results, no longer according to ethnic group but according to age class, gives other indications which at the same time indirectly confirm the above remark. /Table 15 appears here./

/182/ The percentage of literates in proportion to the whole of an age class decreases in proportion to the increase in age. There are proportionately six times more young

/13 cont./

this differentiation of functions has only taken shape in the last three decades (op. cit., p. 609)." This differentiation has been greatly accentuated in recent years.

369x [361]

2. The time and variable possibilities that the colonial towns have had to crystalize new social behavior and forms permit one to place them on a scale between two extreme types. There are old towns, this with respect to the measure of time that one must adopt in order to place the colonialtowns, the majority of which date from only a few decades ago and very few of which have reached a century of existence; there are absolutely new towns.

a) The old town has already had time to structure itself. The original ethnic differences are being obliterated; one could say that there is being created from multiple contributions a new ethos peculiar to the city. 369x 563

The European and African elements have contacts of variable amplitude and partially mingle in the habitat. Some Europeans found families. A sizable mixed society is formed. A proportion of higher schooling and in certain cases landed wealth have favored the creation of a leading African stratum. Some political traditions have been created there. The African population has become stabilized; the "family home" is in town and no longer in the bush. This extreme case is rare; one finds an example of it in the central part of Saint-Louis of the Senegal, the island. Still a new town, with an unstable population, little urbanized up to now, it is juxtaposed there, and the contribution of new layers of European population has changed certain data of the problem.

b) The recent town on the other hand, has very few stabilized Europeans. The mass of Africans is not [166]

/13 cont./

369x
563
[166]

stabilized either. Most of them were not born in town. There is no mixed society of any importance. The structures adapted to the new environment in which the rural people, recently settled, or seasonal people, who stream toward the town and salaried work, find themselves placed are hardly delineated yet. A relative "social amorphism" prevails. The European town and the African town, on the other hand are more clearly separated. This is the case, in part, for a town such as Brazzaville (2).

2. Cf. G. Balandier, "Approche sociologique des 'Brazzavilles noires'; Etude préliminaire /Sociological Approach to the 'Black Brazzavilles': Preliminary Study/," Africa, XXII, 1, January 1952, pp. 23-34.

/14/ 3. Among the colonial towns, some have received an African population that is ethnically homogeneous or characterized by a well-marked dominant ethnic group; others have been populated by waves of immigrants of very diverse origin. The role that the traditional structures and values retain is therefore of unequal importance. Thus the clear contrast between the two "Black Brazzavilles" pointed out by G. Balandier (1). Thus the contrast between the two

1. Ibid.

western and eastern annexes of Saint-Louis, Guet-Ndar and Sor, neither of which, however, can be regarded as completely urbanized.

4. The numerical importance of the European population, in absolute value and in relative value, is quite variable. Its growth is accompanied by modifications of structure

17: Mercier--7 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30
Lebu

/14 cont./

S
369x
563

(occupational structure, class structure, etc.). It seems that there are certain numerical thresholds beyond which important qualitative changes make themselves felt, for example, in the area of race relations. We shall return to this.

B. -- Dakar is one of the most complex cases. It has some aspects of an old colonial town, and in fact it is one of the oldest in West Africa (2). But this one has been

2. Counting only the colonial towns; the pre-European towns, with specific characteristics, are excluded here.

covered in a way by a town of the second type (3). The

3. Cf. above, I, A, 1, b.

mixture of the social characteristics of the one town and of the other permits one to understand certain features of evolution of Dakar. On the other hand, the dominant original ethnic group, the Lebou group, has progressively lost its importance. Finally, a last phase of the development of the town makes it seem like a center of European population, still unstable.

S
369x
563
W
369
563

1. Considering only the African population, one ascertains that the elements that are old and stabilized -- unequally and under diverse conditions -- (Goréean "old families," Lebou community) have been submerged by a heterogeneous mass. It is nevertheless necessary to specify:

a) The Lebou, despite the contributions received from the nearby suburb which is their traditional habitat zone (4), undoubtedly represent hardly more than 10% of

S
W
[162]
[113]

4. Cf. G. Balandier and P. Mercier, "Particularisme et évolution: les pêcheurs

17: Mercier--8 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30
Lebu

/14 cont./

Lebou /Particularism and evolution: the Lebou Fishermen/," Etudes Sénégalaises, No. 3, 1952. Result of investigations made in 1946.

S 369^
W 369
S W 563
[113]
[162]

the population.(5). Their /15/ customary organization,

5. The estimates, furnished by the way with every reservation by the Dakar Délégation, give 15% Lebou, but for the whole of the commune (suburban villages included); in the town itself the proportion is not as high. We consider only this one, without forgetting, however, that many Lebou living in the villages, and even Rufisque, work in Dakar. In the investigation by questionnaires conducted in Dakar, which gives, if not a true ethnic representation, at least some valuable indications, we encountered a little less than 10% Lebou.

S
W
[484]

moreover, continues to exist (1), but becomes more and

1. On this subject, cf. C. Michel, "L'organisation coutumière (sociale et politique) de la collectivité Leboue de Dakar /The customary organization (social and political) of the Lebou community of Dakar/," Bull. du Comité d'Etudes Historiques et Scientifiques de l'A.O.F., XXII,

S
W
[113]

17: Mercier--9 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS90
Lebu

/15 cont./

3, 1934; G.-J. Duchemin, "La République Lebou et le peuplement actuel /The Lebou republic and the present pupulation/," in "La presqu'île du Cap-Vert /The Cape Verde peninsula/," Etudes Sénégalaises, No. 1, 1949.

S
369
S
W
569
[113]

more formal, and its efficacy is reduced besides by the new political cleavages (2). Their role as holders of the landed

2. This goes as far as a splitting up of the traditional functions and those of the heads of quarters between the supporters of the two large present-day parties (SFIO and BDS).

property has progressively shrunk and remains important only in the suburbs (3). Finally, the Lebou particularism (4)

3. On this subject cf. the indications furnished by J. Dresch, op. cit., pp. 219-220.

4. Cf. G. Balandier and P. Mercier, op. cit., passim.

is tending to be obliterated, and the boundaries between Lebou and Wolof become more blurred (5).

5. In the figures furnished by the Dakar Délégation, one sees accounting for 11% a category

S
W
[162]

17 Mercier-- 10 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30
Lebu

/15 cont./

called Wolof-Lebou, for which one cannot know to what extent it is the result of mixtures between the two groups and to what extent it is the effect of a "Wolofization" of the Lebou.

S 369x
W 369
S W
[162]
[563]

b) As far as the Lebou and the Wolof are concerned, and to a lesser extent certain other groups, contacts with the regions and kinship groups of origin remain important. Let us add that for a population in large majority Moslem, the religious centers attracting pilgrims are in the interior of Senegal. A large proportion of the population is therefore not at all completely uprooted, and the phenomena of "destructurization" which generally accompany the rural exoduses are less marked than in most of the recent towns. Therefore the fact that only 22% of the persons questioned during our investigation were born in Dakar is less significant than it seems at first glance (6).

S 369x
[788]
S
[162]

6. Compare with the figures given by G. Balandier for Poto-Poto: 90 to 98% for persons born outside of the town (op. cit., p. 25). On the other hand it must not be forgotten that even in the "old towns" in France the proportion of persons born in the town where they live may be very low, for example, 25% at Auxerre (cf. C. Bettelheim and S. Frère, Une ville française moyenne, Auxerre en 1950, Etude de structure sociale et urbaine /An average French town, Auxerre in 1950; Study of social and urban structure/, Paris, 1950).

/15 cont./

c) It must be noted also that not all of the immigrant population is of rural origin. Many persons questioned by us, especially among the functionaries, were originally from "old towns" /16/ (Saint-Louis, Rufisque, etc.). It is then a matter of elements already strongly urbanized, for which, in any case, the question of uprooting would not pose itself in the same manner as for the rural people. The percentage of persons born in the town thus does not express exactly the degree of urbanization of the population. S 369x [166]

2. Under these conditions, the ethnic heterogeneity of the Dakar agglomeration does not signify, as in other centers presenting the same character, that social "amorphism" prevails (1). S 369x 563

1. Likewise, in a town such as Cotonou, the proximity of the big traditional centers of Dahomey counterbalances in part the facts of dissociation which one would suppose more important in view of the considerable ethnic mixtures that are produced there (cf. J. Lombard, "Cotonou, ville africaine /Cotonou, African town/," Etudes Dahoméennes, X, 1954).

It only reveals itself at certain levels and in certain sectors of the population (seasonal workers, members of ethnic groups represented by a very low number of persons, etc.). The topographic regrouping of people of the same origin however, is far from being systematic, as we shall see in the study of neighborhood groups. At the very most one can mention some dominant ethnic groups in certain quarters (Sarakolé sector of the quarter of Nyaye-Thioker, for example), and the tendency to the least dispersion which characterizes certain groups (Moors, for example). The purely Lebou quarters have ceased W [369] [563]

Dakar
Wolof MS30
Lebu

/16 cont./

S
369x
563
[166]
W
[369]
[563]

to exist by two processes: forced displacement of old quarters at the time of the creation of the Médina, massive settlement of foreign "tenants" in the quarters remaining in place. If the Lebou names of quarters have often been preserved (even after their displacement), if the headships of quarters are still in major part held by Lebou, these soon perhaps will be only historical vestiges. Moreover, the ethnic composition of the quarters and of the "compounds" is constantly being transformed. The numerical importance of the diverse groups cannot be established in any precise fashion because of the lack of detailed censuses. We shall mention as an indication:

S
369x
563
162

a) The official figures, furnished by the way with every reservation, and valid for the whole of the commune of Dakar (the suburban villages included): Lebou, 15%; Wolof, 25%; "Wolof-Lebou," 11%; Sérère, /Serer/, 3%; Bambara, 9%; Toucouleur /Tukolor/, 10%; Peul, 5%; Moors, 4%; Diola, 5%; Soussou /Susu/, 2%; Cape Verdeans (Portugese), 2%; etc. (2).

2. Percentages taken from figures shown in the 1953 report. Not mentioned, by the way, are persons originally from Upper Volta, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey. They do not seem to figure in the total, the headings including only: persons originally from other territories of the A.O.F. /French West Africa/, persons from Cape Verde, persons from Togo, persons from the Cameroun, persons originally from AEF /French Equatorial Africa/ and those from Sierra Leone.

/17/ b) The fragmentary data gathered at the time of the investigation by questionnaires conducted by the Section

S
[125]

/17 cont./ 369* 563 162 [125]

de Sociologie in the first half of 1953. The 1,231 persons questioned were divided among 43 different ethnic groups. The groups of small numerical importance, however, were not all represented (1). One found (the few percentages

1. Some others, represented in all Dakar by only a few individuals, were encountered in the course of subsequent investigations.

given are only indicative):

-- persons originally from the Senegal-Sudan zone: [166] besides the Lebou (9%), the Wolof (43%)(2), the Toucouleur [167]

2. Included here is a certain number of persons who were manifestly of Lebou origin and who nevertheless called themselves Wolof, proof of the crisis of the old Lebou particularism.

(11%), the Sérère (5%), the Bambara (6%), the Sarakolé (3%), the Socé, the Mandingue /Mandingo/, the Khassonké /Kassonke/, the Peul, the Diola (3%) (3), the Mandiaque;

3. The figure furnished by official sources undoubtedly is closer to reality; there is, in fact, among the Diola, a majority of workers, permanent or seasonal, and this is the category that proved to be the most difficult to contact. The proportion of workers in the total number of persons who agreed to answer our questionnaire is much smaller than it should be. [125]

/17 cont./

-- persons originally from French Guinea: Malinké (3%), Peul, Soussou, Kissi; 369x 563● 162

-- persons from the Ivory Coast: Agni, Appollonien, Attié, Baoulé /Baule/, Bété /Betie/, Dida, Krou, Wobé; [167]

-- persons originally from the Togo-Dahomey zone: Aizo, Ewe, Fon, Goun /Gun/, Nago, Popo, Mina;

-- persons originally from the Upper Volta-Niger zone: Mossi, Sonray;

-- miscellaneous: Moors (3%), Cape Verdeans (2%), Yoruba, Boulama, Congolese, etc.

Those for whom we have indicated no percentage are for the most part of little importance numerically in relation to the total population. Their situation, however, is very variable: the consequences of uprooting, the degree of cohesion which preserves small groups very far from their region of origin, the degree of integration in the urban society, vary according to the level at which they are located in the new social stratification which takes shape in the towns.

3. Indeed, another feature of the sociology of colonial towns -- and which is, as we mentioned above, very conspicuous in the "old towns" -- is the progressive differentiation into strata definable by socio-occupational criteria. It assumes, as the investigation on Dakar showed, a /18/ greater and greater importance in the stabilized population; there, the domains where behavior continues to be determined by the ethnic, religious, etc. situation are limited. We posed the problem in this manner in a recent article, to which we allow ourselves to refer (1): "It appears ... that our categories only 369x 565

1. P. Mercier, "Un essai d'enquête par questionnaires dans la ville de Dakar /An attempt at investigation by questionnaires in the town of Dakar/" (Paper given at the conference on the Consequences of Industrialization [113]

/18 cont./

and Urbanization in Africa, Abidjan, 1954). 369x 565 [113]

tendentially have the character of social classes. They are distinguished by the living standard and way of life and by a certain number of specific behaviors, but the characteristics of colonial society, on the one hand, and, on the other, the persistence of traditional values do not permit them to assume the character of clear-cut classes." We shall return to this account, where we noted the absence of close correlations [182] between socio-occupational category, ethnic group, and religion, but, on the other hand, the existence of very clear correlations between the socio-occupational categories and facts such as level of French studies, the importance of intermarriages between different ethnic groups, that of the role played by the groupings and associations of a new type (political parties, syndicates, etc.). Also the ethnic affiliation plays a role of variable importance, although it is very rarely obliterated completely.

4. The new structures which characterize the towns 369x give a large place to grouping of a political, syndical, cultural, sportive, etc. order. We shall not discuss this problem 571 here. It must be noted, however, that in Dakar the importance of some of them is considerably reinforced by the function that Dakar performs as the federal capital; it is valid for the syndicates and to a lesser degree for the political parties.

5. Finally, an important fact in every colonial town, 369x but particularly in Dakar is the juxtaposition of racially and 563 culturally different groups. For Dakar, the European population undoubtedly represents 10% of the total population (2), and 162

2. In the census of the non-autochthonous population of 1951, close to 22,000.

/18 cont./ 369x
the Lebano-Syrians at least 2%. Let us consider in this brief 563●
glance only the problem of the relations between Africans and [162]
Europeans.

a) The increase in the number of Europeans -- which [161]
has increased at least sixfold since 1939, while the African population has undoubtedly not even tripled -- has been accompanied [463]
by qualitative changes: development of the categories of technicians, workers, artisans, petty employees, petty merchants. This population, despite the sense of a strong solidarity (which is admitted in time of crisis) vis-à-vis the African population, [565]
has seen a division /19/ into classes inherited from the society of origin become marked. At the same time, the European community has withdrawn into itself, developing its own services (specialized merchants, etc.).

b) The evolution of habitat zones reflects these transformations. The close checkerwork of the original plan of 369x 563 361
Pinet-Laprade still encompasses multi-racial quarters (where the Lebano-Syrians have taken a greater and greater place). But, in the course of the development of the town, the Médina, almost exclusively African (1), has been added to them in the

1. Some Europeans live there, however; the general housing crisis largely accounts for this. [362]

north, while purely European residential quarters developed in the south. The recent zones set up on the other side of the Médina for the residences of functionaries likewise allow for little mixing. Finally, with the reconstruction of new buildings, the European town, starting from the southern zone, gained on the mixed quarters, and a movement toward a clearer segregation of the habitat zones is taking shape, segregation which is in no way official, but which is considered desirable by the majority of the European population (2) and is based in

2. Differences in way of life,

17: Mercier--17 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/19 cont./

369x
563●
[361]

differences in the daily rhythm are the arguments put forward by those who do not use purely racist arguments.

fact on the differences in economic status.

c) In principle there is no segregation in social life, either; certain public places, however (cafés, bars, etc.), strive directly or indirectly, to secure for themselves a purely European clientele. On the other hand, many clubs and asso- [575] ciations of a recreational nature exclude Africans in fact (it is rarely statutory). The syndicates themselves, although they [467] are not in principle founded on a racial basis, do not effect a mixing of Africans and Europeans, as a result of the diver- [468] gence of interests and claims; the strikes, when they occur, are in practice purely African. Finally, the political parties [665] are for the most part almost exclusively African; the European population as a whole is disinterested in local political activity.

d) Essentially the relations between Africans and Europeans are: relations at the place of work, between colleagues and, much more often, between subordinates and superiors, employees and bosses; relations between masters and domestics at home; common participation in cultural and sportive activities; relations between teachers and pupils or students. Relations of a more personal character (regular relationships, friendships, etc.) are much rarer. Intermarriages -- almost exclusively between African men and European women -- have a particular significance; there are practically none that have been contracted locally.

/20/ e) Here we shall not touch on the area of interracial judgments and attitudes, which must be the subject of more detailed investigations. It will suffice to say that all the observations made permit one to conclude that there is a

/20 cont./

state of tension between certain sectors of each of the two populations that is much more obvious than it was a few years ago. New facts have intervened in this period (not to speak of the grasp of clearer political perception by certain African elements). The number of European (men and women) workers and subordinate employees has increased, and this coincides with a considerable extension of vocational instruction and general instruction (at all levels) among the Africans, resulting in a much greater frequency of competitive situations in the occupational and economic spheres (1). 369x 563●

1. The study of unemployment in Dakar is very revealing. Besides the causes of unemployment which one could call classic, one more and more notices those that are due to this competitive situation. [464]

Such a glance shows how numerous, important, and entangled are the problems to be studied. A general publication will later give an account of the various investigations in progress. This account will permit one to place the problems that we shall bring up next. It will also permit one to understand the spirit in which our first inquiries were conducted. 369x

II

The information that we are going to give on the African family structure in the Dakar agglomeration is based, on the one hand, on documentation gathered at the time of the investigation by questionnaires, and, on the other hand, on facts confirmed through broader interviews and applying to a much more restricted number of families. These last have permitted us to observe in a more precise fashion the dynamic aspect of the problem. 125 124

/28 cont./

369x
595
565
[162]

employees and 15% of the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc.

those concerning the extent of the family.

/29/ E. --In the same general sense, the variations in the percentage of interethnic marriages are according to socio-occupational categories. For the whole of our population, we find: among the monogamous (696 families), 71% ménages where the wife is of the same ethnic group as the husband, 29% where she is from a different ethnic group; among the polygamous with two and three wives (228 families), 43% ménages where all the wives are of the same ethnic group as the husband, 57% ménages where at least one wife is from a different ethnic group. The following tables give the distribution by socio-occupational categories:
(tables on following pages)

369x
563
565

17: Mercier--33 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/29 cont./

Socio-occupational Category	Number of monogamous restricted families	Wives of the same ethnic group as their husband		Wives from a group different from that of the husband	
		T	%	T	%
Farmers, fishermen	16	14	87%	2	13%
Laborers, domestics	81	68	84%	13	16%
Workers and artisans	214	152	71%	62	29%
Master workmen	11	5	45%	6	55%
Subordinate functionaries and employees	208	136	65%	72	35%
Superior functionaries and employees	29	19	64%	10	36%
Teaching, intellectual professions, etc.	47	28	59%	19	41%
Merchants, transporters, etc.	47	65	84%	12	16%

369x
563
565

17; Mercier--34 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/29 cont./

Socio-occupational Category	Number of polygamous restricted families (2 and 3 wives)	All the wives of same ethnic group as the husband		At least one wife from an ethnic group different from that of the husband	
		T	%	T	%
Farmers, fishermen	7	3	43%	4	57%
Laborers, domestics	14	7	50%	7	50%
Workers and artisans	75	36	48%	39	52%
Master workmen	10	3	30%	7	70%
Subordinate functionaries and employees	57	25	44%	32	66%
Superior functionaries and employees	10	2	20%	8	30%
Teaching, intellectual professions, etc.	5	2	40%	3	60%
Merchants, transporters, etc.	45	19	42%	26	58%

369x
563●
565

/30/

1. The first table is more significant. In fact, the number of polygamous families is too low in absolute value in certain categories for one not to fear distortion, in the conditions under which the investigation was made. In any case, the fact that the only wife (or the first wife of potential polygamists) is from an ethnic group different from that of their husband is more important than when it is a matter of a second or third wife of a polygamist. 369x 565 563

2. As far as the monogamists are concerned, the categories of farmers, laborers, and merchants are clearly below the average (29%). The workers and artisans reach this average exactly. They likewise form among the polygamists a rather clear grouping, characterized by the preservation of ethnic values. One problem is posed here, however: the master workmen, contrary to what we have previously ascertained, do not fit into this group. We lack factors for an explanation of this seemingly aberrant fact. Subsequent investigations will try to illuminate it.

3. The categories of the subordinate functionaries and employees more clearly approximates here those of the superior functionaries and employees, of the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc. In this whole, the ethnic values, and this is confirmed by other investigations, tend to play a less important role; they are far, however, from complete obliteration (1).

1. See below some notes on the composition of groups of friends.

4. It would be necessary, however, to shade this account by studying the prevalent behaviors in the different ethnic groups (2). One finds that the situation varies in terms of: 369x 563

[565]

2. It is necessary to take into account the fact that the ethnic groups, except for the most important numerically, are not

17: Mercier--36 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30

/30 cont./

369x
563
[565]

> regularly distributed among the socio-occupational categories. We shall refer here to our paper, already cited, which was prepared for the Conference of Abidjan of September 1954.

on the one hand, the numerical importance of the group in the town; on the other hand, the distance from the region of origin; finally, particular factors closing off the group (racial prejudices, religion, etc.). Thus we find, among the groups where the average for interethnic marriages is not attained: the Cape Verdeans, the Moors, the Diola, the Sérère and equally the Wolof, among whom ethnic endogamy is the clearest. Among those where the proportion of interethnic marriages clearly exceeds the average: the Bambara, the groups originally from the territories of the south, and, unexpectedly, the Lebou, which indeed confirms the weakening of the former particularism and the mixing (which is accelerating) with the Wolof element. Let us note /31/ finally that in numerous cases, if the spouses are not of the same ethnic group, they are nevertheless originally from the same region; this is the case for most of those questioned by us who were originally from Dahomey and Togo.

S
369x
592

F. -- We must look briefly into the qualitative aspect of the composition of the family groups going beyond the framework of the restricted family; we have indicated what limits are put on the utilization of the purely quantitative data. This composition is very diverse and very changeable in time.

1. Here are the dominant types which were encountered, in order of decreasing frequency:

S
W
[604]
[597]

a) The nephew-uterine uncle relationship and more rarely the nephew-consanguineous /paternal/ uncle are the basis for the formation of many groupings. In particular among the Wolof and the Lebou, the educational role of the uterine

17: Mercier--41 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/34 cont./ 369x

2. And much less, as we have seen, with regard to the facts of "familial parasitism."

categories that on the whole have the same way of life. The distinction which has imposed itself between two groups of categories corresponds to this last fact. The boundary, however, is unequally clear, depending on the phenomena considered. One finds the problem of cultural persistences cutting across the changes of structure and way of life in the course of consolidation.

3. The at least partial entry into the western "technical milieu" appears to be a factor of transformation much less important than schooling. The majority of the specialized workers are still in the most traditionalist group, with only the master workmen approaching, in certain forms of their average behavior, an intermediate position. The level of schooling itself, however, is still only weakly decisive, except in the category of members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc. The relation between level of studies and the way of life, even though it tends to assert itself, is not direct in every case. [182]

III

The group of relatives no longer coincides with the local unit. Neither the quarter, the sector, the block, nor in certain cases the "compound" are ethnically homogeneous any longer. In this case, what is the social role of the neighborhood? Under what conditions does it create relationships of a new type which are to be integrated into the new urban "pattern"? The groups of friends were formed essentially in the framework of the age class (3) as a consequence of the ethnic group (and often of the group of relatives in the broad sense). 369x 621 571 [563]

3. See, for example, G. Balandier and P. Mercier, op. cit.

/35 cont./

kinship, kinship by marriage, membership in the same ethnic group, the same religious persuasion, the same occupation; certain other facts are ambivalent, for example, membership in the same association. In the study that we have made of a certain number of blocks of Médina, we have tried to isolate the neighborhood factor at different levels of participation in common activities. We essentially retained: reciprocal visits, conversation groups, mutual aid (loans, etc.), relationships between women, the play groups of children. The relationships of simple politeness are not retained. We considered successively the relationships inside the compound -- when it is not inhabited by a single family -- and the relationships within the block. In the last case, a somewhat arbitrary limit is posed: the street is not a border, but a zone of assembly. It has not yet been possible to study completely the social role of the latter. 369x 621 571

In the block that we shall take as an example, 12 out of 14 compounds were studied; the inhabitants of the other two compounds were on a trip or refused to lend themselves to the investigation. The block as a whole is very heterogeneous ethnically, but, however, with a clear dominance of Wolof-Lebou (2). [563]

2. Six family heads who were manifestly Lebou persisted in calling themselves Wolof. Cf. above.

It contains 39 family groups (representing 199 persons) and 11 isolated bachelors, tenants of some of the preceding families. [427] Five of these bachelors only live /36/ in Dakar seasonally, but in principle always in the same place. The distribution of the family heads by ethnic groups is as follows: 28 Wolof, 4 Lebou, 5 Toucouleur, 1 Sarakolé, 1 Socé. Among the isolated bachelors, one has: 5 Wolof, 2 Toucouleur, 2 Socé, 1 Bambara, 1 Soussou. [563]

1. The study of the relationships within the compounds shows a certain variety of situations.[1] These compounds are

[1] [see chart, pp. 56-57.- Analyst]

17: Mercier--44 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/36 cont./

divided into several types by their composition: 369*

-- Compounds composed of a single family group: extended kinship group based on the nephew-uterine uncle relationship (B), restricted family (E); 621 571

-- Compounds composed of restricted family groups, but having between them ties of distant collateral kinship (J);

--Compounds composed of restricted or extended family groups tied only by the ethnic relationship (A and N);

-- Compounds grouping restricted families from different ethnic groups (F, G);

-- Compounds grouping restricted families and isolated persons, all of the same ethnic group (L);

-- Compounds grouping restricted families and isolated persons, and ethnically varied (C, D, K, M).

The compounds of the first two types will not detain us; family solidarity plays a major role there. In the others, the situation is extremely variable. Frequent relationships exist everywhere on the level of the children (play groups), less frequently on the level of women, still less frequently on the level of men. Let us consider essentially the relationships which are not sustained by the ethnic community.

a) The bachelors, except when they are of the same ethnic group as some of the families of the compound (1 case, in compound D), participate little in the life of the compound; most eat outside and only spend the night at home. Mutual aid does little for them; most said that they had recourse, in case of sickness, to the aid of friends -- almost always of the same ethnic group -- on the outside. In one single case (compound K), the bachelors -- of the same ethnic group, moreover -- form a group eating together, going out together, etc.; the cooking is done for them by an old woman -- also of the same ethnic group -- a widow who lives with her children. [589]

b) Within the compound the ethnic disparity among the families does not exclude some minimal forms of mutual aid (loans of ustensils, small purchases, care of children, etc.) [563]

17: Mercier--45 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/36 cont./

There is one single case of a ménage having practically no relations with the rest of the compound, that of a Sarakolé family (compound F). 369* 621 571 563

/37/ c) The extreme cases of mutual aid, on the contrary, are only noticed among families that are related or at least of the same ethnic group. Thus, in the compounds I, N, D, one finds an unemployed man, married and father of a family, temporarily taken care of by his cousins (compound I) or by his neighbors who are related to him only in the broadest possible sense of the term (compounds D and N).

d) The play community of the children is encountered everywhere within the compounds, the ethnic differences not at all intervening. This and other elements, such as the life in the courtyards, the daily encounters at the water places, cause the women ultimately to have many more personal contacts than the men. The only case of a woman living relatively isolated is that of the Sarakolé woman already mentioned. [857]

2. The picture is a little different when one passes to the larger framework of the block. It is moreover divided longitudinally, the relations clearly being more frequent among the compounds which face on the same street. It is necessary, however, to add the shadings.

a) The play groups of the children are still larger, and neither the ethnic group nor other differential elements seem to play a role in their formation, but only proximity and individual affinities. [857]

b) As far as the women are concerned, the contacts that we noted above, conversations at the water place, etc., concern practically the whole block. On the other hand, visits and possible mutual aid occur almost exclusively among relatives, relatives by marriage, and women of the same ethnic group.

c) We have examined, for the men, the composition of groups of friends. In most cases, the majority of friends were dispersed throughout the town, these friends being either of the same ethnic group, of the same work group, or members of the same association -- these factors can all be combined, or [572]

/37 cont./

combined two by two. Out of 32 male heads of families, eight had no friends in the neighborhood (block and its immediate surroundings -- the relatives obviously being excluded). Among the 24 others, one counted 15 whose friends in the neighborhood were at the same time all members of the same ethnic group; for five others, they were either of the same ethnic group or members of the same syndicate;[1] for two others, they were either of the same ethnic group or members of the same religious association. Only the two heads of Lebou families, the ones settled in the block the longest and enjoying a certain prestige, had many friends in the neighborhood; the majority of the latter did not belong to the Lebou group and were not members of a like structured group. The factor of neighborhood, properly speaking, seemed, for our people as a whole, to account for only the most superficial type of relations. The common religious persuasion does not /38/ play an essential role; its limits rarely coincide with the limits of groups of friends. The religious associations, however, are practically the only ones which rest, in a certain number of cases, on a local basis. The importance of occupational ties (in the broad sense, including syndical activity) and, above all, that of ethnic ties are of primary importance.

B. -- In this domain, however, differences in behavior between the socio-occupational categories are seen to appear, and it is important to note them in order to complete the preceding data. One sees some distinctions delineated which, as a whole, go in the same direction as those encountered in the second part of this work. In our population investigated by questionnaires, one finds: 13% of those queried who have less than 10% of their connections belonging to the same ethnic group as themselves; 29% who have less than 30%; 57% who have less than 50%; 11% who have 100%. The following table indicates the distribution by socio-occupational categories:

[1] [i.e., trade union.- Analyst]

/38 cont./

Socio-occupational Category	Percentage of connections belonging to the same ethnic group			
	Less than 10%	Less than 30%	Less than 50%	100%
Farmers, fishermen	11%	26%	50%	7%
Laborers, domestics	7%	19%	41%	21%
Workers and artisans	13%	33%	64%	10%
Subordinate employees and functionaries	14%	33%	60%	11%
Superior employees and functionaries	17%	34%	61%	7%
Teaching, intellectual professions, etc.	26%	40%	72%	6%
Merchants, transporters, etc.,	6%	17%	41%	17%

369x
621
571
563
572
565

We thus find a first group where the role played by ethnic membership in the formation of the group of friends is more important than it is on the average: the laborers and domestics, the merchants and transporters. The opposite situation is found among the superior functionaries and employees and even more accentuated, among the members of the teaching and intellectual professions. The farmers are to be added to this group, however; most of them are Lebou, and these figures account well on the one hand for the loss of their particularism before the Wolof thrust, and on the other hand for the more /39/important role played among them by the factors of neighborhood. An average group is constituted by: the subordinate functionaries and employees, and, much more clearly than in the other domains considered, the workers and artisans.

Some remarks are necessary. The factor of ethnic regrouping retains its importance in all the categories, although unequally.

17: Mercier--48 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/39 cont./

unequally. The scrutiny of the data concerning the neighborhood factor furnished by this same investigation is not finished; the first results seem to confirm those obtained in our monographic investigations: it in itself only plays a reduced role, only reinforcing the ties of some other origin. On the contrary, memberships in the same occupational milieu, in the same association, syndical, cultural, sportive, etc. (1), are important [572]

369x 621 571 563

1. The study of the role of associations is reserved for another work.

factors in the formation of groups of friends. Finally, let us add that the average behaviors of ethnic groups are extremely variable. Their distribution, however, does not coincide exactly with the one that we have indicated in the domain of interethnic marriages. Only groups among whom the importance of the ethnic factor is clearly greater than the average, the Moors, the Peul, the Toucouleur, the Sarakolé; on the other hand it is slightly less among the Wolof and the Bambara, average among the Sérère, the Diola, the Soussou, the Cape Verdeans. The partial divergences between these two orders of data (2) pose in themselves a problem which will be the

2. Cf. II, E, 4.

subject of subsequent investigations.

We have studied essentially the permanent population of the town, moreover unequally stabilized. It remains to complete these data by the examination of the problems posed by the seasonal population, and, more generally, by the population without fixed residence. It is in this minority that one can really speak of facts of detribalization, in the sense of pure deterioration of the former social frameworks. On the contrary, we [182]

/39 cont./
have seen that in the permanent population the kinship structures and ethnic membership (3) played a considerable role. Certainly, a new equilibrium has not been achieved everywhere, and we have noted that the kinship structures were not always adapted to the conditions of urban life. But one is far from dealing with an amorphous mass. Where one can speak /40/ of detribalization, among the elites of a new type, it is not in a purely negative sense. The crisis phase of traditional institutions has not completely passed. But the phase of reconstruction of institutions has begun; some average behavior which implies a certain equilibrium in new frameworks can already be disclosed. /Figs. 1-4 appear here./

182
369x
[621]
[571]
[563]

3. It would also be necessary to examine the role played by the associations formed on an ethnic or regional basis.

17: Mercier--54 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

102
361
x 369
● 563

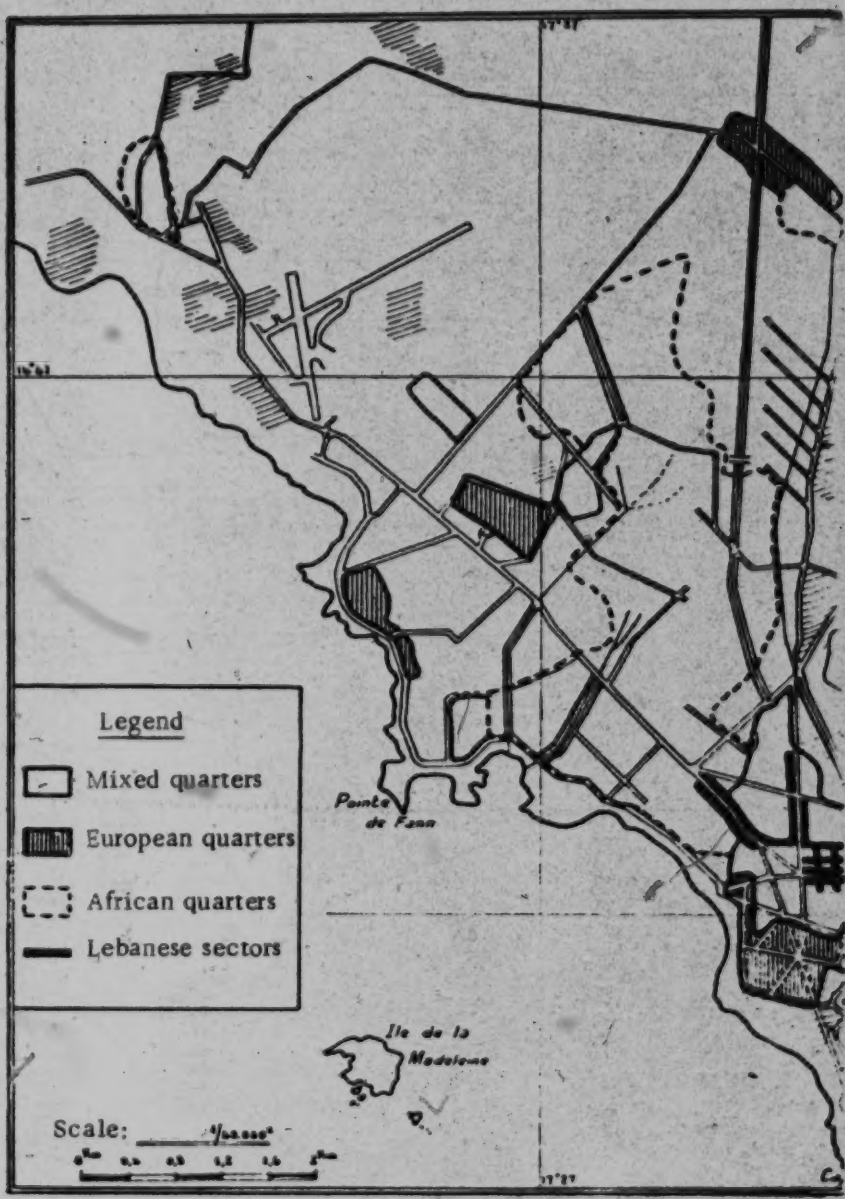


Fig. 3. Divisions of the Dakar habitat.
/left side of map/

17: Mercier--55 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

102
361
●563
x 369

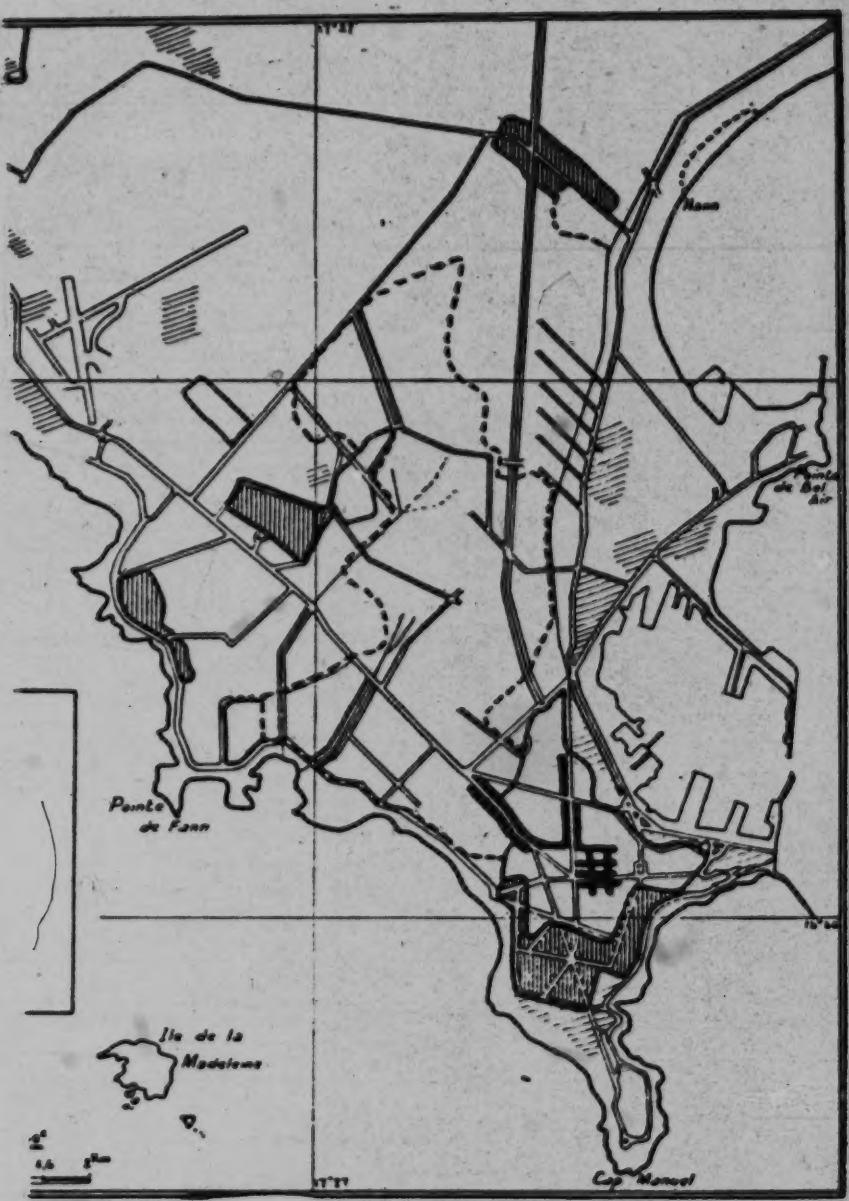
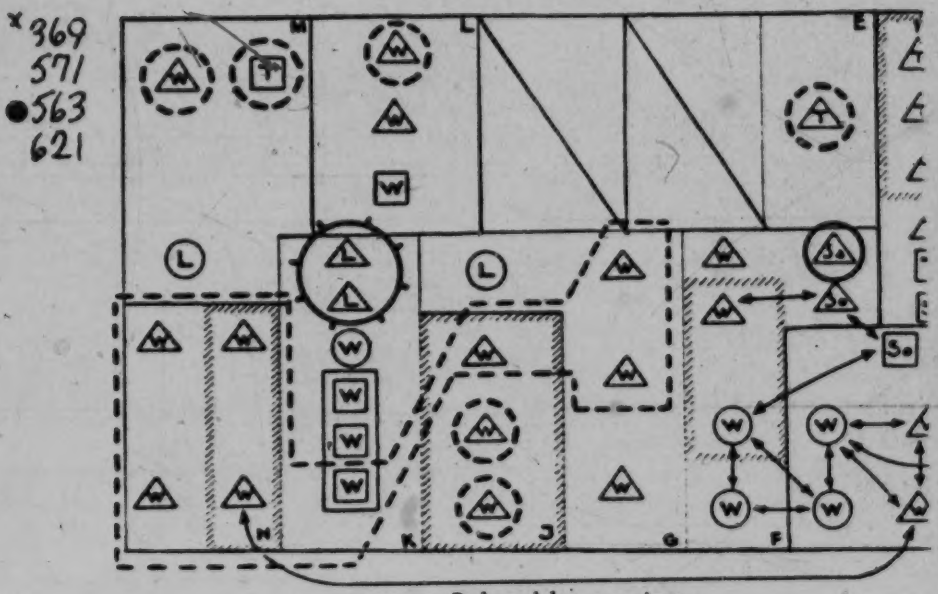


Fig. 3. Divisions of the Dakar habitat.
/right side of map/

17: Mercier--56 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

Dakar



Male heads of families △

Female heads of families ○

Bachelors □

Related groups

Wolof w

Lebou L

Toucouleur T

Sarakolé Sa

Example of a group with relationships.

Example of relationships between persons of two neighboring compounds.

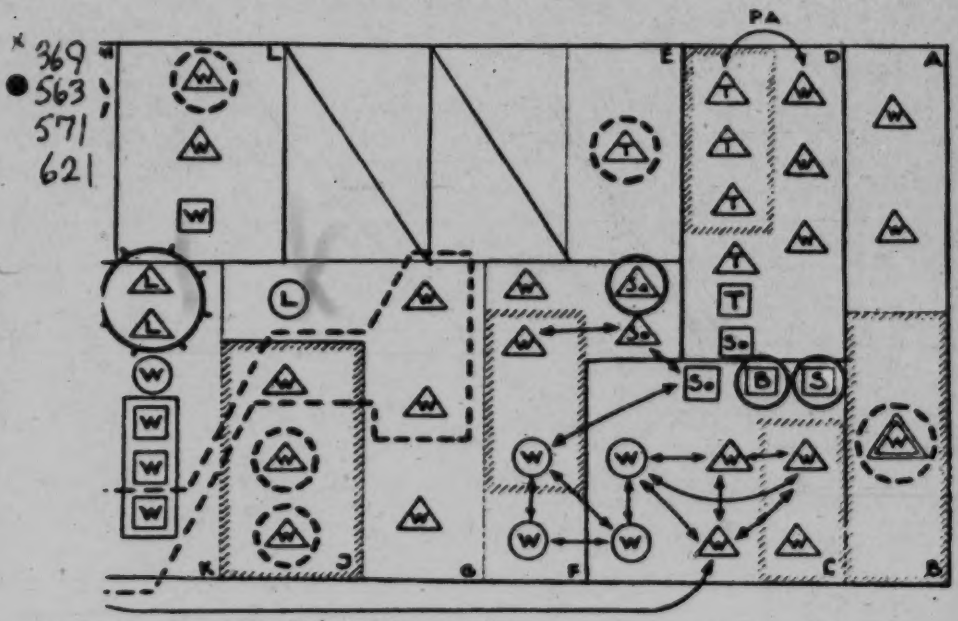
Families having relationships in the whole neighborhoo

Families not having, beyond the compound, any relationships in the block.

Persons without relationships in the neighborhood.

Fig. 4.
/left side of sketch/

17: Mercier--57 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar



Related by marriage

△	Wolof	W	Socé	So
○	Lebou	L	Soussou	S
□	Toucouleur	T	Bambara	B
	Sarakolé	Sa		

/see left side of Fig. 4/

Fig. 4.
/right side of Fig. 4/

/74/

175 The major part of the commerce was then concentrated
369 north of the railway; nevertheless, as early as 1895 some
[366] shops were established to the south, near the residence.

In 1890 Thiès had a permanent population of 1,200
[162] inhabitants. Some native quarters were established in the
175 vicinity of the commercial escale. The little village of
369 Thiès-None was shifted from the other side of the railway.
361 A native quarter was attached to the western part of the commercial zone; it was moved toward the south after the plague of 1911 and took the name of Randoulème (a word meaning in Wolof: remove yourself). Takhikao (storied house in Wolof), established originally near the first storied house belonging to Maurel and Prom, was ultimately pushed back along the route to Saint-Louis (Fig. 2).

175 Little by little, while the military function fell asleep,
369 the development of commerce brought stable economic
[366] activity to the city. Until 1914 the city grew very little,
[162] and its population amounted to only 2,400 inhabitants at that date; from 1885 to 1914 the city gained only 1,400 souls in all.

The military function of the city recovered part of its former importance during the war of 1914. The base of Thiès
[712] became a center of military training for new recruits. The quarter of Diakhao adjoining the camp was enlarged by the arrival of the families of the military. On the other hand, commerce was threatened during this period. The French
175 personnel, which since the beginning of the century had been
369 permanently established, was summoned to the colors. In
441 order to avoid shutting up shop, the Levantines were called
563 upon. The latter had made their appearance in Senegal as early as 1895 and up to that time had played only a very secondary role in the market of the city: selling candles, matches, beads... The war of 1914 facilitated their entry into the lucrative activity of trade.

/74 cont./

369 3. The establishment of industries (1923-1945).

498 The event which gave a decisive impulsion to the
[175] commercial escale and which brought Thiès to the rank of a city was without question the establishment of the railroad repair shops in 1923. As early as 1907 the first work had been undertaken to connect Thiès to Bamako directly by rail; difficulties of all kinds and then the war impeded it. In 1923 only the junction of the two sections had been made at Kidira on the Falémé. There was some concern to have the repair shops of the Thiès-Niger established in the center nearest the coast. Thiès, head of the line, was chosen as
[162] the center. In a few years the city grew by 10,000 souls, going from 3,000 inhabitants in 1921 to 13,000 in 1929.

369 The opening of the railroad yards not only brought about
441 the arrival of many workers and their families, but at the same /75/ /Fig. 2 appears here/ time gave a strong impulsion to commerce. The regular injection of credits by this new industry brought about a renewal of commercial activity which showed in the expansion of the firms already established and the creation of new stores. The Africans, who up
[472] to that time worked solely for the profit of firms under European management and who had been kept out of the re-
[563] tail business, opened small shops for their own profit (4).

[177] 4. It is the military, it seems, who brought back from France this idea of establishing for themselves small grocery stores copied from those encountered in the villages of the mother country.

The latter, appealing to an essentially native clientele, multiplied as soon as the economic scope of the city increased. At the same time the number of artisans increased.

[563] After the war, the Levantines, who had been the only ones able to carry on commerce in complete tranquility for four years, set up businesses for themselves. Their experience

/75 cont./

102
361
491
496

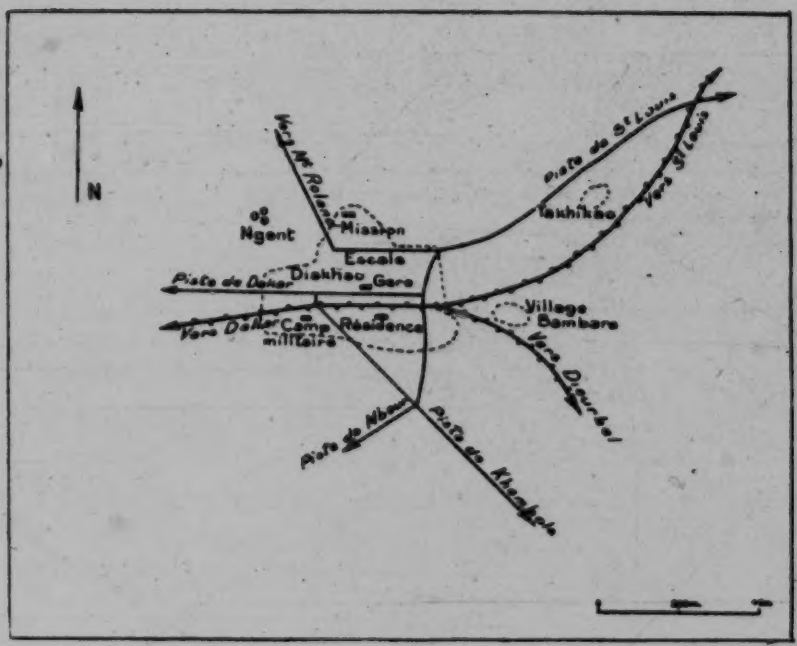


Fig. 2. Thiès in 1910.

369 acquired during the period of hostilities, their knowledge of the
441 language, and their great aptitude for adapting themselves to
563 the customs of the country and for living under very curtailed conditions /76/ made these newcomers serious competitors whom French commerce tried, but in vain, to eliminate. All the concessions of the northern escale were now occupied (5); the

5. There was no question of extending the first lots farther to the north; the concession ceded to the Mission prevented such an extension.

newcomers -- chiefly Syrians -- set up their factorerie (6) in the

[443]

6. Factorerie: shop where everything is sold and where at the same time

/76 cont./

369 local products (groundnuts,
441 millet ...) are bought or
563 bartered for.
443

still almost empty quarter of the residence.

Already the economic equilibrium of the city was no
369 longer essentially based on the commerce of trade, subject to
433 price fluctuations, but also on the budding industry which as-
458 sured it a certain stability. It is true that the latter, barely acquired, was put to a harsh test during the world crisis from 1930 to 1934. In the course of this difficult period the price of the groundnut slumped. The old commercial firms which depended solely on the trading were no longer able to meet their payments and liquidate their stock: Société Française du Sénégal, the firms Lacombe, Latrille... The sounder establishments were themselves obliged to close their city branches temporarily, for example, Peyrissac, Maurel Frères. Nevertheless one did not see here a complete slump in commerce with spectacular failures such as occurred in Dakar, but rather commercial liquidations, sales of stocks that were repurchased by Levantines and wholesale companies.

The effects of the crisis, which ended in 1934, re-
[471] sulted in a redistribution of commercial ownership, a re-
[563] adaptation of commerce to the new requirements, along with the definitive establishment of the Levantines.

369 At this date the fusion of the two railroad companies,
498 the Dakar--Saint-Louis and Thiès-Niger, stimulated an ex-
433 pansion of the industrial quarter by regrouping at Thiès the workshops originally installed at Dakar for the Dakar--Saint-Louis railway.

369 On the eve of the Second World War the city reached
the figure of 22,000 inhabitants, 1,200 of them Europeans.
[162] The almost complete disappearance of epidemics, the better
[511] food supply, the construction of comfortable houses (Ballabey
[361] district created as early as 1925 for the railway workers, villas for officers) permit metropolitan families to settle in a permanent fashion. In a parallel manner, the native

/78 cont./

2. The Quarters

1. The quarters of European type.

361 If we eliminate the two military bases that offer very
563 special characteristics peculiar to their internal organization, Thiès contains three quarters of Western conception: the Cité Ballabey /Ballabey District/, the Vieille Escale /Old Escale/, the Résidence. While the first shelters a population almost wholly European, in the other two the Whites are in the minority (one White to four Blacks).

No systematic segregation really exists in the city. The Cité Ballabey itself is a district for operatives belonging to the managerial staffs; it is in no way closed to Africans who have reached the rank required by their establishment. Although located near the workshops, it is a quiet zone. Its park is magnificent. The villas there are arranged regularly
351 according to a checkerboard plan in the purest colonial style.
[342] Each square of the checkerboard is occupied by a villa divided into two twin and symmetrical apartments; courtyards and gardens extend out on all sides of the dwelling; some mango trees with dense foliage shelter the rabbit hutches, the hen house, and the garage from the heat of the sun. It is easy
341 to date the construction of each of them by its architectural
342 style: the pink brick corresponds to the years 1925-1930; the reinforced concrete, painted light beige, dates from after the war... The quarters of the D. M. A. and of the air base, with some variations, show almost no originality of their own and are comparable to the Cité Ballabey.

The Old Escale presents the appearance of a quarter
[363] in a Mediterranean city: narrow streets bordered by storied buildings built out of the white limestone from Bargny; a small, light balcony with a metal balustrade projects over the sidewalk and runs from one end of the building to the other; a very slightly sloping red tile roof under a blue sky accentuates this impression of the Mediterranean world.

351 Each concession, square in plan, forms a regular block of

/79 cont./

361 mahoganies planted at the end of the last century. The very close presence of the station, and the continual coming and going of locomotives, with strident cries that rend the air, destroys the harmony of these quiet spots of small provincial cities, while attempts are made to recreate them.

361 Even more peaceful air is breathed in the Catholic
346 Mission, located to the north of the old "escale." The buildings were constructed at the end of the last century in red laterite, storied buildings /80/ with monastery arcades. They are situated in the middle of a huge garden, always green, extended by a park of magnificent trees. The whole reminds one to some extent of the peaceful site of some metropolitan abbey.

361 The two business quarters (Old Escale and Residence)
●563 present the peculiarity of becoming, according to the time of day, the domain of the European in the evening (at the hour
443 for the apéritif) and on Sundays, and that of the African during the day (while the market is open). A place of contact between the Black and the White, this market occupies a very important place in the life of the African city and merits pausing there a bit.

443 It is on the day of the opening of the groundnut trade (at
[438] the beginning of December, for example) that it is proper to visit it. On coming from the station one plunges suddenly into the animation, the dust, the heat, the "sticky" odors of the market. The place is swarming with people where
443 the most diverse means of locomotion are squeezed and mingled together: a small cinder-gray donkey, heavily
494 laden, deciding to block the passage of an automobile, despite the beating by its master; a small, light cart with two rubber wheels serving as a taxi and in quest of a possible passenger; a housewife from the neighboring village, her last-born hanging on her back, and who keeps on her head,
[482] in marvelous balance, a calabash full of market produce; a cyclist, poorly balanced on his machine, now and again running into a pedestrian or a vehicle; a truck with impressive loads, which slowly pushes from the road the human

/80 cont./

443 flood rapidly closing in again behind it. All these noisy peo-
[493] ple carry with them a flavor of the neighboring bush, warm and dusty.

The market of dried fish readily reveals itself by the strong odor that it gives off; farther on is the stall of the
[563] butcher for Europeans; very close to it the merchant of the tripe trade who grills some skewers of small pieces on a charcoal fire. Elsewhere the sellers of colas, of condiments and cloth from Guinea, the cobblers offering their products among the very mixed odors in a halo of dust raised by the crowd. It is a delight for the eyes to see, in the bright sunlight under a very clear and pure blue sky, the shimmer of full garments of vivid hues moving with deliberation and majesty.

443 The animation reaches its greatest intensity between
512 nine and ten o'clock in the morning; the pedestrian is king, he blocks all traffic. Then, little by little, sellers and buyers disperse, and everyone falls into a blessed torpor at the noon hour. The afternoon is quiet, and at five o'clock each merchant has left his premises. This animation, which has only a temporary character in the commercial quarters of /Plates XI and XII appear here/ /81/ European type, is permanent in certain native quarters, but with a maximum amplitude in the evening after work.

2. The native quarters.

361 The native quarters also have their peculiar characteristics, a function of their antiquity, of their proximity or their distance from a center of activity, and, naturally, of the social category of their inhabitants.

Takhikao and Gent were among the first quarters created. Except for the nearness of the road from Thiès to Tivaouane, which attracts the merchants' small shops of planks or straw, they have kept their rural character; dwell-
[351] ings arranged in a loose order, surrounded by an orchard protected by a tapade /walling/ of branches or stalks of millet.

[Text continues on p. 18]

/81 cont./

361 millet. The old people assemble in the evening under the
[517] large silk-cotton tree that shades the old crumbling mosque of
[312] Takhikao. The women chatter while awaiting their turn to
[342] draw water at the common well, while the children play in
the sand. Gent stands out because of a series of small, low
houses with a rectangular base and a roof of corrugated metal,
all identical and set along the trail that leads to the marigot
[351] /watercourse/ of the mission. A garden and a courtyard, al-
[563] ways littered with laundry, characterize each concession. It
is the quarter of Portuguese half-breeds called "portugalais"
(Plates XI B and XII A).

Diakhao-Nord /North Diakhao/, quiet, airy, arranged
[363] according to a strict plan of lots, contrasts with Diakhao-Sud
with narrow, winding lanes bordered on all sides by tapades
of millet stalks and noisy in the evening. The proximity of
[275] the two military bases has made it a place where one amuses
[525] himself with all that this includes in the way of drinking
[579] shops and more or less clandestine gambling dens. Brawls be-
tween drunken men are not rare in these places.

Randoulène, Derrière-la-voie-ferrée, and Bambara,
which form a unique quarter, homogeneous in its density and
in the heterogeneity of its dwellings, have become established
in the immediate vicinity of the railroad repair shops. The
[342] huts of planks, mud, or straw stand one against the other along
[363] the winding lanes laid out according to the desire of the
moment and not without some imagination. These lanes are
[373] noisy with people, and even late at night they walk between
the small shopkeepers' stalls lighted with smoking candle ends.
351 The dense crowd flows over the edges of the street and enters
the interior of the courtyards. The latter, covering barely
[463] a few square meters, often serve as a workshop for the
[252] weaver, the blacksmith, or the jeweler, and as a kitchen for
the housewives of the neighboring huts; it is not rare to see
half a dozen millet pounders there, pounding their mortars
in rhythm in groups of two or three. This is also the gathering
[517] place /82/ /Fig. 4 appears here/ of workers, where, after
[524] work, sitting in the sand amidst the dust and the noise, in a

/83 cont./

3. The Activities of the City

1. Commerce.

433 If we except the period of conquest, during which a handful of troops established themselves in the entrenched camp, the primary function of Thiès was commerce.

441 An escale of trade in its beginnings, Thiès has re-
433 mained that up to our times. Almost 25,000 tons of groundnuts are commercialized each year in spite of the opening of important points of trade in the vicinity, Tivaouane, Khombole, located some 30 kilometers from there. This commerce demands a certain taste for risk; if in certain years it offers appreciable profits, it sometimes renders the balance sheet of the merchants who practice it very precarious. The groundnut trade, as far as purchase from the pro-
[563] ducer is concerned, is almost entirely in the hands of the
[442] Levantines and a few Moors and Blacks. The important establishments, N.O.S.O.C.O. (8) and the Soucail firm,

8. N.O.S.O.C.O. Nouvelle Société Commerciale.

engage only in wholesale trade.

443 The factorerie run by a Levantine (9) next to the

[162] [563]

9. The Levantines are 48 in number, namely, 23 Syrians and 25 Lebanese (figures of 1952).

courtyard of the secco (10) has kept all its picturesqueness

[257]

10. Secco: mass of groundnuts stored in the courtyard of the merchant and destined for export.

[438] up to our day. /84/ Everything is sold there, from the piece of trade cloth in vivid colors to cheap perfume; kerosene by the liter and millet by the kilo or sack are retailed there.

/84 cont./

442 iron for cement, tires...piled loosely together. The activity
443 of these branches is based on three elements: retail with a sales store open to the average customers, wholesale granted to the important factoreries (Levantines...), and wholesale to the small shopkeepers for retail. Each is furthermore an implement dealer with exclusive right of sale granted to them: frigidaires, motor fuel, automobiles...The figure
[433] for the monthly business of one of them fluctuated between 20 and 25 million in 1953.

443 An intermediate type of commerce was established a
[563] short time ago with the arrival of the Moroccans; they
[162] numbered 25 in 1952. /85/ Some among them attempt to corner both the European and native clientele. They special-
[438] ize in the sale of fabrics and fancy articles for Africans:
[191] babouches, fezzes, cheap watches. They speak the native language fluently and sometimes French extremely well.

The Africans, as we have seen, have launched into private business since 1920. Some of them have a factorerie of the Levantine type, but most of them have opened a shop in the outlying quarters. The Moors and the Blacks share this small-scale commerce: in 1952 the former reached the figure of 120; the Blacks were perhaps as numerous. They
[347] are installed in the small shops of boards or mud roofed with straw or with corrugated metal. On the counter, made up of a simple board, stands a Roberval scale, some jars of large multicolored bonbons, a pasteboard box filled with dry biscuits. The bag of charcoal on the floor stands beside a tin of kerosene. Some cola nuts kept fresh in a wrapping of leaves still green, a kilo of sugar broken open, which is sold by the lump, some packages of cigarettes sold by the unit, and small cans of condensed milk give a glimpse of the small volume of their business.

To complete this picture, let us add the innumerable small "doorstep" merchants who on a piece of cloth or in a calabash display a few handfuls of roasted peanuts and cola nuts, a package of cigarettes, or millet fritters. These small stalls are all located in front of the door of the hut;

S /86 cont./
498 manufacturing cost would be high if they were smelted
S in Senegal, are bought on the outside.
498 Originally the repair work, the machining of loco-
463 motive parts or of rolling stock, necessitated only the
563 presence of good mechanics. But putting into service more powerful engines that no longer run on charcoal but on fuel oil requires /87/ precise inspection and minute repairs made by experienced specialists. Most of them are still Europeans, but already some Africans have the technical training required for this delicate work.

S The enterprise, however, has only a small percentage
[162] of Whites: out of 2,500 railway workers there were only 140 Europeans in 1953. And most of them worked in the offices (one European to eight natives); in the workshops this proportion reached only one to 40. While most of the metropolitan specialists are taken from the staffs of the S.N.C.F., the African specialists are recruited from among the students
S [874] coming from the technical schools of Terrasson-de-Fougères in Bamako or William-Ponty in Dakar and from among the former mechanics of the arsenals of the national marine. They constitute the supervisory staffs in the different shops.

The ordinary workers, founders, hammermen, carpenters .... have generally been trained in the very workshops of the Dakar-Niger where they work for a number of years. Finally, the non-specialized work is done by newcomers from the bush.

S An investigation carried out in 1952 on a quarter of
498 the total number (834) enables one to learn the ethnic
563 composition of all the workshops. One can note a pre-
W eminence of the number of Wolof (301); the Peul and
498 Toucouleur /Tukolor/ number 189; the Bambara come
162 third with 115 individuals. It is necessary to add 39
463 Sarakolé, 40 Khassonké /Kassonke/, and 79 workers belonging to different groups. This list gives an idea of the important mingling of individuals that make up this industrial center. One observes, nevertheless, that the

/87 cont./

S 498 563 W 498 162 463 workers from the regions neighboring Thiès are not in the majority; the Wolof-Sérère group is made up of 380 units, 45% of the total. Besides, the Wolof and Sérère /Serer/ offer relatively few technicians and supervisory operatives; the Wolof make up only 7% in the supervisory category as against 24% in that of manual workers; the Sérère account for only 5% in the first category and 39% in the second. On the other hand, 17% of the Khassonké and Sarakolé belong to the supervisory staffs as against only 22% of the manual workers and employees. These figures underline the difficulty for the enterprise in recruiting specialized workers in the vicinity of Thiès. It must call upon technicians from distant territories, although a high percentage of non-specialized workers and manual laborers are recruited locally.

S 498 433 Because of the number of its total labor force, the industrial grouping of the Dakar-Niger forms one of the most active elements of the economy of the district. More than 25,000,000 francs C.F.A. are distributed monthly in the form of salaries to all of the personnel.

/88/

3. The Public sector.

S 712 433 Although the installation and extension of the two military camps have in an indirect way increased the importance of the city, it indeed seems that they have little influence on the economy of the district on account of their internal organization within a closed circuit.

S 647 464 The establishment of increasingly more numerous and substantial administrative services affects the economic life of the escale in a more tangible fashion. The administration of the circle /cercle, an administrative district/ and the services for agriculture, education, and public works employ several hundred officials, day laborers, and manual workers.

/88 cont./

871 Education has developed in a remarkable fashion; each year more than 2,000 school children attend the public and private schools. The number of young pupils also has increased steadily, but only for the past dozen years. The modern college, because of its inadequate size, refuses numerous requests for admission every year. In spite of the annual opening of new classes, it can be estimated that only one child out of three of school age attends school.

369
563

4. The Social Structure of the City

1. The Whites.

In 1955 we are far from the heroic epoch when Thiès was considered an unhealthy place and when the mortality was very high. The arrival of the first European families at the beginning of this century could be considered an important event. It marked the possibility of permanently implanting a white colony in the escale.

The climate has been made more bearable by the many improvements in comfort that have created a propitious atmosphere for the establishment of family life. [162] In 1953 there were almost 1,200 women out of 2,700 Whites.

369
563
573

The European population is divided into a certain number of "milieus": army, operatives of the Dakar-Niger, officials, merchants. Contact between any of these assemblages is very loose: with few exceptions the relations between individuals belonging to different groups are not very frequent; there is visiting only among people of the same background. The transfer of personnel, which is repeated every two years, has the result that the time of residence is not ordinarily long enough for a newcomer to break away from his milieu. A certain apathy and a lack of curiosity limit these human contacts with neighboring groupings.

The armed forces, and Dakar-Niger, because of the very conception of their internal organization, live in isolation. Each of them has its co-operative, its club, its

/88 cont./

369 bar, and sometimes its cinema and its swimming pool; /89/
563 they form a small city that is self-sufficient. The officers
573 of the administration by their very functions seem to have more extensive relations in the different milieus.

Among the merchants and artisans, the problem is different because of the very stability of their work and the length of their stay. In this commercial and artisan milieu one could define three very distinct "groupings": the "old ones" who have lived in Thiès for several decades; the "newcomers" from after the war; the Levantine-Moroccan grouping.

The first are not very numerous; they live in their old factorerie, which, in spite of recently added arrangements, preserves something old-fashioned about it. They are able to [191] talk to the native in his own language. Their life, while it has become more comfortable, is lived modestly; they go out little and entertain only among themselves. Every two [484] or three years they take a few months' rest in France during the season of cultivation in Senegal. As a result, their life is quite withdrawn.

The second group, made up of recent emigrants, is entirely different. It primarily contains bachelors or young married people more or less in love with adventure perhaps, but above all seeking a broader existence. They generally [427] live in one or two rooms rented from a Levantine or Moroccan. [265] Since it is difficult for them to cook at home, the restaurant provides for them. In general they adopt a careless attitude, [484] are restless, and speak loudly; their first savings are intended [493] for the purchase of a motorcycle or a small car which will enable them to escape from the city. Moreover, they are per- [546] sistent spectators at the four local cinemas, which have a new program every day.

The group of Levantines is different from the two preceding ones; their life is spent between their shop and their [484] apartment. Rare changes take them to Dakar on business. [353] Their interior is comfortable, arranged according to Oriental taste; they love vivid colors and pile up cushions. They [484] rarely go back to their country of origin; some of them have

S /89 cont./

369 not left Africa for 30 or 40 years. Others, more favored by
563 business, take a trip each year to France or western Asia.
573 Generally, the children pursue their studies in their parents'
[484] land of origin and speak French and English fluently. This
[191] new generation of Levantines, to whom one must add a few
[529] Moroccans, is becoming integrated little by little in the
[578] metropolitan milieu through the medium of sports associa-
[477] tions and hunting parties. These amicable relations will perhaps favor to a certain degree a closer relationship between these groups which are so often antagonistic on the commercial level.

/90/

2. The Africans.

S According to the census statistics gathered in 1953, the
369 ethnic composition of the city was the following: out of an
563 African population of 36,050 inhabitants, the Wolof appeared
162 as the most numerous and, with 23,624 individuals, made
W up 65.5% of the population; the Toucouleur, numbering
[162] 3,356, represent 9.3% of the total; the Bambara (Sudanese,
[369] rather) attained third place and accounted for 6.8% of the population with 2,447 individuals; the Sérère, although settled in the vicinity of Thiès, included only 1,856 persons, namely, 5.1% of the total. The Peul and the Moors, respectively 1,074 and 843 individuals, made up 3% and 2.4% of the total. The Sarakolé and the various other groups, represented, respectively, by 650 and 2,190 members, formed 1.8% and 6.1% of the population.

W These details speak eloquently of the ethnic hetero-
[162] geneity of the Thiès population. Still, it should be empha-
[369] sized that the number of true Wolof is certainly less than the
[563] statistical figure given; after a stay of some ten years spent in Thiès, the Khassonké or the Sarakolé, who will have lost almost all contact with his country of origin, who will have married a woman not of his race, who will have adopted the language, the food, the corresponding Wolof name, will speak of himself as belonging to this group.

/90 cont./

369 As one may well imagine, the most populated zones are
563 the ones located near the railroad workshops; Derrière-la-
[161] voie-ferrée, Randoulène, and Bambara have densities from 102 to 125 inhabitants per hectare (14). These quarters are

14. In French Equatorial Africa, in the quarters of Brazzaville (Poto-Poto and Bacongo), it reaches 100 inhabitants per hectare. Information taken from Documents and Statistics, Ministry of the F.O.M., No. XI, March 1954, p. 25.

at the same time the places of the most complete intermingling; almost 40% of the population is made up of elements foreign to the region of Thiès where Wolof and Sérère live.

We quote these figures, of course, in order to pose the problem of contacts between the various ethnic groups and of the relations between individuals.

369 Nevertheless, we should set apart the Moor group,
563 whose conduct clearly differs from that of its colored neigh-
573 bors. The Moors do not have any relations with the Blacks, except for purely commercial reasons. They meet only among themselves, travel only accompanied by one of their fellows. Their sobriety, their sense of thrift (often carried to excess), and their frigid calm estrange them from the often expansive temperament of the Blacks. Perhaps a certain feeling of superiority toward the population which they dominated before our arrival is the origin of this profound gap between people of identical material circumstances.

369 /91/ The Black masses seem at first estimate to form
563 a homogeneous whole. Nevertheless, among the elements which compose it there exist traditional distinctions of customary, ethnic, and religious origin, and social distinc-
[182] tions linked to recent structures: a new hierarchy in the

/91 cont./

369 industrial enterprises and in the public function. Even in a
563 professional category a certain hierarchy of a traditional
[182] order survives and is always respected. In the workshops of
[565] the Dakar-Niger, for example, the higher supervisory staffs
are made up of workers belonging to superior castes: free
[466] men, descendants of chiefs' families... Operatives coming
from families of griots or former captives, in spite of their
skill at the work and their training, would have only very
weak authority over their subordinates.

[578] The animosities between individuals belonging to
formerly hostile groups or to opposed religious sects may
sometimes reappear in the course of contacts between in-
dividuals or groups of individuals. Along the same line
[466] of thought, a certain favoritism may creep into the relations
between foreman and subordinates belonging to the same
ethnic category or the same religion.

Within each ethnic minority scattered through the
369 city spontaneous associations spring up, led by the oldest
563 among them. These friendly groups meet periodically. They
573 are at the bottom of the mutual aid to the newcomer, to the
workman who lives temporarily without funds in the escale.
Each of these gatherings is at the same time the occasion for
"folkloristic" celebrations, reminding the members of the
group of their customs and their country of origin.

369 The traditions which have been able to survive by
177 being adapted to the new conditions of the society lose
563 their importance to a certain extent in contact with new
ideas and Western influence. We have already remarked
that the notion of ethnic group is rapidly obliterated when the
individual is transplanted for a long time in a city very far
from his natal village. The family ties, and above all the
[593] authority of the head of the family over each of its members,
become extremely loose in the city. We see a breaking up
of the subordination that subjected each of the members of a
family to the paternal authority. The child is no longer
compelled to adopt the trade of his father; he may choose
the work that he thinks will suit him. The young girl is
[584] rapidly becoming emancipated, and rare are the Thiès

/91 cont./

369 177 563 [584] [593] [182] families in which the father imposes on the child the spouse of his choice. The spread of the teaching of the Moslem and Christian religions count for much in this loosening of the too confining ties of family tradition. This breaking up of ancient, too narrow social structures is not a strictly /92/ urban phenomenon; it also occurs in the countryside, but with less force and with a certain delay.

369 565 178 The presence of the industrial bloc of the Dakar-Niger, on the other hand, has had as an effect the formation of a working class, which is a specifically urban phenomenon. Although the ancient system of castes does exist in human contacts, that of social class is little by little being substituted for it. In sum, there actually exists a superposition of the two systems, but the pre-eminence of the second is already being affirmed. Through daily contacts and the rapid diffusion of social ideas coming from the West, the mass of workers is organized, it is grouped by syndicates, it has set up consumer co-operatives. Because of the great number of the members of this worker group, the workshops of the Dakar-Niger and, through repercussion, the city of Thiès itself have become the most active and the busiest centers of French West Africa. The strike that in 1948 paralyzed railroad traffic on the two lines (Dakar-Bamako and Dakar--Saint-Louis) for several months is certainly proof of the influence of a powerful and organized grouping, and a typical urban phenomenon.

[177] [467] [474] [468]

369 563 578 Thus there exists in Thiès a somewhat special social climate that sometimes makes the relations between Whites and Blacks strained. Chiefly during these periods of social crises. But these tensions are always temporary and automatically disappear as soon as the conflict is settled.

369 161 A much more important problem that seems general in all of the cities of Black Africa is that of the too rapid, if not excessive, swelling of the urban population. We have seen that the population of Thiès has almost doubled from 1945 (24,000 inhabitants) to 1953 (40,000 inhabitants). Dakar, Conakry, and Abidjan have grown in the same proportions.

[162]

/15 cont./

442 437 [992] [488] [452] [443] [938] into the secco, an area with a floor of hard earth or cement, closed off by sheet metal. The agriculturalist, paid forthwith, immediately spends the sum received, in settling the sums owed to the trader and in buying from among the manufactured objects of the same factory the most diverse articles: cloth, playthings, articles for bicycles, etc. Thus the same trader realizes two profits in the traditional system.

3) The agents of trade. Until the Second World War, 439 441 442 438 the trade in groundnuts was in the hands of about 3,000 private traders organized in a strict hierarchy. At the top, the trade was controlled by the large import-export houses, especially of Bordeaux origin, Maurel et Prom, Peyrissac, Vézia, etc., to which was added the C. F. A. O. of Marseilles origin, and the S. C. O. A. Franco-Switzerland. These firms, whose central agencies for Senegal are in Dakar, make arrangements for the "banks" and "agencies" in the principal localities, for "factories" in the escales, and for "operations" in the bush. These commercial houses concentrate the purchases of their various traders and provide them with imported products. They are supported during the campaign by the banks of the mother country or their agencies in Senegal.

441 442 438 The independent French merchants, often former employees of the firms, play the role of intermediary /demi-grossiste/ in the escales. /16/ They buy directly from the producers or from the African sub-trader and bag and forward /the product/ to the commercial houses in the shipping ports. They have been very harshly affected by the economic crisis of the 1930's and then [563] by the war, in particular by the mobilization, which facilitated the establishment of many Lebano-Syrian traders.

The treaties of 1919 facilitated the arrival in Africa of [563] these Lebano-Syrians. They devote themselves essentially to commerce, and they have on the whole succeeded, because, living near the autochthons, they have adopted their way of life and are contented with much less than the independent 442 443 438 Europeans. During the trade, they are generally commission agents of the firm that they represent. They receive a commission for each metric ton of groundnuts purchased, and sell in

/22 cont./

258 product, usually crude, each year leaves the Senegalese
[433] factories, which thus operate under their productive capacity.
[439] About 110,000 metric tons are exported. The traditional technique of manufacture by pressure, with recovery of the oil cake, or "expellers," is being replaced more and more by the procedure with solvents, slightly increasing the rate of extraction of oil, but providing poor oil-cake.

This industry of the oil-factory if now localized in five urban centers: Dakar, Lyndiane, Djourbel, Kaolack, and
[464] Ziguinchor. It employs more than 3,000 wage earners, nearly
[563] 300 of whom are European technicians; on the basis of this it is the primary industry /23/ of Senegal, and the more so since
[388] it has had annexed to it the complementary industry of soap-making, which produced more than 15,000 metric tons of soap from the neutralization paste.

258 The development of the Sengalese industry of oil-making
433 represents a considerable evolution of the economy of the country, since the groundnut has ceased to be a product of
[439] trade in the colonial sense of the term. In fact, the product that traditionally constitutes the great agricultural resource has become the principal raw material of local industry; more than ever, the groundnut keeps Senegal alive.

433 3. The essential position of the groundnut in the economy
241 of Senegal. "Whether or not it is desirable, the economy of Senegal can revolve only with the help of the production of groundnuts." This phrase by M. Porteres sums up the essential position of the product in the local economy. In 1957, for the
[439] whole of former Mali, the total value of the exports rose to 21,085 billions of francs C.F.A., the products of the groundnut accounting for 18,257 billions of this sum, of which more than 15 billions was for Senegal alone. At the same time, of
[162] 2,230,000 inhabitants of Senegal, only 58,700 were non-agricul-
433 tural workers, that is, non-producers of groundnuts. Actually, however, many of them are supported by them indirectly, in trade, transport, or industry. It is not exaggerated to affirm

/372/

369 [361] "Dakar is the only city, in the European (or Western) sense, in all of West Africa," wrote D. Wittlesey in 1941 (1).

[113] 1. Derwint Wittlesey, "Dakar and other Cap Verde Settlements," The Geographical Review, 1941, p. 609.

Things have changed since then; Conakry, Bamako, Abidjan, and other centers have become true cities. It is incontestable [162] that the 230,000 inhabitants counted in the census in 1955, of whom more than 30,000 were non-Africans, make Dakar the [563] most important city in all of the Black Africa of French expression. In 1957 its port had more traffic than all the other ports [505] of former French West Africa; in 1960, 8,000 vessels, with a capacity of 21,000,000 tons (2), put it among the most frequented

2. The official figures are 7,948 vessels and 20,992,111 tons.

[162] ports of Africa. But 50 years ago Dakar did not have 25,000 inhabitants. The rhythm of its growth is thus on a level with that of certain mushrooming cities in the United States of America. Dakar does not owe this extraordinarily rapid development solely to favorable natural conditions, as is often said, but also and especially to a complex interaction of historical, economic, and political factors. It is a crossroads born out of the effective integration of the African world and South America in the European economic system, an integration linked with the search for raw materials and markets, made possible and necessary by the great technical progress realized since the middle of the nineteenth century. City-crossroads, all of its vitality depends on the state of its relations.

[133] 1. Birth of Dakar. The head of the peninsula of Cape Verde, on which Dakar was established, is an assemblage of

/383 cont./

369
162
[113]

1958. op. cit., Vol. I, p. 35: 1910, 24,000; 1921, 32,000; 1931, 54,000; 1945, 132,000; 1955-56, 231,000.

[633] there, nevertheless give an acceptable idea of the direction of the development of the population of Dakar. The first 20 years that followed the construction of the port were characterized by a not very spectacular progression, the population merely having doubled, going from 24,900 in 1910 to 54,000 in 1931. This relative slowness of growth should undoubedly be attributed to some check due to the First World War, but it is basically explained by the then very imcomplete [496] character of the modern paths of penetration, the railroads from Thiès to Kayes and from Louga to Linguère not having been finished until after the war. By contrast, the progression has been particularly rapid in the 20 years that followed, and, in spite of the checks that would seemingly have been put into operation by the Second World War, the population has more than quadrupled between 1931 and 1955, reaching 230,000 inhabitants at the latter date (19).

[113]

19. Recensement démographique de Dakar 1955. Résultats définitifs, 1er fascicule /Demographic census of Dakar for 1955. Final Results, No. 1/. Publication of the Service de la statistique de l'ex-A.O.F., July 1958. The following figures given for the population of Dakar have been taken from this number or have been calculated from the figures that it gives.

369
563
162

This Dakar population, very diverse in its make-up, is an almost complete sampling of the ethnic groups of Senegal, to which are added elements from the other territories of former French West Africa and also some non-Africans. Thus, jostling

[Text continues on P. 20--Analyst]

/Fig. 3 Caption cont./

36 102 491 496 504 712 743

a-g. The piers. -- I. Town Hall. -- II. Chambre de Commerce. -- III. Sandaga Market (Ponty-Clemenceau cross-roads). -- IV. Former Palace of Justice. -- V. General Postoffice. -- VI. Treasury. -- VII. Kermel Market. -- VIII. Military Circle. -- IX. Residence of the President of the Republic. -- X. Military Hospital. -- XI. African Hospital. -- XII. Palace of Justice. -- XIII. Camp Bornis. -- XIV. Camp Galliéni. -- XV. Station.

369 563 162

/383 cont./ one another in Dakar are Lébou, Ouolof /Wolof/, Toucouleur /Tukolor/, Sérère /Serer/, Sarakolé, Diola, Socé, etc., who are Senegalese, but there are also Mauritanians, Sudanese, Voltaics, Guineans, Ivorians /persons from the Ivory Coast/, Dahomeans, Cape Verdeans, Lebano-Syrians, French, etc. The Lébou, who are the original population of Dakar, today represent scarcely one-tenth of the population, exceeded in number by the Oulof, the Toucouleur (20), and even by the 30,000 non-Africans.

[113]

20. A. Diop, "L'immigration toucouleur à Dakar (enquête /investigation/ 1958-1959)," I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 1. The author, citing an investigation by the M.I.S.O.E.S., gives the figure of 31,000 Toucouleur in 1959.

among whom the French constitute a great majority of close to 23,000 persons in residence. This character of Dakar as a [166] region of call is illustrated first by the fact that only a little more than one-third of the population was born there, /384/ and then by the quite obvious inequality between the number of men and that of women. Before the war, among the Europeans, there were 65% men as against 25% women and 10% [744] children (21). Today the systematic destruction of the

21. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar," op. cit., p. 630.

162 /384 cont./
369 breeding-places of mosquitoes in the numerous swamps of the
563 peninsula having been successfully undertaken by the federal
[744] authorities, one can better appreciate the exceptionally pleas-
[192] ant climate of Dakar, subject eight months of the year to the "influences of the Canaries" (cool and brisk current, marine trade-wind from the northeast), and an equilibrium tends to be established between men, women, and children, the first nevertheless still remaining the most numerous; in 1955, 39% men against 31% women and 30% children for the total non-African population; and 35% men, 30% women, and 35% children for the non-African population in residence. Among the Africans, one can verify the same phenomenon: 36% men, 31% women, and 35% children less than 14 years of age for the total population; 34% men, 31% women, and 35% children for the population in residence. Despite this tendency toward equilibrium, the fact remains that for the whole population of Dakar, men over 14 years of age are definitely more numerous than women over 14 years of age and than children; the balance sheet gives 37% for the men as against 30% for the women and 35% for the children.

369 This situation is explained by the fact that immigration
563 to Dakar is first of all of interest to the men, for whom it carries
166 the hope of a better position, but it also represents a daring
162 enterprise on which one does not take women and children until definite opportunities for settling down present themselves. This fact is particularly clear for the non-resident population, among whom the proportion of men is very high. Thus, among the non-resident Africans, there are 57% men as against 27% women and 16% children. The proportion is even higher among non-resident foreigners: 77% men as against 12% women and 11 % children.

[464] But though settling in Dakar is almost always linked to employment for the non-African population, it is not the same for Africans. The destruction of the villagers' traditional institutions, modern transportation, the facilities for hospitality

/384 cont./

369 in the city at the home of a relative, at the home of a friend
563 or the friend or relative of a friend, or at the home of a resi-
166 dent originally from the same village or merely from the same
162 region -- all of this ultimately makes up the factors that are
464 more decisive than the salary. Because of this, while among the resident non-Africans the number of persons employed amounts to 43 % of the total and 64% of the economically active, among the resident Africans, the proportion of workers is no more than 27% of the total and 42% /385/ of the economically active. If one adds to that the salaries, on the average
369 much higher among the first than among the second, one finds
511 in Dakar some of the contrasts characteristic of West African
563 cities: on the one hand, among the non-Africans, a high standard of living which is often shown in the appearance of their quarters, and, on the other hand, the mass of the African population whose settling in the city is tied neither to a correlative augmentation of the normal opportunities for lodgings nor to a higher living standard in relation to the bush, which gives to the African city, or at least to some of its quarters, an appearance more wretched than that of the villages of the interior.

369 This situation, formerly very clear, put Dakar in the
563 normal category of West African cities, where a white city and
[361] a black city stand in contrast (22), a contrast that was the result

[113] 22. Dresh, J., "Villes d'Afrique occidentale /Cities of West Africa/," Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 1950.

of a de facto segregation imposed, not by law, but by the norms of urbanism and of hygiene, to which it was impossible for the bulk of the natives to subject themselves, and also by the high
[465] price of rent -- the non-Africans being nearly always lodged by their employers. In 1936 Charles Morazé wrote: "Formerly Europeans and natives lived mixed. Innumerable families lived

/385 cont./

369 in small apartments, true caravansaries contained within the
•563 European city. This promiscuity was deplorable. Europeans and natives were not in fact subject to the same epidemics;
[164] yellow fever, for example, fatal for the white, is benign to the black. The danger of a mixed population was that the epidemics would spread without being stamped out in time.
[361] Finally, the system lacked style; therefore as early as 1916 the creation of the native village of Médina was decided upon" (23).

23. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar," op. cit., p. 630.

There it was, in a way, the theory of the urbanism of the West African cities ! Nevertheless the problems of land were so complicated at Dakar (24) between the two world wars

[113] 24. See the work by A. Angrand, Les Lébou de la presqu'île du Cap-Vert (Essai sur leur histoire et leurs coutumes) /The Lébou of the peninsula of Cape Verde (essay on their history and their customs)/. "La Maison du Livre," Dakar.

[167] that, with the Lebano-Syrian immigration and the Crédit
[452] Foncier /Mortgage-loan Society/ helping, there was created, in contact with the European city and the Médina, a collection
[361] of quarters more mixed in their contents and in their appearance. Up to the end of the Second World War Dakar preserved this appearance of a threefold city. But after the war a series of new factors caused a rapid and brutal evolution in Dakar. The return to normal economic activities after the slack period following the war, the awakening and amplification of political and syndical life, the creation of the Fonds d'Investissement Economique et Social (F.I.D.E.S.), and, finally, the ever greater influx of rural people into Dakar led the federal authorities to take a series of fortunate initiatives, /386//Fig. 4 appears here/

/386/

102
491
361
363
496

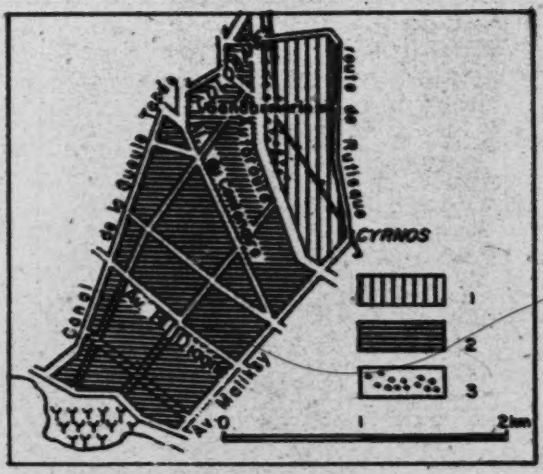


Fig. 4. Médina. -- 1. Industrial zone;
2. quarters more or less urbanized;
3. irregular quarters.

369 which progressively transformed the Dakar agglomeration.
563 There was first the creation of the S. T. A. G. D. (Service temporaire de l'aménagement du Grand-Dakar /Temporary
[361] Office for the Arrangement of Greater Dakar/) for a systematic urbanization of the city. Then there was the decision to promote a policy of lodgings for African officials, while a society for a mixed economy, the Société Immobilière du Cap-Vert (S. I. C. A. P.) /Building Society of Cape Verde/
[362] studied and made up forms for cheap dwellings for mere renting or for rent-sale. At the same time there was the law called "Lamine Gueye," which equalized upward several
[465] elements of the African and non-African wages at the time when "l'africanisation des cadres" /Africanization of the staffs/ was promoted, which led to a mixture of Africans and
[647] Europeans in the administrative lodgings and in the new quarters for officials. Finally, first the staff-law and then autonomy

/386 cont./

369 and independence have had the effect of reinforcing this mix-
563 ing the more since it sometimes brings about a pure and simple substitution of African staffs for European staffs in many of the lodgings.

Finally, although today the quarters of Dakar are still clearly distinguished by their appearance, the differentiation of their contents is less and less based on origin and tends to be a social rather than racial differentiation. Therefore, instead of the traditional division of the West African cities into "white city and black city," let us distinguish four sections in the Dakar agglomeration: /387/ Dakar-ville, the Médina, Greater Dakar, and the suburbs.

361 1. Dakar-ville. The plateau from the southeast to the
369 head of the peninsula and a part of the plain from Cape Manuel to the avenue El Hadji Malick Sy constitute what today is called Dakar-ville. The essential characteristic of this part of the Dakar agglomeration is that almost all of its buildings are permanent, except for some islands of huts. This is where practically all of the administrative offices, the large-scale
[366] commerce, the major part of the Lebano-Syrian commerce, and the great markets are found. But Dakar-ville shows very diverse aspects (Pl. XXI B) (Pl. XXIIA).

The Plateau is the best arranged part of Dakar-ville. It is there that the first nucleus of modern Dakar was located, extending around the port, from the station to the Protet Plaza and the Military Circle. Little changed, this nucleus has re-
[363] mained very much as it was at the beginning of the century;
[342] it is intersected by narrow streets, bordered by old houses in colonial style, with stores on the ground floor and lodgings
[347] with verandas on the upper floor. This nucleus has remained the business quarter, that of the large-scale commerce domi-
[441] nated by the great companies and the old Bordeaux firms, C.F.A.O., S.C.O.A., N.O.S.O.C.O., S.O.C.O.P.A.O.,
[366] Chavanel, Maurel et Prom, etc., surrounding the Kernel market, surmounted by its cupola of 1900 style. Several old administrative

/387 cont./

361 buildings, the General Postoffice, the Treasury, the Town
369 Hall, the former Délégation, the former Palace of Justice, and the Chambre de Commerce are included there. A "city" phenomenon tends to be produced in this quarter which, very lively by day, is almost completely empty at night. Toward the east this quarter extends along the road to Bel-Air and the old road to Rufisque by way of the industrial section of Dakar where the factories have been established largely since the war. On the northwest, on each side of the avenue W.-Ponty, extends a mixed quarter, commercial and residential, harboring the old Lébou families, having benefited from the facilities offered
[427] by the Crédit Foncier, and the Lebano-Syrians and Cape Verdeans who rent or are quasi-owners as a result of long-term leases. It is therefore an old quarter that developed especially after the construction of the commercial port and has preserved its narrow streets, quite unique today, its low houses dominated here and there by some recent building. The avenue W.-Ponty,
366 with greatly varied commerce, the avenue Gambetta dominated
369 by the Lebano-Syrian commerce, the avenue Roume bordered by beautiful buildings and enlivened by luxury commerce, and finally the avenue Maginot which is shared by great stores of the West and Lebano-Syrian commerce in fabrics near the market of Sandaga are the most completely transformed arteries of this section of the Plateau, where many cafés and restaurants, /388/ cabarets, and cinemas maintain far into the night a nonchalant, but pleasant animation following the rushing business of the day.

Beyond the Boulevard de la République, which bounds the
369 old quarters on the west and which is distinguished by its many
361 buildings, commerce disappears almost entirely, giving way to a residential zone of middle-class appearance, with its villas often more comfortable than stylish. This residential zone, formerly
[563] entirely European, is mixed today, harboring European and African staffs. Barracks and hospitals separate this quarter from
[712] Cape Manuel, formerly a military zone, but today occupied by
[344] the monumental, Palace of Justice dominating the newly established embassies. But all of Dakar-ville is not as well arranged

/388 cont./

369 361 as the Plateau. The low quarters that border the avenue Malick Sy and which are crossed by the route de l'Abbattoir /Slaughter-
[363] house Road/ quite obviously differ from the rest. In Rebeus and in Niayes-Thioker, few of the streets are paved, and, during
[364] winter, ponds where household debris rots often surround the low permanent houses and the neighboring huts.

[162] Dakar-ville has only 46,000 inhabitants, among whom
[563] are almost two-thirds of the 30,000 non-Africans of Dakar.

Gorée, the fallen capital, which has become a military, tourist, and, to a slight extent, residential annex of Dakar, is attached to this section.

[563] 2. The Médina. Containing practically only Africans, the Médina is much more densely populated than Dakar-ville.
[764] Blocked on the west by the Moslem cemetery and on the north by the canal of the Gueule-Tapée, the Médina has not ceased stretching toward the east since its creation during the First World War. It presents several aspects: the oldest part, east
[363] of the avenue Blaise-Diagne, has all of its streets paved and planted with trees; it has few huts, and permanent houses are
[364] erected almost everywhere there; many sanitary facilities and public fountains complement the private establishments and make this quarter relatively clean and pleasant (Fig. 4 and Pl. XXII B).[7]

The farther one goes toward the east, however, beyond the avenue Blaise-Diagne, the newer the quarter is and the more it gives the appearance of a wretched village. Thus, between
[363] the avenue Blaise-Diagne and the Gendarmerie, although some
[364] principal arteries are paved, most of the streets remain sandy and obstructed with household rubbish. Moreover, one notes some permanent houses here and there, to be sure, but huts are much more numerous. East of the Gendarmerie, Colobane is even less well arranged, while, beyond the automobile road, Kip-Coco and Quartier Mous, veritable camp cities for new arrivals, are called "irregular quarters," that is to say, quarters temporarily tolerated, although no right of the inhabitants to settle there can be recognized (Pl. XXIII A).[2]/Pl. XXIII and

[7] [See category 116, p. 16 -- Analyst]
[2] [See category 116, p. 29 -- Analyst]

/388 cont./

369 Pl. XXIV appear here on unnumbered pages/. /389/ /Fig. 5
361 appears here./

3. Greater Dakar. Of all the sectors of the Dakar agglomeration, Greater Dakar is certainly the one that presents the sharpest contrasts. The quarter of the "Gueule-Tapée" resembles the old Médina, while Fass and "Usine Biscuit" /Biscuit Factory/ remind one of Colobane, but aside from these there stand some modern quarters that are quite varied in appearance, contrasting strongly with the "Médinas," the "Colobanes," and the irregular quarters that surround them. It is in this sector of Greater Dakar
[873] that the University is found, raising its majestic buildings on the edge of the sea. It is flanked on the north by the rich quarter of Fann-Résidence where the residences of ministers and members of their cabinets, directors of houses of commerce, and high officials are grouped; to the south military villas and the allotment of Fann Hock separate it from the Gueule-Tapée. Point E, Zone A, Zone B, /390/ the Cité des Douanes /customs/, and that of the Port de Commerce are officials' quarters, while Bopp, formerly a swamp, has in recent years become a pretty little quarter, all the houses of which were built by officials
[452] with the aid of the Crédit du Sénégal /Local Association of Senegal/. The S.I.C.A.P. which extend along the route des Puits /Roads of the Wells/ (Karacks, Baobabs, Liberté I, Liberté II, Liberté III, etc.) are pleasant lots intended to facilitate for Africans the acquisition of property (Fig. 5).

Finally, the quarter of Derklé forms, in several groupings of houses, a residence for petty African officials, another one for the African employees of private enterprises, and finally a quarter called the "Castors," the houses of which have been built by their associated and grouped owners with the aid of the public authorities.

Greater Dakar is the most extensive and the heaviest popu-
[162] lated sector in the Dakar agglomeration. It includes more than
[563] 73,000 inhabitants, among whom is numbered one-sixth of the non-African population.

[Text continues bottom of P. 31--Analyst]

/1/

125 During the years 1960 and 1961, a demographic investigation by sampling was undertaken over the whole territory, the first one in the history of Senegal. (Administrative counts, city censuses, and an investigation in the central valley of the river /Senegal River/ had been made previously, but never a demographic inquiry covering the whole territory.)

[369] [162] The country has been divided into two large parts: the urban zone, composed of the whole region of Cape Verde and the cities of Thiès, Saint-Louis, Ziguinchor, Diourbel, and Louga; and the rural zone, which includes the rest of the territory. The sampling fraction was 1/50 in the rural zone and 1/20 in the urban zone. Subsequently a sampling to the twentieth was obtained by dividing into two a certain number of maps of the rural zone.

It will be seen merely from the method utilized that it renders illusory the study of small groups /groupes à effectif réduit/. It should be acknowledged from the first that the numbers below 500 (that is, 25 in the sample) are not significant.

II - The Structures:

III - The geographic distribution:

114 The operations in the field begun in the month of April 1960 were terminated in the month of August 1961 (April-June '60 for the rural zone, July '60 to August '61 /2/ for the urban zone). It should be acknowledged that on the whole the numbers indicated below correspond to the situation on the date of 1 July 1960. (Table 1 on following page)

162

This table shows, on the one hand, the low average density and, on the other hand, its great variability.

[563] The non-African population is made up essentially of French and Lebano-Syrians. It is heavily concentrated in the urban zone and particularly in Cape Verde; 74% of the non-Africans of Senegal are actually in residence there. Moreover, this concentration has become accentuated in recent years for several reasons: the departure of the Senegalese and Mauritanian governments from Saint-Louis; the closing of a number of agencies in the interior following the change in the commercial circuits.

161 648

Wolof MS30
Serer FA32
Tukolor MS27

/2 cont./

change in the commercial circuits.

S 162 /3/ It should not be without interest to give an idea of the peopling of the various regions by ethnic groups. (Table 2 on following pages)

W [162] It is shown that the Ouoloff /Wolof/ constitute more than a third of the total population. This group is abundantly represented in most of the regions, with the exception of Casamance and Senegal-Oriental. It is known that their arrival has determined the growth of the population of Dakar. It is not impossible that persons belonging to other ethnic groups but speaking Ouoloff have been given as Ouoloff.

SR [162] The Sérère /Serer/ are second in rank from a numerical standpoint. They are relatively grouped in Sine-Saloum and in the region ot Thiès.

T [162] /4/ The Toucouleur /Tukolor/, the majority of whom are in the river region, are scattered throughout the territory; they are, however, less numerous in the region of Diourbel.

W [162] One can also note that the Casamance groups scarcely ever wander away from their region of origin except to come to Dakar, and that the Lébou are largely concentrated in Cape Verde.

S [563] Concerning the non-Africans, whose concentration at Dakar has already been mentioned, one will note the presence of a Lebano-Syrian group in the region of Kaolack and a French group in Saint-Louis and Thiès.

S [369] The population of Senegal is still essentially rural, but the urbanization movement, which is noted in all of the regions by reason of the diversification of economic activity and especially the industrial development, is particularly marked there. This factor will greatly modify the geographical distribution of the population during the coming years.

The following table gives the population of the cities which constitute the urban zone. (Table 3 follows Table 2.)

/5/ In sum, the urban population is close to 705,000 inhabitants and represents 23% of the whole. Dakar alone has 12% of the population of Senegal, which is not abnormal. But

21: Verriere--5 G-5 (1960-1961) 1963 MS37 Senegal MS37
Soninke MS21
Wolof MS30
S
SO
W
162
S
563

Table 2 Cont.

/3 cont./

Ethnic Group	Cape Verde	Casamance	Diourbel	River	Senegal-Orient	Sine-Saloum	Thiès	Senegal
Sarakolé	6	17	1	2	32	5	2	65
Moors	8	1	16	6	0	8	9	48
Lébou	37	-	0	-	0	3	2	42
Other Groups of Black Africa	12	5	0	1	5	3	3	29
Europeans	30	1	0	2	-	1	4	38
Lebano-Syrians	10	-	1	-	-	4	0	15
Eurafricans (Cape-Verdeans)	6	0	0	1	-	0	-	7
Misc.	1	-	0	0	-	0	0	1
Total	444	530	503	345	151	727	410	3,110

/4 cont./

162
[563]

Table 3 - Population of the Cities of the Urban Zone (1)

City	Africans	Non-Africans	Total
Dakar	336,580	38,120	374,700
Kaolack	68,160	1,400	69,560
Thiès	66,940	2,200	69,140
Rufisque-Bargny	48,280	1,380	49,660
Saint-Louis	47,700	1,140	48,840
Ziguinchor	29,520	340	29,840
Diourbel	27,820	740	28,560
Louga	16,120	160	16,280

1. The total population of these cities does not correspond exactly to the population of the urban zone given below, because all of the region of Cape Verde, including the cantons of Sangalkam and Sébikotane, has been included in the urban zone.

/5 cont./ it is necessary to take note of the fact that Dakar has been in existence scarcely more than 75 years. Its rate of growth, remarkably stable since 1890, stays at between 6% and 7% per year. At this rate, Dakar will have 1,275,000 inhabitants in 20 years and will contain a quarter of the inhabitants of Senegal.

[161]

The rural population is about 2,390,000 inhabitants distributed in 13,000 communes or villages. The average population of a village is thus less than 200 inhabitants. This fact is not unimportant, because this great dispersion increases the "general expenses" of the nation, if one can use this term. It is obvious that instruction in schools, for example, is more costly when settlements are dispersed, whether the classes have an attendance lower than is normal or whether it is necessary to arrange for collecting the students. There is thus reason for encouraging regroupings as much as possible.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 797 with which the Society of the Holy Spirit was united in 1848. About the same time a house of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception (the Blue Sisters) was established at Dakar, which has been the Roman Catholic metropolis of French West Africa ever since.

In 1906, on the separation of Church and State in France, the government subsidies to the Roman Catholic missions were withdrawn. In 1930 the Roman Catholics in Senegal had 67 European S [162] priests, sisters, and lay workers aided by 175 native catechists and S [368] teachers. Professing Roman Catholics numbered 22,300. A magnificent cathedral, the work of many years, was consecrated at Dakar in 1936.

The only Protestant mission in Senegal is that of the Société des Missions Évangéliques de Paris, which began work in the colony in S [162] 1863. Its adherents number about a hundred.

8. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION AND INLAND TOWNS

Distribution of Population

S *Senegal*

161 Senegal is the third most densely populated colony, with an average of 21·58 persons per square mile and a total population in 1937 of 1,666,374. The distribution, however, varies greatly within the colony itself. The regions of Fouta and Ferlo are almost uninhabitable, while the provinces of Baol, Sine-Saloum, and Thiès have more than 50 persons per square mile. The coastal provinces of Bignona and Ziguinchor, south of the Gambia, are equally closely S settled. The left bank of the Senegal, roughly from Bakel to Podor, [311] supports a fairly dense agricultural population. [36]

Growth has been steady, the figures for 1921, 1926, and 1931 being 1,225,523, 1,318,287, and 1,584,273 respectively. There is no doubt that the colony is capable of supporting many more inhabitants than S it does at present.

162 *Natives.* More than 580,000 Ouolofs live in Senegal. These are 563 among the most energetic and intelligent peoples of the Federation, W and they provide the bulk of the famous Senegalese Tirailleurs. [162] There are about 250,000 each of Sérères, Mandingos, and Fulani, [701] and 150,000 Toucouleur. Broadly speaking, the Ouolofs live north and east of Dakar, the Sérères south-east thereof, the Toucouleur

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

near the Senegal river, the Fulani in the centre of the colony, and the Mandingos in the east of it. 162 [563]

The District of Dakar

The 66 square miles of the District of Dakar contain 126,929 persons; but the figures for density per square mile mean even less than elsewhere, since most of the inhabitants live in the town itself.

In 1937 there were 118,459 natives and 8,470 Europeans, of whom 6,728 were French. This was about a quarter of the total of Europeans in the whole Federation. [563]

Inland Towns

Bakel (14° 52′; 12° 24′ W.) Population, 2,103. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. Daily market. 36 [131] [162]

Bakel is on the left bank of the Senegal (Plate 83) where the river passes between cliffs some 17 miles below the entrance of the Falémé. It is a local market for gum, ground-nuts, grain, gold dust, hides, and ostrich feathers. Most of the inhabitants are Moslems. [438] [162]

By river it is 531 miles from St. Louis and 84 miles from Kayes, and there is a fortnightly steamer service when the water permits. By colonial road Bakel is 386 miles from St. Louis, 93 miles from Matam, and 32 miles from Kidira. A bus service connects all these places. The river can be crossed by ferry, and from the Mauritanian bank a poor track leads to Sélibaby (32 miles). [487] [505] [491] [494]

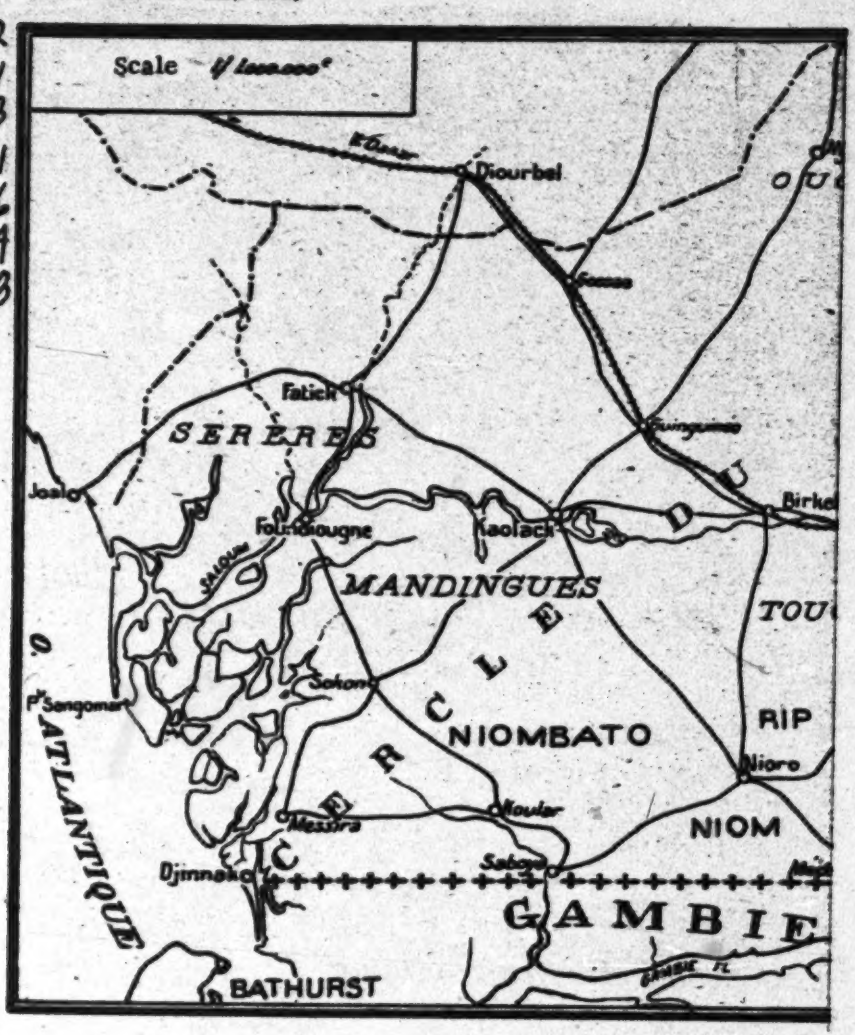
Bambey (14° 40′; 16° 25′ W.). Altitude, 59 feet. Population, 4,209. Mixed Commune. Dispensary. Police station. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Garage. Agricultural experimental station. Daily market. [131] [162] [654]

Set in the midst of an area of dense population, Bambey is a prosperous market town. The main product of the locality is ground-nuts, and large quantities of these are put on the train each year. They also form the chief speciality of the agricultural experimental station. [438] [654]

Communications. By railway Bambey is 77 miles from Dakar, 33½ miles from Thiès, 17 miles from Diourbel, and 319 miles from Kidira. It is on the intercolonial road, being 49 miles from Thiès and 16 miles from Diourbel. A colonial road goes almost due south to Fatik (27 miles). There is a daily bus service (p. 473) to Fatik, Foundiougne, and Kaolack. [491] [494]

/Between 100 and 101/

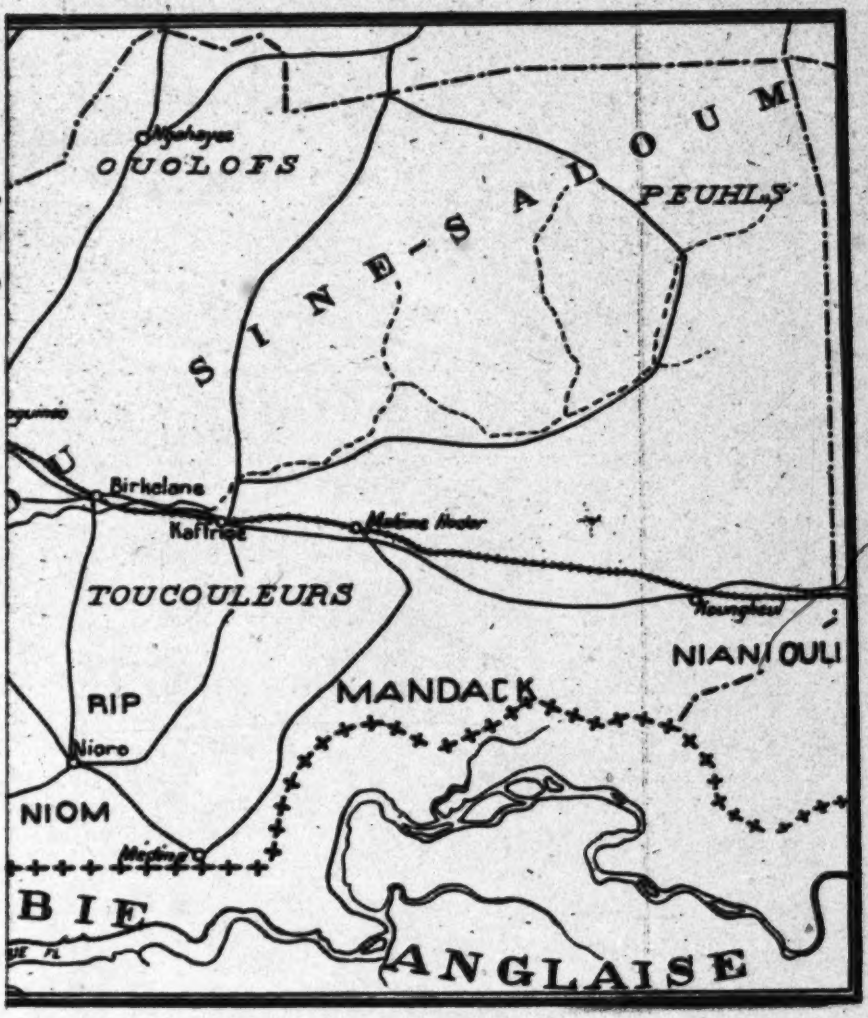
102
131
133
491
496
634
563



Circle of Sine Saloum

/left side of map/

102
131
133
491
496
634
563



Circle of Sine Saloum

/right side of map/

/668 cont./

162 Table I. Division of the population of the Senegalese Fouta according to ethnic groups.

Ethnic Group	Actual Number	Percentage
Toucouleur	187,000	54.8
Wolof	36,000	10.6
Saracolé	13,000	3.8
Peul	47,000	13.8
Moor	56,000	16.4
Miscellaneous	2,000	0.6
Total	341,000	100.0

582 563 The ethnic groups are relatively endogamous, because marriages between persons of different ethnic groups are very rare, except perhaps, as we have seen, between Toucouleur and Peul (Foulbé walo). The Toucouleur /669/ are the only group entirely 563 within the Fouta, aside from some fractions that emigrated in the [166] course of religious crusades into Macina, Boundou, and elsewhere.

Each of the other ethnic groups is merely an extension into the valley of a group whose bulk occupies the neighboring regions, the Wolof in the northern part of Senegal, the Saracolé in western Sudan, the Peul near the Ferlo and the Assaba. But each of these ethnic groups is itself divided into several populations: the castes.

565 Castes and social conditions. The castes, in reality, present [582] a matrimonial barrier more difficult to overcome than that of ethnic affiliation. The term "caste" is used here in the general sense of social class, exclusive in nature, and not in the sense [564] that is given it in the valley where the term is reserved for artisan castes.

[567] Social conditions first of all distinguish the captives from [422] the free men. The captives are regarded as the personal property

S /669 cont./ 1
567 of the masters and are married by them. They have no property
565 rights nor a voice in the village councils, being constrained to
422 menial work. This condition cannot be compared to that of the
421 slave of the two Americas in former times; it is more reminiscent
623 of that of bondage in the Europe of the Middle Ages. Before the legal suppression of this custom a certain number of captives had already been freed, but the prejudice against these people remains, and they constitute, in fact, the inferior caste in the social hierarchy.

S
564 It is the hereditary work of the artisans that, properly speak-
463 ing, distinguishes the men of the castes from the others: work in wood, leather, metal, and cotton thread. This distinction is transmitted from father to son, whatever calling is actually practiced. A captive may practice weaving, but he will never belong to the caste of weavers; conversely, a man belonging to the caste of jewelers may be a doctor of medicine and practice the profession of medicine.

S
582 Marriage most clearly distinguishes the social barriers which
565 the child inherits from its father. Although there is no rigid interdict, there is such ostracism that it is practically impossible for a man to marry a woman of an inferior caste without risking loss of status and being banned from society. There is one exception:
S
567 it may happen that a master marries his captive in order to have children who are free; the mother will be set free by this act, but if the union is sterile the woman remains in the condition of servitude.

S
565 The system of castes is still very much alive, especially among the Toucouleur, and actually divides the ethnic group into partial populations, which, however, are less numerous than in India.

The functional nature of the castes has brought about in the course of their history the appearance of a hierarchy. Among the Toucouleur there are first the free men (rimbé), not belonging to the trade castes, and among /670/ whom, at the head, are the torobé (singular, torodo). Originally, in the Fouta Toro, this word in Arabic designated a scholar, a propagator of Islam. It

[i.e., The captives -- Analyst]

/390 cont./

125 artisans it was necessary, aside from their family accounts, to
434 consider those of their occupational activity; with regard to the cultivators, it is certainly /391/ among them that the greatest percentage of error is found. We have taken into account the proceeds from the sale of their harvest, often underestimated by the one concerned, the portion for home consumption, and the income obtained by supplementary activities practiced in the dry season, in order to arrive at an income figure that could be compared to that for salaried workers.

125 But, nearly all of the women, almost all of whom declare
434 themselves to be "without occupation," have minor sources of income that permit them to balance a budget, or at least par-
462 tially to make up a deficit. It is often a matter of small-scale commerce, sometimes domestic work, and sometimes the talents
[536] of an actress which attract sympathy and gifts, as we verified
[565] for a family of the griot /singer, storyteller/ caste. It was therefore necessary to look closely at each case before setting an exact figure. We nevertheless believe that we have been mistaken in two or three cases, which will reveal themselves below.

125 Of course, there were often cases where in a family, or
434 rather let us say in the same "unit of consumption," since this
592 is the term that we shall use most often (1), several persons

[104]
[594]

1. Each time that we speak of "family," it is actually the unit of consumption that is involved. To designate the familial grouping in the Western sense of the word, we shall use the term "restricted family."

received income. The entire income retained is not always the sum of these incomes. We have studied the budgets of groups and not the budgets of individuals. Now, these groups, these "units of consumption," only rarely correspond to the restricted family of Western type. They often contain individuals who, whether or not they have a kin tie with a member of the restricted family, on the one hand participate in the economic

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 very ill-defined. But with the necessity of finding a new
[665] political system appropriate to the African situation there evolved, particularly in Senegal, a fairly coherent doctrine which will be examined in the final chapter.

In the early days a number of assertions were made about the political genius of the African, none of which can be attributed to any one man though as far as Senegal has been concerned Senghor has been the chief theoretician. Whilst appreciating and accepting many of Marx's theories as both politically and economically valid for Africa he believed that Marx would have revised his system in face of African realities as well as the scientific achievements of the twentieth century. He advocated the adoption of Marxism, shorn of its anti-religious doctrine and adapted to African needs. A cardinal point as far as Senghor was concerned, was that African society could not fit into the classical Marxist analysis. Instead he maintained modern African society
[565] had three classes: first the liberal professions and trades; second the salaried employees, civil servants and workers; third the vast peasant mass. Under the colonial regime the former two classes had been able to achieve incomes out of all proportion to the average peasant income of fourteen pounds a year. This peasant class is Marx's proletariat.

To support his policital views, Senghor advanced his theory that the 'Negro-African' was essentially different from the European. 'The African Negro does not distinguish the object nor does he analyse it—he takes it as it is between his hands, he feels it, touches it, smells it; thus the subject and the object are dialectically confronted in the very act of perception, and hence participation and communion.' Others, in their suggestions for a modern African political system showed how they could look to their own (somewhat idealised) African past for guidance. For instance there was no real need for opposition in the European sense. African politics in the village would supply the model. There everyone sat in the palaver house until all were agreed on the formula of action. Once discussed openly

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

the rest animists. Of course this includes the exclusively Muslim Mandingo inhabitants of the Casamance who have been largely responsible for this proselytisation. The Diola too is inclined more and more to imitate his Mandingo and Wolof neighbours. L. V. Thomas, who has written a monumental study on the Diola, fears: 'Soon the Diola country may be, at least in its landscape, like Senegal if no power intervenes to limit the extension of the bushfire; it will certainly become, in its people, just another African country, where only a few anthropological remains fixed by heredity will enable us to distinguish the Diola from the Wolof or the Mandingo.'

The Casamance may well be coming closer to the rest of the Senegal, but it still remains a seat of opposition to the Government of Senghor and Dia, and votes heavily for the opposition *P.R.A.-Sénégal*. However neither of the leaders of this party, Ly Abdoulaye or Assane Seck, is *Casamançais*, and there is strong support in many towns for the *U.P.S.*, which indicates that Diola-Casamance politics are not necessarily either regional or tribal, though these are important factors.

The main social problem of the Senegal, and one which both assimilation and religion seem to have been unable to break down, is that of caste or a class structure very similar to caste. All the main Senegalese tribes—the Wolof, Lebou, Toucouleur, Serer—are divided into a series of endogamous castes. These castes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but roughly they are divided thus:

Nobles and Freeborn
Artisans (jewellers, smiths, weavers, leatherworkers)
Griots or minstrels
Liberated slaves
Slaves

(Of course domestic slaves no longer exist as such in Senegal, but families know who their slaves were.)

It is certainly easier in Senegal for a Toucouleur noble to marry a Wolof noble than to marry a woman of inferior

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 565 582 S [595] caste from his own tribe. The extent to which caste matters is brought out by the case of a young Catholic girl from a devout family who, rather than marry a fellow Catholic out of caste, in the end became the polygamous wife of a Muslim of the same caste. Within any ethnic group in Senegal marriage out of caste is extremely rare.

S 565 W [565] S [533] [814] The caste system is not vicious in any real sense. For the privileges of a high caste entail many obligations. Thus a noble Wolof family will be obliged to feed and pay frequent sums of money to its family griots (minstrels, praise-singers and family historians) and if they fail to do this the griot is able to shame them publicly as a poor or mean family, something a Wolof would avoid at all costs. Likewise the artisan castes have a monopoly in their respective trades, since it would be impossible for a noble or free man to undertake the work of a jeweller or smith. Nevertheless in Senegalese society the term 'bijoutier' or 'tisserand' has slight contempt attached to it. The only caste to suffer socially in any way is of course that designated slave, because of the implications of such a status. In social investigations amongst the factory workers of Dakar, M. André Hauser found very few indeed who would admit to being of slave caste.

S [463] [326] S [567]

At present it is certainly a disadvantage to belong to any of the inferior castes, and though one hears of a few cases of open clashes between castes, in the present state of affairs it is certain that a number of young men resent this classification of people into superior and inferior groups and it is very much less important to them than to the older generation.

S 565 764 578 Early in 1961 *Agence Presse Sénégalaise* reported 'bloody clashes between griots and non-griots at Diack'. These ended with several dead and a number of wounded and started as a result of the refusal of non-griots to accept the burial of griots in their burial ground. The Minister of the Interior himself went to settle the dispute and gathered the whole population to tell them that his Government gave

S [641]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

equal status to all Senegalese and wanted to make everyone true Senegalese citizens whether they were griots, leather-workers or jewellers. Afterwards the non-griots agreed that the griots who had just died should be buried 'in the same way as anyone else, and as a beginning they agreed to let the burial of the victim of the incident take place, not in the traditional baobab but in Diack earth.'

In the Government today there are, amongst those members belonging to tribes with a class system only two of inferior caste, one being a 'bijoutier' and one a griot. It is said of another that he is of slave origin, but this is not certain because politicians often try to attribute inferior caste to their opponents. In the Assembly, of the members with caste all are noble or freeborn with the exception of one 'bijoutier', and one griot. It is thus at present difficult to get on in politics unless one is noble or freeborn. Indeed chiefly connexion is important, even though chiefs are no longer of significance administratively. Thus in 1957 Kenneth Robinson wrote:

> Membership of chiefly families is, nevertheless, an important source not only of prestige but of political interest. In many interviews with political leaders in the smaller townships and villages they almost invariably defined their own position, and that of their fellows, in part by reference to their relationship with the ruling families, or with the indigenous caste system.

Mr. William Foltz, who is making a detailed survey of Senegalese politics, has however observed that the local party groups in the country are increasingly representative of the inferior castes and many of the important backroom boys are of inferior caste, which suggests that there may be a change from the present situation at the next elections. But so far, as Mercier has observed, it does not look as though high standing in the modern context can yet completely redeem traditional inferiority.

The caste system in Senegal is one of the most delicate problems confronting the Senegalese Government today.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

565 [563] Influenced heavily by the Revolutionary doctrine of liberty, equality and fraternity, and having broken down barriers to this at the inter-ethnic level, the Government finds it most difficult to break it down at the level of the caste. Significantly, it was the Minister of the Interior himself who laid down government attitudes to caste at the troubles at Diack and one must hope that such trouble will soon disappear.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 295 882 colour, flopped on the floor like lumps of spittle. Others, like them, were being cured in evil vats or stripped in heavy mangles. I examined one of the skins stretched out on the floor. The Czech pointed to three large holes in its surface.

'They are not good, these skins. Very stiff. They come from the North Senegal and the Fula herdsmen will not learn that the cow must be looked after if you want to make good shoes from it. They are only good for cheap shoes. We have to get the better models from our European factories.'

We emerged from the foetid gloom of the curing section into the dyeing room, full of sheets of leather, which an African was busy spraying scarlet, yellow, grey or blue. Another was trimming the coloured hides before they were sent to dry.

S 295 [463] We followed our guide into a long hall, which reverberated to the rat-ti-tat of a hundred sewing machines, manned exclusively by Africans.

'Are most of your employees Africans?' I asked.

'On this work, yes. But not in the executive. And on some of the more skilled jobs we have to have Europeans.'

'Are they good workers?'

'Very good, though they cannot tackle the more difficult jobs. I believe they are better farther down the Coast. But we have nothing to complain about.'

And from the rate those shoes were coming off the production line, I was sure they hadn't.

'How many shoes do you produce a year?'

'About 300,000. Most of them are sandals,' he said, pointing to some scarlet slippers which an African was packing into boxes.

'These we also produce in great quantities.'

S W [291] He showed me a pink, green and sky blue slipper with a large plastic pompom where the big toe would be. These were wildly popular with the fashion-mad Jollof women at the time. Bata's are very much at the mercy of their whims, though they have the consolation that supply rarely exceeds demand.

S [294] [565] As I watched one African youth deftly turning a leather sandal on a stitching machine, I could not help thinking of the old Mandinka leather-worker in Dakar's market, laboriously sewing tough slippers as his father had done before him and as he was bound to do by virtue of his caste. Once he exercised a monopoly

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

for no-one would undertake his work unless he belonged to that caste. But the laws of supply and demand do not respect hereditary caste-rights. Mass-production and cheaper shoes dictate the old leather-worker's redundance. Soon he will fade into the obscurity of a rural industry, a supplier of goods for the local arts and crafts store.

This was nowhere more evident than in Dakar which has a large number of factories. Here one can see the new Africa rising up. The young negro comes from the bush, illiterate and half naked, living much as his ancestors before him. Soon he is caught up in the revolution. At first his house may be a small wooden shed, shared with members of his family or tribe on whom he is sponging. But soon he may earn thirteen pounds a month as an unskilled labourer, so that he can afford to take rooms with one of his richer brothers, whose weekly pay packet as a cook is six pounds. And so in Dakar people of all tribes meet in the great metropolis, live next to each other in the crowded Medina, and help to create a new town-life as different from that of the bush as city life in nineteenth-century industrial England was from that of the countryside.

In Dakar I met Diop, a young Jollof, well-educated, but out of work. I asked him how he lived and he told me that he just went from relation to relation each day borrowing money. He had had a job before, but after a quarrel with his employer, an African lawyer, he had had to leave. Each morning he left his wife, pretending to go to work. He deceived her into thinking he still had his job, by bringing home money lent him by relations. He 'borrowed' the equivalent of ten shillings from me, and to my astonishment promptly asked me to lunch the next day. His house, or rather room, was made of wood. Inside, the walls and the floor were covered with a gaily patterned lino. A large double bed and a small divan provided seats. A chest of drawers hung with all the crockery was the only other piece of furniture. On the walls was a large array of photos of friends and relations, all slightly over-exposed to give the effect of a lighter skin. Diop's wife, a ravishing, beautiful girl of nineteen, had spent all morning preparing Jollof rice for us, consisting of rice done in a sort of tomato purée, to which a delicious white fish with a variety of vegetables and a hot pepper sauce were added. A bottle of wine was produced for me.

/667 cont./

125 such as caste and the degree of kinship of each actual union [8].
[143] In this region the person questioned, mostly in public, did
[565] not make any difficulty about declaring to which caste he be-
[124] longed. Moreover, this is known by all the inhabitants of the village and has such social importance that if one asks a child in the street, "Who are you?" he replies, "I am of such and such a caste." As for the degree of kinship of the spouses, a previous study among the sedentary Peul of the Fouta Djallon [9] has shown that it was possible to obtain this without a cumbersome demographic investigation; the individuals are well acquainted with the fact in regions where consanguineous unions are the custom.

The investigator asks whether or not the woman is married to a near relative, and, in the case of an affirmative answer, if the spouses have the same grandfather or grandmother (fourth degree) or in what other way they are related. A total number of 6,208 married women were questioned in this manner, and in order to correct possible errors of observation in such a sample, a control was established in a subsample of 382 sedentary couples by noting the names of the parents, grandparents, and eventually great-grandparents. At this stage there is uncertainty, but this can be removed only by laboriously working out genealogies. That is why the proportion of marriages to the sixth degree, which we indicate below and which are beyond the kinship ties known with sufficient accuracy, are perhaps more important in reality.

563 The ethnic groups. The region studied contains 341,000 inhabitants divided into five principal ethnic groups: Moors, Toucouleur [Tukulor], Peul, Saracolé [Sarakole], and Wolof (Table I). The ethnic groups are distinguished by such characteristics as the way of life, social structure, group consciousness,
[186] the name given them by other groups, and language, except for
[197] the Peul and the Toucouleur, who speak the same language, Poular. Aside from the Moors, the population is grouped in five
[361] port cities and 800 villages and communities.

The Toucouleur form the largest aggregate (187,000 per-
[162] sons) and occupy the center of the region on the two rivers. The

/668 cont./

162 Table I. Division of the population of the Senegalese Fouta according to ethnic groups.

Ethnic Group	Actual Number	Percentage
Toucouleur	187,000	54.8
Wolof	36,000	10.6
Saracolé	13,000	3.8
Peul	47,000	13.8
Moor	56,000	16.4
Miscellaneous	2,000	0.6
Total	341,000	100.0

582 563 The ethnic groups are relatively endogamous, because marriages between persons of different ethnic groups are very rare, except perhaps, as we have seen, between Toucouleur and Peul (Foulbé walo). The Toucouleur /669/ are the only group entirely 563 within the Fouta, aside from some fractions that emigrated in the [166] course of religious crusades into Macina, Boundou, and elsewhere.

Each of the other ethnic groups is merely an extension into the valley of a group whose bulk occupies the neighboring regions, the Wolof in the northern part of Senegal, the Saracolé in western Sudan, the Peul near the Ferlo and the Assaba. But each of these ethnic groups is itself divided into several populations: the castes.

● 565 Castes and social conditions. The castes, in reality, present [582] a matrimonial barrier more difficult to overcome than that of ethnic affiliation. The term "caste" is used here in the general sense of social class, exclusive in nature, and not in the sense [564] that is given it in the valley where the term is reserved for artisan castes.

[567] Social conditions first of all distinguish the captives from [422] the free men. The captives are regarded as the personal property

S /669 cont./ 1
567 of the masters and are married by them. They have no property
565 rights nor a voice in the village councils, being constrained to
[422] menial work. This condition cannot be compared to that of the
421 slave of the two Americas in former times; it is more reminiscent
[623] of that of bondage in the Europe of the Middle Ages. Before the legal suppression of this custom a certain number of captives had already been freed, but the prejudice against these people remains, and they constitute, in fact, the inferior caste in the social hierarchy.

S It is the hereditary work of the artisans that, properly speak-
564 ing, distinguishes the men of the castes from the others: work in
463 wood, leather, metal, and cotton thread. This distinction is transmitted from father to son, whatever calling is actually practiced. A captive may practice weaving, but he will never belong to the caste of weavers; conversely, a man belonging to the caste of jewelers may be a doctor of medicine and practice the profession of medicine.

S Marriage most clearly distinguishes the social barriers which
582 the child inherits from its father. Although there is no rigid
565 interdict, there is such ostracism that it is practically impossible for a man to marry a woman of an inferior caste without risking loss of status and being banned from society. There is one exception:
S it may happen that a master marries his captive in order to
[567] have children who are free; the mother will be set free by this act, but if the union is sterile the woman remains in the condition of servitude.

S The system of castes is still very much alive, especially
565 among the Toucouleur, and actually divides the ethnic group into partial populations, which, however, are less numerous than in India.

The functional nature of the castes has brought about in the course of their history the appearance of a hierarchy. Among the Toucouleur there are first the free men (rimbé), not belonging to the trade castes, and among /670/ whom, at the head, are the torobé (singular, torodo). Originally, in the Fouta Toro, this word in Arabic designated a scholar, a propagator of Islam. It

1 [i.e., the captives -- Analyst]

S /670 cont. /

565 has been the dominant class since the Islamic revolution. In former times many strangers from neighboring countries would come to follow the teachings of the marabouts, to settle around them, and, thanks above all to Islam, to join this caste, which at present seems more closed and now tends to be less heterogeneous.

The social stratum which comes next is that of the tiédo and the thioubalo. It is believed that their ancestors were the first occupants of the soil, and they have preserved their traditions, the tiédo as farmer and the thioubalo as fisherman. The caste of fishermen is quite closed and has its own hierarchy with its captives, its free men, and its dynasty.

S 582 565 The tiédo caste sometimes intermarried with the fishermen and the torobé. Also free, but of an inferior social rank, are the trade castes. The general name for them, "gnégno," indicates a relationship of dependence vis-à-vis the above castes. Wood-cutters (labo), blacksmiths (baflo), shoemakers (saké), and weavers (mabo) in principle intermarry indiscriminately. In contrast, the griots (gaoulo), who specialize in the singing of praises, marry only among themselves and sometimes with the blacksmiths.

S 565 567 Finally, at the bottom of the social hierarchy is the group of captives and former captives. There is a distinction between the freed (gallounké) and the captive (mathioudo), but they are in fact united by the same prejudice which the other castes have with regard to them.

S 565 The social structure of the other ethnic groups is of the same type as that of the Toucouleur, with the exception of a few details; for instance, the diawando was originally the attendant or the courtier of the large Peul families and seems to form a differentiated caste at present. The caste of fishermen does not exist among the Peul, for they do not fish, or among the Wolof all of whom can engage in fishing.

W [565] [626]

S 582 143 If we limit ourselves to the Toucouleur group, the only one for which we know the actual number in the valley, we shall be able to estimate the numerical importance of the various endogamous groups and consequently the number of women with whom marriage is possible (Table II). For certain castes, few in number, such as those of the artisans, the results of the sampling,

S /670 cont./
582 however, permit only an approximation.
143 Be that as it may, an examination of the figures of Table II shows some very important numerical differences between one group and another, since for each of the 11 groups, the actual number varies from 1,100 individuals to 84,200, and that of the women from 15 to 45 years of age from 250 to 18,700. This fragmentation of the population into isolates by the system of castes is particularly noticeable on the artisan level where the average actual number does not exceed 2,000 persons. By this mechanism a high degree of endogamy is maintained, which determines some important phenomena. It is easily seen, for example, that the phenomena /671/ /Table II appears here/ of genetic drift (1) have acted in the course of time

S [565]

1. Genetic drift: in the case of a population of limited number the frequency of a given gene may drift randomly, in the course of generations, within the range of possible values, contrary to that which occurs in panmixia, where this frequency remains constant (N.D.L.R.).

so as to promote the disappearance or, on the contrary, the appearance of certain morphological characters and their retention in these partial populations.

S Proximity of residence. The conditions noted above are
582 aggravated by the fact that the Toucouleur country stretches in
143 a strip of land of about 300 kilometers; such a great distance greatly decreases the chances of marriage between individuals from distant residences, and the figures we have just given are therefore reduced to those of surrounding villages.

S This is perhaps in part the reason for the regrouping in
[565] certain regions of a less numerous endogamous group such as that of the griots.

As in all countries, distance actually plays an important
S part in the possibilities for marriage. We shall not study this
[565] phenomenon here, for within a given caste the radius of marriage

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 11--ANALYST]

/671 cont./

S
582
565
143
162

Table II. Actual number of the endogamous Toucouleur groups, with, for each one, their percentage in relation to the total population, and the number of women from 15 to 45 years of age

Caste	Actual Number	%		Number of women from 15 to 45 years of age	
Torodo	84,200	45.0	74.0	18,700	
Tiédo	13,700	10.0		7,150	
Thioubalo	32,200	17.2		4,150	
Diawando	3,400	1.8			
Labo	2,100	1.1	4.5	450	1,850
Saké	1,100	0.6		250	
Mabo	2,300	1.2		500	
Baïlo	2,200	1.6		650	
Gaoulo	2,100	1.1	1.1	450	1,100
Gallounké	5,800	3.2	20.4	1,300	8,450
Matioudo	32,200	17.2		7,150	
Total	187,000	100.0		41,900	

S /671 cont./

582 does not actually express the probability of a union between two
143 individuals of a given domicile, since this schema is distorted
[565] by preferential marriages. Nevertheless, in a rural environment, the census according to place of birth shows that 84.2% of the women from /672/ /Table III appears here/ 15 to 45 years of age, most of whom were married, were born in the village of their residence. The men, therefore, in the majority, marry women from their own village.

Preferential marriages. To the probability of unions between individuals of a close degree of kinship in the groups already restricted is added the preference for these same marriages, which extends the endogamic system of castes. But if the ethnic group and the caste determine a negative choice, certain variables bring about on the contrary, a positive choice, chief of which is the customary preference for unions between close relatives, in particular between first cousins. The inquiry showed that in the whole of the zone studied (Haratin Moors not included) the proportion of marriages of the fourth, fifth, and sixth degrees rises to almost 28% of the total. The figure varies according to the ethnic groups, as is indicated in Table III.

W [582] The percentage of marriages between first cousins (fourth degree) in fact extends from 10.1 among the Wolof to 16.8 among the Saracolé; between cousins of an uneven degree (fifth W [582] degree) the percentage goes from 2.2 among the Saracolé to 7.1 among the Wolof, and between first cousins (sixth degree) from T [582] 10.5 among the Toucouleur to 14.5 among the Peul. Among the Toucouleur and the Peul there are practically as many marriages between first cousins as between second cousins: 10.4% as against 10.5% in the one case, 14.5% and 14.5% in the other. W [582] Only the Wolof have more marriages between second cousins, 13% as against 10.1%. Among the Saracolé, the more numerous unions between first cousins (16.8%) than between second cousins (10.9%) confirm what is known about family cohesion in this group.

S T 582 143 565 Within each ethnic group the frequency of cansanguineous marriages varies more noticeably according to the castes. In Table IV we have assembled the absolute numbers of consanguineous

[Text continues middle of P. 12 -- Analyst]

S
T
582
143

/672 cont./

Table III. Percentage of consanguineous marriages according to the degree of kinship in the different ethnic groups in the valley of the Senegal. Value of the mean coefficient of consanguinity

Ethnic Group	Number of women interrogated	% of consanguineous marriages according to degree of kinship			Total	Mean Coefficient of consanguinity $F \times 10^3$
		4th D	5th D	6th D		
Toucouleur	3,865	10.4	4.2	10.5	25.1	7.6
Peul	1,135	14.5	6.8	14.5	35.9	12.2
Wolof	731	10.1	7.1	13.0	30.2	9.5
Saracolé	270	16.8	2.2	10.9	29.9	12.7
Total	6,208	11.3	5.0	11.3	27.6	8.7

S
T
582
143
565

marriages and their percentages in the four principal castes of the Toucouleur. The percentage of these marriages /673/ /Table IV appears here/ varies from 10.7 among the captives to 44.4 among the artisans; the figure increases among the fishermen to 32.2 and to 35.6 among the Torobé. The relatively weak proportion observed among the captives (10.7%) is due to the fact that the latter came from different regions, according to the accident of wars, but it shows that they have nevertheless adopted the custom of their masters.

S
T
[567]

S
582
143

The customary nature of these marriages is shown by the fact that certain types of unions between cousins are preferred to others. The number of marriages of the fourth degree, the type of which we have noted, although small (47), nevertheless tends to confirm the preference for marriages with the daughter of either

[text continues middle of p.13--Analyst]

S /673 cont./

582
143
565

Table IV. Absolute numbers of consanguineous marriages and their percentage in the principal Toucouleur castes. Value of the mean coefficient of consanguinity

Caste	Number of couples interrogated	Consanguineous Marriages 4th D Nos.	5th D Nos.	6th D Nos.	Total Nos.	%	Coefficient of cansanguinity F X 10^3
Torobé	101	15	6	14	35	35.6	10.9
Fishermen	56	8	4	6	18	32.2	8.2
Artisans	27	7	1	4	12	44.4	13.6
Captives	93	6	0	4	10	10.7	4.2

S
582
143

the mother's brother (19) or the father's brother (15), rather than the daughter of the mother's sister (8) or of the father's sister (4). These consanguineous marriages represent the most strict form of endogamy. The others reflect the same tendency, but are practiced in a larger framework, lineage, clan, the extent of which we have not been able to evaluate. There are also traditional unions between two or more families, which perpetuate themselves from generation to generation.

Actual endogamy. The results observed in the valley of the Senegal cannot be extended to the Sahelo-Sudan region and still less to the western part of Africa. From analogous studies now in progress, we shall soon know whether the situation is comparable in the other regions of the Senegal and the Sudan.

In the valley the frequency of marriages of the fourth to the sixth degree inclusive ranks among the highest yet observed anywhere in the world. Freire-Maia in 1957 [10] collected data on this point, followed by Serra and Soini in 1959 [11] in this same journal. The measure which gives the best

S
[114]
[128]

S /177 cont./
462 work are divided into very different groups: here is the
463 distribution of female occupations by percentages:
162 /178/ Hairdressers (occupation often held by the griotes)...4.5

Silent partners of weavers	2.2
Dyers	3.7
Saleswomen in markets or stalls	15.5
Cleaning women, laundresses	4.5
Laborer	0.8
Others	68.8
Total	100

S
305 Hairdressing is more an ordinary service than remunera-
565 tive work; it is most often done by the caste women, griotes
463 or jewelers, in exchange for money or for presents which they receive from "free" or "noble" families -- the Wolof term is "guer" -- for whom they are the appointed griotes. It is not unusual, along one of the sandy streets in the shade of a wall, to come across a group of women, one of whom will be braiding the hair of another stretched out flat on her stomach, her head on the knees of her hairdresser.

S
462 Equally traditional are the occupations of dyer or silent
463 partner of a weaver. At the extreme opposite is the laborer
SR of the CAFAL who works daily at fixed hours for a definite
[462] salary. There are only a few of them in our sample, all of whom are Sérère. The women who do housework or who are laundresses must likewise be classed under this rubric of modern work. The way they use their time is indeed much less whimsical than in the case of the first categories. Between the two one must place the most important occupation, that of saleswoman. And here it is again necessary to dis-
S
[443] tinguish several categories of saleswomen: those who keep a shop or a stall by the side of their houses, those who go to sell at the market of Pikine, and finally those who every day go from Pikine to Dakar to sell their vegetables and their produce at Kermel or at Sandaga.

S
W
SR
On the other hand, the positive replies are too numerous
462 to be profitably discussed by ethnic groups and thus to separate
162 out the principal ethnic behaviors. At best it is possible that

[10 cont.]

369 533 The griots, those "vipers' tongues," have put together new songs in order to make up for the loss of the spoils of war never to be hoped for again. Without exaggeration or error, one can assert that the very high cost of the marriage expenses is due [583] only to the griots, who, using their malevolent genius, contrast in their chants the generosity of such and such a man with the parsimony of the other, spicing all the praises with references to his always legendary and generous ancestors.

369 583 To dazzle the girl and her relatives with his generosity and his wealth, to wrest from the rivals acknowledgment of their poverty, to overwhelm with goods persons of inferior castes whose praises will never cease, to enrich the prestige and the dignity of his parents-in-law -- there is the origin of the enormous expenses which must be faced by those who marry in Saint-Louis.

The phases of Marriage and their cost

369 565 582 [584] This is not the place to show what role the girl plays in the act which is going to decide her life. Nevertheless, let us be permitted to affirm that today some freedom is permitted the girl in choosing a spouse, always with the condition that her choice must be a man of her rank. Native society is, in effect, compartmented, and the smith, the jeweler, the cobbler, the griot never becomes attached to a guer (2) woman with the

2. All the persons who do not belong to an inferior caste -- griot, cobbler, etc. Not to be confused with gor, free man, who is not a slave or a freed man.

permission of his parents. Conversely, the guer must remain in his domain, and the custom which formerly authorized the [631] chiefs to contract marriages with caste women, always under the pretense of conquest in battle, is tending to disappear.

[12 cont.]

369 583 291 435

12 silk headkerchiefs (6 obligatory, valued at 500 to 600 francs each;

12 kerchiefs with "edging" [mouchoirs de "bord"] (6 obligatory, valued at 300 to 375 francs each);

2 silk handkerchiefs;

4 Mauritanian mats, on which the objects are detailed, valued at 500 francs each, and most of all rare, which costs dearly.

369 685

c) Basket of Small Goods. This is a creation of the well-bred man of Saint-Louis, who during the 3 or 8 or 15 days that the nuptials last wishes the guests to be treated well. The young people of both sexes are supposed to crowd into the spacious rooms, suitably decorated and illuminated, and to be "overwhelmed" by the songs of the griots. The husband considers their rejoicings an imperious duty and offers them a basket generally containing several packs of cards, packages of toothpicks, perfume, razor blades, pipes, tobacco, incense, kohéal, fans, tidbits, etc.

369 585 565

d) The Gifts. These expenses are the final obligations and bear the name of "decorations of castes." As we have noted, since the first visit of the husband, the persons of caste have not officially benefited further from his generosity or from that of his wife. But custom requires that these people be gratified. It should be noted also that the guers have their men of caste who are faithful to them from father to son. In their presence and when they are equal to their task. Whatever their fortune or rank (in the Europeanized society), a guer cannot address any other persons of caste without their permission. Only one coiffeuse arranges the hair of a young girl until her marriage, and one jeweler repairs or makes her finery. The marriage is the ceremony of their dedication and the occasion of proving to them that they have not placed their confidence in vain. These persons comprise two categories: that of the woman and that of the man. Let us note at once that the latter cannot be too demanding without showing a lack of the proper attitude. They form part of the general staff of the husband, and, under penalty

[596] [302] [306]

[12 cont.]

369 of humiliation, they must, as must he, show proof of generosity.
585 How does one go about "decorating these persons"?
565 There are the griots, the jewelers, the cobblers, and also ... the captives; the husband gives 1,000 francs or more to each grouping, and his relatives a supplementary sum, always distinct from that given by the husband, of such a nature that each caste receives 10,000 or 20,000 francs or more. This sum will be divided under the direction of the caste head.

585 This ceremony concludes the marriage, because im-
369 mediately, for three streets around, there is nothing but hysteria and hubbub, with griots coming and going, as well as drivers (3).

3. We have not said anything about the expense for the food. Each morning during the whole period of the nuptials, the husband must give a sum large enough to provide food for all of his guests and those of the wife. It is obligatory for the parents of the wife to send supper to the mother of the husband on the first day. I have seen a case that merits being noted. On the occasion of a recent marriage, the parents-in-law sent from Saint-Louis to Louga a wagon of food, 25 large basins, "tolis," containing 25 foods estimated in 1939 at 4,000 francs, deducted from the meals of the mother, which were, it was said, transported by five or six carts.

Consequences of the high price of marriage on the manners and customs

369
178
584 Such expenses greatly hinder young people from marrying.
581 Most of them, if they do not wish to remain single, are obliged to leave their city to contract bush marriages, which are almost

/73 cont./

172
766

Ouest sénégalais /Prehistory and Protohistory of the Peninsula of Cape Verde and the Extreme West of Senegal/." Bull. de l'I.F.A.N., /1948/, p. 450.

were mixed with the skeletons, which were found to a depth of 60 centimeters, the soil below, consisting solely of sand, being intact.

In all, about 20 skulls practically in good condition and about ten in bad condition, including one of a child, and hundreds of bones were brought back for study by the Section d'Anthropologie of the I.F.A.N. /Fig. 2 appears here./ [128]

There is no doubt about the meaning of this discovery. We are dealing with a baobab that served as a burial place for griots /musicians, storytellers/ in a recent past (3); the Baobab [565]

3. Probably until the effective Islamization of the peninsula due to the establishment of the theocratic Lébou community about 1795, although isolated cases could have occurred up to a about the founding of Dakar (1857). [175]

of Bok, moreover, is also known in the neighborhood by the name of "goui guevel" (Baobab for Griots).

It is likewise the name of goui guevel (shown, moreover, on the Yof sheet at 1/20,000, 1954) that designates another baobab (24.50 meters in circumference) located west of the village of Ouakam, which I visited April 6, 1955, without being able to get into it, the opening being too small (0.60 x 0.15 of a meter).

A small village bears the same name northeast of Ouayembam (Sangalkam sheet at 1/20,000, 1941). /74/ /Fig. 3 appears here./

The interment of griots in hollow trees has, moreover, 000

/74 cont./

S 766

Fig. 3. Burials in the country of the Jalophes (Wolofs) according to Dapper (1668). In the background one sees a griot who is being interred in a hollow tree.

S SR 766 565

The interment of griots in hollow trees has, moreover, been reported in Senegal for a long time. It is always practiced in Sérère /Serer/ country; this custom does not seem to have been known outside the territory and seems to have been completely abandoned, for example, in Wolof country where it must have been practiced in former times (4). The case of the peninsula of

4. Dapper (1668) mentions it in the "pais des Jalofes /country of the Wolof/," but includes in this latter Sine, Baol, and Joal, Sérère countries (1686, p. 228).

Cape Verde is somewhat special, its populations having been in close contact with the Sérère, whose habitat begins just east of Bargny and even includes a good part of the region (Sébikotane, Pout, Thiès, etc. are in Sérère country).

To my knowledge the first to mention this funeral custom was Alvarez d'Almada (1594) who reports it in Saloum (5). The

5. Silveira, L., 1946, p. 25.

S
SR
766
565

/74 cont./

explanation given was already the one that is advanced today: if the griots (Judeus) were buried in the depths of the earth, the fields would no longer produce.

Following the R. P. Alexis de Sainct Lô (1637, p. 88), Dapper (1668) relates the same belief and reports that the ostracism cast on the griots is applied even to their wives and their children and that they can neither be put in the earth nor thrown into the sea or a river (6). His account of the interment

6. Dapper, O., French translation 1686, p. 235.

of tambours in baobabs is illustrated by a drawing (Fig. 3). His account is taken up again by Barbot (1732) (7). The Chevalier

7. Barbot, J., 1732, p. 55.

de Fréminville relates to us the discovery of a baobab cemetery for griots near Hann in 1822 (8). Abbé Boilat (1853) and

8. Herpin, E., 1913, pp. 120-121, and 1955, p. 45; for a case noted at Dakar in 1873, see Th. Monod, 1949, p. 311, and J. Hachet, 1892, p. 38.

Carrère and Holle (1855) (9) recall briefly the same custom.

9. Boilat, Abbé P. D., 1853, p. 315; Carrère, F., and Holle, P., p. 68.

Nearer to us, Diguy Kanté, Valtaud, and Aujas report it in Sérère country (10).

10. Kanté, Diguy, 1917, p. 156; Valtaud, 1922, p. 251; Aujas, L., p. 321.

15: Mauny--7 E-5 (1955) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37
Serer FA32

/74 cont./

S
SR
766
565

An unpublished source of information is furnished us by the notebooks of vacation homework of pupils of the William-Ponty School, written in 1945, which had as subject "the funeral rites" (11).

11. Let us cite, among others, the studies of MM. Diouf Khar N'Dofène, NDao Ibrahima, Diop Boubacar, N'Diaye N'Diaga, Diop Biram. These notebooks are kept in the Section de Documentation of the I.F.A.N. at Dakar.

S
[127]

From these studies several facts stand out from the others:

a) This custom is practiced today only in animist Sérère country.

b) It is tending to disappear because of new ideas (flight of the griots to the cities, where they melt into the masses; hygiene; equalitarianism /75/ preached by Islam, Christianity, schools, etc.

c) The griots of our day are buried with the other "people of caste" (blacksmiths, shoemakers, weavers) in a cemetery near, but different from the one for the noble classes of the society.

This is how, according to these notebooks, a griot interment takes place in animist Sérère country.

The griot in Sérère country, as in a large part of Black Africa, occupies the bottom of the social ladder. An inferior, scorned, and feared being, it is not appropriate for him to be buried; the soil of the land where he would rest "would be rendered sterile forever or at least its yield would diminish from year to year."

After his death one proceeds with his funeral toilet, which is the same as for the other castes: the dead man is clothed in his finest garments, then wrapped in a pagne /Fr., a long strip of cloth/, and then "fastened with palmyra leaves in such a way as to form a solid package."

He is then laid out on a litter and carried to the baobab-cemetery by two strong young men, accompanied by the crowd of griots of the village, men and women.

/75 cont./

The hollow baobab chosen has an opening obstructed by brambles to keep out hyenas and jackals.

When the procession arrives in front of the baobab, the young men rush and jostle one another to be the first to enter the tree. They are armed and engage in a savage struggle with this aim, spurred on by the cries of the women, who appeal to their bravery and sing their praises.

Finally, one of them succeeds; henceforth he will do his utmost, with the help of his weapons, to prevent the others from entering in their turn. The candidates fight from the outside with the winner on the inside. The combat stops only when a second fighter has conquered the winner; then both bring the corpse into the tree amidst the applause and songs of those present. They lay the dead man on the pile of previous corpses without other ceremony. The two winners are regarded as heroes by the girls, while the other young men beaten in the course of this struggle "have lost their honor and degraded their families," cruel shame in Senegal; they will find it difficult to marry...

This custom from other ages is obviously destined to disappear rapidly in the face of the evolution of customs; the land already lost (Lébou country, part of the Wolof and even Sérère country) allows it to be clearly foreseen, although the interested persons themselves, the Sérère griots, continue to practice it in many places in Sine-Saloum and Baol.

Therefore it was necessary to describe it in a little more detail than the previous authors have done, before it is no more than a memory.

By a fair reversal of things, it is provocative to note concerning the Bok discovery that the skeletons of the most despised caste have been almost perfectly preserved in these very special conditions of inhumation in a baobab, while absolutely nothing of the bones of the great of the country, the guers, remains after perhaps less than a century; the Senegalese sand, moistened by the winter rains, reduces them to impalpable dust or bony splinters which do not withstand being touched (12).

12. Corbeil, R., Mauny, R., and Charbonnier, J., op. cit., 1948, p. 442.

/17 cont./

-- persons originally from French Guinea: Malinké (3%), Peul, Soussou, Kissi; 369* 563 162

-- persons from the Ivory Coast: Agni, Appollonien, Attié, Baoulé /Baule/, Bété /Betie/, Dida, Krou, Wobé; [167]

-- persons originally from the Togo-Dahomey zone: Aizo, Ewe, Fon, Goun /Gun/, Nago, Popo, Mina;

-- persons originally from the Upper Volta-Niger zone: Mossi, Sonray;

-- miscellaneous: Moors (3%), Cape Verdeans (2%), Yoruba, Boulama, Congolese, etc.

Those for whom we have indicated no percentage are for the most part of little importance numerically in relation to the total population. Their situation, however, is very variable: the consequences of uprooting, the degree of cohesion which preserves small groups very far from their region of origin, the degree of integration in the urban society, vary according to the level at which they are located in the new social stratification which takes shape in the towns.

3. Indeed, another feature of the sociology of colonial towns -- and which is, as we mentioned above, very conspicuous in the "old towns" -- is the progressive differentiation into strata definable by socio-occupational criteria. It assumes, as the investigation on Dakar showed, a /18/ greater and greater importance in the stabilized population; there, the domains where behavior continues to be determined by the ethnic, religious, etc. situation are limited. We posed the problem in this manner in a recent article, to which we allow ourselves to refer (1): "It appears ... that our categories only 369* 565

1. P. Mercier, "Un essai d'enquête par questionnaires dans la ville de Dakar /An attempt at investigation by questionnaires in the town of Dakar/" (Paper given at the conference on the Consequences of Industrialization [113]

/18 cont./

and Urbanization in Africa, Abidjan, 1954). 369x 565● [113]

tendentially have the character of social classes. They are distinguished by the living standard and way of life and by a certain number of specific behaviors, but the characteristics of colonial society, on the one hand, and, on the other, the persistence of traditional values do not permit them to assume the character of clear-cut classes." We shall return to this account, where we noted the absence of close correlations [182] between socio-occupational category, ethnic group, and religion, but, on the other hand, the existence of very clear correlations between the socio-occupational categories and facts such as level of French studies, the importance of intermarriages between different ethnic groups, that of the rôle played by the groupings and associations of a new type (political parties, syndicates, etc.). Also the ethnic affiliation plays a role of variable importance, although it is very rarely obliterated completely.

4. The new structures which characterize the towns 369x give a large place to grouping of a political, syndical, cultural, sportive, etc. order. 571 We shall not discuss this problem here. It must be noted, however, that in Dakar the importance of some of them is considerably reinforced by the function that Dakar performs as the federal capital; it is valid for the syndicates and to a lesser degree for the political parties.

5. Finally, an important fact in every colonial town, 369x but particularly in Dakar is the juxtaposition of racially and 563 culturally different groups. For Dakar, the European population undoubtedly represents 10% of the total population (2), and 162

2. In the census of the non-autochthonous population of 1951, close to 22,000.

/18 cont./ 369x
the Lebano-Syrians at least 2%. Let us consider in this brief 563
glance only the problem of the relations between Africans and [162]
Europeans.

a) The increase in the number of Europeans -- which [161]
has increased at least sixfold since 1939, while the African popu-
lation has undoubtedly not even tripled -- has been accompanied [463]
by qualitative changes: development of the categories of tech-
nicians, workers, artisans, petty employees, petty merchants.
This population, despite the sense of a strong solidarity (which
is admitted in time of crisis) vis-à-vis the African population,
has seen a division /19/ into classes inherited from the society [565]
of origin become marked. At the same time, the European
community has withdrawn into itself, developing its own ser-
vices (specialized merchants, etc.).

b) The evolution of habitat zones reflects these trans- 369x
formations. The close checkerwork of the original plan of 563
Pinet-Laprade still encompasses multi-racial quarters (where 361
the Lebano-Syrians have taken a greater and greater place).
But, in the course of the development of the town, the Médina,
almost exclusively African (1), has been added to them in the

1. Some Europeans live there, [362]
however; the general housing
crisis largely accounts for this.

north, while purely European residential quarters developed
in the south. The recent zones set up on the other side of the
Médina for the residences of functionaries likewise allow for
little mixing. Finally, with the reconstruction of new build-
ings, the European town, starting from the southern zone,
gained on the mixed quarters, and a movement toward a clearer
segregation of the habitat zones is taking shape, segregation
which is in no way official, but which is considered desirable
by the majority of the European population (2) and is based in

2. Differences in way of life,

/23 cont./ 369x 592

2. The figures which follow will give a first idea of the size of the groups. They apply to the male heads of ménages (monogamous and polygamous), the bachelors and groups of bachelors being excluded. We made a simple count of the persons belonging to the household outside of the ménage investigated (man, wife or wives, children living with their parents, adopted children) (2). One obtains the following results:

2. We will see further on what has to be understood concretely by "adoption" in the Dakar urban context. This only concerns the effectively grouped ménage; if certain wives and their children do not live in the household considered, they are not counted.

a) For the whole of the population studied, or 915 male heads of ménages, 41% of the households coincide with the restricted family, 32% include one person in addition to the restricted family, 14% include two, 5% include three, 2% include four, 1% include five, 1% include more than five (3). [594] [162]

3. These percentages, as well as those that follow, are calculated faultily. They can only be approximations, under the conditions of the investigation. The expression in percentage, however, strikingly illustrates the indications gathered. The tendencies that they show have been corroborated for most of the categories by many subsequent interviews. [128]

/24/ The following table divides this population into socio-occupational categories: [565]

17: Mercier-24 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/24 cont./

Socio-occupational Category	Number of Households	Number of persons not belonging to the restricted family (%)						
		0	1	2	3	4	5	+5
Farmers, fishermen	23	47%	26%	13%	4%		2%	2%
Laborers, domestics	124	35%	37%	12%	8%	4%	0.5%	0.5%
Workers and artisans	290	38%	29%	14%	6%	3%	3%	2%
Master workmen	21	23%	23%	42%		10%		
Subordinate employees and functionaries	265	42%	33%	13%	4%	3%	3%	2%
Superior employees and functionaries	39	46%	43%	7%		2%		
Teaching, intellectual professions, etc.	48	46%	35%	14%	4%			1%
Merchants, transport, etc.	122	38%	36%	13%	7%	2%	1%	1%

369
592
565
594

/24 cont./

b) These simplified data call for some commentary. What is the significance of the sometimes important differences that we affirm between the situations that prevail in the different strata? 369x 592 565 594

The high proportion, among the farmers, of households that coincide with the restricted family -- a proportion clearly higher than the average -- is explained by the fact that we are dealing more with market-gardeners than with farmers of the traditional type (as are found in the suburban villages). In any case, the problem has not been studied for a sufficient number of cases for us to draw definitive conclusions here. [241]

/25/ Besides this category, for which we lack certain explanatory factors, only two others noticeably exceed the average established for the whole population: on the one hand, the superior employees and functionaries; on the other hand, members of the teaching profession, doctors, etc. The important factor here is the degree of Westernization (1). [177] [871]

1. The only categories whose members have all been to the French school.

It is only on this level that we have ascertained facts not only on the topological dispersion of the group of relatives, but also on the very clear loosening of the obligations flowing from kinship ties. Let us add that in reality the number of restricted families is much more important. In the majority of households which include one person in addition to the restricted family, this person is a domestic lodging with the family (who is sometimes a distant relative). The change in structure is therefore clearer than it would seem in view of the raw figures. [357]

c) This first general view shows, as in other domains -- we shall see this soon for the structure of even the restricted family -- that the characteristics of the socio-occupational 369x 565

/25 cont./

strata which we have defined do not depend on a single factor or on a series of factors in close correlation; it would be a simplification to establish a hierarchy based on certain criteria. There are in fact several scales. There is more or less complete participation in several socio-cultural contexts. We are dealing here with three principal groups: 369x 565●

On the one hand, the categories of laborers and domestics, workers and artisans, master workmen, merchants, and, to a lesser degree, farmers and fishermen (2), where the

2. See above.

tendency toward familial regrouping is still very much alive. The extent of the familial group is as a whole a function of the possibilities for housing and of available finances (the maximum number of persons which a given number of salaried persons can support). It must likewise be noted that, in the case of autochthonous groups or groups originally from nearby regions, the frequency of neighboring and related households is much greater, and the tendency towards a reconstitution of the extended family /famille étendue/ manifests itself in a considerable number of cases. [596]

On the other hand, the categories of the superior functionaries and employees and the teaching and intellectual professions, in which, if one keeps in mind the preceding remarks, one sees that the household tends in permanent fashion to include only the restricted family. [594]

Finally, the category of subordinate employees and functionaries, intermediate between the two preceding groups, which is explained in particular by the composite character of this category; there, one /26/ finds elements (orderlies, beneficiaries of reserved employment in the administrative sector, etc.) clearly less Westernized, but their very superior living standard does not permit placing them in the category of laborers, whom they approximate in many aspects. The [177]

/26 cont./

intermediate character of this category, very mixed concerning the level of studies, way of life, etc., is found again in various domains. 369x 565

C. -- The old familial institutions do not always adapt themselves easily to the environment of the new life into which they are transplanted. They were linked with a collective work organization, all the members of the group being assured of enjoying (under the authority of the family head) the revenue of the latter. The notion of individual work, with individual remuneration, has not been introduced without shock. We shall set aside the categories where the work has remained in the family framework despite the necessary transpositions: farmers and fishermen on the one hand, merchants on the other. In the others, the vigor preserved by the traditional familial institutions is sometimes a curb on the raising of the living standard of urbanized elements. There is the problem, commonly called "familial parasitism," which poses itself in all of the African towns; the obligation to come to the aid of all the members of the kinship group is still strongly felt. We shall not proceed here to a detailed examination of the data gathered on the number of salaried persons, and persons practicing a non-salaried occupation, in relation to the total number of adults in the household. But it is necessary to give a survey of them. 369x 59 [476] [461] [602]

1. When questioned about the reasons for their coming to town, less than 10% of those questioned say that they came to rejoin relatives. But subsequent interviews have permitted it to be confirmed that among those persons who had come, according to their statements, to look for work (58%), there were many who would not have been able to subsist except by joining, upon their arrival, a group of relatives already settled. The process has already been described several times, and we shall not return to it (1). 369x 602 166

1. Cf., for example, G. Balandier, op. cit., one of the latest accounts to date.

/27 cont./

369x
602
[434]

living standards made apparent the complexity of the notion of income; for example, there are incomes which do not correspond to any work, but come solely from a given social position (belonging to the griot caste, etc.). A similar investigation will be conducted in Dakar in August 1954 and will permit precise statements concerning these problems.

data only represent a snapshot taken on a certain date; the situation is very changeable, the dependent relatives, except when it is a matter of old men, are such only temporarily. Furthermore, the manifestations of familial mutual aid may go beyond the framework of the household. Let us take, in the whole of our population, the family groups containing more than five adults. The number of persons enjoying an income, reported for one adult, comes to between 0.5 and 0.7. One does not ascertain significant differences between categories on the quantitative level, the scale of situations in each one of them being very broad. Qualitatively, however, important differences appear. In the categories of superior functionaries and employees, members of the teaching profession and the intellectual professions, etc., and to a lesser degree among the subordinate functionaries and employees, women practicing petty commerce or similar activities are much less numerous than in other categories (but the number of women in a salaried occupation is higher). On the other hand, among the dependent adults (2), the adult sons and

369x
602
565

2. In our investigations, we have arbitrarily fixed the lower limit for the "adult" category at 18-20 years of age.

/27 cont./
daughters who are pursuing their studies figure much more frequently. While among the laborers, the workers, and to a lesser degree the master workmen, it is above all a matter of relatives -- in the majority close relatives, cousins, nephews -- who are unemployed or without an occupation. We shall thus again find the same grouping of categories, although here the differences are more blurred than in the other domains considered. 369* 565 602

D. -- For numerical data on the dimensions of the restricted family, thus on the extension of polygamy, we refer to the account by L. Massé in the present collection. We shall only add certain comments based on complementary studies.

/28/ 1. Religious affiliation divides our population into two groups, one Christian, almost exclusively monogamous (1), 369* 595 565

1. There are cases of polygamy, but they are rarely admitted. [771]

the other Moslem, where the tendency toward polygamy is very deep-rooted, but where differences make themselves felt according to the socio-occupational category. It is only on the level of the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc., that this distinction based on religion disappears, and that we ascertain, common to Christians and Moslems, a value set on monogamy.

2. It is in fact on the level of values more than on that of de facto situations that this question must be studied. The progression of the number of polygamous men in going from the laborers to the master workmen, passing through the workers, and, in a different sector, going from the subordinate functionaries and employees to the superior functionaries and employees, is found again in going from the petty to the large-scale merchants. Polygamy may be, by the same token, an ideal for all the members of these categories, but it is only realized on occasion (2) starting from a certain material [183

2. It is obviously limited by the

17: Mercier--31 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/28 cont./

369*
595
565
[183]

demographic structure of the population (number of available women).

position (3).

3. Let us recall the problems raised by the "marriage portion" and the accessory expenses of marriage. The reactions of the young people and certain Moslem elements in favor of a "matrimonial pact" have to some extent stabilized the situation.

3. The numerical data on the de facto situation seem to lead to a grouping of our categories different from that shown in the preceding paragraphs. But let us consider the first results of an investigation -- which is in progress -- on the attitudes of the young elements of the population (4). We shall again find

4. Below 30-35 years of age.

a similar grouping: dominance of attitudes in favor of polygamy among the farmers, laborers, workers, master workmen, merchants; a dominance still, but much less clear, among the subordinate functionaries and employees; a dominance on the contrary in favor of monogamy among the superior functionaries and employees (although it is not yet actualized for the whole category) and among the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc. (where it has already clearly become fact) (5). A strong correlation appears between these data and

5. Less, however, than the total figures would let be foreseen. The Christians, who are only 11% of the whole of our population, are 20% of the superior functionaries and

[162]

/28 cont./

employees and 15% of the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc.

369x
595
565
[162]

those concerning the extent of the family.

/29/ E. -- In the same general sense, the variations in the percentage of interethnic marriages are according to socio-occupational categories. For the whole of our population, we find: among the monogamous (696 families), 71% ménages where the wife is of the same ethnic group as the husband, 29% where she is from a different ethnic group; among the polygamous with two and three wives (228 families), 43% ménages where all the wives are of the same ethnic group as the husband, 57% ménages where at least one wife is from a different ethnic group. The following tables give the distribution by socio-occupational categories:

369x
563
565

(tables on following pages)

17; Mercier--33 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/29 cont./

Socio-occupational Category	Number of monogamous restricted families	Wives of the same ethnic group as their husband		Wives from a group different from that of the husband	
		T	%	T	%
Farmers, fishermen	16	14	87%	2	13%
Laborers, domestics	81	68	84%	13	16%
Workers and artisans	214	152	71%	62	29%
Master workmen	11	5	45%	6	55%
Subordinate functionaries and employees	208	136	65%	72	35%
Superior functionaries and employees	29	19	64%	10	36%
Teaching, intellectual professions, etc.	47	28	59%	19	41%
Merchants, transporters, etc.	47	65	84%	12	16%

369x
563
565

17; Mercier--34 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/29 cont./

Socio-occupational Category	Number of polygamous restricted families (2 and 3 wives)	All the wives of same ethnic group as the husband		At least one wife from an ethnic group different from that of the husband	
		T	%	T	%
Farmers, fishermen	7	3	43%	4	57%
Laborers, domestics	14	7	50%	7	50%
Workers and artisans	75	36	48%	39	52%
Master workmen	10	3	30%	7	70%
Subordinate functionaries and employees	57	25	44%	32	66%
Superior functionaries and employees	10	2	20%	8	30%
Teaching, intellectual professions, etc.	5	2	40%	3	60%
Merchants, transporters, etc.	45	19	42%	26	58%

369x
563
565

/30/

1. The first table is more significant. In fact, the number of polygamous families is too low in absolute value in certain categories for one not to fear distortion, in the conditions under which the investigation was made. In any case, the fact that the only wife (or the first wife of potential polygamists) is from an ethnic group different from that of their husband is more important than when it is a matter of a second or third wife of a polygamist. 369x 565 563

2. As far as the monogamists are concerned, the categories of farmers, laborers, and merchants are clearly below the average (29%). The workers and artisans reach this average exactly. They likewise form among the polygamists a rather clear grouping, characterized by the preservation of ethnic values. One problem is posed here, however: the master workmen, contrary to what we have previously ascertained, do not fit into this group. We lack factors for an explanation of this seemingly aberrant fact. Subsequent investigations will try to illuminate it.

3. The categories of the subordinate functionaries and employees more clearly approximates here those of the superior functionaries and employees, of the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc. In this whole, the ethnic values, and this is confirmed by other investigations, tend to play a less important role; they are far, however, from complete obliteration (1).

1. See below some notes on the composition of groups of friends.

4. It would be necessary, however, to shade this account by studying the prevalent behaviors in the different ethnic groups (2). One finds that the situation varies in terms of: 369x 563

2. It is necessary to take into account the fact that the ethnic groups, except for the most important numerically, are not [565]

Dakar
Wolof MS30

/30 cont./

369x
563
[565]

regularly distributed among the socio-occupational categories. We shall refer here to our paper, already cited, which was prepared for the Conference of Abidjan of September 1954.

on the one hand, the numerical importance of the group in the town; on the other hand, the distance from the region of origin; finally, particular factors closing off the group (racial prejudices, religion, etc.). Thus we find, among the groups where the average for interethnic marriages is not attained: the Cape Verdeans, the Moors, the Diola, the Sérère and equally the Wolof, among whom ethnic endogamy is the clearest. Among those where the proportion of interethnic marriages clearly exceeds the average: the Bambara, the groups originally from the territories of the south, and, unexpectedly, the Lebou, which indeed confirms the weakening of the former particularism and the mixing (which is accelerating) with the Wolof element. Let us note /31/ finally that in numerous cases, if the spouses are not of the same ethnic group, they are nevertheless originally from the same region; this is the case for most of those questioned by us who were originally from Dahomey and Togo.

S
369x
592

F. -- We must look briefly into the qualitative aspect of the composition of the family groups going beyond the framework of the restricted family; we have indicated what limits are put on the utilization of the purely quantitative data. This composition is very diverse and very changeable in time.

1. Here are the dominant types which were encountered, in order of decreasing frequency:

S
W
[604]
[597]

a) The nephew-uterine uncle relationship and more rarely the nephew-consanguineous /paternal/ uncle are the basis for the formation of many groupings. In particular among the Wolof and the Lebou, the educational role of the uterine

/37 cont./

combined two by two. Out of 32 male heads of families, eight had no friends in the neighborhood (block and its immediate surroundings -- the relatives obviously being excluded). Among the 24 others, one counted 15 whose friends in the neighborhood were at the same time all members of the same ethnic group; for five others, they were either of the same ethnic group or members of the same syndicate;[1] for two others, they were either of the same ethnic group or members of the same religious association. Only the two heads of Lebou families, the ones settled in the block the longest and enjoying a certain prestige, had many friends in the neighborhood; the majority of the latter did not belong to the Lebou group and were not members of a like structured group. The factor of neighborhood, properly speaking, seemed, for our people as a whole, to account for only the most superficial type of relations. The common religious persuasion does not /38/ play an essential role; its limits rarely coincide with the limits of groups of friends. The religious associations, however, are practically the only ones which rest, in a certain number of cases, on a local basis. The importance of occupational ties (in the broad sense, including syndical activity) and, above all, that of ethnic ties are of primary importance.

B. -- In this domain, however, differences in behavior between the socio-occupational categories are seen to appear, and it is important to note them in order to complete the preceding data. One sees some distinctions delineated which, as a whole, go in the same direction as those encountered in the second part of this work. In our population investigated by questionnaires, one finds: 13% of those queried who have less than 10% of their connections belonging to the same ethnic group as themselves; 29% who have less than 30%; 57% who have less than 50%; 11% who have 100%. The following table indicates the distribution by socio-occupational categories:

[1] [i.e., trade union.-Analyst]

/38 cont./

Socio-occupational Category	Percentage of connections belonging to the same ethnic group			
	Less than 10%	Less than 30%	Less than 50%	100%
Farmers, fishermen	11%	26%	50%	7%
Laborers, domestics	7%	19%	41%	21%
Workers and artisans	13%	33%	64%	10%
Subordinate employees and functionaries	14%	33%	60%	11%
Superior employees and functionaries	17%	34%	61%	7%
Teaching, intellectual professions, etc.	26%	40%	72%	6%
Merchants, transporters, etc.,	6%	17%	41%	17%

369x
621
571
563
572
565

We thus find a first group where the role played by ethnic membership in the formation of the group of friends is more important than it is on the average: the laborers and domestics, the merchants and transporters. The opposite situation is found among the superior functionaries and employees and even more accentuated, among the members of the teaching and intellectual professions. The farmers are to be added to this group, however; most of them are Lebou, and these figures account well on the one hand for the loss of their particularism before the Wolof thrust, and on the other hand for the more /39/important role played among them by the factors of neighborhood. An average group is constituted by: the subordinate functionaries and employees, and, much more clearly than in the other domains considered, the workers and artisans.

Some remarks are necessary. The factor of ethnic regrouping retains its importance in all the categories, although unequally.

/91 cont./

369 industrial enterprises and in the public function. Even in a
563 professional category a certain hierarchy of a traditional
[182] order survives and is always respected. In the workshops of
[565] the Dakar-Niger, for example, the higher supervisory staffs
[466] are made up of workers belonging to superior castes: free men, descendants of chiefs' families... Operatives coming from families of griots or former captives, in spite of their skill at the work and their training, would have only very weak authority over their subordinates.

[578] The animosities between individuals belonging to formerly hostile groups or to opposed religious sects may sometimes reappear in the course of contacts between individuals or groups of individuals. Along the same line
[466] of thought, a certain favoritism may creep into the relations between foreman and subordinates belonging to the same ethnic category or the same religion.

369 Within each ethnic minority scattered through the
563 city spontaneous associations spring up, led by the oldest
573 among them. These friendly groups meet periodically. They are at the bottom of the mutual aid to the newcomer, to the workman who lives temporarily without funds in the escale. Each of these gatherings is at the same time the occasion for "folkloristic" celebrations, reminding the members of the group of their customs and their country of origin.

369 The traditions which have been able to survive by
177 being adapted to the new conditions of the society lose
563 their importance to a certain extent in contact with new ideas and Western influence. We have already remarked that the notion of ethnic group is rapidly obliterated when the individual is transplanted for a long time in a city very far from his natal village. The family ties, and above all the
[593] authority of the head of the family over each of its members, become extremely loose in the city. We see a breaking up of the subordination that subjected each of the members of a family to the paternal authority. The child is no longer compelled to adopt the trade of his father; he may choose the work that he thinks will suit him. The young girl is
[584] rapidly becoming emancipated, and rare are the Thiès

/91 cont./

369 177 563 [584] [593] [182] families in which the father imposes on the child the spouse of his choice. The spread of the teaching of the Moslem and Christian religions count for much in this loosening of the too confining ties of family tradition. This breaking up of ancient, too narrow social structures is not a strictly /92/ urban phenomenon; it also occurs in the countryside, but with less force and with a certain delay.

369 565 178 The presence of the industrial bloc of the Dakar-Niger, on the other hand, has had as an effect the formation of a working class, which is a specifically urban phenomenon. Although the ancient system of castes does exist in human contacts, that of social class is little by little being substituted for it. In sum, there actually exists a superposition of the two systems, but the pre-eminence of the second is already being affirmed. Through daily contacts and the rapid diffusion of social ideas coming from the West, the mass of workers is organized, it is grouped by syndicates, it has set up consumer co-operatives. Because of the great number of the members of this worker group, the workshops of the Dakar-Niger and, through repercussion, the city of Thiès itself have become the most active and the busiest centers of French West Africa. The strike that in 1948 paralyzed railroad traffic on the two lines (Dakar-Bamako and Dakar--Saint-Louis) for several months is certainly proof of the influence of a powerful and organized grouping, and a typical urban phenomenon.

[177] [467] [474] [468]

369 563 578 Thus there exists in Thiès a somewhat special social climate that sometimes makes the relations between Whites and Blacks strained. Chiefly during these periods of social crises. But these tensions are always temporary and automatically disappear as soon as the conflict is settled.

369 161 A much more important problem that seems general in all of the cities of Black Africa is that of the too rapid, if not excessive, swelling of the urban population. We have seen that the population of Thiès has almost doubled from 1945 (24,000 inhabitants) to 1953 (40,000 inhabitants). Dakar, Conakry, and Abidjan have grown in the same proportions.

[162]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

175 small island of Gorée further down the coast. However this did not mean that the French lacked interest in the interior. From 1749-53 Michel Adanson explored the Senegalese coast and undertook the first really scientific description of West Africa. His writings were largely responsible for the later hope that European colonisation of this part of Africa would be possible. But for the rest of the eighteenth century France's hold on St. Louis was too tenuous for anything of this nature to be undertaken. Indeed during the Seven Years' War the town fell to the British and was only returned
175 in 1779. By the end of the eighteenth century St. Louis
563 with a population of 7,000, had a European colony number-
369 ing 600, the largest on the whole of the West Coast. It also
[167] had an important assimilated mulatto community, whose descendants are known today as St. Louisiens. Indeed there had been a very high degree of *métissage* by the end of the eighteenth century, since most Frenchmen there took permanent African mistresses known as *signares*, and ensured the education of any children they had by them. Indeed in all but legal status these *signares* were wives and their 'marriages' were celebrated by their families with all the pomp of a normal wedding. However, with the improvement of communications between Senegal and France and the arrival of larger numbers of soldiers in the middle of the nineteenth century, mistresses were much more temporary in nature and the number of Frenchmen prepared to educate resulting offspring was considerably reduced.

175 In 1789 St. Louis sent its *cahier* of grievances to the States-
567 General on the eve of the French Revolution, demanding the end of the monopoly of the great companies, freedom of
[439] trade and the abolition of slavery, which had hitherto formed the main item of export from St. Louis. These grievances were heeded. Slavery was abolished and the companies had their charters withdrawn. But the position of slaves and slave-trading in the colonies was not in fact settled until the end of the wars that followed the French Revolution.

175 During these wars St. Louis once again fell to the British
648

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 not to let the same discriminations and prejudices such as
[563] exist in other colonies be introduced among them.' At
[369] the same time the metropolitan Government was asking whether Africans would make suitable corporals and under-officers. Furthermore Schmaltz, whilst advocating a system of economic exploitation that seemed to be entirely to the advantage of France, maintained that the Senegalese were not merely to be auxiliaries and that they would be encouraged by fixed prices for their crops to produce more and become 'civilised' by their contact with Europe.

648 So far France had made no definition of the position of
• 567 non-French inhabitants of her colonies. Even though France
641 by the decree of 16 Pluviose Year II (1792) had abolished slavery and declared that 'all men, without distinction of colour, domiciled in French colonies, are French citizens, and enjoy all the rights assured by the Constitution', and even though the slave trade had been outlawed in 1818, until 1833 freed slaves had uncertain status in law, and domestic slaves still existed in large numbers. A royal ordinance of that year proclaimed that 'Any person born free or having legally acquired his liberty enjoys in the French colonies: (1) civil rights; (2) political rights under conditions prescribed by law'. But only in 1848 was the status of *captif* or domestic slave abolished, though the majority of *captifs* continued to serve with their former masters. Naturally this law only affected inhabitants of St. Louis and Gorée and the other French posts like Dagana and Richard-Toll.

648 The most important result of these two laws was to give
641 about 12,000 Africans, mostly illiterate, the full rights of
[818] French citizens. Of these less than a thousand had been
[797] converted to Christianity by their French, mulatto or Christian African masters. Educational facilities, which would have to accompany any effective conversion of illiterates into full scale French citizens were still rudimentary. But it must be remembered that in France, at the time, the electorate was suddenly increased from 200,000 to

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

the rest animists. Of course this includes the exclusively Muslim Mandingo inhabitants of the Casamance who have been largely responsible for this proselytisation. The Diola too is inclined more and more to imitate his Mandingo and Wolof neighbours. L. V. Thomas, who has written a monumental study on the Diola, fears: 'Soon the Diola country may be, at least in its landscape, like Senegal if no power intervenes to limit the extension of the bushfire; it will certainly become, in its people, just another African country, where only a few anthropological remains fixed by heredity will enable us to distinguish the Diola from the Wolof or the Mandingo.' 563 619 [162] [771]

The Casamance may well be coming closer to the rest of the Senegal, but it still remains a seat of opposition to the Government of Senghor and Dia, and votes heavily for the opposition *P.R.A.-Sénégal*. However neither of the leaders of this party, Ly Abdoulaye or Assane Seck, is *Casamançais*, and there is strong support in many towns for the *U.P.S.*, which indicates that Diola-Casamance politics are not necessarily either regional or tribal, though these are important factors. 563 665 666

The main social problem of the Senegal, and one which both assimilation and religion seem to have been unable to break down, is that of caste or a class structure very similar to caste. All the main Senegalese tribes—the Wolof, Lebou, Toucouleur, Serer—are divided into a series of endogamous castes. These castes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but roughly they are divided thus: 565 [582]

Nobles and Freeborn
Artisans (jewellers, smiths, weavers, leatherworkers) [463]
Griots or minstrels
Liberated slaves
Slaves

(Of course domestic slaves no longer exist as such in Senegal, but families know who their slaves were.) [567]

It is certainly easier in Senegal for a Toucouleur noble to marry a Wolof noble than to marry a woman of inferior [582]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 565 582 S [595] caste from his own tribe. The extent to which caste matters is brought out by the case of a young Catholic girl from a devout family who, rather than marry a fellow Catholic out of caste, in the end became the polygamous wife of a Muslim of the same caste. Within any ethnic group in Senegal marriage out of caste is extremely rare.

S 565 W [565] S [533] [814] The caste system is not vicious in any real sense. For the privileges of a high caste entail many obligations. Thus a noble Wolof family will be obliged to feed and pay frequent sums of money to its family griots (minstrels, praise-singers and family historians) and if they fail to do this the griot is able to shame them publicly as a poor or mean family, something a Wolof would avoid at all costs. Likewise the artisan castes have a monopoly in their respective trades, since it would be impossible for a noble or free man to undertake the work of a jeweller or smith. Nevertheless in Senegalese society the term 'bijoutier' or 'tisserand' has slight contempt attached to it. The only caste to suffer socially in any way is of course that designated slave, because of the implications of such a status. In social investigations amongst the factory workers of Dakar, M. André Hauser found very few indeed who would admit to being of slave caste.

S [463] [326] S [561]

At present it is certainly a disadvantage to belong to any of the inferior castes, and though one hears of a few cases of open clashes between castes, in the present state of affairs it is certain that a number of young men resent this classification of people into superior and inferior groups and it is very much less important to them than to the older generation.

S 565 764 578 Early in 1961 *Agence Presse Sénégalaise* reported 'bloody clashes between griots and non-griots at Diack'. These ended with several dead and a number of wounded and started as a result of the refusal of non-griots to accept the burial of griots in their burial ground. The Minister of the Interior himself went to settle the dispute and gathered the whole population to tell them that his Government gave

S [641]

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Goree

everything seems to have been built within the last half-century, an island like Gorée, full of historical sites, stands to remind one how long Africa and Europe have been in contact. Gorée itself has been controlled by many masters: the Portuguese from 1444–1595, the Dutch 1597–1677; the French and British at intervals from 1677–1817, when the island was finally ceded to the French by the Treaty of Paris. Many famous explorers including Nuno Tristão, Fernando Po, Bartholomew Dias and Vasco da Gama and Christopher Columbus, as well as scholars like Camoens and St. Francis Xavier, stayed on the island. A small church was built by Diogo d'Azembuja, the architect of the fort of Elmina on the Gold Coast. The Dutch used Gorée for their trade with the Gold Coast and India, though later it became to its various owners important as a slaving post, as the gracious Maison des Esclaves, built between 1776–1778, witnesses. I was taken there two years ago by an African guide, through a low, damp tunnel into some squalid little cells whose only source of light was from a small grille facing on to the sea; below was a sheer drop on to Atlantic breakers. Into those cells slavers bundled hundreds of miserable wretches, seized from their villages, as often as not by other Africans. There they were imprisoned, their feet held by the heavy balls and chains that still littered the floor, until a ship was ready to take them to the New World. Often more than half of them died on the Middle Passage, and many died waiting in this house because of cold and damp, or just the lack of will to live.

However, in 1794, when Gorée was in French hands, the Revolutionary Convention abolished slavery, and accordingly deprived Gorée of its main source of income. But in 1802 the law was repealed, only to be reinforced again in 1817, so that ironically Gorée, which had been built into a naval base and the administration headquarters of French West Africa, became a major centre for the suppression of the slave trade.

Towards the end of the century Gorée declined at Dakar's expense. By 1929, from having been one of the Quatre Communes, the others being St. Louis, Rufisque and Dakar, sending representatives to the French National Assembly and enjoying equal rights with Frenchmen, it had so declined in importance that it was incorporated into the Municipality of Dakar.

/668 cont./

162 Table I. Division of the population of the Senegalese Fouta according to ethnic groups.

Ethnic Group	Actual Number	Percentage
Toucouleur	187,000	54.8
Wolof	36,000	10.6
Saracolé	13,000	3.8
Peul	47,000	13.8
Moor	56,000	16.4
Miscellaneous	2,000	0.6
Total	341,000	100.0

582 563 The ethnic groups are relatively endogamous, because marriages between persons of different ethnic groups are very rare, except perhaps, as we have seen, between Toucouleur and Peul (Foulbé walo). The Toucouleur /669/ are the only group entirely 563 within the Fouta, aside from some fractions that emigrated in the [166] course of religious crusades into Macina, Boundou, and elsewhere.

Each of the other ethnic groups is merely an extension into the valley of a group whose bulk occupies the neighboring regions, the Wolof in the northern part of Senegal, the Saracolé in western Sudan, the Peul near the Ferlo and the Assaba. But each of these ethnic groups is itself divided into several populations: the castes.

565 Castes and social conditions. The castes, in reality, present [582] a matrimonial barrier more difficult to overcome than that of ethnic affiliation. The term "caste" is used here in the general sense of social class, exclusive in nature, and not in the sense [564] that is given it in the valley where the term is reserved for artisan castes.

[567] Social conditions first of all distinguish the captives from [422] the free men. The captives are regarded as the personal property

S /669 cont./ 1

567 of the masters and are married by them. They have no property
565 rights nor a voice in the village councils, being constrained to
[422] menial work. This condition cannot be compared to that of the
421 slave of the two Americas in former times; it is more reminiscent
[623] of that of bondage in the Europe of the Middle Ages. Before the legal suppression of this custom a certain number of captives had already been freed, but the prejudice against these people remains, and they constitute, in fact, the inferior caste in the social hierarchy.

S It is the hereditary work of the artisans that, properly speak-
564 ing, distinguishes the men of the castes from the others: work in
463 wood, leather, metal, and cotton thread. This distinction is transmitted from father to son, whatever calling is actually practiced. A captive may practice weaving, but he will never belong to the caste of weavers; conversely, a man belonging to the caste of jewelers may be a doctor of medicine and practice the profession of medicine.

S Marriage most clearly distinguishes the social barriers which
582 the child inherits from its father. Although there is no rigid
565 interdict, there is such ostracism that it is practically impossible for a man to marry a woman of an inferior caste without risking loss of status and being banned from society. There is one exception:
S it may happen that a master marries his captive in order to
[567] have children who are free; the mother will be set free by this act, but if the union is sterile the woman remains in the condition of servitude.

S The system of castes is still very much alive, especially
565 among the Toucouleur, and actually divides the ethnic group into partial populations, which, however, are less numerous than in India.

The functional nature of the castes has brought about in the course of their history the appearance of a hierarchy. Among the Toucouleur there are first the free men (rimbé), not belonging to the trade castes, and among /670/ whom, at the head, are the torobé (singular, torodo). Originally, in the Fouta Toro, this word in Arabic designated a scholar, a propagator of Islam. It

1 [i.e., The captives -- Analyst]

S /670 cont. /
565 has been the dominant class since the Islamic revolution. In former times many strangers from neighboring countries would come to follow the teachings of the marabouts, to settle around them, and, thanks above all to Islam, to join this caste, which at present seems more closed and now tends to be less heterogeneous.

The social stratum which comes next is that of the tiédo and the thioubalo. It is believed that their ancestors were the first occupants of the soil, and they have preserved their traditions, the tiédo as farmer and the thioubalo as fisherman. The caste of fishermen is quite closed and has its own hierarchy with its captives, its free men, and its dynasty.

S The tiédo caste sometimes intermarried with the fishermen
582 and the torobé. Also free, but of an inferior social rank, are the
565 trade castes. The general name for them, "gnégno," indicates a relationship of dependence vis-à-vis the above castes. Wood-cutters (labo), blacksmiths (baïlo), shoemakers (saké), and weavers (mabo) in principle intermarry indiscriminately. In contrast, the griots (gaoulo), who specialize in the singing of praises, marry only among themselves and sometimes with the blacksmiths.

S Finally, at the bottom of the social hierarchy is the group
565 of captives and former captives. There is a distinction between
567 the freed (gallounké) and the captive (mathioudo), but they are in fact united by the same prejudice which the other castes have with regard to them.

S The social structure of the other ethnic groups is of the same
565 type as that of the Toucouleur, with the exception of a few details; for instance, the diawando was originally the attendant or the courtier of the large Peul families and seems to form a differentiated caste at present. The caste of fishermen does not exist among
W the Peul, for they do not fish, or among the Wolof all of whom
[565] [006] can engage in fishing.

S If we limit ourselves to the Toucouleur group, the only
582 one for which we know the actual number in the valley, we shall
143 be able to estimate the numerical importance of the various endogamous groups and consequently the number of women with whom marriage is possible (Table II). For certain castes, few in number, such as those of the artisans, the results of the sampling,

S
T
582
143

/672 cont. /

Table III. Percentage of consanguineous marriages according to the degree of kinship in the different ethnic groups in the valley of the Senegal. Value of the mean coefficient of consanguinity

Ethnic Group	Number of women interrogated	% of consanguineous marriages according to degree of kinship			Total	Mean Coefficient of consanguinity F X 10^3
		4th D	5th D	6th D		
Toucouleur	3,865	10.4	4.2	10.5	25.1	7.6
Peul	1,135	14.5	6.8	14.5	35.9	12.2
Wolof	731	10.1	7.1	13.0	30.2	9.5
Saracolé	270	16.8	2.2	10.9	29.9	12.7
Total	6,208	11.3	5.0	11.3	27.6	8.7

S
T
582
143
565

marriages and their percentages in the four principal castes of the Toucouleur. The percentage of these marriages /673/ /Table IV appears here/ varies from 10.7 among the captives to 44.4 among the artisans; the figure increases among the fishermen to 32.2 and to 35.6 among the Torobé. The relatively weak proportion observed among the captives (10.7%) is due to the fact that the latter came from different regions, according to the accident of wars, but it shows that they have nevertheless adopted the custom of their masters.

S
T
[567]

S
582
143

The customary nature of these marriages is shown by the fact that certain types of unions between cousins are preferred to others. The number of marriages of the fourth degree, the type of which we have noted, although small (47), nevertheless tends to confirm the preference for marriages with the daughter of either

[Text continues middle of p. 13--Analyst]

369
175
[113]

/373 cont./

presqu'île du Cap-Vert,"
op. cit., p. 274

square kilometer nevertheless satisfied a double /374/ /Fig. 1 appears here / concern of the Hollanders, security and commerce: security first for the ships, which could find an excellent anchorage in the bay on the northeast of the island, immediately so appreciated that its excellence -- Goede reede, "the good roadstead" in Dutch -- served to designate the establishment under the name of Gorée (8) in distinguishing

[103]

8. Nora and Ch. Toupet,
"L'origine du nom de Gorée,"
in Notes Africaines, January 1959,
pp. 17-20, I.F.A.N., Dakar.

[113]

it from the other islands of the peninsula; and then, security for the occupants. From this point of view, the insularity would have been a great advantage for the site of Dakar. Finally, with regard to commerce, the island of Gorée, although minuscule, sufficed for barter with the natives of the coast and could well fill its role as a warehouse for products and slaves. As soon as these views were confirmed by the facts, Gorée became the object of competition among the Hollanders, French, and British, finally coming to the French. In spite of this changing of hands, the establishment of Gorée, thanks to the slave trade, /375/ prospered, and around 1845 it harbored more than 5,000 persons. The abolition of the trade, and then that of slavery, around the middle of the century dealt it a mortal blow, bringing about a crisis from which Gorée did not recover. There was indeed an attempt at adaptation to the new conditions, the Goréans trying to make the island a place for commerce with the continent, where the cultivation of the groundnut had already developed, but on this point Gorée could not rival the peninsula. The inhabitants understood it; there were those who encouraged the occupation of Dakar with the idea

[439]
[162]
[567]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

7. HISTORY

SENEGAL is the oldest French colony in Africa. From it the Niger basin has been penetrated and the Sudan conquered. On it has been based the modern Federation. For more than two centuries, therefore, its history was that of French West Africa as a whole, and it is not until the close of the Napoleonic era that the domestic history of the colony becomes distinguishable. 175

The Early Nineteenth Century

The Peace of Paris restored the colonial *status quo* of 1 January 1792, but St. Louis was not returned to the French until 1817. The British occupation of Senegal had been purely military, with no attempt to introduce British civil administration. French officials had continued their duties, and, when they had died, had been succeeded by other Frenchmen. The resumption of French rule after the war, therefore, presented no difficulties. The country was fairly well known, and explorers used St. Louis more as a starting-point for distant journeys than to make new discoveries in Senegal itself. The British expedition of 1816 under Peddie and Campbell and the French one of 1818 under Mollien added considerably to European knowledge of Fouta, Ferlo, and Bondou, although their main objects were to penetrate Fouta Jalon. 175 648

Attempts at European Colonization. In 1815 France agreed to the abolition of the slave trade, although the law embodying this decision was not passed for another three years. As the trade had previously been the key to the prosperity of Senegal, a new economy had to be devised. Experiments were consequently made with European settlers, who were to produce cotton and other tropical products. To execute these schemes, Louis XVIII appointed as first post-war Governor Colonel Schmaltz, who had lived for a number of years in the Dutch East Indies. Tragedy attended his voyage out. The ship carrying him, the *Méduse*, was wrecked in Arguin bay on 2 July 1816. The Governor and his wife were saved, but there were many deaths from drowning; and hunger, thirst, and exposure killed many who reached the shore. Out of one party of seventeen only three survived. Another party of 152 persons, including women and children, crowded on to one raft. Many were washed off by waves, many went mad, and many died of thirst. After thirteen days of horror, fifteen survivors were picked up, five of whom died before 175 167 [439] [567]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS 30
Trarza MS 24

S 175 439 [648]

From 1836 onwards treaties were made with the chiefs of the Casamance basin, and posts were constructed at Sedhiou, Karaban, and Diembering. These treaties respected Portuguese historic but obsolete rights at Ziguinchor, but effectively guaranteed that the future of the river should be French.

S [567] [427] [464]

The abolition of the status of slavery by France in 1848 deprived the French merchants of a cheap supply of labour, which they had rented from the chiefs, and in 1850 a committee was appointed to consider withdrawal from the colony or, as an alternative, the establishment of French authority. It decided in favour of the latter, and the policy of trade treaties came to an end.

The new French policy, to which Napoleon III was pledged, was summed up as 'absolute freedom of commerce with the suppression of the escales; establishment of security, by force if necessary; the substitution of full and entire authority for the system of treaties and subsidies; methodical organization of expansion towards the interior; and concurrently the development of economic institutions'.

'By Force if Necessary'

S 175 [643]

Faidherbe. It was to carry out this policy that Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in December 1854. He had already had much experience as a soldier and administrator in the colony, and, with a break of eighteen months, he held office till July 1865. His period of office marked a turning-point in the history of Senegal, and he is justly remembered as one of the builders of the modern French Colonial Empire. At first his resources were pitifully small. He had four companies of marine infantry, a company of native infantry formed on the liberation of the slaves in 1848, sixty spahis, and some detachments of artillery and engineers. His naval strength was on a similar scale. Both were substantially strengthened in the next few years.

S [701]

T S W 175 648

The Arabs. Faidherbe decided to deal with the Trarza Arabs. Notwithstanding the treaty of 1835, they had continued their marauding expeditions across the river, and had re-established a supreme influence over the Ouolofs of Oualo. Early in 1855 the Trarza chief Mohammed el Abib insolently demanded the French evacuation of certain islands near the mouth of the Senegal. Faidherbe marched against him and defeated him near St. Louis on 15 February. On 25 February the Ouolofs were defeated near Ross. The French captured more than 2,000 cattle and burned 20 villages.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

however the younger generation of Senegalese were
648 beginning to question the moral right of assimilation. These
871 critics were the educated élite, by-products of an educational
571 policy of which Governor-General Chaudié had written in 1897: 'The school is the surest means of action by which a civilising nation can transmit its ideas to people who are still primitive and by which it can raise them gradually to its own standards. In a word the school is the supreme element of progress. It is also the most effective tool of propaganda for the French language that the Government can use.'

Ousmane Socé Diop, in *Karim*, a remarkable study of the sort of young Senegalese most affected by French assimilation, published in 1935, shows not only how effective this policy was in those early days, but also points to the awakening of the Senegalese to the values of their own traditional society.

648 On certain evenings in Dakar, Karim and his young
571 friends would talk not only of love but of their political and social ideas:

> The teacher was there, reasonable, but capable at moments of behaving foolishly, such as over the beautiful eyes of a Senegalese girl. He was a 'progressive', a partisan of a plan of evolution with its basis in the fundamental characteristics of his people.
>
> The graduate, a know-all, spoke of 'cleaning-up Senegalese traditions and of bringing about an immediate and thorough Europeanisation.
>
> The doctor, a Catholic, adopted Western civilisation without question. Nevertheless, his atavistic temperament remained one with that of his own people.
>
> Abdou was born a Muslim and an oriental and had been educated at a French school. His mind had been nurtured on European ideas and logic. His heart had been formed within the curious framework of the *Khalam*, of French poetry and European music. He was a person of contrasts. He could dance to the tam-tam as well as do the tango, he liked Negro music and black girls, but also dreamed of Deauville, of Paris and of some film-starlet, a blonde blue-eyed Venus.

[369] Later Karim is sent out to a small town in the 'bush' where he has to help with the collection of the ground-nut

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

crop. Struck by the simple, uncomplicated ways of the bush compared with that of Dakar, Rufisque and St. Louis he reflects: 'The teacher and above all the graduate who spoke so often of immediate and complete Europeanisation, should be here to see for themselves.' 648 571 369

Ousmane Socé Diop has pin-pointed perfectly the growing conflict in the minds of the educated Senegalese at this time and the ever increasing gap between the peoples of the *Quatre Communes* and the *sujets* of the bush.

Furthermore the Senegalese student in Paris was beginning to question the rights of colonialism in general and the honesty of France's assimilationist policy in particular. He was hardly encouraged by the pronouncements of a leading politician during the twenties and thirties like Albert Sarraut who wrote in *La mise en valeur de nos colonies* that the colonies had a threefold purpose of serving France. First the numbers of France's overseas peoples increased her population from 40 million to 100 million, thus giving her a greater manpower than Germany. Secondly they could make a financial contribution to France. Thirdly they could supply her with the raw materials she needed. France's civilising mission, whilst important, was conceived of by Sarraut as a by-product of these functions. (Quoted in L. P. Mair, *Native Policies in Africa.*)

As we have seen, assimilationist professions were rarely matched by the facts. And indeed in other parts of French West Africa education was limited. But in Senegal France made a major effort in education, so that by 1940 there had already been formed a substantial African élite, particularly in comparison to the country's population. 571 871 648

By 1938 18,000 boys and 1,500 girls, taught by 132 European and 337 African teachers were at school; even so, a very low percentage of the population of school age actually attended school. Nevertheless this was considerably higher than that of any other French African territory. Children were educated according to French methods with few concessions made to local factors. The aim was not

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

571
871
648
[813]

only to civilise them but to make them aware of 'France's achievements' in Africa. Thus, as Lucy Mair has pointed out, history was taught so as to justify French occupation of West Africa. Several important *lycées* and secondary schools were founded. The *Lycée Faidherbe* and the *Lycée Van Vollenhoven* were to provide the basis of the modern élite whilst the *Ecole Normale William Ponty* educated many of the present leaders of French-speaking Africa. It was this new generation of educated young men, produced in the late twenties and thirties, that was first to question the virtues of an assimilationist policy both on the political and moral plane.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Those who have not come under the influence of a strong assimilation policy have never had to assert their essential *négritude*. Thus the English-speaking African, whose culture and traditional political organisation was largely left intact by the British administration, was rarely concerned about his identity as an African and until very recently this problem has been of little concern for the Nigerian or Ghanaian. It has never occurred to him to doubt his *négritude*. There are of course a number of examples of what may be called assertion of the African personality in the English-speaking territories, but the cult of *négritude* never caught on in them as it did in Senegal and the other French territories. 648 668

Thus it was that the very Africans who had achieved the greatest distinction within the French cultural framework were to be the first to champion a return to the African past in search of their own essential personality. Thus it was that for long Paris became the cultural capital of Africa, for there the books and magazines were published in which they could tell the public of their new ideas. Whilst in the late forties and early fifties the British West African *évolué* was more concerned with the achievement of political independence from Britain, the French African *évolué* was more concerned with his cultural emancipation. Senghor's formation of a new political party is more interesting for the emphasis it lays on its reassertion of African values than for any proposed political rupture with France. [665]

The reaction against assimilation, as P. Mercier has pointed out in *Elites Sénégalaises*, came essentially from the new educated generation. 668

It is the elite that has given expression to this desire for a return to the fountain head . . . From an acceptance of assimilation characteristic of the preceding generation opinion turned first to less sharply defined positions—typified by the slogan 'assimilate, don't be assimilated'—and then the attitudes of refusal, the details of which are still not very clear. Such attitudes accompany a lush ideological growth, to which only a very brief reference can be [571]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 personality, its uniqueness as Senghor saw it, is best understood from this quotation:

> That is to say that the Negro, traditionally, is not devoid of reason, as people would have me say. But his reason is not discursive, it is synthetic; it is not antagonistic but sympathetic. It has a different mode of perception. Negro reasoning does not detract from the things it contemplates, it does not mould them into two rigid schemes, thereby ignoring their very essence; it flows through the veins of things to arrive at the living heart of reality. The reasoning of the white man is analytical by utilisation, that of the Negro intuitive by participation.

Whether all the advocates of the African personality held so abstruse and philosophical a concept of its character is doubtful. But as the young poet Lamine Diakhite, a close disciple of Senghor, has written: 'Let us admit it, it is thanks to Senghor and Césaire that my generation became aware of itself, that it embarked upon the path of asserting its personality.'

[571] This movement, started in the late forties, was to touch mainly the intellectuals, those who had been most assimilated by the French. The poorer classes had of course not been so effectively alienated from their past. These intellectuals were during the next years to question everything in the light of this newly discovered or rediscovered African personality. Some advocated the shutting of the door against Europe and some of Cheikh Anta Diop's writings have elements of counter-racism. Whilst Europeans have been asserting their superiority over Africans for so long, he counters by asserting the Negro superiority over Europeans. Fortunately this negative attitude did not survive to any important degree.

There was also a healthy questioning of the values of European or Western culture, though this often went to the extremes of outright rejection. David Diop, the young Senegalese poet who died recently in an air crash, accuses the white man's civilisation of hypocrisy: [539]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

 668

In the country where the houses touch the sky
but where the heart is not touched [539]
In the country where the hand is placed on the Bible
but where the Bible remains closed.*

The forum for this great re-examination of the African 204
past was to be *Présence Africaine*, a bi-monthly review of 668
Negro African culture, founded by a Senegalese called Alioune Diop in 1947 and open 'to all contributors of good-will (white, yellow or black), who might be able to help define African originality and to hasten its introduction into the modern world'. Although the review was Pan-Negro in outlook, its original inspiration came from a small group of Senegalese intellectuals in association [571] with West Indians like Césaire and Haitians like Price-Mars. There was of course nothing parochial about this. It was only that the Senegalese were the first, for the reasons outlined above, to feel really strongly about the reassertion of African culture. And when in 1956 *Présence Africaine's* efforts culminated in the first Congress of Negro Writers and Artists, the Senegalese were to play a dominant role. In his opening speech to the conference Alioune 668
Diop, the secretary and backbone of the organisation, made a moving protest against the myth of a people without culture, a protest that earned the support of all delegates. But his attacks on assimilation can have had relatively little meaning for delegates from the English-speaking territories; whilst some of the American Negro delegates like Richard Wright felt that as far as they were concerned it was impossible to return to a past from which they had been physically and culturally removed for over three centuries. Replying to a brilliant discourse by Senghor on 'The Laws of the Negro African Culture', he asked: 'I wonder where do I, an American Negro, conditioned by the harsh industrial, abstract force of the Western world that has used stern, political prejudices

* Translated by Ulli Beier.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 against the society (which he has so brilliantly elucidated)—where do I stand in relation to that culture?'

Alioune Diop declared:

> Assimilation corresponds to a type of human relationship imposed by colonisation. It demands that the individual (for it affects only individuals) tear himself from his natural context and he who cannot assert his own personality must replace his habits of thinking, feeling and acting by others which he would only share with a foreign community.

By the time of this congress the Senegalese, as well as other Africans, had examined pretty thoroughly the whole question of French assimilation. For instance, A. Wade, a Senegalese, in a paper entitled 'Must Africa evolve a [671] positive law?', protested against the use in his country of a foreign legal system evolved in a different social context and which could not meet all the requirements of traditional society. He called for a new legal system which would be in effect a synthesis of African customary law and French law. In another article he called for a reform of teaching methods in Africa in the light of local conditions. There [571] were few stones this anti-assimilationist élite left unturned in their efforts to re-establish the values of the African past. They presented a dramatic contrast with the élite of the pre-war generation who, like the young men in Ousmane Socé Diop's *Karim*, so readily accepted the virtues of Western ways.

668 Amongst this group were a number who fell back not on 648 the values of the African past so much as Marxist theories in their attacks on colonialism and assimilationist policy. Principal amongst this group was Majhemout Diop, leader of the pro-Communist *Parti Africain de l'Indépendence*. [665] In issue No. 14 of *Présence Africaine* he attacked colonialism bitterly:

> There is no possible ambiguity; colonisation equals capitalistic enterprise. Any other explanation is invalid, is deceitful, a myth, a myth of civilisation and of co-operation.
>
> A coloniser cannot be humanitarian . . . that would be the

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

flats and villas are usually beyond the range of the African purse though the difference is being eliminated by the accession of Senegalese, immediately prior to and in particular since independence, to high administrative posts and today there is no real residential separation. Many Europeans live in housing estates built primarily for Africans and not a few live in the Medina or main African quarter. Some trade unions are divided on racial lines between Africans and Europeans, largely because the European workers are skilled technicians and there are even to this day few Africans trained in most of the industrial work done by Europeans.

Nevertheless there are certain cases of bitterness between Africans and Europeans over the question of equal pay for equal work. Though the basic principle is that both groups should be paid the same rate for the same kind of work, the European in many cases gets an expatriation addition of up to two-fifths of his basic salary. This is not true of all classes of work. For instance shop girls in Printania, a local version of Woolworth's, earn the same pay whether white or black though of course the European staff are recruited locally from wives and daughters of Frenchmen working in Dakar. It is surely a healthy sign that Europeans and Africans can work together on equal terms and that Europeans can occupy what in Europe would be considered very humble positions.

One does not detect amongst the French in Senegal any very strong feeling for or against the African. Where any form of racism does manifest itself it is mainly at the level of the artisan worker or the *petit blanc*, a term generally used to describe the poorer white community of small shopkeepers, clerks, mechanics and skilled workers. When the Senegalese are confronted by outbursts of racism from members of this group they are usually inclined to return the abuse in kind, for the Senegalese are naturally an immensely proud people and have very little feeling of racial inferiority. Close contact with a French community

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 formed as a result of the *loi cadre* reforms, are typical of the
[645] Frenchmen who have identified themselves with the country of their sojourn. Indeed such was the devotion of Peytavin to his party's cause that he was retained as Minister of Finance even after independence and opted for Senegalese nationality, a step that Bonifay found himself unable to take. These were men of high education—Bonifay, a well known lawyer, and Peytavin a veterinary surgeon. There were many others like them, not only applying such principles in the political field, but in the administration and commerce, who helped to dispel from the African what would otherwise have been a dominant impression of an isolationist and sometimes racist French community.

[369] It would be foolish to paint too idealised a picture of race relations in Dakar. Many Europeans, particularly
[571] the *petit blanc*, openly admit to holding the African in contempt. But these are usually Europeans of little economic or political consequence and since independence their opinions have obviously carried negligible weight with the Senegalese.

Furthermore most Europeans in Dakar and the other main towns of Senegal, whatever their prejudices, send their children to local schools, where perforce they mix on terms of equality with Africans. The same is true of
[873] Dakar University which has a large number of French students, the majority of whom are girls whose parents are working in Dakar. Their brothers try if possible to go to French universities. Though friendships tend to be
[572] within the same racial group, there is a considerable number of inter-racial friendships.

563 The main point of conflict would appear to the casual
369 visitor to be the economic domination of private enterprise
463 and the more important subaltern jobs by Europeans.
472 But before analysing any tensions that have arisen from this, it is essential to point to some special features of Senegalese society. In Senegal, by contrast with Nigeria, Ghana and Ivory Coast, there is no entrepreneurial class of

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Africans. Indeed only very small scale trading is in the hands of Africans, otherwise large scale commercial enterprises are run by Europeans, and most of their managerial staff being European. Between these large scale organisations, the whole range of middleman trade is dominated by Lebanese and the so-called *petit blancs*. Small shopkeeping is predominantly in the hands of the Mauritanians, though larger shops particularly in Dakar, are run by Lebanese and Europeans. At first sight this would seem to be an unhealthy situation, and it would be foolish to ignore the inherent dangers in it. But the most ardent critics of this state of affairs are as often as not visiting Africans, not the Senegalese themselves. When a Nigerian shops in Printania or goes to the local bank in Dakar, he is shocked by the number of Frenchwomen employed in jobs he is accustomed to seeing held by Africans in Lagos. But in considering the rather special case of Dakar one must take into account a number of factors that are often overlooked by would-be critics.

Senegal is a territory of only 3,100,000 people and in the normal run of education in French-speaking African states, even taking into account Senegal's special position among them, the percentage of the population available to fill managerial and sub-managerial posts or indeed any 'European-style' job in all sectors of the economy, can hardly match up to the requirements of the most highly industrialised city in West Africa. In addition Dakar has a large international airport and a port that was the third largest in the French Union. It is also the centre of government for Senegal and the terminus of a railway. It is not surprising therefore that Senegal finds it more difficult to find the appropriate number of Africans to fill its senior posts in commerce and industry than Lagos which has a Nigerian population of over 36 million to draw on. Furthermore Lagos is in the centre of an area where missionaries have been active for over a hundred years and consequently

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

463 [563] has enjoyed a much higher rate of education than was possible in an Islamic community like Senegal, even taking into account French assimilation policy.

There is a pronounced bias in Senegal against entering into commerce, whether at the African level or at the European level. This bias has been observed by many Europeans. It may be thought of as a mere attempt to explain away the lack of success or rather a lack of desire and intention to Africanise commerce, but against this view, M. Assane Seck, one of the leaders of the Opposition [665] *P.R.A.-Sénégal* and a lecturer at the university, who might normally be only too pleased to pin the slow rate of Africanisation of commerce on the Government, has said that one of the chief obstacles to the Africanisation of economy at [571] its higher levels is the preference of the Senegalese élite, and even the lesser educated classes, for work in the Administration. [647] Under the French the Administration seems to have enjoyed a very high status especially as rates of pay [465] have always been considerably higher than in commerce and industry. Commerce, even when it pays better, has among the Senegalese something of the smear it had in ninteenth-century England.

471 [472] Another barrier to the Africanisation of shopkeeping and small scale private enterprise is the difficulty the Senegalese have in amassing capital. The obligations towards members [596] of the extended family are such that a man with money has calls made on it from even his most distant relatives. This social parasitism is much stronger in Senegal than in most West African countries. One of the few important Senegalese business men operating in Dakar today has admitted that he had to reduce his family obligations drastically, not only because he was married to a European, but because unless he did so, he would never be able to keep enough capital in his business. Diop Abdoulaye, in his study of the Toucouleur, [736] has protested against the use of the term family parasitism for something which 'makes it possible to help those in need, the unemployed, for example, who can then

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

EVOLUTION OF SENEGALESE ELITES

P. MERCIER

The increasingly rapid development of elites[1] of a non-traditional type is a conspicuous feature of the social change now occurring in all African territories. It is a sign of the most recent phase of the crisis through which colonized societies are passing. The problems connected with the crystallization[2] of such elites vary considerably in different regions and in different economic, political and social contexts. Even inside the group of territories composing French West Africa appreciable local variations can be observed. But everywhere these elites exert ever stronger and more united pressure on existing politico-social organizations in the hope of attaining to the leadership they feel to be their destiny. Wherever we study them, we find the same situation—fraught with conflict: conflict with the existing African social system imposed by colonization; conflict with the traditional ruling classes or what remains of them; internal conflict, when the elites do not—as yet, at any rate—form a homogeneous group, or, alternatively, when divergent trends appear. The same phenomena can be found everywhere, and go to make up a general pattern.

If, however, we wish to understand the discrepancies observed in the pace at which the new elites developed, their composition, their methods and capacity for self-expression, their ambitions, etc., we must study the differences between them. Among the criteria applicable in a first attempt to classify the various regional situations, the following appear to me to be the most important:

1. Extension of education. We have to take into account both a territory's crude school rate and, among other facts: any divergencies between the rates reached by different regions of the same territory; inequalities in the distribution of school facilities on racial, religious or other grounds, the distribution of the school population classified according to the various kinds and degrees of education, the distribution of the school population classified by sex, etc.
2. Types and degree of economic development, i.e. whether or not it has permitted the emergence of social categories well-integrated in modern economic life, and, in particular, with the capacity for investing money: rich farmers (mainly planters), merchants, entrepreneurs, etc.;[3] whether or not an embryonic working class has emerged in urban centres (an elite of manual workers more or less closely linked to the intellectual elite and anxious to assume leadership of a pseudo-proletariat[4] of casual labourers).[5]
3. Role of the traditional structures and social grades. The traditional political, religious and other systems have more or less succeeded in holding their own and the governing classes which made them work have been able to

1. The word 'élite' is used here in a very broad sense. It does not mean a ruling class, but a social category more or less enjoying prestige status and exerting influence, by its example, over the whole or large sections of the population.
2. Crystallization which does not necessarily result in the formation of well-knit groups.
3. The Ivory Coast offers the most typical example of such development.
4. In most cases, it maintains close ties with the district or the group from which it came.
5. The classic example is that of the Senegalese towns.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

571 178 preserve much of their prestige;[1] they are sometimes in diametrical opposition to the modernist elites and sometimes try to come to terms with them; occasionally, as the result of historical conditions, the two elites are closely interlocked.[2]

4. Types and degree of tension between the African modernist elites and the European groups. The latter occupy the position of ruling class in the whole community represented by each territorial unit. The conflict is fundamental, yet a balance, however temporary and precarious, between the two groups may sometimes be discerned, though it varies enormously in degree from one region to another and at different times.[3]

The situation in Senegal, compared with that in other parts of French West Africa, exhibits certain special features. Senegal was the first of these territories to be colonized.[4] At the beginning of the new phase which opened after the war, it had the largest number of educated and partly Westernized persons, and it has for several decades had a political life modelled on the West, though of a summary and limited character.[5] At this level of political life, the course of events during the past 10 years affords us a first glimpse of regional diver-
[668] gencies. It is a significant fact that Senegal was not the first French West African territory in which a movement making political demands of some magnitude arose. The acute crises of the immediate post-war period developed elsewhere—in the Ivory Coast—with the founding and expansion of the
[665] Rassemblement Démocratique Africain, the first political party in French Africa (Black) with nationalistic tendencies. The Rassemblement Démocratique Africain never succeeded in establishing itself firmly in Senegal, either before or after its change of policy in the 1950's.[6] There is no space here to describe in detail the historical and social background of such events, though I shall have to refer to it several times later in this paper. Some of the basic traits will suffice for mention: aspects of the traditional structures, of contemporary economic development, of the schools' endeavour to promote assimilation.

[563] The principal racial groups inhabiting Senegal,[7] whatever their cultural differences, and whatever their traditional hostility to one another (which has still by no means completely disappeared) all had the same type of social and political organization. They were strictly graded societies divided into endogamous castes, each with its special economic, political, ritual and other functions. In the present context, inter-caste antagonisms and incompatibilities are as a rule more important than racial antagonisms, since several racial groups may have equivalent social gradings or one may have borrowed and adapted another's gradings. This is a fundamental feature; it indicates the framework within which we can explain the problem of relations between
[554] the traditional and the modernist elites. For instance, prestige due to education may be superimposed on prestige based on tradition, in particular prestige due to caste; or else the two may be completely separate.[8] Even today a high

1. Either officially or more or less 'clandestinely'.
2. E.g. in South Dahomey.
3. In the Ivory Coast, for example, a period of calm and co-operation followed when the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain dropped certain extreme claims.
[175] 4. Trade counters have existed for more than three centuries and the more specifically colonial period began more than a hundred years ago.
5. It had four municipalities with full privileges which sent a deputy to the French Parliament.
6. It broke off its alliance with the French Communist party.
7. The Ouolof, the Toucouleur and the Serers.
8. The resistance of the traditional ruling strata to foreign influence explains why, in certain cases, the lower castes were the first to go to school.
[177]

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

standing in the modern context does not often completely redeem a traditional inferiority. The latter obviously does not prevent accession to such rank, but it does prevent a man from reaping the full benefit of the prestige which it confers. We shall have to revert to the ambiguity which thus characterizes individual situations, because it is an important aspect of the problem of the modernist elites. The old political organizations have either been destroyed or considerably weakened, though the prestige of the aristocratic families who hold the chefferies or are closely connected with them has not completely disappeared. But an important change has occurred: the power and influence of the traditional political chiefs has to a large extent been transferred to the khalifas of the great Islamic sects;[1] the latter represent today the principal force capable of resisting the modernist elite, and the one with which the latter and the political movements identified with it must to some extent come to terms.[2]

The changes due to the new economic conditions resulting from the colonial period can be discerned at several levels. The rural economy has been radically transformed—progressive abandonment of subsistence farming in favour of a single cash crop throughout a large part of the territory.[3] In contrast with regions where a plantation economy has developed, the average farmer's income has remained extremely low. Consequently, what has elsewhere been termed a 'rural bourgeoisie' has not emerged, and the most favoured economic categories coincide, by and large, with the upper strata of the traditional or semi-traditional type (heads of sects),[4] or with those artificially created on the same model by the colonial administration. Again, the group to which the name 'commercial bourgeoisie' has been given is still too small to have much influence;[5] almost all African traders are small shopkeepers and make no appreciable impact on the affairs of the community as a whole. The most significant changes are found at another level: urbanization and industrialization. Senegal is the most highly urbanized territory of French West Africa; about a quarter of the population live in the big towns and the administrative and trading centres. A very large wage-earning class with a steadily growing nucleus of stable labour has developed.[6] A workers' elite has appeared, and intensive trade union activity in the big towns has brought this class into touch with the educated elite (the administrative bourgeoisie, etc.).

This educated elite deserves special attention; in Senegal more than elsewhere, it represents the dominant element among the modernist elites. The educational policy was definitely conceived and organized at the beginning of the colonial period in the context of a policy and a ideology of assimilation. The educational curriculum introduced in the French establishments in Senegal at the beginning of the nineteenth century was essentially foreign to the tradition and culture of the autochthonous societies. Thus, in a recent paper, the author made much of the point that 'it was not a factor making for integration of the individual in his group, but rather—at any rate in the first historical phase—one making for a break. The adaptation of the curriculum and even of teaching methods

1. Their functions are hereditary.
2. Cf. below, remarks on the political parties of the traditional type.
3. In this case, groundnuts.
4. The economic role of the Mourids brotherhood is particularly important: colonization of new lands, experiments in mechanization, etc.
5. The middle-man trade is practically monopolized by the Lebanese colony; in the town of Dakar alone there are more than 5,000 Lebanese.
6. The region of Dakar alone has more than 30,000 wage earners in the private sector.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

to the African social environment was scarcely taken into consideration. The fact that the African languages were, and still are, totally excluded, even in the lowest school classes, brings out this tendency quite clearly, whatever the jutification that may have been offered on practical grounds. The original policy has of course been relaxed in certain points; the principle of adjusting the French educational system to local conditions has been accepted—the adaptations being concerned however more with the physical than with the social and human framework. But the basic tendency remains.[1]

However, the schools could reach—and still reach—only a fraction of the population. And so the training of an 'elite' came soon to be regarded as a necessary first stage in the process of assimilation. The two ideas emerge closely intertwined in Faidherbe's famous declaration of 1860: 'Everyone can reach the same goal when he satisfies the conditions required of all of you alike, conditions which we are today putting within your reach. You see young men from the Christian families of Saint-Louis, who after a good start in the mission schools, go and continue their studies in a secondary school in France, come back fit for filling the highest positions in the colony. That road is open to you all alike. We are ready to facilitate access to the liberal professions for every child who shows exceptional talent at school. . . .' As a matter of fact, those, as yet few in number, who at the start of the colonial period received instruction on Western lines were supposed to be the answer to immediate, limited needs. The main object was to train interpreters, lower grade civil servants, clerks, etc., as the indispensable auxiliaries in the establishment of a colonial administrative and commercial system. Their role was a humble one, but they shared in the prestige of the European group and also, to some extent, in its privileged economic position. The notion of an elite rapidly acquired a wider and hazier signification; it came to cover all those who were thought to serve as a link between the colonizers, the bearers of civilization, and the untaught masses who were destined gradually to acquire it. In fact, the eager adoption of European values, and the acceptance of assimilationist policies characteristic of the period up to the last war, accentuated the trend towards a rift between the indigenous elite and the masses who still adhered to their traditional cultural and social systems.[1] A point deserving emphasis is the considerable attraction exerted by the centres of assimilation, notably the 'four communes',[2] the natives of which very soon received French citizenship, and in which education developed much more rapidly than elsewhere.[3] These events in the recent history of Senegal explain why prestige in modern times was focused on the 'intellectual' elite,[4] and why the latter made a considerable impact on that colony sooner than they did on the other French West African territories.

Intensive investigations have been made in the principal urban centres of Senegal[5] to ascertain the aspirations of the various population classes and the models they adopt. They cover adults as well as children. More summary samplings taken in rural surroundings show that there is less difference in this matter between the city and the country than might have been supposed.

1. Firm links subsisted, however, as will be seen later on.
2. Dakar, Gorée, Saint-Louis, Rufisque.
3. Multiplication of primary schools, introduction of secondary education, etc.
4. Taken in a very broad sense; for a long time, the mean type of this new intellectual elite was the *evolué* (the holder of the primary school certificate).
5. By the sociology section of the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

This is a significant fact; high prestige, more or less definitely acknowledged by the whole population, crystallizes around professions, functions or situations which are considered to be 'intellectual'—implying in fact a minimum of Western-type learning. Prestige on economic grounds seems to be definitely on the decline.[1] At Dakar, Thiès and Saint-Louis du Sénégal, adults were questioned about the trade or occupation they would like their children to take up. A vast majority of the socio-vocational categories (unskilled and skilled workers, traders, clerks, civil servants, etc.) from which the population sample under study was taken gave the same answer. Between 65 and 80 per cent mentioned an intellectual profession. Those most frequently cited were teaching (primary or secondary school teacher) and the liberal professions (lawyer, doctor, etc.); the technological professions (engineer etc.) were much more rarely specified.[2] One of the commonest answers was that vague but highly significant term, 'civil servant'. The fact is that the trend of education in the period before 1945 helped to establish a very close link between education and a job in the administration; this is still the case, despite the changes effected in the last few years. Similar attitudes are found in the results of surveys among children in the primary schools at Dakar. Among those who replied specifically[3]—about three-quarters of the children questioned—more than 80 per cent expressed a preference for an occupation considered to be intellectual, irrespective of their father's occupation; next came certain manual trades, with commerce far behind. The choice of an unspecified administrative job was less frequent than among the adults. It follows that the view generally taken about education—including primary education—viz. that it will lead almost inevitably to an intellectual occupation,[4] however modest, remains very stable; but it is less and less in keeping with the realities of the situation.

A brief study of the facts in the development of the educational system will allow us to make a first evaluation of the system. The crude school rate rose rapidly from 1946 to 1953 and has since continued to rise pretty regularly (16 per cent in 1953, 18 per cent in 1954, about 20 per cent in 1955). Senegal's early advance in this respect explains why the increase is less steep there than in most of the other French West African territories.[5] True, the school rate is still relatively low (and a fairly large proportion of the children do not complete even the primary course and will probably soon lose such learning as they have acquired), but a plateau was reached several years ago: primary education turns out many more pupils than the 'administrative bourgeoisie'—characteristic of the colonial period—or its equivalent in private enterprise can absorb. Formerly, the surplus of the educated population could be absorbed by the manual trades or by migration to other territories. But this second door is gradually closing now that these other territories are catching up in education. Moreover, the slow pace of economic expansion precludes any big increase in the number of openings for technical workers or in the supervisory grades in industry.[6] This is the justification for the talk about the educational over-

1. Material security (e.g. that enjoyed by civil servants) seems to be desired more often than actual wealth.
2. They are only beginning to acquire some prestige; the number of students choosing this branch has risen considerably in recent years.
3. Children from 10 to 14, in the 'intermediate' classes.
4. A job in the bureaucracy was for years the standard aim.
5. The school rate in the Ivory Coast almost trebled between 1946 and 1955.
6. Limited, but chronic unemployment, already exists in Dakar.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

571 198 871 equipment of Senegal in relation to the existing employment market. These facts must, however, be considered from another angle. The real problems are those of the true integration of education into a developing social structure, its adaptation to various local situations, and the adjustments which must be made in the Senegalese people's conception of education. These problems look, of course, more acute in the big towns, particularly in the former 'centres of assimilation',[1] which have often reached a relatively high [369] school rate (sometimes more than 50 per cent); in many rural districts the critical phase is still a long way off. Recent changes in the position are marked by another important feature to which I shall revert at greater length: the difference in the distribution of the school population classified according to the various kinds of education. The past 10 years have been marked by the development of secondary and technical education, and the introduction of local higher education. At the beginning of 1955, pupils and students were distributed approximately as follows among the different types of education: 87 per cent in primary schools, 9 per cent in secondary schools, 2 per cent in vocational training schools, 2 per cent in higher education and its various equivalents.[2] At the same time education in French West Africa ceased to be an almost isolated system providing degrees and diplomas which were not recognized in metropolitan France and qualified their holders only for subordinate positions in most occupations.[3] The intellectual elite is becoming steadily more diversified. Its ideals are being noticeably modified; some of its prestige values are being revised; the masses are beginning to change their idea of what they mean by the elite. This is a transitional stage, with its own special tensions.

198 571 369 [871] At this stage in the development of education—the outstanding fact in which is that, particularly in the urban primary schools, the demand exceeds the supply[4]—the signs are already fairly evident of a trend towards less mobility in the social scale. The prospects of reaching the ranks conferring most prestige differ in the towns and the rural zones, for the reasons already indicated. They are also tending to be less evenly distributed among the various sections of the urban population as the latter becomes more diversified. It is not, however, a case of the urban population breaking up into closed or nearly closed groups; none of the discernible social categories are of this character, nor can they be in any way likened to social classes.[5] In particular, relations based on kinship in the widest sense of the term continue to play a fundamental [602] role, and maintain in being close ties among all the individuals composing the family group. Severance of these relations occurs only in extreme cases. Nevertheless, a trend towards the crystallization of social categories does appear, through the mere accumulation of circumstances.[6] The problem has been studied in a recent work the principal points of which I will venture to [963] recall.[7] A survey of the urban district of Dakar—confirmed by later research in other cities—showed certain significant differences in the social origins of

1. The 'four communes' mentioned above.
2. Including young people studying in France.
3. Even in teaching, medicine, etc.
4. In Dakar it became necessary to establish part-time classes to meet an over-rapid increase in demand.
5. Cf. P. Mercier, 'Aspects de la Stratification Sociale dans l'Ouest Africain' (Aspects of social stratification in West Africa), *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, XVII, 1954.
6. Studied, e.g. by G. Balandier, in *Sociologie des Brazzavilles Noires* (Sociology of the coloured population of Brazzaville), Paris, 1955.
7. Cf. P. Mercier, op. cit.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

the individuals questioned; and these differences are likely to become sharper—45 per cent were farmers' sons, but considerable variations appeared according to the socio-vocational category. The proportion of unskilled workers was 80 per cent; it was only 42 per cent for skilled workers and craftsmen; still lower (33 per cent) for civil servants and subordinate office employees (the widest category of the 'administrative bourgeoisie' characteristic of the colonial period), 28 per cent for senior clerks and civil servants;[1] for members of the liberal professions in the widest sense[2] it was no more than 21 per cent. These last three categories taken as a whole represent the 'intellectual professions', according to the meaning still ascribed by the great majority of Senegalese to that phrase. Of those who had a father already in one of these professions, three-quarters were engaged in the same work. The same process of stabilization can, however, be observed, though less clearly, among specialized workers; of those whose father was a worker, nearly two-thirds still belonged to the same class; most of the others had been absorbed into the 'administrative bourgeoisie'. These, moreover, are the two chief categories,[3] from which there has emerged a new type of elite which really began to grow in size only after the last war.

178 571 369 463

Important changes in outlook, not only in Senegal, but in the whole of French West Africa, have accompanied this most recent historical phase. From the elite of the strictly colonial type as defined above there has begun to emerge—and even to take on separate existence—a new intellectual elite, still a relatively small group.[4] This elite, which might be termed that of the liberal professions—this time in the strict sense of the phrase—having a distinctly higher level of education and more definite professional competence, is able to lay claim to a quantity of posts until now almost exclusively held by Europeans. The category was not completely non-existent during the pre-war period; it developed earlier in Senegal than in the other French West African territories as a result of Senegal's possession of an embryonic system of secondary education.[5] Being numerically weak, this elite had an opportunity of associating, to a certain extent, with the European population, a fact which manifestly lessened its prospects of playing an active role and assuming the leadership of the African masses. Furthermore, it continued to follow the policy of assimilation and was the only element in the 'colonial elite' which succeeded in achieving it. It could find only a limited field of action in the political life of the 'four communes'. It consisted mainly of lawyers, a few members of the teaching profession and doctors and even a few administrators. It doubtless set an example for a colonial elite of a far inferior grade from which it was not entirely cut off; it showed them the road to be taken by the seeker after modern knowledge. Prestige of the kind hitherto enjoyed only by Europeans was transferred to them and was thus seen to be no longer out of reach and so engendered ideas of power—a share, even if limited, of political and administrative powers—and wealth, or material security, at the lowest. This role continued to develop after the war, though with a rather abrupt change of direction.

178 571 [463] [873] [554]

1. i.e. those holding posts of responsibility, regardless of their educational level.
2. Medicine, teaching, medicine, etc.
3. The first, especially.
4. Only a few hundred individuals, including members of the 'colonial elite' who were belatedly given fresh opportunities for completing their studies and reaching a higher status.
5. *Lycée* at Saint-Louis, later at Dakar.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

178 571 The reason is not to be sought solely in the increase in numbers of this intellectual elite though that was quite substantial. Trained in Europe and remaining in touch with the world outside, it was the first section of the population to become consciously aware of the 'colonial situation',[1] and it immediately made an attempt to build up ideological systems which soon acquired crucial influence. Next, the changed pattern in the relations between Europeans and Africans speeded up the development of situations in which conflicts became inevitable, and encouraged the maintenance of close contact between the new [578] and the colonial elites. I shall revert to this point later. True, tension existed, especially between generations, the older strata of the colonial elite having sometimes to defend the positions they had won.[2] But the younger people tended to identify themselves with the new elite, to accept its guidance and to share, more or less confusedly, in the same awakening to the colonial situation. Thus, the intellectual elite, in the broadest sense of the term, embarked in a new direction, and the political consequences of this change are now beginning to be seen. The problem of relations with the workers' elite which has emerged in the past few years is more complex; I shall come back to it in connexion with trade union activity.

In the typical pre-war situation, the African elite had little chance of competing with the European managing class, which was much less numerous that it is now.[3] It was trained to be what might be called an auxiliary elite. The new elite, on the contrary—notwithstanding the administrative and economic expansion of the past 10 years—will inevitably find itself in competition with Europeans in the managing and supervisory grades in an ever growing number of specific cases. Though still few in numbers, it has difficulty in finding a place in the territory's administrative and technological machine. It is a paradox that in a country immensely in need of responsible personnel, both managers and technicians, demand seems somewhat to exceed supply. [464] In French West Africa, and particularly in Senegal, the government officially recognizes the existence of an 'employment problem for holders of diplomas'. One of the causes of this situation is no doubt the total absence of planning in the training of elites.[4] But the real explanation must be found in political circumstances and race relations.[5] The effort to 'Africanize' the upper grades encounters firm resistance, and so the rise of the elites is apparently seriously checked by the growing number of situations in which Africans and Europeans compete and which the two groups explain in diametrically opposite ways.[6] It is a significant fact that several Senegalese who have completed their studies in France have remained there, because they would be unable to find jobs for which they could apply at home. The problem is obviously even more acute in the private sector than in the administration.[7] Also, the European [162] population has considerably increased in the past 10 years:[8] it has more than [563] doubled in Senegal, tripled at Dakar—where it now represents about 10 per cent of the population.

[113] 1. Cf. the studies of G. Balandier, and in particular: *Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique Noire* (Present sociology of Negro Africa), Paris, 1955.

2. Especially in the administration.

[113] 3. Cf. P. Mercier, 'Le Groupement Européen de Dakar: Orientations d'une Enquête' (The European group at Dakar: Suggested line for a survey), *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, XIX, 1955.

4. An effort is now being made in this direction.

5. Cf. P. Mercier, 'Le Groupement Européen de Dakar . . .', op. cit.

6. Patterns of thought based on the pre-war situation play a fundamental role here.

7. Where the trend, as yet timid, towards 'Africanization' of the upper grades can be discerned.

8. A general phenomenon in French West Africa which involves important changes in relations between Africans and Europeans.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

cent of the population. Thus, the number of Europeans in intermediate or subordinate posts has substantially increased and the range of competitive situations, instead of growing less is being regularly extended. This affects not only the new elite, but a large segment of the old 'administrative bourgeoisie', and even, to some extent, the workers and lower supervisory grades in industry. And so, while—in theory—opportunities for reaching the highest ranks and simultaneously entering the European group (a consequence foreseen by assimilationist ideology) have increased with the development of education, in reality a radical change in the whole social structure has multiplied the causes of conflict. New factors have cropped up abruptly: further assimilation is gainsaid, Europeans and Africans become more and more sensitive to the realities of race, etc. Obviously, the political consequences of such conflicts are considerable.

I have mentioned cases in which a rift occurred between the elites and the masses, in the early years, at any rate, of the 'colonial elite'. This fact needs some further explanation, while the question of the relations between the 'educated' and the 'traditional' categories calls for re-examination on a wider basis. The stereotyped patterns maintained by the European administration underline the points of divergence. The administration has besides had a tendency—and not only in Senegal—to underestimate the influence of modernist elites and to depreciate their impact upon the population as a whole. True, important tensions can be observed, and some antagonism developed between the citizens (those of the 'four communes'), from whom the major part of the 'colonial élite' came, and the subjects in the other parts of the territory; but such tensions virtually disappeared with the legal changes introduced immediately after the war, a fact which is proof enough how superficial the points of divergence were. The 'educated' classes, moreover, sought to reap all possible profit from the power they acquired in their administrative functions, or in their role of intermediary between producers and the big commercial companies; and that attitude naturally set up a great many local conflicts. Sometimes they sought compensation for their inferior standing in the traditional framework by asserting themselves in the exercise of their new functions. As we have already shown, however, the population as a whole recognized the prestige of the new intellectual elite. True, their prestige did not necessarily displace the traditional prestige, but the two can coexist, a circumstance which stands out most clearly in rural districts. So, even if the 'educated' African has difficulty in fitting into the traditional system or even the family group, even if he is often a maladjusted element, he is rarely the fish out of water whom so many colonial observers considered him. All the elements of the population are still continually in touch.[1] There are two basic reasons for this. First, the range of family relationships is still a very wide one and they themselves are still effective; they maintain their hold on the 'educated' African even when he has left his birthplace. Secondly, religion—chiefly Islam in Senegal—and above all, membership of a sect, which is practically hereditary, continue to be important. The fact that tension between elites and masses led to nothing but quite limited and temporary breaks explains why the recent and entirely conscious effort to retie loose bonds was carried through with comparative ease. It was the new elite that, with political aims in view, inspired this effort. Usually too far removed from the

1. The vitality of racial or regional associations is significant in this respect.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 M537 Senegal M537
p. 450

178 571 masses, it found in the 'colonial elite' the go-between it needed for the resumption of contact to which it aspired.

The activity of this new elite is beginning to be discernible in its political and trade union work, and its basic aspirations can be defined. As has already been said, a Western-type political life was introduced fairly early in one part of Senegal. Political parties were formed; after 1946, their influence extended throughout the territory. In a recent paper[1] we stated that they had become, in the 'four communes', an almost traditional part of the social system. Once they reached the whole of Senegal, they acquired an enormous body of followers, the divisions among whom reflected successively—or simultaneously, according to the district—a number of historical, social, ethnic and family rifts. Thus, the antagonism between the Socialist party and the Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais, which has been a salient factor over recent years, did but reproduce according to time and place, the antagonism between former 'citizens' and former 'subjects', Ouolof and non-Ouolof, Moslems and Catholics, one Moslem sect and another, etc. On the whole, the 'colonial elite' has assumed the leadership of these parties.[2] But recent surveys have shown that, in the urban centres at any rate, membership in a political party might be commoner among the illiterate elements than among the 'educated'. This is a clear indication of the gap between the political parties and the present ambitions of the elites. A strongly held local position or the prestige of certain leaders is the reason why the traditional parties, though ill adapted to the present situation, have succeeded in keeping afloat. However, the waning influence of the Socialist party (the oldest organized party) was the sign after 1950 of the start of a new phase. The young elite from the liberal professions, followed by numerous young members of the 'colonial elite', remained markedly aloof from these movements, which seemed to efford no opportunity for the political action in which they intended to engage. Their sympathies went to a movement of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain type, although they were unable to impose it because of the strong positions held by the traditional parties. Yet some of the more influential members of this young elite finally decided to join the Senegalese party which seemed to have the strongest hold over the popular masses, the Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais.[3] There, they will doubtless play an important role. The point has been reached at which the new elite is seeking to take over the torch from the 'colonial elite', but with political ambitions of a much more radical nature; I shall consider later the ideological aspects of the problem. In the case of the trade unions, the position is slightly different. Their activity,[4] of recent origin, soon acquired deeper significance. The more energetic elements of the 'administrative bourgeoisie', in alliance with the still small working-class elite, embarked in the trade unions on a course of action which was more directly effective than that of the political parties.[5] The climate of thought, directly or indirectly influenced by theories of Marxist origin, favoured the growth of an awareness of the 'colonial situation'. In this respect, however, the new intellectual elite played

665 178 571

[369]

460 178 571

[13]

1. Cf. P. Mercier, *An Experimental Investigation conducted by means of Questionnaires in the town of Dakar*, report presented to the Conference on the Social Impact of Industrialisation and Urban Problems, organized by Unesco at Abidjan, 1954.
2. As have, needless to say, certain members of an elite formed from the liberal professions, which had already emerged before the war.
3. In which they represent the 'left' wing.
4. Most of the unions are affiliated to the trade union federations in France.
5. And more resolutely moderate in its outlook.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

only a limite , and very indirect, part. Between this group and the working-class elite certain persisting tensions can be descried; a survey among the younger members—students, young workers—has brought to light more or less radical divergencies. However, the new elite is trying to extend its activity to the trade union sphere. A confederation of African workers independent of the organizations in metropolitan France has recently been founded, in which the young intellectual elite will apparently be extremely influential. This would be the counterpart of its entry into organized political action. In another domain, significant changes are occurring: the 'cultural associations' have a much more important role than their name would imply.[1] These are made up of the intellectual elite (in the widest sense in which I have used this term), which seeks by these means to avoid being relegated to a position of isolation, to acquire greater influence in the education of the people—e.g. through theatrical representations in one of the local languages—and to rediscover the highways of traditional African culture.

It is the new elite that has given expression to this desire for a 'return to the fountain-head'. A reaction, against assimilationist policies has appeared. From the acceptance of assimilation characteristic of he preceding generation opinion turned first to less sharply defined positions—typified by the slogan 'assimilate, don't be assimilated'—and then to attitudes of refusal, the details of which are still not very clear. Such attitudes accompany a lush ideological growth, to which only a very brief reference can be given here. It is not exempt from inconsistency; it is intertwined with growths of very different origin, sometimes hostile to each other. The only point at which all these ideologies concur is that they one and all are the expression of an intense reaction against colonialism—and obviously against the policy of assimilation—and serve as a basis for a growing 'nationalism'.[2] I will mention only the following points: the revival of African cultures and the affirmation of the common elements in a pan-African or, more generally, a Negro culture; the development of a veritable mythology around the notion of 'Negrohood'[3] and of a sort of 'counter-racism', the end-result of which is to shut the door on the outside world—i.e. primarily the Western world; the reinterpretation of history through a reversal of the perspective, a method applied not only to the history of the slave trade and the colonial period, but to the whole history of Africa as well;[4] the forging from Marxist theories of an ideological battering ram, to be used in a specifically African anti-colonial drive. The results of all these efforts make rapid headway throughout the 'educated' classes.[5]

The above picture is unavoidably only an incomplete outline. I have merely sought to bring out the importance of the present transitional phase and its characteristic processes. A new intellectual elite is taking up the torch from the 'colonial elite' which in Senegal had already succeeded in gaining appreciably greater influence than in the other French West African territories; there has been no break between them. And yet tensions and possibilities of conflict exist. Nevertheless, the conscious search for points of contact w

2. The study of political problems is a particularly important part of their activity.
2. In the African context, this term is used very broadly, to cover all anti-colonial movements.
3. The review *Présence Africaine* offers many examples of articles showing the influence of this idea.
4. The recent book by Cheikh Anta Diop, *Nations Nègres et Culture* (Negro nations and culture), Paris, 1955, is a highly significant example of what is being done on these lines.
5. There are still more trends, but they indicate a change of outlook which will probably become deeper with time.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

178 the masses which are still partly traditionalists helps to strengthen the ties between the masses and the elite—ties never completely broken. General
●571 acceptance of the example set by the elite testifies at another level to the permanence of those ties (despite frequent conflicts, misunderstanding, and failures at adaptation). However, certain traditional factors making for heterogeneity still enter into the picture. Tensions can most easily degenerate into conflicts when relations between members of different racial groups, or different castes,
[578] are involved. That is a problem which cannot be studied in detail here. But the survival of such rifts (other examples in Negro Africa show that they may reappear after being temporarily suppressed) is a basic fact. A long time will probably be needed before the obstacle they represent to the growth of a homogeneous elite wielding universal influence can be overcome in Senegal. But only when that has been done can the broad general trends briefly described above find their complete expression.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 Metropolis. Until recently the African élite has always come from
[571] St. Louis. It is a sort of spiritual centre of Black Africa. It had the
[873] first school—Lycée Faidherbe. And in 1866 it was given the first Hotel de Ville of the French Union. It is the cradle of the French Union. It would be a tragedy if it died.'

369 To such men as these it seems scandalous that St. Louis with
175 its great history and traditions should give way to a parvenue like Dakar. Of all West African cities St. Louis is the one with the most illustrious and fascinating history. It was called St. Louis after the great French King, Louis XIII, in the middle of the seventeenth century. However, in the following century it began to expand into a town whose inhabitants were a distinct race, comparable
[563] to the Creoles of Sierra Leone. White and black intermarried to form a group known as the St. Louisians. During the eighteenth
[591] and nineteenth centuries these were the great families of the
[554] Senegal, though today they are losing importance. Names like Carpot, Descanet, Deves, Guillabert and Crespin are still remembered with respect in St. Louis.

[162] By the end of the eighteenth century the town had more than 7,000 inhabitants and in 1778 a mayor, who had to be chosen
[633] from the local population, was charged with the maintenance of good relations between the people and the Governor. In 1833
[641] all inhabitants of St. Louis were given the status of French citizens.

Perhaps the most important date for St. Louis and for West Africa was 1854, when General Faidherbe was appointed Governor. Today his mark is still firmly on St. Louis. The
[361] ordered layout of the city and its streets were his work. The large
[491] bridge connecting the island on which St. Louis stands to the mainland is named after him. The city's most important and famous school is the Lycée Faidherbe. And even now one can listen to old folk sitting on the benches of the park, in which his statue stands, telling tales of the great General, who had fought against the famous Toucouleur chief, El Hadj Omar and brought Senegal, Soudan and Mauretania into the French orbit. Perhaps some of these old people are his own descendants, for he is reputed to have been a prolific father.

[162] By 1878 St. Louis had grown to a city of 16,000 inhabitants, and despite the rapid expansion of Dakar and Rufisque farther down the Coast, there was little to worry about the future.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

536 theatre. But the writing was powerful and distinguished. My most vivid memory of Ka at that time was an ear-shattering torrent of abuse directed at his leading lady: 'Pas de Fred Astaire ici. Çe n'est pas le Music Hall.'

Today that play is a thing of the past, which nevertheless brought him fame. Now he is engrossed in a piece about a young schoolteacher who is sent to a pagan animist village in the south of the Senegal, to found its first school. The play centres on the conflict between the educated teacher and the local witchdoctor who opposes the school. Deep in Ka's intellect is a striking preoccupation with the conflict of occidental reason with the seemingly irrational metaphysics of the forest and the bush.

Ka was seized by numerous other friends so we agreed to meet the following day at a café in the Avenue William Ponty, Dakar's main thoroughfare.

[547] The small café was crowded. Across the street the Café de Paris with its large, bad painting of Montmartre, was half empty and its clientele, sitting at the iron street tables, stared at us with vague interest. Ka was talking animatedly about nineteenth-century Russian novelists and the decline of Russian literature today. He was very typically '*rive gauche*' and indeed we might well have been in St. Germain des Prés.

'Of course, I think that Huxley is more essentially English than Graham Greene,' my companion continued in a new vein.

Later I went with Ka to his room in a small, dingy hotel in the back streets of Dakar. 'I prefer living here, away from my relations. At least one is free.' I wondered whether it wasn't because it reminded him of his life in Paris.

Together we read his latest play about Chaka, in which he treats the great Zulu as a narcissist. Once again I was struck by the power of his writing, the economy of his style. We fingered through copies of *Présence Africaine*, *Traits d'Union* and *Afrique* [204] *en Marche* where he and his fellow intellectuals have their works published.

668 Most striking of all is the cultural revolution, so marked in
571 Dakar, but gaining momentum from all parts of the French West African Federation. Ka Abdou Anta is a part of this revolution, which has produced a generation, albeit small, of intellectuals who can vie on equal terms with their counterparts in Europe.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

Their grounding in French culture is superb. It is evident in their writing and in the exacting logic of their minds which sometimes, as so often with the French, can lead them to points of profound illogicality. We have nothing comparable in British West Africa. The creative output of these French Africans, good or bad, literary or scientific, is immense, especially if one considers that the whole of French West Africa has a population just equal to that of Northern Nigeria. Some of their leaders, like Léopold Sédar Senghor, stand on intellectual pedestals in France at the foot of which even Jean Paul Sartre sometimes worships. The reasons for this aspect of the revolution are not altogether difficult to discover. The French have, as opposed to the British, always been assimilationists. 'La France entend conduire les peuples dont elle a la charge.' French culture was fed to these young men and their success today is a tribute to the success of the French 'civilizing mission'. The other important factor is that French intellectuals have on the whole been negrophiles, and African art and culture has long enjoyed a vogue in France.

Today French Africans have a striking confidence in their intellectual prowess that one rarely remarks in the British West African equivalent. They know French culture like Frenchmen, but, in the words of M. Alioune Diop, the editor of *Présence Africaine*, 'It is necessary that we black men affirm that we alone can interpret our own culture.' And this interpretation seems largely to involve a return to the past such as Cheick Anta Diop, a much respected Senegalese writer, has advocated. In a sense Ka is involved in this return, this new movement. For him and his fellows the burning question becomes: Will this new generation of intellects ever derive anything from such a return? Or indeed are they in any better position to grasp the essentials of their traditional culture than the French negrophiles who first made them aware of the values of their own art.

An African professor at the University of Dakar, Monsieur Alassane N'Daw, remarked in an article 'Un Africain devant la Culture Française' published in the journal *L'Education Africaine*, that when he held a discussion with his philosophy class on Malraux's views on Negro art there was 'no enthusiasm, nor even any particular interest, but rather general scepticism'. One of his pupils confessed that when he visited the museum at Abomey in

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 Dahomey he experienced no aesthetic pleasure from Negro art, but was rather struck by its crudities. Indeed Professor N'Daw had difficulty in explaining to his students that European enthusiasm for African art was serious.

[571] Earlier in his article he points out the difficulty of the African intellectual who is torn between two cultures: the call of the past demanding fidelity to Africa, and the fascination of Western culture in which he has been educated and one of whose languages he uses to express himself. He is usually much more strongly drawn towards the latter.

In essentials these intellectuals are Frenchmen. They are living in a modern, occidentalized world far apart from the tribal, agricultural society that produced this art. Can they go back and at the same time go forward? Is there anything in the past that is appropriate to the new Africa they are trying to construct? This is their dilemma.

In Dakar the revolution is almost complete. What matters for these Africans are the years of reconstruction that lie ahead. Perhaps this vigorous young generation of intellectuals would do well to look to a better future than to a past from which they are almost totally divorced.

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

The New Political Life

369 More importantly, the urban centers
668 deserve attention because of the role they have played in the development of a radically new type of political life, one
[177] whose forms have been largely borrowed from outside Africa. The first attempts at political organization and activity were born in the cities. More recently some political movements have appeared in a rural context, as a reflection of rural conditions, but they have drawn much of their pattern from the cities, or from among elements subject to urban influences.

The modern African city presents a set of conditions favorable to the development of especially intense political reac-
369 tions. The position of the colonizing power is most sharply apparent in the city, and the instruments of its power are concentrated there. The rootless condition of the African population seems at its extreme; the masses that gather in the city are unsettled, poorly established in their occupations, and suffer from
• [571] every form of insecurity. The new elites created and shaped by urban life feel restricted and disappointed in their desires for social advancement and for a share in authority and in modern symbols of prestige.[5] Finally, the city brings together a white society and a Negro
[563] society, though often clearly separated by topography. In these circumstances racial tensions can develop to their maximum. Moreover, they assume varied aspects, *e.g.*, competitive situations in various spheres, official or unofficial discrimination.[6] Intense reactions to such conditions may take no organized form and may not manifest themselves except after some delay, however. Here the

[P. 5A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 portant part of the urban population has
668 considerable mobility, and thus maintains solid ties and frequent communication with the regions of its origins.[8] Moreover, lesser members of the modern urban
[571] elites, *e.g.*, workers and petty officials, have been settled in rural centers, thus extending urban influence still further. By these means a double network of individuals more or less shaped by the conditions of urban life is established. Contacts and relations between urban centers and rural districts can vary markedly, however. The area affected by the prestige of political leaders thus may be more or less extensive. The forms of activity and organization created in the city generally can be transplanted to rural sectors only in their rudimentary forms.

In Senegal, historical factors account for the sharp division between city and countryside. In the old coastal cities, a separatistic history and a particular juridical status have contributed to their marginal position in Senegalese life. The consequences of the separation between the former "citizens" of "the four communes" and the former "subjects" of the interior[9] have not been entirely wiped out, even in recent years.

From the foregoing points of view, Senegalese urban political life can be oriented in summary fashion to the general problems of urban political life. A series of particular traits in the Senegalese situation are first interpreted against the historical background. The subsequent section summarizes the results of investigations conducted in certain Senegalese
[114] centers in 1953-1955, during a period of transition between two major phases in the development of political life.[10]

[P.6A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 signed to be distinctive, and to a degree
665 founded in opposition to these patterns, nevertheless conforms with them, at least for a time, within the "old cities." This is one of the limits of the political system of this period: the deepest political aspirations, which are rapidly gaining strength, can be only partially expressed within a partisan structure.

(2) The central role of certain non-political groupings and organizations[26] in the elaboration of more radical ideologies and in the formation of the most active groups. This must be viewed as a direct function of the preceding condition.

[57] (3) The temporarily marginal status of an important part of the new elites, whose formation had accelerated in the post-war years. At the time of study, a shift of elites was occurring. Youthful elements were vigorously opposed to what was termed the "bourgeoisie of the old cities."[27] This is another indication that the underlying forces still laid outside urban politics; they did not enter them until 1956.

The New Parties

665 After 1946 a series of political parties
369 emerged: the Senegalese branch of the S.F.I.O., the B.D.S., the M.P.S., and the U.D.S.[28] Only the first two received wide support, yet one cannot fail to be impressed by the extent of party membership. Out of a group of 1,200 men interviewed at Dakar, for example, more than half (56 per cent) declared themselves members of a party.[29] The percentage was very high, and of considerable significance. The population involved in this sampling was essentially a stable one, or at least one settled in cities for several years. Other researches justify

[P. 10 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

467 both in France and in other countries.
668 Participation in international congresses put them in contact with the ideological currents of the world. A study of the union press was very revealing in this regard.

[665] To the masses, unions proposed goals that were, in the period under consideration, far different from those of the political parties. Unions were in many ways more systematic and more vigorous. They were much less apt to make
[563] differentiations along ethnic, religious, or other lines. The unity of action that they practiced banned their assimilating such hostilities and conflicts, whose meaning was foreign to them. These hostilities yielded before the fundamental hostility brought out by union action. The near-unanimity with which the directives of the union have been followed is very
[571] significant. For the elites, on the other hand, unions offered, in an era in which the forms and matrices of customary political expression appeared too narrow, a wider and more adequate field of action. Unionism supplied the most accessible agencies for sharing in power of the modern sort. The intellectual elites furnished
[571] the substance of the union framework and played a dominant role on their executive committees.[52] Located at the very center of situations of tension and conflict, they found in union activities the most effective way of asserting modern views and of surmounting the limits barring their advancement in the political and occupational fields.

Developments Since 1956

668 Such were the chief aspects, in a period
369 of transition, of the political life of the large Senegalese urban centers. In the subsequent four years, great changes have occurred. Senegalese political individuality — considerably modified by that of the "old cities" — has remained clear, but it has in great part shifted to
[P. 18 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[50] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Aspects des problemes de stratification sociale," *Cahiers intl. de Soc.* XVIII, 1954.
[51] A scrutiny of union publications in 1953 made this evident.
[52] In a very broad sense; their composition was very heterogeneous and drawn from various strata.

467
468
668
563
[511]

[P.18c]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

other fields.

668 369 In the "old cities," changes have taken place that were already evident when the investigations noted above were being conducted. The importance of these facts must be emphasized:

(1) The separation between the cities and the countryside, and more particularly between the old cities and the rest of the territory, is becoming less sharp. This fact has already been pointed out in connection with recent demographic developments and the growth of the B.D.S. There are other indications. The 571 intellectual elites have more diversified 668 origins; though the oldest nuclei of urban 369 population remain important in their composition, they are steadily decreasing in size. The bonds among the different sections of the territory are tightening. On the other hand, the old elites are becoming active outside city boundaries, and give a place in their considerations to the problems of rural modernization and evolution. Certain projects established by the youth associations and the unions have contributed to this orientation.

(2) These facts are connected with a shift in generations that has extensive effects. The attitude of youthful elites has been different; they feel themselves competent to assume broader responsibilities.[58] At the same time they are diverging more or less impetuously from the paths of "assimilation," and are striving to rediscover and revive specifically African values. An effort to prove themselves individually by integrating themselves into the existing system is being succeeded by an effort to prove themselves as representatives and guides for a host that must be freed from this system. This is a trend toward nationalism, in the widest sense of the term.

668 369 563 (3) In the coastal cities, the growing strength of racial tensions since the last war cannot fail to encourage such a

[P. 19 A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 change. The vast increase in the num-
369 ber of Europeans, their greater occupa-
[563] tional diversification, the much stronger reaction to the facts of discrimination, and multiplication of competitive situations — occupational or otherwise — are the most obvious phases of this major phenomenon.[54]

As these factors have come into full operation, a new phase of political life has opened. These are its principal traits:

668 (1) From 1956 on, in unions and in
665 politics, secessions from the original
[467] French bodies — confederations or parties — have multiplied. Previous remarks indicated the development of this process among unions. After some delay it affected the S.F.I.O. itself, which was transformed, not without difficulties, into the African Socialist Movement. The assimilationist tradition declined, or at least was no longer proclaimed openly. After the parties became autonomous, the distinction between direct and indirect forms of political expression began to disappear. Extremist demands of a nationalistic character found expression within the parties, and worked effectively there after 1957 (at the time when the new "organic law" authorized the first Senegalese government).

(2) To a certain degree, the very old Senegalese political tradition once more became a driving force. At the same time the marginal elements, whose existence was particularly marked among in-
[571] tellectuals, entered into real politics, chiefly within the framework of the B.D.S. They comprised the left wing of the new Senegalese Populist Bloc (B.P.S.), which stemmed from the B.D.S., and shared in the creation of the African Convention, which is striving to extend outside Senegal the strictly autonomous orientations of the B.D.S. They tried to organize the B.D.S. as a

[p. 198]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[53] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Evolution des élites sénégalaises," *Bull. intl. des Sci. soc.*, VIII (#4, '56).
[54] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Le groupement européen de Dakar," *Cahiers intl. de Soc.*, XIX, 1955.

[P.19C]

269
668
[591]
[563]

/174 cont./

162 463 [427] the development of agricultural work; there has been none of this. Indeed, the lands are the property of the Lebou of neighboring villages and the cost of renting is high. Gardening therefore remains the privileged domain of the old villages of the peninsula, Keur-Massar, Thiaroye-sur-Mer, and Cambérène.

2nd. The great majority of the labor force is made up of non-specialized workers: almost 45% manual workers without occupational qualifications.

3rd. The Moors have a special place: two-thirds are merchants who keep shop, and the last third is made up almost exclusively of butchers who have been classed among the "manual workers."

4th. The most interesting feature is the difference which distinguishes the occupational structure of the districts from that of the quarters: in the first, no shop, either Moorish or Wolof, and practically no artisan; in the second, practically one worker out of two has no occupational qualifications, whereas this proportion drops to 12% in the districts; finally, and above all, out of three heads of families in the former, two are officials, whereas there is no more than one official out of ten in the latter.

362 463 [427] [426] [465] The reason for this recruitment is solely of an economic nature. Almost all the inhabitants of the districts are owners of their dwellings or will become such after they have made their payments. Now, these are spread over five years and have been calculated in such a way that the monthly payment does not exceed a quarter of the salary received. For the cheapest dwellings this is equal to a payment of 5,000, therefore to a monthly salary of about 20,000. A /175/ guard, houseboy, or a laborer does not earn this sum and is incapable of procuring a dwelling of this type. The dwellings of the districts are thus principally reserved for the officials, and then for the staffs, who have an adequate and ● 571 an assured salary. We therefore witness here the appearance of this phenomenon of social differentiation observable in many other African countries; it consists of the existence

/175 cont./

571 of a favored sector of the population with privileged living and working conditions, which is composed largely of officials, but which it is nevertheless difficult, in the present state of research, to characterize as bourgeoisie, or as a class. With what sort of social layer are we dealing? The study of the educational level and schooling will show us this.

464 The investigation does not bear specifically on unemployment; nevertheless, it is impossible to speak of Pikine without mentioning the importance of this problem. That unemployment is considerable may already be deduced from the fact that most of the workers do not have any occupational training which would permit them to find employment. Those who were between 18 and 65 years of age and who were without steady work at the time of the investigation have been regarded as unemployed. This category therefore includes not only those who were unemployed all the time, but also those who did "odd jobs," finding a little work to do here and there to help out a friend, a neighbor, or a relative.

In the first stratum we have listed 79 unemployed, and four in the second, which leads to a total of 1,580 unemployed out of an economically active male population of 5,530, or a rate of unemployment of 29.3%. For the family heads this rate is not quite as high: 26.3%. Here is how it is distributed according to ethnic groups, age classes, and the educational level. /Table 12 appears here./

/176/ Unemployment is naturally much less high among the literate, all of whom have some kind of occupational qualification, than among the illiterate. The former, moreover, are for the most part young people. The proportion of unemployed is at a minimum in the 30-year class. The case of those over 50 years old is more serious, since it is in general a matter of people whose age, lack of occupational qualifications, and often the late date of their immigration gravely jeopardize their chance of finding employment.

Let us note in conclusion that the rate of unemployment of the Toucouleur is the lowest, although their age at immigration is higher, and that their average competence does not exceed that of the other ethnic groups. This fact, as the investigations of the Toucouleur migration by the MISOES

/186 cont./
of each sect. /Table 23 appears here./

795
162
191
871

Table 23

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect	Cath.	Av.
Literate	22	8.5	10.3	22.2	11.2	50	21.5
Illiterate	78	91.5	89.7	77.8	88.8	50	78.5
Total	100						100

The number of Moslems declared as without sect is too small to give any valid information. The small number of literates among the Khadres comes from the Moors, and their proportion doubles if one does not take the latter into consideration. Hence there remain only the Murids, among whom the proportion of literates does not come to half /187/ of the average percentage: 10.3 instead of 21.5. If one cannot say that Muridism specifically encourages illiteracy, neither can one say that it develops a taste and desire for learning among its adepts; the foregoing fact would tend rather to show that it plays the role of a curb, voluntary or involuntary, in the same measure that illiteracy constitutes a force of inertia to be conquered and that education, on the contrary, perpetuates itself. In any case, the intellectual elite of the Pikine population prefers to join the other sects.

[571]

VI. Habitat and Family

128

After having presented the social framework of the whole society of Pikine, we shall conclude this quick study by showing first the material factors that condition its mode of existence, and then a certain number of general considerations concerning the structure of the urban family.

/198 cont./

369 a pharmacy has opened since the investigation took place,
[444] and the construction of a maternity hospital is in progress...
[443] Some large sewer works are to be undertaken.

369 On the other hand, it is certain that the material dif-
571 ference between the two habitat groups, very distinct geographically, brings about and expresses an indisputable sociological difference. The population of the districts enjoys superior conditions of comfort, it is better acculturated to the urban environment, the educational level there is higher on the average, and, on the occupational level, one finds there a large proportion of officials and minor staffs of industry and commerce. All these factors therefore contribute to accentuating a certain separation between two social layers. But at the same time that integration into modern life and work and participation in the advantages and obligations of the urban environment alienate the inhabitants of the districts from traditional conditions, and by that even from their fellow-citizens who do not have the same advantages, a reverse movement of return to tradition or of reinforcement of former behaviors is discernible. There is thus not really a rupture: the family patterns, the relationships between man and woman, change less quickly than housing conditions, and this explains why the unity of the society has not been affected, at least not yet, by the recent change, and why the style of family life remains the same in the parcels of the quarters or in the enclosed concessions of the districts. A more detailed analysis of the conflicts of these contradictory forces belongs to another work.

/11 cont./
very small number of aspects of the social structure; allusions will be made to the others when it is necessary. 121

On the one hand, we shall illustrate certain aspects of the structure of kinship groups in the African population; despite the shrinking of the functions performed by the family in an urban environment, despite the diversification of groupings with specialized functions, which characterize urban social life, their role continues to be of primary importance (3). 121 571 369

3. The demographic account by L. Masse, of course, crosschecks certain aspects of this study. Cf. our preface /untranslated/.

Very /12/ close to it is the one played by the ethnic group, which will only be outlined here. On the other hand, we shall study the role played by certain non-structured de facto groupings: neighborhood units, groups of friends, more or less independent, depending on the case, of traditional, ethnic, and familial ties and structures. The study of structured groupings of a new type will be reserved for another work; we shall only give brief indications on this subject.

The profound interconnection of the social phenomena observable in a defined environment (1) must, however, as

1. Which itself is never closed. Cf., for example, the role of the waves of seasonal immigrants in colonial towns.

always, be emphasized. The first part of this account will therefore be devoted to a very general account of the frameworks into which one must recast any study of the Dakar social complex (2). 121 361

2. These have been, up to the

17: Mercier--15 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/18 cont./

and Urbanization in Africa,. Abidjan, 1954). 369x 565 [113]

tendentially have the character of social classes. They are distinguished by the living standard and way of life and by a certain number of specific behaviors, but the characteristics of colonial society, on the one hand, and, on the other, the persistence of traditional values do not permit them to assume the character of clear-cut classes." We shall return to this account, where we noted the absence of close correlations [182] between socio-occupational category, ethnic group, and religion, but, on the other hand, the existence of very clear correlations between the socio-occupational categories and facts such as level of French studies, the importance of intermarriages between different ethnic groups, that of the role played by the groupings and associations of a new type (political parties, syndicates, etc.). Also the ethnic affiliation plays a role of variable importance, although it is very rarely obliterated completely.

4. The new structures which characterize the towns 369x give a large place to grouping of a political, syndical, cultural, sportive, etc. order. We shall not discuss this problem here. It must be noted, however, that in Dakar the importance of some of them is considerably reinforced by the function that Dakar performs as the federal capital; it is vaf for the syndicates and to a lesser degree for the political parties.

5. Finally, an important fact in every colonial town, 369x but particularly in Dakar is the juxtaposition of racially and culturally different groups. For Dakar, the European population undoubtedly represents 10% of the total population (2), and

2. In the census of the non-autochthonous population of 1951, close to 22,000.

17: Mercier--41 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/34 cont./ 369x

2. And much less, as we have [redacted]seen, with regard to the facts of "familial parasitism."

categories that on the whole have the same way of life. The distinction which has imposed itself between two groups of categories corresponds to this last fact. The boundary, however, is unequally clear, depending on the phenomena considered. One finds the problem of cultural persistences cutting across the changes of structure and way of life in the course of consolidation.

3. The at least partial entry into the western "technical milieu" appears to be a factor of transformation much less important than schooling. The majority of the specialized workers are still in the most traditionalist group, with only the master workmen approaching, in certain forms of their average behavior, an intermediate position. The level of schooling itself, however, is still only weakly decisive, except in the category of members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc. The relation between level of studies and the way of life, even though it tends to assert itself, is not direct in every case. [182]

III

The group of relatives no longer coincides with the local unit. Neither the quarter, the sector, the block, nor in certain cases the "compound" are ethnically homogeneous any longer. In this case, what is the social role of the neighborhood? Under what conditions does it create relationships of a new type which are to be integrated into the new urban "pattern"? The groups of friends were formed essentially in the framework of the age class (3) as a consequence of the ethnic group (and often of the group of relatives in the broad sense). 369x 621 571 [563]

3. See, for example, G. Balandier and P. Mercier, op. cit.

17: Mercier--42 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/34 cont./

group of relatives in the broad sense). What is the influence of the neighborhood factor, among other new factors, on their constitution now? Such are the principal questions for which we shall give the first, very brief elements of an answer.

369x
621
571

A. -- The neighborhood unit does not constitute a structured grouping, as in the village quarters. The decrease of mobility and of heterogeneity condition the creation of a common milieu of life, in the framework of the quarter as in that of the block. But, particularly in Médina, the quarters represent only an artificial segmentation and have no clearly /35/ marked centers (of commerce, of leisure, etc.). The weakness of the authority and prestige of the quarter heads is another aspect of this fact. As for the smaller elements, groups of blocks, blocks, compounds, their transformation into neighborhood communities based on a minimum of permanence of their components has advanced unevenly. The study of a certain number of blocks has permitted us to distinguish several types. In the first, almost all the people know one another (1), they often visit one another,

1. It is very easy there to find a person whose exact address is not known.

help one another, and on occasion have common leisure-time activities. In the opposite type, there is very little personal contact and mutual aid, and one hardly knows the names of the neighbors, even the immediate ones. An intermediate type is the one where the neighborhood relationships are reduced to very small circles, the relationships dispersed throughout the town, however, retaining more importance. It seems that this is the most frequent case. We shall briefly describe a block of this type.

It is often difficult to pick out from the complex network of relationships between the inhabitants of a block those which are based purely on neighborhood. In many cases, the fact of the neighborhood is eclipsed, as a factor of explanation, by

/35 cont./

kinship, kinship by marriage, membership in the same ethnic group, the same religious persuasion, the same occupation; certain other facts are ambivalent, for example, membership in the same association. In the study that we have made of a certain number of blocks of Médina, we have tried to isolate the neighborhood factor at different levels of participation in common activities. We essentially retained: reciprocal visits, conversation groups, mutual aid (loans, etc.), relationships between women, the play groups of children. The relationships of simple politeness are not retained. We considered successively the relationships inside the compound -- when it is not inhabited by a single family -- and the relationships within the block. In the last case, a somewhat arbitrary limit is posed: the street is not a border, but a zone of assembly. It has not yet been possible to study completely the social role of the latter. 369* 621 571

In the block that we shall take as an example, 12 out of 14 compounds were studied; the inhabitants of the other two compounds were on a trip or refused to lend themselves to the investigation. The block as a whole is very heterogeneous ethnically, but, however, with a clear dominance of Wolof-Lebou (2). [563]

2. Six family heads who were manifestly Lebou persisted in calling themselves Wolof. Cf. above.

It contains 39 family groups (representing 199 persons) and 11 isolated bachelors, tenants of some of the preceding families. [427] Five of these bachelors only live /36/ in Dakar seasonally, but in principle always in the same place. The distribution of the family heads by ethnic groups is as follows: 28 Wolof, 4 Lebou, 5 Toucouleur, 1 Sarakolé, 1 Socé. Among the isolated bachelors, one has: 5 Wolof, 2 Toucouleur, 2 Socé, 1 Bambara, 1 Soussou. [563]

1. The study of the relationships within the compounds shows a certain variety of situations.[1] These compounds are

[1] [see chart, pp. 56-57.- Analyst]

17: Mercier--44 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/36 cont./

369x
621
571

divided into several types by their composition:

-- Compounds composed of a single family group: extended kinship group based on the nephew-uterine uncle relationship (B), restricted family (E);

-- Compounds composed of restricted family groups, but having between them ties of distant collateral kinship (J);

--Compounds composed of restricted or extended family groups tied only by the ethnic relationship (A and N);

-- Compounds grouping restricted families from different ethnic groups (F, G);

-- Compounds grouping restricted families and isolated persons, all of the same ethnic group (L);

-- Compounds grouping restricted families and isolated persons, and ethnically varied (C, D, K, M).

The compounds of the first two types will not detain us; family solidarity plays a major role there. In the others, the situation is extremely variable. Frequent relationships exist everywhere on the level of the children (play groups), less frequently on the level of women, still less frequently on the level of men. Let us consider essentially the relationships which are not sustained by the ethnic community.

a) The bachelors, except when they are of the same ethnic group as some of the families of the compound (1 case, in compound D), participate little in the life of the compound; most eat outside and only spend the night at home. Mutual aid does little for them; most said that they had recourse, in case of sickness, to the aid of friends -- almost always of the same ethnic group -- on the outside. In one single case (compound K), the bachelors -- of the same ethnic group, moreover -- form a group eating together, going out together, etc.; the cooking is done for them by an old woman -- also of the same ethnic group -- a widow who lives with her children. [589]

b) Within the compound the ethnic disparity among the families does not exclude some minimal forms of mutual aid (loans of utensils, small purchases, care of children, etc.) [563]

/36 cont./

There is one single case of a ménage having practically no relations with the rest of the compound, that of a Sarakolé family (compound F). 369x 621 571● 563

/37/ c) The extreme cases of mutual aid, on the contrary, are only noticed among families that are related or at least of the same ethnic group. Thus, in the compounds I, N, D, one finds an unemployed man, married and father of a family, temporarily taken care of by his cousins (compound I) or by his neighbors who are related to him only in the broadest possible sense of the term (compounds D and N).

d) The play community of the children is encountered everywhere within the compounds, the ethnic differences not at all intervening. This and other elements, such as the life in the courtyards, the daily encounters at the water places, cause the women ultimately to have many more personal contacts than the men. The only case of a woman living relatively isolated is that of the Sarakolé woman already mentioned. [857]

2. The picture is a little different when one passes to the larger framework of the block. It is moreover divided longitudinally, the relations clearly being more frequent among the compounds which face on the same street. It is necessary, however, to add the shadings.

a) The play groups of the children are still larger, and neither the ethnic group nor other differential elements seem to play a role in their formation, but only proximity and individual affinities. [857]

b) As far as the women are concerned, the contacts that we noted above, conversations at the water place, etc., concern practically the whole block. On the other hand, visits and possible mutual aid occur almost exclusively among relatives, relatives by marriage, and women of the same ethnic group.

c) We have examined, for the men, the composition of groups of friends. In most cases, the majority of friends were dispersed throughout the town, these friends being either of the same ethnic group, of the same work group, or members of the same association -- these factors can all be combined, or [572]

/37 cont./

combined two by two. Out of 32 male heads of families, eight had no friends in the neighborhood (block and its immediate surroundings -- the relatives obviously being excluded). Among the 24 others, one counted 15 whose friends in the neighborhood were at the same time all members of the same ethnic group; for five others, they were either of the same ethnic group or members of the same syndicate;[1] for two others, they were either of the same ethnic group or members of the same religious association. Only the two heads of Lebou families, the ones settled in the block the longest and enjoying a certain prestige, had many friends in the neighborhood; the majority of the latter did not belong to the Lebou group and were not members of a like structured group. The factor of neighborhood, properly speaking, seemed, for our people as a whole, to account for only the most superficial type of relations. The common religious persuasion does not /38/ play an essential role; its limits rarely coincide with the limits of groups of friends. The religious associations, however, are practically the only ones which rest, in a certain number of cases, on a local basis. The importance of occupational ties (in the broad sense, including syndical activity) and, above all, that of ethnic ties are of primary importance.

B. -- In this domain, however, differences in behavior between the socio-occupational categories are seen to appear, and it is important to note them in order to complete the preceding data. One sees some distinctions delineated which, as a whole, go in the same direction as those encountered in the second part of this work. In our population investigated by questionnaires, one finds: 13% of those queried who have less than 10% of their connections belonging to the same ethnic group as themselves; 29% who have less than 30%; 57% who have less than 50%; 11% who have 100%. The following table indicates the distribution by socio-occupational categories:

[1] [i.e., trade union.-Analyst]

17: Mercier--47 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/38 cont./

Socio-occupational Category	Percentage of connections belonging to the same ethnic group			
	Less than 10%	Less than 30%	Less than 50%	100%
Farmers, fishermen	11%	26%	50%	7%
Laborers, domestics	7%	19%	41%	21%
Workers and artisans	13%	33%	64%	10%
Subordinate employees and functionaries	14%	33%	60%	11%
Superior employees and functionaries	17%	34%	61%	7%
Teaching, intellectual professions, etc.	26%	40%	72%	6%
Merchants, transporters, etc.,	6%	17%	41%	17%

369x
621
571
563
572
565

We thus find a first group where the role played by ethnic membership in the formation of the group of friends is more important than it is on the average: the laborers and domestics, the merchants and transporters. The opposite situation is found among the superior functionaries and employees and even more accentuated, among the members of the teaching and intellectual professions. The farmers are to be added to this group, however; most of them are Lebou, and these figures account well on the one hand for the loss of their particularism before the Wolof thrust, and on the other hand for the more /39/ important role played among them by the factors of neighborhood. An average group is constituted by: the subordinate functionaries and employees, and, much more clearly than in the other domains considered, the workers and artisans.

Some remarks are necessary. The factor of ethnic regrouping retains its importance in all the categories, although unequally.

17: Mercier--48 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/39 cont./

unequally. The scrutiny of the data concerning the neighborhood factor furnished by this same investigation is not finished; the first results seem to confirm those obtained in our monographic investigations: it in itself only plays a reduced role, only reinforcing the ties of some other origin. On the contrary, memberships in the same occupational milieu, in the same association, syndical, cultural, sportive, etc. (1), are important [572]

369x 621 571 563

1. The study of the role of associations is reserved for another work.

factors in the formation of groups of friends. Finally, let us add that the average behaviors of ethnic groups are extremely variable. Their distribution, however, does not coincide exactly with the one that we have indicated in the domain of interethnic marriages. Only groups among whom the importance of the ethnic factor is clearly greater than the average, the Moors, the Peul, the Toucouleur, the Sarakolé; on the other hand it is slightly less among the Wolof and the Bambara, average among the Sérère, the Diola, the Soussou, the Cape Verdeans. The partial divergences between these two orders of data (2) pose in themselves a problem which will be the

2. Cf. II, E, 4.

subject of subsequent investigations.

We have studied essentially the permanent population of the town, moreover unequally stabilized. It remains to complete these data by the examination of the problems posed by the seasonal population, and, more generally, by the population without fixed residence. It is in this minority that one can really speak of facts of detribalization, in the sense of pure deterioration of the former social frameworks. On the contrary, we [182]

/39 cont./

182
369*
[621]
[571]
[563]

have seen that in the permanent population the kinship structures and ethnic membership (3) played a considerable

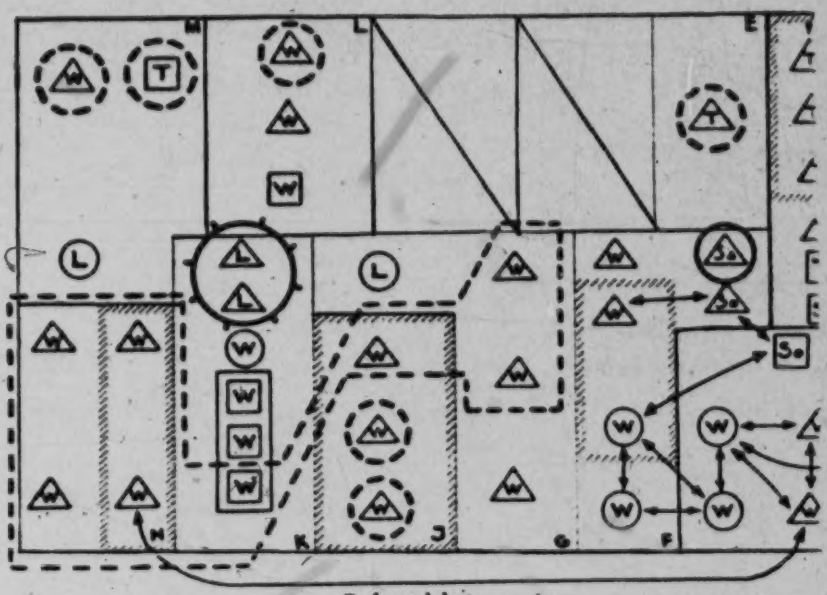
3. It would also be necessary to examine the role played by the associations formed on an ethnic or regional basis.

role. Certainly, a new equilibrium has not been achieved everywhere, and we have noted that the kinship structures were not always adapted to the conditions of urban life. But one is far from dealing with an amorphous mass. Where one can speak /40/ of detribalization, among the elites of a new type, it is not in a purely negative sense. The crisis phase of traditional institutions has not completely passed. But the phase of reconstruction of institutions has begun; some average behavior which implies a certain equilibrium in new frameworks can already be disclosed. /Figs. 1-4 appear here./

17: Mercier--56 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

Dakar

x 369
571
563
621



Related by marriage

Male heads of families	△	Wolof	W
Female heads of families	○	Lebou	L
Bachelors	□	Toucouleur	T
		Sarakolé	Sa
Related groups			

Example of a group with relationships.

Example of relationships between persons of two neighboring compounds.

Families having relationships in the whole neighborhoo

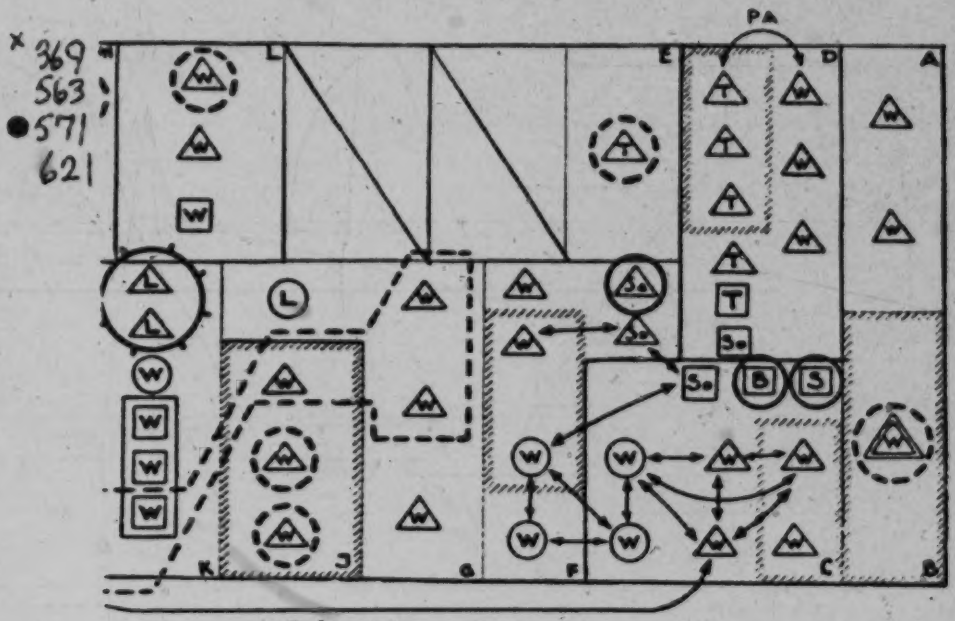
Families not having, beyond the compound, any relationships in the block.

Persons without relationships in the neighborhood.

Fig. 4.
/left side of sketch/

17: Mercier--57 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

Dakar



Related by marriage

△	Wolof	W	Socé	So
○	Lebou	L	Soussou	S
□	Toucouleur	T	Bambara	B
	Sarakolé	Sa		

/see left side of Fig. 4/

Fig. 4.

/right side of Fig. 4/

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 formed as a result of the *loi cadre* reforms, are typical of the
[645] Frenchmen who have identified themselves with the country of their sojourn. Indeed such was the devotion of Peytavin to his party's cause that he was retained as Minister of Finance even after independence and opted for Senegalese nationality, a step that Bonifay found himself unable to take. These were men of high education—Bonifay, a well known lawyer, and Peytavin a veterinary surgeon. There were many others like them, not only applying such principles in the political field, but in the administration and commerce, who helped to dispel from the African what would otherwise have been a dominant impression of an isolationist and sometimes racist French community.

[369] It would be foolish to paint too idealised a picture of
[571] race relations in Dakar. Many Europeans, particularly the *petit blanc*, openly admit to holding the African in contempt. But these are usually Europeans of little economic or political consequence and since independence their opinions have obviously carried negligible weight with the Senegalese.

Furthermore most Europeans in Dakar and the other main towns of Senegal, whatever their prejudices, send their children to local schools, where perforce they mix on terms of equality with Africans. The same is true of
[873] Dakar University which has a large number of French students, the majority of whom are girls whose parents are working in Dakar. Their brothers try if possible to go to French universities. Though friendships tend to be
[572] within the same racial group, there is a considerable number of inter-racial friendships.

563 The main point of conflict would appear to the casual
369 visitor to be the economic domination of private enterprise
463 and the more important subaltern jobs by Europeans.
472 But before analysing any tensions that have arisen from this, it is essential to point to some special features of Senegalese society. In Senegal, by contrast with Nigeria, Ghana and Ivory Coast, there is no entrepreneurial class of

/36 cont./

There is one single case of a ménage having practically no relations with the rest of the compound, that of a Sarakolé family (compound F). 369* 621 571 563

/37/ c) The extreme cases of mutual aid, on the contrary, are only noticed among families that are related or at least of the same ethnic group. Thus, in the compounds I, N, D, one finds an unemployed man, married and father of a family, temporarily taken care of by his cousins (compound I) or by his neighbors who are related to him only in the broadest possible sense of the term (compounds D and N).

d) The play community of the children is encountered everywhere within the compounds, the ethnic differences not at all intervening. This and other elements, such as the life in the courtyards, the daily encounters at the water places, cause the women ultimately to have many more personal contacts than the men. The only case of a woman living relatively isolated is that of the Sarakolé woman already mentioned. [857]

2. The picture is a little different when one passes to the larger framework of the block. It is moreover divided longitudinally, the relations clearly being more frequent among the compounds which face on the same street. It is necessary, however, to add the shadings.

a) The play groups of the children are still larger, and neither the ethnic group nor other differential elements seem to play a role in their formation, but only proximity and individual affinities. [857]

b) As far as the women are concerned, the contacts that we noted above, conversations at the water place, etc., concern practically the whole block. On the other hand, visits and possible mutual aid occur almost exclusively among relatives, relatives by marriage, and women of the same ethnic group.

c) We have examined, for the men, the composition of groups of friends. In most cases, the majority of friends were dispersed throughout the town, these friends being either of the same ethnic group, of the same work group, or members of the same association -- these factors can all be combined, or [572]

/37 cont./

combined two by two. Out of 32 male heads of families, eight had no friends in the neighborhood (block and its immediate surroundings -- the relatives obviously being excluded). Among the 24 others, one counted 15 whose friends in the neighborhood were at the same time all members of the same ethnic group; for five others, they were either of the same ethnic group or members of the same syndicate,[1] for two others, they were either of the same ethnic group or members of the same religious association. Only the two heads of Lebou families, the ones settled in the block the longest and enjoying a certain prestige, had many friends in the neighborhood; the majority of the latter did not belong to the Lebou group and were not members of a like structured group. The factor of neighborhood, properly speaking, seemed, for our people as a whole, to account for only the most superficial type of relations. The common religious persuasion does not /38/ play an essential role; its limits rarely coincide with the limits of groups of friends. The religious associations, however, are practically the only ones which rest, in a certain number of cases, on a local basis. The importance of occupational ties (in the broad sense, including syndical activity) and, above all, that of ethnic ties are of primary importance.

369x 621 571 563 572

B. -- In this domain, however, differences in behavior between the socio-occupational categories are seen to appear, and it is important to note them in order to complete the preceding data. One sees some distinctions delineated which, as a whole, go in the same direction as those encountered in the second part of this work. In our population investigated by questionnaires, one finds: 13% of those queried who have less than 10% of their connections belonging to the same ethnic group as themselves; 29% who have less than 30%; 57% who have less than 50%; 11% who have 100%. The following table indicates the distribution by socio-occupational categories:

369x 621 571 563 572 565

[1] [i.e., trade union.—Analyst]

/38 cont./

Socio-occupational Category	Percentage of connections belonging to the same ethnic group			
	Less than 10%	Less than 30%	Less than 50%	100%
Farmers, fishermen	11%	26%	50%	7%
Laborers, domestics	7%	19%	41%	21%
Workers and artisans	13%	33%	64%	10%
Subordinate employees and functionaries	14%	33%	60%	11%
Superior employees and functionaries	17%	34%	61%	7%
Teaching, intellectual professions, etc.	26%	40%	72%	6%
Merchants, transporters, etc.,	6%	17%	41%	17%

369x
621
571
563
572
565

We thus find a first group where the role played by ethnic membership in the formation of the group of friends is more important than it is on the average: the laborers and domestics, the merchants and transporters. The opposite situation is found among the superior functionaries and employees and even more accentuated, among the members of the teaching and intellectual professions. The farmers are to be added to this group, however; most of them are Lebou, and these figures account well on the one hand for the loss of their particularism before the Wolof thrust, and on the other hand for the more /39/important role played among them by the factors of neighborhood. An average group is constituted by: the subordinate functionaries and employees, and, much more clearly than in the other domains considered, the workers and artisans.

Some remarks are necessary. The factor of ethnic regrouping retains its importance in all the categories, although unequally.

17: Mercier--48 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/39 cont./

unequally. The scrutiny of the data concerning the neighborhood factor furnished by this same investigation is not finished; the first results seem to confirm those obtained in our monographic investigations: it in itself only plays a reduced role, only reinforcing the ties of some other origin. On the contrary, memberships in the same occupational milieu, in the same association, syndical, cultural, sportive, etc. (1), are important [572]

369x 621 571 563

1. The study of the role of associations is reserved for another work.

factors in the formation of groups of friends. Finally, let us add that the average behaviors of ethnic groups are extremely variable. Their distribution, however, does not coincide exactly with the one that we have indicated in the domain of interethnic marriages. Only groups among whom the importance of the ethnic factor is clearly greater than the average, the Moors, the Peul, the Toucouleur, the Sarakolé; on the other hand it is slightly less among the Wolof and the Bambara, average among the Sérère, the Diola, the Soussou, the Cape Verdeans. The partial divergences between these two orders of data (2) pose in themselves a problem which will be the

2. Cf. II, E, 4.

subject of subsequent investigations.

We have studied essentially the permanent population of the town, moreover unequally stabilized. It remains to complete these data by the examination of the problems posed by the seasonal population, and, more generally, by the population without fixed residence. It is in this minority that one can really speak of facts of detribalization, in the sense of pure deterioration of the former social frameworks. On the contrary, we [182]

/88 cont./

871 Education has developed in a remarkable fashion; each year more than 2,000 school children attend the public and private schools. The number of young pupils also has increased steadily, but only for the past dozen years. The modern college, because of its inadequate size, refuses numerous requests for admission every year. In spite of the annual opening of new classes, it can be estimated that only one child out of three of school age attends school.

369
563

4. The Social Structure of the City

1. The Whites.

In 1955 we are far from the heroic epoch when Thiès was considered an unhealthy place and when the mortality was very high. The arrival of the first European families at the beginning of this century could be considered an important event. It marked the possibility of permanently implanting a white colony in the escale.

The climate has been made more bearable by the many improvements in comfort that have created a propitious atmosphere for the establishment of family life. [162] In 1953 there were almost 1,200 women out of 2,700 Whites.

369
563
573

The European population is divided into a certain number of "milieus": army, operatives of the Dakar-Niger, officials, merchants. Contact between any of these assemblages is very loose: with few exceptions the relations between individuals belonging to different groups are not very frequent; there is visiting only among people of the same background. The transfer of personnel, which is repeated every two years, has the result that the time of residence is not ordinarily long enough for a newcomer to break away from his milieu. A certain apathy and a lack of curiosity limit these human contacts with neighboring groupings.

The armed forces, and Dakar-Niger, because of the very conception of their internal organization, live in isolation. Each of them has its co-operative, its club, its

/88 cont./

369 bar, and sometimes its cinema and its swimming pool; /89/
563 they form a small city that is self-sufficient. The officers
573 of the administration by their very functions seem to have more extensive relations in the different milieus.

Among the merchants and artisans, the problem is different because of the very stability of their work and the length of their stay. In this commercial and artisan milieu one could define three very distinct "groupings": the "old ones" who have lived in Thiès for several decades; the "newcomers" from after the war; the Levantine-Moroccan grouping.

The first are not very numerous; they live in their old factorerie, which, in spite of recently added arrangements, preserves something old-fashioned about it. They are able to [191] talk to the native in his own language. Their life, while it has become more comfortable, is lived modestly; they go out little and entertain only among themselves. Every two [484] or three years they take a few months' rest in France during the season of cultivation in Senegal. As a result, their life is quite withdrawn.

The second group, made up of recent emigrants, is entirely different. It primarily contains bachelors or young married people more or less in love with adventure perhaps, but above all seeking a broader existence. They generally [427] live in one or two rooms rented from a Levantine or Moroccan. [265] Since it is difficult for them to cook at home, the restaurant provides for them. In general they adopt a careless attitude, [484] are restless, and speak loudly; their first savings are intended [493] for the purchase of a motorcycle or a small car which will enable them to escape from the city. Moreover, they are per- [546] sistent spectators at the four local cinemas, which have a new program every day.

The group of Levantines is different from the two preceding ones; their life is spent between their shop and their [484] apartment. Rare changes take them to Dakar on business. [353] Their interior is comfortable, arranged according to Oriental taste; they love vivid colors and pile up cushions. They [484] rarely go back to their country of origin; some of them have

S /89 cont./

369 not left Africa for 30 or 40 years. Others, more favored by
563 business, take a trip each year to France or western Asia.
573 Generally, the children pursue their studies in their parents'
[484] land of origin and speak French and English fluently. This
[191] new generation of Levantines, to whom one must add a few
[529] Moroccans, is becoming integrated little by little in the
[578] metropolitan milieu through the medium of sports associa-
[477] tions and hunting parties. These amicable relations will perhaps favor to a certain degree a closer relationship between these groups which are so often antagonistic on the commercial level.

/90/

2. The Africans.

S According to the census statistics gathered in 1953, the
369 ethnic composition of the city was the following: out of an
563 African population of 36,050 inhabitants, the Wolof appeared
162 as the most numerous and, with 23,624 individuals, made
W up 65.5% of the population; the Toucouleur, numbering
[162] 3,356, represent 9.3% of the total; the Bambara (Sudanese,
[369] rather) attained third place and accounted for 6.8% of the population with 2,447 individuals; the Sérère, although settled in the vicinity of Thiès, included only 1,856 persons, namely, 5.1% of the total. The Peul and the Moors, respectively 1,074 and 843 individuals, made up 3% and 2.4% of the total. The Sarakolé and the various other groups, represented, respectively, by 650 and 2,190 members, formed 1.8% and 6.1% of the population.

W These details speak eloquently of the ethnic hetero-
[162] geneity of the Thiès population. Still, it should be empha-
[369] sized that the number of true Wolof is certainly less than the
[563] statistical figure given; after a stay of some ten years spent in Thiès, the Khassonké or the Sarakolé, who will have lost almost all contact with his country of origin, who will have married a woman not of his race, who will have adopted the language, the food, the corresponding Wolof name, will speak of himself as belonging to this group.

/90 cont./

369 As one may well imagine, the most populated zones are
563 the ones located near the railroad workshops; Derrière-la-
[161] voie-ferrée, Randoulène, and Bambara have densities from
102 to 125 inhabitants per hectare (14). These quarters are

14. In French Equatorial Africa, in the quarters of Brazzaville (Poto-Poto and Bacongo), it reaches 100 inhabitants per hectare. Information taken from Documents and Statistics, Ministry of the F.O.M., No. XI, March 1954, p. 25.

at the same time the places of the most complete intermingling; almost 40% of the population is made up of elements foreign to the region of Thiès where Wolof and Sérère live.

We quote these figures, of course, in order to pose the problem of contacts between the various ethnic groups and of the relations between individuals.

369 Nevertheless, we should set apart the Moor group,
563 whose conduct clearly differs from that of its colored neigh-
573 bors. The Moors do not have any relations with the Blacks, except for purely commercial reasons. They meet only among themselves, travel only accompanied by one of their fellows. Their sobriety, their sense of thrift (often carried to excess), and their frigid calm estrange them from the often expansive temperament of the Blacks. Perhaps a certain feeling of superiority toward the population which they dominated before our arrival is the origin of this profound gap between people of identical material circumstances.

369 /91/ The Black masses seem at first estimate to form
563 a homogeneous whole. Nevertheless, among the elements which compose it there exist traditional distinctions of customary, ethnic, and religious origin, and social distinc-
[182] tions linked to recent structures: a new hierarchy in the

/91 cont./

369 563 [182] [565] [466] industrial enterprises and in the public function. Even in a professional category a certain hierarchy of a traditional order survives and is always respected. In the workshops of the Dakar-Niger, for example, the higher supervisory staffs are made up of workers belonging to superior castes: free men, descendants of chiefs' families... Operatives coming from families of griots or former captives, in spite of their skill at the work and their training, would have only very weak authority over their subordinates.

[578] The animosities between individuals belonging to formerly hostile groups or to opposed religious sects may sometimes reappear in the course of contacts between individuals or groups of individuals. Along the same line [466] of thought, a certain favoritism may creep into the relations between foreman and subordinates belonging to the same ethnic category or the same religion.

369 563 573 Within each ethnic minority scattered through the city spontaneous associations spring up, led by the oldest among them. These friendly groups meet periodically. They are at the bottom of the mutual aid to the newcomer, to the workman who lives temporarily without funds in the escale. Each of these gatherings is at the same time the occasion for "folkloristic" celebrations, reminding the members of the group of their customs and their country of origin.

369 177 563 The traditions which have been able to survive by being adapted to the new conditions of the society lose their importance to a certain extent in contact with new ideas and Western influence. We have already remarked that the notion of ethnic group is rapidly obliterated when the individual is transplanted for a long time in a city very far from his natal village. The family ties, and above all the [593] authority of the head of the family over each of its members, become extremely loose in the city. We see a breaking up of the subordination that subjected each of the members of a family to the paternal authority. The child is no longer compelled to adopt the trade of his father; he may choose the work that he thinks will suit him. The young girl is [584] rapidly becoming emancipated, and rare are the Thiès

/374 cont./

369 [438] became a relatively flourishing commercial center; each year more than 20,000 metric tons of groundnuts were handled by the traders of the place and sent by railroad to the ports of Rufisque or Dakar. As early as 1907 the first work on the Thiès-[496] Kayes railroad was begun. All of this new economic activity [464] required the employment of many laborers, who were in part recruited on the spot, but also in the neighboring villages.

369 During the dry season, work in the fields is reduced. A 162 number of rural people in the vicinity come to offer their serv- [464] ices as workers in the factoreries (2) or in the newly opened

[443] 2. Factorerie: shop where everything is sold.

[461] yards /chantiers, dockyards, woodyards, etc./. Some of these villagers feel that this kind of work is less arduous and more remunerative than that of agriculture. They become definitively attached to urban life and come to swell the population of the native quarters previously established.

[484] Others return every evening to the village. During the [22] rainy season they leave their urban job and devote all their activity to work in the fields.

During this whole period prior to the Great War the suburban village seems to have played the role of intermediary or rather of relay-station between the hamlet in the bush and the city. The call for non-specialized labor had echos not [464] only in the outskirts /375/ of the city itself, but also in the more distant villages. Curiosity about new things, the opportunity to escape familial village, and especially the promise of relatively high earnings stimulated some immigration movement toward the escales.

[574] By means of the great hospitality that he knows will be shown him by relatives or friends who live in Diakhaté or Keur-Issa-Bambara, the rural person settles in these agglomerations.

/375 cont./

369 He works the lougan (1) of his host; after a few months he

166

[574]

1. Lougan; a Wolof term signifying a cultivated field.

[425]

[622]

obtains a little grant of land from the head of the village; he builds a hut, and often his family joins him and comes to share his life. Diakhaté and Keur-Issa-Bambara grow. The new settler takes advantage of the inactivity that the dry season imposes on him by offering his services temporarily to the urban establishments. Each year he divides his activities, which become half-urban, half-rural. If stable employment is offered to him in the city, he leaves the care of his lougan to his family and devotes himself entirely to his new activity. For a few months he will accept this daily [484] travel, but he has no deep attachment in the village that welcomed him earlier; tired of his long daily journeys, perhaps also pushed by a kind of pride in becoming a city dweller, he will finally, he and his family, leave the rural life and settle in the huts of the native quarters of Thiés.

369 Perhaps he retained a little lougan in the village?
241 His family will come to maintain it each year. Perhaps he exchanged it for a field located in the vicinity of his new establishment? In general, because of a kind of peasant atavism, he always keeps a little bit of ground near his quarter. The harvest will give some protection against possi- [454] ble shortages; the sale of the products of the soil will be a considerable balance when enforced idleness or lack of money occurs.

369 The period of the maximum development of Keur-
621 Issa-Bambara is set by the old people in the decade 1910-1920. This swelling of the population often required splitting the village in two. For reasons of familial misunderstandings or the necessity of being nearer to fields too far away, this disassociation was brought about in several hamlets (at

/386 cont./

369 two important roles in the economy of the escale: it is a re-
464 serve of workers who can be employed temporarily; it is also
166 the position of withdrawal when enforced idleness and strikes interdict work in the city.

[463] A functional examination of the different human groups has in fact revealed that an important proportion of the male elements has a hybrid occupation: half-agricultural, half-laborer. These workers fluctuating between two activities seem like a shock troop of laborers who are employed on the occasion of great undertakings: embankments for the laying of the road from Dakar to Thiès, putting through and establishing new streets, the installation of the military camps, the extraction of phosphate in the Péchiney quarries... The yard closed, they temporarily return to the land.

These villages are also withdrawal points in case of prolonged work stoppages. If the worker is discharged from his establishment, if he suffers from enforced idleness in his occupation, is he totally deprived of money? He knows that he will [574] be able to wait for better times thanks to the hospitality that he will find in the neighboring agglomeration. Settled near the escale, it will be possible for him to look for work every day.

369 Reserve of manpower, reserve of food products intended principally for the native, these are the two points that justify the term suburb given to these few villages.

Their external appearance and their internal organization as we have described it scarcely correspond to our Western view of the suburban phenomenon. But we should place this problem in its African milieu where the conceptions of the city, animal breeding, agriculture... profoundly differ from ours.

How long will this type of suburb of the African cities preserve this rural appearance? Evolution in the modes /387/ of settlement, in interior comfort, in the extension of new crops..., already primed in some villages, will progressively continue in the neighboring agglomerations.

In spite of appearances, modifications occur rapidly

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

me. Diop, Faye, one of his friends, who was secretary to the local theatre, and I sat round the large bowl eating with spoons. A number of people passed, and one old man came in to watch us.

'That's our Griot,' Diop told me. A Griot is a member of a special caste, to be found in the Jollof and Mandinka tribes, who sings, drums, dances and tells jokes—a sort of family jester.

He started to talk in rapid Jollof and soon Diop and his friend were in hoots of laughter. For his pains the bowl of rice was handed to him, and another man who joined him.

'Who is he?' I asked.

'Another relation. I have to feed him,' Diop replied.

'One of the greatest problems in Dakar,' an official of IFAN had told me, 'is parasitism. A man will come to Dakar and get himself a good job, say at ten pounds a month. He has his immediate family to look after. Then along comes a cousin, and installs himself. An uncle from the bush comes to stay three days, decides he likes Dakar and fails to return to his village. A man like this may find he is supporting between eight and fifteen dependants.'

'I suppose that explains why Dakar's population is much larger than opportunities for work would justify?'

'Yes. It's a great problem, because it prevents any accumulation of capital by Africans. People complain that there is no African bourgeoisie here, that all the trade is in the hands of Lebanese and small Frenchmen. It's largely because an African here cannot, by the laws of hospitality, refuse to give a bed and food to his fellow tribesmen.'

'Of course, in a way that's a good thing, because no one goes hungry, and it's one way of redistributing wealth voluntarily. A sort of voluntary welfare state.'

'Yes, but if the African is to control the economy of his own economy, he must be rid of this scourge.'

In Gorée I met a Frenchman to whom Senegalese soldiers used to come immediately after their discharge from the Army to leave all their new clothes and money, otherwise they would have returned to the town to hear: 'Oh, you are the most wonderful, most bountiful man alive.' After that there would have been little left of their money.

Diop was perhaps a classic example of parasitism. He himself was a borrower, only to have other people borrowing from him.

/92 cont./

369 All of the new elements that swell the urban quarters
166 are young elements coming from the country; 32% of the
[162] population is made up of young people less than 14 years of age (15) whom the so-called facilities of the city have

15. In France this percentage is 24%, the figure estimated according to the census statistics given in the review Population, Oct.-Dec. 1954, p. 718.

attracted. The countryside is being drained of its energetic elements and the city does not have enough work to give to
[464] those who come to settle there. A class of idlers and para-
[574] sites is forming little by little, living on either the generous African hospitality or by expedients. This aspect of the social problem of the large African cities is one of the more urgent to be solved.

369 The public authorities are disturbed by this enormous
168 swelling of the urban populations, which far exceeds the actual needs. It seems that none of the methods adopted up to now for decreasing them /93/ have given appreciable results. Perhaps the efforts that are now being made to improve the conditions of rural life and promote some modernization of agricultural techniques will allow the economic capacity of the countryside to increase and will curb the rural exodus. Greater stability among the urban population would then permit the establishment of more coherent and better balanced social structures.

Georges Savonnet.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

only a limited, and very indirect, part. Between this group and the working-class elite certain persisting tensions can be descried; a survey among the younger members—students, young workers—has brought to light more or less radical divergencies. However, the new elite is trying to extend its activity to the trade union sphere. A confederation of African workers independent of the organizations in metropolitan France has recently been founded, in which the young intellectual elite will apparently be extremely influential. This would be the counterpart of its entry into organized political action. In another domain, significant changes are occurring: the 'cultural associations' have a much more important role than their name would imply.[1] These are made up of the intellectual elite (in the widest sense in which I have used this term), which seeks by these means to avoid being relegated to a position of isolation, to acquire greater influence in the education of the people—e.g. through theatrical representations in one of the local languages—and to rediscover the highways of traditional African culture.

It is the new elite that has given expression to this desire for a 'return to the fountain-head'. A reaction, against assimilationist policies has appeared. From the acceptance of assimilation characteristic of he preceding generation opinion turned first to less sharply defined positions—typified by the slogan 'assimilate, don't be assimilated'—and then to attitudes of refusal, the details of which are still not very clear. Such attitudes accompany a lush ideological growth, to which only a very brief reference can be given here. It is not exempt from inconsistency; it is intertwined with growths of very different origin, sometimes hostile to each other. The only point at which all these ideologies concur is that they one and all are the expression of an intense reaction against colonialism—and obviously against the policy of assimilation—and serve as a basis for a growing 'nationalism'.[2] I will mention only the following points: the revival of African cultures and the affirmation of the common elements in a pan-African or, more generally, a Negro culture; the development of a veritable mythology around the notion of 'Negrohood'[3] and of a sort of 'counter-racism', the end-result of which is to shut the door on the outside world—i.e. primarily the Western world; the reinterpretation of history through a reversal of the perspective, a method applied not only to the history of the slave trade and the colonial period, but to the whole history of Africa as well;[4] the forging from Marxist theories of an ideological battering ram, to be used in a specifically African anti-colonial drive. The results of all these efforts make rapid headway throughout the 'educated' classes.[5]

The above picture is unavoidably only an incomplete outline. I have merely sought to bring out the importance of the present transitional phase and its characteristic processes. A new intellectual elite is taking up the torch from the 'colonial elite' which in Senegal had already succeeded in gaining appreciably greater influence than in the other French West African territories; there has been no break between them. And yet tensions and possibilities of conflict exist. Nevertheless, the conscious search for points of contact with

1. The study of political problems is a particularly important part of their activity.
2. In the African context, this term is used very broadly, to cover all anti-colonial movements.
3. The review *Présence Africaine* offers many examples of articles showing the influence of this idea.
4. The recent book by Cheikh Anta Diop, *Nations Nègres et Culture* (Negro nations and culture), Paris, 1955, is a highly significant example of what is being done on these lines.
5. There are still more trends, but they indicate a change of outlook which will probably become deeper with time.

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 668 than the relatively inflexible political parties, adequate frameworks for expressing anti-colonial demands and for creating activists.

Religious Organizations

665 668 1193 As distinct from many other parts of Sub-Sahara Africa, organizations of a religious character play only a very limited part here. We have already seen how the "traditional" political parties entered into the activities of some religious groups and attempted to make them recruiting bases for their clientele. The more limited movements alone provided certain means, chiefly indirect, for expressing extremist political demands. This was the case, for example, of a grouping founded by Moslem students at Dakar. However, they received very little support.[46]

Cultural Associations and Youth Movements

668 575 Cultural associations and youth movements have had a more important role in this area. Some of them have contributed to the formation of strong political cadres. In general, the cultural associations have had a rather precarious existence; their activities in some cases have ceased. Their efforts to win the support of the masses by undertaking an educational role — for instance, by means of the theater — have often been disappointing. Finally, they often have had a ambiguous nature. Thus, in a city such [369] as Dakar, founded by highly "assimilated" elements, they have experienced some difficulty in contributing to the development of modernized African culture. But they are not devoid of concern for political organization in a very general sense, removed from party orientation. This was shown with regard to three of the

[P. 15 B]

668 575 most vigorous associations, by an investigation of the topics discussed by the study groups that they created, and of the content of the discussion.[47] By considering such questions as teaching and the language for teaching, the organization of local communities, economic development, interracial marriages, etc., their study of the political problems resulting from the colonial situation had wide influence.

As for the Youth Council of Senegal, [369] which comprised the majority of youth associations and was organized primarily in the cities, the orientation of its activity was even clearer. By the nature of its conflicts with the civil administration, by the content of its demands in behalf of youth, by the topics related to the future of youth whose study it was undertaking, it disclosed a "nationalist" potential of some vigor.

It is essential to note the possible role of associations founded on ethnic or territorial bases, in particular those inspired by youths. Centers for contact with territories other than Senegal, they spread [665] the foreign political influence of the parties predominating within them. This seemed to be the case, for instance, of the grouping of Senegalese youths with relation to the R.D.A. However, these associations were never directly linked with a given partisan organization. The political role that they might temporarily play was very flexible and therefore somewhat indeterminate.

Labor Unions

467 Labor unions should receive especial attention. The union movement in French West Africa is numerically one of the most important, and among the most active, in all of sub-Sahara Africa. [665] Like the political parties, it took form only in the immediate post-war period.

[P. 16A]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[47] We acknowledge our indebtedness to the cultural associations for inviting us to participate in their study groups.

[48] Respondents claiming membership in a union often were behind in the payment of their dues, or only heeded the directives of the union without having joined it. Hence the number of union members, so far as it can be estimated from the general survey, is much higher than that given by the unions themselves. The deviations shown for the different categories are more marked than the raw figures of the general survey indicate; the categories with the highest percentages of union members were those in which the exactness of the responses was the greatest, as later samplings emphasized.

[p. 16c]

668
505
467

/19 cont./

369x
563
[361]

differences in the daily rhythm are the arguments put forward by those who do not use purely racist arguments.

fact on the differences in economic status.

c) In principle there is no segregation in social life, either; certain public places, however (cafés, bars, etc.), strive directly or indirectly, to secure for themselves a purely European clientele. On the other hand, many clubs and asso- [575] ciations of a recreational nature exclude Africans in fact (it is rarely statutory). The syndicates themselves, although they [467] are not in principle founded on a racial basis, do not effect a mixing of Africans and Europeans, as a result of the diver- [468] gence of interests and claims; the strikes, when they occur, are in practice purely African. Finally, the political parties [665] are for the most part almost exclusively African; the European population as a whole is disinterested in local political activity.

d) Essentially the relations between Africans and Europeans are: relations at the place of work, between colleagues and, much more often, between subordinates and superiors, employees and bosses; relations between masters and domestics at home; common participation in cultural and sportive activities; relations between teachers and pupils or students. Relations of a more personal character (regular relationships, friendships, etc.) are much rarer. Intermarriages -- almost exclusively between African men and European women -- have a particular significance; there are practically none that have been contracted locally.

/20/ e) Here we shall not touch on the area of interracial judgments and attitudes, which must be the subject of more detailed investigations. It will suffice to say that all the observations made permit one to conclude that there is a

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

with her restricted notions about the family, to integrate successfully into the extended family, especially in a territory like Senegal where family relations are of such importance that it is practically forbidden to refer to the economic burden they cause. The European wife often insists on her husband breaking with the extended family and restricting the family to the usual European size. Instances of marriage between European male and African females are rare because of the small number of well educated African females. 563 [596]

This all builds up to a picture of a French community with little interest in assimilating the Senegalese to their own standards. But a number of points must be stressed. On the whole the French have always accepted the Senegalese as equals. There is a strict code of mutual courtesy between Senegalese and all but the most uncouth Frenchmen. As Claude Duchemin of the *Institut Francais d'Afrique Noire* has written: 'A genuine "niceness" was apparent in their daily contacts, simply and with no ostentation, as if it were quite natural. It seemed that each wanted to prove to the other his wish to play the game loyally, without complexes.' Also there has been remarkably little use of 'pidgin' in Senegal, a debased form of French which by implication infers an inferior recipient. [576] [198]

But most important of all is the fact that a small minority of Frenchmen, fortunately usually in positions of authority have followed personally an assimilationist policy. This has been most marked in the political sphere. Though the great majority of Frenchmen who were interviewed by Mercier had nothing to do with local politics and even talked in terms of maintaining 'white solidarity' a few were militant politicians alongside men like Senghor and Lamine Guèye. Men like Maître Paul Bonifay, until recently deputy Mayor of Dakar, who was Secretary of the *S.F.I.O.* in Dakar for many years, or André Peytavin, who worked closely with Senghor in the early days of the *B.D.S.* and was chosen as Minister of Finance in the Government [645]

[12 cont.]

369 583 291 435

12 silk headkerchiefs (6 obligatory, valued at 500 to 600 francs each;

12 kerchiefs with "edging" [mouchoirs de "bord"] (6 obligatory, valued at 300 to 375 francs each);

2 silk handkerchiefs;

4 Mauritanian mats, on which the objects are detailed, valued at 500 francs each, and most of all rare, which costs dearly.

369 685

c) Basket of Small Goods. This is a creation of the well-bred man of Saint-Louis, who during the 3 or 8 or 15 days that the nuptials last wishes the guests to be treated well. The young people of both sexes are supposed to crowd into the spacious rooms, suitably decorated and illuminated, and to be "overwhelmed" by the songs of the griots. The husband considers their rejoicings an imperious duty and offers them a basket generally containing several packs of cards, packages of toothpicks, perfume, razor blades, pipes, tobacco, incense, kohéal, fans, tidbits, etc.

369 585 565

d) The Gifts. These expenses are the final obligations and bear the name of "decorations of castes." As we have noted, since the first visit of the husband, the persons of caste have not officially benefited further from his generosity or from that of his wife. But custom requires that these people be gratified. It should be noted also that the guers have their men of caste who are faithful to them from father to son. In their presence and when they are equal to their task. Whatever their fortune or rank (in the Europeanized society), a guer cannot address any other persons of caste without their permission. Only one coiffeuse arranges the hair of a young girl until her marriage, and one jeweler repairs or makes her finery. The marriage is the ceremony of their dedication and the occasion of proving to them that they have not placed their confidence in vain. These persons comprise two categories: that of the woman and that of the man. Let us note at once that the latter cannot be too demanding without showing a lack of the proper attitude. They form part of the general staff of the husband, and, under penalty

[576] [302] [306]

/25 cont./

793 and to receive the title of Cheikh, with the advantages which
* 795 that confers. While waiting, he works at hoeing and clearing
244 land without counting or measuring all the lands capable of pro-
[555] ducing the groundnuts which make up the fortune of his mara-
bout.

It is this way of colonizing the lands, and more particularly the new lands, which has made the brotherhood play an important role in the economy of Senegal in recent years. The Murid marabouts have been and remain clearers /26/ of land and large-
[433] scale producers of groundnuts. It can be estimated that they alone produce a little more than half of the total harvest of the Territory.

793 This brilliant picture is nevertheless not without shadows.
*795 Even though the influence of the Murid leaders is not dangerous
● 578 on the political level as a consequence of the good understanding which exists between them and the Administration, even though there is no reason to fear that they may incite the members of the brotherhood to insubordination, their presence in the villages does pose problems. There are problems when they have settled in villages whose chiefs are not Murids (if not, sometimes, anti-Murid). In these cases it often happens that there are collisions
[627] between the customary chiefs and the Murid marabouts, principally since the reforms of 1945 which diminished considerably the powers of the chiefs and their prestige in the eyes of the people at a time when the influence and glory of the marabouts were increasing. Many times the Murids of a canton want to obey
[632] only their religious leader and willfully ignore the canton chief. In addition, in the face of the invading agricultural activity of the Murids, the non-Murid populations stiffen themselves more and more and try to resist their agrarian encroachments. That sometimes creates quarrels; indeed it even provokes violent disorders which have to be arbitrated or stopped.

793 On the other hand, the recent political evolution which is
*795 resulting in giving the right to vote to all Senegalese men and
666 all Senegalese women has prompted the politicians to seek the collaboration and friendship of the Murid leaders... so that they

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 565 582 S [595] caste from his own tribe. The extent to which caste matters is brought out by the case of a young Catholic girl from a devout family who, rather than marry a fellow Catholic out of caste, in the end became the polygamous wife of a Muslim of the same caste. Within any ethnic group in Senegal marriage out of caste is extremely rare.

S 565 W [565] S [533] [814] The caste system is not vicious in any real sense. For the privileges of a high caste entail many obligations. Thus a noble Wolof family will be obliged to feed and pay frequent sums of money to its family griots (minstrels, praise-singers and family historians) and if they fail to do this the griot is able to shame them publicly as a poor or mean family, something a Wolof would avoid at all costs. Likewise the S [463] [326] artisan castes have a monopoly in their respective trades, since it would be impossible for a noble or free man to undertake the work of a jeweller or smith. Nevertheless in Senegalese society the term 'bijoutier' or 'tisserand' has slight contempt attached to it. The only caste to suffer S [567] socially in any way is of course that designated slave, because of the implications of such a status. In social investigations amongst the factory workers of Dakar, M. André Hauser found very few indeed who would admit to being of slave caste.

At present it is certainly a disadvantage to belong to any of the inferior castes, and though one hears of a few cases of open clashes between castes, in the present state of affairs it is certain that a number of young men resent this classification of people into superior and inferior groups and it is very much less important to them than to the older generation.

S 565 764 578 Early in 1961 *Agence Presse Sénégalaise* reported 'bloody clashes between griots and non-griots at Diack'. These ended with several dead and a number of wounded and started as a result of the refusal of non-griots to accept the burial of griots in their burial ground. The Minister of the S [641] Interior himself went to settle the dispute and gathered the whole population to tell them that his Government gave

5: Crowder, J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

equal status to all Senegalese and wanted to make everyone true Senegalese citizens whether they were griots, leather-workers or jewellers. Afterwards the non-griots agreed that the griots who had just died should be buried in the same way as anyone else, and as a beginning they agreed to let the burial of the victim of the incident take place, not in the traditional baobab but in Diack earth.'

In the Government today there are, amongst those members belonging to tribes with a class system only two of inferior caste, one being a 'bijoutier' and one a griot. It is said of another that he is of slave origin, but this is not certain because politicians often try to attribute inferior caste to their opponents. In the Assembly, of the members with caste all are noble or freeborn with the exception of one 'bijoutier', and one griot. It is thus at present difficult to get on in politics unless one is noble or freeborn. Indeed chiefly connexion is important, even though chiefs are no longer of significance administratively. Thus in 1957 Kenneth Robinson wrote:

> Membership of chiefly families is, nevertheless, an important source not only of prestige but of political interest. In many interviews with political leaders in the smaller townships and villages they almost invariably defined their own position, and that of their fellows, in part by reference to their relationship with the ruling families, or with the indigenous caste system.

Mr. William Foltz, who is making a detailed survey of Senegalese politics, has however observed that the local party groups in the country are increasingly representative of the inferior castes and many of the important backroom boys are of inferior caste, which suggests that there may be a change from the present situation at the next elections. But so far, as Mercier has observed, it does not look as though high standing in the modern context can yet completely redeem traditional inferiority.

The caste system in Senegal is one of the most delicate problems confronting the Senegalese Government today.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

EVOLUTION OF SENEGALESE ELITES

P. MERCIER

The increasingly rapid development of elites[1] of a non-traditional type is a conspicuous feature of the social change now occurring in all African territories. It is a sign of the most recent phase of the crisis through which colonized societies are passing. The problems connected with the crystallization[2] of such elites vary considerably in different regions and in different economic, political and social contexts. Even inside the group of territories composing French West Africa appreciable local variations can be observed. But everywhere these elites exert ever stronger and more united pressure on existing politico-social organizations in the hope of attaining to the leadership they feel to be their destiny. Wherever we study them, we find the same situation—fraught with conflict: conflict with the existing African social system imposed by colonization; conflict with the traditional ruling classes or what remains of them; internal conflict, when the elites do not—as yet, at any rate—form a homogeneous group, or, alternatively, when divergent trends appear. The same phenomena can be found everywhere, and go to make up a general pattern.

571
178
[578]

If, however, we wish to understand the discrepancies observed in the pace at which the new elites developed, their composition, their methods and capacity for self-expression, their ambitions, etc., we must study the differences between them. Among the criteria applicable in a first attempt to classify the various regional situations, the following appear to me to be the most important:

1. Extension of education. We have to take into account both a territory's crude school rate and, among other facts: any divergencies between the rates reached by different regions of the same territory; inequalities in the distribution of school facilities on racial, religious or other grounds, the distribution of the school population classified according to the various kinds and degrees of education, the distribution of the school population classified by sex, etc.
2. Types and degree of economic development, i.e. whether or not it has permitted the emergence of social categories well-integrated in modern economic life, and, in particular, with the capacity for investing money: rich farmers (mainly planters), merchants, entrepreneurs, etc.;[3] whether or not an embryonic working class has emerged in urban centres (an elite of manual workers more or less closely linked to the intellectual elite and anxious to assume leadership of a pseudo-proletariat[4] of casual labourers).[5]
3. Role of the traditional structures and social grades. The traditional political, religious and other systems have more or less succeeded in holding their own and the governing classes which made them work have been able to

1. The word 'elite' is used here in a very broad sense. It does not mean a ruling class, but a social category more or less enjoying prestige status and exerting influence, by its example, over the whole or large sections of the population.
2. Crystallization which does not necessarily result in the formation of well-knit groups.
3. The Ivory Coast offers the most typical example of such development.
4. In most cases, it maintains close ties with the district or the group from which it came.
5. The classic example is that of the Senegalese towns.

[369]

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

178
571

The reason is not to be sought solely in the increase in numbers of this intellectual elite though that was quite substantial. Trained in Europe and remaining in touch with the world outside, it was the first section of the population to become consciously aware of the 'colonial situation',[1] and it immediately made an attempt to build up ideological systems which soon acquired crucial influence. Next, the changed pattern in the relations between Europeans and Africans speeded up the development of situations in which conflicts became inevitable, and encouraged the maintenance of close contact between the new and the colonial elites. I shall revert to this point later. True, tension existed, especially between generations, the older strata of the colonial elite having sometimes to defend the positions they had won.[2] But the younger people tended to identify themselves with the new elite, to accept its guidance and to share, more or less confusedly, in the same awakening to the colonial situation. Thus, the intellectual elite, in the broadest sense of the term, embarked in a new direction, and the political consequences of this change are now beginning to be seen. The problem of relations with the workers' elite which has emerged in the past few years is more complex; I shall come back to it in connexion with trade union activity.

[578]

In the typical pre-war situation, the African elite had little chance of competing with the European managing class, which was much less numerous that it is now.[3] It was trained to be what might be called an auxiliary elite. The new elite, on the contrary—notwithstanding the administrative and economic expansion of the past 10 years—will inevitably find itself in competition with Europeans in the managing and supervisory grades in an ever growing number of specific cases. Though still few in numbers, it has difficulty in finding a place in the territory's administrative and technological machine. It is a paradox that in a country immensely in need of responsible personnel, both managers and technicians, demand seems somewhat to exceed supply. In French West Africa, and particularly in Senegal, the government officially recognizes the existence of an 'employment problem for holders of diplomas'. One of the causes of this situation is no doubt the total absence of planning in the training of elites.[4] But the real explanation must be found in political circumstances and race relations.[5] The effort to 'Africanize' the upper grades encounters firm resistance, and so the rise of the elites is apparently seriously checked by the growing number of situations in which Africans and Europeans compete and which the two groups explain in diametrically opposite ways.[6] It is a significant fact that several Senegalese who have completed their studies in France have remained there, because they would be unable to find jobs for which they could apply at home. The problem is obviously even more acute in the private sector than in the administration.[7] Also, the European population has considerably increased in the past 10 years:[8] it has more than doubled in Senegal, tripled at Dakar—where it now represents about 10 per cent of the population.

[464]

[167]
[563]

[113]

[113]

1. Cf. the studies of G. Balandier, and in particular: *Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique Noire* (Present sociology of Negro Africa), Paris, 1955.
2. Especially in the administration.
3. Cf. P. Mercier, 'Le Groupement Européen de Dakar: Orientations d'une Enquête' (The European group at Dakar: Suggested line for a survey), *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, XIX, 1955.
4. An effort is now being made in this direction.
5. Cf. P. Mercier, 'Le Groupement Européen de Dakar . . .', op. cit.
6. Patterns of thought based on the pre-war situation play a fundamental role here.
7. Where the trend, as yet timid, towards 'Africanization' of the upper grades can be discerned.
8. A general phenomenon in French West Africa which involves important changes in relations between Africans and Europeans.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

cent of the population. Thus, the number of Europeans in intermediate or subordinate posts has substantially increased and the range of competitive situations, instead of growing less is being regularly extended. This affects not only the new elite, but a large segment of the old 'administrative bourgeoisie', and even, to some extent, the workers and lower supervisory grades in industry. And so, while—in theory—opportunities for reaching the highest ranks and simultaneously entering the European group (a consequence foreseen by assimilationist ideology) have increased with the development of education, in reality a radical change in the whole social structure has multiplied the causes of conflict. New factors have cropped up abruptly: further assimilation is gainsaid, Europeans and Africans become more and more sensitive to the realities of race, etc. Obviously, the political consequences of such conflicts are considerable.

I have mentioned cases in which a rift occurred between the elites and the masses, in the early years, at any rate, of the 'colonial elite'. This fact needs some further explanation, while the question of the relations between the 'educated' and the 'traditional' categories calls for re-examination on a wider basis. The stereotyped patterns maintained by the European administration underline the points of divergence. The administration has besides had a tendency—and not only in Senegal—to underestimate the influence of modernist elites and to depreciate their impact upon the population as a whole. True, important tensions can be observed, and some antagonism developed between the citizens (those of the 'four communes'), from whom the major part of the 'colonial élite' came, and the subjects in the other parts of the territory; but such tensions virtually disappeared with the legal changes introduced immediately after the war, a fact which is proof enough how superficial the points of divergence were. The 'educated' classes, moreover, sought to reap all possible profit from the power they acquired in their administrative functions, or in their role of intermediary between producers and the big commercial companies; and that attitude naturally set up a great many local conflicts. Sometimes they sought compensation for their inferior standing in the traditional framework by asserting themselves in the exercise of their new functions. As we have already shown, however, the population as a whole recognized the prestige of the new intellectual elite. True, their prestige did not necessarily displace the traditional prestige, but the two can coexist, a circumstance which stands out most clearly in rural districts. So, even if the 'educated' African has difficulty in fitting into the traditional system or even the family group, even if he is often a maladjusted element, he is rarely the fish out of water whom so many colonial observers considered him. All the elements of the population are still continually in touch.[1] There are two basic reasons for this. First, the range of family relationships is still a very wide one and they themselves are still effective; they maintain their hold on the 'educated' African even when he has left his birthplace. Secondly, religion—chiefly Islam in Senegal—and above all, membership of a sect, which is practically hereditary, continue to be important. The fact that tension between elites and masses led to nothing but quite limited and temporary breaks explains why the recent and entirely conscious effort to retie loose bonds was carried through with comparative ease. It was the new elite that, with political aims in view, inspired this effort. Usually too far removed from the

1. The vitality of racial or religious associations is significant in this respect.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

only a limited, and very indirect, part. Between this group and the working-class elite certain persisting tensions can be descried; a survey among the younger members—students, young workers—has brought to light more or less radical divergencies. However, the new elite is trying to extend its activity to the trade union sphere. A confederation of African workers independent of the organizations in metropolitan France has recently been founded, in which the young intellectual elite will apparently be extremely influential. This would be the counterpart of its entry into organized political action. In another domain, significant changes are occurring: the 'cultural associations' have a much more important role than their name would imply.[1] These are made up of the intellectual elite (in the widest sense in which I have used this term), which seeks by these means to avoid being relegated to a position of isolation, to acquire greater influence in the education of the people—e.g. through theatrical representations in one of the local languages—and to rediscover the highways of traditional African culture.

It is the new elite that has given expression to this desire for a 'return to the fountain-head'. A reaction, against assimilationist policies has appeared. From the acceptance of assimilation characteristic of he preceding generation opinion turned first to less sharply defined positions—typified by the slogan 'assimilate, don't be assimilated'—and then to attitudes of refusal, the details of which are still not very clear. Such attitudes accompany a lush ideological growth, to which only a very brief reference can be given here. It is not exempt from inconsistency; it is intertwined with growths of very different origin, sometimes hostile to each other. The only point at which all these ideologies concur is that they one and all are the expression of an intense reaction against colonialism—and obviously against the policy of assimilation—and serve as a basis for a growing 'nationalism'.[2] I will mention only the following points: the revival of African cultures and the affirmation of the common elements in a pan-African or, more generally, a Negro culture; the development of a veritable mythology around the notion of 'Negrohood'[3] and of a sort of 'counter-racism', the end-result of which is to shut the door on the outside world—i.e. primarily the Western world; the reinterpretation of history through a reversal of the perspective, a method applied not only to the history of the slave trade and the colonial period, but to the whole history of Africa as well;[4] the forging from Marxist theories of an ideological battering ram, to be used in a specifically African anti-colonial drive. The results of all these efforts make rapid headway throughout the 'educated' classes.[5]

The above picture is unavoidably only an incomplete outline. I have merely sought to bring out the importance of the present transitional phase and its characteristic processes. A new intellectual elite is taking up the torch from the 'colonial elite' which in Senegal had already succeeded in gaining appreciably greater influence than in the other French West African territories; there has been no break between them. And yet tensions and possibilities of conflict exist. Nevertheless, the conscious search for points of contact with

2. The study of political problems is a particularly important part of their activity.
3. In the African context, this term is used very broadly, to cover all anti-colonial movements.
4. The review *Présence Africaine* offers many examples of articles showing the influence of this idea.
5. The recent book by Cheikh Anta Diop, *Nations Nègres et Culture* (Negro nations and culture), Paris, 1955, is a highly significant example of what is being done on these lines.
6. There are still more trends, but they indicate a change of outlook which will probably become deeper with time.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

178
571

the masses which are still partly traditionalists helps to strengthen the ties between the masses and the elite—ties never completely broken. General acceptance of the example set by the elite testifies at another level to the permanence of those ties (despite frequent conflicts, misunderstanding, and failures at adaptation). However, certain traditional factors making for heterogeneity still enter into the picture. Tensions can most easily degenerate into conflicts when relations between members of different racial groups, or different castes, are involved. That is a problem which cannot be studied in detail here. But [578] the survival of such rifts (other examples in Negro Africa show that they may reappear after being temporarily suppressed) is a basic fact. A long time will probably be needed before the obstacle they represent to the growth of a homogeneous elite wielding universal influence can be overcome in Senegal. But only when that has been done can the broad general trends briefly described above find their complete expression.

[p 452]

665 elements that have been urbanized the
369 longest, the percentage of party memberships has been as high among women as among men. This was a peculiar aspect of the Dakar situation, not found, for instance, at Thiès (where the percentage of memberships among women, depending upon the ethnic group, was from one-half to one-tenth that among men). At Dakar the women's branches on occasion could mobilize large crowds, adorned in party colors. Study of about 30 of these individual cases suggested that the conscious essence of political attachment consisted almost entirely of the relation with the leader.

665 The formalization noted above can be
● 578 studied from various points of view. The fundamental bipartition of political life in a way was responsible for the indirect expression of intragroup and intergroup divisions and rivalries whose nature was other than political. This explains why the line of separation between the two political blocs did not have the same significance to all sectors of the population. In specific situations it assumed many meanings. For example, one could find: (1) hostility between the Lebou-Wolof grouping and the rest of the population (which resembled, without exactly cor-
[563] responding to, the fundamental division noted above); (2) hostility, more or less muted, between Wolof and Lebou; and (3) hostilities within each of the two groups, in proportion to diversities of origin, status, etc.

This accounts for the relative flexibility prevailing in the composition of the clienteles that made up the parties.[39] Since the clienteles represented varied levels, however, they introduced new divisions, or revived and solidified old hostilities.

665 (1) A fundamental problem arises from the interactions between the modern political system and what remains of the traditional or semi-traditional sys-
[P.13A]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[39] We found, for example, that extended family groups with some degree of solidarity might be divided in political views. This caused severe tensions, but rarely breaks.
[40] *Cf.* C. Michel, *op. cit.* The civil administration continued to grant some prominence to the *sérigne* of Dakar, and ultimately used him as a propaganda agent in some of its activities outside Senegal.

[P.13C]

665
[578
633]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 spected figures, with the aim of keeping
[193] such matters on a purely religious plane, has had little success. The Tidjane chieftans have been too enmeshed in politics to listen.

527 (3) A last example involves recreational activities organized at the end of
665 the year around the exhibition of the
578 "lanterns."[41] These activities provided a basis for the formation of temporary groupings founded on ethnic background, neighborhood, occupation, etc. Such groupings undertook the making of a "lantern," and exhibited it to neighbors, relatives and others, eventually by forming a parade. An element of competition entered; the most noteworthy "lanterns" won rather imposing gifts and a brief prestige for the groupings that exhibited them. The parties seized on this competitive aspect. Party sections themselves created "lantern" groupings. With access to considerable material means and a large number of workers, they made "lanterns" that were veritable carnival floats, huge and very elaborate. Their exhibition brought together in a procession the typical rabble of large political demonstrations. At the same time it aroused friction between hostile parties.[42] They had taken over, almost entirely at their expense, demonstrations whose character they had utterly changed. This is a typical example of the way in which disparate activities have been infused by the two-party rivalry.

369 This process also has another side: the
665 parties have seen a decline in their opportunities for expressing political drives. In the old cities, they experienced relative stagnation for some years, while social changes accelerated and intensified. Elements just becoming aware of the world

[P. 14A]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[41] At first these were merely decorated lanterns. The custom[1] certainly has a European origin; it is typical of the "old cities" of Senegal.
[42] In 1934 the parades of "lanterns" were prohibited by administrative edict.
[43] The results at Dakar and at Thiès cannot be compared in detail. However, the informative value of these general results could, in each case, be verified at other stages in the research.
[44] It should be noted that in the case of Thiès the category of unskilled workers was much closer to that of semi-skilled workers. The unskilled workers, largely employed by the railroad, comprise a more stable group than at Dakar.

[1 [i.e. an exhibition of "lanterns" at the end of the year accompanied by recreational activities — See category 116, P. 14 A -- Analyst]

[P. 14 C]

[578] [463] [1011] [5291] 9265

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

467 468 668 563 those of the African unions.[50] The acute crises produced by certain important strikes gave forceful expression to this rift. The African unions, despite their ideological differences, despite the personal rivalries that brought their leaders into opposition, often engaged in combined and coordinated activities. By contrast, the strikes of the African workers and those of the European workers scarcely ever coincided, though the latter might break out as a response to the [465] former in an effort to maintain the hierarchy of salary scales. As demonstrations of African unity against the civil administration and against European [578] controls in general, strikes were the only occasion in which the underlying tension characterizing the city appeared distinctly and in a generalized fashion. It was because they expressed this tension that their impact and the emotional response to them were so important.

467 468 668 (3) This was also the principal cause of their ultimate success. During such conflicts, demands were expressed that were far more extreme than those made by the parties. Thus, in the strikes of 1953, the union press and the union leaders evoked the possibility that African "loyalism" would be suspended and that the bonds between France and the Overseas Territories would be changed; the question of independence was openly and threateningly discussed. Union activities assumed a certain nationalistic coloring that the parties at that time disregarded. Behind every limited demand regarding salaries or the regulation of working conditions lay the fundamental anti-colonial demand; it was this demand that gave weight to the mass demonstrations and that carried the day.[51] It must be further 467 668 noted that during this period major external ideological elements entered the contest, especially through the unions. An important number of their activists had studied techniques of organization,

[P. 18A]

[12 cont.]

369 always temporary marriages, so great is the attachment of the
178 Saint-Louis man for his city and for the girls of his city. Al-
[584] though this situation is very unfortunate for the boys, it is less
[581] so for the girls. Although some of them are still sacrificed very
[562] young to rich old men, many wait to meet the young man of
their choice before marrying. The marriages of infant girls
have become very rare: the girls of Saint-Louis now marry at a
[582] reasonable age, at about 20, much like French girls. It is a
369 profound change. Convinced of being obliged to wait a long
178 time for a husband, they are acquiring an independence that
562 their mothers have not known; they go out, they go to dances
where they dance European dances, they dare to sit at a table
[191] in a café, they dress according to their taste, they speak French.
They go to school without constraint, which is also a revolution,
and they, like the boys, look for a salaried position, which
allows them a very broad life, like single persons, and which,
within the household, frees them from the guardianship of the
[595] husband. Polygamy, which the modern [evoluées] women
generally refuse, is more and more rare in Saint-Louis (4).

> 4. A polygamous husband most often shuns the modern women for the sake of peace in his household, because the personal earnings of these women permit them to buy finery other than that which he periodically distributes to his spouses, and this provokes jealousy and quarrels. Recently a young female official was supposed to enter the home of a Saint-Louis official as the third or fourth wife. She opposed her parents and married according to her inclination.

[578]

Educated girls have long been judged quite harshly, but this is passing. Many of the young girls who married against the wishes of their parents have been quickly forgiven when the latter saw the good appearance of the household and the affluence

S /89 cont./

369 not left Africa for 30 or 40 years. Others, more favored by
563 business, take a trip each year to France or western Asia.
573 Generally, the children pursue their studies in their parents'
[484] land of origin and speak French and English fluently. This
[191] new generation of Levantines, to whom one must add a few
[529] Moroccans, is becoming integrated little by little in the
[578] metropolitan milieu through the medium of sports associa-
[477] tions and hunting parties. These amicable relations will perhaps favor to a certain degree a closer relationship between these groups which are so often antagonistic on the commercial level.

/90/

2. The Africans.

S According to the census statistics gathered in 1953, the
369 ethnic composition of the city was the following: out of an
563 African population of 36,050 inhabitants, the Wolof appeared
162 as the most numerous and, with 23,624 individuals, made
W up 65.5% of the population; the Toucouleur, numbering
[162] 3,356, represent 9.3% of the total; the Bambara (Sudanese,
[369] rather) attained third place and accounted for 6.8% of the population with 2,447 individuals; the Sérère, although settled in the vicinity of Thiès, included only 1,856 persons, namely, 5.1% of the total. The Peul and the Moors, respectively 1,074 and 843 individuals, made up 3% and 2.4% of the total. The Sarakolé and the various other groups, represented, respectively, by 650 and 2,190 members, formed 1.8% and 6.1% of the population.

W These details speak eloquently of the ethnic hetero-
[162] geneity of the Thiès population. Still, it should be empha-
[369] sized that the number of true Wolof is certainly less than the
[563] statistical figure given; after a stay of some ten years spent in Thiès, the Khassonké or the Sarakolé, who will have lost almost all contact with his country of origin, who will have married a woman not of his race, who will have adopted the language, the food, the corresponding Wolof name, will speak of himself as belonging to this group.

/91 cont./

369 industrial enterprises and in the public function. Even in a
563 professional category a certain hierarchy of a traditional
[182] order survives and is always respected. In the workshops of
[565] the Dakar-Niger, for example, the higher supervisory staffs
are made up of workers belonging to superior castes: free
[466] men, descendants of chiefs' families... Operatives coming
from families of griots or former captives, in spite of their
skill at the work and their training, would have only very
weak authority over their subordinates.

[578] The animosities between individuals belonging to
formerly hostile groups or to opposed religious sects may
sometimes reappear in the course of contacts between in-
dividuals or groups of individuals. Along the same line
[466] of thought, a certain favoritism may creep into the relations
between foreman and subordinates belonging to the same
ethnic category or the same religion.

Within each ethnic minority scattered through the
369 city spontaneous associations spring up, led by the oldest
563 among them. These friendly groups meet periodically. They
573 are at the bottom of the mutual aid to the newcomer, to the
workman who lives temporarily without funds in the escale.
Each of these gatherings is at the same time the occasion for
"folkloristic" celebrations, reminding the members of the
group of their customs and their country of origin.

369 The traditions which have been able to survive by
177 being adapted to the new conditions of the society lose
their importance to a certain extent in contact with new
563 ideas and Western influence. We have already remarked
that the notion of ethnic group is rapidly obliterated when the
individual is transplanted for a long time in a city very far
from his natal village. The family ties, and above all the
[593] authority of the head of the family over each of its members,
become extremely loose in the city. We see a breaking up
of the subordination that subjected each of the members of a
family to the paternal authority. The child is no longer
compelled to adopt the trade of his father; he may choose
the work that he thinks will suit him. The young girl is
[584] rapidly becoming emancipated, and rare are the Thiès

/91 cont./

369 177 563 [584] [593] [182] families in which the father imposes on the child the spouse of his choice. The spread of the teaching of the Moslem and Christian religions count for much in this loosening of the too confining ties of family tradition. This breaking up of ancient, too narrow social structures is not a strictly /92/ urban phenomenon; it also occurs in the countryside, but with less force and with a certain delay.

369 565 178 The presence of the industrial bloc of the Dakar-Niger, on the other hand, has had as an effect the formation of a working class, which is a specifically urban phenomenon. Although the ancient system of castes does exist in human contacts, that of social class is little by little being substituted for it. In sum, there actually exists a superposition of the two systems, but the pre-eminence of the second is already being affirmed. Through daily contacts and the rapid diffusion of social ideas coming from the West, the mass of workers is organized, it is grouped by syndicates, it has set up consumer co-operatives. Because of the great number of the members of this worker group, the workshops of the Dakar-Niger and, through repercussion, the city of Thiès itself have become the most active and the busiest centers of French West Africa. The strike that in 1948 paralyzed railroad traffic on the two lines (Dakar-Bamako and Dakar--Saint-Louis) for several months is certainly proof of the influence of a powerful and organized grouping, and a typical urban phenomenon.

[177] [467] [474] [468]

369 563 578 Thus there exists in Thiès a somewhat special social climate that sometimes makes the relations between Whites and Blacks strained. Chiefly during these periods of social crises. But these tensions are always temporary and automatically disappear as soon as the conflict is settled.

369 161 A much more important problem that seems general in all of the cities of Black Africa is that of the too rapid, if not excessive, swelling of the urban population. We have seen that the population of Thiès has almost doubled from 1945 (24,000 inhabitants) to 1953 (40,000 inhabitants). Dakar, Conakry, and Abidjan have grown in the same proportions.

[162]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 369 cause of this peculiarity, described previously, there were secondary causes, of ethnic, religious, and other natures. Their action contributed to the blurring of lines between the party groups. These facts explain, for example, why the B.D.S., until its recent changes, was unable despite great efforts to change the nature of urban politics. Only the broad action of new factors that were felt considerably beyond the frontiers of Senegal, from 1956 on, brought some change.

These widespread occurrences affected chiefly the two large parties. The other parties, the M.P.S. and U.D.S., which had developed from the schism in the R.D.A., had a quite different nature. They were parties of activists, and in Senegalese political life had only secondary importance. The successes of the R.D.A. elsewhere in West Africa, even during 1956-1957, had only feeble repercussions in Senegal. This fact had many causes, which cannot be studied here. By contrast, the S.F.I.O. and the B.D.S. were tending to become, in terms of number, parties with mass support; their cores were made up as much by "*notables*" and "elected agents" as by activists. The struggle between these two parties continued to dominate the stage, if not in all Senegal, at least in the cities and in certain rural districts.[35] In some cases it took extremely violent forms. 666 665 369 Pre-election riots were common between 1946 and 1956. Even in 1957, rather serious incidents marked the reorganization of the commune of Dakar, before [633] the last municipal elections.[36] For the [579] first time, elements of the B.D.S. (now the Senegalese Populist Bloc, or B.P.S.) won strong representation in the city council, previously dominated without opposition by the S.F.I.O. (now the African Socialist Movement — M.S.A.); an outburst of partisan passions marked

[P. 12A]

/81 cont./

361 millet. The old people assemble in the evening under the
[517] large silk-cotton tree that shades the old crumbling mosque of
[312] Takhikao. The women chatter while awaiting their turn to
[342] draw water at the common well, while the children play in
the sand. Gent stands out because of a series of small, low
houses with a rectangular base and a roof of corrugated metal,
all identical and set along the trail that leads to the marigot
[351] /watercourse/ of the mission. A garden and a courtyard, al-
[563] ways littered with laundry, characterize each concession. It
is the quarter of Portuguese half-breeds called "portugalais"
(Plates XI B and XII A).

Diakhao-Nord /North Diakhao/, quiet, airy, arranged
[363] according to a strict plan of lots, contrasts with Diakhao-Sud
w ith narrow, winding lanes bordered on all sides by tapades
of millet stalks and noisy in the evening. The proximity of
[275] the two military bases has made it a place where one amuses
[525] himself with all that this includes in the way of drinking
[579] shops and more or less clandestine gambling dens. Brawls be-
tween drunken men are not rare in these places.

Randoulène, Derrière-la-voie-ferrée, and Bambara,
which form a unique quarter, homogeneous in its density and
in the heterogeneity of its dwellings, have become established
in the immediate vicinity of the railroad repair shops. The
[342] huts of planks, mud, or straw stand one against the other along
[363] the winding lanes laid out according to the desire of the
moment and not without some imagination. These lanes are
[373] noisy with people, and even late at night they walk between
the small shopkeepers' stalls lighted with smoking candle ends.
351 The dense crowd flows over the edges of the street and enters
the interior of the courtyards. The latter, covering barely
[463] a few square meters, often serve as a workshop for the
[252] weaver, the blacksmith, or the jeweler, and as a kitchen for
the housewives of the neighboring huts; it is not rare to see
half a dozen millet pounders there, pounding their mortars
in rhythm in groups of two or three. This is also the gathering
[517] place /82/ /Fig. 4 appears here/ of workers, where, after
[524] work, sitting in the sand amidst the dust and the noise, in a

/373/

369 therefore one of the Old World's closest points to South America
36 (4). Dakar and Natal are about 3,000 kilometers apart.
[131
[487]

4. Cape Roxo and the region of Freetown are closer from Cape St. Roque by 250 kilometers (cf. J. Richard Molard, in "La presqu'île
[113] du Cap-Vert /The peninsula of Cape Verde/," I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 10).

These advantages of site and location, however, should not make one forget that the tip of the peninsula of Cape Verde did not have easy access. On the one hand, the shallow depths
[133] which border it on its north front caused many shipwrecks, the
369 pillage of which in part supported the riparian populations, and,
175 on the other hand, it did not offer any security for the possible
[579] establishment of a settlement because of the very independent character of the Lébou, who were tightly organized in a geronto-theocratic republic under the authority of the "Great Serigne" (5),

5. Great Marabout.

after being freed from the bondage of the Damel (6) around 1809.

6. King of Cayor.

Thus, one should not be surprised that the actual occupation of the peninsula by France was very late. For a long time the island of Gorée better satisfied the needs of the early navigators. Discovered by the Portuguese at the same time as Cape Verde, in 1444, the island, located off the southeastern cape of the peninsula, was still uninhabited when the Hollanders appeared at Cape Verde in 1588. In 1617 the latter bought it from the chiefs of the coast "for iron and some nails" (7). This island of less than a

[113] 7. Dr. Cariou, note on Gorée in "La

[8]

369
581

The native of the large cities of Senegal, one from Saint-Louis in particular, is evolving, but his expenses for ceremonies of "pleasure," baptism and especially marriage, are evolving also, and unhappily much more rapidly. The young man looks for a way to be able to manage this vertiginous soaring of expenses; he struggles, if not to stop it, to curb it at least. Some associations have been formed in order to agree on a fixed sum which one [9] [Fig. 6 appears here] [10] is not to exceed, as for the expenses of marriage. They scarcely seem to give the anticipated result, their members not facing up to the strength of character required for the attacks, with innovation as the object. Nevertheless, one should cite the nearly general agreement of the members on the precept to "defy the tempest" and to pay no attention to the desires of their parents, parents-in-law, and spouses for having pompous nuptials. Those among them who do not feel capable of restraining their vanity by acting "poverty-stricken" avail themselves of the facilities that they have for [589] changing posts and contracting bush marriages (1). Most of them

1. For the men and women of Saint-Louis, any woman who does not live in Saint-Louis or has no ancestors in this city is from the bush and hence is of mundane breeding and an inadequate housekeeper.

remain single.

What is the origin of these high expenses? We are going to look for it in the local customs, without any expectation of finding it in former times or in the laws of the Koran, which we have merely submitted to, and which in any case we are trying to adapt to our fancy. What are the phases of marriage? What expenses does each one require? We shall give them specifically as we consider the single case of a man from Saint-Louis. Saint-Louis is the "center of good taste" for the colony and serves as the model for it. Finally, do these exaggerated expenses have

[10 cont.]

369 consequences with regard to celibacy and the orientation of
581 manners and customs? This will be the last part of this too brief sketch.

What is the origin of the expenses?

It is in large part in the social organization of the Senegalese Blacks before the introduction of Islam and before the French peace.

584 Marriage then depended upon the wishes of the fathers and mothers of the spouses. The marriage portion imposed was
583 enormous, even though proportional to the social rank of the fiancé and to his wealth. It was made up of captives and animals. In return, the wife, in order to maintain her dignity in the eyes of the husband and the co-spouses, joined her new residence with often as much wealth as she had received. This per-
[582] haps is the origin of the frequent unions between cousins, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew. The purpose of this for the family was to keep its wealth concentrated.

As Moslems, we have introduced the Koran and the Koranic marriage portion, different for a slave and for a free woman, with an assessment proportional to the wealth of the husband, but which is principle requires no costly pomp and which is not preoccupied with griots [singers, poets, storytellers].

With the French peace, the captives have been withdrawn from the exchanges, and the idea of replacing them with gold, money, or animals (now very vulgar property) prevails.

369 But with freedom the horizon was also widened. The
584 suitors, formerly localized and nearly always known in advance,
178 have multiplied. One originally from the Fouta is quickly transported to Sène and, without bloodshed, without abduction, can marry a girl whom many young men dream of winning. The rivalries, which not long ago were settled on the field of battle or by thrusts of daggers, have perpetuated themselves under the indifferent eyes of the Whites, but on the field of marriage and by thrusts of gold or banknotes (diamalé, rivalry for a woman).

[12 cont.]

369 of humiliation, they must, as must he, show proof of generosity.
585 How does one go about "decorating these persons"?
565 There are the griots, the jewelers, the cobblers, and also ... the captives; the husband gives 1,000 francs or more to each grouping, and his relatives a supplementary sum, always distinct from that given by the husband, of such a nature that each caste receives 10,000 or 20,000 francs or more. This sum will be divided under the direction of the caste head.

585 This ceremony concludes the marriage, because im-
369 mediately, for three streets around, there is nothing but hysteria and hubbub, with griots coming and going, as well as drivers (3).

3. We have not said anything about the expense for the food. Each morning during the whole period of the nuptials, the husband must give a sum large enough to provide food for all of his guests and those of the wife. It is obligatory for the parents of the wife to send supper to the mother of the husband on the first day. I have seen a case that merits being noted. On the occasion of a recent marriage, the parents-in-law sent from Saint-Louis to Louga a wagon of food, 25 large basins, "tolis," containing 25 foods estimated in 1939 at 4,000 francs, deducted from the meals of the mother, which were, it was said, transported by five or six carts.

Consequences of the high price of marriage on the manners and customs

369
178
584 Such expenses greatly hinder young people from marrying.
581 Most of them, if they do not wish to remain single, are obliged to leave their city to contract bush marriages, which are almost

[12 cont.]

369 always temporary marriages, so great is the attachment of the
178 Saint-Louis man for his city and for the girls of his city. Al-
[584] though this situation is very unfortunate for the boys, it is less
[681] so for the girls. Although some of them are still sacrificed very
[562] young to rich old men, many wait to meet the young man of
their choice before marrying. The marriages of infant girls
[582] have become very rare: the girls of Saint-Louis now marry at a
reasonable age, at about 20, much like French girls. It is a
369 profound change. Convinced of being obliged to wait a long
178 time for a husband, they are acquiring an independence that
562 their mothers have not known; they go out, they go to dances
[191] where they dance European dances, they dare to sit at a table
in a café, they dress according to their taste, they speak French.
They go to school without constraint, which is also a revolution,
and they, like the boys, look for a salaried position, which
allows them a very broad life, like single persons, and which,
within the household, frees them from the guardianship of the
[595] husband. Polygamy, which the modern [evoluées] women
generally refuse, is more and more rare in Saint-Louis (4).

> 4. A polygamous husband most often shuns the modern women for the sake of peace in his household, because the personal earnings of these women permit them to buy finery other than that which he periodi-
> [578] cally distributes to his spouses, and this provokes jealousy and quarrels. Recently a young female official was supposed to enter the home of a Saint-Louis official as the third or fourth wife. She opposed her parents and married according to her inclination.

Educated girls have long been judged quite harshly, but this is passing. Many of the young girls who married against the wishes of their parents have been quickly forgiven when the latter saw the good appearance of the household and the affluence

[12 cont.]

369 that [13] prevailed there. This has been made obvious by the
178 war; the modern households have suffered from economic diffi-
562 culties much less than the others, because the women proved to
[511] be much more skillful in getting out of difficulties with the little that could be obtained.

369 Will the custom of such sumptuous expenses with regard
581 to marriage last? It is difficult to tell. It evidently greatly satisfies the pride of the man of Saint-Louis by exhibiting his
[556] wealth and his generosity. If it makes marriage difficult for young people, this is very regrettable, because the precious years of youth are lost and the children will come too late; it makes marriage the great affair of one's life, which is good,
[562] and it has contributed in a very large measure to the freeing of the girls, which, except for some extravagances, is a great benefit.

Diagne Oumar Syr

Instructor at N'Dioum
(Circle of Podor)

/21 cont./

as the extremely variable extension of marriage prohibitions shows. 121 369*

The local unit coincides more or less completely with the kinship group delineated by the line of dominant filiation; a village quarter is in principle the habitat of a given lineage.

Marriage is not a commitment between two individuals, guaranteed by a state or religious body (3), but the conclusion [581]

3. This guarantee intervenes among the Moslems, but in most cases does not play the essential role.

of an agreement between two kinship groups, an agreement which assumes, directly or indirectly, the form of an exchange of forces. The networks of matrimonial alliances, while permitting each kinship group to maintain and increase its substance, create bonds, constantly reinforced, between diverse groups, thus assuring the cohesion of the ethnic group that their assemblage composes. Therefore, in the vast majority of cases, one does not conceive of marriage outside the ethnic group. [582]

Even in the systems of patrilineal filiation, the maternal line is likewise a source of obligations. In particular, in most populations -- and very especially in Senegal -- the role of the uterine uncle is important (4). [604]

4. Cf., as far as the Lebou are concerned, G. Balandier and P. Mercier, op. cit., passim.

It is important to keep these basic elements in mind in the course of the account that we shall give about the problems that are posed at present.

/22/ We shall first give some figures expressing certain

S SR 369 [162] /381 cont./ inhabitants. These three villages are located less than two kilometers from the first urban quarters, consequently a favorable location for the daily departure of workers for the escale.

S SR 369 162 [563] The ethnic composition of these agglomerations, despite the urban proximity (favorable for the mixing of peoples), has remained homogeneous. At Sapko there is no foreign element; at Tiali two Wolof and one Sérère-Sine were working there temporarily at the time of the time of the inquiry; by contrast, nearly a tenth of the population of Thiès-None is made up of individuals belonging to non-Sérère ethnic groups (Wolof, Toucouleur, Peul). A parallel must be drawn between this quite relative heterogeneity and the almost total Islamization of the locality. Nearly four-fifths of the population of Thiès-None has embraced this religion; Sapko and Tiali, by contrast, remain essentially Catholic or fetishistic, the Moslems living there generally being transient elements.

S SR [771]

S SR 582 794 [563] A kind of self-defense by the Catholic group that lives in a region largely Islamized seems to be one of the primary reasons for this ethnic integrity. Under the influence of the fathers, who possess, it seems, a profound authority over every Christian agglomeration, marriages occur from None village to None village and between Catholics (1).

S SR [177]

1. The woman seems to be the element through which the transition from the Catholic religion to the Moslem religion occurs. The young Christian who marries a Moslem no longer practices and quickly abjures her first religion; her children and the whole line will become Islamized under the paternal influence.

S SR 162 369 /382/ An examination of the male and economically active population of these three agglomerations gives the result that 38% of its elements have remained essentially

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

leaders had to work so ardently and patiently many decades later. Where it has often seemed to be the policy of European powers to divide and rule, here the French positively encouraged the creation of a Senegalese identity. Faidherbe created the *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, whereas Lugard called his force the Hausa Constabulary. For many years, Senegal has had a romantic and sentimental place in the eyes of the French, and the *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, who in fact enjoyed the services of recruits from all over West Africa, are known by most Frenchmen for their services to France in both world wars. This concept of national as distinct from tribal identity in the *Quatre Communes* also influenced the educated élite from the Protectorate who were determined to participate in the privileges of the *originaires*.

A policy of assimilation that has the aim of eradicating the African past and the creation of 'black Frenchmen', when applied thoroughly, did in fact help to eliminate tribal differences and create a new common culture. In particular, education, which grouped children of different ethnic groups side by side, made no concession to local circumstances. They were taught about 'our ancestors the Gauls' and in the best schools standards were the same as those in France. Instruction was in French from the very first years, and the school uniform was in European style. They were thus given a common meeting ground from the earliest age, with almost no concessions made to their own ethnic differences. Large numbers of Senegalese have been to France for their education ever since the days of Faidherbe, and in France they found themselves automatically dubbed as Senegalese, for few Frenchmen had time for the niceties of tribal distinctions.

It is not surprising, then, that particularly among young men many friendships were made outside the tribe. Indeed today in Dakar it would be rare to find a young man with primary education who could not count many friends from outside his own ethnic group. Marriage presented different problems. For if the young man had overcome sensitivities

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

S 563 [582] about tribe, the women, who in a Muslim society rarely gained the opportunity of education, tended naturally to be more conservative in such matters. Nevertheless many *originaires* have married outside their ethnic group and can claim to be Senegalese and Senegalese only, for how else, they ask, can they describe themselves when one grandparent is Wolof, another Toucouleur and yet another Serer? This is by no means common in Senegal, but its highest incidence is amongst the most assimilated groups in Senegal.

S 563 582 [619] [369] One of the most difficult barriers to break down in African tribal society is that of the taboo on marriage outside the tribe or clan. Onuora Nzekwu in his *Wand of Noble Wood* gives a very illuminating study of this problem. In Senegal however, there is an exceptionally high rate of inter-ethnic marriage for Africa. Mercier, in his study of Dakar, observed that the rate of inter-ethnic marriage was below the W [582] Senegalese average amongst the Diola, Serer, and Wolof where endogamy is clearest, whilst the Bambaras and groups of the south, and particularly the Lebou who are inter-marrying increasingly with the Wolof, were above the average. Out of 696 monogamous families investigated, 71 per cent had married a woman of the same tribe, but the figure of 29 per cent for mixed marriages must be S [595] considered extremely high for Africa. Out of 228 polygamous families interviewed 43 per cent were all of the same ethnic group but 57 per cent had at least one wife of different ethnic origin. The highest incidence of inter-ethnic marriages in Dakar occurs amongst clerks, administrators, S [369] employees of commercial houses and the professional classes, i.e. those who have been most affected by French assimilation and for whom ethnic considerations are considerably S [619] less important than for the peasant, who is so much closer to the traditional concepts of the tribe. There is then in Dakar, and one could apply this to other main towns, a S [369] [582] significant increase in inter-ethnic marriages, though as far as Senegal as a whole is concerned ethnic considerations in marriage are still very important. But the multiplication

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

of inter-ethnic marriages in the towns is indicative of a major social change and a reflection of the effects of an assimilationist policy on the Senegalese.

Though many communities in Dakar are based on ethnic and family ties, particularly amongst the immigrant Toucouleurs from the Vallée du Fleuve, Dakar is on the whole a heterogeneous city. Mercier has observed that inter-ethnic habitation is particularly frequent among young bachelors, who often club together to hire a room. This is still relatively rare in Africa except amongst educated élites. But in Senegal many young men resent being asked the question whether they are Wolof or Serer, answering only to the name Senegalese. As far as friendship outside the ethnic group and in particular living with someone from another tribe is concerned, one great advantage is the existence of a common cuisine for Wolof, Serer, Toucouleur and Lebou. There is even a national dish known as *riz sénégalais*, known further down the coast as Jollof rice. This means that not only can friends share the same plate, but a man is not frustrated in his desire to marry outside his ethnic group by fear of a foreign cuisine.

Another important factor in the breakdown of tribal barriers has been the urbanisation of Senegal. Over 25 per cent of the population live in towns, the bulk in Dakar, Rufisque and St. Louis and Kaolack. This represents a higher rate of urbanisation than in any other West African territory except the Western Region of Nigeria, where, it must be pointed out, urbanisation was intense long before the arrival of the Europeans and therefore does not owe its origin to colonisation as it does in Senegal. It is difficult in the present stage of research to measure the results of the inter-mixing of races in urban agglomerations. But in an environment whose *raison d'être* is completely different from that of the tribal village, the individual is subjected to so many pressures that his ethnic individuality has to be extremely strong for him not to assimilate both ideas and customs from his neighbours and above all from the

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

the rest animists. Of course this includes the exclusively Muslim Mandingo inhabitants of the Casamance who have been largely responsible for this proselytisation. The Diola too is inclined more and more to imitate his Mandingo and Wolof neighbours. L. V. Thomas, who has written a monumental study on the Diola, fears: 'Soon the Diola country may be, at least in its landscape, like Senegal if no power intervenes to limit the extension of the bushfire; it will certainly become, in its people, just another African country, where only a few anthropological remains fixed by heredity will enable us to distinguish the Diola from the Wolof or the Mandingo.'

The Casamance may well be coming closer to the rest of the Senegal, but it still remains a seat of opposition to the Government of Senghor and Dia, and votes heavily for the opposition *P.R.A.-Sénégal*. However neither of the leaders of this party, Ly Abdoulaye or Assane Seck, is *Casamançais*, and there is strong support in many towns for the *U.P.S.*, which indicates that Diola-Casamance politics are not necessarily either regional or tribal, though these are important factors.

The main social problem of the Senegal, and one which both assimilation and religion seem to have been unable to break down, is that of caste or a class structure very similar to caste. All the main Senegalese tribes—the Wolof, Lebou, Toucouleur, Serer—are divided into a series of endogamous castes. These castes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but roughly they are divided thus:

Nobles and Freeborn
Artisans (jewellers, smiths, weavers, leatherworkers)
Griots or minstrels
Liberated slaves
Slaves

(Of course domestic slaves no longer exist as such in Senegal, but families know who their slaves were.)

It is certainly easier in Senegal for a Toucouleur noble to marry a Wolof noble than to marry a woman of inferior

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 565 582 S [595] caste from his own tribe. The extent to which caste matters is brought out by the case of a young Catholic girl from a devout family who, rather than marry a fellow Catholic out of caste, in the end became the polygamous wife of a Muslim of the same caste. Within any ethnic group in Senegal marriage out of caste is extremely rare.

S 565 W [565] S [533] [814] The caste system is not vicious in any real sense. For the privileges of a high caste entail many obligations. Thus a noble Wolof family will be obliged to feed and pay frequent sums of money to its family griots (minstrels, praise-singers and family historians) and if they fail to do this the griot is able to shame them publicly as a poor or mean family, something a Wolof would avoid at all costs. Likewise the artisan castes have a monopoly in their respective trades, S [463] [326] since it would be impossible for a noble or free man to undertake the work of a jeweller or smith. Nevertheless in Senegalese society the term 'bijoutier' or 'tisserand' has slight contempt attached to it. The only caste to suffer S [567] socially in any way is of course that designated slave, because of the implications of such a status. In social investigations amongst the factory workers of Dakar, M. André Hauser found very few indeed who would admit to being of slave caste.

At present it is certainly a disadvantage to belong to any of the inferior castes, and though one hears of a few cases of open clashes between castes, in the present state of affairs it is certain that a number of young men resent this classification of people into superior and inferior groups and it is very much less important to them than to the older generation.

S 565 764 578 Early in 1961 *Agence Presse Sénégalaise* reported 'bloody clashes between griots and non-griots at Diack'. These ended with several dead and a number of wounded and started as a result of the refusal of non-griots to accept the burial of griots in their burial ground. The Minister of the S [641] Interior himself went to settle the dispute and gathered the whole population to tell them that his Government gave

/665 cont./

143 used in population genetics for the construction of models indicating the mode of evolution of a concentration of genes in the course of time. In this general hypothesis it is postulated that: the population is closed; marriage is random; fertility is the same for all couples. If in this case the population is unlimited, the frequency of the three varieties of zygotes, A/A, A/a, a/a (monohybrid diallel), remains constant from generation to generation (Hardy-Weinberg Law, N.D.L.R.).

/666/ /Map No. 1 appears here./

143 The actual situation is entirely different; the social
●582 stratification entails very strict endogamy at the ethnic and caste level, endogamy reinforced by preferential marriages as well as by residential proximity. Some authors (1), Soh [1],

1. The numbers in brackets refer to the bibliographic references at the end of the article.

Gaden [2], M'Bow [3], have already described the origin and causes of these local ethnic and social differences and also the types of marriages, but quantitative observations only permit one to measure endogamy. After reviewing the method of study used, we shall indicate the principal results of these observations.

128 Method of study. In Europe, and notably in France, con-
143 sanguinity and geographical endogamy have been determined by means of the frequency of marriages from the third to the sixth degree inclusive, that is to say, especially between first and second cousins, and also by studying the distance between the domiciles of future spouses. It is possible to know the frequency

[Text continues middle of P. 3 -- Analyst]

/668 cont./

162 Table I. Division of the population of the Senegalese Fouta according to ethnic groups.

Ethnic Group	Actual Number	Percentage
Toucouleur	187,000	54.8
Wolof	36,000	10.6
Saracolé	13,000	3.8
Peul	47,000	13.8
Moor	56,000	16.4
Miscellaneous	2,000	0.6
Total	341,000	100.0

•582 563 The ethnic groups are relatively endogamous, because marriages between persons of different ethnic groups are very rare, except perhaps, as we have seen, between Toucouleur and Peul (Foulbé walo). The Toucouleur /669/ are the only group entirely 563 within the Fouta, aside from some fractions that emigrated in the [166] course of religious crusades into Macina, Boundou, and elsewhere.

Each of the other ethnic groups is merely an extension into the valley of a group whose bulk occupies the neighboring regions, the Wolof in the northern part of Senegal, the Saracolé in western Sudan, the Peul near the Ferlo and the Assaba. But each of these ethnic groups is itself divided into several populations: the castes.

565 Castes and social conditions. The castes, in reality, present [582] a matrimonial barrier more difficult to overcome than that of ethnic affiliation. The term "caste" is used here in the general sense of social class, exclusive in nature, and not in the sense [564] that is given it in the valley where the term is reserved for artisan castes.

[567] Social conditions first of all distinguish the captives from [422] the free men. The captives are regarded as the personal property

S /669 cont./ 1
567 of the masters and are married by them. They have no property
565 rights nor a voice in the village councils, being constrained to
422 menial work. This condition cannot be compared to that of the
421 slave of the two Americas in former times; it is more reminiscent
623 of that of bondage in the Europe of the Middle Ages. Before the legal suppression of this custom a certain number of captives had already been freed, but the prejudice against these people remains, and they constitute, in fact, the inferior caste in the social hierarchy.

S
564 It is the hereditary work of the artisans that, properly speak-
463 ing, distinguishes the men of the castes from the others: work in wood, leather, metal, and cotton thread. This distinction is transmitted from father to son, whatever calling is actually practiced. A captive may practice weaving, but he will never belong to the caste of weavers; conversely, a man belonging to the caste of jewelers may be a doctor of medicine and practice the profession of medicine.

S
582 Marriage most clearly distinguishes the social barriers which
565 the child inherits from its father. Although there is no rigid interdict, there is such ostracism that it is practically impossible for a man to marry a woman of an inferior caste without risking loss of status and being banned from society. There is one exception: it may happen that a master marries his captive in order to have children who are free; the mother will be set free by this act, but if the union is sterile the woman remains in the condition of servitude.

S
567

S
T
565 The system of castes is still very much alive, especially among the Toucouleur, and actually divides the ethnic group into partial populations, which, however, are less numerous than in India.

The functional nature of the castes has brought about in the course of their history the appearance of a hierarchy. Among the Toucouleur there are first the free men (rimbé), not belonging to the trade castes, and among /670/ whom, at the head, are the torobé (singular, torodo). Originally, in the Fouta Toro, this word in Arabic designated a scholar, a propagator of Islam. It

1 [i.e., The captives -- Analyst]

S
565 /670 cont./

has been the dominant class since the Islamic revolution. In former times many strangers from neighboring countries would come to follow the teachings of the marabouts, to settle around them, and, thanks above all to Islam, to join this caste, which at present seems more closed and now tends to be less heterogeneous.

The social stratum which comes next is that of the tiédo and the thioubalo. It is believed that their ancestors were the first occupants of the soil, and they have preserved their traditions, the tiédo as farmer and the thioubalo as fisherman. The caste of fishermen is quite closed and has its own hierarchy with its captives, its free men, and its dynasty.

S
582 The tiédo caste sometimes intermarried with the fishermen
565 and the torobé. Also free, but of an inferior social rank, are the trade castes. The general name for them, "gnégno," indicates a relationship of dependence vis-à-vis the above castes. Wood-cutters (labo), blacksmiths (baño), shoemakers (saké), and weavers (mabo) in principle intermarry indiscriminately. In contrast, the griots (gaoulo), who specialize in the singing of praises, marry only among themselves and sometimes with the blacksmiths.

S
565 Finally, at the bottom of the social hierarchy is the group
567 of captives and former captives. There is a distinction between the freed (gallounké) and the captive (mathioudo), but they are in fact united by the same prejudice which the other castes have with regard to them.

S
565 The social structure of the other ethnic groups is of the same type as that of the Toucouleur, with the exception of a few details; for instance, the diawando was originally the attendant or the courtier of the large Peul families and seems to form a differentiated caste at present. The caste of fishermen does not exist among
W the Peul, for they do not fish, or among the Wolof all of whom
[565 ~~006~~] can engage in fishing.

S
582 If we limit ourselves to the Toucouleur group, the only
143 one for which we know the actual number in the valley, we shall be able to estimate the numerical importance of the various endogamous groups and consequently the number of women with whom marriage is possible (Table II). For certain castes, few in number, such as those of the artisans, the results of the sampling,

S
T
582
143 /670 cont./ however, permit only an approximation.

Be that as it may, an examination of the figures of Table II shows some very important numerical differences between one group and another, since for each of the 11 groups, the actual number varies from 1,100 individuals to 84,200, and that of the women from 15 to 45 years of age from 250 to 18,700. This fragmentation of the population into isolates by the system of castes is particularly noticeable on the artisan level where the average actual number does not exceed 2,000 persons. By this mechanism a high degree of endogamy is maintained, which determines some important phenomena. It is easily seen, for example, that the phenomena /671/ /Table II appears here/ of genetic drift (1) have acted in the course of time

S
T
[565]

1. Genetic drift: in the case of a population of limited number the frequency of a given gene may drift randomly, in the course of generations, within the range of possible values, contrary to that which occurs in panmixia, where this frequency remains constant (N.D.L.R.).

so as to promote the disappearance or, on the contrary, the appearance of certain morphological characters and their retention in these partial populations.

S
582
143 Proximity of residence. The conditions noted above are aggravated by the fact that the Toucouleur country stretches in a strip of land of about 300 kilometers; such a great distance greatly decreases the chances of marriage between individuals from distant residences, and the figures we have just given are therefore reduced to those of surrounding villages.

S
[565] This is perhaps in part the reason for the regrouping in certain regions of a less numerous endogamous group such as that of the griots.

As in all countries, distance actually plays an important

S
[565] part in the possibilities for marriage. We shall not study this phenomenon here, for within a given caste the radius of marriage

[Text continues on P. 11--Analyst]

/671 cont./

S
T
582
565
143
162

Table II. Actual number of the endogamous Toucouleur groups, with, for each one, their percentage in relation to the total population, and the number of women from 15 to 45 years of age

Caste	Actual Number	%		Number of women from 15 to 45 years of age	
Torodo	84,200	45.0	74.0	18,700	
Tiédo	13,700	10.0		7,150	
Thioubalo	32,200	17.2		4,150	
Diawando	3,400	1.8			
Labo	2,100	1.1	4.5	450	1,850
Saké	1,100	0.6		250	
Mabo	2,300	1.2		500	
Baïlo	2,200	1.6		650	
Gaoulo	2,100	1.1	1.1	450	1,100
Gallounké	5,800	3.2	20.4	1,300	8,450
Matioudo	32,200	17.2		7,150	
Total	187,000	100.0		41,900	

S /671 cont./

582 does not actually express the probability of a union between two
143 individuals of a given domicile, since this schema is distorted
[565] by preferential marriages. Nevertheless, in a rural environment, the census according to place of birth shows that 84.2% of the women from /672/ /Table III appears here/ 15 to 45 years of age, most of whom were married, were born in the village of their residence. The men, therefore, in the majority, marry women from their own village.

Preferential marriages. To the probability of unions between individuals of a close degree of kinship in the groups already restricted is added the preference for these same marriages, which extends the endogamic system of castes. But if the ethnic group and the caste determine a negative choice, certain variables bring about on the contrary, a positive choice, chief of which is the customary preference for unions between close relatives, in particular between first cousins. The inquiry showed that in the whole of the zone studied (Haratin Moors not included) the proportion of marriages of the fourth, fifth, and sixth degrees rises to almost 28% of the total. The figure varies according to the ethnic groups, as is indicated in Table III.

W [582] The percentage of marriages between first cousins (fourth degree) in fact extends from 10.1 among the Wolof to 16.8 among the Saracolé; between cousins of an uneven degree (fifth W [582] degree) the percentage goes from 2.2 among the Saracolé to 7.1 among the Wolof, and between first cousins (sixth degree) from T [582] 10.5 among the Toucouleur to 14.5 among the Peul. Among the Toucouleur and the Peul there are practically as many marriages between first cousins as between second cousins: 10.4% as against 10.5% in the one case, 14.5% and 14.5% in the other. W [582] Only the Wolof have more marriages between second cousins, 13% as against 10.1%. Among the Saracolé, the more numerous unions between first cousins (16.8%) than between second cousins (10.9%) confirm what is known about family cohesion in this group.

S T 582 143 565 Within each ethnic group the frequency of cansanguineous marriages varies more noticeably according to the castes. In Table IV we have assembled the absolute numbers of consanguineous

[Text continues middle of P. 12 -- Analyst]

S
T
582
143

/672 cont./

Table III. Percentage of consanguineous marriages according to the degree of kinship in the different ethnic groups in the valley of the Senegal. Value of the mean coefficient of consanguinity

Ethnic Group	Number of women interrogated	% of consanguineous marriages according to degree of kinship			Total	Mean Coefficient of consanguinity $F \times 10^3$
		4th D	5th D	6th D		
Toucouleur	3,865	10.4	4.2	10.5	25.1	7.6
Peul	1,135	14.5	6.8	14.5	35.9	12.2
Wolof	731	10.1	7.1	13.0	30.2	9.5
Saracolé	270	16.8	2.2	10.9	29.9	12.7
Total	6,208	11.3	5.0	11.3	27.6	8.7

S
T
582
143
565

marriages and their percentages in the four principal castes of the Toucouleur. The percentage of these marriages /673/ /Table IV appears here/ varies from 10.7 among the captives to 44.4 among the artisans; the figure increases among the fishermen to 32.2 and to 35.6 among the Torobé. The relatively weak proportion observed among the captives (10.7%) is due to the fact that the latter came from different regions, according to the accident of wars, but it shows that they have nevertheless adopted the custom of their masters.

S
T
[567]

S
582
143

The customary nature of these marriages is shown by the fact that certain types of unions between cousins are preferred to others. The number of marriages of the fourth degree, the type of which we have noted, although small (47), nevertheless tends to confirm the preference for marriages with the daughter of either

[Text continues middle of p.13--Analyst]

S /673 cont./

582
143
565

Table IV. Absolute numbers of consanguineous marriages and their percentage in the principal Toucouleur castes. Value of the mean coefficient of consanguinity

Caste	Number of couples interrogated	Consanguineous Marriages 4th D Nos.	5th D Nos.	6th D Nos.	Total Nos.	%	Coefficient of consanguinity F X 10^3
Torobé	101	15	6	14	35	35.6	10.9
Fishermen	56	8	4	6	18	32.2	8.2
Artisans	27	7	1	4	12	44.4	13.6
Captives	93	6	0	4	10	10.7	4.2

S
582
143

the mother's brother (19) or the father's brother (15), rather than the daughter of the mother's sister (8) or of the father's sister (4). These consanguineous marriages represent the most strict form of endogamy. The others reflect the same tendency, but are practiced in a larger framework, lineage, clan, the extent of which we have not been able to evaluate. There are also traditional unions between two or more families, which perpetuate themselves from generation to generation.

Actual endogamy. The results observed in the valley of the Senegal cannot be extended to the Sahelo-Sudan region and still less to the western part of Africa. From analogous studies now in progress, we shall soon know whether the situation is comparable in the other regions of the Senegal and the Sudan.

In the valley the frequency of marriages of the fourth to the sixth degree inclusive ranks among the highest yet observed anywhere in the world. Freire-Maia in 1957 [10] collected data on this point, followed by Serra and Soini in 1959 [11] in this same journal. The measure which gives the best

S
[114]
[128]

/673 cont./

587 representation of the degree of endogamy in a population is the
143 mean coefficient of consanguinity (1). Its value, multiplied by
[128]

1. The mean coefficient of consanguinity of a population represents the probability that two homologous loci of an individual taken at random in the population under consideration are identical. Two analogous conclusions exist in the literature on genetics: the coefficient F of Wright and the α of Bernstein. For more details, see Serra and Soini, Population, 1959, pp. 70-72 (N.D.L.R.).

1,000, has been reported /674/ here in Tables III and IV for each of the partial populations studied. It is a little less than one would have expected from the frequency of consanguineous marriages. If there is, in fact, a not insignificant number of double cousins among the spouses, one also finds an important
[595] number of cousins descended from half brothers or half sisters. Nearly one-half of the consanguineous unions concern individuals of this category because of the frequency of successive and simultaneous unions (polygamy).

For the whole of the ethnic groups studied (Table III), its value reaches 8.7, and for each of the specific ethnic groups: Toucouleur 7.6; Wolof 9.5; Peul 12.2; Saracolé 12.7. For the Toucouleur castes (Table IV) one finds the following values: captives 4.2; fishermen 8.2; torobé 10.9; artisans 13.6.

143 Comparisons with other countries. The highest coefficient found up to now, 24.08 (Ishikuni and Coll., 1960 [12]) concerns a Japanese island, Hosojima, populated by 125 inhabitants, which thus represents a very small isolate and is mentioned only incidentally with reference to the demographic conditions in which most human populations live.

In order to appreciate the high endogamic level of the valley of the Senegal, let us emphasize that one finds analogous figures for the present day only in Brazil (Freire-Maia,

/674 cont./

143 1957 [13]): diocese of Oeiras in the state of Piauí, 9.67 for 1,931 marriages in 1954; diocese of Petrolina in the state of Pernambuco, 8.3 for 3,063 marriages in 1950, etc. These figures are exceptional for this country. Very often the value of the coefficient in each diocese is below 1.

Even the castes of India do not furnish comparable figures: 1.3 among the Desasth Rigvedi Brahmans; 2.8 among the Gaud Saraswat Brahmans; 6.35 among the Marathas. Nor even a closed tribe like the Ramah Navaho of the United States: 6.6. In Japan where a strong endogamy persists, the figures found so far are between 2.8 and 3.6.

In the countries of Europe, since the breakup of the isolates took place, the value of the coefficient is everywhere less than the unit. In the French provinces it varies at the present time between 0.1 and 0.9.

For the African populations the data are still very scarce. As far as we know, only Roberts, 1956 [14], has given figures for three Dinka groups from the valley of the Nile to the Sudan: 1.53, 0.96, 0.49. These figures are very far from those for the valley of the Senegal. Nevertheless, Tanner, 1958 [15], in an Islamic community of Tanganyika, has found a rate of 37.8% for marriages between cousins, which should correspond to a mean coefficient of consanguinity bordering on those reported here.

582 143 Evolution. The inaccuracy of historical knowledge makes it impossible to say whether the endogamic state described has always been so important, but one may assume that the present situation will be modified in the years /675/ to come. Several factors could play a part in an evolution toward exogamy, for example, migrations, the size of families, social barriers.

The role of migration is negligible here, for even though the Wolof and the Saracolé have founded some villages of foreigners [166] within Toucouleur country, the Fouta is now a country of active emigration toward urban centers like Dakar. The average size of families is probably increasing because of the prolongation of [162] the average length of life, which tends to increase the possibilities

S /675 cont./

S 582 143 [162] of consanguineous marriages. More important, undoubtedly than the above two will be the factors of the decrease of endogamy by the dissolution of social barriers, although the prejudice against misalliances seems as long-lived as the human species.

Whether sudden or progressive, this social revolution, furthered by education, will sooner or later bring about the development of means of communication and the emancipation of the woman as well as of the man, for its is often the parents who choose the bride, rather than the future bridegroom.

S [584]

W [582] [369] In addition, one notes among the Wolof a smaller proportion of consanguineous marriages in the ports than in the villages.

As in Europe, but for different reasons, this evolution will result in the "breakup of the isolates," the social and ethnic frontiers going back to those of the nation.

Conclusion

S 143 The demographic inquiry by sampling carried out in the valley of the Senegal has made it possible to measure endogamy on the basis of the frequency of consanguineous marriages and the mean coefficient of consanguinity. The figures obtained are by far the highest that are now known for populations of such numerical importance. This peculiarity causes the populations concerned to evolve under very special biological circumstances which are not without reverberations on their demographic condition. (See Sutter [16].) An investigation in this direction is being pursued.

The genetic aspect of the situation should no longer be ignored, and anthropologists concerned with the mechanism of the differentiation of human types will find the material for taking into consideration the intervention of a factor which is also important.

Pierre Cantrelle
(Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, Dakar)

/See the foreign text for the bibliography on p. 676 of the original text./

[10 cont.]

369 consequences with regard to celibacy and the orientation of
581 manners and customs? This will be the last part of this too brief sketch.

What is the origin of the expenses?

It is in large part in the social organization of the Senegalese Blacks before the introduction of Islam and before the French peace.

584 Marriage then depended upon the wishes of the fathers and mothers of the spouses. The marriage portion imposed was
583 enormous, even though proportional to the social rank of the fiancé and to his wealth. It was made up of captives and animals. In return, the wife, in order to maintain her dignity in the eyes of the husband and the co-spouses, joined her new residence with often as much wealth as she had received. This per-
[582] haps is the origin of the frequent unions between cousins, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew. The purpose of this for the family was to keep its wealth concentrated.

As Moslems, we have introduced the Koran and the Koranic marriage portion, different for a slave and for a free woman, with an assessment proportional to the wealth of the husband, but which is principle requires no costly pomp and which is not preoccupied with griots [singers, poets, storytellers].

With the French peace, the captives have been withdrawn from the exchanges, and the idea of replacing them with gold, money, or animals (now very vulgar property) prevails.

369 But with freedom the horizon was also widened. The
584 suitors, formerly localized and nearly always known in advance,
178 have multiplied. One originally from the Fouta is quickly transported to Sène and, without bloodshed, without abduction, can marry a girl whom many young men dream of winning. The rivalries, which not long ago were settled on the field of battle or by thrusts of daggers, have perpetuated themselves under the indifferent eyes of the Whites, but on the field of marriage and by thrusts of gold or banknotes (diamalé, rivalry for a woman).

[10 cont.]

369 533 The griots, those "vipers' tongues," have put together new songs in order to make up for the loss of the spoils of war never to be hoped for again. Without exaggeration or error, one [583] can assert that the very high cost of the marriage expenses is due only to the griots, who, using their malevolent genius, contrast in their chants the generosity of such and such a man with the parsimony of the other, spicing all the praises with references to his always legendary and generous ancestors.

369 583 To dazzle the girl and her relatives with his generosity and his wealth, to wrest from the rivals acknowledgment of their poverty, to overwhelm with goods persons of inferior castes whose praises will never cease, to enrich the prestige and the dignity of his parents-in-law -- there is the origin of the enormous expenses which must be faced by those who marry in Saint-Louis.

The phases of Marriage and their cost

369 565 This is not the place to show what role the girl plays in 582 the act which is going to decide her life. Nevertheless, let [584] us be permitted to affirm that today some freedom is permitted the girl in choosing a spouse, always with the condition that her choice must be a man of her rank. Native society is, in effect, compartmented, and the smith, the jeweler, the cobbler, the griot never becomes attached to a guer (2) woman with the

2. All the persons who do not belong to an inferior caste -- griot, cobbler, etc. Not to be confused with gor, free man, who is not a slave or a freed man.

permission of his parents. Conversely, the guer must remain in his domain, and the custom which formerly authorized the [631] chiefs to contract marriages with caste women, always under the pretense of conquest in battle, is tending to disappear.

[12 cont.]

369 always temporary marriages, so great is the attachment of the
178 Saint-Louis man for his city and for the girls of his city. Al-
[584] though this situation is very unfortunate for the boys, it is less
[681] so for the girls. Although some of them are still sacrificed very
[562] young to rich old men, many wait to meet the young man of
their choice before marrying. The marriages of infant girls
have become very rare: the girls of Saint-Louis now marry at a
[587] reasonable age, at about 20, much like French girls. It is a
369 profound change. Convinced of being obliged to wait a long
178 time for a husband, they are acquiring an independence that
562 their mothers have not known; they go out, they go to dances
[191] where they dance European dances, they dare to sit at a table
in a café, they dress according to their taste, they speak French.
They go to school without constraint, which is also a revolution,
and they, like the boys, look for a salaried position, which
allows them a very broad life, like single persons, and which,
within the household, frees them from the guardianship of the
[595] husband. Polygamy, which the modern [evoluées] women
generally refuse, is more and more rare in Saint-Louis (4).

> 4. A polygamous husband most often shuns the modern women for the sake of peace in his household, because the personal earnings of these women permit them to buy finery other than that which he periodi-
> [578] cally distributes to his spouses, and this provokes jealousy and quarrels. Recently a young female official was supposed to enter the home of a Saint-Louis official as the third or fourth wife. She opposed her parents and married according to her inclination.

Educated girls have long been judged quite harshly, but this is passing. Many of the young girls who married against the wishes of their parents have been quickly forgiven when the latter saw the good appearance of the household and the affluence

/21 cont./

as the extremely variable extension of marriage prohibitions shows.

121
369*

The local unit coincides more or less completely with the kinship group delineated by the line of dominant filiation; a village quarter is in principle the habitat of a given lineage.

Marriage is not a commitment between two individuals, guaranteed by a state or religious body (3), but the conclusion [581]

3. This guarantee intervenes among the Moslems, but in most cases does not play the essential role.

of an agreement between two kinship groups, an agreement which assumes, directly or indirectly, the form of an exchange of forces. The networks of matrimonial alliances, while permitting each kinship group to maintain and increase its substance, create bonds, constantly reinforced, between diverse groups, thus assuring the cohesion of the ethnic group that their assemblage composes. Therefore, in the vast majority of cases, one does not conceive of marriage outside the ethnic group. [582]

Even in the systems of patrilineal filiation, the maternal line is likewise a source of obligations. In particular, in most populations -- and very especially in Senegal -- the role of the uterine uncle is important (4). [604]

4. Cf., as far as the Lebou are concerned, G. Balandier and P. Mercier, op. cit., passim.

It is important to keep these basic elements in mind in the course of the account that we shall give about the problems that are posed at present.

/22/ We shall first give some figures expressing certain

[10 cont.]

369 consequences with regard to celibacy and the orientation of
581 manners and customs? This will be the last part of this too brief sketch.

What is the origin of the expenses?

It is in large part in the social organization of the Senegalese Blacks before the introduction of Islam and before the French peace.

584 Marriage then depended upon the wishes of the fathers and mothers of the spouses. The marriage portion imposed was
583 enormous, even though proportional to the social rank of the fiancé and to his wealth. It was made up of captives and animals. In return, the wife, in order to maintain her dignity in the eyes of the husband and the co-spouses, joined her new residence with often as much wealth as she had received. This per-
[582] haps is the origin of the frequent unions between cousins, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew. The purpose of this for the family was to keep its wealth concentrated.

As Moslems, we have introduced the Koran and the Koranic marriage portion, different for a slave and for a free woman, with an assessment proportional to the wealth of the husband, but which is principle requires no costly pomp and which is not preoccupied with griots [singers, poets, storytellers].

With the French peace, the captives have been withdrawn from the exchanges, and the idea of replacing them with gold, money, or animals (now very vulgar property) prevails.

369 But with freedom the horizon was also widened. The
584 suitors, formerly localized and nearly always known in advance,
178 have multiplied. One originally from the Fouta is quickly transported to Sène and, without bloodshed, without abduction, can marry a girl whom many young men dream of winning. The rivalries, which not long ago were settled on the field of battle or by thrusts of daggers, have perpetuated themselves under the indifferent eyes of the Whites, but on the field of marriage and by thrusts of gold or banknotes (diamalé, rivalry for a woman).

[10 cont.]

369 533 The griots, those "vipers' tongues," have put together new songs in order to make up for the loss of the spoils of war never to be hoped for again. Without exaggeration or error, one can assert that the very high cost of the marriage expenses is due [583] only to the griots, who, using their malevolent genius, contrast in their chants the generosity of such and such a man with the parsimony of the other, spicing all the praises with references to his always legendary and generous ancestors.

369 583 To dazzle the girl and her relatives with his generosity and his wealth, to wrest from the rivals acknowledgment of their poverty, to overwhelm with goods persons of inferior castes whose praises will never cease, to enrich the prestige and the dignity of his parents-in-law -- there is the origin of the enormous expenses which must be faced by those who marry in Saint-Louis.

The phases of Marriage and their cost

369 565 This is not the place to show what role the girl plays in 582 the act which is going to decide her life. Nevertheless, let [584] us be permitted to affirm that today some freedom is permitted the girl in choosing a spouse, always with the condition that her choice must be a man of her rank. Native society is, in effect, compartmented, and the smith, the jeweler, the cobbler, the griot never becomes attached to a guer (2) woman with the

2. All the persons who do not belong to an inferior caste -- griot, cobbler, etc. Not to be confused with gor, free man, who is not a slave or a freed man.

permission of his parents. Conversely, the guer must remain in his domain, and the custom which formerly authorized the [631] chiefs to contract marriages with caste women, always under the pretense of conquest in battle, is tending to disappear.

[10 cont.]

369 584 So some young persons of the same rank are going to marry. Communication is maintained more or less secretly by neighbor women or more commonly by a caste girl, a friend of the future wife, until the young man is certain of success. Then he goes to make his "attack" with thrusts of banknotes; he must compel his rivals to yield to him. The parents of the girl are not supposed to know about the thousands of francs thus pledged, and the cost is not counted in the expenses of the marriage. When the rivals accept their defeat, the candidate makes his request [11] officially. Otherwise, the attack must continue until it is settled. Then the man announces his candidacy, and the real expenses for his marriage begin.

369 584 583 1. The Varugar. This is the sum that is deposited, with the approval of the parents of the two young people. It is a guarantee for the man that the girl will no longer receive any other candidate, and, for the girl, assurance of being obligatorily supported by the suitor. The amount of the varugar varies: fixed at 2,500 francs at the minimum, it easily reaches 25,000 to 30,000 francs among the "nouveaux riches" of the Black market place.

As the proverb says, however, it is a long way from the cup to the lips, and it is a long way between the varugar and the marriage. Even though the amount due first is within the reach of every purse, the actual expenses of the marriage are enormous, and the man has to set about with the utmost slowness to save what is needed. Need it be added that, faced with following fashion and dressing accordingly, the future spouses devote to that a large part of their earnings? In order to make haste, very often the young man goes on a "campaign" and returns at the end of several years (two to seven) bearing the sum required for the marriage and for the nuptials, the last two phases.

2. The N'dakutar. This is a lump sum of 1,000 francs at least (which sometimes exceeds 5,000 francs), which the suitor gives to the girl in order to be presented to her parents. Accepting the n'dakutar implies for the latter the duty of

[11 cont.]

369 584 583 dismissing all present or future suitors. Originally this was an indemnity to be shared among the unhappy rivals, or was intended as reimbursement for the advances collected by the parents of the girl without her knowledge. Some reputedly avaricious families demand it several times.

369 683 3. The Marriage Portion. Its amount does not rigorously follow the fluctuations which characterize the other expenses. It amounts to 2,500 francs and is fixed by a marabout, by converting the heads of cattle of Koranic law into French money. Religious in nature and hence escaping the whims of fashion, its importance is wholly secondary. One can delay five or six years or more before paying it. Many monogamous households get along very well, even though not a sou of the marriage portion has been paid. Payment becomes obligatory, however, when [587] the husband wishes to contract a second marriage.

4. Ngegenay (The Pillow). This is an optional expense, but one that good breeding requires. It consists of leaving under the wife's pillow a sum of money and a quantity of little gifts [585] (perfumes, sandals, bracelets, etc.) the day after the first nuptial contact. It is like a manifestation of the joy that one felt upon finding his wife to be virgin.

5. The Decoration. This is the essence of the Saint-Louis marriage. All of the expenses listed up to here are more or less private, or in any case little known, except for the marriage portion, by the neighboring quarters or the relatives far away from the city. For the Decoration, the payment is preceded by widely disseminated announcements several months in advance. It is exhibited before all the relatives of the married couple, their friends, their acquaintances, before all the persons of inferior castes, who go everywhere and who will repeat what they have seen, in brief, before the city.

Optional in the beginning, it today assumes such an obligatory character that only in Saint-Louis do the instructors dare to avoid it or to minimize its importance. Of what is the Decoration composed? Essentially of a box, a basket for effects, and a basket of small goods, but most especially what one has been able to amass that is precious and rare, and which has not

[11 cont.]
369 been distributed for the older children.
583 a) The Pani (the box). In appearance it may be ordinary or magnificent, according to the aesthetic inclinations of the sisters of the husband. Often it is an old metal box that contained tidbits. In any case it is not the appearance that interests us, but the contents, which generally are:

[301] 12 louis d'or 51;
2 gold necklaces, we say "chains";
2 pairs of gold earrings;
1 or 2 pairs of gold bracelets;
4 or 8 sautoirs, medals of gold which encircle the figure.

[435] The box is found already prepared among the jewelers. Its minimum price is 6,000 francs. Its value easily reaches 20,000 francs and more.

b) The Basket for Effects. This is an expense of recent character and of practical import. Formerly, on the day of
[585] the nuptials, the husband gave his wife a bundle of banknotes as personal property accruing to her from her marriage. But the tradition that the woman should be generous made this money disappear immediately, distributed among the persons of caste who came from everywhere. I would have willingly given, if I had known it, the name of the first Saint-Louis man who replaced this packet of money with a quantity of clothing, thus putting his wife in a position to benefit from it herself. The basket actually contains articles whose number and quality vary, but which constitute a veritable trousseau no less, which may last for years. For an individual from a "great family" or a
369 "peasant," it includes as much as:
583
291
435

12 robes [boubous] of crepe de Chine (of which 4 of 8 meters each are obligatory, 160 francs per meter);
12 robes of rich bazin (4 obligatory of 8 meters each at 225 francs per meter);
4 camisoles, ordinary or of Lagos fabric;
[12] 4 camisoles of crepe de Chine (extravagantly cut to a length of 4 or 5 meters);

[12 cont.]

369
583
291
435

12 silk headkerchiefs (6 obligatory, valued at 500 to 600 francs each;

12 kerchiefs with "edging" [mouchoirs de "bord"] (6 obligatory, valued at 300 to 375 francs each);

2 silk handkerchiefs;

4 Mauritanian mats, on which the objects are detailed, valued at 500 francs each, and most of all rare, which costs dearly.

369
685

c) Basket of Small Goods. This is a creation of the well-bred man of Saint-Louis, who during the 3 or 8 or 15 days that the nuptials last wishes the guests to be treated well. The young people of both sexes are supposed to crowd into the spacious rooms, suitably decorated and illuminated, and to be "overwhelmed" by the songs of the griots. The husband considers their rejoicings an imperious duty and offers them a basket generally containing several packs of cards, packages of toothpicks, perfume, razor blades, pipes, tobacco, incense, kohéal, fans, tidbits, etc.

369
585
565

d) The Gifts. These expenses are the final obligations and bear the name of "decorations of castes." As we have noted, since the first visit of the husband, the persons of caste have not officially benefited further from his generosity or from that of his wife. But custom requires that these people be gratified. It should be noted also that the guers have their men of caste who are faithful to them from father to son. In their presence and when they are equal to their task. Whatever their fortune or rank (in the Europeanized society), a guer cannot address any other persons of caste without their permission. Only one coiffeuse arranges the hair of a young girl until her marriage, and one jeweler repairs or makes her finery. The marriage is the ceremony of their dedication and the occasion of proving to them that they have not placed their confidence in vain. These persons comprise two categories: that of the woman and that of the man. Let us note at once that the latter cannot be too demanding without showing a lack of the proper attitude. They form part of the general staff of the husband, and, under penalty

[576]
[302]
[306]

S /675 cont./
582 of consanguineous marriages. More important, undoubtedly than the
143 above two will be the factors of the decrease of endogamy by the
[162] dissolution of social barriers, although the prejudice against misalliances seems as long-lived as the human species.

Whether sudden or progressive, this social revolution, furthered by education, will sooner or later bring about the development of means of communication and the emancipation
S of the woman as well as of the man, for its is often the parents who
[584] choose the bride, rather than the future bridegroom.

W In addition, one notes among the Wolof a smaller propor-
[582] tion of consanguineous marriages in the ports than in the villages.
[369] As in Europe, but for different reasons, this evolution will result in the "breakup of the isolates," the social and ethnic frontiers going back to those of the nation.

Conclusion

S
143 The demographic inquiry by sampling carried out in the valley of the Senegal has made it possible to measure endogamy on the basis of the frequency of consanguineous marriages and the mean coefficient of consanguinity. The figures obtained are by far the highest that are now known for populations of such numerical importance. This peculiarity causes the populations concerned to evolve under very special biological circumstances which are not without reverberations on their demographic condition. (See Sutter [16].) An investigation in this direction is being pursued.

The genetic aspect of the situation should no longer be ignored, and anthropologists concerned with the mechanism of the differentiation of human types will find the material for taking into consideration the intervention of a factor which is also important.

Pierre Cantrelle
(Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, Dakar)

/See the foreign text for the bibliography on p. 676 of the original text./

[10 cont.]

369 consequences with regard to celibacy and the orientation of
581 manners and customs? This will be the last part of this too brief sketch.

What is the origin of the expenses?

It is in large part in the social organization of the Senegalese Blacks before the introduction of Islam and before the French peace.

584 Marriage then depended upon the wishes of the fathers and mothers of the spouses. The marriage portion imposed was
583 enormous, even though proportional to the social rank of the fiancé and to his wealth. It was made up of captives and animals. In return, the wife, in order to maintain her dignity in the eyes of the husband and the co-spouses, joined her new residence with often as much wealth as she had received. This per-
[582] haps is the origin of the frequent unions between cousins, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew. The purpose of this for the family was to keep its wealth concentrated.

As Moslems, we have introduced the Koran and the Koranic marriage portion, different for a slave and for a free woman, with an assessment proportional to the wealth of the husband, but which is principle requires no costly pomp and which is not preoccupied with griots [singers, poets, storytellers].

With the French peace, the captives have been withdrawn from the exchanges, and the idea of replacing them with gold, money, or animals (now very vulgar property) prevails.

369 But with freedom the horizon was also widened. The
584 suitors, formerly localized and nearly always known in advance,
178 have multiplied. One originally from the Fouta is quickly transported to Sène and, without bloodshed, without abduction, can marry a girl whom many young men dream of winning. The rivalries, which not long ago were settled on the field of battle or by thrusts of daggers, have perpetuated themselves under the indifferent eyes of the Whites, but on the field of marriage and by thrusts of gold or banknotes (diamalé, rivalry for a woman).

[10 cont.]

369 533 The griots, those "vipers' tongues," have put together new songs in order to make up for the loss of the spoils of war never to be hoped for again. Without exaggeration or error, one [583] can assert that the very high cost of the marriage expenses is due only to the griots, who, using their malevolent genius, contrast in their chants the generosity of such and such a man with the parsimony of the other, spicing all the praises with references to his always legendary and generous ancestors.

369 583 To dazzle the girl and her relatives with his generosity and his wealth, to wrest from the rivals acknowledgment of their poverty, to overwhelm with goods persons of inferior castes whose praises will never cease, to enrich the prestige and the dignity of his parents-in-law -- there is the origin of the enormous expenses which must be faced by those who marry in Saint-Louis.

The phases of Marriage and their cost

369 565 582 [584] This is not the place to show what role the girl plays in the act which is going to decide her life. Nevertheless, let us be permitted to affirm that today some freedom is permitted the girl in choosing a spouse, always with the condition that her choice must be a man of her rank. Native society is, in effect, compartmented, and the smith, the jeweler, the cobbler, the griot never becomes attached to a guer (2) woman with the

2. All the persons who do not belong to an inferior caste -- griot, cobbler, etc. Not to be confused with gor, free man, who is not a slave or a freed man.

permission of his parents. Conversely, the guer must remain in his domain, and the custom which formerly authorized the [631] chiefs to contract marriages with caste women, always under the pretense of conquest in battle, is tending to disappear.

[10 cont.]

369 584 So some young persons of the same rank are going to marry. Communication is maintained more or less secretly by neighbor women or more commonly by a caste girl, a friend of the future wife, until the young man is certain of success. Then he goes to make his "attack" with thrusts of banknotes; he must compel his rivals to yield to him. The parents of the girl are not supposed to know about the thousands of francs thus pledged, and the cost is not counted in the expenses of the marriage. When the rivals accept their defeat, the candidate makes his request [11] officially. Otherwise, the attack must continue until it is settled. Then the man announces his candidacy, and the real expenses for his marriage begin.

369 584 583 1. The Varugar. This is the sum that is deposited, with the approval of the parents of the two young people. It is a guarantee for the man that the girl will no longer receive any other candidate, and, for the girl, assurance of being obligatorily supported by the suitor. The amount of the varugar varies: fixed at 2,500 francs at the minimum, it easily reaches 25,000 to 30,000 francs among the "nouveaux riches" of the Black market place.

As the proverb says, however, it is a long way from the cup to the lips, and it is a long way between the varugar and the marriage. Even though the amount due first is within the reach of every purse, the actual expenses of the marriage are enormous, and the man has to set about with the utmost slowness to save what is needed. Need it be added that, faced with following fashion and dressing accordingly, the future spouses devote to that a large part of their earnings? In order to make haste, very often the young man goes on a "campaign" and returns at the end of several years (two to seven) bearing the sum required for the marriage and for the nuptials, the last two phases.

2. The N'dakutar. This is a lump sum of 1,000 francs at least (which sometimes exceeds 5,000 francs), which the suitor gives to the girl in order to be presented to her parents. Accepting the n'dakutar implies for the latter the duty of

[11 cont.]

369 584 583 dismissing all present or future suitors. Originally this was an indemnity to be shared among the unhappy rivals, or was intended as reimbursement for the advances collected by the parents of the girl without her knowledge. Some reputedly avaricious families demand it several times.

369 683 3. The Marriage Portion. Its amount does not rigorously follow the fluctuations which characterize the other expenses. It amounts to 2,500 francs and is fixed by a marabout, by converting the heads of cattle of Koranic law into French money. Religious in nature and hence escaping the whims of fashion, its importance is wholly secondary. One can delay five or six years or more before paying it. Many monogamous households get along very well, even though not a sou of the marriage portion has been paid. Payment becomes obligatory, however, when [587] the husband wishes to contract a second marriage.

4. Ngegenay (The Pillow). This is an optional expense, but one that good breeding requires. It consists of leaving under the wife's pillow a sum of money and a quantity of little gifts [585] (perfumes, sandals, bracelets, etc.) the day after the first nuptial contact. It is like a manifestation of the joy that one felt upon finding his wife to be virgin.

5. The Decoration. This is the essence of the Saint-Louis marriage. All of the expenses listed up to here are more or less private, or in any case little known, except for the marriage portion, by the neighboring quarters or the relatives far away from the city. For the Decoration, the payment is preceded by widely disseminated announcements several months in advance. It is exhibited before all the relatives of the married couple, their friends, their acquaintances, before all the persons of inferior castes, who go everywhere and who will repeat what they have seen, in brief, before the city.

Optional in the beginning, it today assumes such an obligatory character that only in Saint-Louis do the instructors dare to avoid it or to minimize its importance. Of what is the Decoration composed? Essentially of a box, a basket for effects, and a basket of small goods, but most especially what one has been able to amass that is precious and rare, and which has not

[12 cont.]

369 of humiliation, they must, as must he, show proof of generosity.
585 How does one go about "decorating these persons"?
565 There are the griots, the jewelers, the cobblers, and also ... the captives; the husband gives 1,000 francs or more to each grouping, and his relatives a supplementary sum, always distinct from that given by the husband, of such a nature that each caste receives 10,000 or 20,000 francs or more. This sum will be divided under the direction of the caste head.

585 This ceremony concludes the marriage, because im-
369 mediately, for three streets around, there is nothing but hysteria and hubbub, with griots coming and going, as well as drivers (3).

3. We have not said anything about the expense for the food. Each morning during the whole period of the nuptials, the husband must give a sum large enough to provide food for all of his guests and those of the wife. It is obligatory for the parents of the wife to send supper to the mother of the husband on the first day. I have seen a case that merits being noted. On the occasion of a recent marriage, the parents-in-law sent from Saint-Louis to Louga a wagon of food, 25 large basins, "tolis," containing 25 foods estimated in 1939 at 4,000 francs, deducted from the meals of the mother, which were, it was said, transported by five or six carts.

Consequences of the high price of marriage on the manners and customs

369
178
584 Such expenses greatly hinder young people from marrying.
581 Most of them, if they do not wish to remain single, are obliged to leave their city to contract bush marriages, which are almost

[12 cont.]

369 always temporary marriages, so great is the attachment of the
178 Saint-Louis man for his city and for the girls of his city. Al-
[584] though this situation is very unfortunate for the boys, it is less
[581] so for the girls. Although some of them are still sacrificed very
[562] young to rich old men, many wait to meet the young man of
their choice before marrying. The marriages of infant girls
have become very rare: the girls of Saint-Louis now marry at a
[582] reasonable age, at about 20, much like French girls. It is a
369 profound change. Convinced of being obliged to wait a long
178 time for a husband, they are acquiring an independence that
562 their mothers have not known; they go out, they go to dances
[191] where they dance European dances, they dare to sit at a table
in a café, they dress according to their taste, they speak French.
They go to school without constraint, which is also a revolution,
and they, like the boys, look for a salaried position, which
allows them a very broad life, like single persons, and which,
within the household, frees them from the guardianship of the
[595] husband. Polygamy, which the modern [evoluées] women
generally refuse, is more and more rare in Saint-Louis (4).

4. A polygamous husband most often shuns the modern women for the sake of peace in his household, because the personal earnings of these women permit them to buy finery other than that which he periodi-
[578] cally distributes to his spouses, and this provokes jealousy and quarrels. Recently a young female official was supposed to enter the home of a Saint-Louis official as the third or fourth wife. She opposed her parents and married according to her inclination.

Educated girls have long been judged quite harshly, but this is passing. Many of the young girls who married against the wishes of their parents have been quickly forgiven when the latter saw the good appearance of the household and the affluence

/91 cont./

369 563 [182] [565] [466] industrial enterprises and in the public function. Even in a professional category a certain hierarchy of a traditional order survives and is always respected. In the workshops of the Dakar-Niger, for example, the higher supervisory staffs are made up of workers belonging to superior castes: free men, descendants of chiefs' families... Operatives coming from families of griots or former captives, in spite of their skill at the work and their training, would have only very weak authority over their subordinates.

[578] The animosities between individuals belonging to formerly hostile groups or to opposed religious sects may sometimes reappear in the course of contacts between individuals or groups of individuals. Along the same line [466] of thought, a certain favoritism may creep into the relations between foreman and subordinates belonging to the same ethnic category or the same religion.

369 563 573 Within each ethnic minority scattered through the city spontaneous associations spring up, led by the oldest among them. These friendly groups meet periodically. They are at the bottom of the mutual aid to the newcomer, to the workman who lives temporarily without funds in the escale. Each of these gatherings is at the same time the occasion for "folkloristic" celebrations, reminding the members of the group of their customs and their country of origin.

369 177 563 The traditions which have been able to survive by being adapted to the new conditions of the society lose their importance to a certain extent in contact with new ideas and Western influence. We have already remarked that the notion of ethnic group is rapidly obliterated when the individual is transplanted for a long time in a city very far from his natal village. The family ties, and above all the [593] authority of the head of the family over each of its members, become extremely loose in the city. We see a breaking up of the subordination that subjected each of the members of a family to the paternal authority. The child is no longer compelled to adopt the trade of his father; he may choose the work that he thinks will suit him. The young girl is [584] rapidly becoming emancipated, and rare are the Thiès

/91 cont./

369 177 563 [584] [593] [182] families in which the father imposes on the child the spouse of his choice. The spread of the teaching of the Moslem and Christian religions count for much in this loosening of the too confining ties of family tradition. This breaking up of ancient, too narrow social structures is not a strictly /92/ urban phenomenon; it also occurs in the countryside, but with less force and with a certain delay.

369 565 178 The presence of the industrial bloc of the Dakar-Niger, on the other hand, has had as an effect the formation of a working class, which is a specifically urban phenomenon. Although the ancient system of castes does exist in human contacts, that of social class is little by little being substituted for it. In sum, there actually exists a superposition of the two systems, but the pre-eminence of the second is already being affirmed. Through daily contacts and the rapid diffusion of social ideas coming from the West, the mass of workers is organized, it is grouped by syndicates, it has set up consumer co-operatives. Because of the great number of the members of this worker group, the workshops of the Dakar-Niger and, through repercussion, the city of Thiès itself have become the most active and the busiest centers of French West Africa. The strike that in 1948 paralyzed railroad traffic on the two lines (Dakar-Bamako and Dakar--Saint-Louis) for several months is certainly proof of the influence of a powerful and organized grouping, and a typical urban phenomenon.

[177] [467] [474] [468]

369 563 578 Thus there exists in Thiès a somewhat special social climate that sometimes makes the relations between Whites and Blacks strained. Chiefly during these periods of social crises. But these tensions are always temporary and automatically disappear as soon as the conflict is settled.

369 161 A much more important problem that seems general in all of the cities of Black Africa is that of the too rapid, if not excessive, swelling of the urban population. We have seen that the population of Thiès has almost doubled from 1945 (24,000 inhabitants) to 1953 (40,000 inhabitants). Dakar, Conakry, and Abidjan have grown in the same proportions.

[162]

[11 cont.]

369 584 583 dismissing all present or future suitors. Originally this was an indemnity to be shared among the unhappy rivals, or was intended as reimbursement for the advances collected by the parents of the girl without her knowledge. Some reputedly avaricious families demand it several times.

369 583 3. The Marriage Portion. Its amount does not rigorously follow the fluctuations which characterize the other expenses. It amounts to 2,500 francs and is fixed by a marabout, by converting the heads of cattle of Koranic law into French money. Religious in nature and hence escaping the whims of fashion, its importance is wholly secondary. One can delay five or six years or more before paying it. Many monogamous households get along very well, even though not a sou of the marriage portion has been paid. Payment becomes obligatory, however, when [587] the husband wishes to contract a second marriage.

4. Ngegenay (The Pillow). This is an optional expense, but one that good breeding requires. It consists of leaving under the wife's pillow a sum of money and a quantity of little gifts [585] (perfumes, sandals, bracelets, etc.) the day after the first nuptial contact. It is like a manifestation of the joy that one felt upon finding his wife to be virgin.

5. The Decoration. This is the essence of the Saint-Louis marriage. All of the expenses listed up to here are more or less private, or in any case little known, except for the marriage portion, by the neighboring quarters or the relatives far away from the city. For the Decoration, the payment is preceded by widely disseminated announcements several months in advance. It is exhibited before all the relatives of the married couple, their friends, their acquaintances, before all the persons of inferior castes, who go everywhere and who will repeat what they have seen, in brief, before the city.

Optional in the beginning, it today assumes such an obligatory character that only in Saint-Louis do the instructors dare to avoid it or to minimize its importance. Of what is the Decoration composed? Essentially of a box, a basket for effects, and a basket of small goods, but most especially what one has been able to amass that is precious and rare, and which has not

[11 cont.]

369 been distributed for the older children.

583 a) The Pani (the box). In appearance it may be ordinary or magnificent, according to the aesthetic inclinations of the sisters of the husband. Often it is an old metal box that contained tidbits. In any case it is not the appearance that interests us, but the contents, which generally are:

12 louis d'or 51;
[301] 2 gold necklaces, we say "chains";
2 pairs of gold earrings;
1 or 2 pairs of gold bracelets;
4 or 8 sautoirs, medals of gold which encircle the figure.

The box is found already prepared among the jewelers.
[435] Its minimum price is 6,000 francs. Its value easily reaches 20,000 francs and more.

b) The Basket for Effects. This is an expense of recent character and of practical import. Formerly, on the day of
•[585] the nuptials, the husband gave his wife a bundle of banknotes as personal property accruing to her from her marriage. But the tradition that the woman should be generous made this money disappear immediately, distributed among the persons of caste who came from everywhere. I would have willingly given, if I had known it, the name of the first Saint-Louis man who replaced this packet of money with a quantity of clothing, thus putting his wife in a position to benefit from it herself. The basket actually contains articles whose number and quality vary, but which constitute a veritable trousseau no less, which may last for years. For an individual from a "great family" or a
369 "peasant," it includes as much as:
583
291
435

12 robes [boubous] of crepe de Chine (of which 4 of 8 meters each are obligatory, 160 francs per meter);
12 robes of rich bazin (4 obligatory of 8 meters each at 225 francs per meter);
4 camisoles, ordinary or of Lagos fabric;
[12] 4 camisoles of crepe de Chine (extravagantly cut to a length of 4 or 5 meters);

[12 cont.]

369 583 291 435

12 silk headkerchiefs (6 obligatory, valued at 500 to 600 francs each;

12 kerchiefs with "edging" [mouchoirs de "bord"] (6 obligatory, valued at 300 to 375 francs each);

2 silk handkerchiefs;

4 Mauritanian mats, on which the objects are detailed, valued at 500 francs each, and most of all rare, which costs dearly.

369 685

c) Basket of Small Goods. This is a creation of the well-bred man of Saint-Louis, who during the 3 or 8 or 15 days that the nuptials last wishes the guests to be treated well. The young people of both sexes are supposed to crowd into the spacious rooms, suitably decorated and illuminated, and to be "overwhelmed" by the songs of the griots. The husband considers their rejoicings an imperious duty and offers them a basket generally containing several packs of cards, packages of toothpicks, perfume, razor blades, pipes, tobacco, incense, kohéal, fans, tidbits, etc.

369 585 565

d) The Gifts. These expenses are the final obligations and bear the name of "decorations of castes." As we have noted, since the first visit of the husband, the persons of caste have not officially benefited further from his generosity or from that of his wife. But custom requires that these people be gratified. It should be noted also that the guers have their men of caste who are faithful to them from father to son. In their presence and when they are equal to their task. Whatever their fortune or rank (in the Europeanized society), a guer cannot address any other persons of caste without their permission. Only one coiffeuse arranges the hair of a young girl until her marriage, and one jeweler repairs or makes her finery. The marriage is the ceremony of their dedication and the occasion of proving to them that they have not placed their confidence in vain. These persons comprise two categories: that of the woman and that of the man. Let us note at once that the latter cannot be too demanding without showing a lack of the proper attitude. They form part of the general staff of the husband, and, under penalty

[576] [302] [306]

[12 cont.]

369 of humiliation, they must, as must he, show proof of generosity.
585 How does one go about "decorating these persons"?
565 There are the griots, the jewelers, the cobblers, and also ... the captives; the husband gives 1,000 francs or more to each grouping, and his relatives a supplementary sum, always distinct from that given by the husband, of such a nature that each caste receives 10,000 or 20,000 francs or more. This sum will be divided under the direction of the caste head.

585 This ceremony concludes the marriage, because im-
369 mediately, for three streets around, there is nothing but hysteria and hubbub, with griots coming and going, as well as drivers (3).

3. We have not said anything about the expense for the food. Each morning during the whole period of the nuptials, the husband must give a sum large enough to provide food for all of his guests and those of the wife. It is obligatory for the parents of the wife to send supper to the mother of the husband on the first day. I have seen a case that merits being noted. On the occasion of a recent marriage, the parents-in-law sent from Saint-Louis to Louga a wagon of food, 25 large basins, "tolis," containing 25 foods estimated in 1939 at 4,000 francs, deducted from the meals of the mother, which were, it was said, transported by five or six carts.

Consequences of the high price of marriage on the manners and customs

369
178
584 Such expenses greatly hinder young people from marrying.
581 Most of them, if they do not wish to remain single, are obliged to leave their city to contract bush marriages, which are almost

[11 cont.]

369 584 583 dismissing all present or future suitors. Originally this was an indemnity to be shared among the unhappy rivals, or was intended as reimbursement for the advances collected by the parents of the girl without her knowledge. Some reputedly avaricious families demand it several times.

369 583 3. The Marriage Portion. Its amount does not rigorously follow the fluctuations which characterize the other expenses. It amounts to 2,500 francs and is fixed by a marabout, by converting the heads of cattle of Koranic law into French money. Religious in nature and hence escaping the whims of fashion, its importance is wholly secondary. One can delay five or six years or more before paying it. Many monogamous households get along very well, even though not a sou of the marriage portion has been paid. Payment becomes obligatory, however, when [587] the husband wishes to contract a second marriage.

4. Ngegenay (The Pillow). This is an optional expense, but one that good breeding requires. It consists of leaving under the wife's pillow a sum of money and a quantity of little gifts [585] (perfumes, sandals, bracelets, etc.) the day after the first nuptial contact. It is like a manifestation of the joy that one felt upon finding his wife to be virgin.

5. The Decoration. This is the essence of the Saint-Louis marriage. All of the expenses listed up to here are more or less private, or in any case little known, except for the marriage portion, by the neighboring quarters or the relatives far away from the city. For the Decoration, the payment is preceded by widely disseminated announcements several months in advance. It is exhibited before all the relatives of the married couple, their friends, their acquaintances, before all the persons of inferior castes, who go everywhere and who will repeat what they have seen, in brief, before the city.

Optional in the beginning, it today assumes such an obligatory character that only in Saint-Louis do the instructors dare to avoid it or to minimize its importance. Of what is the Decoration composed? Essentially of a box, a basket for effects, and a basket of small goods, but most especially what one has been able to amass that is precious and rare, and which has not

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

of inter-ethnic marriages in the towns is indicative of a major social change and a reflection of the effects of an assimilationist policy on the Senegalese.

Though many communities in Dakar are based on ethnic and family ties, particularly amongst the immigrant Toucouleurs from the Vallée du Fleuve, Dakar is on the whole a heterogeneous city. Mercier has observed that inter-ethnic habitation is particularly frequent among young bachelors, who often club together to hire a room. This is still relatively rare in Africa except amongst educated élites. But in Senegal many young men resent being asked the question whether they are Wolof or Serer, answering only to the name Senegalese. As far as friendship outside the ethnic group and in particular living with someone from another tribe is concerned, one great advantage is the existence of a common cuisine for Wolof, Serer, Toucouleur and Lebou. There is even a national dish known as *riz sénégalais*, known further down the coast as Jollof rice. This means that not only can friends share the same plate, but a man is not frustrated in his desire to marry outside his ethnic group by fear of a foreign cuisine.

Another important factor in the breakdown of tribal barriers has been the urbanisation of Senegal. Over 25 per cent of the population live in towns, the bulk in Dakar, Rufisque and St. Louis and Kaolack. This represents a higher rate of urbanisation than in any other West African territory except the Western Region of Nigeria, where, it must be pointed out, urbanisation was intense long before the arrival of the Europeans and therefore does not owe its origin to colonisation as it does in Senegal. It is difficult in the present stage of research to measure the results of the inter-mixing of races in urban agglomerations. But in an environment whose *raison d'être* is completely different from that of the tribal village, the individual is subjected to so many pressures that his ethnic individuality has to be extremely strong for him not to assimilate both ideas and customs from his neighbours and above all from the

[8]

369
581

The native of the large cities of Senegal, one from Saint-Louis in particular, is evolving, but his expenses for ceremonies of "pleasure," baptism and especially marriage, are evolving also, and unhappily much more rapidly. The young man looks for a way to be able to manage this vertiginous soaring of expenses; he struggles, if not to stop it, to curb it at least. Some associations have been formed in order to agree on a fixed sum which one [9] [Fig. 6 appears here] [10] is not to exceed, as for the expenses of marriage. They scarcely seem to give the anticipated result, their members not facing up to the strength of character required for the attacks, with innovation as the object. Nevertheless, one should cite the nearly general agreement of the members on the precept to "defy the tempest" and to pay no attention to the desires of their parents, parents-in-law, and spouses for having pompous nuptials. Those among them who do not feel capable of restraining their vanity by acting "poverty-stricken" avail themselves of the facilities that they have for [589] changing posts and contracting bush marriages (1). Most of them

1. For the men and women of Saint-Louis, any woman who does not live in Saint-Louis or has no ancestors in this city is from the bush and hence is of mundane breeding and an inadequate housekeeper.

remain single.

What is the origin of these high expenses? We are going to look for it in the local customs, without any expectation of finding it in former times or in the laws of the Koran, which we have merely submitted to, and which in any case we are trying to adapt to our fancy. What are the phases of marriage? What expenses does each one require? We shall give them specifically as we consider the single case of a man from Saint-Louis. Saint-Louis is the "center of good taste" for the colony and serves as the model for it. Finally, do these exaggerated expenses have

/22 cont./ 369*
itself, its variable importance depending on religions, ethnic [595]
groups, socio-occupational categories.

B. -- The numerical importance of the groups of rela- 369*
tives making up a single household is very variable. We have 592
defined the household /maisonnée/: the assemblage of persons [104]
living in a single house or a single group of houses, and putting
together at least a part of their resources.

1. Some remarks are necessary here in order to place conveniently the data gathered.

/23/ Certain households are composed of groups of persons having no ties of kinship between them -- in extreme cases, not even of ethnic relationship. In particular this is the [589]
case for groups of bachelors who rent a room with common funds, a case that is quite frequent among the seasonal workers, but this is a category that has only briefly been studied up to now. The investigation by questionnaires is practically limited [125]
to the permanent population. The elements relating to the composition of the household thus concern kinship groups almost exclusively. We obtain an approximation adequate for our purpose.

There are some facts which we shall be able to take into account only in the statement of qualitative data. On the one hand, a certain number of households are tied by kinship or by marriage with immediately neighboring households. Even though there is no life in common for the whole of the family group, its different parts continue to have constant relations. This aspect will be brought out in the last part of our work. On the other hand, the restricted polygamous family, in a certain [595]
number of cases, is not assembled in one and the same place; each wife, with her children, forms the nucleus of a household, which other members of the kinship group eventually come to join; the head of the family passes from one household to another (1)

1. This fact is less marked, however, than in a town like Saint-Louis.

/31 cont./

369x
592
[591]
[596]

a matter of a de facto matrilocal, non-institutionalized marriage.

do not form separate households. The segmentation of these groups occurs constantly -- it poses a question of available space -- but its importance is sometimes tempered by the maintenance of the neighborhood situation. The aged father and mother are often dependent, and the role of the de facto head of the family has partially been transferred to the eldest son.

/32/ d) Kinship by marriage is likewise a factor of grouping. One finds most frequently the collaterals of the wife, more rarely her relatives on ascending generations. One is reminded in part of the preceding case (1).

1. See preceding note.

e) One finds finally, living with the restricted family, distant relatives or "friends" who, in the majority of cases, are at least tied to this family by an ethnic relationship. But these much looser relationships account chiefly for the formation of bachelor groups. [589]

2. Two typical cases of variations in time will be given by way of illustration. The first example is that of a specialized worker's family, the second that of a family of a subordinate employee. The wages of the family heads in the chosen cases are much the same.

a) This family is of Toucouleur origin, but, after a series of marriages, is closely tied to Wolof groups. The nucleus of the restricted family consists of the husband, his wife, and her three children. The mother of the family head, a widow, lives with her son permanently. The following changes in the composition of the household were observed from August 1953 to May 1954:

-- August: a guest was lodged for three weeks, in the capacity of both a distant relative and a marabout;

/36 cont./

divided into several types by their composition: 369x

-- Compounds composed of a single family group: extended kinship group based on the nephew-uterine uncle relationship (B), restricted family (E); 621 571

-- Compounds composed of restricted family groups, but having between them ties of distant collateral kinship (J);

--Compounds composed of restricted or extended family groups tied only by the ethnic relationship (A and N);

-- Compounds grouping restricted families from different ethnic groups (F, G);

-- Compounds grouping restricted families and isolated persons, all of the same ethnic group (L);

-- Compounds grouping restricted families and isolated persons, and ethnically varied (C, D, K, M).

The compounds of the first two types will not detain us; family solidarity plays a major role there. In the others, the situation is extremely variable. Frequent relationships exist everywhere on the level of the children (play groups), less frequently on the level of women, still less frequently on the level of men. Let us consider essentially the relationships which are not sustained by the ethnic community.

a) The bachelors, except when they are of the same ethnic group as some of the families of the compound (1 case, in compound D), participate little in the life of the compound; most eat outside and only spend the night at home. Mutual aid does little for them; most said that they had recourse, in case of sickness, to the aid of friends -- almost always of the same ethnic group -- on the outside. In one single case (compound K), the bachelors -- of the same ethnic group, moreover -- form a group eating together, going out together, etc.; the cooking is done for them by an old woman -- also of the same ethnic group -- a widow who lives with her children. [589]

b) Within the compound the ethnic disparity among the families does not exclude some minimal forms of mutual aid (loans of utensils, small purchases, care of children, etc.) [563]

/26 cont./

intermediate character of this category, very mixed concerning the level of studies, way of life, etc., is found again in various domains. 369x 565

C. -- The old familial institutions do not always adapt themselves easily to the environment of the new life into which they are transplanted. They were linked with a collective work organization, all the members of the group being assured of enjoying (under the authority of the family head) the revenue of the latter. The notion of individual work, with individual remuneration, has not been introduced without shock. We shall set aside the categories where the work has remained in the family framework despite the necessary transpositions: farmers and fishermen on the one hand, merchants on the other. In the others, the vigor preserved by the traditional familial institutions is sometimes a curb on the raising of the living standard of urbanized elements. There is the problem, commonly called "familial parasitism," which poses itself in all of the African towns; the obligation to come to the aid of all the members of the kinship group is still strongly felt. We shall not proceed here to a detailed examination of the data gathered on the number of salaried persons, and persons practicing a non-salaried occupation, in relation to the total number of adults in the household. But it is necessary to give a survey of them. 369x 59● [476] [461] [602]

1. When questioned about the reasons for their coming to town, less than 10% of those questioned say that they came to rejoin relatives. But subsequent interviews have permitted it to be confirmed that among those persons who had come, according to their statements, to look for work (58%), there were many who would not have been able to subsist except by joining, upon their arrival, a group of relatives already settled. The process has already been described several times, and we shall not return to it (1). 369x 602 166

1. Cf., for example, G. Balandier, op. cit., one of the latest accounts to date.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

of inter-ethnic marriages in the towns is indicative of a major social change and a reflection of the effects of an assimilationist policy on the Senegalese.

Though many communities in Dakar are based on ethnic and family ties, particularly amongst the immigrant Toucouleurs from the Vallée du Fleuve, Dakar is on the whole a heterogeneous city. Mercier has observed that inter-ethnic habitation is particularly frequent among young bachelors, who often club together to hire a room. This is still relatively rare in Africa except amongst educated élites. But in Senegal many young men resent being asked the question whether they are Wolof or Serer, answering only to the name Senegalese. As far as friendship outside the ethnic group and in particular living with someone from another tribe is concerned, one great advantage is the existence of a common cuisine for Wolof, Serer, Toucouleur and Lebou. There is even a national dish known as *riz sénégalais*, known further down the coast as Jollof rice. This means that not only can friends share the same plate, but a man is not frustrated in his desire to marry outside his ethnic group by fear of a foreign cuisine.

Another important factor in the breakdown of tribal barriers has been the urbanisation of Senegal. Over 25 per cent of the population live in towns, the bulk in Dakar, Rufisque and St. Louis and Kaolack. This represents a higher rate of urbanisation than in any other West African territory except the Western Region of Nigeria, where, it must be pointed out, urbanisation was intense long before the arrival of the Europeans and therefore does not owe its origin to colonisation as it does in Senegal. It is difficult in the present stage of research to measure the results of the inter-mixing of races in urban agglomerations. But in an environment whose *raison d'être* is completely different from that of the tribal village, the individual is subjected to so many pressures that his ethnic individuality has to be extremely strong for him not to assimilate both ideas and customs from his neighbours and above all from the

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

goal of return to their tribal home, even Toucouleur, find it more difficult to resist the pressures of their environment, and Dakar has a large number of permanent settlers, who are first and foremost *Dakarois*. 369 563

Many of these have found a common brotherhood above tribe in their trade unions. These, despite various setbacks and restrictions, have been well organised in Senegal. Indeed the 1944 decree restoring liberty of association did much to ensure this, by insisting that trade union officials should have good educational qualifications and that accounts should be scrutinised by the administration. Most of the unions belonged to one of the large French confederations from whom they received considerable help and advice. Since Senegal has until quite recently had over 40 per cent of the organised workers of French West Africa, trade unionism embraced a large number of people of different ethnic groups brought together to seek ends that went far beyond the limited horizons of tribal ambition. 467 563

The influence of the towns extends beyond their limits. Both in the cities, and increasingly in the villages, young men who have come in contact with the new life of Dakar or of the other major towns tend to contract monogamous marriages in the European style. Amongst the Diola, as L. V. Thomas has observed, young men are now building their own houses outside the parental extended home. But probably most important of all in the breakdown of tribal barriers is the increase of economic individualism, the desire to have possessions, and particularly good clothes, all of which run contrary to the traditional social system which leads to the maximum dispersion of a man's gains amongst his relatives. 369 [595] [591] [422]

Only the very strongest survive the effect of the city, in particular a city like Dakar, the most sophisticated, the most European, the city most diametrically opposed to the tribal life of the bush. Indeed among Dakar's inhabitants only the Moors and Toucouleur really withstand the 369 563

/31 cont./

uncle persists, and the latter often has charge of his nephews until adolescence, whether or not the father lives in town (1). S 369* 592 S W [604] [597] [591]

1. Nephews harbored in this manner represent a large proportion of the category of "adopted children." The other types of relationships covered by the term adoption in common usage are: those between the guardian and orphaned children (of brothers or of more distant relatives), and those between the guardian and children who have been entrusted to him during the time of schooling by relatives living out of town.

One often ascertains this fact in the whole of the categories where the vigor of traditional institutions is, as we have seen, the greatest (farmers, laborers, workers, merchants), but it is noticeable everywhere.

b) Another frequent type is that of groupings of collaterals of the same generation, consanquineous /paternal/ or uterine (brothers in the classificatory sense). It frequently breaks up when the younger brothers marry; it is more unstable if "brothers" of a distant degree are involved.

c) One encounters, in a smaller number of cases, the typical extended family, where the married sons -- and sometimes, temporarily or permanently, married daughters (2)-- S [596] [591]

2. The case where the husband is housed by his wife or by the family of the latter, the owner of the house, is encountered frequently, but less than, for example, at Saint-Louis. It is

17: Mercier--38 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/31 cont./

369x
592
[591]
[596]

a matter of a de facto matrilocal, non-institutionalized marriage.

do not form separate households. The segmentation of these groups occurs constantly -- it poses a question of available space -- but its importance is sometimes tempered by the maintenance of the neighborhood situation. The aged father and mother are often dependent, and the role of the de facto head of the family has partially been transferred to the eldest son.

/32/ d) Kinship by marriage is likewise a factor of grouping. One finds most frequently the collaterals of the wife, more rarely her relatives on ascending generations. One is reminded in part of the preceding case (1).

1. See preceding note.

e) One finds finally, living with the restricted family, distant relatives or "friends" who, in the majority of cases, are at least tied to this family by an ethnic relationship. But these much looser relationships account chiefly for the formation of bachelor groups. [589]

2. Two typical cases of variations in time will be given by way of illustration. The first example is that of a specialized worker's family, the second that of a family of a subordinate employee. The wages of the family heads in the chosen cases are much the same.

a) This family is of Toucouleur origin, but, after a series of marriages, is closely tied to Wolof groups. The nucleus of the restricted family consists of the husband, his wife, and her three children. The mother of the family head, a widow, lives with her son permanently. The following changes in the composition of the household were observed from August 1953 to May 1954:

-- August: a guest was lodged for three weeks, in the capacity of both a distant relative and a marabout;

/390 cont./

125 artisans it was necessary, aside from their family accounts, to
434 consider those of their occupational activity; with regard to the cultivators, it is certainly /391/ among them that the greatest percentage of error is found. We have taken into account the proceeds from the sale of their harvest, often underestimated by the one concerned, the portion for home consumption, and the income obtained by supplementary activities practiced in the dry season, in order to arrive at an income figure that could be compared to that for salaried workers.

125 But, nearly all of the women, almost all of whom declare
434 themselves to be "without occupation," have minor sources of
462 income that permit them to balance a budget, or at least partially to make up a deficit. It is often a matter of small-scale
[536] commerce, sometimes domestic work, and sometimes the talents
[565] of an actress which attract sympathy and gifts, as we verified for a family of the griot /singer, storyteller/ caste. It was therefore necessary to look closely at each case before setting an exact figure. We nevertheless believe that we have been mistaken in two or three cases, which will reveal themselves below.

125 Of course, there were often cases where in a family, or
434 rather let us say in the same "unit of consumption," since this
● 592 is the term that we shall use most often (1), several persons

[104] 1. Each time that we speak of "family,"
[594] it is actually the unit of consumption that is involved. To designate the familial grouping in the Western sense of the word, we shall use the term "restricted family."

received income. The entire income retained is not always the sum of these incomes. We have studied the budgets of groups and not the budgets of individuals. Now, these groups, these "units of consumption," only rarely correspond to the restricted family of Western type. They often contain individuals who, whether or not they have a kin tie with a member of the restricted family, on the one hand participate in the economic

/391 cont./

125 life of the unit of consumption and, on the other hand, part
434 company with it for other activities.

●592 The clearest case is that of the boarder who takes his
[437] meals in the unit of consumption and pays the cost of these meals. Though simple, it is exceptional, as is the extreme case where all the incomes are put together. Between the two, there are many possible situations. For each unit of consumption we have therefore set apart, from among all the incomes received by its members, that which is available to the head of the family to support his restricted family and to fulfill his obligations with regard to the other members of the unit of consumption who are not part of the restricted family.

125 /392/ However limited our sample may be, we have
*511 tried all the same to make it representative of the structure of the population of Thiès, as much from the standpoint of the ethnic group of the unit of consumption as from those of occupational group, income, and number of persons. Therefore, the selection of 45 families (the figure initially anticipated) suitable for us and agreeing to submit to the investigation was diffcult (1). The 43 units of consumption which are of concern

1. In this selection of families, our task was greatly facilitated by the syndical organization , the religious authorities, and the heads of quarters.

125 here are distributed as follows.
592 From the standpoint of income:
434 13 between 5,000 and 10,000 francs per month,
*511 9 between 10,000 and 15,000 francs per month,
5 between 15,000 and 20,000 francs per month,
8 between 20,000 and 30,000 francs per month,
8 above 30,000 francs per month, with one of 81,000 francs.

/393 cont./

125 Finally, according to the number of persons making up
●592 the unit of consumption:
*511

5 of less than 5 persons,
18 of 5 to 9 persons,
12 of 10 to 14 persons,
5 of 15 to 19 persons,
3 of 20 persons and more.

[434] On all of these points the distribution is nearly normal. Only the group with incomes of 15,000 to 20,000 francs is somewhat scantily represented, the average of the lower group being perhaps, on the contrary, somewhat too high.

125 But this apparent balance presents a problem; every
*511 family, or nearly every one, has its own characteristics, and there are no two that are strictly comparable. This is why, in order to facilitate an understanding of certain points concerning the consumption of food commodities, we have had recourse to a device that is a little risky; from the standards utilized for the calculation of theoretical food requirements by the Institut National d'Hygiène de Paris, we have used for men, for women, and for children, according to their age category, a coefficient:

1 for men
0.8 for the women,
0.5 for children from 2 to 6 years old,
0.7 for children from 7 to 12 years old,
0.8 for children from 13 to 20 years old.

/394/ By addition, we have obtained a theoretical composition of the unit of consumption in men alone. We can then calculate the consumption of this theoretical man. Nursing children have been included in the category of 2 to 5 years old, but we have allowed the coefficient of 0.8 for nursing women. This compensates for that.

*511 Table I[1] gives the composition of the unit of consumption
592 in men, women, and children, and in the last column its com-
594 position in "man units." The column preceding the one for the

[1] [see cat. 116, pp 11-12. -ANALYST]

/394 cont./

*511 unit of consumption (U. C.) contains a figure indicating how
●592 many persons make up the restricted family constituting the
594 nucleus of each unit of consumption.

There is absolute correspondence in only 5 cases: Nos. 6, 9, 26, 34, and 42.

[595] Family No. 6 contains, besides the head of the family, a mattress-maker, and his two wives, two daughters that he had by his first wife, one by his second wife, and one by a third, deceased wife.

The baker, head of family No. 9, has only one wife. But she previously had two children before this marriage, a girl and a boy. Both of them live with the head of the family. The daughter, previously married, then divorced, has with her a child six years old. Finally, there is a child of the two spouses.

With No. 26 we truly find a family of Western type: a man, his wife, and their only child. The head of the family is 28 years old, just like that of family No. 34, which likewise includes a man, his wife, and two children. It is true that this young clerk of the P. T. T. has married a second wife, who lives in Dakar.

[595] Finally, in family No. 42, the head of the family, who has two wives, lives alone with them and their eight children, of whom one is already grown-up.

Aside from these four families, all of the units of consumption contain one or several external elements with or without kin ties with the familial nucleus.

*511 This almost general "parasitism" (1) is more important in
592

1. The word is customary. We put it between quotation marks in order to indicate to what degree it is inadequate. It is wrong primarily because of being pejorative, since it designates a traditional phenomenon.

/394 cont./

*511 592 the units of consumption with high incomes, for example, in families 31, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41. But its financial consequences will be more oppressive in the others /395/

/Table I appears here./

*511 434 /396/ Table II[1] lists, along with the ethnic group and the occupation of the head of the unit of consumption, the incomes in increasing order and the routine expenses verified during the month of the investigation. The small incomes, up to 10,000 francs, are essentially those of the laborers, orderlies, and two very petty artisans, a mattress-maker and a baker. We also find (No. 11) an auxiliary (1) worker of the

[104 463]

1. The name "auxiliary" D. N. serves here to designate unskilled workers. It was borrowed from administrative terminology (used by the Dakar-Niger, "D. N.").

Dakar-Niger, whose low income is explained by the fact that he is just starting in his occupation.

The cultivator whose income we have estimated at 8,150 francs actually cultivates very few fields. His family lives by means of very small-scale commerce practiced separately by the head of the family, his two wives, and his two sisters, all very old.

The incomes from 10,000 to 15,000 francs per month are those of the office employees and the unskilled workers (in the case of the laborer No. 15 there are actually two incomes which are combined). Two cultivators open the series starting at 15,000 and then we find successively the workers and skilled employees, a large-scale cultivator, and, in the category of large incomes, besides a truck-gardener and a jeweler, a representative of the liberal professions, our teachers and our doctor, the managerial workers and employees. No.

1 [see cat 116 pp 13+14 - ANALYST]

/395/

Table I

*511
592
594

No.	Income	Restricted Family	U.C.	M	W	2-6	7-12	13-20	Theor. U.C.
1	5,800	7	13	3	3	3	1	3	10
2	6,100	5	10	1	1	3	2	1	5.5
3	6,500	3	4	1	2	0	0	0	2.8
4	6,700	4	7	1	3	2	1	0	5.10
5	6,745	5	7	2	2	1	1	1	5.6
6	7,000	7	7	1	2	3	1	0	4.8
7	7,000	2	5	1	2	1	1	0	3.8
8	7,410	2	5	2	3	0	0	0	4.4
9	7,500	6	6	1	2	0	2	1	4.4
10	8,150	8	12	2	6	1	1	2	9.6
11	8,950	3	6	1	2	1	2	0	4.5
12	9,000	4	8	3	2	2	1	0	6.3
13	9,800	3	5	2	2	0	0	1	4.4
14	10,000	10	10	3	3	1	2	2	8.9
15	10,000	6	7	2	2	1	2	0	5.5
16	10,675	3	4	1	1	0	2	0	3.2
17	10,800	5	9	1	3	1	2	2	6.9
18	11,000	3	4	2	2	0	0	0	3.6
19	11,950	5	9	4	2	3	0	0	7.1
20	12,000	6	10	3	3	3	1	0	7.6
21	13,000	5	5	1	2	1	1	0	3.8
22	14,000	8	12	2	5	2	3	0	9.1
23	15,000	14	18	4	4	6	0	4	13.4
24	15,000	17	21	2	5	8	4	2	14.4
25	15,630	7	15	4	5	3	0	3	11.9
26	15,800	4	4	1	1	1	0	0	2.3
27	16,200	10	12	2	3	2	3	2	9.1
28	22,000	16	18	4	4	1	2	7	14.7
29	22,000	4	11	4	3	3	1	0	8.6
30	24,000	5	7	1	3	2	1	0	5.1
31	25,000	10	18	2	3	1	1	11	14.4

/395 Table I cont./

*511
592
594

No.	Income	Restricted Family	U. C.	M	W	2-6	7-12	13-20	Theor. U. C.
32	25,000	5	6	2	1	1	1	1	4.8
33	25,000	4	7	1	2	2	1	1	5.1
34	25,900	4	4	2	1	1	0	0	3.3
35	27,000	5	6	1	2	1	1	1	4.6
36	34,000	3	15	4	7	1	0	3	12.5
37	36,000	11	24	7	10	2	2	3	19.8
38	50,000	5	13	5	5	3	0	0	10.5
39	51,000	6	11	1	3	2	4	1	8.0
40	55,000	15	24	4	9	7	4	0	17.5
41	55,000	8	14	2	6	3	3	0	10.4
42	56,000	11	11	2	2	1	3	3	8.6
43	81,000	4	5	2	1	1	1	0	4.0

/396 cont./

*511
[434]

43 also has two incomes (the same as No. 25).

A comparison of the incomes and expenses, up until about the middle of the table, shows an excess of expenses, sometimes not very important, but nevertheless exceeding 1,000 francs in two cases (Nos, 4 and 20). One might view this as the result of an error of estimation, either in the incomes or in the expenses. But it must not be forgotten that only routine expenses are still being dealt with, that is to say, for the small incomes that concern us now, the outlays made for food. It is therefore necessary to add to this figure all of the other expenses which we have calculated for a period of a year (divided by 12, of course). Table III,[1] where we have shown the monthly deficit in absolute value and in percentage of income, shows us what our budgets then become: the highest deficit is 45.2%, the lowest /397/ /Table II appears here/ /398/ 6.4% (1). (This last, strangely enough, is found

1. We are not counting here the

1[See cat 116, pp 17-18 - ANALYST]

/400 cont./

*511 452 debts in full. The latter pay for the others, and, if they know it, they are not surprised. It is a deep-rooted survival of the traditional, essentially collective funds in a system based on an institution of individualistic character, being salaried. Likewise, [166] the salaried person who is one day obliged to pay back more debts [602] than he can meet will be able to send his family to spend a few months among relatives whom he has kept in the natal village, [592] and they will see nothing abnormal in it. He himself will live as a "parasite" in a more favored unit of consumption, and no one will be surprised by it (1).

[114]

1. The problems of credit, complex and not very well known, the elements of which are often imperceptible, have not been followed systematically in the course of this investigation. We hope to make them the subject of a series of investigations which will be devoted especially to them.

*511 592 Is it a sign of evolution that, out of the five units of consumption that have not admitted into their midst any element foreign to the restricted family, two are among the youngest, thus capable of being more strongly influenced by ideas of [452] emancipation? Among these two, we have likewise found a lower percentage of purchases on credit. A broader investigation would perhaps confirm this tendency.

*511 Let us return to the 43 families to ascertain that the first balanced budget appears with the first income of 15,000 francs. The next three again have a deficit, but a smaller one. Taking account of the possible margin of error, one can infer, not a deficit, but a certain difficulty in "making ends meet."

This experiment, however, is too limited for one to be able to conclude with certainty that 15,000 francs is the indispensable minimum monthly income.

All of the budgets following No. 27 clearly have a surplus. We previously noted that the "hole" of No. 34 is due to the cost

/407 cont./

*511 inverse combinations are encountered, but they are much less
*262 common and much less liked. But, although it is generally the
[592] head of the family who buys rice and millet, large expenses coming together at the beginning of the month, it is the housewife who chooses between fish and meat at the market; already having in stock a large quantity of millet, she primarily buys meat, which normally accompanies it. Economic calculation is not her strong point, and it is probably that, if her husband left her entirely free for the other purchases, she would choose rice before millet, which would not be in order to avoid the work of pounding.

Four other families eat more meat than fish: No. 9; No. 14, a cultivator actually used to millet, but who has exhausted his harvest; and Nos. 15 and 42, two Bambara.

But there is not necessarily any agreement between these qualitative statements and the quantities actually consumed by an individual. The monthly consumption of the 43 families was established at 2.5 kilograms for meat and 4.7 kilograms for fish. Among the ten families whose total consumption of meat exceeds that of fish, there are only three where the individual consumption of meat reaches or exceeds this average (Nos. 7, 9, 32), whereas it is among 17 families in all that it is reached, as against 20 for the average for fish. In relation to the central income (No. 22, 14,000 francs), these families are grouped as follows:

For fish: 9 above, 12 below.

For meat: 6 above, 11 below.

There are four families above who reach the average in both cases. There are eight of them below. /408/ /Table VI appears here./ /409/ /Table VII appears here./

/410/ Before leaving these four basic products, we might make some comparisons on the distribution of the families who reach, for each, the average for individual consumption:

--For millet, 22 families reach the average: 12 above the central income, 10 below.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p.37]

/191 cont./

511 limit of reasonable occupancy has been passed when one
362 figures an average of more than two persons per room. Thus at the left of this line are the households which do not exceed this relation of one room for two persons, at the right those for whom occupancy becomes crowded. Now let us add all the figures at the right of the line of separation, and let us refer this total of "crowded" homes in each table to the general total. One finds that this result, which one may call the "index of occupancy," is much higher in the districts
162 than in the quarters: 26.4% as against 45.2%. This phenome-
592 non indicates that the families are much more /192/ /Table
511 25 appears here/ numerous in the districts. It is possible to
362 verify this in two ways: first, by comparing the average number of persons per household, which gives 7.43 as against 4.86; or else by constructing from the preceding tables the histogram of the various families in percentages. One then finds that in the first case the median runs between seven and eight persons, and in the second between four and five; in other words, that 47% of the homes in the districts have at least eight persons, while in the quarters one counts only 47% of the homes with five or more persons.

511 The same tendency is shown in the matter of the rela-
352 tion of the furnishings to the number of persons. We have therefore drawn up a table identical to the preceding one and substituted the number of beds for the number of rooms, for it is the bed that constitutes the principal article of furniture. Obviously the data obtained do not have the same value, since it has not been possible /193/ /Table 26 appears here/ to distinguish the various kinds of beds: beds in one or two places, wooden or metal springs. Nevertheless, it is shown that the ratio of the number of persons to the number of beds is higher in the districts than in the quarters. The total result is the following: in the former 47, in the latter 38 beds per 100 persons. One finds only five or six instances where the bed is nothing but a simple mat thrown on the beaten earth in the huts of the quarters.

511
362

Table 25. Number of rooms per person. 1) Quarters.

	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-9	10 to 15	15 +	TOTAL
1	15	10	11	10	8	4	1	0	0	59
2	4	13	10	15	8	12	3	3	0	68
3	0	5	7	12	4	8	5	1	0	42
4	2	4	1	5	1	7	5	1	0	26
5	0	2	2	4	4	12	9	6	0	39
6	0	1	0	0	0	4	3	3	0	11
7 +	0	1	0	0	1	2	4	3	1	12
Total	21	36	31	46	26	49	30	17	1	257

511
592

What can be concluded from these various remarks? That in general the inadequacy of housing conditions explains why the people of Pikine attach so much importance to the land of their parcel, and why this space, as much if not more than the interior, is the center of family life and activity. The rooms of the dwelling serve mainly as a shelter for sleeping and to screen a conversation or a tête-à-tête from indiscreet eyes and ears. During the day one is better off outside than inside, and this is the reason why the veranda is so important. It is the link /194/ between outdoors and indoors; when one is sitting there, one is outside in the air and yet sheltered from the rain, the sun, and the stifling heat inside.

In the second place, it is undeniable that augmentation of the comfort of the habitat is accompanied by an enlargement

Table 26. -- 2) Districts

511
362

	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-9	10 to 15	15 +	TOTAL
1										
2			2	1	2	2	1			8
3		1	3		4	4	3	5		20
4	1					1	2	4	1	9
5				1			2		1	4
6						1				1
7										
Total..... ..	1	1	5	2	6	8	8	9	2	42

/194 cont./

511 of the family. This is an extremely important phenomenon. In
592 order to understand it better, a study of the group occupying the parcel is now in order.

427 A first distinction arises regarding the mode of occupation.
511 Aside from the tenants and owners of their parcels, there are also those who are neither the one nor the other and who live
[592] gratuitously in a hut that does not belong to them, generally because of their kinship ties with the owner. Here is the table in percentages of these three categories arranged by ethnic groups. /Table 27 appears here./

62% of the occupants are thus owners, but we have seen
[369] that only 45% have been expelled from Dakar and have therefore from this fact become owners of the parcel that has been granted

10: Thoré--57 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37

511
592
4017

/194/

Table 27

Ethnic Groups	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Owner	67	58	60	53	50	63	68	62
Renter	19	23	32	30	42	27	18	23
Occupant without paying	14	19	8	17	8	10	14	15
Total	100							100

/194 cont./

511 them. As a result, a certain number of family heads, around
427 17%, are owners only because they have bought their parcel.
[369] This fact therefore shows that Pikine has become a choice locality where it is worth the trouble to spend money in order to establish oneself, and thus corroborates the hypothesis set forth above, that the evolution of Pikine today attests to an indisputable degree of urban maturity.

In the districts one counts only 9% who are tenants; all the others are owners or on the way to it. But while the rent of a room in a hut located in the quarters costs an average of 500 francs, the price is much higher in the districts, and this income permits the owner, who for his part is obliged to make a monthly payment to the Office de l'Habitat hardly higher /195/ than the amount of the rent, to acquire at the end of five years a dwelling by paying, in a word, only a ridiculous amount. It is difficult to evaluate the frequency of this abusive practice; in our sample it was three out of four tenants.

351 Another point has to do with the possibility of dividing
511 the parcel into half parcels or of two and even three homes being associated on the land of a single parcel. This possibility does not exist in the districts, where, in practice, economic obligations and the arrangement of the habitat as a rule require having only a single home per parcel. In the quarter, out of 264 homes, one counts 191 of them, namely, 72%, that are alone on the land; 46, or 17%, are in groups of two; and 27, or 11%, are in groups of three.

511 The types of association are very diverse, from the
592 households which are united by a bond of kinship and which represent 22% of the cases of association, that is to say, 6% of the total, to homes living on two half-parcels rigorously separated. The most frequent case is that of two unrelated households living together, who share, if not the same hut, at least the same inner court, each having its fire and doing its cooking separately. In general, the families thus grouped contain only a limited number of members, the scantiness of a half parcel not being favorable to the installation of numerous families. Since this factor does not

/195 cont./

511 exist in the districts, where the parcel is individual, one can
592 see in it one of the reasons why the average number of individuals per home is higher there than elsewhere.

592 The analysis of the qualitative composition of the
162 family group discloses another reason. Schematically one may distinguish four principal kinds of family, if one considers its qualitative composition: the lone adult; the adult living with one or more children, where it is a matter of his own or of young brothers; the family called "elementary," composed of the husband, his wife or wives, and their children; finally, the elementary family to which are added either the collateral relatives, or outsiders, or both.

Here (p. 60) is the table of the percentages of these different types listed by ethnic groups; the first is that of the quarters, the second that of the districts.

When one goes from the quarters to the districts, the total shows that:

1st. The number of elementary families increases.

2nd. The proportion of the "extended" families -- in the very broad sense of the term -- remains the same in the two cases.

/196/ 3rd. This increase in the rate of the conjugal family is thus due to the almost total disappearance in the districts of single persons living alone or in the company of children who are in their charge, especially divorced women. /Table 28 appears here./

592 One may ask whether this factor suffices in itself to
162 explain this increase in the number of individuals per household
595 which we have listed above. There is another difference between the districts and the quarters which may likewise contribute to this explanation: it is the rate of polygamy. We mean by that the number of household heads who are polygamists in relation to the total number of male heads of households. Out of 100 family heads 21 are polygamists in the quarters and 31 in the districts. The difference is notable.

592
169

/196 cont./

Table 28

Ethnic Group	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Type 1	8.4	17.6	7	7.7	21.4	9.1	12.5	9.7
2	9.1	17.6	2.3	7.7	0	9.1	0	7.4
3	39.9	35.3	48.8	61.5	50	54.5	62.5	44.7
4	42.6	29.5	41.9	23.1	28.6	27.3	25	38.2
Total	100							100
Type 1	5.9							2.4
2	0					20		2.4
3	70.6	33.3	50	50	--	60	33.3	57.1
4	23.5	66.7	50	50		20	66.7	38.1
Total	100							100

/198 cont./

511 595 The raising of the standard of living, which is symbolized and realized by the acquisition of a durable dwelling provided with modern conveniences, thus seems to go hand in hand with an increase in polygamy. Another factor should also be correlated with it: the educational level. The proportion of polygamists among the literate is higher than the corresponding proportion among the illiterate: 26.5% as against 21.6%.

511 But, as the preceding figures suggest, it seems that the principal cause is to be found in the improvement of economic conditions, and education in this case plays only the role of a /197/ second cause, which is the very thing that permits access to a higher income. Another index runs along the same lines: the average number of persons under [602] the care of the head of the family, persons who do not live in the concession, but either in the city or village. This average figure is distinctly larger for the districts: 219 as against 142 persons under the care of 100 heads of families, in addition to those who live with him.

It is now possible to draw some conclusions which are to be found at the point of convergence with the preceding remarks.

511 592 602 1) It does not seem that what is designated by the deplorable name of "familial parasitism" (1) can be held

1. It is not a question of denying the negative and paralyzing influence which a family can exert on the best of its members and which is ordinarily designated by the name of parasitism. But neither should one ignore the positive aspect of solidarity that makes up for the detrimental consequences of migration and eases for the immigrant the transition from the traditional environment to the urban environment.

responsible for the relative increase of the number of persons

/197 cont./

511 per home in the districts. This fact may be explained by two
592 other reasons: on the one hand, the disappearance of homes
602 reduced to single or divorced persons, in favor of the conjugal family; on the other hand, as part of this, an increase in the number of spouses.

2) Family solidarity is no less a patent fact in the districts than in the quarters. It works in two ways: the first consists of taking complete charge of the housing and support of brothers, nephews, or other relatives. This is shown in the figure of 38% of the families who extend beyond the framework of the conjugal family properly speaking. In this respect the inhabitants of the districts behave much the same as the others. But they make a greater effort with respect to the second form of family solidarity: sending money to relatives to all or part of their living expenses.

369 3) The betterment of living conditions and the participation to a certain degree in the material comfort that the urban environment brings with it do not necessarily mean a rupture and an overthrow of traditional social behavior. On the contrary, on two points, polygamy and family solidarity, there is a reinforcement of these behaviors, and, if one may apply this terminology to Senegal, it is not "detribalization" which should be spoken of, but "supertribalization."

/198/ Conclusion

Despite its youth, Dagoudane-Pikine is a definite city no less than Dakar, although closely dependent upon the latter. It is a city by reason of its area, the size of its population, the effort undertaken with regard to equipment, especially with regard to schools, and finally by the type of work offered to an important part of the economically active population. It is also a typical African city, with its small number of durable buildings, the considerable unemployment, the large number of young people, and above all, its gross
[444] deficiencies of public equipment. We have not spoken of its
[443] health equipment; it is still terribly inadequate, although

/22 cont./

salient aspects of the present situation; we shall then turn to some monographic examples. Thus the orientation of our investigations will summarily appear. 369* [121]

A. -- The changes in the organization and the family values form a whole. The correlations that appear between the facts that we have retained for illustration will suffice to indicate it.

We have noted that in town, in most cases, there is topographic dispersion of the ethnic groups and the more restricted kinship groups. It must in no way be concluded that there is a general rupture of the kinship structures; all the ties are not cut. Only the facts of neighborhood and kinship do not reinforce each other any more, in accordance with the typical process of traditional situations. A first examination of the variations in numerical importance of groups of relatives living together will permit one to define the present tendencies. We shall see that the instituting of a new situation where the household /maisonnée/ (1) tends to coincide with the restricted family /famille restreinte/ has progressed unequally, depending on the social categories (2). 621 369* [592] [594]

1. Cf. below for the definition of this idea.

2. See above (I, B, 4) the brief information given on the socio-occupational categories.

We have said why, especially where marriage is concerned, the considerations of the family structure proper cannot be separated from the problems posed by ethnic affiliation. The multiplication of interethnic marriages is a symptom of important social changes. It must likewise be noted that, the less numerically important an ethnic group is in the town, the more the simple ethnic relationship tends to play the role of ties of closer relationship. [593]

The structure of the restricted family itself is subject to variations. Here in particular the question of polygamy poses 369* 595

/22 cont./ 369x
itself, its variable importance depending on religions, ethnic [595]
groups, socio-occupational categories.

B. -- The numerical importance of the groups of rela- 369x
tives making up a single household is very variable. We have 592●
defined the household /maisonnée/: the assemblage of persons [104]
living in a single house or a single group of houses, and putting
together at least a part of their resources.

1. Some remarks are necessary here in order to place conveniently the data gathered.

/23/ Certain households are composed of groups of persons having no ties of kinship between them -- in extreme cases, not even of ethnic relationship. In particular this is the [589]
case for groups of bachelors who rent a room with common funds, a case that is quite frequent among the seasonal workers, but this is a category that has only briefly been studied up to now. The investigation by questionnaires is practically limited [125]
to the permanent population. The elements relating to the composition of the household thus concern kinship groups almost exclusively. We obtain an approximation adequate for our purpose.

There are some facts which we shall be able to take into account only in the statement of qualitative data. On the one hand, a certain number of households are tied by kinship or by marriage with immediately neighboring households. Even though there is no life in common for the whole of the family group, its different parts continue to have constant relations. This aspect will be brought out in the last part of our work. On the other hand, the restricted polygamous family, in a certain [595]
number of cases, is not assembled in one and the same place; each wife, with her children, forms the nucleus of a household, which other members of the kinship group eventually come to join; the head of the family passes from one household to another (1)

1. This fact is less marked, however, than in a town like Saint-Louis.

/23 cont./ 369* 592●

2. The figures which follow will give a first idea of the size of the groups. They apply to the male heads of ménages (monogamous and polygamous), the bachelors and groups of bachelors being excluded. We made a simple count of the persons belonging to the household outside of the ménage investigated (man, wife or wives, children living with their parents, adopted children) (2). One obtains the following results:

2. We will see further on what has to be understood concretely by "adoption" in the Dakar urban context. This only concerns the effectively grouped ménage; if certain wives and their children do not live in the household considered, they are not counted.

a) For the whole of the population studied, or 915 male heads of ménages, 41% of the households coincide with the restricted family, 32% include one person in addition to the restricted family, 14% include two, 5% include three, 2% include four, 1% include five, 1% include more than five (3). [594] [162]

3. These percentages, as well as those that follow, are calculated faultily. They can only be approximations, under the conditions of the investigation. The expression in percentage, however, strikingly illustrates the indications gathered. The tendencies that they show have been corroborated for most of the categories by many subsequent interviews. [128]

/24/ The following table divides this population into socio-occupational categories: [565]

17: Mercier--24 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/24 cont./

Socio-occupational Category	Number of Households	Number of persons not belonging to the restricted family (%)						
		0	1	2	3	4	5	+5
Farmers, fishermen	23	47%	26%	13%	4%		2%	2%
Laborers, domestics	124	35%	37%	12%	8%	4%	0.5%	0.5%
Workers and artisans	290	38%	29%	14%	6%	3%	3%	2%
Master workmen	21	23%	23%	42%		10%		
Subordinate employees and functionaries	265	42%	33%	13%	4%	3%	3%	2%
Superior employees and functionaries	39	46%	43%	7%		2%		
Teaching, intellectual professions, etc.	48	46%	35%	14%	4%			1%
Merchants, transport, etc.	122	38%	36%	13%	7%	2%	1%	1%

369
592
565
594

/24 cont./

369x
b) These simplified data call for some commentary. 592
What is the significance of the sometimes important differences 565
that we affirm between the situations that prevail in the different strata? 594

The high proportion, among the farmers, of households that coincide with the restricted family -- a proportion clearly higher than the average -- is explained by the fact that we [241] are dealing more with market-gardeners than with farmers of the traditional type (as are found in the suburban villages). In any case, the problem has not been studied for a sufficient number of cases for us to draw definitive conclusions here.

/25/ Besides this category, for which we lack certain explanatory factors, only two others noticeably exceed the average established for the whole population: on the one hand, the superior employees and functionaries; on the other hand, members of the teaching profession, doctors, etc. The impor- [177] tant factor here is the degree of Westernization (1). [871]

1. The only categories whose members have all been to the French school.

It is only on this level that we have ascertained facts not only on the topological dispersion of the group of relatives, but also on the very clear loosening of the obligations flowing from kinship ties. Let us add that in reality the number of restricted families is much more important. In the majority of households which include one person in addition to the restricted [357] family, this person is a domestic lodging with the family (who is sometimes a distant relative). The change in structure is therefore clearer than it would seem in view of the raw figures.

c) This first general view shows, as in other domains -- 369x
we shall see this soon for the structure of even the restricted 565
family -- that the characteristics of the socio-occupational

17: Mercier--36 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30

/30 cont./

regularly distributed among the socio-occupational categories. We shall refer here to our paper, already cited, which was prepared for the Conference of Abidjan of September 1954.

369x
563
[565]

on the one hand, the numerical importance of the group in the town; on the other hand, the distance from the region of origin; finally, particular factors closing off the group (racial prejudices, religion, etc.). Thus we find, among the groups where the average for interethnic marriages is not attained: the Cape Verdeans, the Moors, the Diola, the Sérère and equally the Wolof, among whom ethnic endogamy is the clearest. Among those where the proportion of interethnic marriages clearly exceeds the average: the Bambara, the groups originally from the territories of the south, and, unexpectedly, the Lebou, which indeed confirms the weakening of the former particularism and the mixing (which is accelerating) with the Wolof element. Let us note /31/ finally that in numerous cases, if the spouses are not of the same ethnic group, they are nevertheless originally from the same region; this is the case for most of those questioned by us who were originally from Dahomey and Togo.

F. -- We must look briefly into the qualitative aspect of the composition of the family groups going beyond the framework of the restricted family; we have indicated what limits are put on the utilization of the purely quantitative data. This composition is very diverse and very changeable in time.

S
369x
592

1. Here are the dominant types which were encountered, in order of decreasing frequency:

a) The nephew-uterine uncle relationship and more rarely the nephew-consanguineous /paternal/ uncle are the basis for the formation of many groupings. In particular among the Wolof and the Lebou, the educational role of the uterine

S
W
[604]
[597]

Dakar
Wolof MS30

/31 cont./

uncle persists, and the latter often has charge of his nephews until adolescence, whether or not the father lives in town (1). S 369* 592 S W [604] [597] [591]

1. Nephews harbored in this manner represent a large proportion of the category of "adopted children." The other types of relationships covered by the term adoption in common usage are: those between the guardian and orphaned children (of brothers or of more distant relatives), and those between the guardian and children who have been entrusted to him during the time of schooling by relatives living out of town.

One often ascertains this fact in the whole of the categories where the vigor of traditional institutions is, as we have seen, the greatest (farmers, laborers, workers, merchants), but it is noticeable everywhere.

b) Another frequent type is that of groupings of collaterals of the same generation, consanquineous /paternal/ or uterine (brothers in the classificatory sense). It frequently breaks up when the younger brothers marry; it is more unstable if "brothers" of a distant degree are involved.

c) One encounters, in a smaller number of cases, the typical extended family, where the married sons -- and sometimes, temporarily or permanently, married daughters (2)-- S [596] [591]

2. The case where the husband is housed by his wife or by the family of the latter, the owner of the house, is encountered frequently, but less than, for example, at Saint-Louis. It is

17: Mercier--38 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/31 cont./

a matter of a de facto matrilocal, non-institutionalized marriage.

369x
592
[591]
[596]

do not form separate households. The segmentation of these groups occurs constantly -- it poses a question of available space -- but its importance is sometimes tempered by the maintenance of the neighborhood situation. The aged father and mother are often dependent, and the role of the de facto head of the family has partially been transferred to the eldest son.

/32/ d) Kinship by marriage is likewise a factor of grouping. One finds most frequently the collaterals of the wife, more rarely her relatives on ascending generations. One is reminded in part of the preceding case (1).

1. See preceding note.

e) One finds finally, living with the restricted family, distant relatives or "friends" who, in the majority of cases, are at least tied to this family by an ethnic relationship. But these much looser relationships account chiefly for the formation of bachelor groups. [589]

2. Two typical cases of variations in time will be given by way of illustration. The first example is that of a specialized worker's family, the second that of a family of a subordinate employee. The wages of the family heads in the chosen cases are much the same.

a) This family is of Toucouleur origin, but, after a series of marriages, is closely tied to Wolof groups. The nucleus of the restricted family consists of the husband, his wife, and her three children. The mother of the family head, a widow, lives with her son permanently. The following changes in the composition of the household were observed from August 1953 to May 1954:

-- August: a guest was lodged for three weeks, in the capacity of both a distant relative and a marabout;

/32 cont./ 369x 592●

-- September: the brother of the family head, an itinerant merchant, settled in Dakar for six weeks; he was not entirely dependent on his brother;

-- October: the son of a uterine cousin of the family head was entrusted to him for the school year: he is not entirely dependent on his relative;

-- December: two cousins who work seasonally in Dakar came from the region of the river; the first found work and was laid off in March, but he stayed until May; the second only did occasional work and left in April; they were both dependent on their relative for at least a third of their stay.

One thus sees how the exercise of diverse obligations stemming from kinship ties caused the size of the family to vary in the course of the year. The number of adults living entirely or partially on one salary went from a minimum of three to a maximum of five.

/33/ b) The second family is Lebou. It consists permanently of the husband, one of his two wives, her two children (the second wife, with her two children, lives in another sector of the same quarter), a uterine nephew, and a sister of the wife. The following changes were noted during this period (not including the many, very short visits of relatives living in the area of Rufisque): [595]

-- September: the younger brother of the family head returns, his military service completed; he will not find work until March and moreover will continue to live with his brother; until then, there will be only one salary.

-- December: the second wife leaves for a stay with her relatives and leaves her eldest son, a schoolboy, in the care of her co-wife; this does not in fact represent an increase in burden; [595]

-- February: after the death of their father, the young brother of the wife joins her.

One has had then, during this period, at first three and

17: Mercier--40 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/33 cont./

369x
592 ●

and then four adults living on one salary, and subsequently four adults living on two salaries.

G. -- One sees by these examples how a "snapshot" of the situation only furnishes an approximate picture of the totality of the facts. The preceding pages have shown, however, that it does draw an outline of it; it is therefore possible to put down some remarks in the guise of conclusions.

1. The situation is not fixed. The restricted family clearly tends to constitute a milieu of life more closed than [594] in the traditional framework, and to coincide with the household. But this tendency, even in the most Westernized categories, is far from having caused the traditional forms to re- [182] treat everywhere. The obligations founded on kinship in the [602] broad sense are still strongly felt. But one has seen that a first step toward their gradual weakening has already been made with the transformation of the character of the de facto groupings (extent, structure, etc.). Doubtlessly for a long time yet there will continue to be a gap between the values recognized by the members of these societies and the new structures born out of the transformations imposed from the outside. As for the structure of the restricted family, the proportion of polygamists, for all the cases studied, seems to be [595] at the average level which it attains in a demographically normal population. A regression of polygamy, however, appears to have started in the categories which represent a new type of elite with Western instruction.

2. The variations in the extent and the structure of both the broad group of relatives and the restricted family are not linked in a constant manner to the differences in living standard. [182] The situations /34/ can be extremely variable with equal resources (1). The relation is well marked (2) only in the

1. As the investigations on family budgets conducted in Thiès have indeed shown.

/430 cont./

*511 871

No. 31: 0.5%	No. 41: 4.4%
No. 38: 0.5%	No. 42: 0.5%
No. 39: 0.6%	No. 43: 5.6%
No. 40: 2.4%	

These percentages do not decrease. The explanation is to be seen in the fact that only families with high incomes send all of their children to school, and that, on the other hand, they often prefer, even Muslems, to send them to Catholic school.

*511 794 In three cases the family heads pointed out to us in one year they were faced with the expenses occasioned by a baptism (which also requires a sheep). For No. 19 the cost represented 11.5% of the income, but only 6.3% and 3.4% for Nos. 26 and 31.

*511 593 602 But the heaviest familial obligation for many is the necessity of sending sums of money to their relatives who are in difficulties. For example, No. 3 sent to a brother a sum representing 2.5% of his income; No. 11, at two times, 4.4%; No. 24, 0.9%. Finally, No. 43 sends 8.2% of his income each month to his family and to that of his wife.

*511 595 Another familial obligation, this one desired: Nos. 18, 35, 38, 40, and 41 actually have two or three households, because they preferred not having all of their wives live together, a whim that comes to, respectively, 18.1%, 6.1%, 10%, 10.6% of their incomes. (The budget of No. 18 has a deficit of 15%.)

*511 357 Thirteen families employ one or several domestic workers. Moreover, all of them are located below the central income. Here is the portion of their budget that is devoted to this:

No. 24: 6.6%	No. 35: 3.7%
No. 26: 2.2%	No. 37: 3.8%
No. 27: 6.1%	No. 38: 2%
No. 28: 1.5%	No. 40: 3%
No. 30: 4.1%	No. 42: 1.7
No. 31: 4%	No. 43: 11.1%
No. 34: 4.3%	

/22 cont./

salient aspects of the present situation; we shall then turn to some monographic examples. Thus the orientation of our investigations will summarily appear. 369* [121]

A. -- The changes in the organization and the family values form a whole. The correlations that appear between the facts that we have retained for illustration will suffice to indicate it.

We have noted that in town, in most cases, there is topographic dispersion of the ethnic groups and the more restricted kinship groups. It must in no way be concluded that there is a general rupture of the kinship structures; all the ties are not cut. Only the facts of neighborhood and kinship do not reinforce each other any more, in accordance with the typical process of traditional situations. A first examination of the variations in numerical importance of groups of relatives living together will permit one to define the present tendencies. We shall see that the instituting of a new situation where the household /maisonnée/ (1) 621 369* [592] [594]

1. Cf. below for the definition of this idea.

tends to coincide with the restricted family /famille restreinte/ has progressed unequally, depending on the social categories (2).

2. See above (I, B, 4) the brief information given on the socio-occupational categories.

We have said why, especially where marriage is concerned, the considerations of the family structure proper cannot be separated from the problems posed by ethnic affiliation. The multiplication of interethnic marriages is a symptom of important social changes. It must likewise be noted that, the less numerically important an ethnic group is in the town, the more the simple ethnic relationship tends to play the role of ties of closer relationship. [593]

The structure of the restricted family itself is subject to variations. Here in particular the question of polygamy poses 369* 595

/91 cont./

369 563 [182] [565] [466] industrial enterprises and in the public function. Even in a professional category a certain hierarchy of a traditional order survives and is always respected. In the workshops of the Dakar-Niger, for example, the higher supervisory staffs are made up of workers belonging to superior castes: free men, descendants of chiefs' families... Operatives coming from families of griots or former captives, in spite of their skill at the work and their training, would have only very weak authority over their subordinates.

[578] The animosities between individuals belonging to formerly hostile groups or to opposed religious sects may sometimes reappear in the course of contacts between individuals or groups of individuals. Along the same line [466] of thought, a certain favoritism may creep into the relations between foreman and subordinates belonging to the same ethnic category or the same religion.

369 563 573 Within each ethnic minority scattered through the city spontaneous associations spring up, led by the oldest among them. These friendly groups meet periodically. They are at the bottom of the mutual aid to the newcomer, to the workman who lives temporarily without funds in the escale. Each of these gatherings is at the same time the occasion for "folkloristic" celebrations, reminding the members of the group of their customs and their country of origin.

369 177 563 The traditions which have been able to survive by being adapted to the new conditions of the society lose their importance to a certain extent in contact with new ideas and Western influence. We have already remarked that the notion of ethnic group is rapidly obliterated when the individual is transplanted for a long time in a city very far from his natal village. The family ties, and above all the [593] authority of the head of the family over each of its members, become extremely loose in the city. We see a breaking up of the subordination that subjected each of the members of a family to the paternal authority. The child is no longer compelled to adopt the trade of his father; he may choose the work that he thinks will suit him. The young girl is [584] rapidly becoming emancipated, and rare are the Thiès

/91 cont./

369 177 563 [584] [593] [182] families in which the father imposes on the child the spouse of his choice. The spread of the teaching of the Moslem and Christian religions count for much in this loosening of the too confining ties of family tradition. This breaking up of ancient, too narrow social structures is not a strictly /92/ urban phenomenon; it also occurs in the countryside, but with less force and with a certain delay.

369 565 178 The presence of the industrial bloc of the Dakar-Niger, on the other hand, has had as an effect the formation of a working class, which is a specifically urban phenomenon. Although the ancient system of castes does exist in human contacts, that of social class is little by little being substituted for it. In sum, there actually exists a superposition of the two systems, but the pre-eminence of the second is already being affirmed. Through daily contacts and the rapid [177] [467] [474] diffusion of social ideas coming from the West, the mass of workers is organized, it is grouped by syndicates, it has set up consumer co-operatives. Because of the great number of the members of this worker group, the workshops of the Dakar-Niger and, through repercussion, the city of Thiès itself have become the most active and the busiest centers of French West Africa. The strike that in 1948 paralyzed [468] railroad traffic on the two lines (Dakar-Bamako and Dakar--Saint-Louis) for several months is certainly proof of the influence of a powerful and organized grouping, and a typical urban phenomenon.

369 563 578 Thus there exists in Thiès a somewhat special social climate that sometimes makes the relations between Whites and Blacks strained. Chiefly during these periods of social crises. But these tensions are always temporary and automatically disappear as soon as the conflict is settled.

369 161 A much more important problem that seems general in all of the cities of Black Africa is that of the too rapid, if not excessive, swelling of the urban population. We have [162] seen that the population of Thiès has almost doubled from 1945 (24,000 inhabitants) to 1953 (40,000 inhabitants). Dakar, Conakry, and Abidjan have grown in the same proportions.

/390 cont./

125 artisans it was necessary, aside from their family accounts, to
434 consider those of their occupational activity; with regard to the cultivators, it is certainly /391/ among them that the greatest percentage of error is found. We have taken into account the proceeds from the sale of their harvest, often underestimated by the one concerned, the portion for home consumption, and the income obtained by supplementary activities practiced in the dry season, in order to arrive at an income figure that could be compared to that for salaried workers.

125 But, nearly all of the women, almost all of whom declare
434 themselves to be "without occupation," have minor sources of
462 income that permit them to balance a budget, or at least partially to make up a deficit. It is often a matter of small-scale
[536] commerce, sometimes domestic work, and sometimes the talents
[565] of an actress which attract sympathy and gifts, as we verified for a family of the griot /singer, storyteller/ caste. It was therefore necessary to look closely at each case before setting an exact figure. We nevertheless believe that we have been mistaken in two or three cases, which will reveal themselves below.

125 Of course, there were often cases where in a family, or
434 rather let us say in the same "unit of consumption," since this
592 is the term that we shall use most often (1), several persons

[104]
[594]

1. Each time that we speak of "family," it is actually the unit of consumption that is involved. To designate the familial grouping in the Western sense of the word, we shall use the term "restricted family."

received income. The entire income retained is not always the sum of these incomes. We have studied the budgets of groups and not the budgets of individuals. Now, these groups, these "units of consumption," only rarely correspond to the restricted family of Western type. They often contain individuals who, whether or not they have a kin tie with a member of the restricted family, on the one hand participate in the economic

/393 cont./

125 592 *511 Finally, according to the number of persons making up the unit of consumption:

5 of less than 5 persons.
18 of 5 to 9 persons.
12 of 10 to 14 persons.
5 of 15 to 19 persons.
3 of 20 persons and more.

[434] On all of these points the distribution is nearly normal. Only the group with incomes of 15,000 to 20,000 francs is somewhat scantily represented, the average of the lower group being perhaps, on the contrary, somewhat too high.

125 *511 But this apparent balance presents a problem; every family, or nearly every one, has its own characteristics, and there are no two that are strictly comparable. This is why, in order to facilitate an understanding of certain points concerning the consumption of food commodities, we have had recourse to a device that is a little risky; from the standards utilized for the calculation of theoretical food requirements by the Institut National d'Hygiène de Paris, we have used for men, for women, and for children, according to their age category, a coefficient:

1 for men
0.8 for the women,
0.5 for children from 2 to 6 years old,
0.7 for children from 7 to 12 years old,
0.8 for children from 13 to 20 years old.

/394/ By addition, we have obtained a theoretical composition of the unit of consumption in men alone. We can then calculate the consumption of this theoretical man. Nursing children have been included in the category of 2 to 5 years old, but we have allowed the coefficient of 0.8 for nursing women. This compensates for that.

*511 592 594 Table I,[1] gives the composition of the unit of consumption in men, women, and children, and in the last column its composition in "man units." The column preceding the one for the

[1] [see cat. 116, pp 11-12. -ANALYST]

/394 cont./

*511 592 594 unit of consumption (U. C.) contains a figure indicating how many persons make up the restricted family constituting the nucleus of each unit of consumption.

There is absolute correspondence in only 5 cases: Nos. 6, 9, 26, 34, and 42.

[595] Family No. 6 contains, besides the head of the family, a mattress-maker, and his two wives, two daughters that he had by his first wife, one by his second wife, and one by a third, deceased wife.

The baker, head of family No. 9, has only one wife. But she previously had two children before this marriage, a girl and a boy. Both of them live with the head of the family. The daughter, previously married, then divorced, has with her a child six years old. Finally, there is a child of the two spouses.

With No. 26 we truly find a family of Western type: a man, his wife, and their only child. The head of the family is 28 years old, just like that of family No. 34, which likewise includes a man, his wife, and two children. It is true that this young clerk of the P. T. T. has married a second wife, who lives in Dakar.

[595] Finally, in family No. 42, the head of the family, who has two wives, lives alone with them and their eight children, of whom one is already grown-up.

Aside from these four families, all of the units of consumption contain one or several external elements with or without kin ties with the familial nucleus.

*511 592 This almost general "parasitism" (1) is more important in

1. The word is customary. We put it between quotation marks in order to indicate to what degree it is inadequate. It is wrong primarily because of being pejorative, since it designates a traditional phenomenon.

/395/ Table 1

*511
592
594

No.	Income	Restricted Family	U.C.	M	W	2-6	7-12	13-20	Theor. U.C.
1	5,800	7	13	3	3	3	1	3	10
2	6,100	5	10	1	1	3	2	1	5.5
3	6,500	3	4	1	2	0	0	0	2.8
4	6,700	4	7	1	3	2	1	0	5.10
5	6,745	5	7	2	2	1	1	1	5.6
6	7,000	7	7	1	2	3	1	0	4.8
7	7,000	2	5	1	2	1	1	0	3.8
8	7,410	2	5	2	3	0	0	0	4.4
9	7,500	6	6	1	2	0	2	1	4.4
10	8,150	8	12	2	6	1	1	2	9.6
11	8,950	3	6	1	2	1	2	0	4.5
12	9,000	4	8	3	2	2	1	0	6.3
13	9,800	3	5	2	2	0	0	1	4.4
14	10,000	10	10	3	3	1	2	2	8.9
15	10,000	6	7	2	2	1	2	0	5.5
16	10,675	3	4	1	1	0	2	0	3.2
17	10,800	5	9	1	3	1	2	2	6.9
18	11,000	3	4	2	2	0	0	0	3.6
19	11,950	5	9	4	2	3	0	0	7.1
20	12,000	6	10	3	3	3	1	0	7.6
21	13,000	5	5	1	2	1	1	0	3.8
22	14,000	8	12	2	5	2	3	0	9.1
23	15,000	14	18	4	4	6	0	4	13.4
24	15,000	17	21	2	5	8	4	2	14.4
25	15,630	7	15	4	5	3	0	3	11.9
26	15,800	4	4	1	1	1	0	0	2.3
27	16,200	10	12	2	3	2	3	2	9.1
28	22,000	16	18	4	4	1	2	7	14.7
29	22,000	4	11	4	3	3	1	0	8.6
30	24,000	5	7	1	3	2	1	0	5.1
31	25,000	10	18	2	3	1	1	11	14.4

/395 Table I cont./

*511
592
594

No.	Income	Restricted Family	U. C.	M	W	2-6	7-12	13-20	Theor. U. C.
32	25,000	5	6	2	1	1	1	1	4.8
33	25,000	4	7	1	2	2	1	1	5.1
34	25,900	4	4	2	1	1	0	0	3.3
35	27,000	5	6	1	2	1	1	1	4.6
36	34,000	3	15	4	7	1	0	3	12.5
37	36,000	11	24	7	10	2	2	3	19.8
38	50,000	5	13	5	5	3	0	0	10.5
39	51,000	6	11	1	3	2	4	1	8.0
40	55,000	15	24	4	9	7	4	0	17.5
41	55,000	8	14	2	6	3	3	0	10.4
42	56,000	11	11	2	2	1	3	3	8.6
43	81,000	4	5	2	1	1	1	0	4.0

/396 cont./

*511
[434]

43 also has two incomes (the same as No. 25).

A comparison of the incomes and expenses, up until about the middle of the table, shows an excess of expenses, sometimes not very important, but nevertheless exceeding 1,000 francs in two cases (Nos, 4 and 20). One might view this as the result of an error of estimation, either in the incomes or in the expenses. But it must not be forgotten that only routine expenses are still being dealt with, that is to say, for the small incomes that concern us now, the outlays made for food. It is therefore necessary to add to this figure all of the other expenses which we have calculated for a period of a year (divided by 12, of course). Table III,[1] where we have shown the monthly deficit in absolute value and in percentage of income, shows us what our budgets then become: the highest deficit is 45.2%, the lowest /397/ /Table II appears here/ /398/ 6.4% (1). (This last, strangely enough, is found

1. We are not counting here the

1[See cat 116, pp 17-18 - ANALYST]

/22 cont./

salient aspects of the present situation; we shall then turn to some monographic examples. Thus the orientation of our investigations will summarily appear. 369* [121]

A. -- The changes in the organization and the family values form a whole. The correlations that appear between the facts that we have retained for illustration will suffice to indicate it.

We have noted that in town, in most cases, there is topographic dispersion of the ethnic groups and the more restricted kinship groups. It must in no way be concluded that there is a general rupture of the kinship structures; all the ties are not cut. Only the facts of neighborhood and kinship do not reinforce each other any more, in accordance with the typical process of traditional situations. A first examination of the variations in numerical importance of groups of relatives living together will permit one to define the present tendencies. We shall see that the instituting of a new situation where the household /maisonnée/ (1) 621 369* [592] [594]

1. Cf. below for the definition of this idea.

tends to coincide with the restricted family /famille restreinte/ has progressed unequally, depending on the social categories (2).

2. See above (I, B, 4) the brief information given on the socio-occupational categories.

We have said why, especially where marriage is concerned, the considerations of the family structure proper cannot be separated from the problems posed by ethnic affiliation. The multiplication of interethnic marriages is a symptom of important social changes. It must likewise be noted that, the less numerically important an ethnic group is in the town, the more the simple ethnic relationship tends to play the role of ties of closer relationship. [593]

The structure of the restricted family itself is subject to variations. Here in particular the question of polygamy poses 369* 595

/23 cont./ 369x 59

2. The figures which follow will give a first idea of the size of the groups. They apply to the male heads of ménages (monogamous and polygamous), the bachelors and groups of bachelors being excluded. We made a simple count of the persons belonging to the household outside of the ménage investigated (man, wife or wives, children living with their parents, adopted children) (2). One obtains the following results:

2. We will see further on what has to be understood concretely by "adoption" in the Dakar urban context. This only concerns the effectively grouped ménage; if certain wives and their children do not live in the household considered, they are not counted.

a) For the whole of the population studied, or 915 male heads of ménages, 41% of the households coincide with the restricted family, 32% include one person in addition to the restricted family, 14% include two, 5% include three, 2% include four, 1% include five, 1% include more than five (3). [594] [162]

3. These percentages, as well as those that follow, are calculated faultily. They can only be approximations, under the conditions of the investigation. The expression in percentage, however, strikingly illustrates the indications gathered. The tendencies that they show have been corroborated for most of the categories by many subsequent interviews. [128]

/24/ The following table divides this population into socio-occupational categories: [565]

17: Mercier--24 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/24 cont./

Socio-occupational Category	Number of Households	Number of persons not belonging to the restricted family (%)						
		0	1	2	3	4	5	+5
Farmers, fishermen	23	47%	26%	13%	4%		2%	2%
Laborers, domestics	124	35%	37%	12%	8%	4%	0.5%	0.5%
Workers and artisans	290	38%	29%	14%	6%	3%	3%	2%
Master workmen	21	23%	23%	42%		10%		
Subordinate employees and functionaries	265	42%	33%	13%	4%	3%	3%	2%
Superior employees and functionaries	39	46%	43%	7%		2%		
Teaching, intellectual professions, etc.	48	46%	35%	14%	4%			1%
Merchants, transport, etc.	122	38%	36%	13%	7%	2%	1%	1%

369x
592
565
594

/24 cont./

369x
b) These simplified data call for some commentary. 592
What is the significance of the sometimes important differences 565
that we affirm between the situations that prevail in the different strata? 594

The high proportion, among the farmers, of households that coincide with the restricted family -- a proportion clearly higher than the average -- is explained by the fact that we [241] are dealing more with market-gardeners than with farmers of the traditional type (as are found in the suburban villages). In any case, the problem has not been studied for a sufficient number of cases for us to draw definitive conclusions here.

/25/ Besides this category, for which we lack certain explanatory factors, only two others noticeably exceed the average established for the whole population: on the one hand, the superior employees and functionaries; on the other hand, members of the teaching profession, doctors, etc. The impor- [177] tant factor here is the degree of Westernization (1). [871]

1. The only categories whose members have all been to the French school.

It is only on this level that we have ascertained facts not only on the topological dispersion of the group of relatives, but also on the very clear loosening of the obligations flowing from kinship ties. Let us add that in reality the number of restricted families is much more important. In the majority of households which include one person in addition to the restricted [357] family, this person is a domestic lodging with the family (who is sometimes a distant relative). The change in structure is therefore clearer than it would seem in view of the raw figures.

c) This first general view shows, as in other domains -- 369x
we shall see this soon for the structure of even the restricted 565
family -- that the characteristics of the socio-occupational

/25 cont./

strata which we have defined do not depend on a single factor or on a series of factors in close correlation; it would be a simplification to establish a hierarchy based on certain criteria. There are in fact several scales. There is more or less complete participation in several socio-cultural contexts. We are dealing here with three principal groups: 369x 565

On the one hand, the categories of laborers and domestics, workers and artisans, master workmen, merchants, and, to a lesser degree, farmers and fishermen (2), where the

2. See above.

tendency toward familial regrouping is still very much alive. The extent of the familial group is as a whole a function of the possibilities for housing and of available finances (the maximum number of persons which a given number of salaried persons can support). It must likewise be noted that, in the case of autochthonous groups or groups originally from nearby regions, the frequency of neighboring and related households is much greater, and the tendency towards a reconstitution of the extended family /famille étendue/ manifests itself in a considerable number of cases. [596]

On the other hand, the categories of the superior functionaries and employees and the teaching and intellectual professions, in which, if one keeps in mind the preceding remarks, one sees that the household tends in permanent fashion to include only the restricted family. [594]

Finally, the category of subordinate employees and functionaries, intermediate between the two preceding groups, which is explained in particular by the composite character of this category; there, one /26/ finds elements (orderlies, beneficiaries of reserved employment in the administrative sector, etc.) clearly less Westernized, but their very superior living standard does not permit placing them in the category of laborers, whom they approximate in many aspects. The [177]

/33 cont./ 369x 592

and then four adults living on one salary, and subsequently four adults living on two salaries.

G. -- One sees by these examples how a "snapshot" of the situation only furnishes an approximate picture of the totality of the facts. The preceding pages have shown, however, that it does draw an outline of it; it is therefore possible to put down some remarks in the guise of conclusions.

1. The situation is not fixed. The restricted family clearly tends to constitute a milieu of life more closed than [594] in the traditional framework, and to coincide with the household. But this tendency, even in the most Westernized categories, is far from having caused the traditional forms to retreat everywhere. [182] The obligations founded on kinship in the broad sense are still strongly felt. [602] But one has seen that a first step toward their gradual weakening has already been made with the transformation of the character of the de facto groupings (extent, structure, etc.). Doubtlessly for a long time yet there will continue to be a gap between the values recognized by the members of these societies and the new structures born out of the transformations imposed from the outside. As for the structure of the restricted family, the proportion of polygamists, for all the cases studied, seems to be at the average level which it attains in a demographically normal population. [595] A regression of polygamy, however, appears to have started in the categories which represent a new type of elite with Western instruction.

2. The variations in the extent and the structure of both the broad group of relatives and the restricted family are not linked in a constant manner to the differences in living standard. [182] The situations /34/ can be extremely variable with equal resources (1). The relation is well marked (2) only in the

1. As the investigations on family budgets conducted in Thiès have indeed shown.

/394 cont./

*511 592 594 unit of consumption (U. C.) contains a figure indicating how many persons make up the restricted family constituting the nucleus of each unit of consumption.

There is absolute correspondence in only 5 cases: Nos. 6, 9, 26, 34, and 42.

[595] Family No. 6 contains, besides the head of the family, a mattress-maker, and his two wives, two daughters that he had by his first wife, one by his second wife, and one by a third, deceased wife.

The baker, head of family No. 9, has only one wife. But she previously had two children before this marriage, a girl and a boy. Both of them live with the head of the family. The daughter, previously married, then divorced, has with her a child six years old. Finally, there is a child of the two spouses.

With No. 26 we truly find a family of Western type: a man, his wife, and their only child. The head of the family is 28 years old, just like that of family No. 34, which likewise includes a man, his wife, and two children. It is true that this young clerk of the P. T. T. has married a second wife, who lives in Dakar.

[595] Finally, in family No. 42, the head of the family, who has two wives, lives alone with them and their eight children, of whom one is already grown-up.

Aside from these four families, all of the units of consumption contain one or several external elements with or without kin ties with the familial nucleus.

*511 592 This almost general "parasitism" (1) is more important in

1. The word is customary. We put it between quotation marks in order to indicate to what degree it is inadequate. It is wrong primarily because of being pejorative, since it designates a traditional phenomenon.

/430 cont./

*511 871

No. 31: 0.5%	No. 41: 4.4%
No. 38: 0.5%	No. 42: 0.5%
No. 39: 0.6%	No. 43: 5.6%
No. 40: 2.4%	

These percentages do not decrease. The explanation is to be seen in the fact that only families with high incomes send all of their children to school, and that, on the other hand, they often prefer, even Moslems, to send them to Catholic school.

*511 794 In three cases the family heads pointed out to us that in one year they were faced with the expenses occasioned by a baptism (which also requires a sheep). For No. 19 the cost represented 11.5% of the income, but only 6.3% and 3.4% for Nos. 26 and 31.

*511 593 602 But the heaviest familial obligation for many is the necessity of sending sums of money to their relatives who are in difficulties. For example, No. 3 sent to a brother a sum representing 2.5% of his income; No. 11, at two times, 4.4%; No. 24, 0.9%. Finally, No. 43 sends 8.2% of his income each month to his family and to that of his wife.

*511 595 Another familial obligation, this one desired: Nos. 18, 35, 38, 40, and 41 actually have two or three households, because they preferred not having all of their wives live together, a whim that comes to, respectively, 18.1%, 6.1%, 10%, 10.6% of their incomes. (The budget of No. 18 has a deficit of 15%.)

*511 357 Thirteen families employ one or several domestic workers. Moreover, all of them are located below the central income. Here is the portion of their budget that is devoted to this:

No. 24: 6.6%	No. 35: 3.7%
No. 26: 2.2%	No. 37: 3.8%
No. 27: 6.1%	No. 38: 2%
No. 28: 1.5%	No. 40: 3%
No. 30: 4.1%	No. 42: 1.7
No. 31: 4%	No. 43: 11.1%
No. 34: 4.3%	

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

643 Faidherbe,
641 writing in 1889, protested against this attitude since he felt that to make monogamy a condition of citizenship would break up families and that monogamy should be achieved by education. But more potent were those forces which disliked the exercise of such rights by a small African minority, albeit linked with Europeans, which could so often obstruct not only the Governor of Senegal but the Governor-General himself, since until 1904 these two were one and the same man. The existence of a vocal General Council and Municipal Councils, let alone a deputy in France, which could all express opinions directly hostile to the authoritarian rule of the Governor, was another important factor behind the moves to deprive the Senegalese of their citizenship at the end of the nineteenth century. There was also
666 however quite genuine concern at the way in which the vote
641 was exercised in Senegal. Pierre Mille, in an article entitled *The Black Vote in Senegal* published in 1901, alleged that the African voters, mainly illiterate, were controlled by the handful of Europeans who bought their votes. He went so far as to describe Senegal as a 'rotten borough'. Indeed he alleged that the expense of the election absorbed a large part of the colony's finances: and further that after competing against each other for the electors' favour, the big companies in Senegal finally decided to combine the operation to save expenses and control Senegal to their mutual advantage. But as to the virtue of the Senegalese
641 as citizens in other respects Mille was surprisingly warm:
[595] 'Having become French citizens and notwithstanding that they were Muslims, they, with a few exceptions, accepted monogamy . . . and they have spread far and wide in Africa the renown and justice of French administration'. But as Mille concluded, this was not sufficient to persuade France
648 to continue the experiment in her other West African colonies. Indeed, confirming what has already been said about empirical tendencies in French colonial rule, by 1900, when France had gained most of her vast African empire, Mille commented that it was 'administered with an

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

S 563 [582] about tribe, the women, who in a Muslim society rarely gained the opportunity of education, tended naturally to be more conservative in such matters. Nevertheless many *originaires* have married outside their ethnic group and can claim to be Senegalese and Senegalese only, for how else, they ask, can they describe themselves when one grandparent is Wolof, another Toucouleur and yet another Serer? This is by no means common in Senegal, but its highest incidence is amongst the most assimilated groups in Senegal.

S 563 582 [619] [369] One of the most difficult barriers to break down in African tribal society is that of the taboo on marriage outside the tribe or clan. Onuora Nzekwu in his *Wand of Noble Wood* gives a very illuminating study of this problem. In Senegal however, there is an exceptionally high rate of inter-ethnic marriage for Africa. Mercier, in his study of Dakar, observed that the rate of inter-ethnic marriage was below the W [582] Senegalese average amongst the Diola, Serer, and Wolof where endogamy is clearest, whilst the Bambaras and groups of the south, and particularly the Lebou who are inter-marrying increasingly with the Wolof, were above the average. Out of 696 monogamous families investigated, 71 per cent had married a woman of the same tribe, but the figure of 29 per cent for mixed marriages must be S [595] considered extremely high for Africa. Out of 228 polygamous families interviewed 43 per cent were all of the same ethnic group but 57 per cent had at least one wife of different ethnic origin. The highest incidence of inter-ethnic marriages in Dakar occurs amongst clerks, administrators, S [369] employees of commercial houses and the professional classes, i.e. those who have been most affected by French assimilation and for whom ethnic considerations are considerably S [619] less important than for the peasant, who is so much closer to the traditional concepts of the tribe. There is then in Dakar, and one could apply this to other main towns, a S [369] [582] significant increase in inter-ethnic marriages, though as far as Senegal as a whole is concerned ethnic considerations in marriage are still very important. But the multiplication

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

goal of return to their tribal home, even Toucouleur, find it more difficult to resist the pressures of their environment, and Dakar has a large number of permanent settlers, who are first and foremost *Dakarois*. 369 563

Many of these have found a common brotherhood above tribe in their trade unions. These, despite various setbacks and restrictions, have been well organised in Senegal. Indeed the 1944 decree restoring liberty of association did much to ensure this, by insisting that trade union officials should have good educational qualifications and that accounts should be scrutinised by the administration. Most of the unions belonged to one of the large French confederations from whom they received considerable help and advice. Since Senegal has until quite recently had over 40 per cent of the organised workers of French West Africa, trade unionism embraced a large number of people of different ethnic groups brought together to seek ends that went far beyond the limited horizons of tribal ambition. 467 563

The influence of the towns extends beyond their limits. Both in the cities, and increasingly in the villages, young men who have come in contact with the new life of Dakar or of the other major towns tend to contract monogamous marriages in the European style. Amongst the Diola, as L. V. Thomas has observed, young men are now building their own houses outside the parental extended home. But probably most important of all in the breakdown of tribal barriers is the increase of economic individualism, the desire to have possessions, and particularly good clothes, all of which run contrary to the traditional social system which leads to the maximum dispersion of a man's gains amongst his relatives. 369 [595] [591] [427]

Only the very strongest survive the effect of the city, in particular a city like Dakar, the most sophisticated, the most European, the city most diametrically opposed to the tribal life of the bush. Indeed among Dakar's inhabitants only the Moors and Toucouleur really withstand the 369 563

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 565 582 S [595] caste from his own tribe. The extent to which caste matters is brought out by the case of a young Catholic girl from a devout family who, rather than marry a fellow Catholic out of caste, in the end became the polygamous wife of a Muslim of the same caste. Within any ethnic group in Senegal marriage out of caste is extremely rare.

S 565 W [565] S [533] [814] The caste system is not vicious in any real sense. For the privileges of a high caste entail many obligations. Thus a noble Wolof family will be obliged to feed and pay frequent sums of money to its family griots (minstrels, praise-singers and family historians) and if they fail to do this the griot is able to shame them publicly as a poor or mean family, something a Wolof would avoid at all costs. Likewise the S [463] [326] artisan castes have a monopoly in their respective trades, since it would be impossible for a noble or free man to undertake the work of a jeweller or smith. Nevertheless in Senegalese society the term 'bijoutier' or 'tisserand' has slight contempt attached to it. The only caste to suffer S [567] socially in any way is of course that designated slave, because of the implications of such a status. In social investigations amongst the factory workers of Dakar, M. André Hauser found very few indeed who would admit to being of slave caste.

At present it is certainly a disadvantage to belong to any of the inferior castes, and though one hears of a few cases of open clashes between castes, in the present state of affairs it is certain that a number of young men resent this classification of people into superior and inferior groups and it is very much less important to them than to the older generation.

S 565 764 578 Early in 1961 *Agence Presse Sénégalaise* reported 'bloody clashes between griots and non-griots at Diack'. These ended with several dead and a number of wounded and started as a result of the refusal of non-griots to accept the burial of griots in their burial ground. The Minister of the S [641] Interior himself went to settle the dispute and gathered the whole population to tell them that his Government gave

/673 cont./

582 representation of the degree of endogamy in a population is the
143 mean coefficient of consanguinity (1). Its value, multiplied by
[128]

1. The mean coefficient of consanguinity of a population represents the probability that two homologous loci of an individual taken at random in the population under consideration are identical. Two analogous conclusions exist in the literature on genetics: the coefficient F of Wright and the α of Bernstein. For more details, see Serra and Soini, Population, 1959, pp. 70-72 (N.D.L.R.).

1,000, has been reported /674/ here in Tables III and IV for each of the partial populations studied. It is a little less than one would have expected from the frequency of consanguineous marriages. If there is, in fact, a not insignificant number of double cousins among the spouses, one also finds an important
[595] number of cousins descended from half brothers or half sisters. Nearly one-half of the consanguineous unions concern individuals of this category because of the frequency of successive and simultaneous unions (polygamy).

For the whole of the ethnic groups studied (Table III), its value reaches 8.7, and for each of the specific ethnic groups: Toucouleur 7.6; Wolof 9.5; Peul 12.2; Saracolé 12.7. For the Toucouleur castes (Table IV) one finds the following values: captives 4.2; fishermen 8.2; torobé 10.9; artisans 13.6.

143 Comparisons with other countries. The highest coefficient found up to now, 24.08 (Ishikuni and Coll., 1960 [12]) concerns a Japanese island, Hosojima, populated by 125 inhabitants, which thus represents a very small isolate and is mentioned only incidentally with reference to the demographic conditions in which most human populations live.

In order to appreciate the high endogamic level of the valley of the Senegal, let us emphasize that one finds analogous figures for the present day only in Brazil (Freire-Maia,

/195 cont./

511 exist in the districts, where the parcel is individual, one can
592 see in it one of the reasons why the average number of individuals per home is higher there than elsewhere.

592 The analysis of the qualitative composition of the
162 family group discloses another reason. Schematically one may distinguish four principal kinds of family, if one considers its qualitative composition: the lone adult; the adult living with one or more children, where it is a matter of his own or of young brothers; the family called "elementary," composed of the husband, his wife or wives, and their children; finally, the elementary family to which are added either the collateral relatives, or outsiders, or both.

Here (p. 60) is the table of the percentages of these different types listed by ethnic groups; the first is that of the quarters, the second that of the districts.

When one goes from the quarters to the districts, the total shows that:

1st. The number of elementary families increases.

2nd. The proportion of the "extended" families -- in the very broad sense of the term -- remains the same in the two cases.

/196/ 3rd. This increase in the rate of the conjugal family is thus due to the almost total disappearance in the districts of single persons living alone or in the company of children who are in their charge, especially divorced women. /Table 28 appears here./

592 One may ask whether this factor suffices in itself to
162 explain this increase in the number of individuals per household
595 which we have listed above. There is another difference between the districts and the quarters which may likewise contribute to this explanation: it is the rate of polygamy. We mean by that the number of household heads who are polygamists in relation to the total number of male heads of households. Out of 100 family heads 21 are polygamists in the quarters and 31 in the districts. The difference is notable.

/196 cont./

511 595 The raising of the standard of living, which is symbolized and realized by the acquisition of a durable dwelling provided with modern conveniences, thus seems to go hand in hand with an increase in polygamy. Another factor should also be correlated with it: the educational level. The proportion of polygamists among the literate is higher than the corresponding proportion among the illiterate: 26.5% as against 21.6%.

511 But, as the preceding figures suggest, it seems that the principal cause is to be found in the improvement of economic conditions, and education in this case plays only the role of a /197/ second cause, which is the very thing that permits access to a higher income. Another index runs along the same lines: the average number of persons under [602] the care of the head of the family, persons who do not live in the concession, but either in the city or village. This average figure is distinctly larger for the districts: 219 as against 142 persons under the care of 100 heads of families, in addition to those who live with him.

It is now possible to draw some conclusions which are to be found at the point of convergence with the preceding remarks.

511 592 602 1) It does not seem that what is designated by the deplorable name of "familial parasitism" (1) can be held

1. It is not a question of denying the negative and paralyzing influence which a family can exert on the best of its members and which is ordinarily designated by the name of parasitism. But neither should one ignore the positive aspect of solidarity that makes up for the detrimental consequences of migration and eases for the immigrant the transition from the traditional environment to the urban environment.

responsible for the relative increase of the number of persons

[12 cont.]

369 always temporary marriages, so great is the attachment of the
178 Saint-Louis man for his city and for the girls of his city. Al-
[584] though this situation is very unfortunate for the boys, it is less
[581] so for the girls. Although some of them are still sacrificed very
[562] young to rich old men, many wait to meet the young man of
their choice before marrying. The marriages of infant girls
[582] have become very rare: the girls of Saint-Louis now marry at a
reasonable age, at about 20, much like French girls. It is a
369 profound change. Convinced of being obliged to wait a long
178 time for a husband, they are acquiring an independence that
562 their mothers have not known; they go out, they go to dances
[191] where they dance European dances, they dare to sit at a table
in a café, they dress according to their taste, they speak French.
They go to school without constraint, which is also a revolution,
and they, like the boys, look for a salaried position, which
allows them a very broad life, like single persons, and which,
within the household, frees them from the guardianship of the
[595] husband. Polygamy, which the modern [evoluées] women
generally refuse, is more and more rare in Saint-Louis (4).

> 4. A polygamous husband most often shuns the modern women for the sake of peace in his household, because the personal earnings of these women permit them to buy finery other than that which he periodically distributes to his spouses, and this provokes jealousy and quarrels. Recently a young female official was supposed to enter the home of a Saint-Louis official as the third or fourth wife. She opposed her parents and married according to her inclination.
>
> [578]

Educated girls have long been judged quite harshly, but this is passing. Many of the young girls who married against the wishes of their parents have been quickly forgiven when the latter saw the good appearance of the household and the affluence

/22 cont./

salient aspects of the present situation; we shall then turn to some monographic examples. Thus the orientation of our investigations will summarily appear. 369x [121]

A. -- The changes in the organization and the family values form a whole. The correlations that appear between the facts that we have retained for illustration will suffice to indicate it.

We have noted that in town, in most cases, there is topographic dispersion of the ethnic groups and the more restricted kinship groups. It must in no way be concluded that there is a general rupture of the kinship structures; all the ties are not cut. Only the facts of neighborhood and kinship do not reinforce each other any more, in accordance with the typical process of traditional situations. A first examination of the variations in numerical importance of groups of relatives living together will permit one to define the present tendencies. We shall see that the instituting of a new situation where the household /maisonnée/ (1) [592] [594] 621 369x

1. Cf. below for the definition of this idea.

tends to coincide with the restricted family /famille restreinte/ has progressed unequally, depending on the social categories (2).

2. See above (I, B, 4) the brief information given on the socio-occupational categories.

We have said why, especially where marriage is concerned, the considerations of the family structure proper cannot be separated from the problems posed by ethnic affiliation. [593] The multiplication of interethnic marriages is a symptom of important social changes. It must likewise be noted that, the less numerically important an ethnic group is in the town, the more the simple ethnic relationship tends to play the role of ties of closer relationship.

The structure of the restricted family itself is subject to variations. Here in particular the question of polygamy poses 369x 595

/22 cont.//

itself, its variable importance depending on religions, ethnic groups, socio-occupational categories. 369x [595]

B. -- The numerical importance of the groups of relatives making up a single household is very variable. We have defined the household /maisonnée/: the assemblage of persons living in a single house or a single group of houses, and putting together at least a part of their resources. 369x 592 [104]

1. Some remarks are necessary here in order to place conveniently the data gathered.

/23/ Certain households are composed of groups of persons having no ties of kinship between them -- in extreme cases, not even of ethnic relationship. In particular this is the case for groups of bachelors who rent a room with common funds, a case that is quite frequent among the seasonal workers, but this is a category that has only briefly been studied up to now. The investigation by questionnaires is practically limited to the permanent population. The elements relating to the composition of the household thus concern kinship groups almost exclusively. We obtain an approximation adequate for our purpose. [589] [125]

There are some facts which we shall be able to take into account only in the statement of qualitative data. On the one hand, a certain number of households are tied by kinship or by marriage with immediately neighboring households. Even though there is no life in common for the whole of the family group, its different parts continue to have constant relations. This aspect will be brought out in the last part of our work. On the other hand, the restricted polygamous family, in a certain number of cases, is not assembled in one and the same place; each wife, with her children, forms the nucleus of a household, which other members of the kinship group eventually come to join; the head of the family passes from one household to another (1) [595]

1. This fact is less marked, however, than in a town like Saint-Louis.

/27 cont./
daughters who are pursuing their studies figure much more frequently. While among the laborers, the workers, and to a lesser degree the master workmen, it is above all a matter of relatives -- in the majority close relatives, cousins, nephews -- who are unemployed or without an occupation. We shall thus again find the same grouping of categories, although here the differences are more blurred than in the other domains considered. 369x 565 602

D. -- For numerical data on the dimensions of the restricted family, thus on the extension of polygamy, we refer to the account by L. Massé in the present collection. We shall only add certain comments based on complementary studies.

/28/ 1. Religious affiliation divides our population into two groups, one Christian, almost exclusively monogamous (1), 369x 595● 565 [771]

1. There are cases of polygamy, but they are rarely admitted.

the other Moslem, where the tendency toward polygamy is very deep-rooted, but where differences make themselves felt according to the socio-occupational category. It is only on the level of the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc., that this distinction based on religion disappears, and that we ascertain, common to Christians and Moslems, a value set on monogamy.

2. It is in fact on the level of values more than on that of de facto situations that this question must be studied. The progression of the number of polygamous men in going from the laborers to the master workmen, passing through the workers, and, in a different sector, going from the subordinate functionaries and employees to the superior functionaries and employees, is found again in going from the petty to the large-scale merchants. Polygamy may be, by the same token, an ideal for all the members of these categories, but it is only realized on occasion (2) starting from a certain material [183

2. It is obviously limited by the

/28 cont./

369*
595
565
[183]

demographic structure of the population (number of available women).

position (3).

3. Let us recall the problems raised by the "marriage portion" and the accessory expenses of marriage. The reactions of the young people and certain Moslem elements in favor of a "matrimonial pact" have to some extent stabilized the situation.

3. The numerical data on the de facto situation seem to lead to a grouping of our categories different from that shown in the preceding paragraphs. But let us consider the first results of an investigation -- which is in progress -- on the attitudes of the young elements of the population (4). We shall again find

4. Below 30-35 years of age.

a similar grouping: dominance of attitudes in favor of polygamy among the farmers, laborers, workers, master workmen, merchants; a dominance still, but much less clear, among the subordinate functionaries and employees; a dominance on the contrary in favor of monogamy among the superior functionaries and employees (although it is not yet actualized for the whole category) and among the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc. (where it has already clearly become fact) (5). A strong correlation appears between these data and

[162]

5. Less, however, than the total figures would let be foreseen. The Christians, who are only 11% of the whole of our population, are 20% of the superior functionaries and

/28 cont./

369x
595
565
[162]

employees and 15% of the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc.

those concerning the extent of the family.

/29/ E. -- In the same general sense, the variations in the percentage of interethnic marriages are according to socio-occupational categories. For the whole of our population, we find: among the monogamous (696 families), 71% ménages where the wife is of the same ethnic group as the husband, 29% where she is from a different ethnic group; among the polygamous with two and three wives (228 families), 43% ménages where all the wives are of the same ethnic group as the husband, 57% ménages where at least one wife is from a different ethnic group. The following tables give the distribution by socio-occupational categories:
(tables on following pages)

369x
563
565

/32 cont./ 369x 592

-- September: the brother of the family head, an itinerant merchant, settled in Dakar for six weeks; he was not entirely dependent on his brother;

-- October: the son of a uterine cousin of the family head was entrusted to him for the school year: he is not entirely dependent on his relative;

-- December: two cousins who work seasonally in Dakar came from the region of the river; the first found work and was laid off in March, but he stayed until May; the second only did occasional work and left in April; they were both dependent on their relative for at least a third of their stay.

One thus sees how the exercise of diverse obligations stemming from kinship ties caused the size of the family to vary in the course of the year. The number of adults living entirely or partially on one salary went from a minimum of three to a maximum of five.

/33/ b) The second family is Lebou. It consists permanently of the husband, one of his two wives, her two children (the second wife, with her two children, lives in another sector of the same quarter), a uterine nephew, and a sister of the wife. The following changes were noted during this period (not including the many, very short visits of relatives living in the area of Rufisque): [595]

-- September: the younger brother of the family head returns, his military service completed; he will not find work until March and moreover will continue to live with his brother; until then, there will be only one salary.

-- December: the second wife leaves for a stay with her relatives and leaves her eldest son, a schoolboy, in the care of her co-wife; this does not in fact represent an increase in burden; [595]

-- February: after the death of their father, the young brother of the wife joins her.

One has had then, during this period, at first three and

17: Mercier--40 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/33 cont./ 369x 592

and then four adults living on one salary, and subsequently four adults living on two salaries.

G. -- One sees by these examples how a "snapshot" of the situation only furnishes an approximate picture of the totality of the facts. The preceding pages have shown, however, that it does draw an outline of it; it is therefore possible to put down some remarks in the guise of conclusions.

1. The situation is not fixed. The restricted family clearly tends to constitute a milieu of life more closed than [594] in the traditional framework, and to coincide with the household. But this tendency, even in the most Westernized categories, is far from having caused the traditional forms to re- [182] treat everywhere. The obligations founded on kinship in the [602] broad sense are still strongly felt. But one has seen that a first step toward their gradual weakening has already been made with the transformation of the character of the de facto groupings (extent, structure, etc.). Doubtlessly for a long time yet there will continue to be a gap between the values recognized by the members of these societies and the new structures born out of the transformations imposed from the outside. As for the structure of the restricted family, the proportion of polygamists, for all the cases studied, seems to be [595] at the average level which it attains in a demographically normal population. A regression of polygamy, however, appears to have started in the categories which represent a new type of elite with Western instruction.

2. The variations in the extent and the structure of both the broad group of relatives and the restricted family are not linked in a constant manner to the differences in living standard. [182] The situations /34/ can be extremely variable with equal resources (1). The relation is well marked (2) only in the

1. As the investigations on family budgets conducted in Thiès have indeed shown.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 that ranges from the Olympian civil servant to a taxi driver and a clerk without work, has left them under no illusion about the equal fallibility of the European. This is in direct contrast to Nigeria where until very recently all Europeans held executive posts, lived in large houses in separate reservations, had cars, servants and high incomes, all of which gave the impression to the vast majority of Nigerians who had not travelled overseas that the English were a race which commanded and did not occupy itself with subaltern work. Thus to this day, even in Lagos, the European is still a 'remarkable' being. In [369] Dakar the Frenchman passes unremarked, and the *Dakarois* is as used to seeing him on foot or on a velo-cycle as in a car, with the result that the Senegalese on the whole do not have any complex about the European as a person although he does about the technical superiority of the European and about France's insistence on the superiority of its culture.

P. Mercier, the French sociologist, in an investigation into [369] the habits of the European community in Dakar, found that very few Europeans had African friends outside work, and that contact between white and black was largely limited to the following spheres: among colleagues, employees, and domestic servants, in cultural and sporting activities, and in schools. Few marriages take place between African and European in Dakar and when they do they are usually between African male and European female, and are contracted in Paris. There are two obvious explanations for this. For many it is impossible to find a wife of the same intellectual level in a society where Islam has retarded female education. For many others the need for a companion leads to love affairs and eventual marriage with women whom they would not consider marrying at home. The reason that few French women marry Africans in Senegal, as distinct from in France, is that they become more aware of the type of society into which they are [596] marrying. It is very difficult for the European woman,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

with her restricted notions about the family, to integrate successfully into the extended family, especially in a territory like Senegal where family relations are of such importance that it is practically forbidden to refer to the economic burden they cause. The European wife often insists on her husband breaking with the extended family and restricting the family to the usual European size. Instances of marriage between European male and African females are rare because of the small number of well educated African females. 563 [596]

This all builds up to a picture of a French community with little interest in assimilating the Senegalese to their own standards. But a number of points must be stressed. On the whole the French have always accepted the Senegalese as equals. There is a strict code of mutual courtesy between Senegalese and all but the most uncouth Frenchmen. As Claude Duchemin of the *Institut Francais d'Afrique Noire* has written: 'A genuine "niceness" was apparent in their daily contacts, simply and with no ostentation, as if it were quite natural. It seemed that each wanted to prove to the other his wish to play the game loyally, without complexes.' Also there has been remarkably little use of 'pidgin' in Senegal, a debased form of French which by implication infers an inferior recipient. [576] [198]

But most important of all is the fact that a small minority of Frenchmen, fortunately usually in positions of authority have followed personally an assimilationist policy. This has been most marked in the political sphere. Though the great majority of Frenchmen who were interviewed by Mercier had nothing to do with local politics and even talked in terms of maintaining 'white solidarity' a few were militant politicians alongside men like Senghor and Lamine Guèye. Men like Maître Paul Bonifay, until recently deputy Mayor of Dakar, who was Secretary of the *S.F.I.O.* in Dakar for many years, or André Peytavin, who worked closely with Senghor in the early days of the *B.D.S.* and was chosen as Minister of Finance in the Government [645]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

463 has enjoyed a much higher rate of education than was possi-
[563] ble in an Islamic community like Senegal, even taking into account French assimilation policy.

There is a pronounced bias in Senegal against entering into commerce, whether at the African level or at the European level. This bias has been observed by many Europeans. It may be thought of as a mere attempt to explain away the lack of success or rather a lack of desire and intention to Africanise commerce, but against this view, M. Assane Seck, one of the leaders of the Opposition
[665] *P.R.A.-Sénégal* and a lecturer at the university, who might normally be only too pleased to pin the slow rate of Africanisation of commerce on the Government, has said that one of the chief obstacles to the Africanisation of economy at
[591] its higher levels is the preference of the Senegalese élite, and even the lesser educated classes, for work in the Adminitration. Under the French the Administration seems to
[647] have enjoyed a very high status especially as rates of pay
[465] have always been considerably higher than in commerce and industry. Commerce, even when it pays better, has among the Senegalese something of the smear it had in ninteenth-century England.

471 Another barrier to the Africanisation of shopkeeping and
[472] small scale private enterprise is the difficulty the Senegalese have in amassing capital. The obligations towards members
• [596] of the extended family are such that a man with money has calls made on it from even his most distant relatives. This social parasitism is much stronger in Senegal than in most West African countries. One of the few important Senegalese business men operating in Dakar today has admitted that he had to reduce his family obligations drastically, not only because he was married to a European, but because unless he did so, he would never be able to keep enough capital in his business. Diop Abdoulaye, in his study of the Tou-
[736] couleur, has protested against the use of the term family parasitism for something which 'makes it possible to help those in need, the unemployed, for example, who can then

/25 cont./

strata which we have defined do not depend on a single factor or on a series of factors in close correlation; it would be a simplification to establish a hierarchy based on certain criteria. There are in fact several scales. There is more or less complete participation in several socio-cultural contexts. We are dealing here with three principal groups: 369x 565

On the one hand, the categories of laborers and domestics, workers and artisans, master workmen, merchants, and, to a lesser degree, farmers and fishermen (2), where the

2. See above.

tendency toward familial regrouping is still very much alive. The extent of the familial group is as a whole a function of the possibilities for housing and of available finances (the maximum number of persons which a given number of salaried persons can support). It must likewise be noted that, in the case of autochthonous groups or groups originally from nearby regions, the frequency of neighboring and related households is much greater, and the tendency towards a reconstitution of the extended family /famille etendue/ manifests itself in a considerable number of cases. [596]

On the other hand, the categories of the superior functionaries and employees and the teaching and intellectual professions, in which, if one keeps in mind the preceding remarks, one sees that the household tends in permanent fashion to include only the restricted family. [594]

Finally, the category of subordinate employees and functionaries, intermediate between the two preceding groups, which is explained in particular by the composite character of this category; there, one /26/ finds elements (orderlies, beneficiaries of reserved employment in the administrative sector, etc.) clearly less Westernized, but their very superior living standard does not permit placing them in the category of laborers, whom they approximate in many aspects. The [177]

Dakar
Wolof MS30

/31 cont./

uncle persists, and the latter often has charge of his nephews until adolescence, whether or not the father lives in town (1). S 369x 592 S W [604] [597] [591]

1. Nephews harbored in this manner represent a large proportion of the category of "adopted children." The other types of relationships covered by the term adoption in common usage are: those between the guardian and orphaned children (of brothers or of more distant relatives), and those between the guardian and children who have been entrusted to him during the time of schooling by relatives living out of town.

One often ascertains this fact in the whole of the categories where the vigor of traditional institutions is, as we have seen, the greatest (farmers, laborers, workers, merchants), but it is noticeable everywhere.

b) Another frequent type is that of groupings of collaterals of the same generation, consanguineous /paternal/ or uterine (brothers in the classificatory sense). It frequently breaks up when the younger brothers marry; it is more unstable if "brothers" of a distant degree are involved.

c) One encounters, in a smaller number of cases, the typical extended family, where the married sons -- and sometimes, temporarily or permanently, married daughters (2)-- S [596] [591]

2. The case where the husband is housed by his wife or by the family of the latter, the owner of the house, is encountered frequently, but less than, for example, at Saint-Louis. It is

/31/ cont. /

369x
592
[591]
[596]

a matter of a de facto matrilocal, non-institutionalized marriage.

do not form separate households. The segmentation of these groups occurs constantly -- it poses a question of available space -- but its importance is sometimes tempered by the maintenance of the neighborhood situation. The aged father and mother are often dependent, and the role of the de facto head of the family has partially been transferred to the eldest son.

/32/ d) Kinship by marriage is likewise a factor of grouping. One finds most frequently the collaterals of the wife, more rarely her relatives on ascending generations. One is reminded in part of the preceding case (1).

1. See preceding note.

e) One finds finally, living with the restricted family, distant relatives or "friends" who, in the majority of cases, are at least tied to this family by an ethnic relationship. But these much looser relationships account chiefly for the formation of bachelor groups. [589]

2. Two typical cases of variations in time will be given by way of illustration. The first example is that of a specialized worker's family, the second that of a family of a subordinate employee. The wages of the family heads in the chosen cases are much the same.

a) This family is of Toucouleur origin, but, after a series of marriages, is closely tied to Wolof groups. The nucleus of the restricted family consists of the husband, his wife, and her three children. The mother of the family head, a widow, lives with her son permanently. The following changes in the composition of the household were observed from August 1953 to May 1954:

-- August: a guest was lodged for three weeks, in the capacity of both a distant relative and a marabout;

17: Mercier--36 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30

/30 cont./

369*
563
[565]

regularly distributed among the socio-occupational categories. We shall refer here to our paper, already cited, which was prepared for the Conference of Abidjan of September 1954.

on the one hand, the numerical importance of the group in the town; on the other hand, the distance from the region of origin; finally, particular factors closing off the group (racial prejudices, religion, etc.). Thus we find, among the groups where the average for interethnic marriages is not attained: the Cape Verdeans, the Moors, the Diola, the Sérère and equally the Wolof, among whom ethnic endogamy is the clearest. Among those where the proportion of interethnic marriages clearly exceeds the average: the Bambara, the groups originally from the territories of the south, and, unexpectedly, the Lebou, which indeed confirms the weakening of the former particularism and the mixing (which is accelerating) with the Wolof element. Let us note /31/ finally that in numerous cases, if the spouses are not of the same ethnic group, they are nevertheless originally from the same region; this is the case for most of those questioned by us who were originally from Dahomey and Togo.

S
369*
592

F. -- We must look briefly into the qualitative aspect of the composition of the family groups going beyond the framework of the restricted family; we have indicated what limits are put on the utilization of the purely quantitative data. This composition is very diverse and very changeable in time.

1. Here are the dominant types which were encountered, in order of decreasing frequency:

S
W
[604]
[597]

a) The nephew-uterine uncle relationship and more rarely the nephew-consanguineous /paternal/ uncle are the basis for the formation of many groupings. In particular among the Wolof and the Lebou, the educational role of the uterine

Dakar
Wolof MS30

/31 cont./

uncle persists, and the latter often has charge of his nephews until adolescence, whether or not the father lives in town (1). S 369x 592

S W [604] [597] [591]

1. Nephews harbored in this manner represent a large proportion of the category of "adopted children." The other types of relationships covered by the term adoption in common usage are: those between the guardian and orphaned children (of brothers or of more distant relatives), and those between the guardian and children who have been entrusted to him during the time of schooling by relatives living out of town.

One often ascertains this fact in the whole of the categories where the vigor of traditional institutions is, as we have seen, the greatest (farmers, laborers, workers, merchants), but it is noticeable everywhere.

b) Another frequent type is that of groupings of collaterals of the same generation, consanquineous /paternal/ or uterine (brothers in the classificatory sense). It frequently breaks up when the younger brothers marry; it is more unstable if "brothers" of a distant degree are involved.

c) One encounters, in a smaller number of cases, the typical extended family, where the married sons -- and sometimes, temporarily or permanently, married daughters (2)-- S [596] [591]

2. The case where the husband is housed by his wife or by the family of the latter, the owner of the house, is encountered frequently, but less than, for example, at Saint-Louis. It is

/400 cont./

*511 452 debts in full. The latter pay for the others, and, if they know it, they are not surprised. It is a deep-rooted survival of the traditional, essentially collective funds in a system based on an institution of individualistic character, being salaried. Likewise, [166] the salaried person who is one day obliged to pay back more debts [602] than he can meet will be able to send his family to spend a few [592] months among relatives whom he has kept in the natal village, and they will see nothing abnormal in it. He himself will live as a "parasite" in a more favored unit of consumption, and no one will be surprised by it (1).

[114] 1. The problems of credit, complex and not very well known, the elements of which are often imperceptible, have not been followed systematically in the course of this investigation. We hope to make them the subject of a series of investigations which will be devoted especially to them.

*511 592 Is it a sign of evolution that, out of the five units of consumption that have not admitted into their midst any element foreign to the restricted family, two are among the youngest, thus capable of being more strongly influenced by ideas of [452] emancipation? Among these two, we have likewise found a lower percentage of purchases on credit. A broader investigation would perhaps confirm this tendency.

*511 Let us return to the 43 families to ascertain that the first balanced budget appears with the first income of 15,000 francs. The next three again have a deficit, but a smaller one. Taking account of the possible margin of error, one can infer, not a deficit, but a certain difficulty in "making ends meet."

This experiment, however, is too limited for one to be able to conclude with certainty that 15,000 francs is the indispensable minimum monthly income.

All of the budgets following No. 27 clearly have a surplus. We previously noted that the "hole" of No. 34 is due to the cost

/422 cont./

*511
276

Table XII (cont.)

No.	Income	In Proportion to Income				
		Fuel	Illumination	Maintenance	Water	Kola
32	25,000	1.2	0.8	1.0	--	1.3
33	25,000	3.2	0.8	1.0	--	--
34	25,900	1.5	0.4	1.1	--	0.2
35	27,000	2.8	0.2	1.5	--	--
36	34,000	2.0	0.9	1.6	--	--
37	36,000	3.5	0.7	1.1	--	0.1
38	50,000	0.8	0.5	1.4	--	--
39	51,000	1.3	2.5	0.5	1.1	--
40	55,000	3.6	1.2	1.5	--	0.1
41	55,500	2.5	0.5	1.0	--	1.3
42	56,000	1.6	0.5	1.1	--	--
43	81,000	0.4	--	0.6	--	--

/423/

*511 Let us begin with the most obligatory of all, those from which it is most difficult to escape: taxes and the rent of the dwelling (Table XIII).[1]

*511 651 Two of our families do not pay taxes. Nearly all of the others devote at least 1% of their income to them. The tax paid would normally be proportional to the number of adults that the restricted family contains. It is quite often lower; [659] one may succeed in escaping the fiscal census. It is sometimes [602] higher: specifically, in three cases where the salaried worker in the city pays the taxes for his relatives who remained in the village.

*511 427 Only 13 families pay rent for the dwelling. Two are given free lodgings by the owner; three are lodged by their [466] employer. The others are "owners." This ownership is often [423] limited to a straw hut, or better a plank hut, constructed on an [342] administrative concession. The most favored build a true house of mud; up to now only one of our family heads has undertaken a "permanent" building.

[1] [see cat 116, pp 62-63. ANALYST]

/430 cont./

*511 871

No. 31: 0.5%	No. 41: 4.4%
No. 38: 0.5%	No. 42: 0.5%
No. 39: 0.6%	No. 43: 5.6%
No. 40: 2.4%	

These percentages do not decrease. The explanation is to be seen in the fact that only families with high incomes send all of their children to school, and that, on the other hand, they often prefer, even Moslems, to send them to Catholic school.

*511 794 In three cases the family heads pointed out to us that in one year they were faced with the expenses occasioned by a baptism (which also requires a sheep). For No. 19 the cost represented 11.5% of the income, but only 6.3% and 3.4% for Nos. 26 and 31.

*511 593 602 But the heaviest familial obligation for many is the necessity of sending sums of money to their relatives who are in difficulties. For example, No. 3 sent to a brother a sum representing 2.5% of his income; No. 11, at two times, 4.4%; No. 24, 0.9%. Finally, No. 43 sends 8.2% of his income each month to his family and to that of his wife.

*511 595 Another familial obligation, this one desired: Nos. 18, 35, 38, 40, and 41 actually have two or three households, because they preferred not having all of their wives live together, a whim that comes to, respectively, 18.1%, 6.1%, 10%, 10.6% of their incomes. (The budget of No. 18 has a deficit of 15%.)

*511 357 Thirteen families employ one or several domestic workers. Moreover, all of them are located below the central income. Here is the portion of their budget that is devoted to this:

No. 24: 6.6%	No. 35: 3.7%
No. 26: 2.2%	No. 37: 3.8%
No. 27: 6.1%	No. 38: 2%
No. 28: 1.5%	No. 40: 3%
No. 30: 4.1%	No. 42: 1.7
No. 31: 4%	No. 43: 11.1%
No. 34: 4.3%	

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

571 178 871 equipment of Senegal in relation to the existing employment market. These facts must, however, be considered from another angle. The real problems are those of the true integration of education into a developing social environment, its adaptation to various local situations, and the adjustments which must be made in the Senegalese people's conception of education. These problems look, of course, more acute in the big towns, particularly in the former 'centres of assimilation',[1] which have often reached a relatively high school rate (sometimes more than 50 per cent); in many rural districts the [369] critical phase is still a long way off. Recent changes in the position are marked by another important feature to which I shall revert at greater length: the difference in the distribution of the school population classified according to the various kinds of education. The past 10 years have been marked by the development of secondary and technical education, and the introduction of local higher education. At the beginning of 1955, pupils and students were distributed approximately as follows among the different types of education: 87 per cent in primary schools, 9 per cent in secondary schools, 2 per cent in vocational training schools, 2 per cent in higher education and its various equivalents.[2] At the same time education in French West Africa ceased to be an almost isolated system providing degrees and diplomas which were not recognized in metropolitan France and qualified their holders only for subordinate positions in most occupations.[3] The intellectual elite is becoming steadily more diversified. Its ideals are being noticeably modified; some of its prestige values are being revised; the masses are beginning to change their idea of what they mean by the elite. This is a transitional stage, with its own special tensions.

178 571 369 [871] At this stage in the development of education—the outstanding fact in which is that, particularly in the urban primary schools, the demand exceeds the supply[4]—the signs are already fairly evident of a trend towards less mobility in the social scale. The prospects of reaching the ranks conferring most prestige differ in the towns and the rural zones, for the reasons already indicated. They are also tending to be less evenly distributed among the various sections of the urban population as the latter becomes more diversified. It is not, however, a case of the urban population breaking up into closed or nearly closed groups; none of the discernible social categories are of this character, nor can they be in any way likened to social classes.[5] In particular, relations based on kinship in the widest sense of the term continue to play a fundamental [602] role, and maintain in being close ties among all the individuals composing the family group. Severance of these relations occurs only in extreme cases. Nevertheless, a trend towards the crystallization of social categories does appear, through the mere accumulation of circumstances.[6] The problem has been studied in a recent work the principal points of which I will venture to [863] recall.[7] A survey of the urban district of Dakar—confirmed by later research in other cities—showed certain significant differences in the social origins of

1. The 'four communes' mentioned above.
2. Including young people studying in France.
3. Even in teaching, medicine, etc.
4. In Dakar it became necessary to establish part-time classes to meet an ever-rapid increase in demand.
5. Cf. P. Mercier, 'Aspects de la Stratification Sociale dans l'Ouest Africain' (Aspects of social stratification in West Africa), *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, XVII, 1954.
6. Studied, e.g. by G. Balandier, in *Sociologie des Brazzavilles Noires* (Sociology of the coloured population of Brazzaville), Paris, 1955.
7. Cf. P. Mercier, op. cit.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

cent of the population. Thus, the number of Europeans in intermediate or subordinate posts has substantially increased and the range of competitive situations, instead of growing less is being regularly extended. This affects not only the new elite, but a large segment of the old 'administrative bourgeoisie', and even, to some extent, the workers and lower supervisory grades in industry. And so, while—in theory—opportunities for reaching the highest ranks and simultaneously entering the European group (a consequence foreseen by assimilationist ideology) have increased with the development of education, in reality a radical change in the whole social structure has multiplied the causes of conflict. New factors have cropped up abruptly: further assimilation is gainsaid, Europeans and Africans become more and more sensitive to the realities of race, etc. Obviously, the political consequences of such conflicts are considerable.

I have mentioned cases in which a rift occurred between the elites and the masses, in the early years, at any rate, of the 'colonial elite'. This fact needs some further explanation, while the question of the relations between the 'educated' and the 'traditional' categories calls for re-examination on a wider basis. The stereotyped patterns maintained by the European administration underline the points of divergence. The administration has besides had a tendency—and not only in Senegal—to underestimate the influence of modernist elites and to depreciate their impact upon the population as a whole. True, important tensions can be observed, and some antagonism developed between the citizens (those of the 'four communes'), from whom the major part of the 'colonial élite' came, and the subjects in the other parts of the territory; but such tensions virtually disappeared with the legal changes introduced immediately after the war, a fact which is proof enough how superficial the points of divergence were. The 'educated' classes, moreover, sought to reap all possible profit from the power they acquired in their administrative functions, or in their role of intermediary between producers and the big commercial companies; and that attitude naturally set up a great many local conflicts. Sometimes they sought compensation for their inferior standing in the traditional framework by asserting themselves in the exercise of their new functions. As we have already shown, however, the population as a whole recognized the prestige of the new intellectual elite. True, their prestige did not necessarily displace the traditional prestige, but the two can coexist, a circumstance which stands out most clearly in rural districts. So, even if the 'educated' African has difficulty in fitting into the traditional system or even the family group, even if he is often a maladjusted element, he is rarely the fish out of water whom so many colonial observers considered him. All the elements of the population are still continually in touch.[1] There are two basic reasons for this. First, the range of family relationships is still a very wide one and they themselves are still effective; they maintain their hold on the 'educated' African even when he has left his birthplace. Secondly, religion—chiefly Islam in Senegal—and above all, membership of a sect, which is practically hereditary, continue to be important. The fact that tension between elites and masses led to nothing but quite limited and temporary breaks explains why the recent and entirely conscious effort to retie loose bonds was carried through with comparative ease. It was the new elite that, with political aims in view, inspired this effort. Usually too far removed from the

1. The vitality of racial or regional associations is significant in this respect.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

me. Diop, Faye, one of his friends, who was secretary to the local theatre, and I sat round the large bowl eating with spoons. A number of people passed, and one old man came in to watch us.

'That's our Griot,' Diop told me. A Griot is a member of a special caste, to be found in the Jollof and Mandinka tribes, who sings, drums, dances and tells jokes—a sort of family jester.

He started to talk in rapid Jollof and soon Diop and his friend were in hoots of laughter. For his pains the bowl of rice was handed to him, and another man who joined him.

'Who is he?' I asked.

'Another relation. I have to feed him,' Diop replied.

'One of the greatest problems in Dakar,' an official of IFAN had told me, 'is parasitism. A man will come to Dakar and get himself a good job, say at ten pounds a month. He has his immediate family to look after. Then along comes a cousin, and installs himself. An uncle from the bush comes to stay three days, decides he likes Dakar and fails to return to his village. A man like this may find he is supporting between eight and fifteen dependants.'

'I suppose that explains why Dakar's population is much larger than opportunities for work would justify?'

'Yes. It's a great problem, because it prevents any accumulation of capital by Africans. People complain that there is no African bourgeoisie here, that all the trade is in the hands of Lebanese and small Frenchmen. It's largely because an African here cannot, by the laws of hospitality, refuse to give a bed and food to his fellow tribesmen.'

'Of course, in a way that's a good thing, because no one goes hungry, and it's one way of redistributing wealth voluntarily. A sort of voluntary welfare state.'

'Yes, but if the African is to control the economy of his own economy, he must be rid of this scourge.'

In Gorée I met a Frenchman to whom Senegalese soldiers used to come immediately after their discharge from the Army to leave all their new clothes and money, otherwise they would have returned to the town to hear: 'Oh, you are the most wonderful, most bountiful man alive.' After that there would have been little left of their money.

Diop was perhaps a classic example of parasitism. He himself was a borrower, only to have other people borrowing from him.

/196 cont./

511 595 The raising of the standard of living, which is symbolized and realized by the acquisition of a durable dwelling provided with modern conveniences, thus seems to go hand in hand with an increase in polygamy. Another factor should also be correlated with it: the educational level. The proportion of polygamists among the literate is higher than the corresponding proportion among the illiterate: 26.5% as against 21.6%.

511 But, as the preceding figures suggest, it seems that the principal cause is to be found in the improvement of economic conditions, and education in this case plays only the role of a /197/ second cause, which is the very thing that permits access to a higher income. Another index runs along the same lines: the average number of persons under [602] the care of the head of the family, persons who do not live in the concession, but either in the city or village. This average figure is distinctly larger for the districts: 219 as against 142 persons under the care of 100 heads of families, in addition to those who live with him.

It is now possible to draw some conclusions which are to be found at the point of convergence with the preceding remarks.

511 592 602 1) It does not seem that what is designated by the deplorable name of "familial parasitism" (1) can be held

> 1. It is not a question of denying the negative and paralyzing influence which a family can exert on the best of its members and which is ordinarily designated by the name of parasitism. But neither should one ignore the positive aspect of solidarity that makes up for the detrimental consequences of migration and eases for the immigrant the transition from the traditional environment to the urban environment.

responsible for the relative increase of the number of persons

/197 cont./

511 per home in the districts. This fact may be explained by two
592 other reasons: on the one hand, the disappearance of homes
602 reduced to single or divorced persons, in favor of the conjugal family; on the other hand, as part of this, an increase in the number of spouses.

2) Family solidarity is no less a patent fact in the districts than in the quarters. It works in two ways: the first consists of taking complete charge of the housing and support of brothers, nephews, or other relatives. This is shown in the figure of 38% of the families who extend beyond the framework of the conjugal family properly speaking. In this respect the inhabitants of the districts behave much the same as the others. But they make a greater effort with respect to the second form of family solidarity: sending money to relatives to all or part of their living expenses.

369 3) The betterment of living conditions and the participation to a certain degree in the material comfort that the urban environment brings with it do not necessarily mean a rupture and an overthrow of traditional social behavior. On the contrary, on two points, polygamy and family solidarity, there is a reinforcement of these behaviors, and, if one may apply this terminology to Senegal, it is not "detribalization" which should be spoken of, but "supertribalization."

/198/ Conclusion

Despite its youth, Dagoudane-Pikine is a definite city no less than Dakar, although closely dependent upon the latter. It is a city by reason of its area, the size of its population, the effort undertaken with regard to equipment, especially with regard to schools, and finally by the type of work offered to an important part of the economically active population. It is also a typical African city, with its small number of durable buildings, the considerable unemployment, the large number of young people, and above all, its gross
[444] deficiencies of public equipment. We have not spoken of its
[443] health equipment; it is still terribly inadequate, although

/26 cont./

intermediate character of this category, very mixed concerning the level of studies, way of life, etc., is found again in various domains. 369x 565

C. -- The old familial institutions do not always adapt themselves easily to the environment of the new life into which they are transplanted. They were linked with a collective work organization, all the members of the group being assured of enjoying (under the authority of the family head) the revenue of the latter. The notion of individual work, with individual remuneration, has not been introduced without shock. We shall set aside the categories where the work has remained in the family framework despite the necessary transpositions: farmers and fishermen on the one hand, merchants on the other. In the others, the vigor preserved by the traditional familial institutions is sometimes a curb on the raising of the living standard of urbanized elements. There is the problem, commonly called "familial parasitism," which poses itself in all of the African towns; the obligation to come to the aid of all the members of the kinship group is still strongly felt. We shall not proceed here to a detailed examination of the data gathered on the number of salaried persons, and persons practicing a non-salaried occupation, in relation to the total number of adults in the household. But it is necessary to give a survey of them. 369x 59 [476] [461] [602]

1. When questioned about the reasons for their coming to town, less than 10% of those questioned say that they came to rejoin relatives. But subsequent interviews have permitted it to be confirmed that among those persons who had come, according to their statements, to look for work (58%), there were many who would not have been able to subsist except by joining, upon their arrival, a group of relatives already settled. The process has already been described several times, and we shall not return to it (1). 369x 602 166

1. Cf., for example, G. Balandier, op. cit., one of the latest accounts to date.

17: Mercier--28 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/26 cont./

There are many who, in the present unemployment crisis, can only maintain themselves in town thanks to the aid of their relatives. This results in a spontaneous form of insurance against unemployment (2).

369x
602●
[464]

2. Which has become more and more important in Dakar in the last two years. Without speaking of the seasonal immigrants who find no work, the number of recorded unemployed amounts to more than 2,000.

2. The figures expressing the extent of family groups do not give, in a direct fashion, indications of the importance of this "familial parasitism." The fact of finding work, when it is a matter /27/ of a close relative, does not signify in any way that the group which has formed is going to split up: the tendency toward the traditional familial regrouping is not exercised solely in terms of extreme forms of mutual aid. The other data in figures that we gathered permit in themselves only a first approach to the problem (1). These

[434]

1. In fact, even though the idea of salaried person is clear, that of the person enjoying a non-salaried income is very broad; it does not assume that this income is able to assure completely the subsistence of this person (petty trade, piece work, etc.); this person may, since he is attached to a kinship group larger than the restricted family, benefit from partial aid. The investigation conducted at Thiès on

/27 cont./

369x
602●
[434]

> living standards made apparent the complexity of the notion of income; for example, there are incomes which do not correspond to any work, but come solely from a given social position (belonging to the griot caste, etc.). A similar investigation will be conducted in Dakar in August 1954 and will permit precise statements concerning these problems.

data only represent a snapshot taken on a certain date; the situation is very changeable, the dependent relatives, except when it is a matter of old men, are such only temporarily. Furthermore, the manifestations of familial mutual aid may go beyond the framework of the household. Let us take, in the whole of our population, the family groups containing more than five adults. The number of persons enjoying an income, reported for one adult, comes to between 0.5 and 0.7. One does not ascertain significant differences between categories on the quantitative level, the scale of situations in each one of them being very broad. Qualitatively, however, important differences appear. In the categories of superior functionaries and employees, members of the teaching profession and the intellectual professions, etc., and to a lesser degree among the subordinate functionaries and employees, women practicing petty commerce or similar activities are much less numerous than in other categories (but the number of women in a salaried occupation is higher). On the other hand, among the dependent adults (2), the adult sons and

369x
602
565

2. In our investigations, we have arbitrarily fixed the lower limit for the "adult" category at 18-20 years of age.

/27 cont./

daughters who are pursuing their studies figure much more frequently. While among the laborers, the workers, and to a lesser degree the master workmen, it is above all a matter of relatives -- in the majority close relatives, cousins, nephews -- who are unemployed or without an occupation. We shall thus again find the same grouping of categories, although here the differences are more blurred than in the other domains considered. 369x 565 602●

D. -- For numerical data on the dimensions of the restricted family, thus on the extension of polygamy, we refer to the account by L. Massé in the present collection. We shall only add certain comments based on complementary studies.

/28/ 1. Religious affiliation divides our population into two groups, one Christian, almost exclusively monogamous (1), 369x 595 565 [771]

1. There are cases of polygamy, but they are rarely admitted.

the other Moslem, where the tendency toward polygamy is very deep-rooted, but where differences make themselves felt according to the socio-occupational category. It is only on the level of the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc., that this distinction based on religion disappears, and that we ascertain, common to Christians and Moslems, a value set on monogamy.

2. It is in fact on the level of values more than on that of de facto situations that this question must be studied. The progression of the number of polygamous men in going from the laborers to the master workmen, passing through the workers, and, in a different sector, going from the subordinate functionaries and employees to the superior functionaries and employees, is found again in going from the petty to the large-scale merchants. Polygamy may be, by the same token, an ideal for all the members of these categories, but it is only realized on occasion (2) starting from a certain material [183

2. It is obviously limited by the

/33 cont./

369x
592

and then four adults living on one salary, and subsequently four adults living on two salaries.

G. -- One sees by these examples how a "snapshot" of the situation only furnishes an approximate picture of the totality of the facts. The preceding pages have shown, however, that it does draw an outline of it; it is therefore possible to put down some remarks in the guise of conclusions.

1. The situation is not fixed. The restricted family clearly tends to constitute a milieu of life more closed than [594] in the traditional framework, and to coincide with the household. But this tendency, even in the most Westernized categories, is far from having caused the traditional forms to re- [182] treat everywhere. The obligations founded on kinship in the [602] broad sense are still strongly felt. But one has seen that a first step toward their gradual weakening has already been made with the transformation of the character of the de facto groupings (extent, structure, etc.). Doubtlessly for a long time yet there will continue to be a gap between the values recognized by the members of these societies and the new structures born out of the transformations imposed from the outside. As for the structure of the restricted family, the proportion of polygamists, for all the cases studied, seems to be [595] at the average level which it attains in a demographically normal population. A regression of polygamy, however, appears to have started in the categories which represent a new type of elite with Western instruction.

2. The variations in the extent and the structure of both the broad group of relatives and the restricted family are not linked in a constant manner to the differences in living standard. [182] The situations /34/ can be extremely variable with equal resources (1). The relation is well marked (2) only in the

1. As the investigations on family budgets conducted in Thiès have indeed shown.

/21 cont./

as the extremely variable extension of marriage prohibitions shows.

121 369

The local unit coincides more or less completely with the kinship group delineated by the line of dominant filiation; a village quarter is in principle the habitat of a given lineage.

Marriage is not a commitment between two individuals, guaranteed by a state or religious body (3), but the conclusion [581]

3. This guarantee intervenes among the Moslems, but in most cases does not play the essential role.

of an agreement between two kinship groups, an agreement which assumes, directly or indirectly, the form of an exchange of forces. The networks of matrimonial alliances, while permitting each kinship group to maintain and increase its substance, create bonds, constantly reinforced, between diverse groups, thus assuring the cohesion of the ethnic group that their assemblage composes. Therefore, in the vast majority of cases, one does not conceive of marriage outside the ethnic group. [582]

Even in the systems of patrilineal filiation, the maternal line is likewise a source of obligations. In particular, in most populations -- and very especially in Senegal -- the role of the uterine uncle is important (4). [604]

4. Cf., as far as the Lebou are concerned, G. Balandier and P. Mercier, op. cit., passim.

It is important to keep these basic elements in mind in the course of the account that we shall give about the problems that are posed at present.

/22/ We shall first give some figures expressing certain

17: Mercier--36 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30

/30 cont./

369x
563
[565]

regularly distributed among the socio-occupational categories. We shall refer here to our paper, already cited, which was prepared for the Conference of Abidjan of September 1954.

on the one hand, the numerical importance of the group in the town; on the other hand, the distance from the region of origin; finally, particular factors closing off the group (racial prejudices, religion, etc.). Thus we find, among the groups where the average for interethnic marriages is not attained: the Cape Verdeans, the Moors, the Diola, the Sérère and equally the Wolof, among whom ethnic endogamy is the clearest. Among those where the proportion of interethnic marriages clearly exceeds the average: the Bambara, the groups originally from the territories of the south, and, unexpectedly, the Lebou, which indeed confirms the weakening of the former particularism and the mixing (which is accelerating) with the Wolof element. Let us note /31/ finally that in numerous cases, if the spouses are not of the same ethnic group, they are nevertheless originally from the same region; this is the case for most of those questioned by us who were originally from Dahomey and Togo.

S
369x
592

F. -- We must look briefly into the qualitative aspect of the composition of the family groups going beyond the framework of the restricted family; we have indicated what limits are put on the utilization of the purely quantitative data. This composition is very diverse and very changeable in time.

1. Here are the dominant types which were encountered, in order of decreasing frequency:

S
W
[604]
[597]

a) The nephew-uterine uncle relationship and more rarely the nephew-consanguineous /paternal/ uncle are the basis for the formation of many groupings. In particular among the Wolof and the Lebou, the educational role of the uterine

/31 cont./

uncle persists, and the latter often has charge of his nephews until adolescence, whether or not the father lives in town (1). S 369x 592 S W [604] [597] [591]

1. Nephews harbored in this manner represent a large proportion of the category of "adopted children." The other types of relationships covered by the term adoption in common usage are: those between the guardian and orphaned children (of brothers or of more distant relatives), and those between the guardian and children who have been entrusted to him during the time of schooling by relatives living out of town.

One often ascertains this fact in the whole of the categories where the vigor of traditional institutions is, as we have seen, the greatest (farmers, laborers, workers, merchants), but it is noticeable everywhere.

b) Another frequent type is that of groupings of collaterals of the same generation, consanquineous /paternal/ or uterine (brothers in the classificatory sense). It frequently breaks up when the younger brothers marry; it is more unstable if "brothers" of a distant degree are involved.

c) One encounters, in a smaller number of cases, the typical extended family, where the married sons -- and sometimes, temporarily or permanently, married daughters (2)-- S [596] [591]

2. The case where the husband is housed by his wife or by the family of the latter, the owner of the house, is encountered frequently, but less than, for example, at Saint-Louis. It is

/667 cont./

563 term Toucouleur often erroneously designates all the inhabitants of the Fouta Toro; we shall use it here in the way the Toucouleur speak of themselves, namely, Halpoularen (speaking the lan-
[197] guage of the Peul), distinct from the Wolof, who have their own language, and from the Saracolé, who speak a Mandé dialect.

/668/ Downstream the boundary between the Wolof and the Toucouleur is not clearly defined and several Wolof villages have been established in the very heart of Toucouleur country and
[186] have preserved their ethnic individuality. They are regarded as foreigners. It is the same upriver on the part of the Saracolé.

The Peul live in the midst of the three groups mentioned
[175] above, and the Peul ethnic group in the valley of the Senegal is itself composed of several waves /nappes/ which have successively spread throughout the region. The oldest are also the most sedentary and the most Islamized (Foulbé walo) and have a way of life very much like that of the Toucouleur, with whom they sometimes intermarry. The others, who have come more re-
[221] cently (Foulbé Diéri), are seminomads and only in winter culti-
[162] vate the sands of the hills which border the valley (Diéri). There
[613] is a total of 47,000 Peul in this region, but we do not know the
[175] actual number of each wave, itself divided into relatively endogamous lineages /lignages/ or pseudo-lineages. The latter, designated by the administration as communities, served as census units for the Peul, while for the others this unit was the village. The location of these communities often changes because of the seminomadic character of the Peul way of life, which is devoted principally to livestock-raising.

[162] Among the 56,000 Moors, although some of them (6,000) are settled in the river ports, the majority merely meet on the Mauritainian shore and only part of the year; they camp there
[221] during the dry season in order to cultivate the alluvial soil (walo), and they return after the harvest to camps sometimes located several dozen kilometers from there. These farmers for the most part are Haratin of the black race, that is to say, ancient serfs of the Moors, from whom they continue to lease land.

125 Since they occupy a very marginal position in relation to the totality of the inhabitants of the valley, they will not be studied here. /Table I appears here./

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

184 563 [631] this homogeneity by reducing the traditional authority of the chiefs who more than anyone else are responsible for the preservation of ethnic differences, in being the repositories of tribal customs.

For Senegal as a whole, this homogeneity does not go beyond similarities in socio-political structure, a common adherence to Islam, uniformity in styles of dress, a tradition of common relationship and a growing use of Wolof as a lingua franca. Only in the larger towns has there been 563 [369] any general break-down of traditional tribal barriers and only in the town does one find a high incidence of inter-ethnic habitation and, more important still, inter-ethnic marriage. And since it was mainly in the towns that the French applied their policy of assimilation it is reasonable to assume that there is probably some correlation between the two. In the first place the French in Senegal have always tended to think of the local inhabitants as Senegalese rather than Wolof or Serer, which runs contrary to the common European attitude to ethnic divisions, particularly in British territories where the tendency was always to emphasise the tribal origin of an African rather than the colony in which he lived. Indeed the British administrators, as Lord Lugard himself observed, were always great partisans of particular ethnic groups. Such an attitude, however, has not always been absent in Senegal. For instance Mercier has remarked that certain European foremen in factories tended to choose workers of the same ethnic group in order to avoid possible friction, but he adds that this was not always justified.

563 619 [369] In the *Quatre Communes*, which for a long time *were* Senegal as far as the French were concerned, the inhabitants came to accept from early on the idea of being Senegalese as well as Wolof and Serers. Or they might have thought of themselves parochially as St. Louisiens or Dakarois. With their elected deputy, their *Conseil-Général*, and their municipal councils, the Senegalese crossed early on the barrier between tribalism and nationalism, a result for which other African

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

leaders had to work so ardently and patiently many decades later. Where it has often seemed to be the policy of European powers to divide and rule, here the French positively encouraged the creation of a Senegalese identity. Faidherbe created the *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, whereas Lugard called his force the Hausa Constabulary. For many years, Senegal has had a romantic and sentimental place in the eyes of the French, and the *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, who in fact enjoyed the services of recruits from all over West Africa, are known by most Frenchmen for their services to France in both world wars. This concept of national as distinct from tribal identity in the *Quatre Communes* also influenced the educated élite from the Protectorate who were determined to participate in the privileges of the *originaires*.

A policy of assimilation that has the aim of eradicating the African past and the creation of 'black Frenchmen', when applied thoroughly, did in fact help to eliminate tribal differences and create a new common culture. In particular, education, which grouped children of different ethnic groups side by side, made no concession to local circumstances. They were taught about 'our ancestors the Gauls' and in the best schools standards were the same as those in France. Instruction was in French from the very first years, and the school uniform was in European style. They were thus given a common meeting ground from the earliest age, with almost no concessions made to their own ethnic differences. Large numbers of Senegalese have been to France for their education ever since the days of Faidherbe, and in France they found themselves automatically dubbed as Senegalese, for few Frenchmen had time for the niceties of tribal distinctions.

It is not surprising, then, that particularly among young men many friendships were made outside the tribe. Indeed today in Dakar it would be rare to find a young man with primary education who could not count many friends from outside his own ethnic group. Marriage presented different problems. For if the young man had overcome sensitivities

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

563 about tribe, the women, who in a Muslim society rarely
[582] gained the opportunity of education, tended naturally to be more conservative in such matters. Nevertheless many *originaires* have married outside their ethnic group and can claim to be Senegalese and Senegalese only, for how else, they ask, can they describe themselves when one grandparent is Wolof, another Toucouleur and yet another Serer? This is by no means common in Senegal, but its highest incidence is amongst the most assimilated groups in Senegal.

S 563 One of the most difficult barriers to break down in African
582 tribal society is that of the taboo on marriage outside the tribe or clan. Onuora Nzekwu in his *Wand of Noble Wood*
[619] gives a very illuminating study of this problem. In Senegal
[369] however, there is an exceptionally high rate of inter-ethnic marriage for Africa. Mercier, in his study of Dakar, ob-
W served that the rate of inter-ethnic marriage was below the
[582] Senegalese average amongst the Diola, Serer, and Wolof where endogamy is clearest, whilst the Bambaras and groups of the south, and particularly the Lebou who are inter-marrying increasingly with the Wolof, were above the average. Out of 696 monogamous families investigated, 71 per cent had married a woman of the same tribe, but the figure of 29 per cent for mixed marriages must be
S considered extremely high for Africa. Out of 228 polyg-
[595] amous families interviewed 43 per cent were all of the same ethnic group but 57 per cent had at least one wife of different ethnic origin. The highest incidence of inter-ethnic marriages in Dakar occurs amongst clerks, administrators,
S employees of commercial houses and the professional classes,
[369] i.e. those who have been most affected by French assimilation and for whom ethnic considerations are considerably less important than for the peasant, who is so much closer
S to the traditional concepts of the tribe. There is then in
[619] Dakar, and one could apply this to other main towns, a
S significant increase in inter-ethnic marriages, though as
[369] far as Senegal as a whole is concerned ethnic considerations
[582] in marriage are still very important. But the multiplication

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

of inter-ethnic marriages in the towns is indicative of a major social change and a reflection of the effects of an assimilationist policy on the Senegalese.

Though many communities in Dakar are based on ethnic and family ties, particularly amongst the immigrant Toucouleurs from the Vallée du Fleuve, Dakar is on the whole a heterogeneous city. Mercier has observed that inter-ethnic habitation is particularly frequent among young bachelors, who often club together to hire a room. This is still relatively rare in Africa except amongst educated élites. But in Senegal many young men resent being asked the question whether they are Wolof or Serer, answering only to the name Senegalese. As far as friendship outside the ethnic group and in particular living with someone from another tribe is concerned, one great advantage is the existence of a common cuisine for Wolof, Serer, Toucouleur and Lebou. There is even a national dish known as *riz sénégalais*, known further down the coast as Jollof rice. This means that not only can friends share the same plate, but a man is not frustrated in his desire to marry outside his ethnic group by fear of a foreign cuisine.

Another important factor in the breakdown of tribal barriers has been the urbanisation of Senegal. Over 25 per cent of the population live in towns, the bulk in Dakar, Rufisque and St. Louis and Kaolack. This represents a higher rate of urbanisation than in any other West African territory except the Western Region of Nigeria, where, it must be pointed out, urbanisation was intense long before the arrival of the Europeans and therefore does not owe its origin to colonisation as it does in Senegal. It is difficult in the present stage of research to measure the results of the inter-mixing of races in urban agglomerations. But in an environment whose *raison d'être* is completely different from that of the tribal village, the individual is subjected to so many pressures that his ethnic individuality has to be extremely strong for him not to assimilate both ideas and customs from his neighbours and above all from the

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 369 563 immense impact of the town. They live in small villages made up of relations and fellow villagers. They even club together, subscribing to a common fund to receive their fellows from the Fleuve, and as far as work is concerned they S [463] virtually monopolise certain jobs such as bootboys, waiters, and newspaper sellers. This maintenance of tribal cohesion is a difficult task in this city of French creation, where a new community of Dakarois is rapidly coming into existence.

S 665 563 An important factor in the breakdown of tribal ties has been the creation of political parties and the creation of a new political élite that thinks in national terms. [619] [182] Experience in Africa has shown, however, that this can work two ways, for many political parties are in effect organisations intended to defend ethnic interests. Senegalese politics have on the whole been remarkably free from tribalism, though Senghor did in fact achieve much of his success in the early days of the *B.D.S.* though the emphasis he laid on ethnic considerations in the organisations of his party, and certainly there have existed specifically regional and ethnic parties like *Le Mouvement Démocratique Casamançais* and the *Union Générale de la Vallée du Fleuve.* But, as Kenneth Robinson pointed out in his study of Senegalese politics in *Five Elections in Africa*, these ethnic and regional aspects were compensated for by the federal aspect of the major party, *Le Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais.* In 1954, in fact, all ethnic and regional sub-sections of the *B.D.S.* were abolished and individual membership was insisted on. But though this led to the breaking-away of certain elements in the Casamance, it would be fair to say that the party has been much less dominated by those regional differences that normally influence political parties in West Africa. Nevertheless, as Robinson found in the 1957 S [666] election, there were a number of constituencies where ethnic rivalries were more important than political issues. W [666] At Linguère, a single member constituency, the population was divided between Fula and Wolof in the proportion [665] of three to two. When the sitting member, a Fula, was

[i.e., The Moors and Toucouleurs in Dakar--Analyst]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 them strict enough Muslims, the main distinguishing
[433] feature of their homeland, the Vallée du Fleuve du Sénégal,
[735] is its poverty compared with that of other parts of Senegal. Diop Abdoulaye in his study of Toucouleur immigration into Dakar estimates that the average *per capita* income of a Toucouleur of that region is little more than 4,000 *C.F.A.*
[434] per annum, i.e. about £6 a year. It is this rather than any real tribal differences that makes the Vallée a special problem, and this as much as any ethnic factor accounted
[665] for the existence of the *Union Générale de la Vallée du Fleuve.*

563 The only real minority area in the Senegal is the Casa-
•619 mance, whose special position is further emphasised by its separation from the main block of Senegal by the Gambia. In the past it has been thought of as geographically, economically, socially and even religiously separate from the rest of Senegal. A forest zone closer to its neighbours Portuguese Guinea and the Republic of Guinea, it remained very underdeveloped by the French, though the present Government is taking this fact into account with a special development programme for the area. This separateness was emphasised by the very name Casamance. The people describe themselves to this day as *Casamançais* rather than Senegalese, though this could well be accepted on the same terms as a Briton describing himself as Scots or Welsh. It is fortunate that the tendency is to talk in terms of regional rather than tribal origin. However one of the important factors in the Casamance has been tribal. The Diolas were until very recently an animist people with an entirely different social organisation from that of the main groups of Senegal, though as we have already pointed out they had traditional ties with the Serer which went as far as the injunction that a Diola should never spill the blood of a Serer. But today the Diola are being drawn into the main socio-religious pattern of Senegal. In the most recent estimate of the religious
[162] adherence of the population of Casamance, estimated at
[771] 327,500, 284,000 were Muslims, only 28,000 Christians and

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

the rest animists. Of course this includes the exclusively Muslim Mandingo inhabitants of the Casamance who have been largely responsible for this proselytisation. The Diola too is inclined more and more to imitate his Mandingo and Wolof neighbours. L. V. Thomas, who has written a monumental study on the Diola, fears: 'Soon the Diola country may be, at least in its landscape, like Senegal if no power intervenes to limit the extension of the bushfire; it will certainly become, in its people, just another African country, where only a few anthropological remains fixed by heredity will enable us to distinguish the Diola from the Wolof or the Mandingo.'

The Casamance may well be coming closer to the rest of the Senegal, but it still remains a seat of opposition to the Government of Senghor and Dia, and votes heavily for the opposition *P.R.A.-Sénégal*. However neither of the leaders of this party, Ly Abdoulaye or Assane Seck, is *Casamançais*, and there is strong support in many towns for the *U.P.S.*, which indicates that Diola-Casamance politics are not necessarily either regional or tribal, though these are important factors.

The main social problem of the Senegal, and one which both assimilation and religion seem to have been unable to break down, is that of caste or a class structure very similar to caste. All the main Senegalese tribes—the Wolof, Lebou, Toucouleur, Serer—are divided into a series of endogamous castes. These castes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but roughly they are divided thus:

Nobles and Freeborn
Artisans (jewellers, smiths, weavers, leatherworkers)
Griots or minstrels
Liberated slaves
Slaves

(Of course domestic slaves no longer exist as such in Senegal, but families know who their slaves were.)

It is certainly easier in Senegal for a Toucouleur noble to marry a Wolof noble than to marry a woman of inferior

/375 cont./

369 He works the lougan (1) of his host; after a few months he
166
[574]
[425]
[622]

1. Lougan: a Wolof term signifying a cultivated field.

obtains a little grant of land from the head of the village; he builds a hut, and often his family joins him and comes to share his life. Diakhaté and Keur-Issa-Bambara grow. The new settler takes advantage of the inactivity that the dry season imposes on him by offering his services temporarily to the urban establishments. Each year he divides his activities, which become half-urban, half-rural. If stable employment is offered to him in the city, he leaves the care of his lougan to his family and devotes himself entirely to his new activity. For a few months he will accept this daily [484] travel, but he has no deep attachment in the village that welcomed him earlier; tired of his long daily journeys, perhaps also pushed by a kind of pride in becoming a city dweller, he will finally, he and his family, leave the rural life and settle in the huts of the native quarters of Thiés.

369 Perhaps he retained a little lougan in the village?
241 His family will come to maintain it each year. Perhaps he exchanged it for a field located in the vicinity of his new establishment? In general, because of a kind of peasant atavism, he always keeps a little bit of ground near his quarter. The harvest will give some protection against possi- [454] ble shortages; the sale of the products of the soil will be a considerable balance when enforced idleness or lack of money occurs.

369 The period of the maximum development of Keur-
621 Issa-Bambara is set by the old people in the decade 1910-1920. This swelling of the population often required splitting the village in two. For reasons of familial misunderstandings or the necessity of being nearer to fields too far away, this disassociation was brought about in several hamlets (at

/375 cont./

369 Diakhaté, for example).

621 Sometimes the discord between religious heads be-
[798] longing to different sects provoked the separation in fact of the two opposite camps (Keur-Mamour).

Up to here the presence of the city acted only indirectly in stimulating /376/ the swelling or the splitting up of the village and the temporary or definitive emigration of some elements. It may also have more direct effects on the agglomerations.

369 During the last three decades, through the establish-
[498] ment of the great repair workshops /ateliers de réparation/ of the Dakar-Niger, Thiès has been in the process of becoming
[712] an industrial city; in a parallel way the military bases are becoming larger at the expense of the neighboring rural territories.

369 Even before this last war, the None village of Tiali,
423 located one kilometer from the city, was the first to be de-
[712] prived of about a third of its land by the establishment of the camp of military aviation. In 1947 plans to extend this same base brought about the complete evacuation of Thiès-none which was established south of the railroad, in the vicinity of Sapko. Almost all of these fields were relinquished to the military authorities. Finally, in 1953, execution of the plan for the urbanization of the city obliged the inhabitants of Wango to rebuild their huts in the quarter of Greater Thiès. Part of these lands have been relinquished to the municipality.

369 The land shrinks, the population grows; in order to subsist, a part of the rural population is obliged to go to work in the city.

[361] But before studying this question of the changing of the rural worker into an urban worker, we shall see whether the presence of the city has an influence on the plan of the village and especially on the settlement pattern.

/22 cont./

salient aspects of the present situation; we shall then turn to some monographic examples. Thus the orientation of our investigations will summarily appear. 369* [121]

A. -- The changes in the organization and the family values form a whole. The correlations that appear between the facts that we have retained for illustration will suffice to indicate it.

We have noted that in town, in most cases, there is topographic dispersion of the ethnic groups and the more restricted kinship groups. It must in no way be concluded that there is a general rupture of the kinship structures; all the ties are not cut. Only the facts of neighborhood and kinship do not reinforce each other any more, in accordance with the typical process of traditional situations. A first examination of the variations in numerical importance of groups of relatives living together will permit one to define the present tendencies. We shall see that the instituting of a new situation where the household /maisonnée/ (1) 621 369* [592] [594]

1. Cf. below for the definition of this idea.

tends to coincide with the restricted family /famille restreinte/ has progressed unequally, depending on the social categories (2).

2. See above (I, B, 4) the brief information given on the socio-occupational categories.

We have said why, especially where marriage is concerned, the considerations of the family structure proper cannot be separated from the problems posed by ethnic affiliation. The multiplication of interethnic marriages is a symptom of important social changes. It must likewise be noted that, the less numerically important an ethnic group is in the town, the more the simple ethnic relationship tends to play the role of ties of closer relationship. [593]

The structure of the restricted family itself is subject to variations. Here in particular the question of polygamy poses 369* 595

17: Mercier--41 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/34 cont./ 369x

2. And much less, as we have seen, with regard to the facts of "familial parasitism."

categories that on the whole have the same way of life. The distinction which has imposed itself between two groups of categories corresponds to this last fact. The boundary, however, is unequally clear, depending on the phenomena considered. One finds the problem of cultural persistences cutting across the changes of structure and way of life in the course of consolidation.

3. The at least partial entry into the western "technical milieu" appears to be a factor of transformation much less important than schooling. The majority of the specialized workers are still in the most traditionalist group, with only the master workmen approaching, in certain forms of their average behavior, an intermediate position. The level of schooling itself, however, is still only weakly decisive, except in the category of members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc. The relation between level of studies and the way of life, even though it tends to assert itself, is not direct in every case. [182]

III

The group of relatives no longer coincides with the local unit. Neither the quarter, the sector, the block, nor in certain cases the "compound" are ethnically homogeneous any longer. In this case, what is the social role of the neighborhood? Under what conditions does it create relationships of a new type which are to be integrated into the new urban "pattern"? The groups of friends were formed essentially in the framework of the age class (3) as a consequence of the ethnic group (and often of the group of relatives in the broad sense). 369x 621 571 [563]

3. See, for example, G. Balandier and P. Mercier, op. cit.

/34 cont./

group of relatives in the broad sense). What is the influence of the neighborhood factor, among other new factors, on their constitution now? Such are the principal questions for which we shall give the first, very brief elements of an answer. 369* 621 571

A. -- The neighborhood unit does not constitute a structured grouping, as in the village quarters. The decrease of mobility and of heterogeneity condition the creation of a common milieu of life, in the framework of the quarter as in that of the block. But, particularly in Médina, the quarters represent only an artificial segmentation and have no clearly /35/ marked centers (of commerce, of leisure, etc.). The weakness of the authority and prestige of the quarter heads is another aspect of this fact. As for the smaller elements, groups of blocks, blocks, compounds, their transformation into neighborhood communities based on a minimum of permanence of their components has advanced unevenly. The study of a certain number of blocks has permitted us to distinguish several types. In the first, almost all the people know one another (1), they often visit one another,

1. It is very easy there to find a person whose exact address is not known.

help one another, and on occasion have common leisure-time activities. In the opposite type, there is very little personal contact and mutual aid, and one hardly knows the names of the neighbors, even the immediate ones. An intermediate type is the one where the neighborhood relationships are reduced to very small circles, the relationships dispersed throughout the town, however, retaining more importance. It seems that this is the most frequent case. We shall briefly describe a block of this type.

It is often difficult to pick out from the complex network of relationships between the inhabitants of a block those which are based purely on neighborhood. In many cases, the fact of the neighborhood is eclipsed, as a factor of explanation, by

/35 cont./

kinship, kinship by marriage, membership in the same ethnic group, the same religious persuasion, the same occupation; certain other facts are ambivalent, for example, membership in the same association. In the study that we have made of a certain number of blocks of Médina, we have tried to isolate the neighborhood factor at different levels of participation in common activities. We essentially retained: reciprocal visits, conversation groups, mutual aid (loans, etc.), relationships between women, the play groups of children. The relationships of simple politeness are not retained. We considered successively the relationships inside the compound -- when it is not inhabited by a single family -- and the relationships within the block. In the last case, a somewhat arbitrary limit is posed: the street is not a border, but a zone of assembly. It has not yet been possible to study completely the social role of the latter. 369x 621 571

In the block that we shall take as an example, 12 out of 14 compounds were studied; the inhabitants of the other two compounds were on a trip or refused to lend themselves to the investigation. The block as a whole is very heterogeneous ethnically, but, however, with a clear dominance of Wolof-Lebou (2). [563]

2. Six family heads who were manifestly Lebou persisted in calling themselves Wolof. Cf. above.

It contains 39 family groups (representing 199 persons) and 11 isolated bachelors, tenants of some of the preceding families. [427] Five of these bachelors only live /36/ in Dakar seasonally, but in principle always in the same place. The distribution of the family heads by ethnic groups is as follows: 28 Wolof, 4 Lebou, 5 Toucouleur, 1 Sarakolé, 1 Socé. Among the isolated bachelors, one has: 5 Wolof, 2 Toucouleur, 2 Socé, 1 Bambara, 1 Soussou. [563]

1. The study of the relationships within the compounds shows a certain variety of situations.[1] These compounds are

[1] [see chart, pp. 56-57.- Analyst]

/36 cont./

369x
621
571

divided into several types by their composition:

-- Compounds composed of a single family group: extended kinship group based on the nephew-uterine uncle relationship (B), restricted family (E);

-- Compounds composed of restricted family groups, but having between them ties of distant collateral kinship (J);

--Compounds composed of restricted or extended family groups tied only by the ethnic relationship (A and N);

-- Compounds grouping restricted families from different ethnic groups (F, G);

-- Compounds grouping restricted families and isolated persons, all of the same ethnic group (L);

-- Compounds grouping restricted families and isolated persons, and ethnically varied (C, D, K, M).

The compounds of the first two types will not detain us; family solidarity plays a major role there. In the others, the situation is extremely variable. Frequent relationships exist everywhere on the level of the children (play groups), less frequently on the level of women, still less frequently on the level of men. Let us consider essentially the relationships which are not sustained by the ethnic community.

a) The bachelors, except when they are of the same ethnic group as some of the families of the compound (1 case, in compound D), participate little in the life of the compound; most eat outside and only spend the night at home. Mutual aid does little for them; most said that they had recourse, in case of sickness, to the aid of friends -- almost always of the same ethnic group -- on the outside. In one single case (compound K), the bachelors -- of the same ethnic group, moreover -- form a group eating together, going out together, etc.; the cooking is done for them by an old woman -- also of the same ethnic group -- a widow who lives with her children. [589]

b) Within the compound the ethnic disparity among the families does not exclude some minimal forms of mutual aid (loans of utensils, small purchases, care of children, etc.) [563]

/36 cont./

There is one single case of a ménage having practically no relations with the rest of the compound, that of a Sarakolé family (compound F). 369* 621● 571 563

/37/ c) The extreme cases of mutual aid, on the contrary, are only noticed among families that are related or at least of the same ethnic group. Thus, in the compounds I, N, D, one finds an unemployed man, married and father of a family, temporarily taken care of by his cousins (compound I) or by his neighbors who are related to him only in the broadest possible sense of the term (compounds D and N).

d) The play community of the children is encountered everywhere within the compounds, the ethnic differences not at all intervening. This and other elements, such as the life in the courtyards, the daily encounters at the water places, cause the women ultimately to have many more personal contacts than the men. The only case of a woman living relatively isolated is that of the Sarakolé woman already mentioned. [857]

2. The picture is a little different when one passes to the larger framework of the block. It is moreover divided longitudinally, the relations clearly being more frequent among the compounds which face on the same street. It is necessary, however, to add the shadings.

a) The play groups of the children are still larger, and neither the ethnic group nor other differential elements seem to play a role in their formation, but only proximity and individual affinities. [857]

b) As far as the women are concerned, the contacts that we noted above, conversations at the water place, etc., concern practically the whole block. On the other hand, visits and possible mutual aid occur almost exclusively among relatives, relatives by marriage, and women of the same ethnic group.

c) We have examined, for the men, the composition of groups of friends. In most cases, the majority of friends were dispersed throughout the town, these friends being either of the same ethnic group, of the same work group, or members of the same association -- these factors can all be combined, or [572]

/37 cont./

combined two by two. Out of 32 male heads of families, eight had no friends in the neighborhood (block and its immediate surroundings -- the relatives obviously being excluded). Among the 24 others, one counted 15 whose friends in the neighborhood were at the same time all members of the same ethnic group; for five others, they were either of the same ethnic group or members of the same syndicate;[1] for two others, they were either of the same ethnic group or members of the same religious association. Only the two heads of Lebou families, the ones settled in the block the longest and enjoying a certain prestige, had many friends in the neighborhood; the majority of the latter did not belong to the Lebou group and were not members of a like structured group. The factor of neighborhood, properly speaking, seemed, for our people as a whole, to account for only the most superficial type of relations. The common religious persuasion does not /38/ play an essential role; its limits rarely coincide with the limits of groups of friends. The religious associations, however, are practically the only ones which rest, in a certain number of cases, on a local basis. The importance of occupational ties (in the broad sense, including syndical activity) and, above all, that of ethnic ties are of primary importance.

B. -- In this domain, however, differences in behavior between the socio-occupational categories are seen to appear, and it is important to note them in order to complete the preceding data. One sees some distinctions delineated which, as a whole, go in the same direction as those encountered in the second part of this work. In our population investigated by questionnaires, one finds: 13% of those queried who have less than 10% of their connections belonging to the same ethnic group as themselves; 29% who have less than 30%; 57% who have less than 50%; 11% who have 100%. The following table indicates the distribution by socio-occupational categories:

[1] [i.e., trade union.—Analyst]

/38 cont./

Socio-occupational Category	Percentage of connections belonging to the same ethnic group				
	Less than 10%	Less than 30%	Less than 50%	100%	
Farmers, fishermen	11%	26%	50%	7%	369 621 571 563 572 565
Laborers, domestics	7%	19%	41%	21%	
Workers and artisans	13%	33%	64%	10%	
Subordinate employees and functionaries	14%	33%	60%	11%	
Superior employees and functionaries	17%	34%	61%	7%	
Teaching, intellectual professions, etc.	26%	40%	72%	6%	
Merchants, transporters, etc.,	6%	17%	41%	17%	

We thus find a first group where the role played by ethnic membership in the formation of the group of friends is more important than it is on the average: the laborers and domestics, the merchants and transporters. The opposite situation is found among the superior functionaries and employees and even more accentuated, among the members of the teaching and intellectual professions. The farmers are to be added to this group, however; most of them are Lebou, and these figures account well on the one hand for the loss of their particularism before the Wolof thrust, and on the other hand for the more /39/important role played among them by the factors of neighborhood. An average group is constituted by: the subordinate functionaries and employees, and, much more clearly than in the other domains considered, the workers and artisans.

Some remarks are necessary. The factor of ethnic regrouping retains its importance in all the categories, although unequally.

17: Mercier--48 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/39 cont./

unequally. The scrutiny of the data concerning the neighborhood factor furnished by this same investigation is not finished; the first results seem to confirm those obtained in our monographic investigations: it in itself only plays a reduced role, only reinforcing the ties of some other origin. On the contrary, memberships in the same occupational milieu, in the same association, syndical, cultural, sportive, etc. (1), are important [572]

369x
621
571
563

1. The study of the role of associations is reserved for another work.

factors in the formation of groups of friends. Finally, let us add that the average behaviors of ethnic groups are extremely variable. Their distribution, however, does not coincide exactly with the one that we have indicated in the domain of interethnic marriages. Only groups among whom the importance of the ethnic factor is clearly greater than the average, the Moors, the Peul, the Toucouleur, the Sarakolé; on the other hand it is slightly less among the Wolof and the Bambara, average among the Sérère, the Diola, the Soussou, the Cape Verdeans. The partial divergences between these two orders of data (2) pose in themselves a problem which will be the

2. Cf. II, E, 4.

subject of subsequent investigations.

We have studied essentially the permanent population of the town, moreover unequally stabilized. It remains to complete these data by the examination of the problems posed by the seasonal population, and, more generally, by the population without fixed residence. It is in this minority that one can really speak of facts of detribalization, in the sense of pure deterioration of the former social frameworks. On the contrary, we [182]

17: Mercier--49 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/39 cont./

182
369x
[621]
[571]
[563]

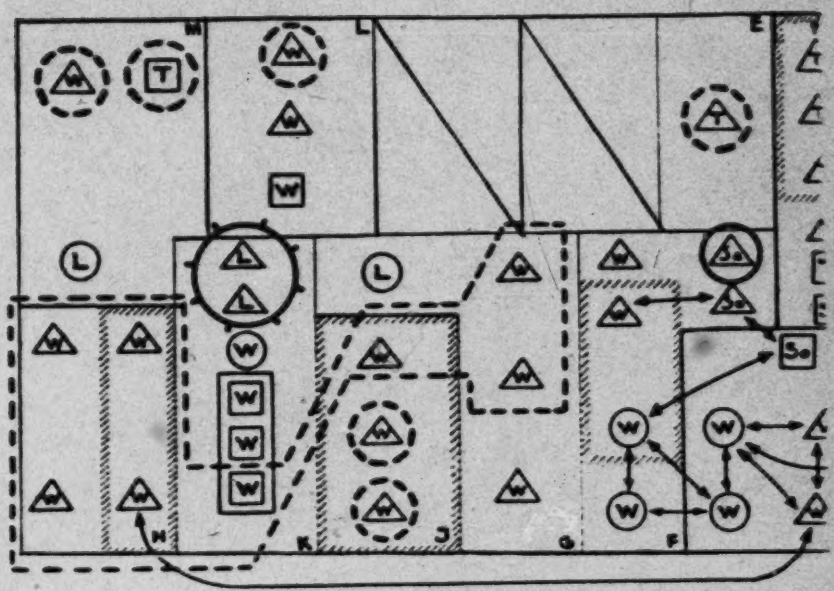
have seen that in the permanent population the kinship structures and ethnic membership (3) played a considerable role. Certainly, a new equilibrium has not been achieved everywhere, and we have noted that the kinship structures were not always adapted to the conditions of urban life. But one is far from dealing with an amorphous mass. Where one can speak /40/ of detribalization, among the elites of a new type, it is not in a purely negative sense. The crisis phase of traditional institutions has not completely passed. But the phase of reconstruction of institutions has begun; some average behavior which implies a certain equilibrium in new frameworks can already be disclosed. /Figs. 1-4 appear here./

3. It would also be necessary to examine the role played by the associations formed on an ethnic or regional basis.

17: Mercier--56 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

Dakar

×369
571
563
●621



Related by marriage

Male heads of families	△	Wolof	W
Female heads of families	○	Lebou	L
Bachelors	□	Toucouleur	T
		Sarakolé	Sa
Related groups			

Example of a group with relationships.

Example of relationships between persons of two neighboring compounds.

Families having relationships in the whole neighborhoo

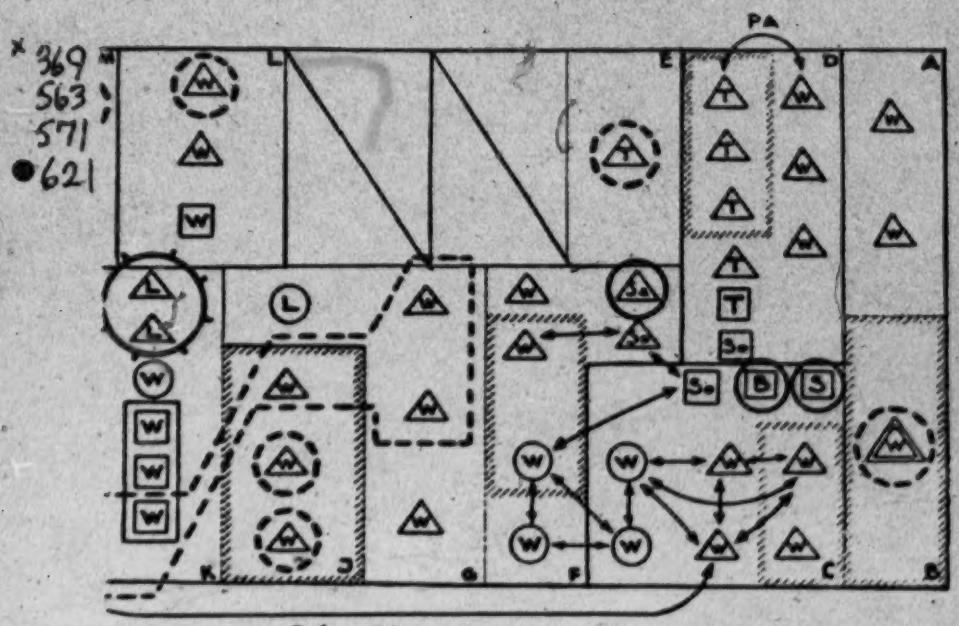
Families not having, beyond the compound, any relationships in the block.

Persons without relationships in the neighborhood.

Fig. 4.
/left side of sketch/

17: Mercier--57 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

Dakar



Related by marriage

△	Wolof	W	Socé	Sc
○	Lebou	L	Soussou	S
□	Toucouleur	T	Bambara	B
	Sarakolé	Sa		

/see left side of Fig. 4/

Fig. 4.
/right side of Fig. 4/

/25 cont./

793 and to receive the title of Cheikh, with the advantages which
* 795 that confers. While waiting, he works at hoeing and clearing
244 land without counting or measuring all the lands capable of pro-
[555] ducing the groundnuts which make up the fortune of his mara-
bout.

It is this way of colonizing the lands, and more particularly the new lands, which has made the brotherhood play an important role in the economy of Senegal in recent years. The Murid marabouts have been and remain clearers /26/ of land and large-
[433] scale producers of groundnuts. It can be estimated that they alone produce a little more than half of the total harvest of the Territory.

793 This brilliant picture is nevertheless not without shadows.
*795 Even though the influence of the Murid leaders is not dangerous
578 on the political level as a consequence of the good understanding which exists between them and the Administration, even though there is no reason to fear that they may incite the members of the brotherhood to insubordination, their presence in the villages does pose problems. There are problems when they have settled in villages whose chiefs are not Murids (if not, sometimes, anti-Murid). In these cases it often happens that there are collisions
• [622] between the customary chiefs and the Murid marabouts, principally since the reforms of 1945 which diminished considerably the powers of the chiefs and their prestige in the eyes of the people at a time when the influence and glory of the marabouts were increasing. Many times the Murids of a canton want to obey
[632] only their religious leader and willfully ignore the canton chief. In addition, in the face of the invading agricultural activity of the Murids, the non-Murid populations stiffen themselves more and more and try to resist their agrarian encroachments. That sometimes creates quarrels; indeed it even provokes violent disorders which have to be arbitrated or stopped.

793 On the other hand, the recent political evolution which is
*795 resulting in giving the right to vote to all Senegalese men and
266 all Senegalese women has prompted the politicians to seek the collaboration and friendship of the Murid leaders... so that they

/375 cont./

369 He works the lougan (1) of his host; after a few months he
166
[574]
425
[622]

1. Lougan; a Wolof term signifying a cultivated field.

obtains a little grant of land from the head of the village; he builds a hut, and often his family joins him and comes to share his life. Diakhaté and Keur-Issa-Bambara grow. The new settler takes advantage of the inactivity that the dry season imposes on him by offering his services temporarily to the urban establishments. Each year he divides his activities, which become half-urban, half-rural. If stable employment is offered to him in the city, he leaves the care of his lougan to his family and devotes himself entirely to his new activity. For a few months he will accept this daily [484] travel, but he has no deep attachment in the village that welcomed him earlier; tired of his long daily journeys, perhaps also pushed by a kind of pride in becoming a city dweller, he will finally, he and his family, leave the rural life and settle in the huts of the native quarters of Thiés.

369 Perhaps he retained a little lougan in the village?
241 His family will come to maintain it each year.. Perhaps he exchanged it for a field located in the vicinity of his new establishment? In general, because of a kind of peasant atavism, he always keeps a little bit of ground near his quarter. The harvest will give some protection against possi- [451] ble shortages; the sale of the products of the soil will be a considerable balance when enforced idleness or lack of money occurs.

369 The period of the maximum development of Keur-
621 Issa-Bambara is set by the old people in the decade 1910-1920. This swelling of the population often required splitting the village in two. For reasons of familial misunderstandings or the necessity of being nearer to fields too far away, this disassociation was brought about in several hamlets (at

[17]

The Village of Cambérène (Dakar)

361 175 The village of Cambérène was founded about 1885 by the gathering of tabilés [disciples] around their teacher, Li Mamou Laye Thiaw, who had set up his dwelling near the watercourse Der Gui N'Dargou to the northeast of Yoff (east of the present gardens of the Government).

731 175 622 Li Mamou died in 1909, and his brother, Seydina Issa Laye Thiaw, succeeded him at the head of the small zaouïa, which in 1914 was the victim of an epidemic of the plague.

Seydina Issa decided, as is generally done in such cases, to change the location of the little village.

361 Considering his first location unfavorable, being too near the Niaye, he decided to establish it in the open air in front of the heights of the string of littoral dunes on the very edge of the sea, which should, he thought, be healthier.

[369] Having ascertained that in Dakar an effort was made to align the houses and to put straight and wide streets between them, he resolved to order that, in establishing the new village, the center of the site was to be the mosque, which, first constructed [346] of wood and straw, was replaced in 1939 by a handsome edifice of masonry.

To the north and south of the mosque, Seydina Issa laid out two parallel avenues east to west. He placed the dwellings of his family facing the entrance of the mosque, leaving open a large space which he had reserved to the east; at right angles to the principal streets, some north-south streets were laid out, and each family put its dwellings in the form of a U opening on the principal streets.

[18] [Fig. 1. appears here.]

The arrangement was subsequently respected, and the most recent of the 28 land-grants open on a third east-west avenue.

The curious fact of this very precise outline is not noted when one arrives at Cambérène by the road, nor when one goes about on foot within the village, and even the diagram on the map on a scale of 1/50,000 does not make it stand out. Thus, it was a

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

665
648

living. What we must preserve completely is that, though, of course, I realize, it is no longer possible to treat the economic and political problems of Africa on the level of the tribes. However, what Africa could give to the West, is the sense of democratic function. People tend to laugh at the institution of the village palaver house, but it is the great school of politics. Decisions there are taken on the basis not of a majority but of unanimity. They will talk night and day till the last man in the village is convinced their common action is right.'

[623]

Arnold looked at D'Arboussier somewhat suspiciously when he talked largely about the 'African' and his personality. As a Creole, Arnold, I think, detected D'Arboussier's own dilemma, as a Mulatto, who was not sure where he belonged. To Africa or Europe?

For a man who had once been a Communist sympathizer D'Arboussier was surprisingly moderate. There was no talk of independence or an immediate rupture with France.

'We have decided that absolute independence would be a burden,' he told me.

One of my best friends in Dakar was a young Toucouleur, of my own age, who was a member of the newly formed Partie Africane de L'Independence, which was in complete opposition to the creation of any Franco-African Community, who believed that France exploited Africa, and the sooner Africa was rid of her the better.

He himself was extremely well-educated, with no immediately obvious motive for bitterness against the French. Indeed, it was a Frenchman who introduced me to him. He took me to the headquarters of the party, a small bookshop in a side street of Dakar. It was well decorated, and its shelves were lined with books on Marxist Socialism and Communism, a lesser Colletts. Mixed with picture books about Rumania and Russia and the Chinese way of life were the French Classics. Mahjemout Diop, one of the leaders of this party, as yet with little influence, received me in his office and lectured me on the evils of French administration. There was something clandestine about our encounter in this side office and yet with Africans in power at the Grand Conseil, and with an African Prime Minister of the Senegal I could not help thinking his anti-colonialist crusade a

S /669 cont./ 1
567 of the masters and are married by them. They have no property
565 rights nor a voice in the village councils, being constrained to
[422] menial work. This condition cannot be compared to that of the
[421] slave of the two Americas in former times; it is more reminiscent
[623] of that of bondage in the Europe of the Middle Ages. Before the legal suppression of this custom a certain number of captives had already been freed, but the prejudice against these people remains, and they constitute, in fact, the inferior caste in the social hierarchy.

S It is the hereditary work of the artisans that, properly speak-
564 ing, distinguishes the men of the castes from the others: work in
463 wood, leather, metal, and cotton thread. This distinction is transmitted from father to son, whatever calling is actually practiced. A captive may practice weaving, but he will never belong to the caste of weavers; conversely, a man belonging to the caste of jewelers may be a doctor of medicine and practice the profession of medicine.

S Marriage most clearly distinguishes the social barriers which
582 the child inherits from its father. Although there is no rigid
565 interdict, there is such ostracism that it is practically impossible for a man to marry a woman of an inferior caste without risking loss of status and being banned from society. There is one exception:
S it may happen that a master marries his captive in order to
[567] have children who are free; the mother will be set free by this act, but if the union is sterile the woman remains in the condition of servitude.

S The system of castes is still very much alive, especially
T among the Toucouleur, and actually divides the ethnic group
565 into partial populations, which, however, are less numerous than in India.

The functional nature of the castes has brought about in the course of their history the appearance of a hierarchy. Among the Toucouleur there are first the free men (rimbé), not belonging to the trade castes, and among /670/ whom, at the head, are the torobé (singular, torodo). Originally, in the Fouta Toro, this word in Arabic designated a scholar, a propagator of Islam. It

1 [i.e., The captives -- Analyst]

/14 cont./

484 number of persons transported. There are sometimes spectacular
494 ones, but cases involving fatalities are fortunately very rare.
788 The transportation of the pilgrims is closely watched by
[497] the /15/ Administration. The Office of Railroads organizes special trains. The subdivision heads grant to the owners of the trucks special transportation authorizations. The circle /cercle, an administrative district/ of Diourbel, aided by the Senegal government, strengthens the security forces and highway police.

788 But that is not the only problem which the organization
*795 and unfolding of the Magal presents for the Caliph-general and the Administration.

Sheltering all these people for three days and more is
[485] another. The provisioning of the pilgrims in water and food must be organized; sanitary and medical service must be ensured; finally, it is necessary to ensure order and discipline in
[625] the city of Touba itself, as is done on the roads, and the commander of the circle of Diourbel can only accomplish this with sizable police reinforcements, set apart in advance almost everywhere (as far as Dakar and Kaolack), which are put at his disposal for this purpose.

At the opening of the pilgrimage, three days before the Official Day, the crowd has reached its maximum size. Touba then experiences extraordinary activity. The road between
[494] Touba and M'Backé is continually furrowed in both directions by files of trucks which run without respite between the two agglomerations. The station platforms disappear under the flood of pilgrims who disembark innumerably from the last trains. The wide avenues of the city are filled with the crowd
[438] of pilgrims who carry out their religious duties or stroll in front
[443] of the little flat baskets where, as in all pilgrimages in the world, the most diverse objects are sold, from articles of clothing, such as babouches or samaras, to perfumes and jewelry, including the most varied articles of piety: prayers or verses from the Koran printed in Arabic, photographs of the Caliph-general or of Amadou Bamba, or even pictures in Oriental

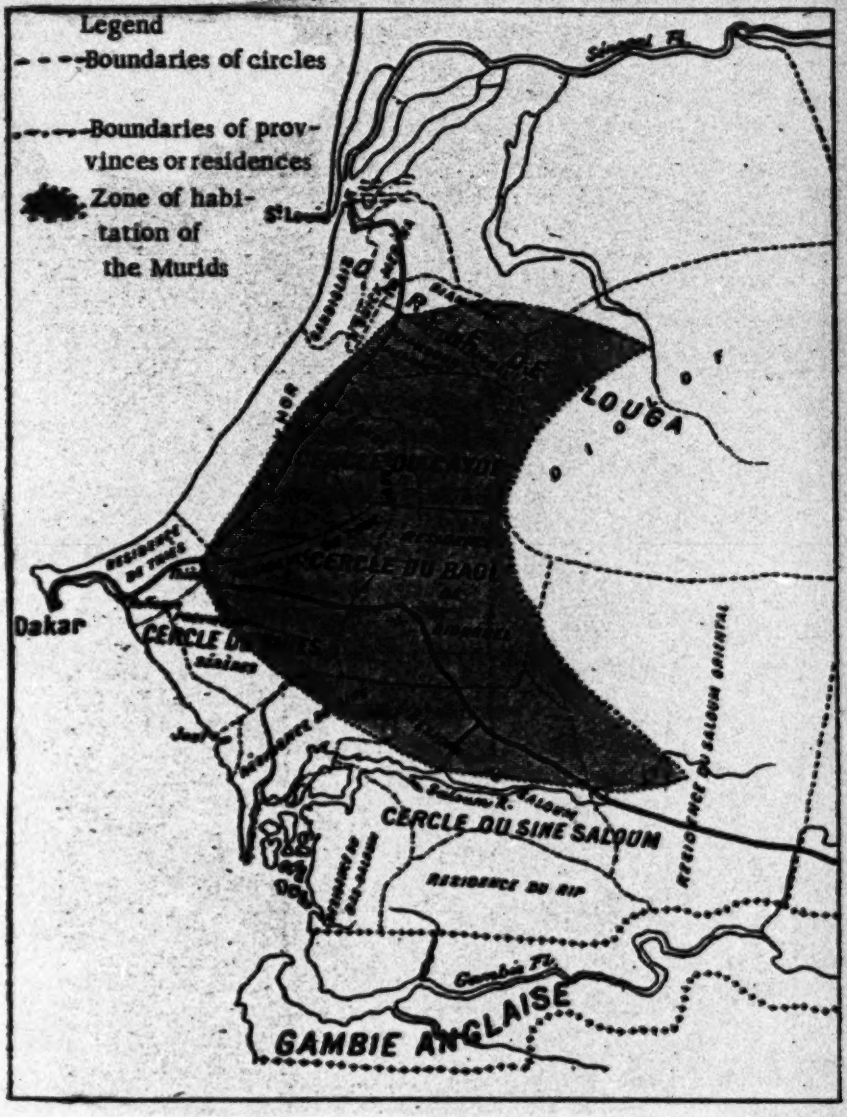
For information on the political organization of
the Region see category 635
the Cercle " " 634
the Arrondissement (or Canton under Colonial Government)
see category 632
the Quatre Communes see category 633

1: Marty--123 G-4,5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

/143/

Appendix No. 1

W
S
102
795
S
●631



Geographical schema of the Murid confession.

/23 cont./

793 way to a frank and full collaboration between the representatives
*795 of authority and the Murid leaders of all ranks.

*795 The effective and efficient discipline which prevails in the
●631 brotherhood permits exercising over those under its jurisdiction
793 a kind of indirect administration, always easier to achieve than direct administration. This formula was used especially from 1940 to 1946 when it was a question of producing the utmost quantities of groundnuts. This collaboration between the Murid marabouts and the Governors did away with many reticences and prejudices and had the result of increasing the prestige and influence of the former, not only within the brotherhood, but also in all of Senegal.

793 Today this collaboration perhaps has a few more nuances,
*795 but it remains important. Relations between the heads of ad-
652 ministrative divisions and the Murid marabouts are always very
631 polite and very close; the marabouts receive sizable economic and financial aid from the Administration. The Sociétés de
[654] Prévoyance /Welfare Societies/ advance them large tonnages of groundnut seed. Then again, short-term and long-term agricultural credits are granted to them, either for putting into good condition each of the agricultural fields (wintering credits) or to allow them to modernize or mechanize their cultivation; finally, administrative subsidies are also given for the construction of the Mosque of Touba. On the other hand, the marabouts preach to their talibés respect for established authority /24/ and call upon them to do their duty vis-à-vis Administration, notably in whatever concerns the payment of taxes and the reimbursements for the seed to the Sociétés de Prévoyance.

*795 The Murids thus have an important place in the life of
162 Senegal. Their number is estimated at 400,000, which represents a quarter of the Islamized population of the territory. One quarter of the brotherhood is established in the circle of Diourbel and two other quarters are distributed in the regions adjacent to the circles of Kaolack, Thiés, Louga, and Linguère, that is to say, the Murids have remained closely grouped around
[793] their land of origin, Baol. They live there for the most part in

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 that belongs to us, our occupation should be limited to those parts necessary for assuring the suppression of brigandage, the freedom of trade and the tranquillity of an industrious population.

The land cultivated by them will provide produce which will become the object of lucrative trade for the European, the only kind of work he can undertake in this climate.

648 By 1865 the colony of Senegal comprised 150,000 inhabit-
641 ants of whom only some 15,000, living in the original
[161] French settlements of St. Louis and Gorée-Dakar, were
[160] French citizens. Indeed this number was not to increase
[563] noticeably until the end of the century, since the privileges granted to those Africans under French rule in 1848 were never extended to the interior. For whilst Faidherbe pursued a policy of assimilation in the main centres like St. Louis, Gorée and Dakar, he initiated the basis of a system of administration for what was to become the rest of modern Senegal and French black Africa as a whole that was distinctly non-assimilationist. The laws for the *sujets* or those who did not enjoy the rights of French citizens were partic-
[167] ularly harsh. They were not allowed to leave the colony,
[466] they had no right of meeting or association, and they
[653] were subjected to the corvée or forced labour on the main-
[631] tenance of roads. To obtain this forced labour Faidherbe relied on the chiefs, and indeed one of the main criticisms of him as an exponent of assimilationism is that he leaned so heavily on both the chiefs and Islam. The treaty made by Jauréguiberry (acting-Governor whilst Faidherbe was on leave in 1865) with Abdoul Boubaker of Toro was far removed from the principles of assimilation: 'Art. 2—The Toro will continue to administer itself according to its own laws, traditions and customs.'

The overthrow of the Second Empire and the establishment of the Third Republic in 1870 was to see lukewarm reaffirmation of principles of the revolution and a consequent return to assimilationist principles at least in the
[646] political field. In 1871 Senegal regained her deputy. More

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

641 648 [643] An interesting sidelight on the confused French attitude towards assimilation and Africans was the status accorded to Blaise Diagne as Commissioner of the Republic in charge of conscription of troops in West Africa. He was given rank equal to that of the Governor-General, Van Vollenhoven, who thereat resigned. However this is only one side of the story. The French insist that he resigned because he felt that the large number of troops to be recruited would wreck the colony's economy and severely reduce the indigenous population. Nevertheless the presence of an African deputy for Senegal was not viewed well in all quarters. But Diagne could not be tempted by high office outside the parliamentary sphere and won a resounding victory in the 1919 elections [666] with 7,444 votes to his opponent's 1,252. He was then appointed Under Secretary of States for Colonies. His essential attachment to France was clear, for whilst in 1919 he became President of the Pan-African Congress, which urged that ultimately 'Africa should be ruled by consent of the Africans . . .' he refused, as Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff have pointed out 'to support any revolutionary theories as to the emancipation of all Negro peoples'. 'We French natives', he said, 'wish to remain French, since France has given us every liberty'.

646 633 The French were still not happy about the position of the *originaires* and in 1920, not so much from a show of liberalism as from a desire to reduce the pressures exercised on the Administration by the twenty-member General Council, it was translated into a Colonial Council with an increased membership of forty-four of which twenty were sent by the hitherto unrepresented Protectorate. The representatives [631] of the *sujets*, who were provincial or cantonal chiefs, could be relied on to vote with the Administration whose agents they were, and thus reduce the independence of the communes. In 1925, however, the number of chiefs was reduced to sixteen and the citizens' representatives increased to twenty-four as a means of persuading them to vote larger

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

taxes, but thereafter relations between chiefs and Government on the one hand and citizens on the other were rarely cordial. 646 [633] [631]

The powers of the Council were very restricted, having legislative rights over minor matters like the classification of roads and the management of public properties. Even these limited powers were subject to the veto of the Governor-General of French West Africa. Its main deliberative competence was over the budget, which though drawn up by the Governor could be criticised by the councillors. This power was watered down by the classification of a large section of the budget as obligatory expenditure. Nevertheless the council was an exceptional institution in West Africa. As R. L. Buell in his *The Native Problem in Africa* wrote: [648] [652] [643]

> That the eight Europeans who participated in the Council should have exactly the same status as the thirty-two blacks is a situation which would strike the Anglo-Saxon as anomalous to say the least. The visitor to the Council will frequently witness a black president calling a European member to order for rowdiness. It does not appear, however, that the council is divided upon racial lines, i.e. of white versus black, except on the issue of higher pay for European officials—a policy which was, in fact, attacked as vigorously by the Europeans as by the native members. The real alignment so far has been the citizen members—both black and European—against the government supported by the chiefs. Black members as we have seen, have unmercifully criticised officials in Senegal. No British colony would tolerate the attacks which the natives make upon European officials in Senegal. 563 646

Buell pin-pointed a growing division in the territory—that between the *originaires* and the *sujets* of the Protectorate. The *originaires*, especially since the election of one of their own number as deputy, became increasingly jealous of their privileges. Meanwhile the rest of the territory was administered according to the same principles of administration as were applied throughout the rest of West Africa. Though traditional chiefs were stripped of their traditional powers 641 [631]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

641 they were made agents of the Administration and responsi-
[631] ble for the enforcement of the corvée when required. The harshness of this authoritarian rule, escaped only by the *evolués* in the other territories, has been vividly described by Geoffrey Gorer in *Africa Dances*, which records a long tour made through French West Africa in the mid-thirties. Even so in 1930 France had signed the Geneva Act for-
[466] bidding forced labour in the colonies; but it was slow to disappear. In 1937 the right to form trade unions, which
[467] hitherto was only granted to Senegalese citizens by a law of 1920, was extended in a restricted form to the *sujets*. That same year a new decree allowed easier conditions for the acquisition of French citizenship by the *sujets*. Out of a population of 1,800,000 in 1936 there were 78,000 citizens compared with some 2,400 in the rest of French West Africa. And in 1939 the *sujets* were granted the right of
[666] electing some of their representatives to the Colonial Council instead of being represented only by nominees of the Administration.

641 This newly acquired right was enjoyed for a very brief
648 period. For in 1940 the authoritarian element in France came to the fore in particularly unhappy circumstances with the fall of France and the establishment of the Vichy Government. Under the Vichy regime, racism manifested itself openly for the first time. This was particularly embittering for the Senegalese élite since they had been much in sympathy with the Popular Front Government which attempted liberal experiments in Algeria and Syria. All Senegalese representative institutions were suppressed. Priority was given to Europeans in rationed goods and in many other spheres. Liberty of association was withdrawn from both races, and whilst European members of the resistance were rarely hanged, Africans themselves rarely escaped the supreme penalty. By contrast in France the future President of Senegal, Léopold Sédar Senghor, was fighting in the French resistance and was later interned in a German concentration camp.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S
The French sociologist Mercier has already remarked the 563
fundamental homogeneity of Senegal's main ethnic groups, [184]
which 'Whatever their cultural differences and whatever their traditional hostility to one another (which has by no means completely disappeared) all had the same type of social and political organisation.'

W
Of the major groups the Wolof and the Lebou are for all [101]
intents and purposes indistinguishable, the Lebou being the Wolof-speaking inhabitants of the Cape Verde peninsula. The Serer are also very closely related to the Wolof, being considered as tribal cousins. The Toucouleur, Serer and Fula are traditionally connected, it being held that the Toucouleur are the result of an ancient mixing between the Serers, with whom they have a strong joke-relationship, and the Fulas whose language is very close to their own. Thus nearly three-quarters of the population have closer historical and ethnic connexions than exist in any other area of West Africa save Hausaland in Northern Nigeria. g
With the exception of the Serers, of whom a substantial [771]
minority is Christian, these people are almost exclusively Muslim. They also tend today to use Wolof as a lingua S
franca. Even the Diola, from the Casamance, which is [197]
in many ways a minority area of Senegal, especially because it is cut off from the north by the Gambia, have strong traditional connexions with the Serer and assert in effect that they are descended from the same ancestor. This leaves only the Mandingo people out of the pattern and as we shall see they do tend to be a minority group in Senegal.

S
There is thus at the basis of Senegalese society an in- 184
digenous homegeneity that is nothing to do with the 563
French policy of assimilation, and which has been greatly S
encouraged by a common adherence to Islam, where [192]
Marabouts or religious leaders of one tribe have considerable influence over Muslims of other ethnic origins.

S
The French administration, however, through its policy of [631]
direct rule did in fact make one major contribution towards

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

184 563 [631] this homogeneity by reducing the traditional authority of the chiefs who more than anyone else are responsible for the preservation of ethnic differences, in being the repositories of tribal customs.

For Senegal as a whole, this homogeneity does not go beyond similarities in socio-political structure, a common adherence to Islam, uniformity in styles of dress, a tradition of common relationship and a growing use of Wolof as a lingua franca. Only in the larger towns has there been 563 [369] any general break-down of traditional tribal barriers and only in the town does one find a high incidence of inter-ethnic habitation and, more important still, inter-ethnic marriage. And since it was mainly in the towns that the French applied their policy of assimilation it is reasonable to assume that there is probably some correlation between the two. In the first place the French in Senegal have always tended to think of the local inhabitants as Senegalese rather than Wolof or Serer, which runs contrary to the common European attitude to ethnic divisions, particularly in British territories where the tendency was always to emphasise the tribal origin of an African rather than the colony in which he lived. Indeed the British administrators, as Lord Lugard himself observed, were always great partisans of particular ethnic groups. Such an attitude, however, has not always been absent in Senegal. For instance Mercier has remarked that certain European foremen in factories tended to choose workers of the same ethnic group in order to avoid possible friction, but he adds that this was not always justified.

563 619 [369] In the *Quatre Communes*, which for a long time *were* Senegal as far as the French were concerned, the inhabitants came to accept from early on the idea of being Senegalese as well as Wolof and Serers. Or they might have thought of themselves parochially as St. Louisiens or Dakarois. With their elected deputy, their *Conseil-Général*, and their municipal councils, the Senegalese crossed early on the barrier between tribalism and nationalism, a result for which other African

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

equal status to all Senegalese and wanted to make everyone true Senegalese citizens whether they were griots, leather-workers or jewellers. Afterwards the non-griots agreed that the griots who had just died should be buried 'in the same way as anyone else, and as a beginning they agreed to let the burial of the victim of the incident take place, not in the traditional baobab but in Diack earth.' 565 764 578 [641]

In the Government today there are, amongst those members belonging to tribes with a class system only two of inferior caste, one being a 'bijoutier' and one a griot. It is said of another that he is of slave origin, but this is not certain because politicians often try to attribute inferior caste to their opponents. In the Assembly, of the members with caste all are noble or freeborn with the exception of one 'bijoutier', and one griot. It is thus at present difficult to get on in politics unless one is noble or freeborn. Indeed chiefly connexion is important, even though chiefs are no longer of significance administratively. Thus in 1957 Kenneth Robinson wrote: 565 [646] [631]

> Membership of chiefly families is, nevertheless, an important source not only of prestige but of political interest. In many interviews with political leaders in the smaller townships and villages they almost invariably defined their own position, and that of their fellows, in part by reference to their relationship with the ruling families, or with the indigenous caste system. [554]

Mr. William Foltz, who is making a detailed survey of Senegalese politics, has however observed that the local party groups in the country are increasingly representative of the inferior castes and many of the important backroom boys are of inferior caste, which suggests that there may be a change from the present situation at the next elections. But so far, as Mercier has observed, it does not look as though high standing in the modern context can yet completely redeem traditional inferiority. [665] [554]

The caste system in Senegal is one of the most delicate problems confronting the Senegalese Government today.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

spent most of his time on the rehabilitation of African history.

631 Of course there would be considerable justification for such criticisms if Senghor and his Government were not in fact getting down to the fundamental reorganisation of Senegal. Already since the days of the French, the whole country has undergone a complete administrative transformation. Before independence the country was divided into *cercles* and *subdivisions*, under French and occasionally African administrators, and *cantons*, run by traditional chiefs as agents of the administration. This structure has been completely changed to give the administration and therefore the Government closer contact with the people. Previously the traditional chief, albeit an agent of the administration, was interposed between the administrator and his people. Now that the *chef de canton* has been eliminated and the *canton* has been redesignated as an *arrondissement*, presided over by an administrative official, working under the *commandant de cercle*, the Government has rid the country of what the Minister of Interior, Valdiodio N'Diaye, has described as an anachronistic institution. The *cercles* [635] are grouped into seven regions, each with its Governor and regional assembly, which deliberates on the regional budget. These seven regions have been laid out so as to correspond with the major economic zones of the country, making concessions only to ethnic factors and problems of communications. The whole field administration outside headquarters has been completely Africanised since July [563] 1960, though there are many Europeans serving as 'technical advisers' in the Government in Dakar.

668 But most important of all is the proposed four-year development plan for the Senegal which envisages a major revolution in the education, health and economy of the country. This plan was drawn up after nearly eighteen months of intensive research in Senegal by the Révérend Père Lebret, and his team of European and African researchers. The whole plan was directed by Mamadou Dia,

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

standing in the modern context does not often completely redeem a traditional inferiority. The latter obviously does not prevent accession to such rank, but it does prevent a man from reaping the full benefit of the prestige which it confers. We shall have to revert to the ambiguity which thus characterizes individual situations, because it is an important aspect of the problem of the modernist elites. The old political organizations have either been destroyed or considerably weakened, though the prestige of the aristocratic families who hold the chefferies or are closely connected with them has not completely disappeared. But an important change has occurred: the power and influence of the traditional political chiefs has to a large extent been transferred to the khalifas of the great Islamic sects;[1] the latter represent today the principal force capable of resisting the modernist elite, and the one with which the latter and the political movements identified with it must to some extent come to terms.[2]

The changes due to the new economic conditions resulting from the colonial period can be discerned at several levels. The rural economy has been radically transformed—progressive abandonment of subsistence farming in favour of a single cash crop throughout a large part of the territory.[3] In contrast with regions where a plantation economy has developed, the average farmer's income has remained extremely low. Consequently, what has elsewhere been termed a 'rural bourgeoisie' has not emerged, and the most favoured economic categories coincide, by and large, with the upper strata of the traditional or semi-traditional type (heads of sects),[4] or with those artificially created on the same model by the colonial administration. Again, the group to which the name 'commercial bourgeoisie' has been given is still too small to have much influence;[5] almost all African traders are small shopkeepers and make no appreciable impact on the affairs of the community as a whole. The most significant changes are found at another level: urbanization and industrialization. Senegal is the most highly urbanized territory of French West Africa; about a quarter of the population live in the big towns and the administrative and trading centres. A very large wage-earning class with a steadily growing nucleus of stable labour has developed.[6] A workers' elite has appeared, and intensive trade union activity in the big towns has brought this class into touch with the educated elite (the administrative bourgeoisie, etc.).

This educated elite deserves special attention; in Senegal more than elsewhere, it represents the dominant element among the modernist elites. The educational policy was definitely conceived and organized at the beginning of the colonial period in the context of a policy and a ideology of assimilation. The educational curriculum introduced in the French establishments in Senegal at the beginning of the nineteenth century was essentially foreign to the tradition and culture of the autochthonous societies. Thus, in a recent paper, the author made much of the point that 'it was not a factor making for integration of the individual in his group, but rather—at any rate in the first historical phase—one making for a break. The adaptation of the curriculum and even of teaching methods

1. Their functions are hereditary.
2. Cf. below, remarks on the political parties of the traditional type.
3. In this case, groundnuts.
4. The economic role of the Mouride brotherhood is particularly important: colonization of new lands, experiments in mechanization, etc.
5. The middle-man trade is practically monopolized by the Lebanese colony; in the town of Dakar alone there are more than 5,000 Lebanese.
6. The region of Dakar alone has more than 30,000 wage earners in the private sector.

[10 cont.]

369 533 The griots, those "vipers' tongues," have put together new songs in order to make up for the loss of the spoils of war never to be hoped for again. Without exaggeration or error, one [583] can assert that the very high cost of the marriage expenses is due only to the griots, who, using their malevolent genius, contrast in their chants the generosity of such and such a man with the parsimony of the other, spicing all the praises with references to his always legendary and generous ancestors.

369 583 To dazzle the girl and her relatives with his generosity and his wealth, to wrest from the rivals acknowledgment of their poverty, to overwhelm with goods persons of inferior castes whose praises will never cease, to enrich the prestige and the dignity of his parents-in-law -- there is the origin of the enormous expenses which must be faced by those who marry in Saint-Louis.

The phases of Marriage and their cost

369 565 584 [584] This is not the place to show what role the girl plays in the act which is going to decide her life. Nevertheless, let us be permitted to affirm that today some freedom is permitted the girl in choosing a spouse, always with the condition that her choice must be a man of her rank. Native society is, in effect, compartmented, and the smith, the jeweler, the cobbler, the griot never becomes attached to a guer (2) woman with the

2. All the persons who do not belong to an inferior caste -- griot, cobbler, etc. Not to be confused with gor, free man, who is not a slave or a freed man.

permission of his parents. Conversely, the guer must remain in his domain, and the custom which formerly authorized the [631] chiefs to contract marriages with caste women, always under the pretense of conquest in battle, is tending to disappear.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

At this stage no French taxation was imposed. Faidherbe was the first 175
to insist that the election of any chiefs must be subject to his approval, 648
and from this time onwards the French hold gradually grew tighter. As the French historian Sabatié has put it:

> 'These treaties guaranteed the political organization, the religion, customs, institutions, and laws of the native country concerned. They were designed to ensure the security of our commerce and respect for the property of our nationals and our subjects, and they stipulated, by way of compensation, the collection of certain taxes on cattle and exported products for the benefit of chiefs. As a result of the evolution of the colony and its economic and administrative necessities, the clauses and obligations of these treaties have lapsed.'

The system lasted until towards the end of the nineteenth century; but from that time onwards native powers, especially over judicial matters, land, and tribute, have been gradually curtailed. Native chiefs have become agents appointed by the Government, and native administrative institutions have almost everywhere been deliberately abolished. This policy has its roots not only in administrative convenience but also in a strong sense of duty to the individual native and a desire to protect him from misrule.

The Modern Constitution

Until 1920 the four communes of Dakar, Goree, Rufisque, and 631
St. Louis were described as the territory under direct administration, 633
the remainder of the colony as a protectorate. In that year the distinction, which had long been one without a difference, was formally abolished.

Senegal, being the oldest colony, contains about a quarter of the 641
whole European population of French West Africa. It also contains
a larger proportion of educated and politically minded natives than [162]
the other colonies, and its constitution is more democratic. This last fact is mainly due to the equalitarian doctrines of the July Monarchy at the time when the personal status of Senegalese native citizens and their rights as Frenchmen were determined. In 1833 the French Parliament enacted that any person born free, or having legally acquired his liberty, enjoyed in the French colonies both civil and [648]
political rights under conditions prescribed by law. In 1848, therefore, when the colony first acquired the right to send a deputy to the French Parliament, natives born in the French settlements of
Goree, Rufisque, and St. Louis, the only French soil in Senegal at [633]
the time, became entitled to the Parliamentary vote and to all the

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS37

646 taxes and all items of the Colonial Budget not fixed by the Governor-
[648] General.
[652] Article 40 of the decree of 1920 forbade any deliberation of political
[642] matters and any resolution concerning them. The power to discuss the budget, however, has nullified this prohibition, and criticism of the Government plays a considerable part in the Council's debates.
[631] The citizens are usually more independent than the chiefs, since the latter owe their appointments to the Governor. It is too early to judge the effect of the recent addition of subjects.

It will be clear from the foregoing that this Colonial Council
[642] performs a very useful function. Although it cannot bring the machinery of government to a standstill, it can seriously hamper the administration. In consequence Senegal has a greater tincture of democracy than any other colony.

Territorial Divisions

635 The colony is divided into fifteen provinces (Fig. 52), some of
634 them subdivided into districts. Their names and the names of their headquarters towns are as follows.

Province	*Headquarters*	*Area in square miles*	*District headquarters*
Bakel	Bakel	8,755	..
Baol	Diourbel	1,714	..
Bas Sénégal	St. Louis	2,351	Dagana
Bignona	Bignona	1,699	Diouloulou
Djoloff	Linguéré	6,275	..
Haute Gambie	Kédougou	5,212	..
Kolda	Kolda	5,599	..
Louga	Louga	3,886	..
Matam	Matam	10,116	..
Podor	Podor	4,857	..
Sedhiou	Sedhiou	2,703	..
Sine-Saloum	Kaolack	10,228	Fatik, Foundiougne, Kaffrine
Tambacounda	Tambacounda	9,998	..
Thiès	Thiès	2,707	M'Bour, Tivaouane
Ziguinchor	Ziguinchor	1,120	Oussouye

635 The four provinces of Bignona, Kolda, Sedhiou, and Ziguinchor are grouped together as the Casamance Territory, at the head of which is a Session Administrator, or Chief Commissioner, residing at Ziguinchor.

In almost all provinces the provincial Commissioner is assisted by a Council of Notables (Plate 113).

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M837 Senegal MS 37

Courts of Law

692 The Court of Assize sits at Dakar, and the Tribunals of First Instance sit at Dakar, Kaolack, and St. Louis. There is a Magistrate's Court at Ziguinchor, and there are Moslem Courts at Dakar, Rufisque, and St. Louis. In each province and full commune there are the usual native courts, and the Colonial Court of Appeal for Senegal sits at St. Louis. There is a separate one for the District of Dakar.

In addition to the local courts, the West African Court of Appeal and the Supreme Native Court of Appeal are both held at Dakar.

Native Organization

●631 177 All the old chiefdoms and kingdoms have now disappeared. On the other hand, owing to their representation on the Colonial Council, chiefs in Senegal to-day exercise greater influence than in other colonies. They are appointed and paid by the Government, and they can usually be relied on to supply an official majority. In 1925 they induced the Government to raise their salaries, which now range from 7,600 francs to 36,500 francs per annum. The chiefs are divided into no less than twelve grades. Most of them have [871] been educated at the École des Fils des Chefs et des Interprètes at St. Louis.

Land Tenure

423 By 31 December 1937 provisional concessions had been granted over an area of 12 square miles and concessions over 15 square miles. By the same date there had been granted under the immatriculation system 9,630 certificates of title, covering 177 square miles. Under the process of Confirmation of Native Land Rights, 40 certificates had been granted, covering 3½ square miles. These figures are very small for the size and population of the colony.

Labour

466 [646] The Colonial Council is responsible for the fact that forced labour has been redeemable by every person since 1921. This reform did not become universal in the Federation till several years later. In 1930 a resolution of the same council compelled owners of motor vehicles to lend them for work under the same system.

In 1935 there were 408,000 persons on the forced labour rolls, 1,415,000 man-days were worked, and 561,300 francs were paid in

/25 cont./

793 and to receive the title of Cheikh, with the advantages which
* 795 that confers. While waiting, he works at hoeing and clearing
244 land without counting or measuring all the lands capable of pro-
[555] ducing the groundnuts which make up the fortune of his mara-
bout.

It is this way of colonizing the lands, and more particularly the new lands, which has made the brotherhood play an important role in the economy of Senegal in recent years. The Murid marabouts have been and remain clearers /26/ of land and large-
[433] scale producers of groundnuts. It can be estimated that they alone produce a little more than half of the total harvest of the Territory.

793 This brilliant picture is nevertheless not without shadows.
* 795 Even though the influence of the Murid leaders is not dangerous
578 on the political level as a consequence of the good understanding which exists between them and the Administration, even though there is no reason to fear that they may incite the members of the brotherhood to insubordination, their presence in the villages does pose problems. There are problems when they have settled in villages whose chiefs are not Murids (if not, sometimes, anti-Murid). In these cases it often happens that there are collisions
[627] between the customary chiefs and the Murid marabouts, principally since the reforms of 1945 which diminished considerably the powers of the chiefs and their prestige in the eyes of the people at a time when the influence and glory of the marabouts were increasing. Many times the Murids of a canton want to obey
• [632] only their religious leader and willfully ignore the canton chief. In addition, in the face of the invading agricultural activity of the Murids, the non-Murid populations stiffen themselves more and more and try to resist their agrarian encroachments. That sometimes creates quarrels; indeed it even provokes violent disorders which have to be arbitrated or stopped.

793 On the other hand, the recent political evolution which is
* 795 resulting in giving the right to vote to all Senegalese men and
666 all Senegalese women has prompted the politicians to seek the collaboration and friendship of the Murid leaders... so that they

/101 cont./

134 everywhere the terrain is suitable for the cultivation of groundnuts, except in Bas-Saloum.

137 A very dense, thorny, and shrubby vegetation grows in the sandy soil. This is the region of the cades (Acacia albida). In the silico-argillaceous lands of the south and east, the vegetation is more vigorous; one still finds there at the present time interesting forest stocks, vestiges of the great forests of former times. These groves are on the way to disappearing as a result of the abuses of clearing and of the unfortunately too frequent fires. The forests of Patako, between Messira and Coular, and of Dasilamé, between Nioro and Médina, which contain many hardwoods, Gambian mahogany, vène, and hire, are to be protected.

II. Administrative Organization

634 Territorial divisions. The two large native commands of Sine and Saloum have been eliminated, and the title of Bour, which was only honorific in nature, has ceased to exist legally.

632 634 The circle is divided into three major administrative subdivisions:

1st, Subdivision of Sine, chief town Fatick;

2nd, Subdivision of Bas-Saloum, with Foundiougne as the chief town;

3rd, Subdivision of Saloum Oriental, chief town Kaolack.

An administrator is at the head of the circle, and each subdivision is commanded by an official of the corps of administrators or of the corps of civil services.

632 Divided among these three subdivisions are 19 cantons or native commands, each /102/ of which is headed by a canton chief.

The subdivision of Saloum Oriental has 11 cantons:

Kaolack-Laghem,
Kahone,
Diokoul-Gandiaye,
Gossas,
Niom-Rip,
Nioro-Rip,

/102 cont./

632 N'Gahaye,
N'Guer,
Pakalla-Mandack
N'Doukoumane (Kaffrine)
Koungheul.

The subdivision of Sine is divided into five cantons:

Diakhao-Maroutte,
Sanghaye-N'Gayokème,
Diohine,
Diouroup,
Dangana.

The subdivision of Bas-Saloum has three cantons:

Djilor,
Sokone,
Niombato.

162 The population is distributed as follows:

Subdivision of Kaolack	141,000	inhabitants
Subdivision of Sine.....	89,000	"
Subdivision of Bas-Saloum...	50,000	"
Total	280,000	

633 Mixed communes. Mixed communes have been created in certain important localities. There are four of them:

Kaolack,
Fatick,
Foundiougne,
Gossas.

633 /103/ The mixed commune of Kaolack has 700 Europeans
162 and assimilated individuals /assimilés/ and 8,000 natives (20 years ago it had 50 Europeans and 600 natives).

That of Fatick has 2,000 natives and 120 Europeans. Those of Foundiougne and Gossas have 50 Europeans and 800 natives each.

633 The importance of Kaolack comes from the fact that it is the principal port of the Saloum, the terminal point of a branch of the major railroad from the Sudan, and the center of a region that is a great producer of groundnuts.

There is a chamber of commerce, a court of the first

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 privileges of French citizens; Dahomey, 121; Upper Volta,
641 17; Niger, 9. As late as 1936 out of a total population of fifteen million in French West Africa there were only 2,136 French citizens, with the exception of the citizens
[633] of the Four Towns or *Quatre Communes* of Senegal. Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff in their book *French West Africa* have suggested that this was because at that time 'the advantages conferred by naturalisation obviously did not compensate in the eyes of the great majority of Africans for acceptance of French law in regard to marriage and inheritance, and for the general shaping of their lives according to the European pattern'. This was only half the
648 truth. Just as important a factor was the sparseness of facilities for education, the keystone to a successful assimilationist policy. As late as 1947 only 1.3 per cent of children of school age in Guinea were actually attending
[871] school. In Soudan the figure was higher at 5 per cent, Dahomey 10 per cent and Senegal 12.4 per cent.

In each case Senegal is the exception. Senegal sent a deputy to the French Assembly as early as 1848. Her first indigenous deputy, Blaise Diagne, elected in 1914, became Under Secretary of State for the Colonies on several occasions before his death in 1934. But the other territories of French black Africa did not elect deputies until 1946, though they sent representatives to the Constituent Congress
648 in 1945. In 1848 the privileges of French citizenship were
641 granted to all Senegalese living in the Colony, though they
[671] were allowed to retain their private law in matters of land, inheritance, marriage and divorce. It was only in 1946 with the passing of the *loi Lamine Guèye* that the privileges of citizenship were granted to Africans other than those who obtained naturalisation, which involved accepting French
648 private law. In Senegal, the towns of St. Louis and Gorée
[633] were created *communes de pleine exercice* or full scale municipal
[646] councils in 1872 and seven years later a General Council on the lines of those operating in the French departments was established.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

important still a Conseil-Général equivalent to the Conseils-Généraux of the French department but with much greater financial autonomy was established for the colony. However representation was limited to citizens of the colony and not the great majority of *sujets* of the Protectorate. This spurt of assimilation was completed a year later when privileges of local self-government were granted to St. Louis and Gorée which were created *communes de pleine exercice*. In 1880 the prosperous new port of Rufisque, some fifteen miles from modern Dakar, was also accorded these privileges, and in 1887 Dakar was separated from Gorée and also gained them.

This was as far as assimilation was to go politically in either Senegal or the rest of French West Africa. Not until 1944 was there any extension of political rights in French black Africa. Indeed in Senegal the citizens had to fight to retain their privileges against an administration that came increasingly to regret the privileges it had granted the Senegalese in the first fine flush of colonial expansion in Black Africa. Thus until the outbreak of the Second World War one had the paradoxical situation of the French regretting their assimilationist policy and the Senegalese citizens asking that it be applied more liberally. This is one of the main reasons why the activities of French Africans, particularly in Senegal, were channelled not towards the attainment of independence but the assertion of their fundamental equality with the French. Their energies were for long directed to obtaining from the French those rights which in principle an assimilationist policy offered them.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

III. FRENCH REACTION AGAINST ASSIMILATION

France had made a great mistake in granting suffrage to the Natives. She did not withdraw her present, but took good care not to repeat it elsewhere.

PIERRE MILLE: *The Black Vote in Senegal.*

648 UNTIL 1913 all the Senegalese deputies in the French Chamber of Deputies were citizens of metropolitan origin. And in the General Council and the municipal 646 councils Europeans, even when they were not in a majority, [633] more often than not succeeded in controlling proceedings. [563] With this European domination of the representative institutions, it may come as a surprise that France not only failed to extend the experiment to other parts of French Africa, but indeed did her best to suppress those rights already granted in Senegal. First of all many of the Gover- 643 nors resented the control the General Council had over the 646 territorial budget, albeit limited. Secondly they found that [652] the General Council tried to run a peace-time administration for that part of Senegal under direct rule, whilst the Governors were more concerned with the pacification of the much larger hinterland, for in those days Senegal included much of what is now Mali. As one historian of Senegal, André Villard, has put it: 'The Colony thought it had the right to lead the quiet life of a French *arrondissement* at the very time when expansion towards the east necessitated exceptional political and military efforts.' An authoritarian Governor like Brière de l'Isle found it particularly galling to be saddled with a democratically 646 elected legislative council. Furthermore the General- 563 Councillors, who were mainly European or half-caste up 633

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

till the end of the nineteenth century, neglected the Protectorate and seemed to think that the only parts of the country that mattered were the four communes. Naturally their official business with the Protectorate was limited, but they did control the three main ports of the country through which the products of the interior passed to France. The councillors, too, restricted education largely to the communes, where on the whole it reached a satisfactory level. They even sent students on scholarships to France, but unfortunately too few of these returned to Senegal to use their newly acquired talents. It was not until the establishment of the Government-General of French West Africa in 1905 that educational facilities were extended to the Protectorate in any great measure.

The increase in education amongst citizens of African origin meant that by the turn of the nineteenth century they were less willing to accept European domination in the communes and the General Council. The assertion of their rights is one of the main factors behind the attempts of the administration to deprive the indigenous Senegalese of their position as *citoyens*. Actually the Administration was batting on a good wicket. Technically a French citizen was one who accepted French rights and duties without qualification. In the case of the Africans in Senegal they had been allowed to retain their own *statut personnel*, that is private law, with reference to civil disputes, matrimony, divorce, inheritance and land. But this seemed to conflict openly with the definition of a French citizen. It seemed wrong that a man should exercise the rights of a French citizen and not accept the consequent obligations. Many Frenchmen felt it quite illogical that an African with four wives could yet be a citizen. And indeed in later years the main obstacle to granting citizenship to other colonial peoples was to be the question of retention of the *statut personnel*. Thus many of the attempts by the French to deprive the Senegalese citizens of their rights were the result of quite genuine objections to the illogicality of their position. Faidherbe,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

interesting suppleness under the most diverse conditions 648
according to the state of civilisation or submission—or lack of submission—of the natives'.

As a reaction against the powers of the Senegalese General 648
Council during the regrouping of the French West African 646
territories the Protectorate, with the exception of Casa- [633]
mance, Thiès, Cayor and Tivaouane and the *cercles* of the Fleuve, was detached from the colony of Senegal so that the General Council could not legitimately interfere in its affairs. However two years later economic and administrative exigencies decreed the reshaping of Senegal and the rest of French Africa into the territorial boundaries that exist today.

The first major attempt to undermine the rights of the 641
Senegalese with the rights of citizens by virtue of being born 633
in one of the four communes, known as *originaires*, came in 1908 when the Lieutenant-Governor of Senegal asked that 1,563 names be struck off the electoral role of Dakar arguing that since the natives concerned were only French subjects they could not vote. Only French citizens could vote, and citizenship could be obtained only by individual naturalisation. This was upheld in the local court but rejected by the [692]
Cour de Cassation in Paris. However, the Court confirmed that these voters were not French citizens though they maintained that they had the right to vote. This failure to recognise their status as citizens evoked much ill-feeling among the *originaires*. In 1910 the voting rights in the Senegal were in fact extended when it was provided that French citizens living outside the communes but within the colony could vote. But the Minister of Colonies declared that the decree did not apply to 'non-naturalised natives who only enjoy the franchise in the four *communes de pleine exercice* on condition of being born there', and thus once again emphasised the fact that the French Government did not consider the *originaires* as true citizens. Indeed in the following year their position was further aggravated when [701]
originaires doing their military service in metropolitan units

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

641 of the army in West Africa, and serving on the same basis
633 as European citizens, were suddenly discharged without
[701] reason. A commission of the General Council asked that in future all voters, without distinction of colour, be called on to perform their obligatory military service. Thus by 1912 one had the odd spectacle of Africans, far from trying to avoid military service, insisting on their right to perform it on the grounds that only thus could they secure their rights as French citizens.

However French intransigence over the question of the *originaires* was made clear in the Naturalisation Decree of 1912, which stated that only French subjects born in West Africa could acquire French citizenship. The conditions for acquisition of citizenship were: having proved devotion to France or having occupied with merit for at least ten years a position in a French office, public or private; having learned to read or write French; having given evidence of possessing a means of existence and good character. As a result between 1914-22 only ninety-four natives in French West Africa were naturalised. Those who were defined as
692 subject to the jurisdiction of the native, instead of the
641 French, tribunals were all those natives 'who had not had in
633 their country of origin the status of European national'. This was interpreted by the *originaires* as an attempt to remove from them their right to appear before French tribunals and subject them to administrative justice like the sujets of the Protectorate, for whilst they were anxious to retain their right to their *statut personnel* in civil matters such as marriage and inheritance, they wanted to be tried in French courts in criminal cases. This evoked furious criticisms by the *originaires* and Maître Lamine Guèye, himself an *originaire* and later Deputy in the French Assembly, wrote 'Our fears were more than justified by the spectacle of what happened in the interior of the Colony, where administrators, reviving in certain respects feudal practices, imposed on the persons of our compatriots of the protectorate acts which were neither human nor French'.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Such was the outcry against this decree that a further decree in 1914 confirmed that 'all natives born in the four communes would be subject to French tribunals throughout the colony and in certain other places'. Indeed Lamine Guèye was one of the most ardent critics of France for her failure to accord the full rights of an assimilationist policy to the *originaires*. He protested against the way the Government opposed 'the entrance of all natives of whatever status they may be, into the general administrative services, even into military units stationed in the colony'. It was only by insistence on the right to do military service on equal terms with the French that the *originaires* were finally able to gain confirmation of their rights as citizens. In 1914 Blaise Diagne became the first Senegalese to sit in the Chamber of Deputies. He won his seat partly as a result of the split vote amongst his six European opponents, partly because he appealed to the Senegalese voters by his demands for complete equality between black and white. His particular platform was a pledge to vote for a law for obligatory military service without distinction of race or colour. In a letter to the Minister of Colonies he said the *originaires* did not want the privileges without the obligations of French citizenship. At the time, of course, France was just about to enter into the Great War and badly needed troops from Africa. Thus without much difficulty a law was passed providing for the conscription of the *originaires* as French troops. In return for Diagne's co-operation in recruiting troops for the war effort, the Government passed the Citizenship Law of 1916 which once and for all confirmed the status of the *originaires*. They could retain their *statut personnel* and need not understand French to be considered as citizens. 'The natives of the *communes de pleine exercice* and their descendants are and remain French citizens subject to the military obligations of the Law of 19 October 1915.' The rider about the status of 'descendants' was of particular importance to Lamine Guèye who was born in Soudan of *originaire* parents.

633 641 [697] [701] [666] 633 641 701 [671]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

641 648 [643] An interesting sidelight on the confused French attitude towards assimilation and Africans was the status accorded to Blaise Diagne as Commissioner of the Republic in charge of conscription of troops in West Africa. He was given rank equal to that of the Governor-General, Van Vollenhoven, who thereat resigned. However this is only one side of the story. The French insist that he resigned because he felt that the large number of troops to be recruited would wreck the colony's economy and severely reduce the indigenous population. Nevertheless the presence of an African deputy for Senegal was not viewed well in all quarters. But Diagne could not be tempted by high office outside the parliamentary sphere and won a resounding victory in the 1919 elections [666] with 7,444 votes to his opponent's 1,252. He was then appointed Under Secretary of States for Colonies. His essential attachment to France was clear, for whilst in 1919 he became President of the Pan-African Congress, which urged that ultimately 'Africa should be ruled by consent of the Africans . . .' he refused, as Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff have pointed out 'to support any revolutionary theories as to the emancipation of all Negro peoples'. 'We French natives', he said, 'wish to remain French, since France has given us every liberty'.

646 633 The French were still not happy about the position of the *originaires* and in 1920, not so much from a show of liberalism as from a desire to reduce the pressures exercised on the Administration by the twenty-member General Council, it was translated into a Colonial Council with an increased membership of forty-four of which twenty were sent by the hitherto unrepresented Protectorate. The representatives [631] of the *sujets*, who were provincial or cantonal chiefs, could be relied on to vote with the Administration whose agents they were, and thus reduce the independence of the communes. In 1925, however, the number of chiefs was reduced to sixteen and the citizens' representatives increased to twenty-four as a means of persuading them to vote larger

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

taxes, but thereafter relations between chiefs and Government on the one hand and citizens on the other were rarely cordial. 646 [633] [631]

The powers of the Council were very restricted, having legislative rights over minor matters like the classification of roads and the management of public properties. Even these limited powers were subject to the veto of the Governor-General of French West Africa. Its main deliberative competence was over the budget, which though drawn up by the Governor could be criticised by the councillors. This power was watered down by the classification of a large section of the budget as obligatory expenditure. Nevertheless the council was an exceptional institution in West Africa. As R. L. Buell in his *The Native Problem in Africa* wrote: [648] [652] [643]

> That the eight Europeans who participated in the Council should have exactly the same status as the thirty-two blacks is a situation which would strike the Anglo-Saxon as anomalous to say the least. The visitor to the Council will frequently witness a black president calling a European member to order for rowdiness. It does not appear, however, that the council is divided upon racial lines, i.e. of white versus black, except on the issue of higher pay for European officials—a policy which was, in fact, attacked as vigorously by the Europeans as by the native members. The real alignment so far has been the citizen members—both black and European—against the government supported by the chiefs. Black members as we have seen, have unmercifully criticised officials in Senegal. No British colony would tolerate the attacks which the natives make upon European officials in Senegal. 563 646

Buell pin-pointed a growing division in the territory—that between the *originaires* and the *sujets* of the Protectorate. The *originaires*, especially since the election of one of their own number as deputy, became increasingly jealous of their privileges. Meanwhile the rest of the territory was administered according to the same principles of administration as were applied throughout the rest of West Africa. Though traditional chiefs were stripped of their traditional powers 641 [631]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 Council in Senegal but differed little in competence. The
641 only concession made to Senegal and not to the other
[646] territories, and this undoubtedly being influenced by its political history, was the retention of a single college electorate as against the dual colleges prescribed for all other territories. The French penal code was made generally
[671] applicable for Senegal. In January 1946 the three *communes de pleine exercice* (Gorée had by then been incorporated in
[633] Dakar) were given full municipal status as equivalent French towns. Finally and most important, forced labour was
[466] legally abolished; but it survived in covert forms for several years to come. In Senegal, Senghor received the full credit for this measure from his peasant electorate and has been drawing political dividends from it ever since.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648
668

This move was the more surprising since Senghor was and is one of the most highly assimilated of French Africans. He was the first African to gain his *agrégation*. He was effectively the grammarian of the constitution of the Fourth Republic, and whenever there was a dispute as to the interpretation of the constitution in the National Assembly it was as often as not the second deputy of Senegal to whom the President of the Assembly referred for advice. As a member of a rich [633] family of merchants from Joal, a town which though not privileged like the *Quatre Communes*, had long-standing connexions with Europe, he had been able to pursue his education in France and became a professor there. He was well known in literary circles as a writer and poet. Indeed as those who have wished to malign him have since asserted, he seemed almost more French than the French. But, and it is an important but, his return to his African past, his sudden resentment of his own Frenchness and his search for virtue in the African personality was the result of his sudden realisation of the extent of his assimilation by France, though he himself has said that he assimilated, and was not assimilated. Perhaps his dilemma is best illuminated by the experience of Aimé Césaire, the High Priest of *négritude*, who as Senghor is always the first to admit, was his real source of inspiration for this return to the past. The story goes that Césaire, a West Indian living for long in Paris, and already distinguished as a man of letters, was travelling in a train, when he found himself sitting next to a black marine. His first racial reaction was that of a white man. This horrified him so much that he returned to his native West Indies to 'rediscover' himself, and wrote a series of poems, that have become as it were the hymns of *négritude*. Senghor subsequently became the fulcrum of the new movement to assert the uniqueness and value of the Negro personality. Ulli Beier, reviewing Senghor's poetry, has written: 'Senghor is not merely a Frenchified African who tries to give exotic interest to his French poems; he is an African who uses the French language to express his African soul.'

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 powers were devolved on the individual territories, it is clear that a desire to avoid any ultimate break-up of the French Union was one of the main factors behind the emasculation of the federal executive. French West Africa as a federation might soon be demanding independence; eight small territories on their own would find it a more daunting prospect.

Senghor attacked France vigorously for what he called the balkanising of French Africa by devolving powers on individual territories and at the same time making no provision for an executive at the federal level. The *Grand* [646] *Conseil* retained only its limited legislative powers. Executive action for the federation was still undertaken by the High Commissioner, representing the Republic. By thus turning politics towards the individual territories, France was 'balkanising' the federation, following the classic pattern of dividing in order to rule. Bitterly, he accused the French of offering Africa 'sucettes et bonbons'. It may seem odd that the role of defending the federation should have [665] fallen on Senghor, who had already failed to convert the *I.O.M.* from an association of deputies into a Pan West African political party. But though the R.D.A. was officially a Pan-African party, its leader came from the rich Ivory Coast, and disliked intensely the ideas of sharing his country's wealth with his many poorer neighbours. He was instrumental in securing the form of *loi cadre* that avoided the creation of a supra-government. On the other hand it might be argued that it was in Senegal's interest to ensure that the federation did not break up, since one of [633] Dakar's *raisons d'être* was as a federal capital. But Senghor argued cogently that only with a strong West Africa, containing twenty million people, could Africans participate with any sense of political equality and weight of personality with France in the proposed Franco-African Community. 'Within the framework of a French federal republic, a French West Africa of 20 million inhabitants can, side by side with the metropolis, form a stable element and develop its own personality.'

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Goree

369 'That must be the Batterie Nord.'

[697] As we passed a gang of prisoners shuffled through its main gates outside which lay rusting cannons, their barrels stopped with cement. In the shade of palm trees at the entrance to the fort a guard played draughts with one of the local inhabitants, whilst the wives of the prisoners washed clothes or prepared their evening meal. Only the grim bars set deep into the dark stonework of the fort indicated that it was used as a prison: otherwise the entrance to the fort was more like the gate of a Moslem city, such was the coming and going.

I took some photographs and remembered with amusement an account of a former Earl of Scarborough's visit to Gorée in his diary, *The Cruise of the African Witch, 1890*:

> 'As I was taking a photo of a part of the island a nigger had the audacity to tell me that no one was allowed to photograph in the neighbourhood of the fort, and when I asked him who he was, he said: "Je suis Français". I sent him about his business and he ran to tell the guard in the fort. Europeanized niggers are obnoxious and often intolerable.'

Eighteen-ninety is a long time ago for Dakar and Gorée, though unhappily in East Africa such sentiments are still not out of date.

As I walked down the rubble-filled streets of the island, the occasional perfectly preserved balcony or heavy wooden shutters conjured up vivid memories of the old colonial society that used to inhabit Gorée. Today fat black mammies lean over the balustrades to hang out their washing whilst their naked children play on the rusty cannons encased in the mud and sand of the pavements. From the Rue de Dakar, with its crumbling houses and elegant street lamps, I could see the skyscrapers of the mainland. Above the harbour, fish hawks glided lazily, swooping suddenly with outstretched talons and amazing precision on their prey, whilst in the water bronzed Frenchmen with underwater diving equipment conducted the same operation with less success. In Europe one rarely remarks upon the contrast between [175] history and the present: the two are so constantly juxtaposed as to [633] be unworthy of comment. Yet in West Africa, where nearly

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Goree

everything seems to have been built within the last half-century, an island like Gorée, full of historical sites, stands to remind one how long Africa and Europe have been in contact. Gorée itself has been controlled by many masters: the Portuguese from 1444–1595, the Dutch 1597–1677; the French and British at intervals from 1677–1817, when the island was finally ceded to the French by the Treaty of Paris. Many famous explorers including Nuno Tristão, Fernando Po, Bartholomew Dias and Vasco da Gama and Christopher Columbus, as well as scholars like Camoens and St. Francis Xavier, stayed on the island. A small church was built by Diogo d'Azembuja, the architect of the fort of Elmina on the Gold Coast. The Dutch used Gorée for their trade with the Gold Coast and India, though later it became to its various owners important as a slaving post, as the gracious Maison des Esclaves, built between 1776–1778, witnesses. I was taken there two years ago by an African guide, through a low, damp tunnel into some squalid little cells whose only source of light was from a small grille facing on to the sea; below was a sheer drop on to Atlantic breakers. Into those cells slavers bundled hundreds of miserable wretches, seized from their villages, as often as not by other Africans. There they were imprisoned, their feet held by the heavy balls and chains that still littered the floor, until a ship was ready to take them to the New World. Often more than half of them died on the Middle Passage, and many died waiting in this house because of cold and damp, or just the lack of will to live.

However, in 1794, when Gorée was in French hands, the Revolutionary Convention abolished slavery, and accordingly deprived Gorée of its main source of income. But in 1802 the law was repealed, only to be reinforced again in 1817, so that ironically Gorée, which had been built into a naval base and the administration headquarters of French West Africa, became a major centre for the suppression of the slave trade.

Towards the end of the century Gorée declined at Dakar's expense. By 1929, from having been one of the Quatre Communes, the others being St. Louis, Rufisque and Dakar, sending representatives to the French National Assembly and enjoying equal rights with Frenchmen, it had so declined in importance that it was incorporated into the Municipality of Dakar.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 Today Gorée is a residential suburb of Dakar, where administrators and merchants live. In the hot sun of the afternoon, Gorée, [633] an island of unopened shutters, of lazy negroes passing life away in sleep, and of buildings that look as though they would crumble in one's hands like a hard-baked sand pie, was little more than an historical relic.

Gorée was a dead town. More pathetic, I found, was St. Louis, the capital of the Senegal, which is a dying town. I flew to St. Louis for a week-end, leaving Arnold in Dakar because his attack of dysentery had not yet cleared up.

I loved St. Louis, a quiet little city on an island in the estuary [361] of the river Senegal, which bounds the northern frontier of the territory to which it has given its name. I remembered it clearly from my previous visit, a city with no important industries, and few modern buildings to detract from the quiet serenity of the cool, colonial style houses, heavily shuttered against the fierce sun of the desert. In two years not much had changed. The houses had crumbled a little more, adding to, rather than detracting from its dignity as capital of two territories, a unique honour. The governments of Senegal and neighbouring Mauretania are to be found there.

369 But the serenity of this ancient city, which dates back to 633 1659, that had struck me so forcibly on my first visit two years ago had gone. The Mauretanians' decision to transfer their capital to Nouakchott, in their own territory, was something the St. Louisians could understand, even if it did mean a loss of income to their city. But when their own government decided to move their capital to Dakar, the Federal Capital, the population was profoundly shocked. I found them extremely bitter about it. The provincial calm of the city was for once shattered, and its inhabitants had but one topic—the transfer—and the prospect of seeing their city die, for St. Louis depends largely on the administration for its income.

One man told me with extreme bitterness: 'Dakar has killed Gorée and Rufisque. Now it will kill us.' Since the creation of a port at Dakar, the chief *raison d'être* of St. Louis has been as an administrative centre. Take away the administration and the town could not survive.

My first afternoon in St. Louis I saw M. Valdiodio N'Diaye,

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

Acting Prime Minister of the Senegal, and cousin of Pierre Njie in Bathurst. I asked him what his party would do to save St. Louis from becoming a second Gorée. N'Diaye replied confidently: 'My government intends to build up St. Louis as a new and prosperous economic centre for the Senegal valley, just as Kaolak is the centre of the Saloum and Zuiginchor of the Casamance. We plan to build a great dam at Dagana which will open up the Senegal to extensive cultivation and St. Louis will not die. Of course the money for the dam will have to come from France. You see,' M. N'Diaye continued, 'St. Louis is really rather absurdly placed, lying at the extreme north and the extreme west of the territory. It is "doublement periphique", whilst Dakar is the economic centre of the Senegal.'

'Already, of course, the transfer is proving more difficult than they thought,' a member of an old and respected St. Louisian family told me. 'There is little enough room in Dakar as it is without moving the Senegalese Government there. They'll have to take hotels over for ministries. I don't think this transfer is necessary. After all, America has its Washington and New York, Switzerland its Berne and Geneva. Why should not Senegal have its St. Louis and Dakar? If they carry out this transfer, St. Louis will be little more than an historical souvenir like Gorée.'

M. Babacar Saye, Mayor of St. Louis and member of the Opposition party, told me with considerable feeling: 'St. Louis has played a great part in the history of the Senegal. Even if it has lost the opportunity of economic development as a port to Dakar, it is the spiritual head of the Senegal. If St. Louis had not existed in the history of the Senegal and French West Africa there would be no Federation today. It has been a bastion of fidelity to France. St. Louisians penetrated every corner of West Africa on her behalf. It has had an immense moral and psychological influence on the present good relations between France and West Africa.'

This attitude I found supported by a young African official from Dahomey, whom I met in the Ministry of Finance. He had travelled all over French West and Equatorial Africa. 'The Senegal,' he said, 'has always been at the head of politics in French West Africa. It has been the *avant-garde* of all Black Africa. After all it was the first to send black Deputies like Blaise Diagne to the

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 Metropolis. Until recently the African élite has always come from
[571] St. Louis. It is a sort of spiritual centre of Black Africa. It had the
[873] first school—Lycée Faidherbe. And in 1866 it was given the first Hotel de Ville of the French Union. It is the cradle of the French Union. It would be a tragedy if it died.'

369 To such men as these it seems scandalous that St. Louis with
175 its great history and traditions should give way to a parvenue like Dakar. Of all West African cities St. Louis is the one with the most illustrious and fascinating history. It was called St. Louis after the great French King, Louis XIII, in the middle of the seventeenth century. However, in the following century it began to expand into a town whose inhabitants were a distinct race, comparable
[563] to the Creoles of Sierra Leone. White and black intermarried to form a group known as the St. Louisians. During the eighteenth
[591] and nineteenth centuries these were the great families of the
[554] Senegal, though today they are losing importance. Names like Carpot, Descanet, Deves, Guillabert and Crespin are still remembered with respect in St. Louis.

[162] By the end of the eighteenth century the town had more than 7,000 inhabitants and in 1778 a mayor, who had to be chosen
[633] from the local population, was charged with the maintenance of good relations between the people and the Governor. In 1833
[641] all inhabitants of St. Louis were given the status of French citizens.

Perhaps the most important date for St. Louis and for West Africa was 1854, when General Faidherbe was appointed Governor. Today his mark is still firmly on St. Louis. The
[361] ordered layout of the city and its streets were his work. The large
[491] bridge connecting the island on which St. Louis stands to the mainland is named after him. The city's most important and famous school is the Lycée Faidherbe. And even now one can listen to old folk sitting on the benches of the park, in which his statue stands, telling tales of the great General, who had fought against the famous Toucouleur chief, El Hadj Omar and brought Senegal, Soudan and Mauretania into the French orbit. Perhaps some of these old people are his own descendants, for he is reputed to have been a prolific father.

[162] By 1878 St. Louis had grown to a city of 16,000 inhabitants, and despite the rapid expansion of Dakar and Rufisque farther down the coast, there was little to worry about the future.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

down the coast, there was little to worry about the future. And the creation of the Federal Government there marked its apogee. Five years later when the Federal Government was transferred to Dakar, St. Louis began its long decline which, when the Government is transferred, will be final.

As I walked along the old streets of St. Louis recalling vividly New Orleans, past old houses, their plaster façades beautiful with the patina of a century, and along the river that divides the island from the mainland with its brightly painted fishing boats, I could sympathize with the inhabitants of St. Louis. I could understand their pride; and their fears that their city might die. But at the same time the Government's desire to move into the economic centre of Senegal and the Administrative centre of the Federation, seemed to me a realistic one.

ECONOMICS OF THE REVOLUTION

I returned to Dakar for an appointment with the High Commissioner of French West Africa whose office was on the ninth floor of the Administrative building. When I arrived I was shown into a small ante-room by a messenger dressed in khaki.

'The High Commissioner will see you soon,' he assured me.

Within two minutes a similarly dressed messenger beckoned me towards a large swing door. I pulled it open, only to be confronted by another, a foot in front of me. I pushed this open, and entered a large, well-windowed room. For a moment I could see no one. Then a tall, grey-haired man, looking very much like a university professor, came forward towards me, his right hand outstretched. M. Gaston Cusin, High Commissioner for French West Africa, led me to a large chair and, with a degree of informality that put me entirely at ease, he began to talk of the problems of French West Africa. To him, a former Director of Economic Affairs in France, it was clear that West Africa was largely an economic problem. He pointed to a large map of West Africa:

'We are hoping to develop iron reserves here in Mauretania; there in Guinea we want to open up bauxite reserves, in Dahomey

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 Even at this juncture, however, effects of the distinction between old and recent cities are apparent. The growth of the old slave-trade cities took place in two stages. In the first, there was a fairly slow tempo of growth in which the elements comprising the city were united into a relatively integrated whole. In the second stage, corresponding to the recent colonial period, population growth was much more rapid; new strata of city-dwellers appeared, so numerous that the original city could not effectively assimilate them. A series of problems arose from the relations between the comparatively stable nucleus and the weakly-structured host of new arrivals. In Senegal these relations were originally hostile, yet played an important role in certain phases of urban political life.

The complexity of the principal traits of political phenomena in the framework of the colonial cities is suggested in the following discussion.

The Traditional and Modern Frameworks

369 ●633 African urban centers were established more or less wholly beyond the limits of traditional political units.[2] They were distinguished by novel activities and functions, quickly acquired a cosmopolitan aspect, and received a meager administrative organization. As privileged centers for Europeans, they could hardly survive except through a system of direct administration, and withdrew more or less rapidly from the local, pre-European political systems and authorities, which were in no way equipped to absorb them. Yet political problems of the traditional sort were not entirely excluded from urban life. In certain cases the territory of an indigenous political system was largely or wholly incorporated by the city, and officially recognized.[3] Colonial authorities at first assumed only the radi-

[P. 4A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 cally new functions that the old system
633 could not manage, but this phase of internal autonomy was brief. The new government progressively assumed all political functions, and the population of the
642 city became diversified. Effective operation of the traditional authority was then
633 limited to the one ethnic group that henceforth furnished its members. Nevertheless, despite its increasingly ambiguous position and more and more purely formal character, despite the fact that it had no genuine initiative, traditional authority continued to play a role in urban life. Old political systems eventually were used by the modern political organizations as one of the props for their own action, and conversely, some traditional authorities attempted to reinforce their declining influence by insinuating themselves into a new political role.

[369] These interactions merit attention. In effect, traditional political forms were taken over into the framework of urban life, though in rudimentary outline. This was the case in ethnic group and ward organization, for example, which involved the institutions of "ward-chiefery" and "race-chiefery." These were often developed spontaneously, sometimes assuming a clandestine nature. In other cases such organizational forms were encouraged and given official recognition. Some were created out of whole cloth by the colonial authority, which saw in them an effective means for regulating populations still poorly integrated into the framework that it was striving to establish.[4] The role of authorities having traditional origins quickly became secondary, of course, but it has raised contradictions that make the study of interpenetration between traditional and modern political frameworks an essential one.

[P. 4 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[p. 4C]
[Footnote 4 continued on p. 5C-Analyst]

[2] Their territory, at least in the case of the oldest cities, was often the object of a "concession" by local authorities, and was therefore withdrawn from their direct control.

[3] This is the case, for example, of Lagos; regarding Dakar, where the authorities of the "Republic of Lebou" had their seat, *cf.* C. Michel, "L'organisation coutumière (sociale et politique) de la communauté Laboue de Dakar," *Bull. du Comité d'Et. hist. et sci. de l'A.O.F.*, March 17, 1934; and C. Faure, *Histoire de la presqu'île du Cap-Vert et des origins de Dakar*, Paris, 1914.

[4] G. Balandier, in *Sociologie des Brazzavilles noires* (Paris, 1955) shows clearly the occurrence there of "a transfer onto an urban milieu of leadership agencies already existing in a rural milieu: the

369
633
[113]
642

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[p.5c]

hierarchy of administrator-mayor, administrator-deputy mayor, and ward leader corresponds to the hierarchy of regional leader, district leader, and cantonal leader" (p. 169). The contradictions that he points out in the administrative organization of Brazzaville were sharper still at Dakar: the institution of appointed ward leaders coexisted with that of an elected city government, whose relations with the colonial administration did not differ in principle from those of French city governments with prefectoral authority.

[5] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Evolution des élites sénégalaises," *Bull. intl. des Sci. soc.*, VIII (#4, '56). Groupement européen de Dakar: orientations d'une enquête," *Cahiers intl. de Soc.* XIX, 1955.

[6] *Cf. Infra.*, and the Summary Notes Given in P. Mercier, "Aspects de la Société Africaine" and "Le

[7] *Cf.* B. G. M. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, London, 1948; and G. Balandier, *Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique noire*, Paris, 1955.

[113] 63369

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

Political Development In The Cities of Senegal

369
361
[162]

In all of West Africa, the phenomenon of urbanization has been most extensive and the variety of its forms most striking in Senegal. The area has about ten communities with more than 10,000 inhabitants each; five of these have well over 30,000 inhabitants and the major urban center, Dakar, has almost 250,000 inhabitants. The urban population exceeds 500,000, about one quarter of the total population. The present urban pattern has no link with a pre-European tradition. Some of the cities wield influence over extensive suburban zones, and the distances separating them are relatively short, so that the western half of Senegal is covered by a close network of urban centers.

• 633

Partial administration of municipal affairs and familiarity with electoral machinery are by no means recent acquisitions. The first African communes "with full powers"[11] were created in Senegal, in the second half of the 19th century, and there the first "mixed communes"[12] were developed, at the beginning of the 20th century. Among all the French West African territories, Senegal contained the largest number of constituted communes, and alone had almost a quarter of the communes with full powers created in all French Overseas Territories by the law of 1956. As early as 1925 there were 18 communes, of which four had full autonomy. The exercise of political rights in modern form dates back more than 75 years for some cities, and by 1953 there were elected municipal councils in 14 of the 20 mixed communes in Senegal.

[P.6B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[8] These facts were studied by M. Hunter, *Reaction to Conquest*, London, 1936, among others.
[9] *Cf., infra.*, summary historical comments regarding the development of citizenship in the oldest Senegalese settlements.
[10] After 1956, changes occurred more rapidly. There were profound transformations in the orientations of political parties, in the organization of unions, etc. These transformations acquired greater significance in the new legislative and constitutional frameworks instituted in 1957 and subsequently.
[11] These had an organization patterned after that of French communes, even though the conditions under which they operated were not always comparable. It was not until 1956, 75 years later, that communes were established in territories other than Senegal.
[12] These were all characterized by the fact that their mayor was a representative of the French colonial administration. There were various types, according to whether the city council was entirely appointed, or partially or entirely elected. Between the two wars they expanded rapidly outside Senegal.

[P.6 C]

668
369
633.

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

"The Four Communes of Senegal"

369
633
175

The four coastal cities have had the longest experience with political rights. All are fairly old; Dakar was founded most recently, in 1857. St. Louis of Senegal, founded in the time of the slave-trade, is the oldest, and a typical example of the "old colonial city." In 1659 a warehouse of the Company of the Senegal was built on the site, the first French settlement in the region. It was a commercial post oriented toward the river, and a small military outpost; it became the jumping-off place for the conquest of the African territories. The general traits of the old African city may still be found in St. Louis' central section, despite recent changes. In such a center the African population was relatively stable.[13] A few European families established residence, and a rather important mixed-blood population developed. By the mid-19th century an urban community with a homogeneous way of life had emerged.

[563]

The Isle of Gorée, which became the second commune in Senegal, was occupied in 1677; it was oriented toward the Petite-Cote and the factories of Rufisque, Joal, and Portudal. Of these, only Rufisque developed; it became the third commune. St. Louis and Gorée underwent many vicissitudes before 1815, when they were restored to France. They then returned to "legal" commerce, which was centered in the valley of the Senegal. St. Louis retained its dominance. By the end of the 18th century it had had nearly 7,000 inhabitants, about half of whom were free and almost a tenth European. In the 1870's its population was about 15,000, while Gorée had but 3,000; Rufisque was growing as was Dakar. Finally, the interior back of the Petite-Cote was opening up, and Thiès was founded. In the following period St.

[162]
[563]

[P.7A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 Louis stagnated[14] and Gorée declined,
633 losing people at the expense of Dakar and
175 Rufisque; Rufisque grew rapidly, as the
[162] port for the ground-nut. Dakar entered
[439] a period of prosperity at the turn of the
century.[15] During the late 19th century
the composition of the population already
was beginning to change fairly rapidly,
especially in the expanding centers, but
the old core of urban population con-
tinued to hold a dominant place, not
only in urban life but also in the colony
of Senegal as a whole, whose constitution
had come into effect. The people of
St. Louis most notably served as essential
instruments of the colonization effort.

This dominance was expressed very
clearly in the political realm. The coastal
cities, in contrast to the interior cities
and rural areas, had been introduced to
the structure and organization through
which modern political life is conducted
long before the reforms of 1946. Political
activity of the modern type was first
limited to the European settlers but was
[563] soon extended to the mixed-blood element
and then to the Negro population. Begin-
ning in the late 18th century, St. Louis
had a mayor, always a mixed-blood, who
served as intermediary between the gov-
ernor and the populace. In 1789 the
[668] colony participated in metropolitan polit-
ical activities, sending to the States-
General a petition of grievances that de-
manded commercial freedom — *i.e.*,
abolition of the Company monopoly —
and the end of slavery. A satisfactory
agreement was reached among employees
of the Company, European businessmen,
and mixed-blood businessmen, but it was
never brought to fruition; a period of
disorder set in and persisted until the
rebirth of the colony in 1815.

[641] In 1833 French citizenship was con-
ferred upon all free inhabitants of St.
Louis and Gorée by royal decree. Citizen-
ship was extended to all inhabitants of

[P.7B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[13] We have observed that in such cases a "people belonging to the city" emerged. Their ties with their birthplaces were more or less completely severed.
[14] It had scarcely 20,000 inhabitants in 1920, but its growth resumed in the 1930's. In 1954 it had a population of 39,000.
[15] With the creation of a harbor, which captured the trade of Rufisque, whose modernization appeared impossible, and the installation of the government-general of French West Africa, established in 1895.

[p.7c]

175 369 633 [69]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 633 175 [641]

the two cities with the abolition of slavery in 1848.[16] The four coastal cities were elevated to the status of communes with full powers between 1872 and 1887, and the organization of political life on a European pattern in the four communes crystalized the opposition between the citizens of the old settlements and the subjects of the territories in the newly-conquered interior. The cities alone provided apprenticeship in public life and in the representative system. Beginning in 1871 they elected a deputy to the French Parliament. In 1879 they [646] elected a Council-general patterned after those in France, supposedly to represent all Senegal. It actually represented only the few urban centers, whose interests at the time diverged widely from those of the rest of Senegal. An effort was subsequently made to repair this breach by transforming the Council-general into a colonial council, consisting of representatives elected by the citizens and representatives for the non-citizens appointed by the *notables*.[17] This reduced conflicts scarcely at all. Meanwhile, citizenship [641] acquired new importance. At first it was established by local law and had no effect in other French territories. Not until 1916 did the "natives of the four communes" receive full French citizenship while still being able to retain their personal status. These citizens were few in [660] number: scarcely 80,000 in 1939, about 100,000 in the 1950's. The cities tended to include more non-citizens than citizens as they grew. Actual participation in politics developed only gradually. At [666] the first legislative elections, in 1871, only a third of those registered voted, and the rate dropped to less than a fifth

[P. 8]

369 in some years. Since the beginning of the
633 20th century, however, urban citizens
175 have taken an increasingly lively interest
[666] in political matters.[18]

In this restricted political system the relative importance of the roles played by
563 different ethnic groupings and different
668 cities varied continuously. Ethnic dominance, first held by the old European families, passed gradually to mixed-blood society, which came into being in the 18th century and rapidly acquired wealth, education, and influence. By the mid-19th century mixed-bloods made up the majority of the westernized population. But the entry of the emancipated slaves, the first sizable migration toward the
[166] cities, quickly reduced the mixed-bloods to a minority. In 1900 they numbered
[162] less than 5,000 in the four communes together, though for several decades their economic and political influence remained quite disproportionate to their num-
668 bers. Among the cities, St. Louis was
[369] predominant until WW I. At the beginning of the century it practically controlled the deputation to the French legislature and the Council-general — and hence the economic life of the territory. Then Gorée-Dakar came to the fore;[19] in 1914 a citizen of Gorée, Blaise Diagne, was elected deputy, followed by Galandou Diouf and Lebou. These men were the first elected Senegalese to win
[645] broad support at Paris; Diagne himself was appointed a Secretary of State [a subministerial post, equivalent to a U.S. Under-Secretary]. In Senegal, the au-
[642] thority of elected officials — deputies and Councillors-general — increased, and clashes with the civil administration were frequent.[20]

[P. 8 B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[16] Which nearly tripled the number of citizens, who henceforth comprised a body that was more heterogeneous but less completely "assimilated."
[17] Translator's note: the *notables* were influential residents appointed to high political offices in the interior by the local representative of French government.
[18] Especially after 1914, when there appeared a particularly dynamic personnage, Blaise Diagne, whose popularity was widespread.
[19] Dakar absorbed Gorée in 1929. The latter was reestablished as a separate commune in 1956.
[20] At first — at the end of the 19th century — these were conflicts between the merchants, upholding the interests of their agencies, and the civil administration, then engaged in an expansionist policy in West Africa, whose advantages the former could not see. Not until recent years did these conflicts change very much in character.

369
633
668
[115]
[641]
[642]
[646]
[666]

[P. 8C]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

The Growth of Political Parties

668 This political tradition explains why the changes in Senegal after 1946 took a unique coloring, and why Senegal's subsequent political history has been considerably different from that of other French West African territories. The political changes instituted after WW II [633] represented in part a loss of privileged position for the four communes, though they continued to play a dominant role for several years.[21] This was one of the factors that made the period 1946-1956 one of transition.

668 665 One important development was the appearance of well-structured political parties. Pre-war political life had been characterized by clusters of followers assembled about influential leaders, in a framework that somewhat resembled that of a "republic of notables." This pattern was still common in 1946; the nature of parties changed only gradually. On the other hand, political life broadened to include the whole territory. The long-standing predominance enjoyed by the coastal cities persisted for a few years but the weight of their electorate fell rapidly.[22] The emerging ideologies and the newly-founded political organizations were oriented toward the satisfaction of wants quite different from those typical of the old urban populations. But the models and the leaders that the latter had produced retained an influence that greatly exceeded their geographic limits, and in the cities they receded only slowly before the growth of a political life with different roots.

The fact that the post-war institutional developments were not transplanted to virgin soil had two contradictory results. On the one hand, a political party that was merely a branch of a

[P. 9A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 369 cause of this peculiarity, described previously, there were secondary causes, of ethnic, religious, and other natures. Their action contributed to the blurring of lines between the party groups. These facts explain, for example, why the B.D.S., until its recent changes, was unable despite great efforts to change the nature of urban politics. Only the broad action of new factors that were felt considerably beyond the frontiers of Senegal, from 1956 on, brought some change.

These widespread occurrences affected chiefly the two large parties. The other parties, the M.P.S. and U.D.S., which had developed from the schism in the R.D.A., had a quite different nature. They were parties of activists, and in Senegalese political life had only secondary importance. The successes of the R.D.A. elsewhere in West Africa, even during 1956-1957, had only feeble repercussions in Senegal. This fact had many causes, which cannot be studied here. By contrast, the S.F.I.O. and the B.D.S. were tending to become, in terms of number, parties with mass support; their cores were made up as much by "*notables*" and "elected agents" as by activists. The struggle between these two parties continued to dominate the stage, if not in all Senegal, at least in the cities and in certain rural districts.[35] In some cases it took extremely violent forms. 666 665 369 633 [579] Pre-election riots were common between 1946 and 1956. Even in 1957, rather serious incidents marked the reorganization of the commune of Dakar, before the last municipal elections.[36] For the first time, elements of the B.D.S. (now the Senegalese Populist Bloc, or B.P.S.) won strong representation in the city council, previously dominated without opposition by the S.F.I.O. (now the African Socialist Movement — M.S.A.); an outburst of partisan passions marked

[P. 12A]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[35] Where the rivalry, furthermore, was chiefly between the "outposts," in this case more or less connected with the tradition of the "old cities," and the surrounding countryside.
[36] The separation of Gorée and the anticipated electoral redistricting had persuaded the civil administration to dissolve the municipal council and to replace it during the electoral period with a bipartisan municipal commission.
[37] Particularly in their activity as electoral agents.
[38] In a general way, these goals showed a much more definite "nationalist" potential.

[P. 12 C]

665
369
669
633

665 tems. At Dakar, the powers of the "sé-
[633] *rigne*" and of the dignitaries of the former "Lebou Republic" were continued, although they gradually lost their importance.[40] The parties were careful to keep these leading figures among their clientele. As a result there were some rather complex manipulations concerning nominations and successions. A nomination accepted by one party was more or less openly contested by the other. Hence the relatively frequent bifurcation of power: opposing the dignitary who had received official recognition was another who maintained himself as pretender, with the support of the party that had backed his candidacy. Such events stood
[667] out even more sharply among ward leaders, who depended most directly upon the party that controlled the city government. Their support was more or less confined to the voters of this party. Hence certain wards had clandestine ward leaders, around whom the members of the opposition party could gather. Of course, such phenomena have accelerated the deterioration of these institutions.

793 (2) In the religious field, control over
665 chiefs of the great Moslem brotherhoods similarly has been at stake in intense struggles between the parties. This was particularly true of the main brotherhood in Senegal, that of the Tidjanes.
[369] This problem has been centered outside Dakar and the other coastal cities, but has had important repercussions in these cities. The rivalries that apparently have always surrounded the choice of the caliph of the Tidjanes were intensified and acquired a greater impact, in proportion as the fundamental hostility of the parties was openly associated with them. Violent incidents involving politi-
[788] cal enemies occurred even on pilgrimages to Tivaouane, where the caliph resides; they contributed to the prolongation of conflicts within the caliph's family. Well-meaning interference by re-

[P. 13 B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[39] We found, for example, that extended family groups with some degree of solidarity might be divided in political views. This caused severe tensions, but rarely breaks.

[40] *Cf.* C. Michel, *op. cit.* The civil administration continued to grant some prominence to the *sérigne* of Dakar, and ultimately used him as a propaganda agent in some of its activities outside Senegal.

[P.13C]

665
578
633

/375 cont./

175 name of France by the post-captain Protet, who materialized
369 this taking of possession by the construction of a protective fort,
[712] from which outfitting soon began. Work on the port began in
[505] 1862, and, on 4 November 1866, the first accomplishments were inaugurated by the first passage of a packet-boat. As early
[504] as the first of April 1864, the lighthouse of the Grande-Mamelle was lighted, followed two years later, on the first of December 1866, by the two lighthouses with fixed lights at Cape Manuel and the Pointe des Almadies /Cape Almadies/. A first plan for the future city was approved by the decree of 1 July 1862, while from this time on a plan for a railroad to link Dakar and Saint-Louis agitated opinion.

Nevertheless, despite these efforts, the launching of Dakar, put under the administrative guidance of Gorée, was difficult; the city was unpopulated, the Goréans monopolizing the lands without wanting to leave their island. Moreover, Rufisque, closer to the regions where groundnuts were cultivated, was better located for commerce with the interior and, because of this, contributed to blocking the development of Dakar. But
[633] the decree of 17 June 1887 separating Dakar from Gorée marked a decisive turning point (1885) in the life of the new creation.

369 2. Dakar, metropolis before being a city. Having become an autonomous center as a result of the Conference of Berlin, at a period when the colonial rivalries between the great powers were accentuated, Dakar benefited from the effective support /376/ of a mother country determined to make it a base for its expansion in West Africa.

504 It was the port in particular that was to be the essential
369 instrument of the launching and of the power of Dakar. Its first elements constructed shortly after the occupation were clearly insufficient, and as early as 1892 it was necessary to extend the old embankment by 200 meters and to add on to it a pier of 280 meters (present Pier III). But it was especially from 1899 that
[712] the great works began. The military port, which had to serve as

[i.e., the port of Dakar--Analyst]

/377 cont./

369 that Dakar is designated above all as a port d'escale, "a service
439 station," of the tropical Atlantic, provisioning the ships with
504 water and, above all, combustibles; the latter, represented in former times by coal in particular, are now almost entirely made up of hydrocarbides, the export and import traffic of which sometimes represents more than double that of merchandise: 211.1% in 1954, 233.6% in 1955, 186% in 1959.

369 But, beyond this role as a port d'escale, Dakar thrust ahead
439 as a metropolis, governing a large region. In fact it is via Dakar
487 that food products (rice, flour, sugar, etc.), cloth and thread, industrial products, etc. come in, principally destined for Senegal, Mauritania, and the Sudan, which, in return, send groundnuts, gum, hides wax, etc. to it for export. This situation is the result of struggles in the recent past between Dakar and the old mari-
[505] time or river ports which shared the light traffic of former times. The construction of the port and modern means of communication with the interior permitted Dakar to eliminate its rivals very quickly.

369 The establishment of Gorée, caught in a crisis since the
[505] abolition of slavery, despite the resistance, at first active and then passive, of its municipality (13), has been practically

[113] 13. In the work by J. Charpy (La Fondation de Dakar /The Founding of Dakar/, Larose, Paris, 1958), there is a series of documents on the various aspects of this resistance.

eliminated from the economic circuit since the accomplishment of the great work of the commercial port. Business then emigrated
[162] to the continent, while the city went to sleep, losing more and more of its population; from 3,200 inhabitants in 1872, it went to 2,068 in 1891, 1,249 in 1910, 998 in 1921, so that the com-
•[633] mune was abolished and attached to Dakar in 1929, and then the entire island was classified as a historical monument in 1944.

/377 cont./

369 The reconstitution of the municipality in 1956, a simple elec-
633 toral operation, proved /378/ /Fig. 2 appears here/ to be in-
capable of giving life to Gorée; at the beginning of 1961 it was
forced to reattach itself to Dakar, for which it is nothing more
than a tourist annex. Nevertheless, due to the crisis in housing
[362] in Dakar, it offers its old houses to workers from the victorious
great city.

369 The elimination of the other rival centers was not as easy,
but no less radical. The railroad linking Dakar and Saint-Louis,
505 finished in 1885, did not immediately bring about the decline
496 of the old Senegalese capital. On the contrary, asleep since
487 entry up the river became impossible because of the increase in
tonnage of the ships, it seems to have gained a revival of activity,
especially after the construction of the Kayes-Niger section of
the railroad at the end of the century. In fact the products des-
[439] tined for the Sudan or coming from there, which took the path
of the Senegal River, were subjected to an obligatory freight-
break there, which made Saint-Louis a quite important mart.
But the construction of the Thiès-Kayes railroad after the First
World War and the /379/development of automobile traffic had
the effect, on the one hand, of directly annexing the Sudan to
the zone of influence of Dakar, and, on the other hand, of iso-
lating Saint-Louis and the old escales /trading centers/ of the
Senegal River and accelerating their economic decline (Fig. 2).
369 Bakel, Matam, Podor, and Dagana are no more than administra-
[633] tive centers without any great economic activity. Saint-Louis,
continuing as the capital of Senegal, preserved an appearance of
vitality longer. But in 1957 Dakar robbed it of this function to
the great despair of its population, which, after a phase of vio-
lent opposition, complains today in a passive resistance that the
tokens of sympathy and the promises expressed a thousand times
in the official speeches of the state authorities do not come to
anything.

369 As for Rufisque, for a long time it had more economic
505 trump cards than Dakar. In fact, when the port had not yet been
439 constructed at Dakar, it was more advantageous to load the

/379 cont./

102
496
508
504
491
361

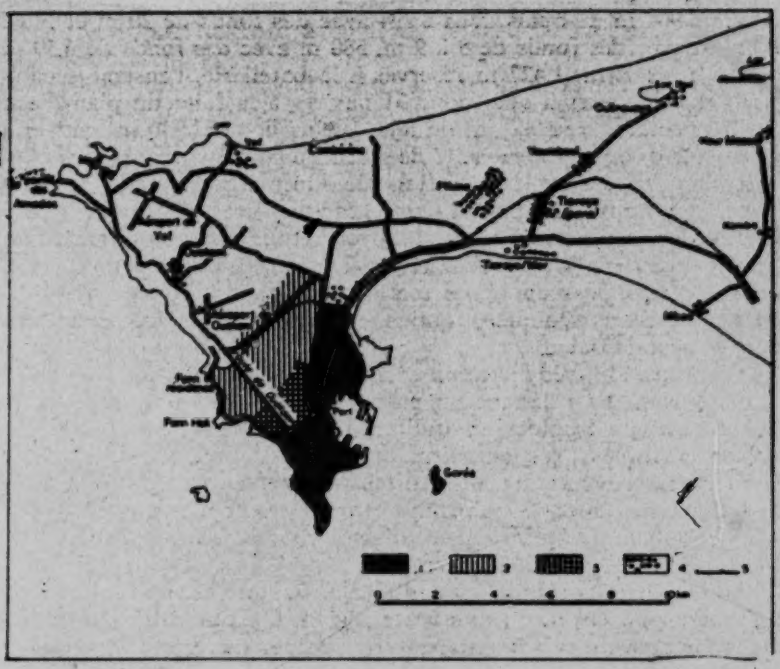


Fig. 2. The quarters of Dakar. --1. Dakar-ville and the industrial zone; 2. Greater Dakar; 3. Médina; 4. villages of the suburbs; 5. railroads.

369 groundnuts at Rufisque, nearer to the centers of production in
505 Cayor. Therefore Rufisque soon became the groundnut capital.
439 As early as 1862, 27 European or Goréan merchants were estab-
[441] lished there (and 12 at Bargny, located three kilometers farther to the east). Three years later, this figure climbed to 35 (14).

14. Note 1 in Fondation de Dakar, op. cit., p. 328.

369
633 The activity at Rufisque was so great and the launching of Dakar so

/379 cont./

369 difficult that the commandant of Gorée, Pinet-Laprade, in a [redacted] 9 May 1862 (15), proposed to the governor of Senegal

15. Archives of the G. G. A. O. F. 4 B 20, 13 G 299, L 9, in Fondation de Dakar, op. cit., pp. 327-329.

that the authority of the settlement of Rufisque be abolished in order to avoid stifling Dakar. Evidently Pinet-Laprade was not followed, and the declassing of Rufisque, which nevertheless was to intervene later, was the result of a bitter struggle. As
369 soon as it was possible to draw up alongside the quay at the port
505 of Dakar, Rufisque lost the advantage of its situation, which had
504 permitted a saving, in relation to Dakar, of some 30 kilometers of land travel. Actually, this drawing up to the quay by the ships [illegible]d the slow transshipments which caused a great loss of time at Rufisque. Therefore, as early as about 1930, Rufisque
[633] had been declassed; in 1933, after the construction of the groundnut platform at the port of Dakar, it did not load more than 10% of the harvest of Senegal, as against 28% at Dakar. Today no maritime loading is done at Rufisque, and the city maintains some economic activity only by grace of a new orientation tending to make it an industrial annex of Dakar.

369 Thus, the elimination of rivals has resulted in a tendency
505 for all of the activity of collecting the products of Senegal,
439 Mauritania, and the Sudan to be concentrated at a single pole. Only two ports, Kaolack and Ziguinchor, have succeeded in maintaining themselves /380/ and even developing themselves as ports of direct importation and exportation. In 1933 Kaolack exported 52% of the Senegalese harvest of groundnuts, and Ziguinchor nearly 10%, while Dakar had only 28%. Specifically, in addition to a regional exportation equal to half of the Senegalese harvest, Kaolack handled the rail shipments of a large part of the production of eastern Senegal and even of the Sudan. In the case of Ziguinchor, it handled the production of Casamance, which has no other export port. Today the conversion of the

/380 cont./

ooo at Dakar.

369 648 [433] Even more than in the sphere of aviation, however, it is on the commercial and industrial plane that the other states of former French West Africa were, before the recent political disturbances, dependent on Dakar. In fact Dakar was the seat [453] of the banks and of the commercial associations or the branch [441] agencies of the mother country, all of whom /Pl. XXI and XXII appear here on unnumbered pages/ /381/exercise from Dakar, if not always a role of direct administration, at least some co-ordination and in any case an influence that is not negligible on the branches scattered across Senegal, former French West Africa, and sometimes even across foreign territories. Thus, the C. F. A. O., the S. C. O. Z., the B. A. O., and the B. C. A., which practice their activities in practically all of Black Africa, although having their seat in Paris, are strongly established in Dakar, from where they manage a number of agencies and branches. On the other hand, the Société Maurel et Prom, which has branches in Senegal, Mauritania, the Sudan, Guinea, and Gambia, the "Commerce Africain," which has establishments in Senegal, Gambia, the Ivory Coast, and the Cameroun, and other companies have their [439] seat in Dakar (17). Moreover it must be added that several in-

17. "Le Commerce Africain" transferred its seat from Dakar to Paris in July 1960.

dustries (oil factories, soap factories, breweries, cement factories, textile factories, shoe factories, etc.) established on the peninsula of Cape Verde send a part of their products to other territories in former French West Africa.

369 633 648 Finally, because of its former function as federal capital, Dakar brought together all of the federal political and administrative organs, which permitted it to direct and co-ordinate all of the political, administrative, and economic life of former French West Africa.

Thus, Dakar became the leader, the undisputed metropolis, upon which there depended a regional assemblage much

[Text continues on p. 17--Analyst]

/381 cont./

369 larger than that of Paris. In Dakar, this function as a metrop-
648 olis, which has been confirmed since the construction of the
633 commercial port, preceded and conditioned the development of the city.

369 3. The city. The commercial affairs which thus make
166 African products and products from the outside converge toward
167 the Dakar crossroads could not fail to bring with them a great
[487] number of people. First, there are the Goréans, finally resigned to their fate, who accompany or follow the commercial or administrative establishments being transferred to Dakar; then, non-Africans, administrators, technicians, merchants, etc., usually arriving from Europe by the same route as that of the imported manufactured products. But above all there are the masses who arrive by road and by rail, by these paths of a money economy which have greatly disturbed the villagers' traditional institutions and thus communicated to the people a mobility formerly unknown in the rural world. Willingly or unwillingly, the rural people of Senegal, of the Sudan, of Upper Guinea, and of the Upper Volta take to the road and rails to cast themselves into an /382/ /Fig. 3 appears here/ /383/ adventurous existence which will lead many of them to Dakar and to settle there. Finally, Africans from Guinea, the Ivory Coast, and Dahomey, students at the large educational institutions and officials who come in connection with the functions of the federal capital, also arrive by sea.

369 This human convergence, which since the last decade of
162 the century has continued to grow, has caused a vertiginous increase in the population. To be sure, for the period before 1955
[633] there were only estimations, all the less certain because the boundaries of the commune have often changed, but the official figures (18), even though they should be corrected here or

[113] 18. Synthèse de la situation économique de l'ex-A.O.F. durant la période 1948 à

/383 cont./

369
162
[113]

1958, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 35: 1910, 24,000; 1921, 32,000; 1931, 54,000; 1945, 132,000; 1955-56, 231,000.

[633] there, nevertheless give an acceptable idea of the direction of the development of the population of Dakar. The first 20 years that followed the construction of the port were characterized by a not very spectacular progression, the population merely having doubled, going from 24,900 in 1910 to 54,000 in 1931. This relative slowness of growth should undoubedly be attributed to some check due to the First World War, but it is basically explained by the then very imcomplete [496] character of the modern paths of penetration, the railroads from Thiès to Kayes and from Louga to Linguère not having been finished until after the war. By contrast, the progression has been particularly rapid in the 20 years that followed, and, in spite of the checks that would seemingly have been put into operation by the Second World War, the population has more than quadrupled between 1931 and 1955, reaching 230,000 inhabitants at the latter date (19).

[113]

19. Recensement démographique de Dakar 1955. Résultats définitifs, 1er fascicule /Demographic census of Dakar for 1955. Final Results, No. 1/. Publication of the Service de la statistique de l'ex-A.O.F., July 1958. The following figures given for the population of Dakar have been taken from this number or have been calculated from the figures that it gives.

369
563
162

This Dakar population, very diverse in its make-up, is an almost complete sampling of the ethnic groups of Senegal, to which are added elements from the other territories of former French West Africa and also some non-Africans. Thus, jostling

[Text continues on P. 20--Analyst]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[+395]

CHAPTER VIII

SENEGAL AND THE DISTRICT OF DAKAR

1. GENERAL

Senegal. Area: 77,220 square miles. Population (1937): 1,666,374. Density per square mile: 21·58. Capital: St. Louis. 161 [131]

District of Dakar. Area: 66 square miles. Population (1937): 126,929. Density per square mile: 1,923·16. Headquarters: Dakar. [162] [633]

ALTHOUGH it has fewer inhabitants than most of the other colonies and a lower density of population than Dahomey or the Ivory Coast, Senegal is the most important of all the members of the Federation. Much of the colony is semi-desert, but the remainder is closely settled by some of the most vigorous and progressive peoples of French West Africa. Most of the native citizens are Senegalese, and the fame of the tirailleurs is known in every land. The colony contains some of the earliest French settlements, and its honourable position is attested by the fact that it alone in the Federation sends a direct representative to the Chamber of Deputies at Paris. [101] 162 648

The full title of the District of Dakar is the *Circonscription de Dakar et Dépendences*. Besides the town of Dakar it includes Goree, Rufisque, the territory round them, and a few small enclaves inside Senegal. One of these enclaves is at Sebikotane, where is situated the William Ponty School. The District has been a separate political entity since 1924, and its Administrator is not responsible to the Governor of Senegal. 633

The British colony of the Gambia has all its land frontiers with Senegal. 131

The greatest distance from north to south in Senegal is 249 miles, and the greatest from west to east is 365 miles. The colony extends from 12° 19′ N. to 16° 42′ N. and from 17° 20′ W. to 11° 20′ W. The extreme west of the Cape Verde peninsula is 17° 32′ W.

Boundaries. The Atlantic Ocean forms the main western boundary. The only exceptions to this are the frontier with the Gambia and the boundary between Senegal and Dakar. The latter leaves the coast at 14° 49′ N. and runs roughly south-south-east until it is 2 miles from Goree bay. There it turns east and afterwards south to strike the bay 1 mile east of Rufisque.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS37

At this stage no French taxation was imposed. Faidherbe was the first 175
to insist that the election of any chiefs must be subject to his approval, 648
and from this time onwards the French hold gradually grew tighter. As the French historian Sabatié has put it:

'These treaties guaranteed the political organization, the religion, customs, institutions, and laws of the native country concerned. They were designed to ensure the security of our commerce and respect for the property of our nationals and our subjects, and they stipulated, by way of compensation, the collection of certain taxes on cattle and exported products for the benefit of chiefs. As a result of the evolution of the colony and its economic and administrative necessities, the clauses and obligations of these treaties have lapsed.'

The system lasted until towards the end of the nineteenth century; but from that time onwards native powers, especially over judicial matters, land, and tribute, have been gradually curtailed. Native chiefs have become agents appointed by the Government, and native administrative institutions have almost everywhere been deliberately abolished. This policy has its roots not only in administrative convenience but also in a strong sense of duty to the individual native and a desire to protect him from misrule.

The Modern Constitution

Until 1920 the four communes of Dakar, Goree, Rufisque, and 631
St. Louis were described as the territory under direct administration, 633
the remainder of the colony as a protectorate. In that year the distinction, which had long been one without a difference, was formally abolished.

Senegal, being the oldest colony, contains about a quarter of the 641
whole European population of French West Africa. It also contains
a larger proportion of educated and politically minded natives than [162]
the other colonies, and its constitution is more democratic. This last fact is mainly due to the equalitarian doctrines of the July Monarchy at the time when the personal status of Senegalese native citizens and their rights as Frenchmen were determined. In 1833 the French Parliament enacted that any person born free, or having legally
acquired his liberty, enjoyed in the French colonies both civil and [648]
political rights under conditions prescribed by law. In 1848, therefore, when the colony first acquired the right to send a deputy to the French Parliament, natives born in the French settlements of
Goree, Rufisque, and St. Louis, the only French soil in Senegal at [633]
the time, became entitled to the Parliamentary vote and to all the

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

641 other privileges of French citizenship. In due course the same [633] status was conferred on natives of Dakar, and in 1916 French citizenship was extended not only to natives born in these four communes but to their descendants also. It thus came about that out [162] of 80,500 native citizens in the whole of French West Africa 78,000 live in Senegal or Dakar. Of these the great bulk resides in the four old communes.

633 Municipal government, on entirely metropolitan lines, was conferred upon St. Louis and Goree in 1872 and upon Rufisque in 1880. In 1887 Dakar, which had hitherto formed part of Goree, was separated from it, receiving its own elected mayor and council, and in 1929 absorbed its parent. The District of Dakar was separated from Senegal in 1924, and received its own Administrator, directly responsible to the Governor-General.

646 Parliamentary representation was suspended under Napoleon III, but restored in 1870. Until 1914 a European had been elected, but the racial issue was deliberately raised in that year, when M. Blaise [645] Diagne, a Sérère, entered on his long term as Deputy for Senegal. He thoroughly justified his race by heading a campaign for voluntary recruitment in Senegal during the War of 1914–1918, and subsequently held office as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. As early as 1879 the General Council was elected by the citizens of [633] the four communes. It had certain powers of taxation and legislation over the four communes, powers which, though limited, were more democratic than in other parts of French West Africa. Its greatest influence, however, lay in the criticism of the Government, a function which, withheld from it by law, sprang naturally from the power of taxation. When the formal distinction between colony and protectorate disappeared, the General Council gave place to the existing Colonial Council (p. 434), a body with generally similar powers extending over the whole colony.

648 *Senegal and Federation.* Before 1845 and again from 1859 to 1893 [643] the whole of what is now French West Africa was administered by the Governor of Senegal. It was natural, therefore, that in 1895 he should be appointed Governor-General of the Federation, with its not very precise constitution. This appointment was welcomed in Senegal, as it enhanced the colony's supremacy. In 1902 the Governor-Generalship was made a separate office, and Senegal sank to the level of the other colonies. This new arrangement, although a blow to the pride of the Senegalese, did not touch their pockets. They still [652] kept control of their own revenues, out of which they voted a sum

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

9. ADMINISTRATION

DAKAR, the capital of the Federation and the residence of the Governor-General, is geographically in Senegal, and from its foundation in 1863 it was administered by the Governor of Senegal as part of that colony. By the decrees of 25 October and 27 November 1924, however, the District of Dakar was, without prejudice to its municipal institutions, made a separate administrative unit, under an Administrator directly responsible to the Governor-General. Only Dakar and Goree were originally included, with an area of 60 square miles, but the Commune of Rufisque was added by a decree of 9 June 1937. The District now has a population of 127,000, and it has its own budget. 633 [648] [167]

Senegal returns a deputy to the French Chamber of Deputies, who is elected by French citizens (European or native) resident in the colony and in Dakar. The deputy is *ex officio* Senegal's representative on the Supreme Council of the French Colonial Empire. 648

Councils

Executive Councils. The Executive Council of Senegal is composed of the Governor, the Secretary-General, the Attorney-General, the officer commanding the troops, one French citizen elected by the Chamber of Commerce of St. Louis, and one citizen and two subjects nominated for two years by the Governor-General. 645 [648]

It is a purely advisory body, but the Governor is bound to consult it on such matters as the Colonial Budget, proposed changes in taxation, disposal of government property, and concessions. He may indeed, require its advice on any matter he chooses.

The Executive Council for the District of Dakar was at one time composed of the Standing Committee of the Governor-General's Council together with the Administrator. This arrangement, legalized in 1924, was changed by a decree of the 9 June 1937 which gave Dakar its own Executive Council, composed of the Administrator, Deputy-Administrator, the officer commanding the troops at Dakar, the Attorney-General, one member of the Chamber of Commerce appointed by that body, two municipal councillors of Dakar and one of Rufisque appointed by their respective councils, and one French subject appointed by the Governor-General. 633 [648] [648]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

633 The Council has the same functions as that of the colony, but its
645 decisions need the approval (usually formal) of the Standing
[648] Committee of the Governor-General's Council.

The Executive Councils of Senegal and of Dakar are known as *conseils privés*, whereas those of the other colonies are known as *conseils d'administration*.

646 *The Colonial Council of Senegal.* The history of the Colonial
633 Council and of its predecessor, the General Council, has been given above. The earlier council had jurisdiction over the four full communes only, but its successor, which dates from 1920, when all distinctions between colony and protectorate were abolished, has jurisdiction over the whole colony. The inhabitants of the District of Dakar still retain their votes for the Colonial Council, and as a corollary the Council can discuss the affairs of the District. The pretext for this decision was afforded by the provision, in the decrees
[652] of 1924, that the Colonial Budget of Senegal should contain a grant in aid of Dakar; but French writers do not disguise the fact that it was thought not desirable entirely to divorce the District from the rest of Senegal. The decrees of 1924, therefore, expressly left it an integral, though autonomous, part.

646 The Colonial Council is unique in French Africa in that its
666 membership includes Europeans, natives, chiefs, citizens, and subjects. It is, therefore, worthy of detailed mention. Its constitution
[642] and powers are laid down in a decree of 4 December 1920, as amended by decrees of 30 March 1925, 13 January 1930, and 8 April 1939. This last added the subjects. The colony is divided into four electoral districts, from which members are elected on a population basis. The Council is elected for a term of six years, but, on the recom-
[648] mendation of the Governor, it may be dissolved by the Governor-General. Should a dissolution occur, a new election must be held within three months. There are 62 members in all: 26 citizens elected by citizens, 18 provincial or canton chiefs elected by those of the same rank, and 18 native subjects. These subjects must either have been born in the colony or be descendants of subjects born in
[641] the colony; they must have completed their military service; and they are elected by all other subjects who fulfil the same conditions. In 1929 the European element only numbered one-fifth of the total membership, and the additions made in 1939 will have had the effect of swamping it.

646 The Council meets for a fortnight's session once a year, but it can
643 be summoned by the Governor at any time. It chooses its own

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

Municipal Government

Full Communes. Dakar (including Goree), St. Louis, and Rufisque are full communes (Vol. I, p. 258), the only ones in the Federation. 633

The Municipal Councils, which choose their own mayors, consist of from fifteen to eighteen members. These are elected for terms of four years by the French citizens of their towns, and since 1910 all the councils have had African majorities. At first these communes had powers as extensive as their counterparts in France, and they were responsible for police, public health, roads, markets, lighting, and elementary education. In 1918, however, the colonial authorities took over public health at St. Louis and at Dakar, and in 1927 at Rufisque. Similarly, in 1924, the creation of the District of Dakar was made the occasion to subtract police and roads from the commune. The same process, without the same excuse, went on in 1927 for St. Louis and for Rufisque. For all these services the municipalities still make financial contributions.

Their revenue comes from direct government grants, from municipal rates, and from municipal undertakings. Altogether they include market dues, liquor licences, lighting, and a proportion of the business licences and other colonial taxes. In normal years the revenue of Dakar averaged some 8,000,000 francs, of St. Louis 7,750,000 francs, and of Rufisque 5,600,000 francs. 652 651 633

In each case the budget is drawn up by the mayor, passed by his council, and submitted to the Governor or Administrator. [643]

Mixed Communes. There are fifteen mixed communes in Senegal, namely Bambey, Bargny-Gouddou, Diourbel, Fatik, Foundiougne, Gossas, Kaolack, Kébémer, Kombole, Louga, M'Bour, Mekhé, Thiès, Tivaouane, and Ziguinchor. Thirteen of them are mixed communes of the first degree, but since 1925 Kaolack and Ziguinchor have been mixed communes of the second degree. 633

Chambers of Commerce. There are Chambers of Commerce at Dakar, Kaolack, St. Louis, Thiès, and Ziguinchor. The one at St. Louis is the successor of a Committee of Commerce which was set up in 1825. The Chamber at Thiès is also known as the Chamber of Cayor-Baol. It was first founded at Rufisque in 1883, but in 1937, when that town was included in the District of Dakar, it was moved to its present headquarters. 441 647

In Senegal there are no separate Chambers of Agriculture and Industry, but the Chamber of Commerce at Dakar has a section, established in 1930, devoted to those two activities.

[RUFISQUE]

439 Rufisque was the first port from which ground-nuts were exported, and to-day ground-nuts are still the main article of trade. In the first quarter of 1939 it exported 25,152 tons of them. On the north side
504 of Goree bay, Rufisque can only handle small ships. There is anchorage off shore in 3–7 fathoms, but from July to November heavy swell makes it almost unusable.

●633 Since 1937 the town has been in the District of Dakar.

Jetties and Equipment. There are three jetties with alongside depths
504 of at least 9½ feet. Two of these are of iron, one being 603 feet long and 33 feet wide with an extension by a wharf 65 feet long and 52 feet wide. The third is of concrete and is 656 feet long. Decauville tracks connect these jetties to the railway. There is one 5-ton crane and one 2-ton, besides smaller ones. There are 4 tugs and 2 lighters.

Communications

496 *Rail.* By rail Rufisque is 17 miles from Dakar, 26½ miles from Thiès, 146 miles from St. Louis, and 268 miles from Tambacounda.

Road. The intercolonial road runs from Dakar (15 miles) through
491 to Thiès (29 miles), where it divides. Eight miles beyond Rufisque a colonial road branches off it to go to M'Bour (38 miles), Joal (61 miles), and Fatik (101 miles). Another colonial road goes north-eastwards from the town to Sangalkan (6 miles) and Kayar (17 miles).

36 M'Bour (14° 21′; 16° 57′ W.). Population, *c.* 4,500, including 175
[131] Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-
[162] house. Medical post. Police station.

The town of M'Bour stands at the head of a shallow cove which extends for a mile out to sea as a passage between two reefs. Inside
[504] the cove the water is up to 4½ feet deep, and there is a wharf used by surf-boats. Ships anchor 2½ miles off shore, but heavy swell makes
[439] conditions difficult from June to November. Ground-nuts and millet are exported.

[491] M'Bour is on the colonial road from Rufisque (38 miles) to Joal (23 miles) and Fatik (63 miles). Several minor roads lead inland,
[494] notably one to Thiès, along which there is a bus service twice a day. For half the year there is also a service to Joal.

[131] Joal (14° 09′; 16° 51′ W.). Population, *c.* 900. Custom-house.
[162] Roman Catholic mission.

Joal was founded by the Norman Company in the middle of the
[175] seventeenth century. It was captured by the Dutch in 1677 and by

Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M837 Senegal MS 37

652

Expenditure

	Essential expenditure Francs	*Optional expenditure Francs*
I. Ordinary Expenditure		
Debt charges	657,000	..
Salaries of administrative staffs	23,403,000	..
Other administrative expenses	3,861,550	1,994,450
Posts, telegraphs, &c. (salaries and wages)	13,239,200	1,234,800
Posts, telegraphs, &c. (plant and materials)	2,246,800	6,431,200
Public works	141,850	12,485,150
Social and economic departments (salaries)	12,967,200	50,800
Social and economic departments (other expenditure)	2,320,730	9,083,270
Sundry disbursements	24,642,013	1,189,987
Secret funds	10,000	..
Unforeseen expenses	1,000	167,000
TOTALS	83,690,343	32,636,657
II. Extraordinary Expenditure		
Previous payments to the Reserve Bank		4,710,000
TOTAL		120,737,000

Two features emerge from an examination of these figures. One is the customary large proportion of the expenditure paid out in salaries, and the other is the division of the expenditure into 'essential' and 'optional' categories. It will also be observed that only a small percentage of the salaries is found in the latter column.

The District of Dakar

633
652

The budget for 1938 balanced at 60,033,000 francs (£386,301). Its form of presentation was the same as for the ordinary colonies, except that there was no Extraordinary Revenue or Expenditure, and its details were as follows:

Revenue

	Francs
Customs and excise	5,306,000
Posts, telegraphs, &c.	5,488,600
Grants and subsidies	49,189,400
Receipts from previous financial year	49,000
TOTAL	60,033,000

Expenditure

	Francs
Debt charges	10,000
Administration of the District (salaries)	308,000
Administration of the District (other expenses)	155,300

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

652
633

	Francs
Federal administration (salaries)	10,206,400
Federal administration (other expenses)	1,656,000
Financial department (salaries)	1,447,000
Financial department (other expenses)	370,000
Posts, telegraphs, &c. (salaries and wages)	6,631,000
Posts, telegraphs, &c. (plant and materials)	3,492,000
Public works	6,782,000
Social and economic departments (salaries)	8,868,000
Social and economic departments (other expenditure)	10,850,000
Sundry disbursements	2,726,000
Secret funds	12,600
Unforeseen expenses	25,000
Water department (salaries)	748,000
Water department (other expenditure)	3,345,500
TOTAL	60,033,000

In 1937, however, Extraordinary Expenditure amounted to 8,445,000 francs (£67,875).

The budget for the Port of Dakar has already been given on p. 447.

14. COMMUNICATIONS

WATERWAYS

133
361

THE navigable rivers and estuaries of the colony have been fully described in Volume I, pp. 366–7. The principal distances from St. Louis up the Senegal river are as follows:

	Miles
St. Louis	0
Rosso	82
Dagana	116
Podor	177
Boghé (Mauritania)	247
Kaédi (Mauritania)	341
Matam	400
Bakel	519
Ambidedi (French Sudan)	574
Kayes (French Sudan)	603

RAILWAYS

496

There are 648 miles (1,043 km.) of railway in the colony, all of metre gauge. For purposes of description six lines may be distinguished.

1. Dakar–St. Louis (163 miles).
2. Louga–Linguéré (81 miles).

/102 cont./

632 N'Gahaye,
N'Guer,
Pakalla-Mandack
N'Doukoumane (Kaffrine)
Koungheul.

The subdivision of Sine is divided into five cantons:

Diakhao-Maroutte,
Sanghaye-N'Gayokème,
Diohine,
Diouroup,
Dangana.

The subdivision of Bas-Saloum has three cantons:

Djilor,
Sokone,
Niombato.

162 The population is distributed as follows:

Subdivision of Kaolack	141,000	inhabitants
Subdivision of Sine.....	89,000	"
Subdivision of Bas-Saloum...	50,000	"
Total	280,000	

633 Mixed communes. Mixed communes have been created in certain important localities. There are four of them:

Kaolack,
Fatick,
Foundiougne,
Gossas.

633 162 /103/ The mixed commune of Kaolack has 700 Europeans and assimilated individuals /assimilés/ and 8,000 natives (20 years ago it had 50 Europeans and 600 natives).

That of Fatick has 2,000 natives and 120 Europeans. Those of Foundiougne and Gossas have 50 Europeans and 800 natives each.

633 The importance of Kaolack comes from the fact that it is the principal port of the Saloum, the terminal point of a branch of the major railroad from the Sudan, and the center of a region that is a great producer of groundnuts.

There is a chamber of commerce, a court of the first

/103 cont./

633 instance, a customs office, and a telegraph, telephone, and
[447] post office. The various administrative services are represented
there[4] (public works, treasury, medical aid, education, agriculture, veterinary medicine, etc.).

433 Financial situation. Taxes. The circle of Sine-Saloum is constantly increasing in importance because of its size, population, and economic resources.

[496] Because of its exceptional location, the railway from
[491] the Sudan crosses it over a distance of 190 kilometers. Seven
[505] stations mark it out. Its railroad network and its system of highways and canals permit it to drain to Kaolack and
[439] Foundiougne all of the products of the soil. Thus, the total commerce for 1927 (imports and exports combined) amounted
651 to 350 million francs for the circle. The customs duties collected for the benefit of the general budget of French West Africa reached 13 million francs. The taxes from the tax rolls (personal taxes, patents, licenses, etc.) have risen to 25 million francs, whereas they did not exceed the figure of 4,300,000 francs in 1923. The advance is thus remarkable.

Native personal taxes alone in 1927 provided 3,768,355 francs, whereas in 1921 they brought in only 2,791,000 francs.

Taxes on livestock went from 270,000 francs in 1921 to 425,000 francs in 1927.

871 /104/ Education. Instruction is given to the children
[875] by French and native teachers. There is a regional school
[872] with 500 pupils at Kaolack. Primary schools are operating at Fatick, Foundiougne, Sokone, Gossas, Kaffrine, and Nioro. In all, 1,200 children receive instruction; only an elite goes to school. A need for the creation of new centers of education is felt, especially at Birkelane, Koungheul, Gandiaye, Niakhar, and Tataguine. Nevertheless, although instruction in French is given only in our schools, the natives also receive some rudiments of instruction in the Koranic schools. The latter are quite numerous.

4 [in KAOLACK - ANALYST]

/388/

369 The city of Thiès, 60 kilometers east of Dakar, contains
433 36,000 inhabitants, according to a recent census. All of its
[162] activity seems to be centered around four principal poles: commercial, industrial, administrative, and military.

Its commercial activity is due to its position at the cross-
[487] roads of important paths of communication: railroad lines from Dakar to Saint-Louis, from Dakar to Bamako, and from Thiès to Kaolack, and roads from Dakar to Saint-Louis and from Dakar to Diourbel, Tambacounda, and the Sudan and Guinea.

It also owes the essential part of its industrial activity to
[498] this implantation at an important rail crossroads; the repair
[464] shops of the Dakar-Niger rail system, where nearly 1,000 workers of all grades are employed, have been set up there.

Apart from the workshops of the Dakar-Niger, it must not
[497] be forgotten that Thiès is also where the management of this
[634] system resides. And it is also the principal administrative point of a circle /cercle, an administrative district/. We will thus find, besides the workers, a rather large proportion of office employees, managers, and executives.

[712] Finally, the military function of Thiès is due to the presence of two important camps: the "DMA" (Détachement Motorisé Autonome), and an air base.

Besides these four centers of activities which give this city a modern character (economically speaking, at least), a fifth one intervenes in a not inconsiderable proportion. A rather large
[166] population of cultivators, who in winter cultivate groundnuts and
[241] millet in nearby fields, has settled on the periphery of Thiès. And the city is the point to which, at the time of the groundnut trade, all of the agricultural activity of the circle comes to assert itself. Its commercial importance is thereby further increased.

162 /389/ Here is some numerical information concerning
463 the occupational distribution of the population of Thiès.

Out of an economically active population of 11,040 inhabitants at the date of the census, there were counted:

Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

president, but the Governor has the right of addressing it and of deputing high officials to speak to it of the work of their own departments. It appoints a Standing Committee, which can meet to trans-

FIG. 52. *Senegal: Administrative Divisions*

act business when the full Council is not in session. It is bound, however, to report to its parent body.

The Council's powers are wide. It must be consulted on a proposal to create new communes, and it may advise on any matter put before it by the Governor. It may legislate on eight stated topics, which are chiefly concerned with the management of state property and with the colony's financial contributions to the public works of the Federation. This legislation comes into force within two months, unless previously vetoed by the Governor-General. The Council also has the right to deliberate the assessment and collection of

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

646 taxes and all items of the Colonial Budget not fixed by the Governor-
[648] General.
[652] Article 40 of the decree of 1920 forbade any deliberation of political
[647] matters and any resolution concerning them. The power to discuss the budget, however, has nullified this prohibition, and criticism of the Government plays a considerable part in the Council's debates.
[631] The citizens are usually more independent than the chiefs, since the latter owe their appointments to the Governor. It is too early to judge the effect of the recent addition of subjects.

It will be clear from the foregoing that this Colonial Council
[642] performs a very useful function. Although it cannot bring the machinery of government to a standstill, it can seriously hamper the administration. In consequence Senegal has a greater tincture of democracy than any other colony.

Territorial Divisions

635 The colony is divided into fifteen provinces (Fig. 52), some of
● 634 them subdivided into districts. Their names and the names of their headquarters towns are as follows.

Province	*Headquarters*	*Area in square miles*	*District headquarters*
Bakel	Bakel	8,755	..
Baol	Diourbel	1,714	..
Bas Sénégal	St. Louis	2,351	Dagana
Bignona	Bignona	1,699	Diouloulou
Djoloff	Linguéré	6,275	..
Haute Gambie	Kédougou	5,212	..
Kolda	Kolda	5,599	..
Louga	Louga	3,886	..
Matam	Matam	10,116	..
Podor	Podor	4,857	..
Sedhiou	Sedhiou	2,703	..
Sine-Saloum	Kaolack	10,228	Fatik, Foundiougne, Kaffrine
Tambacounda	Tambacounda	9,098	..
Thiès	Thiès	2,707	M'Bour, Tivaouane
Ziguinchor	Ziguinchor	1,120	Oussouye

635 The four provinces of Bignona, Kolda, Sedhiou, and Ziguinchor are grouped together as the Casamance Territory, at the head of which is a Session Administrator, or Chief Commissioner, residing at Ziguinchor.

In almost all provinces the provincial Commissioner is assisted by a Council of Notables (Plate 113).

/92/

I. General Information

131 634 a) Geographical survey. The circle /cercle, an administrative district/ of Sine-Saloum is a vast region of 26,000 square kilometers in area. It is one of the most important parts of the colony of Senegal. It is a heavily populated region. Finally, it has an economic value greater than that of the other territories which, together with it, constitute the Government of Senegal in French West Africa.

Bounded on the west by the Atlantic Ocean, it touches on the upper basin of the Gambia to the east and therefore on the very borders of the western Sudan, from which it is separated only by the circle of Tambacounda.

To the north, it reaches the desert of the Ferlo and the Djoloff region.

Along the entire southern part, its frontier runs along the territory of the British colony of Gambia, following precisely the parallel 13° 35' 36", conforming to the delimitation of the International Commission of 1891.

Such are its geographic limits.

133 A great navigable route crosses it from east to west, ending at the ocean; this is the Saloum River, which today is no more than a long maritime channel, narrow in its upper part, which the mud ruins by obstructing it, and ending in a vast estuary with a thousand /93/ ramifications, bordered by banks of sand and providing passage for ocean-going vessels at the place called Pointe de Sangomar, where there is a very narrow and not very deep passage. At low tide, in fact, the depths there are only three and a half to four meters. Under the influence of the trade winds and the tide race, the bar is subject to displacements which the hydrographic [502] service rectifies by a series of buoys which is continued even [361] beyond the estuary and up to Kaolack, a port about 100 kilometers from the coast.

[505] In this sea arm of the Saloum, the tide makes its effects felt almost to Birkelane, 130 kilometers from the ocean. The

SR /98 cont./
645 there was the Grand Farba, a slave of the crown, who performed the functions of head of the army. There was also the Farba Birkeur, or court minister, and a series of dignitaries for various jobs, up to the court jester or Bissète.

S
SR The first attempts at French colonization in this part of
175 Senegal date back to 1859, the date of the first military ex-
648 pedition into Sine-Saloum. In 1875, we concluded a treaty of alliance and trade with the king of Saloum, but the provisions were never observed by the native chiefs.

Governor Faidherbe explored the country and carried on reconnaissance as far as Kaolack. Following this demonstration he made a new treaty with the Bour Saloum in 1859. This agreement, like the preceding one, remained a dead letter, and it was necessary to organize an expedition in February 1861. Major Pinet-Laprade was given the command.

The marabout, a warrior of the Toucouleur race, Ma Ba, installed at Nioro-Rip, rose up against our arms.

In 1865 his activities forced us to throw a column into Rip.

Defeated by us, he nevertheless held us in check until 1867, when he was killed in the battle of Somb.

His brother, Mamour Dary, was only able to resist us weakly. Upon his death, Saër Maty resumed hostilities, seizing Kahone, the capital of Saloum.

His power becoming troublesome, an expedition /99/ was deemed necessary. It took place in April 1887, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Coronnat.

Nioro was taken, and on May 14, 1887, a treaty was signed with the chiefs of Saloum, placing Saloum, Niom, and Rip under our protection.

S
[634] An administrator was placed at Foundiougne, and a circle was created.

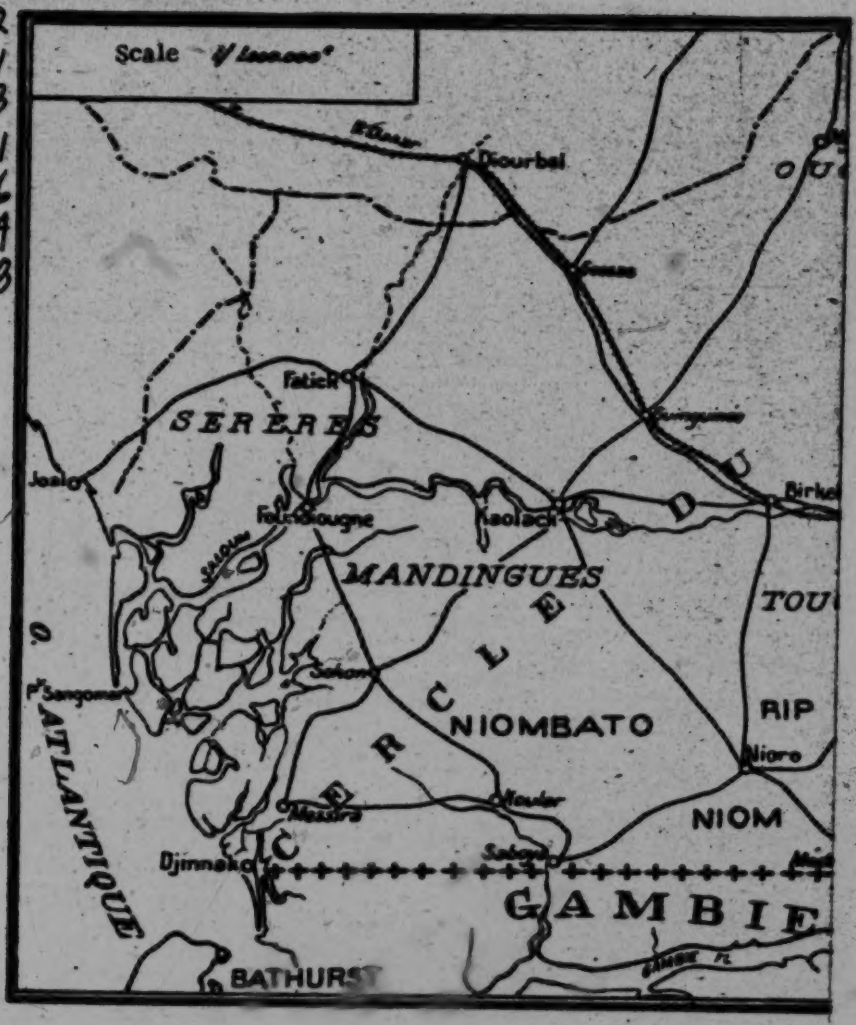
In 1891, treaties made with the kings of Sine and Saloum secured our authority definitively throughout the country.

The administrative organization was then set up gradually and without difficulties.

23: Aujas--10 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between 100 and 101/

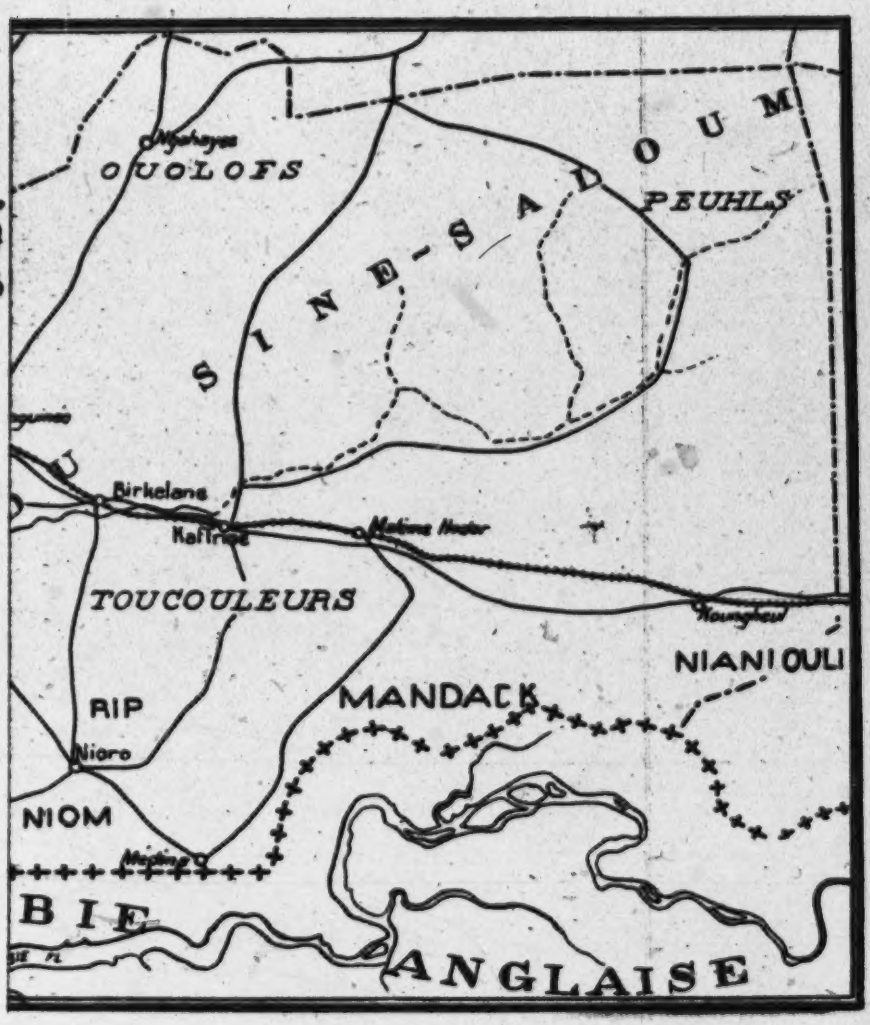
102
131
133
491
496
● 634
563



Circle of Sine Saloum

/left side of map/

102
131
133
491
496
● 634
563



Circle of Sine Saloum

/right side of map/

/101 cont./

134 everywhere the terrain is suitable for the cultivation of groundnuts, except in Bas-Saloum.

137 A very dense, thorny, and shrubby vegetation grows in the sandy soil. This is the region of the cades (Acacia albida). In the silico-argillaceous lands of the south and east, the vegetation is more vigorous; one still finds there at the present time interesting forest stocks, vestiges of the great forests of former times. These groves are on the way to disappearing as a result of the abuses of clearing and of the unfortunately too frequent fires. The forests of Patako, between Messira and Coular, and of Dasilamé, between Nioro and Médina, which contain many hardwoods, Gambian mahogany, vène, and hire, are to be protected.

II. Administrative Organization

634 Territorial divisions. The two large native commands of Sine and Saloum have been eliminated, and the title of Bour, which was only honorific in nature, has ceased to exist legally.

632 The circle is divided into three major administrative subdivisions:
634

1st, Subdivision of Sine, chief town Fatick;

2nd, Subdivision of Bas-Saloum, with Foundiougne as the chief town;

3rd, Subdivision of Saloum Oriental, chief town Kaolack.

An administrator is at the head of the circle, and each subdivision is commanded by an official of the corps of administrators or of the corps of civil services.

632 Divided among these three subdivisions are 19 cantons or native commands, each /102/ of which is headed by a canton chief.

The subdivision of Saloum Oriental has 11 cantons:

Kaolack-Laghem,
Kahone,
Diokoul-Gandiaye,
Gossas,
Niom-Rip,
Nioro-Rip,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

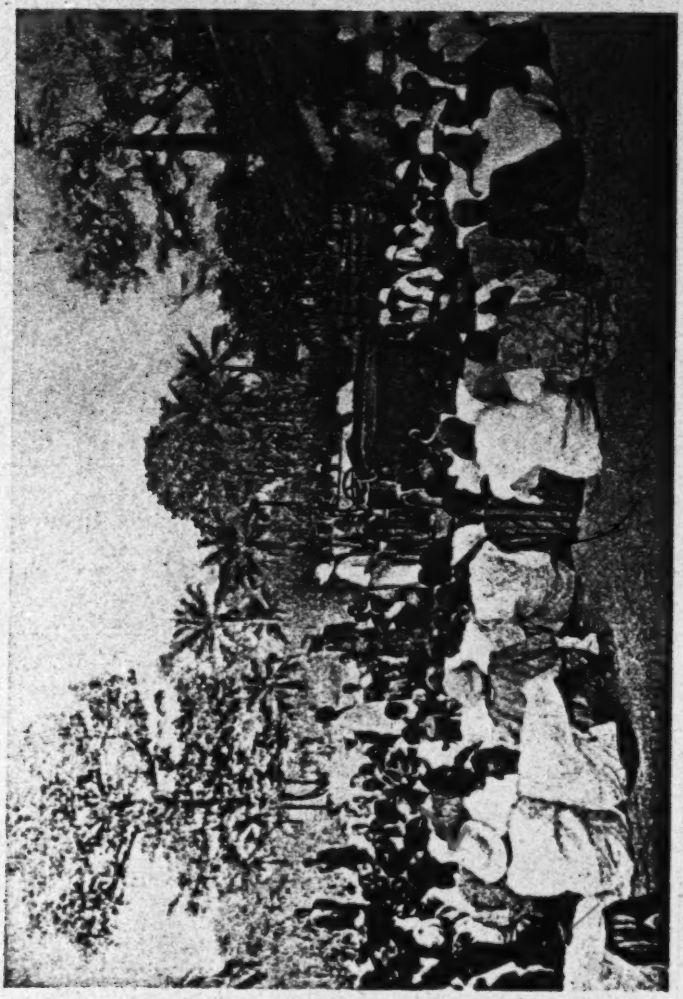
spent most of his time on the rehabilitation of African history.

631 Of course there would be considerable justification for such criticisms if Senghor and his Government were not in fact getting down to the fundamental reorganisation of Senegal. Already since the days of the French, the whole country has undergone a complete administrative transformation. Before independence the country was divided into *cercles* and *subdivisions*, under French and occasionally African administrators, and *cantons*, run by traditional chiefs as agents of the administration. This structure has been completely changed to give the administration and therefore the Government closer contact with the people. Previously the traditional chief, albeit an agent of the administration, was interposed between the administrator and his people. Now that the *chef de canton* has been eliminated and the *canton* has been redesignated as an *arrondissement*, presided over by an administrative official, working under the *commandant de cercle*, the Government has rid the country of what the Minister of Interior, Valdiodio N'Diaye, has described as an anachronistic institution. The *cercles* are grouped into seven regions, each with its Governor and [635] regional assembly, which deliberates on the regional budget. These seven regions have been laid out so as to correspond with the major economic zones of the country, making concessions only to ethnic factors and problems of communications. The whole field administration outside headquarters has been completely Africanised since July 1960, though there are many Europeans serving as 'technical [563] advisers' in the Government in Dakar.

668 But most important of all is the proposed four-year development plan for the Senegal which envisages a major revolution in the education, health and economy of the country. This plan was drawn up after nearly eighteen months of intensive research in Senegal by the Révérend Père Lebret, and his team of European and African researchers. The whole plan was directed by Mamadou Dia,

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

516
291
635



113. *Senegal: a Council of Notables*

[facing p. 432]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

president, but the Governor has the right of addressing it and of deputing high officials to speak to it of the work of their own departments. It appoints a Standing Committee, which can meet to trans- 646 [643]

102
103
635
634

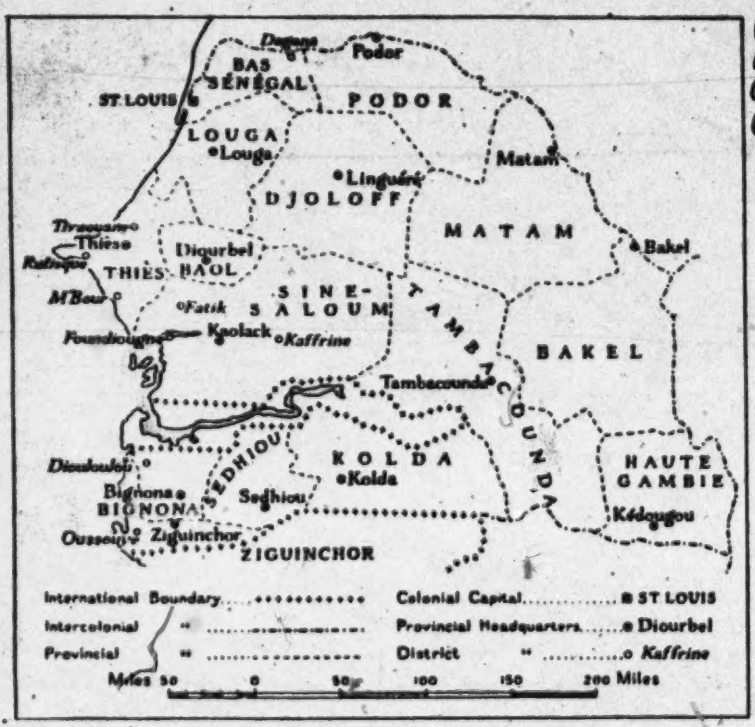


FIG. 52. *Senegal: Administrative Divisions*

act business when the full Council is not in session. It is bound, however, to report to its parent body. 646

The Council's powers are wide. It must be consulted on a proposal to create new communes, and it may advise on any matter put before it by the Governor. It may legislate on eight stated topics, which are chiefly concerned with the management of state property and with the colony's financial contributions to the public works of the Federation. This legislation comes into force within two months, unless previously vetoed by the Governor-General. The Council also has the right to deliberate the assessment and collection of [643] [652] [648] [652]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

646 taxes and all items of the Colonial Budget not fixed by the Governor-
[648] General.
[657] Article 40 of the decree of 1920 forbade any deliberation of political
[642] matters and any resolution concerning them. The power to discuss the budget, however, has nullified this prohibition, and criticism of the Government plays a considerable part in the Council's debates.
[631] The citizens are usually more independent than the chiefs, since the latter owe their appointments to the Governor. It is too early to judge the effect of the recent addition of subjects.

It will be clear from the foregoing that this Colonial Council
[642] performs a very useful function. Although it cannot bring the machinery of government to a standstill, it can seriously hamper the administration. In consequence Senegal has a greater tincture of democracy than any other colony.

Territorial Divisions

●635 The colony is divided into fifteen provinces (Fig. 52), some of
634 them subdivided into districts. Their names and the names of their headquarters towns are as follows.

Province	*Headquarters*	*Area in square miles*	*District headquarters*
Bakel	Bakel	8,755	..
Baol	Diourbel	1,714	..
Bas Sénégal	St. Louis	2,351	Dagana
Bignona	Bignona	1,699	Diouloulou
Djoloff	Linguéré	6,275	..
Haute Gambie	Kédougou	5,212	..
Kolda	Kolda	5,599	..
Louga	Louga	3,886	..
Matam	Matam	10,116	..
Podor	Podor	4,857	..
Sedhiou	Sedhiou	2,703	..
Sine-Saloum	Kaolack	10,228	Fatik, Foundiougne, Kaffrine
Tambacounda	Tambacounda	9,998	..
Thiès	Thiès	2,707	M'Bour, Tivaouane
Ziguinchor	Ziguinchor	1,120	Oussouye

635 The four provinces of Bignona, Kolda, Sedhiou, and Ziguinchor are grouped together as the Casamance Territory, at the head of which is a Session Administrator, or Chief Commissioner, residing at Ziguinchor.

In almost all provinces the provincial Commissioner is assisted by a Council of Notables (Plate 113).

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

where, he believed—as did most of his contemporaries— 648
there was no indigenous culture worthy of the name.

It was not only the practical problems involved that hampered the full application of an assimilationist policy in Africa. French rule in Africa has been just as much a mixture of authoritarianism and liberalism as it has been ever since the Revolution in France. Some of the so-called liberal regimes were effectively reactionary, whilst some of the authoritarian regimes initiated liberal reforms. This curious mixture has been put most succinctly by Robert Delavignette, a colonial administrator of great experience, when he writes in *Freedom and Authority in French West Africa*:

> And the Europe of the Revolution and that of the *ancien régime*, far from fighting each other in Africa, worked together on the same task. The young cavalry officer, De la Tour Saint-Ygest, who perhaps left France because he could not stand the Revolutionary equality there, went off to Upper Senegal-Niger to destroy the feudal power of the Tuareg, the principles and sentiments of which he cherished. On the other hand, the man who wielded the power of the Republic at Dakar, adherent of a French Freemason lodge, and member of the Radical-Socialist party, was to become in Africa a governor fanatically attached to old style hierarchy, using autocratic methods to lead the natives along the path of progress.

The French never really faced the full implications of 648
assimilation and in practice remarkably little was done 641
to bring into effect the official policy that all colonial peoples should become French and have all the rights of French citizens, which implies that there should have been a very substantial coloured representation in the metropolitan institutions. Thus in 1921, twenty years after France had established her rule throughout French West Africa, the vast mass of the population still had the inferior status of *sujet*, that is they were subject to summary administrative justice and the corvée or forced labour and had no political rights. Ivory Coast had only 308 inhabitants with the

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 privileges of French citizens; Dahomey, 121; Upper Volta,
641 17; Niger, 9. As late as 1936 out of a total population of fifteen million in French West Africa there were only 2,136 French citizens, with the exception of the citizens
[633] of the Four Towns or *Quatre Communes* of Senegal. Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff in their book *French West Africa* have suggested that this was because at that time 'the advantages conferred by naturalisation obviously did not compensate in the eyes of the great majority of Africans for acceptance of French law in regard to marriage and inheritance, and for the general shaping of their lives according to the European pattern'. This was only half the
648 truth. Just as important a factor was the sparseness of facilities for education, the keystone to a successful assimilationist policy. As late as 1947 only 1.3 per cent of children of school age in Guinea were actually attending
[871] school. In Soudan the figure was higher at 5 per cent, Dahomey 10 per cent and Senegal 12.4 per cent.

In each case Senegal is the exception. Senegal sent a deputy to the French Assembly as early as 1848. Her first indigenous deputy, Blaise Diagne, elected in 1914, became Under Secretary of State for the Colonies on several occasions before his death in 1934. But the other territories of French black Africa did not elect deputies until 1946, though they sent representatives to the Constituent Congress
648 in 1945. In 1848 the privileges of French citizenship were
641 granted to all Senegalese living in the Colony, though they were allowed to retain their private law in matters of land,
[671] inheritance, marriage and divorce. It was only in 1946 with the passing of the *loi Lamine Guèye* that the privileges of citizenship were granted to Africans other than those who obtained naturalisation, which involved accepting French
648 private law. In Senegal, the towns of St. Louis and Gorée
[633] were created *communes de pleine exercice* or full scale municipal
[646] councils in 1872 and seven years later a General Council on the lines of those operating in the French departments was established.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 not to let the same discriminations and prejudices such as
[563] exist in other colonies be introduced among them.' At
[369] the same time the metropolitan Government was asking whether Africans would make suitable corporals and under-officers. Furthermore Schmaltz, whilst advocating a system of economic exploitation that seemed to be entirely to the advantage of France, maintained that the Senegalese were not merely to be auxiliaries and that they would be encouraged by fixed prices for their crops to produce more and become 'civilised' by their contact with Europe.

648 So far France had made no definition of the position of
567 non-French inhabitants of her colonies. Even though France
641 by the decree of 16 Pluviose Year II (1792) had abolished slavery and declared that 'all men, without distinction of colour, domiciled in French colonies, are French citizens, and enjoy all the rights assured by the Constitution', and even though the slave trade had been outlawed in 1818, until 1833 freed slaves had uncertain status in law, and domestic slaves still existed in large numbers. A royal ordinance of that year proclaimed that 'Any person born free or having legally acquired his liberty enjoys in the French colonies: (1) civil rights; (2) political rights under conditions prescribed by law'. But only in 1848 was the status of *captif* or domestic slave abolished, though the majority of *captifs* continued to serve with their former masters. Naturally this law only affected inhabitants of St. Louis and Gorée and the other French posts like Dagana and Richard-Toll.

648 The most important result of these two laws was to give
[641] about 12,000 Africans, mostly illiterate, the full rights of
[818] French citizens. Of these less than a thousand had been
[797] converted to Christianity by their French, mulatto or Christian African masters. Educational facilities, which would have to accompany any effective conversion of illiterates into full scale French citizens were still rudimentary. But it must be remembered that in France, at the time, the electorate was suddenly increased from 200,000 to

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 that belongs to us, our occupation should be limited to those parts necessary for assuring the suppression of brigandage, the freedom of trade and the tranquillity of an industrious population.

The land cultivated by them will provide produce which will become the object of lucrative trade for the European, the only kind of work he can undertake in this climate.

648 641 161 160 563 By 1865 the colony of Senegal comprised 150,000 inhabitants of whom only some 15,000, living in the original French settlements of St. Louis and Gorée-Dakar, were French citizens. Indeed this number was not to increase noticeably until the end of the century, since the privileges granted to those Africans under French rule in 1848 were never extended to the interior. For whilst Faidherbe pursued a policy of assimilation in the main centres like St. Louis, Gorée and Dakar, he initiated the basis of a system of administration for what was to become the rest of modern Senegal and French black Africa as a whole that was distinctly non-assimilationist. The laws for the *sujets* or those who did not enjoy the rights of French citizens were particularly harsh. They were not allowed to leave the colony, they had no right of meeting or association, and they were subjected to the corvée or forced labour on the maintenance of roads. To obtain this forced labour Faidherbe relied on the chiefs, and indeed one of the main criticisms of him as an exponent of assimilationism is that he leaned so heavily on both the chiefs and Islam. The treaty made by Jauréguiberry (acting-Governor whilst Faidherbe was on leave in 1865) with Abdoul Boubaker of Toro was far removed from the principles of assimilation: 'Art. 2—The Toro will continue to administer itself according to its own laws, traditions and customs.'

167 466 653 631

The overthrow of the Second Empire and the establishment of the Third Republic in 1870 was to see lukewarm reaffirmation of principles of the revolution and a consequent return to assimilationist principles at least in the political field. In 1871 Senegal regained her deputy. More

646

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

important still a Conseil-Général equivalent to the Conseils-Généraux of the French department but with much greater financial autonomy was established for the colony. However representation was limited to citizens of the colony and not the great majority of *sujets* of the Protectorate. This spurt of assimilation was completed a year later when privileges of local self-government were granted to St. Louis and Gorée which were created *communes de pleine exercice*. In 1880 the prosperous new port of Rufisque, some fifteen miles from modern Dakar, was also accorded these privileges, and in 1887 Dakar was separated from Gorée and also gained them.

This was as far as assimilation was to go politically in either Senegal or the rest of French West Africa. Not until 1944 was there any extension of political rights in French black Africa. Indeed in Senegal the citizens had to fight to retain their privileges against an administration that came increasingly to regret the privileges it had granted the Senegalese in the first fine flush of colonial expansion in Black Africa. Thus until the outbreak of the Second World War one had the paradoxical situation of the French regretting their assimilationist policy and the Senegalese citizens asking that it be applied more liberally. This is one of the main reasons why the activities of French Africans, particularly in Senegal, were channelled not towards the attainment of independence but the assertion of their fundamental equality with the French. Their energies were for long directed to obtaining from the French those rights which in principle an assimilationist policy offered them.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

till the end of the nineteenth century, neglected the Protectorate and seemed to think that the only parts of the country that mattered were the four communes. Naturally their official business with the Protectorate was limited, but they did control the three main ports of the country through which the products of the interior passed to France. The councillors, too, restricted education largely to the communes, where on the whole it reached a satisfactory level. They even sent students on scholarships to France, but unfortunately too few of these returned to Senegal to use their newly acquired talents. It was not until the establishment of the Government-General of French West Africa in 1905 that educational facilities were extended to the Protectorate in any great measure.

The increase in education amongst citizens of African origin meant that by the turn of the nineteenth century they were less willing to accept European domination in the communes and the General Council. The assertion of their rights is one of the main factors behind the attempts of the administration to deprive the indigenous Senegalese of their position as *citoyens*. Actually the Administration was batting on a good wicket. Technically a French citizen was one who accepted French rights and duties without qualification. In the case of the Africans in Senegal they had been allowed to retain their own *statut personnel*, that is private law, with reference to civil disputes, matrimony, divorce, inheritance and land. But this seemed to conflict openly with the definition of a French citizen. It seemed wrong that a man should exercise the rights of a French citizen and not accept the consequent obligations. Many Frenchmen felt it quite illogical that an African with four wives could yet be a citizen. And indeed in later years the main obstacle to granting citizenship to other colonial peoples was to be the question of retention of the *statut personnel*. Thus many of the attempts by the French to deprive the Senegalese citizens of their rights were the result of quite genuine objections to the illogicality of their position. Faidherbe,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Faidherbe,

643 writing in 1889, protested against this attitude since he felt
641 that to make monogamy a condition of citizenship would break up families and that monogamy should be achieved by education. But more potent were those forces which disliked the exercise of such rights by a small African minority, albeit linked with Europeans, which could so often obstruct not only the Governor of Senegal but the Governor-General himself, since until 1904 these two were one and the same man. The existence of a vocal General Council and Municipal Councils, let alone a deputy in France, which could all express opinions directly hostile to the authoritarian rule of the Governor, was another important factor behind the moves to deprive the Senegalese of their citizenship at the end of the nineteenth century. There was also
666 however quite genuine concern at the way in which the vote
641 was exercised in Senegal. Pierre Mille, in an article entitled *The Black Vote in Senegal* published in 1901, alleged that the African voters, mainly illiterate, were controlled by the handful of Europeans who bought their votes. He went so far as to describe Senegal as a 'rotten borough'. Indeed he alleged that the expense of the election absorbed a large part of the colony's finances: and further that after competing against each other for the electors' favour, the big companies in Senegal finally decided to combine the operation to save expenses and control Senegal to their
641 mutual advantage. But as to the virtue of the Senegalese
[595] as citizens in other respects Mille was surprisingly warm: 'Having become French citizens and notwithstanding that they were Muslims, they, with a few exceptions, accepted monogamy . . . and they have spread far and wide in Africa the renown and justice of French administration'. But as Mille concluded, this was not sufficient to persuade France
648 to continue the experiment in her other West African colonies. Indeed, confirming what has already been said about empirical tendencies in French colonial rule, by 1900, when France had gained most of her vast African empire, Mille commented that it was 'administered with an

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

interesting suppleness under the most diverse conditions according to the state of civilisation or submission—or lack of submission—of the natives'.

As a reaction against the powers of the Senegalese General Council during the regrouping of the French West African territories the Protectorate, with the exception of Casamance, Thiès, Cayor and Tivaouane and the *cercles* of the Fleuve, was detached from the colony of Senegal so that the General Council could not legitimately interfere in its affairs. However two years later economic and administrative exigencies decreed the reshaping of Senegal and the rest of French Africa into the territorial boundaries that exist today.

The first major attempt to undermine the rights of the Senegalese with the rights of citizens by virtue of being born in one of the four communes, known as *originaires*, came in 1908 when the Lieutenant-Governor of Senegal asked that 1,563 names be struck off the electoral role of Dakar arguing that since the natives concerned were only French subjects they could not vote. Only French citizens could vote, and citizenship could be obtained only by individual naturalisation. This was upheld in the local court but rejected by the *Cour de Cassation* in Paris. However, the Court confirmed that these voters were not French citizens though they maintained that they had the right to vote. This failure to recognise their status as citizens evoked much ill-feeling among the *originaires*. In 1910 the voting rights in the Senegal were in fact extended when it was provided that French citizens living outside the communes but within the colony could vote. But the Minister of Colonies declared that the decree did not apply to 'non-naturalised natives who only enjoy the franchise in the four *communes de pleine exercice* on condition of being born there', and thus once again emphasised the fact that the French Government did not consider the *originaires* as true citizens. Indeed in the following year their position was further aggravated when *originaires* doing their military service in metropolitan units

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

641 633 [701] of the army in West Africa, and serving on the same basis as European citizens, were suddenly discharged without reason. A commission of the General Council asked that in future all voters, without distinction of colour, be called on to perform their obligatory military service. Thus by 1912 one had the odd spectacle of Africans, far from trying to avoid military service, insisting on their right to perform it on the grounds that only thus could they secure their rights as French citizens.

However French intransigence over the question of the *originaires* was made clear in the Naturalisation Decree of 1912, which stated that only French subjects born in West Africa could acquire French citizenship. The conditions for acquisition of citizenship were: having proved devotion to France or having occupied with merit for at least ten years a position in a French office, public or private; having learned to read or write French; having given evidence of possessing a means of existence and good character. As a result between 1914-22 only ninety-four natives in French West Africa were naturalised. Those who were defined as subject to the jurisdiction of the native, instead of the French, tribunals were all those natives 'who had not had in their country of origin the status of European national'. This was interpreted by the *originaires* as an attempt to remove from them their right to appear before French tribunals and subject them to administrative justice like the sujets of the Protectorate, for whilst they were anxious to retain their right to their *statut personnel* in civil matters such as marriage and inheritance, they wanted to be tried in French courts in criminal cases. This evoked furious criticisms by the *originaires* and Maître Lamine Guèye, himself an *originaire* and later Deputy in the French Assembly, wrote 'Our fears were more than justified by the spectacle of what happened in the interior of the Colony, where administrators, reviving in certain respects feudal practices, imposed on the persons of our compatriots of the protectorate acts which were neither human nor French'.

692 641 633

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Such was the outcry against this decree that a further decree in 1914 confirmed that 'all natives born in the four communes would be subject to French tribunals throughout the colony and in certain other places'. Indeed Lamine Guèye was one of the most ardent critics of France for her failure to accord the full rights of an assimilationist policy to the *originaires*. He protested against the way the Government opposed 'the entrance of all natives of whatever status they may be, into the general administrative services, even into military units stationed in the colony'. It was only by insistence on the right to do military service on equal terms with the French that the *originaires* were finally able to gain confirmation of their rights as citizens. In 1914 Blaise Diagne became the first Senegalese to sit in the Chamber of Deputies. He won his seat partly as a result of the split vote amongst his six European opponents, partly because he appealed to the Senegalese voters by his demands for complete equality between black and white. His particular platform was a pledge to vote for a law for obligatory military service without distinction of race or colour. In a letter to the Minister of Colonies he said the *originaires* did not want the privileges without the obligations of French citizenship. At the time, of course, France was just about to enter into the Great War and badly needed troops from Africa. Thus without much difficulty a law was passed providing for the conscription of the *originaires* as French troops. In return for Diagne's co-operation in recruiting troops for the war effort, the Government passed the Citizenship Law of 1916 which once and for all confirmed the status of the *originaires*. They could retain their *statut personnel* and need not understand French to be considered as citizens. 'The natives of the *communes de pleine exercice* and their descendants are and remain French citizens subject to the military obligations of the Law of 19 October 1915.' The rider about the status of 'descendants' was of particular importance to Lamine Guèye who was born in Soudan of *originaire* parents.

633 641 [697] [701] [666] 633 641 701 [671]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

641 648 [643] An interesting sidelight on the confused French attitude towards assimilation and Africans was the status accorded to Blaise Diagne as Commissioner of the Republic in charge of conscription of troops in West Africa. He was given rank equal to that of the Governor-General, Van Vollenhoven, who thereat resigned. However this is only one side of the story. The French insist that he resigned because he felt that the large number of troops to be recruited would wreck the colony's economy and severely reduce the indigenous population. Nevertheless the presence of an African deputy for Senegal was not viewed well in all quarters. But Diagne could not be tempted by high office outside the parliamentary sphere and won a resounding victory in the 1919 elections [666] with 7,444 votes to his opponent's 1,252. He was then appointed Under Secretary of States for Colonies. His essential attachment to France was clear, for whilst in 1919 he became President of the Pan-African Congress, which urged that ultimately 'Africa should be ruled by consent of the Africans . . .' he refused, as Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff have pointed out 'to support any revolutionary theories as to the emancipation of all Negro peoples'. 'We French natives', he said, 'wish to remain French, since France has given us every liberty'.

646 633 The French were still not happy about the position of the *originaires* and in 1920, not so much from a show of liberalism as from a desire to reduce the pressures exercised on the Administration by the twenty-member General Council, it was translated into a Colonial Council with an increased membership of forty-four of which twenty were sent by the hitherto unrepresented Protectorate. The representatives [631] of the *sujets*, who were provincial or cantonal chiefs, could be relied on to vote with the Administration whose agents they were, and thus reduce the independence of the communes. In 1925, however, the number of chiefs was reduced to sixteen and the citizens' representatives increased to twenty-four as a means of persuading them to vote larger

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

taxes, but thereafter relations between chiefs and Government on the one hand and citizens on the other were rarely cordial. 646 [633] [631]

The powers of the Council were very restricted, having legislative rights over minor matters like the classification of roads and the management of public properties. Even these limited powers were subject to the veto of the Governor-General of French West Africa. Its main deliberative competence was over the budget, which though drawn up by the Governor could be criticised by the councillors. This power was watered down by the classification of a large section of the budget as obligatory expenditure. Nevertheless the council was an exceptional institution in West Africa. As R. L. Buell in his *The Native Problem in Africa* wrote: [648] [652] [643]

> That the eight Europeans who participated in the Council should have exactly the same status as the thirty-two blacks is a situation which would strike the Anglo-Saxon as anomalous to say the least. The visitor to the Council will frequently witness a black president calling a European member to order for rowdiness. It does not appear, however, that the council is divided upon racial lines, i.e. of white versus black, except on the issue of higher pay for European officials—a policy which was, in fact, attacked as vigorously by the Europeans as by the native members. The real alignment so far has been the citizen members—both black and European—against the government supported by the chiefs. Black members as we have seen, have unmercifully criticised officials in Senegal. No British colony would tolerate the attacks which the natives make upon European officials in Senegal. 563 646

Buell pin-pointed a growing division in the territory—that between the *originaires* and the *sujets* of the Protectorate. The *originaires*, especially since the election of one of their own number as deputy, became increasingly jealous of their privileges. Meanwhile the rest of the territory was administered according to the same principles of administration as were applied throughout the rest of West Africa. Though traditional chiefs were stripped of their traditional powers 641 [631]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

641 they were made agents of the Administration and responsi-
[631] ble for the enforcement of the corvée when required. The harshness of this authoritarian rule, escaped only by the *evolués* in the other territories, has been vividly described by Geoffrey Gorer in *Africa Dances*, which records a long tour made through French West Africa in the mid-thirties. Even so in 1930 France had signed the Geneva Act for-
[466] bidding forced labour in the colonies; but it was slow to disappear. In 1937 the right to form trade unions, which
[467] hitherto was only granted to Senegalese citizens by a law of 1920, was extended in a restricted form to the *sujets*. That same year a new decree allowed easier conditions for the acquisition of French citizenship by the *sujets*. Out of a population of 1,800,000 in 1936 there were 78,000 citizens compared with some 2,400 in the rest of French West Africa. And in 1939 the *sujets* were granted the right of
[666] electing some of their representatives to the Colonial Council instead of being represented only by nominees of the Administration.

641 This newly acquired right was enjoyed for a very brief
648 period. For in 1940 the authoritarian element in France came to the fore in particularly unhappy circumstances with the fall of France and the establishment of the Vichy Government. Under the Vichy regime, racism manifested itself openly for the first time. This was particularly embittering for the Senegalese élite since they had been much in sympathy with the Popular Front Government which attempted liberal experiments in Algeria and Syria. All Senegalese representative institutions were suppressed. Priority was given to Europeans in rationed goods and in many other spheres. Liberty of association was withdrawn from both races, and whilst European members of the resistance were rarely hanged, Africans themselves rarely escaped the supreme penalty. By contrast in France the future President of Senegal, Léopold Sédar Senghor, was fighting in the French resistance and was later interned in a German concentration camp.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Senegal had never in fact been free from elements of racism, though such a policy was never officially countenanced until the Vichy regime. Geoffrey Gorer found many instances of discrimination in Dakar, and actually went as far as to say that 'The colour bar is extremely strong in Dakar'. But he concluded 'these French citizens are far happier than their brother French Negro subjects; if they are too badly cheated or abused they have some redress in the law courts'. The colour bar was certainly not official policy then as it became under the Vichy Administration. 641 648

The Vichy regime marks the end of an era in West Africa and particularly in Senegal. Until 1940 there had been little or no opposition to French assimilationist policy by the Africans. Indeed they were the first to criticise any deviations from it. Blaise Diagne enjoyed high status in France, and though he was accused by his critics of corruption and of selling himself to the French he remained the popular choice in Senegal until his death. 648

At the ensuing election Galandou Diouf defeated Blaise Diagne's old opponent, Lamine Guèye, who was instrumental in the formation of the Senegalese branch of the *S.F.I.O.* Hitherto elections had been largely fought on the basis of personal followings, with the exception of the European-dominated *Parti Socialiste Sénégalais* founded in 1929 in which Europeans played a prominent role. Not only was Lamine Guèye the first Senegalese to realise the value of the party machine, but he was also the first to advocate the granting of full political and legal rights to all French Africans. Significantly he did not suggest any form of break with France, rather that France should carry her assimilationist policy to its logical conclusions. In 1939 he increased his political backing considerably when the *P.S.S.* fused with his section of the *S.F.I.O.* and this was to make him a leading member of the party in the metropolis as well as in Senegal. 648 665 666 [667] [641]

However the younger generation of Senegalese were 000

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 The conference decided that the political future of the colonies should lie with France and ruled out all ideas of eventual independence. They did, however, insist that the colonies should be represented at the constituent Assembly that would draw up the constitution for the Fourth Republic at the end of the war. But they did not consider that the wider representation of Africans in metropolitan institutions would be as beneficial to the African colonies as the establishment of a Federal Assembly for France and its empire. These two suggestions were in tune with traditional integrationist and assimilationist thought, but in addition the delegates made certain proposals that implied considerable administrative and political decentralisation. They asked that assemblies should be set up for each territory, but on the understanding that they should work in close relation to the proposed Federal Assembly and that if possible the franchise should be as wide as practicable for Africans. They also laid down the principle of the dual college, so that Europeans could have effective representation. The administrators of the 'Republic one and Indivisible' were thereby advocating a considerable degree of administrative decentralisation, which in retrospect can be seen as vital to the subsequent achievement of independence by the various states of French black Africa. It was probably fortunate that the conference was one of administrators and not of politicians for their cogent arguments against the inefficiency of the pre-war, highly centralised empire were accepted eventually as directed towards the achievement of a more efficient working of the empire rather than as an attempt to break it up as they certainly might have been had such criticisms come from African politicians. On the other hand the conference made it explicit that decentralisation did not imply independence. All possibility of autonomy outside the French bloc was excluded.

641 The conference[1] was highly assimilationist in its recom-
648 mendations for individuals particularly as regards political
871 [1] [i.e., Brazzaville Conference, 1944--Analyst]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

and juridical rights. The old signs of inequality, the *indigénat* and the hated corvée were to be withdrawn, the latter after a period of five years. Education was to remain exclusively French, though Eboué put in a plea for the recognition of the values of traditional society. The problems of granting French citizenship to Africans without prejudicing their *statut personnel* was to be solved within the framework of the proposed Federal Parliament for France and her overseas territories. Africans would thus have citizenship of this larger Federation rather than of France itself and would not therefore have to give up their *statut personnel*. The new principle was first applied in March 1944. French citizenship was extended to a number of Muslims in Algeria who were allowed to retain their *statut personnel*, on the same terms as the *originaires* of Senegal had been. Finally the conference proposed a large scale development programme for the overseas territories.

In the Constituent Assembly which was to deliberate on the constitution of the Fourth Republic, sixty-four seats were given to overseas deputies, a fair number going to Africans. Two socialists from Senegal, Lamine Guèye and his lieutenant Léopold Sédar Senghor, the first African to become a *professeur agrégé* of the Sorbonne, played a leading role in the debates of the new constitution, attacking remnants of Vichy racialism amongst colonial officials, decrying the ban on freedom of meeting and association, and above all denouncing the corvée and *indigénat*. The first Constituent Assembly of 1945, liberal in outlook, was deeply concerned as to how the Republic could remain one and indivisible and yet accord any degree of autonomy to the overseas territories. This was settled by proposing that the overseas territorial assemblies be thought of as equivalent to the *conseils* of the metropolitan department just as that of Senegal had been. The colonies, instead of forming a federation with France as proposed at the Brazzaville Conference, were to participate in a French Union much more integrationist in character and within

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 the assimilationist tradition. Once again, however, the implication of granting full citizenship to all colonials was
●641 not faced, for the *loi Lamine Guèye* which extended citizenship to all French *sujets* without prejudice to their *statut personnel* did not in fact extend the right to vote to all of them. However it achieved much in abolishing the humiliating status of *sujet*. The *indigénat*, forced labour and the law against freedom of meeting and association were abolished. And a large scale development plan for overseas territories was projected. But although those Africans eligible to vote supported the new constitution, it was defeated in metropolitan France and the new Constituent Assembly proved to be much more conservative. A powerful group known as the States-General of Colonisation was formed in France with the object of reducing the effect of the concessions already granted to the overseas territories. It attacked the proposed French Union since its members believed that under it France would become a colony of its own colonies.

The second Constituent Assembly elected after the defeat of the first constitution was much less liberal in its attitude towards colonial affairs and as a result the new constitution it drew up was far from that envisaged by the Brazzaville
C48 Conference. The structure of the French Union was integrationist. It was composed of the French Republic, which included on the one hand metropolitan France, the Overseas Departments and Territories, among them all the territories of French and Equatorial Africa and the associated states and territories, such as the mandated territories of Togo and Cameroons and the Protectorates of Morocco and Tunisia on the other. The President of the French Republic would automatically become President of the French Union. The Assembly of the Union was to draw half its members from metropolitan France and half from the overseas territories. As to the composition of the High Council the concept of the wider French Republic was adopted for the choice of members who would share office with representatives of the associated states. Its

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

powers were limited to consultation on matters affecting the overseas territories. 648

The integrationist character of the new constitution was clear from its preamble: 641 648

> France, together with the peoples of its overseas territories, forms a union based on the equality of rights and duties without distinction of race or religion. Faithful to its traditional mission France intends to lead the people she has taken into her charge towards freedom to administer themselves and to regulate their own affairs democratically, ruling out all methods of colonisation founded on arbitrary acts; she guarantees to all equal access to the public service as well as the individual and collective exercise of rights and liberties confirmed heretofore.

Under the new constitution French citizenship was extended on 7 May 1946 to all French colonial subjects; but in practice the franchise was limited to those whose political education was considered sufficient (e.g. ex-servicemen, civil servants, and the literate or wealthy, etc.), so that of all France's vast overseas population only 1½ million were given the vote. But a number of liberal features were retained. General Councils were established for each territory, though with dual colleges for all but Senegal so that European representation could be secured. Separate rolls were used for election to the Senate and the Assembly of the French Union though a single roll was used for the National Assembly. A Grand Council was established for the eight territories of French West Africa, with members elected by the individual General Councils whose powers were purely advisory and thus no greater than those of the old Senegalese General Council. The constitutional position of Senegal itself was consequently little changed, except that there was no longer a major distinction between *sujet* and citizen. It still remained an integral part of the French Republic. The French Parliament, to which it sent two deputies, still had the final say on all questions of public liberty, and political and administrative organisation. The new General Council replaced the old Colonial [646] [646]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 Council in Senegal but differed little in competence. The
641 only concession made to Senegal and not to the other
[646] territories, and this undoubtedly being influenced by its political history, was the retention of a single college electorate as against the dual colleges prescribed for all other territories. The French penal code was made generally
[671] applicable for Senegal. In January 1946 the three *communes de pleine exercice* (Gorée had by then been incorporated in
[633] Dakar) were given full municipal status as equivalent French towns. Finally and most important, forced labour was
[466] legally abolished; but it survived in covert forms for several years to come. In Senegal, Senghor received the full credit for this measure from his peasant electorate and has been drawing political dividends from it ever since.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

V. AFRICAN REACTION AGAINST ASSIMILATION

I admit that as Negro students in the years 1930–4 we were only an obstruction. I admit that we were racialist; we were intoxicated by the banner of Negritude. At that time no intercourse was possible with Europeans. But since then, because this racialism betrayed our African-Negro humanism, because it led to deadlock by imposing cold war between races and continents, between man and man, we decided upon reflection to make an extra effort. Today we have accomplished this—the results of European decolonisation have contributed to it—we have left behind us the period of denial to embark with you upon the period of construction.

LÉOPOLD SÉDAR SENGHOR

THE 1946 constitution as far as Senegal and the other more advanced territories of French Africa were concerned really fell between two stools. In so far as it was assimilationist, it was not sufficiently so. If France were ever to establish her Franco-African republic it had to be on the basis of the equality implicit in assimilation. And this equality was denied at many turns. In so far as it permitted decentralisation in the form of territorial and federal assemblies, it was to encourage the growth of nationalist and regional politics. In Senegal, where the changes made were of relatively little importance, the failure to put into practice a fully assimilationist policy was to be one of the predominant influences behind the reaction against assimilation that was the distinguishing feature of the next decade of Senegalese politics.

Overseas leaders had been particularly disillusioned with French honesty in the application of the Overseas Labour Code. This code was drawn up at the Brazzaville Conference and promised amongst other things equal pay for equal work,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

a forty hour week, a minimum wage, the development of trade unions and the institution of a labour inspectorate. However the second Constituent Assembly procrastinated in according these economic rights to its overseas citizens and was dissolved before it could bring them into force. It was only in 1952 that the overseas deputies were able to force this measure through.

One of the reasons for the break-up of the old *S.F.I.O.* in 1948, which may be taken as symbolic of the reaction against assimilation, was the attitude of the parent party in France to social legislation for the overseas territories. The *S.F.I.O.* had voted against equal pensions for African and metropolitan French veterans; it had voted against the introduction of the French social security system for the overseas departments, and it had abstained on a motion to abolish the dual college system. But more important was the desire of the newly enfranchised 'bush' peasants for greater participation in the direction of party policy. Hitherto the party, closely linked with the parent body in France, had been tightly ruled by Lamine Guèye from Dakar. At the 1947 Congress of the party a group of members led by Senghor demanded a greater voice in party councils. The people of the bush, so long denied the rights accorded to the privileged of the *Quatre Communes*, once enfranchised showed their resentment against both those who exercised these rights and those who granted them. In the following year Senghor, backed not only by the intellectuals but by the vast majority of the bush, founded the *Bloc Democratique Sénégalais* (*B.D.S.*) declaring that 'Assimilation is an illusion in a world whose people have become aware of their own personality'. He attacked the *S.F.I.O.* for its close ties with France and its failure to take an independent line on African matters. So just as Lamine Guèye has been described as the representative of the era of assimilation, so Senghor can be dubbed the representative of reaction to this policy.

This reaction was at first not part of a concerted

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

that involved the breaking-away of a number of small sections in various territories, emerged as West Africa's leading party with nine seats, and joined the Guy Mollet Government. Under this Government the famous *loi cadre* was passed establishing for each of the black African territories a wholly elected assembly, based on universal adult suffrage. An executive, that could be drawn from within or without the assembly, was established. Although the territorial Governor presided over it, it was effectively guided by the Vice-President or Prime Minister. Separate rolls for Europeans were abolished. Thus in one fell swoop all African territories were given the elements of responsible democratic government. Certainly their powers were restricted since a large number of subjects were reserved to the Federation, still run by the French High Commissioner, and checked only by the *Grand Conseil*. The *loi cadre*, whilst it did not envisage independence, and still saw the future of the African territories as within the structure of the French body politic, did in effect set these territories on the road to independence. Senghor, an ardent critic of the *loi cadre*, declared: 'The peoples of Africa do not intend to cut themselves off from metropolitan France; they want to be able to construct, side by side with her, their own buildings which will consolidate and extend French territory.'

The *loi cadre*, whilst it made large concessions to African demands for autonomy, was in fact designed to avoid demands for independence. The new French Government had been influenced to this end by France's unfortunate experiences in other parts of her empire as well as the political progress of the Gold Coast. Furthermore she wished to anticipate moves by the Gold Coast to absorb that part of the former German Togo which she administered and therefore accorded it a limited form of internal autonomy. It was inevitable that having granted this concession to Togo she would eventually have to make it to neighbouring French African territories as well. Whilst considerable

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

C48 the main drawback for Mali being the concessions she had to make over the military base at St. Louis. Far from cutting [651] Mali off without a penny as she had Guinea, France promised to continue her aid. Mali's decision to take independence marked the beginning of the end of the Franco-African Community, and indeed of France's political assimilation of her African states.

This done, the Mali Federation was all set for independence. But there were internal hurdles to overcome. Mali may well have been ruled by a unified party, but there were definite differences between Soudanese and Senegalese. Soudan was the larger, more populous territory, but the poorer. It was much more left wing and politically was run very much more strictly than Senegal. The party controlled everything. To appreciate this one must remem- [665] ber that the *R.D.A.* was initially allied to the Communists and had adopted their cell technique for its own party organisation. This system of administration proved most effective and explains why Sékou Touré was able to keep so firm a hold on Guinea after the French had gone. Senegal, however, after three centuries of contact with the French, was much more affected by French ideas of liberty [641] and certainly found this rather ruthless element in its Soudanese partner disturbing. For instance at the constitutional conference preceding independence the Soudanese demanded that a unitary state be created, and that the excess burden of two territorial governments be removed. They also wanted a president with strong powers like those enjoyed by de Gaulle. The Senegalese, who saw many dangers to themselves in such a constitution, protested successfully on the moral grounds that it would prevent other states from joining Mali—which was after all the federation's main *raison d'être*. The Senegalese won the day after bitter wrangling. Of course, though Senegal as the richer partner effectively subsidised the federation, she had her own interests in maintaining it since Soudan exported [439] its ground-nuts along the railway from Bamako to Dakar.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 565 582 S [595] caste from his own tribe. The extent to which caste matters is brought out by the case of a young Catholic girl from a devout family who, rather than marry a fellow Catholic out of caste, in the end became the polygamous wife of a Muslim of the same caste. Within any ethnic group in Senegal marriage out of caste is extremely rare.

S 565 S [565] S [533] [814] The caste system is not vicious in any real sense. For the privileges of a high caste entail many obligations. Thus a noble Wolof family will be obliged to feed and pay frequent sums of money to its family griots (minstrels, praise-singers and family historians) and if they fail to do this the griot is able to shame them publicly as a poor or mean family, something a Wolof would avoid at all costs. Likewise the artisan castes have a monopoly in their respective trades, since it would be impossible for a noble or free man to undertake the work of a jeweller or smith. Nevertheless in Senegalese society the term 'bijoutier' or 'tisserand' has slight contempt attached to it. The only caste to suffer socially in any way is of course that designated slave, because of the implications of such a status. In social investigations amongst the factory workers of Dakar, M. André Hauser found very few indeed who would admit to being of slave caste.

S [463] [326] S [567]

At present it is certainly a disadvantage to belong to any of the inferior castes, and though one hears of a few cases of open clashes between castes, in the present state of affairs it is certain that a number of young men resent this classification of people into superior and inferior groups and it is very much less important to them than to the older generation.

S 565 764 578 Early in 1961 *Agence Presse Sénégalaise* reported 'bloody clashes between griots and non-griots at Diack'. These ended with several dead and a number of wounded and started as a result of the refusal of non-griots to accept the burial of griots in their burial ground. The Minister of the Interior himself went to settle the dispute and gathered the whole population to tell them that his Government gave

S [641]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

equal status to all Senegalese and wanted to make everyone true Senegalese citizens whether they were griots, leather-workers or jewellers. Afterwards the non-griots agreed that the griots who had just died should be buried 'in the same way as anyone else, and as a beginning they agreed to let the burial of the victim of the incident take place, not in the traditional baobab but in Diack earth.' 565 764 578 [641]

In the Government today there are, amongst those members belonging to tribes with a class system only two of inferior caste, one being a 'bijoutier' and one a griot. It is said of another that he is of slave origin, but this is not certain because politicians often try to attribute inferior caste to their opponents. In the Assembly, of the members with caste all are noble or freeborn with the exception of one 'bijoutier', and one griot. It is thus at present difficult to get on in politics unless one is noble or freeborn. Indeed chiefly connexion is important, even though chiefs are no longer of significance administratively. Thus in 1957 Kenneth Robinson wrote: 565 [646] [631]

> Membership of chiefly families is, nevertheless, an important source not only of prestige but of political interest. In many interviews with political leaders in the smaller townships and villages they almost invariably defined their own position, and that of their fellows, in part by reference to their relationship with the ruling families, or with the indigenous caste system. [554]

Mr. William Foltz, who is making a detailed survey of Senegalese politics, has however observed that the local party groups in the country are increasingly representative of the inferior castes and many of the important backroom boys are of inferior caste, which suggests that there may be a change from the present situation at the next elections. But so far, as Mercier has observed, it does not look as though high standing in the modern context can yet completely redeem traditional inferiority. [665] [554]

The caste system in Senegal is one of the most delicate problems confronting the Senegalese Government today.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 West Africa, or they'll never leave. The Frenchman has taken everything away from the African. Even prostitution,' he sneered, 'is in their hands.'

Arnold asked him what he thought about Ghana. 'Ghana,' he said fiercely, as though to him it was a deeply significant symbol, 'will stand on its own feet, despite the ill-will of the whole world.' Arnold said: 'But I heard some of your African politicians don't want independence on the Ghana pattern. I've even been told that one said that Ghana got its independence too early.'

'Huh!' he interjected. 'They are jealous because Ghana has got what we will never get, unless they take up arms and drive the Frenchmen away like they did in Dien Bien Phu and are now doing in Algeria.'

Quite why the young man was so vicious against the French I did not discover. His conversation with Arnold certainly gave a false impression of the political situation in French West Africa. He seemed almost as unaware of the political revolution that had taken place here in the Senegal, and throughout French Black Africa only six months earlier, as most British Africans are. For [641] on 31st March, in the same month as Ghana got its independence, French West Africans, every adult, went to the polls to elect their own Territorial Assemblies, from which their own Prime Ministers and Governments would be chosen. And although the new law provided only for a limited degree of internal autonomy for each territory—control of the Civil Service and the police, [643] for instance, were reserved for the Governor—it was an irrevocable step that placed the future of French West Africa in African hands. If the young man had doubts about this, he had only to look at the African Minister from the Senegal talking calmly and confidently to the Acting High Commissioner, Monsieur Torre, to reassure himself.

This young African was not alone in his views. I heard it from other students, though never from a politician in power. The French, of course, because of their record in Indo-China and North Africa, often hear such attacks from the Americans who write about French Black Africa. They arrive there, their opinions already formed by a study of French Colonial policy elsewhere, and condemn everything going on in Dakar and the eight

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 Metropolis. Until recently the African élite has always come from
[571] St. Louis. It is a sort of spiritual centre of Black Africa. It had the
[873] first school—Lycée Faidherbe. And in 1866 it was given the first Hotel de Ville of the French Union. It is the cradle of the French Union. It would be a tragedy if it died.'

369 To such men as these it seems scandalous that St. Louis with
175 its great history and traditions should give way to a parvenue like Dakar. Of all West African cities St. Louis is the one with the most illustrious and fascinating history. It was called St. Louis after the great French King, Louis XIII, in the middle of the seventeenth century. However, in the following century it began to expand into a town whose inhabitants were a distinct race, comparable
[563] to the Creoles of Sierra Leone. White and black intermarried to form a group known as the St. Louisians. During the eighteenth
[591] and nineteenth centuries these were the great families of the
[554] Senegal, though today they are losing importance. Names like Carpot, Descanet, Deves, Guillabert and Crespin are still remembered with respect in St. Louis.

[162] By the end of the eighteenth century the town had more than 7,000 inhabitants and in 1778 a mayor, who had to be chosen
[633] from the local population, was charged with the maintenance of good relations between the people and the Governor. In 1833
[641] all inhabitants of St. Louis were given the status of French citizens.

Perhaps the most important date for St. Louis and for West Africa was 1854, when General Faidherbe was appointed Governor. Today his mark is still firmly on St. Louis. The
[361] ordered layout of the city and its streets were his work. The large
[491] bridge connecting the island on which St. Louis stands to the mainland is named after him. The city's most important and famous school is the Lycée Faidherbe. And even now one can listen to old folk sitting on the benches of the park, in which his statue stands, telling tales of the great General, who had fought against the famous Toucouleur chief, El Hadj Omar and brought Senegal, Soudan and Mauretania into the French orbit. Perhaps some of these old people are his own descendants, for he is reputed to have been a prolific father.

[162] By 1878 St. Louis had grown to a city of 16,000 inhabitants, and despite the rapid expansion of Dakar and Rufisque farther down the Coast, there was little to worry about the future.

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 Louis stagnated[14] and Gorée declined,
633 losing people at the expense of Dakar and
Rufisque; Rufisque grew rapidly, as the
175 port for the ground-nut. Dakar entered
[162] a period of prosperity at the turn of the
century.[15] During the late 19th century
[439] the composition of the population already
was beginning to change fairly rapidly,
especially in the expanding centers, but
the old core of urban population continued to hold a dominant place, not only in urban life but also in the colony of Senegal as a whole, whose constitution had come into effect. The people of St. Louis most notably served as essential instruments of the colonization effort.

This dominance was expressed very clearly in the political realm. The coastal cities, in contrast to the interior cities and rural areas, had been introduced to the structure and organization through which modern political life is conducted long before the reforms of 1946. Political activity of the modern type was first limited to the European settlers but was soon extended to the mixed-blood element
[563] and then to the Negro population. Beginning in the late 18th century, St. Louis had a mayor, always a mixed-blood, who served as intermediary between the governor and the populace. In 1789 the
[668] colony participated in metropolitan political activities, sending to the States-General a petition of grievances that demanded commercial freedom — *i.e.*, abolition of the Company monopoly — and the end of slavery. A satisfactory agreement was reached among employees of the Company, European businessmen, and mixed-blood businessmen, but it was never brought to fruition; a period of disorder set in and persisted until the rebirth of the colony in 1815.

In 1833 French citizenship was con-
•[641] ferred upon all free inhabitants of St. Louis and Gorée by royal decree. Citizenship was extended to all inhabitants of

[P.7B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 633 175 [641] the two cities with the abolition of slavery in 1848.[16] The four coastal cities were elevated to the status of communes with full powers between 1872 and 1887, and the organization of political life on a European pattern in the four communes crystalized the opposition between the citizens of the old settlements and the subjects of the territories in the newly-conquered interior. The cities alone provided apprenticeship in public life and in the representative system. Beginning in 1871 they elected a deputy to the French Parliament. In 1879 they [646] elected a Council-general patterned after those in France, supposedly to represent all Senegal. It actually represented only the few urban centers, whose interests at the time diverged widely from those of the rest of Senegal. An effort was subsequently made to repair this breach by transforming the Council-general into a colonial council, consisting of representatives elected by the citizens and representatives for the non-citizens appointed by the *notables*.[17] This reduced conflicts scarcely at all. Meanwhile, citizenship [641] acquired new importance. At first it was established by local law and had no effect in other French territories. Not until 1916 did the "natives of the four communes" receive full French citizenship while still being able to retain their personal status. These citizens were few in [667] number: scarcely 80,000 in 1939, about 100,000 in the 1950's. The cities tended to include more non-citizens than citizens as they grew. Actual participation in politics developed only gradually. At [666] the first legislative elections, in 1871, only a third of those registered voted, and the rate dropped to less than a fifth

[P. 8A]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[16] Which nearly tripled the number of citizens, who henceforth comprised a body that was more heterogeneous but less completely "assimilated."
[17] Translator's note: the *notables* were influential residents appointed to high political offices in the interior by the local representative of French government.
[18] Especially after 1914, when there appeared a particularly dynamic personnage, Blaise Diagne, whose popularity was widespread.
[19] Dakar absorbed Gorée in 1929. The latter was reestablished as a separate commune in 1956.
[20] At first — at the end of the 19th century — there were conflicts between the merchants, upholding the interests of their agencies, and the civil administration, then engaged in an expansionist policy in West Africa, whose advantages the former could not see. Not until recent years did these conflicts change very much in character.

[P.8C]

369
633
668
[115]
[641]
[642]
[646]
[667]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[21] A very significant portion of the present framework emerged from the "four communes."
[22] Until 1957, universal suffrage existed only in the four communes. In the rest of Senegal the franchise, which was very limited in 1946, was extended to more and more people. The organic law of 1956 abolished all restrictions.
[23] Translator's note: French section of the Workingmen's International: the French Socialist Party, attached to the old Second International.
[24] In 1956. The municipal elections of the same year showed clearly the extent of its influence, which was unimportant in the interior cities.

[P.9C]

668
665
GAI
EE

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

At this stage no French taxation was imposed. Faidherbe was the first 175
to insist that the election of any chiefs must be subject to his approval, 648
and from this time onwards the French hold gradually grew tighter. As the French historian Sabatié has put it:

> 'These treaties guaranteed the political organization, the religion, customs, institutions, and laws of the native country concerned. They were designed to ensure the security of our commerce and respect for the property of our nationals and our subjects, and they stipulated, by way of compensation, the collection of certain taxes on cattle and exported products for the benefit of chiefs. As a result of the evolution of the colony and its economic and administrative necessities, the clauses and obligations of these treaties have lapsed.'

The system lasted until towards the end of the nineteenth century; but from that time onwards native powers, especially over judicial matters, land, and tribute, have been gradually curtailed. Native chiefs have become agents appointed by the Government, and native administrative institutions have almost everywhere been deliberately abolished. This policy has its roots not only in administrative convenience but also in a strong sense of duty to the individual native and a desire to protect him from misrule.

The Modern Constitution

Until 1920 the four communes of Dakar, Goree, Rufisque, and 631
St. Louis were described as the territory under direct administration, 633
the remainder of the colony as a protectorate. In that year the distinction, which had long been one without a difference, was formally abolished.

Senegal, being the oldest colony, contains about a quarter of the 641
whole European population of French West Africa. It also contains
a larger proportion of educated and politically minded natives than [162]
the other colonies, and its constitution is more democratic. This last fact is mainly due to the equalitarian doctrines of the July Monarchy at the time when the personal status of Senegalese native citizens and their rights as Frenchmen were determined. In 1833 the French Parliament enacted that any person born free, or having legally
acquired his liberty, enjoyed in the French colonies both civil and [648]
political rights under conditions prescribed by law. In 1848, therefore, when the colony first acquired the right to send a deputy to the French Parliament, natives born in the French settlements of
Goree, Rufisque, and St. Louis, the only French soil in Senegal at [633]
the time, became entitled to the Parliamentary vote and to all the

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

641 other privileges of French citizenship. In due course the same [633] status was conferred on natives of Dakar, and in 1916 French citizenship was extended not only to natives born in these four communes but to their descendants also. It thus came about that out [162] of 80,500 native citizens in the whole of French West Africa 78,000 live in Senegal or Dakar. Of these the great bulk resides in the four old communes.

633 Municipal government, on entirely metropolitan lines, was conferred upon St. Louis and Goree in 1872 and upon Rufisque in 1880. In 1887 Dakar, which had hitherto formed part of Goree, was separated from it, receiving its own elected mayor and council, and in 1929 absorbed its parent. The District of Dakar was separated from Senegal in 1924, and received its own Administrator, directly responsible to the Governor-General.

646 Parliamentary representation was suspended under Napoleon III, but restored in 1870. Until 1914 a European had been elected, but the racial issue was deliberately raised in that year, when M. Blaise [645] Diagne, a Sérère, entered on his long term as Deputy for Senegal. He thoroughly justified his race by heading a campaign for voluntary recruitment in Senegal during the War of 1914–1918, and subsequently held office as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. As early as 1879 the General Council was elected by the citizens of [633] the four communes. It had certain powers of taxation and legislation over the four communes, powers which, though limited, were more democratic than in other parts of French West Africa. Its greatest influence, however, lay in the criticism of the Government, a function which, withheld from it by law, sprang naturally from the power of taxation. When the formal distinction between colony and protectorate disappeared, the General Council gave place to the existing Colonial Council (p. 432), a body with generally similar powers extending over the whole colony.

648 *Senegal and Federation.* Before 1845 and again from 1859 to 1893 [643] the whole of what is now French West Africa was administered by the Governor of Senegal. It was natural, therefore, that in 1895 he should be appointed Governor-General of the Federation, with its not very precise constitution. This appointment was welcomed in Senegal, as it enhanced the colony's supremacy. In 1902 the Governor-Generalship was made a separate office, and Senegal sank to the level of the other colonies. This new arrangement, although a blow to the pride of the Senegalese, did not touch their pockets. They still [652] kept control of their own revenues, out of which they voted a sum

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

633 The Council has the same functions as that of the colony, but its
645 decisions need the approval (usually formal) of the Standing
[648] Committee of the Governor-General's Council.

The Executive Councils of Senegal and of Dakar are known as *conseils privés*, whereas those of the other colonies are known as *conseils d'administration*.

646 *The Colonial Council of Senegal.* The history of the Colonial
633 Council and of its predecessor, the General Council, has been given above. The earlier council had jurisdiction over the four full communes only, but its successor, which dates from 1920, when all distinctions between colony and protectorate were abolished, has jurisdiction over the whole colony. The inhabitants of the District of Dakar still retain their votes for the Colonial Council, and as a corollary the Council can discuss the affairs of the District. The pretext for this decision was afforded by the provision, in the decrees
[652] of 1924, that the Colonial Budget of Senegal should contain a grant in aid of Dakar; but French writers do not disguise the fact that it was thought not desirable entirely to divorce the District from the rest of Senegal. The decrees of 1924, therefore, expressly left it an integral, though autonomous, part.

646 The Colonial Council is unique in French Africa in that its
666 membership includes Europeans, natives, chiefs, citizens, and subjects. It is, therefore, worthy of detailed mention. Its constitution
[642] and powers are laid down in a decree of 4 December 1920, as amended by decrees of 30 March 1925, 13 January 1930, and 8 April 1939. This last added the subjects. The colony is divided into four electoral districts, from which members are elected on a population basis. The Council is elected for a term of six years, but, on the recom-
[648] mendation of the Governor, it may be dissolved by the Governor-General. Should a dissolution occur, a new election must be held within three months. There are 62 members in all: 26 citizens elected by citizens, 18 provincial or canton chiefs elected by those of the same rank, and 18 native subjects. These subjects must either have been born in the colony or be descendants of subjects born in
[641] the colony; they must have completed their military service; and they are elected by all other subjects who fulfil the same conditions. In 1929 the European element only numbered one-fifth of the total membership, and the additions made in 1939 will have had the effect of swamping it.

646 The Council meets for a fortnight's session once a year, but it can
643 be summoned by the Governor at any time. It chooses its own

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 633 cally new functions that the old system could not manage, but this phase of internal autonomy was brief. The new government progressively assumed all political functions, and the population of the •642 633 city became diversified. Effective operation of the traditional authority was then limited to the one ethnic group that henceforth furnished its members. Nevertheless, despite its increasingly ambiguous position and more and more purely formal character, despite the fact that it had no genuine initiative, traditional authority continued to play a role in urban life. Old political systems eventually were used by the modern political organizations as one of the props for their own action, and conversely, some traditional authorities attempted to reinforce their declining influence by insinuating themselves into a new political role.

[369] These interactions merit attention. In effect, traditional political forms were taken over into the framework of urban life, though in rudimentary outline. This was the case in ethnic group and ward organization, for example, which involved the institutions of "ward-chiefery" and "race-chiefery." These were often developed spontaneously, sometimes assuming a clandestine nature. In other cases such organizational forms were encouraged and given official recognition. Some were created out of whole cloth by the colonial authority, which saw in them an effective means for regulating populations still poorly integrated into the framework that it was striving to establish.[4] The role of authorities having traditional origins quickly became secondary, of course, but it has raised contradictions that make the study of interpenetration between traditional and modern political frameworks an essential one.

[P. 4 B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[P. 4C]
[Footnote 4 continued on P5C-Analysis]

[2] Their territory, at least in the case of the oldest cities, was often the object of a "concession" by local authorities, and was therefore withdrawn from their direct control.

[3] This is the case, for example, of Lagos; regarding Dakar, where the authorities of the "Republic of Lebou" had their seat, *cf.* C. Michel, "L'organisation coutumière (sociale et politique) de la communauté Laboue de Dakar," *Bull. du Comité d'Et. hist. et sci. de l'A.O.F.*, March 17, 1934; and C. Faure, *Histoire de la presqu'île du Cap-Vert et des origins de Dakar*, Paris, 1914.

[4] G. Balandier, in *Sociologie des Brazzavilles noires* (Paris, 1955) shows clearly the occurrence there of "a transfer onto an urban milieu of leadership agencies already existing in a rural milieu: the

369
633
[113]
649

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[P.5C]

hierarchy of administrator-mayor, administrator-deputy mayor, and ward leader corresponds to the hierarchy of regional leader, district leader, and cantonal leader" (p. 169). The contradictions that he points out in the administrative organization of Brazzaville were sharper still at Dakar: the institution of appointed ward leaders coexisted with that of an elected city government, whose relations with the colonial administration did not differ in principle from those of French city governments with prefectoral authority.

[5] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Evolution des élites sénégalaises," *Bull. intl. des Sci. soc.*, VIII (#4, '56).

Groupement européen de Dakar: orientations d'une enquête," *Cahiers intl. de Soc.* XIX, 1955.

[6] *Cf. Infra.*, and the Summary Notes Given in P. Mercier, "Aspects de la Société Africaine" and "Le

[7] *Cf.* B. G. M. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, London, 1948; and G. Balandier, *Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique noire*, Paris, 1955.

649
6323
369
[113]

369 in some years. Since the beginning of the
633 20th century, however, urban citizens
175 have taken an increasingly lively interest
[666] in political matters.[18]

In this restricted political system the
563 relative importance of the roles played by
668 different ethnic groupings and different cities varied continuously. Ethnic dominance, first held by the old European families, passed gradually to mixed-blood society, which came into being in the 18th century and rapidly acquired wealth, education, and influence. By the mid-19th century mixed-bloods made up the majority of the westernized population. But the entry of the emancipated slaves,
[166] the first sizable migration toward the cities, quickly reduced the mixed-bloods to a minority. In 1900 they numbered
[162] less than 5,000 in the four communes together, though for several decades their economic and political influence remained quite disproportionate to their num-
668 bers. Among the cities, St. Louis was
[369] predominant until WW I. At the beginning of the century it practically controlled the deputation to the French legislature and the Council-general — and hence the economic life of the territory. Then Gorée-Dakar came to the fore;[19] in 1914 a citizen of Gorée, Blaise Diagne, was elected deputy, followed by Galandou Diouf and Lebou. These men
[645] were the first elected Senegalese to win broad support at Paris; Diagne himself was appointed a Secretary of State [a subministerial post, equivalent to a U.S. Under-Secretary]. In Senegal, the au-
[642] thority of elected officials — deputies and Councillors-general — increased, and clashes with the civil administration were frequent.[20]

[P. 8 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[16] Which nearly tripled the number of citizens, who henceforth comprised a body that was more heterogeneous but less completely "assimilated."
[17] Translator's note: the *notables* were influential residents appointed to high political offices in the interior by the local representative of French government.
[18] Especially after 1914, when there appeared a particularly dynamic personnage, Blaise Diagne, whose popularity was widespread.
[19] Dakar absorbed Gorée in 1929. The latter was reestablished as a separate commune in 1936.
[20] At first — at the end of the 19th century — these were conflicts between the merchants, upholding the interests of their agencies, and the civil administration, then engaged in an expansionist policy in West Africa, whose advantages the former could not see. Not until recent years did these conflicts change very much in character.

[P.8C]

369
633
668
[115]
[641]
[642]
[646]
[676]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

633 The Council has the same functions as that of the colony, but its
645 decisions need the approval (usually formal) of the Standing
[648] Committee of the Governor-General's Council.

The Executive Councils of Senegal and of Dakar are known as *conseils privés*, whereas those of the other colonies are known as *conseils d'administration*.

646 *The Colonial Council of Senegal.* The history of the Colonial
633 Council and of its predecessor, the General Council, has been given above. The earlier council had jurisdiction over the four full communes only, but its successor, which dates from 1920, when all distinctions between colony and protectorate were abolished, has jurisdiction over the whole colony. The inhabitants of the District of Dakar still retain their votes for the Colonial Council, and as a corollary the Council can discuss the affairs of the District. The pretext for this decision was afforded by the provision, in the decrees
[652] of 1924, that the Colonial Budget of Senegal should contain a grant in aid of Dakar; but French writers do not disguise the fact that it was thought not desirable entirely to divorce the District from the rest of Senegal. The decrees of 1924, therefore, expressly left it an integral, though autonomous, part.

646 The Colonial Council is unique in French Africa in that its
666 membership includes Europeans, natives, chiefs, citizens, and subjects. It is, therefore, worthy of detailed mention. Its constitution
[642] and powers are laid down in a decree of 4 December 1920, as amended by decrees of 30 March 1925, 13 January 1930, and 8 April 1939. This last added the subjects. The colony is divided into four electoral districts, from which members are elected on a population basis. The Council is elected for a term of six years, but, on the recom-
[648] mendation of the Governor, it may be dissolved by the Governor-General. Should a dissolution occur, a new election must be held within three months. There are 62 members in all: 26 citizens elected by citizens, 18 provincial or canton chiefs elected by those of the same rank, and 18 native subjects. These subjects must either have been born in the colony or be descendants of subjects born in
[641] the colony; they must have completed their military service; and they are elected by all other subjects who fulfil the same conditions. In 1929 the European element only numbered one-fifth of the total membership, and the additions made in 1939 will have had the effect of swamping it.

646 The Council meets for a fortnight's session once a year, but it can
643 be summoned by the Governor at any time. It chooses its own

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

646 taxes and all items of the Colonial Budget not fixed by the Governor-
[648] General.
[652] Article 40 of the decree of 1920 forbade any deliberation of political
[642] matters and any resolution concerning them. The power to discuss the budget, however, has nullified this prohibition, and criticism of the Government plays a considerable part in the Council's debates.
[631] The citizens are usually more independent than the chiefs, since the latter owe their appointments to the Governor. It is too early to judge the effect of the recent addition of subjects.

It will be clear from the foregoing that this Colonial Council
[642] performs a very useful function. Although it cannot bring the machinery of government to a standstill, it can seriously hamper the administration. In consequence Senegal has a greater tincture of democracy than any other colony.

Territorial Divisions

635 The colony is divided into fifteen provinces (Fig. 52), some of
634 them subdivided into districts. Their names and the names of their headquarters towns are as follows.

Province	*Headquarters*	*Area in square miles*	*District headquarters*
Bakel	Bakel	8,755	..
Baol	Diourbel	1,714	..
Bas Sénégal	St. Louis	2,351	Dagana
Bignona	Bignona	1,699	Diouloulou
Djoloff	Linguéré	6,275	..
Haute Gambie	Kédougou	5,212	..
Kolda	Kolda	5,399	..
Louga	Louga	3,886	..
Matam	Matam	10,116	..
Podor	Podor	4,857	..
Sedhiou	Sedhiou	2,703	..
Sine-Saloum	Kaolack	10,228	Fatik, Foundiougne, Kaffrine
Tambacounda	Tambacounda	9,998	..
Thiès	Thiès	2,707	M'Bour, Tivaouane
Ziguinchor	Ziguinchor	1,120	Oussouye

635 The four provinces of Bignona, Kolda, Sedhiou, and Ziguinchor are grouped together as the Casamance Territory, at the head of which is a Session Administrator, or Chief Commissioner, residing at Ziguinchor.

In almost all provinces the provincial Commissioner is assisted by a Council of Notables (Plate 113).

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 colonies other than Martinique, Guadeloupe and Réunion and at the same time they were subjected to rule by direct decree of the Emperor.

[167] It was under the Second Empire that the first great period of French colonial expansion in black Africa took place. It was during that regime that Faidherbe, who was to Senegal what Lugard was to Nigeria, first embarked on his African conquests. Faidherbe himself embodied this dichotomy in French colonial policy: an authoritarian agent of an authoritarian regime, he was often found introducing reforms and innovations that conformed with the most liberal application of an assimilationist policy.

[643] 360 [162] [563] [872] [797] [361] Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in 1854. At the time St. Louis, according to Abbé Boilaut in his *Esquisses sénégalaises* was a city of 12,336 inhabitants with only 177 Europeans. There were two primary schools run by Catholic missionaries. A full scale administration had succeeded in imposing on a town otherwise consisting mainly of single storey houses, a governor's palace, a 'very elegant Palace of Justice', a large naval hospital, a fine church and an army barracks.

648 643 From his base at St. Louis, Faidherbe, in a series of brilliant campaigns, notably against the powerful emir of Trarza and the Muslim reformist and Toucouleur leader, El Hadj Omar, was to lay the foundations of France's West African empire. To do this he organised the now famous *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, since Europeans did not stand up well to the climate and the prevalent diseases. By conquest or by treaty he brought most of modern Senegal and much of Soudan (Mali) under French rule. He installed an efficient military administration, and even published an official newspaper the *Moniteur du Sénégal*. Altogether Faidherbe was a remarkable man. He was a firm believer in the equality of races, and did much to increase the educational facilities of the colony. He established a school for the sons of chiefs, and lay schools for Muslims, who objected to attending the mission schools. Whilst Faidherbe wanted to

643 [804] [871] [797]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

encourage the evangelisation of the population, he[1] was sufficiently knowledgeable about the country and its people to realise that it would be impossible to win converts from among the Muslims who formed the majority in Senegal. Scholarships for primary education in St. Louis, and secondary education in France were awarded under his auspices to promising students. Small technical schools were established at Dakar. And he even opened a museum at St. Louis.

He tried to equip the colony with some of the benefits of a modern economy. He established the Bank of Senegal, laid out St. Louis afresh as befitted a capital city, and under his influence Pinet-Laprade founded the new port of Dakar. He promoted the export of the ground-nut crop, becoming increasingly valuable to the colony's revenue which rose from 12 million francs in 1848 to 37 million in 1869, and proved a profitable substitute for human merchandise. He made valuable and detailed studies of the local people. Like Lugard he seemed to be able to think of every aspect of administration at the same time. The historian G. Hardy wrote of him: 'He touched on everything, and always with good results.' But as J. Richard-Molard commented, 'He was the first great Frenchman to realise the wish of Barth. But he did it as an officer of the Empire, endowed with an abominable character and a sense of authority which bordered on vice. He was proconsul of an authoritarian Empire.'

One decision vital for the future of the Senegal was made during the Faidherbian regime: this was the final abandonment of any ideals of European colonisation. It came at a time when the French were settling Algeria, and was not altogether altruistic, as the ministerial instructions of 1859 showed:

> Nothing similar to Algeria could be undertaken in Senegal. The climate is against it. The land should therefore be left to the natives, at least as a general rule. It is by their hands that it should be cultivated and if our rule is to be extended over all the territory

[1] [i.e., Faidherbe, who became Governor in 1854--Gwolyx]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

III. FRENCH REACTION AGAINST ASSIMILATION

000 France had made a great mistake in granting suffrage to the Natives. She did not withdraw her present, but took good care not to repeat it elsewhere.

PIERRE MILLE: *The Black Vote in Senegal.*

648 UNTIL 1913 all the Senegalese deputies in the French Chamber of Deputies were citizens of metropolitan origin. And in the General Council and the municipal 646 [633] [563] councils Europeans, even when they were not in a majority, more often than not succeeded in controlling proceedings. With this European domination of the representative institutions, it may come as a surprise that France not only failed to extend the experiment to other parts of French Africa, but indeed did her best to suppress those rights already granted in Senegal. First of all many of the Gover- 643 nors resented the control the General Council had over the 646 territorial budget, albeit limited. Secondly they found that [652] the General Council tried to run a peace-time administration for that part of Senegal under direct rule, whilst the Governors were more concerned with the pacification of the much larger hinterland, for in those days Senegal included much of what is now Mali. As one historian of Senegal, André Villard, has put it: 'The Colony thought it had the right to lead the quiet life of a French *arrondissement* at the very time when expansion towards the east necessitated exceptional political and military efforts.' An authoritarian Governor like Brière de l'Isle found it particularly galling to be saddled with a democratically 646 elected legislative council. Furthermore the General- 563 Councillors, who were mainly European or half-caste up 633

[p 16]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

till the end of the nineteenth century, neglected the Protectorate and seemed to think that the only parts of the country that mattered were the four communes. Naturally their official business with the Protectorate was limited, but they did control the three main ports of the country through which the products of the interior passed to France. The councillors, too, restricted education largely to the communes, where on the whole it reached a satisfactory level. They even sent students on scholarships to France, but unfortunately too few of these returned to Senegal to use their newly acquired talents. It was not until the establishment of the Government-General of French West Africa in 1905 that educational facilities were extended to the Protectorate in any great measure.

The increase in education amongst citizens of African origin meant that by the turn of the nineteenth century they were less willing to accept European domination in the communes and the General Council. The assertion of their rights is one of the main factors behind the attempts of the administration to deprive the indigenous Senegalese of their position as *citoyens*. Actually the Administration was batting on a good wicket. Technically a French citizen was one who accepted French rights and duties without qualification. In the case of the Africans in Senegal they had been allowed to retain their own *statut personnel*, that is private law, with reference to civil disputes, matrimony, divorce, inheritance and land. But this seemed to conflict openly with the definition of a French citizen. It seemed wrong that a man should exercise the rights of a French citizen and not accept the consequent obligations. Many Frenchmen felt it quite illogical that an African with four wives could yet be a citizen. And indeed in later years the main obstacle to granting citizenship to other colonial peoples was to be the question of retention of the *statut personnel*. Thus many of the attempts by the French to deprive the Senegalese citizens of their rights were the result of quite genuine objections to the illogicality of their position. Faidherbe,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

•643 641 writing in 1889, protested against this attitude since he felt that to make monogamy a condition of citizenship would break up families and that monogamy should be achieved by education. But more potent were those forces which disliked the exercise of such rights by a small African minority, albeit linked with Europeans, which could so often obstruct not only the Governor of Senegal but the Governor-General himself, since until 1904 these two were one and the same man. The existence of a vocal General Council and Municipal Councils, let alone a deputy in France, which could all express opinions directly hostile to the authoritarian rule of the Governor, was another important factor behind the moves to deprive the Senegalese of their citizenship at the end of the nineteenth century. There was also 666 641 however quite genuine concern at the way in which the vote was exercised in Senegal. Pierre Mille, in an article entitled *The Black Vote in Senegal* published in 1901, alleged that the African voters, mainly illiterate, were controlled by the handful of Europeans who bought their votes. He went so far as to describe Senegal as a 'rotten borough'. Indeed he alleged that the expense of the election absorbed a large part of the colony's finances: and further that after competing against each other for the electors' favour, the big companies in Senegal finally decided to combine the operation to save expenses and control Senegal to their mutual advantage. But as to the virtue of the Senegalese 641 as citizens in other respects Mille was surprisingly warm: [595] 'Having become French citizens and notwithstanding that they were Muslims, they, with a few exceptions, accepted monogamy . . . and they have spread far and wide in Africa the renown and justice of French administration'. But as Mille concluded, this was not sufficient to persuade France 648 to continue the experiment in her other West African colonies. Indeed, confirming what has already been said about empirical tendencies in French colonial rule, by 1900, when France had gained most of her vast African empire, Mille commented that it was 'administered with an

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

641 648 [643] An interesting sidelight on the confused French attitude towards assimilation and Africans was the status accorded to Blaise Diagne as Commissioner of the Republic in charge of conscription of troops in West Africa. He was given rank equal to that of the Governor-General, Van Vollenhoven, who thereat resigned. However this is only one side of the story. The French insist that he resigned because he felt that the large number of troops to be recruited would wreck the colony's economy and severely reduce the indigenous population. Nevertheless the presence of an African deputy for Senegal was not viewed well in all quarters. But Diagne could not be tempted by high office outside the parliamentary sphere and won a resounding victory in the 1919 elections [666] with 7,444 votes to his opponent's 1,252. He was then appointed Under Secretary of States for Colonies. His essential attachment to France was clear, for whilst in 1919 he became President of the Pan-African Congress, which urged that ultimately 'Africa should be ruled by consent of the Africans . . .' he refused, as Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff have pointed out 'to support any revolutionary theories as to the emancipation of all Negro peoples'. 'We French natives', he said, 'wish to remain French, since France has given us every liberty'.

646 633 The French were still not happy about the position of the *originaires* and in 1920, not so much from a show of liberalism as from a desire to reduce the pressures exercised on the Administration by the twenty-member General Council, it was translated into a Colonial Council with an increased membership of forty-four of which twenty were sent by the hitherto unrepresented Protectorate. The representatives [631] of the *sujets*, who were provincial or cantonal chiefs, could be relied on to vote with the Administration whose agents they were, and thus reduce the independence of the communes. In 1925, however, the number of chiefs was reduced to sixteen and the citizens' representatives increased to twenty-four as a means of persuading them to vote larger

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

taxes, but thereafter relations between chiefs and Government on the one hand and citizens on the other were rarely cordial. 646 633 631

The powers of the Council were very restricted, having legislative rights over minor matters like the classification of roads and the management of public properties. Even these limited powers were subject to the veto of the Governor-General of French West Africa. Its main deliberative competence was over the budget, which though drawn up by the Governor could be criticised by the councillors. This power was watered down by the classification of a large section of the budget as obligatory expenditure. Nevertheless the council was an exceptional institution in West Africa. As R. L. Buell in his *The Native Problem in Africa* wrote: 648 652 643

> That the eight Europeans who participated in the Council should have exactly the same status as the thirty-two blacks is a situation which would strike the Anglo-Saxon as anomalous to say the least. The visitor to the Council will frequently witness a black president calling a European member to order for rowdiness. It does not appear, however, that the council is divided upon racial lines, i.e. of white versus black, except on the issue of higher pay for European officials—a policy which was, in fact, attacked as vigorously by the Europeans as by the native members. The real alignment so far has been the citizen members—both black and European—against the government supported by the chiefs. Black members as we have seen, have unmercifully criticised officials in Senegal. No British colony would tolerate the attacks which the natives make upon European officials in Senegal. 563 646

Buell pin-pointed a growing division in the territory—that between the *originaires* and the *sujets* of the Protectorate. The *originaires*, especially since the election of one of their own number as deputy, became increasingly jealous of their privileges. Meanwhile the rest of the territory was administered according to the same principles of administration as were applied throughout the rest of West Africa. Though traditional chiefs were stripped of their traditional powers 641 631

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

that involved the breaking-away of a number of small sections in various territories, emerged as West Africa's leading party with nine seats, and joined the Guy Mollet Government. Under this Government the famous *loi cadre* was passed establishing for each of the black African territories a wholly elected assembly, based on universal adult suffrage. An executive, that could be drawn from within or without the assembly, was established. Although the territorial Governor presided over it, it was effectively guided by the Vice-President or Prime Minister. Separate rolls for Europeans were abolished. Thus in one fell swoop all African territories were given the elements of responsible democratic government. Certainly their powers were restricted since a large number of subjects were reserved to the Federation, still run by the French High Commissioner, and checked only by the *Grand Conseil*. The *loi cadre*, whilst it did not envisage independence, and still saw the future of the African territories as within the structure of the French body politic, did in effect set these territories on the road to independence. Senghor, an ardent critic of the *loi cadre*, declared: 'The peoples of Africa do not intend to cut themselves off from metropolitan France; they want to be able to construct, side by side with her, their own buildings which will consolidate and extend French territory.'

The *loi cadre*, whilst it made large concessions to African demands for autonomy, was in fact designed to avoid demands for independence. The new French Government had been influenced to this end by France's unfortunate experiences in other parts of her empire as well as the political progress of the Gold Coast. Furthermore she wished to anticipate moves by the Gold Coast to absorb that part of the former German Togo which she administered and therefore accorded it a limited form of internal autonomy. It was inevitable that having granted this concession to Togo she would eventually have to make it to neighbouring French African territories as well. Whilst considerable

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

[48] West Africa, or they'll never leave. The Frenchman has taken everything away from the African. Even prostitution,' he sneered, 'is in their hands.'

Arnold asked him what he thought about Ghana. 'Ghana,' he said fiercely, as though to him it was a deeply significant symbol, 'will stand on its own feet, despite the ill-will of the whole world.' Arnold said: 'But I heard some of your African politicians don't want independence on the Ghana pattern. I've even been told that one said that Ghana got its independence too early.'

'Huh!' he interjected. 'They are jealous because Ghana has got what we will never get, unless they take up arms and drive the Frenchmen away like they did in Dien Bien Phu and are now doing in Algeria.'

Quite why the young man was so vicious against the French I did not discover. His conversation with Arnold certainly gave a false impression of the political situation in French West Africa. He seemed almost as unaware of the political revolution that had taken place here in the Senegal, and throughout French Black Africa only six months earlier, as most British Africans are. For [641] on 31st March, in the same month as Ghana got its independence, French West Africans, every adult, went to the polls to elect their own Territorial Assemblies, from which their own Prime Ministers and Governments would be chosen. And although the new law provided only for a limited degree of internal autonomy for each territory—control of the Civil Service and the police, [643] for instance, were reserved for the Governor—it was an irrevocable step that placed the future of French West Africa in African hands. If the young man had doubts about this, he had only to look at the African Minister from the Senegal talking calmly and confidently to the Acting High Commissioner, Monsieur Torre, to reassure himself.

This young African was not alone in his views. I heard it from other students, though never from a politician in power. The French, of course, because of their record in Indo-China and North Africa, often hear such attacks from the Americans who write about French Black Africa. They arrive there, their opinions already formed by a study of French Colonial policy elsewhere, and condemn everything going on in Dakar and the eight

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS 30
Trarza MS 24

S 175 439 [648]

From 1830 onwards treaties were made with the chiefs of the Casamance basin, and posts were constructed at Sedhiou, Karaban, and Diembering. These treaties respected Portuguese historic but obsolete rights at Ziguinchor, but effectively guaranteed that the future of the river should be French.

S [567] [429] [464]

The abolition of the status of slavery by France in 1848 deprived the French merchants of a cheap supply of labour, which they had rented from the chiefs, and in 1850 a committee was appointed to consider withdrawal from the colony or, as an alternative, the establishment of French authority. It decided in favour of the latter, and the policy of trade treaties came to an end.

The new French policy, to which Napoleon III was pledged, was summed up as 'absolute freedom of commerce with the suppression of the escales; establishment of security, by force if necessary; the substitution of full and entire authority for the system of treaties and subsidies; methodical organization of expansion towards the interior; and concurrently the development of economic institutions'.

S 175 [643]

'By Force if Necessary'

Faidherbe. It was to carry out this policy that Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in December 1854. He had already had much experience as a soldier and administrator in the colony, and, with a break of eighteen months, he held office till July 1865. His period of office marked a turning-point in the history of Senegal, and he is justly remembered as one of the builders of the modern French Colonial Empire. At first his resources were pitifully small. He had four companies of marine infantry, a company of native infantry formed on the liberation of the slaves in 1848, sixty spahis, and some detachments of artillery and engineers. His naval strength was on a similar scale. Both were substantially strengthened in the next few years.

S [701]

T S W 175 648

The Arabs. Faidherbe decided to deal with the Trarza Arabs. Notwithstanding the treaty of 1835, they had continued their marauding expeditions across the river, and had re-established a supreme influence over the Ouolofs of Oualo. Early in 1855 the Trarza chief Mohammed el Abib insolently demanded the French evacuation of certain islands near the mouth of the Senegal. Faidherbe marched against him and defeated him near St. Louis on 15 February. On 25 February the Ouolofs were defeated near Ross. The French captured more than 2,000 cattle and burned 20 villages.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS 30

S
W
175
648
W
[669]

French protection. Hardly was Faidherbe's back turned when Makodou repudiated his engagements. A fresh expedition was necessary, and on 12 March Makodou's forces were repulsed again at Diati near Mekhé. Faidherbe thereupon encouraged an internal revolt, which resulted in the flight of Makodou and the recognition of Madiodio as Damel. He in his turn was dethroned by Lat Dior, whom the French also recognized. He also failed to observe his predecessor's treaties, and in 1863 Faidherbe marched against him and re-established Madiodio. In the December of that year Lat Dior gathered his forces and fell upon the French garrison of Goumbo Gueoul, when Captain Lorans and almost all his detachment of 140 tirailleurs were killed. This time there were no half measures: Lat Dior's army was cut to pieces by Pinet-Laprade near Pout on 12 January 1864, but he himself escaped to the Gambia. Faidherbe then suppressed the native kingdom, established a French protectorate, and divided Cayor into cantons, each under a chief of his own appointment.

W
[631]

In 1865 Pinet-Laprade, who had succeeded Faidherbe, had to deal with a mallam named Maba, who threatened to involve in a holy war not only Cayor but also the country as far east as Fouta. In 1869 Lat Dior again invaded Cayor, and in 1871 was again recognized by the French as Damel, though shorn of part of his territory. This arrangement worked well for ten years, and when Ahmadu Checkhou, a mallam of Toro, invaded Cayor, the French could not refuse armed aid to Lat Dior. The former was defeated and killed by French forces at Boumdou near Coki in February 1875. In 1881 Lat Dior once more gave trouble by opposing the construction of a railway, and, after military operations, he was replaced by his nephew. Internal unrest followed for some years and Lat Dior tried to take advantage of it; but on 26 October 1886 he was defeated and killed. The protectorate was finally abolished, and Cayor was annexed to the colony.

S
175
643

At the close of Faidherbe's term of office in 1865 modern Senegal may be said to have emerged. It would be a mistake to regard him only as a conqueror, for, though his primary object was to impose French authority, Senegal owes to him the foundation of its civil administration, its education, its banking system, and its Survey Department. Sympathetic to the natives, he tried to preserve their institutions to the utmost extent compatible with his primary object. While not prepared to discourage European colonization under suitable conditions, Faidherbe considered that the main agricultural

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Soninke MS 21

S 175 [643] [439]

development must be by native farmers guided by French instructors and aided by French capital. In 1861 French colonial trade, which had hitherto been restricted to French merchants and the French flag, was thrown open to all nations, though French goods continued to have a preference. This reform was not well received by the conservative merchants of St. Louis, but there can be no doubt that it rapidly proved of benefit to the colony.

S 30 175 648

Mahmadu Lamine. The last challenge to French rule within the boundaries of Senegal arose from a Soninké mallam named Mahmadu Lamine. Having returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca, he set up as a holy man at Medine and proceeded to interfere in the domestic concerns of the natives of Bondou. Rebuffed by their rightful ruler, he installed himself at Sénoudébou early in 1886, proclaimed himself a mahdi, and claimed a holy mission to restore the ancient power of the Sarakollé dynasty (Vol. I, p. 168). In March and April he attacked the fort of Bakel, at the head of 12,000 fanatics, but was repulsed. In May Colonel Frey marched out from St. Louis with a strong column which relieved Bakel. Notwithstanding this, Mahmadu again invaded Bondou, where he defeated and killed the king. Then he attacked the French post at Sénoudébou, crossed the Senegal, and endeavoured to cut the French communications between Bakel and Kayes. Galliéni himself, who had been recently appointed to command the troops in Upper Senegal, took the field against him and broke his power in several engagements. The mallam fortified himself at a village 46 miles south-west of Tambacounda. This village was taken by the French on 8 December 1887. Mahmadu escaped; but he was attacked by allies of the French on 9 December, and two days later died of his wounds. All the tribes of the country north of the Gambia boundary then sought French protection. Later disturbances in Senegal had their origin either in internal tribal dissensions or in dislike of closer control by France. In all respects they were minor affairs.

S 175 648 [439]

The Consolidation of French Rule. The original treaties, of which the French negotiated some 130 between 1785 and 1891 with the chiefs of Senegal, dealt with trade only. They fixed the rents and rates payable by each individual trader, and usually gave subsidies to the chiefs in return for their goodwill. These treaties did not attempt to deal with the internal administration of the tribes or with their foreign relations. The next stage was a treaty of friendship and protection, in which the native state was free to conduct its own affairs, subject only to the general guidance of French Residents.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

641 other privileges of French citizenship. In due course the same
[633] status was conferred on natives of Dakar, and in 1916 French citizenship was extended not only to natives born in these four communes but to their descendants also. It thus came about that out
[162] of 80,500 native citizens in the whole of French West Africa 78,000 live in Senegal or Dakar. Of these the great bulk resides in the four old communes.

633 Municipal government, on entirely metropolitan lines, was conferred upon St. Louis and Goree in 1872 and upon Rufisque in 1880. In 1887 Dakar, which had hitherto formed part of Goree, was separated from it, receiving its own elected mayor and council, and in 1929 absorbed its parent. The District of Dakar was separated from Senegal in 1924, and received its own Administrator, directly responsible to the Governor-General.

646 Parliamentary representation was suspended under Napoleon III, but restored in 1870. Until 1914 a European had been elected, but the racial issue was deliberately raised in that year, when M. Blaise
[645] Diagne, a Sérère, entered on his long term as Deputy for Senegal. He thoroughly justified his race by heading a campaign for voluntary recruitment in Senegal during the War of 1914–1918, and subsequently held office as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. As early as 1879 the General Council was elected by the citizens of
[633] the four communes. It had certain powers of taxation and legislation over the four communes, powers which, though limited, were more democratic than in other parts of French West Africa. Its greatest influence, however, lay in the criticism of the Government, a function which, withheld from it by law, sprang naturally from the power of taxation. When the formal distinction between colony and protectorate disappeared, the General Council gave place to the existing Colonial Council (p. 432), a body with generally similar powers extending over the whole colony.

648 *Senegal and Federation.* Before 1845 and again from 1859 to 1893
[643] the whole of what is now French West Africa was administered by the Governor of Senegal. It was natural, therefore, that in 1895 he should be appointed Governor-General of the Federation, with its not very precise constitution. This appointment was welcomed in Senegal, as it enhanced the colony's supremacy. In 1902 the Governor-Generalship was made a separate office, and Senegal sank to the level of the other colonies. This new arrangement, although a blow
[652] to the pride of the Senegalese, did not touch their pockets. They still kept control of their own revenues, out of which they voted a sum

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 31

633 The Council has the same functions as that of the colony, but its
645 decisions need the approval (usually formal) of the Standing
[648] Committee of the Governor-General's Council.

The Executive Councils of Senegal and of Dakar are known as *conseils privés*, whereas those of the other colonies are known as *conseils d'administration*.

646 *The Colonial Council of Senegal.* The history of the Colonial
633 Council and of its predecessor, the General Council, has been given above. The earlier council had jurisdiction over the four full communes only, but its successor, which dates from 1920, when all distinctions between colony and protectorate were abolished, has jurisdiction over the whole colony. The inhabitants of the District of Dakar still retain their votes for the Colonial Council, and as a corollary the Council can discuss the affairs of the District. The pretext for this decision was afforded by the provision, in the decrees
[C52] of 1924, that the Colonial Budget of Senegal should contain a grant in aid of Dakar; but French writers do not disguise the fact that it was thought not desirable entirely to divorce the District from the rest of Senegal. The decrees of 1924, therefore, expressly left it an integral, though autonomous, part.

646 The Colonial Council is unique in French Africa in that its
666 membership includes Europeans, natives, chiefs, citizens, and subjects. It is, therefore, worthy of detailed mention. Its constitution
[642] and powers are laid down in a decree of 4 December 1920, as amended by decrees of 30 March 1925, 13 January 1930, and 8 April 1939. This last added the subjects. The colony is divided into four electoral districts, from which members are elected on a population basis. The Council is elected for a term of six years, but, on the recom-
[648] mendation of the Governor, it may be dissolved by the Governor-General. Should a dissolution occur, a new election must be held within three months. There are 62 members in all: 26 citizens elected by citizens, 18 provincial or canton chiefs elected by those of the same rank, and 18 native subjects. These subjects must either have been born in the colony or be descendants of subjects born in
[641] the colony; they must have completed their military service; and they are elected by all other subjects who fulfil the same conditions. In 1929 the European element only numbered one-fifth of the total membership, and the additions made in 1939 will have had the effect of swamping it.

646 The Council meets for a fortnight's session once a year, but it can
643 be summoned by the Governor at any time. It chooses its own

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

president, but the Governor has the right of addressing it and of deputing high officials to speak to it of the work of their own departments. It appoints a Standing Committee, which can meet to trans- 646 [643]

102
103
635
634

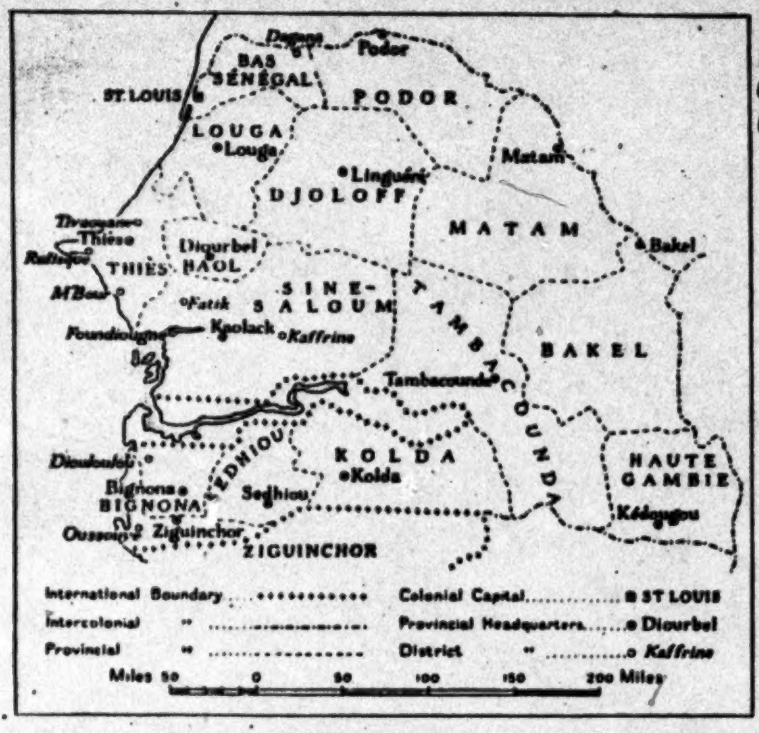


FIG. 52. *Senegal: Administrative Divisions*

act business when the full Council is not in session. It is bound, however, to report to its parent body. 646

The Council's powers are wide. It must be consulted on a proposal to create new communes, and it may advise on any matter put before it by the Governor. It may legislate on eight stated topics, which are chiefly concerned with the management of state property and with the colony's financial contributions to the public works of the Federation. This legislation comes into force within two months, unless previously vetoed by the Governor-General. The Council also has the right to deliberate the assessment and collection of [643] [652] [648] [652]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Municipal Government

Full Communes. Dakar (including Goree), St. Louis, and Rufisque are full communes (Vol. I, p. 258), the only ones in the Federation. 633

The Municipal Councils, which choose their own mayors, consist of from fifteen to eighteen members. These are elected for terms of four years by the French citizens of their towns, and since 1910 all the councils have had African majorities. At first these communes had powers as extensive as their counterparts in France, and they were responsible for police, public health, roads, markets, lighting, and elementary education. In 1918, however, the colonial authorities took over public health at St. Louis and at Dakar, and in 1927 at Rufisque. Similarly, in 1924, the creation of the District of Dakar was made the occasion to subtract police and roads from the commune. The same process, without the same excuse, went on in 1927 for St. Louis and for Rufisque. For all these services the municipalities still make financial contributions.

Their revenue comes from direct government grants, from municipal rates, and from municipal undertakings. Altogether they include market dues, liquor licences, lighting, and a proportion of the business licences and other colonial taxes. In normal years the revenue of Dakar averaged some 8,000,000 francs, of St. Louis 7,750,000 francs, and of Rufisque 5,600,000 francs. 652 651 633

In each case the budget is drawn up by the mayor, passed by his council, and submitted to the Governor or Administrator. [643]

Mixed Communes. There are fifteen mixed communes in Senegal, namely Bambey, Bargny-Gouddou, Diourbel, Fatik, Foundiougne, Gossas, Kaolack, Kébémer, Kombole, Louga, M'Bour, Mekhé, Thiès, Tivaouane, and Ziguinchor. Thirteen of them are mixed communes of the first degree, but since 1925 Kaolack and Ziguinchor have been mixed communes of the second degree. 633

Chambers of Commerce. There are Chambers of Commerce at Dakar, Kaolack, St. Louis, Thiès, and Ziguinchor. The one at St. Louis is the successor of a Committee of Commerce which was set up in 1825. The Chamber at Thiès is also known as the Chamber of Cayor-Baol. It was first founded at Rufisque in 1883, but in 1937, when that town was included in the District of Dakar, it was moved to its present headquarters. 441 647

In Senegal there are no separate Chambers of Agriculture and Industry, but the Chamber of Commerce at Dakar has a section, established in 1930, devoted to those two activities.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

with her restricted notions about the family, to integrate successfully into the extended family, especially in a territory like Senegal where family relations are of such importance that it is practically forbidden to refer to the economic burden they cause. The European wife often insists on her husband breaking with the extended family and restricting the family to the usual European size. Instances of marriage between European male and African females are rare because of the small number of well educated African females.

This all builds up to a picture of a French community with little interest in assimilating the Senegalese to their own standards. But a number of points must be stressed. On the whole the French have always accepted the Senegalese as equals. There is a strict code of mutual courtesy between Senegalese and all but the most uncouth Frenchmen. As Claude Duchemin of the *Institut Francais d'Afrique Noire* has written: 'A genuine "niceness" was apparent in their daily contacts, simply and with no ostentation, as if it were quite natural. It seemed that each wanted to prove to the other his wish to play the game loyally, without complexes.' Also there has been remarkably little use of 'pidgin' in Senegal, a debased form of French which by implication infers an inferior recipient.

But most important of all is the fact that a small minority of Frenchmen, fortunately usually in positions of authority have followed personally an assimilationist policy. This has been most marked in the political sphere. Though the great majority of Frenchmen who were interviewed by Mercier had nothing to do with local politics and even talked in terms of maintaining 'white solidarity' a few were militant politicians alongside men like Senghor and Lamine Guèye. Men like Maître Paul Bonifay, until recently deputy Mayor of Dakar, who was Secretary of the *S.F.I.O.* in Dakar for many years, or André Peytavin, who worked closely with Senghor in the early days of the *B.D.S.* and was chosen as Minister of Finance in the Government

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 formed as a result of the *loi cadre* reforms, are typical of the
[645] Frenchmen who have identified themselves with the country of their sojourn. Indeed such was the devotion of Peytavin to his party's cause that he was retained as Minister of Finance even after independence and opted for Senegalese nationality, a step that Bonifay found himself unable to take. These were men of high education—Bonifay, a well known lawyer, and Peytavin a veterinary surgeon. There were many others like them, not only applying such principles in the political field, but in the administration and commerce, who helped to dispel from the African what would otherwise have been a dominant impression of an isolationist and sometimes racist French community.

It would be foolish to paint too idealised a picture of
[369] race relations in Dakar. Many Europeans, particularly
[571] the *petit blanc*, openly admit to holding the African in contempt. But these are usually Europeans of little economic or political consequence and since independence their opinions have obviously carried negligible weight with the Senegalese.

Furthermore most Europeans in Dakar and the other main towns of Senegal, whatever their prejudices, send their children to local schools, where perforce they mix on terms of equality with Africans. The same is true of
[873] Dakar University which has a large number of French students, the majority of whom are girls whose parents are working in Dakar. Their brothers try if possible to go to French universities. Though friendships tend to be
[572] within the same racial group, there is a considerable number of inter-racial friendships.

563 The main point of conflict would appear to the casual
369 visitor to be the economic domination of private enterprise
463 and the more important subaltern jobs by Europeans.
472 But before analysing any tensions that have arisen from this, it is essential to point to some special features of Senegalese society. In Senegal, by contrast with Nigeria, Ghana and Ivory Coast, there is no entrepreneurial class of

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 563 S W [665] [666]

renominated, the Wolofs created a *Bloc Démocratique du Djollof* which polled 6,000 votes to the 8,000 of the Fula candidate.

A further commentary on the lack of tribalism in Senegal is the ethnic structure of the Government and the national assembly. The Government is composed of the President of the Republic, who is a Serer, a President of the Council of Ministers who is Toucouleur with strong Wolof ancestry, and fourteen Ministers of whom nine are Wolof, two are half-caste, one a Frenchman who has opted for Senegalese nationality, one a Diola and one a Lebou.

S [645]

The ethnic repartition of the Senegalese National Assembly is equally revealing*:

S 563 646 [162]

Tribe	*Percentage of population*	*Number of Deputies*	*Percentage of Deputies*
Wolof	35·0	33	41
Serer	16·0	5	6
Lebou	0·2	10	13
Toucouleur	9·0	10	13
Fula	17·0	5	6
Diola	9·0	5	6
Mandingo/Bambara	7·0	3	4
European	0·1	3	4
Metis	0·1	5	6
Rest	4·7	1	1

The above figures, with the reservations footnoted, show that the National Assembly with one or two exceptions

S [120]

* These figures were supplied to me by William J. Foltz and are based on his own research and ethnic data from the *S.E.R.E.S.A. Rapport General* 1ère partie, Ch. 1., p. 38. The population figures are based on old administrative censuses, which may be somewhat conservative. The figures for the Lebou seem surprisingly low. Furthermore, placing deputies under a particular ethnic grouping is often an arbitrary process, since it is in the educated classes that the highest rate of inter-ethnic marriage occurs. Furthermore the large number of Wolofs can partly be explained by the fact that anyone of mixed ethnic origin, in which one parent is Wolof, tends to call himself Wolof.

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 633 175 [666] in some years. Since the beginning of the 20th century, however, urban citizens have taken an increasingly lively interest in political matters.[18]

In this restricted political system the relative importance of the roles played by 563 668 different ethnic groupings and different cities varied continuously. Ethnic dominance, first held by the old European families, passed gradually to mixed-blood society, which came into being in the 18th century and rapidly acquired wealth, education, and influence. By the mid-19th century mixed-bloods made up the majority of the westernized population. But the entry of the emancipated slaves, the first sizable migration toward the [166] cities, quickly reduced the mixed-bloods to a minority. In 1900 they numbered [162] less than 5,000 in the four communes together, though for several decades their economic and political influence remained quite disproportionate to their numbers. 668 Among the cities, St. Louis was [369] predominant until WW I. At the beginning of the century it practically controlled the deputation to the French legislature and the Council-general — and hence the economic life of the territory. Then Gorée-Dakar came to the fore;[19] in 1914 a citizen of Gorée, Blaise Diagne, was elected deputy, followed by Galandou Diouf and Lebou. These men were the first elected Senegalese to win [645] broad support at Paris; Diagne himself was appointed a Secretary of State [a subministerial post, equivalent to a U.S. Under-Secretary]. In Senegal, the authority of elected officials — deputies and [642] Councillors-general — increased, and clashes with the civil administration were frequent.[20]

[P. 8 B]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

641 other privileges of French citizenship. In due course the same [633] status was conferred on natives of Dakar, and in 1916 French citizenship was extended not only to natives born in these four communes but to their descendants also. It thus came about that out [162] of 80,500 native citizens in the whole of French West Africa 78,000 live in Senegal or Dakar. Of these the great bulk resides in the four old communes.

633 Municipal government, on entirely metropolitan lines, was conferred upon St. Louis and Goree in 1872 and upon Rufisque in 1880. In 1887 Dakar, which had hitherto formed part of Goree, was separated from it, receiving its own elected mayor and council, and in 1929 absorbed its parent. The District of Dakar was separated from Senegal in 1924, and received its own Administrator, directly responsible to the Governor-General.

646 Parliamentary representation was suspended under Napoleon III, but restored in 1870. Until 1914 a European had been elected, but the racial issue was deliberately raised in that year, when M. Blaise Diagne, a Sérère, entered on his long term as Deputy for Senegal. He [645] thoroughly justified his race by heading a campaign for voluntary recruitment in Senegal during the War of 1914–1918, and subsequently held office as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. As early as 1879 the General Council was elected by the citizens of [633] the four communes. It had certain powers of taxation and legislation over the four communes, powers which, though limited, were more democratic than in other parts of French West Africa. Its greatest influence, however, lay in the criticism of the Government, a function which, withheld from it by law, sprang naturally from the power of taxation. When the formal distinction between colony and protectorate disappeared, the General Council gave place to the existing Colonial Council (p. 432), a body with generally similar powers extending over the whole colony.

648 *Senegal and Federation.* Before 1845 and again from 1859 to 1893 [643] the whole of what is now French West Africa was administered by the Governor of Senegal. It was natural, therefore, that in 1895 he should be appointed Governor-General of the Federation, with its not very precise constitution. This appointment was welcomed in Senegal, as it enhanced the colony's supremacy. In 1902 the Governor-Generalship was made a separate office, and Senegal sank to the level of the other colonies. This new arrangement, although a blow to the pride of the Senegalese, did not touch their pockets. They still [652] kept control of their own revenues, out of which they voted a sum

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

9. ADMINISTRATION

DAKAR, the capital of the Federation and the residence of the Governor-General, is geographically in Senegal, and from its foundation in 1863 it was administered by the Governor of Senegal as part of that colony. By the decrees of 25 October and 27 November 1924, however, the District of Dakar was, without prejudice to its municipal institutions, made a separate administrative unit, under an Administrator directly responsible to the Governor-General. Only Dakar and Goree were originally included, with an area of 60 square miles, but the Commune of Rufisque was added by a decree of 9 June 1937. The District now has a population of 127,000, and it has its own budget. 633 [648] [162]

Senegal returns a deputy to the French Chamber of Deputies, who is elected by French citizens (European or native) resident in the colony and in Dakar. The deputy is *ex officio* Senegal's representative on the Supreme Council of the French Colonial Empire. 648

Councils

Executive Councils. The Executive Council of Senegal is composed of the Governor, the Secretary-General, the Attorney-General, the officer commanding the troops, one French citizen elected by the Chamber of Commerce of St. Louis, and one citizen and two subjects nominated for two years by the Governor-General. 645 [648]

It is a purely advisory body, but the Governor is bound to consult it on such matters as the Colonial Budget, proposed changes in taxation, disposal of government property, and concessions. He may indeed, require its advice on any matter he chooses.

The Executive Council for the District of Dakar was at one time composed of the Standing Committee of the Governor-General's Council together with the Administrator. This arrangement, legalized in 1924, was changed by a decree of the 9 June 1937 which gave Dakar its own Executive Council, composed of the Administrator, Deputy-Administrator, the officer commanding the troops at Dakar, the Attorney-General, one member of the Chamber of Commerce appointed by that body, two municipal councillors of Dakar and one of Rufisque appointed by their respective councils, and one French subject appointed by the Governor-General. 633 [648] [648]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

633 The Council has the same functions as that of the colony, but its
645 decisions need the approval (usually formal) of the Standing
[648] Committee of the Governor-General's Council.

The Executive Councils of Senegal and of Dakar are known as *conseils privés*, whereas those of the other colonies are known as *conseils d'administration*.

646 *The Colonial Council of Senegal.* The history of the Colonial
633 Council and of its predecessor, the General Council, has been given above. The earlier council had jurisdiction over the four full communes only, but its successor, which dates from 1920, when all distinctions between colony and protectorate were abolished, has jurisdiction over the whole colony. The inhabitants of the District of Dakar still retain their votes for the Colonial Council, and as a corollary the Council can discuss the affairs of the District. The pretext for this decision was afforded by the provision, in the decrees
[652] of 1924, that the Colonial Budget of Senegal should contain a grant in aid of Dakar; but French writers do not disguise the fact that it was thought not desirable entirely to divorce the District from the rest of Senegal. The decrees of 1924, therefore, expressly left it an integral, though autonomous, part.

646 The Colonial Council is unique in French Africa in that its
666 membership includes Europeans, natives, chiefs, citizens, and subjects. It is, therefore, worthy of detailed mention. Its constitution
[642] and powers are laid down in a decree of 4 December 1920, as amended by decrees of 30 March 1925, 13 January 1930, and 8 April 1939. This last added the subjects. The colony is divided into four electoral districts, from which members are elected on a population basis. The Council is elected for a term of six years, but, on the recom-
[648] mendation of the Governor, it may be dissolved by the Governor-General. Should a dissolution occur, a new election must be held within three months. There are 62 members in all: 26 citizens elected by citizens, 18 provincial or canton chiefs elected by those of the same rank, and 18 native subjects. These subjects must either have been born in the colony or be descendants of subjects born in
[641] the colony; they must have completed their military service; and they are elected by all other subjects who fulfil the same conditions. In 1929 the European element only numbered one-fifth of the total membership, and the additions made in 1939 will have had the effect of swamping it.

646 The Council meets for a fortnight's session once a year, but it can
643 be summoned by the Governor at any time. It chooses its own

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 641 privileges of French citizens; Dahomey, 121; Upper Volta, 17; Niger, 9. As late as 1936 out of a total population of fifteen million in French West Africa there were only 2,136 French citizens, with the exception of the citizens [633] of the Four Towns or *Quatre Communes* of Senegal. Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff in their book *French West Africa* have suggested that this was because at that time 'the advantages conferred by naturalisation obviously did not compensate in the eyes of the great majority of Africans for acceptance of French law in regard to marriage and inheritance, and for the general shaping of their lives according to the European pattern'. This was only half the 648 truth. Just as important a factor was the sparseness of facilities for education, the keystone to a successful assimilationist policy. As late as 1947 only 1.3 per cent of children of school age in Guinea were actually attending [871] school. In Soudan the figure was higher at 5 per cent, Dahomey 10 per cent and Senegal 12.4 per cent.

In each case Senegal is the exception. Senegal sent a deputy to the French Assembly as early as 1848. Her first indigenous deputy, Blaise Diagne, elected in 1914, became Under Secretary of State for the Colonies on several occasions before his death in 1934. But the other territories of French black Africa did not elect deputies until 1946, though they sent representatives to the Constituent Congress 648 641 in 1945. In 1848 the privileges of French citizenship were granted to all Senegalese living in the Colony, though they [671] were allowed to retain their private law in matters of land, inheritance, marriage and divorce. It was only in 1946 with the passing of the *loi Lamine Guèye* that the privileges of citizenship were granted to Africans other than those who obtained naturalisation, which involved accepting French 648 private law. In Senegal, the towns of St. Louis and Gorée [633] were created *communes de pleine exercice* or full scale municipal [646] councils in 1872 and seven years later a General Council on the lines of those operating in the French departments was established.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 that belongs to us, our occupation should be limited to those parts necessary for assuring the suppression of brigandage, the freedom of trade and the tranquillity of an industrious population.

The land cultivated by them will provide produce which will become the object of lucrative trade for the European, the only kind of work he can undertake in this climate.

648 By 1865 the colony of Senegal comprised 150,000 inhabit-
641 ants of whom only some 15,000, living in the original
[161] French settlements of St. Louis and Gorée-Dakar, were
[162] French citizens. Indeed this number was not to increase
[563] noticeably until the end of the century, since the privileges granted to those Africans under French rule in 1848 were never extended to the interior. For whilst Faidherbe pursued a policy of assimilation in the main centres like St. Louis, Gorée and Dakar, he initiated the basis of a system of administration for what was to become the rest of modern Senegal and French black Africa as a whole that was distinctly non-assimilationist. The laws for the *sujets* or those who did not enjoy the rights of French citizens were partic-
[167] ularly harsh. They were not allowed to leave the colony,
they had no right of meeting or association, and they
[466] were subjected to the corvée or forced labour on the main-
[653] tenance of roads. To obtain this forced labour Faidherbe
[631] relied on the chiefs, and indeed one of the main criticisms of him as an exponent of assimilationism is that he leaned so heavily on both the chiefs and Islam. The treaty made by Jauréguiberry (acting-Governor whilst Faidherbe was on leave in 1865) with Abdoul Boubaker of Toro was far removed from the principles of assimilation: 'Art. 2—The Toro will continue to administer itself according to its own laws, traditions and customs.'

The overthrow of the Second Empire and the establishment of the Third Republic in 1870 was to see lukewarm reaffirmation of principles of the revolution and a consequent return to assimilationist principles at least in the
[696] political field. In 1871 Senegal regained her deputy. More

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

important still a Conseil-Général equivalent to the Conseils-Généraux of the French department but with much greater financial autonomy was established for the colony. However representation was limited to citizens of the colony and not the great majority of *sujets* of the Protectorate. This spurt of assimilation was completed a year later when privileges of local self-government were granted to St. Louis and Gorée which were created *communes de pleine exercice*. In 1880 the prosperous new port of Rufisque, some fifteen miles from modern Dakar, was also accorded these privileges, and in 1887 Dakar was separated from Gorée and also gained them.

This was as far as assimilation was to go politically in either Senegal or the rest of French West Africa. Not until 1944 was there any extension of political rights in French black Africa. Indeed in Senegal the citizens had to fight to retain their privileges against an administration that came increasingly to regret the privileges it had granted the Senegalese in the first fine flush of colonial expansion in Black Africa. Thus until the outbreak of the Second World War one had the paradoxical situation of the French regretting their assimilationist policy and the Senegalese citizens asking that it be applied more liberally. This is one of the main reasons why the activities of French Africans, particularly in Senegal, were channelled not towards the attainment of independence but the assertion of their fundamental equality with the French. Their energies were for long directed to obtaining from the French those rights which in principle an assimilationist policy offered them.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

III. FRENCH REACTION AGAINST ASSIMILATION

000 France had made a great mistake in granting suffrage to the Natives. She did not withdraw her present, but took good care not to repeat it elsewhere.

PIERRE MILLE: *The Black Vote in Senegal.*

648 UNTIL 1913 all the Senegalese deputies in the French Chamber of Deputies were citizens of metropolitan origin. And in the General Council and the municipal 646 councils Europeans, even when they were not in a majority, [633] more often than not succeeded in controlling proceedings. [563] With this European domination of the representative institutions, it may come as a surprise that France not only failed to extend the experiment to other parts of French Africa, but indeed did her best to suppress those rights already granted in Senegal. First of all many of the Gover- 643 nors resented the control the General Council had over the 646 territorial budget, albeit limited. Secondly they found that [652] the General Council tried to run a peace-time administration for that part of Senegal under direct rule, whilst the Governors were more concerned with the pacification of the much larger hinterland, for in those days Senegal included much of what is now Mali. As one historian of Senegal, André Villard, has put it: 'The Colony thought it had the right to lead the quiet life of a French *arrondissement* at the very time when expansion towards the east necessitated exceptional political and military efforts.' An authoritarian Governor like Brière de l'Isle found it particularly galling to be saddled with a democratically 646 elected legislative council. Furthermore the General- 563 Councillors, who were mainly European or half-caste up 633

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

interesting suppleness under the most diverse conditions 648
according to the state of civilisation or submission—or lack of submission—of the natives'.

As a reaction against the powers of the Senegalese General 648
Council during the regrouping of the French West African 646
territories the Protectorate, with the exception of Casa-
mance, Thiès, Cayor and Tivaouane and the *cercles* of the [633]
Fleuve, was detached from the colony of Senegal so that the General Council could not legitimately interfere in its affairs. However two years later economic and administrative exigencies decreed the reshaping of Senegal and the rest of French Africa into the territorial boundaries that exist today.

The first major attempt to undermine the rights of the 641
Senegalese with the rights of citizens by virtue of being born 633
in one of the four communes, known as *originaires*, came in 1908 when the Lieutenant-Governor of Senegal asked that 1,563 names be struck off the electoral role of Dakar arguing that since the natives concerned were only French subjects they could not vote. Only French citizens could vote, and citizenship could be obtained only by individual naturalisation. This was upheld in the local court but rejected by the [692]
Cour de Cassation in Paris. However, the Court confirmed that these voters were not French citizens though they maintained that they had the right to vote. This failure to recognise their status as citizens evoked much ill-feeling among the *originaires*. In 1910 the voting rights in the Senegal were in fact extended when it was provided that French citizens living outside the communes but within the colony could vote. But the Minister of Colonies declared that the decree did not apply to 'non-naturalised natives who only enjoy the franchise in the four *communes de pleine exercice* on condition of being born there', and thus once again emphasised the fact that the French Government did not consider the *originaires* as true citizens. Indeed in the following year their position was further aggravated when [701]
originaires doing their military service in metropolitan units

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

641 648 [643] An interesting sidelight on the confused French attitude towards assimilation and Africans was the status accorded to Blaise Diagne as Commissioner of the Republic in charge of conscription of troops in West Africa. He was given rank equal to that of the Governor-General, Van Vollenhoven, who thereat resigned. However this is only one side of the story. The French insist that he resigned because he felt that the large number of troops to be recruited would wreck the colony's economy and severely reduce the indigenous population. Nevertheless the presence of an African deputy for Senegal was not viewed well in all quarters. But Diagne could not be tempted by high office outside the parliamentary sphere and won a resounding victory in the 1919 elections [666] with 7,444 votes to his opponent's 1,252. He was then appointed Under Secretary of States for Colonies. His essential attachment to France was clear, for whilst in 1919 he became President of the Pan-African Congress, which urged that ultimately 'Africa should be ruled by consent of the Africans . . .' he refused, as Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff have pointed out 'to support any revolutionary theories as to the emancipation of all Negro peoples'. 'We French natives', he said, 'wish to remain French, since France has given us every liberty'.

• 646 633 The French were still not happy about the position of the *originaires* and in 1920, not so much from a show of liberalism as from a desire to reduce the pressures exercised on the Administration by the twenty-member General Council, it was translated into a Colonial Council with an increased membership of forty-four of which twenty were sent by the hitherto unrepresented Protectorate. The representatives [631] of the *sujets*, who were provincial or cantonal chiefs, could be relied on to vote with the Administration whose agents they were, and thus reduce the independence of the communes. In 1925, however, the number of chiefs was reduced to sixteen and the citizens' representatives increased to twenty-four as a means of persuading them to vote larger

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

taxes, but thereafter relations between chiefs and Government on the one hand and citizens on the other were rarely cordial.

The powers of the Council were very restricted, having legislative rights over minor matters like the classification of roads and the management of public properties. Even these limited powers were subject to the veto of the Governor-General of French West Africa. Its main deliberative competence was over the budget, which though drawn up by the Governor could be criticised by the councillors. This power was watered down by the classification of a large section of the budget as obligatory expenditure. Nevertheless the council was an exceptional institution in West Africa. As R. L. Buell in his *The Native Problem in Africa* wrote:

> That the eight Europeans who participated in the Council should have exactly the same status as the thirty-two blacks is a situation which would strike the Anglo-Saxon as anomalous to say the least. The visitor to the Council will frequently witness a black president calling a European member to order for rowdiness. It does not appear, however, that the council is divided upon racial lines, i.e. of white versus black, except on the issue of higher pay for European officials—a policy which was, in fact, attacked as vigorously by the Europeans as by the native members. The real alignment so far has been the citizen members—both black and European—against the government supported by the chiefs. Black members as we have seen, have unmercifully criticised officials in Senegal. No British colony would tolerate the attacks which the natives make upon European officials in Senegal.

Buell pin-pointed a growing division in the territory—that between the *originaires* and the *sujets* of the Protectorate. The *originaires*, especially since the election of one of their own number as deputy, became increasingly jealous of their privileges. Meanwhile the rest of the territory was administered according to the same principles of administration as were applied throughout the rest of West Africa. Though traditional chiefs were stripped of their traditional powers

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

and juridical rights. The old signs of inequality, the *indigénat* and the hated corvée were to be withdrawn, the latter after a period of five years. Education was to remain exclusively French, though Eboué put in a plea for the recognition of the values of traditional society. The problems of granting French citizenship to Africans without prejudicing their *statut personnel* was to be solved within the framework of the proposed Federal Parliament for France and her overseas territories. Africans would thus have citizenship of this larger Federation rather than of France itself and would not therefore have to give up their *statut personnel*. The new principle was first applied in March 1944. French citizenship was extended to a number of Muslims in Algeria who were allowed to retain their *statut personnel*, on the same terms as the *originaires* of Senegal had been. Finally the conference proposed a large scale development programme for the overseas territories.

In the Constituent Assembly which was to deliberate on the constitution of the Fourth Republic, sixty-four seats were given to overseas deputies, a fair number going to Africans. Two socialists from Senegal, Lamine Guèye and his lieutenant Léopold Sédar Senghor, the first African to become a *professeur agrégé* of the Sorbonne, played a leading role in the debates of the new constitution, attacking remnants of Vichy racialism amongst colonial officials, decrying the ban on freedom of meeting and association, and above all denouncing the corvée and *indigénat*. The first Constituent Assembly of 1945, liberal in outlook, was deeply concerned as to how the Republic could remain one and indivisible and yet accord any degree of autonomy to the overseas territories. This was settled by proposing that the overseas territorial assemblies be thought of as equivalent to the *conseils* of the metropolitan department just as that of Senegal had been. The colonies, instead of forming a federation with France as proposed at the Brazzaville Conference, were to participate in a French Union much more integrationist in character and within

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

powers were limited to consultation on matters affecting the overseas territories. 648

The integrationist character of the new constitution was clear from its preamble: 641 648

France, together with the peoples of its overseas territories, forms a union based on the equality of rights and duties without distinction of race or religion. Faithful to its traditional mission France intends to lead the people she has taken into her charge towards freedom to administer themselves and to regulate their own affairs democratically, ruling out all methods of colonisation founded on arbitrary acts; she guarantees to all equal access to the public service as well as the individual and collective exercise of rights and liberties confirmed heretofore.

Under the new constitution French citizenship was extended on 7 May 1946 to all French colonial subjects; but in practice the franchise was limited to those whose political education was considered sufficient (e.g. ex-servicemen, civil servants, and the literate or wealthy, etc.), so that of all France's vast overseas population only 1½ million were given the vote. But a number of liberal features were retained. General Councils were established for each territory, though with dual colleges for all but Senegal so that European representation could be secured. Separate rolls were used for election to the Senate and the Assembly of the French Union though a single roll was used for the National Assembly. A Grand Council was established for the eight territories of French West Africa, with members elected by the individual General Councils whose powers were purely advisory and thus no greater than those of the old Senegalese General Council. The constitutional position of Senegal itself was consequently little changed, except that there was no longer a major distinction between *sujet* and citizen. It still remained an integral part of the French Republic. The French Parliament, to which it sent two deputies, still had the final say on all questions of public liberty, and political and administrative organisation. The new General Council replaced the old Colonial [646] [646]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 641 [646] Council in Senegal but differed little in competence. The only concession made to Senegal and not to the other territories, and this undoubtedly being influenced by its political history, was the retention of a single college electorate as against the dual colleges prescribed for all other territories. The French penal code was made generally [671] applicable for Senegal. In January 1946 the three *communes de pleine exercice* (Gorée had by then been incorporated in [633] Dakar) were given full municipal status as equivalent French towns. Finally and most important, forced labour was [966] legally abolished; but it survived in covert forms for several years to come. In Senegal, Senghor received the full credit for this measure from his peasant electorate and has been drawing political dividends from it ever since.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

VI. TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE

The choice of the Senegalese people is independence; they want it to take place only in friendship with France, not in dispute.

LÉOPOLD SÉDAR SENGHOR (September 1958)

IT was not until 1951 that Senghor was able to test the strength of his new party at the elections for the French National Assembly in which it gained both seats with 213,000 votes to the *S.F.I.O.*'s 90,000. His success was proved the next year when he won forty-one out of the fifty seats in the *Conseil-General* under the new and greatly enlarged franchise. His vote came overwhelmingly from the 'bush', since Lamine Guèye still retained strong support in Dakar and St. Louis. The party ticket was a popular one: accusing the French Administration of supporting socialists in the towns and chiefs in the bush.

From a theoretical standpoint as we have seen the *B.D.S.* fitted into the new anti-assimilationist trend in Senegal. It represented the 'unsophisticated' bush against the Gallicised *citoyens* of the *Quatre Communes*. It demanded a return to African values and had an essentially African-style organisation in the bush. But few real differences showed themselves on the platforms adopted by the two parties at the elections.

In the French National Assembly Senghor had joined forces with a number of other deputies from African territories who like himself did not wish to link themselves with one of the metropolitan parties. This group was known as the *Indépendents d'Outre Mer*. As a result of the elections the *I.O.M.* gained thirteen seats, enough to form a recognised group in the National Assembly. However they were never able to mould themselves into a united federal party on the lines of the *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain* (*R.D.A.*)

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

that involved the breaking-away of a number of small sections in various territories, emerged as West Africa's leading party with nine seats, and joined the Guy Mollet Government. Under this Government the famous *loi cadre* was passed establishing for each of the black African territories a wholly elected assembly, based on universal adult suffrage. An executive, that could be drawn from within or without the assembly, was established. Although the territorial Governor presided over it, it was effectively guided by the Vice-President or Prime Minister. Separate rolls for Europeans were abolished. Thus in one fell swoop all African territories were given the elements of responsible democratic government. Certainly their powers were restricted since a large number of subjects were reserved to the Federation, still run by the French High Commissioner, and checked only by the *Grand Conseil*. The *loi cadre*, whilst it did not envisage independence, and still saw the future of the African territories as within the structure of the French body politic, did in effect set these territories on the road to independence. Senghor, an ardent critic of the *loi cadre*, declared: 'The peoples of Africa do not intend to cut themselves off from metropolitan France; they want to be able to construct, side by side with her, their own buildings which will consolidate and extend French territory.'

The *loi cadre*, whilst it made large concessions to African demands for autonomy, was in fact designed to avoid demands for independence. The new French Government had been influenced to this end by France's unfortunate experiences in other parts of her empire as well as the political progress of the Gold Coast. Furthermore she wished to anticipate moves by the Gold Coast to absorb that part of the former German Togo which she administered and therefore accorded it a limited form of internal autonomy. It was inevitable that having granted this concession to Togo she would eventually have to make it to neighbouring French African territories as well. Whilst considerable

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 powers were devolved on the individual territories, it is clear that a desire to avoid any ultimate break-up of the French Union was one of the main factors behind the emasculation of the federal executive. French West Africa as a federation might soon be demanding independence; eight small territories on their own would find it a more daunting prospect.

Senghor attacked France vigorously for what he called the balkanising of French Africa by devolving powers on individual territories and at the same time making no provision for an executive at the federal level. The *Grand* [646] *Conseil* retained only its limited legislative powers. Executive action for the federation was still undertaken by the High Commissioner, representing the Republic. By thus turning politics towards the individual territories, France was 'balkanising' the federation, following the classic pattern of dividing in order to rule. Bitterly, he accused the French of offering Africa 'sucettes et bonbons'. It may seem odd that the role of defending the federation should have [665] fallen on Senghor, who had already failed to convert the *I.O.M.* from an association of deputies into a Pan West African political party. But though the R.D.A. was officially a Pan-African party, its leader came from the rich Ivory Coast, and disliked intensely the ideas of sharing his country's wealth with his many poorer neighbours. He was instrumental in securing the form of *loi cadre* that avoided the creation of a supra-government. On the other hand it might be argued that it was in Senegal's interest to ensure that the federation did not break up, since one of [633] Dakar's *raisons d'être* was as a federal capital. But Senghor argued cogently that only with a strong West Africa, containing twenty million people, could Africans participate with any sense of political equality and weight of personality with France in the proposed Franco-African Community. 'Within the framework of a French federal republic, a French West Africa of 20 million inhabitants can, side by side with the metropolis, form a stable element and develop its own personality.'

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

theoretician, *agregé-ès-grammaire* from the Sorbonne, at home in any *salon* in Paris; from a middle class commercial family in long contact with Europe, seemed to sum up Senegal on the one hand; whilst Modibo Keita was an aristocrat—tracing his ancestry to the emperors of the great kingdom of Mali, a simple school teacher, with few intellectual pretensions. And so these two countries, so alike to the casual observer, were unable to co-operate, mainly for reasons of history.

The night before Senghor despatched the Mali ministers to Bamako, the Senegalese Assembly in an emergency session had declared Senegal an independent nation which subsequently applied for membership of the United Nations. Soudan, which now called itself the Mali Republic, left the Franco-African Community; Senegal decided to remain as an independent member. This was, however, very much a token gesture, for all members of the Community had now either taken independence or announced their intention of doing so. Several had left it altogether. Consequently it could no longer claim to be the Franco-African Community originally conceived by de Gaulle, and became instead a rather casual commonwealth.

As an independent nation Senegal chose to retain close ties with France. Indeed her politicians and her whole social structure had been profoundly influenced by her long contact with that country, so that any radical rupture in relations such as Guinea had experienced and the Mali Republic at one stage appeared to contemplate, would have been quite out of character. The next three chapters will try to describe first what sort of society has evolved through this long contact and second what the Senegalese hope to do within their independence.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

renominated, the Wolofs created a *Bloc Démocratique du Djollof* which polled 6,000 votes to the 8,000 of the Fula candidate.

A further commentary on the lack of tribalism in Senegal is the ethnic structure of the Government and the national assembly. The Government is composed of the President of the Republic, who is a Serer, a President of the Council of Ministers who is Toucouleur with strong Wolof ancestry, and fourteen Ministers of whom nine are Wolof, two are half-caste, one a Frenchman who has opted for Senegalese nationality, one a Diola and one a Lebou.

The ethnic repartition of the Senegalese National Assembly is equally revealing*:

Tribe	*Percentage of population*	*Number of Deputies*	*Percentage of Deputies*
Wolof	35·0	33	41
Serer	16·0	5	6
Lebou	0·2	10	13
Toucouleur	9·0	10	13
Fula	17·0	5	6
Diola	9·0	5	6
Mandingo/Bambara	7·0	3	4
European	0·1	3	4
Metis	0·1	5	6
Rest	4·7	1	1

The above figures, with the reservations footnoted, show that the National Assembly with one or two exceptions

* These figures were supplied to me by William J. Foltz and are based on his own research and ethnic data from the *S.E.R.E.S.A. Rapport General* lère partie, Ch. 1., p. 38. The population figures are based on old administrative censuses, which may be somewhat conservative. The figures for the Lebou seem surprisingly low. Furthermore, placing deputies under a particular ethnic grouping is often an arbitrary process, since it is in the educated classes that the highest rate of inter-ethnic marriage occurs. Furthermore the large number of Wolofs can partly be explained by the fact that anyone of mixed ethnic origin, in which one parent is Wolof, tends to call himself Wolof.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 is excellently balanced from a tribal point of view. The
• 646 large number of Lebou deputies is accounted for by the fact that the Lebou were the original inhabitants of Dakar, and therefore had greater facilities for education than other groups. The relatively small number of Serer deputies can be explained by the fact that the distinction between Wolof and Serer is not very pronounced. Again, the small number of Fula deputies in proportion to their size as an ethnic group is partly the result of the fact that they are a nomadic people, and partly because they are very close to the Toucouleur who have a relatively high representation. The only grossly under-represented group are the Mande, for though the Mandingo-Bambara peoples make up 7 per cent of the population and have 4 per cent of the deputies, only one of the three deputies in this group is actually Mande, who make up the greater part of this 7 per cent. Both in Senegal and neighbouring Gambia the Mandingo seem to have fared badly as a group in politics. Though only
[162] 5 per cent of Senegal is Christian, five members of the
[771] Government and nearly a fifth of the National Assembly are Christian. Nor does one have to be a member of the majority tribe in a constituency to be elected by it*.

563 A source of possible conflict in Senegal is the existence of
[771] a large Muslim majority and a small Christian minority representing only 5 per cent of the population. The French as the colonial power, despite their policy of assimilation, were unable to establish a strong Catholic Church in Senegal since Islam had been with the Toucouleur since the eleventh century and had already embraced most of the country by the time Faidherbe extended his protectorate. Islam in Senegal is peculiarly tolerant, not only in its concessions to traditional beliefs among more recently converted groups, but also towards Christians. In few other predominantly Muslim countries would it be possible not only to have a Catholic President but to have such a

* I am indebted to Mr. W. J. Foltz for supplying me with most of the data on which this paragraph is based.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

equal status to all Senegalese and wanted to make everyone true Senegalese citizens whether they were griots, leather-workers or jewellers. Afterwards the non-griots agreed that the griots who had just died should be buried 'in the same way as anyone else, and as a beginning they agreed to let the burial of the victim of the incident take place, not in the traditional baobab but in Diack earth.' 565 764 578 [641]

In the Government today there are, amongst those members belonging to tribes with a class system only two of inferior caste, one being a 'bijoutier' and one a griot. It is said of another that he is of slave origin, but this is not certain because politicians often try to attribute inferior caste to their opponents. In the Assembly, of the members with caste all are noble or freeborn with the exception of one 'bijoutier', and one griot. It is thus at present difficult to get on in politics unless one is noble or freeborn. Indeed chiefly connexion is important, even though chiefs are no longer of significance administratively. Thus in 1957 Kenneth Robinson wrote: 565 [646] [631]

> Membership of chiefly families is, nevertheless, an important source not only of prestige but of political interest. In many interviews with political leaders in the smaller townships and villages they almost invariably defined their own position, and that of their fellows, in part by reference to their relationship with the ruling families, or with the indigenous caste system. [554]

Mr. William Foltz, who is making a detailed survey of Senegalese politics, has however observed that the local party groups in the country are increasingly representative of the inferior castes and many of the important backroom boys are of inferior caste, which suggests that there may be a change from the present situation at the next elections. But so far, as Mercier has observed, it does not look as though high standing in the modern context can yet completely redeem traditional inferiority. [665] [554]

The caste system in Senegal is one of the most delicate problems confronting the Senegalese Government today.

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 633 175 [641] the two cities with the abolition of slavery in 1848.[16] The four coastal cities were elevated to the status of communes with full powers between 1872 and 1887, and the organization of political life on a European pattern in the four communes crystalized the opposition between the citizens of the old settlements and the subjects of the territories in the newly-conquered interior. The cities alone provided apprenticeship in public life and in the representative system. Beginning in 1871 they elected a deputy to the French Parliament. In 1879 they [646] elected a Council-general patterned after those in France, supposedly to represent all Senegal. It actually represented only the few urban centers, whose interests at the time diverged widely from those of the rest of Senegal. An effort was subsequently made to repair this breach by transforming the Council-general into a colonial council, consisting of representatives elected by the citizens and representatives for the non-citizens appointed by the *notables*.[17] This reduced conflicts scarcely at all. Meanwhile, citizenship [641] acquired new importance. At first it was established by local law and had no effect in other French territories. Not until 1916 did the "natives of the four communes" receive full French citizenship while still being able to retain their personal status. These citizens were few in [162] number: scarcely 80,000 in 1939, about 100,000 in the 1950's. The cities tended to include more non-citizens than citizens as they grew. Actual participation in politics developed only gradually. At [666] the first legislative elections, in 1871, only a third of those registered voted, and the rate dropped to less than a fifth

[P. 8A]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[16] Which nearly tripled the number of citizens, who henceforth comprised a body that was more heterogeneous but less completely "assimilated."

[17] Translator's note: the *notables* were influential residents appointed to high political offices in the interior by the local representative of French government.

[18] Especially after 1914, when there appeared a particularly dynamic personnage, Blaise Diagne, whose popularity was widespread.

[19] Dakar absorbed Gorée in 1929. The latter was reestablished as a separate commune in 1956.

[20] At first — at the end of the 19th century — these were conflicts between the merchants, upholding the interests of their agencies, and the civil administration, then engaged in an expansionist policy in West Africa, whose advantages the former could not see. Not until recent years did these conflicts change very much in character.

[P.8C]

369
633
998
1195
641
642
646
677

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

641 other privileges of French citizenship. In due course the same
[633] status was conferred on natives of Dakar, and in 1916 French citizenship was extended not only to natives born in these four communes but to their descendants also. It thus came about that out
[162] of 80,500 native citizens in the whole of French West Africa 78,000 live in Senegal or Dakar. Of these the great bulk resides in the four old communes.

633 Municipal government, on entirely metropolitan lines, was conferred upon St. Louis and Goree in 1872 and upon Rufisque in 1880. In 1887 Dakar, which had hitherto formed part of Goree, was separated from it, receiving its own elected mayor and council, and in 1929 absorbed its parent. The District of Dakar was separated from Senegal in 1924, and received its own Administrator, directly responsible to the Governor-General.

●646 Parliamentary representation was suspended under Napoleon III, but restored in 1870. Until 1914 a European had been elected, but the racial issue was deliberately raised in that year, when M. Blaise
[645] Diagne, a Sérère, entered on his long term as Deputy for Senegal. He thoroughly justified his race by heading a campaign for voluntary recruitment in Senegal during the War of 1914–1918, and subsequently held office as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. As early as 1879 the General Council was elected by the citizens of
[633] the four communes. It had certain powers of taxation and legislation over the four communes, powers which, though limited, were more democratic than in other parts of French West Africa. Its greatest influence, however, lay in the criticism of the Government, a function which, withheld from it by law, sprang naturally from the power of taxation. When the formal distinction between colony and protectorate disappeared, the General Council gave place to the existing Colonial Council (p. 432), a body with generally similar powers extending over the whole colony.

648 *Senegal and Federation.* Before 1845 and again from 1859 to 1893
[643] the whole of what is now French West Africa was administered by the Governor of Senegal. It was natural, therefore, that in 1895 he should be appointed Governor-General of the Federation, with its not very precise constitution. This appointment was welcomed in Senegal, as it enhanced the colony's supremacy. In 1902 the Governor-Generalship was made a separate office, and Senegal sank to the level of the other colonies. This new arrangement, although a blow to the pride of the Senegalese, did not touch their pockets. They still
[652] kept control of their own revenues, out of which they voted a sum

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

633 The Council has the same functions as that of the colony, but its
645 decisions need the approval (usually formal) of the Standing
[648] Committee of the Governor-General's Council.

The Executive Councils of Senegal and of Dakar are known as *conseils privés*, whereas those of the other colonies are known as *conseils d'administration*.

646 *The Colonial Council of Senegal.* The history of the Colonial
633 Council and of its predecessor, the General Council, has been given above. The earlier council had jurisdiction over the four full communes only, but its successor, which dates from 1920, when all distinctions between colony and protectorate were abolished, has jurisdiction over the whole colony. The inhabitants of the District of Dakar still retain their votes for the Colonial Council, and as a corollary the Council can discuss the affairs of the District. The pretext for this decision was afforded by the provision, in the decrees
[652] of 1924, that the Colonial Budget of Senegal should contain a grant in aid of Dakar; but French writers do not disguise the fact that it was thought not desirable entirely to divorce the District from the rest of Senegal. The decrees of 1924, therefore, expressly left it an integral, though autonomous, part.

646 The Colonial Council is unique in French Africa in that its
666 membership includes Europeans, natives, chiefs, citizens, and subjects. It is, therefore, worthy of detailed mention. Its constitution
[642] and powers are laid down in a decree of 4 December 1920, as amended by decrees of 30 March 1925, 13 January 1930, and 8 April 1939. This last added the subjects. The colony is divided into four electoral districts, from which members are elected on a population basis. The Council is elected for a term of six years, but, on the recom-
[648] mendation of the Governor, it may be dissolved by the Governor-General. Should a dissolution occur, a new election must be held within three months. There are 62 members in all: 26 citizens elected by citizens, 18 provincial or canton chiefs elected by those of the same rank, and 18 native subjects. These subjects must either have been born in the colony or be descendants of subjects born in
[641] the colony; they must have completed their military service; and they are elected by all other subjects who fulfil the same conditions. In 1929 the European element only numbered one-fifth of the total membership, and the additions made in 1939 will have had the effect of swamping it.

646 The Council meets for a fortnight's session once a year, but it can
643 be summoned by the Governor at any time. It chooses its own

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

president, but the Governor has the right of addressing it and of deputing high officials to speak to it of the work of their own departments. It appoints a Standing Committee, which can meet to trans-

FIG. 52. *Senegal: Administrative Divisions*

act business when the full Council is not in session. It is bound, however, to report to its parent body.

The Council's powers are wide. It must be consulted on a proposal to create new communes, and it may advise on any matter put before it by the Governor. It may legislate on eight stated topics, which are chiefly concerned with the management of state property and with the colony's financial contributions to the public works of the Federation. This legislation comes into force within two months, unless previously vetoed by the Governor-General. The Council also has the right to deliberate the assessment and collection of

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

646 taxes and all items of the Colonial Budget not fixed by the Governor-
[648] General.
[657] Article 40 of the decree of 1920 forbade any deliberation of political
[647] matters and any resolution concerning them. The power to discuss the budget, however, has nullified this prohibition, and criticism of the Government plays a considerable part in the Council's debates.
[631] The citizens are usually more independent than the chiefs, since the latter owe their appointments to the Governor. It is too early to judge the effect of the recent addition of subjects.

It will be clear from the foregoing that this Colonial Council
[642] performs a very useful function. Although it cannot bring the machinery of government to a standstill, it can seriously hamper the administration. In consequence Senegal has a greater tincture of democracy than any other colony.

Territorial Divisions

635 The colony is divided into fifteen provinces (Fig. 52), some of
634 them subdivided into districts. Their names and the names of their headquarters towns are as follows.

Province	*Headquarters*	*Area in square miles*	*District headquarters*
Bakel	Bakel	8,755	..
Baol	Diourbel	1,714	..
Bas Sénégal	St. Louis	2,351	Dagana
Bignona	Bignona	1,699	Diouloulou
Djoloff	Linguéré	6,275	..
Haute Gambie	Kédougou	5,212	..
Kolda	Kolda	5,599	..
Louga	Louga	3,886	..
Matam	Matam	10,116	..
Podor	Podor	4,857	..
Sedhiou	Sedhiou	2,703	..
Sine-Saloum	Kaolack	10,228	Fatik, Foundiougne, Kaffrine
Tambacounda	Tambacounda	9,998	..
Thiès	Thiès	2,707	M'Bour, Tivsouane
Ziguinchor	Ziguinchor	1,120	Oussouye

635 The four provinces of Bignona, Kolda, Sedhiou, and Ziguinchor are grouped together as the Casamance Territory, at the head of which is a Session Administrator, or Chief Commissioner, residing at Ziguinchor.

In almost all provinces the provincial Commissioner is assisted by a Council of Notables (Plate 113).

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Courts of Law

692 The Court of Assize sits at Dakar, and the Tribunals of First Instance sit at Dakar, Kaolack, and St. Louis. There is a Magistrate's Court at Ziguinchor, and there are Moslem Courts at Dakar, Rufisque, and St. Louis. In each province and full commune there are the usual native courts, and the Colonial Court of Appeal for Senegal sits at St. Louis. There is a separate one for the District of Dakar.

In addition to the local courts, the West African Court of Appeal and the Supreme Native Court of Appeal are both held at Dakar.

Native Organization

631 177 All the old chiefdoms and kingdoms have now disappeared. On the other hand, owing to their representation on the Colonial Council, chiefs in Senegal to-day exercise greater influence than in other colonies. They are appointed and paid by the Government, and they can usually be relied on to supply an official majority. In 1925 they induced the Government to raise their salaries, which now range from 7,600 francs to 36,500 francs per annum. The chiefs are divided into no less than twelve grades. Most of them have [871] been educated at the École des Fils des Chefs et des Interprètes at St. Louis.

Land Tenure

423 By 31 December 1937 provisional concessions had been granted over an area of 12 square miles and concessions over 15 square miles. By the same date there had been granted under the immatriculation system 9,630 certificates of title, covering 177 square miles. Under the process of Confirmation of Native Land Rights, 40 certificates had been granted, covering 3½ square miles. These figures are very small for the size and population of the colony.

Labour

466 [646] The Colonial Council is responsible for the fact that forced labour has been redeemable by every person since 1921. This reform did not become universal in the Federation till several years later. In 1930 a resolution of the same council compelled owners of motor vehicles to lend them for work under the same system.

In 1935 there were 408,000 persons on the forced labour rolls, 1,415,000 man-days were worked, and 561,300 francs were paid in

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

463 has enjoyed a much higher rate of education than was possi-
[563] ble in an Islamic community like Senegal, even taking into account French assimilation policy.

There is a pronounced bias in Senegal against entering into commerce, whether at the African level or at the European level. This bias has been observed by many Europeans. It may be thought of as a mere attempt to explain away the lack of success or rather a lack of desire and intention to Africanise commerce, but against this view, M. Assane Seck, one of the leaders of the Opposition
[665] *P.R.A.-Sénégal* and a lecturer at the university, who might normally be only too pleased to pin the slow rate of Africanisation of commerce on the Government, has said that one of the chief obstacles to the Africanisation of economy at
[571] its higher levels is the preference of the Senegalese élite, and even the lesser educated classes, for work in the Admini-
• [647] tration. Under the French the Administration seems to have enjoyed a very high status especially as rates of pay
[465] have always been considerably higher than in commerce and industry. Commerce, even when it pays better, has among the Senegalese something of the smear it had in ninteenth-century England.

471 Another barrier to the Africanisation of shopkeeping and
[472] small scale private enterprise is the difficulty the Senegalese have in amassing capital. The obligations towards members
[596] of the extended family are such that a man with money has calls made on it from even his most distant relatives. This social parasitism is much stronger in Senegal than in most West African countries. One of the few important Senegalese business men operating in Dakar today has admitted that he had to reduce his family obligations drastically, not only because he was married to a European, but because unless he did so, he would never be able to keep enough capital in his business. Diop Abdoulaye, in his study of the Tou-
[736] couleur, has protested against the use of the term family parasitism for something which 'makes it possible to help those in need, the unemployed, for example, who can then

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

This is a significant fact; high prestige, more or less definitely acknowledged by the whole population, crystallizes around professions, functions or situations which are considered to be 'intellectual'—implying in fact a minimum of Western-type learning. Prestige on economic grounds seems to be definitely on the decline.[1] At Dakar, Thiès and Saint-Louis du Sénégal, adults were questioned about the trade or occupation they would like their children to take up. A vast majority of the socio-vocational categories (unskilled and skilled workers, traders, clerks, civil servants, etc.) from which the population sample under study was taken gave the same answer. Between 65 and 80 per cent mentioned an intellectual profession. Those most frequently cited were teaching (primary or secondary school teacher) and the liberal professions (lawyer, doctor, etc.); the technological professions (engineer etc.) were much more rarely specified.[2] One of the commonest answers was that vague but highly significant term, 'civil servant'. The fact is that the trend of education in the period before 1945 helped to establish a very close link between education and a job in the administration; this is still the case, despite the changes effected in the last few years. Similar attitudes are found in the results of surveys among children in the primary schools at Dakar. Among those who replied specifically[3]—about three-quarters of the children questioned—more than 80 per cent expressed a preference for an occupation considered to be intellectual, irrespective of their father's occupation; next came certain manual trades, with commerce far behind. The choice of an unspecified administrative job was less frequent than among the adults. It follows that the view generally taken about education—including primary education—viz. that it will lead almost inevitably to an intellectual occupation,[4] however modest, remains very stable; but it is less and less in keeping with the realities of the situation.

A brief study of the facts in the development of the educational system will allow us to make a first evaluation of the system. The crude school rate rose rapidly from 1946 to 1953 and has since continued to rise pretty regularly (16 per cent in 1953, 18 per cent in 1954, about 20 per cent in 1955). Senegal's early advance in this respect explains why the increase is less steep there than in most of the other French West African territories.[5] True, the school rate is still relatively low (and a fairly large proportion of the children do not complete even the primary course and will probably soon lose such learning as they have acquired), but a plateau was reached several years ago: primary education turns out many more pupils than the 'administrative bourgeoisie'—characteristic of the colonial period—or its equivalent in private enterprise can absorb. Formerly, the surplus of the educated population could be absorbed by the manual trades or by migration to other territories. But this second door is gradually closing now that these other territories are catching up in education. Moreover, the slow pace of economic expansion precludes any big increase in the number of openings for technical workers or in the supervisory grades in industry.[6] This is the justification for the talk about the educational over-

1. Material security (e.g. that enjoyed by civil servants) seems to be desired more often than actual wealth.
2. They are only beginning to acquire some prestige; the number of students choosing this branch has risen considerably in recent years.
3. Children from 10 to 14, in the 'intermediate' classes.
4. A job in the bureaucracy was for years the standard aim.
5. The school rate in the Ivory Coast almost trebled between 1946 and 1955.
6. Limited, but chronic unemployment, already exists in Dakar.

467 among the semi-skilled workers. The
668 situation was reversed at Thiès, but be-
cause of the large Dakar-Niger Railroad
[498] shops there, this city is an exceptional
case. The traits found at Dakar, by
contrast, proved characteristic of union-
ism in French West Africa. The overall
figures, obtained from official sources
based on statements by unions, indicated
clearly that manual occupations were the
least unionized. Out of the 100,000
union members in French West Africa in
[647] 1954, more than half were either govern-
ment officials or government employees.
The rate of unionization in the govern-
mental sector was nearly double that in
the non-governmental sector. Finally, in
the two sectors together, semi-skilled
workers comprised only a little more
than a fourth of all union members.
Furthermore, results of the studies at
Dakar and Thiès suggest that union
membership and level of schooling corre-
[665] late rather closely; this was far from the
case with respect to party membership,
at least at Dakar. To what degree did
unionism offer educated individuals a
means of expression that, in the period
studied, parties did not offer them? Edu-
cated persons, especially youths, were
more susceptible to extremist anti-colonial
aspirations. And to what degree could
union action present itself more clearly
as a trial postponement for the existing
order than action within the framework
of parties?

The particular traits of union struggle
markedly demonstrate the fundamental
conflicts of the colonial situation. One
cannot accurately speak of the "politiza-
tion" of unions, in the sense many gov-
ernment officials give this term. The
[665] limited activities of parties and the very
conditions of unionism in a colonial situ-
ation have given unionism a marked
political coloring.

(1) Interviews of militant unionists,
[17A]

/87 cont./

S 498 563 W 498 162 463

workers from the regions neighboring Thiès are not in the majority; the Wolof-Sérère group is made up of 380 units, 45% of the total. Besides, the Wolof and Sérère /Serer/ offer relatively few technicians and supervisory operatives; the Wolof make up only 7% in the supervisory category as against 24% in that of manual workers; the Sérère account for only 5% in the first category and 39% in the second. On the other hand, 17% of the Khassonké and Sarakolé belong to the supervisory staffs as against only 22% of the manual workers and employees. These figures underline the difficulty for the enterprise in recruiting specialized workers in the vicinity of Thiès. It must call upon technicians from distant territories, although a high percentage of non-specialized workers and manual laborers are recruited locally.

S 498 433

Because of the number of its total labor force, the industrial grouping of the Dakar-Niger forms one of the most active elements of the economy of the district. More than 25,000,000 francs C.F.A. are distributed monthly in the form of salaries to all of the personnel.

/88/

3. The Public sector.

S 712 433

Although the installation and extension of the two military camps have in an indirect way increased the importance of the city, it indeed seems that they have little influence on the economy of the district on account of their internal organization within a closed circuit.

S 647 464

The establishment of increasingly more numerous and substantial administrative services affects the economic life of the escale in a more tangible fashion. The administration of the circle /cercle, an administrative district/ and the services for agriculture, education, and public works employ several hundred officials, day laborers, and manual workers.

/386/

102
491
361
363
496

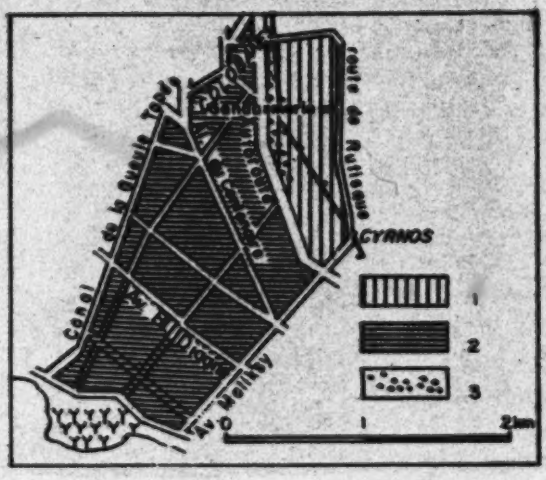


Fig. 4. Médina. -- 1. Industrial zone;
2. quarters more or less urbanized;
3. irregular quarters.

369 which progressively transformed the Dakar agglomeration.
563 There was first the creation of the S. T. A. G. D. (Service temporaire de l'aménagement du Grand-Dakar /Temporary
[361] Office for the Arrangement of Greater Dakar/) for a systematic urbanization of the city. Then there was the decision to promote a policy of lodgings for African officials, while a society for a mixed economy, the Société Immobilière du Cap-Vert (S. I. C. A. P.) /Building Society of Cape Verde/
[362] studied and made up forms for cheap dwellings for mere renting or for rent-sale. At the same time there was the law called "Lamine Gueye," which equalized upward several
[465] elements of the African and non-African wages at the time when "l'africanisation des cadres" /Africanization of the staffs/ was promoted, which led to a mixture of Africans and
[647] Europeans in the administrative lodgings and in the new quarters for officials. Finally, first the staff-law and then autonomy

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

Municipal Government

Full Communes. Dakar (including Goree), St. Louis, and Rufisque are full communes (Vol. I, p. 258), the only ones in the Federation. 633

The Municipal Councils, which choose their own mayors, consist of from fifteen to eighteen members. These are elected for terms of four years by the French citizens of their towns, and since 1910 all the councils have had African majorities. At first these communes had powers as extensive as their counterparts in France, and they were responsible for police, public health, roads, markets, lighting, and elementary education. In 1918, however, the colonial authorities took over public health at St. Louis and at Dakar, and in 1927 at Rufisque. Similarly, in 1924, the creation of the District of Dakar was made the occasion to subtract police and roads from the commune. The same process, without the same excuse, went on in 1927 for St. Louis and for Rufisque. For all these services the municipalities still make financial contributions.

Their revenue comes from direct government grants, from municipal rates, and from municipal undertakings. Altogether they include market dues, liquor licences, lighting, and a proportion of the business licences and other colonial taxes. In normal years the revenue of Dakar averaged some 8,000,000 francs, of St. Louis 7,750,000 francs, and of Rufisque 5,600,000 francs. 652 651 633

In each case the budget is drawn up by the mayor, passed by his council, and submitted to the Governor or Administrator. [643]

Mixed Communes. There are fifteen mixed communes in Senegal, namely Bambey, Bargny-Gouddou, Diourbel, Fatik, Foundiougne, Gossas, Kaolack, Kébémer, Kombole, Louga, M'Bour, Mekhé, Thiès, Tivaouane, and Ziguinchor. Thirteen of them are mixed communes of the first degree, but since 1925 Kaolack and Ziguinchor have been mixed communes of the second degree. 633

Chambers of Commerce. There are Chambers of Commerce at Dakar, Kaolack, St. Louis, Thiès, and Ziguinchor. The one at St. Louis is the successor of a Committee of Commerce which was set up in 1825. The Chamber at Thiès is also known as the Chamber of Cayor-Baol. It was first founded at Rufisque in 1883, but in 1937, when that town was included in the District of Dakar, it was moved to its present headquarters. 441 647

In Senegal there are no separate Chambers of Agriculture and Industry, but the Chamber of Commerce at Dakar has a section, established in 1930, devoted to those two activities.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

redemption money. During 1936 official figures showed 1,000 labourers working under written contracts for private concerns, while 31,800 were working on verbal agreements. For public services there were only 20 working with written contracts and 8,900 without. These figures apply only to regular employment, and they take no account of casual labour of any kind. 466 [675]

The fertile provinces of Baol and Sine-Saloum annually attract thousands of immigrant labourers from French Sudan to grow ground-nuts. It is estimated that, in some years, as many as 60,000 Sudanese labourers (*navétanes*) cross the border, encouraged by cheap fares on the railways and advances of pay from the Chambers of Commerce. In 1932 these advances amounted to 300,000 francs. On their arrival they do not work for daily hire, but each labourer takes up a plot for the season. The landowner provides the seeds, and also board and lodging for the labourer. In return the labourer works on the owner's plot for two, three, or four days a week. At the close of the season the proprietor takes either one-tenth of the crop or double the quantity of seeds that he supplied, leaving the rest of the crop to the labourer. Most labourers return to their homes at the end of the harvest, but occasionally they stay on till they have accumulated the sum they set out to acquire. 167 464 [441] [654] 477 465 167 464

Agriculture

The first director of agriculture of Senegal may be said to have been Richard, one of the survivors of the *Méduse*. Under him experimental gardens were founded at Richard Toll about 1820. These are still in existence. The present organization of the Department of Agriculture is laid down by an order of 22 January 1932. Working in close contact with local administrative officers, it manages experimental gardens and farm schools, gives information and instruction to farmers, conducts campaigns against agricultural pests, and organizes agricultural shows. The Department has a laboratory at Hann and an experimental station at Bambey. This was opened in 1924 and is devoted principally to the study and improvement of ground-nuts. Besides these institutions the Department owns various smaller stations for study, experiment, and instruction. 647 654

Forestry. The Department of Agriculture had charge of forestry until an order of 10 February 1937 created a separate Forestry Department and divided the colony into four forestry districts (*inspections*), with headquarters at St. Louis, Thiès, Ziguinchor, and Tambacounda respectively.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

647 656 *Produce Inspection.* Produce inspection is entrusted to a board nominated by the Chambers of Commerce, but the Government keeps a tight control by exercising a veto on all important appointments to its staff. The Board's inspectorate has very wide powers of inspection over produce, whether destined for local consumption or for export. No produce to which inspection applies can be sent out [439] of the colony without a certificate of purity.

For this inspection a special tax of 5 francs per ton on ground-nuts [651] and palm kernels, and 20 francs per ton on rubber, is imposed on produce intended for export.

456 654 *Native Provident Societies.* There are 14 Native Provident Societies. Bignona and Ziguinchor have combined, but otherwise there is one to each province. In 1937 they had 1,200,000 members, [647] whose annual subscriptions varied from 2·50 francs to 5·00 francs each, and their expenses were some 25,000,000 francs. They supplied over 44,000 tons of ground-nut seeds to their members.

In earlier days the Sine-Saloum society imported stallions from [232] the Argentine for the breeding of mules, and in 1932 the societies devoted nearly 250,000 francs to the purchase of motor vehicles. In cattle-breeding districts they supply breeding stock and improve water-supply and pasturage. By 1933 it was estimated that the societies had sunk over 1,200 wells, while the society of Thiès had [312] constructed a barrage for irrigation purposes.

In addition to strictly agricultural activities, the Senegal societies [926] help their members by advances of cash, which are made not only to meet failure of crops, but also in cases of individual accident or illness.

Mining

656 316 At the end of 1937 the following permits were in force:

Personal licences		4
The Occupation System		
Exclusive licences	10	
Mining licences	32	
Concessions	16	
	—	58
Total		62

Education

871 1997 The first attempts to educate the natives of French West Africa were made in Senegal, and they were also remarkable for being instituted, not by missionaries, but by the Crown. Colonel Schmaltz

/103 cont./

633 instance, a customs office, and a telegraph, telephone, and
[641] post office. The various administrative services are represented
there* (public works, treasury, medical aid, education, agriculture, veterinary medicine, etc.).

433 Financial situation. Taxes. The circle of Sine-Saloum is constantly increasing in importance because of its size, population, and economic resources.

[496] Because of its exceptional location, the railway from
[491] the Sudan crosses it over a distance of 190 kilometers. Seven
[505] stations mark it out. Its railroad network and its system of highways and canals permit it to drain to Kaolack and
[439] Foundiougne all of the products of the soil. Thus, the total commerce for 1927 (imports and exports combined) amounted
651 to 350 million francs for the circle. The customs duties collected for the benefit of the general budget of French West Africa reached 13 million francs. The taxes from the tax rolls (personal taxes, patents, licenses, etc.) have risen to 25 million francs, whereas they did not exceed the figure of 4,300,000 francs in 1923. The advance is thus remarkable.

Native personal taxes alone in 1927 provided 3,768,355 francs, whereas in 1921 they brought in only 2,791,000 francs.

Taxes on livestock went from 270,000 francs in 1921 to 425,000 francs in 1927.

871 /104/ Education. Instruction is given to the children
[875] by French and native teachers. There is a regional school
[872] with 500 pupils at Kaolack. Primary schools are operating at Fatick, Foundiougne, Sokone, Gossas, Kaffrine, and Nioro. In all, 1,200 children receive instruction; only an elite goes to school. A need for the creation of new centers of education is felt, especially at Birkelane, Koungheul, Gandiaye, Niakhar, and Tataguine. Nevertheless, although instruction in French is given only in our schools, the natives also receive some rudiments of instruction in the Koranic schools. The latter are quite numerous.

* [in KAOLACK - ANALYST]

175, 648, 726

Senegal MS37

[For a discussion of the French relations with the damels of Cayor, a Wolof state, between 1859 and 1864 when this kingdom became part of the colony of Senegal (especially the military operations) see 34:Faidherbe, MS30 Wolof, category 116.]

/29 cont./

*795 any poor person can go to them to ask for alms and hospitality;
[734] he will be taken care of for a long time, and for nothing, and
[735] thus part of the funds collected by the marabouts is redistributed to their faithful in misfortune.

One must especially not lose sight of the fact that Muridism is /30/ an integral part of Islam, even though it does not completely conform to orthodox Islam, even though it has abuses and faults. It is primarily a spiritual force, and it is necessary that political and social evolution, indispensable to the young country of Senegal, does not take place against Muridism, against Islam, against all spirituality.

*795 It is known that the Senegalese marabouts in general and
666 the Murid leaders in particular, on the occasion of the Referendum
648 of September 28, were definitely in favor of the Franco-African Community. This attitude can not be explained solely, as some might insinuate, by their desire to preserve certain relations with France, whose pro-Islamic policy has always been favorable and profitable for them. The true reason for this choice is that, on the one hand, the marabouts well know the present state of the intellectual and political development of their compatriots, and, on the other hand, they want to defend their religion and its spiritual values.

They know that at the present time the advanced wing of the political and syndicalist world groups together advanced young people who are quite far from any religious practice and thought and very violently pro-Marxist, if not pure Marxists.

They probably feared that, by means of an independence as premature as absolute, the present leaders, moderate on the whole, would be very quickly left behind by the extremists and that these would then institute in Senegal a materialistic and atheistic regime to which true and good Moslems would not be able to rally, and from which, probably, the whole of the population would rapidly suffer.

*795 But the development of this prospect would carry us too far. Let us content ourselves, in conclusion, to bring it up and to

/373 cont./

S
Se
W
175
648

Before the arrival of the French garrison in 1865, the Sérère-none ruled supreme over the region. He was established as the traditional enemy of the Wolof, and from time to time he suffered from the incursions of his "tiédos" (2).

W
[624]

2. Tiédos: name given to the Wolof war chiefs of Cayor.

After the definitive installation of our troops at Thiès and especially after the running of the Dakar-Saint-Louis railroad in 1885, many Wolof came to settle near our fortified post; at the same time they benefited from our pacificatory presence by being able to create farm villages in the heart of None country. Diakhaté was established about 1875-1880 (some of its founders worked on the construction of the railroad line in 1884); Keur-Mamour was created at about the same time.

W
[464]

The Bambara villages are more recent: 1890-1895. These were the /374/ terrible years when Samory sacked the southern Sudan and the region of the Wassoulou (east of Beyla in Upper Guinea). Through the authorities, it seems, some of the Bambara and Wassoulonké freed by our troops were sent to Senegal where the policy of groundnut cultivation was in full development. Keur-Issa-Bambara and Karamoko were founded at this time.

S
[369]

The city of Thiès was not very important at that time; it had hardly more than a thousand inhabitants. Nevertheless, it began to play a primary role; its presence imposed peace in the region formerly so disturbed by the None brigandage or the incursions of Wolof warriors. Its presence facilitated the founding of villages, the number of which would cease to grow in the subsequent period; all of the land capable of supporting crops was utilized at the beginning of the century.

S
369
[311]
[438]

In the years preceding the Great War, the escale (1)

1. Escale: by extension signifies a stopping place, a commercial agglomeration.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

I. INTRODUCTION

As far as the majority of Frenchmen are concerned, men are born and remain free and equal before the law. Taking this principle further than its immediate implications, the French tend, with regard to the people of their overseas territories, towards assimilation.

J. RICHARD-MOLARD

WRITERS on the colonial history of Tropical Africa have usually characterised the French as pursuing a policy of direct rule and political assimilation. These two features have always been stressed in any comparison with British rule in West Africa, which has always been strongly anti-assimilationist and guided by Lord Lugard's theories on indirect rule through existing indigenous institutions. In practice neither colonial power kept, or was able to keep, strictly to its avowed policy; and just as the British found it impossible to impose a system of indirect rule on the peoples of Eastern Nigeria, where traditionally there were no chiefs but democratic organisation at the village level, so too the French found themselves relying frequently on traditional rulers in the administration of their territories and unable to apply a policy of assimilation to nomads or people who had hardly emerged from the Stone Age. Whatever the defects of either theory in practice, it remains true that the French had as their goal, however distant, the cultural and political integration of their colonial peoples, just as Britain, particularly in West Africa, always had as her ulitmate aim the preparation of her colonies for self-government and independence.

French assimilation is based on the revolutionary doctrine of the equality of man and at the same time on the assumption of the superiority of European, and in particular

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648

French, civilisation. Thus the French, when confronted with people they considered barbarians, believed it their mission to convert them into Frenchmen. This implied a fundamental acceptance of their potential human equality, but a total dismissal of African culture as of any value. Africans were considered to be a people without history, without any civilisation worthy of the name, constantly at war with one another and fortunate to have been put in touch with the fruits of French civilisation. Thus French books describe the French conquest of Africa as 'la paix française' and her early administration as 'l'oeuvre civilisatrice'.

Direct rule was a necessary adjunct of a policy of assimilation for in so far as the French relied on the traditional chiefs, so far did they preserve the traditional social structure of the societies they were administering and this made it more difficult to assimilate them to French standards. Nevertheless where chiefs had great traditional authority, the French found it in practice impossible to use them as mere 'agents' of the administration, and were often forced to adopt a more empirical approach to the problem, particularly in the northern sector of the French Cameroons. The successful application of direct rule was further complicated by the size of the areas the administration had to cover and often, if only as a temporary measure, the traditional authority in these areas had to be used if government were to be maintained. Indeed such were the problems of administering so vast an area as French West Africa that the famous French colonial administrator, Lyautey, came to very much the same conclusions as his contemporary, Lugard, about the problems of native administration in Africa. Lyautey also represented a strong strand in French political theory which was opposed to the assimilation of colonial peoples.

On the other hand Harmand, in his *Domination et colonisation*, written in 1910, whilst generally attacking the application of assimilation in Asia, advocated it for Africa

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

where, he believed—as did most of his contemporaries— there was no indigenous culture worthy of the name. 648.

It was not only the practical problems involved that hampered the full application of an assimilationist policy in Africa. French rule in Africa has been just as much a mixture of authoritarianism and liberalism as it has been ever since the Revolution in France. Some of the so-called liberal regimes were effectively reactionary, whilst some of the authoritarian regimes initiated liberal reforms. This curious mixture has been put most succinctly by Robert Delavignette, a colonial administrator of great experience, when he writes in *Freedom and Authority in French West Africa*:

> And the Europe of the Revolution and that of the *ancien régime*, far from fighting each other in Africa, worked together on the same task. The young cavalry officer, De la Tour Saint-Ygest, who perhaps left France because he could not stand the Revolutionary equality there, went off to Upper Senegal-Niger to destroy the feudal power of the Tuareg, the principles and sentiments of which he cherished. On the other hand, the man who wielded the power of the Republic at Dakar, adherent of a French Freemason lodge, and member of the Radical-Socialist party, was to become in Africa a governor fanatically attached to old style hierarchy, using autocratic methods to lead the natives along the path of progress.

The French never really faced the full implications of assimilation and in practice remarkably little was done to bring into effect the official policy that all colonial peoples should become French and have all the rights of French citizens, which implies that there should have been a very substantial coloured representation in the metropolitan institutions. Thus in 1921, twenty years after France had established her rule throughout French West Africa, the vast mass of the population still had the inferior status of *sujet*, that is they were subject to summary administrative justice and the corvée or forced labour and had no political rights. Ivory Coast had only 308 inhabitants with the 648 641

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 641 privileges of French citizens; Dahomey, 121; Upper Volta, 17; Niger, 9. As late as 1936 out of a total population of fifteen million in French West Africa there were only 2,136 French citizens, with the exception of the citizens [633] of the Four Towns or *Quatre Communes* of Senegal. Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff in their book *French West Africa* have suggested that this was because at that time 'the advantages conferred by naturalisation obviously did not compensate in the eyes of the great majority of Africans for acceptance of French law in regard to marriage and inheritance, and for the general shaping of their lives according to the European pattern'. This was only half the 648 truth. Just as important a factor was the sparseness of facilities for education, the keystone to a successful assimilationist policy. As late as 1947 only 1.3 per cent of children of school age in Guinea were actually attending [871] school. In Soudan the figure was higher at 5 per cent, Dahomey 10 per cent and Senegal 12.4 per cent.

In each case Senegal is the exception. Senegal sent a deputy to the French Assembly as early as 1848. Her first indigenous deputy, Blaise Diagne, elected in 1914, became Under Secretary of State for the Colonies on several occasions before his death in 1934. But the other territories of French black Africa did not elect deputies until 1946, though they sent representatives to the Constituent Congress 648 641 in 1945. In 1848 the privileges of French citizenship were granted to all Senegalese living in the Colony, though they [671] were allowed to retain their private law in matters of land, inheritance, marriage and divorce. It was only in 1946 with the passing of the *loi Lamine Guèye* that the privileges of citizenship were granted to Africans other than those who obtained naturalisation, which involved accepting French 648 private law. In Senegal, the towns of St. Louis and Gorée [633] were created *communes de pleins exercice* or full scale municipal [646] councils in 1872 and seven years later a General Council on the lines of those operating in the French departments was established.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

established. Until recent years Senegal was the only territory with an educational system in any way compatible with a policy of assimilation. 648

Thus, with the exception of Senegal, there evolved a mixed policy containing elements of assimilation and separation which came to be known as the policy of association. Even so, as Lord Hailey wrote in his recent *African Survey*, 'the underlying assumption remained that, on a long view, the future of the overseas territories must be one of eventual integration with France in a larger political unit'. And though assimilationist policy was never really successful on the political level, on the personal level, particularly in education where equality of black and white was so frequently demonstrated, it left deep marks. To quote Lord Hailey once again, this time from his 1939 *African Survey*, 'it is not easy to exaggerate the effect on native outlook of a system which permits Africans to sit side by side with French children and to compete with them on equal terms in examinations'.

Since assimilation was only practised in any real measure in Senegal, it is the most interesting of all the French African colonies as the one most marked by contact with the metropolitan power. This book is therefore a study of Senegal with particular reference to a special kind of race relations whereby one people, whilst accepting the fundamental equality of the other, attempts to assimilate it to its own standards in every sphere of life. An attempt will be made to assess to what extent French assimilation was successful in Senegal and why the Senegalese eventually reacted against it; the subsequent marks it was to leave on this newly independent state; the extent to which indigenous culture withstood assimilationist policy; and finally what sort of society the Senegalese, now independent of France, are trying to create for themselves. 121

Senegal becomes even more interesting as a present day case study. For in applying their policy of assimilation, the French Government had to remember that Senegal was the [563]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

II. FRENCH ASSIMILATION IN PRACTICE

. . . that France above all should understand this great mission which the Lord has entrusted to her . . . by sending missions composed of men of clear courage and integrity and of superior intelligence . . . to serve as intermediaries and interpreters between these more or less savage people on the one hand and the civilisation and institutions of Europe on the other . . . 000

HEINRICH BARTH

IN a few short words the great German explorer Heinrich Barth summed up the ideals of French assimilationist policy in Africa. But as we have seen these ideals were to be tempered not only by the realities of colonial administration but also by the failure of the French ever to accept the full implications of an assimilationist policy. Nowhere was this clearer than in Senegal, where France carried out in one part of the country what may be described in terms of nineteenth-century colonial administration as a very advanced policy of assimilation whilst subjecting the rest of the country to an authoritarian rule unknown in British West Africa. 648

Senegal came into contact with the French in the early seventeenth century when French commercial companies started trading at the mouth of the river Senegal, first entered by Europeans in 1445. In 1659 Caullier founded the town of St. Louis on an island at the mouth of the river. For the rest of the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth century, the fort he built there, around which grew up a prosperous trading town dominated by the great chartered companies, was to be the centre of French commercial activity on the west coast of Africa. 175 [439]

Though the French did explore the Senegal river and even established a fort at Podor in 1745, they had no control of the hinterland; their sphere of influence was strictly limited to the island on which St. Louis was built and to the

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

175 small island of Gorée further down the coast. However this did not mean that the French lacked interest in the interior. From 1749-53 Michel Adanson explored the Senegalese coast and undertook the first really scientific description of West Africa. His writings were largely responsible for the later hope that European colonisation of this part of Africa would be possible. But for the rest of the eighteenth century France's hold on St. Louis was too tenuous for anything of this nature to be undertaken. Indeed during the Seven Years' War the town fell to the British and was only returned
175 in 1779. By the end of the eighteenth century St. Louis
563 with a population of 7,000, had a European colony numbering 600, the largest on the whole of the West Coast. It also
369 had an important assimilated mulatto community, whose
[162] descendants are known today as St. Louisiens. Indeed there had been a very high degree of *métissage* by the end of the eighteenth century, since most Frenchmen there took permanent African mistresses known as *signares*, and ensured the education of any children they had by them. Indeed in all but legal status these *signares* were wives and their 'marriages' were celebrated by their families with all the pomp of a normal wedding. However, with the improvement of communications between Senegal and France and the arrival of larger numbers of soldiers in the middle of the nineteenth century, mistresses were much more temporary in nature and the number of Frenchmen prepared to educate resulting offspring was considerably reduced.

175 In 1789 St. Louis sent its *cahier* of grievances to the States-
567 General on the eve of the French Revolution, demanding the end of the monopoly of the great companies, freedom of
[439] trade and the abolition of slavery, which had hitherto formed the main item of export from St. Louis. These grievances were heeded. Slavery was abolished and the companies had their charters withdrawn. But the position of slaves and slave-trading in the colonies was not in fact settled until the end of the wars that followed the French Revolution.

175 During these wars St. Louis once again fell to the British
648

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 648 [175]

and only under the terms of the Treaty of Paris which ended the Napoleonic Wars was it finally returned to the French in 1817. Under King Louis XVIII, France embarked on a policy of European colonisation of Senegal. Colonel Schmaltz negotiated with Moctar Diop, the Lebou chief of the small village of Dakar, for land to settle 200 emigrants to be despatched from France under the auspices of the *Société Coloniale Philanthropique*. But climate and disease soon put an end to this venture. Nevertheless Schmaltz persisted with his schemes in St. Louis so that Senegal could by its products enrich the mother country. He made agreements with local chiefs for the agricultural settlement of part of the Oualo or hinterland of St. Louis and in 1819 a model farm was established to experiment in the growing of cotton, olives, dates, coconuts and coffee. This policy was pursued enthusiastically by his successor, Baron Roger, and a number of experiments, mainly concerned with cotton, were undertaken in the next few years. By 1822 nearly fifty concessions had been granted to the French by local chiefs and for the next five years further experiments were carried out by Monsieur Richard who started a full scale research station at what is now called Richard-Toll or Richard's field. But his efforts were not crowned with success, and later governors influenced by the reaction against colonialism in France lost interest in agricultural settlement. This was perhaps fortunate for modern Senegal, since had these first experiments been fruitful she might have been saddled with a settler problem today.

S W 648

S 648

France was already working towards an assimilationist policy. A governmental despatch to Schmaltz informed him that his political aim should be 'to introduce gradually among the blacks of Senegal a civilisation based on free labour . . . education, and public peace . . .' It continued: 'A mulatto is now mayor of the capital of our possessions, and a black could become so too.' Two years later Baron Roger was informed that since most of the free population of St. Louis was mulatto or African it was 'very important

S [563] [369]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 [563] [369] not to let the same discriminations and prejudices such as exist in other colonies be introduced among them.' At the same time the metropolitan Government was asking whether Africans would make suitable corporals and under-officers. Furthermore Schmaltz, whilst advocating a system of economic exploitation that seemed to be entirely to the advantage of France, maintained that the Senegalese were not merely to be auxiliaries and that they would be encouraged by fixed prices for their crops to produce more and become 'civilised' by their contact with Europe.

648 567 641 So far France had made no definition of the position of non-French inhabitants of her colonies. Even though France by the decree of 16 Pluviose Year II (1792) had abolished slavery and declared that 'all men, without distinction of colour, domiciled in French colonies, are French citizens, and enjoy all the rights assured by the Constitution', and even though the slave trade had been outlawed in 1818, until 1833 freed slaves had uncertain status in law, and domestic slaves still existed in large numbers. A royal ordinance of that year proclaimed that 'Any person born free or having legally acquired his liberty enjoys in the French colonies: (1) civil rights; (2) political rights under conditions prescribed by law'. But only in 1848 was the status of *captif* or domestic slave abolished, though the majority of *captifs* continued to serve with their former masters. Naturally this law only affected inhabitants of St. Louis and Gorée and the other French posts like Dagana and Richard-Toll.

648 [641] [818] [799] The most important result of these two laws was to give about 12,000 Africans, mostly illiterate, the full rights of French citizens. Of these less than a thousand had been converted to Christianity by their French, mulatto or Christian African masters. Educational facilities, which would have to accompany any effective conversion of illiterates into full scale French citizens were still rudimentary. But it must be remembered that in France, at the time, the electorate was suddenly increased from 200,000 to

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

9,000,000 most of whom were illiterate. Balzac, in 1845, wrote in his book *Les paysans*: 648

> For twenty million beings in France the law is merely a piece of white paper stuck on the door of the Church or the Town Hall . . . Many mayors of cantons turn their copies of the *Bulletin des Lois* into bags for holding raisins and seeds. As for the mere mayors of communes you would be shocked by the number who cannot read or write and by the way in which the civil registers are kept.

Most remarkable of the innovations of the short lived French Second Republic of 1848-52, in which the Revolution once more came into its own, was the granting of the right to Senegal of sending a deputy to the National Assembly in France. Grandly it was announced, 'The Colonies purified of slavery . . . will be represented in the National Assembly'. Effectively, such a deputy would be representing an overwhelming majority of African 'citizens' for metropolitan Frenchmen numbered then only some 500. However it was to take some time before the African citizens were to use this newly acquired right to elect one of their own number to the Assembly. [162] [563] [666]

The 1848 Revolution thus embroidered on the 1833 ordinance of the French monarchy by introducing a full scale assimilationist policy for the colonies of France. In Senegal it affected only a small number of people. And never again would France in her expansion through Africa apply this trend in her colonial policy so liberally to her newly acquired territories. Thereafter there was to be a tussle with those administrators who either felt that the inhabitants of the colonial territories were different and should be treated as such, or were overwhelmed by the practical problems involved in applying an assimilationist policy to a largely illiterate population spread over an area eight times the size of France.

The reaction to the liberal thinking of the second republic soon came with Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* by which an authoritarian Second Empire was established. In 1854 the right of electing a deputy was withdrawn from all

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 colonies other than Martinique, Guadeloupe and Réunion and at the same time they were subjected to rule by direct decree of the Emperor.

[167] It was under the Second Empire that the first great period of French colonial expansion in black Africa took place. It was during that regime that Faidherbe, who was to Senegal what Lugard was to Nigeria, first embarked on his African conquests. Faidherbe himself embodied this dichotomy in French colonial policy: an authoritarian agent of an authoritarian regime, he was often found introducing reforms and innovations that conformed with the most liberal application of an assimilationist policy.

[643] 360 [162] [563] [872] [797] [361] Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in 1854. At the time St. Louis, according to Abbé Boilaut in his *Esquisses sénégalaises* was a city of 12,336 inhabitants with only 177 Europeans. There were two primary schools run by Catholic missionaries. A full scale administration had succeeded in imposing on a town otherwise consisting mainly of single storey houses, a governor's palace, a 'very elegant Palace of Justice', a large naval hospital, a fine church and an army barracks.

648 643 From his base at St. Louis, Faidherbe, in a series of brilliant campaigns, notably against the powerful emir of Trarza and the Muslim reformist and Toucouleur leader, El Hadj Omar, was to lay the foundations of France's West African empire. To do this he organised the now famous *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, since Europeans did not stand up well to the climate and the prevalent diseases. By conquest or by treaty he brought most of modern Senegal and much of 643 Soudan (Mali) under French rule. He installed an efficient military administration, and even published an official [804] newspaper the *Moniteur du Sénégal*. Altogether Faidherbe was a remarkable man. He was a firm believer in the equality of races, and did much to increase the educational facilities of the colony. He established a school for the sons [871] of chiefs, and lay schools for Muslims, who objected to [797] attending the mission schools. Whilst Faidherbe wanted to

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

encourage the evangelisation of the population, he[1] was sufficiently knowledgeable about the country and its people to realise that it would be impossible to win converts from among the Muslims who formed the majority in Senegal. Scholarships for primary education in St. Louis, and secondary education in France were awarded under his auspices to promising students. Small technical schools were established at Dakar. And he even opened a museum at St. Louis.

He tried to equip the colony with some of the benefits of a modern economy. He established the Bank of Senegal, laid out St. Louis afresh as befitted a capital city, and under his influence Pinet-Laprade founded the new port of Dakar. He promoted the export of the ground-nut crop, becoming increasingly valuable to the colony's revenue which rose from 12 million francs in 1848 to 37 million in 1869, and proved a profitable substitute for human merchandise. He made valuable and detailed studies of the local people. Like Lugard he seemed to be able to think of every aspect of administration at the same time. The historian G. Hardy wrote of him: 'He touched on everything, and always with good results.' But as J. Richard-Molard commented, 'He was the first great Frenchman to realise the wish of Barth. But he did it as an officer of the Empire, endowed with an abominable character and a sense of authority which bordered on vice. He was proconsul of an authoritarian Empire.'

One decision vital for the future of the Senegal was made during the Faidherbian regime: this was the final abandonment of any ideals of European colonisation. It came at a time when the French were settling Algeria, and was not altogether altruistic, as the ministerial instructions of 1859 showed:

> Nothing similar to Algeria could be undertaken in Senegal. The climate is against it. The land should therefore be left to the natives, at least as a general rule. It is by their hands that it should be cultivated and if our rule is to be extended over all the territory

[1] [i.e., Faidherbe, who became Governor in 1854 - Analyst]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

•648 that belongs to us, our occupation should be limited to those parts necessary for assuring the suppression of brigandage, the freedom of trade and the tranquillity of an industrious population.

The land cultivated by them will provide produce which will become the object of lucrative trade for the European, the only kind of work he can undertake in this climate.

648 641 [161] [160] [563] By 1865 the colony of Senegal comprised 150,000 inhabitants of whom only some 15,000, living in the original French settlements of St. Louis and Gorée-Dakar, were French citizens. Indeed this number was not to increase noticeably until the end of the century, since the privileges granted to those Africans under French rule in 1848 were never extended to the interior. For whilst Faidherbe pursued a policy of assimilation in the main centres like St. Louis, Gorée and Dakar, he initiated the basis of a system of administration for what was to become the rest of modern Senegal and French black Africa as a whole that was distinctly non-assimilationist. The laws for the *sujets* or those who did not enjoy the rights of French citizens were particularly harsh. They were not allowed to leave the colony, they had no right of meeting or association, and they were subjected to the corvée or forced labour on the maintenance of roads. To obtain this forced labour Faidherbe relied on the chiefs, and indeed one of the main criticisms of him as an exponent of assimilationism is that he leaned so heavily on both the chiefs and Islam. The treaty made by Jauréguiberry (acting-Governor whilst Faidherbe was on leave in 1865) with Abdoul Boubaker of Toro was far removed from the principles of assimilation: 'Art. 2—The Toro will continue to administer itself according to its own laws, traditions and customs.'

[167] [466] [653] [631]

The overthrow of the Second Empire and the establishment of the Third Republic in 1870 was to see lukewarm reaffirmation of principles of the revolution and a consequent return to assimilationist principles at least in the political field. In 1871 Senegal regained her deputy. More

[646]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

important still a Conseil-Général equivalent to the Conseils-Généraux of the French department but with much greater financial autonomy was established for the colony. However representation was limited to citizens of the colony and not the great majority of *sujets* of the Protectorate. This spurt of assimilation was completed a year later when privileges of local self-government were granted to St. Louis and Gorée which were created *communes de pleine exercice*. In 1880 the prosperous new port of Rufisque, some fifteen miles from modern Dakar, was also accorded these privileges, and in 1887 Dakar was separated from Gorée and also gained them.

This was as far as assimilation was to go politically in either Senegal or the rest of French West Africa. Not until 1944 was there any extension of political rights in French black Africa. Indeed in Senegal the citizens had to fight to retain their privileges against an administration that came increasingly to regret the privileges it had granted the Senegalese in the first fine flush of colonial expansion in Black Africa. Thus until the outbreak of the Second World War one had the paradoxical situation of the French regretting their assimilationist policy and the Senegalese citizens asking that it be applied more liberally. This is one of the main reasons why the activities of French Africans, particularly in Senegal, were channelled not towards the attainment of independence but the assertion of their fundamental equality with the French. Their energies were for long directed to obtaining from the French those rights which in principle an assimilationist policy offered them.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

III. FRENCH REACTION AGAINST ASSIMILATION

000 France had made a great mistake in granting suffrage to the Natives. She did not withdraw her present, but took good care not to repeat it elsewhere.

PIERRE MILLE: *The Black Vote in Senegal.*

648 UNTIL 1913 all the Senegalese deputies in the French Chamber of Deputies were citizens of metropolitan origin. And in the General Council and the municipal 646 councils Europeans, even when they were not in a majority, [633] more often than not succeeded in controlling proceedings. [563] With this European domination of the representative institutions, it may come as a surprise that France not only failed to extend the experiment to other parts of French Africa, but indeed did her best to suppress those rights already granted in Senegal. First of all many of the Gover- 643 nors resented the control the General Council had over the 646 territorial budget, albeit limited. Secondly they found that [652] the General Council tried to run a peace-time administration for that part of Senegal under direct rule, whilst the Governors were more concerned with the pacification of the much larger hinterland, for in those days Senegal included much of what is now Mali. As one historian of Senegal, André Villard, has put it: 'The Colony thought it had the right to lead the quiet life of a French *arrondissement* at the very time when expansion towards the east necessitated exceptional political and military efforts.' An authoritarian Governor like Brière de l'Isle found it particularly galling to be saddled with a democratically 646 elected legislative council. Furthermore the General- 563 Councillors, who were mainly European or half-caste up 633

[p 16]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

till the end of the nineteenth century, neglected the Protectorate and seemed to think that the only parts of the country that mattered were the four communes. Naturally their official business with the Protectorate was limited, but they did control the three main ports of the country through which the products of the interior passed to France. The councillors, too, restricted education largely to the communes, where on the whole it reached a satisfactory level. They even sent students on scholarships to France, but unfortunately too few of these returned to Senegal to use their newly acquired talents. It was not until the establishment of the Government-General of French West Africa in 1905 that educational facilities were extended to the Protectorate in any great measure.

The increase in education amongst citizens of African origin meant that by the turn of the nineteenth century they were less willing to accept European domination in the communes and the General Council. The assertion of their rights is one of the main factors behind the attempts of the administration to deprive the indigenous Senegalese of their position as *citoyens*. Actually the Administration was batting on a good wicket. Technically a French citizen was one who accepted French rights and duties without qualification. In the case of the Africans in Senegal they had been allowed to retain their own *statut personnel*, that is private law, with reference to civil disputes, matrimony, divorce, inheritance and land. But this seemed to conflict openly with the definition of a French citizen. It seemed wrong that a man should exercise the rights of a French citizen and not accept the consequent obligations. Many Frenchmen felt it quite illogical that an African with four wives could yet be a citizen. And indeed in later years the main obstacle to granting citizenship to other colonial peoples was to be the question of retention of the *statut personnel*. Thus many of the attempts by the French to deprive the Senegalese citizens of their rights were the result of quite genuine objections to the illogicality of their position. Faidherbe,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

643 Faidherbe,
641 writing in 1889, protested against this attitude since he felt that to make monogamy a condition of citizenship would break up families and that monogamy should be achieved by education. But more potent were those forces which disliked the exercise of such rights by a small African minority, albeit linked with Europeans, which could so often obstruct not only the Governor of Senegal but the Governor-General himself, since until 1904 these two were one and the same man. The existence of a vocal General Council and Municipal Councils, let alone a deputy in France, which could all express opinions directly hostile to the authoritarian rule of the Governor, was another important factor behind the moves to deprive the Senegalese of their citizenship at the end of the nineteenth century. There was also
666 however quite genuine concern at the way in which the vote
641 was exercised in Senegal. Pierre Mille, in an article entitled *The Black Vote in Senegal* published in 1901, alleged that the African voters, mainly illiterate, were controlled by the handful of Europeans who bought their votes. He went so far as to describe Senegal as a 'rotten borough'. Indeed he alleged that the expense of the election absorbed a large part of the colony's finances: and further that after competing against each other for the electors' favour, the big companies in Senegal finally decided to combine the operation to save expenses and control Senegal to their mutual advantage. But as to the virtue of the Senegalese
641 citizens in other respects Mille was surprisingly warm:
[595] 'Having become French citizens and notwithstanding that they were Muslims, they, with a few exceptions, accepted monogamy . . . and they have spread far and wide in Africa the renown and justice of French administration'. But as Mille concluded, this was not sufficient to persuade France
• 648 to continue the experiment in her other West African colonies. Indeed, confirming what has already been said about empirical tendencies in French colonial rule, by 1900, when France had gained most of her vast African empire, Mille commented that it was 'administered with an

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

interesting suppleness under the most diverse conditions 648
according to the state of civilisation or submission—or lack of submission—of the natives'.

As a reaction against the powers of the Senegalese General 648
Council during the regrouping of the French West African 646
territories the Protectorate, with the exception of Casa- [633]
mance, Thiès, Cayor and Tivaouane and the *cercles* of the Fleuve, was detached from the colony of Senegal so that the General Council could not legitimately interfere in its affairs. However two years later economic and administrative exigencies decreed the reshaping of Senegal and the rest of French Africa into the territorial boundaries that exist today.

The first major attempt to undermine the rights of the 641
Senegalese with the rights of citizens by virtue of being born 633
in one of the four communes, known as *originaires*, came in 1908 when the Lieutenant-Governor of Senegal asked that 1,563 names be struck off the electoral role of Dakar arguing that since the natives concerned were only French subjects they could not vote. Only French citizens could vote, and citizenship could be obtained only by individual naturalisation. This was upheld in the local court but rejected by the [692]
Cour de Cassation in Paris. However, the Court confirmed that these voters were not French citizens though they maintained that they had the right to vote. This failure to recognise their status as citizens evoked much ill-feeling among the *originaires*. In 1910 the voting rights in the Senegal were in fact extended when it was provided that French citizens living outside the communes but within the colony could vote. But the Minister of Colonies declared that the decree did not apply to 'non-naturalised natives who only enjoy the franchise in the four *communes de pleine exercice* on condition of being born there', and thus once again emphasised the fact that the French Government did not consider the *originaires* as true citizens. Indeed in the following year their position was further aggravated when [701]
originaires doing their military service in metropolitan units

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

641 648 [643] An interesting sidelight on the confused French attitude towards assimilation and Africans was the status accorded to Blaise Diagne as Commissioner of the Republic in charge of conscription of troops in West Africa. He was given rank equal to that of the Governor-General, Van Vollenhoven, who thereat resigned. However this is only one side of the story. The French insist that he resigned because he felt that the large number of troops to be recruited would wreck the colony's economy and severely reduce the indigenous population. Nevertheless the presence of an African deputy for Senegal was not viewed well in all quarters. But Diagne could not be tempted by high office outside the parliamentary sphere and won a resounding victory in the 1919 elections [666] with 7,444 votes to his opponent's 1,252. He was then appointed Under Secretary of States for Colonies. His essential attachment to France was clear, for whilst in 1919 he became President of the Pan-African Congress, which urged that ultimately 'Africa should be ruled by consent of the Africans . . .' he refused, as Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff have pointed out 'to support any revolutionary theories as to the emancipation of all Negro peoples'. 'We French natives', he said, 'wish to remain French, since France has given us every liberty'.

646 633 The French were still not happy about the position of the *originaires* and in 1920, not so much from a show of liberalism as from a desire to reduce the pressures exercised on the Administration by the twenty-member General Council, it was translated into a Colonial Council with an increased membership of forty-four of which twenty were sent by the hitherto unrepresented Protectorate. The representatives [631] of the *sujets*, who were provincial or cantonal chiefs, could be relied on to vote with the Administration whose agents they were, and thus reduce the independence of the communes. In 1925, however, the number of chiefs was reduced to sixteen and the citizens' representatives increased to twenty-four as a means of persuading them to vote larger

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

taxes, but thereafter relations between chiefs and Government [illegible] and and citizens on the other were rarely cordial. 646 633 631

The powers of the Council were very restricted, having legislative rights over minor matters like the classification of roads and the management of public properties. Even these limited powers were subject to the veto of the Governor-General of French West Africa. Its main deliberative competence was over the budget, which though drawn up by the Governor could be criticised by the councillors. This power was watered down by the classification of a large section of the budget as obligatory expenditure. Nevertheless the council was an exceptional institution in West Africa. As R. L. Buell in his *The Native Problem in Africa* wrote: 648 652 643

> That the eight Europeans who participated in the Council should have exactly the same status as the thirty-two blacks is a situation which would strike the Anglo-Saxon as anomalous to say the least. The visitor to the Council will frequently witness a black president calling a European member to order for rowdiness. It does not appear, however, that the council is divided upon racial lines, i.e. of white versus black, except on the issue of higher pay for European officials—a policy which was, in fact, attacked as vigorously by the Europeans as by the native members. The real alignment so far has been the citizen members—both black and European—against the government supported by the chiefs. Black members as we have seen, have unmercifully criticised officials in Senegal. No British colony would tolerate the attacks which the natives make upon European officials in Senegal. 563 646

Buell pin-pointed a growing division in the territory—that between the *originaires* and the *sujets* of the Protectorate. The *originaires*, especially since the election of one of their own number as deputy, became increasingly jealous of their privileges. Meanwhile the rest of the territory was administered according to the same principles of administration as were applied throughout the rest of West Africa. Though traditional chiefs were stripped of their traditional powers 641 631

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

641 they were made agents of the Administration and responsi-
[631] ble for the enforcement of the corvée when required. The harshness of this authoritarian rule, escaped only by the *evolués* in the other territories, has been vividly described by Geoffrey Gorer in *Africa Dances*, which records a long tour made through French West Africa in the mid-thirties. Even so in 1930 France had signed the Geneva Act for-
[466] bidding forced labour in the colonies; but it was slow to disappear. In 1937 the right to form trade unions, which
[467] hitherto was only granted to Senegalese citizens by a law of 1920, was extended in a restricted form to the *sujets*. That same year a new decree allowed easier conditions for the acquisition of French citizenship by the *sujets*. Out of a population of 1,800,000 in 1936 there were 78,000 citizens compared with some 2,400 in the rest of French West Africa. And in 1939 the *sujets* were granted the right of
[666] electing some of their representatives to the Colonial Council instead of being represented only by nominees of the Administration.

641 This newly acquired right was enjoyed for a very brief
• 648 period. For in 1940 the authoritarian element in France came to the fore in particularly unhappy circumstances with the fall of France and the establishment of the Vichy Government. Under the Vichy regime, racism manifested itself openly for the first time. This was particularly embittering for the Senegalese élite since they had been much in sympathy with the Popular Front Government which attempted liberal experiments in Algeria and Syria. All Senegalese representative institutions were suppressed. Priority was given to Europeans in rationed goods and in many other spheres. Liberty of association was withdrawn from both races, and whilst European members of the resistance were rarely hanged, Africans themselves rarely escaped the supreme penalty. By contrast in France the future President of Senegal, Léopold Sédar Senghor, was fighting in the French resistance and was later interned in a German concentration camp.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Senegal had never in fact been free from elements of racism, though such a policy was never officially countenanced until the Vichy regime. Geoffrey Gorer found many instances of discrimination in Dakar, and actually went as far as to say that 'The colour bar is extremely strong in Dakar'. But he concluded 'these French citizens are far happier than their brother French Negro subjects; if they are too badly cheated or abused they have some redress in the law courts'. The colour bar was certainly not official policy then as it became under the Vichy Administration.

The Vichy regime marks the end of an era in West Africa and particularly in Senegal. Until 1940 there had been little or no opposition to French assimilationist policy by the Africans. Indeed they were the first to criticise any deviations from it. Blaise Diagne enjoyed high status in France, and though he was accused by his critics of corruption and of selling himself to the French he remained the popular choice in Senegal until his death.

At the ensuing election Galandou Diouf defeated Blaise Diagne's old opponent, Lamine Guèye, who was instrumental in the formation of the Senegalese branch of the *S.F.I.O.* Hitherto elections had been largely fought on the basis of personal followings, with the exception of the European-dominated *Parti Socialiste Sénégalais* founded in 1929 in which Europeans played a prominent role. Not only was Lamine Guèye the first Senegalese to realise the value of the party machine, but he was also the first to advocate the granting of full political and legal rights to all French Africans. Significantly he did not suggest any form of break with France, rather that France should carry her assimilationist policy to its logical conclusions. In 1939 he increased his political backing considerably when the *P.S.S.* fused with his section of the *S.F.I.O.* and this was to make him a leading member of the party in the metropolis as well as in Senegal.

However the younger generation of Senegalese were

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

however the younger generation of Senegalese were
648 beginning to question the moral right of assimilation. These
871 critics were the educated élite, by-products of an educational
571 policy of which Governor-General Chaudié had written in 1897: 'The school is the surest means of action by which a civilising nation can transmit its ideas to people who are still primitive and by which it can raise them gradually to its own standards. In a word the school is the supreme element of progress. It is also the most effective tool of propaganda for the French language that the Government can use.'

Ousmane Socé Diop, in *Karim*, a remarkable study of the sort of young Senegalese most affected by French assimilation, published in 1935, shows not only how effective this policy was in those early days, but also points to the awakening of the Senegalese to the values of their own traditional society.

648 On certain evenings in Dakar, Karim and his young
571 friends would talk not only of love but of their political and social ideas:

> The teacher was there, reasonable, but capable at moments of behaving foolishly, such as over the beautiful eyes of a Senegalese girl. He was a 'progressive', a partisan of a plan of evolution with its basis in the fundamental characteristics of his people.
>
> The graduate, a know-all, spoke of 'cleaning-up Senegalese traditions and of bringing about an immediate and thorough Europeanisation.
>
> The doctor, a Catholic, adopted Western civilisation without question. Nevertheless, his atavistic temperament remained one with that of his own people.
>
> Abdou was born a Muslim and an oriental and had been educated at a French school. His mind had been nurtured on European ideas and logic. His heart had been formed within the curious framework of the *Khalam*, of French poetry and European music. He was a person of contrasts. He could dance to the tam-tam as well as do the tango, he liked Negro music and black girls, but also dreamed of Deauville, of Paris and of some film-starlet, a blonde blue-eyed Venus.

[369] Later Karim is sent out to a small town in the 'bush' where he has to help with the collection of the ground-nut

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

crop. Struck by the simple, uncomplicated ways of the bush compared with that of Dakar, Rufisque and St. Louis he reflects: 'The teacher and above all the graduate who spoke so often of immediate and complete Europeanisation, should be here to see for themselves.'

Ousmane Socé Diop has pin-pointed perfectly the growing conflict in the minds of the educated Senegalese at this time and the ever increasing gap between the peoples of the *Quatre Communes* and the *sujets* of the bush.

Furthermore the Senegalese student in Paris was beginning to question the rights of colonialism in general and the honesty of France's assimilationist policy in particular. He was hardly encouraged by the pronouncements of a leading politician during the twenties and thirties like Albert Sarraut who wrote in *La mise en valeur de nos colonies* that the colonies had a threefold purpose of serving France. First the numbers of France's overseas peoples increased her population from 40 million to 100 million, thus giving her a greater manpower than Germany. Secondly they could make a financial contribution to France. Thirdly they could supply her with the raw materials she needed. France's civilising mission, whilst important, was conceived of by Sarraut as a by-product of these functions. (Quoted in L. P. Mair, *Native Policies in Africa.*)

As we have seen, assimilationist professions were rarely matched by the facts. And indeed in other parts of French West Africa education was limited. But in Senegal France made a major effort in education, so that by 1940 there had already been formed a substantial African élite, particularly in comparison to the country's population.

By 1938 18,000 boys and 1,500 girls, taught by 132 European and 337 African teachers were at school; even so, a very low percentage of the population of school age actually attended school. Nevertheless this was considerably higher than that of any other French African territory. Children were educated according to French methods with few concessions made to local factors. The aim was not

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

only to civilise them but to make them aware of 'France's achievements' in Africa. Thus, as Lucy Mair has pointed out, history was taught so as to justify French occupation of West Africa. Several important *lycées* and secondary schools were founded. The *Lycée Faidherbe* and the *Lycée Van Vollenhoven* were to provide the basis of the modern élite whilst the *Ecole Normale William Ponty* educated many of the present leaders of French-speaking Africa. It was this new generation of educated young men, produced in the late twenties and thirties, that was first to question the virtues of an assimilationist policy both on the political and moral plane.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

IV. REFORMS

The aims of France's civilising mission accomplished in the colonies rules out any idea of autonomy, any possibility of evolution outside the French empire bloc; the eventual constitution, however remote, of self-government in the colonies is out of the question. 000

Brazzaville Conference, 1944

THE years that followed the fall of Vichy France were to see great changes in the political structure of French Africa. Senegal itself benefited less from these changes than the other African territories, for the main substance of the changes was to bring the other territories constitutionally in line with her. Though two Senegalese deputies, Maître Lamine Guèye and Léopold Sédar Senghor, were to play a leading role in the shaping of the new constitution of the Fourth Republic for France and her overseas territories, the first initiative for change came from the much more backward colonies of French Equatorial Africa, who, unlike the French authorities in Senegal and French West Africa, had never accepted the Vichy regime. 648

At the conference held in Brazzaville in 1944 on the eve of the fall of the Vichy Government to decide the future role of Tropical Africa in a liberated France, the coloured Governor-General of French Equatorial Africa, Felix Eboué, one of de Gaulle's most loyal supporters, and who enjoyed immense prestige in French Africa, played the leading part. This conference effectively marks the beginning of modern French African politics, though no African politicians, least of all the experienced Senegalese, participated in it. Characteristically the delegates, mainly colonial administrators, were torn between the ideals of assimilation and the more practical virtues of political and administrative decentralisation.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 The conference decided that the political future of the colonies should lie with France and ruled out all ideas of eventual independence. They did, however, insist that the colonies should be represented at the constituent Assembly that would draw up the constitution for the Fourth Republic at the end of the war. But they did not consider that the wider representation of Africans in metropolitan institutions would be as beneficial to the African colonies as the establishment of a Federal Assembly for France and its empire. These two suggestions were in tune with traditional integrationist and assimilationist thought, but in addition the delegates made certain proposals that implied considerable administrative and political decentralisation. They asked that assemblies should be set up for each territory, but on the understanding that they should work in close relation to the proposed Federal Assembly and that if possible the franchise should be as wide as practicable for Africans. They also laid down the principle of the dual college, so that Europeans could have effective representation. The administrators of the 'Republic one and Indivisible' were thereby advocating a considerable degree of administrative decentralisation, which in retrospect can be seen as vital to the subsequent achievement of independence by the various states of French black Africa. It was probably fortunate that the conference was one of administrators and not of politicians for their cogent arguments against the inefficiency of the pre-war, highly centralised empire were accepted eventually as directed towards the achievement of a more efficient working of the empire rather than as an attempt to break it up as they certainly might have been had such criticisms come from African politicians. On the other hand the conference made it explicit that decentralisation did not imply independence. All possibility of autonomy outside the French bloc was excluded.

641 The conference[1] was highly assimilationist in its recom-
648 mendations for individuals particularly as regards political
871 [1] [i.e., Brazzaville Conference, 1944--analyst]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

and juridical rights. The old signs of inequality, the *indigénat* and the hated corvée were to be withdrawn, the latter after a period of five years. Education was to remain exclusively French, though Eboué put in a plea for the recognition of the values of traditional society. The problems of granting French citizenship to Africans without prejudicing their *statut personnel* was to be solved within the framework of the proposed Federal Parliament for France and her overseas territories. Africans would thus have citizenship of this larger Federation rather than of France itself and would not therefore have to give up their *statut personnel*. The new principle was first applied in March 1944. French citizenship was extended to a number of Muslims in Algeria who were allowed to retain their *statut personnel*, on the same terms as the *originaires* of Senegal had been. Finally the conference proposed a large scale development programme for the overseas territories.

In the Constituent Assembly which was to deliberate on the constitution of the Fourth Republic, sixty-four seats were given to overseas deputies, a fair number going to Africans. Two socialists from Senegal, Lamine Guèye and his lieutenant Léopold Sédar Senghor, the first African to become a *professeur agrégé* of the Sorbonne, played a leading role in the debates of the new constitution, attacking remnants of Vichy racialism amongst colonial officials, decrying the ban on freedom of meeting and association, and above all denouncing the corvée and *indigénat*. The first Constituent Assembly of 1945, liberal in outlook, was deeply concerned as to how the Republic could remain one and indivisible and yet accord any degree of autonomy to the overseas territories. This was settled by proposing that the overseas territorial assemblies be thought of as equivalent to the *conseils* of the metropolitan department just as that of Senegal had been. The colonies, instead of forming a federation with France as proposed at the Brazzaville Conference, were to participate in a French Union much more integrationist in character and within

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 the assimilationist tradition. Once again, however, the implication of granting full citizenship to all colonials was
641 not faced, for the *loi Lamine Guèye* which extended citizenship to all French *sujets* without prejudice to their *statut personnel* did not in fact extend the right to vote to all of them. However it achieved much in abolishing the humiliating status of *sujet*. The *indigénat*, forced labour and the law against freedom of meeting and association were abolished. And a large scale development plan for overseas territories was projected. But although those Africans eligible to vote supported the new constitution, it was defeated in metropolitan France and the new Constituent Assembly proved to be much more conservative. A powerful group known as the States-General of Colonisation was formed in France with the object of reducing the effect of the concessions already granted to the overseas territories. It attacked the proposed French Union since its members believed that under it France would become a colony of its own colonies.

The second Constituent Assembly elected after the defeat of the first constitution was much less liberal in its attitude towards colonial affairs and as a result the new constitution it drew up was far from that envisaged by the Brazzaville Conference. The structure of the French Union was in-
C48 tegrationist. It was composed of the French Republic, which included on the one hand metropolitan France, the Overseas Departments and Territories, among them all the territories of French and Equatorial Africa and the associated states and territories, such as the mandated territories of Togo and Cameroons and the Protectorates of Morocco and Tunisia on the other. The President of the French Republic would automatically become President of the French Union. The Assembly of the Union was to draw half its members from metropolitan France and half from the overseas territories. As to the composition of the High Council the concept of the wider French Republic was adopted for the choice of members who would share office with representatives of the associated states. Its

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

powers were limited to consultation on matters affecting the overseas territories. 648

The integrationist character of the new constitution was clear from its preamble: 641 648

France, together with the peoples of its overseas territories, forms a union based on the equality of rights and duties without distinction of race or religion. Faithful to its traditional mission France intends to lead the people she has taken into her charge towards freedom to administer themselves and to regulate their own affairs democratically, ruling out all methods of colonisation founded on arbitrary acts; she guarantees to all equal access to the public service as well as the individual and collective exercise of rights and liberties confirmed heretofore.

Under the new constitution French citizenship was extended on 7 May 1946 to all French colonial subjects; but in practice the franchise was limited to those whose political education was considered sufficient (e.g. ex-servicemen, civil servants, and the literate or wealthy, etc.), so that of all France's vast overseas population only 1½ million were given the vote. But a number of liberal features were retained. General Councils were established for each territory, though with dual colleges for all but Senegal so that European representation could be secured. Separate rolls were used for election to the Senate and the Assembly of the French Union though a single roll was used for the National Assembly. A Grand Council was established for the eight territories of French West Africa, with members elected by the individual General Councils whose powers were purely advisory and thus no greater than those of the old Senegalese General Council. The constitutional position of Senegal itself was consequently little changed, except that there was no longer a major distinction between *sujet* and citizen. It still remained an integral part of the French Republic. The French Parliament, to which it sent two deputies, still had the final say on all questions of public liberty, and political and administrative organisation. The new General Council replaced the old Colonial [646] [646]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

[648] [641] [646] Council in Senegal but differed little in competence. The only concession made to Senegal and not to the other territories, and this undoubtedly being influenced by its political history, was the retention of a single college electorate as against the dual colleges prescribed for all other territories. The French penal code was made generally [671] applicable for Senegal. In January 1946 the three *communes de pleine exercice* (Gorée had by then been incorporated in [633] Dakar) were given full municipal status as equivalent French towns. Finally and most important, forced labour was [466] legally abolished; but it survived in covert forms for several years to come. In Senegal, Senghor received the full credit for this measure from his peasant electorate and has been drawing political dividends from it ever since.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

V. AFRICAN REACTION AGAINST ASSIMILATION

I admit that as Negro students in the years 1930–4 we were only an obstruction. I admit that we were racialist; we were intoxicated by the banner of Negritude. At that time no intercourse was possible with Europeans. But since then, because this racialism betrayed our African-Negro humanism, because it led to deadlock by imposing cold war between races and continents, between man and man, we decided upon reflection to make an extra effort. Today we have accomplished this—the results of European decolonisation have contributed to it—we have left behind us the period of denial to embark with you upon the period of construction.

LÉOPOLD SÉDAR SENGHOR

THE 1946 constitution as far as Senegal and the other more advanced territories of French Africa were concerned really fell between two stools. In so far as it was assimilationist, it was not sufficiently so. If France were ever to establish her Franco-African republic it had to be on the basis of the equality implicit in assimilation. And this equality was denied at many turns. In so far as it permitted decentralisation in the form of territorial and federal assemblies, it was to encourage the growth of nationalist and regional politics. In Senegal, where the changes made were of relatively little importance, the failure to put into practice a fully assimilationist policy was to be one of the predominant influences behind the reaction against assimilation that was the distinguishing feature of the next decade of Senegalese politics.

Overseas leaders had been particularly disillusioned with French honesty in the application of the Overseas Labour Code. This code was drawn up at the Brazzaville Conference and promised amongst other things equal pay for equal work,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

a forty hour week, a minimum wage, the development of trade unions and the institution of a labour inspectorate. However the second Constituent Assembly procrastinated in according these economic rights to its overseas citizens and was dissolved before it could bring them into force. It was only in 1952 that the overseas deputies were able to force this measure through.

One of the reasons for the break-up of the old *S.F.I.O.* in 1948, which may be taken as symbolic of the reaction against assimilation, was the attitude of the parent party in France to social legislation for the overseas territories. The *S.F.I.O.* had voted against equal pensions for African and metropolitan French veterans; it had voted against the introduction of the French social security system for the overseas departments, and it had abstained on a motion to abolish the dual college system. But more important was the desire of the newly enfranchised 'bush' peasants for greater participation in the direction of party policy. Hitherto the party, closely linked with the parent body in France, had been tightly ruled by Lamine Guèye from Dakar. At the 1947 Congress of the party a group of members led by Senghor demanded a greater voice in party councils. The people of the bush, so long denied the rights accorded to the privileged of the *Quatre Communes*, once enfranchised showed their resentment against both those who exercised these rights and those who granted them. In the following year Senghor, backed not only by the intellectuals but by the vast majority of the bush, founded the *Bloc Democratique Sénégalais* (*B.D.S.*) declaring that 'Assimilation is an illusion in a world whose people have become aware of their own personality'. He attacked the *S.F.I.O.* for its close ties with France and its failure to take an independent line on African matters. So just as Lamine Guèye has been described as the representative of the era of assimilation, so Senghor can be dubbed the representative of reaction to this policy.

This reaction was at first not part of a concerted

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

movement, though by the late fifties it amounted to a definite revolt against the basic assumption of an assimilationist policy that there was nothing of worth in African culture and that the greatest benefit France could bring to Africans was to make them French. It was hardly surprising that those to whom this policy had been most heavily applied should be the first to react. Thus in political and cultural affairs the Senegalese were in the vanguard of the campaign for the recognition of the African personality, or in French African terms *la négritude*. This new movement showed itself in many fields. In politics it was to manifest itself in a rupture with the metropolitan French parties, and the assertion of the necessity of the incorporation of traditional African values into European-type political systems. On the human plane it insisted on the dignity of the African, the originality of his personality and his contribution to the achievement of the human race. In the cultural field it implied a return to the values of African art, which educated Africans until recently had themselves tended to reject. As regards history, it denied the common European allegation that Africans had no history and asserted that Africans had in fact made a far greater contribution to world history than was revealed in text books. Finally it was to produce a picture of a suffering Africa, exploited and abused by the white man, awakening slowly to a glorious day of freedom.

The policy of Senghor's new party, which was not allied to any metropolitan party, was characteristic of this revolt. Its declared aim was to promote a new form of African socialism, related to the realities of the African situation. Accordingly the party was to be organised to correspond with the socio-ethnic structure of the country. It demanded a greatly increased autonomy for Senegal and other African countries, and whilst not demanding independence, a word that did not touch the public lips of any major French African politician for another ten years, it advocated a federal relationship between France and her overseas territories.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648
668 This move was the more surprising since Senghor was and is one of the most highly assimilated of French Africans. He was the first African to gain his *agrégation*. He was effectively the grammarian of the constitution of the Fourth Republic, and whenever there was a dispute as to the interpretation of the constitution in the National Assembly it was as often as not the second deputy of Senegal to whom the President of the Assembly referred for advice. As a member of a rich family of merchants from Joal, a town which though not [633] privileged like the *Quatre Communes*, had long-standing connexions with Europe, he had been able to pursue his education in France and became a professor there. He was well known in literary circles as a writer and poet. Indeed as those who have wished to malign him have since asserted, he seemed almost more French than the French. But, and it is an important but, his return to his African past, his sudden resentment of his own Frenchness and his search for virtue in the African personality was the result of his sudden realisation of the extent of his assimilation by France, though he himself has said that he assimilated, and was not assimilated. Perhaps his dilemma is best illuminated by the experience of Aimé Césaire, the High Priest of *négritude*, who as Senghor is always the first to admit, was his real source of inspiration for this return to the past. The story goes that Césaire, a West Indian living for long in Paris, and already distinguished as a man of letters, was travelling in a train, when he found himself sitting next to a black marine. His first racial reaction was that of a white man. This horrified him so much that he returned to his native West Indies to 'rediscover' himself, and wrote a series of poems, that have become as it were the hymns of *négritude*. Senghor subsequently became the fulcrum of the new movement to assert the uniqueness and value of the Negro personality. Ulli Beier, reviewing Senghor's poetry, has written: 'Senghor is not merely a Frenchified African who tries to give exotic interest to his French poems; he is an African who uses the French language to express his African soul.'

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Those who have not come under the influence of a strong assimilation policy have never had to assert their essential *négritude*. Thus the English-speaking African, whose culture and traditional political organisation was largely left intact by the British administration, was rarely concerned about his identity as an African and until very recently this problem has been of little concern for the Nigerian or Ghanaian. It has never occurred to him to doubt his *négritude*. There are of course a number of examples of what may be called assertion of the African personality in the English-speaking territories, but the cult of *négritude* never caught on in them as it did in Senegal and the other French territories. 648 668

Thus it was that the very Africans who had achieved the greatest distinction within the French cultural framework were to be the first to champion a return to the African past in search of their own essential personality. Thus it was that for long Paris became the cultural capital of Africa, for there the books and magazines were published in which they could tell the public of their new ideas. Whilst in the late forties and early fifties the British West African *évolué* was more concerned with the achievement of political independence from Britain, the French African *évolué* was more concerned with his cultural emancipation. Senghor's formation of a new political party is more interesting for the emphasis it lays on its reassertion of African values than for any proposed political rupture with France. [665]

The reaction against assimilation, as P. Mercier has pointed out in *Elites Sénégalaises*, came essentially from the new educated generation. 668

It is the elite that has given expression to this desire for a return to the fountain head . . . From an acceptance of assimilation characteristic of the preceding generation opinion turned first to less sharply defined positions—typified by the slogan 'assimilate, don't be assimilated'—and then the attitudes of refusal, the details of which are still not very clear. Such attitudes accompany a lush ideological growth, to which only a very brief reference can be [571]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 against the society (which he has so brilliantly elucidated)—where do I stand in relation to that culture?'

Alioune Diop declared:

> Assimilation corresponds to a type of human relationship imposed by colonisation. It demands that the individual (for it affects only individuals) tear himself from his natural context and he who cannot assert his own personality must replace his habits of thinking, feeling and acting by others which he would only share with a foreign community.

By the time of this congress the Senegalese, as well as other Africans, had examined pretty thoroughly the whole question of French assimilation. For instance, A. Wade, a Senegalese, in a paper entitled 'Must Africa evolve a positive law?', protested against the use in his country of a [671] foreign legal system evolved in a different social context and which could not meet all the requirements of traditional society. He called for a new legal system which would be in effect a synthesis of African customary law and French law. In another article he called for a reform of teaching methods in Africa in the light of local conditions. There were few stones this anti-assimilationist élite left unturned [591] in their efforts to re-establish the values of the African past. They presented a dramatic contrast with the élite of the pre-war generation who, like the young men in Ousmane Socé Diop's *Karim*, so readily accepted the virtues of Western ways.

668 Amongst this group were a number who fell back not on 648 the values of the African past so much as Marxist theories in their attacks on colonialism and assimilationist policy. Principal amongst this group was Majhemout Diop, leader of the pro-Communist *Parti Africain de l'Indépendence*. [665] In issue No. 14 of *Présence Africaine* he attacked colonialism bitterly:

> There is no possible ambiguity; colonisation equals capitalistic enterprise. Any other explanation is invalid, is deceitful, a myth, a myth of civilisation and of co-operation.
>
> A coloniser cannot be humanitarian . . . that would be the

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

most irreducible of paradoxes. Colonisation is always measured in terms of gain for the coloniser. 668 648

Between colonialist and colonial there is room only for forced labour, intimidation, pressure, police, theft, rape, obligatory farming, scorn, mistrust, arrogance, self-conceit, deceit, suppressed élites and debased masses.

No human relationship but a relationship based on domination and submission which transform the coloniser into a pawn, an adjutant, a warder, a flogger and the native into an instrument of production.

The resentment of assimilation is the same. But the interpretation is a Marxist one and the remedies subsequently offered by Majhemout Diop were non-African in origin. His *Contribution to the Study of Political Problems in Black Africa* is almost entirely Marxist in inspiration and the source matter, abundantly evident from the footnotes, is the work of Stalin, Lenin, Engels and Marx, none of whom had any first-hand knowledge of economic conditions in Africa. Another Senegalese, of very distinguished academic reputation, who uses Marxist techniques in his studies of African problems, is Ly Abdoulaye, an economic historian who nevertheless is much more inclined to take into account African circumstances in the application of Marxist theories. Indeed Ly is at great pains to avoid Marxist terminology even when employing Marxist ideas. There are in fact few Senegalese intellectuals who are not in some sense Marxist socialists. But more especially they are devotees of what they call African socialism. [814]

In the search for identity that followed the application of assimilationist policy, the first tendency was to rehabilitate African culture. Naturally political rehabilitation was one of the most important goals for politicians like Senghor. But when he broke with the *S.F.I.O.* in 1948, he gave as one of his reasons that French socialism, like Communism, after all, 'did not understand our problems, and wanted to solve them with a plan devised by and for Europe'. His proposed alternative of 'African socialism' was at the time. 668 [665]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

in this sense, it had to be agreed by everyone and the discussion would not end until agreement was reached. Thus in the modern African society there would be real justification for a one-party state, for in theory no one could be against the Government, since by adopting traditional African methods, all would be agreed to any given course of action. Furthermore Africans already had their own built-in socialism. In the village no one could go hungry. And by an elaborate set of social laws and customs he who had invariably ended by sharing his possessions with those who had not. Above all, Africans could bring to the world this harmony of traditional African society where agreement was reached by all on every political decision, and where a voluntary socialism was already practised—what Senghor described as 'la sagesse africaine'. If Africa had something to bring to the modern world, it was this special political experience.

Despite this intense reaction to France's assimilationist policy by the Senegalese élite, for long no one openly voiced the logical conclusion of such attacks—the demand for total independence. Up until 1958 the most extreme official demand was for a federal constitution in which the African territories could develop along their own lines and have equal political rights with France. But in France, African students were impatient of constitutional niceties which seemed to them to avoid the one and only issue—that of putting an end to colonialism. In 1952 *Présence Africaine* published a special supplement in which African students, mostly Senegalese, made themselves more than clear on this issue. And whilst it is true that students tend to be much more extreme in their political attitudes than those actually exercising power, amongst the writers in this special supplement were some who were to have considerable influence on the political situation in Senegal as representatives of the young anti-colonialist generation, such as Assane Seck and Majhemout Diop. The latter in his call for immediate, unequivocal and absolute independence was in fact not

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648
668

representative of the main stream of student feeling. Rather it was summed up by Kader Fall in his article 'The Problem of the Elite in Black Africa' in which he concluded: 'The African people, after centuries of colonisation, has a right to demand that its more intelligent members should participate at his side and together in the elaboration of a new world which will see the end of colonial servitude.'

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

VI. TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE

The choice of the Senegalese people is independence; they want it to take place only in friendship with France, not in dispute.

Léopold Sédar Senghor (September 1958)

It was not until 1951 that Senghor was able to test the strength of his new party at the elections for the French National Assembly in which it gained both seats with 213,000 votes to the *S.F.I.O.*'s 90,000. His success was proved the next year when he won forty-one out of the fifty seats in the *Conseil-General* under the new and greatly enlarged franchise. His vote came overwhelmingly from the 'bush', since Lamine Guèye still retained strong support in Dakar and St. Louis. The party ticket was a popular one: accusing the French Administration of supporting socialists in the towns and chiefs in the bush.

From a theoretical standpoint as we have seen the *B.D.S.* fitted into the new anti-assimilationist trend in Senegal. It represented the 'unsophisticated' bush against the Gallicised *citoyens* of the *Quatre Communes*. It demanded a return to African values and had an essentially African-style organisation in the bush. But few real differences showed themselves on the platforms adopted by the two parties at the elections.

In the French National Assembly Senghor had joined forces with a number of other deputies from African territories who like himself did not wish to link themselves with one of the metropolitan parties. This group was known as the *Indépendents d'Outre Mer*. As a result of the elections the *I.O.M.* gained thirteen seats, enough to form a recognised group in the National Assembly. However they were never able to mould themselves into a united federal party on the lines of the *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain* (*R.D.A.*)

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648
665

which had been founded by M. Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast in 1946 and which had branches in all African territories. This party had been closely aligned with the Communists from which it adopted many ideas including its cellular structure, but it was temporarily suppressed by French administrative action because of its extreme and violent tactics, especially in the Ivory Coast. It had however by 1952 broken with the Communists, but in its weakened state it might have found it difficult to rival a well organised *I.O.M.* which was more than just a group of individuals with like ideas. However at their conference at Bobo Dioulasso the *I.O.M.* failed once more to form the necessary federal organisation to compete with either the *R.D.A.* or *S.F.I.O.* as a Pan-African party. Nevertheless the *I.O.M.* were able to play an increasingly important role in the National Assembly in the formation of delicate French government coalitions and were often able to extract as the price of their support concrete returns in the form of aid.

In Senegal the political scene remained calm until the 1956 elections to the National Assembly when the *B.D.S.* came out with what by French African standards was a nationalist programme. As Kenneth Robinson remarks in his admirable study of this and the 1957 elections to the territorial assembly in *Five Elections in Africa*, 'among politically conscious West Africans there has undoubtedly been for several years increasing nationalist feeling, a mood more and more outspokenly hostile to colonial rule, less and less interested in the refinements of juridical forms, more impatient of reformist schemes, and more and more determined that Africans must be masters in their own house'. Thus the *B.D.S.* put strong emphasis on autonomy within a federal association with France. The *B.D.S.* won both seats, with the socialists still strong in the *Quatre Communes*. But on the federal West African level, the *I.O.M.* had done badly and Houphouët Boigny's *R.D.A.*, now purged of its connexions with Communism, a purge

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

that involved the breaking-away of a number of small sections in various territories, emerged as West Africa's leading party with nine seats, and joined the Guy Mollet Government. Under this Government the famous *loi cadre* was passed establishing for each of the black African territories a wholly elected assembly, based on universal adult suffrage. An executive, that could be drawn from within or without the assembly, was established. Although the territorial Governor presided over it, it was effectively guided by the Vice-President or Prime Minister. Separate rolls for Europeans were abolished. Thus in one fell swoop all African territories were given the elements of responsible democratic government. Certainly their powers were restricted since a large number of subjects were reserved to the Federation, still run by the French High Commissioner, and checked only by the *Grand Conseil*. The *loi cadre*, whilst it did not envisage independence, and still saw the future of the African territories as within the structure of the French body politic, did in effect set these territories on the road to independence. Senghor, an ardent critic of the *loi cadre*, declared: 'The peoples of Africa do not intend to cut themselves off from metropolitan France; they want to be able to construct, side by side with her, their own buildings which will consolidate and extend French territory.'

The *loi cadre*, whilst it made large concessions to African demands for autonomy, was in fact designed to avoid demands for independence. The new French Government had been influenced to this end by France's unfortunate experiences in other parts of her empire as well as the political progress of the Gold Coast. Furthermore she wished to anticipate moves by the Gold Coast to absorb that part of the former German Togo which she administered and therefore accorded it a limited form of internal autonomy. It was inevitable that having granted this concession to Togo she would eventually have to make it to neighbouring French African territories as well. Whilst considerable

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 powers were devolved on the individual territories, it is clear that a desire to avoid any ultimate break-up of the French Union was one of the main factors behind the emasculation of the federal executive. French West Africa as a federation might soon be demanding independence; eight small territories on their own would find it a more daunting prospect.

Senghor attacked France vigorously for what he called the balkanising of French Africa by devolving powers on individual territories and at the same time making no provision for an executive at the federal level. The *Grand* [646] *Conseil* retained only its limited legislative powers. Executive action for the federation was still undertaken by the High Commissioner, representing the Republic. By thus turning politics towards the individual territories, France was 'balkanising' the federation, following the classic pattern of dividing in order to rule. Bitterly, he accused the French of offering Africa 'sucettes et bonbons'. It may seem odd that the role of defending the federation should have [665] fallen on Senghor, who had already failed to convert the *I.O.M.* from an association of deputies into a Pan West African political party. But though the R.D.A. was officially a Pan-African party, its leader came from the rich Ivory Coast, and disliked intensely the ideas of sharing his country's wealth with his many poorer neighbours. He was instrumental in securing the form of *loi cadre* that avoided the creation of a supra-government. On the other hand it might be argued that it was in Senegal's interest to ensure that the federation did not break up, since one of [633] Dakar's *raisons d'être* was as a federal capital. But Senghor argued cogently that only with a strong West Africa, containing twenty million people, could Africans participate with any sense of political equality and weight of personality with France in the proposed Franco-African Community. 'Within the framework of a French federal republic, a French West Africa of 20 million inhabitants can, side by side with the metropolis, form a stable element and develop its own personality!

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

develop its own personality.' The *S.F.I.O.'* parties of Africa met in Conakry to found a new socialist party entirely African in basis, called the *Mouvement Socialiste Africain.* Thus after over twenty years Lamine Guèye officially broke one of Senegal's closest links with France. At the same time Senghor called a congress of his allies in other territories from the *I.O.M.* and formed a federal party called the *Convention Africaine.* There were thus three new major African parties, with sections in most of the eight territories of West Africa and some in *A.E.F.*, each preaching African unity. But the federal executive, the very structure through which this could be maintained, was missing. 648 665

At the *loi cadre* elections that took place at the end of March 1957, the *R.D.A.*, the most thoroughly organised on the ground, proved the strongest party of the three and in West Africa and gained overwhelming majorities in Soudan, Guinea and Ivory Coast, dominated the coalition in Upper Volta and provided the opposition in Niger and Dahomey. But the party, as was soon proved at the long delayed Bamako Conference of September 1957, was far from united. Its main difference was over the problem of the federal executive. Its President, Félix Houphouët-Boigny of Ivory Coast had, as a Minister in the French Government, been one of the principal architects of the *loi cadre* and was opposed to the creation of a federal executive. The *R.D.A.*'s very dynamic Vice-President, Sékou Touré of Guinea, formed in the tough school of trade unionism, however championed the creation of a federal executive, and in this respect he was closer to Senghor than to his own party chief. At the Bamako Conference Sékou Touré persuaded the party to adopt it as a prime objective. [666]

Meanwhile in Senegal, ever the source of new things, was born the first African party with the avowed object of independence, the *P.A.I.* (*Parti Africain de l'Indépendence*) led by Majhemout Diop, who had strong Communist sympathies. Till then the word independence had been [668]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 studiously avoided not only by Senegalese but by nearly
665 all leading French African politicians. The official formula
[668] was the creation of a Franco-African community, in which Africans would have fully autonomous states (or federations if Senghor and Sékou Touré had their way) and matters like defence and foreign affairs would be shared between France and the other member states. As far as the Senegalese were concerned their long attachment to France, despite their reaction against assimilationism, made it difficult to countenance the idea of complete separation. As Senghor always put it, 'fédérer n'est pas séparer.' Furthermore
[651] French aid to West Africa in general and Senegal in particular had been enormous.

The Senegalese thesis on federation made headway in the early months of 1958. After several meetings between the major African parties, the *Convention Africain* and the *M.S.A.* met in Dakar in March and formed the new *Parti du Regroupement Africain*, with the aim of obtaining Federations of French West and French Equatorial Africa, which in turn would be federated with France in the proposed Franco-African community. On 5 April 1958 the *P.R.A.* members of the *Grand Conseil*, plus the *R.D.A.* members, voted in favour of the creation of a federal executive; the only Ivory Coast delegate abstained.

Despite bitterness over the question of the federal
[668] executive, there was still little open talk about independence except by the *P.A.I.* and this despite the example of Ghana. This situation was to be abruptly changed by the *putsch* of the military in Algiers on 13 May.

648 In presenting his new constitution for the Fifth Republic to the French people, de Gaulle made it a straight choice of Yes or No. As far as the French were concerned this was a reasonable choice. Acceptance or rejection. Once rejected, there was the possibility of trying again as they had done in 1946. But as far as the overseas territories were concerned, they were given no alternative. They either accepted the constitution, whose details we shall examine

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

shortly, or rejected it and took what de Gaulle described as independence with all its consequences. Under the constitution France and her overseas territories were to form a Franco-African Community in which each territory would become an autonomous republic, but would pool certain matters such as defence, foreign affairs, currency and higher education in the Executive Council of the Community. Thus once again we have the traditional French dilemma over assimilation, this time in its most acute form. Once again we have the paradox of an authoritarian regime introducing liberal reforms. On the one hand de Gaulle's Franco-African Community satisfied assimilationist theory by creating a supreme institution, the Senate of the Community, and a supreme executive, the Council of the Community, in which France and Africa would participate on roughly equal terms, whilst on the other hand he conceded a great degree of autonomy to all the overseas territories. Furthermore de Gaulle offered, albeit with little grace, independence to any territory that cared to take it—an offer that had hitherto never been considered by French politicians. This actually tied in with a growing resentment in France against the cost of the colonies. From 1946-1958 France had spent in the form of aids and subsidies over £400 million in French West Africa alone. Much of this money was spent on lavish schemes often of dubious economic worth. In France many people, particularly after a series of articles in *Paris-Match* by Raymond Cartier, began to question the worth of colonies which cost so much and whose leaders seemed to them so ungrateful for all they received. This attitude received the nickname of *Cartierisme*.

Judging by earlier statements of both Senegalese and other African politicians the *loi cadre* might well seem to have been a liberal solution to the problem of small poor countries economically and culturally linked to France. But already Ghana had gained her independence, and Nigeria was scheduled for it in 1960. In Senegal resentment against the nature of the *loi cadre* and the large number of students

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 returning from France imbued with anti-colonialist ideas
668 made the issue of independence a burning one. Yet the difficulty of making a complete break with her cultural parents was made clear by Joseph Ma Thiam, a member of F.E.A.N.F. (Federation of Students from French Black Africa) who wrote: 'We are not anti-French, that would be ridiculous and impossible. We are simply Africans and we want not minor reforms, called *loi-cadre* or Community, but a revolution of which the necessary outcome will be independence, as this is conceived of and put into practice in the twentieth century.'

For the Senegalese leaders, as indeed for other African leaders, the choice was a difficult one. The idea of sudden rupture with France, which de Gaulle's choice implied, was not only economically terrifying, but rather like the impending break-up of a family. So many of the leaders had lived so much of their lives in Paris that the prospect of such imminent separation was difficult to contemplate. It
665 is against this background that the conference of the *P.R.A.*
668 at Cotonou from 25-27 July 1958 must be seen. Here dele-
648 gates met to consider the situation created by the projected new constitution. At that stage the terms of the constitution were not clearly known, though it was general knowledge that they would not be favourable to the idea of total independence. At the conference delegates were carried away by demands for independence and voted for 'Immediate independence; the creation of a solid and progressive African Community; and negotiation with France for the creation of a multi-national confederation of free and equal peoples.' The last two items were in accord with current Senegalese feeling that federation was the only way to secure equality of the African personality in a Franco-African Community. But the morrow of the conference saw a number of delegates reflecting on the demand for immediate independence. The rupture seemed too abrupt and, as Mamadou Dia pointed out, they did not even know the terms of the new constitution. He expressed doubts on

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

the ability of Senegal to accede immediately to independence. In certain territories, particularly in Senegal and Dahomey, pressure was brought to bear by France on the delegates against taking so drastic a step, so that the *P.R.A.* withdrew from its earlier stand and said that effectively the decision over the constitution would be left to each territorial section. In August the burning question for both the *P.R.A.* and *R.D.A.* was answered by General de Gaulle on his tour of Africa prior to the referendum in September. The right of independence would be inscribed in the constitution. But, he later added ominously, those who voted No to his constitution now would take all the consequences. For all states so economically dependent on France this was a considerable threat. Thus few leaders did in fact campaign against the constitution. In Guinea, Sékou Touré with a superb party organisation, managed to obtain a 97 per cent vote against the constitution and took independence with all its consequences, which involved the French destroying all their files and even taking away the telephones! In Niger the Premier, Djibo Bakary failed to carry his campaign against the constitution, and was forced reluctantly to resign, and after the subsequent election which was won by his *R.D.A.* opponents, to flee the country. In this matter it was said, the French who suspected Djibo Bakary of extreme left-wing sympathies were determined not to have 'a hole in the desert'.

In Senegal the situation was confused. Not until the last minute did the *P.R.A.* come out definitely in favour of the constitution. De Gaulle received a hostile reception on his visit to Dakar. Three radical members of the *P.R.A.* Ly Abdoulaye, Assane Seck and Amadou M. M'Bow declared they would vote No, whatever the rest of the Party decided. On 11 December the *P.R.A.* section of the Senegal party decided to vote Yes. The three members who had declared they would vote No resigned, formed a new party confusingly called *P.R.A.-Sénégal* and joined with the *P.A.I.* and campaigned against de Gaulle. Once the decision of the

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 majority party had been made, however, there was little
668 doubt as to the outcome of the Referendum. But the seeds
[665] of independence had been sown.

Almost immediately after the Referendum the planners got down to work seeking to create the federal executive that had escaped them under the *ancien régime*. Guinea meanwhile had become independent and there was a certain satisfaction amongst those who voted Yes at the difficulties so abrupt a break with France entailed. Alas, as was later realised, Guinea independent and the rest still within the Community, meant the first crack in the old federation. On 29 December delegates from Senegal, Soudan, Upper Volta and Dahomey, together with observers from Mauretania, met to consider the possibility of creating a new federation.

On 17 January 1959 a federal constitution was promulgated with the accord of all four governmental delegations, and the new Mali came into being. However pressures from France and from Houphouët-Boigny, who still bitterly opposed any form of federation, soon forced Upper Volta and Dahomey to withdraw, reducing Mali to two member states: Senegal and Soudan.

648 The new federation was short lived. In Soudan there had
665 been almost unanimous support for the federation, but in Senegal a number of religious chiefs, in association with Ibrahim Seydou N'Daw, formerly President of the Senegalese Assembly, and an important member of the governing *U.P.S.* party, formed the Senegalese Solidarity Party and together with the two left-wing parties, the *Parti Africain de l'Indépendence* and the *P.R.A.*—Senegal campaigned
[666] against the proposed federation. At the polls the Government won a resounding victory.

Thus in both Senegal and Soudan the leaders who had chosen the path of federation won triumphant approval, though as Mamadou Dia admits somewhat ruefully, the people followed their leaders blindly on this question. It is essential here to note that the two countries were

5: Crowder J.5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

governed by different parties, and in each territory that party held all the parliamentary seats. In any election to the Federal Assembly, which was by nomination of each territorial house of an equal number of seats, there could well be deadlock. However on 24 March 1959 Soudanese and Senegalese met in Dakar to form the new African Federalist Party, to which delegates from Niger and Dahomey came. The new party was formed, then, from the *R.D.A.* of Soudan, the *U.P.S.* which was the official Senegal Section of P.R.A., which in effect contained both *M.S.A.* and *Convention Africaine* as well as the small Senegal *R.D.A.* the Niger *P.R.A.* (in effect *M.S.A.*) and the Dahomey *P.R.A.* Thus, with the exception of the small *P.R.A.-Sénégal* and the small *P.A.I.*, Mali had only one effective party. This detailed composition shows that the Mali Federation could not then be called a one-party state. Indeed the local politicians described their party as a 'unified party', which admitted opposition outside the party as well as within.

From the start the Mali Federation ran into difficulties with France, which initially refused to recognise her existence. Thus Modibo Keita did not attend the first three meetings of the executive council of the Community because of this failure to recognise the State of which he was head. However de Gaulle soon realised that Mali was there to stay and gave her recognition and Modibo Keita attended the fourth meeting of the Community Executive at Tananarive in Madagascar. It was not long before the leaders of Mali decided to take advantage of the clause in the constitution which apparently allowed members of the Community to become independent and yet remain members. For long the French Government would not commit itself to granting independence, and only when the question was raised at the sixth meeting of the Community Executive at St. Louis in Senegal on 13 December did de Gaulle give it his blessing. But there followed long and protracted negotiations over the terms of independence,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

C48 the main drawback for Mali being the concessions she had to make over the military base at St. Louis. Far from cutting [651] Mali off without a penny as she had Guinea, France promised to continue her aid. Mali's decision to take independence marked the beginning of the end of the Franco-African Community, and indeed of France's political assimilation of her African states.

This done, the Mali Federation was all set for independence. But there were internal hurdles to overcome. Mali may well have been ruled by a unified party, but there were definite differences between Soudanese and Senegalese. Soudan was the larger, more populous territory, but the poorer. It was much more left wing and politically was run very much more strictly than Senegal. The party controlled everything. To appreciate this one must remem- [665] ber that the *R.D.A.* was initially allied to the Communists and had adopted their cell technique for its own party organisation. This system of administration proved most effective and explains why Sékou Touré was able to keep so firm a hold on Guinea after the French had gone. Senegal, however, after three centuries of contact with the French, was much more affected by French ideas of liberty [641] and certainly found this rather ruthless element in its Soudanese partner disturbing. For instance at the constitutional conference preceding independence the Soudanese demanded that a unitary state be created, and that the excess burden of two territorial governments be removed. They also wanted a president with strong powers like those enjoyed by de Gaulle. The Senegalese, who saw many dangers to themselves in such a constitution protested successfully on the moral grounds that it would prevent other states from joining Mali—which was after all the federation's main *raison d'être*. The Senegalese won the day after bitter wrangling. Of course, though Senegal as the richer partner effectively subsidised the federation, she had her own interests in maintaining it since Soudan exported [439] its ground-nuts along the railway from Bamako to Dakar.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648
[439]

Certain left-wing elements in Soudan had already insinuated that if the Senegalese made trouble, they could easily build a railway line from Bamako to Kankan, the railhead in Guinea, or send their ground-nuts down the road to Bobo Dioulasso and thence by rail to Abidjan. If no Eastern bloc power were forthcoming to help them to do this, they said they could always do it by communal effort.

Despite these differences, independence was achieved on 20 June 1960. On the surface all seemed well. But there was in fact considerable tension and only two months after independence the federation broke up. Matters came to a head when Modibo Keita tried to remove Mamadou Dia, the Vice President, from his post as Minister of Federal Security and Armed Forces, a post the Senegalese felt it was necessary to hold as a guarantee for their participation in the federation. Modibo also tried to call out the army to assert his authority as President. Meanwhile, unknown to the Soudanese, Senghor and the Senegalese ministers had decided that the federation was unworkable in the circumstances and on the morning of 20 June, Modibo Keita and the other Soudanese ministers found themselves under house arrest and the whole of Dakar under the control of the *gendarmerie* and armed supporters of Senghor who had been brought in from the bush. The same day they were packed off by rail and air to Bamako. The details of the break-up need not concern us here. The reasons for it are confused. Each partner in the federation has its own version of the story. The contemporary vocabulary of political abuse has been used to the full by both partners ever since. What is important are not the machinations of one side against the other, but the fundamental defects in the federation. First of all the two states found it almost impossible to co-operate within the framework of an ill and hastily devised constitution. Second it was unfortunately a federation of only two states, meaning that with unbalance of population—Soudan was larger in size and population, but much poorer and

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 more backward in every way—one could try and dominate the other. Indeed Senegal felt she was subsidising Soudan whilst that territory, it was believed, was taking all the plum jobs. Third, in such a federation it was not surprising that there should be a clash of personalities between the two regional leaders, Senghor and Modibo Keita. They proved quite incompatible, each representing entirely different political traditions. And though nominally they now belonged to the same political party the *P.F.A.*, in fact they had entirely different outlooks. Modibo Keita represented a country of considerable poverty, with a very small educated élite, where ministers worked in the fields for three weeks each year. The population undertook voluntary labour on government projects. Altogether it was a puritan, left-wing regime anxious to lift its peoples out of their age-long poverty, intolerant of opposition and very ascetic in its approach to life.

The Senegalese were almost entirely opposite in every [665] way. Politically the *U.P.S.* was much more liberal, flanked on either side by extreme right-wing and extreme left-wing opposition parties. Indeed the *U.P.S.* itself was an amalgamation of two parties. Senegal by comparison, was much richer, the population less interested in the type of ascetic left-wing politics practised in Mali. But above all the conflict between the two came from their widely different political histories. Senegal had nearly 150 years' experience of European-style politics, Soudan barely fourteen. The conflict between the sophisticated communes and the neglected bush that had been instrumental in Senghor's foundation of the *B.P.S.* in 1948, seemed to be repeating itself in a new form. The Soudanese found it difficult to co-operate with their sophisticated neighbours who seemed to take politics and indeed life far less seriously than they did, who seemed too identified with France as a result of long contact and the latter's policy of assimilation. This conflict seemed to be embodied in the personalities of their two leaders. Senghor, poet, philosopher, political

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

theoretician, *agregé-ès-grammaire* from the Sorbonne, at home in any *salon* in Paris; from a middle class commercial family in long contact with Europe, seemed to sum up Senegal on the one hand; whilst Modibo Keita was an aristocrat—tracing his ancestry to the emperors of the great kingdom of Mali, a simple school teacher, with few intellectual pretensions. And so these two countries, so alike to the casual observer, were unable to co-operate, mainly for reasons of history. 648

The night before Senghor despatched the Mali ministers to Bamako, the Senegalese Assembly in an emergency session had declared Senegal an independent nation which subsequently applied for membership of the United Nations. Soudan, which now called itself the Mali Republic, left the Franco-African Community; Senegal decided to remain as an independent member. This was, however, very much a token gesture, for all members of the Community had now either taken independence or announced their intention of doing so. Several had left it altogether. Consequently it could no longer claim to be the Franco-African Community originally conceived by de Gaulle, and became instead a rather casual commonwealth. [646]

As an independent nation Senegal chose to retain close ties with France. Indeed her politicians and her whole social structure had been profoundly influenced by her long contact with that country, so that any radical rupture in relations such as Guinea had experienced and the Mali Republic at one stage appeared to contemplate, would have been quite out of character. The next three chapters will try to describe first what sort of society has evolved through this long contact and second what the Senegalese hope to do within their independence.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

though few picked up their bags and left 'in disgust at the new order of things'. Of course in certain uninformed quarters there was the inevitable short-lived panic about what independence would mean for the French community, and even today, despite reassurances from the Government, certain sectors remain oversensitive to each move or speech made by a Minister. For many Frenchmen their stay in Senegal is not longer than five years, and as a result there is a higher proportion of bachelors than one would normally expect in a community that had intentions of making the country its permanent home. This proportion is largely accounted for by the presence of a French army base.

On the other hand the Dakar European population has none of the temporary character of the English communities in West Africa. Far from living in reservations outside the city, as is still the case with the European population of Lagos, they have moved into the centre of the town and made it a small corner of Europe, and the more the French population has increased the more it has tended to create a metropolitan life for itself in Africa. The range of European-style shops, the number of restaurants, night-clubs, and women's hairdressers shows that although the Dakar Frenchman may have no intention of settling in the city for good, he is determined to live his life in the maximum comfort during his stay. There is relatively little of the attitude of living for the next leave.

Another distinguishing feature of the European community in Senegal is that not only is it not a true settler community but also its economic interests, whilst vast, have not involved any important alienation of land and until very recently have not brought it into conflict with African economic interests. Dakar can in no way be considered a small Algiers. The majority of Europeans, whose per capita income is about £600 a year, are employed by the Administration or commercial and industrial undertakings in executive posts or in technical and clerical positions

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

those who have been influenced by the barrage of anti-colonial and especially anti-French propaganda that has been current in Africa during the last two years. Many young men declare that the best thing they can do is to get rid of the French since the economy is being strangled or alternatively dominated by their former colonial masters. But this does not reflect a deep-seated dislike for France as such, indeed the opposite is nearer the case. The young man who is demanding the expulsion of the French in a heated moment today, may well be packing his bag to go and find work in France tomorrow. Once again, this division is removed when one suggests that the young Senegalese may be against the French as such in Dakar, but this does not imply that he is against either individual Frenchmen—he may well count a number amongst his personal friends—or against France and what France stands for from the point of view of culture and civilisation. Like all those who have led the anti-assimilationist campaign since the war, he is also aware of the dominating role French culture still plays in his daily life. And the wish to remove the French from Dakar may be considered an attempt to compensate for a psychological domination he resents rather than as a reaction against the French community for anything they may have done.

The real danger will come if the younger generation becomes economically frustrated by the French community, a situation which could lead to real racial tension. And it is this again that the Senegalese Government in its present planning intends to avert. The Senegalese leaders at present in power believe that it is their role to show how various racial groups can live together in harmony. Here it is essential to remember that Senegal has three other substantial racial minorities, the Cape Verdians, Lebanese, and Mauretanians of Arab stock, but they are not important for the purposes of this study which is primarily concerned with the effects of assimilation on the indigenous Senegalese.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

Ghana and Sierra Leone, together with articles on these territories that had appeared in the major British papers. 123 [204]

Monsieur Cros told us that he was going that evening to a 'lunch' at the Grand Conseil building, which was being held in honour of the Secretary-General of the French National Assembly. He promised to arrange invitations for us.

Every important official and politician in Dakar was present at the 'lunch'. Black and white mingled freely. M. Cros whisked me from Governor to Inspector General, from an African Colonel to the Secretary-General of the National Assembly, to a representative of Agence France Press and a Senegalese Minister I was to meet the next day. The scene was high-powered and bewildering, but after a few drinks had been consumed the party lost much of its formality, a thing the French, especially in Africa, do not believe in, and I was pulled into conversation by an elderly French Administrator with sleek grey hair, a well-preserved figure, piercing grey eyes, and bronzed complexion. He asked me what I was doing in Dakar.

'I am spending six months travelling in West Africa.'

'Where are you going?'

'I hope to visit most of French West Africa, and spend some time in Nigeria, Ghana and Sierra Leone. I've already been to Gambia and Portuguese Guinea.'

'How do you like Dakar?'

'I was here two years ago. But even in my short absence, it's changed so much. This Grand Conseil was just a mass of scaffolding and concrete when I was last here.'

We both looked at the marbled floor, the graceful pillars, at the group of superbly dressed Africans, many of them with better dress sense than the Frenchmen they were talking to.

'Yes,' he said, suddenly giving words to a sequence of thought, 'It's a revolution, a veritable revolution.'

POLITICS AND POWER

Dakar

Obviously the young man talking to Arnold did not agree. He told him in English: 'We'll have to drive the French out of 648

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 West Africa, or they'll never leave. The Frenchman has taken everything away from the African. Even prostitution,' he sneered, 'is in their hands.'

Arnold asked him what he thought about Ghana. 'Ghana,' he said fiercely, as though to him it was a deeply significant symbol, 'will stand on its own feet, despite the ill-will of the whole world.' Arnold said: 'But I heard some of your African politicians don't want independence on the Ghana pattern. I've even been told that one said that Ghana got its independence too early.'

'Huh!' he interjected. 'They are jealous because Ghana has got what we will never get, unless they take up arms and drive the Frenchmen away like they did in Dien Bien Phu and are now doing in Algeria.'

Quite why the young man was so vicious against the French I did not discover. His conversation with Arnold certainly gave a false impression of the political situation in French West Africa. He seemed almost as unaware of the political revolution that had taken place here in the Senegal, and throughout French Black Africa only six months earlier, as most British Africans are. For [641] on 31st March, in the same month as Ghana got its independence, French West Africans, every adult, went to the polls to elect their own Territorial Assemblies, from which their own Prime Ministers and Governments would be chosen. And although the new law provided only for a limited degree of internal autonomy for each territory—control of the Civil Service and the police, [643] for instance, were reserved for the Governor—it was an irrevocable step that placed the future of French West Africa in African hands. If the young man had doubts about this, he had only to look at the African Minister from the Senegal talking calmly and confidently to the Acting High Commissioner, Monsieur Torre, to reassure himself.

This young African was not alone in his views. I heard it from other students, though never from a politician in power. The French, of course, because of their record in Indo-China and North Africa, often hear such attacks from the Americans who write about French Black Africa. They arrive there, their opinions already formed by a study of French Colonial policy elsewhere, and condemn everything going on in Dakar and the eight

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

territories of the Federation. This has made the French very bitter against the Americans. As it is, the French are notoriously anti-American, and nowhere was this more pronounced than in Dakar when I was there. Memories of the incident at Little Rock were still fresh. One official told me triumphantly: 648

'When Holmes, Foster Dulles' plenipotentiary, came to Dakar to patch up the effect of Little Rock, which, I might say, had a profound effect on Africans here, the local people told him that they were astonished that the Federal Government of the U.S.A. could not control a State Governor. Of course,' he continued, a vicious light in his eyes, 'the best thing was at the Youth Conference at Abidjan, in Ivory Coast. The local American Consul went there in his large car, Stars and Stripes flying. When these young Africans talked about independence he clapped, and smiled when they passed resolutions in its favour. Then they called for a vote censuring Little Rock. He had to get up and leave!'

After meeting the young African at the 'lunch' in the Grand Conseil, Arnold was very surprised by the moderate views of Monsieur Doudou Guèye, a leading politician of French Africa's largest party, the Rassemblement Démocratique Africaine, whom we met in his office in the same building. He is President of the Permanent Commission of the Grand Conseil, and a man with a record much more extremist than Nkrumah. He received us in a large office, overlooking the Atlantic, immaculately dressed and radiating an air of efficiency. 665 648

'In French West Africa,' he told us, 'independence is not so simple as in British West Africa, where you have practised indirect rule, preserving much of the old tribal system, the power of the Chiefs, and native law. Here most of that is destroyed. We have had to build up a new life for ourselves. Independence is therefore much more difficult. Anyway I don't think Ghana has much advantage over us. Our new *Loi Cadre* has given internal responsibility to the Africans who, in effect, run everything. The main strings France pulls are economic.'

It all seemed so smooth now, very remote from the fiery words of Arnold's friend. But Doudou Guèye, like many of his party, had been persecuted by the French. He had been in prison during the years 1948, 1949 and 1950. He did not seem bitter

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

665
648

about it, and even waved a letter at me which he said he had just received from his old prison governor.

'If we politicians hadn't been in prison we would never have got what we have today. Other politicians who did not go to prison suffered more than I did.'

He seemed to take a far more mature view of his party's experience of prison than Nkrumah and his 'prison graduates' do. One could see that Doudou Guèye would never parade on French West African Independence Day in a prisoner's hat. Though he and his party members would have much more reason to.

Later we met a leader of R.D.A., with a record much more extreme than that of Doudou Guèye. Gabriel D'Arboussier, Vice-President of the Grand Conseil, had once been as good as a member of the Communist Party. The R.D.A., too, had been very much a fellow-travelling party, which even now is organized on the Communist cell basis. 'We owe a lot to the Communists, who taught us and trained us,' Doudou Guèye had told us. But D'Arboussier, a mulatto from Djenne in Soudan, is no longer a Communist, and R.D.A. has moved steadily away from the left. The Communists hate D'Arboussier today as a traitor to the cause, but this has lost him little, for he is now at the forefront of French African politics.

He received us in his plush office, sat us both in large armchairs, and instead of viewing us from the fortress of his very large desk, sat in the third armchair. He talked in fluent and excellent English. We talked about Africa.

'The great problem of Africa is the creation of a united people and the breakdown of tribal factions. When we stress the need for unity in Africa, I think it is because consciously or unconsciously in Africa it is clear to us that the element of division is very great. We shall have to fight very hard to achieve it.' Arnold: 'Do you think we will ever succeed?' D'Arboussier looked doubtfully at us for a moment. I said I thought that the impact of the various Colonial powers in Africa and the imposition of their culture and tradition in the African peoples would make unity difficult, at least in the immediate future. He nodded agreement.

'What is important,' D'Arboussier said, 'is the African way of

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

living. What we must preserve completely is that, though, of course, I realize, it is no longer possible to treat the economic and political problems of Africa on the level of the tribes. However, what Africa could give to the West, is the sense of democratic function. People tend to laugh at the institution of the village palaver house, but it is the great school of politics. Decisions there are taken on the basis not of a majority but of unanimity. They will talk night and day till the last man in the village is convinced their common action is right.'

Arnold looked at D'Arboussier somewhat suspiciously when he talked largely about the 'African' and his personality. As a Creole, Arnold, I think, detected D'Arboussier's own dilemma, as a Mulatto, who was not sure where he belonged. To Africa or Europe?

For a man who had once been a Communist sympathizer D'Arboussier was surprisingly moderate. There was no talk of independence or an immediate rupture with France.

'We have decided that absolute independence would be a burden,' he told me.

One of my best friends in Dakar was a young Toucouleur, of my own age, who was a member of the newly formed Partie Africane de L'Independence, which was in complete opposition to the creation of any Franco-African Community, who believed that France exploited Africa, and the sooner Africa was rid of her the better.

He himself was extremely well-educated, with no immediately obvious motive for bitterness against the French. Indeed, it was a Frenchman who introduced me to him. He took me to the headquarters of the party, a small bookshop in a side street of Dakar. It was well decorated, and its shelves were lined with books on Marxist Socialism and Communism, a lesser Colletts. Mixed with picture books about Rumania and Russia and the Chinese way of life were the French Classics. Mahjemout Diop, one of the leaders of this party, as yet with little influence, received me in his office and lectured me on the evils of French administration. There was something clandestine about our encounter in this side office and yet with Africans in power at the Grand Conseil, and with an African Prime Minister of the Senegal I could not help thinking his anti-colonialist crusade a

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 little misguided. He handed me a copy of the party manifesto.
648 On the front it read:

> 'At the historic moment of Bandung and of the Colonial and Imperialist system, at the moment when political confusion submerges Black Africa under French domination, our duty as Africans obliges us to bring before the masses of our country the problem of national independence and the transformation of our economy into a socialist economy.'

[204] He also handed me a copy of the party newspaper, *La Lutte*, 'The Battle', which is surprisingly well produced at an intellectual level. It even had an article explaining why Sputnik stayed up. On another page a cartoon demonstrated party feeling towards France: Picture I. Thin, Belsen figure, in casque colonial, sucks from straw the lifeblood of Africa—Picture II. Fatter version of this Frenchman leaves for home, a small Africa behind him.

But the magazine was directed not only against France. Jibes were made at the Minister of the Interior of the Senegal, and at the high wages paid to Ministers. Mahjemout Diop was later arrested on the orders of the Minister of the Interior.

OLD SENEGAL

Dakar—Gorée—St. Louis

369 [491] [361] [175] Our third afternoon in Dakar, Arnold and I took the afternoon ferry to Gorée, a tiny island embraced by the bay of Dakar. This island, which until the turn of the century was better known than Dakar itself, was discovered in 1444 by Dinis Dias, one of the early Portuguese explorers, and commands the entrance to the port of Dakar, so that for long it was prized as the most strategic of islands on the Guinea Coast. Today it is no more than an historical relic, but whether against a clear blue sky or of dark grey rain clouds massing for an assault on the mainland, it serves as a reminded that though in Africa the revolution has taken place largely over the last ten years, its groundwork has been prepared by centuries of contact with Europeans and their way of life.

The small ferry was crammed with trippers, armed with

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

down the coast, there was little to worry about the future. And the creation of the Federal Government there marked its apogee. Five years later when the Federal Government was transferred to Dakar, St. Louis began its long decline which, when the Government is transferred, will be final.

As I walked along the old streets of St. Louis recalling vividly New Orleans, past old houses, their plaster façades beautiful with the patina of a century, and along the river that divides the island from the mainland with its brightly painted fishing boats, I could sympathize with the inhabitants of St. Louis. I could understand their pride; and their fears that their city might die. But at the same time the Government's desire to move into the economic centre of Senegal and the Administrative centre of the Federation, seemed to me a realistic one.

ECONOMICS OF THE REVOLUTION

I returned to Dakar for an appointment with the High Commissioner of French West Africa whose office was on the ninth floor of the Administrative building. When I arrived I was shown into a small ante-room by a messenger dressed in khaki.

'The High Commissioner will see you soon,' he assured me.

Within two minutes a similarly dressed messenger beckoned me towards a large swing door. I pulled it open, only to be confronted by another, a foot in front of me. I pushed this open, and entered a large, well-windowed room. For a moment I could see no one. Then a tall, grey-haired man, looking very much like a university professor, came forward towards me, his right hand outstretched. M. Gaston Cusin, High Commissioner for French West Africa, led me to a large chair and, with a degree of informality that put me entirely at ease, he began to talk of the problems of French West Africa. To him, a former Director of Economic Affairs in France, it was clear that West Africa was largely an economic problem. He pointed to a large map of West Africa:

'We are hoping to develop iron reserves here in Mauretania; there in Guinea we want to open up bauxite reserves, in Dahomey

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 we plan to build a modern port; and there in the Soudan we hope to develop livestock for export. For that we would need a number of large refrigeration units here in Dakar.'

Thus he continued in detail all over the vast area of French West Africa stretching from St. Louis to the Chad, from the Sahara to the Guinea Coast, with an area of nearly 1,840,000 square miles, and a meagre population of 18 millions. I pointed to Nigeria and Ghana.

'I am afraid we British took the best bits of West Africa. Yet we haven't put nearly as much money into it by comparison. I wonder what Nigeria would be like if you French had got it?'

His eyes looked longingly at the large chunk of red.

471 'That would be something marvellous!' he said. Since the war the French have poured money into West Africa. Private funds have accounted for a lot, but FIDES, the equivalent of our Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, has contributed more than £175,000,000 to these territories, and together with other public funds the total of capital investment (not from private sources) is more than £300,000,000, for a large, but poor and underpopulated territory.

369 This heavy capital investment has created large cities like Dakar, Abidjan and Conakry. The Africans have come into contact not only with urban life, but with industry. In Dakar there has been a minor industrial revolution. In the past six years, largely because of this, the city's population has swollen to nearly 300,000. Africans have flooded into the city seeking work, [162] attracted by tales of its gay life or lured by its glamour and the prospect of easy money.

274 463 I went down to the large brewery in Dakar, to see a modern industry with Africans as employees.

One of the managers there replied to my question, why weren't there any Africans in senior positions in the brewery. 'We have great difficulty in finding Africans to fill our managerial vacancies. You see, though many go to Paris they nearly all want to become lawyers, doctors, and officials. Very few are interested in becoming technicians. We would pay for their studies if we could find suitable candidates—you know, all part of the *Loi Cadre*. We must Africanize!'

'But haven't you found any good enough?'

/71 cont./

133 The presence of a marl-calcareous horizon at a slight depth, the arrangement of the layers sloping toward the east, has favored the formation of a perpetual phreatic layer close to the surface and capable of supplying all the wells of the Thiès plateau.

The Thiès slope describes a concave line 40 kilometers long which begins in the north at the height of Mont-Rolland
[361] and ends abruptly in the south at the height of the village of Tiao. The brow of the slope, with an average altitude of 100 meters, is cut broadly and deeply only by the "Ravin des Voleurs." At the foot of the slope there stretches a depressed, more or less swampy zone, /72/ /Fig. 1 appears here/ which borders it from north to south. Beyond Mont-Rolland, toward the northwest, accumulations of dune sand extend to the ocean (Fig. 1).

369 During the period of the pacification of Senegal by
175 Faidherbe, Thiès was only a small village of unruly Sérère-None /Serer/, pillagers of caravans when the occasion pre-
[361] sented itself. This village was established near the actual site of the Faidherbe Redoubt, in a shaded and cool spot, hence the name "Diankhène" which was given to it and which means place of repose.

In 1856 Dakar was founded, and Saint-Louis developed.
[648] A treaty concluded with the damel of Cayor (2) authorized the

2. Damel, Wolof word meaning sovereign.

[206] installation of a telegraph line to connect these two cities. But the execution of the work came up against the ill-will of the damel and the continual insecurity that prevailed in the region of Thiès.

After the creation of the post of Mbidjem, near Lake Tanma, the /73/ post of Thiès was built in 1863. Its
[361] role was to pacify and to cover, in case of necessity,
[487] the troops that operated in the region. The latter, coming from Gorée and from Dakar, took the trail /piste/ from Rufisque to Pout and from there reached the post of Thiès and Cayor by way of the "Ravin des Voleurs," the only easy and direct passage that connected Cayor with the Cape Verde Peninsula.

/9 cont./

244 shows no regard for it. Finally, the navétane eats millet
407 and does not produce any, which in certain regions aggravates the problem of the supply. Before 1939, in the period of the full development of groundnut cultivation, there were up to 70,000 navétanes in some years. The system of the authoritative organization of labor during the hostilities could by no means support these effectives; therefore, with the return to freedom in 1946, the number of navétanes had fallen to about 12,000. In order to attract them, they were given free travel going and returning. The suppression of these facilities in 1956 and
[648] the closing of the Guinea frontier at the end /10/of 1958 have
[167] considerably diminished the importance of these temporary
[433] migrations, which, in sum, were not very profitable for the economy of Senegal.

Other seasonal movements of labor take place in the
244 framework of groundnut cultivation. The sourga come from
166 the city and take their place among their relatives under the
464 same conditions as the navétanes. The baraguini are laborers
[427] who, in the regions of Tambacounda and Kédougou, offer their assistance to the cultivators during the harvest. They dig up the groundnut stalks, dry them, and detach and clean the seeds.

244 All of these types[1] of groundnut cultivation are charac-
433 terized by small yields: 830 kilograms per hectare on the average in Senegal. These yields, a consequence of the poorness of the traditional technical contrivances, can hardly be improved. In recent decades the increase in volume of the harvest has been linked with that of the area cultivated, which is not without grave dangers: abuses of cultivation on soils that are unstable, and a falling off of food production. After some attempts without results in the years 1920-1930, it is mechanized cultivation which, at the end of the Second World War, seems most capable of increasing production for the benefit of the mother country, which suffered from a grave shortage of fatty substances.

[1] [See Category 116, pp. 3-8 for types of autochthonous cultivation--Analyst]

/376 cont./

504 the support point for the whole military organization of the
369 West African coast, was constructed between 1899 and 1902.
712 Some of these accomplishments, such as the north jetty, the extension of the south jetty, and the dry dock, also concerned the commercial port, the construction of which began immediately afterwards and continued from 1903 to 1910. Two new piers were added to the first one, delimiting three docks between the south jetty and the military port, while the outfitting of the platforms was vigorously carried on (9).

[113] 9. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar", Annales de Géographie, 1936, pp. 607-671.

369 This phase of the construction of the port was accom-
● 648 panied by a very important act which was to serve as support for the development of Dakar: the transfer in 1902 of the office of the Government-general of West Africa from Saint-Louis to Dakar, which led to the establishment of high administrative offices in this city (Contrôle Financier, Treasury, Public Works, etc.) (10), although the Governor-general, awaiting

10. Morazé, Ch., op. cit., p. 620.

the construction of his palace, was installed at Gorée, where he remained until 1907, an event adding considerably to the accomplishments on the port and which marked the beginning of the prodigious vigor of Dakar (Fig. 3). 7/1

369 As early as 1911 the port registered a tonnage of more
[505] than four million tons; it exceeded 5.6 millions in 1913. During the course of the First World War it played a role that greatly surpassed anything that the founders could have hoped for: in 1917, a tonnage of 10.5 million tons. To be sure, the end of the war led to a sharp decrease in the arrivals and departures,
[504] but the recovery that followed the war was such that new works for the port soon became necessary. They were done between

7/1 [See Category 116, P.19-- Analyst]

/380 cont./

at Dakar.

369 648 [433] Even more than in the sphere of aviation, however, it is on the commercial and industrial plane that the other states of former French West Africa were, before the recent political disturbances, dependent on Dakar. In fact Dakar was the seat [453] of the banks and of the commercial associations or the branch [441] agencies of the mother country, all of whom /Pl. XXI and XXII appear here on unnumbered pages/ /381/exercise from Dakar, if not always a role of direct administration, at least some co-ordination and in any case an influence that is not negligible on the branches scattered across Senegal, former French West Africa, and sometimes even across foreign territories. Thus, the C. F. A. O., the S. C. O. Z., the B. A. O., and the B. C. A., which practice their activities in practically all of Black Africa, although having their seat in Paris, are strongly established in Dakar, from where they manage a number of agencies and branches. On the other hand, the Société Maurel et Prom, which has branches in Senegal, Mauritania, the Sudan, Guinea, and Gambia, the "Commerce Africain," which has establishments in Senegal, Gambia, the Ivory Coast, and the Cameroun, and other companies have their [439] seat in Dakar (17). Moreover it must be added that several in-

17. "Le Commerce Africain" transferred its seat from Dakar to Paris in July 1960.

dustries (oil factories, soap factories, breweries, cement factories, textile factories, shoe factories, etc.) established on the peninsula of Cape Verde send a part of their products to other territories in former French West Africa.

369 633 648 Finally, because of its former function as federal capital, Dakar brought together all of the federal political and administrative organs, which permitted it to direct and co-ordinate all of the political, administrative, and economic life of former French West Africa.

Thus, Dakar became the leader, the undisputed metropolis, upon which there depended a regional assemblage much

[Text continues on p. 17--Analyst]

/381 cont./

369 larger than that of Paris. In Dakar, this function as a metrop-
648 olis, which has been confirmed since the construction of the
633 commercial port, preceded and conditioned the development of the city.

369 3. The city. The commercial affairs which thus make
166 African products and products from the outside converge toward
167 the Dakar crossroads could not fail to bring with them a great
[487] number of people. First, there are the Goréans, finally resigned to their fate, who accompany or follow the commercial or administrative establishments being transferred to Dakar; then, non-Africans, administrators, technicians, merchants, etc., usually arriving from Europe by the same route as that of the imported manufactured products. But above all there are the masses who arrive by road and by rail, by these paths of a money economy which have greatly disturbed the villagers' traditional institutions and thus communicated to the people a mobility formerly unknown in the rural world. Willingly or unwillingly, the rural people of Senegal, of the Sudan, of Upper Guinea, and of the Upper Volta take to the road and rails to cast themselves into an /382/ /Fig. 3 appears here/ /383/ adventurous existence which will lead many of them to Dakar and to settle there. Finally, Africans from Guinea, the Ivory Coast, and Dahomey, students at the large educational institutions and officials who come in connection with the functions of the federal capital, also arrive by sea.

369 This human convergence, which since the last decade of
162 the century has continued to grow, has caused a vertiginous increase in the population. To be sure, for the period before 1955
[633] there were only estimations, all the less certain because the boundaries of the commune have often changed, but the official figures (18), even though they should be corrected here or

[113] 18. Synthèse de la situation économique de l'ex-A.O.F. durant la période 1948 à

/1/

125 During the years 1960 and 1961, a demographic investigation by sampling was undertaken over the whole territory, the first one in the history of Senegal. (Administrative counts, city censuses, and an investigation in the central valley of the river /Senegal River/ had been made previously, but never a demographic inquiry covering the whole territory.)

[369] The country has been divided into two large parts: the urban zone, composed of the whole region of Cape Verde and the cities [162] of Thiès, Saint-Louis, Ziguinchor, Diourbel, and Louga; and the rural zone, which includes the rest of the territory. The sampling fraction was 1/50 in the rural zone and 1/20 in the urban zone. Subsequently a sampling to the twentieth was obtained by dividing into two a certain number of maps of the rural zone.

It will be seen merely from the method utilized that it renders illusory the study of small groups /groupes à effectif réduit/. It should be acknowledged from the first that the numbers below 500 (that is, 25 in the sample) are not significant.

II - The Structures:

III - The geographic distribution:

114 The operations in the field begun in the month of April 1960 were terminated in the month of August 1961 (April-June '60 for the rural zone, July '60 to August '61 /2/ for the urban 162 zone). It should be acknowledged that on the whole the numbers indicated below correspond to the situation on the date of 1 July 1960. (Table 1 on following page)

This table shows, on the one hand, the low average density and, on the other hand, its great variability.

[563] The non-African population is made up essentially of French and Lebano-Syrians. It is heavily concentrated in the urban zone and particularly in Cape Verde; 74% of the non-Africans of Senegal 161 are actually in residence there. Moreover, this concentration has 648 become accentuated in recent years for several reasons: the departure of the Senegalese and Mauritanian governments from Saint-Louis; the closing of a number of agencies in the interior following the Change in The Commercial Circuits.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M337 Senegal MS 37

[p395]

CHAPTER VIII

SENEGAL AND THE DISTRICT OF DAKAR

1. GENERAL

Senegal. Area: 77,220 square miles. Population (1937): 1,666,374. Density per square mile: 21·58. Capital: St. Louis. 16 [31]

District of Dakar. Area: 66 square miles. Population (1937): 126,929. Density per square mile: 1,923·16. Headquarters: Dakar. [62] [633]

ALTHOUGH it has fewer inhabitants than most of the other colonies and a lower density of population than Dahomey or the Ivory Coast, Senegal is the most important of all the members of the Federation. Much of the colony is semi-desert, but the remainder is closely settled by some of the most vigorous and progressive peoples of French West Africa. Most of the native citizens are Senegalese, and the fame of the tirailleurs is known in every land. The colony contains some of the earliest French settlements, and its honourable position is attested by the fact that it alone in the Federation sends a direct representative to the Chamber of Deputies at Paris. [101] 162 648

The full title of the District of Dakar is the *Circonscription de Dakar et Dépendences*. Besides the town of Dakar it includes Goree, Rufisque, the territory round them, and a few small enclaves inside Senegal. One of these enclaves is at Sebikotane, where is situated the William Ponty School. The District has been a separate political entity since 1924, and its Administrator is not responsible to the Governor of Senegal. 633

The British colony of the Gambia has all its land frontiers with Senegal. 131

The greatest distance from north to south in Senegal is 249 miles, and the greatest from west to east is 365 miles. The colony extends from 12° 19′ N. to 16° 42′ N. and from 17° 20′ W. to 11° 20′ W. The extreme west of the Cape Verde peninsula is 17° 32′ W.

Boundaries. The Atlantic Ocean forms the main western boundary. The only exceptions to this are the frontier with the Gambia and the boundary between Senegal and Dakar. The latter leaves the coast at 14° 49′ N. and runs roughly south-south-east until it is 2 miles from Goree bay. There it turns east and afterwards south to strike the bay 1 mile east of Rufisque.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

7. HISTORY

SENEGAL is the oldest French colony in Africa. From it the Niger basin has been penetrated and the Sudan conquered. On it has been based the modern Federation. For more than two centuries, therefore, its history was that of French West Africa as a whole, and it is not until the close of the Napoleonic era that the domestic history of the colony becomes distinguishable. 175

The Early Nineteenth Century

The Peace of Paris restored the colonial *status quo* of 1 January 1792, but St. Louis was not returned to the French until 1817. The British occupation of Senegal had been purely military, with no attempt to introduce British civil administration. French officials had continued their duties, and, when they had died, had been succeeded by other Frenchmen. The resumption of French rule after the war, therefore, presented no difficulties. The country was fairly well known, and explorers used St. Louis more as a starting-point for distant journeys than to make new discoveries in Senegal itself. The British expedition of 1816 under Peddie and Campbell and the French one of 1818 under Mollien added considerably to European knowledge of Fouta, Ferlo, and Bondou, although their main objects were to penetrate Fouta Jalon. 175 648

Attempts at European Colonization. In 1815 France agreed to the abolition of the slave trade, although the law embodying this decision was not passed for another three years. As the trade had previously been the key to the prosperity of Senegal, a new economy had to be devised. Experiments were consequently made with European settlers, who were to produce cotton and other tropical products. To execute these schemes, Louis XVIII appointed as first post-war Governor Colonel Schmaltz, who had lived for a number of years in the Dutch East Indies. Tragedy attended his voyage out. The ship carrying him, the *Méduse*, was wrecked in Arguin bay on 2 July 1816. The Governor and his wife were saved, but there were many deaths from drowning; and hunger, thirst, and exposure killed many who reached the shore. Out of one party of seventeen only three survived. Another party of 152 persons, including women and children, crowded on to one raft. Many were washed off by waves, many went mad, and many died of thirst. After thirteen days of horror, fifteen survivors were picked up, five of whom died before 175 167 [439] [567]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS36
Trarza MS24

S 175 167 reaching St. Louis. This disaster has been made famous by the celebrated painting of Théodore Géricault.

[648] As St. Louis was in British hands until the early months of 1817, Schmaltz established his capital at Cape Verde.

The first settlers from France were sponsored by the Société Coloniale Philanthropique, and consisted of 175 men, 20 women, and 10 children. Their intention was to settle in the Cape Verde peninsula. This was against the advice of Schmaltz, who thought that part of the country unsuitable. The settlers landed at Goree in April 1817, shortly afterwards crossing to the mainland; but, owing to the attitude of the natives, they were unable to obtain land or labour. At the end of two months there were only six left on the peninsula: the remainder had been repatriated to France or had retired to St. Louis, Goree, or the Gambia. Schmaltz was able to prevent the philanthropic but misguided society from sending eighty more colonists to the same place.

W [175] [648] Attempts to establish European colonists met with more success on the Senegal. In 1819 Schmaltz had no difficulty in obtaining from the chiefs of Oualo all the land he wanted on the left bank of the river. S [648] [241] In return, the chiefs were given annual subsidies (*coutumes*) amounting to some 10,000 francs. This arrangement was to lead to endless trouble. Cotton, coffee, indigo, and tobacco were to be the principal crops, and colonists were not lacking.

T [175] [648] The natives of Oualo were peaceable, but the Trarza and Brakna Arabs, who claimed to be suzerains over Oualo, were hostile. At first they raided the colonists, but later they were defeated by troops from St. Louis in a number of skirmishes. Eventually the French recognized nominal Arab suzerainty, and the colonists were allowed to S [648] develop their holdings in relative quiet. Nevertheless, the Trarza Arabs continued to give trouble until 1835, when, after a series of S [712] defeats, they entered into a treaty by which they abandoned all claims to Oualo. The French armed post of Dagana was built for the protection of the settlers, and an experimental station was started S [654] [241] at Richard Toll for their instruction. The French Government supplied seeds and implements and paid a bonus on crops, and some forty European plantations were established. At first they seemed to succeed, but the climate, the labour difficulties, and the hostile attitude of the natives combined against them. In 1830 the home government withdrew its subsidy, and the plantations were soon abandoned. Since that date the French, while not discouraging European enterprise, have relied for agricultural development principally on the native farmer.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Mali MS 35

000
S
175
439
M
[175]
[439]

development principally on the native farmer. Trade, not agriculture, took the French farther up the river. In 1820 the post of Bakel was founded, and, under the auspices of Governor Roger, the Société de Galam established stations at Medine, at Mahina, and on the Falémé. The foundation of the company marked a partial return to the monopolistic policy of the previous century. Trade on the upper Senegal was reserved to the company from 1 January to 1 August each year. This caused much dissatisfaction, and the restriction disappeared with the winding-up of the company in 1840.

Like Brue, his predecessor of 120 years before, Roger explored Bambouk for its mineral wealth, but decided that the soundest method of developing Senegal was to expand its trade and agriculture.

The Gum Trade. After the attempts at European colonization had failed, there developed in the gum trade a boom which reached its maximum in 1838. It will be remembered that, by the Peace of Paris, Great Britain had retained the exclusive right of carrying on this trade along the coast between Portendick and Arguin bay. Elsewhere the French reserved all this trade for their own nationals. Like other trades of the time, that in gum was carried on under a system of subsidies (*coutumes*) to native chiefs and fixed markets (*escales*). This system has been described above on p. 327, and was extremely lucrative to the Arabs. Moreover, the French Government in its treaties usually undertook to pay a subsidy to the chiefs, partly as ground rent for the posts it might establish in their territory, and partly in consideration of the goodwill and protection they were to afford to French trade.

S
[648]

Even so, the years between 1830 and 1860 saw material French extension and development. The following figures (the first two of which represent imports only) show the growth of trade of Senegal from the days of André Brue to those of Faidherbe.

Year	*Thousands of francs*
1700	700
1786	7,260
1821	2,100
1830	3,000
1837	7,000
1838	17,000
1839	13,600
1840	11,800
1845	23,000
1855	14,500
1863	33,100
1869	35,300

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS 30
Trarza MS 24

S 175 439 [648]

From 1836 onwards treaties were made with the chiefs of the Casamance basin, and posts were constructed at Sedhiou, Karaban, and Diembering. These treaties respected Portuguese historic but obsolete rights at Ziguinchor, but effectively guaranteed that the future of the river should be French.

S [567] [427] [464]

The abolition of the status of slavery by France in 1848 deprived the French merchants of a cheap supply of labour, which they had rented from the chiefs, and in 1850 a committee was appointed to consider withdrawal from the colony or, as an alternative, the establishment of French authority. It decided in favour of the latter, and the policy of trade treaties came to an end.

The new French policy, to which Napoleon III was pledged, was summed up as 'absolute freedom of commerce with the suppression of the escales; establishment of security, by force if necessary; the substitution of full and entire authority for the system of treaties and subsidies; methodical organization of expansion towards the interior; and concurrently the development of economic institutions'.

'By Force if Necessary'

S 175 [643]

Faidherbe. It was to carry out this policy that Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in December 1854. He had already had much experience as a soldier and administrator in the colony, and, with a break of eighteen months, he held office till July 1865. His period of office marked a turning-point in the history of Senegal, and he is justly remembered as one of the builders of the modern French Colonial Empire. At first his resources were pitifully small. He had four companies of marine infantry, a company of native infantry formed on the liberation of the slaves in 1848, sixty spahis, and some detachments of artillery and engineers. His naval strength was on a similar scale. Both were substantially strengthened in the next few years.

S [701]

T S W 175 648

The Arabs. Faidherbe decided to deal with the Trarza Arabs. Notwithstanding the treaty of 1835, they had continued their marauding expeditions across the river, and had re-established a supreme influence over the Ouolofs of Oualo. Early in 1855 the Trarza chief Mohammed el Abib insolently demanded the French evacuation of certain islands near the mouth of the Senegal. Faidherbe marched against him and defeated him near St. Louis on 15 February. On 25 February the Ouolofs were defeated near Ross. The French captured more than 2,000 cattle and burned 20 villages.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS 30
Trarza MS 24

After another victory in March at Diagane near Merinaghen, Faidherbe annexed Oualo. He divided it into provinces under chiefs nominated by himself, and set up Fara Penda, who remained faithful, as king. In two years many villages destroyed by the Arabs were rebuilt and the population of Oualo rose from 17,000 to 34,000. Faidherbe, who was loath to use force before persuasion had failed, then offered Mohammed el Abib peace if he would renounce the subsidies. The Arab replied by demanding an increase in payments, the destruction of French forts, the prohibition of armed vessels on the Senegal, and the recall of Faidherbe to France. During the absence of Faidherbe in Oualo, Mohammed el Abib advanced in April 1855 to the gates of St. Louis, from which he was beaten back. This marked the limit of Arab successes. In the following January an engagement near Lake Cayar resulted in the capture of 600 tribesmen, and other skirmishes had similar results. Despairing of bringing the main Arab armies to a pitched battle, Faidherbe determined to subdue them by famine, and set himself to destroy or capture their cattle and supplies. By May 1856 these tactics reduced the Arabs to dire straits, and several tribes submitted. The chief's son Ely fled to Diambour. Faidherbe pursued him, and annexed the province which is now Louga. Mohammed el Abib held on, however, and in 1857 invaded Oualo. He was heavily defeated. At last he sued for peace, and on 20 May 1858 signed a treaty (p. 328). A parallel treaty was concluded with the Brakna Arabs at Podor on 10 June.

Although the commercial provisions of these treaties were revised later, they brought to an end, once and for all, the Arab menace to the peace and development of Senegal.

In 1859 a similar organization to that of Oualo was set up for Dimar, thus extending the colony as far up the river as Podor.

Further Penetrations. Faidherbe's dealings with the Arabs and the Ouolofs have been described in some detail, as they illustrate his abilities as a general, a diplomatist, and an administrator. By the same combination of force and diplomacy he, or his successor Pinet-Laprade, brought Fouta, Toro, the whole Ferlo country, Cayor, Sine, Saloum, and the Casamance under effective French control. He thus completed the outline of the modern colony. In 1859 the fanatically Moslem Toucouleur of Fouta, under their Almami, Mahamadu Birane, submitted to a division into three independent states under French protection: Dagana, Fouta, and Toro. In 1862, while Faidherbe was in France, the Almami revolted and tried to re-establish his paramountcy. This revolt was quelled

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
W.16F MS30

after severe fighting, and in 1863 Fouta and Toro were definitely annexed by the French.

Cayor. The state of Cayor extended from Cape Verde northward along the coast nearly to St. Louis, and at the end of the eighteenth century it had obtained independence of the Ouolofs. Goree had been taken by the French from the Dutch in 1677, and by treaties of 1764 and 1765 the Damel of Cayor had ceded the tip of the Cape Verde peninsula in full sovereignty to France. He had further agreed to restrain his subjects from pillaging the cargoes of wrecks and from imprisoning their crews. In return he was to receive an annual subsidy of 180 bars, one-third in iron and the remainder in merchandise.

These treaties, however, had never been implemented. In 1825 Governor Roger considered them dead, and advised Frenchmen who wished to acquire land in the peninsula to make their own arrangements with the native authorities. At the same time, Roger made a fresh convention regarding wrecks, which was no more observed than the earlier treaties. In 1832 land was purchased for a cemetery on the mainland and in 1846 a mission of the Society of the Sacred Heart, which received a government subsidy until 1906, was established at Dakar.

The population of Goree, some 5,000 persons, needed wood, water, building materials, and fresh provisions, which they could only purchase at extortionate prices on the mainland. All efforts to conclude agreements with the chiefs on these matters failed, and wreckers' profits were not to be diminished by scraps of paper. Security was needed for the projected railway from St. Louis and it was desirable to give the priests protection. In 1857, therefore, the French Government authorized the construction of a fort on the mainland. Birahima, the reigning Damel of Cayor, at first acquiesced in this occupation, largely because his authority over the Lebous who inhabited the peninsula had long been but nominal. The post was used by Faidherbe for a base for his operations in 1859. In that year, after the battle of Fatik (18 May), the tribesmen of Sine, Saloum, and Baol submitted to French authority, and posts were created at Joal and Kaolack. Trouble arose under the Damel's successor, Makodou, who refused to recognize Birahima's agreement to allow a French road and telegraph line from St. Louis to Goree to be run through Cayor. A French column from St. Louis under Faidherbe met an expedition under Pinet-Laprade from Goree and occupied Makodou's capital, Mekhé, on 12 January 1861. On 1 February he accepted

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
wolof MS 30

S
W
175
648
W
[669]

French protection. Hardly was Faidherbe's back turned when Makodou repudiated his engagements. A fresh expedition was necessary, and on 12 March Makodou's forces were repulsed again at Diati near Mekhé. Faidherbe thereupon encouraged an internal revolt, which resulted in the flight of Makodou and the recognition of Madiodio as Damel. He in his turn was dethroned by Lat Dior, whom the French also recognized. He also failed to observe his predecessor's treaties, and in 1863 Faidherbe marched against him and re-established Madiodio. In the December of that year Lat Dior gathered his forces and fell upon the French garrison of Goumbo Gueoul, when Captain Lorans and almost all his detachment of 140 tirailleurs were killed. This time there were no half measures: Lat Dior's army was cut to pieces by Pinet-Laprade near Pout on 12 January 1864, but he himself escaped to the Gambia. Faidherbe then suppressed the native kingdom, established a French protectorate, and divided Cayor into cantons, each under a chief of his own appointment.

W
[631]

In 1865 Pinet-Laprade, who had succeeded Faidherbe, had to deal with a mallam named Maba, who threatened to involve in a holy war not only Cayor but also the country as far east as Fouta. In 1869 Lat Dior again invaded Cayor, and in 1871 was again recognized by the French as Damel, though shorn of part of his territory. This arrangement worked well for ten years, and when Ahmadu Checkhou, a mallam of Toro, invaded Cayor, the French could not refuse armed aid to Lat Dior. The former was defeated and killed by French forces at Boumdou near Coki in February 1875. In 1881 Lat Dior once more gave trouble by opposing the construction of a railway, and, after military operations, he was replaced by his nephew. Internal unrest followed for some years and Lat Dior tried to take advantage of it; but on 26 October 1886 he was defeated and killed. The protectorate was finally abolished, and Cayor was annexed to the colony.

S
175
643

At the close of Faidherbe's term of office in 1865 modern Senegal may be said to have emerged. It would be a mistake to regard him only as a conqueror, for, though his primary object was to impose French authority, Senegal owes to him the foundation of its civil administration, its education, its banking system, and its Survey Department. Sympathetic to the natives, he tried to preserve their institutions to the utmost extent compatible with his primary object. While not prepared to discourage European colonization under suitable conditions, Faidherbe considered that the main agricultural

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Soninke MS 21

S 175 [643] [439]

development must be by native farmers guided by French instructors and aided by French capital. In 1861 French colonial trade, which had hitherto been restricted to French merchants and the French flag, was thrown open to all nations, though French goods continued to have a preference. This reform was not well received by the conservative merchants of St. Louis, but there can be no doubt that it rapidly proved of benefit to the colony.

S 30 175 648

Mahmadu Lamine. The last challenge to French rule within the boundaries of Senegal arose from a Soninké mallam named Mahmadu Lamine. Having returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca, he set up as a holy man at Medine and proceeded to interfere in the domestic concerns of the natives of Bondou. Rebuffed by their rightful ruler, he installed himself at Sénoudébou early in 1886, proclaimed himself a mahdi, and claimed a holy mission to restore the ancient power of the Sarakollé dynasty (Vol. I, p. 168). In March and April he attacked the fort of Bakel, at the head of 12,000 fanatics, but was repulsed. In May Colonel Frey marched out from St. Louis with a strong column which relieved Bakel. Notwithstanding this, Mahmadu again invaded Bondou, where he defeated and killed the king. Then he attacked the French post at Sénoudébou, crossed the Senegal, and endeavoured to cut the French communications between Bakel and Kayes. Gallièni himself, who had been recently appointed to command the troops in Upper Senegal, took the field against him and broke his power in several engagements. The mallam fortified himself at a village 46 miles south-west of Tambacounda. This village was taken by the French on 8 December 1887. Mahmadu escaped; but he was attacked by allies of the French on 9 December, and two days later died of his wounds. All the tribes of the country north of the Gambia boundary then sought French protection. Later disturbances in Senegal had their origin either in internal tribal dissensions or in dislike of closer control by France. In all respects they were minor affairs.

S 175 648 [439]

The Consolidation of French Rule. The original treaties, of which the French negotiated some 130 between 1785 and 1891 with the chiefs of Senegal, dealt with trade only. They fixed the rents and rates payable by each individual trader, and usually gave subsidies to the chiefs in return for their goodwill. These treaties did not attempt to deal with the internal administration of the tribes or with their foreign relations. The next stage was a treaty of friendship and protection, in which the native state was free to conduct its own affairs, subject only to the general guidance of French Residents.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

At this stage no French taxation was imposed. Faidherbe was the first to insist that the election of any chiefs must be subject to his approval, and from this time onwards the French hold gradually grew tighter. As the French historian Sabatié has put it: 175 648

> 'These treaties guaranteed the political organization, the religion, customs, institutions, and laws of the native country concerned. They were designed to ensure the security of our commerce and respect for the property of our nationals and our subjects, and they stipulated, by way of compensation, the collection of certain taxes on cattle and exported products for the benefit of chiefs. As a result of the evolution of the colony and its economic and administrative necessities, the clauses and obligations of these treaties have lapsed.'

The system lasted until towards the end of the nineteenth century; but from that time onwards native powers, especially over judicial matters, land, and tribute, have been gradually curtailed. Native chiefs have become agents appointed by the Government, and native administrative institutions have almost everywhere been deliberately abolished. This policy has its roots not only in administrative convenience but also in a strong sense of duty to the individual native and a desire to protect him from misrule.

The Modern Constitution

Until 1920 the four communes of Dakar, Goree, Rufisque, and St. Louis were described as the territory under direct administration, the remainder of the colony as a protectorate. In that year the distinction, which had long been one without a difference, was formally abolished. 631 633

Senegal, being the oldest colony, contains about a quarter of the whole European population of French West Africa. It also contains a larger proportion of educated and politically minded natives than the other colonies, and its constitution is more democratic. This last fact is mainly due to the equalitarian doctrines of the July Monarchy at the time when the personal status of Senegalese native citizens and their rights as Frenchmen were determined. In 1833 the French Parliament enacted that any person born free, or having legally acquired his liberty, enjoyed in the French colonies both civil and political rights under conditions prescribed by law. In 1848, therefore, when the colony first acquired the right to send a deputy to the French Parliament, natives born in the French settlements of Goree, Rufisque, and St. Louis, the only French soil in Senegal at the time, became entitled to the Parliamentary vote and to all the 641 [162] [648] [633]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

641 other privileges of French citizenship. In due course the same
[633] status was conferred on natives of Dakar, and in 1916 French citizenship was extended not only to natives born in these four communes but to their descendants also. It thus came about that out
[162] of 80,500 native citizens in the whole of French West Africa 78,000 live in Senegal or Dakar. Of these the great bulk resides in the four old communes.

633 Municipal government, on entirely metropolitan lines, was conferred upon St. Louis and Goree in 1872 and upon Rufisque in 1880. In 1887 Dakar, which had hitherto formed part of Goree, was separated from it, receiving its own elected mayor and council, and in 1929 absorbed its parent. The District of Dakar was separated from Senegal in 1924, and received its own Administrator, directly responsible to the Governor-General.

646 Parliamentary representation was suspended under Napoleon III, but restored in 1870. Until 1914 a European had been elected, but the racial issue was deliberately raised in that year, when M. Blaise
[645] Diagne, a Sérère, entered on his long term as Deputy for Senegal. He thoroughly justified his race by heading a campaign for voluntary recruitment in Senegal during the War of 1914–1918, and subsequently held office as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. As early as 1879 the General Council was elected by the citizens of
[633] the four communes. It had certain powers of taxation and legislation over the four communes, powers which, though limited, were more democratic than in other parts of French West Africa. Its greatest influence, however, lay in the criticism of the Government, a function which, withheld from it by law, sprang naturally from the power of taxation. When the formal distinction between colony and protectorate disappeared, the General Council gave place to the existing Colonial Council (p. 432), a body with generally similar powers extending over the whole colony.

648 *Senegal and Federation.* Before 1845 and again from 1859 to 1893
[643] the whole of what is now French West Africa was administered by the Governor of Senegal. It was natural, therefore, that in 1895 he should be appointed Governor-General of the Federation, with its not very precise constitution. This appointment was welcomed in Senegal, as it enhanced the colony's supremacy. In 1902 the Governor-Generalship was made a separate office, and Senegal sank to the level of the other colonies. This new arrangement, although a blow to the pride of the Senegalese, did not touch their pockets. They still
[652] kept control of their own revenues, out of which they voted a sum

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

to the Federal Government. In 1904, however, when the distinct Federal budget was instituted, custom duties were lost to the various colonies. The General Council of Senegal protested vigorously. Its spokesmen said that the Federal Government had taken away 78 per cent. of the colony's revenue and only assumed 39 per cent. of its expenditure. So strongly did the Council feel on the question that it impugned the validity of the federal financial arrangements before the Council of State at Paris. This latter body, as was to be expected, confirmed them in 1908, but the Senegalese have never fully accepted the new system. In 1929, for example, it was stated that Senegal was contributing half the customs revenue of French West Africa, though containing only one-tenth of its population. Moreover, despite its democratic Colonial Council, the colony has no more direct influence in federal affairs than Mauritania. Even to-day protests are still heard periodically against the financial system of the Federation and its alleged encroachments on the sphere of the Colonial Government.

648 652 [651] [651]

Christianity

The first definite record of a Christian mission is that of the French Capuchins, who sailed from Dieppe in 1635. They divided into two parties: one, under Pères Alexis and Bernardin, landed at Rufisque, where they were entertained by Portuguese Christians. During their stay they baptized 27 natives. The other party landed at St. Louis, where there was not yet a permanent French settlement, and met with misfortune. Some of them died, and the survivors joined their brothers at Rufisque. The Protestant Dutch made life impossible for them, and the whole party returned to France. Though from time to time priests of the Society of the Holy Spirit (founded in 1726 to train missionaries for the French colonies) visited Senegal, no serious missionary effort seems to have been made till after the Peace of Paris, when the first Prefect Apostolic was appointed to St. Louis.

797

The first nuns to work in Senegal were of the community of St. Joseph of Cluny. These were sent out in 1819 to St. Louis at the request of the Governor to undertake nursing and education. The community established two schools in St. Louis and one in Goree in 1826.

[871]

In 1846 the first mission was founded at Dakar, which the same year became the seat of the Vicar Apostolic of the Two Guineas. These missionaries belonged to the Society of the Sacred Heart

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

9. ADMINISTRATION

DAKAR, the capital of the Federation and the residence of the Governor-General, is geographically in Senegal, and from its foundation in 1863 it was administered by the Governor of Senegal as part of that colony. By the decrees of 25 October and 27 November 1924, however, the District of Dakar was, without prejudice to its municipal institutions, made a separate administrative unit, under an Administrator directly responsible to the Governor-General. Only Dakar and Goree were originally included, with an area of 60 square miles, but the Commune of Rufisque was added by a decree of 9 June 1937. The District now has a population of 127,000, and it has its own budget. 633 [648] [162]

Senegal returns a deputy to the French Chamber of Deputies, who is elected by French citizens (European or native) resident in the colony and in Dakar. The deputy is *ex officio* Senegal's representative on the Supreme Council of the French Colonial Empire. 648

Councils

Executive Councils. The Executive Council of Senegal is composed of the Governor, the Secretary-General, the Attorney-General, the officer commanding the troops, one French citizen elected by the Chamber of Commerce of St. Louis, and one citizen and two subjects nominated for two years by the Governor-General. 645 [648]

It is a purely advisory body, but the Governor is bound to consult it on such matters as the Colonial Budget, proposed changes in taxation, disposal of government property, and concessions. He may indeed, require its advice on any matter he chooses.

The Executive Council for the District of Dakar was at one time composed of the Standing Committee of the Governor-General's Council together with the Administrator. This arrangement, legalized in 1924, was changed by a decree of the 9 June 1937 which gave Dakar its own Executive Council, composed of the Administrator, Deputy-Administrator, the officer commanding the troops at Dakar, the Attorney-General, one member of the Chamber of Commerce appointed by that body, two municipal councillors of Dakar and one of Rufisque appointed by their respective councils, and one French subject appointed by the Governor-General. 633 [648] [648]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 31

633 The Council has the same functions as that of the colony, but its
645 decisions need the approval (usually formal) of the Standing
[648] Committee of the Governor-General's Council.

The Executive Councils of Senegal and of Dakar are known as *conseils privés*, whereas those of the other colonies are known as *conseils d'administration*.

646 *The Colonial Council of Senegal.* The history of the Colonial
633 Council and of its predecessor, the General Council, has been given above. The earlier council had jurisdiction over the four full communes only, but its successor, which dates from 1920, when all distinctions between colony and protectorate were abolished, has jurisdiction over the whole colony. The inhabitants of the District of Dakar still retain their votes for the Colonial Council, and as a corollary the Council can discuss the affairs of the District. The pretext for this decision was afforded by the provision, in the decrees
[652] of 1924, that the Colonial Budget of Senegal should contain a grant in aid of Dakar; but French writers do not disguise the fact that it was thought not desirable entirely to divorce the District from the rest of Senegal. The decrees of 1924, therefore, expressly left it an integral, though autonomous, part.

646 The Colonial Council is unique in French Africa in that its
666 membership includes Europeans, natives, chiefs, citizens, and subjects. It is, therefore, worthy of detailed mention. Its constitution
[642] and powers are laid down in a decree of 4 December 1920, as amended by decrees of 30 March 1925, 13 January 1930, and 8 April 1939. This last added the subjects. The colony is divided into four electoral districts, from which members are elected on a population basis. The Council is elected for a term of six years, but, on the recom-
[648] mendation of the Governor, it may be dissolved by the Governor-General. Should a dissolution occur, a new election must be held within three months. There are 62 members in all: 26 citizens elected by citizens, 18 provincial or canton chiefs elected by those of the same rank, and 18 native subjects. These subjects must either have been born in the colony or be descendants of subjects born in
[641] the colony; they must have completed their military service; and they are elected by all other subjects who fulfil the same conditions. In 1929 the European element only numbered one-fifth of the total membership, and the additions made in 1939 will have had the effect of swamping it.

646 The Council meets for a fortnight's session once a year, but it can
643 be summoned by the Governor at any time. It chooses its own

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

president, but the Governor has the right of addressing it and of deputing high officials to speak to it of the work of their own departments. It appoints a Standing Committee, which can meet to trans- 646 [643]

101
103
635
634

FIG. 52. *Senegal: Administrative Divisions*

act business when the full Council is not in session. It is bound, however, to report to its parent body. 646

The Council's powers are wide. It must be consulted on a proposal to create new communes, and it may advise on any matter put before it by the Governor. It may legislate on eight stated topics, which are chiefly concerned with the management of state property and with the colony's financial contributions to the public works of the Federation. This legislation comes into force within two months, unless previously vetoed by the Governor-General. The Council also has the right to deliberate the assessment and collection of [643] [652] [648] [652]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

646 taxes and all items of the Colonial Budget not fixed by the Governor-
648 General.
652

Article 40 of the decree of 1920 forbade any deliberation of political
642 matters and any resolution concerning them. The power to discuss the budget, however, has nullified this prohibition, and criticism of the Government plays a considerable part in the Council's debates.
631 The citizens are usually more independent than the chiefs, since the latter owe their appointments to the Governor. It is too early to judge the effect of the recent addition of subjects.

It will be clear from the foregoing that this Colonial Council
642 performs a very useful function. Although it cannot bring the machinery of government to a standstill, it can seriously hamper the administration. In consequence Senegal has a greater tincture of democracy than any other colony.

Territorial Divisions

635 The colony is divided into fifteen provinces (Fig. 52), some of
634 them subdivided into districts. Their names and the names of their headquarters towns are as follows.

Province	*Headquarters*	*Area in square miles*	*District headquarters*
Bakel	Bakel	8,755	..
Baol	Diourbel	1,714	..
Bas Sénégal	St. Louis	2,351	Dagana
Bignona	Bignona	1,699	Diouloulou
Djoloff	Linguéré	6,275	..
Haute Gambie	Kédougou	5,212	..
Kolda	Kolda	5,599	..
Louga	Louga	3,886	..
Matam	Matam	10,116	..
Podor	Podor	4,857	..
Sedhiou	Sedhiou	2,703	..
Sine-Saloum	Kaolack	10,228	Fatik, Foundiougne, Kaffrine
Tambacounda	Tambacounda	9,998	..
Thiès	Thiès	2,707	M'Bour, Tivaouane
Ziguinchor	Ziguinchor	1,120	Oussouye

635 The four provinces of Bigniona, Kolda, Sedhiou, and Ziguinchor are grouped together as the Casamance Territory, at the head of which is a Session Administrator, or Chief Commissioner, residing at Ziguinchor.

In almost all provinces the provincial Commissioner is assisted by a Council of Notables (Plate 113).

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

took with him a lay schoolmaster, who opened a school for boys at St. Louis in 1817. Its pupils varied in number from 60 to 100, and it continued under state and lay control until 1841. In that year its management was handed over to Roman Catholic priests, while the Government undertook to maintain the school and to pay for its equipment and the salaries of its teachers. 871 797

Girls' education dates from 1826, when the Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny founded schools at St. Louis and Goree.

By 1854 there were four schools in Senegal. They all belonged to Roman Catholic missions supported by government grants, and they counted only 590 pupils on their rolls. There were difficulties regarding the admission of Moslems to these schools and, as Islam was the prevailing faith, the spread of education was hindered. In 1857 Faidherbe opened a Moslem School at St. Louis, and until 1903 this remained the only lay primary school in Senegal. By 1898 there were 9 primary schools in the four communes and about 30 in the protectorate. These were staffed by interpreters and non-commissioned officers, and their existence was spasmodic. At that time elementary education throughout French West Africa was mainly in the hands of the missions, and, so far as the Government took any interest in it at all, it was organized by local regulations in each colony. The Governor-General's order of 24 November 1903 set up a uniform system of state-controlled education throughout the Federation. 872 [797] [648]

In 1938 Senegal and Dakar had 132 European teachers and 337 native in Government schools and 48 teachers in recognized private schools. Pupils were arranged as follows: 875

	Schools	Boys	Girls	Total pupils
Government Schools				
Primary				
Village schools	72	5,946	241	6,187
Regional schools	16	4,590	432	5,022
Urban schools	10	3,392	752	4,144
Higher Primary	2	158	14	172
Technical	4	146	0	146
	104	14,232	1,439	15,671
Private Schools				
Primary	13	1,164	293	1,457
Totals	117	15,396	1,732	17,128

871

There were also 2,295 Moslem schools giving rudimentary instruction to 16,190 pupils.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

874 In 1927 apprentice courses in woodwork and metalwork were started in St. Louis and Kaolack by the Public Works Department for selected schoolboys between the ages of 13 and 16 years.

871 There is a number of educational institutions in Dakar of a higher grade than primary. These are the responsibility of the Federal Government and have been described in Volume I.

Health

743 Senegal is divided into thirteen medical districts, each of which is intended to be under the supervision of a European medical officer. There are 17 medical stations, each under a native auxiliary. There are also 16 maternity centres and 117 posts visited once a week by a medical officer.

In 1937 Senegal and Dakar had 3 major hospitals and 34 minor hospitals and dispensaries. These provided 394 beds for European patients and 1,805 for native. There were 80 European medical officers, 31 native auxiliaries, 30 midwives, 124 male nurses, and 21 female nurses.

[744] In addition there were four travelling parties (*groupes sanitaires mobiles*). One of these specialized in fighting sleeping-sickness in the Casamance Territory, and the other three were concerned with more general sanitary and prophylactic measures.

The Pasteur Institute at Dakar, a federal concern, is justly famous. [747] Some medical work is done by missionaries. Unofficial committees of the Croix-Rouge are concerned with infant welfare at Dakar, Diourbel, St. Louis, and Tivaouane.

[652] In 1937 Senegal voted 12,000,000 francs for medical services and Dakar 11,000,000 francs.

10. PORTS

36 [131] [162] [489] [743] [712] [648] [654] [697]

ST. LOUIS (16° 01′; 16° 30′ W.). Population, 30,586, including 1,231 Europeans. Colonial capital of Senegal and of Mauritania. Full Commune. Headquarters of the province of Bas Sénégal. Custom-house. Law courts. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital and dispensary. Army headquarters and barracks. Police headquarters. Belgian Consulate. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Lycée Faidherbe. École des Fils des Chefs et des Interprètes. Higher Primary and Technical Schools. Protestant and Roman Catholic missions. Bank of West Africa. Power station. Prison. Hotels. Garages. Race-course. Botanical gardens. Experimental plantation. Daily market.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
St. Louis

361 The oldest part of St. Louis (Fig. 53) stands on an island in the estuary of the Senegal. This island is some 2,400 yards long and averages 350 yards in width, and its southern extremity is 13½ miles from the mouth of the river. It has three main suburbs, N'Dar Toute and Guet N'Dar on the Langue de Barbarie, and Sor on the mainland.

History

361 175 [487] [103] Early navigators in search of the gold of Bambouk used the Senegal as a means of entry to the interior, and in 1658 a settlement was founded. This was the first French post in West Africa, and it was named after the patron saint of King Louis XIV. Its story has largely been told elsewhere, since, from the first, it played a prominent part in the general history of French West Africa as a whole and of Senegal in particular. The main events in the past were its capture by the British in 1759, its recapture in 1779, its second capture in 1809, and its final restoration to the French in 1817. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it steadily grew in size and wealth, but in recent years it has been forced, both commercially and politically, to yield to Dakar. [648]

The Town

361 The original island is now almost completely covered with buildings. These include Government House (Senegal), the Law Courts, the principal barracks, the power station, and the Roman Catholic church in the centre; the prison, two mosques, and another barracks to the north; and the hospital and another mosque to the south. N'Dar Toute has Government House (Mauritania) (Plate 92), the market, and yet another barracks, and Sor has the railway stations and the cemeteries. Guet N'Dar is inhabited almost entirely by natives. [1064]

491 361 The western arm of the river is crossed by two bridges. The Geôle Bridge, 150 yards long, connects the main town to N'Dar Toute, and it takes its name from the prison near its eastern end. Five hundred and sixty yards south of it is the Servotuis Bridge, the western end of which marks the dividing line between N'Dar Toute and Guet N'Dar. At the other end of it is an open space at present called Place Pétain. In a line with the Servotuis Bridge is the Faidherbe Bridge across the main stream. Built in 1900, this bridge is 570 yards long and has six fixed spans and a roadway 37 feet wide. Near its western end is a swing bridge with two openings each of 30 yards.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS37

[ST. LOUIS]

206 *Wireless.* The wireless station is to the south of Guet N'Dar.

River. Above Faidherbe Bridge the river is closed to all vessels not 505 flying the French flag. Boats drawing 10 feet can ascend to Podor all [648] the year round, and in the rainy season they can reach Kayes (Vol. I, p. 367). Table V shows how greatly river traffic on the Senegal has declined in recent years.

TABLE V. *Tonnage of Goods from Kayes*

[497] [494]

	1928	1929	1930	1934	1935
Sent by rail or road	9,545	9,555	11,456	5,269	6,224
Sent by river	2,520	5,815	3,425	313	260

Shipping. There are no sea-going ships calling regularly, but the Messageries Africaines and the Messageries du Sénégal run services up-river.

36 DAKAR (14° 39′; 17° 25′ W.). Population, 80,052, including *c.* 6,000 [131] Europeans. Capital of the Federation and Headquarters of the [162] District of Dakar. Full Commune. Custom-house. Law courts. [489] Chamber of Commerce. Pasteur Institute. Hospitals. Naval base [712] and dockyard. General Headquarters of the army in French West Africa. Police headquarters. British Consulate-General. Belgian, [648] Brazilian, Czechoslovakian, Danish, Eireann, Greek, Italian, Netherlands, Norwegian, Swedish, and Swiss Consulates. Argentine, Finnish, Spanish, and Uruguayan Vice-Consulates. Meteoro- [654] logical station. Airport and seaplane base. Wireless stations. [508] Colleges and schools. Protestant churches. Roman Catholic Vicariate Apostolic of Guinea and Vicariate General. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Crédit Foncier de l'Ouest Africain. Banque Belge de l'Afrique. Power station. [697] Prison. Public library. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops. [498] Cinemas. Race-course. Sports stadium. Botanical gardens. [654] Agricultural experimental station. Daily market.

Dakar (Fig. 54) is approximately 2,600 miles distant from South- 361 ampton, from Cape Town, and from Rio de Janeiro. It is, therefore, well placed for taking a share in the trade of the South Atlantic, and it [433] is small wonder that it has become the third port in the French Empire, being surpassed only by Marseilles and Le Havre. It is, moreover, of the first importance strategically.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

244 sixth crop of Africa, and 43 per cent. of the total continental production comes from Senegal. The two main groups cultivated are the 'runner' and the 'erect'. The Rufisque and Cayor varieties, both runners, are those grown generally here and also in British West Africa. The method of cultivation is described in Volume I, p. 321. Ground-nuts were originally grown as a staple native crop, but the industrial demand for vegetable oils, coupled with the development of transport facilities, opened up a world market for them. Extra labour for the harvest is provided annually by seasonal immigration from French Sudan, French Guinea, Portuguese Guinea, and the Gambia. In 1938 the number of outside workers was 69,757. Of these, 56,743 went to the Kaolack area, between 1,000 and 3,500 to Sedhiou, Ziguinchor, Kolda, Tambacounda, and Diourbel, and the remainder to Thiès and Linguéré.

There are numerous shelling factories. Early in 1939 new ones were opened at Kaolack, Ziguinchor, and Koungheul.

In 1938 nearly 2,000,000 acres were under cultivation and the experimental station at Bambey distributed 5,414 tons of selected seed. In 1939 7,382 tons of seed were sent out, with a corresponding increase in acreage.

During the British blockade of French West Africa after the fall of France in 1940, ground-nuts were converted into fuel oil. If this practice has been proved worth continuing after the war, cultivation may be greatly extended.

248 *Sisal.* Sisal originated in Mexico, being named after the port of Sisal in Yucatan province, and it was introduced into Senegal at the end of the nineteenth century. The species grown are *Agave rigida sisalana*, *A. rigida elongata*, and *A. rigida zapupe*. The rigid leaves containing the fibre are about 4 feet long and are harvested biennially from the fourth to the eighth or tenth year. When a plant has finished producing it shoots up a tall flower stem, with bulbils or buds on the end, and then withers.

283 288 The preparation of stem and leaf fibres is lengthy. First the fleshy tissue encasing the fibre is scraped away, and then the fibre is washed, hung out to dry, and brushed. It is now ready for grading. Next it is combed into a continuous sliver of untwisted rope. The final process is the drawing and twisting of the sliver to a uniform thinness for spinning into a rope that is particularly resistant to sea-water. The largest plantation is in French Sudan, and stretches for 12 miles along the bank of the Senegal near Kayes. Other smaller ones are in Tambacounda and on the Cape Verde peninsula. There is oppor-

SR 645 /98 cont./

there was the Grand Farba, a slave of the crown, who performed the functions of head of the army. There was also the Farba Birkeur, or court minister, and a series of dignitaries for various jobs, up to the court jester or Bissète.

S SR 175 648 The first attempts at French colonization in this part of Senegal date back to 1859, the date of the first military expedition into Sine-Saloum. In 1875, we concluded a treaty of alliance and trade with the king of Saloum, but the provisions were never observed by the native chiefs.

Governor Faidherbe explored the country and carried on reconnaissance as far as Kaolack. Following this demonstration he made a new treaty with the Bour Saloum in 1859. This agreement, like the preceding one, remained a dead letter, and it was necessary to organize an expedition in February 1861. Major Pinet-Laprade was given the command.

The marabout, a warrior of the Toucouleur race, Ma Ba, installed at Nioro-Rip, rose up against our arms.

In 1865 his activities forced us to throw a column into Rip.

Defeated by us, he nevertheless held us in check until 1867, when he was killed in the battle of Somb.

His brother, Mamour Dary, was only able to resist us weakly. Upon his death, Saër Maty resumed hostilities, seizing Kahone, the capital of Saloum.

His power becoming troublesome, an expedition /99/ was deemed necessary. It took place in April 1887, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Coronnat.

Nioro was taken, and on May 14, 1887, a treaty was signed with the chiefs of Saloum, placing Saloum, Niom, and Rip under our protection.

S [634] An administrator was placed at Foundiougne, and a circle was created.

In 1891, treaties made with the kings of Sine and Saloum secured our authority definitively throughout the country.

The administrative organization was then set up gradually and without difficulties.

/109 cont./

491 line in addition to the normal traffic of pedestrians and vehicles.

653 The colony of Senegal, in concert with the Société Coignet, is currently preparing the agreement, which will be passed immediately and which will require three years for the landing, the embankments of the terrepleins, and the bridge.

The realization of the works and arrangements planned will be an interesting example of close co-operation between the government of the colony, the public works services, the [441] Kaolack Chambre de Commerce, and private enterprise.

433 To demonstrate the importance of the port of Kaolack, it is sufficient to put some figures before the eyes of the reader. One will get an idea of the growth of the commercial movement that the privileged location of Kaolack on the river enabled one to foresee 15 years ago.

433 In 1905, Kaolack was still a small, insignificant vil-
505 lage. Foundiougne was the great port of the Saloum. But Kaolack was the outlet for an entire hinterland much larger; it was the access route of the products from Baol and Haut-Saloum /Upper Saloum/; finally, it was the natural port for the Sudan. Its approach, 120 kilometers from the ocean and made difficult by the passage of the Sangomar channel and [502] the sandbanks of the river, has been facilitated by the buoys. Running aground has become much rarer. Piloting, however, is obligatory.

496 Railroads. The railroad from Thiès to Niger, /110/
433 extended by a branch of 22 kilometers, which starts at Guinguinéo and ends at Kaolack, brought out the full importance of the latter point as the lands located near the railroad were improved. This development will take several years. It is steadily and fully progressing today. Like all railroad lines, the artery of the Thiès-Niger breathes life into formerly deserted regions, which are now being populated and opened for colonization.

648 Undoubtedly Kaolack benefited from the non-application
504 of the Franco-British pact of April 8, 1904. As is known,

/110 cont./

648 504 according to this agreement, Great Britain left to us on the Gambia River, along with the territory of Kantora, the port of Yarboutenda, which she thought was accessible to ocean-going vessels. If this advantage did not exist, the text added, a port would be selected downstream and ceded to France, along with the lands defined by an arc of one kilometer in radius. Later on, Yarboutenda was discovered to be inaccessible to ocean-going vessels. The French government then had the right to select a port on the Gambia which offered the advantages that the agreement consented to give us. After study, the port of Nianimaro was selected by the Government-general of Dakar. But the negotiations between Paris and London were never concluded.

496 504 Because of its natural position on a navigable river, Kaolack has remedied a situation which might have been very disadvantageous for our commerce. The rail line was even extended from Kaolack to Lyndiane, over a distance of 12 kilometers, in order to favor a private enterprise established on the river at this place.

Lyndiane is in fact a point on the right bank of the Saloum where vessels can tie up easily. The Etablissements Ch. Peyrissac et Cie., who own this port and have branches in both Senegal and the Sudan, have a real advantage in this privileged situation.

496 We have given some indication above of the development of the railroad: 190 kilometers in Sine-Saloum. The seven stopping stations are: Gossas, Guinguinéo, /111/ Birkelane, Kaffrine, Malem Hodar, Maka-Yop, and Koungheul, all located at the outlet of trade routes carrying groundnuts.

491 Roads. Branching off from this railroad line, as well as from all the major centers, many highways streak across the country in every direction. These roads, or rather dirt roads, [494] are for the most part accessible to automobiles: tourist cars and transport trucks.

There are more than 3,000 kilometers of dirt roads in the circle, of which 2,000 kilometers are used daily in the dry

/120 cont./

433 Truck gardening. Truck gardens exist in the major
244 centers. This is still, however, a European crop, the native
242 consuming very little of our vegetables.

An experimental garden, or rather a nursery, was set up in Kaolack about 20 years ago. This nursery provided many tree plants for the Europeans and natives (eucalyptus, mimosa, flamboyants, Gambia, mahogany, silk-cotton trees, orange trees, lemon trees, and guava trees).

[648] /121/ European crops. Concessions. No agricultural colonization has been undertaken by Europeans, except at Latmingué.

In 1920, the Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale requested a concession of 200 hectares at Latmingué, 20 kilometers southeast of Kaolack, very near the Saloum, in order to conduct experiments on the mechanical cultivation of groundnuts. Improvements were made for four years. Improved agricultural equipment was used (tractors, gang plows, mechanical seeders, pulverizers, harrow-plows, and pickers). The tests made it possible to get an idea of the advantages of mechanical cultivation of the groundnut. The shortage of manpower, however, was an obstacle to extending the cultivation. The Compagnie Française abandoned this concession, which was recovered and expanded by the Société des Plantations of Latmingué, which now exploits it. The latter cultivates manioc exclusively. It has already cleared 200 hectares and planted 270 hectares in manioc. It is trying to cultivate this plant annually in nine months instead of 18. This development should be watched with interest. The needs of the mother country for manioc are considerable, and Senegal would find there another source of economic prosperity.

233 Animal husbandry. Pasturage is abundant, especially during the rainy season. It is sufficient to raise large herds of cattle, sheep, horses, and donkeys. Epidemics, however, decimate the cattle, which vary between 250,000 and 300,000 heads. During the dry season, the problem of animal fodder is doubled by the difficulty of finding water for the

/122 cont./

317 Current production varies from 20,000 to 30,000 tons, which
433 are consumed in the region and exported to Senegal and the
[651] Sudan. This Société is hampered in its development by the taxes on salt and by transportation costs which particularly burden this product.

From time immemorial the natives have been exploiting the salt marshes at Tickat, upstream from Kaolack, and on the arms of the Saloum to the west of Fatick. They produce only what is needed for their consumption. /123/
[651] During the time of the Bours, this exploitation was the occasion for a fee in kind for the benefit of the sovereign.

433 Native industrie. In addition to the native salt marshes,
258 we might also mention the fish-drying industry. The many lagoons, marigots, and watercourses of the region contain an abundance of excellent ocean fish (polynemids, pike, skate, sole, etc.). The Niominka race, accustomed to fishing, draw a remunerative advantage from it. The drying of fish is practiced at Fatick, Foundiougne, and in Bas-Saloum. One can estimate the quantity of dried fish at close to 500
[438] tons per year. The consumption is purely local, and the markets of the circle and of neighboring circles are the usual selling places.

433 The only other local industries are those of the potters,
463 basket makers, and weavers. Some native blacksmiths set
[326] up shop in the villages at the time of cultivation; they are, moreover, of the Ouoloff or Moorish race.

433 European industries. There is only one European in-
258 dustry in the circle. An oil factory for the processing of groundnuts has been set up at Kaolack by Engineer Gaudart.
[648] Today this factory belongs to the Société des Huileries et Rizeries Ouest-Africaines /West African Oil Refinery and Rice Company/. Its equipment is modem. Its production is large; it
[439] sells it in the colony, in France, and in the nearby British colonies.

/130 cont./

312 653 Thus, in the past 15 years, many wells have been dug in Sine-Saloum.

In 1928, 600 reinforced concrete wells and about 400 native wells were counted in the circle. About 10 or 15 wells are completed each year, and as many are mended, repaired, or put in good order. The expenditures are sometimes great, considering that a reinforced concrete well 70 meters deep comes close to 20,000 francs at the present time. There is [463] one or two well-digging experts per canton, who make up their own teams. We thus have there about 30 natives perfectly informed about this work. Sine-Saloum has loaned [648] head well-diggers to the neighboring colonies, especially to Mauritania. The governments there have been very satisfied.

Should the policy of the wells be continued? It /Pl. III appears here/ /131/ has produced results. It has permitted going to what is most pressing. In the villages in the bush, it is the wells that for a long time yet will supply the inhabitant and the herds. In the cities there is the problem of bringing in water. Dakar has been considering this since 1903. Wells have been drilled everywhere in the peninsula of Cape Verde. Potable water has been found in the subsoil, but, until very recently, the quantity was barely sufficient for the needs of the city and the port. Today, the catchment centers at Point B give an abundance of water. It was after the mission of Dr. Moineau that drilling points in the vicinity of large agglomerations, such as Dakar, Thiès, Rufisque, Diourbel, and Kaolack, were proposed by this water-diviner.

For Kaolack, not one attempt has been made by the government of Senegal to verify the hypotheses of Dr. Moineau.

But it has called upon a mining engineer, M. Boyer, to undertake surveys to search it for subterranean waters that could be collected.

This engineer began his investigations at Gossas in Sine-Saloum. They were crowned with success in 1927, with water caught at a depth of 195 meters gushing from the soil; the bringing in of water has begun; the problem appears solved for this trade center.

/45 cont./
a kind of Negro bard or comedian, who do not receive the honors W 123
of burial and are therefore deposited in the hollows of certain [766]
trees designated to serve as tombs for them.

May 1822

Meanwhile, M. Roger, the ex-barrister, having become S
governor of our colonies in Africa, sent us the order to go to [648]
Sierra Leone to get a library (16) and some cannon belonging

16. And doubtless also the archives of Senegal. This mission was not crowned with success, "the library having been sent back to Europe" (Herpin, 1913, p. 132).

to France, which the English had taken away while evacuating our colony.

He advised us on the same occasion, if we happened S
to capture any French ships engaging fraudulently in the slave [439]
trade, to treat them kindly, in order to conform to the paternal instructions of the mother country.

/46/ The metaphor seemed to us rather bold, even for an ex-barrister.

Here I resume the observations that I made during my stay at Cape Verde.

The Yoloffe Negroes who people this region are tall W 142
and well-proportioned in stature. Their color is darker than
that of all the other Blacks of Africa. They follow the religion W 771
of Mohammed, but completely distorted by secular idolatrous beliefs.

Their marabouts, very influential, sell them very dearly W [789]
the grigris or amulets with which they decorate themselves in [793]
order to protect themselves against all evils and all dangers. [751]

Among their religious customs let us note a kind of ban W 695
which resembles the excommunication of former times.

/422 cont./ Table XII (cont.)

*511
276

No.	Income	In Proportion to Income				
		Fuel	Illumination	Maintenance	Water	Kola
32	25,000	1.2	0.8	1.0	--	1.3
33	25,000	3.2	0.8	1.0	--	--
34	25,900	1.5	0.4	1.1	--	0.2
35	27,000	2.8	0.2	1.5	--	--
36	34,000	2.0	0.9	1.6	--	--
37	36,000	3.5	0.7	1.1	--	0.1
38	50,000	0.8	0.5	1.4	--	--
39	51,000	1.3	2.5	0.5	1.1	--
40	55,000	3.6	1.2	1.5	--	0.1
41	55,500	2.5	0.5	1.0	--	1.3
42	56,000	1.6	0.5	1.1	--	--
43	81,000	0.4	--	0.6	--	--

/423/

*511 Let us begin with the most obligatory of all, those from which it is most difficult to escape: taxes and the rent of the dwelling (Table XIII).[1]

*511 651 Two of our families do not pay taxes. Nearly all of the others devote at least 1% of their income to them. The tax paid would normally be proportional to the number of adults that the restricted family contains. It is quite often lower; [659] [602] one may succeed in escaping the fiscal census. It is sometimes higher: specifically, in three cases where the salaried worker in the city pays the taxes for his relatives who remained in the village.

*511 427 Only 13 families pay rent for the dwelling. Two are given free lodgings by the owner; three are lodged by their [466] employer. The others are "owners." This ownership is often [423] limited to a straw hut, or better a plank hut, constructed on an [342] administrative concession. The most favored build a true house of mud; up to now only one of our family heads has undertaken a "permanent" building.

[1] [see cat 116, pp 62-63. ANALYST]

4: Mersadier--62 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

/424/

*511
427
651
467

Table XIII

No.	Occupation	Income	In % in proportion to income: Taxes	Rent	Syndical Assessment
1	Laborer	5,800	--	12	0.4
2	Orderly	6,100	4.0	--	0.4
3	Laborer	6,500	2.0	--	--
4	Laborer	6,700	--	12.6	0.3
5	Orderly	6,745	4.0	--	0.3
6	Mattress-maker	7,000	1.0	--	--
7	Laborer	7,000	1.7	11.4	0.4
8	Orderly	7,410	2.0	--	0.5
9	Baker	7,500	1.1	--	--
10	Cultivator	8,150	1.2	--	--
11	Auxiliary D. N.	8,940	2.6	--	0.2
12	Laborer	9,000	3.4	--	0.2
13	Laborer	9,800	1.7	--	0.2
14	Cultivator	10,000	1.8	--	--
15	Laborer	10,000	3.1	7.5	--
16	Auxiliary	10,675	0.9	14	0.2
17	Auxiliary	10,800	2.1	--	0.2
18	Spec. laborer	11,000	1.1	--	0.2
19	Accountant	11,950	2.0	4.1	0.3
20	Auxiliary	12,000	1.3	--	0.2
21	Clerk	13,000	3.2	--	0.1
22	Auxiliary	14,000	1.3	--	0.1
23	Cultivator	15,000	5.0	--	--
24	Cultivator	15,000	1.6	--	--
25	Auxiliary D. N.	15,630	1.6	--	0.1
26	Employee P. T. T.	15,800	1.7	9.5	0.1
27	Shoemaker	16,200	3.4	--	--
28	Worker D. N.	22,000	4.5	--	0.1
29	Police sargeant	22,000	1.4	1.3	--

/424 cont./ Table XIII (cont.)

*511
427
65/467

No.	Occupation	Income	In % in proportion to income: Taxes	Rent	Syndidal Assessment
30	Weigher	24,000	1.6	--	0.1
31	Carpenter	25,000	1.3	--	0.1
32	Cultivator	25,000	0.7	--	--
33	Chauffeur	25,000	2.5	4	0.1
34	Employee P. T. T.	25,900	1.4	6	0.09
35	Staff employee D. N.	27,000	1.6	3.7	0.09
36	Private accountant	34,000	1.4	--	--
37	Truck-gardener	36,000	1.4	--	--
38	Jeweler	50,000	0.4	4	--
39	Teacher	51,000	1.1	--	--
40	Staffworker D. N.	55,000	1.1	--	0.09
41	Head employee D. N.	55,500	1.4	1.8	--
42	Chief worker	56,000	0.9	--	--
43	Doctor	81,000	3.2	--	0.2

*511 /425 cont./ 9,300 francs; No. 1, 8,000 francs. From No. 11 to No. 23, we exceed 15,000 francs only once (19).

These two groups nearly correspond, on the one hand, to the group of monthly incomes from 5,000 to 10,000 francs and, on the other hand, to the group from 10,000 to 15,000 francs. For the latter, the maximum to be devoted to clothing would thus be equal to a month's income. The figure may seem reasonable, but the proportion is very great for budgets systematically having a deficit. It is true that many do not

[291]
[292]
[796]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 studiously avoided not only by Senegalese but by nearly
665 all leading French African politicians. The official formula
[668] was the creation of a Franco-African community, in which Africans would have fully autonomous states (or federations if Senghor and Sékou Touré had their way) and matters like defence and foreign affairs would be shared between France and the other member states. As far as the Senegalese were concerned their long attachment to France, despite their reaction against assimilationism, made it difficult to countenance the idea of complete separation. As Senghor always put it, 'fédérer n'est pas séparer.' Furthermore
[651] French aid to West Africa in general and Senegal in particular had been enormous.

The Senegalese thesis on federation made headway in the early months of 1958. After several meetings between the major African parties, the *Convention Africain* and the *M.S.A.* met in Dakar in March and formed the new *Parti du Regroupement Africain*, with the aim of obtaining Federations of French West and French Equatorial Africa, which in turn would be federated with France in the proposed Franco-African community. On 5 April 1958 the *P.R.A.* members of the *Grand Conseil*, plus the *R.D.A.* members, voted in favour of the creation of a federal executive; the only Ivory Coast delegate abstained.

Despite bitterness over the question of the federal
[668] executive, there was still little open talk about independence except by the *P.A.I.* and this despite the example of Ghana. This situation was to be abruptly changed by the *putsch* of the military in Algiers on 13 May.

648 In presenting his new constitution for the Fifth Republic to the French people, de Gaulle made it a straight choice of Yes or No. As far as the French were concerned this was a reasonable choice. Acceptance or rejection. Once rejected, there was the possibility of trying again as they had done in 1946. But as far as the overseas territories were concerned, they were given no alternative. They either accepted the constitution, whose details we shall examine

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

C48 the main drawback for Mali being the concessions she had to make over the military base at St. Louis. Far from cutting [651] Mali off without a penny as she had Guinea, France promised to continue her aid. Mali's decision to take independence marked the beginning of the end of the Franco-African Community, and indeed of France's political assimilation of her African states.

This done, the Mali Federation was all set for independence. But there were internal hurdles to overcome. Mali may well have been ruled by a unified party, but there were definite differences between Soudanese and Senegalese. Soudan was the larger, more populous territory, but the poorer. It was much more left wing and politically was run very much more strictly than Senegal. The party controlled everything. To appreciate this one must remem- [665] ber that the *R.D.A.* was initially allied to the Communists and had adopted their cell technique for its own party organisation. This system of administration proved most effective and explains why Sékou Touré was able to keep so firm a hold on Guinea after the French had gone. Senegal, however, after three centuries of contact with the French, was much more affected by French ideas of liberty [641] and certainly found this rather ruthless element in its Soudanese partner disturbing. For instance at the constitutional conference preceding independence the Soudanese demanded that a unitary state be created, and that the excess burden of two territorial governments be removed. They also wanted a president with strong powers like those enjoyed by de Gaulle. The Senegalese, who saw many dangers to themselves in such a constitution protested successfully on the moral grounds that it would prevent other states from joining Mali—which was after all the federation's main *raison d'être*. The Senegalese won the day after bitter wrangling. Of course, though Senegal as the richer partner effectively subsidised the federation, she had her own interests in maintaining it since Soudan exported [439] its ground-nuts along the railway from Bamako to Dakar.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

463 fact a family concern where it is considered more economical
563 to employ the daughter of the family in menial work than a Senegalese. To counter this the Senegalese Government has studiously avoided any open declaration on the undesirability of this situation, but by a series of discriminatory
[651] taxes hopes to make the position of the marginal *petit blanc* untenable. In this way it is hoped that European employment will be reduced by half within the next four years. Thus whilst the European population of Senegal was given
[162] as 46,500 in 1956, about 40,000 in 1960, the Government hopes to have it reduced to about 30,000 by 1965.

[655] One of the ways in which the Government is attempting to overcome the twin problem of European domination of
[471] commerce and the lack of private indigenous capital, is the establishment of state trading companies and co-operatives to compete in the marketing of ground-nuts and other basic Senegalese products. Also in order to reduce Senegal's dependence on expatriate technicians and minor
[874] functionaries it is expanding technical education and spending considerable sums on the training of Africans overseas. In the initial stages this will only remove those Europeans who were doing jobs that can easily be taken over by Senegalese once they have received basic training. There is no reason to suppose that the European Community will diminish by much more than the numbers cited above envisaged by the planners, since the anticipated expansion of the Senegalese economy under the four-year plan should be able to absorb the marginal cases who might otherwise have been forced to return to France. Nor indeed is it the intention of the Senegalese to get rid of the Europeans for the sake of getting rid of them, since the Government still maintains that the two groups can co-exist to their mutual benefit but that it must prevent the seeds of racial tension from germinating.

563 There is of course amongst the young and particularly among students some difference of opinion over this matter.
[208] Not all of them hold such liberal views, particularly

/17 cont./

499 each year. In spite of the use of cars of great capacity, the
438 transport facilities are insufficient during the first months of trade. However, the practice of degressive tariffs, so as not to place at a disadvantage the production of regions that are
[651] farther from the place of destination, limits all the more the possibility of an increase of vehicles, since the traffic in groundnuts is essentially seasonal and it poses a problem of return freight. The three ports of Dakar, Kaolack, and
438 Ziguinchor consitute, for exports, freight breaking-points
[504] between land transport and maritime transport. The latter
[505] is handled for the most part by the vessels of companies who undertake regular service: Delmas et Vieljeux, Maurel et Prom, etc.; they also have competition from the tramps.
435 These /18/ multiple freight-breaks weigh quite heavily on
438 the price of groundnuts, quite low at the outset, due to the fact that each of them is accompanied by multiple manipulations.

2) The manipulations. In its present organization, the circuit of the groundnuts involves many manipulations, because the product is transported in bags. At each step it is necessary to weigh the bags, to empty them into the secco, and then, when they are again forwarded, to proceed to another weighing and rebagging. Over and above the cost of the labor, the firms and sometimes the traders must bear the great expense of buying and repairing great quantities of bags which quickly wear out or go astray. M. Barbier estimates that a bag of groundnuts undergoes 16 handlings at the minimum from the place of production to the port. A solution to this problem might be found in transporting the product loose, by trucks and cars with gratins, loaded by mechanical transporters. These transformations presuppose great investments, which the groundnut, a cheap and, above all, seasonal product, cannot amortize.

3) Regulation of the condition. The decree of 11 January
[656] 1926 created an Office d'inspection et de conditionnement de l'arachide /Office of Inspection and of the Condition of

/23 cont./

433 that the great majority of the inhabitants of Senegal draw their only monetary resources from the groundnut.

●651 For the Senegalese state, the groundnut plays an essential role in the budgetary resources. Without speaking of the various domestic imposts, the products of the groundnut, upon leaving the territory, support multiple duties and taxes: the fiscal export duty varies from 10% to 12% of the value of the product, according to its degree of elaboration; the taxes of inspection and condition are from 1.2% to 1.5%, and, finally, the groundnuts pay the fixed tax of 5.4% on transactions. In addition to these different duties, there are the assessment for the support funds, which is 700 francs C.F.A. per metric ton of groundnuts in shells, and the dues for the local stabilization fund, which vary from 175 francs C.F.A. per metric ton of the product in shells to 500 francs per metric ton of refined oil.

[435] These various imposts correspond to more than 25% of the purchase price given to the producer for the product in shells. In 1957 the taxes gathered on the groundnuts for the [652] benefit of the Senegalese treasury exceeded a total of four billions C.F.A., when the budget proper of the territory for the same year was 8.1 billions.

439 433 Conclusion. The present situation permits a conclusion on the notion of "industrial monocultivation of the groundnut in Senegal." For some, it is /24/ regrettable to write in the passive about the economy of trade; for others it is the criterion of the passage of Senegal into the sphere of a commercialized economy, although in this case based on a single product, since, unlike such countries as the Ivory Coast, the attempts to develop other crops for speculation have not been successful here.

This economy of the groundnut, however, is at a turning point today, due to the evolution of the relations between Senegal and France and the existence of the common market.

In the framework of the former political system, and

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

to the Federal Government. In 1904, however, when the distinct Federal budget was instituted, custom duties were lost to the various colonies. The General Council of Senegal protested vigorously. Its spokesmen said that the Federal Government had taken away 78 per cent. of the colony's revenue and only assumed 39 per cent. of its expenditure. So strongly did the Council feel on the question that it impugned the validity of the federal financial arrangements before the Council of State at Paris. This latter body, as was to be expected, confirmed them in 1908, but the Senegalese have never fully accepted the new system. In 1929, for example, it was stated that Senegal was contributing half the customs revenue of French West Africa, though containing only one-tenth of its population. Moreover, despite its democratic Colonial Council, the colony has no more direct influence in federal affairs than Mauritania. Even to-day protests are still heard periodically against the financial system of the Federation and its alleged encroachments on the sphere of the Colonial Government.

648 652 [651] [651]

Christianity

The first definite record of a Christian mission is that of the French Capuchins, who sailed from Dieppe in 1635. They divided into two parties: one, under Pères Alexis and Bernardin, landed at Rufisque, where they were entertained by Portuguese Christians. During their stay they baptized 27 natives. The other party landed at St. Louis, where there was not yet a permanent French settlement, and met with misfortune. Some of them died, and the survivors joined their brothers at Rufisque. The Protestant Dutch made life impossible for them, and the whole party returned to France. Though from time to time priests of the Society of the Holy Spirit (founded in 1726 to train missionaries for the French colonies) visited Senegal, no serious missionary effort seems to have been made till after the Peace of Paris, when the first Prefect Apostolic was appointed to St. Louis.

797

The first nuns to work in Senegal were of the community of St. Joseph of Cluny. These were sent out in 1819 to St. Louis at the request of the Governor to undertake nursing and education. The community established two schools in St. Louis and one in Goree in 1826.

[871]

In 1846 the first mission was founded at Dakar, which the same year became the seat of the Vicar Apostolic of the Two Guineas. These missionaries belonged to the Society of the Sacred Heart

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Municipal Government

Full Communes. Dakar (including Goree), St. Louis, and Rufisque are full communes (Vol. I, p. 258), the only ones in the Federation. 633

The Municipal Councils, which choose their own mayors, consist of from fifteen to eighteen members. These are elected for terms of four years by the French citizens of their towns, and since 1910 all the councils have had African majorities. At first these communes had powers as extensive as their counterparts in France, and they were responsible for police, public health, roads, markets, lighting, and elementary education. In 1918, however, the colonial authorities took over public health at St. Louis and at Dakar, and in 1927 at Rufisque. Similarly, in 1924, the creation of the District of Dakar was made the occasion to subtract police and roads from the commune. The same process, without the same excuse, went on in 1927 for St. Louis and for Rufisque. For all these services the municipalities still make financial contributions.

Their revenue comes from direct government grants, from municipal rates, and from municipal undertakings. Altogether they include market dues, liquor licences, lighting, and a proportion of the business licences and other colonial taxes. In normal years the revenue of Dakar averaged some 8,000,000 francs, of St. Louis 7,750,000 francs, and of Rufisque 5,600,000 francs. 652 651 633

In each case the budget is drawn up by the mayor, passed by his council, and submitted to the Governor or Administrator. [643]

Mixed Communes. There are fifteen mixed communes in Senegal, namely Bambey, Bargny-Gouddou, Diourbel, Fatik, Foundiougne, Gossas, Kaolack, Kébémer, Kombole, Louga, M'Bour, Mekhé, Thiès, Tivaouane, and Ziguinchor. Thirteen of them are mixed communes of the first degree, but since 1925 Kaolack and Ziguinchor have been mixed communes of the second degree. 633

Chambers of Commerce. There are Chambers of Commerce at Dakar, Kaolack, St. Louis, Thiès, and Ziguinchor. The one at St. Louis is the successor of a Committee of Commerce which was set up in 1825. The Chamber at Thiès is also known as the Chamber of Cayor-Baol. It was first founded at Rufisque in 1883, but in 1937, when that town was included in the District of Dakar, it was moved to its present headquarters. 441 647

In Senegal there are no separate Chambers of Agriculture and Industry, but the Chamber of Commerce at Dakar has a section, established in 1930, devoted to those two activities.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS37

647 656 *Produce Inspection.* Produce inspection is entrusted to a board nominated by the Chambers of Commerce, but the Government keeps a tight control by exercising a veto on all important appointments to its staff. The Board's inspectorate has very wide powers of inspection over produce, whether destined for local consumption or for export. No produce to which inspection applies can be sent out [439] of the colony without a certificate of purity.

For this inspection a special tax of 5 francs per ton on ground-nuts [651] and palm kernels, and 20 francs per ton on rubber, is imposed on produce intended for export.

456 654 *Native Provident Societies.* There are 14 Native Provident Societies. Bignona and Ziguinchor have combined, but otherwise there is one to each province. In 1937 they had 1,200,000 members, [647] whose annual subscriptions varied from 2·50 francs to 5·00 francs each, and their expenses were some 25,000,000 francs. They supplied over 44,000 tons of ground-nut seeds to their members.

In earlier days the Sine-Saloum society imported stallions from [232] the Argentine for the breeding of mules, and in 1932 the societies devoted nearly 250,000 francs to the purchase of motor vehicles. In cattle-breeding districts they supply breeding stock and improve water-supply and pasturage. By 1933 it was estimated that the societies had sunk over 1,200 wells, while the society of Thiès had [312] constructed a barrage for irrigation purposes.

In addition to strictly agricultural activities, the Senegal societies [426] help their members by advances of cash, which are made not only to meet failure of crops, but also in cases of individual accident or illness.

Mining

656 316 At the end of 1937 the following permits were in force:

Personal licences		4
The Occupation System		
Exclusive licences	10	
Mining licences	32	
Concessions	16	
		58
Total		62

Education

871 1917 The first attempts to educate the natives of French West Africa were made in Senegal, and they were also remarkable for being instituted, not by missionaries, but by the Crown. Colonel Schmaltz

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

Trade

Imports and Exports. Dakar is the outlet for almost the whole of French West Africa north of the forest. In particular it serves the most fertile and prosperous parts of Senegal and French Sudan. The principal export is, of course, ground-nuts, and others are gold, gum, shea butter, kapok, and hides. Imports include manufactured goods of all kinds, coal, oil fuel, wine, sugar, and flour. In 1937 imports totalled 1,298,700 tons to the value of 763,200,000 francs (£6,134,060) and exports 1,284,300 tons to the value of 572,300,000 francs (£4,599,740). This represents some 40 per cent. of the total trade of the Federation. 439 [433] [433]

Manufactures. In or near the town are brickworks, a brewery, candle factories, charcoal furnaces, ice factories, sisal cleaning plants, sack factories, saw-mills, and factories for extracting ground-nut oil. There are also native handicraft workers. West of the town there are two basalt quarries, which are connected to the harbour by a railway line. 438 316

There are several trade unions. 467

Finance. The Port of Dakar has its own budget. In 1938 this balanced at 10,792,486 francs (£66,212). The principal items of revenue were the dues on the loading and discharge of cargo, which brought in 4,150,000 francs, the dues paid by ships, which brought in 1,566,000 francs, and the charges for the use of port equipment, which brought in 1,115,700 francs. The principal items of expenditure were 4,912,166 francs on wages and salaries of employees and 2,551,770 francs on the materials used in the maintenance of the port. 652 [651]

Description of Port

Anchorages. Outside the harbour there is good anchorage in 10 fathoms. Inside depths are greater, and there is space for a large number of vessels. 504

Quays and Wharfs. The main basins of the harbour are divided off from Goree bay and Dakar Roads by the North Jetty. This runs south-eastwards from the shore for nearly 1,200 yards and then turns southwards for its last 550 yards. Here are found the oil berths, and at the end of it is a light. Three moles project from the landward side of the main jetty. Behind No. 5 Mole, the nearest to the land, there is a large open space used for storing dumps of ground-nuts (Vol. I, Plate 84). This end of the harbour is a seaplane base, with a hangar on the shore. On the north-west side there are some [502] [508]

/103 cont./

633 instance, a customs office, and a telegraph, telephone, and
[647] post office. The various administrative services are represented
there[1] (public works, treasury, medical aid, education, agriculture, veterinary medicine, etc.).

433 Financial situation. Taxes. The circle of Sine-Saloum is constantly increasing in importance because of its size, population, and economic resources.

[496] Because of its exceptional location, the railway from
[491] the Sudan crosses it over a distance of 190 kilometers. Seven
[505] stations mark it out. Its railroad network and its system of highways and canals permit it to drain to Kaolack and
[439] Foundiougne all of the products of the soil. Thus, the total commerce for 1927 (imports and exports combined) amounted
651 to 350 million francs for the circle. The customs duties collected for the benefit of the general budget of French West Africa reached 13 million francs. The taxes from the tax rolls (personal taxes, patents, licenses, etc.) have risen to 25 million francs, whereas they did not exceed the figure of 4,300,000 francs in 1923. The advance is thus remarkable.

Native personal taxes alone in 1927 provided 3,768,355 francs, whereas in 1921 they brought in only 2,791,000 francs.

Taxes on livestock went from 270,000 francs in 1921 to 425,000 francs in 1927.

871 /104/ Education. Instruction is given to the children
[875] by French and native teachers. There is a regional school
[872] with 500 pupils at Kaolack. Primary schools are operating at Fatick, Foundiougne, Sokone, Gossas, Kaffrine, and Nioro. In all, 1,200 children receive instruction; only an elite goes to school. A need for the creation of new centers of education is felt, especially at Birkelane, Koungheul, Gandiaye, Niakhar, and Tataguine. Nevertheless, although instruction in French is given only in our schools, the natives also receive some rudiments of instruction in the Koranic schools. The latter are quite numerous.

1 [in KAOLACK - ANALYST]

/112 cont./

Port of Kaolack

505 In 1913, the ports of Kaolack and Foundiougne already saw a total of 1,041 incoming and outgoing vessels, but the port of Kaolack did not exceed 200 out of this figure: 100 incoming and 100 outgoing. This was because no customs [651] office existed at Kaolack at that time. Foundiougne was the major center of customs operations. It remained so until 1922. Starting in 1923, Kaolack took flight; Foundiougne then became the second-largest port on the Saloum.

Here are the figures for Kaolack for the years 1922-1927:

(See the following tables.)

/122 cont./

317 Current production varies from 20,000 to 30,000 tons, which
433 are consumed in the region and exported to Senegal and the
Sudan. This Société is hampered in its development by the
[651] taxes on salt and by transportation costs which particularly burden this product.

From time immemorial the natives have been exploiting the salt marshes at Tickat, upstream from Kaolack, and on the arms of the Saloum to the west of Fatick. They produce only what is needed for their consumption. /123/
[651] During the time of the Bours, this exploitation was the occasion for a fee in kind for the benefit of the sovereign.

433 Native industrie. In addition to the native salt marshes,
258 we might also mention the fish-drying industry. The many lagoons, marigots, and watercourses of the region contain an abundance of excellent ocean fish (polynemids, pike, skate, sole, etc.). The Niominka race, accustomed to fishing, draw a remunerative advantage from it. The drying of fish is practiced at Fatick, Foundiougne, and in Bas-Saloum. One can estimate the quantity of dried fish at close to 500
[438] tons per year. The consumption is purely local, and the markets of the circle and of neighboring circles are the usual selling places.

433 The only other local industries are those of the potters,
basket makers, and weavers. Some native blacksmiths set
463 up shop in the villages at the time of cultivation; they are,
[326] moreover, of the Ouoloff or Moorish race.

433 European industries. There is only one European in-
dustry in the circle. An oil factory for the processing of
258 groundnuts has been set up at Kaolack by Engineer Gaudart.
[648] Today this factory belongs to the Société des Huileries et Rizeries Ouest-Africaines /West African Oil Refinery and Rice Company/. Its equipment is modern. Its production is large; it
[439] sells it in the colony, in France, and in the nearby British colonies.

/124 cont./

439
505

	Kaolack	Foundiougne	Totals (1)
1921		73,885 t.	73,885 t.
1922	29,192 t.	79,882	109,074
1923	75,503	36,954	112,457
1924	90,421	39,221	129,633
1925	110,787	52,986	163,773
1926	135,899	58,271	194,170
1927	134,947	51,808	186,755

1. Kaolack, up to 1922, had no customs office. It was Foundiougne which centralized all the operations.

To the above figures must be added those for the port of Saboya which we gave above.

On the whole, the tonnage of groundnuts exported by way of the ports of the circle was 198,000 tons in 1926; in 1927, 191,000 tons, or 40% of the /125/ total exports of groundnuts from Senegal. It should be noted that in 1906 the tonnage exported amounted to only 31,000 tons.

439
505
433

The production of the circle being 140,000 tons, the difference over that comes from the harvest of the regions of Baol, Tambacounda, and the Sudan, which is shipped to Kaolack and Foundiougne. If one compares these figures with the production of 1913, which was 60,000 tons, one sees how much progress has marked the cultivation of groundnuts.

Imports and exports combined make the general commerce of the circle reach close to 300,000 tons at present.

●651 Customs receipts. The Kaolack customs office took in as receipts the sum of 13,901,810 francs in 1927.

The one at Foundiougne, 4,001,249 francs.

Or a total of 17,903,059 francs.

If one adds to this the receipts from Saboya and those from the frontier posts of the Gambia, the total receipts exceed 18 million francs. We are far from the figure for 1905: 405,000 francs.

/23 cont./

793 way to a frank and full collaboration between the representatives
*795 of authority and the Murid leaders of all ranks.

*795 The effective and efficient discipline which prevails in the
631 brotherhood permits exercising over those under its jurisdiction
793 a kind of indirect administration, always easier to achieve than direct administration. This formula was used especially from 1940 to 1946 when it was a question of producing the utmost quantities of groundnuts. This collaboration between the Murid marabouts and the Governors did away with many reticences and prejudices and had the result of increasing the prestige and influence of the former, not only within the brotherhood, but also in all of Senegal.

793 Today this collaboration perhaps has a few more nuances,
*795 but it remains important. Relations between the heads of ad-
●652 ministrative divisions and the Murid marabouts are always very
631 polite and very close; the marabouts receive sizable economic and financial aid from the Administration. The Sociétés de
[654] Prévoyance /Welfare Societies/ advance them large tonnages of groundnut seed. Then again, short-term and long-term agricultural credits are granted to them, either for putting into good condition each of the agricultural fields (wintering credits) or to allow them to modernize or mechanize their cultivation; finally, administrative subsidies are also given for the construction of the Mosque of Touba. On the other hand, the marabouts preach to their talibés respect for established authority /24/ and call upon them to do their duty vis-à-vis Administration, notably in whatever concerns the payment of taxes and the reimbursements for the seed to the Sociétés de Prévoyance.

*795 The Murids thus have an important place in the life of
162 Senegal. Their number is estimated at 400,000, which represents a quarter of the Islamized population of the territory. One quarter of the brotherhood is established in the circle of Diourbel and two other quarters are distributed in the regions adjacent to the circles of Kaolack, Thiés, Louga, and Linguère, that is to say, the Murids have remained closely grouped around
[793] their land of origin, Baol. They live there for the most part in

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

III. FRENCH REACTION AGAINST ASSIMILATION

France had made a great mistake in granting suffrage to the Natives. She did not withdraw her present, but took good care not to repeat it elsewhere.

PIERRE MILLE: *The Black Vote in Senegal.*

648 UNTIL 1913 all the Senegalese deputies in the French Chamber of Deputies were citizens of metropolitan origin. And in the General Council and the municipal 646 councils Europeans, even when they were not in a majority, [633] more often than not succeeded in controlling proceedings. [563] With this European domination of the representative institutions, it may come as a surprise that France not only failed to extend the experiment to other parts of French Africa, but indeed did her best to suppress those rights already granted in Senegal. First of all many of the Gover- 643 nors resented the control the General Council had over the 646 territorial budget, albeit limited. Secondly they found that [652] the General Council tried to run a peace-time administration for that part of Senegal under direct rule, whilst the Governors were more concerned with the pacification of the much larger hinterland, for in those days Senegal included much of what is now Mali. As one historian of Senegal, André Villard, has put it: 'The Colony thought it had the right to lead the quiet life of a French *arrondissement* at the very time when expansion towards the east necessitated exceptional political and military efforts.' An authoritarian Governor like Brière de l'Isle found it particularly galling to be saddled with a democratically 646 elected legislative council. Furthermore the General- 563 Councillors, who were mainly European or half-caste up 633

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

taxes, but thereafter relations between chiefs and Government on the one hand and citizens on the other were rarely cordial.

The powers of the Council were very restricted, having legislative rights over minor matters like the classification of roads and the management of public properties. Even these limited powers were subject to the veto of the Governor-General of French West Africa. Its main deliberative competence was over the budget, which though drawn up by the Governor could be criticised by the councillors. This power was watered down by the classification of a large section of the budget as obligatory expenditure. Nevertheless the council was an exceptional institution in West Africa. As R. L. Buell in his *The Native Problem in Africa* wrote:

> That the eight Europeans who participated in the Council should have exactly the same status as the thirty-two blacks is a situation which would strike the Anglo-Saxon as anomalous to say the least. The visitor to the Council will frequently witness a black president calling a European member to order for rowdiness. It does not appear, however, that the council is divided upon racial lines, i.e. of white versus black, except on the issue of higher pay for European officials—a policy which was, in fact, attacked as vigorously by the Europeans as by the native members. The real alignment so far has been the citizen members—both black and European—against the government supported by the chiefs. Black members as we have seen, have unmercifully criticised officials in Senegal. No British colony would tolerate the attacks which the natives make upon European officials in Senegal.

Buell pin-pointed a growing division in the territory—that between the *originaires* and the *sujets* of the Protectorate. The *originaires*, especially since the election of one of their own number as deputy, became increasingly jealous of their privileges. Meanwhile the rest of the territory was administered according to the same principles of administration as were applied throughout the rest of West Africa. Though traditional chiefs were stripped of their traditional powers

/23 cont./

433 that the great majority of the inhabitants of Senegal draw their only monetary resources from the groundnut.

651 For the Senegalese state, the groundnut plays an essential role in the budgetary resources. Without speaking of the various domestic imposts, the products of the groundnut, upon leaving the territory, support multiple duties and taxes: the fiscal export duty varies from 10% to 12% of the value of the product, according to its degree of elaboration; the taxes of inspection and condition are from 1.2% to 1.5%, and, finally, the groundnuts pay the fixed tax of 5.4% on transactions. In addition to these different duties, there are the assessment for the support funds, which is 700 francs C.F.A. per metric ton of groundnuts in shells, and the dues for the local stabilization fund, which vary from 175 francs C.F.A. per metric ton of the product in shells to 500 francs per metric ton of refined oil.

[435] These various imposts correspond to more than 25% of the purchase price given to the producer for the product in shells. In 1957 the taxes gathered on the groundnuts for the [652] benefit of the Senegalese treasury exceeded a total of four billions C.F.A., when the budget proper of the territory for the same year was 8.1 billions.

439 433 Conclusion. The present situation permits a conclusion on the notion of "industrial monocultivation of the groundnut in Senegal." For some, it is /24/ regrettable to write in the passive about the economy of trade; for others it is the criterion of the passage of Senegal into the sphere of a commercialized economy, although in this case based on a single product, since, unlike such countries as the Ivory Coast, the attempts to develop other crops for speculation have not been successful here.

This economy of the groundnut, however, is at a turning point today, due to the evolution of the relations between Senegal and France and the existence of the common market.

In the framework of the former political system, and

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

641 other privileges of French citizenship. In due course the same
[633] status was conferred on natives of Dakar, and in 1916 French citizenship was extended not only to natives born in these four communes but to their descendants also. It thus came about that out
[162] of 80,500 native citizens in the whole of French West Africa 78,000 live in Senegal or Dakar. Of these the great bulk resides in the four old communes.

633 Municipal government, on entirely metropolitan lines, was conferred upon St. Louis and Goree in 1872 and upon Rufisque in 1880. In 1887 Dakar, which had hitherto formed part of Goree, was separated from it, receiving its own elected mayor and council, and in 1929 absorbed its parent. The District of Dakar was separated from Senegal in 1924, and received its own Administrator, directly responsible to the Governor-General.

646 Parliamentary representation was suspended under Napoleon III, but restored in 1870. Until 1914 a European had been elected, but the racial issue was deliberately raised in that year, when M. Blaise
[645] Diagne, a Sérère, entered on his long term as Deputy for Senegal. He thoroughly justified his race by heading a campaign for voluntary recruitment in Senegal during the War of 1914–1918, and subsequently held office as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. As early as 1879 the General Council was elected by the citizens of
[633] the four communes. It had certain powers of taxation and legislation over the four communes, powers which, though limited, were more democratic than in other parts of French West Africa. Its greatest influence, however, lay in the criticism of the Government, a function which, withheld from it by law, sprang naturally from the power of taxation. When the formal distinction between colony and protectorate disappeared, the General Council gave place to the existing Colonial Council (p. 432), a body with generally similar powers extending over the whole colony.

648 *Senegal and Federation.* Before 1845 and again from 1859 to 1893
[643] the whole of what is now French West Africa was administered by the Governor of Senegal. It was natural, therefore, that in 1895 he should be appointed Governor-General of the Federation, with its not very precise constitution. This appointment was welcomed in Senegal, as it enhanced the colony's supremacy. In 1902 the Governor-Generalship was made a separate office, and Senegal sank to the level of the other colonies. This new arrangement, although a blow to the pride of the Senegalese, did not touch their pockets. They still
[652] kept control of their own revenues, out of which they voted a sum

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

to the Federal Government. In 1904, however, when the distinct Federal budget was instituted, custom duties were lost to the various colonies. The General Council of Senegal protested vigorously. Its spokesmen said that the Federal Government had taken away 78 per cent. of the colony's revenue and only assumed 39 per cent. of its expenditure. So strongly did the Council feel on the question that it impugned the validity of the federal financial arrangements before the Council of State at Paris. This latter body, as was to be expected, confirmed them in 1908, but the Senegalese have never fully accepted the new system. In 1929, for example, it was stated that Senegal was contributing half the customs revenue of French West Africa, though containing only one-tenth of its population. Moreover, despite its democratic Colonial Council, the colony has no more direct influence in federal affairs than Mauritania. Even to-day protests are still heard periodically against the financial system of the Federation and its alleged encroachments on the sphere of the Colonial Government.

Christianity

The first definite record of a Christian mission is that of the French Capuchins, who sailed from Dieppe in 1635. They divided into two parties: one, under Pères Alexis and Bernardin, landed at Rufisque, where they were entertained by Portuguese Christians. During their stay they baptized 27 natives. The other party landed at St. Louis, where there was not yet a permanent French settlement, and met with misfortune. Some of them died, and the survivors joined their brothers at Rufisque. The Protestant Dutch made life impossible for them, and the whole party returned to France. Though from time to time priests of the Society of the Holy Spirit (founded in 1726 to train missionaries for the French colonies) visited Senegal, no serious missionary effort seems to have been made till after the Peace of Paris, when the first Prefect Apostolic was appointed to St. Louis.

The first nuns to work in Senegal were of the community of St. Joseph of Cluny. These were sent out in 1819 to St. Louis at the request of the Governor to undertake nursing and education. The community established two schools in St. Louis and one in Goree in 1826.

In 1846 the first mission was founded at Dakar, which the same year became the seat of the Vicar Apostolic of the Two Guineas. These missionaries belonged to the Society of the Sacred Heart

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 31

633 The Council has the same functions as that of the colony, but its
645 decisions need the approval (usually formal) of the Standing
[648] Committee of the Governor-General's Council.

The Executive Councils of Senegal and of Dakar are known as *conseils privés*, whereas those of the other colonies are known as *conseils d'administration*.

646 *The Colonial Council of Senegal.* The history of the Colonial
633 Council and of its predecessor, the General Council, has been given above. The earlier council had jurisdiction over the four full communes only, but its successor, which dates from 1920, when all distinctions between colony and protectorate were abolished, has jurisdiction over the whole colony. The inhabitants of the District of Dakar still retain their votes for the Colonial Council, and as a corollary the Council can discuss the affairs of the District. The pretext for this decision was afforded by the provision, in the decrees
[C5] of 1924, that the Colonial Budget of Senegal should contain a grant in aid of Dakar; but French writers do not disguise the fact that it was thought not desirable entirely to divorce the District from the rest of Senegal. The decrees of 1924, therefore, expressly left it an integral, though autonomous, part.

646 The Colonial Council is unique in French Africa in that its
666 membership includes Europeans, natives, chiefs, citizens, and subjects. It is, therefore, worthy of detailed mention. Its constitution
[642] and powers are laid down in a decree of 4 December 1920, as amended by decrees of 30 March 1925, 13 January 1930, and 8 April 1939. This last added the subjects. The colony is divided into four electoral districts, from which members are elected on a population basis. The Council is elected for a term of six years, but, on the recom-
[648] mendation of the Governor, it may be dissolved by the Governor-General. Should a dissolution occur, a new election must be held within three months. There are 62 members in all: 26 citizens elected by citizens, 18 provincial or canton chiefs elected by those of the same rank, and 18 native subjects. These subjects must either have been born in the colony or be descendants of subjects born in
[641] the colony; they must have completed their military service; and they are elected by all other subjects who fulfil the same conditions. In 1929 the European element only numbered one-fifth of the total membership, and the additions made in 1939 will have had the effect of swamping it.

646 The Council meets for a fortnight's session once a year, but it can
643 be summoned by the Governor at any time. It chooses its own

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

president, but the Governor has the right of addressing it and of deputing high officials to speak to it of the work of their own departments. It appoints a Standing Committee, which can meet to trans-

FIG. 52. *Senegal: Administrative Divisions*

act business when the full Council is not in session. It is bound, however, to report to its parent body.

The Council's powers are wide. It must be consulted on a proposal to create new communes, and it may advise on any matter put before it by the Governor. It may legislate on eight stated topics, which are chiefly concerned with the management of state property and with the colony's financial contributions to the public works of the Federation. This legislation comes into force within two months, unless previously vetoed by the Governor-General. The Council also has the right to deliberate the assessment and collection of

Winterbotham et al. K-6 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

646 taxes and all items of the Colonial Budget not fixed by the Governor-
[648] General.
[658] Article 40 of the decree of 1920 forbade any deliberation of political
[642] matters and any resolution concerning them. The power to discuss the budget, however, has nullified this prohibition, and criticism of the Government plays a considerable part in the Council's debates.
[631] The citizens are usually more independent than the chiefs, since the latter owe their appointments to the Governor. It is too early to judge the effect of the recent addition of subjects.

It will be clear from the foregoing that this Colonial Council
[642] performs a very useful function. Although it cannot bring the machinery of government to a standstill, it can seriously hamper the administration. In consequence Senegal has a greater tincture of democracy than any other colony.

Territorial Divisions

635 The colony is divided into fifteen provinces (Fig. 52), some of
634 them subdivided into districts. Their names and the names of their headquarters towns are as follows.

Province	*Headquarters*	*Area in square miles*	*District headquarters*
Baïol	Baïol	8,755	..
Bool	Diourbel	1,714	..
Bas Sénégal	St. Louis	2,351	Dagana
Bignona	Bignona	1,699	Diéguéréo
Djoloff	Linguéré	6,275	..
Haute Gambie	Kédougou	5,212	..
Kolda	Kolda	5,599	..
Louga	Louga	3,886	..
Matam	Matam	10,116	..
Podor	Podor	4,857	..
Sedhiou	Sedhiou	2,703	..
Sine-Saloum	Kaolack	10,228	Foundiougne, Fatik, Kaffrine
Tambacounda	Tambacounda	9,998	..
Thiès	Thiès	2,707	M'Bour, Tivaouane
Ziguinchor	Ziguinchor	1,120	Oussouye

635 The four provinces of Bignona, Kolda, Sedhiou, and Ziguinchor are grouped together as the Casamance Territory, at the head of which is a Session Administrator, or Chief Commissioner, residing at Ziguinchor.

In almost all provinces the provincial Commissioner is assisted by a Council of Notables (Plate 123).

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

Municipal Government

Full Communes. Dakar (including Goree), St. Louis, and Rufisque are full communes (Vol. I, p. 258), the only ones in the Federation. 633

The Municipal Councils, which choose their own mayors, consist of from fifteen to eighteen members. These are elected for terms of four years by the French citizens of their towns, and since 1910 all the councils have had African majorities. At first these communes had powers as extensive as their counterparts in France, and they were responsible for police, public health, roads, markets, lighting, and elementary education. In 1918, however, the colonial authorities took over public health at St. Louis and at Dakar, and in 1927 at Rufisque. Similarly, in 1924, the creation of the District of Dakar was made the occasion to subtract police and roads from the commune. The same process, without the same excuse, went on in 1927 for St. Louis and for Rufisque. For all these services the municipalities still make financial contributions.

Their revenue comes from direct government grants, from municipal rates, and from municipal undertakings. Altogether they include market dues, liquor licences, lighting, and a proportion of the business licences and other colonial taxes. In normal years the revenue of Dakar averaged some 8,000,000 francs, of St. Louis 7,750,000 francs, and of Rufisque 5,600,000 francs. 652 651 633

In each case the budget is drawn up by the mayor, passed by his council, and submitted to the Governor or Administrator. [643]

Mixed Communes. There are fifteen mixed communes in Senegal, namely Bambey, Bargny-Gouddou, Diourbel, Fatik, Foundiougne, Gossas, Kaolack, Kébémer, Kombole, Louga, M'Bour, Mekhé, Thiès, Tivaouane, and Ziguinchor. Thirteen of them are mixed communes of the first degree, but since 1925 Kaolack and Ziguinchor have been mixed communes of the second degree. 633

Chambers of Commerce. There are Chambers of Commerce at Dakar, Kaolack, St. Louis, Thiès, and Ziguinchor. The one at St. Louis is the successor of a Committee of Commerce which was set up in 1825. The Chamber at Thiès is also known as the Chamber of Cayor-Baol. It was first founded at Rufisque in 1883, but in 1937, when that town was included in the District of Dakar, it was moved to its present headquarters. 441 647

In Senegal there are no separate Chambers of Agriculture and Industry, but the Chamber of Commerce at Dakar has a section, established in 1930, devoted to those two activities.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

874 In 1927 apprentice courses in woodwork and metalwork were started in St. Louis and Kaolack by the Public Works Department for selected schoolboys between the ages of 13 and 16 years.

871 There is a number of educational institutions in Dakar of a higher grade than primary. These are the responsibility of the Federal Government and have been described in Volume I.

Health

743 Senegal is divided into thirteen medical districts, each of which is intended to be under the supervision of a European medical officer. There are 17 medical stations, each under a native auxiliary. There are also 16 maternity centres and 117 posts visited once a week by a medical officer.

In 1937 Senegal and Dakar had 3 major hospitals and 34 minor hospitals and dispensaries. These provided 394 beds for European patients and 1,805 for native. There were 80 European medical officers, 31 native auxiliaries, 30 midwives, 124 male nurses, and 21 female nurses.

[744] In addition there were four travelling parties (*groupes sanitaires mobiles*). One of these specialized in fighting sleeping-sickness in the Casamance Territory, and the other three were concerned with more general sanitary and prophylactic measures.

The Pasteur Institute at Dakar, a federal concern, is justly famous. [747] Some medical work is done by missionaries. Unofficial committees of the Croix-Rouge are concerned with infant welfare at Dakar, Diourbel, St. Louis, and Tivaouane.

[652] In 1937 Senegal voted 12,000,000 francs for medical services and Dakar 11,000,000 francs.

10. PORTS

36 St. Louis (16° 01′; 16° 30′ W.). Population, 30,586, including [131] 1,231 Europeans. Colonial capital of Senegal and of Mauritania. [162] Full Commune. Headquarters of the province of Bas Sénégal. [489] Custom-house. Law courts. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital [743] and dispensary. Army headquarters and barracks. Police head- [712] quarters. Belgian Consulate. Meteorological station. Landing- [648] ground. Wireless station. Lycée Faidherbe. École des Fils des [654] Chefs et des Interprètes. Higher Primary and Technical Schools. Protestant and Roman Catholic missions. Bank of West Africa. [697] Power station. Prison. Hotels. Garages. Race-course. Botanical gardens. Experimental plantation. Daily market.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS37
Dakar

Trade

Imports and Exports. Dakar is the outlet for almost the whole of French West Africa north of the forest. In particular it serves the most fertile and prosperous parts of Senegal and French Sudan. The principal export is, of course, ground-nuts, and others are gold, gum, shea butter, kapok, and hides. Imports include manufactured goods of all kinds, coal, oil fuel, wine, sugar, and flour. In 1937 imports totalled 1,298,700 tons to the value of 763,200,000 francs (£6,134,060) and exports 1,284,300 tons to the value of 572,300,000 francs (£4,599,740). This represents some 40 per cent. of the total trade of the Federation. 439 [433] [433]

Manufactures. In or near the town are brickworks, a brewery, candle factories, charcoal furnaces, ice factories, sisal cleaning plants, sack factories, saw-mills, and factories for extracting ground-nut oil. There are also native handicraft workers. West of the town there are two basalt quarries, which are connected to the harbour by a railway line. 438 316

There are several trade unions. 467

Finance. The Port of Dakar has its own budget. In 1938 this balanced at 10,792,486 francs (£66,212). The principal items of revenue were the dues on the loading and discharge of cargo, which brought in 4,150,000 francs, the dues paid by ships, which brought in 1,566,000 francs, and the charges for the use of port equipment, which brought in 1,115,700 francs. The principal items of expenditure were 4,912,166 francs on wages and salaries of employees and 2,551,770 francs on the materials used in the maintenance of the port. 652 [651]

Description of Port

Anchorages. Outside the harbour there is good anchorage in 10 fathoms. Inside depths are greater, and there is space for a large number of vessels. 504

Quays and Wharfs. The main basins of the harbour are divided off from Goree bay and Dakar Roads by the North Jetty. This runs south-eastwards from the shore for nearly 1,200 yards and then turns southwards for its last 550 yards. Here are found the oil berths, and at the end of it is a light. Three moles project from the landward side of the main jetty. Behind No. 5 Mole, the nearest to the land, there is a large open space used for storing dumps of ground-nuts (Vol. I, Plate 84). This end of the harbour is a seaplane base, with a hangar on the shore. On the north-west side there are some [502] [508]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Mali MS 35

S
M
439

117,015 tons worth 126,720,675 francs. The next most valuable export is gold, of which 2,794 lb. Troy were exported in 1937. This was valued at 31,283,505 francs, but the value of the franc itself in that year was beginning to decline. Exports of ground-nut oil increased sharply from 351 tons in 1935 to 5,220 tons in 1937, and those of oilcake from 3,793 tons to 13,015 tons in the same years. Other important exports included gum arabic, sisal, and shea butter and oil.

Imports. The chief import is cotton cloth. Guinées are officially measured in thousand-metre lengths and other cloths in tons. In 1937, 9,662,000 metres (10,566,370 yards) of guinées, valued at 32,197,354 francs, were imported, and 6,825 tons of other cloths, valued at 250,516,890 francs. These amounts represent almost one-third of the total value of all imports for that year, namely 944,766,000 francs. The second most valuable import is oil fuel, and in 1937, 670,344 tons were imported to the value of 133,179,986 francs. Next in value comes rice, of which 115,875 tons worth 110,839,933 francs were imported in 1937. No figures are published for the weight, but machines, machinery, and other metal goods to the value of 93,077,917 francs were imported in the same year. Other imports include wine, coal, sugar, and ready-made clothing; in short, all the products of mine, factory, and farm which French West Africa needs but cannot supply.

Further details of both imports and exports are given in Appendix A.

Finance

Senegal

S
652

The budget for 1938 balanced at 120,737,000 francs (£734,583). The details were published as follows:

Revenue

	Francs
I. Ordinary Revenue	
Direct taxes	48,416,000
Customs and excise	35,883,000
Posts, telegraphs, &c.	11,495,000
Grants and subsidies	19,033,000
Receipts from previous financial year	1,200,000
II. Extraordinary Revenue	
Previous withdrawals from the Reserve Bank	4,710,000
Total	120,737,000

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M837 Senegal MS 37

652

Expenditure

	Essential expenditure Francs	*Optional expenditure Francs*
I. Ordinary Expenditure		
Debt charges	657,000	..
Salaries of administrative staffs	23,403,000	..
Other administrative expenses	3,861,550	1,994,450
Posts, telegraphs, &c. (salaries and wages)	13,239,200	1,234,800
Posts, telegraphs, &c. (plant and materials)	2,246,800	6,431,200
Public works	141,850	12,485,150
Social and economic departments (salaries)	12,967,200	50,800
Social and economic departments (other expenditure)	2,520,730	9,083,270
Sundry disbursements	24,642,013	1,189,987
Secret funds	10,000	..
Unforeseen expenses	1,000	167,000
TOTALS	83,690,343	32,636,657
II. Extraordinary Expenditure		
Previous payments to the Reserve Bank		4,710,000
TOTAL		120,737,000

Two features emerge from an examination of these figures. One is the customary large proportion of the expenditure paid out in salaries, and the other is the division of the expenditure into 'essential' and 'optional' categories. It will also be observed that only a small percentage of the salaries is found in the latter column.

The District of Dakar

633
652

The budget for 1938 balanced at 60,033,000 francs (£386,301). Its form of presentation was the same as for the ordinary colonies, except that there was no Extraordinary Revenue or Expenditure, and its details were as follows:

Revenue

	Francs
Customs and excise	5,306,000
Posts, telegraphs, &c.	5,488,600
Grants and subsidies	49,189,400
Receipts from previous financial year	49,000
TOTAL	60,033,000

Expenditure

	Francs
Debt charges	10,000
Administration of the District (salaries)	508,000
Administration of the District (other expenses)	155,500

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M837 Senegal MS 37

652
633

	Francs
Federal administration (salaries)	10,206,400
Federal administration (other expenses)	1,656,000
Financial department (salaries)	1,447,000
Financial department (other expenses)	370,000
Posts, telegraphs, &c. (salaries and wages)	6,631,000
Posts, telegraphs, &c. (plant and materials)	3,492,000
Public works	6,782,000
Social and economic departments (salaries)	8,868,000
Social and economic departments (other expenditure)	10,850,000
Sundry disbursements	2,726,000
Secret funds	12,600
Unforeseen expenses	35,000
Water department (salaries)	748,000
Water department (other expenditure)	5,545,500
TOTAL	60,033,[illegible]

In 1937, however, Extraordinary Expenditure amounted to 8,445,000 francs (£67,875).

The budget for the Port of Dakar has already been given on p. 447.

14. COMMUNICATIONS

WATERWAYS

133
361

THE navigable rivers and estuaries of the colony have been fully described in Volume I, pp. 366–7. The principal distances from St. Louis up the Senegal river are as follows:

	Miles
St. Louis	0
Rosso	82
Dagana	116
Podor	177
Boghé (Mauritania)	247
Kaédi (Mauritania)	341
Matam	400
Bakel	519
Ambidedi (French Sudan)	574
Kayes (French Sudan)	603

RAILWAYS

496

There are 648 miles (1,043 km.) of railway in the colony, all of metre gauge. For purposes of description six lines may be distinguished.

1. Dakar–St. Louis (163 miles).
2. Louga–Linguéré (81 miles).

/104 cont./

743 Medical aid. Medical aid and the struggle against epidemics are assured by the dispensaries set up at Kaolack and Fatick, each directed by a European doctor.

[759] The latter have under their orders native doctors and midwives residing in the chief town or distributed at the medical posts.

[652] The commune of Kaolack also has a municipal dispensary under the direction of a European doctor who is paid out of the funds of the communal budget.

744 Urban hygienic services likewise exist in the principal agglomerations of the circle, especially at Kaolack, Fatick, Foundiougne, Gossas, and Kaffrine.

Anti-variolic vaccination is practiced in even the smallest villages.

III. Economic Development

162 Labor force. The population of the circle is 28,000 natives and 1,300 Europeans and assimilated individuals.

161 The population density is thus 10.8 inhabitants per square kilometer, a proportion higher than the average for the whole of French West Africa, which does not amount to three inhabitants per square kilometer.

464 An employment office operates in the circle.

This does not prevent /Pl. 1 appears here/ /105/ serious difficulties in the recruitment of the labor force. The latter is unstable and inexperienced. Wages are not high at all,
465 especially in the cities.

At the time of the loading of the ships in the port of Kaolack, the wages of the workers sometimes climb to 15 and 20 francs per day. They are set on the average at 12 francs.

In some European operations, as at Latmingué, the agricultural workers have a daily wage of eight francs and in addition receive a ration of rice.

/126 cont./

874 young people are inclined to seek our courses which prepare
461 them for officialdom. The elite wishes to be instructed doctorally. It disdains manual trades. It is this state of mind that must be changed. Craftmanship is dying out. The governor of Senegal, under the over-all supervision of the governor-general, has understood this. The vocational courses in the capital of the colony, Saint-Louis, have been revised and improved. Agricultural schools have been established. More must be done. It is necessary to add a vocational workshop to each regional school and even to some of the primary schools. The child should become familiar -- before leaving school -- with the handling of the hammer, the chisel, and the plane; he should know how to use a shovel, spade, and rake. All of these skills should be lifted up out of disrepute, which has no reason for existing. Manual work must be put on an equal footing with intellectual work. We need good workers even more than good writers.

/127/ It is the duty of the administration to prepare the younger generation for the task that awaits them.

654 Agricultural mutuality. The Société de Prevoyance.
474 Within this order of ideas, and in order to develop a spirit
244 of mutuality and a sense of foresight among the natives, the administration has created, like Algeria, native welfare and mutual loan societies. A society of this type has been operating in Sine-Saloum for many years. Its founding goes back to 1907. Its beginnings were modest. At first it brought together 718 cultivators. By 1910, the number of members of the society reached the figure of 1,567. This was still very few. The idea had borne fruit, however. The administration soon brought in the majority and then the totality of the cultivators.

[652] In July 1907, at its founding, the governor of Senegal put at the disposal of the administrator of the circle the sum of 20,000 francs in order to promote this effort for mutuality.

Thanks to this advance, 99,700 kilograms of groundnut seed was loaned to the 718 first adherents, who returned them in kind after the harvest with an interest of 30%.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 that belongs to us, our occupation should be limited to those parts necessary for assuring the suppression of brigandage, the freedom of trade and the tranquillity of an industrious population.

The land cultivated by them will provide produce which will become the object of lucrative trade for the European, the only kind of work he can undertake in this climate.

648 641 [161] [162] [563] By 1865 the colony of Senegal comprised 150,000 inhabitants of whom only some 15,000, living in the original French settlements of St. Louis and Gorée-Dakar, were French citizens. Indeed this number was not to increase noticeably until the end of the century, since the privileges granted to those Africans under French rule in 1848 were never extended to the interior. For whilst Faidherbe pursued a policy of assimilation in the main centres like St. Louis, Gorée and Dakar, he initiated the basis of a system of administration for what was to become the rest of modern Senegal and French black Africa as a whole that was distinctly non-assimilationist. The laws for the *sujets* or those who did not enjoy the rights of French citizens were particularly harsh. They were not allowed to leave the colony, they had no right of meeting or association, and they were subjected to the corvée or forced labour on the maintenance of roads. To obtain this forced labour Faidherbe relied on the chiefs, and indeed one of the main criticisms of him as an exponent of assimilationism is that he leaned so heavily on both the chiefs and Islam. The treaty made by Jauréguiberry (acting-Governor whilst Faidherbe was on leave in 1865) with Abdoul Boubaker of Toro was far removed from the principles of assimilation: 'Art. 2—The Toro will continue to administer itself according to its own laws, traditions and customs.'

[167] [466] [653] [631]

The overthrow of the Second Empire and the establishment of the Third Republic in 1870 was to see lukewarm reaffirmation of principles of the revolution and a consequent return to assimilationist principles at least in the political field. In 1871 Senegal regained her deputy. More

[646]

/190 cont./

511 Nevertheless, ingenuity and mutual helpfulness make up for
207 the poverty of the equipment, and if one comes across well over 10% of owners of radio sets, it is because in a number of cases the owner attaches his radio to the current which comes into the house of his immediate -- or distant -- neighbor.

364 A very serious inconvenience, as much from the point of
514 view of hygiene as from the point of view of comfort, results from the total absence of sanitary equipment. Without doubt, an enclosure on the parcel has its particular spot, but this little corner cannot serve everyone, and for those who are on the edge of the agglomeration it is the bush which serves as a comfort station; for the others whose parcel is located far from the outskirts it is the vacant land within Pikine. This state of affairs is unfortunate for many reasons: first of all, for a good many inhabitants it is a veritable expedition, in a word, to go to the toilet; one can imagine what this means for the old people or for the sick. Besides, it is unhealthy, and to get an idea of this it will suffice to go out one winter evening after a tornado and breathe this nauseous odor which the wind blows from the vacant land over the rest of the agglomeration (1).

[515] [653] 1. At the beginning of 1961 the public authorities undertook the construction of several groups of "showers" in 12 places. One can only wish for the extension of the anticipated program and its rapid completion.

511 In the districts, while all are not the owners of a
364 septic tank, the situation is better. Only 12% of the homes
354 are counted as not having either water, electricity, or w.c.,
312 12% have electricity in addition to w.c. without a water line in the concession, 21% have water and electricity, and the remainder, some 34%, have complete modern equipment.

[331] It should also be noted that the Office de l'Habitat no longer builds structures without a septic tank in its subdivisions.

/107 cont./

504 to the Thiès-Niger railroad. The Kayes-Kaolack route saves
[496] about 225 kilometers for the merchandise on the Kayes-Dakar journey, which is appreciable, considering the high cost of the railroad rates.

Exporters, and even importers, therefore have an interest in using the port of Kaolack.

To justify this interest, however, it was necessary: 1st,
[502] to put marker buoys on the Saloum; 2nd, to equip the port.

The buoying was completely redone in 1922; it is examined and repaired each year.

Modern facilities for the port are on the way to being realized.

504 New works at the port of Kaolack. The government of
653 the colony, after having made different studies concerning the arrangements at the port of Kaolack, opened a competition at the beginning of 1927, by means of which it called on the large public-works enterprises to submit proposals for the arrangements on the right bank of the Saloum River for a distance of 350 meters, with the view of enabling ocean-going vessels to load and unload their merchandise directly, without the aid of barges or tenders, and for the construction of a
[491] permanent bridge on the Saloum, about 200 meters long, intended to replace the Noirot bridge, located about two kilometers upstream from the port.

The plans of the Société de constructions Edmond Coignet, of Paris, which were classed No. 1 as being the most adequate for the requirements of commerce and as requiring the least expense, anticipate the following construction and arrangements:

504 A reinforced concrete landing, 350 meters /108/ long and eight meters wide, whose upstream end will be near the Chavanel wharf, and whose downstream end will extend 110 meters toward the present downstream landing of the Thiès-Niger railroad.

The bank of the new work will coincide with the frontage of the approach of the existing landing and in addition will be protected by reinforced concrete pilings every 30 meters.

The landing will be constructed to support a uniformly distributed load of 3,000 kilograms per square meter, as well

/109 cont./

491 line in addition to the normal traffic of pedestrians and vehicles.

653 The colony of Senegal, in concert with the Société Coignet, is currently preparing the agreement, which will be passed immediately and which will require three years for the landing, the embankments of the terrepleins, and the bridge.

The realization of the works and arrangements planned will be an interesting example of close co-operation between the government of the colony, the public works services, the [441] Kaolack Chambre de Commerce, and private enterprise.

433 To demonstrate the importance of the port of Kaolack, it is sufficient to put some figures before the eyes of the reader. One will get an idea of the growth of the commercial movement that the privileged location of Kaolack on the river enabled one to foresee 15 years ago.

433 In 1905, Kaolack was still a small, insignificant vil-
505 lage. Foundiougne was the great port of the Saloum. But Kaolack was the outlet for an entire hinterland much larger; it was the access route of the products from Baol and Haut-Saloum /Upper Saloum/; finally, it was the natural port for the Sudan. Its approach, 120 kilometers from the ocean and made difficult by the passage of the Sangomar channel and [502] the sandbanks of the river, has been facilitated by the buoys. Running aground has become much rarer. Piloting, however, is obligatory.

496 Railroads. The railroad from Thiès to Niger, /110/
433 extended by a branch of 22 kilometers, which starts at Guinguinéo and ends at Kaolack, brought out the full importance of the latter point as the lands located near the railroad were improved. This development will take several years. It is steadily and fully progressing today. Like all railroad lines, the artery of the Thiès-Niger breathes life into formerly deserted regions, which are now being populated and opened for colonization.

648 Undoubtedly Kaolack benefited from the non-application
509 of the Franco-British pact of April 8, 1904. As is known,

23: Aujas--43 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37
SINE-SALOUM

/129 cont. /

312 The native digs wells. But potable water is sometimes reached at great depths. As a result, the wells that are not shored up collapse, or, even if shored up with wooden boards, landslides are produced. The wells are choked up, and it is necessary to do the work over again.

312 653 In 1904, Captain Friry of the Engineers was put in charge of the study of this problem. This officer made numerous soundings, dug experimental wells, and adopted a system of reinforced concrete tubes built gradually as the hole was deepened, which assured both great safety and great rapidity in the work. A movable shaft, with a diameter slightly smaller than that of the well, makes it possible to isolate, in the layer of aquiferous sand, a volume of water sufficient for drawing.

/130/ Captain Friry dug a certain number of them. He trained well-digging teams. They consisted of European and native personnel. The undertaking was tediously long, because it was sometimes a matter of going 70 to 80 meters deep. At times it was necessary in the end to go through a very thick layer of white and compact clay before reaching the water; it is true that the water rose very high in the well, but the work had to be abandoned in several places, the work becoming impossible at a depth of about 80 meters due to the lack of ventilation equipment. There was also the disagreeable surprise of coming upon a pocket of salt water.

In order to avoid these inconveniences, the natives were urged to dig wells without masonry wherever they could, and a promise was made to them that a reinforced concrete well would be built for them next to their own well whenever they found a good supply of water at an acceptable depth.

This promise, made in 1905, was not kept.

[474] [654] Fortunately, the Société de Prévoyance, created two years later, was able to include in its program as early as 1910-1911 the construction of reinforced concrete wells by the Friry system. A public works supervisor, M. Denis, who had worked under the direction of Captain Friry, was hired for this task under the direction of the administrator.

/130 cont./

312 653 Thus, in the past 15 years, many wells have been dug in Sine-Saloum.

In 1928, 600 reinforced concrete wells and about 400 native wells were counted in the circle. About 10 or 15 wells are completed each year, and as many are mended, repaired, or put in good order. The expenditures are sometimes great, considering that a reinforced concrete well 70 meters deep comes close to 20,000 francs at the present time. There is [463] one or two well-digging experts per canton, who make up their own teams. We thus have there about 30 natives perfectly informed about this work. Sine-Saloum has loaned [648] head well-diggers to the neighboring colonies, especially to Mauritania. The governments there have been very satisfied.

Should the policy of the wells be continued? It /Pl. III appears here/ /131/ has produced results. It has permitted going to what is most pressing. In the villages in the bush, it is the wells that for a long time yet will supply the inhabitant and the herds. In the cities there is the problem of bringing in water. Dakar has been considering this since 1903. Wells have been drilled everywhere in the peninsula of Cape Verde. Potable water has been found in the subsoil, but, until very recently, the quantity was barely sufficient for the needs of the city and the port. Today, the catchment centers at Point B give an abundance of water. It was after the mission of Dr. Moineau that drilling points in the vicinity of large agglomerations, such as Dakar, Thiès, Rufisque, Diourbel, and Kaolack, were proposed by this water-diviner.

For Kaolack, not one attempt has been made by the government of Senegal to verify the hypotheses of Dr. Moineau.

But it has called upon a mining engineer, M. Boyer, to undertake surveys to search it for subterranean waters that could be collected.

This engineer began his investigations at Gossas in Sine-Saloum. They were crowned with success in 1927, with water caught at a depth of 195 meters gushing from the soil; the bringing in of water has begun; the problem appears solved for this trade center.

23: Aujas--46 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37
SINE-SALOUM

/131 cont./

312 653 For Kaolack, M. Boyer found water at a depth of 95 meters. Moreover, the municipality of this city had also made investigations whose results were interesting. Excellent water was found at a depth of only 15 meters, with a volume of about 500 cubic meters per day. This quantity is not enough to supply the city of Kaolack. It is necessary to find 1,000 cubic meters, and this is what the government of Senegal and the mixed commune are working on.

/132/

Conclusion

433 Twenty years ago M. Camille Guy, then governor of Senegal, wrote in a study of Sine-Saloum: "There is no doubt but that Sine-Saloum is a rich country which could produce much more than it produces, that ten years ago it entered an era of prosperity which is accentuated year by year, and that, at the expense of the picturesque and original, it has become a region of Senegal for which the future is full of promises, some of which are now on the way to realization and others are incalculable" (1).

1. Cf. La Géographie, 1908. "Le Sine-Saloum," by M. Camille Guy.

The facts have confirmed this appraisal. In fact, in the economic realm, the results reached the forecasts of the most optimistic. The agricultural, commercial, and even industrial development can only be accentuated in the near future. Aided by official business advisors and by the local administrative bodies, the high administration has grasped the importance of the region and the value of the port of Kaolack. The sacrifices authorized by public finances have already borne fruit. They can only accelerate the economic progress of the region as soon as the program of works planned and at present underway is accomplished.

/20 cont./

793 *795 The Caliph-general seldom leaves Touba. He sends representatives to the chief town or to the circles to visit his talibés or to deal with administrative questions in the offices. If he goes away, he rarely goes far; in general, he goes as far as his groundnut plantations located a few kilometers from Touba. There he calls on the talibés, who, according to Murid doctrine, work for him while he himself prays for them and in their place. These plantations give him the millet necessary for feeding the people who live with him in Touba, and groundnuts whose sale will assure him of sizable personal revenues.

Immediately after Falilou M'Backé at the head of the brotherhood come his brother, Bassirou M'Backé, and his nephew, Cheikh M'Backé, about whom we have already said a few words just above. Since 1947 these two Sérignes have been, respectively, Vice-President and Secretary of the Murid Administrative Council which Falilou created to manage the funds intended for the construction of the mosque, and of which he is President.

Bassirou is regarded in principle as the "dauphin" of the brotherhood, the designated and legitimate successor to Falilou. He is very different from his brother. Tall, thin, with a long face and regular features, Bassirou has a great deal of presence and fine bearing. He studied at Boutilimit during the lifetime of Cheikh Sidiya Baba. Very cultivated and well-read, his conversation is as interesting as it is agreeable.

In spite of the important position that he occupies at the head of the brotherhood, he does not appear to maintain either excellent relations or very frequent contacts with his brother.

In 1953 he came to settle in Diourbel after definitely leaving /21/ Boulel in the subdivision of Kaffrine, where he had been making tests of mechanical and motorized cultivation in the Bloc Expérimental de l'Arachide /Experimental Bloc [654] for Groundnuts/ in co-operation with the Service de l'Agriculture and thanks to the manpower of his talibés.

He is now imam of the Diourbel mosque, whose restoration [346] he would like to undertake. It is actually a very beautiful

/23 cont./

793 way to a frank and full collaboration between the representatives
*795 of authority and the Murid leaders of all ranks.

*795 The effective and efficient discipline which prevails in the
631 brotherhood permits exercising over those under its jurisdiction
793 a kind of indirect administration, always easier to achieve than direct administration. This formula was used especially from 1940 to 1946 when it was a question of producing the utmost quantities of groundnuts. This collaboration between the Murid marabouts and the Governors did away with many reticences and prejudices and had the result of increasing the prestige and influence of the former, not only within the brotherhood, but also in all of Senegal.

793 Today this collaboration perhaps has a few more nuances,
*795 but it remains important. Relations between the heads of ad-
652 ministrative divisions and the Murid marabouts are always very
631 polite and very close; the marabouts receive sizable economic and financial aid from the Administration. The Sociétés de
[654] Prévoyance /Welfare Societies/ advance them large tonnages of groundnut seed. Then again, short-term and long-term agricultural credits are granted to them, either for putting into good condition each of the agricultural fields (wintering credits) or to allow them to modernize or mechanize their cultivation; finally, administrative subsidies are also given for the construction of the Mosque of Touba. On the other hand, the marabouts preach to their talibés respect for established authority /24/ and call upon them to do their duty vis-à-vis Administration, notably in whatever concerns the payment of taxes and the reimbursements for the seed to the Sociétés de Prévoyance.

*795 The Murids thus have an important place in the life of
162 Senegal. Their number is estimated at 400,000, which represents a quarter of the Islamized population of the territory. One quarter of the brotherhood is established in the circle of Diourbel and two other quarters are distributed in the regions adjacent to the circles of Kaolack, Thiés, Louga, and Linguère, that is to say, the Murids have remained closely grouped around
[793] their land of origin, Baol. They live there for the most part in

/26 cont./

793 will have their talibés vote in favor of their parties. When one
*795 knows what the influence of the marabouts and the discipline
666 of the brotherhood are, one can easily imagine what a formidable ace such an alliance can be for a party. But to be allied with one party is necessarily to be the adversary of the other (or others). If Murid fanaticism (and organization) is thrown into the electoral struggles, it can be the cause of serious troubles. Certainly these troubles would not compromise the loyalty of the brotherhood vis-à-vis the mother country, but they would create serious difficulties for the local administration and the government of the territory.

793 In other respects, deeper reasons can provoke lively op-
*795 position or even struggles between the great Murid leaders and
[665] certain politicians (or certain parties). Thus some Senegalese political personalities are beginning to criticize the way the marabouts act against their talibés. One of them has gone so far as to utter the words "servitude" and "feudalism" in speaking of Muridism /27/ to a high European official. It is certain that a virulent campaign could be made on this theme against the Murid leaders and especially against those whose ostentatious luxury can excite jealousy.

For their part, the Murid marabouts try to maintain their authority and their influence over their disciples and, in that way, over the whole country. They will be opposed to any social or political innovation which will give more power to the masses, and which, by so doing, will risk compromising their authority, counterbalancing it, or even combatting it. They were thus hostile in 1953 to the transformation of the
[654] Société de Prévoyance of Baol into the Société Mutuelle de Production Rurale, on the one hand, because they thought that authority should not be entrusted to the people, and, on the other hand, because they feared that a S. M. P. R. presided over by an African (as was happening already at the time in the circle of Thiès) might be less favorable toward them than the traditional S. P. completely in the hands of the Administration.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

433 668 [491] the Government is trying to do is take out of its hands the control of the basic economy, such as the ground-nut crop, and to ensure that the maximum benefit accrues to Senegal from overseas investment.

The distinguishing feature of the plan is its reliance not on *investissement humain* on Chinese lines, a method which tends to be favoured by the Guinea and Mali Governments, but on *animation rural*. It is believed that compulsory forced [466] labour is not satisfactory to the people who are undertaking it, even if it is ostensibly in their own interests, first because it is compulsory, and secondly because it can suffer from excessive planning by the centre, so that the people may be 'investing' their labour in things which in the first place they do not want, and which in the second place fail, as certain agricultural schemes have done in Russia and China, as a result of overcentralised planning.

433 668 ●654 Basically *animation* is what we would call 'community development', but it is to be operated in the context of the general plan for the Senegal, touching on education and medical services as well as economic development. The idea is that people in villages should be asked what they want: a new road; a new dispensary etc. It will then be explained to them that such things have not been achieved up till now through lack of funds but that the Government is prepared to put its services at the disposal of the villagers to build a road or some such if the villagers are prepared to provide labour. The object then is to find out what villag- [496] ers really want and to stimulate them into wanting them enough to supply labour for them. In any chosen area, then, a member of the Ministry of Planning and Development (Animation Section) will go into the village and enlist the people's co-operation in selecting an intelligent man who is sufficiently respected both by the traditionalists and by the youth to be able to put over these new ideas of community development. He is then sent on an 'animation course' where he is taught improved farming and other methods and is (it is hoped) inspired with the need for

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

progress. This he then transmits to the village, and in Casamance *animation* has worked to the extent of building a thirty-five kilometre road which cut the journey between two important villages by nearly fifty kilometres. In the Vallée du Fleuve, people who never grew rice before have now quadrupled their incomes by producing rice under a rural animation scheme. 433 668 654 [491] [243] [434]

All this President Dia hopes will raise the standard of living of each man by 3.5 per cent each year, doubling it by the fourth four year plan in 1975.

The plan is an ambitious one, an attempt to create a new Senegal synthesising the best of Africa and Europe. If it works, and the political future of both Senghor and Dia may well depend on this, then Senegal may become a pilot nation for Africa both economically and culturally. Senegal will then be in a sense a justification for the French assimilation policy, for although it failed in its attempts to assimilate the Senegalese both culturally and politically it has left profound marks on Senegalese society. And even if the experience of assimilation in Senegal has demonstrated the immense difficulties not only of one group trying to assimilate the other to its own standards, but of even getting the assimilating group to accept the other group as political and cultural equals, the end result may be the production of an African society which, whilst maintaining its own national identity, may prove a bridge between Africa and Europe and their two cultures. 668

/10 cont./

244
654

2. Experiences with mechanized cultivation. The experiences with mechanized cultivation proceeded from the arrangements of the law of 30 April 1946 on the first plan for "social and economic development of the oversea territories."

a) The first experience was that of the "bloc de l'arachide /bloc of the groundnut/." In 1947 the "Bloc de l'arachide" was created at Boulel, 21 kilometers north of Kaffrine, in the region of new lands. It had at its disposal 15,000 hectares of bush in a single holding and was endowed with powerful equipment. A labor force of 360 Murids, directed by 160 technicians, proceeded with the clearing, which in 1954 reached about 3,000 hectares. The aims of the enterprise are multiple. It is a matter of: 1. testing the equipment to be used in the preparation of the soil plowing, seeding, weeding, and harvesting; 2. initiating the Murid labor force in the handling of mechanical machines; 3. procuring contrivances for certain jobs, such as decortication for the sowing, deherbaging before the harvest; 4. instituting methods of cultivation that can give the highest yields while protecting the soil.

[795]

The practical results have been rather mediocre. The expenses are very high, and amortization of the equipment is scarcely possible. Moreover, the Murid colonists have adapted themselves poorly. In 1953 the latter were eliminated, and in 1955 the Bloc became the "Secteur expérimental de modernisation agricole" (S. E. M. A.) /Experimental Section for Agricultural Modernization/. Its activities were henceforth to be divided /11/ into three sections: a management section which supervises the clearing; an experimental section determining the most suitable techniques of cultivation and instructing the labor force; a section of exploitation, which applies the results of experimentation. The S. E. M. A. "admitted" 155 families for its work. It furnishes the lands prepared by machine, assures certain methods, loans food and seed without interest. Those admitted must take care of the complementary

[795]

/11 cont./

244 tasks by hand; they promise to respect the rotations prescribed
654 by the experimental section.

b) The experience of the C. G. O. T. in Casamance began in 1948. Within the framework of the first plan, the Compagnie générale des oléagineux tropicaux /General Company of Tropical Oily Substances/ acquired vast areas of land in the region of Séfa, upstream from Sedhiou. Powerful equipment permitted this society of mixed economy to clear 4,000 hectares of woodland. At great expense the company
[177] recruited some European technicians and local labor receiving wages higher than the average. The experience of total mechanization met very grave difficulties: clearing woodland is very ticklish, because carapaces are found at a shallow depth, the equipment wears out very quickly, and the administrative
[433] expenses are very high; and then, when yields of 2,000 kilograms of groundnuts per hectare are anticipated, only 1,200 are obtained. The company had to modify its policy. The lands were divided among the "colonists," who promised to respect a millet or rice-groundnut rotation. The company cultivated the rice mechanically and kept the harvest. It proceeded to the more difficult tasks in connection with the groundnuts and collected in exchange 450 kilograms of shells per hectare thus cultivated. The millet went to the colonists.

795 c) The Murid chiefs of the region of Djourbel also had
244 an experience with mechanization. In fact some of them, enriched by the "gifts" from the faithful, acquired equipment and in the new lands undertook mechanized cultivation of the groundnut in imitation of the example of Boulel. This system, without considering the dangers of the deterioration of the soil, seems dangerous from the social point of view, because it may strengthen the hold of the marabouts on the faithful, who become ordinary laborers.

244 In fact the experiences with mechanized cultivation have been dismissed because of a check on how much one could anticipate a generalized use of machinery. Nevertheless,
[654] in sum, these modest attempts have not been as catastrophic

/11 cont./

244 654 as the one of the famous "groundnut scheme" of Tanganyika. Moreover, they have greatly contributed to the rationalization of the traditional techniques, also studied since 1924 at the experimental center of Bambey.

242 244 654 3. Improvements in the traditional methods of cultivation. The center of Bambey, administered by the Institut de recherche des huiles /12/ et oléagineux (I.R.H.O.) /Institute for Research on Oils and Oily Substances/ has made great efforts, especially since the end of the last war, in the selection of seed, instituting new methods of cultivation, and protection of the soil and the natural environment. These studies, together with the information furnished by Boulel and Séfa, have given very encouraging results.

1) The selection of seed. In traditional cultivation, the cultivator had to take the seed for the next season from his own harvest. This system was not very satisfactory: the seeds were often of mediocre quality, and they did not keep well; finally, very often the cultivator improvidently sold part of his stock before the end of trading and consequently had [426] to resort to usurious loans.

Since 1924 the center of Bambey has introduced seed selected for high yield, adapted to the natural conditions of each productive region. The adoption of creeping varieties for the dry regions of the north and of erect plants for the more moist and compact soils of the south assures an increase of 20% in yields. In 1935 26 metric tons of selected seed had been distributed; in 1951 this figure exceeded 35,000. Since then more than 90% of the seed used has been selected seed. The popularization and the distribution of these seeds are handled by the satellite centers, but above all by the sociétés de prévoyance /welfare societies/, which in 1958 became the Sociétés mutuelles de développement rural (S.M.D.R.). The distribution of the seed takes place between the closing of

/12 cont./

242 trade and the beginning of cultivation, at an interest of 20%
244 on a base of about 100 kilograms per cultivator. Reimburse-
654 ment takes place before the opening of trade, the greatness of the loss explaining the high rate of interest. The seeds stocked by these Mutuelles are disinfected, and samples are sent to Bambey for analysis.

2) Improvement in the techniques of cultivation. An agricultural calendar restricted to four months and demanding hard labor, very rudimentary implements, and the absence of fertilizers explain in large part the lack of efficiency of the traditional methods.

The example of Koutiala in the Sudan, where some plows were distributed, has shown that the use of this implement is often prohibited in a tropical environment. In contrast, Bambey and Boulel have successfully experimented with small equipment, hoes and drills /semoirs/, in mixed /attelée/cultivation. These light implements can greatly facilitate the work of the peasant. A great obstacle remains in the mediocrity of the
[231] animal husbandry, inasmuch as it is divorced from agriculture. The donkeys throughout the country, the camels in the north, and the cattle entrusted to the Peul have never been regarded as draft animals. Today 20,000 light drills, sold on credit by the S.M.D.R., are in service. Up to now the hoes have not had the same success.

/13/ Mixed cultivation also has the advantage of linking cultivation and animal husbandry and of permitting the agriculturalist to utilize the manure, as the Sérère know how to do. The experiences of Bambey have shown that manuring is to be done for millet, but not for groundnuts, under penalty of harvesting many empty shells. The use of millet as green manure seems very beneficial on these unstable lands; the application of the fertilizer compound N.P.K., in the form of tablets to avoid rapid leaching, assures returns 30% higher. At the present time the Mutuelles are distributing about 6,000 metric tons of fertilizer a year. The high price of these imported products is an obstacle to their popularization, but some

/13 cont./

242 specialists envisage the utilization of the phosphates of Thiès.

244 654 3) Protection of the environment. The cultivation of the groundnut with the traditional techniques carries with it grave dangers for the soil. The abusive burning of brush denudes it and facilitates the erosive action of the dry harmattan which blows at the end of the dry season, from the month of March. The cultivation, most often improvident, leads to the rapid deterioration of very unstable soils. In the west the sands are impoverished, the salts are rising to the surface; in the east the lateritic cuirass appears at a shallow depth.

[313] [656] Legislation is intervening in defense of the natural environment; the decree of 4 July 1935 has interdicted the cutting of trees without authorization and has regulated the burning of brush and clearing. The most effective remedies, however, have been introduced by experimentation and recommended after a serious inventory of the soils. The example of Boulel has shown that bands of natural vegetation separating the clearings by passages perpendicular to the roads are an effective remedy against the action of the wind. The instability of the soils requires a strict system of rotation. Bambey and Boulel have proved that the sequence of millet, groundnuts, and fallowing is the best for preserving them. Fallowing for two years, recommended in the south, is insufficient in the north, where six years of rest seems to be indispensable. It is undeniable that for several years these crop rotations have been followed more and more, especially in the pilot sectors. Finally, the rearrangement of the map of the groundnut, amply primed, may have beneficial consequences. The circles /cercles, administrative districts/ bordering the Senegal River have practically abandoned this crop (Podor, Matam, etc.); northern Cayor, with a dry climate, impoverished soils, and a large population, has had a very marked decline in groundnuts to the profit of millet. In contrast, the new regions in Siné-Saloum and Tambacounda typically become groundnut-producers.

All of these innovations can actually bear fruit only with the acceptance of the peasant masses, which poses the problem

244 /14/
242 of training. This is one of the essential preoccupations of
654 the present Sengalese government.

II. The "Trade" of Groundnuts

433 For a century the total volume of production has pro-
244 gressed in spectacular fashion. Actually, no statistics are available at the harvesting stage. Only the commercial figures are known with any accuracy. In any case they differ little from the total figure of production because local consumption seems to be of little importance. It is estimated that the average production of groundnuts from 1900 to 1904 was 123,000 metric tons. The more recent figures are the following: 1938-1939 campaign, 584,000 metric tons; 1942-1943 compaign, 183,000 metric tons; 1943-1944 campaign, 281,000 metric tons; 1957-1958 campaign, 808,000 metric tons; 1958-1959 campaign, 653,000 metric tons; 1959-1960 campaign, 720,000 metric tons.

Except for the period of the war, when the production of
[439] groundnuts, difficult to export, decreased to the profit of that of millet, progress was continuous, the 1957-1958 campaign being exceptionally favorable.

439 This production enters into the circuit of commercialization or "trade," which today is very strictly regulated.

[178] 1. The organization of "trade." The commercialization of the groundnut has replaced the "trade" in gum, slaves, and gold of the former colonial system. Although the term is still often used, its present context is very different from the
439 acceptation of the era of the colonial pact. Trade is no longer,
441 as Littré wished it to be, an exchange trade organized almost
438 exclusively for the benefit of the European "trader"; today it is a commercial activity that is strictly regulated as to time and place and open only to approved intermediaries.

442 1.) The "campaign." "The campaign" is the period
654
438

/14 cont./

442 during which commercial operations in groundnuts are authorized.
●654 It is opened and closed each year by governmental decree. In
438 general it begins at the end of November or the beginning of December and closes at the end of April. The date of opening the campaign is set about two months after the beginning of the harvest, in order to avoid premature uprooting and to favor
438 the reimbursement of the seed advanced. This system never-
442 theless leads to some smuggling in the south, because the
[439] navétanes, anxious to return home, and the peasants, without any money, are tempted to sell in Gambia. At the time of the close, the transactions have been over for a long time, but this decision prevents the eventual sale /15/ of the seed distributed by the Mutuelles. In order to have the commodity brought in gradually and to avoid heavy transactions at the beginning of trade, operations are suspended from Friday to Monday. Nevertheless by the end of the month of January nearly all of the harvest has been negotiated.

366 2) The "points of trade." Since 1932 the operations of
442 selling must take place in the localities called points of trade
438 or "escales" located on the railroad or a road (Circular of 13 July 1932). These points of trade, which were 175 in number in 1935, now number more than 300. The limitation, in 1932, on the number of the points of trade was a response to the desire to moderate the rhythm of the selling and to avoid the proliferation of intermediaries. The recent creation of new escales is
[244] devoted to the conquest of new lands and is an attempt to avoid the abuses of cultivation on the lands near the former points of trade.

The accession of a locality to the rank of escale makes
[369] it legally an urban center, with the obligation of division into lots /lotissement/ and, for the merchants, permanent buildings. The campaign is a period of great animation for the escale.
442 The merchants or traders open their bank of purchase or "factory."
437 Traditionally, intermediaries, or "masters of language," conduct
[492] the producer to the factory. The groundnuts, transported by don-
[488] keys and in bags loaned by the trader, are weighed and emptied

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

4. CLIMATE

132
654
361

Meteorological Stations mentioned in Text and Tables

	Latitude N.	*Longitude W.*	*Altitude in feet*
Podor	16° 35′	15° 02′	49
St. Louis	16° 01′	16° 30′	25
Matam	15° 38′	13° 13′	c. 70
Linguéré	15° 21′	15° 11′	c. 90
Bakel	14° 53′	12° 24′	c. 90
Thiès	14° 49′	16° 52′	207
Bambey	14° 40′	16° 25′	59
Dakar	14° 39′	17° 25′	105
Kaolack	14° 07′	16° 07′	17
Tambacounda	13° 45′	13° 39′	154
Kédougou	12° 33′	12° 10′	433
Ziguinchor	12° 32′	16° 21′	18

132 LIKE that of French Guinea, the colony's climatic year is divided into two distinct periods: a dry season from October to May, and a wet season from June to September. The former has north-east winds, generally clear skies, and a large range of temperature; and the latter, introduced by tornadoes, is more equable and has south-westerly winds, much cloud, and high humidity. Imposed upon this general pattern is the influence of the trade winds, which, in the dry season, keep the coast north of Dakar cooler and moister than the interior. The weeks immediately preceding the wet season are very oppressive.

Pressure (Fig. 58)

Senegal lies between the belts of northern tropical high pressure and equatorial low pressure. Although the movements of these two are very considerable during the course of a year, the local effect is negligible. Fig. 58 shows that surface pressure lies between 1012 mb. and 1014 mb. all the year, and that seasonal changes are concerned rather with the direction in which it decreases. The gradient in January is from north to south, but in July it is from south-west to north-east. Extreme variations are within 3 mb. on either side of the means.

TABLE I. *Mean Daily Pressure* (1000+*millibars*) *reduced to sea-level and corrected to* 32° *F. and latitude* 45°

Station	*J.*	*F.*	*M.*	*A.*	*M.*	*J.*	*J.*	*A.*	*S.*	*O.*	*N.*	*D.*	*Year*	*Annual Range*
St. Louis	13	12	11	11	10	12	13	11	12	12	12	13	12	3
Dakar	13	12	12	11	11	13	12	12	12	12	12	13	12	2
Kaolack	11	10	09	09	09	10	13	11	11	11	11	11	11	4
Ziguinchor	12	11	11	11	11	13	14	13	13	12	12	13	12	3

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

132 hand, in September at Ziguinchor, for example, the midday mean rises as high as 48 miles, although at that time of year interference from cloud is greatest. Whatever the season, conditions are better at midday and in the evening than in the morning.

Temporary deterioration is caused by sand storms, fog, bush fires, and rain. The first occur during December and January over dunes such as those in Fouta and Ferlo. In them visibility may drop to less than 100 yards and the ensuing haze persists for several days over large areas. Fog is common before and after the rains and is to be expected over the southern estuaries at any time of the year when winds are light. It rarely extends above 500 feet or lasts after 9.00 a.m. Between February and April there is local interference from the smoke of bush fires, which rises 2,000 or 3,000 feet. In the wet season heavy rain naturally causes temporary deterioration. At this season also low cloud often blots out the tops of the spurs of Fouta Jalon.

Swell and Surf

133 Details of swell at Dakar are given in Appendix II, and they may be taken as typical of conditions along the whole of the coast of the colony. On beaches farther north there is slightly more north-westerly swell and on those to the south rather more from the south-west. Heavy seas are rare.

Surf, on the other hand, is everywhere heavy. On exposed beaches south of Cape Verde, for instance, rollers sometimes curl in 30 feet of water and break in a depth of 10 feet. Surf is especially dangerous at the mouths of estuaries when a strong ebb-tide is running.

Meteorological Services

•654 Dakar is the chief meteorological station in French West Africa, and St. Louis, Tambacounda, and Ziguinchor are also fully equipped for recording both surface and upper air conditions. Their reports [207] are included in the synoptic broadcasts from Dakar, which cover the whole of the west coast. Secondary stations are at Bambey, Kaolack, Linguéré, Podor, and Thiès, whose reports are also included. Twenty-six other places record rainfall.

5. VEGETATION

137 Most of the colony falls within two of the main vegetation zones. To the north there is the thornland, while to the south the zone of grass-woodland has two subzones, the Sudan and the Guinea, and

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
wolof MS30
Trarza MS24

S 175 167 reaching St. Louis. This disaster has been made famous by the celebrated painting of Théodore Géricault.

[648] As St. Louis was in British hands until the early months of 1817, Schmaltz established his capital at Cape Verde.

The first settlers from France were sponsored by the Société Coloniale Philanthropique, and consisted of 175 men, 20 women, and 10 children. Their intention was to settle in the Cape Verde peninsula. This was against the advice of Schmaltz, who thought that part of the country unsuitable. The settlers landed at Goree in April 1817, shortly afterwards crossing to the mainland; but, owing to the attitude of the natives, they were unable to obtain land or labour. At the end of two months there were only six left on the peninsula: the remainder had been repatriated to France or had retired to St. Louis, Goree, or the Gambia. Schmaltz was able to prevent the philanthropic but misguided society from sending eighty more colonists to the same place.

W [175] [648] Attempts to establish European colonists met with more success on the Senegal. In 1819 Schmaltz had no difficulty in obtaining from the chiefs of Oualo all the land he wanted on the left bank of the river. S [648] [241] In return, the chiefs were given annual subsidies (*coutumes*) amounting to some 10,000 francs. This arrangement was to lead to endless trouble. Cotton, coffee, indigo, and tobacco were to be the principal crops, and colonists were not lacking.

T [175] [648] The natives of Oualo were peaceable, but the Trarza and Brakna Arabs, who claimed to be suzerains over Oualo, were hostile. At first they raided the colonists, but later they were defeated by troops from St. Louis in a number of skirmishes. Eventually the French recognized nominal Arab suzerainty, and the colonists were allowed to S [648] develop their holdings in relative quiet. Nevertheless, the Trarza Arabs continued to give trouble until 1835, when, after a series of defeats, they entered into a treaty by which they abandoned all S [712] claims to Oualo. The French armed post of Dagana was built for the protection of the settlers, and an experimental station was started at Richard Toll for their instruction. The French Government S [654] [241] supplied seeds and implements and paid a bonus on crops, and some forty European plantations were established. At first they seemed to succeed, but the climate, the labour difficulties, and the hostile attitude of the natives combined against them. In 1830 the home government withdrew its subsidy, and the plantations were soon abandoned. Since that date the French, while not discouraging European enterprise, have relied for agricultural development principally on the native farmer.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M837 Senegal MS 37

near the Senegal river, the Fulani in the centre of the colony, and the Mandingos in the east of it. 162 [563]

The District of Dakar

The 66 square miles of the District of Dakar contain 126,929 persons; but the figures for density per square mile mean even less than elsewhere, since most of the inhabitants live in the town itself.

In 1937 there were 118,459 natives and 8,470 Europeans, of whom 6,728 were French. This was about a quarter of the total of Europeans in the whole Federation. [563]

Inland Towns

Bakel (14° 52′; 12° 24′ W.) Population, 2,103. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. Daily market. 36 [131] [162]

Bakel is on the left bank of the Senegal (Plate 83) where the river passes between cliffs some 17 miles below the entrance of the Falémé. It is a local market for gum, ground-nuts, grain, gold dust, hides, and ostrich feathers. Most of the inhabitants are Moslems. [438] [162]

By river it is 531 miles from St. Louis and 84 miles from Kayes, and there is a fortnightly steamer service when the water permits. [487] By colonial road Bakel is 386 miles from St. Louis, 93 miles from Matam, and 32 miles from Kidira. A bus service connects all these places. The river can be crossed by ferry, and from the Mauritanian bank a poor track leads to Sélibaby (32 miles). [505] [491] [494]

Bambey (14° 40′; 16° 25′ W.). Altitude, 59 feet. Population, 4,209. Mixed Commune. Dispensary. Police station. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Garage. Agricultural experimental station. Daily market. [131] [162] [654]

Set in the midst of an area of dense population, Bambey is a prosperous market town. The main product of the locality is ground-nuts, and large quantities of these are put on the train each year. They also form the chief speciality of the agricultural experimental station. [438] [654]

Communications. By railway Bambey is 77 miles from Dakar, 33½ miles from Thiès, 17 miles from Diourbel, and 319 miles from Kidira. It is on the intercolonial road, being 49 miles from Thiès and 16 miles from Diourbel. A colonial road goes almost due south to Fatik (27 miles). There is a daily bus service (p. 473) to Fatik, Foundiougne, and Kaolack. [491] [494]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

The electric power station has a gas-engine plant that burns the residue from ground-nut presses. 36 [377]

Communications. Diourbel is the railway junction for Routes 3 and 4. By the former it is 50½ miles from Thiès and 302 miles from Kidira, and by the latter it is 31 miles from Touba. The intercolonial road leads westwards to Thiès (65 miles) and Dakar (109 miles) and south-eastwards to Kaolack (40 miles), Tambacounda (230 miles), and Nayes (351 miles). Colonial roads go north-eastwards to Dahra (73 miles) and Dagana (162 miles) and south-westwards to Fatik (25 miles) and Kaolack (53 miles). [496] [491]

LOUGA (15° 37′; 16° 16′ W.). Altitude, 128 feet. Population, 4,390. Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Regional School. Power station. Garage. Race-course. Agricultural experimental station and farm school. Daily market. [131] [162] [654]

Louga is the scene of the most important cattle market in the whole colony. It is this that has made it a route centre. Other local products are ground-nuts, gum, and millet. Administratively, Louga is the headquarters of the province of the same name and also a military headquarters. [438]

Electricity is supplied by an oil-driven plant. [377]

Communications. Louga stands at the junction of railway routes 1 and 2, being 119 miles from Dakar, 44 miles from St. Louis, and 81 miles from Linguéré. It is on the intercolonial road from Dakar (121 miles) to St. Louis (47 miles). A colonial road runs eastwards across the colony to Dahra (59 miles), Linguéré (84 miles), and Matam (242 miles). There are also minor roads and tracks. [496] [491]

PODOR (16° 35′; 15° 02′ W.). Population, 3,168. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. Daily market. [131] [162]

This riverside town is chiefly important for gum arabic. The gum is brought by the Arabs, sold in the market, and shipped down the Senegal to St. Louis. [439]

Communications. By river Podor is 178 miles from St. Louis and 437 miles from Kayes. Throughout the year the Messageries Africaines run a fortnightly service to and from St. Louis. From July to January the boats also go upstream as far as Matam (234 miles) and in August and September to Kayes. Podor is on the colonial road, being 135 miles from St. Louis and 288 miles from Nayes. There is a ferry across the river to connect with tracks to such Mauritanian [487] [505] [491]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

redemption money. During 1936 official figures showed 1,000 labourers working under written contracts for private concerns, while 31,800 were working on verbal agreements. For public services there were only 20 working with written contracts and 8,900 without. These figures apply only to regular employment, and they take no account of casual labour of any kind. 466 [675]

The fertile provinces of Baol and Sine-Saloum annually attract thousands of immigrant labourers from French Sudan to grow ground-nuts. It is estimated that, in some years, as many as 60,000 Sudanese labourers (*navétanes*) cross the border, encouraged by cheap fares on the railways and advances of pay from the Chambers of Commerce. In 1932 these advances amounted to 300,000 francs. On their arrival they do not work for daily hire, but each labourer takes up a plot for the season. The landowner provides the seeds, and also board and lodging for the labourer. In return the labourer works on the owner's plot for two, three, or four days a week. At the close of the season the proprietor takes either one-tenth of the crop or double the quantity of seeds that he supplied, leaving the rest of the crop to the labourer. Most labourers return to their homes at the end of the harvest, but occasionally they stay on till they have accumulated the sum they set out to acquire. 167 464 [441] [654] 477 465 167 464

Agriculture

The first director of agriculture of Senegal may be said to have been Richard, one of the survivors of the *Méduse*. Under him experimental gardens were founded at Richard Toll about 1820. These are still in existence. The present organization of the Department of Agriculture is laid down by an order of 22 January 1932. Working in close contact with local administrative officers, it manages experimental gardens and farm schools, gives information and instruction to farmers, conducts campaigns against agricultural pests, and organizes agricultural shows. The Department has a laboratory at Hann and an experimental station at Bambey. This was opened in 1924 and is devoted principally to the study and improvement of ground-nuts. Besides these institutions the Department owns various smaller stations for study, experiment, and instruction. 647 654

Forestry. The Department of Agriculture had charge of forestry until an order of 10 February 1937 created a separate Forestry Department and divided the colony into four forestry districts (*inspections*), with headquarters at St. Louis, Thiès, Ziguinchor, and Tambacounda respectively.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

647 656 *Produce Inspection.* Produce inspection is entrusted to a board nominated by the Chambers of Commerce, but the Government keeps a tight control by exercising a veto on all important appointments to its staff. The Board's inspectorate has very wide powers of inspection over produce, whether destined for local consumption or for export. No produce to which inspection applies can be sent out [439] of the colony without a certificate of purity.

For this inspection a special tax of 5 francs per ton on ground-nuts [651] and palm kernels, and 20 francs per ton on rubber, is imposed on produce intended for export.

456 654 [647] *Native Provident Societies.* There are 14 Native Provident Societies. Bignona and Ziguinchor have combined, but otherwise there is one to each province. In 1937 they had 1,200,000 members, whose annual subscriptions varied from 2·50 francs to 5·00 francs each, and their expenses were some 25,000,000 francs. They supplied over 44,000 tons of ground-nut seeds to their members.

In earlier days the Sine-Saloum society imported stallions from [232] the Argentine for the breeding of mules, and in 1932 the societies devoted nearly 250,000 francs to the purchase of motor vehicles. In cattle-breeding districts they supply breeding stock and improve water-supply and pasturage. By 1933 it was estimated that the societies had sunk over 1,200 wells, while the society of Thiès had [312] constructed a barrage for irrigation purposes.

In addition to strictly agricultural activities, the Senegal societies [426] help their members by advances of cash, which are made not only to meet failure of crops, but also in cases of individual accident or illness.

Mining

656 316 At the end of 1937 the following permits were in force:

Personal licences		4
The Occupation System		
Exclusive licences	10	
Mining licences	32	
Concessions	16	
	—	58
Total		62

Education

871 1997 The first attempts to educate the natives of French West Africa were made in Senegal, and they were also remarkable for being instituted, not by missionaries, but by the Crown. Colonel Schmaltz

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

874 In 1927 apprentice courses in woodwork and metalwork were started in St. Louis and Kaolack by the Public Works Department for selected schoolboys between the ages of 13 and 16 years.

871 There is a number of educational institutions in Dakar of a higher grade than primary. These are the responsibility of the Federal Government and have been described in Volume I.

Health

743 Senegal is divided into thirteen medical districts, each of which is intended to be under the supervision of a European medical officer. There are 17 medical stations, each under a native auxiliary. There are also 16 maternity centres and 117 posts visited once a week by a medical officer.

In 1937 Senegal and Dakar had 3 major hospitals and 34 minor hospitals and dispensaries. These provided 394 beds for European patients and 1,805 for native. There were 80 European medical officers, 31 native auxiliaries, 30 midwives, 124 male nurses, and 21 female nurses.

[744] In addition there were four travelling parties (*groupes sanitaires mobiles*). One of these specialized in fighting sleeping-sickness in the Casamance Territory, and the other three were concerned with more general sanitary and prophylactic measures.

The Pasteur Institute at Dakar, a federal concern, is justly famous.
[797] Some medical work is done by missionaries. Unofficial committees of the Croix-Rouge are concerned with infant welfare at Dakar, Diourbel, St. Louis, and Tivaouane.

[652] In 1937 Senegal voted 12,000,000 francs for medical services and Dakar 11,000,000 francs.

10. PORTS

36 St. Louis (16° 01′; 16° 30′ W.). Population, 30,586, including
131 1,231 Europeans. Colonial capital of Senegal and of Mauritania.
162 Full Commune. Headquarters of the province of Bas Sénégal.
489 Custom-house. Law courts. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital
743 and dispensary. Army headquarters and barracks. Police head-
712 quarters. Belgian Consulate. Meteorological station. Landing-
648 ground. Wireless station. Lycée Faidherbe. École des Fils des
654 Chefs et des Interprètes. Higher Primary and Technical Schools.
Protestant and Roman Catholic missions. Bank of West Africa.
[697] Power station. Prison. Hotels. Garages. Race-course. Botanical gardens. Experimental plantation. Daily market.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

[ST. LOUIS]

206 *Wireless.* The wireless station is to the south of Guet N'Dar.

River. Above Faidherbe Bridge the river is closed to all vessels not 505 flying the French flag. Boats drawing 10 feet can ascend to Podor all [648] the year round, and in the rainy season they can reach Kayes (Vol. I, p. 367). Table V shows how greatly river traffic on the Senegal has declined in recent years.

TABLE V. *Tonnage of Goods from Kayes*

[497] [494]

	1928	1929	1930	1934	1935
Sent by rail or road	9,545	9,535	11,456	5,269	6,224
Sent by river	2,520	5,815	3,425	313	260

Shipping. There are no sea-going ships calling regularly, but the Messageries Africaines and the Messageries du Sénégal run services up-river.

36 DAKAR (14° 39′; 17° 25′ W.). Population, 80,052, including *c.* 6,000 [131] Europeans. Capital of the Federation and Headquarters of the [162] District of Dakar. Full Commune. Custom-house. Law courts. [489] Chamber of Commerce. Pasteur Institute. Hospitals. Naval base [712] and dockyard. General Headquarters of the army in French West Africa. Police headquarters. British Consulate-General. Belgian, [648] Brazilian, Czechoslovakian, Danish, Eireann, Greek, Italian, Netherlands, Norwegian, Swedish, and Swiss Consulates. Argentine, Finnish, Spanish, and Uruguayan Vice-Consulates. Meteoro- [654] [508] logical station. Airport and seaplane base. Wireless stations. Colleges and schools. Protestant churches. Roman Catholic Vicariate Apostolic of Guinea and Vicariate General. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Crédit Foncier de l'Ouest Africain. Banque Belge de l'Afrique. Power station. [697] Prison. Public library. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops. [498] Cinemas. Race-course. Sports stadium. Botanical gardens. [654] Agricultural experimental station. Daily market.

Dakar (Fig. 54) is approximately 2,600 miles distant from South- 361 ampton, from Cape Town, and from Rio de Janeiro. It is, therefore, well placed for taking a share in the trade of the South Atlantic, and it [433] is small wonder that it has become the third port in the French Empire, being surpassed only by Marseilles and Le Havre. It is, moreover, of the first importance strategically.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

244 [433] sixth crop of Africa, and 43 per cent. of the total continental production comes from Senegal. The two main groups cultivated are the 'runner' and the 'erect'. The Rufisque and Cayor varieties, both runners, are those grown generally here and also in British West Africa. The method of cultivation is described in Volume I, p. 321. Ground-nuts were originally grown as a staple native crop, but the [439] industrial demand for vegetable oils, coupled with the development of transport facilities, opened up a world market for them. Extra [167] labour for the harvest is provided annually by seasonal immigration [464] from French Sudan, French Guinea, Portuguese Guinea, and the Gambia. In 1938 the number of outside workers was 69,757. Of these, 56,743 went to the Kaolack area, between 1,000 and 3,500 to Sedhiou, Ziguinchor, Kolda, Tambacounda, and Diourbel, and the remainder to Thiès and Linguéré.

[258] There are numerous shelling factories. Early in 1939 new ones were opened at Kaolack, Ziguinchor, and Koungheul.

In 1938 nearly 2,000,000 acres were under cultivation and the [654] experimental station at Bambey distributed 5,414 tons of selected seed. In 1939 7,382 tons of seed were sent out, with a corresponding increase in acreage.

[648] During the British blockade of French West Africa after the fall of [388] France in 1940, ground-nuts were converted into fuel oil. If this practice has been proved worth continuing after the war, cultivation may be greatly extended.

248 *Sisal.* Sisal originated in Mexico, being named after the port of Sisal in Yucatan province, and it was introduced into Senegal at the end of the nineteenth century. The species grown are *Agave rigida sisalana*, *A. rigida elongata*, and *A. rigida zapupe*. The rigid leaves containing the fibre are about 4 feet long and are harvested biennially from the fourth to the eighth or tenth year. When a plant has finished producing it shoots up a tall flower stem, with bulbils or buds on the end, and then withers.

283 288 The preparation of stem and leaf fibres is lengthy. First the fleshy tissue encasing the fibre is scraped away, and then the fibre is washed, hung out to dry, and brushed. It is now ready for grading. Next it is combed into a continuous sliver of untwisted rope. The final process is the drawing and twisting of the sliver to a uniform thinness for spinning into a rope that is particularly resistant to sea-water. The 248 largest plantation is in French Sudan, and stretches for 12 miles along the bank of the Senegal near Kayes. Other smaller ones are in Tambacounda and on the Cape Verde peninsula. There is oppor-

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37
Mali MS 35

S 231

the former provide mounts for the tirailleurs. Apiculture has increased in recent years, and in 1939 over 59,000 beehives were installed in the provinces of Bakel, Baol, Kolda, and Sine-Saloum.

S 654

Experimental Stations

There are agricultural experimental stations at Bambey, Dagana, Kolda, Louga, and Tambacounda, nurseries and botanical gardens at Hann, Richard Toll, and Sor, a livestock experimental station at Makhana (11 miles north-east of St. Louis), and farm schools at Diorbivol and Soringho (near Matam). The stations at Bambey and Louga specialize in ground-nuts, those at Kolda and Tambacounda in sisal, and that at Dagana in gum and Borassus palms (Fig. 8).

13. COMMERCE AND FINANCE

Commerce

S M 439

Official statistics combine Senegal and French Sudan under one head for detailed figures, and, in addition, the general summary of *Commerce Spécial* combines them with Mauritania. These three colonies account for more than 50 per cent. of the total trade of the Federation, and of this percentage Senegal undoubtedly provides a very large proportion.

The Balance of Trade. The value of the imports commonly exceeds that of the exports, but in 1938, the last year for which statistics are available, imports were valued at 1,016,837,000 francs and exports at 1,725,649,000 francs.

Firms. The principal firms are Chavenel et Fils, the Commerce Africain, the Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale, Dèves et Chaumet, Maurel et Prom, the Nouvelle Société Commerciale Africaine, Charles Peyrissac et Cie., the Société Commerciale de l'Ouest Africain, Soucail et Cie., and Vézia et Cie.

Exports. The principal item of export is the ground-nut. The first export of ground-nuts was made from Rufisque to Rouen in 1840, and since 1844 there have been regular shipments to Marseilles. In 1936, 393,485 tons of ground-nuts in shell (28,452 tons from French Sudan) and 60,448 tons of shelled ground-nuts (4,429 tons from French Sudan) were exported, respectively worth 351,674,905 francs and 73,384,546 francs. In 1937 both quantities rose, the nuts in shell to 517,322 tons worth 431,746,036 francs and the shelled nuts to

/117 cont./

244 are much less suitable for this crop because of their composi-
433 tion which gives a certain acidity to the nuts, thus rendering
[134] them less suitable for industrial use in /118/ the production
[242] of fine oils. There have been attempts to correct this defect and to improve the quality of Bas-Saloum by means of seed selection and by the continued addition of seed from Sine; this has not yet been successful.

Fallow lands, however, are not lacking in the other regions of the circle.

There are 230,000 hectares planted in groundnuts. This figure represents 0.85 hectares per inhabitant. This is about 1/11 of the total area of the circle.

In 1914 this crop extended over 70,000 hectares. It has thus tripled.

The production, which was 75,000 tons in 1918, is about 140,000 tons today. It has doubled in 10 years. It amounts to almost a third of the harvest of Senegal.

One can determine the production of groundnuts in the circle since 1921 by the following figures (in tons):

Years	1921	1922	1923	1924
Tons	80,000	90,000	110,000	125,000
Years	1925	1926	1927	
Tons	135,000	145,000	140,000	

[167] These results are due in part to the increase in the
[242] population by the influx of foreign workers into the circle, who came to settle there or who hire themselves out, and in part to the selection of seeds and their distribution in ever increasing quantities.

[654] The credit for this work is to be given to the administra-
[441] tion, the Société de Prevoyance /Welfare Society/, and the
[474] Chambre de Commerce of Kaolack, whose combined efforts have made it possible to achieve such a fine result.

/118 cont./

244 There is no doubt, however, that the yield per hectare
433 is diminishing and that on much of the land today it is no
242 more than 500-600 kilograms per hectare, instead of the 700-800 kilograms, and even 900, as has been seen sometimes in Sine. The land is becoming exhausted as a result of the lack of fertilizer and the absence of crop rotation. Two other factors likewise come into play: the too primitive native methods of cultivation and the inadequate selection of seeds. The native cultivator continues to work his land with the
[412] hilaire, a kind /Pl. II appears here/ /119/ of spade with which he contents himself with scratching the soil. He thus reduces his work too much; he does his dressings badly or inadequately.

It has been demonstrated by the experiments made by the Compagnie française de l'Afrique Occidentale at Latmingué that with mechanical farm implements one could easily double the yield per hectare. On newly cleared land and with these methods, the yield has never been less than 1,000 kilograms and at times has reached 1,500 kilograms per hectare. It is necessary to persuade the native that he will profit by working the land with a little better equipment. The agricultural
[654] services are working at this, and it is to be hoped that the more modern cultivation methods will double the yield. This is a critical problem.

243 Millet. Millet is likewise a crop on the road to progress.
433 The types cultivated are: small and great millet, or, according to their native names, souna, sanio, bassi, fehla.

In 1927, the cultivated area was 240,000 hectares, with a total production of 119,000 tons, a little more than the needs of the population. In 1925, for a production of 80,000 tons, the population had sowed 210,000 hectares. The surplus production is consumed in the regions bordering Sine-Saloum.

Rice. Different varieties of rice are cultivated, especially in Sine and Bas-Saloum, where the annual rainfall is greater and where the soil is suitable for this crop. One can estimate that 15,000 hectares are planted to rice with a total

/119 cont./
[433] production of about 14,000 tons, which are entirely con-
[243] sumed on the spot.

[244] Manioc. Manioc is the crop grown in some plantings
[474] around the villages. The native Société de Prevoyance distributed many cuttings in most of the cantons in 1925.

About 5,000 hectares are planted to manioc, with a production of 25,000 tons of fresh manioc.

[243] /120/ Maize. Maize is not planted everywhere. It is cultivated in Bas-Saloum and in Sine, a little in Saloum. There are 2,000 hectares of maize and 2,000 tons of production.

[244] Beans (niébés). The bean called "niébé" is planted on about 15,000 hectares, yielding a harvest of 7,000 tons.

Production, however, remains stationary, because the plant is attacked by various insects (weevils).

[245] Bananas. Two banana plantations, established by the
[654] administration, exist at Sangako and Bani in Bas-Saloum. They could be multiplied in this region.

[249] Sugar cane. This product is not cultivated very much -- the soil is not suitable -- with rare exceptions.

[248] Cotton. Native cotton is cultivated only in small stretches. This crop takes up 700 hectares of land.

[249] Indigo. The region that is the principal producer of indigo is Bas-Saloum. This crop has tended to increase for the past several years.

[314] Kapok. The kapok tree lives in the wild state. There are some in the cantons along the railroad (N'Gahaye-Gossas), but especially to the south, starting at Kaffrine and above all in Koungheul. The native does not harvest it or harvests it poorly. The circle could yield 100 tons of kapok, but it provides only 20 tons at the most, used locally or sold abroad.

/121 cont./

233 animals to drink. Nevertheless, cattle-raising remains a worthwhile enterprise, a herd doubling in three years.

[232] [654] [492] No serious attempt to improve the breed of cattle has been made by the administration.

Since the multiplication of automobiles, the horse has been somewhat forsaken. The breed is small, but sturdy.

/122/ As for sheep and goats, their rustic breed is resistant. This breeding does not require any care.

313 Forests. Forests cover a notable part of the circle. They must be protected because they are on the way to progressive disappearance as a result of the abuses of brush fires and systematic clearing by the native, wishing to increase his crops.

There is no methodical exploitation of the forests. The exploitation is confined to the cutting of palm trees for the production of charcoal. There still exist, however, some beautiful stands of hardwoods, especially of Gambia mahogany, or false mahogany, particularly in Bas-Saloum.

To the east, between Kaffrine and Koungheul, stocks of small bamboos exist, especially in the humid depressions. [342] These bamboos are cut by the natives who make panels out of them, called "crintings," to serve as closings or veranda partitions. [435] The price of these panels, from two to three meters long, varies between 15 and 25 francs.

316 Quarries. There are many laterite quarries, exploited for the most part. The stone is not as hard as at Rufisque or at Dakar.

317 433 Salt marshes. There is industrial exploitation of the salt marshes at Kaolack. The Société des Salines of Sine-Saloum has exploited the salt marshes at Diorana since 1915. The region of the Saloum is very fortunate from this viewpoint. The constant evaporation of the water of this arm of the sea and its many branches gives the liquid mass a degree of saturation much higher than that of the ocean water.

/126 cont./

874 young people are inclined to seek our courses which prepare
461 them for officialdom. The elite wishes to be instructed doctorally. It disdains manual trades. It is this state of mind that must be changed. Craftmanship is dying out. The governor of Senegal, under the over-all supervision of the governor-general, has understood this. The vocational courses in the capital of the colony, Saint-Louis, have been revised and improved. Agricultural schools have been established. More must be done. It is necessary to add a vocational workshop to each regional school and even to some of the primary schools. The child should become familiar -- before leaving school -- with the handling of the hammer, the chisel, and the plane; he should know how to use a shovel, spade, and rake. All of these skills should be lifted up out of disrepute, which has no reason for existing. Manual work must be put on an equal footing with intellectual work. We need good workers even more than good writers.

/127/ It is the duty of the administration to prepare the younger generation for the task that awaits them.

654 Agricultural mutuality. The Société de Prevoyance.
474 Within this order of ideas, and in order to develop a spirit
244 of mutuality and a sense of foresight among the natives, the administration has created, like Algeria, native welfare and mutual loan societies. A society of this type has been operating in Sine-Saloum for many years. Its founding goes back to 1907. Its beginnings were modest. At first it brought together 718 cultivators. By 1910, the number of members of the society reached the figure of 1,567. This was still very few. The idea had borne fruit, however. The administration soon brought in the majority and then the totality of the cultivators.

[652] In July 1907, at its founding, the governor of Senegal put at the disposal of the administrator of the circle the sum of 20,000 francs in order to promote this effort for mutuality.

Thanks to this advance, 99,700 kilograms of groundnut seed was loaned to the 718 first adherents, who returned them in kind after the harvest with an interest of 30%.

/127 cont./

654 474 244 [251] From 1907 to 1910, storehouses were built to shelter the seeds. In 1910, these storehouses were multiplied in order to be more within the reach of the borrowers. On December 6, 1910, a decree of the governor of Senegal approved the definitive statutes of this society. The latter, on the basis of the experience of several years, have just been supplemented and revised.

The society of Sine-Saloum has 19 sections distributed throughout the circle.

As early as 1911 it had 160,000 members, and its cash on hand amounted to 139,499 francs. Its storehouse stock was 317 tons of selected seed.

Today, the society has property valued at more than 1 million. It has an annual income and expenditure budget of 5 million, including the value of the seeds which it keeps /128/ in its storehouses for the loans that it grants to its members for reimbursement in kind.

Since it demands an interest of 20%, it very rapidly increases its stock of seed. Thus, in 1928 it was holding more than 5,000 tons of seed. By 1929, it will have 7,000 tons. This is the precious guarantee for a fruitful harvest.

[242] Because all of this seed is carefully selected by the native chiefs under the control of the administrator, with methodical rigor. Although some chiefs are less strict in the selection, the majority understand their role. In the cantons of Diokoul Gandiaye, Kahone, Birkelane, and in those of Sine, Sokone, Sanghako, Koungheul, and Kaffrine, the seeds are sorted one by one, and only the shells with two nuts are accepted.

The cultivator quickly yields to these requirements, because he has recognized the necessity for them.

These loans are made in the month of June, before sowing time. They are repayable in kind in the month of December, after the harvest, with an interest of 20%, the said interest likewise payable in kind.

No defaults have been reported. The loans are for two hectoliters per cultivator.

/128 cont./

654 In order to enjoy these advantages the society member
474 pays an assessment of one franc per year.

244 He can also request and obtain loans of food, rice, or
[731] millet, if he is justified by a case of great necessity: scarcity as a result of an unfortunate or calamitous event.

[426] Finally, since last year, he has been able to obtain loans in money on the condition of certain guarantees. These loans are granted for cultivation, and also for the improvement of his agricultural equipment, or for starting or enlarging his herd. These loans may amount to as much as 5,000 francs and are to be paid back within several years.

654 In 1927, the members numbered 240,000.

474 The society has 30 storehouses, more than half of which
[251] are built out of permanent materials: laterite stones or cement.

[343] /129/ It has utilized its resources to make wells out of
[312] reinforced concrete in order to procure for the inhabitants the potable water necessary for their needs and for the needs of their animals.

It gives bonuses to the cultivators who exhibit the best harvests. It also awards bonuses for the capture of animals harmful to agriculture.

The work accomplished is remarkable.

[244] The increase in the production of groundnuts in the circle is due to the Société de Prévoyance, under the control of the administration.

In it, commerce has a valuable organization whose usefulness it recognizes and whose incontestable and uncontested services it moreover appreciates.

312 The water problem. Wells. The serious question of water presents itself in the circle as it does everywhere in Senegal. The economic life of the region depends on the water supply of its inhabitants.

In order to prevent the danger of a water shortage, it has been necessary to dig wells. The séanes, natural reservoirs or pockets dug by man, were too small in number. They received rain water, but their volume was limited, and a few weeks sufficed to empty them after the last rainfall.

/129 cont./

312 The native digs wells. But potable water is sometimes reached at great depths. As a result, the wells that are not shored up collapse, or, even if shored up with wooden boards, landslides are produced. The wells are choked up, and it is necessary to do the work over again.

312 653 In 1904, Captain Friry of the Engineers was put in charge of the study of this problem. This officer made numerous soundings, dug experimental wells, and adopted a system of reinforced concrete tubes built gradually as the hole was deepened, which assured both great safety and great rapidity in the work. A movable shaft, with a diameter slightly smaller than that of the well, makes it possible to isolate, in the layer of aquiferous sand, a volume of water sufficient for drawing.

/130/ Captain Friry dug a certain number of them. He trained well-digging teams. They consisted of European and native personnel. The undertaking was tediously long, because it was sometimes a matter of going 70 to 80 meters deep. At times it was necessary in the end to go through a very thick layer of white and compact clay before reaching the water; it is true that the water rose very high in the well, but the work had to be abandoned in several places, the work becoming impossible at a depth of about 80 meters due to the lack of ventilation equipment. There was also the disagreeable surprise of coming upon a pocket of salt water.

In order to avoid these inconveniences, the natives were urged to dig wells without masonry wherever they could, and a promise was made to them that a reinforced concrete well would be built for them next to their own well whenever they found a good supply of water at an acceptable depth.

This promise, made in 1905, was not kept.

[474] [654] Fortunately, the Société de Prévoyance, created two years later, was able to include in its program as early as 1910-1911 the construction of reinforced concrete wells by the Friry system. A public works supervisor, M. Denis, who had worked under the direction of Captain Friry, was hired for this task under the direction of the administrator.

22: Poix--1 G.T-5 (1822) 1955 MS30 Wolof MS30
Senegal M537

/41/

Foreword

A curious figure, Christophe Paulin de la Poix, Chevalier de Fréminville, captain of the frigates of the king. W 114

There were three different persons in him: the sailor, the writer and natural scientist, and the eccentric (his custom of dressing as a woman caused him to be nicknamed "la chevalière").

Born in 1787, he served under Napoleon, then under the Restoration. It was in 1822 that he made the voyage to Senegal aboard "la Néreide" which is reported here.

Unfortunately we have only extracts from the memoirs of the Chevalier; the picturesque recollection of Dakar that he relates to us makes us regret that we do not possess the complete work, but we do not know who has it.

We hereby thank the Librairie Champion for having kindly authorized us to reproduce the following pages (pages 107-125) taken from the Mémoires du Chevalier de Fréminville (1787-1849), collected by E. Herpin, Paris, Champion, 1913. We have added to it some short notes intended to clarify the text. (N. D. L. R.).

/42/ On the fourth of April (1822), in the morning, the sea had manifestly changed color. We made ready to strike for the coast of Saint-Louis, a little to the north of the Senegal River. We did not reach it until the next day. W 123

We were scarcely at anchor when the lighter la Cauchoise, commanded by the chevalier de Missielly, post lieutenant /lieutenant de vaisseau/, passed our stern. Its whole crew, gathered at the side, saluted us three times with the shout of "Long live the King!" We returned the salute with three similar shouts.

Not until the seventh did the state of the bar permit a pilot from Saint-Louis to come on board. This pilot brought us, on behalf of M. Roger (1), governor of the colony, the most S 505

1. Baron Roger, governor of Senegal from 1822 to 1827, a

S [175] [654]

/42 cont./

remarkable man -- in spite of the estimation of Fréminville. Aided by the gardener Richard, he gave a vigorous push to agronomic research in Senegal.

S 605 [175] [654]

singular letter. M. Roger, ex-barrister, then housing administrator, and subsequently having become -- nobody knows how -- governor, was asking us what our tonnage was, the nature of our cargo, the name of our firm...

Wanting to laugh at his expense, our commander answered him that the frigate of the King of France, la Néreide, was sent from Brest by M. Louis, citizen of Paris, foremost merchant of the kingdom; that she carried a load of powder and balls, as well as 325 soldiers destined for the colony; that therefore he requested him to send us as soon as possible some small boats in order to transport our passengers to land.

W 123

The debarkation of our troops dragged on until the fourteenth under the most deplorable conditions.

Just at that date 130 men arrived for us, coming from Africa and destined for Gorée. They were commanded by M. de Lâge, battalion chief and chevalier de Saint-Louis. This officer was accompanied by his wife, his son, and his daughter. The latter, 15 years old, was very pretty.

W 439

We also received a multitude of parrots, parakeets, and monkeys brought by Negroes, and everyone amused himself by buying some of them. As a result, there was an unendurable concert on board.

Much more welcome than all this menagerie, abundant provisions of oranges, lemons, coconuts, and bananas were also brought to us by a schooner which arrived from Cape Verde.

W 123 [136]

We got under way on the eighteenth. All day long we hugged the shore of a low, sandy land. Night brought us a very strange concert. It was given for us by lions who were bathing in the waves near the shore. In the darkness of the evening these roars reminded one of the noise of thunder, but had a much more curious and frightening character.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

463 563 fact a family concern where it is considered more economical to employ the daughter of the family in menial work than a Senegalese. To counter this the Senegalese Government has studiously avoided any open declaration on the undesirability of this situation, but by a series of discriminatory [651] taxes hopes to make the position of the marginal *petit blanc* untenable. In this way it is hoped that European employment will be reduced by half within the next four years. Thus whilst the European population of Senegal was given [162] as 46,500 in 1956, about 40,000 in 1960, the Government hopes to have it reduced to about 30,000 by 1965.

[655] One of the ways in which the Government is attempting to overcome the twin problem of European domination of [471] commerce and the lack of private indigenous capital, is the establishment of state trading companies and co-operatives to compete in the marketing of ground-nuts and other basic Senegalese products. Also in order to reduce Senegal's dependence on expatriate technicians and minor [874] functionaries it is expanding technical education and spending considerable sums on the training of Africans overseas. In the initial stages this will only remove those Europeans who were doing jobs that can easily be taken over by Senegalese once they have received basic training. There is no reason to suppose that the European Community will diminish by much more than the numbers cited above envisaged by the planners, since the anticipated expansion of the Senegalese economy under the four-year plan should be able to absorb the marginal cases who might otherwise have been forced to return to France. Nor indeed is it the intention of the Senegalese to get rid of the Europeans for the sake of getting rid of them, since the Government still maintains that the two groups can co-exist to their mutual benefit but that it must prevent the seeds of racial tension from germinating.

563 There is of course amongst the young and particularly among students some difference of opinion over this matter. [208] Not all of them hold such liberal views, particularly

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

school leavers who characterise every West African town from Dakar to Douala, and whose numbers will increase in future under the new plan, since by 1964-65 it is hoped over 50 per cent of children of school age will be at primary school.

The whole plan is to cost £135 million, much of the money to be drawn from abroad, and much from private sources. As can be seen from the table below the emphasis is on social improvement rather than the creation of great gesture industries.

	Percentages	
	Of public investments	*Of total investments*
Infrastructure	33·9	18·75
Agriculture	18·0	13·4
Commerce and Industry ..	7·0	44·4
Education	12·2	6·7
Health	5·3	2·9
Housing	7·2	10·9
Administrative	5·5	3·0

It is a socialist plan at heart. The state will be taking over large sectors of the economy. Already the state trading organisation for the marketing of ground-nuts with the aid of local co-operatives has taken over the marketing of over a quarter of the crop from private commerce. But it is doing this in direct competition with them, to ensure that the organisation is commercially viable. Senghor believes 'Where private capitalism comes into peaceful competition with socialism, the latter must, I feel sure, emerge triumphant . . .'

On the other hand Senegal is not trying to discourage private enterprise, for, as can be seen from the above table, it accounts for much of the capital for the plan. Indeed, particularly favourable concessions are made to it. What

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

W 302 hair fixed on either side of the head, from which they protrude like thin curled horns. Another trick is to fix balls of black velvet or twists of black sisal. Strands of soft black silk are commonly used in their coiffure today, and they hang in nearly every small store, a baffling commodity to those unacquainted with Jollof fashions.

W 301 To these wigs the rich and fashionable Jollof woman fixes huge pendants of gold filigree, beautifully worked by the local craftsmen. The really chic touch is a bunch of gold coins—Louis D'Ors, American dollars and Franz-Josephs, or English Guineas—hanging from false plaits over the forehead, preferably coquettishly to one side. Gold is indispensable to their ensemble. A really W [556] wealthy Jollof lady seems to be covered with it: great ear-rings, pin brooches, heavy gold rings on the finger, ear-rings and tiny rings placed all round the outside of the ear and Tudor toe-rings.

W 302 A Jollof woman spends considerable time on her make-up. Her lips are tattooed with indigo, sometimes even on their pink [304] insides. A thin blue line is tattooed on to the lower eyelid, immediately under the lashes, making her eyes seem much larger than they are. Eyelashes are painted with black dye, and the white palms of the hands and the soles of the feet are stained black as well. Their long, bejewelled fingers are crowned with nails W painted with red nail varnish or an orange stain.

291 This ensemble gives the Jollof woman something of the 177 gracious artificiality of appearance that marked the fashions of the Empire period. Geoffrey Gover,[1] in his book *Africa Dances*, described their behaviour as continually provocative. 'Their W [832] movement, their glances, their sighs, their manner of speaking, are all, almost subconsciously, alluring.'

So striking is the Jollof dress that it has been adapted by African women all over the Senegal, and is copied as far distant as Niger and Ivory Coast.

A CULTURAL DILEMMA

Dakar

S 545 One evening Arnold and I went to the Théâtre du Palais, a [368] small, neat theatre owned by the Government in the centre of [655] Dakar. We were to see a production of tribal dancing by Sereres

[1] [this should read Gorer--Analyst]

/13 cont./

242 specialists envisage the utilization of the phosphates of Thiès.

244 3) Protection of the environment. The cultivation of
654 the groundnut with the traditional techniques carries with it grave dangers for the soil. The abusive burning of brush denudes it and facilitates the erosive action of the dry harmattan which blows at the end of the dry season, from the month of March. The cultivation, most often improvident, leads to the rapid deterioration of very unstable soils. In the west the sands are impoverished, the salts are rising to the surface; in the east the lateritic cuirass appears at a shallow depth.

[313] Legislation is intervening in defense of the natural en-
[656] vironment; the decree of 4 July 1935 has interdicted the cutting of trees without authorization and has regulated the burning of brush and clearing. The most effective remedies, however, have been introduced by experimentation and recommended after a serious inventory of the soils. The example of Boulel has shown that bands of natural vegetation separating the clearings by passages perpendicular to the roads are an effective remedy against the action of the wind. The instability of the soils requires a strict system of rotation. Bambey and Boulel have proved that the sequence of millet, groundnuts, and fallowing is the best for preserving them. Fallowing for two years, recommended in the south, is insufficient in the north, where six years of rest seems to be indispensable. It is undeniable that for several years these crop rotations have been followed more and more, especially in the pilot sectors. Finally, the rearrangement of the map of the groundnut, amply primed, may have beneficial consequences. The circles /cercles, administrative districts/ bordering the Senegal River have practically abandoned this crop (Podor, Matam, etc.); northern Cayor, with a dry climate, impoverished soils, and a large population, has had a very marked decline in groundnuts to the profit of millet. In contrast, the new regions in Siné-Saloum and Tambacounda typically become groundnut-producers.

All of these innovations can actually bear fruit only with the acceptance of the peasant masses, which poses the problem

/16 cont./

438 their establishments the manufactured products that the firm
442 delivers to them. They are most often linked with the pro-
[443] ducers by the system of loans that they authorize in cash and
[452] especially in kind during the difficult period of low supplies before the harvest.

The African "sub-traders" most often play the role of
[441] intermediary between the producers and the traders; they very often are transporters and guide the seller to the weighing-machine of a friend.

Since the last war this system has been greatly perturbed by the appearance of new purchasers who more and more compete with the traditional commerce. The local oil-makers
[758] scarcely ever appeal to the large firms. They do business with the traders of the escales, or, more often, they have their
438 own buyers. Since 1952 some pilot co-operatives have made
442 the collection in many escales at little expense; they utilize
474 the personnel and equipment of the S. M. D. R. Moreover, the
656 law of 13 January 1960, creating an "Office de commercialisation agricole" (O. C. A.), has assigned to this body the responsibility of selling the products collected by the co-operatives (Art. 6) and has granted it license to create purchase points for the direct collection of local agricultural products in the sectors where there are as yet no co-operatives (Art. 7). The decree of 20 May 1960, which more precisely relates to the marketing of groundnuts, grants purchasing permits only to organismes stockeurs (O. S.) /storage bodies/, private or co-operative, properly approved by the decision of a Comité régional d'agrément /Regional Committee of Approval/, and to the purchasing posts of the O. C. A. One might ask if these decisions do not constitute a step toward the creation of an "Office de l'arachide" /Office for Groundnuts/, which would have exclusivity of the trade and could normalize a "circuit of groundnuts" now very complex. /Pl. I and II appear here on unnumbered pages./

[The Lebano-Syrian Traders--Analyst]

/17/

438 2. The "circuit" of groundnuts. The purchase of the
442 groundnuts in the escale and storing them in the secco of the
[redacted]rader constitute only one step in the complicated circuit that the groundnuts take from the place of production to the port of exportation or to the oil-factories.

492 1) The means of transport. From the place of production
438 to the escale, the groundnuts essentially utilize the traditional modes of transport, donkeys throughout the country and camels
[656] in the north. The decree of 4 September 1935 has forbidden the use of trucks. Its aims were to avoid bulky hauls, purchases at
[231] a low price at the place of production, and, above all, to encourage local animal-husbandry. This system, however, carries with it grave defects. Most often transport on the back of a donkey is more expensive for the producer than transport by truck because the camel-drivers and donkey-drivers impose their own price on the peasants who do not have animals. [illegible]eover, the transporter guides the seller to a trader whom [illegible]e seller did not choose. Today, however, more and more derogations are permitted, because in the south, where the groundnut is progressing, the tsetse interdicts animal husbandry, and in the other regions the overworked animals are incapable of doing the transporting at the end of trade. Finally, certain
[874] co-operatives which pretend "to collect" and not to buy do send trucks to the places of production.

494 From the secco of the trader to the port nearby or to the
438 railroad station, transport is handled by trucks. It is essentially the commercial firms, the traders, or the local oil-makers who use them. There are few professional transporters because the traffic is essentially seasonal. The generally bad
[491] condition of the unpaved roads, except for the "Transgambienne" from Dakar to Ziguinchor, causes a rapid wearing-out of equipment, whose amortization is a heavy burden on the budget of the merchants.

497 The Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad and especially the Dakar-
438 Niger transport more than 200,000 metric tons of groundnuts

[Text continues on p. 21--Analyst]

/17 cont./

499 each year. In spite of the use of cars of great capacity, the
438 transport facilities are insufficient during the first months of trade. However, the practice of degressive tariffs, so as not
[651] to place at a disadvantage the production of regions that are farther from the place of destination, limits all the more the possibility of an increase of vehicles, since the traffic in groundnuts is essentially seasonal and it poses a problem of return freight. The three ports of Dakar, Kaolack, and
438 Ziguinchor consitute, for exports, freight breaking-points
[504] between land transport and maritime transport. The latter
[505] is handled for the most part by the vessels of companies who undertake regular service: Delmas et Vieljeux, Maurel et Prom, etc.; they also have competition from the tramps.
435 These /18/ multiple freight-breaks weigh quite heavily on
438 the price of groundnuts, quite low at the outset, due to the fact that each of them is accompanied by multiple manipulations.

2) The manipulations. In its present organization, the circuit of the groundnuts involves many manipulations, because the product is transported in bags. At each step it is necessary to weigh the bags, to empty them into the secco, and then, when they are again forwarded, to proceed to another weighing and rebagging. Over and above the cost of the labor, the firms and sometimes the traders must bear the great expense of buying and repairing great quantities of bags which quickly wear out or go astray. M. Barbier estimates that a bag of groundnuts undergoes 16 handlings at the minimum from the place of production to the port. A solution to this problem might be found in transporting the product loose, by trucks and cars with gratins, loaded by mechanical transporters. These transformations presuppose great investments, which the groundnut, a cheap and, above all, seasonal product, cannot amortize.

3) Regulation of the condition. The decree of 11 January
[656] 1926 created an Office d'inspection et de conditionnement de l'arachide /Office of Inspection and of the Condition of

/18 cont./

435 Groundnuts/ which controlled the quality of the product in
438 the escales and in the ports. This office, which functioned
656 under the responsibility of the local Chambres de Commerce,
applied the norms of "the practice of Bordeaux" of 1922. In
[685] the escales the lots with impurities of more than 2% were
returned, and fines could be slapped on the sellers whose product
concealed more than 3%. A second control was established in
the ports. Since 1947 this office has been replaced by a "Service
de contrôle et du conditionnement," which inspects the product
only in the ports, thus making only the exporter responsible.
All merchandise with impurities of more than 2%, and an aver-
age of more than 4% acidity for the decorticated product, is
refused or subject to a reduction in price. Several years ago
the commercial houses acquired sieves which permit the elimi-
nation of much debris, but they are often poorly utilized, and
the groundnuts from Senegal usually have considerable debris,
stalks or other things.

438 The complications of the circuit of the groundnuts, its
656 inadequacies, have stimulated many projects of rationalization,
which for the most part recommend loose transport, stockpiling
in silos, and rigorous control over the quality. At present a
public body, the "Secteur d'expérimentation et de rationali-
sation du circuit de l'arachide" (S. E. R. C. A.) is concerned
with this, but it singularly lacks any means.

435 /19/ 3. The marketing of the groundnut and the
problem of prices. Up to the Second World War, all the trans-
actions in groundnuts were free; the prices varied considerably
as a function of supply and demand. During the war the
"Groupement national d'achat des produits oléagineux"
(G. N. A. P. O.) /National Group for the Purchase of Oleaginous
Products/ controlled the market and authoritatively fixed the
price. After the war, during the campaign of 1950-1951, the
return to freedom led to a spectacular jump in the market
price of groundnuts, which, at production, went from 18 to 30

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

647 656 *Produce Inspection.* Produce inspection is entrusted to a board nominated by the Chambers of Commerce, but the Government keeps a tight control by exercising a veto on all important appointments to its staff. The Board's inspectorate has very wide powers of inspection over produce, whether destined for local consumption or for export. No produce to which inspection applies can be sent out [439] of the colony without a certificate of purity.

For this inspection a special tax of 5 francs per ton on ground-nuts [651] and palm kernels, and 20 francs per ton on rubber, is imposed on produce intended for export.

456 654 *Native Provident Societies.* There are 14 Native Provident Societies. Bignona and Ziguinchor have combined, but otherwise there is one to each province. In 1937 they had 1,200,000 members, [647] whose annual subscriptions varied from 2·50 francs to 5·00 francs each, and their expenses were some 25,000,000 francs. They supplied over 44,000 tons of ground-nut seeds to their members.

In earlier days the Sine-Saloum society imported stallions from [232] the Argentine for the breeding of mules, and in 1932 the societies devoted nearly 250,000 francs to the purchase of motor vehicles. In cattle-breeding districts they supply breeding stock and improve water-supply and pasturage. By 1933 it was estimated that the societies had sunk over 1,200 wells, while the society of Thiès had [312] constructed a barrage for irrigation purposes.

In addition to strictly agricultural activities, the Senegal societies [426] help their members by advances of cash, which are made not only to meet failure of crops, but also in cases of individual accident or illness.

Mining

656 316 At the end of 1937 the following permits were in force:

Personal licences		4
The Occupation System		
Exclusive licences	10	
Mining licences	32	
Concessions	16	
		58
Total		62

Education

871 997 The first attempts to educate the natives of French West Africa were made in Senegal, and they were also remarkable for being instituted, not by missionaries, but by the Crown. Colonel Schmaltz

/422 cont. /

*511
276

Table XII (cont.)

No.	Income	In Proportion to Income				
		Fuel	Illumination	Maintenance	Water	Kola
32	25,000	1.2	0.8	1.0	--	1.3
33	25,000	3.2	0.8	1.0	--	--
34	25,900	1.5	0.4	1.1	--	0.2
35	27,000	2.8	0.2	1.5	--	--
36	34,000	2.0	0.9	1.6	--	--
37	36,000	3.5	0.7	1.1	--	0.1
38	50,000	0.8	0.5	1.4	--	--
39	51,000	1.3	2.5	0.5	1.1	--
40	55,000	3.6	1.2	1.5	--	0.1
41	55,500	2.5	0.5	1.0	--	1.3
42	56,000	1.6	0.5	1.1	--	--
43	81,000	0.4	--	0.6	--	--

/423/

*511 Let us begin with the most obligatory of all, those from which it is most difficult to escape: taxes and the rent of the dwelling (Table XIII).[1]

*511 651 Two of our families do not pay taxes. Nearly all of the others devote at least 1% of their income to them. The tax paid would normally be proportional to the number of adults that the restricted family contains. It is quite often lower; [659] [602] one may succeed in escaping the fiscal census. It is sometimes higher: specifically, in three cases where the salaried worker in the city pays the taxes for his relatives who remained in the village.

*511 427 Only 13 families pay rent for the dwelling. Two are given free lodgings by the owner; three are lodged by their [466] [423] [342] employer. The others are "owners." This ownership is often limited to a straw hut, or better a plank hut, constructed on an administrative concession. The most favored build a true house of mud; up to now only one of our family heads has undertaken a "permanent" building.

[1] [see cat 116, pp 62-63. ANALYST]

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

123 of introduction to be sent to the Directors of his Institute in all the towns we should be visiting. We talked for a moment at human level, then a glance at his papers, a distant look in his eyes, indicated it was time for us to leave.

815 Monod is an established expert on the following subjects: geology; geography: physical, climatic, regional and human; archaeology; history; marine biology; ethnography; botany; zoology; pre-history; and languages. He has over 400 publications to his name and has published two best-sellers in France. He went down in the bathyscope with Professor Piccard and with Captain Houot. His real love is the Sahara Desert. He must know it better than any other man alive. His first journey into the unknown wastes of the Sahara was in 1923, and by 1930 he had travelled its length and breadth from Algiers to Timbuktu, from Mauretania to Lake Chad. Friends called the gaunt young man, who rode off into the desert wastes alone with a camel, 'Monod le Fou'. Today he is known more respectfully as 'Monod le Saharien'. In the winter of 1954 he completed a phenomenal trek across the desert over a distance never before dared by another white man. With four camels, two Arabs, and a strict daily ration of half a litre of wine, Monod, aged 52, covered 900 kilometres in 47 days.

Theodore Monod has probably done as much as any European to give dignity to the culture and traditions of the tribes of West Africa, and to preserve these traditions for their future inheritors when the steamroller of Western civilization threatens to obliterate them. The Institut Français D'Afrique Noire, which he directs, has a federal museum in Dakar and a [217] network of museums and research centres throughout French Black Africa. It employs scholars in every field of knowledge concerning Africa, and most important of all, it gives African scholars an opportunity to make research into their own customs, traditions and history.

123 Monsieur Pierre Cros, of the Press Section of the Federal 204 Information Services, who was to help us as much as anyone in [659] our travels in West Africa, received us in his small office on the ninth floor of the vast Federal Administration building. What impressed me most about the Federal Information Services was their very considerable knowledge of British West Africa. Fortnightly they published a resumé of the local press of Nigeria,

/26 cont./

793 will have their talibés vote in favor of their parties. When one
*795 knows what the influence of the marabouts and the discipline
666 of the brotherhood are, one can easily imagine what a formidable ace such an alliance can be for a party. But to be allied with one party is necessarily to be the adversary of the other (or others). If Murid fanaticism (and organization) is thrown into the electoral struggles, it can be the cause of serious troubles. Certainly these troubles would not compromise the loyalty of the brotherhood vis-à-vis the mother country, but they would create serious difficulties for the local administration and the government of the territory.

793 In other respects, deeper reasons can provoke lively op-
*795 position or even struggles between the great Murid leaders and
[665] certain politicians (or certain parties). Thus some Senegalese political personalities are beginning to criticize the way the marabouts act against their talibés. One of them has gone so far as to utter the words "servitude" and "feudalism" in speaking of Muridism /27/ to a high European official. It is certain that a virulent campaign could be made on this theme against the Murid leaders and especially against those whose ostentatious luxury can excite jealousy.

For their part, the Murid marabouts try to maintain their authority and their influence over their disciples and, in that way, over the whole country. They will be opposed to any social or political innovation which will give more power to the masses, and which, by so doing, will risk compromising their authority, counterbalancing it, or even combatting it. They were thus hostile in 1953 to the transformation of the
[654] Société de Prévoyance of Baol into the Société Mutuelle de Production Rurale, on the one hand, because they thought that authority should not be entrusted to the people, and, on the other hand, because they feared that a S. M. P. R. presided over by an African (as was happening already at the time in the circle of Thiès) might be less favorable toward them than the traditional S. P. completely in the hands of the Administration.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Senegal had never in fact been free from elements of racism, though such a policy was never officially countenanced until the Vichy regime. Geoffrey Gorer found many instances of discrimination in Dakar, and actually went as far as to say that 'The colour bar is extremely strong in Dakar'. But he concluded 'these French citizens are far happier than their brother French Negro subjects; if they are too badly cheated or abused they have some redress in the law courts'. The colour bar was certainly not official policy then as it became under the Vichy Administration. 641 648

The Vichy regime marks the end of an era in West Africa and particularly in Senegal: Until 1940 there had been little or no opposition to French assimilationist policy by the Africans. Indeed they were the first to criticise any deviations from it. Blaise Diagne enjoyed high status in France, and though he was accused by his critics of corruption and of selling himself to the French he remained the popular choice in Senegal until his death. 648

At the ensuing election Galandou Diouf defeated Blaise Diagne's old opponent, Lamine Guèye, who was instrumental in the formation of the Senegalese branch of the *S.F.I.O.* Hitherto elections had been largely fought on the basis of personal followings, with the exception of the European-dominated *Parti Socialiste Sénégalais* founded in 1929 in which Europeans played a prominent role. Not only was Lamine Guèye the first Senegalese to realise the value of the party machine, but he was also the first to advocate the granting of full political and legal rights to all French Africans. Significantly he did not suggest any form of break with France, rather that France should carry her assimilationist policy to its logical conclusions. In 1939 he increased his political backing considerably when the *P.S.S.* fused with his section of the *S.F.I.O.* and this was to make him a leading member of the party in the metropolis as well as in Senegal. 648 665 666 [667] [641]

However the younger generation of Senegalese were 000

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

698 641 466 a forty hour week, a minimum wage, the development of trade unions and the institution of a labour inspectorate. However the second Constituent Assembly procrastinated in according these economic rights to its overseas citizens and was dissolved before it could bring them into force. It was only in 1952 that the overseas deputies were able to force this measure through.

698 665 One of the reasons for the break-up of the old *S.F.I.O.* in 1948, which may be taken as symbolic of the reaction against assimilation, was the attitude of the parent party in France to social legislation for the overseas territories. The *S.F.I.O.* had voted against equal pensions for African [641] and metropolitan French veterans; it had voted against the introduction of the French social security system for the overseas departments, and it had abstained on a motion to abolish the dual college system. But more important was the desire of the newly enfranchised 'bush' peasants for greater participation in the direction of party policy. Hitherto the party, closely linked with the parent body in France, had been tightly ruled by Lamine Guèye from Dakar. At the 1947 Congress of the party a group of members led by Senghor demanded a greater voice in party councils. The people of the bush, so long denied the rights accorded to the privileged of the *Quatre Communes*, once enfranchised showed their resentment against both those who exercised these rights and those who granted them. In the following year Senghor, backed not only by the intellectuals but by the vast majority of the bush, founded the *Bloc Democratique Sénégalais* (*B.D.S.*) declaring that 'Assimilation is an illusion in a world whose people have become aware of their own personality'. He attacked the *S.F.I.O.* for its close ties with France and its failure to take an independent line on African matters. So just as Lamine Guèye has been described as the representative [668] of the era of assimilation, so Senghor can be dubbed the representative of reaction to this policy.

698 668 This reaction was at first not part of a concerted

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

movement, though by the late fifties it amounted to a definite revolt against the basic assumption of an assimilationist policy that there was nothing of worth in African culture and that the greatest benefit France could bring to Africans was to make them French. It was hardly surprising that those to whom this policy had been most heavily applied should be the first to react. Thus in political and cultural affairs the Senegalese were in the vanguard of the campaign for the recognition of the African personality, or in French African terms *la négritude*. This new movement showed itself in many fields. In politics it was to manifest itself in a rupture with the metropolitan French parties, and the assertion of the necessity of the incorporation of traditional African values into European-type political systems. On the human plane it insisted on the dignity of the African, the originality of his personality and his contribution to the achievement of the human race. In the cultural field it implied a return to the values of African art, which educated Africans until recently had themselves tended to reject. As regards history, it denied the common European allegation that Africans had no history and asserted that Africans had in fact made a far greater contribution to world history than was revealed in text books. Finally it was to produce a picture of a suffering Africa, exploited and abused by the white man, awakening slowly to a glorious day of freedom.

The policy of Senghor's new party, which was not allied to any metropolitan party, was characteristic of this revolt. Its declared aim was to promote a new form of African socialism, related to the realities of the African situation. Accordingly the party was to be organised to correspond with the socio-ethnic structure of the country. It demanded a greatly increased autonomy for Senegal and other African countries, and whilst not demanding independence, a word that did not touch the public lips of any major French African politician for another ten years, it advocated a federal relationship between France and her overseas territories.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Those who have not come under the influence of a strong assimilation policy have never had to assert their essential *négritude*. Thus the English-speaking African, whose culture and traditional political organisation was largely left intact by the British administration, was rarely concerned about his identity as an African and until very recently this problem has been of little concern for the Nigerian or Ghanaian. It has never occurred to him to doubt his *négritude*. There are of course a number of examples of what may be called assertion of the African personality in the English-speaking territories, but the cult of *négritude* never caught on in them as it did in Senegal and the other French territories. 648 668

Thus it was that the very Africans who had achieved the greatest distinction within the French cultural framework were to be the first to champion a return to the African past in search of their own essential personality. Thus it was that for long Paris became the cultural capital of Africa, for there the books and magazines were published in which they could tell the public of their new ideas. Whilst in the late forties and early fifties the British West African *évolué* was more concerned with the achievement of political independence from Britain, the French African *évolué* was more concerned with his cultural emancipation. Senghor's formation of a new political party is more interesting for the emphasis it lays on its reassertion of African values than for any proposed political rupture with France. [665]

The reaction against assimilation, as P. Mercier has pointed out in *Elites Sénégalaises*, came essentially from the new educated generation. 668

> It is the elite that has given expression to this desire for a return to the fountain head . . . From an acceptance of assimilation characteristic of the preceding generation opinion turned first to less sharply defined positions—typified by the slogan 'assimilate, don't be assimilated'—and then the attitudes of refusal, the details of which are still not very clear. Such attitudes accompany a lush ideological growth, to which only a very brief reference can be [571]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 against the society (which he has so brilliantly elucidated)—where do I stand in relation to that culture?'

Alioune Diop declared:

> Assimilation corresponds to a type of human relationship imposed by colonisation. It demands that the individual (for it affects only individuals) tear himself from his natural context and he who cannot assert his own personality must replace his habits of thinking, feeling and acting by others which he would only share with a foreign community.

By the time of this congress the Senegalese, as well as other Africans, had examined pretty thoroughly the whole question of French assimilation. For instance, A. Wade, a Senegalese, in a paper entitled 'Must Africa evolve a positive law?', protested against the use in his country of a [671] foreign legal system evolved in a different social context and which could not meet all the requirements of traditional society. He called for a new legal system which would be in effect a synthesis of African customary law and French law. In another article he called for a reform of teaching methods in Africa in the light of local conditions. There were few stones this anti-assimilationist élite left unturned [571] in their efforts to re-establish the values of the African past. They presented a dramatic contrast with the élite of the pre-war generation who, like the young men in Ousmane Socé Diop's *Karim*, so readily accepted the virtues of Western ways.

668 Amongst this group were a number who fell back not on 648 the values of the African past so much as Marxist theories in their attacks on colonialism and assimilationist policy. Principal amongst this group was Majhemout Diop, leader of the pro-Communist *Parti Africain de l'Indépendence*. [665] In issue No. 14 of *Présence Africaine* he attacked colonialism bitterly:

> There is no possible ambiguity; colonisation equals capitalistic enterprise. Any other explanation is invalid, is deceitful, a myth, a myth of civilisation and of co-operation.
>
> A coloniser cannot be humanitarian . . . that would be the

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

most irreducible of paradoxes. Colonisation is always measured in terms of gain for the coloniser. 668 648

Between colonialist and colonial there is room only for forced labour, intimidation, pressure, police, theft, rape, obligatory farming, scorn, mistrust, arrogance, self-conceit, deceit, suppressed élites and debased masses.

No human relationship but a relationship based on domination and submission which transform the coloniser into a pawn, an adjutant, a warder, a flogger and the native into an instrument of production.

The resentment of assimilation is the same. But the interpretation is a Marxist one and the remedies subsequently offered by Majhemout Diop were non-African in origin. His *Contribution to the Study of Political Problems in Black Africa* is almost entirely Marxist in inspiration and the source matter, abundantly evident from the footnotes, is the work of Stalin, Lenin, Engels and Marx, none of whom had any first-hand knowledge of economic conditions in Africa. Another Senegalese, of very distinguished academic reputation, who uses Marxist techniques in his studies of African problems, is Ly Abdoulaye, an economic historian who nevertheless is much more inclined to take into account African circumstances in the application of Marxist theories. Indeed Ly is at great pains to avoid Marxist terminology even when employing Marxist ideas. There are in fact few Senegalese intellectuals who are not in some sense Marxist socialists. But more especially they are devotees of what they call African socialism. [814]

In the search for identity that followed the application of assimilationist policy, the first tendency was to rehabilitate African culture. Naturally political rehabilitation was one of the most important goals for politicians like Senghor. But when he broke with the *S.F.I.O.* in 1948, he gave as one of his reasons that French socialism, like Communism, after all, 'did not understand our problems, and wanted to solve them with a plan devised by and for Europe'. His proposed alternative of 'African socialism' was at the time. 668 [665]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 very ill-defined. But with the necessity of finding a new
[665] political system appropriate to the African situation there evolved, particularly in Senegal, a fairly coherent doctrine which will be examined in the final chapter.

In the early days a number of assertions were made about the political genius of the African, none of which can be attributed to any one man though as far as Senegal has been concerned Senghor has been the chief theoretician. Whilst appreciating and accepting many of Marx's theories as both politically and economically valid for Africa he believed that Marx would have revised his system in face of African realities as well as the scientific achievements of the twentieth century. He advocated the adoption of Marxism, shorn of its anti-religious doctrine and adapted to African needs. A cardinal point as far as Senghor was concerned, was that African society could not fit into the classical Marxist analysis. Instead he maintained modern African society
[565] had three classes: first the liberal professions and trades; second the salaried employees, civil servants and workers; third the vast peasant mass. Under the colonial regime the former two classes had been able to achieve incomes out of all proportion to the average peasant income of fourteen pounds a year. This peasant class is Marx's proletariat.

To support his policital views, Senghor advanced his theory that the 'Negro-African' was essentially different from the European. 'The African Negro does not distinguish the object nor does he analyse it—he takes it as it is between his hands, he feels it, touches it, smells it; thus the subject and the object are dialectically confronted in the very act of perception, and hence participation and communion.' Others, in their suggestions for a modern African political system showed how they could look to their own (somewhat idealised) African past for guidance. For instance there was no real need for opposition in the European sense. African politics in the village would supply the model. There everyone sat in the palaver house until all were agreed on the formula of action. Once discussed openly

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

VI. TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE

The choice of the Senegalese people is independence; they want it to take place only in friendship with France, not in dispute.

LÉOPOLD SÉDAR SENGHOR (September 1958)

IT was not until 1951 that Senghor was able to test the strength of his new party at the elections for the French National Assembly in which it gained both seats with 213,000 votes to the *S.F.I.O.*'s 90,000. His success was proved the next year when he won forty-one out of the fifty seats in the *Conseil-General* under the new and greatly enlarged franchise. His vote came overwhelmingly from the 'bush', since Lamine Guèye still retained strong support in Dakar and St. Louis. The party ticket was a popular one: accusing the French Administration of supporting socialists in the towns and chiefs in the bush.

From a theoretical standpoint as we have seen the *B.D.S.* fitted into the new anti-assimilationist trend in Senegal. It represented the 'unsophisticated' bush against the Gallicised *citoyens* of the *Quatre Communes*. It demanded a return to African values and had an essentially African-style organisation in the bush. But few real differences showed themselves on the platforms adopted by the two parties at the elections.

In the French National Assembly Senghor had joined forces with a number of other deputies from African territories who like himself did not wish to link themselves with one of the metropolitan parties. This group was known as the *Indépendents d'Outre Mer*. As a result of the elections the *I.O.M.* gained thirteen seats, enough to form a recognised group in the National Assembly. However they were never able to mould themselves into a united federal party on the lines of the *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain* (*R.D.A.*)

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648
665

which had been founded by M. Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast in 1946 and which had branches in all African territories. This party had been closely aligned with the Communists from which it adopted many ideas including its cellular structure, but it was temporarily suppressed by French administrative action because of its extreme and violent tactics, especially in the Ivory Coast. It had however by 1952 broken with the Communists, but in its weakened state it might have found it difficult to rival a well organised *I.O.M.* which was more than just a group of individuals with like ideas. However at their conference at Bobo Dioulasso the *I.O.M.* failed once more to form the necessary federal organisation to compete with either the *R.D.A.* or *S.F.I.O.* as a Pan-African party. Nevertheless the *I.O.M.* were able to play an increasingly important role in the National Assembly in the formation of delicate French government coalitions and were often able to extract as the price of their support concrete returns in the form of aid.

In Senegal the political scene remained calm until the 1956 elections to the National Assembly when the *B.D.S.* came out with what by French African standards was a nationalist programme. As Kenneth Robinson remarks in his admirable study of this and the 1957 elections to the territorial assembly in *Five Elections in Africa*, 'among politically conscious West Africans there has undoubtedly been for several years increasing nationalist feeling, a mood more and more outspokenly hostile to colonial rule, less and less interested in the refinements of juridical forms, more impatient of reformist schemes, and more and more determined that Africans must be masters in their own house'. Thus the *B.D.S.* put strong emphasis on autonomy within a federal association with France. The *B.D.S.* won both seats, with the socialists still strong in the *Quatre Communes*. But on the federal West African level, the *I.O.M.* had done badly and Houphouët Boigny's *R.D.A.*, now purged of its connexions with Communism, a purge

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

that involved the breaking-away of a number of small sections in various territories, emerged as West Africa's leading party with nine seats, and joined the Guy Mollet Government. Under this Government the famous *loi cadre* was passed establishing for each of the black African territories a wholly elected assembly, based on universal adult suffrage. An executive, that could be drawn from within or without the assembly, was established. Although the territorial Governor presided over it, it was effectively guided by the Vice-President or Prime Minister. Separate rolls for Europeans were abolished. Thus in one fell swoop all African territories were given the elements of responsible democratic government. Certainly their powers were restricted since a large number of subjects were reserved to the Federation, still run by the French High Commissioner, and checked only by the *Grand Conseil*. The *loi cadre*, whilst it did not envisage independence, and still saw the future of the African territories as within the structure of the French body politic, did in effect set these territories on the road to independence. Senghor, an ardent critic of the *loi cadre*, declared: 'The peoples of Africa do not intend to cut themselves off from metropolitan France; they want to be able to construct, side by side with her, their own buildings which will consolidate and extend French territory.'

The *loi cadre*, whilst it made large concessions to African demands for autonomy, was in fact designed to avoid demands for independence. The new French Government had been influenced to this end by France's unfortunate experiences in other parts of her empire as well as the political progress of the Gold Coast. Furthermore she wished to anticipate moves by the Gold Coast to absorb that part of the former German Togo which she administered and therefore accorded it a limited form of internal autonomy. It was inevitable that having granted this concession to Togo she would eventually have to make it to neighbouring French African territories as well. Whilst considerable

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 powers were devolved on the individual territories, it is clear that a desire to avoid any ultimate break-up of the French Union was one of the main factors behind the emasculation of the federal executive. French West Africa as a federation might soon be demanding independence; eight small territories on their own would find it a more daunting prospect.

Senghor attacked France vigorously for what he called the balkanising of French Africa by devolving powers on individual territories and at the same time making no provision for an executive at the federal level. The *Grand* [646] *Conseil* retained only its limited legislative powers. Executive action for the federation was still undertaken by the High Commissioner, representing the Republic. By thus turning politics towards the individual territories, France was 'balkanising' the federation, following the classic pattern of dividing in order to rule. Bitterly, he accused the French of offering Africa 'sucettes et bonbons'. It may seem odd that the role of defending the federation should have [665] fallen on Senghor, who had already failed to convert the *I.O.M.* from an association of deputies into a Pan West African political party. But though the R.D.A. was officially a Pan-African party, its leader came from the rich Ivory Coast, and disliked intensely the ideas of sharing his country's wealth with his many poorer neighbours. He was instrumental in securing the form of *loi cadre* that avoided the creation of a supra-government. On the other hand it might be argued that it was in Senegal's interest to ensure that the federation did not break up, since one of [633] Dakar's *raisons d'être* was as a federal capital. But Senghor argued cogently that only with a strong West Africa, containing twenty million people, could Africans participate with any sense of political equality and weight of personality with France in the proposed Franco-African Community. 'Within the framework of a French federal republic, a French West Africa of 20 million inhabitants can, side by side with the metropolis, form a stable element and develop its own personality!

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

develop its own personality.' The *S.F.I.O.* parties of Africa met in Conakry to found a new socialist party entirely African in basis, called the *Mouvement Socialiste Africain.* Thus after over twenty years Lamine Guèye officially broke one of Senegal's closest links with France. At the same time Senghor called a congress of his allies in other territories from the *I.O.M.* and formed a federal party called the *Convention Africaine.* There were thus three new major African parties, with sections in most of the eight territories of West Africa and some in *A.E.F.*, each preaching African unity. But the federal executive, the very structure through which this could be maintained, was missing. 648 665

At the *loi cadre* elections that took place at the end of March 1957, the *R.D.A.*, the most thoroughly organised on the ground, proved the strongest party of the three and in West Africa and gained overwhelming majorities in Soudan, Guinea and Ivory Coast, dominated the coalition in Upper Volta and provided the opposition in Niger and Dahomey. But the party, as was soon proved at the long delayed Bamako Conference of September 1957, was far from united. Its main difference was over the problem of the federal executive. Its President, Félix Houphouët-Boigny of Ivory Coast had, as a Minister in the French Government, been one of the principal architects of the *loi cadre* and was opposed to the creation of a federal executive. The *R.D.A.*'s very dynamic Vice-President, Sékou Touré of Guinea, formed in the tough school of trade unionism, however championed the creation of a federal executive, and in this respect he was closer to Senghor than to his own party chief. At the Bamako Conference Sékou Touré persuaded the party to adopt it as a prime objective. [667]

Meanwhile in Senegal, ever the source of new things, was born the first African party with the avowed object of independence, the *P.A.I.* (*Parti Africain de l'Indépendence*) led by Majhemout Diop, who had strong Communist sympathies. Till then the word independence had been [668]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 studiously avoided not only by Senegalese but by nearly
665 all leading French African politicians. The official formula
[668] was the creation of a Franco-African community, in which Africans would have fully autonomous states (or federations if Senghor and Sékou Touré had their way) and matters like defence and foreign affairs would be shared between France and the other member states. As far as the Senegalese were concerned their long attachment to France, despite their reaction against assimilationism, made it difficult to countenance the idea of complete separation. As Senghor always put it, 'fédérer n'est pas séparer.' Furthermore
[651] French aid to West Africa in general and Senegal in particular had been enormous.

The Senegalese thesis on federation made headway in the early months of 1958. After several meetings between the major African parties, the *Convention Africain* and the *M.S.A.* met in Dakar in March and formed the new *Parti du Regroupement Africain*, with the aim of obtaining Federations of French West and French Equatorial Africa, which in turn would be federated with France in the proposed Franco-African community. On 5 April 1958 the *P.R.A.* members of the *Grand Conseil*, plus the *R.D.A.* members, voted in favour of the creation of a federal executive; the only Ivory Coast delegate abstained.

Despite bitterness over the question of the federal executive, there was still little open talk about independence
[668] except by the *P.A.I.* and this despite the example of Ghana. This situation was to be abruptly changed by the *putsch* of the military in Algiers on 13 May.

648 In presenting his new constitution for the Fifth Republic to the French people, de Gaulle made it a straight choice of Yes or No. As far as the French were concerned this was a reasonable choice. Acceptance or rejection. Once rejected, there was the possibility of trying again as they had done in 1946. But as far as the overseas territories were concerned, they were given no alternative. They either accepted the constitution, whose details we shall examine

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 668 returning from France imbued with anti-colonialist ideas made the issue of independence a burning one. Yet the difficulty of making a complete break with her cultural parents was made clear by Joseph Ma Thiam, a member of F.E.A.N.F. (Federation of Students from French Black Africa) who wrote: 'We are not anti-French, that would be ridiculous and impossible. We are simply Africans and we want not minor reforms, called *loi-cadre* or Community, but a revolution of which the necessary outcome will be independence, as this is conceived of and put into practice in the twentieth century.'

For the Senegalese leaders, as indeed for other African leaders, the choice was a difficult one. The idea of sudden rupture with France, which de Gaulle's choice implied, was not only economically terrifying, but rather like the impending break-up of a family. So many of the leaders had lived so much of their lives in Paris that the prospect of such imminent separation was difficult to contemplate. It 665 is against this background that the conference of the *P.R.A.* 668 at Cotonou from 25-27 July 1958 must be seen. Here dele- 648 gates met to consider the situation created by the projected new constitution. At that stage the terms of the constitution were not clearly known, though it was general knowledge that they would not be favourable to the idea of total independence. At the conference delegates were carried away by demands for independence and voted for 'Immediate independence; the creation of a solid and progressive African Community; and negotiation with France for the creation of a multi-national confederation of free and equal peoples.' The last two items were in accord with current Senegalese feeling that federation was the only way to secure equality of the African personality in a Franco-African Community. But the morrow of the conference saw a number of delegates reflecting on the demand for immediate independence. The rupture seemed too abrupt and, as Mamadou Dia pointed out, they did not even know the terms of the new constitution. He expressed doubts on

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

the ability of Senegal to accede immediately to independence. In certain territories, particularly in Senegal and Dahomey, pressure was brought to bear by France on the delegates against taking so drastic a step, so that the *P.R.A.* withdrew from its earlier stand and said that effectively the decision over the constitution would be left to each territorial section. In August the burning question for both the *P.R.A.* and *R.D.A.* was answered by General de Gaulle on his tour of Africa prior to the referendum in September. The right of independence would be inscribed in the constitution. But, he later added ominously, those who voted No to his constitution now would take all the consequences. For all states so economically dependent on France this was a considerable threat. Thus few leaders did in fact campaign against the constitution. In Guinea, Sékou Touré with a superb party organisation, managed to obtain a 97 per cent vote against the constitution and took independence with all its consequences, which involved the French destroying all their files and even taking away the telephones! In Niger the Premier, Djibo Bakary failed to carry his campaign against the constitution, and was forced reluctantly to resign, and after the subsequent election which was won by his *R.D.A.* opponents, to flee the country. In this matter it was said, the French who suspected Djibo Bakary of extreme left-wing sympathies were determined not to have 'a hole in the desert'.

In Senegal the situation was confused. Not until the last minute did the *P.R.A.* come out definitely in favour of the constitution. De Gaulle received a hostile reception on his visit to Dakar. Three radical members of the *P.R.A.* Ly Abdoulaye, Assane Seck and Amadou M. M'Bow declared they would vote No, whatever the rest of the Party decided. On 11 December the *P.R.A.* section of the Senegal party decided to vote Yes. The three members who had declared they would vote No resigned, formed a new party confusingly called *P.R.A.-Sénégal* and joined with the *P.A.I.* and campaigned against de Gaulle. Once the decision of the

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 majority party had been made, however, there was little
668 doubt as to the outcome of the Referendum. But the seeds
[665] of independence had been sown.

Almost immediately after the Referendum the planners got down to work seeking to create the federal executive that had escaped them under the *ancien régime*. Guinea meanwhile had become independent and there was a certain satisfaction amongst those who voted Yes at the difficulties so abrupt a break with France entailed. Alas, as was later realised, Guinea independent and the rest still within the Community, meant the first crack in the old federation. On 29 December delegates from Senegal, Soudan, Upper Volta and Dahomey, together with observers from Mauretania, met to consider the possibility of creating a new federation.

On 17 January 1959 a federal constitution was promulgated with the accord of all four governmental delegations, and the new Mali came into being. However pressures from France and from Houphouët-Boigny, who still bitterly opposed any form of federation, soon forced Upper Volta and Dahomey to withdraw, reducing Mali to two member states: Senegal and Soudan.

648 The new federation was short lived. In Soudan there had
665 been almost unanimous support for the federation, but in Senegal a number of religious chiefs, in association with Ibrahim Seydou N'Daw, formerly President of the Senegalese Assembly, and an important member of the governing *U.P.S.* party, formed the Senegalese Solidarity Party and together with the two left-wing parties, the *Parti Africain de l'Indépendence* and the *P.R.A.*—Senegal campaigned
[666] against the proposed federation. At the polls the Government won a resounding victory.

Thus in both Senegal and Soudan the leaders who had chosen the path of federation won triumphant approval, though as Mamadou Dia admits somewhat ruefully, the people followed their leaders blindly on this question. It is essential here to note that the two countries were

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

governed by different parties, and in each territory that party held all the parliamentary seats. In any election to the Federal Assembly, which was by nomination of each territorial house of an equal number of seats, there could well be deadlock. However on 24 March 1959 Soudanese and Senegalese met in Dakar to form the new African Federalist Party, to which delegates from Niger and Dahomey came. The new party was formed, then, from the *R.D.A.* of Soudan, the *U.P.S.* which was the official Senegal Section of P.R.A., which in effect contained both *M.S.A.* and *Convention Africaine* as well as the small Senegal *R.D.A.* the Niger *P.R.A.* (in effect *M.S.A.*) and the Dahomey *P.R.A.* Thus, with the exception of the small *P.R.A.-Sénégal* and the small *P.A.I.*, Mali had only one effective party. This detailed composition shows that the Mali Federation could not then be called a one-party state. Indeed the local politicians described their party as a 'unified party', which admitted opposition outside the party as well as within.

From the start the Mali Federation ran into difficulties with France, which initially refused to recognise her existence. Thus Modibo Keita did not attend the first three meetings of the executive council of the Community because of this failure to recognise the State of which he was head. However de Gaulle soon realised that Mali was there to stay and gave her recognition and Modibo Keita attended the fourth meeting of the Community Executive at Tananarive in Madagascar. It was not long before the leaders of Mali decided to take advantage of the clause in the constitution which apparently allowed members of the Community to become independent and yet remain members. For long the French Government would not commit itself to granting independence, and only when the question was raised at the sixth meeting of the Community Executive at St. Louis in Senegal on 13 December did de Gaulle give it his blessing. But there followed long and protracted negotiations over the terms of independence,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

C48 the main drawback for Mali being the concessions she had to make over the military base at St. Louis. Far from cutting [651] Mali off without a penny as she had Guinea, France promised to continue her aid. Mali's decision to take independence marked the beginning of the end of the Franco-African Community, and indeed of France's political assimilation of her African states.

This done, the Mali Federation was all set for independence. But there were internal hurdles to overcome. Mali may well have been ruled by a unified party, but there were definite differences between Soudanese and Senegalese. Soudan was the larger, more populous territory, but the poorer. It was much more left wing and politically was run very much more strictly than Senegal. The party controlled everything. To appreciate this one must remember that the *R.D.A.* was initially allied to the Communists [665] and had adopted their cell technique for its own party organisation. This system of administration proved most effective and explains why Sékou Touré was able to keep so firm a hold on Guinea after the French had gone. Senegal, however, after three centuries of contact with the French, was much more affected by French ideas of liberty [641] and certainly found this rather ruthless element in its Soudanese partner disturbing. For instance at the constitutional conference preceding independence the Soudanese demanded that a unitary state be created, and that the excess burden of two territorial governments be removed. They also wanted a president with strong powers like those enjoyed by de Gaulle. The Senegalese, who saw many dangers to themselves in such a constitution protested successfully on the moral grounds that it would prevent other states from joining Mali—which was after all the federation's main *raison d'être*. The Senegalese won the day after bitter wrangling. Of course, though Senegal as the richer partner effectively subsidised the federation, she had her own interests in maintaining it since Soudan exported [439] its ground-nuts along the railway from Bamako to Dakar.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 more backward in every way—one could try and dominate the other. Indeed Senegal felt she was subsidising Soudan whilst that territory, it was believed, was taking all the plum jobs. Third, in such a federation it was not surprising that there should be a clash of personalities between the two regional leaders, Senghor and Modibo Keita. They proved quite incompatible, each representing entirely different political traditions. And though nominally they now belonged to the same political party the *P.F.A.*, in fact they had entirely different outlooks. Modibo Keita represented a country of considerable poverty, with a very small educated élite, where ministers worked in the fields for three weeks each year. The population undertook voluntary labour on government projects. Altogether it was a puritan, left-wing regime anxious to lift its peoples out of their age-long poverty, intolerant of opposition and very ascetic in its approach to life.

The Senegalese were almost entirely opposite in every [665] way. Politically the *U.P.S.* was much more liberal, flanked on either side by extreme right-wing and extreme left-wing opposition parties. Indeed the *U.P.S.* itself was an amalgamation of two parties. Senegal by comparison, was much richer, the population less interested in the type of ascetic left-wing politics practised in Mali. But above all the conflict between the two came from their widely different political histories. Senegal had nearly 150 years' experience of European-style politics, Soudan barely fourteen. The conflict between the sophisticated communes and the neglected bush that had been instrumental in Senghor's foundation of the *B.P.S.* in 1948, seemed to be repeating itself in a new form. The Soudanese found it difficult to co-operate with their sophisticated neighbours who seemed to take politics and indeed life far less seriously than they did, who seemed too identified with France as a result of long contact and the latter's policy of assimilation. This conflict seemed to be embodied in the personalities of their two leaders. Senghor, poet, philosopher, political

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

463 has enjoyed a much higher rate of education than was possi-
[563] ble in an Islamic community like Senegal, even taking into account French assimilation policy.

There is a pronounced bias in Senegal against entering into commerce, whether at the African level or at the European level. This bias has been observed by many Europeans. It may be thought of as a mere attempt to explain away the lack of success or rather a lack of desire and intention to Africanise commerce, but against this view, M. Assane Seck, one of the leaders of the Opposition
• [665] *P.R.A.-Sénégal* and a lecturer at the university, who might normally be only too pleased to pin the slow rate of Africanisation of commerce on the Government, has said that one of the chief obstacles to the Africanisation of economy at
[571] its higher levels is the preference of the Senegalese élite, and even the lesser educated classes, for work in the Admini-
[647] tration. Under the French the Administration seems to have enjoyed a very high status especially as rates of pay
[465] have always been considerably higher than in commerce and industry. Commerce, even when it pays better, has among the Senegalese something of the smear it had in ninteenth-century England.

471 Another barrier to the Africanisation of shopkeeping and
[472] small scale private enterprise is the difficulty the Senegalese have in amassing capital. The obligations towards members
[596] of the extended family are such that a man with money has calls made on it from even his most distant relatives. This social parasitism is much stronger in Senegal than in most West African countries. One of the few important Senegalese business men operating in Dakar today has admitted that he had to reduce his family obligations drastically, not only because he was married to a European, but because unless he did so, he would never be able to keep enough capital in his business. Diop Abdoulaye, in his study of the Tou-
[736] couleur, has protested against the use of the term family parasitism for something which 'makes it possible to help those in need, the unemployed, for example, who can then

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 369 563 immense impact of the town. They live in small villages made up of relations and fellow villagers. They even club together, subscribing to a common fund to receive their S [463] fellows from the Fleuve, and as far as work is concerned they virtually monopolise certain jobs such as bootboys, waiters, and newspaper sellers. This maintenance of tribal cohesion is a difficult task in this city of French creation, where a new community of Dakarois is rapidly coming into existence.

S 665 563 [619] [182] An important factor in the breakdown of tribal ties has been the creation of political parties and the creation of a new political élite that thinks in national terms. Experience in Africa has shown, however, that this can work two ways, for many political parties are in effect organisations intended to defend ethnic interests. Senegalese politics have on the whole been remarkably free from tribalism, though Senghor did in fact achieve much of his success in the early days of the *B.D.S.* though the emphasis he laid on ethnic considerations in the organisations of his party, and certainly there have existed specifically regional and ethnic parties like *Le Mouvement Démocratique Casamançais* and the *Union Générale de la Vallée du Fleuve.* But, as Kenneth Robinson pointed out in his study of Senegalese politics in *Five Elections in Africa*, these ethnic and regional aspects were compensated for by the federal aspect of the major party, *Le Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais.* In 1954, in fact, all ethnic and regional sub-sections of the *B.D.S.* were abolished and individual membership was insisted on. But though this led to the breaking-away of certain elements in the Casamance, it would be fair to say that the party has been much less dominated by those regional differences that normally influence political parties in West Africa. Nevertheless, as Robinson found in the 1957 S [666] election, there were a number of constituencies where ethnic rivalries were more important than political issues. W [666] [665] At Linguère, a single member constituency, the population was divided between Fula and Wolof in the proportion of three to two. When the sitting member, a Fula, was

[i.e., The Moors and Toucouleurs in Dakar--Analyst]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

renominated, the Wolofs created a *Bloc Démocratique du Djollof* which polled 6,000 votes to the 8,000 of the Fula candidate.

A further commentary on the lack of tribalism in Senegal is the ethnic structure of the Government and the national assembly. The Government is composed of the President of the Republic, who is a Serer, a President of the Council of Ministers who is Toucouleur with strong Wolof ancestry, and fourteen Ministers of whom nine are Wolof, two are half-caste, one a Frenchman who has opted for Senegalese nationality, one a Diola and one a Lebou.

The ethnic repartition of the Senegalese National Assembly is equally revealing*:

Tribe	*Percentage of population*	*Number of Deputies*	*Percentage of Deputies*
Wolof	35·0	33	41
Serer	16·0	5	6
Lebou	0·2	10	13
Toucouleur	9·0	10	13
Fula	17·0	5	6
Diola	9·0	5	6
Mandingo/Bambara	7·0	3	4
European	0·1	3	4
Metis	0·1	5	6
Rest	4·7	1	1

The above figures, with the reservations footnoted, show that the National Assembly with one or two exceptions

* These figures were supplied to me by William J. Foltz and are based on his own research and ethnic data from the *S.E.R.E.S.A. Rapport General* 1ère partie, Ch. 1., p. 38. The population figures are based on old administrative censuses, which may be somewhat conservative. The figures for the Lebou seem surprisingly low. Furthermore, placing deputies under a particular ethnic grouping is often an arbitrary process, since it is in the educated classes that the highest rate of inter-ethnic marriage occurs. Furthermore the large number of Wolofs can partly be explained by the fact that anyone of mixed ethnic origin, in which one parent is Wolof, tends to call himself Wolof.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 them strict enough Muslims, the main distinguishing
[433] feature of their homeland, the Vallée du Fleuve du Sénégal,
[735] is its poverty compared with that of other parts of Senegal. Diop Abdoulaye in his study of Toucouleur immigration into Dakar estimates that the average *per capita* income of a Toucouleur of that region is little more than 4,000 *C.F.A.*
[434] per annum, i.e. about £6 a year. It is this rather than any real tribal differences that makes the Vallée a special problem, and this as much as any ethnic factor accounted
• [665] for the existence of the *Union Générale de la Vallée du Fleuve.*

563 The only real minority area in the Senegal is the Casa-
619 mance, whose special position is further emphasised by its separation from the main block of Senegal by the Gambia. In the past it has been thought of as geographically, economically, socially and even religiously separate from the rest of Senegal. A forest zone closer to its neighbours Portuguese Guinea and the Republic of Guinea, it remained very underdeveloped by the French, though the present Government is taking this fact into account with a special development programme for the area. This separateness was emphasised by the very name Casamance. The people describe themselves to this day as *Casamançais* rather than Senegalese, though this could well be accepted on the same terms as a Briton describing himself as Scots or Welsh. It is fortunate that the tendency is to talk in terms of regional rather than tribal origin. However one of the important factors in the Casamance has been tribal. The Diolas were until very recently an animist people with an entirely different social organisation from that of the main groups of Senegal, though as we have already pointed out they had traditional ties with the Serer which went as far as the injunction that a Diola should never spill the blood of a Serer. But today the Diola are being drawn into the main socio-religious pattern of Senegal. In the most recent estimate of the religious
[162] adherence of the population of Casamance, estimated at
[771] 327,500, 284,000 were Muslims, only 28,000 Christians and

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

the rest animists. Of course this includes the exclusively Muslim Mandingo inhabitants of the Casamance who have been largely responsible for this proselytisation. The Diola too is inclined more and more to imitate his Mandingo and Wolof neighbours. L. V. Thomas, who has written a monumental study on the Diola, fears: 'Soon the Diola country may be, at least in its landscape, like Senegal if no power intervenes to limit the extension of the bushfire; it will certainly become, in its people, just another African country, where only a few anthropological remains fixed by heredity will enable us to distinguish the Diola from the Wolof or the Mandingo.' 563 619 [162] [771]

The Casamance may well be coming closer to the rest of the Senegal, but it still remains a seat of opposition to the Government of Senghor and Dia, and votes heavily for the opposition *P.R.A.-Sénégal*. However neither of the leaders of this party, Ly Abdoulaye or Assane Seck, is *Casamançais*, and there is strong support in many towns for the *U.P.S.*, which indicates that Diola-Casamance politics are not necessarily either regional or tribal, though these are important factors. 563 665 666

The main social problem of the Senegal, and one which both assimilation and religion seem to have been unable to break down, is that of caste or a class structure very similar to caste. All the main Senegalese tribes—the Wolof, Lebou, Toucouleur, Serer—are divided into a series of endogamous castes. These castes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but roughly they are divided thus: 565 [582]

Nobles and Freeborn
Artisans (jewellers, smiths, weavers, leatherworkers) [463]
Griots or minstrels
Liberated slaves
Slaves

(Of course domestic slaves no longer exist as such in Senegal, but families know who their slaves were.) [567]

It is certainly easier in Senegal for a Toucouleur noble to marry a Wolof noble than to marry a woman of inferior [582]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

equal status to all Senegalese and wanted to make everyone true Senegalese citizens whether they were griots, leather-workers or jewellers. Afterwards the non-griots agreed that the griots who had just died should be buried 'in the same way as anyone else, and as a beginning they agreed to let the burial of the victim of the incident take place, not in the traditional baobab but in Diack earth.' 565 764 578 [641]

In the Government today there are, amongst those members belonging to tribes with a class system only two of inferior caste, one being a 'bijoutier' and one a griot. It is said of another that he is of slave origin, but this is not certain because politicians often try to attribute inferior caste to their opponents. In the Assembly, of the members with caste all are noble or freeborn with the exception of one 'bijoutier', and one griot. It is thus at present difficult to get on in politics unless one is noble or freeborn. Indeed chiefly connexion is important, even though chiefs are no longer of significance administratively. Thus in 1957 Kenneth Robinson wrote: 565 [646] [631]

> Membership of chiefly families is, nevertheless, an important source not only of prestige but of political interest. In many interviews with political leaders in the smaller townships and villages they almost invariably defined their own position, and that of their fellows, in part by reference to their relationship with the ruling families, or with the indigenous caste system. [554]

Mr. William Foltz, who is making a detailed survey of Senegalese politics, has however observed that the local party groups in the country are increasingly representative of the inferior castes and many of the important backroom boys are of inferior caste, which suggests that there may be a change from the present situation at the next elections. But so far, as Mercier has observed, it does not look as though high standing in the modern context can yet completely redeem traditional inferiority. [665] [554]

The caste system in Senegal is one of the most delicate problems confronting the Senegalese Government today.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

upon to play a historic role will be neither Negro, Berber, nor Arab nations, nor Christian, Muslim, nor animist nations. They will surely be strongly marked by the influence of different biological factors, and by the influence of different philosophies of their environment; but they will be nothing if not a synthesis, if not a civilisation. It is under this condition that they will be truly active element in the post-Marxian revolution of the twentieth century. 668

Reading the political philosophy of both Senghor and Mamadou Dia, one is tempted to say this humanism is all very admirable but what have such high-flown ideas got to do with a nation of three million poor people still living barely above subsistence level and of whom the majority of adults are still illiterate? Indeed, Senghor the philosopher and poet comes in for criticism by some students of African politics for his advocacy of this cultural cross breeding, for his apparent excessive attachment to the West. Will not, they ask, someone more African, more a politician and less a poet, be more typical of the African politicians of the future? This is perhaps not only to misunderstand Senghor, but also the Senegalese. Senghor may seem to live in the clouds, uttering fine phrases in enviable French, but the last fifteen years have shown him as a masterly political tactician. He broke away from Lamine Guèye and the *S.F.I.O.* to form his own party at just the right psychological moment. And when he felt an end had to be brought to the Mali Federation he accomplished it without shedding one drop of blood, to the surprise not only of foreign observers but particularly of his Soudanese partners. Today opposition to Senghor comes mainly from fellow intellectuals, whilst his standing with the people of the countryside remains high. His opposition is no less inclined to lengthy discourses on the philosophical foundations of the state. Ly Abdoulaye and Assane Seck of the *P.R.A.* are both of the University of Dakar; Majhemout Diop of the *P.A.I.* is a doctrinaire Communist; and Cheikh Anta Diop, as we have seen, has spent most of his time on the rehabilitation of African history.

[433] [812] [665] [665]

6: Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

571 178 preserve much of their prestige;[1] they are sometimes in diametrical opposition to the modernist elites and sometimes try to come to terms with them; occasionally, as the result of historical conditions, the two elites are closely interlocked.[2]

4. Types and degree of tension between the African modernist elites and the European groups. The latter occupy the position of ruling class in the whole community represented by each territorial unit. The conflict is fundamental, yet a balance, however temporary and precarious, between the two groups may sometimes be discerned, though it varies enormously in degree from one region to another and at different times.[3]

The situation in Senegal, compared with that in other parts of French West Africa, exhibits certain special features. Senegal was the first of these territories to be colonized.[4] At the beginning of the new phase which opened after the war, it had the largest number of educated and partly Westernized persons, and it has for several decades had a political life modelled on the West, though of a summary and limited character.[5] At this level of political life, the course of events during the past 10 years affords us a first glimpse of regional diver-
[668] gencies. It is a significant fact that Senegal was not the first French West African territory in which a movement making political demands of some magnitude arose. The acute crises of the immediate post-war period developed elsewhere—in the Ivory Coast—with the founding and expansion of the
[665] Rassemblement Démocratique Africain, the first political party in French Africa (Black) with nationalistic tendencies. The Rassemblement Démocratique Africain never succeeded in establishing itself firmly in Senegal, either before or after its change of policy in the 1950's.[6] There is no space here to describe in detail the historical and social background of such events, though I shall have to refer to it several times later in this paper. Some of the basic traits will suffice for mention: aspects of the traditional structures, of contemporary economic development, of the schools' endeavour to promote assimilation.

[563] The principal racial groups inhabiting Senegal,[7] whatever their cultural differences, and whatever their traditional hostility to one another (which has still by no means completely disappeared) all had the same type of social and political organization. They were strictly graded societies divided into endogamous castes, each with its special economic, political, ritual and other functions. In the present context, inter-caste antagonisms and incompatibilities are as a rule more important than racial antagonisms, since several racial groups may have equivalent social gradings or one may have borrowed and adapted another's gradings. This is a fundamental feature; it indicates the framework within which we can explain the problem of relations between
[554] the traditional and the modernist elites. For instance, prestige due to education may be superimposed on prestige based on tradition, in particular prestige due to caste; or else the two may be completely separate.[8] Even today a high

2. Either officially or more or less 'clandestinely'.
3. E.g. in South Dahomey.
3. In the Ivory Coast, for example, a period of calm and co-operation followed when the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain dropped certain extreme claims.
[175] 4. Trade counters have existed for more than three centuries and the more specifically colonial period began more than a hundred years ago.
5. It had four municipalities with full privileges which sent a deputy to the French Parliament.
6. It broke off its alliance with the French Communist party.
7. The Ouolof, the Toucouleur and the Serers.
[177] 8. The resistance of the traditional ruling strata to foreign influence explains why, in certain castes, the lower castes were the first to go to school.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37
p. 450

178 masses, it found in the 'colonial elite' the go-between it needed for the resumption of contact to which it aspired.
571

The activity of this new elite is beginning to be discernible in its political and trade union work, and its basic aspirations can be defined. As has already been said, a Western-type political life was introduced fairly early in one part of Senegal. Political parties were formed; after 1946, their influence extended throughout the territory. In a recent paper[1] we stated that they had become, in the 'four communes', an almost traditional part of the social system. Once they reached the whole of Senegal, they acquired an enormous body of followers, the divisions among whom reflected successively—or simultaneously, according to the district—a number of historical, social, ethnic and family rifts. Thus, the antagonism between the Socialist party and the Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais, which has been a salient factor over recent years, did but reproduce according to time and place, the antagonism between former 'citizens' and former 'subjects', Ouolof and non-Ouolof, Moslems and Catholics, one Moslem sect and another, etc. On the whole, the 'colonial elite' has assumed the leadership of these parties.[2] But recent surveys have shown that, in the urban centres at any rate, membership in a political party might be commoner among the illiterate elements than among the 'educated'. This is a clear indication of the gap between the political parties and the present ambitions of the elites. A strongly held local position or the prestige of certain leaders is the reason why the traditional parties, though ill adapted to the present situation, have succeeded in keeping afloat. However, the waning influence of the Socialist party (the oldest organized party) was the sign after 1950 of the start of a new phase. The young elite from the liberal professions, followed by numerous young members of the 'colonial elite', remained markedly aloof from these movements, which seemed to efford no opportunity for the political action in which they intended to engage. Their sympathies went to a movement of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain type, although they were unable to impose it because of the strong positions held by the traditional parties. Yet some of the more influential members of this young elite finally decided to join the Senegalese party which seemed to have the strongest hold over the popular masses, the Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais.[3] There, they will doubtless play an important role. The point has been reached at which the new elite is seeking to take over the torch from the 'colonial elite', but with political ambitions of a much more radical nature; I shall consider later the ideological aspects of the problem. In the case of the trade unions, the position is slightly different. Their activity,[4] of recent origin, soon acquired deeper significance. The more energetic elements of the 'administrative bourgeoisie', in alliance with the still small working-class elite, embarked in the trade unions on a course of action which was more directly effective than that of the political parties.[5] The climate of thought, directly or indirectly influenced by theories of Marxist origin, favoured the growth of an awareness of the 'colonial situation'. In this respect, however, the new intellectual elite played

665
178
571
[369]
460
178
571
[113]

1. Cf. P. Mercier, *An Experimental Investigation conducted by means of Questionnaires in the town of Dakar*, report presented to the Conference on the Social Impact of Industrialization and Urban Problems, organized by Unesco at Abidjan, 1954.
2. As have, needless to say, certain members of an elite formed from the liberal professions, which had already emerged before the war.
3. In which they represent the 'left' wing.
4. Most of the unions are affiliated to the trade union federations in France.
5. And more resolutely modernist in its outlook.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

territories of the Federation. This has made the French very bitter 648
against the Americans. As it is, the French are notoriously anti-American, and nowhere was this more pronounced than in Dakar when I was there. Memories of the incident at Little Rock were still fresh. One official told me triumphantly:

'When Holmes, Foster Dulles' plenipotentiary, came to Dakar to patch up the effect of Little Rock, which, I might say, had a profound effect on Africans here, the local people told him that they were astonished that the Federal Government of the U.S.A. could not control a State Governor. Of course,' he continued, a vicious light in his eyes, 'the best thing was at the Youth Conference at Abidjan, in Ivory Coast. The local American Consul went there in his large car, Stars and Stripes flying. When these young Africans talked about independence he clapped, and smiled when they passed resolutions in its favour. Then they called for a vote censuring Little Rock. He had to get up and leave!'

After meeting the young African at the 'lunch' in the Grand 665
Conseil, Arnold was very surprised by the moderate views of 648
Monsieur Doudou Guèye, a leading politician of French Africa's largest party, the Rassemblement Démocratique Africaine, whom we met in his office in the same building. He is President of the Permanent Commission of the Grand Conseil, and a man with a record much more extremist than Nkrumah. He received us in a large office, overlooking the Atlantic, immaculately dressed and radiating an air of efficiency.

'In French West Africa,' he told us, 'independence is not so simple as in British West Africa, where you have practised indirect rule, preserving much of the old tribal system, the power of the Chiefs, and native law. Here most of that is destroyed. We have had to build up a new life for ourselves. Independence is therefore much more difficult. Anyway I don't think Ghana has much advantage over us. Our new *Loi Cadre* has given internal responsibility to the Africans who, in effect, run everything. The main strings France pulls are economic.'

It all seemed so smooth now, very remote from the fiery words of Arnold's friend. But Doudou Guèye, like many of his party, had been persecuted by the French. He had been in prison during the years 1948, 1949 and 1950. He did not seem bitter

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

•665
648

about it, and even waved a letter at me which he said he had just received from his old prison governor.

'If we politicians hadn't been in prison we would never have got what we have today. Other politicians who did not go to prison suffered more than I did.'

He seemed to take a far more mature view of his party's experience of prison than Nkrumah and his 'prison graduates' do. One could see that Doudou Guèye would never parade on French West African Independence Day in a prisoner's hat. Though he and his party members would have much more reason to.

Later we met a leader of R.D.A., with a record much more extreme than that of Doudou Guèye. Gabriel D'Arboussier, Vice-President of the Grand Conseil, had once been as good as a member of the Communist Party. The R.D.A., too, had been very much a fellow-travelling party, which even now is organized on the Communist cell basis. 'We owe a lot to the Communists, who taught us and trained us,' Doudou Guèye had told us. But D'Arboussier, a mulatto from Djenne in Soudan, is no longer a Communist, and R.D.A. has moved steadily away from the left. The Communists hate D'Arboussier today as a traitor to the cause, but this has lost him little, for he is now at the forefront of French African politics.

He received us in his plush office, sat us both in large armchairs, and instead of viewing us from the fortress of his very large desk, sat in the third armchair. He talked in fluent and excellent English. We talked about Africa.

'The great problem of Africa is the creation of a united people and the breakdown of tribal factions. When we stress the need for unity in Africa, I think it is because consciously or unconsciously in Africa it is clear to us that the element of division is very great. We shall have to fight very hard to achieve it.' Arnold: 'Do you think we will ever succeed?' D'Arboussier looked doubtfully at us for a moment. I said I thought that the impact of the various Colonial powers in Africa and the imposition of their culture and tradition in the African peoples would make unity difficult, at least in the immediate future. He nodded agreement.

'What is important,' D'Arboussier said, 'is the African way of

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

living. What we must preserve completely is that, though, of course, I realize, it is no longer possible to treat the economic and political problems of Africa on the level of the tribes. However, what Africa could give to the West, is the sense of democratic function. People tend to laugh at the institution of the village palaver house, but it is the great school of politics. Decisions there are taken on the basis not of a majority but of unanimity. They will talk night and day till the last man in the village is convinced their common action is right.'

Arnold looked at D'Arboussier somewhat suspiciously when he talked largely about the 'African' and his personality. As a Creole, Arnold, I think, detected D'Arboussier's own dilemma, as a Mulatto, who was not sure where he belonged. To Africa or Europe?

For a man who had once been a Communist sympathizer D'Arboussier was surprisingly moderate. There was no talk of independence or an immediate rupture with France.

'We have decided that absolute independence would be a burden,' he told me.

One of my best friends in Dakar was a young Toucouleur, of my own age, who was a member of the newly formed Partie Africane de L'Independence, which was in complete opposition to the creation of any Franco-African Community, who believed that France exploited Africa, and the sooner Africa was rid of her the better.

He himself was extremely well-educated, with no immediately obvious motive for bitterness against the French. Indeed, it was a Frenchman who introduced me to him. He took me to the headquarters of the party, a small bookshop in a side street of Dakar. It was well decorated, and its shelves were lined with books on Marxist Socialism and Communism, a lesser Colletts. Mixed with picture books about Rumania and Russia and the Chinese way of life were the French Classics. Mahjemout Diop, one of the leaders of this party, as yet with little influence, received me in his office and lectured me on the evils of French administration. There was something clandestine about our encounter in this side office and yet with Africans in power at the Grand Conseil, and with an African Prime Minister of the Senegal I could not help thinking his anti-colonialist crusade a

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 little misguided. He handed me a copy of the party manifesto.
648 On the front it read:

> 'At the historic moment of Bandung and of the Colonial and Imperialist system, at the moment when political confusion submerges Black Africa under French domination, our duty as Africans obliges us to bring before the masses of our country the problem of national independence and the transformation of our economy into a socialist economy.'

[204] He also handed me a copy of the party newspaper, *La Lutte*, 'The Battle', which is surprisingly well produced at an intellectual level. It even had an article explaining why Sputnik stayed up. On another page a cartoon demonstrated party feeling towards France: Picture I. Thin, Belsen figure, in casque colonial, sucks from straw the lifeblood of Africa—Picture II. Fatter version of this Frenchman leaves for home, a small Africa behind him.

But the magazine was directed not only against France. Jibes were made at the Minister of the Interior of the Senegal, and at the high wages paid to Ministers. Mahjemout Diop was later arrested on the orders of the Minister of the Interior.

OLD SENEGAL

Dakar—Gorée—St. Louis

369 [491] [361] [175] Our third afternoon in Dakar, Arnold and I took the afternoon ferry to Gorée, a tiny island embraced by the bay of Dakar. This island, which until the turn of the century was better known than Dakar itself, was discovered in 1444 by Dinis Dias, one of the early Portuguese explorers, and commands the entrance to the port of Dakar, so that for long it was prized as the most strategic of islands on the Guinea Coast. Today it is no more than an historical relic, but whether against a clear blue sky or of dark grey rain clouds massing for an assault on the mainland, it serves as a reminded that though in Africa the revolution has taken place largely over the last ten years, its groundwork has been prepared by centuries of contact with Europeans and their way of life.

The small ferry was crammed with trippers, armed with

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

The Growth of Political Parties

668 This political tradition explains why the changes in Senegal after 1946 took a unique coloring, and why Senegal's subsequent political history has been considerably different from that of other French West African territories. The political changes instituted after WW II [633] represented in part a loss of privileged position for the four communes, though they continued to play a dominant role for several years.[21] This was one of the factors that made the period 1946-1956 one of transition.

668 One important development was the • 665 appearance of well-structured political parties. Pre-war political life had been characterized by clusters of followers assembled about influential leaders, in a framework that somewhat resembled that of a "republic of notables." This pattern was still common in 1946; the nature of parties changed only gradually. On the other hand, political life broadened to include the whole territory. The long-standing predominance enjoyed by the coastal cities persisted for a few years but the weight of their electorate fell rapidly.[22] The emerging ideologies and the newly-founded political organizations were oriented toward the satisfaction of wants quite different from those typical of the old urban populations. But the models and the leaders that the latter had produced retained an influence that greatly exceeded their geographic limits, and in the cities they receded only slowly before the growth of a political life with different roots.

The fact that the post-war institutional developments were not transplanted to virgin soil had two contradictory results. On the one hand, a political party that was merely a branch of a

[P. 9A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[P. 3 A]
[P.3 contains no textual material]

Political Life in the Urban Centers of Senegal: A Study of a Period of Transition

Senegal and Sudan presently comprise the Mali Federation, which is in the process of achieving sovereignty within the French Community. Senegal itself is one of the most urbanized West African regions, and its cities have been characterized by a gradual growth of modern political life. The author presents some major findings on its urban political activity, based on extensive interviews made in the mid-1950's. The oldest urban elite, almost entirely assimilated into the French way of life, has been only partially successful in developing party organizations that satisfy the interests of the newer urban residents. As a consequence, the most active and radical post-war political activity has been centered in "non-political" bodies, notably labor unions. Also, urban political activity has been increasingly challenged by rural political developments, which have drawn their framework from urban politics. African specialists will note that Senegalese political development has much in common with such development elsewhere in Africa; it also has a number of distinctive features.

The article originally appeared in CAHIERS INTERNATIONAL DE SOCIOLOGIE, *XXVII (July-December, 1959), pp. 55-84, under the title,* "La vie politique dans les centres urbains du Sénégal." *It was translated by T. H. Stevenson.*

369
6698
[114]
6655
[467]
[1]

668 French party — the S.F.I.O.[23] — devel-
•665 oped and for several years played a dominant role throughout Senegal. In the other territories parties were more often purely local, and simply allied themselves with the French parties. The S.F.I.O. lost its predominence in Senegal after 1951, but kept it in the four communes — St. Louis and Dakar-Gorée being its chief strongholds; it remained there as
[666] the African Socialist Movement.[24] This result, the adoption of assimilationist views, was to a certain degree a characteristic of pre-war political life, but on the other hand it contributed to the leadership of the first party that tried to be at once interterritorial and specifically African: the African Democratic Assembly (R.D.A.). It provided some of the most radical elements in the movement, which received considerable support, especially at Dakar. Several radical leaders were the source of the conflicts that resulted in the split in the R.D.A. that followed the change of orientation after 1950. The R.D.A. was subsequently a rather marginal movement in Senegal. This second result suggests the strength of the relations of a party limited to the numerous elite of the old Senegalese cities with the great European currents of political thought.

[369] But the greatest effect of the diversification of Senegalese political life was
[666] felt elsewhere. The appearance and rapid success of the Senegalese Democratic Bloc (B.D.S.) — which stemmed from a division in the S.F.I.O. — were the manifestations, in the political realm, of two essential facts: (1) the important changes that had taken place in the composition of city populations; and (2) the resumption of initiative by the rural populations, who seized the opportunity to express themselves directly, and especi-

[P. 9 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[21] A very significant portion of the present framework emerged from the "four communes."
[22] Until 1957, universal suffrage existed only in the four communes. In the rest of Senegal the franchise, which was very limited in 1946, was extended to more and more people. The organic law of 1956 abolished all restrictions.
[23] Translator's note: French section of the Workingmen's International: the French Socialist Party, attached to the old Second International.
[24] In 1956. The municipal elections of the same year showed clearly the extent of its influence, which was unimportant in the interior cities.

[P.9C]

668
E95
BA1
E92

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 ally to express themselves in opposition
665 to the old cities. The legislative elections
369 of 1951 were typical in this respect. The
666 enlarged rural electorate had numerical control and held the key to success in the elections; a substantial part of the urban masses shared in an effort to drive a breach in the old system of urban domination. In this period the ideological aspects of the political parties were still unimportant. The elections of 1951 were a victorious revolt of the new citizens, urban and rural, against the old citizens of the "four communes."[25] The two candidates of the B.D.S. won. Significantly, one of them represented directly, through the unions, the new forces. The division between the whole of the territory and the cities was thus repeated *within* the cities. A new phase had commenced, one in which politics became more complicated. But the forms that can be termed "traditional" for political life were too deeply embedded within the patterns of urban life to give way at once.

Senegalese Political Life in Transition, 1953-1956

668 It was under such conditions that re-
665 searches were conducted on the forms of
[114] political expression in several Senegalese urban centers, chiefly at Dakar-Gorée and at St. Louis — that is, three of the four communes — and also at Thiès, a newer city in the interior close to and under the influence of the Dakar-Gorée-Rufisque aggregate. This last study provided certain comparative materials. This essay discusses only some of the findings of these researches. Three essential facts must be remembered:

(1) The importance retained by certain long-standing patterns. A party de-

[p.10A]

668 signed to be distinctive, and to a degree
665 founded in opposition to these patterns, nevertheless conforms with them, at least for a time, within the "old cities." This is one of the limits of the political system of this period: the deepest political aspirations, which are rapidly gaining strength, can be only partially expressed within a partisan structure.

(2) The central role of certain non-political groupings and organizations[26] in the elaboration of more radical ideologies and in the formation of the most active groups. This must be viewed as a direct function of the preceding condition.

[571] (3) The temporarily marginal status of an important part of the new elites, whose formation had accelerated in the post-war years. At the time of study, a shift of elites was occurring. Youthful elements were vigorously opposed to what was termed the "bourgeoisie of the old cities."[27] This is another indication that the underlying forces still laid outside urban politics; they did not enter them until 1956.

The New Parties

665 After 1946 a series of political parties
369 emerged: the Senegalese branch of the S.F.I.O., the B.D.S., the M.P.S., and the U.D.S.[28] Only the first two received wide support, yet one cannot fail to be impressed by the extent of party membership. Out of a group of 1,200 men interviewed at Dakar, for example, more than half (56 per cent) declared themselves members of a party.[29] The percentage was very high, and of considerable significance. The population involved in this sampling was essentially a stable one, or at least one settled in cities for several years. Other researches justify

[P. 10 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[25] At the time, the civil administration viewed this revolt rather favorably. Of course, it was only one aspect of the politics of the period. Some rather contradictory alliances were formed to oppose the S.F.I.O.

[26] Assuming a limited sense for the word "political," by applying it solely to party organizations.

[27] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Evolution des élites sénégalaises," *Bull. intl. des Sci. soc.*, VIII (#4, '56). Materials for comparison appear, *mutatis mutandis*, in E.-F. Frazier, *Bourgeoisie noire*, Paris, 1956.

[28] Senegalese Populist Movement and Senegalese Democratic Union.

[29] This involved solely the male population.

[P.10c]

999
967
365
578

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 665 369 the assertion that the temporary population, especially the seasonal one, shared very little in urban politics.[30] However, the groupings under study clearly extended beyond the nucleus of the "old population," which in Dakar was less sharply defined and more conglomerate than in a center such as St. Louis.[31] The traits peculiar to the latter were still discernible, however: thus, the majority W [369] ethnic group — Lebou and Wolof, which includes the largest number of "old urban families" — exhibited these political characteristics in a more striking form. Exact data gathered on extended family groups revealed political party member- W [665] ship varying from 50 to 80 per cent among the Lebou and Wolof (as much among women as among men); in these cases, membership was verified by possession of a party card. This verification was not required in the course of the general study previously noted; one may thus assume that some of the men interviewed who declared themselves members of a party were only sympathizers, or had failed to have their cards renewed. Other data, however, confirmed the validity of the information obtained. Thus, during the post-war years the Senegal branch of the S.F.I.O. was among the six most important branches of the party; in the mid-1950's the enormous majority of its adherents were to be found in the coastal cities.

One peculiarity, examined in the course of this essay, requires at least a S partial interpretation. Considering the [666] massive party membership, participation in elections was scanty. Thus, at the time of the last municipal elections in Dakar, the number of persons registered to vote exceeded 50,000.[32] According to the

[P. 11 A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

665
369
[666]

census of 1955, one might have expected it to reach nearly 80,000. Abstentions — in relation to the number registered — amounted to about 30 per cent. In this trend one can see the ambiguity that typified political life in the Senegalese cities. Evidence was also gathered on the status of participation in the other phases of party activity. Parties are organized in ward sections, sometimes with separate sections for women. The activities of these sections do not merit detailed study; they vary too greatly in intensity. One point became clear, however, from direct observation on one hand and the results of a series of interviews on the other: these sectional activities drew only a very limited portion — about 10 per cent — of party effectives. By contrast, occasional demonstrations might draw considerable numbers, including individuals from outside the city. Sometimes such demonstrations coincided with propaganda meetings organized directly by the party. In other cases they stemmed from the presence of a party leader as an observer at an official reception, a conference, etc.

Other facts also demonstrate that party membership does not imply militant action in the specifically political arena. A series of interviews carried out during 1953-1954 revealed only a slight degree of ideological unity in the two large parties, the S.F.I.O. and the B.D.S.; knowledge about specific phases of their programs was generally modest or nonexistant. Hence distribution of party memberships scarcely involved a precise ideological choice.[33] This choice to some degree reflected an actual distinction,[34] but this was apparently no more than a tendency. In addition to the primary

[P. 11 B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[30] But it could remain attached more or less firmly to the political activities of the place of its origin.
[31] It included elements from St. Louis and Gorée, Lebou elements that had become urbanized "on the spot," etc. The population of Dakar tripled 1936-1956, from 80,000 to nearly 250,000.
[32] To be precise, 52,250. These elections are used as an example because the new organization for the city government involved a revision of the electoral lists, the most extensive in many years; and, also, a comparison with recent census figures (compiled in 1955) was possible for the first time.
[33] The facts of the split between the latent ideological content of judgments and opinions of a political sort, and that of the party programs, are noted below. Of course, there were probably distinctions according to level of schooling.
[34] Roughly, between old and new city-dwellers.

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 369 cause of this peculiarity, described previously, there were secondary causes, of ethnic, religious, and other natures. Their action contributed to the blurring of lines between the party groups. These facts explain, for example, why the B.D.S., until its recent changes, was unable despite great efforts to change the nature of urban politics. Only the broad action of new factors that were felt considerably beyond the frontiers of Senegal, from 1956 on, brought some change.

These widespread occurrences affected chiefly the two large parties. The other parties, the M.P.S. and U.D.S., which had developed from the schism in the R.D.A., had a quite different nature. They were parties of activists, and in Senegalese political life had only secondary importance. The successes of the R.D.A. elsewhere in West Africa, even during 1956-1957, had only feeble repercussions in Senegal. This fact had many causes, which cannot be studied here. By contrast, the S.F.I.O. and the B.D.S. were tending to become, in terms of number, parties with mass support; their cores were made up as much by "*notables*" and "elected agents" as by activists. The struggle between these two parties continued to dominate the stage, if not in all Senegal, at least in the cities and in certain rural districts.[35] In some cases it took extremely violent forms. 666 665 369 [633] [579] Pre-election riots were common between 1946 and 1956. Even in 1957, rather serious incidents marked the reorganization of the commune of Dakar, before the last municipal elections.[36] For the first time, elements of the B.D.S. (now the Senegalese Populist Bloc, or B.P.S.) won strong representation in the city council, previously dominated without opposition by the S.F.I.O. (now the African Socialist Movement — M.S.A.); an outburst of partisan passions marked

[P. 12A]

665 this shift. Such demonstrations revealed
[369] the intense hostility between the two
[666] main parties. This deeply influenced urban life, in the realms that overlapped into the specifically political domain.

Some indications have been given as to the significance of party membership. They can be supplemented by approaching the problem somewhat differently. To a considerable degree, the parties remained closely associated with the "clienteles" that typified pre-war political life. This trait appeared most clearly in the party in power, the one that controlled the city government. To maintain and increase
[669] such a political clientele, the party had access to very important instruments. Through the numerous municipal employees and all others who depended upon city hall, or who directly or indirectly benefited from its aid or its support, it extended a very wide network of influence. This was elaborated by the other network of influence, comprising the traditionally influential individuals, who were partly interwoven into it.[37] If a party had such a basis its dynamic force dropped considerably, and the role of its leaders assumed major importance. The prestige of the leader was essential to the cohesion of the political groups. This fact came out clearly in various researches. For instance, in the course of over 100 interviews it appeared that there were wide gaps between the official orientation of the party to which the respondent belonged and the political goals that he expressed.[38] Adherence to the leader overcame that difference to some extent. A certain formalization of partisan attachment thus appeared, in a primitive fashion. The importance of the leader's prestige was revealed with the greatest clarity in relation to the feminine clien-
[369] tele of the parties. It must be emphasized that at Dakar, at least among the
[P. 12 B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[35] Where the rivalry, furthermore, was chiefly between the "outposts," in this case more or less connected with the tradition of the "old cities," and the surrounding countryside.
[36] The separation of Gorée and the anticipated electoral redistricting had persuaded the civil administration to dissolve the municipal council and to replace it during the electoral period with a bipartisan municipal commission.
[37] Particularly in their activity as electoral agents.
[38] In a general way, these goals showed a much more definite "nationalist" potential.

[p. 12c]

665
367
669
633

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 elements that have been urbanized the
369 longest, the percentage of party memberships has been as high among women as among men. This was a peculiar aspect of the Dakar situation, not found, for instance, at Thiès (where the percentage of memberships among women, depending upon the ethnic group, was from one-half to one-tenth that among men). At Dakar the women's branches on occasion could mobilize large crowds, adorned in party colors. Study of about 30 of these individual cases suggested that the conscious essence of political attachment consisted almost entirely of the relation with the leader.

665 The formalization noted above can be
578 studied from various points of view. The fundamental bipartition of political life in a way was responsible for the indirect expression of intragroup and intergroup divisions and rivalries whose nature was other than political. This explains why the line of separation between the two political blocs did not have the same significance to all sectors of the population. In specific situations it assumed many meanings. For example, one could find: (1) hostility between the Lebou-Wolof grouping and the rest of the population (which resembled, without exactly cor-
[563] responding to, the fundamental division noted above); (2) hostility, more or less muted, between Wolof and Lebou; and (3) hostilities within each of the two groups, in proportion to diversities of origin, status, etc.

This accounts for the relative flexibility prevailing in the composition of the clienteles that made up the parties.[39] Since the clienteles represented varied levels, however, they introduced new divisions, or revived and solidified old hostilities.

665 (1) A fundamental problem arises from the interactions between the modern political system and what remains of the traditional or semi-traditional sys-
[P.13A]

665 tems. At Dakar, the powers of the "*sé-*
[633] *rigne*" and of the dignitaries of the former "Lebou Republic" were continued, although they gradually lost their importance.[40] The parties were careful to keep these leading figures among their clientele. As a result there were some rather complex manipulations concerning nominations and successions. A nomination accepted by one party was more or less openly contested by the other. Hence the relatively frequent bifurcation of power: opposing the dignitary who had received official recognition was another who maintained himself as pretender, with the support of the party that had backed his candidacy. Such events stood
[667] out even more sharply among ward leaders, who depended most directly upon the party that controlled the city government. Their support was more or less confined to the voters of this party. Hence certain wards had clandestine ward leaders, around whom the members of the opposition party could gather. Of course, such phenomena have accelerated the deterioration of these institutions.

793 (2) In the religious field, control over
665 chiefs of the great Moslem brotherhoods similarly has been at stake in intense struggles between the parties. This was particularly true of the main brotherhood in Senegal, that of the Tidjanes.
[369] This problem has been centered outside Dakar and the other coastal cities, but has had important repercussions in these cities. The rivalries that apparently have always surrounded the choice of the caliph of the Tidjanes were intensified and acquired a greater impact, in proportion as the fundamental hostility of the parties was openly associated with them. Violent incidents involving politi-
[788] cal enemies occurred even on pilgrimages to Tivaouane, where the caliph resides; they contributed to the prolongation of conflicts within the caliph's family. Well-meaning interference by re-

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[39] We found, for example, that extended family groups with some degree of solidarity might be divided in political views. This caused severe tensions, but rarely breaks.
[40] *Cf.* C. Michel, *op. cit.* The civil administration continued to grant some prominence to the *sérigne* of Dakar, and ultimately used him as a propaganda agent in some of its activities outside Senegal.

[P.13C]

665
[58]
[63]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 [193] spected figures, with the aim of keeping such matters on a purely religious plane, has had little success. The Tidjane chieftans have been too enmeshed in politics to listen.

527 665 578 (3) A last example involves recreational activities organized at the end of the year around the exhibition of the "lanterns."[41] These activities provided a basis for the formation of temporary groupings founded on ethnic background, neighborhood, occupation, etc. Such groupings undertook the making of a "lantern," and exhibited it to neighbors, relatives and others, eventually by forming a parade. An element of competition entered; the most noteworthy "lanterns" won rather imposing gifts and a brief prestige for the groupings that exhibited them. The parties seized on this competitive aspect. Party sections themselves created "lantern" groupings. With access to considerable material means and a large number of workers, they made "lanterns" that were veritable carnival floats, huge and very elaborate. Their exhibition brought together in a procession the typical rabble of large political demonstrations. At the same time it aroused friction between hostile parties.[42] They had taken over, almost entirely at their expense, demonstrations whose character they had utterly changed. This is a typical example of the way in which disparate activities have been infused by the two-party rivalry.

369 665 This process also has another side: the parties have seen a decline in their opportunities for expressing political drives. In the old cities, they experienced relative stagnation for some years, while social changes accelerated and intensified. Elements just becoming aware of the world

[P. 14A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 political situation remained aloof from
• 665 party activity, unless they joined the marginal parties. This was a prime discovery from general investigations at Dakar and St. Louis. Comparison of the principal socio-occupational categories that had been used as a basis for classifying the population under study provided informative data for this topic. The following categories showed a per-
[463] centage of political party membership higher than that of the average of respondents: farmers and fishermen; unskilled laborers and domestic workers; merchants. By contrast, the percentage of membership was lower among semi-skilled workers, higher-ranking office-workers and government employees, and professional people. It is significant that trained workers and the intellectual elements most often kept apart from the existing political system. Such was the situation at Dakar. That at St. Louis was little different, or so it appeared from an incomplete analysis of an inquiry carried out among a sampling of the population in the island wards.

By contrast, the inquiry carried out at Thiès, whose traits are quite unlike those of the "old cities," provided very different results. For all the men, the percentage of membership was smaller than that at Dakar—40 per cent.[43] The following categories were below that fig-
[463] ure: farmers, merchants, skilled workers, lower-ranking office-workers, and government employees. On the other hand, unskilled and semi-skilled workers, and higher-ranking office-workers and government employees, were higher.[44] Here the greatest degree of party membership corresponded to the most active categories; Thiès does not have the political traditions of the old cities, and the formalization found in them was much less

[P. 14B]

[41] At first these were merely decorated lanterns. The custom 1 certainly has a European origin; it is typical of the "old cities" of Senegal.
[42] In 1954 the parades of "lanterns" were prohibited by administrative edict.
[43] The results at Dakar and at Thiès cannot be compared in detail. However, the informative value of these general results could, in each case, be verified at other stages in the research.
[44] It should be noted that in the case of Thiès the category of unskilled workers was much closer to that of semi-skilled workers. The unskilled workers, largely employed by the railroad, comprise a more stable group than at Dakar.

[P. 14C]

* [i.e an exhibition of "lanterns" at the end of the year accompanied by recreational activities — see category 116, P. 14A -- Analyst]

665
369
[526]
[110]
[463]
[578]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 665 striking. The data from Thiès enable one to approach in a much more meaningful way the problem of differentiating between the two large Senegalese parties in terms of their socio-occupational composition. Adherence to the B.D.S. was generally predominant in all categories, but the trend toward this party was greater, on the one hand, among semi-skilled and unskilled workers, and on the other, among higher-ranking office-workers and government employees. At Dakar, where the B.D.S. was at this time in the minority, a comparable trend was apparent: the party was proportionately stronger among semi-skilled workers and intellectuals. But differentiations of this type cannot fail to be blurred in a context such as that described above.

665 668 Therefore the importance of the groups remaining on the edge of party activities was more significant. Two groups merit particular attention. These were, first, the new cadres emerging from higher education; the problems resulting from their emergence are briefly discussed below. Secondly, there was a rather large group of persons less than thirty years old who had at least a primary school education.[45] The criticisms that the latter expressed against the established political system were often very harsh (against the city government, against the cadres of the two parties, etc.). Some had made several attempts to gain admittance to the existing parties, or into youth groups affiliated with the parties. They found themselves in weakly-structured, short-lived groups with no specific political function, but in which political problems were approached in a generally non-conformist manner. Otherwise they devoted their energies to organized non-political groupings.

The importance of some of these non-political groupings must now be examined. To a large degree they offered, more

[P. 15A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 668 than the relatively inflexible political parties, adequate frameworks for expressing anti-colonial demands and for creating activists.

Religious Organizations

665 668 793 As distinct from many other parts of Sub-Sahara Africa, organizations of a religious character play only a very limited part here. We have already seen how the "traditional" political parties entered into the activities of some religious groups and attempted to make them recruiting bases for their clientele. The more limited movements alone provided certain means, chiefly indirect, for expressing extremist political demands. This was the case, for example, of a grouping founded by Moslem students at Dakar. However, they received very little support.[46]

Cultural Associations and Youth Movements

668 595 Cultural associations and youth movements have had a more important role in this area. Some of them have contributed to the formation of strong political cadres. In general, the cultural associations have had a rather precarious existence; their activities in some cases have ceased. Their efforts to win the support of the masses by undertaking an educational role — for instance, by means of the theater — have often been disappointing. Finally, they often have had a ambiguous nature. Thus, in a city such [369] as Dakar, founded by highly "assimilated" elements, they have experienced some difficulty in contributing to the development of modernized African culture. But they are not devoid of concern for political organization in a very general sense, removed from party orientation. This was shown with regard to three of the

[P. 15 B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[45] Often, youths whose studies had been interrupted. It was difficult for them to achieve occupational stability.

[46] Its policies called for a renovation of Islam, so that it came more or less directly into opposition with the great Brotherhoods, whose religious formalism was rather marked; the latter retained a generally dominant influence.

[p. 15 c]

665
668
[193]

668 most vigorous associations, by an investi-
575 gation of the topics discussed by the study groups that they created, and of the content of the discussion.[47] By considering such questions as teaching and the language for teaching, the organization of local communities, economic development, interracial marriages, etc., their study of the political problems resulting from the colonial situation had wide influence.

As for the Youth Council of Senegal,
[369] which comprised the majority of youth associations and was organized primarily in the cities, the orientation of its activity was even clearer. By the nature of its conflicts with the civil administration, by the content of its demands in behalf of youth, by the topics related to the future of youth whose study it was undertaking, it disclosed a "nationalist" potential of some vigor.

It is essential to note the possible role of associations founded on ethnic or territorial bases, in particular those inspired by youths. Centers for contact with territories other than Senegal, they spread
• [665] the foreign political influence of the parties predominating within them. This seemed to be the case, for instance, of the grouping of Senegalese youths with relation to the R.D.A. However, these associations were never directly linked with a given partisan organization. The political role that they might temporarily play was very flexible and therefore somewhat indeterminate.

Labor Unions

467 Labor unions should receive especial attention. The union movement in French West Africa is numerically one of the most important, and among the most active, in all of sub-Sahara Africa.
[665] Like the political parties, it took form only in the immediate post-war period.
[P. 16A]

467 In 1954 it had a membership about 100,-
000, or a little less than one-third of all
wage-earners. The unions have reached
[369] their greatest development in Senegal,
especially in the large cities. In 1954
this territory contained more than half
the union members in French West
Africa, more than a third of all Sene-
galese wage-earners. Dakar has a central
role in this field. It is the headquarters
for the largest unions, which were once
affiliated with French federations but
are now autonomous. Dakar also pos-
sesses a very active "Labor Exchange."
By itself it contains more than two-fifths
of the union members in Senegal.

467 To some extent the significance of
668 the unions is more than occupational
[667] and economic. The degree to which they
complete the political machinery of the
[665] city is suggested by a comparison of the
percentages of party memberships with
the percentages of union memberships.
Of 1,200 persons interrogated during the
Dakar survey noted above, about one-
half (52 per cent) stated they were
union members. The potential ambiguity
of such statements was suggested above
in connection with political parties.[48]
However, an analysis of the respondents
by socio-occupational categories gave
meaningful results. The average rate of
union membership was surpassed by
lower-ranking office-workers and govern-
ment employees, higher-ranking office-
workers and government employees, and
professional people; it was equalled by
semi-skilled workers. With the exception
[665] of the first, these are precisely the cate-
gories whose rates of party membership
were lowest. On the other hand, partici-
pation in union activity was distinctly
more important among the categories
comprising the intellectual elements than

[P. 16 B]

467 668 [498] among the semi-skilled workers. The situation was reversed at Thiès, but because of the large Dakar-Niger Railroad shops there, this city is an exceptional case. The traits found at Dakar, by contrast, proved characteristic of unionism in French West Africa. The overall figures, obtained from official sources based on statements by unions, indicated clearly that manual occupations were the least unionized. Out of the 100,000 union members in French West Africa in [649] 1954, more than half were either government officials or government employees. The rate of unionization in the governmental sector was nearly double that in the non-governmental sector. Finally, in the two sectors together, semi-skilled workers comprised only a little more than a fourth of all union members. Furthermore, results of the studies at Dakar and Thiès suggest that union membership and level of schooling corre- [665] late rather closely; this was far from the case with respect to party membership, at least at Dakar. To what degree did unionism offer educated individuals a means of expression that, in the period studied, parties did not offer them? Educated persons, especially youths, were more susceptible to extremist anti-colonial aspirations. And to what degree could union action present itself more clearly as a trial postponement for the existing order than action within the framework of parties?

The particular traits of union struggle markedly demonstrate the fundamental conflicts of the colonial situation. One cannot accurately speak of the "politization" of unions, in the sense many government officials give this term. The [665] limited activities of parties and the very conditions of unionism in a colonial situation have given unionism a marked political coloring.

(1) Interviews of militant unionists,

[P. 17A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

467 both in France and in other countries.
668 Participation in international congresses put them in contact with the ideological currents of the world. A study of the union press was very revealing in this regard.

[665] To the masses, unions proposed goals that were, in the period under consideration, far different from those of the political parties. Unions were in many ways more systematic and more vigorous. They were much less apt to make
[563] differentiations along ethnic, religious, or other lines. The unity of action that they practiced banned their assimilating such hostilities and conflicts, whose meaning was foreign to them. These hostilities yielded before the fundamental hostility brought out by union action. The near-unanimity with which the directives of the union have been followed is very
[571] significant. For the elites, on the other hand, unions offered, in an era in which the forms and matrices of customary political expression appeared too narrow, a wider and more adequate field of action. Unionism supplied the most accessible agencies for sharing in power of the modern sort. The intellectual elites furnished
[571] the substance of the union framework and played a dominant role on their executive committees.[52] Located at the very center of situations of tension and conflict, they found in union activities the most effective way of asserting modern views and of surmounting the limits barring their advancement in the political and occupational fields.

Developments Since 1956

668 Such were the chief aspects, in a period
369 of transition, of the political life of the large Senegalese urban centers. In the subsequent four years, great changes have occurred. Senegalese political individuality — considerably modified by that of the "old cities" — has remained clear, but it has in great part shifted to
[P. 18 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 369 [563] change. The vast increase in the number of Europeans, their greater occupational diversification, the much stronger reaction to the facts of discrimination, and multiplication of competitive situations — occupational or otherwise — are the most obvious phases of this major phenomenon.[54]

As these factors have come into full operation, a new phase of political life has opened. These are its principal traits:

668 •665 [467] (1) From 1956 on, in unions and in politics, secessions from the original French bodies — confederations or parties — have multiplied. Previous remarks indicated the development of this process among unions. After some delay it affected the S.F.I.O. itself, which was transformed, not without difficulties, into the African Socialist Movement. The assimilationist tradition declined, or at least was no longer proclaimed openly. After the parties became autonomous, the distinction between direct and indirect forms of political expression began to disappear. Extremist demands of a nationalistic character found expression within the parties, and worked effectively there after 1957 (at the time when the new "organic law" authorized the first Senegalese government).

(2) To a certain degree, the very old Senegalese political tradition once more became a driving force. At the same time the marginal elements, whose existence was particularly marked among in- [571] tellectuals, entered into real politics, chiefly within the framework of the B.D.S. They comprised the left wing of the new Senegalese Populist Bloc (B.P.S.), which stemmed from the B.D.S., and shared in the creation of the African Convention, which is striving to extend outside Senegal the strictly autonomous orientations of the B.D.S. They tried to organize the B.D.S. as a

[P. 198]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 mass-party, but in patterns very different
•665 from those prevailing in the "old cities." Finally, their influence has been decisive in attempts to regroup the Senegalese parties, "disregarding personal and doctrinal differences." It has been a question of wiping out the fundamental hostility that typified post-war Senegalese political life, which — as we have seen — had more than a purely political significance. This effort led, not without difficulties, to the creation of the African Regroupment Party (P.R.A.). The former rivalries were still evident, though in a diminished and less forceful manner, during 1958-1959. The youthful elements of the B.P.S. at first helped provide the latter with leadership of the other territorial parties. It was they who, at the Congress of Cotonou, introduced the first outspoken assertion by the P.R.A. in favor of independence.[55]

[369] (3) However, the influence of the political tradition of the old cities has not been entirely discarded. Added to that of the conservative religious leaders, it helps account for a return to a moderate stand on the part of Senegal. The campaign for the referendum of 1958 showed

[P. 20 A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 this clearly; it was under this two-fold
665 pressure that the B.P.S. took a position in favor of "yes." It likewise accounts for the less extreme attitudes often taken by leaders within the new Mali Federation.[56] However, this influence of tradition is not sufficient to block new trends. It is significant that in the legislative
[666] elections of March, 1959, the Senegalese Solidarity Party (P.S.S.), a combination of conservative city and rural elements, was as thoroughly defeated at St. Louis, where victory seemed probable, as in the rural districts. Again, it should be noted that the youthful elements that entered the B.P.S. in 1956 have in part left the new Senegalese Progressive Union (U.P.S.), an offshoot of the latter party after the regrouping noted above. By founding the African-Senegalese Regroupment Party (P.R.A.-S.), they have hoped to express their disappointment with a party insufficiently radical, insufficiently organized in structure, and containing too many aspects of the "traditional" political life of the old cities.

Paul Mercier
École pratique des Hautes Études

[P. 20 B]

17: Mercier--17 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/19 cont./

369x
563
[361]

differences in the daily rhythm are the arguments put forward by those who do not use purely racist arguments.

fact on the differences in economic status.

c) In principle there is no segregation in social life, either; certain public places, however (cafés, bars, etc.), strive directly or indirectly, to secure for themselves a purely European clientele. On the other hand, many clubs and asso- [575] ciations of a recreational nature exclude Africans in fact (it is rarely statutory). The syndicates themselves, although they [467] are not in principle founded on a racial basis, do not effect a mixing of Africans and Europeans, as a result of the diver- [468] gence of interests and claims; the strikes, when they occur, are in practice purely African. Finally, the political parties [665] are for the most part almost exclusively African; the European population as a whole is disinterested in local political activity.

d) Essentially the relations between Africans and Europeans are: relations at the place of work, between colleagues and, much more often, between subordinates and superiors, employees and bosses; relations between masters and domestics at home; common participation in cultural and sportive activities; relations between teachers and pupils or students. Relations of a more personal character(regular relationships, friendships, etc.) are much rarer. Intermarriages -- almost exclusively between African men and European women -- have a particular significance; there are practically none that have been contracted locally.

/20/ e) Here we shall not touch on the area of interracial judgments and attitudes, which must be the subject of more detailed investigations. It will suffice to say that all the observations made permit one to conclude that there is a

/21 cont./

793 building which does not have the importance of the Mosque of
*795 Touba, but which surpasses in elegance the other mosques of
[34[] Senegal, and which, because of this, would merit having made on it the necessary and urgent repairs which certain parts that are very damaged and in very bad condition require at present.

But Bassirou does not have only this architectural interest; he is also concerned with crops. His experience with the Service de l'Agriculture not having given him satisfaction, he works in a more classical and traditional fashion near the village of Tip, located in the canton of Kaël some 30 kilometers to the south of Touba. This installation did not fail to provoke some protests on the part of the Peul stockbreeders of the canton, but these difficulties seem to have been settled amicably later on.

The third person in the brotherhood in the order of precedence is, as we have said, Cheikh M'Backé, eldest son of Amadou Moustapha and nephew of the two preceding men. Much younger than his uncles, he also has a very different demeanor. A tall, well-built, handsome, clean-shaven man, he has the bearing and the activities of a modern businessman. In fact, he is ambitious; he wants to succeed; he needs a great deal of money in order to realize his ambitions, and his very functions as a Murid marabout provide it for him.

We have seen that he had solicited, as the direct descendant of the founder, the post of caliph, but that he had been ousted in favor of his uncle. Since then he has always remained in more or less violent opposition to Falilou M'Backé. Nevertheless, he has not succeeded in detaching from the latter even a small fraction of the Murids. His opposition has sometimes
•666 been the cause of regrettable acts. In 1952, among others at
793 the time of the elections to the Territorial Assembly, Cheikh
*795 M'Backé had made himself the champion of the S.F.I.O. when Falilou was supporting the B. D. S. (and undoubtedly because he was supporting it). This opposition provoked rather violent incidents in Touba during the electoral campaign, some talibés

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[55] Some months before there was established an African Independence Party, whose support remains very limited. [Cotonou is the capital of Dakomey.]

[56] Translator's note: the Mali Federation is the new state formed by the union of Senegal with the Sudanese Republic.

[p.20c]

668
665

/21 cont./

793 of Cheikh, supporting the S. F. I. O., having gone so far as
*795 to throw stones into the "carré" of the Caliph-general. Cheikh
[666] had to restrain the socialist ardor of his talibés, who had gone too far. Such actions risk alienating from him the brotherhood /22/ and even the Administration, but he needs both in order to continue to carry on his policy.

His residence in Touba is located near the mosque, but on the opposite side from that of the Caliph-general. On the day of the Magal he tries to assemble there the greatest possible number of talibés in order to show his influence.

The cultivation of groundnuts is for him, too, an important source of revenue. His principal plantations are located at Taïf in the subdivision of Gossas, not far from the limits of that of M'Backé.

The other members of the M'Backé family have less influence on the life of the brotherhood. Nevertheless, they hold positions on the Murid Administrative Council, and they are settled around Touba and M'Backé.

[801] M'Backé Bousso heads an important Koranic school at Darou-Salam, just beside M'Backé. Abdoulaye M'Backé has settled at Boulel-Mody, at the extremity of the former valley of the
[312] Sine where, thanks to the permanent waterholes that exist at certain places in this dried-up thalweg, he has created rice-
[241] fields and orchards which complement his groundnut plantations, in the midst of which he lives. Modest and self-effacing in appearance, this M'Backé is in reality very rich and very influential, for he has as talibés principally salaried workers and city employees who send him a tithe from their salaries or their income.

Following the example of the direct descendants and collateral relatives of Amadou Bamba, his distant relatives, his allies, the descendants of his first collaborators have made themselves "Great Murid Marabouts." Spiritual and temporal leaders at the same time, instructing their disciples in the doctrine of the founder, and above all having them till the soil for them, these Sérignes have created in Baol and in adjacent

/25 cont./

793 and to receive the title of Cheikh, with the advantages which
* 795 that confers. While waiting, he works at hoeing and clearing
244 land without counting or measuring all the lands capable of pro-
[555] ducing the groundnuts which make up the fortune of his mara-
bout.

It is this way of colonizing the lands, and more particularly the new lands, which has made the brotherhood play an important role in the economy of Senegal in recent years. The Murid marabouts have been and remain clearers /26/ of land and large-
[433] scale producers of groundnuts. It can be estimated that they alone produce a little more than half of the total harvest of the Territory.

793 This brilliant picture is nevertheless not without shadows.
*795 Even though the influence of the Murid leaders is not dangerous
578 on the political level as a consequence of the good understanding which exists between them and the Administration, even though there is no reason to fear that they may incite the members of the brotherhood to insubordination, their presence in the villages does pose problems. There are problems when they have settled in villages whose chiefs are not Murids (if not, sometimes, anti-Murid). In these cases it often happens that there are collisions
[622] between the customary chiefs and the Murid marabouts, principally since the reforms of 1945 which diminished considerably the powers of the chiefs and their prestige in the eyes of the people at a time when the influence and glory of the marabouts were increasing. Many times the Murids of a canton want to obey
[632] only their religious leader and willfully ignore the canton chief. In addition, in the face of the invading agricultural activity of the Murids, the non-Murid populations stiffen themselves more and more and try to resist their agrarian encroachments. That sometimes creates quarrels; indeed it even provokes violent disorders which have to be arbitrated or stopped.

793 On the other hand, the recent political evolution which is
*795 resulting in giving the right to vote to all Senegalese men and
666 all Senegalese women has prompted the politicians to seek the collaboration and friendship of the Murid leaders... so that they

/26 cont./

793 will have their talibés vote in favor of their parties. When one
*795 knows what the influence of the marabouts and the discipline
666 of the brotherhood are, one can easily imagine what a formidable ace such an alliance can be for a party. But to be allied with one party is necessarily to be the adversary of the other (or others). If Murid fanaticism (and organization) is thrown into the electoral struggles, it can be the cause of serious troubles. Certainly these troubles would not compromise the loyalty of the brotherhood vis-à-vis the mother country, but they would create serious difficulties for the local administration and the government of the territory.

793 In other respects, deeper reasons can provoke lively op-
*795 position or even struggles between the great Murid leaders and
[665] certain politicians (or certain parties). Thus some Senegalese political personalities are beginning to criticize the way the marabouts act against their talibés. One of them has gone so far as to utter the words "servitude" and "feudalism" in speaking of Muridism /27/ to a high European official. It is certain that a virulent campaign could be made on this theme against the Murid leaders and especially against those whose ostentatious luxury can excite jealousy.

For their part, the Murid marabouts try to maintain their authority and their influence over their disciples and, in that way, over the whole country. They will be opposed to any social or political innovation which will give more power to the masses, and which, by so doing, will risk compromising their authority, counterbalancing it, or even combatting it. They were thus hostile in 1953 to the transformation of the
[654] Société de Prévoyance of Baol into the Société Mutuelle de Production Rurale, on the one hand, because they thought that authority should not be entrusted to the people, and, on the other hand, because they feared that a S. M. P. R. presided over by an African (as was happening already at the time in the circle of Thiès) might be less favorable toward them than the traditional S. P. completely in the hands of the Administration.

/29 cont./

*795 any poor person can go to them to ask for alms and hospitality; [734] he will be taken care of for a long time, and for nothing, and [735] thus part of the funds collected by the marabouts is redistributed to their faithful in misfortune.

One must especially not lose sight of the fact that Muridism is /30/ an integral part of Islam, even though it does not completely conform to orthodox Islam, even though it has abuses and faults. It is primarily a spiritual force, and it is necessary that political and social evolution, indispensable to the young country of Senegal, does not take place against Muridism, against Islam, against all spirituality.

*795 It is known that the Senegalese marabouts in general and ●666 the Murid leaders in particular, on the occasion of the Referendum 648 of September 28, were definitely in favor of the Franco-African Community. This attitude can not be explained solely, as some might insinuate, by their desire to preserve certain relations with France, whose pro-Islamic policy has always been favorable and profitable for them. The true reason for this choice is that, on the one hand, the marabouts well know the present state of the intellectual and political development of their compatriots, and, on the other hand, they want to defend their religion and its spiritual values.

They know that at the present time the advanced wing of the political and syndicalist world groups together advanced young people who are quite far from any religious practice and thought and very violently pro-Marxist, if not pure Marxists.

They probably feared that, by means of an independence as premature as absolute, the present leaders, moderate on the whole, would be very quickly left behind by the extremists and that these would then institute in Senegal a materialistic and atheistic regime to which true and good Moslems would not be able to rally, and from which, probably, the whole of the population would rapidly suffer.

*795 But the development of this prospect would carry us too far. Let us content ourselves, in conclusion, to bring it up and to

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

9,000,000 most of whom were illiterate. Balzac, in 1845, wrote in his book *Les paysans*: 648

> For twenty million beings in France the law is merely a piece of white paper stuck on the door of the Church or the Town Hall . . . Many mayors of cantons turn their copies of the *Bulletin des Lois* into bags for holding raisins and seeds. As for the mere mayors of communes you would be shocked by the number who cannot read or write and by the way in which the civil registers are kept.

Most remarkable of the innovations of the short lived French Second Republic of 1848-52, in which the Revolution once more came into its own, was the granting of the right to Senegal of sending a deputy to the National Assembly in France. Grandly it was announced, 'The Colonies purified of slavery . . . will be represented in the National Assembly'. Effectively, such a deputy would be representing an overwhelming majority of African 'citizens' for metropolitan Frenchmen numbered then only some 500. However it was to take some time before the African citizens were to use this newly acquired right to elect one of their own number to the Assembly. [62] [563] [666]

The 1848 Revolution thus embroidered on the 1833 ordinance of the French monarchy by introducing a full scale assimilationist policy for the colonies of France. In Senegal it affected only a small number of people. And never again would France in her expansion through Africa apply this trend in her colonial policy so liberally to her newly acquired territories. Thereafter there was to be a tussle with those administrators who either felt that the inhabitants of the colonial territories were different and should be treated as such, or were overwhelmed by the practical problems involved in applying an assimilationist policy to a largely illiterate population spread over an area eight times the size of France.

The reaction to the liberal thinking of the second republic soon came with Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* by which an authoritarian Second Empire was established. In 1854 the right of electing a deputy was withdrawn from all

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

643 641 writing in 1889, protested against this attitude Faidherbe, since he felt that to make monogamy a condition of citizenship would break up families and that monogamy should be achieved by education. But more potent were those forces which disliked the exercise of such rights by a small African minority, albeit linked with Europeans, which could so often obstruct not only the Governor of Senegal but the Governor-General himself, since until 1904 these two were one and the same man. The existence of a vocal General Council and Municipal Councils, let alone a deputy in France, which could all express opinions directly hostile to the authoritarian rule of the Governor, was another important factor behind the moves to deprive the Senegalese of their citizenship at the end of the nineteenth century. There was also 666 641 however quite genuine concern at the way in which the vote was exercised in Senegal. Pierre Mille, in an article entitled *The Black Vote in Senegal* published in 1901, alleged that the African voters, mainly illiterate, were controlled by the handful of Europeans who bought their votes. He went so far as to describe Senegal as a 'rotten borough'. Indeed he alleged that the expense of the election absorbed a large part of the colony's finances: and further that after competing against each other for the electors' favour, the big companies in Senegal finally decided to combine the operation to save expenses and control Senegal to their mutual advantage. But as to the virtue of the Senegalese 641 as citizens in other respects Mille was surprisingly warm: [595] 'Having become French citizens and notwithstanding that they were Muslims, they, with a few exceptions, accepted monogamy . . . and they have spread far and wide in Africa the renown and justice of French administration'. But as Mille concluded, this was not sufficient to persuade France 648 to continue the experiment in her other West African colonies. Indeed, confirming what has already been said about empirical tendencies in French colonial rule, by 1900, when France had gained most of her vast African empire, Mille commented that it was 'administered with an

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Such was the outcry against this decree that a further decree in 1914 confirmed that 'all natives born in the four communes would be subject to French tribunals throughout the colony and in certain other places'. Indeed Lamine Guèye was one of the most ardent critics of France for her failure to accord the full rights of an assimilationist policy to the *originaires*. He protested against the way the Government opposed 'the entrance of all natives of whatever status they may be, into the general administrative services, even into military units stationed in the colony'. It was only by insistence on the right to do military service on equal terms with the French that the *originaires* were finally able to gain confirmation of their rights as citizens. In 1914 Blaise Diagne became the first Senegalese to sit in the Chamber of Deputies. He won his seat partly as a result of the split vote amongst his six European opponents, partly because he appealed to the Senegalese voters by his demands for complete equality between black and white. His particular platform was a pledge to vote for a law for obligatory military service without distinction of race or colour. In a letter to the Minister of Colonies he said the *originaires* did not want the privileges without the obligations of French citizenship. At the time, of course, France was just about to enter into the Great War and badly needed troops from Africa. Thus without much difficulty a law was passed providing for the conscription of the *originaires* as French troops. In return for Diagne's co-operation in recruiting troops for the war effort, the Government passed the Citizenship Law of 1916 which once and for all confirmed the status of the *originaires*. They could retain their *statut personnel* and need not understand French to be considered as citizens. 'The natives of the *communes de pleine exercice* and their descendants are and remain French citizens subject to the military obligations of the Law of 19 October 1915.' The rider about the status of 'descendants' was of particular importance to Lamine Guèye who was born in Soudan of *originaire* parents.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

641 648 [643] An interesting sidelight on the confused French attitude towards assimilation and Africans was the status accorded to Blaise Diagne as Commissioner of the Republic in charge of conscription of troops in West Africa. He was given rank equal to that of the Governor-General, Van Vollenhoven, who thereat resigned. However this is only one side of the story. The French insist that he resigned because he felt that the large number of troops to be recruited would wreck the colony's economy and severely reduce the indigenous population. Nevertheless the presence of an African deputy for Senegal was not viewed well in all quarters. But Diagne could not be tempted by high office outside the parliamentary sphere and won a resounding victory in the 1919 elections [666] with 7,444 votes to his opponent's 1,252. He was then appointed Under Secretary of States for Colonies. His essential attachment to France was clear, for whilst in 1919 he became President of the Pan-African Congress, which urged that ultimately 'Africa should be ruled by consent of the Africans . . .' he refused, as Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff have pointed out 'to support any revolutionary theories as to the emancipation of all Negro peoples'. 'We French natives', he said, 'wish to remain French, since France has given us every liberty'.

646 633 The French were still not happy about the position of the *originaires* and in 1920, not so much from a show of liberalism as from a desire to reduce the pressures exercised on the Administration by the twenty-member General Council, it was translated into a Colonial Council with an increased membership of forty-four of which twenty were sent by the hitherto unrepresented Protectorate. The representatives [631] of the *sujets*, who were provincial or cantonal chiefs, could be relied on to vote with the Administration whose agents they were, and thus reduce the independence of the communes. In 1925, however, the number of chiefs was reduced to sixteen and the citizens' representatives increased to twenty-four as a means of persuading them to vote larger

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

641 they were made agents of the Administration and responsi-
[631] ble for the enforcement of the corvée when required. The harshness of this authoritarian rule, escaped only by the *evolués* in the other territories, has been vividly described by Geoffrey Gorer in *Africa Dances*, which records a long tour made through French West Africa in the mid-thirties. Even so in 1930 France had signed the Geneva Act for-
[466] bidding forced labour in the colonies; but it was slow to disappear. In 1937 the right to form trade unions, which
[467] hitherto was only granted to Senegalese citizens by a law of 1920, was extended in a restricted form to the *sujets*. That same year a new decree allowed easier conditions for the acquisition of French citizenship by the *sujets*. Out of a population of 1,800,000 in 1936 there were 78,000 citizens compared with some 2,400 in the rest of French West Africa. And in 1939 the *sujets* were granted the right of
[666] electing some of their representatives to the Colonial Council instead of being represented only by nominees of the Administration.

641 This newly acquired right was enjoyed for a very brief
648 period. For in 1940 the authoritarian element in France came to the fore in particularly unhappy circumstances with the fall of France and the establishment of the Vichy Government. Under the Vichy regime, racism manifested itself openly for the first time. This was particularly embittering for the Senegalese élite since they had been much in sympathy with the Popular Front Government which attempted liberal experiments in Algeria and Syria. All Senegalese representative institutions were suppressed. Priority was given to Europeans in rationed goods and in many other spheres. Liberty of association was withdrawn from both races, and whilst European members of the resistance were rarely hanged, Africans themselves rarely escaped the supreme penalty. By contrast in France the future President of Senegal, Léopold Sédar Senghor, was fighting in the French resistance and was later interned in a German concentration camp.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Senegal had never in fact been free from elements of racism, though such a policy was never officially countenanced until the Vichy regime. Geoffrey Gorer found many instances of discrimination in Dakar, and actually went as far as to say that 'The colour bar is extremely strong in Dakar'. But he concluded 'these French citizens are far happier than their brother French Negro subjects; if they are too badly cheated or abused they have some redress in the law courts'. The colour bar was certainly not official policy then as it became under the Vichy Administration. 641 648

The Vichy regime marks the end of an era in West Africa and particularly in Senegal. Until 1940 there had been little or no opposition to French assimilationist policy by the Africans. Indeed they were the first to criticise any deviations from it. Blaise Diagne enjoyed high status in France, and though he was accused by his critics of corruption and of selling himself to the French he remained the popular choice in Senegal until his death. 648

At the ensuing election Galandou Diouf defeated Blaise Diagne's old opponent, Lamine Guèye, who was instrumental in the formation of the Senegalese branch of the *S.F.I.O.* Hitherto elections had been largely fought on the basis of personal followings, with the exception of the European-dominated *Parti Socialiste Sénégalais* founded in 1929 in which Europeans played a prominent role. Not only was Lamine Guèye the first Senegalese to realise the value of the party machine, but he was also the first to advocate the granting of full political and legal rights to all French Africans. Significantly he did not suggest any form of break with France, rather that France should carry her assimilationist policy to its logical conclusions. In 1939 he increased his political backing considerably when the *P.S.S.* fused with his section of the *S.F.I.O.* and this was to make him a leading member of the party in the metropolis as well as in Senegal. 648 665 662 [667] [641]

However the younger generation of Senegalese were 000

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

VI. TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE

The choice of the Senegalese people is independence; they want it to take place only in friendship with France, not in dispute.

LÉOPOLD SÉDAR SENGHOR (September 1958)

IT was not until 1951 that Senghor was able to test the strength of his new party at the elections for the French National Assembly in which it gained both seats with 213,000 votes to the *S.F.I.O.*'s 90,000. His success was proved the next year when he won forty-one out of the fifty seats in the *Conseil-General* under the new and greatly enlarged franchise. His vote came overwhelmingly from the 'bush', since Lamine Guèye still retained strong support in Dakar and St. Louis. The party ticket was a popular one: accusing the French Administration of supporting socialists in the towns and chiefs in the bush.

From a theoretical standpoint as we have seen the *B.D.S.* fitted into the new anti-assimilationist trend in Senegal. It represented the 'unsophisticated' bush against the Gallicised *citoyens* of the *Quatre Communes*. It demanded a return to African values and had an essentially African-style organisation in the bush. But few real differences showed themselves on the platforms adopted by the two parties at the elections.

In the French National Assembly Senghor had joined forces with a number of other deputies from African territories who like himself did not wish to link themselves with one of the metropolitan parties. This group was known as the *Indépendents d'Outre Mer*. As a result of the elections the *I.O.M.* gained thirteen seats, enough to form a recognised group in the National Assembly. However they were never able to mould themselves into a united federal party on the lines of the *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain* (*R.D.A.*)

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

develop its own personality.' The *S.F.I.O.* parties of Africa met in Conakry to found a new socialist party entirely African in basis, called the *Mouvement Socialiste Africain.* Thus after over twenty years Lamine Guèye officially broke one of Senegal's closest links with France. At the same time Senghor called a congress of his allies in other territories from the *I.O.M.* and formed a federal party called the *Convention Africaine.* There were thus three new major African parties, with sections in most of the eight territories of West Africa and some in *A.E.F.*, each preaching African unity. But the federal executive, the very structure through which this could be maintained, was missing. 648 665

At the *loi cadre* elections that took place at the end of March 1957, the *R.D.A.*, the most thoroughly organised on the ground, proved the strongest party of the three and in West Africa and gained overwhelming majorities in Soudan, Guinea and Ivory Coast, dominated the coalition in Upper Volta and provided the opposition in Niger and Dahomey. But the party, as was soon proved at the long delayed Bamako Conference of September 1957, was far from united. Its main difference was over the problem of the federal executive. Its President, Félix Houphouët-Boigny of Ivory Coast had, as a Minister in the French Government, been one of the principal architects of the *loi cadre* and was opposed to the creation of a federal executive. The *R.D.A.*'s very dynamic Vice-President, Sékou Touré of Guinea, formed in the tough school of trade unionism, however championed the creation of a federal executive, and in this respect he was closer to Senghor than to his own party chief. At the Bamako Conference Sékou Touré persuaded the party to adopt it as a prime objective. [666]

Meanwhile in Senegal, ever the source of new things, was born the first African party with the avowed object of independence, the *P.A.I.* (*Parti Africain de l'Indépendence*) led by Majhemout Diop, who had strong Communist sympathies. Till then the word independence had been [668]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 majority party had been made, however, there was little
668 doubt as to the outcome of the Referendum. But the seeds
[665] of independence had been sown.

Almost immediately after the Referendum the planners got down to work seeking to create the federal executive that had escaped them under the *ancien régime*. Guinea meanwhile had become independent and there was a certain satisfaction amongst those who voted Yes at the difficulties so abrupt a break with France entailed. Alas, as was later realised, Guinea independent and the rest still within the Community, meant the first crack in the old federation. On 29 December delegates from Senegal, Soudan, Upper Volta and Dahomey, together with observers from Mauretania, met to consider the possibility of creating a new federation.

On 17 January 1959 a federal constitution was promulgated with the accord of all four governmental delegations, and the new Mali came into being. However pressures from France and from Houphouët-Boigny, who still bitterly opposed any form of federation, soon forced Upper Volta and Dahomey to withdraw, reducing Mali to two member states: Senegal and Soudan.

648 The new federation was short lived. In Soudan there had
665 been almost unanimous support for the federation, but in Senegal a number of religious chiefs, in association with Ibrahim Seydou N'Daw, formerly President of the Senegalese Assembly, and an important member of the governing *U.P.S.* party, formed the Senegalese Solidarity Party and together with the two left-wing parties, the *Parti Africain de l'Indépendence* and the *P.R.A.*—Senegal campaigned
[666] against the proposed federation. At the polls the Government won a resounding victory.

Thus in both Senegal and Soudan the leaders who had chosen the path of federation won triumphant approval, though as Mamadou Dia admits somewhat ruefully, the people followed their leaders blindly on this question. It is essential here to note that the two countries were

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 369 563 immense impact of the town. They live in small villages made up of relations and fellow villagers. They even club together, subscribing to a common fund to receive their S [463] fellows from the Fleuve, and as far as work is concerned they virtually monopolise certain jobs such as bootboys, waiters, and newspaper sellers. This maintenance of tribal cohesion is a difficult task in this city of French creation, where a new community of Dakarois is rapidly coming into existence.

S 665 563 [619] [182] An important factor in the breakdown of tribal ties has been the creation of political parties and the creation of a new political élite that thinks in national terms. Experience in Africa has shown, however, that this can work two ways, for many political parties are in effect organisations intended to defend ethnic interests. Senegalese politics have on the whole been remarkably free from tribalism, though Senghor did in fact achieve much of his success in the early days of the *B.D.S.* though the emphasis he laid on ethnic considerations in the organisations of his party, and certainly there have existed specifically regional and ethnic parties like *Le Mouvement Démocratique Casamançais* and the *Union Générale de la Vallée du Fleuve.* But, as Kenneth Robinson pointed out in his study of Senegalese politics in *Five Elections in Africa*, these ethnic and regional aspects were compensated for by the federal aspect of the major party, *Le Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais.* In 1954, in fact, all ethnic and regional sub-sections of the *B.D.S.* were abolished and individual membership was insisted on. But though this led to the breaking-away of certain elements in the Casamance, it would be fair to say that the party has been much less dominated by those regional differences that normally influence political parties in West Africa. Nevertheless, as Robinson found in the 1957 S [666] election, there were a number of constituencies where ethnic rivalries were more important than political issues. W. [666] [665] At Linguère, a single member constituency, the population was divided between Fula and Wolof in the proportion of three to two. When the sitting member, a Fula, was

[i.e., The Moors and Toucouleurs in Dakar--Analyst]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

renominated, the Wolofs created a *Bloc Démocratique du Djollof* which polled 6,000 votes to the 8,000 of the Fula candidate.

A further commentary on the lack of tribalism in Senegal is the ethnic structure of the Government and the national assembly. The Government is composed of the President of the Republic, who is a Serer, a President of the Council of Ministers who is Toucouleur with strong Wolof ancestry, and fourteen Ministers of whom nine are Wolof, two are half-caste, one a Frenchman who has opted for Senegalese nationality, one a Diola and one a Lebou.

The ethnic repartition of the Senegalese National Assembly is equally revealing*:

Tribe	*Percentage of population*	*Number of Deputies*	*Percentage of Deputies*
Wolof	35·0	33	41
Serer	16·0	5	6
Lebou	0·2	10	13
Toucouleur	9·0	10	13
Fula	17·0	5	6
Diola	9·0	5	6
Mandingo/Bambara	7·0	3	4
European	0·1	3	4
Metis	0·1	5	6
Rest	4·7	1	1

The above figures, with the reservations footnoted, show that the National Assembly with one or two exceptions

* These figures were supplied to me by William J. Foltz and are based on his own research and ethnic data from the *S.E.R.E.S.A. Rapport General* 1ère partie, Ch. 1., p. 38. The population figures are based on old administrative censuses, which may be somewhat conservative. The figures for the Lebou seem surprisingly low. Furthermore, placing deputies under a particular ethnic grouping is often an arbitrary process, since it is in the educated classes that the highest rate of inter-ethnic marriage occurs. Furthermore the large number of Wolofs can partly be explained by the fact that anyone of mixed ethnic origin, in which one parent is Wolof, tends to call himself Wolof.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

the rest animists. Of course this includes the exclusively Muslim Mandingo inhabitants of the Casamance who have been largely responsible for this proselytisation. The Diola too is inclined more and more to imitate his Mandingo and Wolof neighbours. L. V. Thomas, who has written a monumental study on the Diola, fears: 'Soon the Diola country may be, at least in its landscape, like Senegal if no power intervenes to limit the extension of the bushfire; it will certainly become, in its people, just another African country, where only a few anthropological remains fixed by heredity will enable us to distinguish the Diola from the Wolof or the Mandingo.' 563 619 [162] [771]

The Casamance may well be coming closer to the rest of the Senegal, but it still remains a seat of opposition to the Government of Senghor and Dia, and votes heavily for the opposition *P.R.A.-Sénégal*. However neither of the leaders of this party, Ly Abdoulaye or Assane Seck, is *Casamançais*, and there is strong support in many towns for the *U.P.S.*, which indicates that Diola-Casamance politics are not necessarily either regional or tribal, though these are important factors. 563 665 666

The main social problem of the Senegal, and one which both assimilation and religion seem to have been unable to break down, is that of caste or a class structure very similar to caste. All the main Senegalese tribes—the Wolof, Lebou, Toucouleur, Serer—are divided into a series of endogamous castes. These castes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but roughly they are divided thus: 565 [582]

Nobles and Freeborn
Artisans (jewellers, smiths, weavers, leatherworkers) [463]
Griots or minstrels
Liberated slaves
Slaves

(Of course domestic slaves no longer exist as such in Senegal, but families know who their slaves were.) [567]

It is certainly easier in Senegal for a Toucouleur noble to marry a Wolof noble than to marry a woman of inferior [582]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 633 175 [641] the two cities with the abolition of slavery in 1848.[16] The four coastal cities were elevated to the status of communes with full powers between 1872 and 1887, and the organization of political life on a European pattern in the four communes crystalized the opposition between the citizens of the old settlements and the subjects of the territories in the newly-conquered interior. The cities alone provided apprenticeship in public life and in the representative system. Beginning in 1871 they elected a deputy to the French Parliament. In 1879 they [646] elected a Council-general patterned after those in France, supposedly to represent all Senegal. It actually represented only the few urban centers, whose interests at the time diverged widely from those of the rest of Senegal. An effort was subsequently made to repair this breach by transforming the Council-general into a colonial council, consisting of representatives elected by the citizens and representatives for the non-citizens appointed by the *notables*.[17] This reduced conflicts scarcely at all. Meanwhile, citizenship [641] acquired new importance. At first it was established by local law and had no effect in other French territories. Not until 1916 did the "natives of the four communes" receive full French citizenship while still being able to retain their personal status. These citizens were few in [668] number: scarcely 80,000 in 1939, about 100,000 in the 1950's. The cities tended to include more non-citizens than citizens as they grew. Actual participation in politics developed only gradually. At [666] the first legislative elections, in 1871, only a third of those registered voted, and the rate dropped to less than a fifth

[P-8A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 in some years. Since the beginning of the
633 20th century, however, urban citizens
175 have taken an increasingly lively interest
[666] in political matters.[18]

In this restricted political system the
563 relative importance of the roles played by
668 different ethnic groupings and different
cities varied continuously. Ethnic dominance, first held by the old European families, passed gradually to mixed-blood society, which came into being in the 18th century and rapidly acquired wealth, education, and influence. By the mid-19th century mixed-bloods made up the majority of the westernized population. But the entry of the emancipated slaves,
[166] the first sizable migration toward the cities, quickly reduced the mixed-bloods to a minority. In 1900 they numbered
[162] less than 5,000 in the four communes together, though for several decades their economic and political influence remained quite disproportionate to their num-
668 bers. Among the cities, St. Louis was
[369] predominant until WW I. At the beginning of the century it practically controlled the deputation to the French legislature and the Council-general — and hence the economic life of the territory. Then Gorée-Dakar came to the fore;[19] in 1914 a citizen of Gorée, Blaise Diagne, was elected deputy, followed by Galandou Diouf and Lebou. These men
[645] were the first elected Senegalese to win broad support at Paris; Diagne himself was appointed a Secretary of State [a subministerial post, equivalent to a U.S. Under-Secretary]. In Senegal, the au-
[642] thority of elected officials — deputies and Councillors-general — increased, and clashes with the civil administration were frequent.[20]

[P. 8 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[16] Which nearly tripled the number of citizens, who henceforth comprised a body that was more heterogeneous but less completely "assimilated."
[17] Translator's note: the *notables* were influential residents appointed to high political offices in the interior by the local representative of French government.
[18] Especially after 1914, when there appeared a particularly dynamic personnage, Blaise Diagne, whose popularity was widespread.
[19] Dakar absorbed Gorée in 1929. The latter was reestablished as a separate commune in 1956.
[20] At first — at the end of the 19th century — these were conflicts between the merchants, upholding the interests of their agencies, and the civil administration, then engaged in an expansionist policy in West Africa, whose advantages the former could not see. Not until recent years did these conflicts change very much in character.

[p.8c]

[1966] [1946] [1942] [1941] [1945] 1966 1933 3969

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 665 French party — the S.F.I.O.[23] — developed and for several years played a dominant role throughout Senegal. In the other territories parties were more often purely local, and simply allied themselves with the French parties. The S.F.I.O. lost its predominence in Senegal after 1951, but kept it in the four communes — St. Louis and Dakar-Gorée being its chief strongholds; it remained there as [666] the African Socialist Movement.[24] This result, the adoption of assimilationist views, was to a certain degree a characteristic of pre-war political life, but on the other hand it contributed to the leadership of the first party that tried to be at once interterritorial and specifically African: the African Democratic Assembly (R.D.A.). It provided some of the most radical elements in the movement, which received considerable support, especially at Dakar. Several radical leaders were the source of the conflicts that resulted in the split in the R.D.A. that followed the change of orientation after 1950. The R.D.A. was subsequently a rather marginal movement in Senegal. This second result suggests the strength of the relations of a party limited to the numerous elite of the old Senegalese cities with the great European currents of political thought.

[369] [666] But the greatest effect of the diversification of Senegalese political life was felt elsewhere. The appearance and rapid success of the Senegalese Democratic Bloc (B.D.S.) — which stemmed from a division in the S.F.I.O. — were the manifestations, in the political realm, of two essential facts: (1) the important changes that had taken place in the composition of city populations; and (2) the resumption of initiative by the rural populations, who seized the opportunity to express themselves directly, and especi-

[P. 9 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[21] A very significant portion of the present framework emerged from the "four communes."
[22] Until 1957, universal suffrage existed only in the four communes. In the rest of Senegal the franchise, which was very limited in 1946, was extended to more and more people. The organic law of 1956 abolished all restrictions.
[23] Translator's note: French section of the Workingmen's International: the French Socialist Party, attached to the old Second International.
[24] In 1956. The municipal elections of the same year showed clearly the extent of its influence, which was unimportant in the interior cities.

[P.9C]

668
855
BD
76

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 ally to express themselves in opposition
665 to the old cities. The legislative elections
of 1951 were typical in this respect. The
369 enlarged rural electorate had numerical
●666 control and held the key to success in
the elections; a substantial part of the urban masses shared in an effort to drive a breach in the old system of urban domination. In this period the ideological aspects of the political parties were still unimportant. The elections of 1951 were a victorious revolt of the new citizens, urban and rural, against the old citizens of the "four communes."[25] The two candidates of the B.D.S. won. Significantly, one of them represented directly, through the unions, the new forces. The division between the whole of the territory and the cities was thus repeated *within* the cities. A new phase had commenced, one in which politics became more complicated. But the forms that can be termed "traditional" for political life were too deeply embedded within the patterns of urban life to give way at once.

Senegalese Political Life in Transition, 1953-1956

668 It was under such conditions that re-
665 searches were conducted on the forms of
political expression in several Senegalese
[114] urban centers, chiefly at Dakar-Gorée and at St. Louis — that is, three of the four communes — and also at Thiès, a newer city in the interior close to and under the influence of the Dakar-Gorée-Rufisque aggregate. This last study provided certain comparative materials. This essay discusses only some of the findings of these researches. Three essential facts must be remembered:

(1) The importance retained by certain long-standing patterns. A party de-

[p. 10A]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[25] At the time, the civil administration viewed this revolt rather favorably. Of course, it was only one aspect of the politics of the period. Some rather contradictory alliances were formed to oppose the S.F.I.O.

[26] Assuming a limited sense for the word "political," by applying it solely to party organizations.

[27] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Evolution des élites sénégalaises," *Bull. intl. des Sci. soc.*, VIII (#4, '56). Materials for comparison appear, *mutatis mutandis*, in E.-F. Frazier, *Bourgeoisie noire*, Paris, 1956.

[28] Senegalese Populist Movement and Senegalese Democratic Union.

[29] This involved solely the male population.

[P.10c]

999 966 367 5 8 9

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 665 369 the assertion that the temporary population, especially the seasonal one, shared very little in urban politics.[30] However, the groupings under study clearly extended beyond the nucleus of the "old population," which in Dakar was less sharply defined and more conglomerate than in a center such as St. Louis.[31] The traits peculiar to the latter were still discernible, however: thus, the majority W [369] ethnic group — Lebou and Wolof, which includes the largest number of "old urban families" — exhibited these political characteristics in a more striking form. Exact data gathered on extended family groups revealed political party membership varying from 50 to 80 per cent W [665] among the Lebou and Wolof (as much among women as among men); in these cases, membership was verified by possession of a party card. This verification was not required in the course of the general study previously noted; one may thus assume that some of the men interviewed who declared themselves members of a party were only sympathizers, or had failed to have their cards renewed. Other data, however, confirmed the validity of the information obtained. Thus, during the post-war years the Senegal branch of the S.F.I.O. was among the six most important branches of the party; in the mid-1950's the enormous majority of its adherents were to be found in the coastal cities.

One peculiarity, examined in the course of this essay, requires at least a S partial interpretation. Considering the [666] massive party membership, participation in elections was scanty. Thus, at the time of the last municipal elections in Dakar, the number of persons registered to vote exceeded 50,000.[32] According to the

[P. 11 A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

665
369
[666]

census of 1955, one might have expected it to reach nearly 80,000. Abstentions — in relation to the number registered — amounted to about 30 per cent. In this trend one can see the ambiguity that typified political life in the Senegalese cities. Evidence was also gathered on the status of participation in the other phases of party activity. Parties are organized in ward sections, sometimes with separate sections for women. The activities of these sections do not merit detailed study; they vary too greatly in intensity. One point became clear, however, from direct observation on one hand and the results of a series of interviews on the other: these sectional activities drew only a very limited portion — about 10 per cent — of party effectives. By contrast, occasional demonstrations might draw considerable numbers, including individuals from outside the city. Sometimes such demonstrations coincided with propaganda meetings organized directly by the party. In other cases they stemmed from the presence of a party leader as an observer at an official reception, a conference, etc.

Other facts also demonstrate that party membership does not imply militant action in the specifically political arena. A series of interviews carried out during 1953-1954 revealed only a slight degree of ideological unity in the two large parties, the S.F.I.O. and the B.D.S.; knowledge about specific phases of their programs was generally modest or nonexistant. Hence distribution of party memberships scarcely involved a precise ideological choice.[33] This choice to some degree reflected an actual distinction,[34] but this was apparently no more than a tendency. In addition to the primary

[P. 11 B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[30] But it could remain attached more or less firmly to the political activities of the place of its origin.
[31] It included elements from St. Louis and Gorée, Lebou elements that had become urbanized "on the spot," etc. The population of Dakar tripled 1936-1956, from 80,000 to nearly 250,000.
[32] To be precise, 52,250. These elections are used as an example because the new organization for the city government involved a revision of the electoral lists, the most extensive in many years; and, also, a comparison with recent census figures (compiled in 1955) was possible for the first time.
[33] The facts of the split between the latent ideological content of judgments and opinions of a political sort, and that of the party programs, are noted below. Of course, there were probably distinctions according to level of schooling.
[34] Roughly, between old and new city-dwellers.

[P. 11c]

[277] [168] 599 369

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

665
369

cause of this peculiarity, described previously, there were secondary causes, of ethnic, religious, and other natures. Their action contributed to the blurring of lines between the party groups. These facts explain, for example, why the B.D.S., until its recent changes, was unable despite great efforts to change the nature of urban politics. Only the broad action of new factors that were felt considerably beyond the frontiers of Senegal, from 1956 on, brought some change.

These widespread occurrences affected chiefly the two large parties. The other parties, the M.P.S. and U.D.S., which had developed from the schism in the R.D.A., had a quite different nature. They were parties of activists, and in Senegalese political life had only secondary importance. The successes of the R.D.A. elsewhere in West Africa, even during 1956-1957, had only feeble repercussions in Senegal. This fact had many causes, which cannot be studied here. By contrast, the S.F.I.O. and the B.D.S. were tending to become, in terms of number, parties with mass support; their cores were made up as much by "*notables*" and "elected agents" as by activists. The struggle between these two parties continued to dominate the stage, if not in all Senegal, at least in the cities and in certain rural districts.[35] In some cases it took extremely violent forms.

666
665
369
[633]
[519]

Pre-election riots were common between 1946 and 1956. Even in 1957, rather serious incidents marked the reorganization of the commune of Dakar, before the last municipal elections.[36] For the first time, elements of the B.D.S. (now the Senegalese Populist Bloc, or B.P.S.) won strong representation in the city council, previously dominated without opposition by the S.F.I.O. (now the African Socialist Movement — M.S.A.); an outburst of partisan passions marked

[P. 12A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 this shift. Such demonstrations revealed
[369] the intense hostility between the two
[666] main parties. This deeply influenced urban life, in the realms that overlapped into the specifically political domain.

Some indications have been given as to the significance of party membership. They can be supplemented by approaching the problem somewhat differently. To a considerable degree, the parties remained closely associated with the "clienteles" that typified pre-war political life. This trait appeared most clearly in the party in power, the one that controlled the city government. To maintain and increase
[669] such a political clientele, the party had access to very important instruments. Through the numerous municipal employees and all others who depended upon city hall, or who directly or indirectly benefited from its aid or its support, it extended a very wide network of influence. This was elaborated by the other network of influence, comprising the traditionally influential individuals, who were partly interwoven into it.[37] If a party had such a basis its dynamic force dropped considerably, and the role of its leaders assumed major importance. The prestige of the leader was essential to the cohesion of the political groups. This fact came out clearly in various researches. For instance, in the course of over 100 interviews it appeared that there were wide gaps between the official orientation of the party to which the respondent belonged and the political goals that he expressed.[38] Adherence to the leader overcame that difference to some extent. A certain formalization of partisan attachment thus appeared, in a primitive fashion. The importance of the leader's prestige was revealed with the greatest clarity in relation to the feminine clientele of the parties. It must be emphasized that at Dakar, at least among the
[369]
[P. 12 B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[35] Where the rivalry, furthermore, was chiefly between the "outposts," in this case more or less connected with the tradition of the "old cities," and the surrounding countryside.
[36] The separation of Gorée and the anticipated electoral redistricting had persuaded the civil administration to dissolve the municipal council and to replace it during the electoral period with a bipartisan municipal commission.
[37] Particularly in their activity as electoral agents.
[38] In a general way, these goals showed a much more definite "nationalist" potential.

[P. 12 C]

665
369
699
633

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 665 this clearly; it was under this two-fold pressure that the B.P.S. took a position in favor of "yes." It likewise accounts for the less extreme attitudes often taken by leaders within the new Mali Federation.[56] However, this influence of tradition is not sufficient to block new trends. It is significant that in the legislative [666] elections of March, 1959, the Senegalese Solidarity Party (P.S.S.), a combination of conservative city and rural elements, was as thoroughly defeated at St. Louis, where victory seemed probable, as in the rural districts. Again, it should be noted that the youthful elements that entered the B.P.S. in 1956 have in part left the new Senegalese Progressive Union (U.P.S.), an offshoot of the latter party after the regrouping noted above. By founding the African-Senegalese Regroupment Party (P.R.A.-S.), they have hoped to express their disappointment with a party insufficiently radical, insufficiently organized in structure, and containing too many aspects of the "traditional" political life of the old cities.

Paul Mercier
École pratique des Hautes Études

[P. 20 B]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

633 The Council has the same functions as that of the colony, but its
645 decisions need the approval (usually formal) of the Standing
[648] Committee of the Governor-General's Council.

The Executive Councils of Senegal and of Dakar are known as *conseils privés*, whereas those of the other colonies are known as *conseils d'administration*.

646 *The Colonial Council of Senegal.* The history of the Colonial
633 Council and of its predecessor, the General Council, has been given above. The earlier council had jurisdiction over the four full communes only, but its successor, which dates from 1920, when all distinctions between colony and protectorate were abolished, has jurisdiction over the whole colony. The inhabitants of the District of Dakar still retain their votes for the Colonial Council, and as a corollary the Council can discuss the affairs of the District. The pretext for this decision was afforded by the provision, in the decrees
[C52] of 1924, that the Colonial Budget of Senegal should contain a grant in aid of Dakar; but French writers do not disguise the fact that it was thought not desirable entirely to divorce the District from the rest of Senegal. The decrees of 1924, therefore, expressly left it an integral, though autonomous, part.

646 The Colonial Council is unique in French Africa in that its
666 membership includes Europeans, natives, chiefs, citizens, and sub-
[642] jects. It is, therefore, worthy of detailed mention. Its constitution and powers are laid down in a decree of 4 December 1920, as amended by decrees of 30 March 1925, 13 January 1930, and 8 April 1939. This last added the subjects. The colony is divided into four electoral districts, from which members are elected on a population basis. The Council is elected for a term of six years, but, on the recom-
[648] mendation of the Governor, it may be dissolved by the Governor-General. Should a dissolution occur, a new election must be held within three months. There are 62 members in all: 26 citizens elected by citizens, 18 provincial or canton chiefs elected by those of the same rank, and 18 native subjects. These subjects must either have been born in the colony or be descendants of subjects born in
[641] the colony; they must have completed their military service; and they are elected by all other subjects who fulfil the same conditions. In 1929 the European element only numbered one-fifth of the total membership, and the additions made in 1939 will have had the effect of swamping it.

646 The Council meets for a fortnight's session once a year, but it can
643 be summoned by the Governor at any time. It chooses its own

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Senegal had never in fact been free from elements of racism, though such a policy was never officially countenanced until the Vichy regime. Geoffrey Gorer found many instances of discrimination in Dakar, and actually went as far as to say that 'The colour bar is extremely strong in Dakar'. But he concluded 'these French citizens are far happier than their brother French Negro subjects; if they are too badly cheated or abused they have some redress in the law courts'. The colour bar was certainly not official policy then as it became under the Vichy Administration. 641 648

The Vichy regime marks the end of an era in West Africa and particularly in Senegal. Until 1940 there had been little or no opposition to French assimilationist policy by the Africans. Indeed they were the first to criticise any deviations from it. Blaise Diagne enjoyed high status in France, and though he was accused by his critics of corruption and of selling himself to the French he remained the popular choice in Senegal until his death. 648

At the ensuing election Galandou Diouf defeated Blaise Diagne's old opponent, Lamine Guèye, who was instrumental in the formation of the Senegalese branch of the *S.F.I.O.* Hitherto elections had been largely fought on the basis of personal followings, with the exception of the European-dominated *Parti Socialiste Sénégalais* founded in 1929 in which Europeans played a prominent role. Not only was Lamine Guèye the first Senegalese to realise the value of the party machine, but he was also the first to advocate the granting of full political and legal rights to all French Africans. Significantly he did not suggest any form of break with France, rather that France should carry her assimilationist policy to its logical conclusions. In 1939 he increased his political backing considerably when the *P.S.S.* fused with his section of the *S.F.I.O.* and this was to make him a leading member of the party in the metropolis as well as in Senegal. 648 665 666 [667] [641]

However the younger generation of Senegalese were 000

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 this shift. Such demonstrations revealed
[369] the intense hostility between the two
[666] main parties. This deeply influenced urban life, in the realms that overlapped into the specifically political domain.

Some indications have been given as to the significance of party membership. They can be supplemented by approaching the problem somewhat differently. To a considerable degree, the parties remained closely associated with the "clienteles" that typified pre-war political life. This trait appeared most clearly in the party in power, the one that controlled the city government. To maintain and increase
[669] such a political clientele, the party had access to very important instruments. Through the numerous municipal employees and all others who depended upon city hall, or who directly or indirectly benefited from its aid or its support, it extended a very wide network of influence. This was elaborated by the other network of influence, comprising the traditionally influential individuals, who were partly interwoven into it.[37] If a party had such a basis its dynamic force dropped considerably, and the role of its leaders assumed major importance. The prestige of the leader was essential to the cohesion of the political groups. This fact came out clearly in various researches. For instance, in the course of over 100 interviews it appeared that there were wide gaps between the official orientation of the party to which the respondent belonged and the political goals that he expressed.[38] Adherence to the leader overcame that difference to some extent. A certain formalization of partisan attachment thus appeared, in a primitive fashion. The importance of the leader's prestige was revealed with the greatest clarity in relation to the feminine clientele of the parties. It must be emphasized that at Dakar, at least among the
[369]
[P. 12 B]

665 tems. At Dakar, the powers of the "*sé-*
[633] *rigne*" and of the dignitaries of the former "Lebou Republic" were continued, although they gradually lost their importance.[40] The parties were careful to keep these leading figures among their clientele. As a result there were some rather complex manipulations concerning nominations and successions. A nomination accepted by one party was more or less openly contested by the other. Hence the relatively frequent bifurcation of power: opposing the dignitary who had received official recognition was another who maintained himself as pretender, with the support of the party that had backed his candidacy. Such events stood
• [667] out even more sharply among ward leaders, who depended most directly upon the party that controlled the city government. Their support was more or less confined to the voters of this party. Hence certain wards had clandestine ward leaders, around whom the members of the opposition party could gather. Of course, such phenomena have accelerated the deterioration of these institutions.

793 (2) In the religious field, control over
665 chiefs of the great Moslem brotherhoods similarly has been at stake in intense struggles between the parties. This was particularly true of the main brotherhood in Senegal, that of the Tidjanes.
[369] This problem has been centered outside Dakar and the other coastal cities, but has had important repercussions in these cities. The rivalries that apparently have always surrounded the choice of the caliph of the Tidjanes were intensified and acquired a greater impact, in proportion as the fundamental hostility of the parties was openly associated with
[788] them. Violent incidents involving political enemies occurred even on pilgrimages to Tivaouane, where the caliph resides; they contributed to the prolongation of conflicts within the caliph's family. Well-meaning interference by re-

[P. 13 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

467 In 1954 it had a membership about 100,-
000, or a little less than one-third of all
wage-earners. The unions have reached
[369] their greatest development in Senegal,
especially in the large cities. In 1954
this territory contained more than half
the union members in French West
Africa, more than a third of all Sene-
galese wage-earners. Dakar has a central
role in this field. It is the headquarters
for the largest unions, which were once
affiliated with French federations but
are now autonomous. Dakar also pos-
sesses a very active "Labor Exchange."
By itself it contains more than two-fifths
of the union members in Senegal.

467 To some extent the significance of
668 the unions is more than occupational
and economic. The degree to which they
[667] complete the political machinery of the
[665] city is suggested by a comparison of the
percentages of party memberships with
the percentages of union memberships.
Of 1,200 persons interrogated during the
Dakar survey noted above, about one-
half (52 per cent) stated they were
union members. The potential ambiguity
of such statements was suggested above
in connection with political parties.[48]
However, an analysis of the respondents
by socio-occupational categories gave
meaningful results. The average rate of
union membership was surpassed by
lower-ranking office-workers and govern-
ment employees, higher-ranking office-
workers and government employees, and
professional people; it was equalled by
semi-skilled workers. With the exception
[665] of the first, these are precisely the cate-
gories whose rates of party membership
were lowest. On the other hand, partici-
pation in union activity was distinctly
more important among the categories
comprising the intellectual elements than

[P. 16 B]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

V. AFRICAN REACTION AGAINST ASSIMILATION

I admit that as Negro students in the years 1930–4 we were only an obstruction. I admit that we were racialist; we were intoxicated by the banner of Negritude. At that time no intercourse was possible with Europeans. But since then, because this racialism betrayed our African-Negro humanism, because it led to deadlock by imposing cold war between races and continents, between man and man, we decided upon reflection to make an extra effort. Today we have accomplished this—the results of European decolonisation have contributed to it—we have left behind us the period of denial to embark with you upon the period of construction.

LÉOPOLD SÉDAR SENGHOR

THE 1946 constitution as far as Senegal and the other more advanced territories of French Africa were concerned really fell between two stools. In so far as it was assimilationist, it was not sufficiently so. If France were ever to establish her Franco-African republic it had to be on the basis of the equality implicit in assimilation. And this equality was denied at many turns. In so far as it permitted decentralisation in the form of territorial and federal assemblies, it was to encourage the growth of nationalist and regional politics. In Senegal, where the changes made were of relatively little importance, the failure to put into practice a fully assimilationist policy was to be one of the predominant influences behind the reaction against assimilation that was the distinguishing feature of the next decade of Senegalese politics.

Overseas leaders had been particularly disillusioned with French honesty in the application of the Overseas Labour Code. This code was drawn up at the Brazzaville Conference and promised amongst other things equal pay for equal work,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

698 641 466 a forty hour week, a minimum wage, the development of trade unions and the institution of a labour inspectorate. However the second Constituent Assembly procrastinated in according these economic rights to its overseas citizens and was dissolved before it could bring them into force. It was only in 1952 that the overseas deputies were able to force this measure through.

698 665 One of the reasons for the break-up of the old *S.F.I.O.* in 1948, which may be taken as symbolic of the reaction against assimilation, was the attitude of the parent party in France to social legislation for the overseas territories. The *S.F.I.O.* had voted against equal pensions for African [641] and metropolitan French veterans; it had voted against the introduction of the French social security system for the overseas departments, and it had abstained on a motion to abolish the dual college system. But more important was the desire of the newly enfranchised 'bush' peasants for greater participation in the direction of party policy. Hitherto the party, closely linked with the parent body in France, had been tightly ruled by Lamine Guèye from Dakar. At the 1947 Congress of the party a group of members led by Senghor demanded a greater voice in party councils. The people of the bush, so long denied the rights accorded to the privileged of the *Quatre Communes*, once enfranchised showed their resentment against both those who exercised these rights and those who granted them. In the following year Senghor, backed not only by the intellectuals but by the vast majority of the bush, founded the *Bloc Democratique Sénégalais* (*B.D.S.*) declaring that 'Assimilation is an illusion in a world whose people have become aware of their own personality'. He attacked the *S.F.I.O.* for its close ties with France and its failure to take an independent line on African matters. So just as Lamine Guèye has been described as the representative [668] of the era of assimilation, so Senghor can be dubbed the representative of reaction to this policy.

698 668 This reaction was at first not part of a concerted

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

movement, though by the late fifties it amounted to a definite revolt against the basic assumption of an assimilationist policy that there was nothing of worth in African culture and that the greatest benefit France could bring to Africans was to make them French. It was hardly surprising that those to whom this policy had been most heavily applied should be the first to react. Thus in political and cultural affairs the Senegalese were in the vanguard of the campaign for the recognition of the African personality, or in French African terms *la négritude*. This new movement showed itself in many fields. In politics it was to manifest itself in a rupture with the metropolitan French parties, and the assertion of the necessity of the incorporation of traditional African values into European-type political systems. On the human plane it insisted on the dignity of the African, the originality of his personality and his contribution to the achievement of the human race. In the cultural field it implied a return to the values of African art, which educated Africans until recently had themselves tended to reject. As regards history, it denied the common European allegation that Africans had no history and asserted that Africans had in fact made a far greater contribution to world history than was revealed in text books. Finally it was to produce a picture of a suffering Africa, exploited and abused by the white man, awakening slowly to a glorious day of freedom.

The policy of Senghor's new party, which was not allied to any metropolitan party, was characteristic of this revolt. Its declared aim was to promote a new form of African socialism, related to the realities of the African situation. Accordingly the party was to be organised to correspond with the socio-ethnic structure of the country. It demanded a greatly increased autonomy for Senegal and other African countries, and whilst not demanding independence, a word that did not touch the public lips of any major French African politician for another ten years, it advocated a federal relationship between France and her overseas territories.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648
668

This move was the more surprising since Senghor was and is one of the most highly assimilated of French Africans. He was the first African to gain his *agrégation*. He was effectively the grammarian of the constitution of the Fourth Republic, and whenever there was a dispute as to the interpretation of the constitution in the National Assembly it was as often as not the second deputy of Senegal to whom the President of the Assembly referred for advice. As a member of a rich family of merchants from Joal, a town which though not privileged like the *Quatre Communes*, had long-standing connexions with Europe, he had been able to pursue his education in France and became a professor there. He was well known in literary circles as a writer and poet. Indeed as those who have wished to malign him have since asserted, he seemed almost more French than the French. But, and it is an important but, his return to his African past, his sudden resentment of his own Frenchness and his search for virtue in the African personality was the result of his sudden realisation of the extent of his assimilation by France, though he himself has said that he assimilated, and was not assimilated. Perhaps his dilemma is best illuminated by the experience of Aimé Césaire, the High Priest of *négritude*, who as Senghor is always the first to admit, was his real source of inspiration for this return to the past. The story goes that Césaire, a West Indian living for long in Paris, and already distinguished as a man of letters, was travelling in a train, when he found himself sitting next to a black marine. His first racial reaction was that of a white man. This horrified him so much that he returned to his native West Indies to 'rediscover' himself, and wrote a series of poems, that have become as it were the hymns of *négritude*. Senghor subsequently became the fulcrum of the new movement to assert the uniqueness and value of the Negro personality. Ulli Beier, reviewing Senghor's poetry, has written: 'Senghor is not merely a Frenchified African who tries to give exotic interest to his French poems; he is an African who uses the French language to express his African soul.'

[633]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Those who have not come under the influence of a strong assimilation policy have never had to assert their essential *négritude*. Thus the English-speaking African, whose culture and traditional political organisation was largely left intact by the British administration, was rarely concerned about his identity as an African and until very recently this problem has been of little concern for the Nigerian or Ghanaian. It has never occurred to him to doubt his *négritude*. There are of course a number of examples of what may be called assertion of the African personality in the English-speaking territories, but the cult of *négritude* never caught on in them as it did in Senegal and the other French territories. 648 668

Thus it was that the very Africans who had achieved the greatest distinction within the French cultural framework were to be the first to champion a return to the African past in search of their own essential personality. Thus it was that for long Paris became the cultural capital of Africa, for there the books and magazines were published in which they could tell the public of their new ideas. Whilst in the late forties and early fifties the British West African *évolué* was more concerned with the achievement of political independence from Britain, the French African *évolué* was more concerned with his cultural emancipation. Senghor's formation of a new political party is more interesting for the emphasis it lays on its reassertion of African values than for any proposed political rupture with France. [665]

The reaction against assimilation, as P. Mercier has pointed out in *Elites Sénégalaises*, came essentially from the new educated generation. 668

> It is the elite that has given expression to this desire for a return to the fountain head . . . From an acceptance of assimilation characteristic of the preceding generation opinion turned first to less sharply defined positions—typified by the slogan 'assimilate, don't be assimilated'—and then the attitudes of refusal, the details of which are still not very clear. Such attitudes accompany a lush ideological growth, to which only a very brief reference can be [571]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

•668 given here. They are not exempt from inconsistency, they are intertwined with each other. The only point at which all these ideologies concur is that they one and all are the expression of an intense reaction against colonialism—and obviously against the policy of assimilation—and serve as a basis for a growing nationalism.

The reaction against assimilation took the form of a denial of the basic assertion that Africans were a people without history or culture and that they were fortunate to have been taken under the guiding wing of France. The French administrator who declared 'We are the modern Romans. We have civilised these people, and built them roads', was the prime object of their attack. To counter
668 this patronising French attitude Senegalese intellectuals
814 looked into their past to discover an African civilisation which they could show had also played its part in the development of man. They rejected the common nineteenth-century European interpretation of African history which showed a people engaged in interminable internecine and debilitating warfare, who had not discovered the wheel, who lived under appalling conditions of disease and climate, and they substituted their own interpretation of Africa, which was closer to Jean-Jacques Rousseau's picture of the Noble Savage untainted by the evils of modern society. In a few cases they took the somewhat defeatist attitude of Césaire, shouting 'Hurrah for those who invented nothing'. But the more typical reinterpretation, was that of Cheikh Anta Diop, who gives an extreme idealisation of African history. His works—*L'Afrique noire pré-coloniale*, *Nations nègres et cultures* and *L'unité culturelle de l'Afrique noire*—have come under heavy criticism from European scholars. But a critical evaluation is not intended here. What is important is that a Senegalese, of undoubted scholastic attainment, had reinterpreted the history not only of his country but of the continent as a whole, so that it could be put on equal terms with that of Europe. Thus he asserts in *Apports et perspectives culturels de l'Afrique* (*Présence Africaine*) that

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Pharaonic Egypt was a Negro civilisation. Since the West acknowledges its debt to Egyptian civilisation, it was also indebted to Negro peoples for its present cultural attainments. '. . . the Egyptian achievement was essentially a Negro one and . . . all Africans without exception can draw from it the same moral benefits that the West does with regard to Graeco-Latin civilisation.' Elsewhere he asserts in *Nations nègres et culture* (1955), 'Intellectuals should study the past not merely for pleasure but to learn lessons from it.' A notable strand in Diop's return to the past is not merely to assert the traditional dignity of the Senegalese, but of all Africans, even though his work shows inevitably a pro-Senegalese bias when he states that the ancient Egyptians spoke a language that was basically Wolof.

The second major string in the bow of reaction to assimilation was the assertion of the original unity of Africans, a unity that had only been broken up by the colonialists. Diop's *L'unité culturelle de l'Afrique noire* is an attempt to prove the fundamental unity of black Africa, for obviously a united Africa would represent a more potent cultural force, and consequently political force, in the face of Europe than one divided into a host of petty states and tribes. Pan-Africanism, on the cultural level, was largely the work of such writers as Diop and Senghor. Its political aspects, not surprisingly, were to be taken up by the more politically conscious English-speaking Africans like Nnamdi Azikiwe and Kwame Nkrumah.

But the most important thesis of all was that of the African personality. And for this Senghor, now President of the Republic of Senegal, was largely responsible. It is all very well for a people to prove that they have a history when others say they have not. But the most important thing, as far as Senghor and other Senegalese intellectuals saw it, was to prove the uniqueness of the African contribution not only to the past but to the present. Thus Senghor asserted that the African had a certain outlook on life that others had not. The essence of the African

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 personality, its uniqueness as Senghor saw it, is best understood from this quotation:

> That is to say that the Negro, traditionally, is not devoid of reason, as people would have me say. But his reason is not discursive, it is synthetic; it is not antagonistic but sympathetic. It has a different mode of perception. Negro reasoning does not detract from the things it contemplates, it does not mould them into two rigid schemes, thereby ignoring their very essence; it flows through the veins of things to arrive at the living heart of reality. The reasoning of the white man is analytical by utilisation, that of the Negro intuitive by participation.

Whether all the advocates of the African personality held so abstruse and philosophical a concept of its character is doubtful. But as the young poet Lamine Diakhite, a close disciple of Senghor, has written: 'Let us admit it, it is thanks to Senghor and Césaire that my generation became aware of itself, that it embarked upon the path of asserting its personality.'

[571] This movement, started in the late forties, was to touch mainly the intellectuals, those who had been most assimilated by the French. The poorer classes had of course not been so effectively alienated from their past. These intellectuals were during the next years to question everything in the light of this newly discovered or rediscovered African personality. Some advocated the shutting of the door against Europe and some of Cheikh Anta Diop's writings have elements of counter-racism. Whilst Europeans have been asserting their superiority over Africans for so long, he counters by asserting the Negro superiority over Europeans. Fortunately this negative attitude did not survive to any important degree.

There was also a healthy questioning of the values of European or Western culture, though this often went to the extremes of outright rejection. David Diop, the young [539] Senegalese poet who died recently in an air crash, accuses the white man's civilisation of hypocrisy:

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

 668

In the country where the houses touch the sky
but where the heart is not touched [539]
In the country where the hand is placed on the Bible
but where the Bible remains closed.*

The forum for this great re-examination of the African 204
past was to be *Présence Africaine*, a bi-monthly review of 668
Negro African culture, founded by a Senegalese called Alioune Diop in 1947 and open 'to all contributors of good-will (white, yellow or black), who might be able to help define African originality and to hasten its introduction into the modern world'. Although the review was Pan-Negro in outlook, its original inspiration came from a small group of Senegalese intellectuals in association [571] with West Indians like Césaire and Haitians like Price-Mars. There was of course nothing parochial about this. It was only that the Senegalese were the first, for the reasons outlined above, to feel really strongly about the reassertion of African culture. And when in 1956 *Présence Africaine's* efforts culminated in the first Congress of Negro Writers and Artists, the Senegalese were to play a dominant role. In his opening speech to the conference Alioune 668
Diop, the secretary and backbone of the organisation, made a moving protest against the myth of a people without culture, a protest that earned the support of all delegates. But his attacks on assimilation can have had relatively little meaning for delegates from the English-speaking territories; whilst some of the American Negro delegates like Richard Wright felt that as far as they were concerned it was impossible to return to a past from which they had been physically and culturally removed for over three centuries. Replying to a brilliant discourse by Senghor on 'The Laws of the Negro African Culture', he asked: 'I wonder where do I, an American Negro, conditioned by the harsh industrial, abstract force of the Western world that has used stern, political prejudices

* Translated by Ulli Beier.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 against the society (which he has so brilliantly elucidated)—where do I stand in relation to that culture?'

Alioune Diop declared:

> Assimilation corresponds to a type of human relationship imposed by colonisation. It demands that the individual (for it affects only individuals) tear himself from his natural context and he who cannot assert his own personality must replace his habits of thinking, feeling and acting by others which he would only share with a foreign community.

By the time of this congress the Senegalese, as well as other Africans, had examined pretty thoroughly the whole question of French assimilation. For instance, A. Wade, a Senegalese, in a paper entitled 'Must Africa evolve a [671] positive law?', protested against the use in his country of a foreign legal system evolved in a different social context and which could not meet all the requirements of traditional society. He called for a new legal system which would be in effect a synthesis of African customary law and French law. In another article he called for a reform of teaching methods in Africa in the light of local conditions. There [571] were few stones this anti-assimilationist élite left unturned in their efforts to re-establish the values of the African past. They presented a dramatic contrast with the élite of the pre-war generation who, like the young men in Ousmane Socé Diop's *Karim*, so readily accepted the virtues of Western ways.

668 Amongst this group were a number who fell back not on 648 the values of the African past so much as Marxist theories in their attacks on colonialism and assimilationist policy. Principal amongst this group was Majhemout Diop, leader of the pro-Communist *Parti Africain de l'Indépendence*. [665] In issue No. 14 of *Présence Africaine* he attacked colonialism bitterly:

> There is no possible ambiguity; colonisation equals capitalistic enterprise. Any other explanation is invalid, is deceitful, a myth, a myth of civilisation and of co-operation.
>
> A coloniser cannot be humanitarian . . . that would be the

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

most irreducible of paradoxes. Colonisation is always measured in terms of gain for the coloniser. 668 648

Between colonialist and colonial there is room only for forced labour, intimidation, pressure, police, theft, rape, obligatory farming, scorn, mistrust, arrogance, self-conceit, deceit, suppressed élites and debased masses.

No human relationship but a relationship based on domination and submission which transform the coloniser into a pawn, an adjutant, a warder, a flogger and the native into an instrument of production.

The resentment of assimilation is the same. But the interpretation is a Marxist one and the remedies subsequently offered by Majhemout Diop were non-African in origin. His *Contribution to the Study of Political Problems in Black Africa* is almost entirely Marxist in inspiration and the source matter, abundantly evident from the footnotes, is the work of Stalin, Lenin, Engels and Marx, none of whom had any first-hand knowledge of economic conditions in Africa. Another Senegalese, of very distinguished academic reputation, who uses Marxist techniques in his studies of African problems, is Ly Abdoulaye, an economic historian who nevertheless is much more inclined to take into account African circumstances in the application of Marxist theories. Indeed Ly is at great pains to avoid Marxist terminology even when employing Marxist ideas. There are in fact few Senegalese intellectuals who are not in some sense Marxist socialists. But more especially they are devotees of what they call African socialism. [814]

In the search for identity that followed the application of assimilationist policy, the first tendency was to rehabilitate African culture. Naturally political rehabilitation was one of the most important goals for politicians like Senghor. But when he broke with the *S.F.I.O.* in 1948, he gave as one of his reasons that French socialism, like Communism, after all, 'did not understand our problems, and wanted to solve them with a plan devised by and for Europe'. His proposed alternative of 'African socialism' was at the time. 668 [665]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 very ill-defined. But with the necessity of finding a new
[665] political system appropriate to the African situation there evolved, particularly in Senegal, a fairly coherent doctrine which will be examined in the final chapter.

In the early days a number of assertions were made about the political genius of the African, none of which can be attributed to any one man though as far as Senegal has been concerned Senghor has been the chief theoretician. Whilst appreciating and accepting many of Marx's theories as both politically and economically valid for Africa he believed that Marx would have revised his system in face of African realities as well as the scientific achievements of the twentieth century. He advocated the adoption of Marxism, shorn of its anti-religious doctrine and adapted to African needs. A cardinal point as far as Senghor was concerned, was that African society could not fit into the classical Marxist analysis. Instead he maintained modern African society
[565] had three classes: first the liberal professions and trades; second the salaried employees, civil servants and workers; third the vast peasant mass. Under the colonial regime the former two classes had been able to achieve incomes out of all proportion to the average peasant income of fourteen pounds a year. This peasant class is Marx's proletariat.

To support his policital views, Senghor advanced his theory that the 'Negro-African' was essentially different from the European. 'The African Negro does not distinguish the object nor does he analyse it—he takes it as it is between his hands, he feels it, touches it, smells it; thus the subject and the object are dialectically confronted in the very act of perception, and hence participation and communion.' Others, in their suggestions for a modern African political system showed how they could look to their own (somewhat idealised) African past for guidance. For instance there was no real need for opposition in the European sense. African politics in the village would supply the model. There everyone sat in the palaver house until all were agreed on the formula of action. Once discussed openly

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

in this sense, it had to be agreed by everyone and the discussion would not end until agreement was reached. Thus in the modern African society there would be real justification for a one-party state, for in theory no one could be against the Government, since by adopting traditional African methods, all would be agreed to any given course of action. Furthermore Africans already had their own built-in socialism. In the village no one could go hungry. And by an elaborate set of social laws and customs he who had invariably ended by sharing his possessions with those who had not. Above all, Africans could bring to the world this harmony of traditional African society where agreement was reached by all on every political decision, and where a voluntary socialism was already practised—what Senghor described as 'la sagesse africaine'. If Africa had something to bring to the modern world, it was this special political experience.

Despite this intense reaction to France's assimilationist policy by the Senegalese élite, for long no one openly voiced the logical conclusion of such attacks—the demand for total independence. Up until 1958 the most extreme official demand was for a federal constitution in which the African territories could develop along their own lines and have equal political rights with France. But in France, African students were impatient of constitutional niceties which seemed to them to avoid the one and only issue—that of putting an end to colonialism. In 1952 *Présence Africaine* published a special supplement in which African students, mostly Senégalese, made themselves more than clear on this issue. And whilst it is true that students tend to be much more extreme in their political attitudes than those actually exercising power, amongst the writers in this special supplement were some who were to have considerable influence on the political situation in Senegal as representatives of the young anti-colonialist generation, such as Assane Seck and Majhemout Diop. The latter in his call for immediate, unequivocal and absolute independence was in fact not

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648
668

representative of the main stream of student feeling. Rather it was summed up by Kader Fall in his article 'The Problem of the Elite in Black Africa' in which he concluded: 'The African people, after centuries of colonisation, has a right to demand that its more intelligent members should participate at his side and together in the elaboration of a new world which will see the end of colonial servitude.'

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

develop its own personality.' The *S.F.I.O.* parties of Africa met in Conakry to found a new socialist party entirely African in basis, called the *Mouvement Socialiste Africain.* Thus after over twenty years Lamine Guèye officially broke one of Senegal's closest links with France. At the same time Senghor called a congress of his allies in other territories from the *I.O.M.* and formed a federal party called the *Convention Africaine.* There were thus three new major African parties, with sections in most of the eight territories of West Africa and some in *A.E.F.*, each preaching African unity. But the federal executive, the very structure through which this could be maintained, was missing. 648 665

At the *loi cadre* elections that took place at the end of March 1957, the *R.D.A.*, the most thoroughly organised on the ground, proved the strongest party of the three and in West Africa and gained overwhelming majorities in Soudan, Guinea and Ivory Coast, dominated the coalition in Upper Volta and provided the opposition in Niger and Dahomey. But the party, as was soon proved at the long delayed Bamako Conference of September 1957, was far from united. Its main difference was over the problem of the federal executive. Its President, Félix Houphouët-Boigny of Ivory Coast had, as a Minister in the French Government, been one of the principal architects of the *loi cadre* and was opposed to the creation of a federal executive. The *R.D.A.*'s very dynamic Vice-President, Sékou Touré of Guinea, formed in the tough school of trade unionism, however championed the creation of a federal executive, and in this respect he was closer to Senghor than to his own party chief. At the Bamako Conference Sékou Touré persuaded the party to adopt it as a prime objective. [666]

Meanwhile in Senegal, ever the source of new things, was born the first African party with the avowed object of independence, the *P.A.I.* (*Parti Africain de l'Indépendence*) led by Majhemout Diop, who had strong Communist sympathies. Till then the word independence had been [668]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 studiously avoided not only by Senegalese but by nearly
665 all leading French African politicians. The official formula
[668] was the creation of a Franco-African community, in which Africans would have fully autonomous states (or federations if Senghor and Sékou Touré had their way) and matters like defence and foreign affairs would be shared between France and the other member states. As far as the Senegalese were concerned their long attachment to France, despite their reaction against assimilationism, made it difficult to countenance the idea of complete separation. As Senghor always put it, 'fédérer n'est pas séparer.' Furthermore
[651] French aid to West Africa in general and Senegal in particular had been enormous.

The Senegalese thesis on federation made headway in the early months of 1958. After several meetings between the major African parties, the *Convention Africain* and the *M.S.A.* met in Dakar in March and formed the new *Parti du Regroupement Africain*, with the aim of obtaining Federations of French West and French Equatorial Africa, which in turn would be federated with France in the proposed Franco-African community. On 5 April 1958 the *P.R.A.* members of the *Grand Conseil*, plus the *R.D.A.* members, voted in favour of the creation of a federal executive; the only Ivory Coast delegate abstained.

Despite bitterness over the question of the federal
[668] executive, there was still little open talk about independence except by the *P.A.I.* and this despite the example of Ghana. This situation was to be abruptly changed by the *putsch* of the military in Algiers on 13 May.

648 In presenting his new constitution for the Fifth Republic to the French people, de Gaulle made it a straight choice of Yes or No. As far as the French were concerned this was a reasonable choice. Acceptance or rejection. Once rejected, there was the possibility of trying again as they had done in 1946. But as far as the overseas territories were concerned, they were given no alternative. They either accepted the constitution, whose details we shall examine

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

shortly, or rejected it and took what de Gaulle described as independence with all its consequences. Under the constitution France and her overseas territories were to form a Franco-African Community in which each territory would become an autonomous republic, but would pool certain matters such as defence, foreign affairs, currency and higher education in the Executive Council of the Community. Thus once again we have the traditional French dilemma over assimilation, this time in its most acute form. Once again we have the paradox of an authoritarian regime introducing liberal reforms. On the one hand de Gaulle's Franco-African Community satisfied assimilationist theory by creating a supreme institution, the Senate of the Community, and a supreme executive, the Council of the Community, in which France and Africa would participate on roughly equal terms, whilst on the other hand he conceded a great degree of autonomy to all the overseas territories. Furthermore de Gaulle offered, albeit with little grace, independence to any territory that cared to take it—an offer that had hitherto never been considered by French politicians. This actually tied in with a growing resentment in France against the cost of the colonies. From 1946-1958 France had spent in the form of aids and subsidies over £400 million in French West Africa alone. Much of this money was spent on lavish schemes often of dubious economic worth. In France many people, particularly after a series of articles in *Paris-Match* by Raymond Cartier, began to question the worth of colonies which cost so much and whose leaders seemed to them so ungrateful for all they received. This attitude received the nickname of *Cartierisme*.

Judging by earlier statements of both Senegalese and other African politicians the *loi cadre* might well seem to have been a liberal solution to the problem of small poor countries economically and culturally linked to France. But already Ghana had gained her independence, and Nigeria was scheduled for it in 1960. In Senegal resentment against the nature of the *loi cadre* and the large number of students

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 returning from France imbued with anti-colonialist ideas
668 made the issue of independence a burning one. Yet the difficulty of making a complete break with her cultural parents was made clear by Joseph Ma Thiam, a member of F.E.A.N.F. (Federation of Students from French Black Africa) who wrote: 'We are not anti-French, that would be ridiculous and impossible. We are simply Africans and we want not minor reforms, called *loi-cadre* or Community, but a revolution of which the necessary outcome will be independence, as this is conceived of and put into practice in the twentieth century.'

For the Senegalese leaders, as indeed for other African leaders, the choice was a difficult one. The idea of sudden rupture with France, which de Gaulle's choice implied, was not only economically terrifying, but rather like the impending break-up of a family. So many of the leaders had lived so much of their lives in Paris that the prospect of such imminent separation was difficult to contemplate. It
665 is against this background that the conference of the *P.R.A.*
668 at Cotonou from 25-27 July 1958 must be seen. Here dele-
648 gates met to consider the situation created by the projected new constitution. At that stage the terms of the constitution were not clearly known, though it was general knowledge that they would not be favourable to the idea of total independence. At the conference delegates were carried away by demands for independence and voted for 'Immediate independence; the creation of a solid and progressive African Community; and negotiation with France for the creation of a multi-national confederation of free and equal peoples.' The last two items were in accord with current Senegalese feeling that federation was the only way to secure equality of the African personality in a Franco-African Community. But the morrow of the conference saw a number of delegates reflecting on the demand for immediate independence. The rupture seemed too abrupt and, as Mamadou Dia pointed out, they did not even know the terms of the new constitution. He expressed doubts on

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

the ability of Senegal to accede immediately to independence. In certain territories, particularly in Senegal and Dahomey, pressure was brought to bear by France on the delegates against taking so drastic a step, so that the *P.R.A.* withdrew from its earlier stand and said that effectively the decision over the constitution would be left to each territorial section. In August the burning question for both the *P.R.A.* and *R.D.A.* was answered by General de Gaulle on his tour of Africa prior to the referendum in September. The right of independence would be inscribed in the constitution. But, he later added ominously, those who voted No to his constitution now would take all the consequences. For all states so economically dependent on France this was a considerable threat. Thus few leaders did in fact campaign against the constitution. In Guinea, Sékou Touré with a superb party organisation, managed to obtain a 97 per cent vote against the constitution and took independence with all its consequences, which involved the French destroying all their files and even taking away the telephones! In Niger the Premier, Djibo Bakary failed to carry his campaign against the constitution, and was forced reluctantly to resign, and after the subsequent election which was won by his *R.D.A.* opponents, to flee the country. In this matter it was said, the French who suspected Djibo Bakary of extreme left-wing sympathies were determined not to have 'a hole in the desert'.

In Senegal the situation was confused. Not until the last minute did the *P.R.A.* come out definitely in favour of the constitution. De Gaulle received a hostile reception on his visit to Dakar. Three radical members of the *P.R.A.* Ly Abdoulaye, Assane Seck and Amadou M. M'Bow declared they would vote No, whatever the rest of the Party decided. On 11 December the *P.R.A.* section of the Senegal party decided to vote Yes. The three members who had declared they would vote No resigned, formed a new party confusingly called *P.R.A.-Sénégal* and joined with the *P.A.I.* and campaigned against de Gaulle. Once the decision of the

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 majority party had been made, however, there was little
668 doubt as to the outcome of the Referendum. But the seeds
[665] of independence had been sown.

Almost immediately after the Referendum the planners got down to work seeking to create the federal executive that had escaped them under the *ancien régime*. Guinea meanwhile had become independent and there was a certain satisfaction amongst those who voted Yes at the difficulties so abrupt a break with France entailed. Alas, as was later realised, Guinea independent and the rest still within the Community, meant the first crack in the old federation. On 29 December delegates from Senegal, Soudan, Upper Volta and Dahomey, together with observers from Mauretania, met to consider the possibility of creating a new federation.

On 17 January 1959 a federal constitution was promulgated with the accord of all four governmental delegations, and the new Mali came into being. However pressures from France and from Houphouët-Boigny, who still bitterly opposed any form of federation, soon forced Upper Volta and Dahomey to withdraw, reducing Mali to two member states: Senegal and Soudan.

648 The new federation was short lived. In Soudan there had
665 been almost unanimous support for the federation, but in Senegal a number of religious chiefs, in association with Ibrahim Seydou N'Daw, formerly President of the Senegalese Assembly, and an important member of the governing *U.P.S.* party, formed the Senegalese Solidarity Party and together with the two left-wing parties, the *Parti Africain de l'Indépendence* and the *P.R.A.*—Senegal campaigned
[666] against the proposed federation. At the polls the Government won a resounding victory.

Thus in both Senegal and Soudan the leaders who had chosen the path of federation won triumphant approval, though as Mamadou Dia admits somewhat ruefully, the people followed their leaders blindly on this question. It is essential here to note that the two countries were

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

IX. THE FUTURE

We must really decolonise ourselves down to our innermost hearts and not merely at the level of appearances. Independence is a period of dismantling and creating. It is a 'creative destruction', to use the phrase of a well-known economist.

MAMADOU DIA

IN many independent African countries today it is difficult to elicit from politicians exactly what economic, social and political policy they propose to follow. Quite naturally, they talk in terms of achieving the maximum good for their people: but as often as not they have not worked out the priorities of industrialisation as against agriculture, health against education, roads against railways. Many describe their economic policies as socialist, a term which on investigation turns out to embrace advanced welfare state projects as well as questionable capitalist enterprises. In Senegal, however, the student is fortunate in having two leaders—President Senghor and Prime Minister Mamadou Dia—who have given not only considerable thought to the future economic and political structure of their country but have also put their ideas down on paper. Senghor has been the political theoretician of Senegal, Mamadou Dia its economist.

Both philosopher and economist show in their theories an intense desire to find 'African' solutions to their problems, and yet to incorporate the best the Western world has taught them. Senghor talks of the symbiosis of two cultures to both of which, as a Senegalese who has experienced France's assimilationist policy, he feels legitimately heir. Both have as their goal the creation of an African socialist state, but one that shall not stand in isolation from France and the Western world. All they ask is that the technical and political experience of the West should be adapted to the African

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

668

context. Whilst accepting many of Marx's theories, Senghor feels that socialism must be adapted to African realities, of which Marx, writing in the nineteenth century, was quite unaware. Also he refuses, not only as an African but as a Catholic, to accept Marxist atheism. Senegal must above all be an African state, but he is opposed to what he calls the fashionable habit of rejecting Europe of whatever political shade. 'We shall continue to borrow from Europe the weapons of our liberation', he writes, 'above all socialism'. Once again it will be socialism in principle, adapted to the particular circumstances of Senegal and incorporating the keen African sense of community responsibility as well as European socialist experience in dealing with the problems of an advanced agricultural and industrial society.

Internally it is his aim to make of Senegal a model socialist state without disrupting the existing economy or social structure too violently. But his goal is a greater one: that is that Senegal, and indeed Africa, should make a major contribution to what he describes as the *Civilisation de l'universel*. It will be possible and proper for Senegal to absorb influences from outside provided they contribute towards this goal. It is his aim to achieve harmony between all races and ethnic groups in Senegal, to show that Africans, despite their bitter experiences in the past, harbour no bitterness towards their fellow men. And on the African plane, despite the unfortunate outcome of the Mali Federation, he is still a fervent believer in the ultimate goal of African unity, though much less enthusiastic about the federal form of government. The failure of the Mali Federation is taken not as a disaster for its eventual achievement but as an object lesson about the obstacles that can present themselves.

Senegal then is to be a model socialist state, aiming not only at internal harmony, but at the greater harmony of Africa and the world. Mamadou Dia has described this role succinctly in *Nations africaines et solidarité mondiale*:

That is why the African nations who tomorrow will be called

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

upon to play a historic role will be neither Negro, Berber, nor Arab nations, nor Christian, Muslim, nor animist nations. They will surely be strongly marked by the influence of different biological factors, and by the influence of different philosophies of their environment; but they will be nothing if not a synthesis, if not a civilisation. It is under this condition that they will be truly active element in the post-Marxian revolution of the twentieth century. 668

Reading the political philosophy of both Senghor and Mamadou Dia, one is tempted to say this humanism is all very admirable but what have such high-flown ideas got to do with a nation of three million poor people still living barely above subsistence level and of whom the majority of adults are still illiterate? Indeed, Senghor the philosopher and poet comes in for criticism by some students of African politics for his advocacy of this cultural cross breeding, for his apparent excessive attachment to the West. Will not, they ask, someone more African, more a politician and less a poet, be more typical of the African politicians of the future? This is perhaps not only to misunderstand Senghor, but also the Senegalese. Senghor may seem to live in the clouds, uttering fine phrases in enviable French, but the last fifteen years have shown him as a masterly political tactician. He broke away from Lamine Guèye and the *S.F.I.O.* to form his own party at just the right psychological moment. And when he felt an end had to be brought to the Mali Federation he accomplished it without shedding one drop of blood, to the surprise not only of foreign observers but particularly of his Soudanese partners. Today opposition to Senghor comes mainly from fellow intellectuals, whilst his standing with the people of the countryside remains high. His opposition is no less inclined to lengthy discourses on the philosophical foundations of the state. Ly Abdoulaye and Assane Seck of the *P.R.A.* are both of the University of Dakar; Majhemout Diop of the *P.A.I.* is a doctrinaire Communist; and Cheikh Anta Diop, as we have seen, has spent most of his Time on the rehabilitation of African history.

[433] [412] [665] [665]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

spent most of his time on the rehabilitation of African history.

631 Of course there would be considerable justification for such criticisms if Senghor and his Government were not in fact getting down to the fundamental reorganisation of Senegal. Already since the days of the French, the whole country has undergone a complete administrative transformation. Before independence the country was divided into *cercles* and *subdivisions*, under French and occasionally African administrators, and *cantons*, run by traditional chiefs as agents of the administration. This structure has been completely changed to give the administration and therefore the Government closer contact with the people. Previously the traditional chief, albeit an agent of the administration, was interposed between the administrator and his people. Now that the *chef de canton* has been eliminated and the *canton* has been redesignated as an *arrondissement*, presided over by an administrative official, working under the *commandant de cercle*, the Government has rid the country of what the Minister of Interior, Valdiodio N'Diaye, has described as an anachronistic institution. The *cercles* [635] are grouped into seven regions, each with its Governor and regional assembly, which deliberates on the regional budget. These seven regions have been laid out so as to correspond with the major economic zones of the country, making concessions only to ethnic factors and problems of communications. The whole field administration outside headquarters has been completely Africanised since July [563] 1960, though there are many Europeans serving as 'technical advisers' in the Government in Dakar.

668 But most important of all is the proposed four-year development plan for the Senegal which envisages a major revolution in the education, health and economy of the country. This plan was drawn up after nearly eighteen months of intensive research in Senegal by the Révérend Père Lebret, and his team of European and African researchers. The whole plan was directed by Mamadou Dia,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

whose economic ideas are well known from various books he has written, more especially his *Nations africaines et solidarité mondiale* and *Réflexions sur l'économie de l'Afrique noire*. Dia is essentially a socialist, who believes however that European socialism could never really identify itself with Africa, because, as he points out, so much of the improvement in the living conditions of European workers was founded on the economic expansion resulting from nineteenth and twentieth-century colonialism. And he remarks bitterly that even today one sixth of the world's population, mainly white, enjoys 80 per cent of the world's income. He feels that political liberation is nothing without economic liberation and that this is the great challenge to the young states of Africa. He does not believe in any tailor-made answer to this challenge, whether it be Communist or Western in origin. The Senegalese answer must be based on Senegalese realities, taking into account the experience of other underdeveloped countries, in which he is well versed.

This explains the eighteen-month long 'inventory' made by Father Lebret and his team of every aspect of Senegalese life. Dia sees one of the greatest dangers of Africa in its present economic balkanisation, dangers which provide economic backing to political demands for African unity. Dakar's many industries were of course planned to serve the former French West Africa and are now at the mercy of the individual economic policies of its seven French-speaking neighbours. Such a situation will make it impossible for large scale and rational economic development. Nor does he see in industrialisation the solution to all the country's problems. Indeed the basic problem is the raising of the general standard of living of the country, particularly of those areas that lag behind the rest. Above all he is not going to follow slavishly the ideas of the West or the East. Senegal's development is to be undertaken in the light of Senegal's own problems

This then is the background to the impressive and far

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

433 668 reaching economic development plan. Mamadou Dia has described the plan as the 'décollage' or taking-off point of the country's development. The plan is the expression of the African socialism of which Senghor and Dia have so long dreamed. It has two important points. Relatively little emphasis is placed on industrialisation, and fundamental to the development of the country are [474] 'rural animation' and co-operatives through which the people will be made aware of the great future that could be theirs if only they co-operate in the realisation of this plan. Already 80 per cent of peasant farmers are organised in co-operatives.

Senegal's economy is based today on the export of its ground-nut crop of just under 800,000 tons a year. This has been produced to the detriment of subsistence crops, with the absurd result that Senegal, a basically agricultural country, is importing foodstuffs to the tune of £15 million a year. Furthermore there has been a great disparity in the economic and social development of the towns in com- [369] parison with the bush. Thus whilst Dakar is one of the most modern and prosperous towns in West Africa, the Vallée du Fleuve is abysmally poor and Casamance hitherto neglected. Thus the emphasis is on rural development; the [871] extension of educational facilities to a population only 30 per cent of whose children go to school; then the increase in medical facilities; the supply of water to villages without it; and in particular the opening-up of hitherto neglected regions by improved communications, which includes the [491] tarring of over 1,000 miles of roads and improvement of 600 miles of dirt road. But above all the emphasis is on the increase of home food crops and the widening of the variety of foodstuffs available to the peasants. It is estimated that if the plan works out, then the global index of production, taken as 100 in 1959, will be up to 137 in 1964. New industries such as the phosphate works at Taiba, an oil refinery, chemical factories and textile printing works will provide 10,000 new jobs, and thus absorb some of the unemployed

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

school leavers who characterise every West African town from Dakar to Douala, and whose numbers will increase in future under the new plan, since by 1964-65 it is hoped over 50 per cent of children of school age will be at primary school.

The whole plan is to cost £135 million, much of the money to be drawn from abroad, and much from private sources. As can be seen from the table below the emphasis is on social improvement rather than the creation of great gesture industries.

	Percentages	
	Of public investments	*Of total investments*
Infrastructure	33·9	18·75
Agriculture	18·0	13·4
Commerce and Industry ..	7·0	44·4
Education	12·2	6·7
Health	5·3	2·9
Housing	7·2	10·9
Administrative	5·5	3·0

It is a socialist plan at heart. The state will be taking over large sectors of the economy. Already the state trading organisation for the marketing of ground-nuts with the aid of local co-operatives has taken over the marketing of over a quarter of the crop from private commerce. But it is doing this in direct competition with them, to ensure that the organisation is commercially viable. Senghor believes 'Where private capitalism comes into peaceful competition with socialism, the latter must, I feel sure, emerge triumphant . . .'

On the other hand Senegal is not trying to discourage private enterprise, for, as can be seen from the above table, it accounts for much of the capital for the plan. Indeed, particularly favourable concessions are made to it. What

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

433 668 [491] the Government is trying to do is take out of its hands the control of the basic economy, such as the ground-nut crop, and to ensure that the maximum benefit accrues to Senegal from overseas investment.

The distinguishing feature of the plan is its reliance not on *investissement humain* on Chinese lines, a method which tends to be favoured by the Guinea and Mali Governments, but on *animation rural*. It is believed that compulsory forced [466] labour is not satisfactory to the people who are undertaking it, even if it is ostensibly in their own interests, first because it is compulsory, and secondly because it can suffer from excessive planning by the centre, so that the people may be 'investing' their labour in things which in the first place they do not want, and which in the second place fail, as certain agricultural schemes have done in Russia and China, as a result of overcentralised planning.

433 668 654 Basically *animation* is what we would call 'community development', but it is to be operated in the context of the general plan for the Senegal, touching on education and medical services as well as economic development. The idea is that people in villages should be asked what they want: a new road; a new dispensary etc. It will then be explained to them that such things have not been achieved up till now through lack of funds but that the Government is prepared to put its services at the disposal of the villagers to build a road or some such if the villagers are prepared to provide labour. The object then is to find out what villag- [496] ers really want and to stimulate them into wanting them enough to supply labour for them. In any chosen area, then, a member of the Ministry of Planning and Development (Animation Section) will go into the village and enlist the people's co-operation in selecting an intelligent man who is sufficiently respected both by the traditionalists and by the youth to be able to put over these new ideas of community development. He is then sent on an 'animation course' where he is taught improved farming and other methods and is (it is hoped) inspired with the need for

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

progress. This he then transmits to the village, and in Casamance *animation* has worked to the extent of building a thirty-five kilometre road which cut the journey between two important villages by nearly fifty kilometres. In the Vallée du Fleuve, people who never grew rice before have now quadrupled their incomes by producing rice under a rural animation scheme. 433 668 654 [491] [243] [434]

All this President Dia hopes will raise the standard of living of each man by 3.5 per cent each year, doubling it by the fourth four year plan in 1975.

The plan is an ambitious one, an attempt to create a new Senegal synthesising the best of Africa and Europe. If it works, and the political future of both Senghor and Dia may well depend on this, then Senegal may become a pilot nation for Africa both economically and culturally. Senegal will then be in a sense a justification for the French assimilation policy, for although it failed in its attempts to assimilate the Senegalese both culturally and politically it has left profound marks on Senegalese society. And even if the experience of assimilation in Senegal has demonstrated the immense difficulties not only of one group trying to assimilate the other to its own standards, but of even getting the assimilating group to accept the other group as political and cultural equals, the end result may be the production of an African society which, whilst maintaining its own national identity, may prove a bridge between Africa and Europe and their two cultures. 668

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

571
178

preserve much of their prestige;[1] they are sometimes in diametrical opposition to the modernist elites and sometimes try to come to terms with them; occasionally, as the result of historical conditions, the two elites are closely interlocked.[2]

4. Types and degree of tension between the African modernist elites and the European groups. The latter occupy the position of ruling class in the whole community represented by each territorial unit. The conflict is fundamental, yet a balance, however temporary and precarious, between the two groups may sometimes be discerned, though it varies enormously in degree from one region to another and at different times.[3]

The situation in Senegal, compared with that in other parts of French West Africa, exhibits certain special features. Senegal was the first of these territories to be colonized.[4] At the beginning of the new phase which opened after the war, it had the largest number of educated and partly Westernized persons, and it has for several decades had a political life modelled on the West, though of a summary and limited character.[5] At this level of political life, the course of events during the past 10 years affords us a first glimpse of regional diver-
[668] gencies. It is a significant fact that Senegal was not the first French West African territory in which a movement making political demands of some magnitude arose. The acute crises of the immediate post-war period developed elsewhere—in the Ivory Coast—with the founding and expansion of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain, the first political party in French
[665] Africa (Black) with nationalistic tendencies. The Rassemblement Démocratique Africain never succeeded in establishing itself firmly in Senegal, either before or after its change of policy in the 1950's.[6] There is no space here to describe in detail the historical and social background of such events, though I shall have to refer to it several times later in this paper. Some of the basic traits will suffice for mention: aspects of the traditional structures, of contemporary economic development, of the schools' endeavour to promote assimilation.

[563] The principal racial groups inhabiting Senegal,[7] whatever their cultural differences, and whatever their traditional hostility to one another (which has still by no means completely disappeared) all had the same type of social and political organization. They were strictly graded societies divided into endogamous castes, each with its special economic, political, ritual and other functions. In the present context, inter-caste antagonisms and incompatibilities are as a rule more important than racial antagonisms, since several racial groups may have equivalent social gradings or one may have borrowed and adapted another's gradings. This is a fundamental feature; it indicates the framework within which we can explain the problem of relations between
[554] the traditional and the modernist elites. For instance, prestige due to education may be superimposed on prestige based on tradition, in particular prestige due to caste; or else the two may be completely separate.[8] Even today a high

1. Either officially or more or less 'clandestinely'.
2. E.g. in South Dahomey.
3. In the Ivory Coast, for example, a period of calm and co-operation followed when the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain dropped certain extreme claims.
[175] 4. Trade counters have existed for more than three centuries and the more specifically colonial period began more than a hundred years ago.
5. It had four municipalities with full privileges which sent a deputy to the French Parliament.
6. It broke off its alliance with the French Communist party.
7. The Ouolof, the Tonscouleur and the Serer.
[177] 8. The resistance of the traditional ruling strata to foreign influence explains why, in certain cases, the lower castes were the first to go to school.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

only a limited, and very indirect, part. Between this group and the working-class elite certain persisting tensions can be descried; a survey among the younger members—students, young workers—has brought to light more or less radical divergencies. However, the new elite is trying to extend its activity to the trade union sphere. A confederation of African workers independent of the organizations in metropolitan France has recently been founded, in which the young intellectual elite will apparently be extremely influential. This would be the counterpart of its entry into organized political action. In another domain, significant changes are occurring: the 'cultural associations' have a much more important role than their name would imply.[1] These are made up of the intellectual elite (in the widest sense in which I have used this term), which seeks by these means to avoid being relegated to a position of isolation, to acquire greater influence in the education of the people—e.g. through theatrical representations in one of the local languages—and to rediscover the highways of traditional African culture.

It is the new elite that has given expression to this desire for a 'return to the fountain-head'. A reaction, against assimilationist policies has appeared. From the acceptance of assimilation characteristic of he preceding generation opinion turned first to less sharply defined positions—typified by the slogan 'assimilate, don't be assimilated'—and then to attitudes of refusal, the details of which are still not very clear. Such attitudes accompany a lush ideological growth, to which only a very brief reference can be given here. It is not exempt from inconsistency; it is intertwined with growths of very different origin, sometimes hostile to each other. The only point at which all these ideologies concur is that they one and all are the expression of an intense reaction against colonialism—and obviously against the policy of assimilation—and serve as a basis for a growing 'nationalism'.[2] I will mention only the following points: the revival of African cultures and the affirmation of the common elements in a pan-African or, more generally, a Negro culture; the development of a veritable mythology around the notion of 'Negrohood'[3] and of a sort of 'counter-racism', the end-result of which is to shut the door on the outside world—i.e. primarily the Western world; the reinterpretation of history through a reversal of the perspective, a method applied not only to the history of the slave trade and the colonial period, but to the whole history of Africa as well;[4] the forging from Marxist theories of an ideological battering ram, to be used in a specifically African anti-colonial drive. The results of all these efforts make rapid headway throughout the 'educated' classes.[5]

The above picture is unavoidably only an incomplete outline. I have merely sought to bring out the importance of the present transitional phase and its characteristic processes. A new intellectual elite is taking up the torch from the 'colonial elite' which in Senegal had already succeeded in gaining appreciably greater influence than in the other French West African territories; there has been no break between them. And yet tensions and possibilities of conflict exist. Nevertheless, the conscious search for points of contact with

1. The study of political problems is a particularly important part of their activity.
2. In the African context, this term is used very broadly, to cover all anti-colonial movements.
3. The review *Présence Africaine* offers many examples of articles showing the influence of this idea.
4. The recent book by Cheikh Anta Diop, *Nations Nègres et Culture* (Negro nations and culture), Paris, 1955, is a highly significant example of what is being done on these lines.
5. These are still mere trends, but they indicate a change of outlook which will probably become deeper with time.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

536 theatre. But the writing was powerful and distinguished. My most vivid memory of Ka at that time was an ear-shattering torrent of abuse directed at his leading lady: 'Pas de Fred Astaire ici. Çe n'est pas le Music Hall.'

Today that play is a thing of the past, which nevertheless brought him fame. Now he is engrossed in a piece about a young schoolteacher who is sent to a pagan animist village in the south of the Senegal, to found its first school. The play centres on the conflict between the educated teacher and the local witchdoctor who opposes the school. Deep in Ka's intellect is a striking preoccupation with the conflict of occidental reason with the seemingly irrational metaphysics of the forest and the bush.

Ka was seized by numerous other friends so we agreed to meet the following day at a café in the Avenue William Ponty, Dakar's main thoroughfare.

[547] The small café was crowded. Across the street the Café de Paris with its large, bad painting of Montmartre, was half empty and its clientele, sitting at the iron street tables, stared at us with vague interest. Ka was talking animatedly about nineteenth-century Russian novelists and the decline of Russian literature today. He was very typically '*rive gauche*' and indeed we might well have been in St. Germain des Prés.

'Of course, I think that Huxley is more essentially English than Graham Greene,' my companion continued in a new vein.

Later I went with Ka to his room in a small, dingy hotel in the back streets of Dakar. 'I prefer living here, away from my relations. At least one is free.' I wondered whether it wasn't because it reminded him of his life in Paris.

Together we read his latest play about Chaka, in which he treats the great Zulu as a narcissist. Once again I was struck by the power of his writing, the economy of his style. We fingered through copies of *Présence Africaine*, *Traits d'Union* and *Afrique* [904] *en Marche* where he and his fellow intellectuals have their works published.

668 Most striking of all is the cultural revolution, so marked in
571 Dakar, but gaining momentum from all parts of the French West African Federation. Ka Abdou Anta is a part of this revolution, which has produced a generation, albeit small, of intellectuals who can vie on equal terms with their counterparts in Europe.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

Their grounding in French culture is superb. It is evident in their writing and in the exacting logic of their minds which sometimes, as so often with the French, can lead them to points of profound illogicality. We have nothing comparable in British West Africa. The creative output of these French Africans, good or bad, literary or scientific, is immense, especially if one considers that the whole of French West Africa has a population just equal to that of Northern Nigeria. Some of their leaders, like Léopold Sédar Senghor, stand on intellectual pedestals in France at the foot of which even Jean Paul Sartre sometimes worships. The reasons for this aspect of the revolution are not altogether difficult to discover. The French have, as opposed to the British, always been assimilationists. 'La France entend conduire les peuples dont elle a la charge.' French culture was fed to these young men and their success today is a tribute to the success of the French 'civilizing mission'. The other important factor is that French intellectuals have on the whole been negrophiles, and African art and culture has long enjoyed a vogue in France.

Today French Africans have a striking confidence in their intellectual prowess that one rarely remarks in the British West African equivalent. They know French culture like Frenchmen, but, in the words of M. Alioune Diop, the editor of *Présence Africaine*, 'It is necessary that we black men affirm that we alone can interpret our own culture.' And this interpretation seems largely to involve a return to the past such as Cheick Anta Diop, a much respected Senegalese writer, has advocated. In a sense Ka is involved in this return, this new movement. For him and his fellows the burning question becomes: Will this new generation of intellects ever derive anything from such a return? Or indeed are they in any better position to grasp the essentials of their traditional culture than the French negrophiles who first made them aware of the values of their own art.

An African professor at the University of Dakar, Monsieur Alassane N'Daw, remarked in an article 'Un Africain devant la Culture Française' published in the journal *L'Education Africaine*, that when he held a discussion with his philosophy class on Malraux's views on Negro art there was 'no enthusiasm, nor even any particular interest, but rather general scepticism'. One of his pupils confessed that when he visited the museum at Abomey in

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 Dahomey he experienced no aesthetic pleasure from Negro art, but was rather struck by its crudities. Indeed Professor N'Daw had difficulty in explaining to his students that European enthusiasm for African art was serious.

[571] Earlier in his article he points out the difficulty of the African intellectual who is torn between two cultures: the call of the past demanding fidelity to Africa, and the fascination of Western culture in which he has been educated and one of whose languages he uses to express himself. He is usually much more strongly drawn towards the latter.

In essentials these intellectuals are Frenchmen. They are living in a modern, occidentalized world far apart from the tribal, agricultural society that produced this art. Can they go back and at the same time go forward? Is there anything in the past that is appropriate to the new Africa they are trying to construct? This is their dilemma.

In Dakar the revolution is almost complete. What matters for these Africans are the years of reconstruction that lie ahead. Perhaps this vigorous young generation of intellectuals would do well to look to a better future than to a past from which they are almost totally divorced.

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[P. 3 A]
[P. 3 contains no textual material]

Political Life in the Urban Centers of Senegal: A Study of a Period of Transition

Senegal and Sudan presently comprise the Mali Federation, which is in the process of achieving sovereignty within the French Community. Senegal itself is one of the most urbanized West African regions, and its cities have been characterized by a gradual growth of modern political life. The author presents some major findings on its urban political activity, based on extensive interviews made in the mid-1950's. The oldest urban elite, almost entirely assimilated into the French way of life, has been only partially successful in developing party organizations that satisfy the interests of the newer urban residents. As a consequence, the most active and radical post-war political activity has been centered in "non-political" bodies, notably labor unions. Also, urban political activity has been increasingly challenged by rural political developments, which have drawn their framework from urban politics. African specialists will note that Senegalese political development has much in common with such development elsewhere in Africa; it also has a number of distinctive features.

The article originally appeared in CAHIERS INTERNATIONAL DE SOCIOLOGIE, *XXVII (July-December, 1959), pp. 55-84, under the title,* "La vie politique dans les centres urbains du Sénégal." *It was translated by T. H. Stevenson.*

369
668
114
665
467
101

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

The New Political Life

369 More importantly, the urban centers
•668 deserve attention because of the role they have played in the development of a radically new type of political life, one
[177] whose forms have been largely borrowed from outside Africa. The first attempts at political organization and activity were born in the cities. More recently some political movements have appeared in a rural context, as a reflection of rural conditions, but they have drawn much of their pattern from the cities, or from among elements subject to urban influences.

The modern African city presents a set of conditions favorable to the development of especially intense political reac-
369 tions. The position of the colonizing power is most sharply apparent in the city, and the instruments of its power are concentrated there. The rootless condition of the African population seems at its extreme; the masses that gather in the city are unsettled, poorly established in their occupations, and suffer from
[571] every form of insecurity. The new elites created and shaped by urban life feel restricted and disappointed in their desires for social advancement and for a share in authority and in modern symbols of prestige.[5] Finally, the city brings together a white society and a Negro
[563] society, though often clearly separated by topography. In these circumstances racial tensions can develop to their maximum. Moreover, they assume varied aspects, *e.g.*, competitive situations in various spheres, official or unofficial discrimination.[6] Intense reactions to such conditions may take no organized form and may not manifest themselves except after some delay, however. Here the

[P. 5A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 problem of the "old cities" is again relevant. In them, such reactions can remain unorganized or marginal longer in relation to the official forms of political expression. We shall see that this is typical of certain Senegalese cities.

•668 Furthermore, some reactions are born and expressed in a much larger framework than that of political life in its strictest sense of party activity. Demands for justice in the colonial situation can be expressed on different planes and in different fields. In South Africa, for example, Africans are largely barred from social and political action, and the chief demands emerge in religious activities.[7] Elsewhere, political life may not be forbidden, but its forms of expression are limited, either openly or in fact—for instance, by means of a judicial system in which people cannot file a case. Thus, the [467] most radical demands are formulated not within the framework of parties — at least, in their official platforms — but in that of unions or other associations. Attitudes, behaviors, and ideologies are formed in such organizations, pending the possibility of full expression at the political level. In the urban centers of Senegal some of the most important popular forces, at least prior to the great transformations that began in 1956, were to be found outside parties.

The Growth of Rural Political Life

369 668 These fundamental demands of the urban population provide models for similar demands that spread from the cities into rural districts. The general preponderance of the cities in political initiative is mentioned above. They are both centers of attraction and centers for the diffusion of foreign influences. An im-

[P.5B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 portant part of the urban population has
668 considerable mobility, and thus maintains solid ties and frequent communication with the regions of its origins.[8] Moreover, lesser members of the modern urban
[571] elites, *e.g.*, workers and petty offiicials, have been settled in rural centers, thus extending urban influence still further. By these means a double network of individuals more or less shaped by the conditions of urban life is established. Contacts and relations between urban centers and rural districts can vary markedly, however. The area affected by the prestige of political leaders thus may be more or less extensive. The forms of activity and organization created in the city generally can be transplanted to rural sectors only in their rudimentary forms.

In Senegal, historical factors account for the sharp division between city and countryside. In the old coastal cities, a separatistic history and a particular juridical status have contributed to their marginal position in Senegalese life. The consequences of the separation between the former "citizens" of "the four communes" and the former "subjects" of the interior[9] have not been entirely wiped out, even in recent years.

From the foregoing points of view, Senegalese urban political life can be oriented in summary fashion to the general problems of urban political life. A series of particular traits in the Senegalese situation are first interpreted against the historical background. The subsequent section summarizes the results of investigations conducted in certain Senegalese
[114] centers in 1953-1955, during a period of transition between two major phases in the development of political life.[10]

[P.6A]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[8] These facts were studied by M. Hunter, *Reaction to Conquest*, London, 1936, among others.
[9] *Cf., infra.*, summary historical comments regarding the development of citizenship in the oldest Senegalese settlements.
[10] After 1956, changes occurred more rapidly. There were profound transformations in the orientations of political parties, in the organization of unions, etc. These transformations acquired greater significance in the new legislative and constitutional frameworks instituted in 1957 and subsequently.
[11] These had an organization patterned after that of French communes, even though the conditions under which they operated were not always comparable. It was not until 1956, 75 years later, that communes were established in territories other than Senegal.
[12] These were all characterized by the fact that their mayor was a representative of the French colonial administration. There were various types, according to whether the city council was entirely appointed, or partially or entirely elected. Between the two wars they expanded rapidly outside Senegal.

[P.6C]

668
369
633

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 Louis stagnated[14] and Gorée declined,
633 losing people at the expense of Dakar and
175 Rufisque; Rufisque grew rapidly, as the
[162] port for the ground-nut. Dakar entered
[439] a period of prosperity at the turn of the
century.[15] During the late 19th century
the composition of the population already
was beginning to change fairly rapidly,
especially in the expanding centers, but
the old core of urban population con-
tinued to hold a dominant place, not
only in urban life but also in the colony
of Senegal as a whole, whose constitution
had come into effect. The people of
St. Louis most notably served as essential
instruments of the colonization effort.

This dominance was expressed very
clearly in the political realm. The coastal
cities, in contrast to the interior cities
and rural areas, had been introduced to
the structure and organization through
which modern political life is conducted
long before the reforms of 1946. Political
activity of the modern type was first
limited to the European settlers but was
soon extended to the mixed-blood element
[563] and then to the Negro population. Begin-
ning in the late 18th century, St. Louis
had a mayor, always a mixed-blood, who
served as intermediary between the gov-
ernor and the populace. In 1789 the
[668] colony participated in metropolitan polit-
ical activities, sending to the States-
General a petition of grievances that de-
manded commercial freedom — *i.e.*,
abolition of the Company monopoly —
and the end of slavery. A satisfactory
agreement was reached among employees
of the Company, European businessmen,
and mixed-blood businessmen, but it was
never brought to fruition; a period of
disorder set in and persisted until the
rebirth of the colony in 1815.

[641] In 1833 French citizenship was con-
ferred upon all free inhabitants of St.
Louis and Gorée by royal decree. Citizen-
ship was extended to all inhabitants of

[P. 7 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 in some years. Since the beginning of the
633 20th century, however, urban citizens
175 have taken an increasingly lively interest
[666] in political matters.[18]

In this restricted political system the relative importance of the roles played by
563 different ethnic groupings and different
668 cities varied continuously. Ethnic dominance, first held by the old European families, passed gradually to mixed-blood society, which came into being in the 18th century and rapidly acquired wealth, education, and influence. By the mid-19th century mixed-bloods made up the majority of the westernized population. But the entry of the emancipated slaves, the first sizable migration toward the
[166] cities, quickly reduced the mixed-bloods to a minority. In 1900 they numbered
[162] less than 5,000 in the four communes together, though for several decades their economic and political influence remained quite disproportionate to their num-
668 bers. Among the cities, St. Louis was
[869] predominant until WW I. At the beginning of the century it practically controlled the deputation to the French legislature and the Council-general — and hence the economic life of the territory. Then Gorée-Dakar came to the fore;[19] in 1914 a citizen of Gorée, Blaise Diagne, was elected deputy, followed by Galandou Diouf and Lebou. These men were the first elected Senegalese to win
[645] broad support at Paris; Diagne himself was appointed a Secretary of State [a subministerial post, equivalent to a U.S. Under-Secretary]. In Senegal, the au-
[642] thority of elected officials — deputies and Councillors-general — increased, and clashes with the civil administration were frequent.[20]

[P. 8 B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[16] Which nearly tripled the number of citizens, who henceforth comprised a body that was more heterogeneous but less completely "assimilated."

[17] Translator's note: the *notables* were influential residents appointed to high political offices in the interior by the local representative of French government.

[18] Especially after 1914, when there appeared a particularly dynamic personnage, Blaise Diagne, whose popularity was widespread.

[19] Dakar absorbed Gorée in 1929. The latter was reestablished as a separate commune in 1936.

[20] At first — at the end of the 19th century — these were conflicts between the merchants, upholding the interests of their agencies, and the civil administration, then engaged in an expansionist policy in West Africa, whose advantages the former could not see. Not until recent years did these conflicts change very much in character.

[p.8c]

369
633
668
1195
641
642
646
669

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

The Growth of Political Parties

668 This political tradition explains why the changes in Senegal after 1946 took a unique coloring, and why Senegal's subsequent political history has been considerably different from that of other French West African territories. The political changes instituted after WW II [633] represented in part a loss of privileged position for the four communes, though they continued to play a dominant role for several years.[21] This was one of the factors that made the period 1946-1956 one of transition.

668 665 One important development was the appearance of well-structured political parties. Pre-war political life had been characterized by clusters of followers assembled about influential leaders, in a framework that somewhat resembled that of a "republic of notables." This pattern was still common in 1946; the nature of parties changed only gradually. On the other hand, political life broadened to include the whole territory. The long-standing predominance enjoyed by the coastal cities persisted for a few years but the weight of their electorate fell rapidly.[22] The emerging ideologies and the newly-founded political organizations were oriented toward the satisfaction of wants quite different from those typical of the old urban populations. But the models and the leaders that the latter had produced retained an influence that greatly exceeded their geographic limits, and in the cities they receded only slowly before the growth of a political life with different roots.

The fact that the post-war institutional developments were not transplanted to virgin soil had two contradictory results. On the one hand, a political party that was merely a branch of a

[P. 9A]

668 665 French party — the S.F.I.O.[23] — developed and for several years played a dominant role throughout Senegal. In the other territories parties were more often purely local, and simply allied themselves with the French parties. The S.F.I.O. lost its predominence in Senegal after 1951, but kept it in the four communes — St. Louis and Dakar-Gorée being its chief strongholds; it remained there as [666] the African Socialist Movement.[24] This result, the adoption of assimilationist views, was to a certain degree a characteristic of pre-war political life, but on the other hand it contributed to the leadership of the first party that tried to be at once interterritorial and specifically African: the African Democratic Assembly (R.D.A.). It provided some of the most radical elements in the movement, which received considerable support, especially at Dakar. Several radical leaders were the source of the conflicts that resulted in the split in the R.D.A. that followed the change of orientation after 1950. The R.D.A. was subsequently a rather marginal movement in Senegal. This second result suggests the strength of the relations of a party limited to the numerous elite of the old Senegalese cities with the great European currents of political thought.

[369] [666] But the greatest effect of the diversification of Senegalese political life was felt elsewhere. The appearance and rapid success of the Senegalese Democratic Bloc (B.D.S.) — which stemmed from a division in the S.F.I.O. — were the manifestations, in the political realm, of two essential facts: (1) the important changes that had taken place in the composition of city populations; and (2) the resumption of initiative by the rural populations, who seized the opportunity to express themselves directly, and especi-

[P. 9 B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[21] A very significant portion of the present framework emerged from the "four communes."
[22] Until 1957, universal suffrage existed only in the four communes. In the rest of Senegal the franchise, which was very limited in 1946, was extended to more and more people. The organic law of 1956 abolished all restrictions.
[23] Translator's note: French section of the Workingmen's International: the French Socialist Party, attached to the old Second International.
[24] In 1956. The municipal elections of the same year showed clearly the extent of its influence, which was unimportant in the interior cities.

[P.9C]

668
665
B
E

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 ally to express themselves in opposition
665 to the old cities. The legislative elections
369 of 1951 were typical in this respect. The
666 enlarged rural electorate had numerical control and held the key to success in the elections; a substantial part of the urban masses shared in an effort to drive a breach in the old system of urban domination. In this period the ideological aspects of the political parties were still unimportant. The elections of 1951 were a victorious revolt of the new citizens, urban and rural, against the old citizens of the "four communes."[25] The two candidates of the B.D.S. won. Significantly, one of them represented directly, through the unions, the new forces. The division between the whole of the territory and the cities was thus repeated *within* the cities. A new phase had commenced, one in which politics became more complicated. But the forms that can be termed "traditional" for political life were too deeply embedded within the patterns of urban life to give way at once.

Senegalese Political Life in Transition, 1953-1956

668 It was under such conditions that re-
665 searches were conducted on the forms of
[114] political expression in several Senegalese urban centers, chiefly at Dakar-Gorée and at St. Louis — that is, three of the four communes — and also at Thiès, a newer city in the interior close to and under the influence of the Dakar-Gorée-Rufisque aggregate. This last study provided certain comparative materials. This essay discusses only some of the findings of these researches. Three essential facts must be remembered:

(1) The importance retained by certain long-standing patterns. A party de-

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 signed to be distinctive, and to a degree
665 founded in opposition to these patterns, nevertheless conforms with them, at least for a time, within the "old cities." This is one of the limits of the political system of this period: the deepest political aspirations, which are rapidly gaining strength, can be only partially expressed within a partisan structure.

(2) The central role of certain non-political groupings and organizations[26] in the elaboration of more radical ideologies and in the formation of the most active groups. This must be viewed as a direct function of the preceding condition.

[571] (3) The temporarily marginal status of an important part of the new elites, whose formation had accelerated in the post-war years. At the time of study, a shift of elites was occurring. Youthful elements were vigorously opposed to what was termed the "bourgeoisie of the old cities."[27] This is another indication that the underlying forces still laid outside urban politics; they did not enter them until 1956.

The New Parties

665 After 1946 a series of political parties
369 emerged: the Senegalese branch of the S.F.I.O., the B.D.S., the M.P.S., and the U.D.S.[28] Only the first two received wide support, yet one cannot fail to be impressed by the extent of party membership. Out of a group of 1,200 men interviewed at Dakar, for example, more than half (56 per cent) declared themselves members of a party.[29] The percentage was very high, and of considerable significance. The population involved in this sampling was essentially a stable one, or at least one settled in cities for several years. Other researches justify

[P. 10B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[25] At the time, the civil administration viewed this revolt rather favorably. Of course, it was only one aspect of the politics of the period. Some rather contradictory alliances were formed to oppose the S.F.I.O.

[26] Assuming a limited sense for the word "political," by applying it solely to party organizations.

[27] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Evolution des élites sénégalaises," *Bull. intl. des Sci. soc.*, VIII (#4, '56). Materials for comparison appear, *mutatis mutandis*, in E.-F. Frazier, *Bourgeoisie noire*, Paris, 1956.

[28] Senegalese Populist Movement and Senegalese Democratic Union.

[29] This involved solely the male population.

[P.10C]

999
3567
5998

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 665 striking. The data from Thiès enable one to approach in a much more meaningful way the problem of differentiating between the two large Senegalese parties in terms of their socio-occupational composition. Adherence to the B.D.S. was generally predominant in all categories, but the trend toward this party was greater, on the one hand, among semi-skilled and unskilled workers, and on the other, among higher-ranking office-workers and government employees. At Dakar, where the B.D.S. was at this time in the minority, a comparable trend was apparent: the party was proportionately stronger among semi-skilled workers and intellectuals. But differentiations of this type cannot fail to be blurred in a context such as that described above.

665 ●668 Therefore the importance of the groups remaining on the edge of party activities was more significant. Two groups merit particular attention. These were, first, the new cadres emerging from higher education; the problems resulting from their emergence are briefly discussed below. Secondly, there was a rather large group of persons less than thirty years old who had at least a primary school education.[45] The criticisms that the latter expressed against the established political system were often very harsh (against the city government, against the cadres of the two parties, etc.). Some had made several attempts to gain admittance to the existing parties, or into youth groups affiliated with the parties. They found themselves in weakly-structured, short-lived groups with no specific political function, but in which political problems were approached in a generally nonconformist manner. Otherwise they devoted their energies to organized nonpolitical groupings.

The importance of some of these nonpolitical groupings must now be examined. To a large degree they offered, more

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 than the relatively inflexible political par-
668 ties, adequate frameworks for expressing anti-colonial demands and for creating activists.

Religious Organizations

665 As distinct from many other parts of
668 Sub-Sahara Africa, organizations of a
793 religious character play only a very limited part here. We have already seen how the "traditional" political parties entered into the activities of some religious groups and attempted to make them recruiting bases for their clientele. The more limited movements alone provided certain means, chiefly indirect, for expressing extremist political demands. This was the case, for example, of a grouping founded by Moslem students at Dakar. However, they received very little support.[46]

Cultural Associations and Youth Movements

668 Cultural associations and youth move-
575 ments have had a more important role in this area. Some of them have contributed to the formation of strong political cadres. In general, the cultural associations have had a rather precarious existence; their activities in some cases have ceased. Their efforts to win the support of the masses by undertaking an educational role — for instance, by means of the theater — have often been disappointing. Finally, they often have had a ambiguous nature. Thus, in a city such
[369] as Dakar, founded by highly "assimilated" elements, they have experienced some difficulty in contributing to the development of modernized African culture. But they are not devoid of concern for political organization in a very general sense, removed from party orientation. This was shown with regard to three of the

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[45] Often, youths whose studies had been interrupted. It was difficult for them to achieve occupational stability.

[46] Its policies called for a renovation of Islam, so that it came more or less directly into opposition with the great Brotherhoods, whose religious formalism was rather marked; the latter retained a generally dominant influence.

[p 15 c]

[1963] 6658 995

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 most vigorous associations, by an investi-
575 gation of the topics discussed by the study groups that they created, and of the content of the discussion.[47] By considering such questions as teaching and the language for teaching, the organization of local communities, economic development, interracial marriages, etc., their study of the political problems resulting from the colonial situation had wide influence.

As for the Youth Council of Senegal,
[369] which comprised the majority of youth associations and was organized primarily in the cities, the orientation of its activity was even clearer. By the nature of its conflicts with the civil administration, by the content of its demands in behalf of youth, by the topics related to the future of youth whose study it was undertaking, it disclosed a "nationalist" potential of some vigor.

It is essential to note the possible role of associations founded on ethnic or territorial bases, in particular those inspired by youths. Centers for contact with territories other than Senegal, they spread
[665] the foreign political influence of the parties predominating within them. This seemed to be the case, for instance, of the grouping of Senegalese youths with relation to the R.D.A. However, these associations were never directly linked with a given partisan organization. The political role that they might temporarily play was very flexible and therefore somewhat indeterminate.

Labor Unions

467 Labor unions should receive especial attention. The union movement in French West Africa is numerically one of the most important, and among the most active, in all of sub-Sahara Africa.
[665] Like the political parties, it took form only in the immediate post-war period.
[P. 16A]

467 In 1954 it had a membership about 100,-
000, or a little less than one-third of all
wage-earners. The unions have reached
[369] their greatest development in Senegal,
especially in the large cities. In 1954
this territory contained more than half
the union members in French West
Africa, more than a third of all Sene-
galese wage-earners. Dakar has a central
role in this field. It is the headquarters
for the largest unions, which were once
affiliated with French federations but
are now autonomous. Dakar also pos-
sesses a very active "Labor Exchange."
By itself it contains more than two-fifths
of the union members in Senegal.

467 To some extent the significance of
668 the unions is more than occupational
[667] and economic. The degree to which they
complete the political machinery of the
[665] city is suggested by a comparison of the
percentages of party memberships with
the percentages of union memberships.
Of 1,200 persons interrogated during the
Dakar survey noted above, about one-
half (52 per cent) stated they were
union members. The potential ambiguity
of such statements was suggested above
in connection with political parties.[48]
However, an analysis of the respondents
by socio-occupational categories gave
meaningful results. The average rate of
union membership was surpassed by
lower-ranking office-workers and govern-
ment employees, higher-ranking office-
workers and government employees, and
professional people; it was equalled by
semi-skilled workers. With the exception
[665] of the first, these are precisely the cate-
gories whose rates of party membership
were lowest. On the other hand, partici-
pation in union activity was distinctly
more important among the categories
comprising the intellectual elements than

[P. 16 B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[47] We acknowledge our indebtedness to the cultural associations for inviting us to participate in their study groups.

[48] Respondents claiming membership in a union often were behind in the payment of their dues, or only heeded the directives of the union without having joined it. Hence the number of union members, so far as it can be estimated from the general survey, is much higher than that given by the unions themselves. The deviations shown for the different categories are more marked than the raw figures of the general survey indicate; the categories with the highest percentages of union members were those in which the exactness of the responses was the greatest, as later samplings emphasized.

[p. 16 c]

668
505
467

467 among the semi-skilled workers. The
668 situation was reversed at Thiès, but be-
cause of the large Dakar-Niger Railroad
[498] shops there, this city is an exceptional
case. The traits found at Dakar, by
contrast, proved characteristic of union-
ism in French West Africa. The overall
figures, obtained from official sources
based on statements by unions, indicated
clearly that manual occupations were the
least unionized. Out of the 100,000
union members in French West Africa in
[647] 1954, more than half were either govern-
ment officials or government employees.
The rate of unionization in the govern-
mental sector was nearly double that in
the non-governmental sector. Finally, in
the two sectors together, semi-skilled
workers comprised only a little more
than a fourth of all union members.
Furthermore, results of the studies at
Dakar and Thiès suggest that union
membership and level of schooling corre-
[665] late rather closely; this was far from the
case with respect to party membership,
at least at Dakar. To what degree did
unionism offer educated individuals a
means of expression that, in the period
studied, parties did not offer them? Edu-
cated persons, especially youths, were
more susceptible to extremist anti-colonial
aspirations. And to what degree could
union action present itself more clearly
as a trial postponement for the existing
order than action within the framework
of parties?

The particular traits of union struggle
markedly demonstrate the fundamental
conflicts of the colonial situation. One
cannot accurately speak of the "politiza-
tion" of unions, in the sense many gov-
ernment officials give this term. The
[665] limited activities of parties and the very
conditions of unionism in a colonial situ-
ation have given unionism a marked
political coloring.

(1) Interviews of militant unionists,
[P. 17A]

467 focussing on some of their asserted poli-
•668 cies, revealed that the union struggle was regarded as directed essentially against the government. This must be interpreted not only with regard to the general traits of the colonial system but also in relation to the commanding role that the government played in labor. It was first of all the principal employer: in a city
[369] such as Dakar, a little more than a third of the wage-earners were dependent upon it. It was responsible for setting the
[465] minimum wage, and it has happened that owing to budgetary considerations and general policy it established a lower figure than non-governmental employers might have adopted. Finally, during the period in question, a central problem was that
[466] of enforcing the Code of Overseas Labor, enacted by Parliament in 1952. The civil administration was responsible for its enforcement, and the strikes of 1953 were
[468] designed to bring pressure on the administration so as to obtain a "fair enforcement" of its provisions. In the interviews mentioned above, conflicts with employers were scarcely mentioned as such. Employers were identified with the civil administration; the terms "civil administration" and "colonialism" seemed almost interchangeable. The adversary of the unions being essentially the civil administration — and a "colonial civil administration" — their action inevitably assumed political significance, broadly defined.[49]

467 (2) In the field of union activities
668 the hostility between the European com-
563 ponent and the African component of the urban population showed itself most vividly. This stemmed not merely from the fact that the civil administration and the employers represented the power of the "whites." It was also noteworthy that European workers, employees, and
[468] officials almost invariably formed separate unions, with goals sharply opposed to

[P. 17B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[49] This struggle against the civil administration was not confined to local matters. It was affected by events at Paris, both administrative and parliamentary. The use of political precedents seems very clear here. They sometimes brought success, as was the case in the enforcement of the provisions of the Labor Code regarding the hours of work.

[P. 19C]

[466] 668 • 467

467 468 668 563 those of the African unions.[50] The acute crises produced by certain important strikes gave forceful expression to this rift. The African unions, despite their ideological differences, despite the personal rivalries that brought their leaders into opposition, often engaged in combined and coordinated activities. By contrast, the strikes of the African workers and those of the European workers scarcely ever coincided, though the latter might break out as a response to the [465] former in an effort to maintain the hierarchy of salary scales. As demonstrations of African unity against the civil administration and against European [578] controls in general, strikes were the only occasion in which the underlying tension characterizing the city appeared distinctly and in a generalized fashion. It was because they expressed this tension that their impact and the emotional response to them were so important.

467 468 668 (3) This was also the principal cause of their ultimate success. During such conflicts, demands were expressed that were far more extreme than those made by the parties. Thus, in the strikes of 1953, the union press and the union leaders evoked the possibility that African "loyalism" would be suspended and that the bonds between France and the Overseas Territories would be changed; the question of independence was openly and threateningly discussed. Union activities assumed a certain nationalistic coloring that the parties at that time disregarded. Behind every limited demand regarding salaries or the regulation of working conditions lay the fundamental anti-colonial demand; it was this demand that gave weight to the mass demonstrations and that carried the day.[51] It must be further 467 668 noted that during this period major external ideological elements entered the contest, especially through the unions. An important number of their activists had studied techniques of organization,

[P.18A]

467 both in France and in other countries.
668 Participation in international congresses put them in contact with the ideological currents of the world. A study of the union press was very revealing in this regard.

[665] To the masses, unions proposed goals that were, in the period under consideration, far different from those of the political parties. Unions were in many ways more systematic and more vigorous. They were much less apt to make
[563] differentiations along ethnic, religious, or other lines. The unity of action that they practiced banned their assimilating such hostilities and conflicts, whose meaning was foreign to them. These hostilities yielded before the fundamental hostility brought out by union action. The near-unanimity with which the directives of the union have been followed is very
[571] significant. For the elites, on the other hand, unions offered, in an era in which the forms and matrices of customary political expression appeared too narrow, a wider and more adequate field of action. Unionism supplied the most accessible agencies for sharing in power of the modern sort. The intellectual elites furnished
[571] the substance of the union framework and played a dominant role on their executive committees.[52] Located at the very center of situations of tension and conflict, they found in union activities the most effective way of asserting modern views and of surmounting the limits barring their advancement in the political and occupational fields.

Developments Since 1956

668 Such were the chief aspects, in a period
369 of transition, of the political life of the large Senegalese urban centers. In the subsequent four years, great changes have occurred. Senegalese political individuality — considerably modified by that of the "old cities" — has remained clear, but it has in great part shifted to
[P. 18 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[50] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Aspects des problemes de stratification sociale," *Cahiers intl. de Soc.* XVIII, 1954.
[51] A scrutiny of union publications in 1953 made this evident.
[52] In a very broad sense; their composition was very heterogeneous and drawn from various strata.

[P.18c]

[5n1] 467 478 668 563

other fields.

668 369 In the "old cities," changes have taken place that were already evident when the investigations noted above were being conducted. The importance of these facts must be emphasized:

(1) The separation between the cities and the countryside, and more particularly between the old cities and the rest of the territory, is becoming less sharp. This fact has already been pointed out in connection with recent demographic developments and the growth of the B.D.S. There are other indications. The 571 intellectual elites have more diversified 668 origins; though the oldest nuclei of urban 369 population remain important in their composition, they are steadily decreasing in size. The bonds among the different sections of the territory are tightening. On the other hand, the old elites are becoming active outside city boundaries, and give a place in their considerations to the problems of rural modernization and evolution. Certain projects established by the youth associations and the unions have contributed to this orientation.

(2) These facts are connected with a shift in generations that has extensive effects. The attitude of youthful elites has been different; they feel themselves competent to assume broader responsibilities.[58] At the same time they are diverging more or less impetuously from the paths of "assimilation," and are striving to rediscover and revive specifically African values. An effort to prove themselves individually by integrating themselves into the existing system is being succeeded by an effort to prove themselves as representatives and guides for a host that must be freed from this system. This is a trend toward nationalism, in the widest sense of the term.

668 369 563 (3) In the coastal cities, the growing strength of racial tensions since the last war cannot fail to encourage such a

[P. 19 A]

•668 369 [563] change. The vast increase in the number of Europeans, their greater occupational diversification, the much stronger reaction to the facts of discrimination, and multiplication of competitive situations — occupational or otherwise — are the most obvious phases of this major phenomenon.[54]

As these factors have come into full operation, a new phase of political life has opened. These are its principal traits:

668 665 [467] (1) From 1956 on, in unions and in politics, secessions from the original French bodies — confederations or parties — have multiplied. Previous remarks indicated the development of this process among unions. After some delay it affected the S.F.I.O. itself, which was transformed, not without difficulties, into the African Socialist Movement. The assimilationist tradition declined, or at least was no longer proclaimed openly. After the parties became autonomous, the distinction between direct and indirect forms of political expression began to disappear. Extremist demands of a nationalistic character found expression within the parties, and worked effectively there after 1957 (at the time when the new "organic law" authorized the first Senegalese government).

(2) To a certain degree, the very old Senegalese political tradition once more became a driving force. At the same time the marginal elements, whose existence was particularly marked among intellectuals, [571] entered into real politics, chiefly within the framework of the B.D.S. They comprised the left wing of the new Senegalese Populist Bloc (B.P.S.), which stemmed from the B.D.S., and shared in the creation of the African Convention, which is striving to extend outside Senegal the strictly autonomous orientations of the B.D.S. They tried to organize the B.D.S. as a

[P. 198]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[53] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Evolution des élites sénégalaises," *Bull. intl. des Sci. soc.*, VIII (#4, '56).
[54] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Le groupement européen de Dakar," *Cahiers intl. de Soc.*, XIX, 1955.

369
668
[571]
[563]

[P.19C]

668 665 mass-party, but in patterns very different from those prevailing in the "old cities." Finally, their influence has been decisive in attempts to regroup the Senegalese parties, "disregarding personal and doctrinal differences." It has been a question of wiping out the fundamental hostility that typified post-war Senegalese political life, which — as we have seen — had more than a purely political significance. This effort led, not without difficulties, to the creation of the African Regroupment Party (P.R.A.). The former rivalries were still evident, though in a diminished and less forceful manner, during 1958-1959. The youthful elements of the B.P.S. at first helped provide the latter with leadership of the other territorial parties. It was they who, at the Congress of Cotonou, introduced the first outspoken assertion by the P.R.A. in favor of independence.[55]

[369] (3) However, the influence of the political tradition of the old cities has not been entirely discarded. Added to that of the conservative religious leaders, it helps account for a return to a moderate stand on the part of Senegal. The campaign for the referendum of 1958 showed

[P. 20 A]

668 665 this clearly; it was under this two-fold pressure that the B.P.S. took a position in favor of "yes." It likewise accounts for the less extreme attitudes often taken by leaders within the new Mali Federation.[56] However, this influence of tradition is not sufficient to block new trends. It is significant that in the legislative [666] elections of March, 1959, the Senegalese Solidarity Party (P.S.S.), a combination of conservative city and rural elements, was as thoroughly defeated at St. Louis, where victory seemed probable, as in the rural districts. Again, it should be noted that the youthful elements that entered the B.P.S. in 1956 have in part left the new Senegalese Progressive Union (U.P.S.), an offshoot of the latter party after the regrouping noted above. By founding the African-Senegalese Regroupment Party (P.R.A.-S.), they have hoped to express their disappointment with a party insufficiently radical, insufficiently organized in structure, and containing too many aspects of the "traditional" political life of the old cities.

Paul Mercier
École pratique des Hautes Études

[P. 20 B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[55] Some months before there was established an African Independence Party, whose support remains very limited. [Cotonou is the capital of Dahomey.]

[56] Translator's note: the Mali Federation is the new state formed by the union of Senegal with the Sudanese Republic.

[p.206]

665 668

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS 30
Trarza MS 24

After another victory in March at Diagane near Merinaghen, Faidherbe annexed Oualo. He divided it into provinces under chiefs nominated by himself, and set up Fara Penda, who remained faithful, as king. In two years many villages destroyed by the Arabs were rebuilt and the population of Oualo rose from 17,000 to 34,000. Faidherbe, who was loath to use force before persuasion had failed, then offered Mohammed el Abib peace if he would renounce the subsidies. The Arab replied by demanding an increase in payments, the destruction of French forts, the prohibition of armed vessels on the Senegal, and the recall of Faidherbe to France. During the absence of Faidherbe in Oualo, Mohammed el Abib advanced in April 1855 to the gates of St. Louis, from which he was beaten back. This marked the limit of Arab successes. In the following January an engagement near Lake Cayar resulted in the capture of 600 tribesmen, and other skirmishes had similar results. Despairing of bringing the main Arab armies to a pitched battle, Faidherbe determined to subdue them by famine, and set himself to destroy or capture their cattle and supplies. By May 1856 these tactics reduced the Arabs to dire straits, and several tribes submitted. The chief's son Ely fled to Diambour. Faidherbe pursued him, and annexed the province which is now Louga. Mohammed el Abib held on, however, and in 1857 invaded Oualo. He was heavily defeated. At last he sued for peace, and on 20 May 1858 signed a treaty (p. 328). A parallel treaty was concluded with the Brakna Arabs at Podor on 10 June.

Although the commercial provisions of these treaties were revised later, they brought to an end, once and for all, the Arab menace to the peace and development of Senegal.

In 1859 a similar organization to that of Oualo was set up for Dimar, thus extending the colony as far up the river as Podor.

Further Penetrations. Faidherbe's dealings with the Arabs and the Ouolofs have been described in some detail, as they illustrate his abilities as a general, a diplomatist, and an administrator. By the same combination of force and diplomacy he, or his successor Pinet-Laprade, brought Fouta, Toro, the whole Ferlo country, Cayor, Sine, Saloum, and the Casamance under effective French control. He thus completed the outline of the modern colony. In 1859 the fanatically Moslem Toucouleur of Fouta, under their Almami, Mahamadu Birane, submitted to a division into three independent states under French protection: Dagana, Fouta, and Toro. In 1862, while Faidherbe was in France, the Almami revolted and tried to re-establish his paramountcy. This revolt was quelled

/44 cont./

dried up by the desert wind, officers of France died far from S 764
their families and homes. I read the melancholy epitaphs.
This one bears the name of M. de Villeroy, post lieutenant, S
commanding the brig l'Ecureuil. This loyal servant of the king 669
was aboard the frigate la Duchesse d'Angoulême at the time of
the Hundred Days. He alone refused to strike the white flag,
toward which his crew were raising their fists, while the other
officers aboard were fanning the flames of insurrection. He
died here of sorrow and disgust.

14 April 1822 W 123

A walk in the forest of Krampsanne in the middle of the
palm trees. I love their slender trunks and their flexible
branches, gracefully arched, which sway so gently in the sky.
Their poetry and elegance are lacking in our gardens of
Rambouillet and Versailles. W

Here are some Negroes. They are harvesting palm 222
wine. With what prodigious agility they climb in the wink of W
an eye up to the highest branches! Around their waists they [481]
have a cord made of reed fibers. This cord is attached at the
other end to the tree trunk and helps them to reach the top in
an instant by successive leaps. Then they pierce the trunk,
with a piece of pointed iron, above the first leaves. The sap
immediately spurts into the calabashes which are held out. W

I begin to draw this pretty scene. One of the Blacks 123
watches me closely. When he recognizes the picture of his
beloved tree, he begins to laugh, sing, dance, to make the
most amusing contortions.

To show his gratitude, he brings me a full calabash of
wine. Having just spurted from the tree, this wine is very sweet W
and has a very pleasant taste. At the end of 24 hours of fer- [273]
mentation it becomes very alcoholic. That is when the
Negroes prefer it. They drink it until they are drunk.

On the twenty-sixth King Moctar sent word to us that W
he was at Gorée and was going to come to visit La Néréide. [643]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 641 privileges of French citizens; Dahomey, 121; Upper Volta, 17; Niger, 9. As late as 1936 out of a total population of fifteen million in French West Africa there were only 2,136 French citizens, with the exception of the citizens [633] of the Four Towns or *Quatre Communes* of Senegal. Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff in their book *French West Africa* have suggested that this was because at that time 'the advantages conferred by naturalisation obviously did not compensate in the eyes of the great majority of Africans for acceptance of French law in regard to marriage and inheritance, and for the general shaping of their lives according to the European pattern'. This was only half the 648 truth. Just as important a factor was the sparseness of facilities for education, the keystone to a successful assimilationist policy. As late as 1947 only 1.3 per cent of children of school age in Guinea were actually attending [871] school. In Soudan the figure was higher at 5 per cent, Dahomey 10 per cent and Senegal 12.4 per cent.

In each case Senegal is the exception. Senegal sent a deputy to the French Assembly as early as 1848. Her first indigenous deputy, Blaise Diagne, elected in 1914, became Under Secretary of State for the Colonies on several occasions before his death in 1934. But the other territories of French black Africa did not elect deputies until 1946, though they sent representatives to the Constituent Congress 648 641 in 1945. In 1848 the privileges of French citizenship were granted to all Senegalese living in the Colony, though they [671] were allowed to retain their private law in matters of land, inheritance, marriage and divorce. It was only in 1946 with the passing of the *loi Lamine Guèye* that the privileges of citizenship were granted to Africans other than those who obtained naturalisation, which involved accepting French 648 private law. In Senegal, the towns of St. Louis and Gorée [633] were created *communes de pleine exercice* or full scale municipal [646] councils in 1872 and seven years later a General Council on the lines of those operating in the French departments was established.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

till the end of the nineteenth century, neglected the Protectorate and seemed to think that the only parts of the country that mattered were the four communes. Naturally their official business with the Protectorate was limited, but they did control the three main ports of the country through which the products of the interior passed to France. The councillors, too, restricted education largely to the communes, where on the whole it reached a satisfactory level. They even sent students on scholarships to France, but unfortunately too few of these returned to Senegal to use their newly acquired talents. It was not until the establishment of the Government-General of French West Africa in 1905 that educational facilities were extended to the Protectorate in any great measure.

The increase in education amongst citizens of African origin meant that by the turn of the nineteenth century they were less willing to accept European domination in the communes and the General Council. The assertion of their rights is one of the main factors behind the attempts of the administration to deprive the indigenous Senegalese of their position as *citoyens*. Actually the Administration was batting on a good wicket. Technically a French citizen was one who accepted French rights and duties without qualification. In the case of the Africans in Senegal they had been allowed to retain their own *statut personnel*, that is private law, with reference to civil disputes, matrimony, divorce, inheritance and land. But this seemed to conflict openly with the definition of a French citizen. It seemed wrong that a man should exercise the rights of a French citizen and not accept the consequent obligations. Many Frenchmen felt it quite illogical that an African with four wives could yet be a citizen. And indeed in later years the main obstacle to granting citizenship to other colonial peoples was to be the question of retention of the *statut personnel*. Thus many of the attempts by the French to deprive the Senegalese citizens of their rights were the result of quite genuine objections to the illogicality of their position. Faidherbe,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Such was the outcry against this decree that a further decree in 1914 confirmed that 'all natives born in the four communes would be subject to French tribunals throughout the colony and in certain other places'. Indeed Lamine Guèye was one of the most ardent critics of France for her failure to accord the full rights of an assimilationist policy to the *originaires*. He protested against the way the Government opposed 'the entrance of all natives of whatever status they may be, into the general administrative services, even into military units stationed in the colony'. It was only by insistence on the right to do military service on equal terms with the French that the *originaires* were finally able to gain confirmation of their rights as citizens. In 1914 Blaise Diagne became the first Senegalese to sit in the Chamber of Deputies. He won his seat partly as a result of the split vote amongst his six European opponents, partly because he appealed to the Senegalese voters by his demands for complete equality between black and white. His particular platform was a pledge to vote for a law for obligatory military service without distinction of race or colour. In a letter to the Minister of Colonies he said the *originaires* did not want the privileges without the obligations of French citizenship. At the time, of course, France was just about to enter into the Great War and badly needed troops from Africa. Thus without much difficulty a law was passed providing for the conscription of the *originaires* as French troops. In return for Diagne's co-operation in recruiting troops for the war effort, the Government passed the Citizenship Law of 1916 which once and for all confirmed the status of the *originaires*. They could retain their *statut personnel* and need not understand French to be considered as citizens. 'The natives of the *communes de pleine exercice* and their descendants are and remain French citizens subject to the military obligations of the Law of 19 October 1915.' The rider about the status of 'descendants' was of particular importance to Lamine Guèye who was born in Soudan of *originaire* parents.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

and juridical rights. The old signs of inequality, the *indigénat* and the hated corvée were to be withdrawn, the latter after a period of five years. Education was to remain exclusively French, though Eboué put in a plea for the recognition of the values of traditional society. The problems of granting French citizenship to Africans without prejudicing their *statut personnel* was to be solved within the framework of the proposed Federal Parliament for France and her overseas territories. Africans would thus have citizenship of this larger Federation rather than of France itself and would not therefore have to give up their *statut personnel*. The new principle was first applied in March 1944. French citizenship was extended to a number of Muslims in Algeria who were allowed to retain their *statut personnel*, on the same terms as the *originaires* of Senegal had been. Finally the conference proposed a large scale development programme for the overseas territories.

In the Constituent Assembly which was to deliberate on the constitution of the Fourth Republic, sixty-four seats were given to overseas deputies, a fair number going to Africans. Two socialists from Senegal, Lamine Guèye and his lieutenant Léopold Sédar Senghor, the first African to become a *professeur agrégé* of the Sorbonne, played a leading role in the debates of the new constitution, attacking remnants of Vichy racialism amongst colonial officials, decrying the ban on freedom of meeting and association, and above all denouncing the corvée and *indigénat*. The first Constituent Assembly of 1945, liberal in outlook, was deeply concerned as to how the Republic could remain one and indivisible and yet accord any degree of autonomy to the overseas territories. This was settled by proposing that the overseas territorial assemblies be thought of as equivalent to the *conseils* of the metropolitan department just as that of Senegal had been. The colonies, instead of forming a federation with France as proposed at the Brazzaville Conference, were to participate in a French Union much more integrationist in character and within

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 Council in Senegal but differed little in competence. The
641 only concession made to Senegal and not to the other
[646] territories, and this undoubtedly being influenced by its political history, was the retention of a single college electorate as against the dual colleges prescribed for all other territories. The French penal code was made generally
[671] applicable for Senegal. In January 1946 the three *communes de pleine exercice* (Gorée had by then been incorporated in
[633] Dakar) were given full municipal status as equivalent French towns. Finally and most important, forced labour was
[466] legally abolished; but it survived in covert forms for several years to come. In Senegal, Senghor received the full credit for this measure from his peasant electorate and has been drawing political dividends from it ever since.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 against the society (which he has so brilliantly elucidated)—where do I stand in relation to that culture?'

Alioune Diop declared:

> Assimilation corresponds to a type of human relationship imposed by colonisation. It demands that the individual (for it affects only individuals) tear himself from his natural context and he who cannot assert his own personality must replace his habits of thinking, feeling and acting by others which he would only share with a foreign community.

By the time of this congress the Senegalese, as well as other Africans, had examined pretty thoroughly the whole question of French assimilation. For instance, A. Wade, a Senegalese, in a paper entitled 'Must Africa evolve a positive law?', protested against the use in his country of a [671] foreign legal system evolved in a different social context and which could not meet all the requirements of traditional society. He called for a new legal system which would be in effect a synthesis of African customary law and French law. In another article he called for a reform of teaching methods in Africa in the light of local conditions. There were few stones this anti-assimilationist élite left unturned [571] in their efforts to re-establish the values of the African past. They presented a dramatic contrast with the élite of the pre-war generation who, like the young men in Ousmane Socé Diop's *Karim*, so readily accepted the virtues of Western ways.

668 Amongst this group were a number who fell back not on 648 the values of the African past so much as Marxist theories in their attacks on colonialism and assimilationist policy. Principal amongst this group was Majhemout Diop, leader of the pro-Communist *Parti Africain de l'Indépendence*. [665] In issue No. 14 of *Présence Africaine* he attacked colonialism bitterly:

> There is no possible ambiguity; colonisation equals capitalistic enterprise. Any other explanation is invalid, is deceitful, a myth, a myth of civilisation and of co-operation.
>
> A coloniser cannot be humanitarian . . . that would be the

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 295 733 After the great Magal de Touba[1] our town inherited bands of homeless among whom were notorious criminals.

S 369 694 Alcoholism was not the only form of moral decadence in a city like Dakar. Actually crimes of violence, robbing and murder were almost unknown. There were rarely any reference to them in the papers, and a police officer assured me that this was true. However, one read frequently of crimes of passion, such as a man stabbing his friend to death in the course of a quarrel.

S 369 548 There was, I was told, an enormous amount of prostitution in Dakar. I was shown one of the city's more notorious brothels in Rebeusse suburb, a rambling shack that had been raided more than once by police. On the whole prostitution is not organized S [563] because of legal difficulties. A number of prostitutes were white women, who receive patronage mainly from Lebanese and Syrians. I was told of one who went around the Médina in a W small car, serving the local population.

S 369 838 548 On the other hand homosexuality had a much freer rein, being prevalent amongst Africans, Mauretanians and Europeans alike. In Place Prôtet, the main square of Dakar, young African boys, more often than not Jollofs, could be seen waiting to be picked up. Under the Code Napoleon it is, of course, legal, and in theory presents no problem, though many people are worried by its spread in the city.

Of course, to many of these boys with no work, it is one way of making money. But amongst the Jollofs it seems to be more deeply rooted. Contact with Frenchmen in St. Louis, who often preferred black boys to black mistresses and contact with the Mauretanians may provide an explanation.

Today one can even see Jollof men dressed in women's clothes. I once met one in a small bar outside Dakar. He was obviously pathetically feminine. The Jollof must be used to this since they even have a word for them—Gor-Digen. The elders and faithful Muslims condemn men for this, but it is typical of African tolerance that they are left very much alone by the rest W of the people.

589 One reason for the growing tendency of Jollof men to remain bachelors to an age much older than is usual in Africa, if not for their homosexuality, is the character of the Jollof women.

[1] Celebration of Birth of Prophet.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

redemption money. During 1936 official figures showed 1,000 labourers working under written contracts for private concerns, while 31,800 were working on verbal agreements. For public services there were only 20 working with written contracts and 8,900 without. These figures apply only to regular employment, and they take no account of casual labour of any kind. 466 [675]

The fertile provinces of Baol and Sine-Saloum annually attract thousands of immigrant labourers from French Sudan to grow ground-nuts. It is estimated that, in some years, as many as 60,000 Sudanese labourers (*navétanes*) cross the border, encouraged by cheap fares on the railways and advances of pay from the Chambers of Commerce. In 1932 these advances amounted to 300,000 francs. On their arrival they do not work for daily hire, but each labourer takes up a plot for the season. The landowner provides the seeds, and also board and lodging for the labourer. In return the labourer works on the owner's plot for two, three, or four days a week. At the close of the season the proprietor takes either one-tenth of the crop or double the quantity of seeds that he supplied, leaving the rest of the crop to the labourer. Most labourers return to their homes at the end of the harvest, but occasionally they stay on till they have accumulated the sum they set out to acquire. 167 464 [441] [654] 427 465 167 464

Agriculture

The first director of agriculture of Senegal may be said to have been Richard, one of the survivors of the *Méduse*. Under him experimental gardens were founded at Richard Toll about 1820. These are still in existence. The present organization of the Department of Agriculture is laid down by an order of 22 January 1932. Working in close contact with local administrative officers, it manages experimental gardens and farm schools, gives information and instruction to farmers, conducts campaigns against agricultural pests, and organizes agricultural shows. The Department has a laboratory at Hann and an experimental station at Bambey. This was opened in 1924 and is devoted principally to the study and improvement of ground-nuts. Besides these institutions the Department owns various smaller stations for study, experiment, and instruction. 647 654

Forestry. The Department of Agriculture had charge of forestry until an order of 10 February 1937 created a separate Forestry Department and divided the colony into four forestry districts (*inspections*), with headquarters at St. Louis, Thiès, Ziguinchor, and Tambacounda respectively.

/18 cont./

435 Groundnuts/ which controlled the quality of the product in
438 the escales and in the ports. This office, which functioned
656 under the responsibility of the local Chambres de Commerce,
applied the norms of "the practice of Bordeaux" of 1922. In
[685] the escales the lots with impurities of more than 2% were
returned, and fines could be slapped on the sellers whose product
concealed more than 3%. A second control was established in
the ports. Since 1947 this office has been replaced by a "Service
de contrôle et du conditionnement," which inspects the product
only in the ports, thus making only the exporter responsible.
All merchandise with impurities of more than 2%, and an aver-
age of more than 4% acidity for the decorticated product, is
refused or subject to a reduction in price. Several years ago
the commercial houses acquired sieves which permit the elimi-
nation of much debris, but they are often poorly utilized, and
the groundnuts from Senegal usually have considerable debris,
stalks or other things.

438 The complications of the circuit of the groundnuts, its
656 inadequacies, have stimulated many projects of rationalization,
which for the most part recommend loose transport, stockpiling
in silos, and rigorous control over the quality. At present a
public body, the "Secteur d'expérimentation et de rationali-
sation du circuit de l'arachide" (S. E. R. C. A.) is concerned
with this, but it singularly lacks any means.

435 /19/ 3. The marketing of the groundnut and the
problem of prices. Up to the Second World War, all the trans-
actions in groundnuts were free; the prices varied considerably
as a function of supply and demand. During the war the
"Groupement national d'achat des produits oléagineux"
(G. N. A. P. O.) /National Group for the Purchase of Oleaginous
Products/ controlled the market and authoritatively fixed the
price. After the war, during the campaign of 1950-1951, the
return to freedom led to a spectacular jump in the market
price of groundnuts, which, at production, went from 18 to 30

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

interesting suppleness under the most diverse conditions 648 according to the state of civilisation or submission—or lack of submission—of the natives'.

As a reaction against the powers of the Senegalese General 648 Council during the regrouping of the French West African 646 territories the Protectorate, with the exception of Casa- [633] mance, Thiès, Cayor and Tivaouane and the *cercles* of the Fleuve, was detached from the colony of Senegal so that the General Council could not legitimately interfere in its affairs. However two years later economic and administrative exigencies decreed the reshaping of Senegal and the rest of French Africa into the territorial boundaries that exist today.

The first major attempt to undermine the rights of the 641 Senegalese with the rights of citizens by virtue of being born 633 in one of the four communes, known as *originaires*, came in 1908 when the Lieutenant-Governor of Senegal asked that 1,563 names be struck off the electoral role of Dakar arguing that since the natives concerned were only French subjects they could not vote. Only French citizens could vote, and citizenship could be obtained only by individual naturalisation. This was upheld in the local court but rejected by the [692] *Cour de Cassation* in Paris. However, the Court confirmed that these voters were not French citizens though they maintained that they had the right to vote. This failure to recognise their status as citizens evoked much ill-feeling among the *originaires*. In 1910 the voting rights in the Senegal were in fact extended when it was provided that French citizens living outside the communes but within the colony could vote. But the Minister of Colonies declared that the decree did not apply to 'non-naturalised natives who only enjoy the franchise in the four *communes de pleine exercice* on condition of being born there', and thus once again emphasised the fact that the French Government did not consider the *originaires* as true citizens. Indeed in the following year their position was further aggravated when [701] *originaires* doing their military service in metropolitan units

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

641 633 [701] of the army in West Africa, and serving on the same basis as European citizens, were suddenly discharged without reason. A commission of the General Council asked that in future all voters, without distinction of colour, be called on to perform their obligatory military service. Thus by 1912 one had the odd spectacle of Africans, far from trying to avoid military service, insisting on their right to perform it on the grounds that only thus could they secure their rights as French citizens.

However French intransigence over the question of the *originaires* was made clear in the Naturalisation Decree of 1912, which stated that only French subjects born in West Africa could acquire French citizenship. The conditions for acquisition of citizenship were: having proved devotion to France or having occupied with merit for at least ten years a position in a French office, public or private; having learned to read or write French; having given evidence of possessing a means of existence and good character. As a result between 1914-22 only ninety-four natives in French West Africa were naturalised. Those who were defined as 692 subject to the jurisdiction of the native, instead of the 641 French, tribunals were all those natives 'who had not had in 633 their country of origin the status of European national'. This was interpreted by the *originaires* as an attempt to remove from them their right to appear before French tribunals and subject them to administrative justice like the sujets of the Protectorate, for whilst they were anxious to retain their right to their *statut personnel* in civil matters such as marriage and inheritance, they wanted to be tried in French courts in criminal cases. This evoked furious criticisms by the *originaires* and Maître Lamine Guèye, himself an *originaire* and later Deputy in the French Assembly, wrote 'Our fears were more than justified by the spectacle of what happened in the interior of the Colony, where administrators, reviving in certain respects feudal practices, imposed on the persons of our compatriots of the protectorate acts which were neither human nor French'.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Such was the outcry against this decree that a further decree in 1914 confirmed that 'all natives born in the four communes would be subject to French tribunals throughout the colony and in certain other places'. Indeed Lamine Guèye was one of the most ardent critics of France for her failure to accord the full rights of an assimilationist policy to the *originaires*. He protested against the way the Government opposed 'the entrance of all natives of whatever status they may be, into the general administrative services, even into military units stationed in the colony'. It was only by insistence on the right to do military service on equal terms with the French that the *originaires* were finally able to gain confirmation of their rights as citizens. In 1914 Blaise Diagne became the first Senegalese to sit in the Chamber of Deputies. He won his seat partly as a result of the split vote amongst his six European opponents, partly because he appealed to the Senegalese voters by his demands for complete equality between black and white. His particular platform was a pledge to vote for a law for obligatory military service without distinction of race or colour. In a letter to the Minister of Colonies he said the *originaires* did not want the privileges without the obligations of French citizenship. At the time, of course, France was just about to enter into the Great War and badly needed troops from Africa. Thus without much difficulty a law was passed providing for the conscription of the *originaires* as French troops. In return for Diagne's co-operation in recruiting troops for the war effort, the Government passed the Citizenship Law of 1916 which once and for all confirmed the status of the *originaires*. They could retain their *statut personnel* and need not understand French to be considered as citizens. 'The natives of the *communes de pleine exercice* and their descendants are and remain French citizens subject to the military obligations of the Law of 19 October 1915.' The rider about the status of 'descendants' was of particular importance to Lamine Guèye who was born in Soudan of *originaire* parents.

633 641 [697] [701] [666] 633 641 701 [671]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Courts of Law

692 The Court of Assize sits at Dakar, and the Tribunals of First Instance sit at Dakar, Kaolack, and St. Louis. There is a Magistrate's Court at Ziguinchor, and there are Moslem Courts at Dakar, Rufisque, and St. Louis. In each province and full commune there are the usual native courts, and the Colonial Court of Appeal for Senegal sits at St. Louis. There is a separate one for the District of Dakar.

In addition to the local courts, the West African Court of Appeal and the Supreme Native Court of Appeal are both held at Dakar.

Native Organization

631 177 All the old chiefdoms and kingdoms have now disappeared. On the other hand, owing to their representation on the Colonial Council, chiefs in Senegal to-day exercise greater influence than in other colonies. They are appointed and paid by the Government, and they can usually be relied on to supply an official majority. In 1925 they induced the Government to raise their salaries, which now range from 7,600 francs to 36,500 francs per annum. The chiefs are divided into no less than twelve grades. Most of them have [871] been educated at the École des Fils des Chefs et des Interprêtes at St. Louis.

Land Tenure

423 By 31 December 1937 provisional concessions had been granted over an area of 12 square miles and concessions over 15 square miles. By the same date there had been granted under the immatriculation system 9,630 certificates of title, covering 177 square miles. Under the process of Confirmation of Native Land Rights, 40 certificates had been granted, covering 3½ square miles. These figures are very small for the size and population of the colony.

Labour

466 [646] The Colonial Council is responsible for the fact that forced labour has been redeemable by every person since 1921. This reform did not become universal in the Federation till several years later. In 1930 a resolution of the same council compelled owners of motor vehicles to lend them for work under the same system.

In 1935 there were 408,000 persons on the forced labour rolls, 1,415,000 man-days were worked, and 561,300 francs were paid in

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Goree

369 'That must be the Batterie Nord.'

[697] As we passed a gang of prisoners shuffled through its main gates outside which lay rusting cannons, their barrels stopped with cement. In the shade of palm trees at the entrance to the fort a guard played draughts with one of the local inhabitants, whilst the wives of the prisoners washed clothes or prepared their evening meal. Only the grim bars set deep into the dark stonework of the fort indicated that it was used as a prison: otherwise the entrance to the fort was more like the gate of a Moslem city, such was the coming and going.

I took some photographs and remembered with amusement an account of a former Earl of Scarborough's visit to Gorée in his diary, *The Cruise of the African Witch, 1890*:

> 'As I was taking a photo of a part of the island a nigger had the audacity to tell me that no one was allowed to photograph in the neighbourhood of the fort, and when I asked him who he was, he said: "Je suis Français". I sent him about his business and he ran to tell the guard in the fort. Europeanized niggers are obnoxious and often intolerable.'

Eighteen-ninety is a long time ago for Dakar and Gorée, though unhappily in East Africa such sentiments are still not out of date.

As I walked down the rubble-filled streets of the island, the occasional perfectly preserved balcony or heavy wooden shutters conjured up vivid memories of the old colonial society that used to inhabit Gorée. Today fat black mammies lean over the balustrades to hang out their washing whilst their naked children play on the rusty cannons encased in the mud and sand of the pavements. From the Rue de Dakar, with its crumbling houses and elegant street lamps, I could see the skyscrapers of the mainland. Above the harbour, fish hawks glided lazily, swooping suddenly with outstretched talons and amazing precision on their prey, whilst in the water bronzed Frenchmen with underwater diving equipment conducted the same operation with less success. In Europe one rarely remarks upon the contrast between [175] history and the present: the two are so constantly juxtaposed as to [633] be unworthy of comment. Yet in West Africa, where nearly

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

874 In 1927 apprentice courses in woodwork and metalwork were started in St. Louis and Kaolack by the Public Works Department for selected schoolboys between the ages of 13 and 16 years.

871 There is a number of educational institutions in Dakar of a higher grade than primary. These are the responsibility of the Federal Government and have been described in Volume I.

Health

743 Senegal is divided into thirteen medical districts, each of which is intended to be under the supervision of a European medical officer. There are 17 medical stations, each under a native auxiliary. There are also 16 maternity centres and 117 posts visited once a week by a medical officer.

In 1937 Senegal and Dakar had 3 major hospitals and 34 minor hospitals and dispensaries. These provided 394 beds for European patients and 1,805 for native. There were 80 European medical officers, 31 native auxiliaries, 30 midwives, 124 male nurses, and 21 female nurses.

[744] In addition there were four travelling parties (*groupes sanitaires mobiles*). One of these specialized in fighting sleeping-sickness in the Casamance Territory, and the other three were concerned with more general sanitary and prophylactic measures.

The Pasteur Institute at Dakar, a federal concern, is justly famous. [797] Some medical work is done by missionaries. Unofficial committees of the Croix-Rouge are concerned with infant welfare at Dakar, Diourbel, St. Louis, and Tivaouane.

[652] In 1937 Senegal voted 12,000,000 francs for medical services and Dakar 11,000,000 francs.

10. PORTS

36 [131] [162] [489] [743] [712] [648] [654] [697]

ST. LOUIS (16° 01′; 16° 30′ W.). Population, 30,586, including 1,231 Europeans. Colonial capital of Senegal and of Mauritania. Full Commune. Headquarters of the province of Bas Sénégal. Custom-house. Law courts. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital and dispensary. Army headquarters and barracks. Police headquarters. Belgian Consulate. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Lycée Faidherbe. École des Fils des Chefs et des Interprètes. Higher Primary and Technical Schools. Protestant and Roman Catholic missions. Bank of West Africa. Power station. Prison. Hotels. Garages. Race-course. Botanical gardens. Experimental plantation. Daily market.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

[ST. LOUIS]

206 *Wireless.* The wireless station is to the south of Guet N'Dar.

River. Above Faidherbe Bridge the river is closed to all vessels not 505 flying the French flag. Boats drawing 10 feet can ascend to Podor all [648] the year round, and in the rainy season they can reach Kayes (Vol. I, p. 367). Table V shows how greatly river traffic on the Senegal has declined in recent years.

TABLE V. *Tonnage of Goods from Kayes*

[497] [494]

	1928	1929	1930	1934	1935
Sent by rail or road . .	9,545	9,555	11,456	5,269	6,224
Sent by river	2,520	5,815	3,425	313	260

Shipping. There are no sea-going ships calling regularly, but the Messageries Africaines and the Messageries du Sénégal run services up-river.

36 DAKAR (14° 39′; 17° 25′ W.). Population, 80,052, including *c.* 6,000 [131] Europeans. Capital of the Federation and Headquarters of the [162] District of Dakar. Full Commune. Custom-house. Law courts. [489] Chamber of Commerce. Pasteur Institute. Hospitals. Naval base [712] and dockyard. General Headquarters of the army in French West Africa. Police headquarters. British Consulate-General. Belgian, [648] Brazilian, Czechoslovakian, Danish, Eireann, Greek, Italian, Netherlands, Norwegian, Swedish, and Swiss Consulates. Argentine, Finnish, Spanish, and Uruguayan Vice-Consulates. Meteoro- [654] logical station. Airport and seaplane base. Wireless stations. [508] Colleges and schools. Protestant churches. Roman Catholic Vicariate Apostolic of Guinea and Vicariate General. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Crédit Foncier de l'Ouest Africain. Banque Belge de l'Afrique. Power station. [697] Prison. Public library. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops. [498] Cinemas. Race-course. Sports stadium. Botanical gardens. [654] Agricultural experimental station. Daily market.

Dakar (Fig. 54) is approximately 2,600 miles distant from South- 361 ampton, from Cape Town, and from Rio de Janeiro. It is, therefore, well placed for taking a share in the trade of the South Atlantic, and it [433] is small wonder that it has become the third port in the French Empire, being surpassed only by Marseilles and Le Havre. It is, moreover, of the first importance strategically.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

interesting suppleness under the most diverse conditions 648
according to the state of civilisation or submission—or lack of submission—of the natives'.

As a reaction against the powers of the Senegalese General 648
Council during the regrouping of the French West African 646
territories the Protectorate, with the exception of Casa- [633]
mance, Thiès, Cayor and Tivaouane and the *cercles* of the Fleuve, was detached from the colony of Senegal so that the General Council could not legitimately interfere in its affairs. However two years later economic and administrative exigencies decreed the reshaping of Senegal and the rest of French Africa into the territorial boundaries that exist today.

The first major attempt to undermine the rights of the 641
Senegalese with the rights of citizens by virtue of being born 633
in one of the four communes, known as *originaires*, came in 1908 when the Lieutenant-Governor of Senegal asked that 1,563 names be struck off the electoral role of Dakar arguing that since the natives concerned were only French subjects they could not vote. Only French citizens could vote, and citizenship could be obtained only by individual naturalisation. This was upheld in the local court but rejected by the [692]
Cour de Cassation in Paris. However, the Court confirmed that these voters were not French citizens though they maintained that they had the right to vote. This failure to recognise their status as citizens evoked much ill-feeling among the *originaires*. In 1910 the voting rights in the Senegal were in fact extended when it was provided that French citizens living outside the communes but within the colony could vote. But the Minister of Colonies declared that the decree did not apply to 'non-naturalised natives who only enjoy the franchise in the four *communes de pleine exercice* on condition of being born there', and thus once again emphasised the fact that the French Government did not consider the *originaires* as true citizens. Indeed in the following year their position was further aggravated when [701]
originaires doing their military service in metropolitan units

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

641 633 [701] of the army in West Africa, and serving on the same basis as European citizens, were suddenly discharged without reason. A commission of the General Council asked that in future all voters, without distinction of colour, be called on to perform their obligatory military service. Thus by 1912 one had the odd spectacle of Africans, far from trying to avoid military service, insisting on their right to perform it on the grounds that only thus could they secure their rights as French citizens.

However French intransigence over the question of the *originaires* was made clear in the Naturalisation Decree of 1912, which stated that only French subjects born in West Africa could acquire French citizenship. The conditions for acquisition of citizenship were: having proved devotion to France or having occupied with merit for at least ten years a position in a French office, public or private; having learned to read or write French; having given evidence of possessing a means of existence and good character. As a result between 1914-22 only ninety-four natives in French West Africa were naturalised. Those who were defined as 692 subject to the jurisdiction of the native, instead of the 641 French, tribunals were all those natives 'who had not had in 633 their country of origin the status of European national'. This was interpreted by the *originaires* as an attempt to remove from them their right to appear before French tribunals and subject them to administrative justice like the sujets of the Protectorate, for whilst they were anxious to retain their right to their *statut personnel* in civil matters such as marriage and inheritance, they wanted to be tried in French courts in criminal cases. This evoked furious criticisms by the *originaires* and Maître Lamine Guèye, himself an *originaire* and later Deputy in the French Assembly, wrote 'Our fears were more than justified by the spectacle of what happened in the interior of the Colony, where administrators, reviving in certain respects feudal practices, imposed on the persons of our compatriots of the protectorate acts which were neither human nor French'.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Such was the outcry against this decree that a further decree in 1914 confirmed that 'all natives born in the four communes would be subject to French tribunals throughout the colony and in certain other places'. Indeed Lamine Guèye was one of the most ardent critics of France for her failure to accord the full rights of an assimilationist policy to the *originaires*. He protested against the way the Government opposed 'the entrance of all natives of whatever status they may be, into the general administrative services, even into military units stationed in the colony'. It was only by insistence on the right to do military service on equal terms with the French that the *originaires* were finally able to gain confirmation of their rights as citizens. In 1914 Blaise Diagne became the first Senegalese to sit in the Chamber of Deputies. He won his seat partly as a result of the split vote amongst his six European opponents, partly because he appealed to the Senegalese voters by his demands for complete equality between black and white. His particular platform was a pledge to vote for a law for obligatory military service without distinction of race or colour. In a letter to the Minister of Colonies he said the *originaires* did not want the privileges without the obligations of French citizenship. At the time, of course, France was just about to enter into the Great War and badly needed troops from Africa. Thus without much difficulty a law was passed providing for the conscription of the *originaires* as French troops. In return for Diagne's co-operation in recruiting troops for the war effort, the Government passed the Citizenship Law of 1916 which once and for all confirmed the status of the *originaires*. They could retain their *statut personnel* and need not understand French to be considered as citizens. 'The natives of the *communes de pleine exercice* and their descendants are and remain French citizens subject to the military obligations of the Law of 19 October 1915.' The rider about the status of 'descendants' was of particular importance to Lamine Guèye who was born in Soudan of *originaire* parents.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

leaders had to work so ardently and patiently many decades later. Where it has often seemed to be the policy of European powers to divide and rule, here the French positively encouraged the creation of a Senegalese identity. Faidherbe created the *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, whereas Lugard called his force the Hausa Constabulary. For many years, Senegal has had a romantic and sentimental place in the eyes of the French, and the *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, who in fact enjoyed the services of recruits from all over West Africa, are known by most Frenchmen for their services to France in both world wars. This concept of national as distinct from tribal identity in the *Quatre Communes* also influenced the educated élite from the Protectorate who were determined to participate in the privileges of the *originaires*.

A policy of assimilation that has the aim of eradicating the African past and the creation of 'black Frenchmen', when applied thoroughly, did in fact help to eliminate tribal differences and create a new common culture. In particular, education, which grouped children of different ethnic groups side by side, made no concession to local circumstances. They were taught about 'our ancestors the Gauls' and in the best schools standards were the same as those in France. Instruction was in French from the very first years, and the school uniform was in European style. They were thus given a common meeting ground from the earliest age, with almost no concessions made to their own ethnic differences. Large numbers of Senegalese have been to France for their education ever since the days of Faidherbe, and in France they found themselves automatically dubbed as Senegalese, for few Frenchmen had time for the niceties of tribal distinctions.

It is not surprising, then, that particularly among young men many friendships were made outside the tribe. Indeed today in Dakar it would be rare to find a young man with primary education who could not count many friends from outside his own ethnic group. Marriage presented different problems. For if the young man had overcome sensitivities

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 39
Wolof MS 30
Trarza MS 34

S 175 439 [648]

From 1836 onwards treaties were made with the chiefs of the Casamance basin, and posts were constructed at Sedhiou, Karaban, and Diembering. These treaties respected Portuguese historic but obsolete rights at Ziguinchor, but effectively guaranteed that the future of the river should be French.

S [567] [422] [464]

The abolition of the status of slavery by France in 1848 deprived the French merchants of a cheap supply of labour, which they had rented from the chiefs, and in 1850 a committee was appointed to consider withdrawal from the colony or, as an alternative, the establishment of French authority. It decided in favour of the latter, and the policy of trade treaties came to an end.

The new French policy, to which Napoleon III was pledged, was summed up as 'absolute freedom of commerce with the suppression of the escales; establishment of security, by force if necessary; the substitution of full and entire authority for the system of treaties and subsidies; methodical organization of expansion towards the interior; and concurrently the development of economic institutions'.

S 175 [643]

'By Force if Necessary'

Faidherbe. It was to carry out this policy that Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in December 1854. He had already had much experience as a soldier and administrator in the colony, and, with a break of eighteen months, he held office till July 1865. His period of office marked a turning-point in the history of Senegal, and he is justly remembered as one of the builders of the modern French Colonial Empire. At first his resources were pitifully small. He had four companies of marine infantry, a company of native infantry formed on the liberation of the slaves in 1848, sixty spahis, and some detachments of artillery and engineers. His naval strength was on a similar scale. Both were substantially strengthened in the next few years.

S [701]

T S W 175 648

The Arabs. Faidherbe decided to deal with the Trarza Arabs. Notwithstanding the treaty of 1835, they had continued their marauding expeditions across the river, and had re-established a supreme influence over the Ouolofs of Oualo. Early in 1855 the Trarza chief Mohammed el Abib insolently demanded the French evacuation of certain islands near the mouth of the Senegal. Faidherbe marched against him and defeated him near St. Louis on 15 February. On 25 February the Ouolofs were defeated near Ross. The French captured more than 2,000 cattle and burned 20 villages.

3: Savonnet --3 E-5 (no date) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37
Serer FA32
Wolof MS30

/373 cont./

S
SR
W
102
131
361
S
491
496
J12

/372/

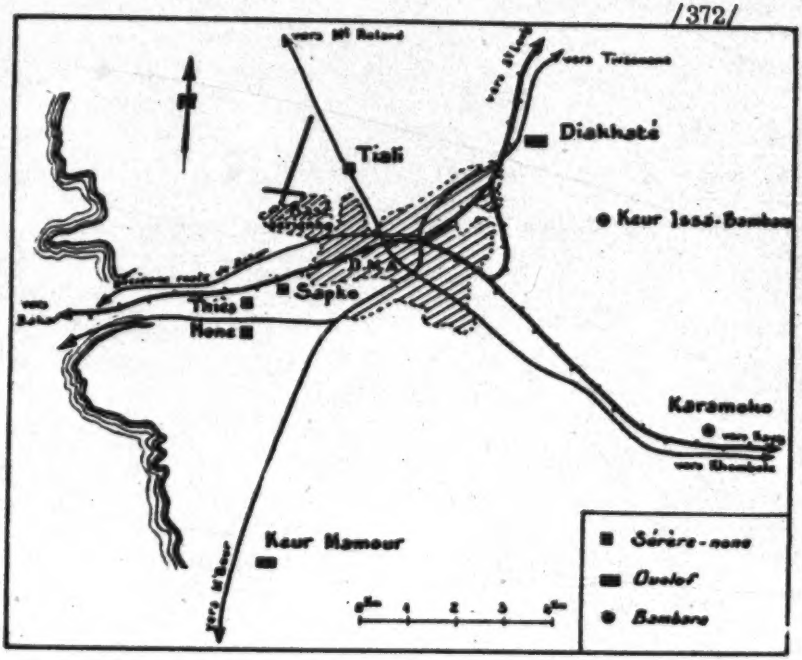


Fig. 1. Thiès, location of the villages mentioned in this study.

S
361 /373 cont./ by its internal plan (it is dispersed in a loose arrangement), but by the arbored countryside that surrounds it.

Karamoko, on the other hand, resembles a Wolof village: few or no trees except around the huts, a monotonous and open countryside.

S
369 The founding and the rapid growth of Thiès seems to have entailed perturbations in the life of the neighboring villages, especially at the end of the last century.

/375 cont./

369 Diakhaté, for example).

621 Sometimes the discord between religious heads be-
[798] longing to different sects provoked the separation in fact of the two opposite camps (Keur-Mamour).

Up to here the presence of the city acted only indirectly in stimulating /376/ the swelling or the splitting up of the village and the temporary or definitive emigration of some elements. It may also have more direct effects on the agglomerations.

369 During the last three decades, through the establish-
[498] ment of the great repair workshops /ateliers de réparation/ of the Dakar-Niger, Thiès has been in the process of becoming an industrial city; in a parallel way the military bases are
[712] becoming larger at the expense of the neighboring rural territories.

369 Even before this last war, the None village of Tiali,
423 located one kilometer from the city, was the first to be de-
[712] prived of about a third of its land by the establishment of the camp of military aviation. In 1947 plans to extend this same base brought about the complete evacuation of Thiès-none which was established south of the railroad, in the vicinity of Sapko. Almost all of these fields were relinquished to the military authorities. Finally, in 1953, execution of the plan for the urbanization of the city obliged the inhabitants of Wango to rebuild their huts in the quarter of Greater Thiès. Part of these lands have been relinquished to the municipality.

369 The land shrinks, the population grows; in order to subsist, a part of the rural population is obliged to go to work in the city.

But before studying this question of the changing of the
[361] rural worker into an urban worker, we shall see whether the presence of the city has an influence on the plan of the village and especially on the settlement pattern.

/388/

369 The city of Thiès, 60 kilometers east of Dakar, contains
433 36,000 inhabitants, according to a recent census. All of its
[162] activity seems to be centered around four principal poles: commercial, industrial, administrative, and military.

Its commercial activity is due to its position at the cross-
[487] roads of important paths of communication: railroad lines from Dakar to Saint-Louis, from Dakar to Bamako, and from Thiès to Kaolack, and roads from Dakar to Saint-Louis and from Dakar to Diourbel, Tambacounda, and the Sudan and Guinea.

It also owes the essential part of its industrial activity to
[498] this implantation at an important rail crossroads; the repair
[464] shops of the Dakar-Niger rail system, where nearly 1,000 workers of all grades are employed, have been set up there.

Apart from the workshops of the Dakar-Niger, it must not
[497] be forgotten that Thiès is also where the management of this
[634] system resides. And it is also the principal administrative point of a circle /cercle, an administrative district/. We will thus find, besides the workers, a rather large proportion of office employees, managers, and executives.

[712] Finally, the military function of Thiès is due to the presence of two important camps: the "DMA" (Détachement Motorisé Autonome), and an air base.

Besides these four centers of activities which give this city a modern character (economically speaking, at least), a fifth
[166] one intervenes in a not inconsiderable proportion. A rather large
[241] population of cultivators, who in winter cultivate groundnuts and millet in nearby fields, has settled on the periphery of Thiès. And the city is the point to which, at the time of the groundnut trade, all of the agricultural activity of the circle comes to assert itself. Its commercial importance is thereby further increased.

162 /389/ Here is some numerical information concerning
463 the occupational distribution of the population of Thiès.

Out of an economically active population of 11,040 inhabitants at the date of the census, there were counted:

17: Mercier--52 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

102
361
x 369
● 712

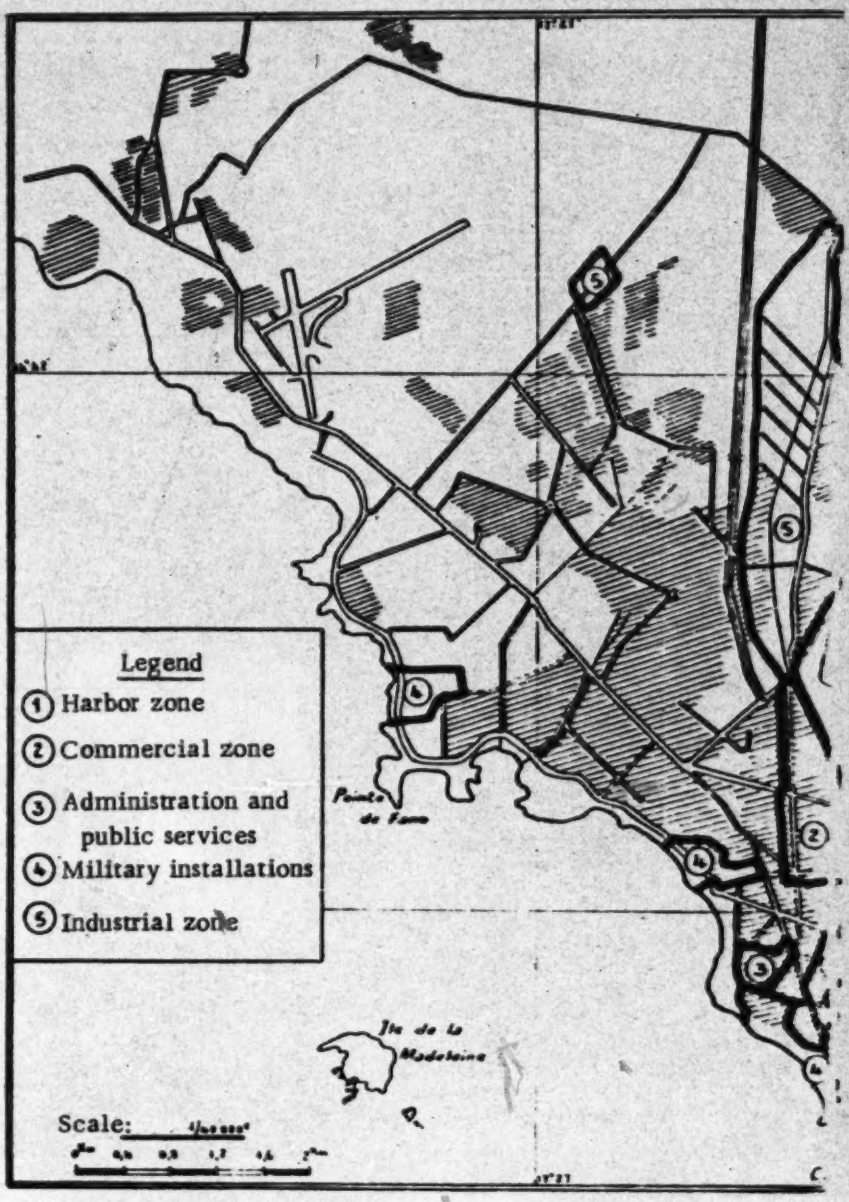


Fig. 2. Functional zones in the agglomeration of Dakar /left side of map/

17: Mercier--53 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

102
361
712
x369

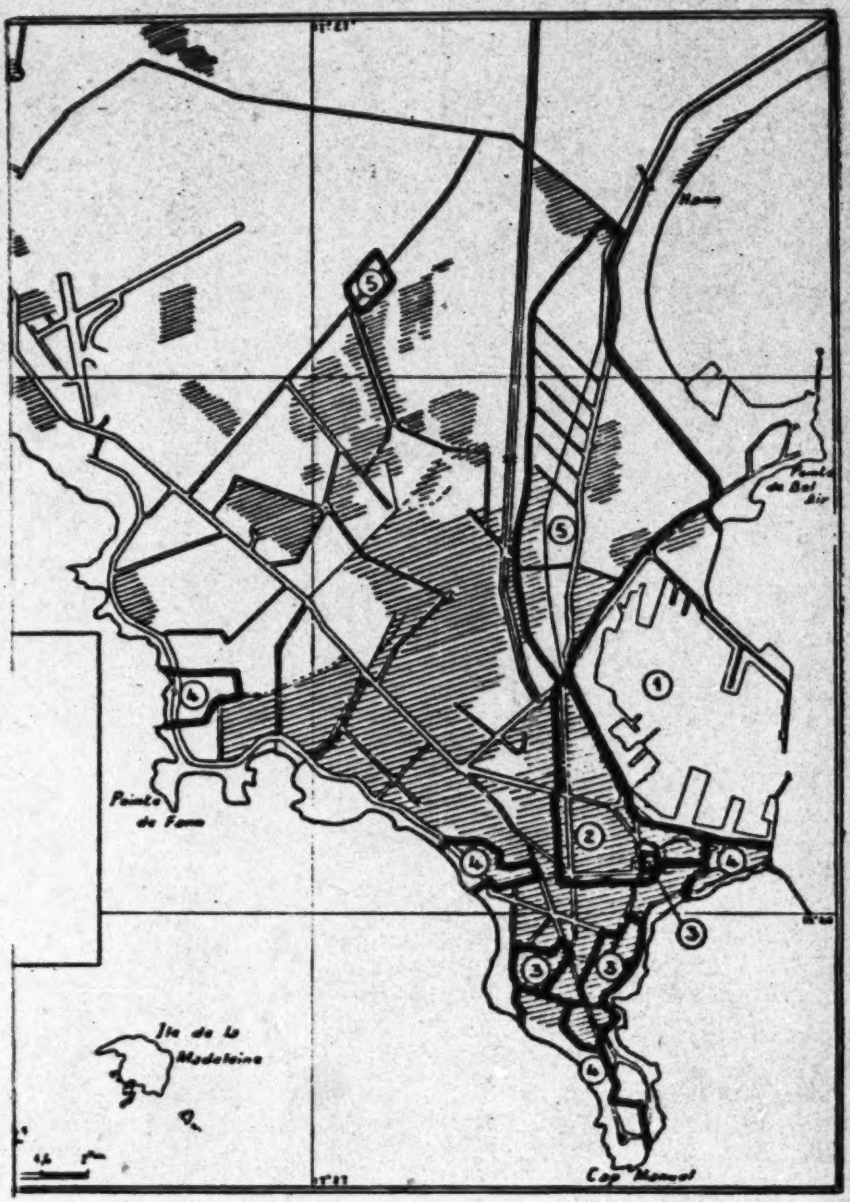


Fig. 2. Functional zones in the agglomeration of Dakar.
/right side of map/

/74/

175 The major part of the commerce was then concentrated
369 north of the railway; nevertheless, as early as 1895 some
[366] shops were established to the south, near the residence.

In 1890 Thiès had a permanent population of 1,200
[162] inhabitants. Some native quarters were established in the
175 vicinity of the commercial escale. The little village of
369 Thiès-None was shifted from the other side of the railway.
361 A native quarter was attached to the western part of the commercial zone; it was moved toward the south after the plague of 1911 and took the name of Randoulème (a word meaning in Wolof: remove yourself). Takhikao (storied house in Wolof), established originally near the first storied house belonging to Maurel and Prom, was ultimately pushed back along the route to Saint-Louis (Fig. 2).

175 Little by little, while the military function fell asleep,
369 the development of commerce brought stable economic
[366] activity to the city. Until 1914 the city grew very little,
[162] and its population amounted to only 2,400 inhabitants at that date; from 1885 to 1914 the city gained only 1,400 souls in all.

The military function of the city recovered part of its former importance during the war of 1914. The base of Thiès
[712] became a center of military training for new recruits. The quarter of Diakhao adjoining the camp was enlarged by the arrival of the families of the military. On the other hand, commerce was threatened during this period. The French
175 personnel, which since the beginning of the century had been
369 permanently established, was summoned to the colors. In
441 order to avoid shutting up shop, the Levantines were called
563 upon. The latter had made their appearance in Senegal as early as 1895 and up to that time had played only a very secondary role in the market of the city: selling candles, matches, beads... The war of 1914 facilitated their entry into the lucrative activity of trade.

/76 cont./

369 quarters spread out toward the southwest in the vicinity of
361 the workshops; "Derrière la voie ferrée /Behind the Railroad/" and "Bambara" developed on the outskirts of "Randoulène."

4. Thiès, industrial and strategic city (after 1945).

369 The Second World War temporarily slowed down the
712 economic activity of the city. As in 1914, one saw a /77/ very earnest renewal of the military function: an autonomous motorized detachment (D.M.A.) was established in the old military camp which was considerably enlarged; an air base created a little before 1940 doubled the one of Ouakam installed at the gates of Dakar and now inadequate.

The experience of the last war had demonstrated the possible vulnerability of Dakar. Strategy demanded the formation of a strong base in the rear areas of the capital of French West Africa to support it if the need arose. The location and the proximity of Thiès met these requirements. In order to give maximum effectiveness to this enterprise, the means of communication between the two cities had to be improved, the military camps reorganized and modernized.
[491] A strong and wide road was built between these two cities. Its course was different from that of the old trail; it entered Thiès not from the west but from the south. The military camp covered several dozen hectares, the installations of the air base were improved and enlarged, and the annexes permitted the permanent establishment of officers and troops (Fig. 4).

369 From 1947 to 1952 intense activity prevailed in the
361 city. The entire district, except the old escale, formed a veritable workshop where vast avenues cut across the native quarters, where plazas were created, where zones of green were distributed. In the industrial precinct of the Dakar-
[498] Niger, new workshops intended for the repair of Diesel tractors and the construction of passenger coaches were installed. New villas along more modern lines for officials and railway workers rose almost everywhere in the city. The old escale, paralyzed within too narrow limits, was aroused

18: Savonnet--19 E-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS37 Senegal

/82/
36
102
491
496
712

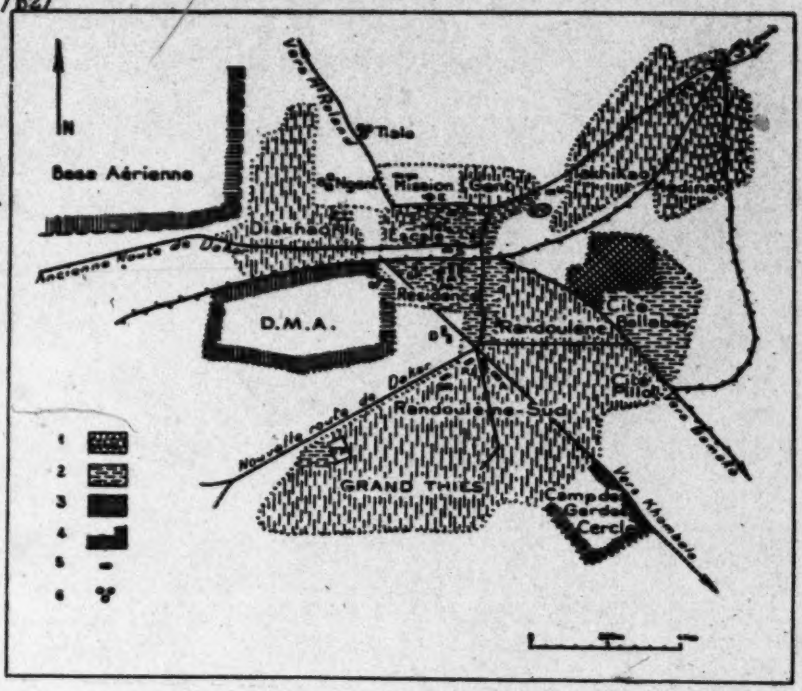


Fig. 4. Thies in 1954.

1. Residential zone of Africans; 2. Residential zone of Europeans; 3. Industrial zone; 4. Military bases;5. Administrative and religious buildings; 5. Village. E-- Catholic church; U-- Mosque; V-- Posts; C-- College; L-- Police; S-- Station; N-- Gendarmery; P-- Primary school; RF-- Faidherbe Redoubt; SP-- Société de Prévoyance /Welfare Society/; M-- Town Hall. T-- Treasury; R-- Residence of the Commander of the Circle; Pr-- Prison; D-- Dispensary; TP-- Public Works; PJ-- Palace of Justice; GR-- Bus station; P-- Collector's office. A-- Firemen.

/87 cont./

S 498 563 W 498 162 463

workers from the regions neighboring Thiès are not in the majority; the Wolof-Sérère group is made up of 380 units, 45% of the total. Besides, the Wolof and Sérère /Serer/ offer relatively few technicians and supervisory operatives; the Wolof make up only 7% in the supervisory category as against 24% in that of manual workers; the Sérère account for only 5% in the first category and 39% in the second. On the other hand, 17% of the Khassonké and Sarakolé belong to the supervisory staffs as against only 22% of the manual workers and employees. These figures underline the difficulty for the enterprise in recruiting specialized workers in the vicinity of Thiès. It must call upon technicians from distant territories, although a high percentage of non-specialized workers and manual laborers are recruited locally.

S 498 433

Because of the number of its total labor force, the industrial grouping of the Dakar-Niger forms one of the most active elements of the economy of the district. More than 25,000,000 francs C.F.A. are distributed monthly in the form of salaries to all of the personnel.

/88/

3. The Public sector.

S 712 433

Although the installation and extension of the two military camps have in an indirect way increased the importance of the city, it indeed seems that they have little influence on the economy of the district on account of their internal organization within a closed circuit.

S 647 464

The establishment of increasingly more numerous and substantial administrative services affects the economic life of the escale in a more tangible fashion. The administration of the circle /cercle, an administrative district/ and the services for agriculture, education, and public works employ several hundred officials, day laborers, and manual workers.

/375 cont./

102
133

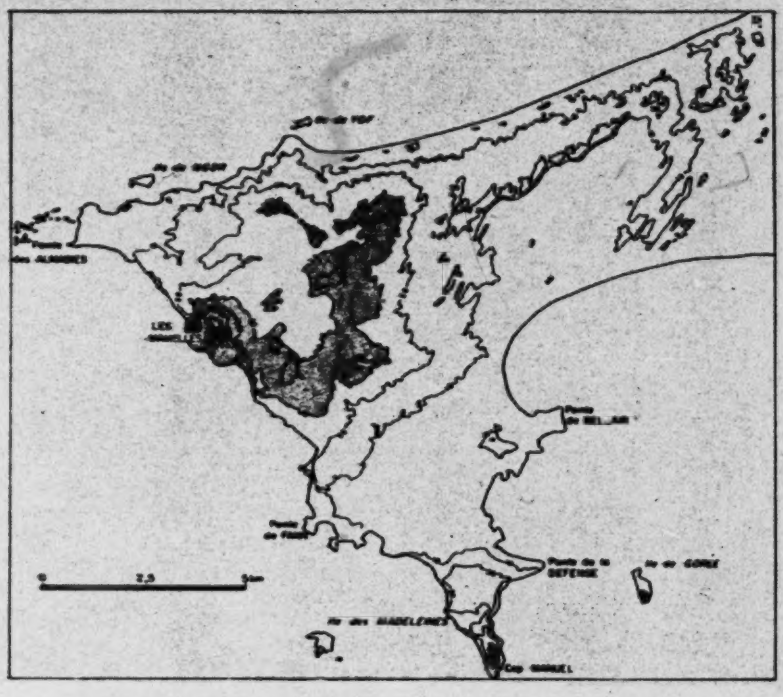


Fig. 1 The site of Dakar.

175
369

of making it a kind of colony (Pl. XXI A). 7

But at the same time, with slavery abolished, Europe was instituting new forms of relations with the underdeveloped countries, imposing itself on the populations for the establishment of a new order less cruel than slavery and better suited for profitable improvements that were more diversified, more systematic, and more in accord with the requirements of the European societies which the technical and industrial revolution was more and more transforming. From this perspective, Dakar could become an incomparable point of support: its site was favorable for the establishment of a city; its coves could harbor a military port and a commercial port.

•[712] Thus, on 25 May 1857, Dakar was officially occupied in the

7 [See category 116, P. 15--Analyst]

/375 cont./

175 name of France by the post-captain Protet, who materialized
369 this taking of possession by the construction of a protective fort,
[712] from which outfitting soon began. Work on the port[1] began in
[505] 1862, and, on 4 November 1866, the first accomplishments
were inaugurated by the first passage of a packet-boat. As early
[500] as the first of April 1864, the lighthouse of the Grande-Mamelle
was lighted, followed two years later, on the first of December
1866, by the two lighthouses with fixed lights at Cape Manuel
and the Pointe des Almadies /Cape Almadies/. A first plan for
the future city was approved by the decree of 1 July 1862, while
from this time on a plan for a railroad to link Dakar and Saint-
Louis agitated opinion.

Nevertheless, despite these efforts, the launching of Dakar, put under the administrative guidance of Gorée, was difficult; the city was unpopulated, the Goréans monopolizing the lands without wanting to leave their island. Moreover, Rufisque, closer to the regions where groundnuts were cultivated, was better located for commerce with the interior and, because of this, contributed to blocking the development of Dakar. But
[633] the decree of 17 June 1887 separating Dakar from Gorée marked
a decisive turning point (1885) in the life of the new creation.

369 2. Dakar, metropolis before being a city. Having become an autonomous center as a result of the Conference of Berlin, at a period when the colonial rivalries between the great powers were accentuated, Dakar benefited from the effective support /376/ of a mother country determined to make it a base for its expansion in West Africa.

504 It was the port in particular that was to be the essential
369 instrument of the launching and of the power of Dakar. Its first elements constructed shortly after the occupation were clearly insufficient, and as early as 1892 it was necessary to extend the old embankment by 200 meters and to add on to it a pier of 280 meters (present Pier III). But it was especially from 1899 that
[712] the great works began. The military port, which had to serve as

1 [i.e., the Port of Dakar--Analyst]

/376 cont./

504 the support point for the whole military organization of the
369 West African coast, was constructed between 1899 and 1902.
712 Some of these accomplishments, such as the north jetty, the extension of the south jetty, and the dry dock, also concerned the commercial port, the construction of which began immediately afterwards and continued from 1903 to 1910. Two new piers were added to the first one, delimiting three docks between the south jetty and the military port, while the outfitting of the platforms was vigorously carried on (9).

[113] 9. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar", Annales de Géographie, 1936, pp. 607-671.

369 This phase of the construction of the port was accom-
648 panied by a very important act which was to serve as support for the development of Dakar: the transfer in 1902 of the office of the Government-general of West Africa from Saint-Louis to Dakar, which led to the establishment of high administrative offices in this city (Contrôle Financier, Treasury, Public Works, etc.) (10), although the Governor-general, awaiting

10. Morazé, Ch., op. cit., p. 620.

the construction of his palace, was installed at Gorée, where he remained until 1907, an event adding considerably to the accomplishments on the port and which marked the beginning of the prodigious vigor of Dakar (Fig. 3). 7/1

369 As early as 1911 the port registered a tonnage of more
[505] than four million tons; it exceeded 5.6 millions in 1913. During the course of the First World War it played a role that greatly surpassed anything that the founders could have hoped for: in 1917, a tonnage of 10.5 million tons. To be sure, the end of the war led to a sharp decrease in the arrivals and departures,
[504] but the recovery that followed the war was such that new works for the port soon became necessary. They were done between

7 [See Category 116, P.19-- Analyst]

20: Seck--19 U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 382-383/

36
102
491
496
504
712
743

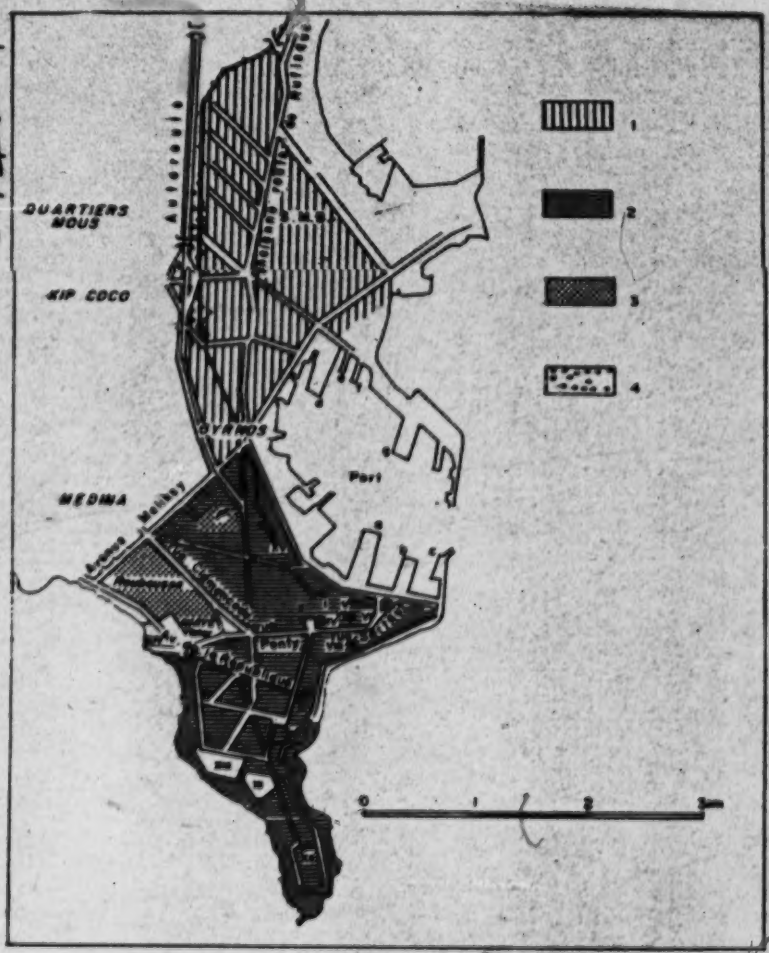


Fig. 3. Dakar. The port and the industrial zone. -- 1. The industrial zone; 2. the very urbanized sections; 3. low quarters; 4. irregular quarters.

(Caption Continued on following page.)

/Fig. 3 Caption cont./

36
102
491
496
504
712
743

a-g. The piers. -- I. Town Hall. -- II. Chambre de Commerce. -- III. Sandaga Market (Ponty-Clemenceau cross-roads). -- IV. Former Palace of Justice. -- V. General Postoffice. -- VI. Treasury. -- VII. Kermel Market. -- VIII. Military Circle. -- IX. Residence of the President of the Republic. -- X. Military Hospital. -- XI. African Hospital. -- XII. Palace of Justice. -- XIII. Camp Bornis. -- XIV. Camp Galliéni. -- XV. Station.

369
563
162

/383 cont./ one another in Dakar are Lébou, Ouolof /Wolof/, Toucouleur /Tukolor/, Sérère /Serer/, Sarakolé, Diola, Socé, etc., who are Senegalese, but there are also Mauritanians, Sudanese, Voltaics, Guineans, Ivorians /persons from the Ivory Coast/, Dahomeans, Cape Verdeans, Lebano-Syrians, French, etc. The Lébou, who are the original population of Dakar, today represent scarcely one-tenth of the population, exceeded in number by the Oulof, the Toucouleur (20), and even by the 30,000 non-Africans,

[113]

20. A. Diop, "L'immigration toucouleur à Dakar (enquête /investigation/ 1958-1959)," I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 1. The author, citing an investigation by the M.I.S.O.E.S., gives the figure of 31,000 Toucouleur in 1959.

among whom the French constitute a great majority of close to 23,000 persons in residence. This character of Dakar as a [166] region of call is illustrated first by the fact that only a little more than one-third of the population was born there, /384/ and then by the quite obvious inequality between the number of men and that of women. Before the war, among the Europeans, there were 65% men as against 25% women and 10% [744] children (21). Today the systematic destruction of the

21. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar," op. cit., p. 630.

/387 cont./

361 buildings, the General Postoffice, the Treasury, the Town
369 Hall, the former Délégation, the former Palace of Justice, and the Chambre de Commerce are included there. A "city" phenomenon tends to be produced in this quarter which, very lively by day, is almost completely empty at night. Toward the east this quarter extends along the road to Bel-Air and the old road to Rufisque by way of the industrial section of Dakar where the factories have been established largely since the war. On the northwest, on each side of the avenue W.-Ponty, extends a mixed quarter, commercial and residential, harboring the old Lébou families, having benefited from the facilities offered
[427] by the Crédit Foncier, and the Lebano-Syrians and Cape Verdeans who rent or are quasi-owners as a result of long-term leases. It is therefore an old quarter that developed especially after the construction of the commercial port and has preserved its narrow streets, quite unique today, its low houses dominated here and there by some recent building. The avenue W.-Ponty,
366 with greatly varied commerce, the avenue Gambetta dominated
369 by the Lebano-Syrian commerce, the avenue Roume bordered by beautiful buildings and enlivened by luxury commerce, and finally the avenue Maginot which is shared by great stores of the West and Lebano-Syrian commerce in fabrics near the market of Sandaga are the most completely transformed arteries of this section of the Plateau, where many cafés and restaurants, /388/ cabarets, and cinemas maintain far into the night a nonchalant, but pleasant animation following the rushing business of the day.

Beyond the Boulevard de la République, which bounds the
369 old quarters on the west and which is distinguished by its many
361 buildings, commerce disappears almost entirely, giving way to a residential zone of middle-class appearance, with its villas often more comfortable than stylish. This residential zone, formerly
[563] entirely European, is mixed today, harboring European and African staffs. Barracks and hospitals separate this quarter from
[712] Cape Manuel, formerly a military zone, but today occupied by the monumental, Palace of Justice dominating the newly estab-
[344] lished embassies. But all of Dakar-ville is not as well arranged

/389/

102
361
363
873
712

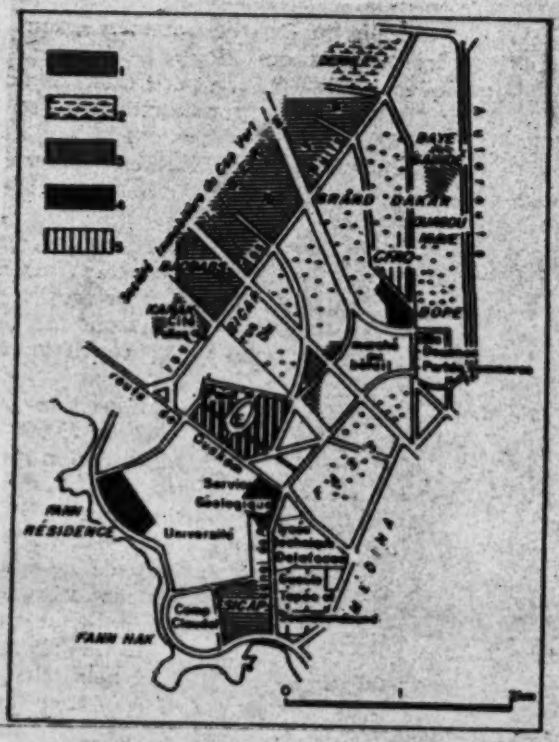


Fig. 5. Greater Dakar. -- 1. Officials' quarter; 2. Derklé; 3. H. L. M.; 4. houses of officials; 5. loan grouping.

/390 cont./

361
369

4. The suburbs. The suburbs of Dakar are composed of 13 villages, of which those closest to Dakar, Ouakam, N'Gor, Yoff, Hann, Thiaroye, and M'Bao resemble Colobane. The others remain typical traditional villages. Only Dagoudane-Pikime escapes either category. Created ex nihilo less than ten years ago to serve as an outlet for the irregulars of Dakar who were to be found there, driven back as urbanism progressed, it already has the appearance of a little city with its 10,000 inhabitants.

[162]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS31
Wolof MS30
Trarza MS24

S 175 167 reaching St. Louis. This disaster has been made famous by the celebrated painting of Théodore Géricault.

[648] As St. Louis was in British hands until the early months of 1817, Schmaltz established his capital at Cape Verde.

The first settlers from France were sponsored by the Société Coloniale Philanthropique, and consisted of 175 men, 20 women, and 10 children. Their intention was to settle in the Cape Verde peninsula. This was against the advice of Schmaltz, who thought that part of the country unsuitable. The settlers landed at Goree in April 1817, shortly afterwards crossing to the mainland; but, owing to the attitude of the natives, they were unable to obtain land or labour. At the end of two months there were only six left on the peninsula: the remainder had been repatriated to France or had retired to St. Louis, Goree, or the Gambia. Schmaltz was able to prevent the philanthropic but misguided society from sending eighty more colonists to the same place.

W [175] [648] Attempts to establish European colonists met with more success on the Senegal. In 1819 Schmaltz had no difficulty in obtaining from the chiefs of Oualo all the land he wanted on the left bank of the river. S [648] [241] In return, the chiefs were given annual subsidies (*coutumes*) amounting to some 10,000 francs. This arrangement was to lead to endless trouble. Cotton, coffee, indigo, and tobacco were to be the principal crops, and colonists were not lacking.

T [175] [648] The natives of Oualo were peaceable, but the Trarza and Brakna Arabs, who claimed to be suzerains over Oualo, were hostile. At first they raided the colonists, but later they were defeated by troops from St. Louis in a number of skirmishes. Eventually the French recognized nominal Arab suzerainty, and the colonists were allowed to develop their holdings in relative quiet. Nevertheless, the Trarza S [648] Arabs continued to give trouble until 1835, when, after a series of defeats, they entered into a treaty by which they abandoned all S [712] claims to Oualo. The French armed post of Dagana was built for the protection of the settlers, and an experimental station was started at Richard Toll for their instruction. The French Government S [654] [241] supplied seeds and implements and paid a bonus on crops, and some forty European plantations were established. At first they seemed to succeed, but the climate, the labour difficulties, and the hostile attitude of the natives combined against them. In 1830 the home government withdrew its subsidy, and the plantations were soon abandoned. Since that date the French, while not discouraging European enterprise, have relied for agricultural development principally on the native farmer.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37 W.O.10.7 MS30

S 175

after severe fighting, and in 1863 Fouta and Toro were definitely annexed by the French.

S W 175 648

Cayor. The state of Cayor extended from Cape Verde northward along the coast nearly to St. Louis, and at the end of the eighteenth century it had obtained independence of the Ouolofs. Goree had been taken by the French from the Dutch in 1677, and by treaties of 1764 and 1765 the Damel of Cayor had ceded the tip of the Cape Verde peninsula in full sovereignty to France. He had further agreed to restrain his subjects from pillaging the cargoes of wrecks and from imprisoning their crews. In return he was to receive an annual subsidy of 180 bars, one-third in iron and the remainder in merchandise.

W [635]

These treaties, however, had never been implemented. In 1825 Governor Roger considered them dead, and advised Frenchmen who wished to acquire land in the peninsula to make their own arrangements with the native authorities. At the same time, Roger made a fresh convention regarding wrecks, which was no more observed than the earlier treaties. In 1832 land was purchased for a cemetery on the mainland and in 1846 a mission of the Society of the Sacred Heart, which received a government subsidy until 1906, was established at Dakar.

S W [797] S

The population of Goree, some 5,000 persons, needed wood, water, building materials, and fresh provisions, which they could only purchase at extortionate prices on the mainland. All efforts to conclude agreements with the chiefs on these matters failed, and wreckers' profits were not to be diminished by scraps of paper. Security was needed for the projected railway from St. Louis and it was desirable to give the priests protection. In 1857, therefore, the French Government authorized the construction of a fort on the mainland. Birahima, the reigning Damel of Cayor, at first acquiesced in this occupation, largely because his authority over the Lebous who inhabited the peninsula had long been but nominal. The post was used by Faidherbe for a base for his operations in 1859. In that year, after the battle of Fatik (18 May), the tribesmen of Sine, Saloum, and Baol submitted to French authority, and posts were created at Joal and Kaolack. Trouble arose under the Damel's successor, Makodou, who refused to recognize Birahima's agreement to allow a French road and telegraph line from St. Louis to Goree to be run through Cayor. A French column from St. Louis under Faidherbe met an expedition under Pinet-Laprade from Goree and occupied Makodou's capital, Mekhé, on 12 January 1861. On 1 February he accepted

[162] W [439] S [712] S [712]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

874 In 1927 apprentice courses in woodwork and metalwork were started in St. Louis and Kaolack by the Public Works Department for selected schoolboys between the ages of 13 and 16 years.

871 There is a number of educational institutions in Dakar of a higher grade than primary. These are the responsibility of the Federal Government and have been described in Volume I.

Health

743 Senegal is divided into thirteen medical districts, each of which is intended to be under the supervision of a European medical officer. There are 17 medical stations, each under a native auxiliary. There are also 16 maternity centres and 117 posts visited once a week by a medical officer.

In 1937 Senegal and Dakar had 3 major hospitals and 34 minor hospitals and dispensaries. These provided 394 beds for European patients and 1,805 for native. There were 80 European medical officers, 31 native auxiliaries, 30 midwives, 124 male nurses, and 21 female nurses.

[744] In addition there were four travelling parties (*groupes sanitaires mobiles*). One of these specialized in fighting sleeping-sickness in the Casamance Territory, and the other three were concerned with more general sanitary and prophylactic measures.

The Pasteur Institute at Dakar, a federal concern, is justly famous. [797] Some medical work is done by missionaries. Unofficial committees of the Croix-Rouge are concerned with infant welfare at Dakar, Diourbel, St. Louis, and Tivaouane.

[652] In 1937 Senegal voted 12,000,000 francs for medical services and Dakar 11,000,000 francs.

10. PORTS

36 [131] [162] [489] [743] [717] [648] [654] [697] St. Louis (16° 01′; 16° 30′ W.). Population, 30,586, including 1,231 Europeans. Colonial capital of Senegal and of Mauritania. Full Commune. Headquarters of the province of Bas Sénégal. Custom-house. Law courts. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital and dispensary. Army headquarters and barracks. Police headquarters. Belgian Consulate. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Lycée Faidherbe. École des Fils des Chefs et des Interprètes. Higher Primary and Technical Schools. Protestant and Roman Catholic missions. Bank of West Africa. Power station. Prison. Hotels. Garages. Race-course. Botanical gardens. Experimental plantation. Daily market.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

36
102
491
504
712
133

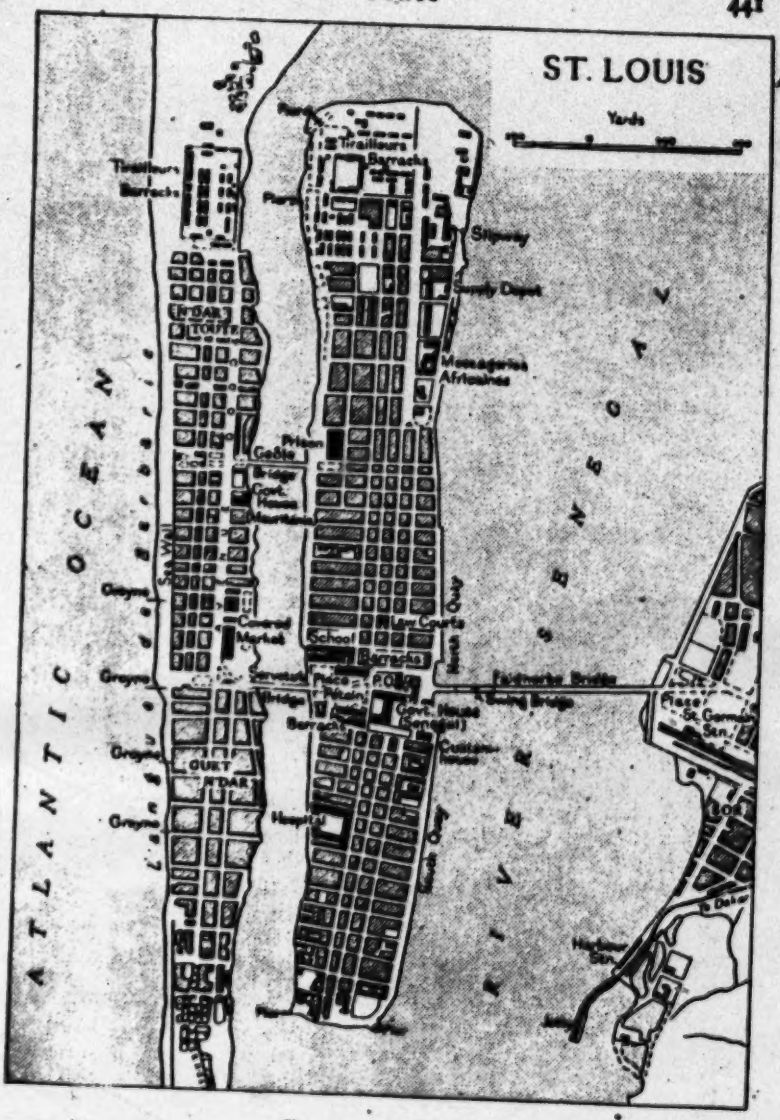


FIG. 53. *St. Louis*

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

[ST. LOUIS]

206 *Wireless.* The wireless station is to the south of Guet N'Dar.

505 *River.* Above Faidherbe Bridge the river is closed to all vessels not
[648] flying the French flag. Boats drawing 10 feet can ascend to Podor all the year round, and in the rainy season they can reach Kayes (Vol. I, p. 367). Table V shows how greatly river traffic on the Senegal has declined in recent years.

TABLE V. *Tonnage of Goods from Kayes*

[497] [494]

	1928	*1929*	*1930*	*1934*	*1935*
Sent by rail or road . .	9,545	9,555	11,456	5,269	6,224
Sent by river	2,520	5,815	3,425	313	260

Shipping. There are no sea-going ships calling regularly, but the Messageries Africaines and the Messageries du Sénégal run services up-river.

36 DAKAR (14° 39′; 17° 25′ W.). Population, 80,052, including *c.* 6,000
[31] Europeans. Capital of the Federation and Headquarters of the
[62] District of Dakar. Full Commune. Custom-house. Law courts.
[489] Chamber of Commerce. Pasteur Institute. Hospitals. Naval base
[712] and dockyard. General Headquarters of the army in French West Africa. Police headquarters. British Consulate-General. Belgian,
[648] Brazilian, Czechoslovakian, Danish, Eireann, Greek, Italian, Netherlands, Norwegian, Swedish, and Swiss Consulates. Argentine, Finnish, Spanish, and Uruguayan Vice-Consulates. Meteoro-
[654] logical station. Airport and seaplane base. Wireless stations.
[508] Colleges and schools. Protestant churches. Roman Catholic Vicariate Apostolic of Guinea and Vicariate General. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Crédit Foncier de l'Ouest Africain. Banque Belge de l'Afrique. Power station.
[697] Prison. Public library. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops.
[498] Cinemas. Race-course. Sports stadium. Botanical gardens.
[654] Agricultural experimental station. Daily market.

Dakar (Fig. 54) is approximately 2,600 miles distant from South-
361 ampton, from Cape Town, and from Rio de Janeiro. It is, therefore, well placed for taking a share in the trade of the South Atlantic, and it
[433] is small wonder that it has become the third port in the French Empire, being surpassed only by Marseilles and Le Havre. It is, moreover, of the first importance strategically.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[p 445]

36
504
764
206
502
102
743
712
498
133

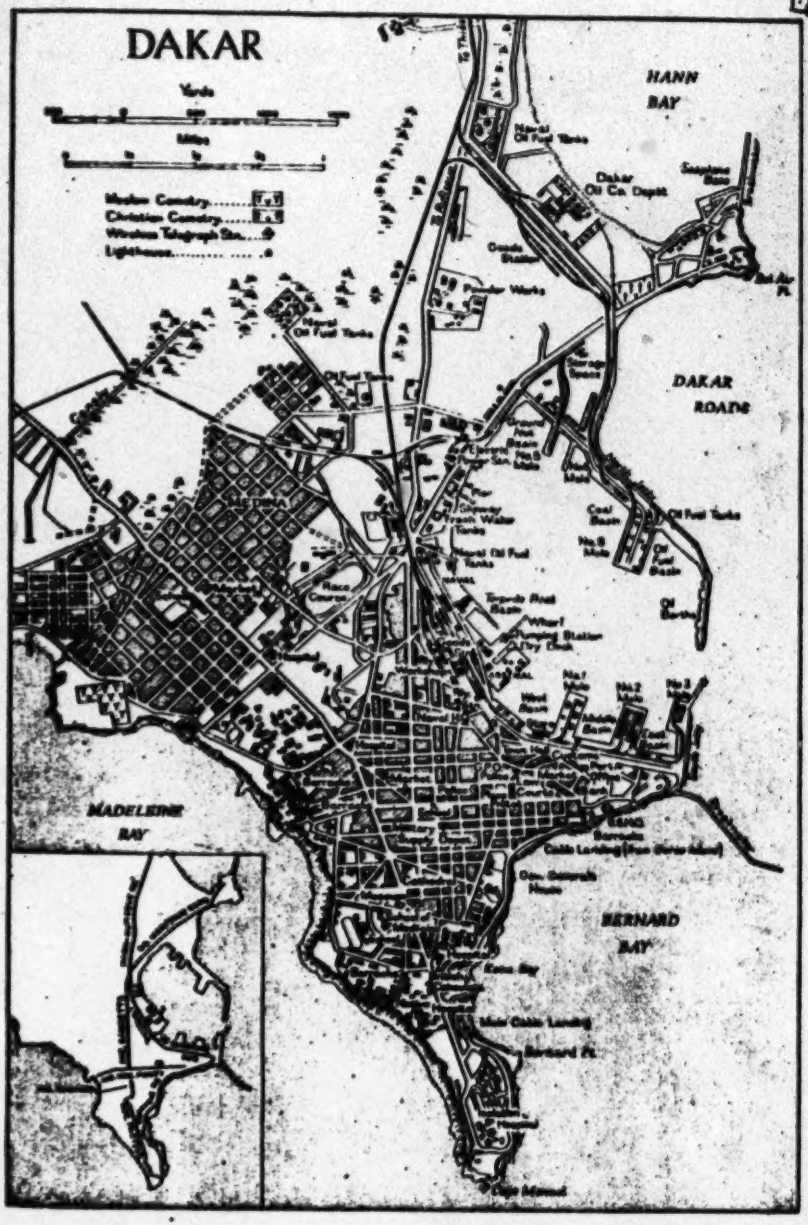


FIG. 54. *Dakar*

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

History

175 361 [717] Until the middle of the nineteenth century Dakar was a Lebou village. In 1846, however, a Roman Catholic convent was built there, and eleven years later the village and the Cape Verde peninsula were officially occupied. In 1858 the French Government signed a contract with the Messageries Impériales (now the Messageries Maritimes) whereby ships sailing between Bordeaux and Rio de Janeiro would call at Dakar. The company acquired 7½ acres of land near Dakar point, and in 1863 a small jetty was built. This was the beginning of the port. In 1864 a lighthouse was constructed near [502] Cape Verde and three years later two others, respectively at Almadi [496] point and at Cape Manuel. In 1885 the railway to St. Louis was opened. It was not, however, until 1898 that the idea was conceived [712] of making Dakar a big naval base, and by 1910 it was capable of accommodating vessels of all types. Further improvements have [504] since been effected, and to-day the dry dock is big enough to take a battleship.

The Town

361 Dakar has grown so as to cover the southern part of the Cape Verde peninsula, but the port is on the east side of the town. On the south-west are the cliffs of Madeleines bay and on the south-east those of Bernard bay. Dakar point marks the northern end of the latter. North of the port is Bel Air point, the southern limit of Hann bay.

The medina or native town, which contains nearly half the population, is to the north-west of the main town. The intercolonial road [491] enters the latter from the north and is continued as the Avenue Gambetta and the Avenue Maginot to an open space where stands [368] the Roman Catholic cathedral. East of the cathedral is the Residence of the Governor-General (Vol. I, Plate 58), magnificently situated on the top of the cliffs overlooking Bernard bay. Farther south are the British Consulate, the Pasteur Institute, the botanical gardens, and, [943] almost at Cape Manuel, the isolation hospital. The buildings of the army headquarters are near Dakar point. West of them are the port offices, the telephone exchange, the principal market, the Mairie (Plate 117), and the law courts. The town contains innumerable shops and offices and many clubs, cafés, hotels, and other amenities of modern civilization.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[DAKAR]

route from Paris to Santiago and was also the terminus of local services to Bamako and to St. Louis. The Aéromaritime company used to run flying-boat services to Conakry, Abidjan, Lagos, Douala, and Pointe Noire. 509

Wireless. The broadcasting station is near Madeleines bay, 700 yards north-west of the cathedral. A small station, transmitting to ships, is on Bel Air point. 206

Cable. Dakar is connected by cable to Casablanca, to Brest, to Fernando Noronha (Brazil), and to Conakry. The two latter cables are landed in the south-west of Bernard bay, not far from the Pasteur Institute. There is, however, a telephone cable to Goree island. This is landed on the north-west shore of the same bay.

Shipping. Lines normally serving the port include the following: America West African, Bull, Chargeurs Réunis, Elder Dempster, Fabre, Fraissinet, Gdynia America, Hamburg-Bremen, Holland West Afrika, Italia, Lloyd Triestino, Maurel et Prom, Messageries du Sénégal, Navigazione Generale Italiana, Société Générale des Transports, Société Maritime Belge des Transports, and Société Navale de l'Ouest. 505

Coasting vessels sail regularly for Port Etienne, St. Louis, Kaolack, and Ziguinchor.

GOREE (14° 39′; 17° 23′ W.). Population, 714. Custom-house. Barracks and military hospital. 36 [131] [162] [712]

The rocky island of Goree (Plate 112) has an area of 138 acres. The first Europeans to land on it were the Portuguese in 1445, and since then it has had a chequered history, which has been told elsewhere in these volumes. [075]

Most of the centre of the island is occupied by buildings, and in the south there is the old fort. In the extreme north is a large lime-kiln. [381]

The only source of water is an artesian well in the fort. [312]

Trade. Trade is now limited to the ordinary requirements of the islanders, and traffic to taking them and their goods to and from the mainland. [938]

Harbour. In the north-east of the island there is a little bay where there are three jetties, only one of which (Plate 121) is now in use. The depth at its head is 10 feet. [504]

RUFISQUE (14° 41′; 17° 12′ W.). Population, 19,764, including 180 Europeans. Full Commune. Custom-house. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Power station. Hotel. Garage. [131] [162] [712]

175, 648, 726

Senegal MS37

[For a discussion of the French relations with the damels of Cayor, a Wolof state, between 1859 and 1864 when this kingdom became part of the colony of Senegal (especially the military operations) see 34:Faidherbe, MS30 Wolof, category 116.]

[17]

The Village of Cambérène (Dakar)

361 175 The village of Cambérène was founded about 1885 by the gathering of tabilés [disciples] around their teacher, Li Mamou Laye Thiaw, who had set up his dwelling near the watercourse Der Gui N'Dargou to the northeast of Yoff (east of the present gardens of the Government).

● 731 175 622 Li Mamou died in 1909, and his brother, Seydina Issa Laye Thiaw, succeeded him at the head of the small zaouïa, which in 1914 was the victim of an epidemic of the plague.

Seydina Issa decided, as is generally done in such cases, to change the location of the little village.

361 Considering his first location unfavorable, being too near the Niaye, he decided to establish it in the open air in front of the heights of the string of littoral dunes on the very edge of the sea, which should, he thought, be healthier.

[369] Having ascertained that in Dakar an effort was made to align the houses and to put straight and wide streets between them, he resolved to order that, in establishing the new village, the center of the site was to be the mosque, which, first constructed [346] of wood and straw, was replaced in 1939 by a handsome edifice of masonry.

To the north and south of the mosque, Seydina Issa laid out two parallel avenues east to west. He placed the dwellings of his family facing the entrance of the mosque, leaving open a large space which he had reserved to the east; at right angles to the principal streets, some north-south streets were laid out, and each family put its dwellings in the form of a U opening on the principal streets.

[18] [Fig. 1. appears here.]

The arrangement was subsequently respected, and the most recent of the 28 land-grants open on a third east-west avenue.

The curious fact of this very precise outline is not noted when one arrives at Cambérène by the road, nor when one goes about on foot within the village, and even the diagram on the map on a scale of 1/50,000 does not make it stand out. Thus, it was a

/128 cont./

654 In order to enjoy these advantages the society member
474 pays an assessment of one franc per year.

244 He can also request and obtain loans of food, rice, or
millet, if he is justified by a case of great necessity: scarcity
[731] as a result of an unfortunate or calamitous event.

[426] Finally, since last year, he has been able to obtain loans in money on the condition of certain guarantees. These loans are granted for cultivation, and also for the improvement of his agricultural equipment, or for starting or enlarging his herd. These loans may amount to as much as 5,000 francs and are to be paid back within several years.

654 In 1927, the members numbered 240,000.

474 The society has 30 storehouses, more than half of which are built out of permanent materials: laterite stones or cement.

[251] /129/ It has utilized its resources to make wells out of
[343] reinforced concrete in order to procure for the inhabitants the
[312] potable water necessary for their needs and for the needs of their animals.

It gives bonuses to the cultivators who exhibit the best harvests. It also awards bonuses for the capture of animals harmful to agriculture.

The work accomplished is remarkable.

[244] The increase in the production of groundnuts in the circle is due to the Société de Prévoyance, under the control of the administration.

In it, commerce has a valuable organization whose usefulness it recognizes and whose incontestable and uncontested services it moreover appreciates.

312 The water problem. Wells. The serious question of water presents itself in the circle as it does everywhere in Senegal. The economic life of the region depends on the water supply of its inhabitants.

In order to prevent the danger of a water shortage, it has been necessary to dig wells. The séanes, natural reservoirs or pockets dug by man, were too small in number. They received rain water, but their volume was limited, and a few weeks sufficed to empty them after the last rainfall.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

was a borrower, only to have other people borrowing from him.

The morning after I had lunch with Diop I went to a Conference in the High Commission on Alcoholism. This, it appeared, was a grave problem in Dakar. The creation of the new Africa has its ugly sides, and this was perhaps one of its most ugly. A favourite drink, named after the local bus service, was the 'Car Rapide'. To make it you mix beer, methylated spirits and a drop of petrol. It is guaranteed to knock you out in one go. In Zuiginchor a more potent drink was made by adding a well-known Parisian perfume to beer.

A day before the Conference *Paris-Dakar*, the local daily newspaper, published an article on alcoholism in M'Backé, a large Senegalese town:

ALCOHOLISM MUST BE FOUGHT

An all out police attack is needed and would be appreciated to seek out and rid our town of a gang of drunks of both sexes who spend their time in the small shops and sordid bars which are hidden all over the town in the guise of restaurants and small eating places.

Most of the proprietors of these cafés add to their miserable occupations that of pimping. Favouring alcoholism, they nevertheless indulge in all revolting forms of debauchery.

In most parts of our town one finds these small cafés nicely divided, serving as homes and places of business.

A few posts in the ground, a roof of polished tiles, a wooden fence and there you have the ideal café.

The interior of these hovels is divided into small compartments with no ventilation and on the ground a few mattresses covered with dirty blankets. The decoration consists of a few old newspapers pasted here and there to keep out the sun. The bar stock lies among packing cases and hidden under the mattresses. In holes made for the purpose are bottles of wine, red, rosé and white, and beer.

To cover up this business known to be officially disliked, the café proprietors keep a kitchen where periodically they prepare meals, hygienically leaving a lot to be desired.

In these sordid places, the atmosphere heavy with noxious smells, they give themselves up to their anti-social pastimes. Debauchery has been given a home here. These are also the rendezvous of scoundrels and receivers of stolen goods.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 275 733 After the great Magal de Touba[1] our town inherited bands of homeless among whom were notorious criminals.

S 369 614 Alcoholism was not the only form of moral decadence in a city like Dakar. Actually crimes of violence, robbing and murder were almost unknown. There were rarely any reference to them in the papers, and a police officer assured me that this was true. However, one read frequently of crimes of passion, such as a man stabbing his friend to death in the course of a quarrel.

S 369 548 There was, I was told, an enormous amount of prostitution in Dakar. I was shown one of the city's more notorious brothels in Rebeusse suburb, a rambling shack that had been raided more than once by police. On the whole prostitution is not organized S [563] because of legal difficulties. A number of prostitutes were white women, who receive patronage mainly from Lebanese and Syrians. I was told of one who went around the Médina in a W small car, serving the local population.

S 369 838 548 On the other hand homosexuality had a much freer rein, being prevalent amongst Africans, Mauretanians and Europeans alike. In Place Prôtet, the main square of Dakar, young African boys, more often than not Jollofs, could be seen waiting to be picked up. Under the Code Napoleon it is, of course, legal, and in theory presents no problem, though many people are worried by its spread in the city.

Of course, to many of these boys with no work, it is one way of making money. But amongst the Jollofs it seems to be more deeply rooted. Contact with Frenchmen in St. Louis, who often preferred black boys to black mistresses and contact with the Mauretanians may provide an explanation.

Today one can even see Jollof men dressed in women's clothes. I once met one in a small bar outside Dakar. He was obviously pathetically feminine. The Jollof must be used to this since they even have a word for them—Gor-Digen. The elders and faithful Muslims condemn men for this, but it is typical of African tolerance that they are left very much alone by the rest W of the people.

589 One reason for the growing tendency of Jollof men to remain bachelors to an age much older than is usual in Africa, if not for their homosexuality, is the character of the Jollof women.

[1] Celebration of Birth of Prophet.

/22 cont./

793 regions veritable villages of which they are practically the
*795 chiefs and the imams.

One of the most remarkable of these men, settled thus in the subdivision of Diourbel, is Mamadou Khabane M'Backé, a big producer of groundnuts and a big businessman. Sérigne Tacko and Sérigne Mamadou Mahmoune, son of Cheikh Anta, and Sérigne Awa M'Balla M'Backé live in about the same fashion. All of these marabouts have a direct influence on a variable number of talibés, for whom they are, in a way, "guides of conscience" and who are attached through them to the Caliph-general. Finally, let us mention the marabout of Darou-Kafour, settled in a little village on the road from Diourbel to M'Backé, who lives modestly in a small establishment. He does not raise crops on a large scale; he devotes himself in particular to directing his Koranic school, /23/ and
•[734] he has made a specialty of caring for the insane. By his gentleness and patience he succeeds in curing the ones whom the Service de Santé /Health Service/ has given up keeping and treating.

793 The Murid brotherhood is thus thoroughly staffed and
*795 directed by all these marabouts who truly have their talibés
795 in hand and who hold them all the better because they bring them a simple and practical solution to the problem, distressing for every man: "What will become of me after death?" .... Every Murid knows that if he has worked for his marabout and has given him a tithe from his goods and income, he will go directly to Paradise, for his marabout, in exchange for his work and gifts, prays for him and will save him without his having to concern himself about his salvation, even if he has gravely sinned.

*795 It is this complete hold that the Murid marabouts have
793 over their disciples which originally caused the brotherhood to be regarded as dangerous and which, joined to the ambitions of Amadou Bamba, provoked difficulties and collisions with the Administration. By now this mistrust and opposition have given

/29 cont./

*795 using animal fertilizers. The very solidity of the Murid hierarchy would make instructions and directives in this direction very effective if the leaders and the great marabouts were willing to give them to their talibés.

But this evolution should not be limited solely to the economic sphere.

To meet the criticisms of the politicians and the more advanced people, it is to be hoped, in the interest of the brotherhood itself, that the Murid leaders will orient themselves toward a new conception of their moral and social doctrine.

Making men work for almost nothing, while in exchange being content to assure them of eternal life and happiness after their death, can look like a swindle to any advanced man. It would be very difficult to put in the wrong those who might violently attack the brotherhood by standing on this argument.

It does not seem that such attacks can be unleashed at present with effectiveness; the time has not yet come, it seems, when political leaders will thus stand up against the Murid leaders and Muridism. Not only are the brotherhood and its leaders still very powerful, but, above all, they represent, better, they are, Islam; now every Senegalese, whatever his political ideas may be, is first of all Moslem, and he clings to his marabouts. It would be difficult to make him accept seeing venerated religious leaders attacked in the public square.

But evolution goes quickly and a day will come when men brought up on the political, syndical, and social struggles of the mother country will not hesitate to batter down the abuses of Muridism before a population to whom the development of education will have given more critical sense and a greater desire for social justice. But it is not desirable that such a struggle be instituted in Senegal.

Certainly the spell over the talibé by his marabout is [034] criticizable. Nevertheless that must not make us forget that [035] the Koran recommends charity and that the Murid marabouts are not wanting in respect for this precept; any sick person,

/29 cont./

*795 any poor person can go to them to ask for alms and hospitality;
[734] he will be taken care of for a long time, and for nothing, and
[735] thus part of the funds collected by the marabouts is redistributed to their faithful in misfortune.

One must especially not lose sight of the fact that Muridism is /30/ an integral part of Islam, even though it does not completely conform to orthodox Islam, even though it has abuses and faults. It is primarily a spiritual force, and it is necessary that political and social evolution, indispensable to the young country of Senegal, does not take place against Muridism, against Islam, against all spirituality.

*795 It is known that the Senegalese marabouts in general and
666 the Murid leaders in particular, on the occasion of the Referendum
648 of September 28, were definitely in favor of the Franco-African Community. This attitude can not be explained solely, as some might insinuate, by their desire to preserve certain relations with France, whose pro-Islamic policy has always been favorable and profitable for them. The true reason for this choice is that, on the one hand, the marabouts well know the present state of the intellectual and political development of their compatriots, and, on the other hand, they want to defend their religion and its spiritual values.

They know that at the present time the advanced wing of the political and syndicalist world groups together advanced young people who are quite far from any religious practice and thought and very violently pro-Marxist, if not pure Marxists.

They probably feared that, by means of an independence as premature as absolute, the present leaders, moderate on the whole, would be very quickly left behind by the extremists and that these would then institute in Senegal a materialistic and atheistic regime to which true and good Moslems would not be able to rally, and from which, probably, the whole of the population would rapidly suffer.

*795 But the development of this prospect would carry us too far. Let us content ourselves, in conclusion, to bring it up and to

/29 cont./

*795 using animal fertilizers. The very solidity of the Murid hierarchy would make instructions and directives in this direction very effective if the leaders and the great marabouts were willing to give them to their talibés.

But this evolution should not be limited solely to the economic sphere.

To meet the criticisms of the politicians and the more advanced people, it is to be hoped, in the interest of the brotherhood itself, that the Murid leaders will orient themselves toward a new conception of their moral and social doctrine.

Making men work for almost nothing, while in exchange being content to assure them of eternal life and happiness after their death, can look like a swindle to any advanced man. It would be very difficult to put in the wrong those who might violently attack the brotherhood by standing on this argument.

It does not seem that such attacks can be unleashed at present with effectiveness; the time has not yet come, it seems, when political leaders will thus stand up against the Murid leaders and Muridism. Not only are the brotherhood and its leaders still very powerful, but, above all, they represent, better, they are, Islam; now every Senegalese, whatever his political ideas may be, is first of all Moslem, and he clings to his marabouts. It would be difficult to make him accept seeing venerated religious leaders attacked in the public square.

But evolution goes quickly and a day will come when men brought up on the political, syndical, and social struggles of the mother country will not hesitate to batter down the abuses of Muridism before a population to whom the development of education will have given more critical sense and a greater desire for social justice. But it is not desirable that such a struggle be instituted in Senegal.

Certainly the spell over the talibé by his marabout is criticizable. Nevertheless that must not make us forget that the Koran recommends charity and that the Murid marabouts are not wanting in respect for this precept; any sick person,

[734]
[735]

/29 cont./

*795 any poor person can go to them to ask for alms and hospitality;
[734] he will be taken care of for a long time, and for nothing, and
[735] thus part of the funds collected by the marabouts is redistributed to their faithful in misfortune.

One must especially not lose sight of the fact that Muridism is /30/ an integral part of Islam, even though it does not completely conform to orthodox Islam, even though it has abuses and faults. It is primarily a spiritual force, and it is necessary that political and social evolution, indispensable to the young country of Senegal, does not take place against Muridism, against Islam, against all spirituality.

*795 It is known that the Senegalese marabouts in general and
666 the Murid leaders in particular, on the occasion of the Referendum
648 of September 28, were definitely in favor of the Franco-African Community. This attitude can not be explained solely, as some might insinuate, by their desire to preserve certain relations with France, whose pro-Islamic policy has always been favorable and profitable for them. The true reason for this choice is that, on the one hand, the marabouts well know the present state of the intellectual and political development of their compatriots, and, on the other hand, they want to defend their religion and its spiritual values.

They know that at the present time the advanced wing of the political and syndicalist world groups together advanced young people who are quite far from any religious practice and thought and very violently pro-Marxist, if not pure Marxists.

They probably feared that, by means of an independence as premature as absolute, the present leaders, moderate on the whole, would be very quickly left behind by the extremists and that these would then institute in Senegal a materialistic and atheistic regime to which true and good Moslems would not be able to rally, and from which, probably, the whole of the population would rapidly suffer.

*795 But the development of this prospect would carry us too far. Let us content ourselves, in conclusion, to bring it up and to

/428 cont./

*511 796 [262] [735] For Korité, although meals more copious than usual are often provided, nevertheless the essential thing is the alms in millet or money that one gives to the poor through the marabout.

For these two celebrations, the percentages stated are not noticeably higher at the top of the table than in the lower part. If, for the first incomes, the family heads are often obliged to do more than their means allow, each seems to adapt himself subsequently to his possibilities (1).

1. For No. 43, the information given concerns the celebrations for Christmas and the first of January.

*511 794 The religious assessments are less numerous than the syndical assessments, but harder to bear. They exist in only three cases above No. 20, but represent 2% of the incomes, and 0.8%. They again noticeably increase in the lower part of the table. As for the gifts to the marabouts, they are perhaps more frequent than we have shown. Many families must have wanted to conceal them. Added to the payment for the [875] teacher at the Koranic school (10 francs per week), these religious obligations end up by noticeably increasing the deficits that already existed at the start.

*511 871 Just as certain products are encountered in only a few families in the case of the routine expenses, we are also going to find here some of another order, but often more important.

There is first the cost of sending the children to school; 13 families send their children to school, public or private, and the outlays made for this can be evaluated as follows:

/429/ /Table XV appears here/ /430/

No. 8: 0.8%	No. 17: 1.8%
No. 10: 0.5%	No. 20: 0.5%
No. 18: 0.5%	No. 28: 0.4%

[Text continues on p. 72]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

large proportion of Christians in the National Assembly. 563
At the time of the break up of the Mali Federation there was some attempt to disparage Senghor because of his religion, but it never gained ground. And whilst there is still in certain quarters some criticism of the presence of a Catholic President, it is not widespread. The fact that neighbouring Gambia's Chief Minister Njie is also a Catholic in a predominantly Muslim country suggests that a tolerance that is so rare amongst Muslim communities may be local to this part of the coast rather than peculiar to Senegal. Senghor himself has been particularly assiduous in his courting of the great Muslim leaders of the country. However French assimilation policy was certainly a contributory factor. Long contact with France and particularly the large number of Senegalese who have studied in France have meant that the modern élite is accustomed to the idea of Catholicism and is able to co-exist with it.

So far the picture we have drawn of modern Senegal is rather an idealised one: a large European minority is tolerated by the African majority and there is remarkably little theoretical or actual animosity towards it; it has a particularly homogeneous population in which traditional ethnic barriers are breaking down, particularly in the major towns which have been most heavily assimilated by France; there is little political friction of ethnic origin and religion does not play an important role in the determination of the country's affairs. Indeed the planning of Senegal's economic development was confided to a Catholic priest not by Senghor, as one might have imagined, but by the Premier, Mamadou Dia, a particularly devout Muslim. In some ways Senegal from a racial and ethnic point of view represents the ideal West African state. But it has its minority problems.

In a sense the Vallée du Fleuve du Sénégal can be called a minority area, but in many ways it is an economic rather than racial problem. Though the Toucouleur tend to look down on, say, the Wolof, because they do not consider [433] [735]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 them strict enough Muslims, the main distinguishing
[433] feature of their homeland, the Vallée du Fleuve du Sénégal,
[735] is its poverty compared with that of other parts of Senegal. Diop Abdoulaye in his study of Toucouleur immigration into Dakar estimates that the average *per capita* income of a Toucouleur of that region is little more than 4,000 *C.F.A.*
[434] per annum, i.e. about £6 a year. It is this rather than any real tribal differences that makes the Vallée a special problem, and this as much as any ethnic factor accounted
[665] for the existence of the *Union Générale de la Vallée du Fleuve.*

563 The only real minority area in the Senegal is the Casa-
619 mance, whose special position is further emphasised by its separation from the main block of Senegal by the Gambia. In the past it has been thought of as geographically, economically, socially and even religiously separate from the rest of Senegal. A forest zone closer to its neighbours Portuguese Guinea and the Republic of Guinea, it remained very underdeveloped by the French, though the present Government is taking this fact into account with a special development programme for the area. This separateness was emphasised by the very name Casamance. The people describe themselves to this day as *Casamançais* rather than Senegalese, though this could well be accepted on the same terms as a Briton describing himself as Scots or Welsh. It is fortunate that the tendency is to talk in terms of regional rather than tribal origin. However one of the important factors in the Casamance has been tribal. The Diolas were until very recently an animist people with an entirely different social organisation from that of the main groups of Senegal, though as we have already pointed out they had traditional ties with the Serer which went as far as the injunction that a Diola should never spill the blood of a Serer. But today the Diola are being drawn into the main socio-religious pattern of Senegal. In the most recent estimate of the religious
[162] adherence of the population of Casamance, estimated at
[771] 327,500, 284,000 were Muslims, only 28,000 Christians and

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

463 has enjoyed a much higher rate of education than was possi-
[563] ble in an Islamic community like Senegal, even taking into account French assimilation policy.

There is a pronounced bias in Senegal against entering into commerce, whether at the African level or at the European level. This bias has been observed by many Europeans. It may be thought of as a mere attempt to explain away the lack of success or rather a lack of desire and intention to Africanise commerce, but against this view, M. Assane Seck, one of the leaders of the Opposition
[665] *P.R.A.-Sénégal* and a lecturer at the university, who might normally be only too pleased to pin the slow rate of Africanisation of commerce on the Government, has said that one of the chief obstacles to the Africanisation of economy at
[571] its higher levels is the preference of the Senegalese élite, and even the lesser educated classes, for work in the Adminitration. Under the French the Administration seems to
[647] have enjoyed a very high status especially as rates of pay
[465] have always been considerably higher than in commerce and industry. Commerce, even when it pays better, has among the Senegalese something of the smear it had in ninteenth-century England.

471 Another barrier to the Africanisation of shopkeeping and
[472] small scale private enterprise is the difficulty the Senegalese have in amassing capital. The obligations towards members
[596] of the extended family are such that a man with money has calls made on it from even his most distant relatives. This social parasitism is much stronger in Senegal than in most West African countries. One of the few important Senegalese business men operating in Dakar today has admitted that he had to reduce his family obligations drastically, not only because he was married to a European, but because unless he did so, he would never be able to keep enough capital in his business. Diop Abdoulaye, in his study of the Tou-
[736] couleur, has protested against the use of the term family parasitism for something which 'makes it possible to help those in need, the unemployed, for example, who can then

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

live whilst waiting to find work; it permits those who are ill, those incapable of work, and those without resources to be taken care of and not die of hunger.'

Probably the most important barrier to the accumulation of capital has been Senegal's dependence on a one-crop economy of ground-nuts. The method of cultivation of ground-nuts and their comparatively low price per ton have worked against the creation of large scale plantations, for instance of cocoa and coffee, which have supplied individual entrepreneurs in the Western Region of Nigeria, in Ghana and in the Ivory Coast with their capital.

These are all factors to set against a situation which otherwise might be explosive. Africanisation has always been a problem in the Senegal and it has increased as the number of professionally trained Africans has increased. But historically, and even today, it has been most acute in the Administration, employment in which is the goal of most young Senegalese. Thus very often commerce is left with the second best. Even so French commercial houses have done far less comparatively to train up an efficient African subaltern class, let alone a managerial élite, than say a company like the United Africa Company in Nigeria. And whilst Senegal was under French control the Administration did very little indeed to encourage Africanisation of commerce.

The present day Senegalese Government, however, recognises the danger of the present position and its efforts to rectify the situation should not be interpreted as a new form of racism but as an honest attempt to maintain the present excellent racial situation. Though the Government has placed many limitations on the autonomy of the trade unions it could not for long suppress criticism of the present structure of Dakar, particularly as Senegal, like all African countries, is subject to propaganda from every quarter. The truth is that there are far too many Europeans doing jobs that Africans could do. In small tea rooms it is not rare to be served by a French girl, for this tea shop is in

/197 cont./

511 per home in the districts. This fact may be explained by two
592 other reasons: on the one hand, the disappearance of homes
602 reduced to single or divorced persons, in favor of the conjugal family; on the other hand, as part of this, an increase in the number of spouses.

2) Family solidarity is no less a patent fact in the districts than in the quarters. It works in two ways: the first consists of taking complete charge of the housing and support of brothers, nephews, or other relatives. This is shown in the figure of 38% of the families who extend beyond the framework of the conjugal family properly speaking. In this respect the inhabitants of the districts behave much the same as the others. But they make a greater effort with respect to the second form of family solidarity: sending money to relatives to all or part of their living expenses.

369 3) The betterment of living conditions and the participation to a certain degree in the material comfort that the urban environment brings with it do not necessarily mean a rupture and an overthrow of traditional social behavior. On the contrary, on two points, polygamy and family solidarity, there is a reinforcement of these behaviors, and, if one may apply this terminology to Senegal, it is not "detribalization" which should be spoken of, but "supertribalization."

/198/ Conclusion

Despite its youth, Dagoudane-Pikine is a definite city no less than Dakar, although closely dependent upon the latter. It is a city by reason of its area, the size of its population, the effort undertaken with regard to equipment, especially with regard to schools, and finally by the type of work offered to an important part of the economically active population. It is also a typical African city, with its small number of durable buildings, the considerable unemployment, the large number of young people, and above all, its gross
[444] deficiencies of public equipment. We have not spoken of its
[443] health equipment; it is still terribly inadequate, although

/198 cont./

369 a pharmacy has opened since the investigation took place,
[444] and the construction of a maternity hospital is in progress...
[943] Some large sewer works are to be undertaken.

369 On the other hand, it is certain that the material dif-
571 ference between the two habitat groups, very distinct geographically, brings about and expresses an indisputable sociological difference. The population of the districts enjoys superior conditions of comfort, it is better acculturated to the urban environment, the educational level there is higher on the average, and, on the occupational level, one finds there a large proportion of officials and minor staffs of industry and commerce. All these factors therefore contribute to accentuating a certain separation between two social layers. But at the same time that integration into modern life and work and participation in the advantages and obligations of the urban environment alienate the inhabitants of the districts from traditional conditions, and by that even from their fellow-citizens who do not have the same advantages, a reverse movement of return to tradition or of reinforcement of former behaviors is discernible. There is thus not really a rupture: the family patterns, the relationships between man and woman, change less quickly than housing conditions, and this explains why the unity of the society has not been affected, at least not yet, by the recent change, and why the style of family life remains the same in the parcels of the quarters or in the enclosed concessions of the districts. A more detailed analysis of the conflicts of these contradictory forces belongs to another work.

20: Seck--19 U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 382-383/

36
102
491
496
504
712
743

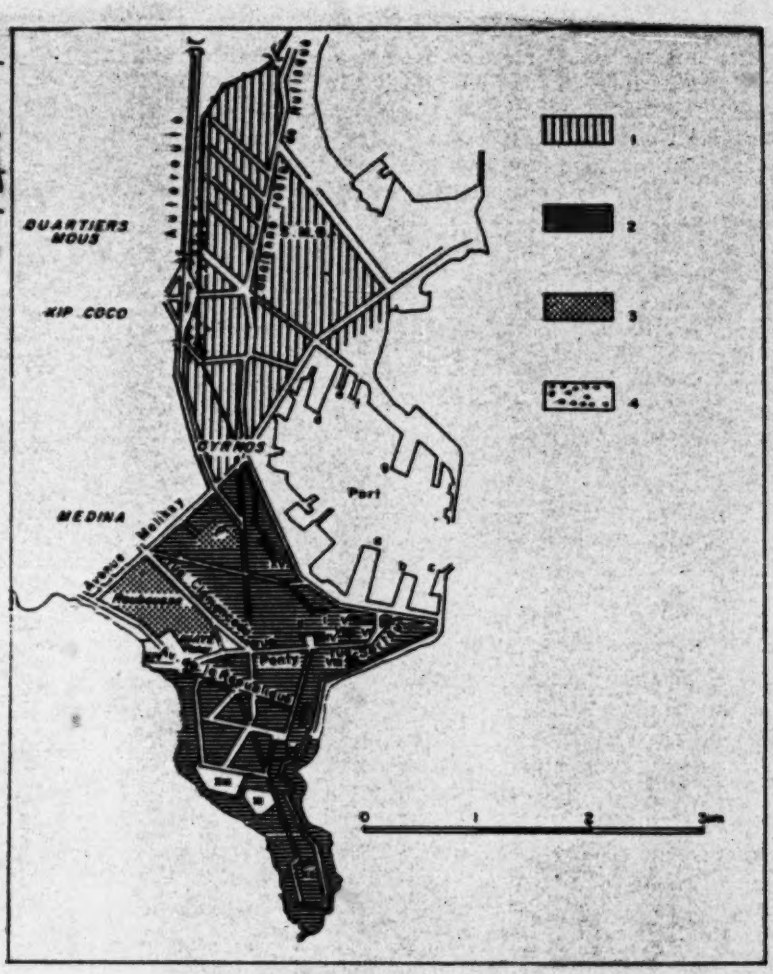


Fig. 3. Dakar. The port and the industrial zone. -- 1. The industrial zone; 2. the very urbanized sections; 3. low quarters; 4. irregular quarters.

(Caption Continued on following page.)

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

874 In 1927 apprentice courses in woodwork and metalwork were started in St. Louis and Kaolack by the Public Works Department for selected schoolboys between the ages of 13 and 16 years.

871 There is a number of educational institutions in Dakar of a higher grade than primary. These are the responsibility of the Federal Government and have been described in Volume I.

Health

743 Senegal is divided into thirteen medical districts, each of which is intended to be under the supervision of a European medical officer. There are 17 medical stations, each under a native auxiliary. There are also 16 maternity centres and 117 posts visited once a week by a medical officer.

In 1937 Senegal and Dakar had 3 major hospitals and 34 minor hospitals and dispensaries. These provided 394 beds for European patients and 1,805 for native. There were 80 European medical officers, 31 native auxiliaries, 30 midwives, 124 male nurses, and 21 female nurses.

[744] In addition there were four travelling parties (*groupes sanitaires mobiles*). One of these specialized in fighting sleeping-sickness in the Casamance Territory, and the other three were concerned with more general sanitary and prophylactic measures.

The Pasteur Institute at Dakar, a federal concern, is justly famous. [797] Some medical work is done by missionaries. Unofficial committees of the Croix-Rouge are concerned with infant welfare at Dakar, Diourbel, St. Louis, and Tivaouane.

[652] In 1937 Senegal voted 12,000,000 francs for medical services and Dakar 11,000,000 francs.

10. PORTS

36 St. Louis (16° 01′; 16° 30′ W.). Population, 30,586, including [131] 1,231 Europeans. Colonial capital of Senegal and of Mauritania. [162] Full Commune. Headquarters of the province of Bas Sénégal. [489] Custom-house. Law courts. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital [743] and dispensary. Army headquarters and barracks. Police head- [712] quarters. Belgian Consulate. Meteorological station. Landing- [648] ground. Wireless station. Lycée Faidherbe. École des Fils des [654] Chefs et des Interprêtes. Higher Primary and Technical Schools. Protestant and Roman Catholic missions. Bank of West Africa. [697] Power station. Prison. Hotels. Garages. Race-course. Botanical gardens. Experimental plantation. Daily market.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[p 445]

36
504
764
206
502
102
743
712
498
133

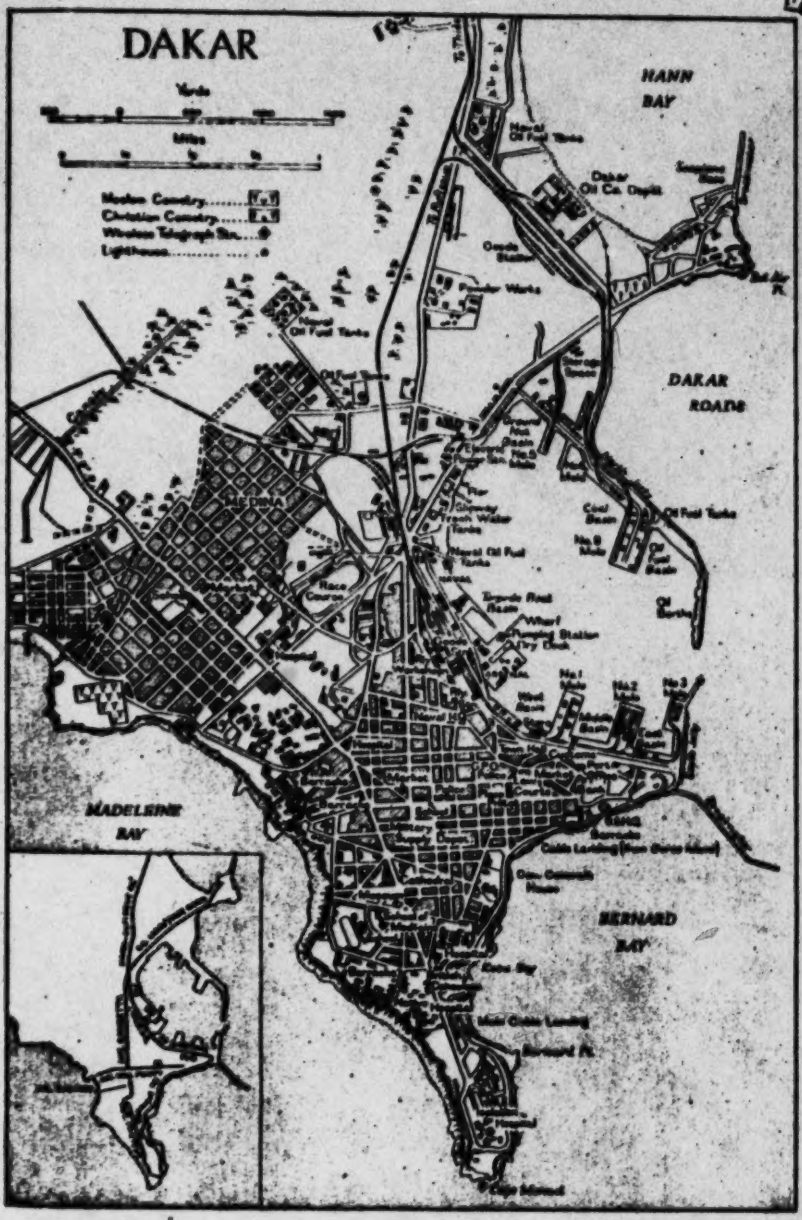


FIG. 54. *Dakar*

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

History

175 361 [197] Until the middle of the nineteenth century Dakar was a Lebou village. In 1846, however, a Roman Catholic convent was built there, and eleven years later the village and the Cape Verde peninsula were officially occupied. In 1858 the French Government signed a contract with the Messageries Impériales (now the Messageries Maritimes) whereby ships sailing between Bordeaux and Rio de Janeiro would call at Dakar. The company acquired 7½ acres of land near Dakar point, and in 1863 a small jetty was built. This was the beginning of the port. In 1864 a lighthouse was constructed near [502] Cape Verde and three years later two others, respectively at Almadi [496] point and at Cape Manuel. In 1885 the railway to St. Louis was opened. It was not, however, until 1898 that the idea was conceived [712] of making Dakar a big naval base, and by 1910 it was capable of accommodating vessels of all types. Further improvements have [504] since been effected, and to-day the dry dock is big enough to take a battleship.

The Town

361 Dakar has grown so as to cover the southern part of the Cape Verde peninsula, but the port is on the east side of the town. On the south-west are the cliffs of Madeleines bay and on the south-east those of Bernard bay. Dakar point marks the northern end of the latter. North of the port is Bel Air point, the southern limit of Hann bay.

The medina or native town, which contains nearly half the population, is to the north-west of the main town. The intercolonial road [491] enters the latter from the north and is continued as the Avenue Gambetta and the Avenue Maginot to an open space where stands [368] the Roman Catholic cathedral. East of the cathedral is the Residence of the Governor-General (Vol. I, Plate 58), magnificently situated on the top of the cliffs overlooking Bernard bay. Farther south are the British Consulate, the Pasteur Institute, the botanical gardens, and, [943] almost at Cape Manuel, the isolation hospital. The buildings of the army headquarters are near Dakar point. West of them are the port offices, the telephone exchange, the principal market, the Mairie (Plate 117), and the law courts. The town contains innumerable shops and offices and many clubs, cafés, hotels, and other amenities of modern civilization.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

[KAOLACK]

(33 miles) and Medina (50 miles), and a third west to Foundiougne (32 miles). 36 [491]

Air. The airfield is 1 mile north-east of the town. [508]

Wireless. The wireless station is in the centre of the town. [206]

Shipping. Boats of the Messageries du Sénégal line call regularly, and the Compagnie de Navigation Paquet maintains a weekly service with Foundiougne, Bathurst, and Dakar. [505]

ZIGUINCHOR (12° 32′; 16° 21′ W.). Population, 6,070. Mixed Commune. Headquarters of the Casamance Territory and of the Province of Ziguinchor. Custom-house. Magistrate's Court. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital and maternity home. Police headquarters. Meteorological station. Emergency landing-ground. Wireless station. Roman Catholic mission. Garages. Daily market. [131] [162] [743]

The first large piece of firm ground upstream from the mouth of the Casamance is nearly 42 miles from the sea, and it is here, on the left bank, that Ziguinchor stands. The depth of the river is 6 fathoms. Jetties have been built at right angles to the waterfront, partly to counteract silting, and ships drawing 15 feet can go alongside them. The quays have a total length of over 3,000 feet and the warehouses a total capacity of some 25,000 tons. There are no cranes, all goods being manhandled. [504]

There is a considerable variety of exports, including ground-nuts, fruit, rice, palm oil, palm kernels, cotton, tobacco, sisal, and hides, but imports are chiefly manufactured goods and building materials. In value of trade Ziguinchor comes between Foundiougne and Rufisque. [439]

Communications

Road. The river is crossed by a ferry, and a colonial road leads north to Bignona (16 miles) and then east to Sedhiou (74 miles) and Kolda (136 miles). Another one goes along the south bank of the Casamance, also to Kolda (130 miles). Minor roads lead south to the frontier of Portuguese Guinea and south-west to Oussouye and Diembering. [491]

Air. Seaplanes can alight in the river, and there is a weekly Aéromaritime service to Bathurst and Dakar. The landing-ground is 1½ miles south of the town. [509]

Wireless. The two wireless stations are housed in the same building. [206]

/Fig. 3 Caption cont./

36
102
491
496
504
712
743

a-g. The piers. -- I. Town Hall. -- II. Chambre de Commerce. -- III. Sandaga Market (Ponty-Clemenceau crossroads). -- IV. Former Palace of Justice. -- V. General Postoffice. -- VI. Treasury. -- VII. Kermel Market. -- VIII. Military Circle. -- IX. Residence of the President of the Republic. -- X. Military Hospital. -- XI. African Hospital. -- XII. Palace of Justice. -- XIII. Camp Bornis. -- XIV. Camp Galliéni. -- XV. Station.

369
563
162

/383 cont./ one another in Dakar are Lébou, Ouolof /Wolof/, Toucouleur /Tukolor/, Sérère /Serer/, Sarakolé, Diola, Socé, etc., who are Senegalese, but there are also Mauritanians, Sudanese, Voltaics, Guineans, Ivorians /persons from the Ivory Coast/, Dahomeans, Cape Verdeans, Lebano-Syrians, French, etc. The Lébou, who are the original population of Dakar, today represent scarcely one-tenth of the population, exceeded in number by the Oulof, the Toucouleur (20), and even by the 30,000 non-Africans,

[113]

20. A. Diop, "L'immigration toucouleur à Dakar (enquête /investigation/ 1958-1959)," I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 1. The author, citing an investigation by the M.I.S.O.E.S., gives the figure of 31,000 Toucouleur in 1959.

among whom the French constitute a great majority of close to 23,000 persons in residence. This character of Dakar as a [166] region of call is illustrated first by the fact that only a little more than one-third of the population was born there. /384/ and then by the quite obvious inequality between the number of men and that of women. Before the war, among the Europeans, there were 65% men as against 25% women and 10% [744] children (21). Today the systematic destruction of the

21. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar," op. cit., p. 630.

/104 cont./

743 Medical aid. Medical aid and the struggle against epidemics are assured by the dispensaries set up at Kaolack and Fatick, each directed by a European doctor.

[759] The latter have under their orders native doctors and midwives residing in the chief town or distributed at the medical posts.

The commune of Kaolack also has a municipal dis-
[652] pensary under the direction of a European doctor who is paid out of the funds of the communal budget.

744 Urban hygienic services likewise exist in the principal agglomerations of the circle, especially at Kaolack, Fatick, Foundiougne, Gossas, and Kaffrine.

Anti-variolic vaccination is practiced in even the smallest villages.

III. Economic Development

162 Labor force. The population of the circle is 28,000 natives and 1,300 Europeans and assimilated individuals.

161 The population density is thus 10.8 inhabitants per square kilometer, a proportion higher than the average for the whole of French West Africa, which does not amount to three inhabitants per square kilometer.

464 An employment office operates in the circle.

This does not prevent /Pl. 1 appears here/ /105/ serious difficulties in the recruitment of the labor force. The latter is unstable and inexperienced. Wages are not high at all,
465 especially in the cities.

At the time of the loading of the ships in the port of Kaolack, the wages of the workers sometimes climb to 15 and 20 francs per day. They are set on the average at 12 francs.

In some European operations, as at Latmingué, the agricultural workers have a daily wage of eight francs and in addition receive a ration of rice.

/Fig. 3 Caption cont./

36
102
491
496
504
712
743

a-g. The piers. -- I. Town Hall. -- II. Chambre de Commerce. -- III. Sandaga Market (Ponty-Clemenceau crossroads). -- IV. Former Palace of Justice. -- V. General Postoffice. -- VI. Treasury. -- VII. Kermel Market. -- VIII. Military Circle. -- IX. Residence of the President of the Republic. -- X. Military Hospital. -- XI. African Hospital. -- XII. Palace of Justice. -- XIII. Camp Bornis. -- XIV. Camp Galliéni. -- XV. Station.

369
563
162

/383 cont./ one another in Dakar are Lébou, Ouolof /Wolof/, Toucouleur /Tukolor/, Sérère /Serer/, Sarakolé, Diola, Socé, etc., who are Senegalese, but there are also Mauritanians, Sudanese, Voltaics, Guineans, Ivorians /persons from the Ivory Coast/, Dahomeans, Cape Verdeans, Lebano-Syrians, French, etc. The Lébou, who are the original population of Dakar, today represent scarcely one-tenth of the population, exceeded in number by the Oulof, the Toucouleur (20), and even by the 30,000 non-Africans,

[113]

20. A. Diop, "L'immigration toucouleur à Dakar (enquête /investigation/ 1958-1959)," I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 1. The author, citing an investigation by the M.I.S.O.E.S., gives the figure of 31,000 Toucouleur in 1959.

among whom the French constitute a great majority of close to 23,000 persons in residence. This character of Dakar as a [166] region of call is illustrated first by the fact that only a little more than one-third of the population was born there, /384/ and then by the quite obvious inequality between the number of men and that of women. Before the war, among the Europeans, there were 65% men as against 25% women and 10% [744] children (21). Today the systematic destruction of the

21. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar," op. cit., p. 630.

162 /384 cont./
369 breeding-places of mosquitoes in the numerous swamps of the
563 peninsula having been successfully undertaken by the federal
[744] authorities, one can better appreciate the exceptionally pleas-
[192] ant climate of Dakar, subject eight months of the year to the "influences of the Canaries" (cool and brisk current, marine trade-wind from the northeast), and an equilibrium tends to be established between men, women, and children, the first nevertheless still remaining the most numerous; in 1955, 39% men against 31% women and 30% children for the total non-African population; and 35% men, 30% women, and 35% children for the non-African population in residence. Among the Africans, one can verify the same phenomenon: 36% men, 31% women, and 35% children less than 14 years of age for the total population; 34% men, 31% women, and 35% children for the population in residence. Despite this tendency toward equilibrium, the fact remains that for the whole population of Dakar, men over 14 years of age are definitely more numerous than women over 14 years of age and than children; the balance sheet gives 37% for the men as against 30% for the women and 35% for the children.

369 This situation is explained by the fact that immigration
563 to Dakar is first of all of interest to the men, for whom it carries
166 the hope of a better position, but it also represents a daring
162 enterprise on which one does not take women and children until definite opportunities for settling down present themselves. This fact is particularly clear for the non-resident population, among whom the proportion of men is very high. Thus, among the non-resident Africans, there are 57% men as against 27% women and 16% children. The proportion is even higher among non-resident foreigners: 77% men as against 12% women and 11 % children.

[464] But though settling in Dakar is almost always linked to employment for the non-African population, it is not the same for Africans. The destruction of the villagers' traditional institutions, modern transportation, the facilities for hospitality

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

874 In 1927 apprentice courses in woodwork and metalwork were started in St. Louis and Kaolack by the Public Works Department for selected schoolboys between the ages of 13 and 16 years.

871 There is a number of educational institutions in Dakar of a higher grade than primary. These are the responsibility of the Federal Government and have been described in Volume I.

Health

743 Senegal is divided into thirteen medical districts, each of which is intended to be under the supervision of a European medical officer. There are 17 medical stations, each under a native auxiliary. There are also 16 maternity centres and 117 posts visited once a week by a medical officer.

In 1937 Senegal and Dakar had 3 major hospitals and 34 minor hospitals and dispensaries. These provided 394 beds for European patients and 1,805 for native. There were 80 European medical officers, 31 native auxiliaries, 30 midwives, 124 male nurses, and 21 female nurses.

[744] In addition there were four travelling parties (*groupes sanitaires mobiles*). One of these specialized in fighting sleeping-sickness in the Casamance Territory, and the other three were concerned with more general sanitary and prophylactic measures.

The Pasteur Institute at Dakar, a federal concern, is justly famous.

[797] Some medical work is done by missionaries. Unofficial committees of the Croix-Rouge are concerned with infant welfare at Dakar, Diourbel, St. Louis, and Tivaouane.

[652] In 1937 Senegal voted 12,000,000 francs for medical services and Dakar 11,000,000 francs.

10. PORTS

36 St. Louis (16° 01′; 16° 30′ W.). Population, 30,586, including
[131] 1,231 Europeans. Colonial capital of Senegal and of Mauritania.
[162] Full Commune. Headquarters of the province of Bas Sénégal.
[489] Custom-house. Law courts. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital
[743] and dispensary. Army headquarters and barracks. Police head-
[712] quarters. Belgian Consulate. Meteorological station. Landing-
[648] ground. Wireless station. Lycée Faidherbe. École des Fils des
[654] Chefs et des Interprêtes. Higher Primary and Technical Schools.
Protestant and Roman Catholic missions. Bank of West Africa.
[697] Power station. Prison. Hotels. Garages. Race-course. Botanical gardens. Experimental plantation. Daily market.

/104 cont./

743 Medical aid. Medical aid and the struggle against epidemics are assured by the dispensaries set up at Kaolack and Fatick, each directed by a European doctor.

[759] The latter have under their orders native doctors and midwives residing in the chief town or distributed at the medical posts.

[652] The commune of Kaolack also has a municipal dispensary under the direction of a European doctor who is paid out of the funds of the communal budget.

744 Urban hygienic services likewise exist in the principal agglomerations of the circle, especially at Kaolack, Fatick, Foundiougne, Gossas, and Kaffrine.

Anti-variolic vaccination is practiced in even the smallest villages.

III. Economic Development

162 Labor force. The population of the circle is 28,000 natives and 1,300 Europeans and assimilated individuals.

161 The population density is thus 10.8 inhabitants per square kilometer, a proportion higher than the average for the whole of French West Africa, which does not amount to three inhabitants per square kilometer.

464 An employment office operates in the circle.

This does not prevent /Pl. 1 appears here/ /105/ serious difficulties in the recruitment of the labor force. The latter is unstable and inexperienced. Wages are not high at all, 465 especially in the cities.

At the time of the loading of the ships in the port of Kaolack, the wages of the workers sometimes climb to 15 and 20 francs per day. They are set on the average at 12 francs.

In some European operations, as at Latmingué, the agricultural workers have a daily wage of eight francs and in addition receive a ration of rice.

/37/

During the dry season the ground appears bare, but with the first rains it is covered with a lusty vegetation, and it is principally the Gramineae that thus again adorns with verdure this land previously so desolate. S 137

I. -- Gramineae: Food Crops

The petit mil /small millet/, mil chandelle or penicillaire /candle or penicillate millet/ (Pennisetum), is native to Africa. It is also cultivated in India; undoubtedly it was at the time of the slave trade that it was introduced into America. This is the early small millet, or souna of the Wolof. The souna must be sown at the time of the first rains. It shoots up promptly; it grows well in the light, sandy soils (groundnut soils). After the 15th of August it begins to ripen, and one can already eat the unripe ears roasted. When it begins to push out of the ground, the Senegalese, and especially the Sérère /Serer/, sow beans between the rows; this is the volet (Phaseolus vulgaris), which will be eaten as green beans from the 15th of August on. The souna root is regarded by the Africans as a poison and, according to them, might be one of the causes of sleeping sickness. S 243 W [243] S [252] S [244] S [753]

Another variety of small millet is the sanio of the Wolof, late millet or bearded millet (Penicillaria spicata). This is a late variety of small millet with the ears covered with very strong beards, which, entering the eyes of birds, prevents them from eating it. It is said that it gives sottiete (eye ailments). The sanio grows in heavy soils. It is sown during the rainy season and harvested at the end of it, at the same time as groundnuts. W [243] S [753]

The gros mil /great millet/, or basi of the Wolof, requires a heavy and clayey soil. It ripens much later than the souna and can be cultivated in the middle of the rainy season. Sometimes it can even be planted again toward the end of the winter season when one sees that the first sowings have failed. The great millet, or basi, is sorghum (Sorghum sudanense). W [243] S 262

Millet reduced to flour and granulated is called "couscous."

/37 cont./

This is the most common preparation, but the native cuisine is acquainted with a host of others. The couscous is light, refreshing, and very nourishing. S 262

Millet is also given to horses. Basi is used the most in this practice, but souna gives them more vigor, although heating them up more. S 231

The Africans, by making millet germinate and putting it in water to boil for several days, obtain a kind of invigorating beer (pouh in Wolof), but one which, if taken in great quantities, produces a very heavy drunkenness. Millet, just like maize, fattens animals quickly, especially poultry. S W 273 S 231

Sorghum is a plant widely cultivated in Senegal. It is necessary to accustom the Senegalese farmer as rapidly as possible to replacing the ordinary variety by that of the sweet sorghum, that is, the saccharatum variety, which would have the advantage of giving sugar and grain. This saccharatum variety is utilized a great deal in the United States for the production of sugar. Then a sugar refinery would be created, which would be one more source of wealth for this country, wealth all the more appreciable because the African is fond of delicacies and a great consumer of sugar (mint tea, Moorish coffee, and infusions). S 243 S [493] [263] [272]

Rice. It is cultivated in Senegal in damp places, on the edges of marigots /watercourses/, in Sine, in Casamance, and at the mouth of the river (Richard-Toll, etc.). A large number of varieties is known, some of which grow in relatively dry and high places; black rice is one of them.

The African rice is Oryza glaberrima, but wild rice grows by itself; this is Oryza latifolia (punctata and sylvestris). The native rice is much more in demand by the Africans and often even by the Europeans than foreign rice. African cooks excel in preparing rice in all kinds of ways. S [137] S 262

Rice is emollient, soothing, very nourishing, and not at all binding or constipating as is sometimes thought. It also gives a beer by fermentation. Rice water renders great service in dysentery, as a beverage, and for bathing. Rice water is also a cooling drink for feverish and inflammatory ailments. Finally, rice powder is useful as an absorbent for skin diseases. S 273 757 [272] [515]

/38/

Maize (Zea mays L.): Succeeds well when sown at the beginning of the winter season. The native species sown under these conditions is very beautiful and gives large yellow ears, very well filled out. The Africans eat fresh roasted corn, and, when it is hard, they make couscous of it. The infusion prepared with the fruit is emollient and diuretic. The styles or stigmas of maize are famous as diuretics and cure several ailments of the urinary tract (cystitis, gravel, dysuria, etc.); the young kernels, when cooked, constitute an excellent vegetable and replace peas; the flour gives a beer and an alcoholic extract. The husks of the ears serve to make quite springy mattresses. 243 262 757 [273] [513]

II. -- Useful Gramineae

(not being subject to any cultivation)

Bamboo. -- Grows in the wild state in the Ravin des Voleurs /Ravine of Thieves/ near Thiès. The native species is rather small. Stakes, frames, masts of dugouts, huts, and fences, but especially clinting (constructions of bamboo filled in with lime) are made of it. The young shoots are said to be edible, and the sweet sap is supposed to be an agreeable drink. In Casamance a small species of bamboo grows in shady places; pipestems are made of it. 824 [313] [342] [262] [272] [276]

Begnefala (Andropogon shirensis). -- A tall gramineous plant with a penetrating aromatic odor. It is used in African medicine and the old colonials used it with success at the time of the great epidemic of yellow fever at Dakar in 1927. For fevers, one pounds the floral heads mixed with lemon or vinegar and energetically rubs the body with this mixture. [757]

Hada (Imperata cylindrica). -- A gramineous plant with a very hard leaf and whitish ear, which is used for covering the roofs of huts. [342]

Hat (Andropogon gayanus). -- Tall grass whose stem is used in making fences around huts. [351]

Haham or cram-cram (Cenchrus biflorus). -- Its seeds fasten themselves to clothing and are very disagreeable. Is gathered and [262]

/104 cont./

743 Medical aid. Medical aid and the struggle against epidemics are assured by the dispensaries set up at Kaolack and Fatick, each directed by a European doctor.

[759] The latter have under their orders native doctors and midwives residing in the chief town or distributed at the medical posts.

[652] The commune of Kaolack also has a municipal dispensary under the direction of a European doctor who is paid out of the funds of the communal budget.

744 Urban hygienic services likewise exist in the principal agglomerations of the circle, especially at Kaolack, Fatick, Foundiougne, Gossas, and Kaffrine.

Anti-variolic vaccination is practiced in even the smallest villages.

III. Economic Development

162 Labor force. The population of the circle is 28,000 natives and 1,300 Europeans and assimilated individuals.

161 The population density is thus 10.8 inhabitants per square kilometer, a proportion higher than the average for the whole of French West Africa, which does not amount to three inhabitants per square kilometer.

464 An employment office operates in the circle.

This does not prevent /Pl. 1 appears here/ /105/ serious difficulties in the recruitment of the labor force. The latter is unstable and inexperienced. Wages are not high at all,
465 especially in the cities.

At the time of the loading of the ships in the port of Kaolack, the wages of the workers sometimes climb to 15 and 20 francs per day. They are set on the average at 12 francs.

In some European operations, as at Latmingué, the agricultural workers have a daily wage of eight francs and in addition receive a ration of rice.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 565 582 S [595] caste from his own tribe. The extent to which caste matters is brought out by the case of a young Catholic girl from a devout family who, rather than marry a fellow Catholic out of caste, in the end became the polygamous wife of a Muslim of the same caste. Within any ethnic group in Senegal marriage out of caste is extremely rare.

S 565 W [565] S [533] [814] The caste system is not vicious in any real sense. For the privileges of a high caste entail many obligations. Thus a noble Wolof family will be obliged to feed and pay frequent sums of money to its family griots (minstrels, praise-singers and family historians) and if they fail to do this the griot is able to shame them publicly as a poor or mean family, something a Wolof would avoid at all costs. Likewise the artisan castes have a monopoly in their respective trades, since it would be impossible for a noble or free man to undertake the work of a jeweller or smith. Nevertheless in Senegalese society the term 'bijoutier' or 'tisserand' has slight contempt attached to it. The only caste to suffer socially in any way is of course that designated slave, because of the implications of such a status. In social investigations amongst the factory workers of Dakar, M. André Hauser found very few indeed who would admit to being of slave caste.

S [463] [326] S [567]

At present it is certainly a disadvantage to belong to any of the inferior castes, and though one hears of a few cases of open clashes between castes, in the present state of affairs it is certain that a number of young men resent this classification of people into superior and inferior groups and it is very much less important to them than to the older generation.

S 565 764 578 Early in 1961 *Agence Presse Sénégalaise* reported 'bloody clashes between griots and non-griots at Diack'. These ended with several dead and a number of wounded and started as a result of the refusal of non-griots to accept the burial of griots in their burial ground. The Minister of the Interior himself went to settle the dispute and gathered the whole population to tell them that his Government gave

S [641]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

equal status to all Senegalese and wanted to make everyone true Senegalese citizens whether they were griots, leather-workers or jewellers. Afterwards the non-griots agreed that the griots who had just died should be buried 'in the same way as anyone else, and as a beginning they agreed to let the burial of the victim of the incident take place, not in the traditional baobab but in Diack earth.'

In the Government today there are, amongst those members belonging to tribes with a class system only two of inferior caste, one being a 'bijoutier' and one a griot. It is said of another that he is of slave origin, but this is not certain because politicians often try to attribute inferior caste to their opponents. In the Assembly, of the members with caste all are noble or freeborn with the exception of one 'bijoutier', and one griot. It is thus at present difficult to get on in politics unless one is noble or freeborn. Indeed chiefly connexion is important, even though chiefs are no longer of significance administratively. Thus in 1957 Kenneth Robinson wrote:

> Membership of chiefly families is, nevertheless, an important source not only of prestige but of political interest. In many interviews with political leaders in the smaller townships and villages they almost invariably defined their own position, and that of their fellows, in part by reference to their relationship with the ruling families, or with the indigenous caste system.

Mr. William Foltz, who is making a detailed survey of Senegalese politics, has however observed that the local party groups in the country are increasingly representative of the inferior castes and many of the important backroom boys are of inferior caste, which suggests that there may be a change from the present situation at the next elections. But so far, as Mercier has observed, it does not look as though high standing in the modern context can yet completely redeem traditional inferiority.

The caste system in Senegal is one of the most delicate problems confronting the Senegalese Government today.

/388 cont./

369 as the Plateau. The low quarters that border the avenue Malick
361 Sy and which are crossed by the route de l'Abbattoir /Slaughter-
[363] house Road/ quite obviously differ from the rest. In Rebeus and
[364] in Niayes-Thioker, few of the streets are paved, and, during winter, ponds where household debris rots often surround the low permanent houses and the neighboring huts.

[162] Dakar-ville has only 46,000 inhabitants, among whom
[563] are almost two-thirds of the 30,000 non-Africans of Dakar.

Gorée, the fallen capital, which has become a military, tourist, and, to a slight extent, residential annex of Dakar, is attached to this section.

[563] 2. The Médina. Containing practically only Africans,
[764] the Médina is much more densely populated than Dakar-ville. Blocked on the west by the Moslem cemetery and on the north by the canal of the Gueule-Tapée, the Médina has not ceased stretching toward the east since its creation during the First World War. It presents several aspects: the oldest part, east
[363] of the avenue Blaise-Diagne, has all of its streets paved and planted with trees; it has few huts, and permanent houses are
[364] erected almost everywhere there; many sanitary facilities and public fountains complement the private establishments and make this quarter relatively clean and pleasant (Fig. 4 and Pl. XXII B).[7]

The farther one goes toward the east, however, beyond the avenue Blaise-Diagne, the newer the quarter is and the more it gives the appearance of a wretched village. Thus, between
[363] the avenue Blaise-Diagne and the Gendarmerie, although some
[364] principal arteries are paved, most of the streets remain sandy and obstructed with household rubbish. Moreover, one notes some permanent houses here and there, to be sure, but huts are much more numerous. East of the Gendarmerie, Colobane is even less well arranged, while, beyond the automobile road, Kip-Coco and Quartier Mous, veritable camp cities for new arrivals, are called "irregular quarters," that is to say, quarters temporarily tolerated, although no right of the inhabitants to settle there can be recognized (Pl. XXIII A).[2] /Pl. XXIII and

[7] [See category 116, p. 16 -- Analyst]
[2] [See category 116, p. 29 -- Analyst]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
ST. LOUIS

361 The oldest part of St. Louis (Fig. 53) stands on an island in the estuary of the Senegal. This island is some 2,400 yards long and averages 350 yards in width, and its southern extremity is 13½ miles from the mouth of the river. It has three main suburbs, N'Dar Toute and Guet N'Dar on the Langue de Barbarie, and Sor on the mainland.

History

361 175 [487] [103] Early navigators in search of the gold of Bambouk used the Senegal as a means of entry to the interior, and in 1658 a settlement was founded. This was the first French post in West Africa, and it was named after the patron saint of King Louis XIV. Its story has largely been told elsewhere, since, from the first, it played a prominent part in the general history of French West Africa as a whole and of Senegal in particular. The main events in the past were its capture by [648] the British in 1759, its recapture in 1779, its second capture in 1809, and its final restoration to the French in 1817. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it steadily grew in size and wealth, but in recent years it has been forced, both commercially and politically, to yield to Dakar.

The Town

361 The original island is now almost completely covered with buildings. These include Government House (Senegal), the Law Courts, the principal barracks, the power station, and the Roman Catholic church in the centre; the prison, two mosques, and another barracks to the north; and the hospital and another mosque to the south. N'Dar Toute has Government House (Mauritania) (Plate 92), the market, and yet another barracks, and Sor has the railway stations [964] and the cemeteries. Guet N'Dar is inhabited almost entirely by natives.

491 361 The western arm of the river is crossed by two bridges. The Geôle Bridge, 150 yards long, connects the main town to N'Dar Toute, and it takes its name from the prison near its eastern end. Five hundred and sixty yards south of it is the Servotuis Bridge, the western end of which marks the dividing line between N'Dar Toute and Guet N'Dar. At the other end of it is an open space at present called Place Pétain. In a line with the Servotuis Bridge is the Faidherbe Bridge across the main stream. Built in 1900, this bridge is 570 yards long and has six fixed spans and a roadway 37 feet wide. Near its western end is a swing bridge with two openings each of 30 yards.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[p 445]

36
509
764
206
502
102
743
712
498
133

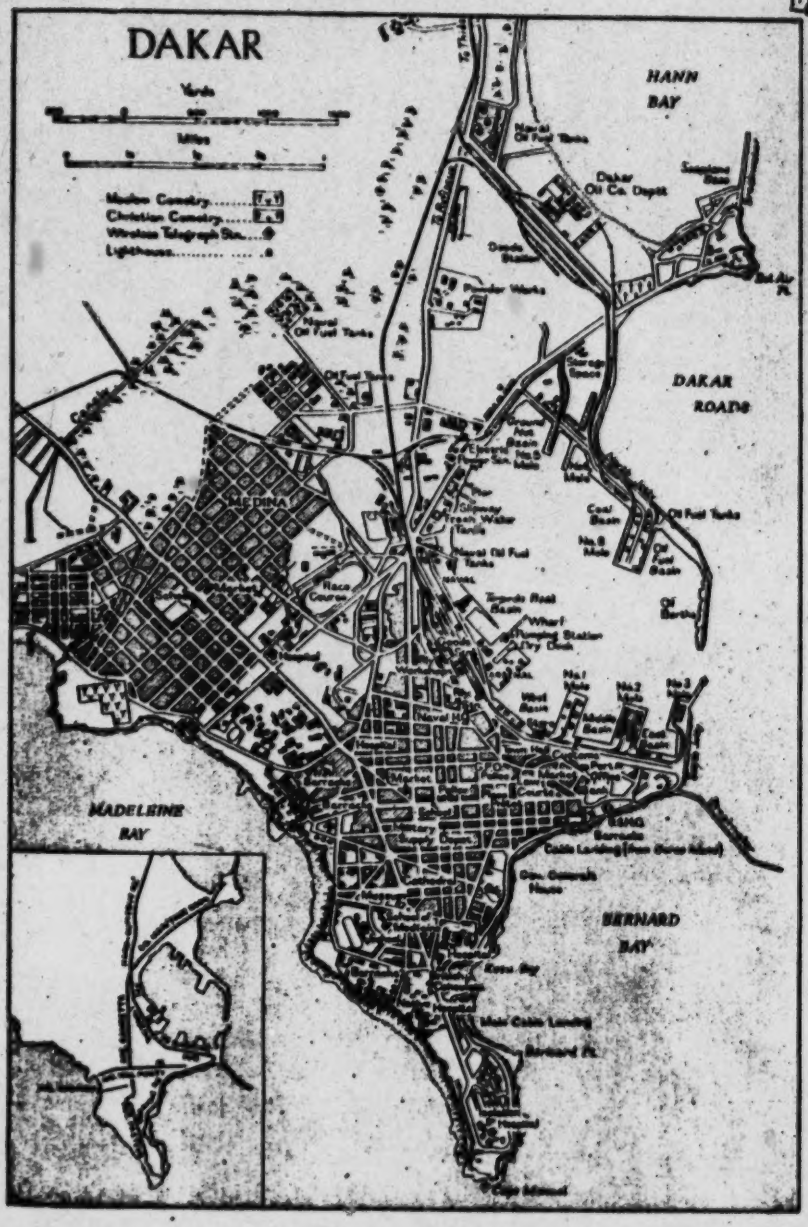


FIG. 54. *Dakar*

/44 cont./

The city is made up of 150 houses, well built and of 361
attractive appearance. They are embellished with exterior galleries supported by pilasters.

I noticed the former seat of government (9) where the

9. At the back of the present square garden of the rue du Port. A comemorative plaque indicates the site of the former seat of government occupied by de Boufflers.

chevalier de Boufflers, so well known for his light poetry, [175]
lived. Governor of Senegal from 1786 to 1789, he preferred to stay at Gorée rather than at Saint-Louis.

Today his house is falling into ruins. In front stretches a splendid esplanade planted with tall trees. In the back, an abandoned garden. There can still be seen a long avenue of mimosas, coconut trees, and various other species of palm trees, which the chevalier took pleasure in cultivating at great [137]
expense on this volcanic rock devoid of vegetable soil.

At the summit of the island, the citadel (10). It, too,

10. The present Castel /castle/, fortified anew under the Second Empire.

is falling into ruins. Without an enclosure, without even a gate, the European cemetery (11) stretches at its feet. Graves 764

11. Nothing is left of it today.

lined up side by side inform the traveler that, on this soil, once spewed forth by fire (12), today devoured by a torrid sun and

12. The high part of Gorée (the Castel) is of volcanic origin.

n' [i.e. Gorée -- Analyst]

22: Poix--10 G,T-5 (1822) 1955 MS30 Wolof MS30
Lebu
Senegal MS37

/44 cont./

dried up by the desert wind, officers of France died far from their families and homes. I read the melancholy epitaphs: This one bears the name of M. de Villeroy, post lieutenant, commanding the brig l'Écureuil. This loyal servant of the king was aboard the frigate la Duchesse d'Angoulême at the time of the Hundred Days. He alone refused to strike the white flag, toward which his crew were raising their fists, while the other officers aboard were fanning the flames of insurrection. He died here of sorrow and disgust.

S 764
S 669

14 April 1822

A walk in the forest of Krampsanne in the middle of the palm trees. I love their slender trunks and their flexible branches, gracefully arched, which sway so gently in the sky. Their poetry and elegance are lacking in our gardens of Rambouillet and Versailles.

W 123

Here are some Negroes. They are harvesting palm wine. With what prodigious agility they climb in the wink of an eye up to the highest branches! Around their waists they have a cord made of reed fibers. This cord is attached at the other end to the tree trunk and helps them to reach the top in an instant by successive leaps. Then they pierce the trunk, with a piece of pointed iron, above the first leaves. The sap immediately spurts into the calabashes which are held out.

W 222
W [481]

I begin to draw this pretty scene. One of the Blacks watches me closely. When he recognizes the picture of his beloved tree, he begins to laugh, sing, dance, to make the most amusing contortions.

W 123

To show his gratitude, he brings me a full calabash of wine. Having just spurted from the tree, this wine is very sweet and has a very pleasant taste. At the end of 24 hours of fermentation it becomes very alcoholic. That is when the Negroes prefer it. They drink it until they are drunk.

W [273]

On the twenty-sixth King Moctar sent word to us that he was at Gorée and was going to come to visit La Néréide.

W [643]

/72/

On March 15, 1955, the I.F.A.N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noire/ was informed by the administration of the Collège Technique d'Industrie at Fann of the discovery, by students of this establishment, of human skeletons inside a baobab located between this school and the Mandel rest home, at the edge of the Médina of Dakar (1). The next day we went 114 172

1. Discovery announced in the Paris-Dakar of March 22, 1955. February 19 was given erroneously.

to the spot and returned from there on March 19.

This baobab, called "Bok," rises in the middle of a former garden. It is of fine size: 15 meters high, 18.50 meters in circumference, or nearly six meters in diameter (Fig. 1). The trunk is hollow and forms a nearly circular chamber, 3.50 meters in diameter by six meters high, connected to the outside by three orifices: one on the east at ground level, 60 centimeters high by 45 wide, through which there is access to the interior; a sort of dormer window, 0.35 by 0.25 of a meter, on the north face, /73/ 75 centimeters above the ground; and, in the ceiling of the interior cavity, a slit one meter long by about 0.30 of a meter wide (Fig. 2). 137 172 766

Inside, the ground is composed of brownish earth mixed with sand and many human bones. The upper layer had already been excavated by students desirous of procuring skulls for themselves. The first time, we took away the bones found on the surface, not having the means to make excavations. When we came back two days later with the necessary equipment, we noticed that meanwhile new borings and samplings had been made by the students; thus this time it was wise to remove /Fig. 1 appears here/ all the osteological material possible, without being able to proceed with methodical excavations. 126 172 766

We therefore rescued all that we could; the skeletons were tangled up in the most extraordinary fashion without any attempt at orientation. The bodies had, obviously been thrown down 172 766

/73 cont./

pell-mell. The skulls appeared with the face turned up, down, or to one side. The piling at certain points was hard to believe: in a single space of 80 by 60 centimeters and a depth of 40 centimeters, nearly 20 skulls, without counting other bones, were found!

No implements accompanied the skeletons, neither iron bracelets, shell necklaces, nor pottery, as in the burials of the

Fig. 1. The baobab Bok (north side). The persons are standing in front of the entrance hole. In the center, the "dormer window."

beach of Ouakam, for example (2). Only a few basalt pebbles

2. [Monod, Th.] "En attendant l'homme fossile /While awaiting fossil man/," Dakar, Notes Afr., No. 2, April 1939, pp. 8-9; Corbeil, R., Mauny, R., Charbonnier, J., "Préhistoire et Protohistoire de la presqu'île du Cap-Vert et de l'extrême

15: Mauny--3 E-5 (1955) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

/73 cont./

172
766

Ouest sénégalais /Prehistory and Protohistory of the Peninsula of Cape Verde and the Extreme West of Senegal/," Bull. de l'I.F.A.N., /1948/, p. 450.

were mixed with the skeletons, which were found to a depth of 60 centimeters, the soil below, consisting solely of sand, being intact.

In all, about 20 skulls practically in good condition and about ten in bad condition, including one of a child, and hundreds of bones were brought back for study by the Section d'Anthropologie of the I.F.A.N. /Fig. 2 appears here./ [128]

There is no doubt about the meaning of this discovery. We are dealing with a baobab that served as a burial place for griots /musicians, storytellers/ in a recent past (3); the Baobab [565]

3. Probably until the effective Islamization of the peninsula due to the establishment of the theocratic Lébou community about 1795, although isolated cases could have occurred up to a about the founding of Dakar (1857). [175]

of Bok, moreover, is also known in the neighborhood by the name of "goui guevel" (Baobab for Griots).

It is likewise the name of goui guevel (shown, moreover, on the Yof sheet at 1/20,000, 1954) that designates another baobab (24.50 meters in circumference) located west of the village of Ouakam, which I visited April 6, 1955, without being able to get into it, the opening being too small (0.60 x 0.15 of a meter).

A small village bears the same name northeast of Ouayembam (Sangalkam sheet at 1/20,000, 1941). /74/ /Fig. 3 appears here./

The interment of griots in hollow trees has, moreover, 000

15: Mauny--4 E-5 (1955) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

/73/

172
766

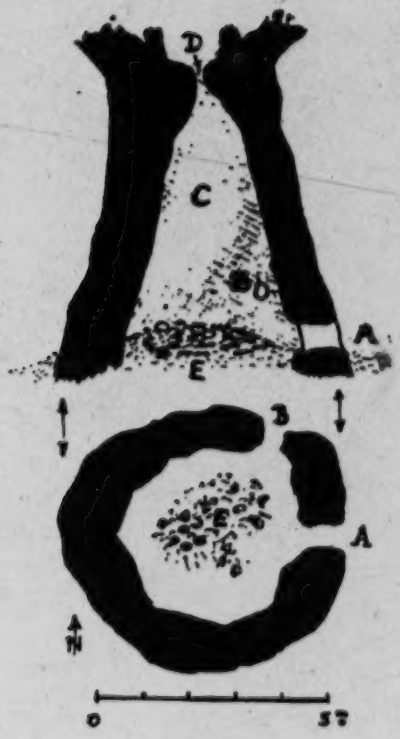


Fig. 2. Cross-section and ground plan of Bok: A. Entrance orifice; B. Window; C. Interior chamber; D. Ceiling orifice; E. Layer of bones.

/74 cont./

S 766

Fig. 3. Burials in the country of the Jalophes (Wolofs) according to Dapper (1668). In the background one sees a griot who is being interred in a hollow tree.

SR 766 565

The interment of griots in hollow trees has, moreover, been reported in Senegal for a long time. It is always practiced in Sérère /Serer/ country; this custom does not seem to have been known outside the territory and seems to have been completely abandoned, for example, in Wolof country where it must have been practiced in former times (4). The case of the peninsula of

4. Dapper (1668) mentions it in the "pais des Jalofes /country of the Wolof/," but includes in this latter Sine, Baol, and Joal, Sérère countries (1686, p. 228).

Cape Verde is somewhat special, its populations having been in close contact with the Sérère, whose habitat begins just east of Bargny and even includes a good part of the region (Sébikotane, Pout, Thiès, etc. are in Sérère country).

To my knowledge the first to mention this funeral custom was Alvarez d'Almada (1594) who reports it in Saloum (5). The

5. Silveira, L., 1946, p. 25.

15: Mauny--6 E-5 (1955) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37
Serer FA32

/74 cont./

S
SR
766
565

explanation given was already the one that is advanced today: if the griots (Judeus) were buried in the depths of the earth, the fields would no longer produce.

Following the R. P. Alexis de Sainct Lô (1637, p. 88), Dapper (1668) relates the same belief and reports that the ostracism cast on the griots is applied even to their wives and their children and that they can neither be put in the earth nor thrown into the sea or a river (6). His account of the interment

6. Dapper, O., French translation 1686, p. 235.

of tambours in baobabs is illustrated by a drawing (Fig. 3). His account is taken up again by Barbot (1732) (7). The Chevalier

7. Barbot, J., 1732, p. 55.

de Fréminville relates to us the discovery of a baobab cemetery for griots near Hann in 1822 (8). Abbé Boilat (1853) and

8. Herpin, E., 1913, pp. 120-121, and 1955, p. 45; for a case noted at Dakar in 1873, see Th. Monod, 1949, p. 311, and J. Hachet, 1892, p. 38.

Carrère and Holle (1855) (9) recall briefly the same custom.

9. Boilat, Abbé P. D., 1853, p. 315; Carrère, F., and Holle, P., p. 68.

Nearer to us, Diguy Kanté, Valtaud, and Aujas report it in Sérère country (10).

10. Kanté, Diguy, 1917, p. 156; Valtaud, 1922, p. 251; Aujas, L., p. 321.

15: Mauny--7 E-5 (1955) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37
Serer FA32

/74 cont./

An unpublished source of information is furnished us by the notebooks of vacation homework of pupils of the William-Ponty School, written in 1945, which had as subject "the funeral rites" (11).

S
SR
766
565

11. Let us cite, among others, the studies of MM. Diouf Khar N'Dofène, NDao Ibrahima, Diop Boubacar, N'Diaye N'Diaga, Diop Biram. These notebooks are kept in the Section de Documentation of the I.F.A.N. at Dakar.

S
[127]

From these studies several facts stand out from the others:

a) This custom is practiced today only in animist Sérère country.

b) It is tending to disappear because of new ideas (flight of the griots to the cities, where they melt into the masses; hygiene; equalitarianism /75/ preached by Islam, Christianity, schools, etc.

c) The griots of our day are buried with the other "people of caste" (blacksmiths, shoemakers, weavers) in a cemetery near, but different from the one for the noble classes of the society.

This is how, according to these notebooks, a griot interment takes place in animist Sérère country.

The griot in Sérère country, as in a large part of Black Africa, occupies the bottom of the social ladder. An inferior, scorned, and feared being, it is not appropriate for him to be buried; the soil of the land where he would rest "would be rendered sterile forever or at least its yield would diminish from year to year."

After his death one proceeds with his funeral toilet, which is the same as for the other castes: the dead man is clothed in his finest garments, then wrapped in a pagne /Fr., a long strip of cloth/, and then "fastened with palmyra leaves in such a way as to form a solid package."

He is then laid out on a litter and carried to the baobab-cemetery by two strong young men, accompanied by the crowd of griots of the village, men and women.

Serer FA32

/75 cont./

SR 766 565

The hollow baobab chosen has an opening obstructed by brambles to keep out hyenas and jackals.

When the procession arrives in front of the baobab, the young men rush and jostle one another to be the first to enter the tree. They are armed and engage in a savage struggle with this aim, spurred on by the cries of the women, who appeal to their bravery and sing their praises.

Finally, one of them succeeds; henceforth he will do his utmost, with the help of his weapons, to prevent the others from entering in their turn. The candidates fight from the outside with the winner on the inside. The combat stops only when a second fighter has conquered the winner; then both bring the corpse into the tree amidst the applause and songs of those present. They lay the dead man on the pile of previous corpses without other ceremony. The two winners are regarded as heroes by the girls, while the other young men beaten in the course of this struggle "have lost their honor and degraded their families," cruel shame in Senegal; they will find it difficult to marry...

This custom from other ages is obviously destined to disappear rapidly in the face of the evolution of customs; the land already lost (Lébou country, part of the Wolof and even Sérère country) allows it to be clearly foreseen, although the interested persons themselves, the Sérère griots, continue to practice it in many places in Sine-Saloum and Baol.

Therefore it was necessary to describe it in a little more detail than the previous authors have done, before it is no more than a memory.

By a fair reversal of things, it is provocative to note concerning the Bok discovery that the skeletons of the most despised caste have been almost perfectly preserved in these very special conditions of inhumation in a baobab, while absolutely nothing of the bones of the great of the country, the guers, remains after perhaps less than a century; the Senegalese sand, moistened by the winter rains, reduces them to impalpable dust or bony splinters which do not withstand being touched (12).

S 172

12. Corbeil, R., Mauny, R., and Charbonnier, J., op. cit., 1948, p. 442.

S SR 369 [162] /381 cont./ inhabitants. These three villages are located less than two kilometers from the first urban quarters, consequently a favorable location for the daily departure of workers for the escale.

S SR 369 162 [563] The ethnic composition of these agglomerations, despite the urban proximity (favorable for the mixing of peoples), has remained homogeneous. At Sapko there is no foreign element; at Tiali two Wolof and one Sérère-Sine were working there temporarily at the time of the time of the inquiry; by contrast, nearly a tenth of the population of Thiès-None is made up of individuals belonging to non-Sérère ethnic groups (Wolof, Toucouleur, Peul). A parallel must be drawn between this quite relative heterogeneity and the almost total Islamization of the locality. Nearly four-fifths of the population of Thiès-None has embraced this religion; Sapko and Tiali, by contrast, remain essentially Catholic or fetishistic, the Moslems living there generally being transient elements.

S SR [771]

S SR 582 794 [563] A kind of self-defense by the Catholic group that lives in a region largely Islamized seems to be one of the primary reasons for this ethnic integrity. Under the influence of the fathers, who possess, it seems, a profound authority over every Christian agglomeration, marriages occur from None village to None village and between Catholics (1).

S SR [177] 1. The woman seems to be the element through which the transition from the Catholic religion to the Moslem religion occurs. The young Christian who marries a Moslem no longer practices and quickly abjures her first religion; her children and the whole line will become Islamized under the paternal influence.

S SR 162 369 /382/ An examination of the male and economically active population of these three agglomerations gives the result that 38% of its elements have remained essentially

/426 cont./

*511 352 lists is the bed (1). In nearly all of the African lodgings we

1. The 13.3% of the cultivator, No. 32, arose from the purchase of a cart and a horse.

find at least a bed, but there is rarely one for everyone. And [369] to sleep in a bed has become the best proof that one can give of his acclimatization to the city.

If the income is higher, one may be able to buy more important pieces of furniture. Then, in the order of their urgency, the armchairs, the rugs, and then the tables and wardrobes appear.

*511 Then we come to the rubric "Exceptional Expenses," those for which no absolute necessity is felt. Moreover they are rarer at the top of the table, only three, and then they multiply (Table XIV).

[405] The first thing that we find here is the watch or the alarm [301] clock, closely followed by the jewelry of the wife or wives. [493] There follow, but only in the highest incomes, the bicycle, [207] or, depending on the possibilities, the bicycle with a motor [301] on it or the motorcycle, then the battery radio. There is nothing very original in all this, and, except perhaps for the importance given to the jewelry of the women, we would find similar pretensions among European families having equivalent incomes.

*511 In the last table (Table XV)[1] we have grouped a series of 794 expenses that have a common origin, the religion of the fami- [771] lies investigated, all Moslems except one. Two Moslem holidays are involved, Tabaski and Korité, religious assessments, /427/ /Table XIV appears here/ /428/ offerings to the marabouts, and, finally, expenses arising from sending children to the Koranic school.

*511 796 For Tabaski, each family slaughters a sheep. There

1 [See cat 116, pp 69-71. ANALYST]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S
The French sociologist Mercier has already remarked the 563
fundamental homogeneity of Senegal's main ethnic groups, [184]
which 'Whatever their cultural differences and whatever their traditional hostility to one another (which has by no means completely disappeared) all had the same type of social and political organisation.'

W
Of the major groups the Wolof and the Lebou are for all [101]
intents and purposes indistinguishable, the Lebou being the Wolof-speaking inhabitants of the Cape Verde peninsula. The Serer are also very closely related to the Wolof, being considered as tribal cousins. The Toucouleur, Serer and Fula are traditionally connected, it being held that the Toucouleur are the result of an ancient mixing between the Serers, with whom they have a strong joke-relationship, and the Fulas whose language is very close to their own. Thus nearly three-quarters of the population have closer historical and ethnic connexions than exist in any other area of West Africa save Hausaland in Northern Nigeria. g
With the exception of the Serers, of whom a substantial [771]
minority is Christian, these people are almost exclusively Muslim. They also tend today to use Wolof as a lingua S
franca. Even the Diola, from the Casamance, which is [197]
in many ways a minority area of Senegal, especially because it is cut off from the north by the Gambia, have strong traditional connexions with the Serer and assert in effect that they are descended from the same ancestor. This leaves only the Mandingo people out of the pattern and as we shall see they do tend to be a minority group in Senegal.

S
There is thus at the basis of Senegalese society an in- 184
digenous homegeneity that is nothing to do with the 563
French policy of assimilation, and which has been greatly S
encouraged by a common adherence to Islam, where [192]
Marabouts or religious leaders of one tribe have considerable influence over Muslims of other ethnic origins.

S
The French administration, however, through its policy of [631]
direct rule did in fact make one major contribution towards

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 646 is excellently balanced from a tribal point of view. The large number of Lebou deputies is accounted for by the fact that the Lebou were the original inhabitants of Dakar, and therefore had greater facilities for education than other groups. The relatively small number of Serer deputies can be explained by the fact that the distinction between Wolof and Serer is not very pronounced. Again, the small number of Fula deputies in proportion to their size as an ethnic group is partly the result of the fact that they are a nomadic people, and partly because they are very close to the Toucouleur who have a relatively high representation. The only grossly under-represented group are the Mande, for though the Mandingo-Bambara peoples make up 7 per cent of the population and have 4 per cent of the deputies, only one of the three deputies in this group is actually Mande, who make up the greater part of this 7 per cent. Both in Senegal and neighbouring Gambia the Mandingo seem to have fared badly as a group in politics. Though only 5 per cent of Senegal is Christian, five members of the Government and nearly a fifth of the National Assembly are Christian. Nor does one have to be a member of the majority tribe in a constituency to be elected by it*.

[162] [771]

563 [771] A source of possible conflict in Senegal is the existence of a large Muslim majority and a small Christian minority representing only 5 per cent of the population. The French as the colonial power, despite their policy of assimilation, were unable to establish a strong Catholic Church in Senegal since Islam had been with the Toucouleur since the eleventh century and had already embraced most of the country by the time Faidherbe extended his protectorate. Islam in Senegal is peculiarly tolerant, not only in its concessions to traditional beliefs among more recently converted groups, but also towards Christians. In few other predominantly Muslim countries would it be possible not only to have a Catholic President but to have such a

* I am indebted to Mr. W. J. Foltz for supplying me with most of the data on which this paragraph is based.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 them strict enough Muslims, the main distinguishing
[433] feature of their homeland, the Vallée du Fleuve du Sénégal,
[735] is its poverty compared with that of other parts of Senegal. Diop Abdoulaye in his study of Toucouleur immigration into Dakar estimates that the average *per capita* income of a Toucouleur of that region is little more than 4,000 *C.F.A.*
[434] per annum, i.e. about £6 a year. It is this rather than any real tribal differences that makes the Vallée a special problem, and this as much as any ethnic factor accounted
[665] for the existence of the *Union Générale de la Vallée du Fleuve.*

563 The only real minority area in the Senegal is the Casa-
619 mance, whose special position is further emphasised by its separation from the main block of Senegal by the Gambia. In the past it has been thought of as geographically, economically, socially and even religiously separate from the rest of Senegal. A forest zone closer to its neighbours Portuguese Guinea and the Republic of Guinea, it remained very underdeveloped by the French, though the present Government is taking this fact into account with a special development programme for the area. This separateness was emphasised by the very name Casamance. The people describe themselves to this day as *Casamançais* rather than Senegalese, though this could well be accepted on the same terms as a Briton describing himself as Scots or Welsh. It is fortunate that the tendency is to talk in terms of regional rather than tribal origin. However one of the important factors in the Casamance has been tribal. The Diolas were until very recently an animist people with an entirely different social organisation from that of the main groups of Senegal, though as we have already pointed out they had traditional ties with the Serer which went as far as the injunction that a Diola should never spill the blood of a Serer. But today the Diola are being drawn into the main socio-religious pattern of Senegal. In the most recent estimate of the religious
[162] adherence of the population of Casamance, estimated at
[771] 327,500, 284,000 were Muslims, only 28,000 Christians and

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

the rest animists. Of course this includes the exclusively Muslim Mandingo inhabitants of the Casamance who have been largely responsible for this proselytisation. The Diola too is inclined more and more to imitate his Mandingo and Wolof neighbours. L. V. Thomas, who has written a monumental study on the Diola, fears: 'Soon the Diola country may be, at least in its landscape, like Senegal if no power intervenes to limit the extension of the bushfire; it will certainly become, in its people, just another African country, where only a few anthropological remains fixed by heredity will enable us to distinguish the Diola from the Wolof or the Mandingo.' 563 619 [162] [771]

The Casamance may well be coming closer to the rest of the Senegal, but it still remains a seat of opposition to the Government of Senghor and Dia, and votes heavily for the opposition *P.R.A.-Sénégal*. However neither of the leaders of this party, Ly Abdoulaye or Assane Seck, is *Casamançais*, and there is strong support in many towns for the *U.P.S.*, which indicates that Diola-Casamance politics are not necessarily either regional or tribal, though these are important factors. 563 665 666

The main social problem of the Senegal, and one which both assimilation and religion seem to have been unable to break down, is that of caste or a class structure very similar to caste. All the main Senegalese tribes—the Wolof, Lebou, Toucouleur, Serer—are divided into a series of endogamous castes. These castes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but roughly they are divided thus: 565 [582]

Nobles and Freeborn
Artisans (jewellers, smiths, weavers, leatherworkers) [463]
Griots or minstrels
Liberated slaves
Slaves

(Of course domestic slaves no longer exist as such in Senegal, but families know who their slaves were.) [567]

It is certainly easier in Senegal for a Toucouleur noble to marry a Wolof noble than to marry a woman of inferior [582]

/183 cont./

871 On the other hand, the backwardness of the girls, which was particularly marked among the Wolof and the Toucouleur, [redacted]pears almost completely among the Wolof of the districts, whereas one Toucouleur girl out of four in the districts still does not go to school.

191 In all respects one observes a radical change which
871 distinguishes the generations: the one of the present parents is, in the majority, illiterate and knows only a little French. The situation is reversed with the rising generation, thanks to the effort toward educational equipment. This upset will be even more noticeable in the female population, for in 20 years more than half the mothers of families living in Pikine will have been to school, while at present one finds scarcely any.

V. Religion

771 A final factor should be studied because of its considera-
795 ble cultural influence: that of religion. In Pikine the vast
162 majority of inhabitants are Moslems, so that, in addition to membership in a religious confession properly speaking, we have differentiated membership in a definite Islamic sect. This leads to five different categories within Islam: two of these are sects of wide geographic scope, the Tidjanes and the Khadres, one is peculiar to the Senegal, Muridism, and one is encountered above all in the region of Cape Verde, the Layens; finally, some individuals, while calling themselves Moslems, declare that they do not belong to any sect.

795 Here (p.43) is the table of the various sects or re-
162 ligious confessions into which the inhabitants of Pikine are divided, first in absolute figures and then in percentages.

It suffices to underline the points that these tables clearly bring to light. First, the numerical preponderance of the Tidjanes over the assemblage of the other confessions.

/27 cont./

daughters who are pursuing their studies figure much more frequently. While among the laborers, the workers, and to a lesser degree the master workmen, it is above all a matter of relatives -- in the majority close relatives, cousins, nephews -- who are unemployed or without an occupation. We shall thus again find the same grouping of categories, although here the differences are more blurred than in the other domains considered. 369x 565 602

D. -- For numerical data on the dimensions of the restricted family, thus on the extension of polygamy, we refer to the account by L. Massé in the present collection. We shall only add certain comments based on complementary studies.

/28/ 1. Religious affiliation divides our population into two groups, one Christian, almost exclusively monogamous (1), 369x 595 565 [771]

1. There are cases of polygamy, but they are rarely admitted.

the other Moslem, where the tendency toward polygamy is very deep-rooted, but where differences make themselves felt according to the socio-occupational category. It is only on the level of the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc., that this distinction based on religion disappears, and that we ascertain, common to Christians and Moslems, a value set on monogamy.

2. It is in fact on the level of values more than on that of de facto situations that this question must be studied. The progression of the number of polygamous men in going from the laborers to the master workmen, passing through the workers, and, in a different sector, going from the subordinate functionaries and employees to the superior functionaries and employees, is found again in going from the petty to the large-scale merchants. Polygamy may be, by the same token, an ideal for all the members of these categories, but it is only realized on occasion (2) starting from a certain material [183

2. It is obviously limited by the

S /97 cont./
SR the Sérère, a peaceful cultivator. The latter submitted to
173 the yoke calmly and to some extent absorbed the conquerors
SR through marriages which multiplied between the victorious
[563] Guelewar chiefs and the women of the country.

The merging of the races was complete. From the union of the conquering Mandingue chief Maïssa Waldione and a Sérère princess, Ouagana was born. This young warrior dethroned the Sérère Bours and moved the capital from M'Bissel to Diakhao. The Guelewars are thus usurpers. The dethroned Bours, who are still called "Bours Ganieck," never tried to regain their royalty.

A short time later a brother of Ouagana, named Bégana, succeeded in seizing authority in Saloum by stripping of his prerogatives the Bour Saloum, Elibane, of Toucouleur origin, who reigned at Kahone.

At that time, Saloum extended south as far as the Gambia.

S The Mandingue invasion, making an oil stain, de-
173 tached one branch, the Socé, who occupied the southern portion, from Messira to Koungheul.

The Socé a short time later were separated into two sections by the conquering Dabali at the head of the Toucouleur from Fouta-Toro. These invaders occupied Rip and remained there, founding a family with the Socé and the Ouoloff. They
S [771] contributed to the Islamization of the first occupants and were strong enough to shake off the yoke of Saloum. The principality of Rip was very powerful on various occasions.

The Ouoloff race, originally from the north, penetrated /98/ everywhere to some extent, into Saloum, into Sine, and as far as into Rip and Niom-Bato.

The Peuhl /Peul/ or Foulbé /Fulbe/ are not very numerous; they peacefully infiltrated among the other races.

SR We have seen above that the Bour in Sine and Saloum
643 was chosen from the noble caste of the Guelewars. This
[565] royalty was not hereditary. The Bour was selected publicly by
[645] a high personage, the Grand Diaraff, a kind of prime minister
000 taken from the free caste of the Diambours. Next to him,

/99 cont./

S 162 Population. As we have just seen in this brief historical account, the principal native races occupying the region are: the Sérère, the Socé or Mandingue, the Toucouleur, and the Peuhl.

The population is distributed as follows:

Ouoloff	105,000	inhabitants
Sérère	85,000	"
Mandingue or Socé	50,000	"
Peuhl	10,000	"
Foreigners and miscellaneous	15,000	"
Total	280,000	inhabitants

S [161] In 15 years, the population, which in 1913 numbered 180,000 natives, increased by more than a third. This result is due, not only to the birth rate, but also and above all to the immigrants from neighboring countries (Upper Gambia, Sudan, Guinea, Casamance), who are attracted by the economic development of the region.

S 771 SR [771] Religion. Fetishism is losing ground to the benefit of Islamism. This religion is predominant at present. Only the Sérère still preserves his ancestral customs, but he is attracted to the religion of Islam. Three Moslem sects are represented: the Tidjania, the Kadria, and the Murids.

S [795] Muridism, a new religious sect which has as prophet the venerated marabout, the late Serigne Bamba, has its great mosque at N'Diourbel in Baol.

/100/ The Moslem populations are the Ouoloff, the Toucouleur, and a part of the Socé.

SR [771] The fetishism of the Sérère is a naturistic cult.

SR 105 [611] The customs are derived from the matriarchy. It is a regime of castes. Paternal authority is preserved intact in the family, with, however, respect for the mother and certain prerogatives of the maternal line, notably in the matter of succession. The captive, formerly, was treated gently by his

/22 cont./

793 regions veritable villages of which they are practically the
*795 chiefs and the imams.

One of the most remarkable of these men, settled thus in the subdivision of Diourbel, is Mamadou Khabane M'Backé, a big producer of groundnuts and a big businessman. Sérigne Tacko and Sérigne Mamadou Mahmoune, son of Cheikh Anta, and Sérigne Awa M'Balla M'Backé live in about the same fashion. All of these marabouts have a direct influence on a variable number of talibés, for whom they are, in a way, "guides of conscience" and who are attached through them to the Caliph-general. Finally, let us mention the marabout of Darou-Kafour, settled in a little village on the road from Diourbel to M'Backé, who lives modestly in a small establishment. He does not raise crops on a large scale; he devotes himself in particular to directing his Koranic school, /23/ and
[734] he has made a specialty of caring for the insane. By his gentleness and patience he succeeds in curing the ones whom the Service de Santé /Health Service/ has given up keeping and treating.

793 The Murid brotherhood is thus thoroughly staffed and
*795 directed by all these marabouts who truly have their talibés
775 in hand and who hold them all the better because they bring
● them a simple and practical solution to the problem, distressing for every man: "What will become of me after death?" .... Every Murid knows that if he has worked for his marabout and has given him a tithe from his goods and income, he will go directly to Paradise, for his marabout, in exchange for his work and gifts, prays for him and will save him without his having to concern himself about his salvation, even if he has gravely sinned.

*795 It is this complete hold that the Murid marabouts have
793 over their disciples which originally caused the brotherhood to be regarded as dangerous and which, joined to the ambitions of Amadou Bamba, provoked difficulties and collisions with the Administration. By now this mistrust and opposition have given

[9 cont.]

787 805 Time: Certain hours are favorable for the birth of dreams -- especially those when silence is deepest, that is to say, from midnight to early morning and the hour of the siesta (when it is customary to have one).

Among all the months of the year, the month of Nisân (April) is the most propitious, according to a universal belief.

787 788 [779] Texts to quote: In order to evoke a favorable dream, it is recommended that, before lying down, one quote verses from the Koran, which differ greatly according to the method used; those of the first holy book, the Fâtiha, are most preferred for this practice. The Souratou el Ikhâssi ("qhoul houe Allahou ahadoun" = There is only one God) is most frequently used, and one must say it seven times.

There are others (for example, "Astâgh firou Allah!" = May God forgive me!) which one must say 100 times.

[776] The nine names of God (El Djabar = The Almighty, El Moukatabir = The Proud One, El Amad = The Eternal One, El Bâtin = The Hidden One, El Kâdir = The Mighty One, El Madjid = The Illustrious One, El Bourkhân = The Miracle, El Mouktadir = The One for Whom Anything Is Possible, El Rahman = The Merciful) must be repeated 21 times before sleeping.

Various practices: In order to promote favorable dreams, as well as to drive away bad dreams, one observes various rules which differ only in details.

[783] [782] Thus, to execute the practice of listikhâra, one must make his ablutions (following a rigorously prescribed order) and then his evening prayer. During each rakaa (1), one must say eleven

1. Phase of the prayer which involves: 1 standing position; 1 bowing position, the hands on the knees; 2 prostrate positions, the forehead against the ground; 1 seated position.

times (or more, according to the method followed) the verses of Fâtiha and other quotations from the Koran.

/10 cont./

128 — the great leaders of Muridism, their present situation, their influence on the movement, their reciprocal rivalries, their relations with the Administration;

— the importance of Muridism and its influence on the economic, social, and political life of Senegal.

/11/ Then we shall try, in conclusion, to envisage the prospects for the future which present themselves to Muridism today.

*795 Touba is therefore the center of the Murid brotherhood.
●778 Amadou Bamba founded it in 1886, a few kilometers from
[361] the village of M'Backé (itself created by his grandfather, M'Balla M'Backé) and about 60 kilometers east of Diourbel, at the edge of Baol and the Ferlo desert, in a vast plain with bleak horizons and a sparse population.

The Murids attribute a holy and miraculous origin to the city, the Angel Gabriel himself having revealed the site to Amadou Bamba after conducting him there in a mysterious and supernatural fashion.

Amadou Bamba's difficulties with the Administration did not permit him to reside in this remote and isolated place where his activities were hard to control, but his body has reposed there since his death in 1927.

The agglomeration Touba-M'Backé-Darou forms the heart of the Murid country, and Touba is the ideal capital; indeed, it is now, for the disciples of Amadou Bamba:

— the headquarters of the brotherhood,
— a center of Koranic studies,
— a sort of monastery,
— a place of pilgrimage.

*795 It is at Touba that the Caliph-general resides. All of his
793 collateral relatives and descendants, as well as all of the great Murid marabouts, have residences there, although they do not live there continually. It is there that the administrative council of the brotherhood meets to make important decisions concerning the Murid community.

/11 cont./

*795 It is to Touba that the young Murids come to learn the
[793] Koran; each marabout there has his own school which forms his young talibés.

It is in Touba also that, grouped around their marabout (or his residence), the faithful dwell, those who wish to live a holier life in permanent contact with their religious leader and working each day for them and with them.

[788] It is to Touba, finally, that every good Murid must go once
[778] a year in order to pray at the tomb of the founding saint of the brotherhood, at that of the khalife /caliph/, first successor, and especially in order to pay a visit to the present Caliph-general and to give him the offerings intended in particular for the continuation of the work on the mosque; this is the Magal of which we shall speak again below.

361 /12/ The city appears like a great "escale" /commercial
*795 center/ of the bush. Wide avenues separate the vast carrés /compounds/ of the various marabouts from one another. A plan for division into lots was drawn up, but it has not yet been applied, Falilou M'Backé, the Caliph-general, having feared, at the last moment, the far-reaching consequences.

Touba is thus a great center. Its development and the considerable number of persons who come there for the Magal have
[312] necessitated special arrangements. Drillings have been made in order to ensure the water supply of the holy city, which is, more-
[496] over, linked to M'Backé and Diourbel by a railroad. On the other hand, no commercial establishment has settled in Touba, and the trading center has been fixed at M'Backé.

346 Touba's center of attraction is its mosque, an Islamic
*795 monument unique in Senegal.

It was Amadou Bamba himself who decided to have it constructed, and in 1926 he asked his faithful to bring the first stones for it to Touba, but it was Amadou Mustapha, his son and first successor, who began the first work on it, after receiving by lease from the Administration a piece of ground of 400 hectares on which he could build it.

/13 cont./

346 These minarets have been finished since 1956, and one can climb to their summits, from where one discovers the panorama of Touba and the surrounding plain.

346 778 From the mosque there is direct access to the tomb of Amadou Bamba, which is in a mausoleum built into the north-east corner of the building beside the great prayer room. The tomb proper (covered by velvet hangings embroidered with Koranic sayings stitched into arabesques) is in the middle of the mausoleum; it is surrounded by wrought-iron grillwork which keeps visitors at a distance, while at the same time allowing many of them to contemplate the saint's tomb. The ground all around the tomb is covered with fine, sifted sand, replaced continually to keep it clean.

The tomb of the first caliph, Amadou Moustapha, is located outside the mosque on the east façade several meters from the wall. The mausoleum resembles a little bungalow; one enters it directly from the outside, without going through the mosque. Here, too, the tomb is hidden behind embroidered hangings.

[782] These places are redolent of an atmosphere of contemplation. The air is heavy with the perfume of the incense burned constantly before the tombs.

*795 796 At Touba, the great Moslem religious celebrations are particularly prominent. Thus the faithful come from quite far away (when they can) in order to celebrate at Touba rather than elsewhere the Corytée, the Tabaski, or the Gamou (1).

1. These three celebrations correspond respectively to the Aid el Fitr, the Aid el Kebir, and the Mouloud of Islamic tradition.

[788] But the great celebration of Touba, the specifically Murid solemnity /14/ which every good talibé tries to attend every year if possible, is the Magal.

/15 cont./

788 style, violently colored like our Épinal pictures and representing
*795 the holy places of Islam or personages of Koranic tradition.

[438] Finally, to complete this immense and noisy fair over which
[443] floats an impalpable dust, there, in a corner of the city not far from the mosque, are the keepers of the cook-shops: they cook
[265] in the open the appetizing dishes which they will offer at modest prices to the famished pilgrims.

Evening does not slow down these activities; on the contrary, the pilgrims regroup at the homes of the various marabouts, and sessions of religious songs are organized there. They will
[533] last far into the night, which will resound until dawn with these litanies amplified by numerous loud-speakers.

/16/ In the course of this pilgrimage, the believers have several obligations to fulfill:

1) to call on the Caliph-general,

2) to go to meditate at the tomb of Amadou Bamba and that of Amadou Moustapha,

3) to visit the mosque,

4) to go to see their own marabout,

5) to visit at the cemetery the Sacred Tree and the graves
[778] of certain deceased notables of the brotherhood.

At the entrance to the carré of the Caliph, the faithful, in a long line, patiently await their turn to go into the residence of their supreme spiritual leader.

After passing through several walls (at the gate of which are talibé-cashiers who claim their offerings from them), they arrive at the hut in which the Caliph receives.

The circle guards maintaining order have them enter one by one into the straw hut where Falilou awaits them, assisted by his secretary and some of his close collaborators. Each pilgrim kneels before the Caliph while presenting to him his offering (hadia), which the sérigne will immediately have passed on to one of his followers. The pilgrim then rises and goes out in order to give his place to another.

His visit to the Caliph ended, he goes to the sacred tombs
[778] of Amadou Bamba and Amadou Moustapha.

/16 cont./

788 *795 778 At the tomb of the Master there is always a pious crowd whose meditation, even though sincere, allows the joy at being in so famous and holy a place to show through. If they can, the pilgrims walk around the tomb three times while reciting the consecrated formula: "In the name of God the Clement, the Merciful. May God bless our Lord Mohammed, the Envoy of God, and save him." Then each of them puts down his mite [789] and takes a handful of the sand surrounding the base of the tomb, which is regarded as a powerful talisman capable of extricating the one who possesses it from every difficult situation.

On the tomb of Amadou Moustapha the pilgrim meditates and leaves a small offering, but does not pick up any sand.

One does not leave these holy places without spending a moment in the mosque.

The latter, during the whole pilgrimage, never empties; people come and go, chat there, and rest there. It is no longer a place of prayer and meditation; for the moment it is a work-yard which one visits, rather than a sacred monument where one meditates, but, the visit ended, one returns from there proud of knowing the greatest mosque in Senegal, proud of having climbed to the top of its minarets.

/17/ Upon leaving there, the pilgrims go, in groups or alone, to the home of the marabout to whom they are directly attached, and they also take an offering to him.

The last trip of the pilgrimage is the visit to the cemetery. This is laid out around the Sacred Baobab (Goui Tékhé), at the foot of which Amadou Bamba had the supernatural vision "of the fish which supports the world," indicating to him that he had indeed arrived at the place where he was to build Touba. A little enclosure marks the site where he had that vision. The most educated and the most pious pilgrims meditate and pray there; the others, and especially the women, content themselves with visiting the graves, particularly those of Aminata Lo, wife of the Founder and mother of Amadou Moustapha, of Babacar M'Backé, son of the Sérigne Bamba, dead at an early

/17 cont./

788 *795 778 age, of Massamba and M'Bara M'Backé, half brothers /on the father's side/ of the same Sérigne. They will go also to the graves of the first marabouts of the brotherhood and of the first disciples of the Master, Ali Touré, Ibrahima Sarr, Assana N'Diaye, and they will stop longer at that of the beloved disciple, Ibra Fall, at the entrance of which is planted the hir, the historic stake with which was marked the site of the tomb of Amadou Bamba after the miraculous vision which we mentioned above.

There, too, in front of each grave, talibé-cashiers do not stop soliciting the generosity of the pilgrims.

788 *795 When these ritual visits are over, the talibé is purified and sanctified. If he has any time left, it is possible for him to go back to the city and mingle with the crowd of pilgrims. He can also collaborate in the construction of the mosque by breaking pieces of laterite (huge piles of which are to be found near the mosque and are used in the making of the concrete) ... [785] unless he lingers to watch some fanatic of the Murid branch of the M'Baye Fall devote himself to flagellation exercises ... with a millet pestle.

At sundown he will participate with all the pilgrims in the [782] salam du Maghreb (evening prayer); this is the only moment in the day when the 200,000 pilgrims assemble in front of the mosque for a common prayer.

The last day of the pilgrimage is thus the "Official Day." It is called this because the Caliph invites to it all the personalities and all the authorities of the circle of Diourbel, of Senegal, of the Government-general, of the official as well as of the private milieus. All accept this invitation, and those who cannot attend send representatives.

This day essentially requires an official ceremony which takes place in the middle of the morning. The Caliph, escorted /18/ by his most notable guests and followed by the crowd of the others, makes his way to a platform sheltered by canopies and erected in the plaza of the mosque, on which everyone

[8]

787 177 All of the methods currently used in the different regions of Senegal to promote dreaming bear traces of the influence of Moslem beliefs, often distorted by local superstitions.

For centuries the work of Mohamed Ibn-Sirina (died in 110 A.H.), an Arab scholar of old regarded as the foremost of [791] the great mou'abbirs (interpreters of dreams) in the whole Moslem world, has served as the basis for this science. This work, supplied with few examples, brings together the most common types of interpretations and establishes universal rules that are still valid today.

Later, another Arab scholar (Cheïka Abdoul Khaniyou of Nabili Chiyou) revised and completed the work of Ibn Sirina; he collected and classified the various dreams in logical categories according to their subject (things, animals, persons, supernatural beings ...) in an important work: Taatire El-Ana mbitâbir El-Manam (= To make the world happier by the interpretation of dreams). Subsequently, Eddemiri in his great work entitled Hayatou el-Hayaouan (in two volumes) has given precise and exhaustive interpretations concerning the dreams in which animals figure.

[791] These are the two sources of classical information most often utilized by the interpreters of Senegalese dreams. The traditional religion, however, continues to exert an indisputable influence upon them.

Some of the practices that we are going to point out [9] by means of examples show this same influence. Utilized to evoke dreams, one finds them throughout Senegal.

Place: It is always essential that the place where one lies down is the most suitable one possible. In a place where a Moslem may not pray, one cannot hope to have a dream.

In the canton of Kahône (Bas-Saloum [Lower Saloum]), a region little Islamized, the women go at night to lie down near the ancient tombs.

The Ouolof [Wolof] of Cayor, with the same aim, visit [778] the tomb of the great marabout El Hadj Malick Sy at Tivaouane; the people of Baol go to the one of Sérigne Amadou Bamba M'Backé at Touba in the region north of Diourbel.

[9 cont.]

787 After having recited the required prayers, one expresses his particular desire in a whisper while shielding the mouth with the right hand.

Then one lies down in a quiet and suitable place, on the right side, placing the right hand under the ear.

787 278 [791] Drugs and substances: Many drugs are provided for facilitating dreaming, sometimes by the mou'abbirs (who are relatively very rare in Senegal) and sometimes by other experienced persons.

The use of the roots of bakis or of sindiègne (a kind of creeping plant common in the western part of Senegal) is very widespread; if one falls asleep with a toothpick of bakis or sindiègne in his mouth, he will have frightful visions in which demons, the dead, and supernatural beings appear.

The same result is obtained if, before lying down, one takes a solution of salted water in which roots of sindiègne have fermented for quite a long time, the effect of which is both purgative and stimulative.

[308] Among other substances, the extract called kaoulâne (sometimes used in the form of a lotion for the face), liquid myrrh, opium, etc. should be mentioned.

787 [782] More rarely, fumigation is practiced in a sealed and isolated hut, in which honey or incense is burned. Obviously, in this case, the procedure may be completed by one of the above practices.

[778] [789] Magical means: Throughout Senegal (as is well-known) one finds an enormous number of talismans (for example, the khâtim, magical designs made up of names, characters, and figures which possess a kind of supernatural power), the aim of which is to evoke favorable dreams; their form varies according to the desire that the believer wants to realize.

Bohumil Holas

(Ifan, Dakar)

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 369 [463] for which no trained African staff is available. There is a wide range of professional occupations, but private enterprise by individuals is largely restricted to higher-class shopkeeping and the running of bars and restaurants. Most of the export and import trade is still in the hands of [439] the large commercial houses controlled from France as distinct from individual Frenchmen in Dakar.

Relations between the African and European communities have been remarkably good. There have been no really significant racial conflicts in Dakar since the war. But relations are *negatively* good. That is to say that there is almost no contact between the two groups outside work. The French in Dakar, despite the official assimilationist policy of the mother country, have shown little inclination to extend it on a personal plane during their sojourn in Dakar. On the other hand when they were officially representatives of the colonial Power they rarely attempted to enforce discrimination against Africans. Apart from the time of the unfortunate Vichy episode there has never been any open discrimination in Dakar. Africans always had legal access to all places the French had, though inevitably there were a number of private associations such as the *Amicales des Provinces Françaises* which excluded Africans by definition though never by statute. A visitor might be tempted to think that the absence of Africans from the French-style cafés in the main streets of Dakar indicated some subtle form of discrimination, but in fact any African entering would be served, and the sparseness of African clientele is determined by economic and social reasons. Drinks are enormously expensive in such bistros, and few [162] Muslims, who form the majority of the population in Dakar, [779] care to be seen drinking in public. Nevertheless it is true that proprietors of certain bars do their best to maintain a white clientele.

There is a certain residential separation, once more largely determined by economics. The expensive European

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

cent of the population. Thus, the number of Europeans in intermediate or subordinate posts has substantially increased and the range of competitive situations, instead of growing less is being regularly extended. This affects not only the new elite, but a large segment of the old 'administrative bourgeoisie', and even, to some extent, the workers and lower supervisory grades in industry. And so, while—in theory—opportunities for reaching the highest ranks and simultaneously entering the European group (a consequence foreseen by assimilationist ideology) have increased with the development of education, in reality a radical change in the whole social structure has multiplied the causes of conflict. New factors have cropped up abruptly: further assimilation is gainsaid, Europeans and Africans become more and more sensitive to the realities of race, etc. Obviously, the political consequences of such conflicts are considerable.

I have mentioned cases in which a rift occurred between the elites and the masses, in the early years, at any rate, of the 'colonial elite'. This fact needs some further explanation, while the question of the relations between the 'educated' and the 'traditional' categories calls for re-examination on a wider basis. The stereotyped patterns maintained by the European administration underline the points of divergence. The administration has besides had a tendency—and not only in Senegal—to underestimate the influence of modernist elites and to depreciate their impact upon the population as a whole. True, important tensions can be observed, and some antagonism developed between the citizens (those of the 'four communes'), from whom the major part of the 'colonial élite' came, and the subjects in the other parts of the territory; but such tensions virtually disappeared with the legal changes introduced immediately after the war, a fact which is proof enough how superficial the points of divergence were. The 'educated' classes, moreover, sought to reap all possible profit from the power they acquired in their administrative functions, or in their role of intermediary between producers and the big commercial companies; and that attitude naturally set up a great many local conflicts. Sometimes they sought compensation for their inferior standing in the traditional framework by asserting themselves in the exercise of their new functions. As we have already shown, however, the population as a whole recognized the prestige of the new intellectual elite. True, their prestige did not necessarily displace the traditional prestige, but the two can coexist, a circumstance which stands out most clearly in rural districts. So, even if the 'educated' African has difficulty in fitting into the traditional system or even the family group, even if he is often a maladjusted element, he is rarely the fish out of water whom so many colonial observers considered him. All the elements of the population are still continually in touch.[1] There are two basic reasons for this. First, the range of family relationships is still a very wide one and they themselves are still effective; they maintain their hold on the 'educated' African even when he has left his birthplace. Secondly, religion—chiefly Islam in Senegal—and above all, membership of a sect, which is practically hereditary, continue to be important. The fact that tension between elites and masses led to nothing but quite limited and temporary breaks explains why the recent and entirely conscious effort to retie loose bonds was carried through with comparative ease. It was the new elite that, with political aims in view, inspired this effort. Usually too far removed from the

1. The vitality of racial or regional associations is significant in this respect.

[9 cont.]

787 805 Time: Certain hours are favorable for the birth of dreams -- especially those when silence is deepest, that is to say, from midnight to early morning and the hour of the siesta (when it is customary to have one).

Among all the months of the year, the month of Nisân (April) is the most propitious, according to a universal belief.

787 788 Texts to quote: In order to evoke a favorable dream, it is recommended that, before lying down, one quote verses from the Koran, which differ greatly according to the method used; [779] those of the first holy book, the Fâtiha, are most preferred for this practice. The Souratou el Ikhâssi ("qhoul houe Allahou ahadoun" = There is only one God) is most frequently used, and one must say it seven times.

There are others (for example, "Astâgh firou Allah!" = May God forgive me!) which one must say 100 times.

[776] The nine names of God (El Djabar = The Almighty, El Moukatabir = The Proud One, El Amad = The Eternal One, El Bâtin = The Hidden One, El Kâdir = The Mighty One, El Madjîd = The Illustrious One, El Bourkhân = The Miracle, El Mouktadir = The One for Whom Anything Is Possible, El Rahman = The Merciful) must be repeated 21 times before sleeping.

Various practices: In order to promote favorable dreams, as well as to drive away bad dreams, one observes various rules which differ only in details.

[783] Thus, to execute the practice of listikhâra, one must make his ablutions (following a rigorously prescribed order) and then [782] his evening prayer. During each rakaa (1), one must say eleven

1. Phase of the prayer which involves: 1 standing position; 1 bowing position, the hands on the knees; 2 prostrate positions, the forehead against the ground; 1 seated position.

times (or more, according to the method followed) the verses of Fâtiha and other quotations from the Koran.

/13 cont./

346 These minarets have been finished since 1956, and one can climb to their summits, from where one discovers the panorama of Touba and the surrounding plain.

346 778 From the mosque there is direct access to the tomb of Amadou Bamba, which is in a mausoleum built into the north-east corner of the building beside the great prayer room. The tomb proper (covered by velvet hangings embroidered with Koranic sayings stitched into arabesques) is in the middle of the mausoleum; it is surrounded by wrought-iron grillwork which keeps visitors at a distance, while at the same time allowing many of them to contemplate the saint's tomb. The ground all around the tomb is covered with fine, sifted sand, replaced continually to keep it clean.

The tomb of the first caliph, Amadou Moustapha, is located outside the mosque on the east façade several meters from the wall. The mausoleum resembles a little bungalow; one enters it directly from the outside, without going through the mosque. Here, too, the tomb is hidden behind embroidered hangings.

[782] These places are redolent of an atmosphere of contemplation. The air is heavy with the perfume of the incense burned constantly before the tombs.

*795 796 At Touba, the great Moslem religious celebrations are particularly prominent. Thus the faithful come from quite far away (when they can) in order to celebrate at Touba rather than elsewhere the Corytée, the Tabaski, or the Gamou (1).

1. These three celebrations correspond respectively to the Aid el Fitr, the Aid el Kebir, and the Mouloud of Islamic tradition.

[788] But the great celebration of Touba, the specifically Murid solemnity /14/ which every good talibé tries to attend every year if possible, is the Magal.

/17 cont./

788 age, of Massamba and M'Bara M'Backé, half brothers /on the
*795 father's side/ of the same Sérigne. They will go also to the
778 graves of the first marabouts of the brotherhood and of the first disciples of the Master, Ali Touré, Ibrahima Sarr, Assana N'Diaye, and they will stop longer at that of the beloved disciple, Ibra Fall, at the entrance of which is planted the hir, the historic stake with which was marked the site of the tomb of Amadou Bamba after the miraculous vision which we mentioned above.

There, too, in front of each grave, talibé-cashiers do not stop soliciting the generosity of the pilgrims.

788 When these ritual visits are over, the talibé is purified and
*795 sanctified. If he has any time left, it is possible for him to go back to the city and mingle with the crowd of pilgrims. He can also collaborate in the construction of the mosque by breaking pieces of laterite (huge piles of which are to be found near the mosque and are used in the making of the concrete) ... unless he lingers to watch some fanatic of the Murid branch of
[785] the M'Baye Fall devote himself to flagellation exercises ... with a millet pestle.

At sundown he will participate with all the pilgrims in the
[782] salam du Maghreb (evening prayer); this is the only moment in the day when the 200,000 pilgrims assemble in front of the mosque for a common prayer.

The last day of the pilgrimage is thus the "Official Day." It is called this because the Caliph invites to it all the personalities and all the authorities of the circle of Diourbel, of Senegal, of the Government-general, of the official as well as of the private milieus. All accept this invitation, and those who cannot attend send representatives.

This day essentially requires an official ceremony which takes place in the middle of the morning. The Caliph, escorted /18/ by his most notable guests and followed by the crowd of the others, makes his way to a platform sheltered by canopies and erected in the plaza of the mosque, on which everyone

[9 cont.]

787 805 Time: Certain hours are favorable for the birth of dreams -- especially those when silence is deepest, that is to say, from midnight to early morning and the hour of the siesta (when it is customary to have one).

Among all the months of the year, the month of Nisân (April) is the most propitious, according to a universal belief.

787 788 Texts to quote: In order to evoke a favorable dream, it is recommended that, before lying down, one quote verses from the Koran, which differ greatly according to the method used; [779] those of the first holy book, the Fâtiha, are most preferred for this practice. The Souratou el Ikhâssi ("qhoul houe Allahou ahadoun" = There is only one God) is most frequently used, and one must say it seven times.

There are others (for example, "Astâgh firou Allah!" = May God forgive me!) which one must say 100 times.

[776] The nine names of God (El Djabar = The Almighty, El Moukatabir = The Proud One, El Amad = The Eternal One, El Bâtin = The Hidden One, El Kâdir = The Mighty One, El Madjîd = The Illustrious One, El Bourkhân = The Miracle, El Mouktadir = The One for Whom Anything Is Possible, El Rahman = The Merciful) must be repeated 21 times before sleeping.

Various practices: In order to promote favorable dreams, as well as to drive away bad dreams, one observes various rules which differ only in details.

[783] Thus, to execute the practice of listikhâra, one must make his ablutions (following a rigorously prescribed order) and then [782] his evening prayer. During each rakaa (1), one must say eleven

1. Phase of the prayer which involves: 1 standing position; 1 bowing position, the hands on the knees; 2 prostrate positions, the forehead against the ground; 1 seated position.

times (or more, according to the method followed) the verses of Fâtiha and other quotations from the Koran.

[9 cont.]

787 After having recited the required prayers, one expresses his particular desire in a whisper while shielding the mouth with the right hand.

Then one lies down in a quiet and suitable place, on the right side, placing the right hand under the ear.

787 278 [791] Drugs and substances: Many drugs are provided for facilitating dreaming, sometimes by the mou'abbirs (who are relatively very rare in Senegal) and sometimes by other experienced persons.

The use of the roots of bakis or of sindiègne (a kind of creeping plant common in the western part of Senegal) is very widespread; if one falls asleep with a toothpick of bakis or sindiègne in his mouth, he will have frightful visions in which demons, the dead, and supernatural beings appear.

The same result is obtained if, before lying down, one takes a solution of salted water in which roots of sindiègne have fermented for quite a long time, the effect of which is both purgative and stimulative.

[302] Among other substances, the extract called kaoulâne (sometimes used in the form of a lotion for the face), liquid myrrh, opium, etc. should be mentioned.

787 [782] More rarely, fumigation is practiced in a sealed and isolated hut, in which honey or incense is burned. Obviously, in this case, the procedure may be completed by one of the above practices.

[778] [789] Magical means: Throughout Senegal (as is well-known) one finds an enormous number of talismans (for example, the khâtim, magical designs made up of names, characters, and figures which possess a kind of supernatural power), the aim of which is to evoke favorable dreams; their form varies according to the desire that the believer wants to realize.

Bohumil Holas

(Ifan, Dakar)

/189 cont./

351 there again the small one-room structures of wood or straw are an exception to the rule and are distributed at random over the concession.

Each owner or tenant likes very much to see his parcel clearly delimited, and the wall is the general rule. But its forms are very different, and this in one and the same parcel, ranging from the house itself or a high wall of durable material to a line of pickets running along a simple heap of rubble. In any case, the parcels that are not completely enclosed, with merely an opening on the street, are rare.

343 What else does one find within the parcel or in the
351 structures serving as dwellings? Two things: a little hovel sheltering the Madagascan stove and serving as kitchen, and then, in a corner of the parcel, an enclosure surrounded by
[783] secco, with a kettle containing the water needed for ablutions, which gives off a characteristic ammoniacal odor, yet not enough to inconvenience the inhabitants.

362 Let us complete this description with the table of the
511 number of buildings, shown according to the number of rooms
342 and the material used. /Table 24 appears here./

More than 50% of the wooden structures (113 out of 206) have only one or two rooms, that is, fall into the first category. Thus the whole habitat does not show a very high standard of living.

511 /190/ This is still more true if one now considers the
364 equipment of the huts. 228 homes out of 258, nearly 90 %,
354 have neither water, electricity, nor w.c. in the concession;
312 26 have electricity only; one has a w.c. without running water or electricity, one likewise has a w.c. plus electricity (in these two cases the w.c. consists of a septic pit dug into the sand in one corner of the parcel by the person concerned under the control of the Service d'hygiene). One has water and electricity. Ten per cent of the homes are thus lighted with electricity, and the remainder with kerosene, which is very few in a city where, except in the very last quarters, it is possible to have a meter installed in each parcel.

[9 cont.]

787 805 Time: Certain hours are favorable for the birth of dreams -- especially those when silence is deepest, that is to say, from midnight to early morning and the hour of the siesta (when it is customary to have one).

Among all the months of the year, the month of Nisân (April) is the most propitious, according to a universal belief.

787 788 [779] Texts to quote: In order to evoke a favorable dream, it is recommended that, before lying down, one quote verses from the Koran, which differ greatly according to the method used; those of the first holy book, the Fâtiha, are most preferred for this practice. The Souratou el Ikhâssi ("qhoul houe Allahou ahadoun" = There is only one God) is most frequently used, and one must say it seven times.

There are others (for example, "Astâgh firou Allah!" = May God forgive me!) which one must say 100 times.

[776] The nine names of God (El Djabar = The Almighty, El Moukatabir = The Proud One, El Amad = The Eternal One, El Bâtin = The Hidden One, El Kâdir = The Mighty One, El Madjîd = The Illustrious One, El Bourkhân = The Miracle, El Mouktadir = The One for Whom Anything Is Possible, El Rahman = The Merciful) must be repeated 21 times before sleeping.

Various practices: In order to promote favorable dreams, as well as to drive away bad dreams, one observes various rules which differ only in details.

•[783] [782] Thus, to execute the practice of listikhâra, one must make his ablutions (following a rigorously prescribed order) and then his evening prayer. During each rakaa (1), one must say eleven

1. Phase of the prayer which involves: 1 standing position; 1 bowing position, the hands on the knees; 2 prostrate positions, the forehead against the ground; 1 seated position.

times (or more, according to the method followed) the verses of Fâtiha and other quotations from the Koran.

/17 cont./

788 age, of Massamba and M'Bara M'Backé, half brothers /on the
*795 father's side/ of the same Sérigne. They will go also to the
778 graves of the first marabouts of the brotherhood and of the first disciples of the Master, Ali Touré, Ibrahima Sarr, Assana N'Diaye, and they will stop longer at that of the beloved disciple, Ibra Fall, at the entrance of which is planted the hir, the historic stake with which was marked the site of the tomb of Amadou Bamba after the miraculous vision which we mentioned above.

There, too, in front of each grave, talibé-cashiers do not stop soliciting the generosity of the pilgrims.

788 When these ritual visits are over, the talibé is purified and
*795 sanctified. If he has any time left, it is possible for him to go back to the city and mingle with the crowd of pilgrims. He can also collaborate in the construction of the mosque by breaking pieces of laterite (huge piles of which are to be found near the mosque and are used in the making of the concrete) ... unless he lingers to watch some fanatic of the Murid branch of
[785] the M'Baye Fall devote himself to flagellation exercises ... with a millet pestle.

At sundown he will participate with all the pilgrims in the
[782] salam du Maghreb (evening prayer); this is the only moment in the day when the 200,000 pilgrims assemble in front of the mosque for a common prayer.

The last day of the pilgrimage is thus the "Official Day." It is called this because the Caliph invites to it all the personalities and all the authorities of the circle of Diourbel, of Senegal, of the Government-general, of the official as well as of the private milieus. All accept this invitation, and those who cannot attend send representatives.

This day essentially requires an official ceremony which takes place in the middle of the morning. The Caliph, escorted /18/ by his most notable guests and followed by the crowd of the others, makes his way to a platform sheltered by canopies and erected in the plaza of the mosque, on which everyone

[8]

787 177 All of the methods currently used in the different regions of Senegal to promote dreaming bear traces of the influence of Moslem beliefs, often distorted by local superstitions.

For centuries the work of Mohamed Ibn-Sirina (died in 110 A.H.), an Arab scholar of old regarded as the foremost of [791] the great mou'abbirs (interpreters of dreams) in the whole Moslem world, has served as the basis for this science. This work, supplied with few examples, brings together the most common types of interpretations and establishes universal rules that are still valid today.

Later, another Arab scholar (Cheïka Abdoul Khaniyou of Nabili Chiyou) revised and completed the work of Ibn Sirina; he collected and classified the various dreams in logical categories according to their subject (things, animals, persons, supernatural beings ...) in an important work: Taatire El-Ana mbitâbir El-Manam (= To make the world happier by the interpretation of dreams). Subsequently, Eddemiri in his great work entitled Hayatou el-Hayaouan (in two volumes) has given precise and exhaustive interpretations concerning the dreams in which animals figure.

[791] These are the two sources of classical information most often utilized by the interpreters of Senegalese dreams. The traditional religion, however, continues to exert an indisputable influence upon them.

Some of the practices that we are going to point out [9] by means of examples show this same influence. Utilized to evoke dreams, one finds them throughout Senegal.

Place: It is always essential that the place where one lies down is the most suitable one possible. In a place where a Moslem may not pray, one cannot hope to have a dream.

In the canton of Kahône (Bas-Saloum [Lower Saloum]),a region little Islamized, the women go at night to lie down near the ancient tombs.

The Ouolof [Wolof] of Cayor, with the same aim, visit [778] the tomb of the great marabout El Hadj Malick Sy at Tivaouane; the people of Baol go to the one of Sérigne Amadou Bamba M'Backé at Touba in the region north of Diourbel.

[9 cont.]

787 805 Time: Certain hours are favorable for the birth of dreams -- especially those when silence is deepest, that is to say, from midnight to early morning and the hour of the siesta (when it is customary to have one).

Among all the months of the year, the month of Nisân (April) is the most propitious, according to a universal belief.

787 788 Texts to quote: In order to evoke a favorable dream, it is recommended that, before lying down, one quote verses from the Koran, which differ greatly according to the method used; [779] those of the first holy book, the Fâtiha, are most preferred for this practice. The Souratou el Ikhâssi ("qhoul houe Allahou ahadoun" = There is only one God) is most frequently used, and one must say it seven times.

There are others (for example, "Astâgh firou Allah!" = May God forgive me!) which one must say 100 times.

[776] The nine names of God (El Djabar = The Almighty, El Moukatabir = The Proud One, El Amad = The Eternal One, El Bâtin = The Hidden One, El Kâdir = The Mighty One, El Madjîd = The Illustrious One, El Bourkhân = The Miracle, El Mouktadir = The One for Whom Anything Is Possible, El Rahman = The Merciful) must be repeated 21 times before sleeping.

Various practices: In order to promote favorable dreams, as well as to drive away bad dreams, one observes various rules which differ only in details.

[783] Thus, to execute the practice of listikhâra, one must make his ablutions (following a rigorously prescribed order) and then [782] his evening prayer. During each rakaa (1), one must say eleven

1. Phase of the prayer which involves: 1 standing position; 1 bowing position, the hands on the knees; 2 prostrate positions, the forehead against the ground; 1 seated position.

times (or more, according to the method followed) the verses of Fâtiha and other quotations from the Koran.

[9 cont.]

787 After having recited the required prayers, one expresses his particular desire in a whisper while shielding the mouth with the right hand.

Then one lies down in a quiet and suitable place, on the right side, placing the right hand under the ear.

787 278 [791] Drugs and substances: Many drugs are provided for facilitating dreaming, sometimes by the mou'abbirs (who are relatively very rare in Senegal) and sometimes by other experienced persons.

The use of the roots of bakis or of sindiègne (a kind of creeping plant common in the western part of Senegal) is very widespread; if one falls asleep with a toothpick of bakis or sindiègne in his mouth, he will have frightful visions in which demons, the dead, and supernatural beings appear.

The same result is obtained if, before lying down, one takes a solution of salted water in which roots of sindiègne have fermented for quite a long time, the effect of which is both purgative and stimulative.

[302] Among other substances, the extract called kaoulâne (sometimes used in the form of a lotion for the face), liquid myrrh, opium, etc. should be mentioned.

787 [782] More rarely, fumigation is practiced in a sealed and isolated hut, in which honey or incense is burned. Obviously, in this case, the procedure may be completed by one of the above practices.

[778] [789] Magical means: Throughout Senegal (as is well-known) one finds an enormous number of talismans (for example, the khâtim, magical designs made up of names, characters, and figures which possess a kind of supernatural power), the aim of which is to evoke favorable dreams; their form varies according to the desire that the believer wants to realize.

Bohumil Holas

(Ifan, Dakar)

/11 cont./

*795 It is to Touba that the young Murids come to learn the
[793] Koran; each marabout there has his own school which forms his young talibés.

It is in Touba also that, grouped around their marabout (or his residence), the faithful dwell, those who wish to live a holier life in permanent contact with their religious leader and working each day for them and with them.

[788] It is to Touba, finally, that every good Murid must go once
[778] a year in order to pray at the tomb of the founding saint of the brotherhood, at that of the khalife /caliph/, first successor, and especially in order to pay a visit to the present Caliph-general and to give him the offerings intended in particular for the continuation of the work on the mosque; this is the Magal of which we shall speak again below.

361 /12/ The city appears like a great "escale" /commercial
*795 center/ of the bush. Wide avenues separate the vast carrés /compounds/ of the various marabouts from one another. A plan for division into lots was drawn up, but it has not yet been applied, Falilou M'Backé, the Caliph-general, having feared, at the last moment, the far-reaching consequences.

Touba is thus a great center. Its development and the considerable number of persons who come there for the Magal have
[312] necessitated special arrangements. Drillings have been made in order to ensure the water supply of the holy city, which is, more-
[496] over, linked to M'Backé and Diourbel by a railroad. On the other hand, no commercial establishment has settled in Touba, and the trading center has been fixed at M'Backé.

346 Touba's center of attraction is its mosque, an Islamic
*795 monument unique in Senegal.

It was Amadou Bamba himself who decided to have it constructed, and in 1926 he asked his faithful to bring the first stones for it to Touba, but it was Amadou Mustapha, his son and first successor, who began the first work on it, after receiving by lease from the Administration a piece of ground of 400 hectares on which he could build it.

/13 cont./

346 These minarets have been finished since 1956, and one can climb to their summits, from where one discovers the panorama of Touba and the surrounding plain.

346 778 From the mosque there is direct access to the tomb of Amadou Bamba, which is in a mausoleum built into the north-east corner of the building beside the great prayer room. The tomb proper (covered by velvet hangings embroidered with Koranic sayings stitched into arabesques) is in the middle of the mausoleum; it is surrounded by wrought-iron grillwork which keeps visitors at a distance, while at the same time allowing many of them to contemplate the saint's tomb. The ground all around the tomb is covered with fine, sifted sand, replaced continually to keep it clean.

The tomb of the first caliph, Amadou Moustapha, is located outside the mosque on the east façade several meters from the wall. The mausoleum resembles a little bungalow; one enters it directly from the outside, without going through the mosque. Here, too, the tomb is hidden behind embroidered hangings.

[782] These places are redolent of an atmosphere of contemplation. The air is heavy with the perfume of the incense burned constantly before the tombs.

*795 796 At Touba, the great Moslem religious celebrations are particularly prominent. Thus the faithful come from quite far away (when they can) in order to celebrate at Touba rather than elsewhere the Corytée, the Tabaski, or the Gamou (1).

1. These three celebrations correspond respectively to the Aid el Fitr, the Aid el Kebir, and the Mouloud of Islamic tradition.

[788] But the great celebration of Touba, the specifically Murid solemnity /14/ which every good talibé tries to attend every year if possible, is the Magal.

/14 cont./

*795 796 788 The first Magal took place October 19, 1928, at the initiative of Amadou Moustapha and on the occasion of the anniversary of the death of Amadou Bamba.

Since Falilou M'Backé, the second caliph, took over the leadership of the brotherhood, the Magal has changed in date and meaning. It now commemorates Amadou Bamba's return from exile, his prophetic vision, and his permanent establishment at Diourbel. Thus the second caliph linked his action directly to that of the Founder by giving back to the Magal its original meaning, desired as early as 1912 by Amadou Bamba himself when he instituted, with an identical signification, what was then called the second Tabaski.

Since 1928 this manifestation has not ceased to grow in importance, and today more than 200,000 pilgrims go to Touba each year on this occasion.

The pilgrimage lasts three days, although some fanatics often remain for five days, sometimes eight.

The high point is the second day; the last is called the "official day," because then the caliph speaks in public to the pilgrims, before the representatives of authority whom he has invited.

A week before this "official day," the first pilgrims begin [484] to arrive at Touba; their number increases rapidly and progressively as the opening date for the pilgrimage proper approaches.

484 494 788 During these days the pilgrims arrive in the holy city by every means: on foot or by cart for the nearest ones; by train, truck, and taxi for those farther away. Whatever vehicle is used, it is always overloaded: eight or ten ride in a sightseeing car; 90 (and even a few more) in a truck which should carry only 50 persons (this is a matter of four- to five-ton trucks, not covered, on which the travelers crowd together, standing up and pressed against one another between the railings, like canned fish). The trains, too, are jammed, and there are as many [497] pilgrims on the roofs and bumpers of the cars as inside.

Traffic is thick, but in spite of the conditions, there are few accidents, at least serious accidents, considering the great

/14 cont./

484 number of persons transported. There are sometimes spectacular
494 ones, but cases involving fatalities are fortunately very rare.

● 788 The transportation of the pilgrims is closely watched by
[497] the /15/ Administration. The Office of Railroads organizes special trains. The subdivision heads grant to the owners of the trucks special transportation authorizations. The circle /cercle, an administrative district/ of Diourbel, aided by the Senegal government, strengthens the security forces and highway police.

788 But that is not the only problem which the organization
*795 and unfolding of the Magal presents for the Caliph-general and the Administration.

Sheltering all these people for three days and more is
[485] another. The provisioning of the pilgrims in water and food must be organized; sanitary and medical service must be ensured; finally, it is necessary to ensure order and discipline in
[625] the city of Touba itself, as is done on the roads, and the commander of the circle of Diourbel can only accomplish this with sizable police reinforcements, set apart in advance almost everywhere (as far as Dakar and Kaolack), which are put at his disposal for this purpose.

At the opening of the pilgrimage, three days before the Official Day, the crowd has reached its maximum size. Touba
[494] then experiences extraordinary activity. The road between Touba and M'Backé is continually furrowed in both directions by files of trucks which run without respite between the two agglomerations. The station platforms disappear under the flood of pilgrims who disembark innumerably from the last trains. The wide avenues of the city are filled with the crowd
[438] of pilgrims who carry out their religious duties or stroll in front
[443] of the little flat baskets where, as in all pilgrimages in the world, the most diverse objects are sold, from articles of clothing, such as babouches or samaras, to perfumes and jewelry, including the most varied articles of piety: prayers or verses from the Koran printed in Arabic, photographs of the Caliph-general or of Amadou Bamba, or even pictures in Oriental

/15 cont./

•788 style, violently colored like our Épinal pictures and representing
*795 the holy places of Islam or personages of Koranic tradition.

[438] Finally, to complete this immense and noisy fair over which
[443] floats an impalpable dust, there, in a corner of the city not far from the mosque, are the keepers of the cook-shops: they cook
[265] in the open the appetizing dishes which they will offer at modest prices to the famished pilgrims.

Evening does not slow down these activities; on the contrary, the pilgrims regroup at the homes of the various marabouts, and sessions of religious songs are organized there. They will
[533] last far into the night, which will resound until dawn with these litanies amplified by numerous loud-speakers.

/16/ In the course of this pilgrimage, the believers have several obligations to fulfill:

1) to call on the Caliph-general,

2) to go to meditate at the tomb of Amadou Bamba and that of Amadou Moustapha,

3) to visit the mosque,

4) to go to see their own marabout,

[778] 5) to visit at the cemetery the Sacred Tree and the graves of certain deceased notables of the brotherhood.

At the entrance to the carré of the Caliph, the faithful, in a long line, patiently await their turn to go into the residence of their supreme spiritual leader.

After passing through several walls (at the gate of which are talibé-cashiers who claim their offerings from them), they arrive at the hut in which the Caliph receives.

The circle guards maintaining order have them enter one by one into the straw hut where Falilou awaits them, assisted by his secretary and some of his close collaborators. Each pilgrim kneels before the Caliph while presenting to him his offering (hadia), which the sérigne will immediately have passed on to one of his followers. The pilgrim then rises and goes out in order to give his place to another.

[778] His visit to the Caliph ended, he goes to the sacred tombs of Amadou Bamba and Amadou Moustapha.

/16 cont./

788 *795 778

At the tomb of the Master there is always a pious crowd whose meditation, even though sincere, allows the joy at being in so famous and holy a place to show through. If they can, the pilgrims walk around the tomb three times while reciting the consecrated formula: "In the name of God the Clement, the Merciful. May God bless our Lord Mohammed, the Envoy of God, and save him." Then each of them puts down his mite and takes a handful of the sand surrounding the base of the tomb, which is regarded as a powerful talisman capable of extricating the one who possesses it from every difficult situation.

[789]

On the tomb of Amadou Moustapha the pilgrim meditates and leaves a small offering, but does not pick up any sand.

One does not leave these holy places without spending a moment in the mosque.

The latter, during the whole pilgrimage, never empties; people come and go, chat there, and rest there. It is no longer a place of prayer and meditation; for the moment it is a work-yard which one visits, rather than a sacred monument where one meditates, but, the visit ended, one returns from there proud of knowing the greatest mosque in Senegal, proud of having climbed to the top of its minarets.

/17/ Upon leaving there, the pilgrims go, in groups or alone, to the home of the marabout to whom they are directly attached, and they also take an offering to him.

The last trip of the pilgrimage is the visit to the cemetery. This is laid out around the Sacred Baobab (Goui Tékhé), at the foot of which Amadou Bamba had the supernatural vision " of the fish which supports the world," indicating to him that he had indeed arrived at the place where he was to build Touba. A little enclosure marks the site where he had that vision. The most educated and the most pious pilgrims meditate and pray there; the others, and especially the women, content themselves with visiting the graves, particularly those of Aminata Lo, wife of the Founder and mother of Amadou Moustapha, of Babacar M'Backé, son of the Sérigne Bamba, dead at an early

/17 cont./

● 788 *795 778 age, of Massamba and M'Bara M'Backé, half brothers /on the father's side/ of the same Sérigne. They will go also to the graves of the first marabouts of the brotherhood and of the first disciples of the Master, Ali Touré, Ibrahima Sarr, Assana N'Diaye, and they will stop longer at that of the beloved disciple, Ibra Fall, at the entrance of which is planted the hir, the historic stake with which was marked the site of the tomb of Amadou Bamba after the miraculous vision which we mentioned above.

There, too, in front of each grave, talibé-cashiers do not stop soliciting the generosity of the pilgrims.

788 *795 When these ritual visits are over, the talibé is purified and sanctified. If he has any time left, it is possible for him to go back to the city and mingle with the crowd of pilgrims. He can also collaborate in the construction of the mosque by breaking pieces of laterite (huge piles of which are to be found near the mosque and are used in the making of the concrete) ... [785] unless he lingers to watch some fanatic of the Murid branch of the M'Baye Fall devote himself to flagellation exercises ... with a millet pestle.

At sundown he will participate with all the pilgrims in the [782] salam du Maghreb (evening prayer); this is the only moment in the day when the 200,000 pilgrims assemble in front of the mosque for a common prayer.

The last day of the pilgrimage is thus the "Official Day." It is called this because the Caliph invites to it all the personalities and all the authorities of the circle of Diourbel, of Senegal, of the Government-general, of the official as well as of the private milieus. All accept this invitation, and those who cannot attend send representatives.

This day essentially requires an official ceremony which takes place in the middle of the morning. The Caliph, escorted /18/ by his most notable guests and followed by the crowd of the others, makes his way to a platform sheltered by canopies and erected in the plaza of the mosque, on which everyone

/18 cont./

● 788 settles himself. Speeches are then made by the representatives
*795 of the authorities and by the Caliph. The latter in his response exalts in general the friendship of France for Islam, assures our country of his faithfulness and affection, and invites his faithful to conduct themselves like good Moslems, like pious disciples of Amadou Bamba, and like loyal and good citizens, thus emphasizing the good understanding which now prevails between the brotherhood and the French administration.

After this ceremony the Magal is ended; while, on the stroke of noon, the Caliph-general is offering an abundant and sumptuous repast to his guests, the first departures of the pilgrims take place. All during the afternoon a large number of faithful arrive home. But those who can do not leave immediately, so that for two to three more days the jammed trains and the overloaded trucks will take back to their villages talibés who are indeed tired, but happy about their pilgrimage and singing the praises of God, the Prophet, and Amadou Bamba.

The Magal is therefore a big affair. When his guests have departed, when the pilgrims have gone home, in the city rid of its cloud of dust, in the silence finally found again with the taking down of the many loud-speakers which broadcast the religious songs and the prayers in the compounds of the priests and around the mosque, Falilou M'Backé can draw up the balance-sheet of this manifestation.

The Magal allows the brotherhood to measure its strength
[793] and cohesion; it permits its members to approach the Caliph-general, who, for them, is a saint whose only goal is to realize down here the wishes of Amadou Bamba. Finally, it permits their supreme leader to measure their faithfulness to his person and their attachment to the brotherhood. The one and the other are still very solid and strong nowadays, since the amount of the gifts collected at the last few Magal is on the order of 150,000,000 CFA francs.

A manifestation of the vitality of Muridism, the Magal is also a Senegalese event; many people who are not Murids go

/18 cont./

•788 to it out of curiosity, but do not fail to be touched by the strength
*795 and cohesion of Muridism, and sometimes some of them become disciples of Amadou Bamba.

Besides, the repercussions of the pilgrimage go beyond the bounds of Touba and the brotherhood. The local press, the [204] official information services, and Radio-Dakar attend and par- [207] ticipate in it. Radio reporting, newspapers, and films spread sonorous echoes and vivid images of the Magal, not only throughout the Territory, /19/ but throughout the Federation, and this contributes no little toward increasing the glory and prestige of the brotherhood and its leaders in Senegal.

793 If the Magal has assured this character and this importance,
*795 it is thanks to the present head of the brotherhood, Falilou M'Backé, and, reciprocally, the aspect thus assumed by this pilgrimage has been one of the elements which have established the second Caliph at the head of the brotherhood.

Actually, at the time of his nomination as Caliph-general, he had to overcome the opposition of his nephew, Cheikh M'Backé, son of Moustapha (who aspired to succeed the latter as he had succeeded his father, Amadou Bamba), whom the council of the Murids had removed from the succession for his benefit.

By directly tying again the tradition of the Magal to the first intentions of Amadou Bamba, he brought about the unity of the Murids around himself.

He has also devoted himself to the building of the mosque, to which he applies all his attention. Not only does he collect for this purpose considerable sums at the time of the Magal, but he also seizes every opportunity to make collections or to have collections made for the benefit of this work. In particular he [533] has his representatives organize throughout the territory night sessions of religious singing in the course of which funds for the mosque are collected.

Thus he has appeared, in the eyes of the Murids, less as the successor to Amadou Moustapha than as the direct continuater

665 tems. At Dakar, the powers of the "*sé-*
[633] *rigne*" and of the dignitaries of the former "Lebou Republic" were continued, although they gradually lost their importance.[40] The parties were careful to keep these leading figures among their clientele. As a result there were some rather complex manipulations concerning nominations and successions. A nomination accepted by one party was more or less openly contested by the other. Hence the relatively frequent bifurcation of power: opposing the dignitary who had received official recognition was another who maintained himself as pretender, with the support of the party that had backed his candidacy. Such events stood
[667] out even more sharply among ward leaders, who depended most directly upon the party that controlled the city government. Their support was more or less confined to the voters of this party. Hence certain wards had clandestine ward leaders, around whom the members of the opposition party could gather. Of course, such phenomena have accelerated the deterioration of these institutions.

793 (2) In the religious field, control over
665 chiefs of the great Moslem brotherhoods similarly has been at stake in intense struggles between the parties. This was particularly true of the main brotherhood in Senegal, that of the Tidjanes.
[369] This problem has been centered outside Dakar and the other coastal cities, but has had important repercussions in these cities. The rivalries that apparently have always surrounded the choice of the caliph of the Tidjanes were intensified and acquired a greater impact, in proportion as the fundamental hostility of the parties was openly associated with them. Violent incidents involving politi-
[788] cal enemies occurred even on pilgrimages to Tivaouane, where the caliph resides; they contributed to the prolongation of conflicts within the caliph's family. Well-meaning interference by re-

[9 cont.]

787 805 Time: Certain hours are favorable for the birth of dreams -- especially those when silence is deepest, that is to say, from midnight to early morning and the hour of the siesta (when it is customary to have one).

Among all the months of the year, the month of Nisân (April) is the most propitious, according to a universal belief.

787 788 [779] Texts to quote: In order to evoke a favorable dream, it is recommended that, before lying down, one quote verses from the Koran, which differ greatly according to the method used; those of the first holy book, the Fâtiha, are most preferred for this practice. The Souratou el Ikhâssi ("qhoul houe Allahou ahadoun" = There is only one God) is most frequently used, and one must say it seven times.

There are others (for example, "Astâgh firou Allah!" = May God forgive me!) which one must say 100 times.

[776] The nine names of God (El Djabar = The Almighty, El Moukatabir = The Proud One, El Amad = The Eternal One, El Bâtin = The Hidden One, El Kâdir = The Mighty One, El Madjîd = The Illustrious One, El Bourkhân = The Miracle, El Mouktadir = The One for Whom Anything Is Possible, El Rahman = The Merciful) must be repeated 21 times before sleeping.

Various practices: In order to promote favorable dreams, as well as to drive away bad dreams, one observes various rules which differ only in details.

[783] Thus, to execute the practice of listikhâra, one must make his ablutions (following a rigorously prescribed order) and then [782] his evening prayer. During each rakaa (1), one must say eleven

1. Phase of the prayer which involves: 1 standing position; 1 bowing position, the hands on the knees; 2 prostrate positions, the forehead against the ground; 1 seated position.

times (or more, according to the method followed) the verses of Fâtiha and other quotations from the Koran.

Dakar
Wolof MS30
Lebu

/15 cont./

called Wolof-Lebou, for which one cannot know to what extent it is the result of mixtures between the two groups and to what extent it is the effect of a "Wolofization" of the Lebou.

S 369x
W 369
S
W
[162]
[563]

b) As far as the Lebou and the Wolof are concerned, and to a lesser extent certain other groups, contacts with the regions and kinship groups of origin remain important. Let us add that for a population in large majority Moslem, the religious centers attracting pilgrims are in the interior of Senegal. A large proportion of the population is therefore not at all completely uprooted, and the phenomena of "destructurization" which generally accompany the rural exoduses are less marked than in most of the recent towns. Therefore the fact that only 22% of the persons questioned during our investigation were born in Dakar is less significant than it seems at first glance (6).

S 369x [788]

S [162]

6. Compare with the figures given by G. Balandier for Poto-Poto: 90 to 98% for persons born outside of the town (op. cit., p. 25). On the other hand it must not be forgotten that even in the "old towns" in France the proportion of persons born in the town where they live may be very low, for example, 25% at Auxerre (cf. C. Bettelheim and S. Frère, Une ville française moyenne, Auxerre en 1950, Etude de structure sociale et urbaine /An average French town, Auxerre in 1950; Study of social and urban structure/, Paris, 1950).

/16 cont./

788 *795 778 At the tomb of the Master there is always a pious crowd whose meditation, even though sincere, allows the joy at being in so famous and holy a place to show through. If they can, the pilgrims walk around the tomb three times while reciting the consecrated formula: "In the name of God the Clement, the Merciful. May God bless our Lord Mohammed, the Envoy of God, and save him." Then each of them puts down his mite and takes a handful of the sand surrounding the base of the tomb, which is regarded as a powerful talisman capable of extricating the one who possesses it from every difficult situation. [789]

On the tomb of Amadou Moustapha the pilgrim meditates and leaves a small offering, but does not pick up any sand.

One does not leave these holy places without spending a moment in the mosque.

The latter, during the whole pilgrimage, never empties; people come and go, chat there, and rest there. It is no longer a place of prayer and meditation; for the moment it is a work-yard which one visits, rather than a sacred monument where one meditates, but, the visit ended, one returns from there proud of knowing the greatest mosque in Senegal, proud of having climbed to the top of its minarets.

/17/ Upon leaving there, the pilgrims go, in groups or alone, to the home of the marabout to whom they are directly attached, and they also take an offering to him.

The last trip of the pilgrimage is the visit to the cemetery. This is laid out around the Sacred Baobab (Goui Tékhé), at the foot of which Amadou Bamba had the supernatural vision "of the fish which supports the world," indicating to him that he had indeed arrived at the place where he was to build Touba. A little enclosure marks the site where he had that vision. The most educated and the most pious pilgrims meditate and pray there; the others, and especially the women, content themselves with visiting the graves, particularly those of Aminata Lo, wife of the Founder and mother of Amadou Moustapha, of Babacar M'Backé, son of the Sérigne Bamba, dead at an early

[9 cont.]

787 After having recited the required prayers, one expresses his particular desire in a whisper while shielding the mouth with the right hand.

Then one lies down in a quiet and suitable place, on the right side, placing the right hand under the ear.

787 278 [791] Drugs and substances: Many drugs are provided for facilitating dreaming, sometimes by the mou'abbirs (who are relatively very rare in Senegal) and sometimes by other experienced persons.

The use of the roots of bakis or of sindiègne (a kind of creeping plant common in the western part of Senegal) is very widespread; if one falls asleep with a toothpick of bakis or sindiègne in his mouth, he will have frightful visions in which demons, the dead, and supernatural beings appear.

The same result is obtained if, before lying down, one takes a solution of salted water in which roots of sindiègne have fermented for quite a long time, the effect of which is both purgative and stimulative.

[302] Among other substances, the extract called kaoulâne (sometimes used in the form of a lotion for the face), liquid myrrh, opium, etc. should be mentioned.

787 [782] More rarely, fumigation is practiced in a sealed and isolated hut, in which honey or incense is burned. Obviously, in this case, the procedure may be completed by one of the above practices.

[778] [789] Magical means: Throughout Senegal (as is well-known) one finds an enormous number of talismans (for example, the khâtim, magical designs made up of names, characters, and figures which possess a kind of supernatural power), the aim of which is to evoke favorable dreams; their form varies according to the desire that the believer wants to realize.

Bohumil Holas

(Ifan, Dakar)

[8]

787 177 All of the methods currently used in the different regions of Senegal to promote dreaming bear traces of the influence of Moslem beliefs, often distorted by local superstitions.

For centuries the work of Mohamed Ibn-Sirina (died in 110 A.H.), an Arab scholar of old regarded as the foremost of [791] the great mou'abbirs (interpreters of dreams) in the whole Moslem world, has served as the basis for this science. This work, supplied with few examples, brings together the most common types of interpretations and establishes universal rules that are still valid today.

Later, another Arab scholar (Cheïka Abdoul Khaniyou of Nabili Chiyou) revised and completed the work of Ibn Sirina; he collected and classified the various dreams in logical categories according to their subject (things, animals, persons, supernatural beings ...) in an important work: Taatire El-Ana mbitâbir El-Manam (= To make the world happier by the interpretation of dreams). Subsequently, Eddemiri in his great work entitled Hayatou el-Hayaouan (in two volumes) has given precise and exhaustive interpretations concerning the dreams in which animals figure.

[791] These are the two sources of classical information most often utilized by the interpreters of Senegalese dreams. The traditional religion, however, continues to exert an indisputable influence upon them.

Some of the practices that we are going to point out [9] by means of examples show this same influence. Utilized to evoke dreams, one finds them throughout Senegal.

Place: It is always essential that the place where one lies down is the most suitable one possible. In a place where a Moslem may not pray, one cannot hope to have a dream.

In the canton of Kahône (Bas-Saloum [Lower Saloum]), a region little Islamized, the women go at night to lie down near the ancient tombs.

The Ouolof [Wolof] of Cayor, with the same aim, visit [778] the tomb of the great marabout El Hadj Malick Sy at Tivaouane; the people of Baol go to the one of Sérigne Amadou Bamba M'Backé at Touba in the region north of Diourbel.

[9 cont.]

787 After having recited the required prayers, one expresses his particular desire in a whisper while shielding the mouth with the right hand.

Then one lies down in a quiet and suitable place, on the right side, placing the right hand under the ear.

787 278 [791] Drugs and substances: Many drugs are provided for facilitating dreaming, sometimes by the mou'abbirs (who are relatively very rare in Senegal) and sometimes by other experienced persons.

The use of the roots of bakis or of sindiègne (a kind of creeping plant common in the western part of Senegal) is very widespread; if one falls asleep with a toothpick of bakis or sindiègne in his mouth, he will have frightful visions in which demons, the dead, and supernatural beings appear.

The same result is obtained if, before lying down, one takes a solution of salted water in which roots of sindiègne have fermented for quite a long time, the effect of which is both purgative and stimulative.

[302] Among other substances, the extract called kaoulâne (sometimes used in the form of a lotion for the face), liquid myrrh, opium, etc. should be mentioned.

787 [782] More rarely, fumigation is practiced in a sealed and isolated hut, in which honey or incense is burned. Obviously, in this case, the procedure may be completed by one of the above practices.

[778] [789] Magical means: Throughout Senegal (as is well-known) one finds an enormous number of talismans (for example, the khâtim, magical designs made up of names, characters, and figures which possess a kind of supernatural power), the aim of which is to evoke favorable dreams; their form varies according to the desire that the believer wants to realize.

Bohumil Holas

(Ifan, Dakar)

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S

The French sociologist Mercier has already remarked the fundamental homogeneity of Senegal's main ethnic groups, which 'Whatever their cultural differences and whatever their traditional hostility to one another (which has by no means completely disappeared) all had the same type of social and political organisation.' 563 [184]

W

Of the major groups the Wolof and the Lebou are for all intents and purposes indistinguishable, the Lebou being the Wolof-speaking inhabitants of the Cape Verde peninsula. The Serer are also very closely related to the Wolof, being considered as tribal cousins. The Toucouleur, Serer and Fula are traditionally connected, it being held that the Toucouleur are the result of an ancient mixing between the Serers, with whom they have a strong joke-relationship, and the Fulas whose language is very close to their own. Thus nearly three-quarters of the population have closer historical and ethnic connexions than exist in any other area of West Africa save Hausaland in Northern Nigeria. With the exception of the Serers, of whom a substantial minority is Christian, these people are almost exclusively Muslim. They also tend today to use Wolof as a lingua franca. Even the Diola, from the Casamance, which is in many ways a minority area of Senegal, especially because it is cut off from the north by the Gambia, have strong traditional connexions with the Serer and assert in effect that they are descended from the same ancestor. This leaves only the Mandingo people out of the pattern and as we shall see they do tend to be a minority group in Senegal. [101] S [771] S [197]

S

There is thus at the basis of Senegalese society an indigenous homegeneity that is nothing to do with the French policy of assimilation, and which has been greatly encouraged by a common adherence to Islam, where Marabouts or religious leaders of one tribe have considerable influence over Muslims of other ethnic origins. 184 563 S [192]

S

The French administration, however, through its policy of direct rule did in fact make one major contribution towards [631]

1: Marty--126 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS30

/146/

Appendix No. 6
Circle of Baol (Diourbel)
List of the principal Murid marabouts, their origins, and their residences.

SW
793

Names	Origins	Residences	Observations
Amadou Bamba	Ouolof	Diourbel	
Mokhtar Penda	"	"	
Houna Fal	"	"	
Abd Allah Diao	"	"	
Sheik Diop	"	"	
Abd Allah Diop	"	"	
Momar Khari	"	"	
Amadou N'Doaye Diop	"	"	nephew of A. Bamba.
Amadou N'Doumbé	"	"	
Bachir Cissé	"	"	
Issa Diène	"	"	
Mohammed Mostafa	"	Touba	son of A. Bamba.
Mohammed Bachir	"	"	id.
Masemba	"	"	brother of A. Bamba.
Amadou Fadiame	"	"	
Abderrahman Ould Mohammed	"	"	
Momar Mbaké Ould Said	"	"	nephew of A. Bamba.
Sheik Mbaké Bousso	"	Darou	brother-in-law of A. B.
Sheik El-Hadj Bousso	"	"	id.
Abd El-Qader Ould Moulay Nacer	"	"	nephew of A. Bamba.
Alioune Ould Moulay Nacer	"	"	id.
Momar Diara	"	Mbaké	brother of A. Bamba.
Sheik Anta	"	Gaouane	id.
Balla Mbaké	"	"	id.
Youssef Babou	"	"	
Amadou Guèye	"	"	
Moudoune Kassé	"	"	

1: Marty--127 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS30

/147/

Appendix No. 6 cont.

S
W
793

Names	Origins	Residences	Observations
Sérigne Mbaye	Ouolof	Gaouane	
Amadou Dieng Babou	"	"	
Momar Fati	"	"	nephew of Sh. Anta.
Amadou Bator	"	"	
Gora Bakhoume	"	Toakhamé	
Bira Bigué Dieng	"	Thièpe	
Masemba Fal	"	"	
Matari Mbaké	"	"	
Amadou Digol	"	K. Amadou Digol	
Manel Fal	"	Thiapi (near Bambey)	former head of canton.
Momar Fal	"	Garam-Guéoul	
Mostafa Silla	"	Lambaye	former cadi.
Sérigne Alioun Diouf	"	"	
Meltoufa Khari	"	"	
Amadou Mbaye	"	Palène Khombole	former cadi.

1: Marty--129 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

/148 cont./

S
167
795
W
795

(Appendix No. 7 cont.)

		Murids Sérignes	Murids Talibés	Islamilized	Total population
Residence of East Saloum	Ndoukoumane-Pakalla	4	18		
	Koungheul	2	22		
	Total	6	40	10,742	13,284
General Total		281		76,352	182,926

/149/

S
W
793

Appendix No. 8
Circle of Sine-Saloum
List by residences and cantons of the principal Murid marabouts, their origins, their residences, their spiritual fathers, and the number of their talibés.[1]

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	No. of Talibés
Residence of Saloum (Kaolack).				
Canton of Kaolack-Laghem.				
Tamsir Moussa Paté	Ouolof.	Pakatia.	Amadou Bamba.	11
Omar Diouf	"	Mbadiou.	Tamsir Moussa.	
Babakar N'Diaye	"	Mbouma.	Amadou Bamba.	4
Massakho Sakho	"	Tahoua.	Ibra Fati.	21
Canton of Kahone.				
Amadou Cissé.	"	Bill.	Amadou Fadiame.	7

[1] [i.e. disciples --Analyst]

1: Marty--130 G-4,5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S
W
•793

/149 cont./

(Appendix No. 8 cont.)

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	No. of Talibés
Ndéné Kabou.	Ouolof.	Gagneck.	Ibra Fati.	
Abdoulaye.				
N'Diaye.	"	"	Sheik Anta.	2
Momar N'Dao.	"	Tiakala.	Amadou Fadiame.	
Canton of Nguer.				
Tioumba Kaadji.	"	Maouel.	Sheik Anta.	4
Canton of Diokoul Ganâiaye.				
Makhoudia Dieng.	"	Diokhoul.	Amadou Bamba.	2
Matar Sakho.	Sérère	"	Mamadou Cissé.	1
Baba N'Diaye.	"	Ngodj.	Makhoudia Dieng.	
Biramou Sène.	Ouolof	Soukhoupe.	Amadou Bamba.	
Mamadou Sek.	"	Keur Galoup	Ibra Fati.	2
/150/				
Residence of Sine (Fatick).				
Circle of Diakhao.				
Alioune Sek.	Ouolof	Soupa.	Amadou Niang.	4
Sérigne Ma Fal Niang.	"	Darou. Salam.	Moussa N'Doye.	14
Canton of Dioïne.				
Sérigne Touré.	Ouolof	Mbedap.	Amadou Bamba.	
Mandiaye Sèye.	"	Mbelo Khoute.	Moussa N'Doye.	
Madiop N'Diaye.	"	Gadiagne.	Ibra Fati.	
Aliou Diop.	"	"	Alioune Diouf.	
Ibrahima N'Gom.	"	"	"	
Abdou Kane.	"	Mbetite.	Amadou Bamba.	

I: Marty--131 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

5
W
793

/150 cont./
(Appendix No. 8 cont.)

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	No. of Talibés
Canton of Maroutte.				
Momar Sek.	Ouolof.	Gossas.	Amadou Bamba	7
Amadou Diao.	"	"	" "	12
Ousmane Lo.	Peul.	Patar.	Alioune Ka.	5
Amadou Khari Mbaké.	Ouolof.	Gossas.	Amadou Bamba	24
Alioune Touré.	"	"	" "	9
Momar Thiam.	"	"	" "	8
Babakar Lao.	"	"	" "	2
Abdou Khadir.	Peul.	Patar.	Sheik Ousman.	9
Momar Thian.	Ouolof.	Gossas.	His father Momar	8
Khar Khan	"	"	Banda Kane.	4
Amadou Ba.	Peul.	"	His father Diam Doura	3
Canton of Gayokhème.				
Matar Niang.	Ouolof.	N'galagne Koé.	Amadou Bamba.	
Modi Toubé.	"	Ngadiagne.	" "	/151/
Residence of Rip (Nioro) Circle of Oualo-Kayemor.				
Abdoulaye N'Diaye	Ouolof.	Ndienguène.	Amadou Bamba.	
Demba Dioba.	"	Ndioufène.	" "	
Canton of Niom Rip.				
Tamsir Ma Ba.	Ouolof.	Touba.	" "	10
Katim Koumba.	"	Djina Katim.	" "	6

1: Marty--132 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 39
Wolof MS30

SW 793

/151 cont./

(Appendix No. 8 cont.)

Names	Origins	Resi= dences	Spiritual Fathers	No. of Talibés
Canton of Saback Rip.				
Tamsir Khodia.	Ouolof.	K. Tamsir. Khodia.	Amadou Fadiama.	5
Residence of East Saloum				
C. of Ndoukoumane - Pakalla				
Aliou Sek.	Ouolof.	Bamba Moussa.	Amadou Bamba.	10
Moussa Sèye.	"	Diolkosse.	Amadou Fadiama.	3
Omar Mèye.	"	Kaffate.	Amadou Bamba.	3
Segni Sar.	"	Dramé.	Amadou Fadiama.	2
Canton of Kougheul.				
Momar Khari Si.	Ouolof.	Sine Matar.	Amadou Mbaké.	12
Mahadame Tiougoun.	"	Diaye Coumda.	Ali Penda Lo.	10

/152/

Appendix No. 9

9 February 1913

Notice

W 795

To those who know that the author of these lines is a believer, a Moslem, a man who behaves in accordance with the Koran, tradition, and the unanimity of the scholars.

Whoever claims to trace his filiation from the said author and does not behave according to the Koran, tradition, and the unanimity of the scholars is not from him and is not connected with him. No, he is in no way from him.

l: Marty--135 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS30

/154/

Appendix No. 12
Circle of Thiès
List by residences and cantons of the principal Murid marabouts, their origins, their residences, and the number of their talibés

SW
0793

Names	Origins	Residences	Number of Talibés	Observations
Residence of Thiès.				
Sheik Ibra Fal.	Ouolof.	Thiès: Darou Baïré.	200	
Abdallah Diop. son of Lat Dior.	"	"		ex-head of Mbakol (Cayor).
Amadou Lo	"	"		originally from Gandiole.
N'Diaye Rokia.	"	"		nephew of Sheik Ibra Fal.
Laba Dioum.	"	"		
Masemba N'Diaye.	"	"		
Amadou N'Doaye	"	"		
Residence of the Sérère Provinces (Fissel).				
Amadou Ndoumbé Baké.	Ouolof	Khabane.	100	at Keur Sérigne Amadou.
Abdoulaye Diao.	"	"	80	at Keur Abdoulaye Diao.
Momar Diagne.	"	"	20	at Dialakh.
Issa Diène.	"	"	50	at Touba.
Maïb N'Diaye.	"	"	20	
Amadou Lamine M'Baye.	"	Sassal.	20	

1: Marty--136 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS30

S
W
793

/154 cont./
(Appendix No. 12 cont.)

Names	Origins	Residences	Number of Talibés	Observations
Manik Diop.	Ouolof.	Malamsone.		
Momar Touré.	"	Tassette.	20	at Touré.
Abdou N'Doye.	"	"	20	at N'Doyène.
Sheik Madiop.	"	"	30	at Keur Madiop.
Sérigne Momar Senné	"	Pout.	10	
Laman Malik. Residence of the Petite Côte (Nianing).	Sérère.	Pognom.		newly converted.
Alioune Sal.	Ouolof.	Guélor.	50	imprisoned in 1910 for disturbances.

/155/

Appendix No. 13
Circle of Cayor
Enumeration by provinces of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

S
162
[795]
W
[795]

Provinces	Number of Murids	Number of Islamized	Total Population
Saniakhor.	6,000		
Mbakhol-Mboul.	10,000		
Guet.	12,000		
Total	28,000	133,400	139,150

Note. - The circle of Cayor contains 5,750 inhabitants who are not Islamized.

This number is made up of: about 5,000 Sérère, scattered in the cantons of N'Doute and M'Bar in the province of Saniakhor; 500 Laobé, scattered in the province of Guet; 200 Akou, in the railroad stops; and 50 Mandiago, distributed throughout the circle.

l: Marty-137 G-4,5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS30

/156/

Appendix No. 14
Circle of Cayor

List by provinces and cantons of the principal Murid marabouts, their origins, their residences, their spiritual fathers, and the number of their talibés.

SW 793

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibes
Province of Saniakhor				
Salihou Dieng.	Ouolof	Maka.	Momar Dieng.	10
Makhouria Khandji.	"	Sakh.	Assane Gaye.	7
Balla Goye.	"	Kabh.	Ditialao Gaye.	4
Mamour Thiam.	"	"	Alassane Faye.	4
Samba Tacine Ka.	"	Sioual.	Samba Tacine	3
Ndioukou Diagne.	"	Mborine.	Solimane Niang	2
Matar Fal.	"	Ndiaye Diamba-gname.	Masemba Manne	2
Macoumba Guéye.	"	Badar Guèye.	Matar Guèye.	7
Momar Guèye.	"	Taoua.	Ousmane Guèye.	5
Ousmane Guèye	"	"	Samba Khari	5
Balla Guaye.	"	Tiékao.	Birama Guèye	20
Assan Fal.	"	Gouye Mbaye	Amadou Bamba.	10
Mabèye Bèye	"	Médina.	Ibra Fal.	17
Marouba Guèye	"	Gandiaye near Piré.	Amadou Bamba	30

1: Marty--138 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS30

/156 cont./
(Appendix No. 14 cont.)

SW 793

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Momar Ouarka Khan	Ouolof.	Kour Momar Ouarka.	Amadou Bamba	20
Sheik Amadou Bakê Sar.	"	Keur Moussa Mbakê.	" "	20
Mousa Diaye.	"	Fassel.	"	20
Baba Ngom Khaliomba.	"	Khandane.	"	20
Mamadou Senne.	"	"	"	20
/157/				
Sheik Mangoné Sek.	Ouolof.	Ndoyène-Piré.	Amadou Bamba	20
Mdiabélé Ndour.	"	Keur Bakar.	"	20
Stop of Tivouane				
Abdoulaye Thiam.	"	Tivaouane.	Marouba Guèye.	5
Matala Mbaye.	"	Tivaouane. (former griot).	Ibra Fal.	8
Alassane Senne.	"	Tivaouane.	Sheik Anta.	7
Ibrahima Diagne	"	"	"	4
Yali Niang.	"	"	Amadou Bamba	
Malik Ndiagne.	"	Tivaouane.	Sheik Anta.	6
		(K. Masemba		6
Amadou Nar Diop.	"	Tivaouane (former cadi).	Amadou Bamba	
Amadou Guèye Maro	"	Tivaouane.	Ibra Fal	15
Balla Diop.	"	Tivaouane. (assessor).	Amadou Bamba	
Amadou Diop.	"	Tivaouane.	"	

1: Marty--139 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS30

/157 cont./
(Appendix No. 14 cont.)

SW 793

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Ibrahima Soghe	Ouolof	Tivaouane (Thiendane).	Ibra Fal..	
Province of Mbakol-Mboul.				
Momar Guèye.	"	Messéré.	Amadou Bamba	10
Momar Gaye.	"	Guembé	"	12
Macodou Diop.	"	Nehlhedje.	"	17
Masemba Diop.	"	Mérina.	"	24
Maouedji Thiam.	"	Thiamène.	"	9
Momar Lahma.	"	Guagame.	"	11
Abdoulaye Fadiaga.	"	Ndiam Nal.	"	12
Momar Sèye.	"	Ndia Hadé.	"	13
Ndari Kane.	"	Kane.	"	18
Amadou Dié Mbaké.	"	Ndiayène Péri.	"	11
Adama Sal.	"	Darou Salam.	"	35
Sheik Malamine Ndiaye.	"	Kelcom.	"	28
/158/				
Yéri Diakhaté.	Ouolof	Kelcom	Amadou Bamba	15
Madiara Gnane.	"	Mékbé.	"	5
Ma Hafsa Tiao.	"	Thiamène.	"	11
Ibra Dior.	"	N'Dande (Narbé)	"	21
Mamao Silla.	"	Nakhal-Mamiao	"	24
Mokhtar Marienna.	"	Tiapoura.	"	7
Mostafa Silla.	"	Darou Salam.	"	11
Amor Fal.	"	Niakhal-Boé.	"	8
Momar Silla.	"	Yohma.	"	11
Mokhtar Ougnane.	"	Ndeme.	"	7

1: Marty--140 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

/158 cont./
(Appendix No. 14 cont.)

SW 793

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Momar Mbaye.	Ouolof	Afia.	Amadou Bamba	21
Medoume Samba.	"	"	"	6
Diambar Diakhaté.	"	Méoumdou.	"	8
Saër Silla.	"	Fille Dramane	"	15
Ibra Silla.	"	"	"	20
Amadou Binta.	"	"	"	8
Mayacine Ballé.	"	Gouyard.	"	10
Mayacine Dieng.	"	" (Orig. from Maka).	"	20
Amadou Dié.	"	Darou Salam.	"	17
Amor Diakhaté.	"	"	"	15
Masilla Silla.	"	Masilla.	"	30
Alioun Touré.	"	Piré (now at Gossas).	"	50
Mostafa Ndiaye.	"	Diémoul.	"	8
Abdoulaye Dieng.	"	Gouyard.	"	18
Mousa Daro.	"	N'dèye.	"	13
Omar Silla.	"	Ouadia.	"	15
Ali Mané.	"	Meur Madiop.	"	9
Anta Sek.	"	Ndiol.	"	9
Ngagne Tendimé.	Moor	Darou Tendimé.	"	17
Ndiaga Diop.	Ouolof	Ndiob Botol.	"	
Moumar Comba.	"	Mbol	"	
Mbar Dior Siga.	"	Ndiouki (brother of Samba Laobé).	"	50
Anbar Fa.	"	id.	"	
/159/				
Issa Diène.	Ouolof.	Ndande.	Amadou Bamba	50

1: Marty--141 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

/159 cont./
(Appendix No. 14 cont.)

SW 793

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Province of Guet				
Ibra Fati.	Ouolof	Mbaké.	Amadou Bamba	100
Aramine Mbaké.	"	" (professor).	"	
Matar Binta.	"	Mbaké. (professor).	"	
Thiamba Sèye.	"	Mérine.	"	3
Medieng Dieng.	"	Ndiguène Bamé.	"	8
Momar Diop.	"	Guaéoul.	"	25
Mafari N'Diaye.	"	Baranrang.	"	10
Diéri Sougoufara.	Moor	Ouadane Guet.	"	
Mokhtar Sougoufara.	"	Mosseladje.	"	3
Abdou Kane.	Ouolof	Khébéré Guet.	"	20
Momar Ngoné Fal.	"	Ndiah Guéoul.	"	20
Ndiouga Fal.	"	Keur Amadou Yella.	"	2
Amadou Gaye.	"	Ngaye.	"	2
Aboudalaye Deme.	"	Toumba.	"	2
Medoune Dème.	"	"	"	4
Barra Ndiaye.	"	Tiamène.	"	3
Birahima Kodou Maram.	"	Tilmakha.	"	
Amadou Makhouria.	"	"	"	
Abdou Abbas.	"	Tilmakha (cousin of Lat Dior).	"	
Mokhtar Diop.	"	id.	"	

1: Marty--142 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

/160/

S
162
795
W
795

Appendix No. 15
Circle of Louga
Enumeration of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Provinces	Total Number of Murids	Moslems	General Total	Observations
Djolof.	300	36,895	36,895	
North Diambour	300	32,800	32,800	
South Diambour	150	14,678	14,678	
N'Guick Merina	150	14,582	14,582	
Gandiolais.	100	7,073	7,073	
	1,000	106,028	106,028	

/161/

S
W
793

Appendix No. 16
Circle of Louga
List by provinces of the principal Murid marabouts, their origins, their residence, their spiritual fathers, and the number of their talibés.

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Province of Diolof:				
Abdou Kamara.	Ouolof.	Kamara.	Amadou Bamba	2
Alioun M'Baye.	"	Nboundiane.	"	2
Modo Sankhe.	"	Tiankhé.	"	2
Khali N'Diaye.	"	N'Diayène.	"	110
Diadé N'Dao.	"	Iagne Sagata.	"	8
Baba Fati M'Baye.	"	Mbaïène.	"	6
Alle Khari.	"	"	"	5

l: Marty--143 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS30

SW 793

/161 cont./
(Appendix No. 16 cont.)

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Province of North Diambour				
Ibra Guèye.	Ouolof	Keur Ali Sali.	Amadou Bamba	6
Momar Sikéna	"	Lamdou.	"	10
Code Lo.	"	Niomré-Diama.	"	8
Matar Binta Lo.	"	Niomré.	"	18
Medoune Dioumbé.	"	Coki.	"	4
Mansour Diao.	"	Thialène.	"	
Momar Diao.	"	Garki.	"	5
Amadou Anta.	"	Keur Medoune.	"	
		Mbaye	"	8
Ali N'Dak.	"	Coki.	"	6
Amadou Gaye.	"	Ndiagne.	"	6
Sheik Ibra Sar.	"	Thiarème.	"	40
Marouba Thioune.	"	Ndiagne.	"	3
Ndiao Fal.	"	Ouarak.	"	3
Medoune Samba.	"	Fadane.	"	3
Amadou Lo.	"	Keur Medoune Mbaye	"	4
Amadou Fal.	"	Ndiagne.	"	
Province of South Dianbour.				
Assane N'Diao.	Ouolof.	Darou.	Amadou Bamba	20/162/
Ballo Sek.	"	Thiène.	"	
Ma Diakhaté Lo.	"	Ndam.	"	2
Amadou Mokhtar Diakaté (ex-cadi).	"	"	"	

1: Marty--144 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

SW 793

/162 cont./
(Appendix No. 16 cont.)

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Macoumba Dia.	Ouolof.	Kaï Dio	Amadou Bamba.	2
Medieke Sek.	"	Thièkème.	"	
Momar Lo.	"	Keur Souley.	"	2
Omar Guèye.	"	Ngondiouro Diop	"	1
Amadou Sar.	"	"	"	7
Momar Sey.	"	Keur Mor Abdou	"	7
Mousa Fal.	"	Khiraoua.	"	
Amor Dia.	"	Keur Matar.	"	
Amor Samba.	"	Ndiamb.	"	
Stop of Louga.				
Ibra Kébi.	"	Louga.	"	10
Sheik Sandiaye Baye	"	"	"	4
Meklou Diao.	"	"	"	
Amadou Sarer (assessor at the tribunal, very favorable).	"	"	"	
Province of Nguick-Merina.				
Amadou Diop.	"	Tendé Biti.	Amadou Anta.	4
N'Diaou N'Diaye.	"	Bigaye.	Ibra Fal.	
Malik Sar.	"	Nguick.	Amadou Bamba.	5
Ibra Fal.	"	Ndabé.	Ibra Fal.	32
Amadou Khari Diaye.	Ouolof.	Roye.	Amadou Bamba.	2
Sidi Sar.	"	Ndiapal Sar.	Ibra Fal.	
Moulay Sar.	"	Keur Paté Siné.	Amadou Bamba	10
Amadou Fal.	"	Nguick.	"	7
Amandou Sar.	"	Dabaye.	"	
Gandiolais. None.				

/10/

*795 793 The brotherhood of the Murids was instituted in Senegal at the end of the last century by a Toucouleur /Tukolor/ marabout named Amadou Bamba M'Backé. He did it, Murid tradition reports, following a vision during which the Angel Gabriel revealed to him his vocation as apostle-restorer of Islam in that country.

Amadou Bamba had studied the Koran thoroughly under Cheikh /Sheik/ Sidi Sidiya, and because of this he had received the wird. He therefore was of Quadria obedience. Nevertheless, by creating his own brotherhood and founding Muridism, he produced a completely original work, and he knew particularly well how to adapt his preaching to the mentality of the Ouolof /Wolof/, among whom it spread rapidly and became firmly established.

The essential trait of the Murid is his blind and fanatical attachment to his marabout and to the Murid doctrine; the primordial characteristic of Muridism is to have made manual [461] labor (generally scorned in Black Africa and in Islam) the equivalent of prayer and, as such, capable of ensuring the eternal salvation of the disciple (talibé).

*795 114 The history of the vocation and the preachings of Amadou Bamba, as well as the circumstances of the birth and first development of the brotherhood are known; Captain Marty in L'Islam au Sénégal /Islam in Senegal/ and A. Gouilly in L'Islam en A. O. F. /Islam in French West Africa/ have spoken about it with authority.

Our purpose, therefore, will not be to repeat what has already been written about the Murids and their brotherhood, but to report some recent observations about them made by the author in the course of a stay at Diourbel during which he was able to approach the current leaders of the brotherhood frequently and to attend several times the pilgrimage that they organize annually in their "capital," Touba, under the name of Magal.

128 We shall call to mind, therefore, successively:

— Touba, the holy city of the Murids, its mosque, its Magal;

/10 cont./

128 — the great leaders of Muridism, their present situation, their influence on the movement, their reciprocal rivalries, their relations with the Administration;

— the importance of Muridism and its influence on the economic, social, and political life of Senegal.

/11/ Then we shall try, in conclusion, to envisage the prospects for the future which present themselves to Muridism today.

*795 Touba is therefore the center of the Murid brotherhood.
778 Amadou Bamba founded it in 1886, a few kilometers from
[361] the village of M'Backé (itself created by his grandfather, M'Balla M'Backé) and about 60 kilometers east of Diourbel, at the edge of Baol and the Ferlo desert, in a vast plain with bleak horizons and a sparse population.

The Murids attribute a holy and miraculous origin to the city, the Angel Gabriel himself having revealed the site to Amadou Bamba after conducting him there in a mysterious and supernatural fashion.

Amadou Bamba's difficulties with the Administration did not permit him to reside in this remote and isolated place where his activities were hard to control, but his body has reposed there since his death in 1927.

The agglomeration Touba-M'Backé-Darou forms the heart of the Murid country, and Touba is the ideal capital; indeed, it is now, for the disciples of Amadou Bamba:

— the headquarters of the brotherhood,

— a center of Koranic studies,

— a sort of monastery,

— a place of pilgrimage.

*795 It is at Touba that the Caliph-general resides. All of his
●793 collateral relatives and descendants, as well as all of the great Murid marabouts, have residences there, although they do not live there continually. It is there that the administrative council of the brotherhood meets to make important decisions concerning the Murid community.

/11 cont./

*795 It is to Touba that the young Murids come to learn the
[793] Koran; each marabout there has his own school which forms his young talibés.

It is in Touba also that, grouped around their marabout (or his residence), the faithful dwell, those who wish to live a holier life in permanent contact with their religious leader and working each day for them and with them.

[788] It is to Touba, finally, that every good Murid must go once
[778] a year in order to pray at the tomb of the founding saint of the brotherhood, at that of the khalife /caliph/, first successor, and especially in order to pay a visit to the present Caliph-general and to give him the offerings intended in particular for the continuation of the work on the mosque; this is the Magal of which we shall speak again below.

361 /12/ The city appears like a great "escale" /commercial
*795 center/ of the bush. Wide avenues separate the vast carrés /compounds/ of the various marabouts from one another. A plan for division into lots was drawn up, but it has not yet been applied, Falilou M'Backé, the Caliph-general, having feared, at the last moment, the far-reaching consequences.

Touba is thus a great center. Its development and the considerable number of persons who come there for the Magal have
[312] necessitated special arrangements. Drillings have been made in order to ensure the water supply of the holy city, which is, more-
[496] over, linked to M'Backé and Diourbel by a railroad. On the other hand, no commercial establishment has settled in Touba, and the trading center has been fixed at M'Backé.

346 Touba's center of attraction is its mosque, an Islamic
*795 monument unique in Senegal.

It was Amadou Bamba himself who decided to have it constructed, and in 1926 he asked his faithful to bring the first stones for it to Touba, but it was Amadou Mustapha, his son and first successor, who began the first work on it, after receiving by lease from the Administration a piece of ground of 400 hectares on which he could build it.

/18 cont./

788 settles himself. Speeches are then made by the representatives
*795 of the authorities and by the Caliph. The latter in his response exalts in general the friendship of France for Islam, assures our country of his faithfulness and affection, and invites his faithful to conduct themselves like good Moslems, like pious disciples of Amadou Bamba, and like loyal and good citizens, thus emphasizing the good understanding which now prevails between the brotherhood and the French administration.

After this ceremony the Magal is ended; while, on the stroke of noon, the Caliph-general is offering an abundant and sumptuous repast to his guests, the first departures of the pilgrims take place. All during the afternoon a large number of faithful arrive home. But those who can do not leave immediately, so that for two to three more days the jammed trains and the overloaded trucks will take back to their villages talibés who are indeed tired, but happy about their pilgrimage and singing the praises of God, the Prophet, and Amadou Bamba.

The Magal is therefore a big affair. When his guests have departed, when the pilgrims have gone home, in the city rid of its cloud of dust, in the silence finally found again with the taking down of the many loud-speakers which broadcast the religious songs and the prayers in the compounds of the priests and around the mosque, Falilou M'Backé can draw up the balance-sheet of this manifestation.

The Magal allows the brotherhood to measure its strength
[793] and cohesion; it permits its members to approach the Caliph-general, who, for them, is a saint whose only goal is to realize down here the wishes of Amadou Bamba. Finally, it permits their supreme leader to measure their faithfulness to his person and their attachment to the brotherhood. The one and the other are still very solid and strong nowadays, since the amount of the gifts collected at the last few Magal is on the order of 150,000,000 CFA francs.

A manifestation of the vitality of Muridism, the Magal is also a Senegalese event; many people who are not Murids go

/18 cont./

788 to it out of curiosity, but do not fail to be touched by the strength
*795 and cohesion of Muridism, and sometimes some of them become disciples of Amadou Bamba.

Besides, the repercussions of the pilgrimage go beyond the bounds of Touba and the brotherhood. The local press, the
[204] official information services, and Radio-Dakar attend and par-
[207] ticipate in it. Radio reporting, newspapers, and films spread sonorous echoes and vivid images of the Magal, not only throughout the Territory, /19/ but throughout the Federation, and this contributes no little toward increasing the glory and prestige of the brotherhood and its leaders in Senegal.

●793 If the Magal has assured this character and this importance,
*795 it is thanks to the present head of the brotherhood, Falilou M'Backé, and, reciprocally, the aspect thus assumed by this pilgrimage has been one of the elements which have established the second Caliph at the head of the brotherhood.

Actually, at the time of his nomination as Caliph-general, he had to overcome the opposition of his nephew, Cheikh M'Backé, son of Moustapha (who aspired to succeed the latter as he had succeeded his father, Amadou Bamba), whom the council of the Murids had removed from the succession for his benefit.

By directly tying again the tradition of the Magal to the first intentions of Amadou Bamba, he brought about the unity of the Murids around himself.

He has also devoted himself to the building of the mosque, to which he applies all his attention. Not only does he collect for this purpose considerable sums at the time of the Magal, but he also seizes every opportunity to make collections or to have collections made for the benefit of this work. In particular he
[533] has his representatives organize throughout the territory night sessions of religious singing in the course of which funds for the mosque are collected.

Thus he has appeared, in the eyes of the Murids, less as the successor to Amadou Moustapha than as the direct continuater

/19 cont./

●793 of Amadou Bamba. He has thus surmounted the difficulties of
+795 the beginning of his caliphate and has become and remained the venerated and uncontested leader of the brotherhood, even for those of the Murids who are in the direct obedience of Cheikh M'Backé.

Falilou M'Backé resides permanently in Touba very near the mosque, which is therefore, along with the general leadership of the brotherhood, his principal concern. He seldom leaves the holy city, where he lives in a very large carré, with installations, with multiple huts, and the tapades (walls) of which, in a complicated design, jealously hide the life of the
[342] occupants. Most of these huts are made of clay and roofed with thatch; some larger ones, roofed with metal, well-built, and comfortably furnished, are used for putting up guests of note. According to a custom common among the Murid marabouts, he had a kind of office made for himself (where he receives his important visitors) in a plank hut built by those of his talibés who are carpenters and woodworkers.

/20/ Of medium height, robust, active in spite of his age, the second caliph has the bearing of a rural head of a family; in addition, he has the shrewdness, wisdom, and tenacity of the peasant. His conversation, like his whole person, is stamped with moderation, gentleness, and goodness. His cares are often of a material order (construction of the mosque, good management of the brotherhood, yield of his plantations, etc....), but preoccupations of an intellectual, moral, and spiritual order are not foreign to him. Simple images and a certain Oriental emphasis give an individual and personal style to his conversations.

As far as the Administration is concerned, he is a level-headed and calm leader whose loyalty it can count on. He is an element of order and thoughtfulness who will be hostile toward untried ventures and dangerous innovations. Besides, he knows that the Administration widely supported and favored his candidacy for the caliphate. He therefore has no reason to create difficulties for it.

/20 cont./

●793 *795 The Caliph-general seldom leaves Touba. He sends representatives to the chief town or to the circles to visit his talibés or to deal with administrative questions in the offices. If he goes away, he rarely goes far; in general, he goes as far as his groundnut plantations located a few kilometers from Touba. There he calls on the talibés, who, according to Murid doctrine, work for him while he himself prays for them and in their place. These plantations give him the millet necessary for feeding the people who live with him in Touba, and groundnuts whose sale will assure him of sizable personal revenues.

Immediately after Falilou M'Backé at the head of the brotherhood come his brother, Bassirou M'Backé, and his nephew, Cheikh M'Backé, about whom we have already said a few words just above. Since 1947 these two Sérignes have been, respectively, Vice-President and Secretary of the Murid Administrative Council which Falilou created to manage the funds intended for the construction of the mosque, and of which he is President.

Bassirou is regarded in principle as the "dauphin" of the brotherhood, the designated and legitimate successor to Falilou. He is very different from his brother. Tall, thin, with a long face and regular features, Bassirou has a great deal of presence and fine bearing. He studied at Boutilimit during the lifetime of Cheikh Sidiya Baba. Very cultivated and well-read, his conversation is as interesting as it is agreeable.

In spite of the important position that he occupies at the head of the brotherhood, he does not appear to maintain either excellent relations or very frequent contacts with his brother.

In 1953 he came to settle in Diourbel after definitely leaving /21/ Boulel in the subdivision of Kaffrine, where he had been making tests of mechanical and motorized cultivation in the Bloc Expérimental de l'Arachide /Experimental Bloc
[654] for Groundnuts/ in co-operation with the Service de l'Agriculture and thanks to the manpower of his talibés.

He is now imam of the Diourbel mosque, whose restoration
[346] he would like to undertake. It is actually a very beautiful

/21 cont./

793 building which does not have the importance of the Mosque of
*795 Touba, but which surpasses in elegance the other mosques of
[34[Senegal, and which, because of this, would merit having made on it the necessary and urgent repairs which certain parts that are very damaged and in very bad condition require at present.

But Bassirou does not have only this architectural interest; he is also concerned with crops. His experience with the Service de l'Agriculture not having given him satisfaction, he works in a more classical and traditional fashion near the village of Tip, located in the canton of Kaël some 30 kilometers to the south of Touba. This installation did not fail to provoke some protests on the part of the Peul stockbreeders of the canton, but these difficulties seem to have been settled amicably later on.

The third person in the brotherhood in the order of precedence is, as we have said, Cheikh M'Backé, eldest son of Amadou Moustapha and nephew of the two preceding men. Much younger than his uncles, he also has a very different demeanor. A tall, well-built, handsome, clean-shaven man, he has the bearing and the activities of a modern businessman. In fact, he is ambitious; he wants to succeed; he needs a great deal of money in order to realize his ambitions, and his very functions as a Murid marabout provide it for him.

We have seen that he had solicited, as the direct descendant of the founder, the post of caliph, but that he had been ousted in favor of his uncle. Since then he has always remained in more or less violent opposition to Falilou M'Backé. Nevertheless, he has not succeeded in detaching from the latter even a small fraction of the Murids. His opposition has sometimes been the cause of regrettable acts. In 1952, among others at
666 the time of the elections to the Territorial Assembly, Cheikh
793 M'Backé had made himself the champion of the S.F.I.O. when
*795 Falilou was supporting the B. D. S. (and undoubtedly because he was supporting it). This opposition provoked rather violent incidents in Touba during the electoral campaign, some talibés

/21 cont./

•793 of Cheikh, supporting the S. F. I. O., having gone so far as
*795 to throw stones into the "carré" of the Caliph-general. Cheikh
[666] had to restrain the socialist ardor of his talibés, who had gone too far. Such actions risk alienating from him the brotherhood /22/ and even the Administration, but he needs both in order to continue to carry on his policy.

His residence in Touba is located near the mosque, but on the opposite side from that of the Caliph-general. On the day of the Magal he tries to assemble there the greatest possible number of talibés in order to show his influence.

The cultivation of groundnuts is for him, too, an important source of revenue. His principal plantations are located at Talf in the subdivision of Gossas, not far from the limits of that of M'Backé.

The other members of the M'Backé family have less influence on the life of the brotherhood. Nevertheless, they hold positions on the Murid Administrative Council, and they are settled around Touba and M'Backé.

[871] M'Backé Bousso heads an important Koranic school at Darou-Salam, just beside M'Backé. Abdoulaye M'Backé has settled at Boulel-Mody, at the extremity of the former valley of the
[312] Sine where, thanks to the permanent waterholes that exist at certain places in this dried-up thalweg, he has created rice-
[241] fields and orchards which complement his groundnut plantations, in the midst of which he lives. Modest and self-effacing in appearance, this M'Backé is in reality very rich and very influential, for he has as talibés principally salaried workers and city employees who send him a tithe from their salaries or their income.

Following the example of the direct descendants and collateral relatives of Amadou Bamba, his distant relatives, his allies, the descendants of his first collaborators have made themselves "Great Murid Marabouts." Spiritual and temporal leaders at the same time, instructing their disciples in the doctrine of the founder, and above all having them till the soil for them, these Sérignes have created in Baol and in adjacent

/22 cont./

•793 regions veritable villages of which they are practically the
*795 chiefs and the imams.

One of the most remarkable of these men, settled thus in the subdivision of Diourbel, is Mamadou Khabane M'Backé, a big producer of groundnuts and a big businessman. Sérigne Tacko and Sérigne Mamadou Mahmoune, son of Cheikh Anta, and Sérigne Awa M'Balla M'Backé live in about the same fashion. All of these marabouts have a direct influence on a variable number of talibés, for whom they are, in a way, "guides of conscience" and who are attached through them to the Caliph-general. Finally, let us mention the marabout of Darou-Kafour, settled in a little village on the road from Diourbel to M'Backé, who lives modestly in a small establishment. He does not raise crops on a large scale; he devotes himself in particular to directing his Koranic school, /23/ and
[734] he has made a specialty of caring for the insane. By his gentleness and patience he succeeds in curing the ones whom the Service de Santé /Health Service/ has given up keeping and treating.

793 The Murid brotherhood is thus thoroughly staffed and
*795 directed by all these marabouts who truly have their talibés
795 in hand and who hold them all the better because they bring them a simple and practical solution to the problem, distressing for every man: "What will become of me after death?" .... Every Murid knows that if he has worked for his marabout and has given him a tithe from his goods and income, he will go directly to Paradise, for his marabout, in exchange for his work and gifts, prays for him and will save him without his having to concern himself about his salvation, even if he has gravely sinned.

*795 It is this complete hold that the Murid marabouts have
793 over their disciples which originally caused the brotherhood to be regarded as dangerous and which, joined to the ambitions of Amadou Bamba, provoked difficulties and collisions with the Administration. By now this mistrust and opposition have given

/23 cont./

793 way to a frank and full collaboration between the representatives
*795 of authority and the Murid leaders of all ranks.

*795 The effective and efficient discipline which prevails in the
631 brotherhood permits exercising over those under its jurisdiction
793 a kind of indirect administration, always easier to achieve than direct administration. This formula was used especially from 1940 to 1946 when it was a question of producing the utmost quantities of groundnuts. This collaboration between the Murid marabouts and the Governors did away with many reticences and prejudices and had the result of increasing the prestige and influence of the former, not only within the brotherhood, but also in all of Senegal.

793 Today this collaboration perhaps has a few more nuances,
*795 but it remains important. Relations between the heads of ad-
652 ministrative divisions and the Murid marabouts are always very
631 polite and very close; the marabouts receive sizable economic and financial aid from the Administration. The Sociétés de
[654] Prévoyance /Welfare Societies/ advance them large tonnages of groundnut seed. Then again, short-term and long-term agricultural credits are granted to them, either for putting into good condition each of the agricultural fields (wintering credits) or to allow them to modernize or mechanize their cultivation; finally, administrative subsidies are also given for the construction of the Mosque of Touba. On the other hand, the marabouts preach to their talibés respect for established authority /24/ and call upon them to do their duty vis-à-vis Administration, notably in whatever concerns the payment of taxes and the reimbursements for the seed to the Sociétés de Prévoyance.

*795 The Murids thus have an important place in the life of
162 Senegal. Their number is estimated at 400,000, which represents a quarter of the Islamized population of the territory. One quarter of the brotherhood is established in the circle of Diourbel and two other quarters are distributed in the regions adjacent to the circles of Kaolack, Thiés, Louga, and Linguère, that is to say, the Murids have remained closely grouped around
[793] their land of origin, Baol. They live there for the most part in

/24 cont./

* 795 •793 [162] farming villages (dara) which the marabouts have established in the bush, sometimes at the expense of non-Murid native villages. The tonnages of groundnuts which they produce there can bring their marabout more than a million CFA francs a year, provided that each one has about a hundred talibés (which is not out of the ordinary) to work for him. If one remembers that the talibés who do not work directly for the marabout pay him a tithe from their salaries and their income, one can easily realize the financial facilities which a Murid religious leader can enjoy.

The faithful do not object at all to thus feeding the treasury of their Sérigne ... on the contary!

Here is a little anecdote which will prove that even the poorest do it readily and willingly:

One day, a "Great Marabout" crossing Diourbel in his Chrysler stopped in an avenue of the city to greet the subdivision head whom he had just passed and to exchange a few words with him. Just beside them, at the foot of a mango tree on the edge of the avenue, an old woman was settled, selling fruit on a wretched basket. As soon as the "commander" had left, this old woman approached the car, whose occupant she had recognized, and at the same time as she paid her respects to him gave him the money that she had with her, perhaps all of her meager receipts for the morning.

This explains why it is that the representatives of the marabouts who go from city to city collecting from the disciples who do not till the soil for the benefit of their patrons never come back empty-handed, and that the Murid officials would never go to the Magal without bringing to their marabouts substantial gifts, in money or in kind, to allow them to organize the receptions they give on this occasion in their Touba residences.

As a consequence of this, one will not be surprised at the lavishness of the way of life that at least some, if not all, of the Murid "Great Marabouts" can lead. They live in /25/ modern, in truth luxurious establishments, a permanent house,

/25 cont./

*795 refrigerator, radio, power plant, powerful American cars, etc
793 .... Certain ones even own real estate in Dakar which they rent for a good price, increasing their revenues by that much more.

If this standard of living is the result of the attachment and the fanatical work of the talibés, reciprocally this luxury increases their prestige in the eyes of these same talibés. These simple people see in this exterior wealth a sign of the greatness, power, and glory of their marabout. They are proud to see him rich and influential, as if they themselves participated in this wealth and influence.

Still another anecdote will underline, it seems, this blind admiration of the faithful for their religious leaders in spite of (and perhaps because of) the exterior signs of their wealth.

The domestic servant of a European official had accompanied his employer to Touba, to the home of Failou M'Backé. Thus he could enter the carré of "his" marabout (for he was a Murid). Upon returning, he said to his employer in a tone of sincere admiration and without a critical afterthought: "My
[352] marabout is a great marabout; his carré has many bedrooms and in each bedroom there is a good bed." When one knows
[513] that the majority of the Blacks usually sleep on wretched pallets or even on mats, and that to possess a good bed is one of the first objectives of the African who advances, one will appreciate the full value of this remark...

793 After that no one will be surprised that some people have
*795 labeled as "servitude" the situation which the Murid marabouts
244 reserve for the talibés who work on their plantations. They are,
555 in fact, grouped in teams of ten to 20, and each team has a piece of land to cultivate. Of course the teams compete zealously to bring to the marabout the handsomest harvest. The zeal of the teams is all the greater because each member can hope, if the marabout notices his own zeal, to be initiated at the end of several years to the Murid dikr and to have in his turn a Murid village to superintend. He can even hope to have assigned to him a new area to be attached to the brotherhood

/25 cont./

● 793 and to receive the title of Cheikh, with the advantages which
* 795 that confers. While waiting, he works at hoeing and clearing
244 land without counting or measuring all the lands capable of pro-
[555] ducing the groundnuts which make up the fortune of his mara-
bout.

It is this way of colonizing the lands, and more particularly the new lands, which has made the brotherhood play an important role in the economy of Senegal in recent years. The Murid marabouts have been and remain clearers /26/ of land and large-
[433] scale producers of groundnuts. It can be estimated that they alone produce a little more than half of the total harvest of the Territory.

793 This brilliant picture is nevertheless not without shadows.
*795 Even though the influence of the Murid leaders is not dangerous
578 on the political level as a consequence of the good understanding which exists between them and the Administration, even though there is no reason to fear that they may incite the members of the brotherhood to insubordination, their presence in the villages does pose problems. There are problems when they have settled in villages whose chiefs are not Murids (if not, sometimes, anti-Murid). In these cases it often happens that there are collisions
[622] between the customary chiefs and the Murid marabouts, principally since the reforms of 1945 which diminished considerably the powers of the chiefs and their prestige in the eyes of the people at a time when the influence and glory of the marabouts were increasing. Many times the Murids of a canton want to obey
[632] only their religious leader and willfully ignore the canton chief. In addition, in the face of the invading agricultural activity of the Murids, the non-Murid populations stiffen themselves more and more and try to resist their agrarian encroachments. That sometimes creates quarrels; indeed it even provokes violent disorders which have to be arbitrated or stopped.

793 On the other hand, the recent political evolution which is
*795 resulting in giving the right to vote to all Senegalese men and
666 all Senegalese women has prompted the politicians to seek the collaboration and friendship of the Murid leaders... so that they

/26 cont./

793 will have their talibés vote in favor of their parties. When one
*795 knows what the influence of the marabouts and the discipline
666 of the brotherhood are, one can easily imagine what a formidable ace such an alliance can be for a party. But to be allied with one party is necessarily to be the adversary of the other (or others). If Murid fanaticism (and organization) is thrown into the electoral struggles, it can be the cause of serious troubles. Certainly these troubles would not compromise the loyalty of the brotherhood vis-à-vis the mother country, but they would create serious difficulties for the local administration and the government of the territory.

793 In other respects, deeper reasons can provoke lively op-
*795 position or even struggles between the great Murid leaders and
[665] certain politicians (or certain parties). Thus some Senegalese political personalities are beginning to criticize the way the marabouts act against their talibés. One of them has gone so far as to utter the words "servitude" and "feudalism" in speaking of Muridism /27/ to a high European official. It is certain that a virulent campaign could be made on this theme against the Murid leaders and especially against those whose ostentatious luxury can excite jealousy.

For their part, the Murid marabouts try to maintain their authority and their influence over their disciples and, in that way, over the whole country. They will be opposed to any social or political innovation which will give more power to the masses, and which, by so doing, will risk compromising their authority, counterbalancing it, or even combatting it. They were thus hostile in 1953 to the transformation of the
[654] Société de Prévoyance of Baol into the Société Mutuelle de Production Rurale, on the one hand, because they thought that authority should not be entrusted to the people, and, on the other hand, because they feared that a S. M. P. R. presided over by an African (as was happening already at the time in the circle of Thiès) might be less favorable toward them than the traditional S. P. completely in the hands of the Administration.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

standing in the modern context does not often completely redeem a traditional inferiority. The latter obviously does not prevent accession to such rank, but it does prevent a man from reaping the full benefit of the prestige which it confers. We shall have to revert to the ambiguity which thus characterizes individual situations, because it is an important aspect of the problem of the modernist elites. The old political organizations have either been destroyed or considerably weakened, though the prestige of the aristocratic families who hold the chefferies or are closely connected with them has not completely disappeared. But an important change has occurred: the power and influence of the traditional political chiefs has to a large extent been transferred to the khalifas of the great Islamic sects;[1] the latter represent today the principal force capable of resisting the modernist elite, and the one with which the latter and the political movements identified with it must to some extent come to terms.[2]

The changes due to the new economic conditions resulting from the colonial period can be discerned at several levels. The rural economy has been radically transformed—progressive abandonment of subsistence farming in favour of a single cash crop throughout a large part of the territory.[3] In contrast with regions where a plantation economy has developed, the average farmer's income has remained extremely low. Consequently, what has elsewhere been termed a 'rural bourgeoisie' has not emerged, and the most favoured economic categories coincide, by and large, with the upper strata of the traditional or semi-traditional type (heads of sects),[4] or with those artificially created on the same model by the colonial administration. Again, the group to which the name 'commercial bourgeoisie' has been given is still too small to have much influence;[5] almost all African traders are small shopkeepers and make no appreciable impact on the affairs of the community as a whole. The most significant changes are found at another level: urbanization and industrialization. Senegal is the most highly urbanized territory of French West Africa; about a quarter of the population live in the big towns and the administrative and trading centres. A very large wage-earning class with a steadily growing nucleus of stable labour has developed.[6] A workers' elite has appeared, and intensive trade union activity in the big towns has brought this class into touch with the educated elite (the administrative bourgeoisie, etc.).

This educated elite deserves special attention; in Senegal more than elsewhere it represents the dominant element among the modernist elites. The educational policy was definitely conceived and organised at the beginning of the colonial period in the context of a policy and a ideology of assimilation. The educational curriculum introduced in the French establishments in Senegal at the beginning of the nineteenth century was essentially foreign to the tradition and culture of the autochthonous societies. Thus, in a recent paper, the author made much of the point that 'it was not a factor making for integration of the individual in his group, but rather—at any rate in the first historical phase—one making for a break. The adaptation of the curriculum and even of teaching methods

1. Their functions are hereditary.
2. Cf. below, remarks on the political parties of the traditional type.
3. In this case, groundnuts.
4. The economic role of the Mourido brotherhood is particularly important: colonization of new lands, experiments in mechanization, etc.
5. The middle-man trade is practically monopolized by the Lebanese colony; in the town of Dakar alone there are more than 5,000 Lebanese.
6. The region of Dakar alone has more than 30,000 wage earners in the private sector.

665 tems. At Dakar, the powers of the "*sé-*
[633] *rigne*" and of the dignitaries of the former "Lebou Republic" were continued, although they gradually lost their importance.[40] The parties were careful to keep these leading figures among their clientele. As a result there were some rather complex manipulations concerning nominations and successions. A nomination accepted by one party was more or less openly contested by the other. Hence the relatively frequent bifurcation of power: opposing the dignitary who had received official recognition was another who maintained himself as pretender, with the support of the party that had backed his candidacy. Such events stood
[667] out even more sharply among ward leaders, who depended most directly upon the party that controlled the city government. Their support was more or less confined to the voters of this party. Hence certain wards had clandestine ward leaders, around whom the members of the opposition party could gather. Of course, such phenomena have accelerated the deterioration of these institutions.

● 793 (2) In the religious field, control over
665 chiefs of the great Moslem brotherhoods similarly has been at stake in intense struggles between the parties. This was particularly true of the main brotherhood in Senegal, that of the Tidjanes.
[369] This problem has been centered outside Dakar and the other coastal cities, but has had important repercussions in these cities. The rivalries that apparently have always surrounded the choice of the caliph of the Tidjanes were intensified and acquired a greater impact, in proportion as the fundamental hostility of the parties was openly associated with them. Violent incidents involving politi-
[788] cal enemies occurred even on pilgrimages to Tivaouane, where the caliph resides; they contributed to the prolongation of conflicts within the caliph's family. Well-meaning interference by re-

[P. 13 B]

665 spected figures, with the aim of keeping
•[793] such matters on a purely religious plane, has had little success. The Tidjane chieftans have been too enmeshed in politics to listen.

527 (3) A last example involves recrea-
665 tional activities organized at the end of the year around the exhibition of the
578 "lanterns."[41] These activities provided a basis for the formation of temporary groupings founded on ethnic background, neighborhood, occupation, etc. Such groupings undertook the making of a "lantern," and exhibited it to neighbors, relatives and others, eventually by forming a parade. An element of competition entered; the most noteworthy "lanterns" won rather imposing gifts and a brief prestige for the groupings that exhibited them. The parties seized on this competitive aspect. Party sections themselves created "lantern" groupings. With access to considerable material means and a large number of workers, they made "lanterns" that were veritable carnival floats, huge and very elaborate. Their exhibition brought together in a procession the typical rabble of large political demonstrations. At the same time it aroused friction between hostile parties.[42] They had taken over, almost entirely at their expense, demonstrations whose character they had utterly changed. This is a typical example of the way in which disparate activities have been infused by the two-party rivalry.

369 This process also has another side: the
665 parties have seen a decline in their opportunities for expressing political drives. In the old cities, they experienced relative stagnation for some years, while social changes accelerated and intensified. Elements just becoming aware of the world

[P. 14A]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[45] Often, youths whose studies had been interrupted. It was difficult for them to achieve occupational stability.

[46] Its policies called for a renovation of Islam, so that it came more or less directly into opposition with the great Brotherhoods, whose religious formalism was rather marked; the latter retained a generally dominant influence.

[P. 15 c]

[1993] 9668 9955

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 668 than the relatively inflexible political parties, adequate frameworks for expressing anti-colonial demands and for creating activists.

Religious Organizations

665 668 193 As distinct from many other parts of Sub-Sahara Africa, organizations of a religious character play only a very limited part here. We have already seen how the "traditional" political parties entered into the activities of some religious groups and attempted to make them recruiting bases for their clientele. The more limited movements alone provided certain means, chiefly indirect, for expressing extremist political demands. This was the case, for example, of a grouping founded by Moslem students at Dakar. However, they received very little support.[46]

Cultural Associations and Youth Movements

668 595 Cultural associations and youth movements have had a more important role in this area. Some of them have contributed to the formation of strong political cadres. In general, the cultural associations have had a rather precarious existence; their activities in some cases have ceased. Their efforts to win the support of the masses by undertaking an educational role — for instance, by means of the theater — have often been disappointing. Finally, they often have had a ambiguous nature. Thus, in a city such [369] as Dakar, founded by highly "assimilated" elements, they have experienced some difficulty in contributing to the development of modernized African culture. But they are not devoid of concern for political organization in a very general sense, removed from party orientation. This was shown with regard to three of the

[P. 15 B]

S SR 369 [162] /381 cont./ inhabitants. These three villages are located less than two kilometers from the first urban quarters, consequently a favorable location for the daily departure of workers for the escale.

S SR 369 162 [563] The ethnic composition of these agglomerations, despite the urban proximity (favorable for the mixing of peoples), has remained homogeneous. At Sapko there is no foreign element; at Tiali two Wolof and one Sérère-Sine were working there temporarily at the time of the time of the inquiry; by contrast, nearly a tenth of the population of Thiès-None is made up of individuals belonging to non-Sérère ethnic groups (Wolof, Toucouleur, Peul). A parallel must be drawn between this quite relative heterogeneity and the almost total Islamization of the locality. Nearly four-fifths of the population of Thiès-None has embraced this religion; Sapko and Tiali, by contrast, remain essentially Catholic or fetishistic, the Moslems living there generally being transient elements.

S SR [771]

S SR 582 794 [563] A kind of self-defense by the Catholic group that lives in a region largely Islamized seems to be one of the primary reasons for this ethnic integrity. Under the influence of the fathers, who possess, it seems, a profound authority over every Christian agglomeration, marriages occur from None village to None village and between Catholics (1).

S SR [177]

1. The woman seems to be the element through which the transition from the Catholic religion to the Moslem religion occurs. The young Christian who marries a Moslem no longer practices and quickly abjures her first religion; her children and the whole line will become Islamized under the paternal influence.

S SR 162 369 /382/ An examination of the male and economically active population of these three agglomerations gives the result that 38% of its elements have remained essentially

/426 cont./

*511 352 lists is the bed (1). In nearly all of the African lodgings we

1. The 13.3% of the cultivator, No. 32, arose from the purchase of a cart and a horse.

find at least a bed, but there is rarely one for everyone. And [369] to sleep in a bed has become the best proof that one can give of his acclimatization to the city.

If the income is higher, one may be able to buy more important pieces of furniture. Then, in the order of their urgency, the armchairs, the rugs, and then the tables and wardrobes appear.

*511 Then we come to the rubric "Exceptional Expenses," those for which no absolute necessity is felt. Moreover they are rarer at the top of the table, only three, and then they multiply (Table XIV).

[405] The first thing that we find here is the watch or the alarm [301] clock, closely followed by the jewelry of the wife or wives. [493] There follow, but only in the highest incomes, the bicycle, [207] or, depending on the possibilities, the bicycle with a motor [301] on it or the motorcycle, then the battery radio. There is nothing very original in all this, and, except perhaps for the importance given to the jewelry of the women, we would find similar pretensions among European families having equivalent incomes.

*511 In the last table (Table XV)[1] we have grouped a series of ●794 expenses that have a common origin, the religion of the fami- [791] lies investigated, all Moslems except one. Two Moslem holidays are involved, Tabaski and Korité, religious assessments, /427/ /Table XIV appears here/ /428/ offerings to the marabouts, and, finally, expenses arising from sending children to the Koranic school.

*511 796 For Tabaski, each family slaughters a sheep. There

1 [see cat 116, pp 69-71. ANALYST]

/428 cont./

*511 796 [262] [735] For Korité, although meals more copious than usual are often provided, nevertheless the essential thing is the alms in millet or money that one gives to the poor through the marabout.

For these two celebrations, the percentages stated are not noticeably higher at the top of the table than in the lower part. If, for the first incomes, the family heads are often obliged to do more than their means allow, each seems to adapt himself subsequently to his possibilities (1).

1. For No. 43, the information given concerns the celebrations for Christmas and the first of January.

*511 794 The religious assessments are less numerous than the syndical assessments, but harder to bear. They exist in only three cases above No. 20, but represent 2% of the incomes, and 0.8%. They again noticeably increase in the lower part of the table. As for the gifts to the marabouts, they are perhaps more frequent than we have shown. Many families must have wanted to conceal them. Added to the payment for the [875] teacher at the Koranic school (10 francs per week), these religious obligations end up by noticeably increasing the deficits that already existed at the start.

*511 877 Just as certain products are encountered in only a few families in the case of the routine expenses, we are also going to find here some of another order, but often more important.

There is first the cost of sending the children to school; 13 families send their children to school, public or private, and the outlays made for this can be evaluated as follows:

/429/ /Table XV appears here/ /430/

No. 8: 0.8%	No. 17: 1.8%
No. 10: 0.5%	No. 20: 0.5%
No. 16: 0.5%	No. 28: 0.4%

[Text continues on p. 72]

4: Mersadier--69 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

*511/1429/
●794
796

Table XV

No.	Annual Income	% in proportion to income: 1 Tabaski	2 Koritê	3 Asses.	4 Offerings	5 Koran School	Total 1 and 2	Total 3-4-5	General Total
1	69.600	1.4	0.8	—	—	—	2.2	--	2.2
2	73.200	3.1	0.4	2	--	--	3.5	2	5.5
3	78.000	4.1	1.0	--	--	--	5.1	--	5.1
4	80.000	1.8	0.3	--	--	--	2.1	--	2.1
5	80.940	5.6	0.8	--	--	0.5	6.4	0.5	6.9
6	84.000	1.1	0.6	--	2.3	1.1	1.7	3.4	5.1
7	84.000	2.9	2.1	--	3.3	--	5.0	3.3	8.3
8	88.200	3.9	0.7	--	--	--	4.6	--	4.6
9	90.000	3.6	2.0	--	5.0	--	5.6	5.0	10.6
10	97.000	2.1	1.5	--	3.0	0.4	3.6	3.4	7.0
11	107.280	1.8	0.4	0.8	0.9	--	2.2	1.7	3.9
12	108.000	2.0	0.9	--	--	0.4	2.0	0.4	3.3
13	117.000	3.4	0.1	--	--	--	3.5	--	3.5
14	120.000	2.5	0.5	--	1.2	--	3.0	1.2	4.2
15	120.000	3.1	2.0	--	--	--	5.1	--	5.1
16	128.000	2.3	--	--	--	--	2.3	--	2.3

4: Mersadier--70 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

*511 794 796

429 cont./

Table XV (cont.)

No.	Annual Income	% in proportion to income: 1 Tabaski	2 Koritè	3 Asses.	4 Offerings	5 Koran School	Total 1 and 2	Total 3 - 4 - 5	General Total
17	129,000	2.3	0.6	--	--	--	2.9	--	2.9
18	132,000	3.0	0.7	--	--	--	3.7	--	3.7
19	143,000	2.0	0.5	2.0	3.4	--	2.5	5.4	7.9
20	144,000	1.7	0.6	--	--	--	2.3	--	2.3
21	156,000	2.8	1.5	0.1	0.2	1.9	4.3	3.2	7.5
22	168,000	1.8	0.4	0.7	--	--	2.2	0.7	2.9
23	180,000	4.1	2.3	0.5	2.7	1.7	6.4	4.9	11.3
24	180,000	1.6	1.3	--	--	1.3	2.9	1.3	3.2
25	187,560	1.7	0.5	0.3	--	--	2.2	0.3	2.5
26	189,600	2.1	0.6	0.7	1.3	--	2.7	3.8	8.5
27	194,000	2.3	1.0	--	--	0.4	3.3	0.4	3.7
28	264,000	1.3	0.3	0.9	--	--	1.6	0.9	2.5
29	264,000	1.5	--	0.9	--	--	1.5	0.9	2.4
30	288,000	1.7	0.9	--	--	0.3	2.6	0.3	2.9
31	300,000	1.0	0.3	0.3	--	--	1.9	0.4	1.7
32	300,000	1.5	0.5	1.2	1.6	0.1	2.0	2.9	4.9

4:Mersadier --71 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

/429 cont./

* 511 .794 796

Table XV (cont.)

		% in proportion to income							
No.	Annual Income	1 Ta-baski	2 Ko-rité	3 Asses.	4 Offer-ings	5 Koran School	Total 1 and 2	Total 3-4-5	General Total
33	300,000	1.6	0.4	-	-	-	2.0	-	2.0
34	310,000	5.1	0.4	1.1	-	-	5.5	1.1	6.6
35	324,000	5.5	0.4	-	-	-	5.9	-	5.3
36	408,000	2.9	0.7	0.8	0.9	-	3.6	1.7	5.3
37	432,000	3.2	0.5	0.8	0.9	-	3.7	1.7	5.4
38	600,000	3.3	0.5	0.6	-	0.2	3.8	0.8	4.6
39	612,000	1.6	0.8	-	-	-	2.4	-	2.4
40	660,000	1.5	0.4	1.0	0.6	1.0	1.9	2.6	4.5
41	666,000	1.5	0.4	0.6	-	-	1.9	0.6	2.5
42	678,000	2.2	0.5	-	1.4	1.0	2.7	2.4	[illegible] 1
43	972,000	1.6	-	-	-	-	1.6	-	[illegible] 6

/430 cont./

*511 871

No. 31: 0.5%	No. 41: 4.4%
No. 38: 0.5%	No. 42: 0.5%
No. 39: 0.6%	No. 43: 5.6%
No. 40: 2.4%	

These percentages do not decrease. The explanation is to be seen in the fact that only families with high incomes send all of their children to school, and that, on the other hand, they often prefer, even Moslems, to send them to Catholic school.

*511 794

In three cases the family heads pointed out to us that in one year they were faced with the expenses occasioned by a baptism (which also requires a sheep). For No. 19 the cost represented 11.5% of the income, but only 6.3% and 3.4% for Nos. 26 and 31.

*511 593 602

But the heaviest familial obligation for many is the necessity of sending sums of money to their relatives who are in difficulties. For example, No. 3 sent to a brother a sum representing 2.5% of his income; No. 11, at two times, 4.4%; No. 24, 0.9%. Finally, No. 43 sends 8.2% of his income each month to his family and to that of his wife.

*511 595

Another familial obligation, this one desired: Nos. 18, 35, 38, 40, and 41 actually have two or three households, because they preferred not having all of their wives live together, a whim that comes to, respectively, 18.1%, 6.1%, 10%, 10.6% of their incomes. (The budget of No. 18 has a deficit of 15%.)

*511 357

Thirteen families employ one or several domestic workers. Moreover, all of them are located below the central income. Here is the portion of their budget that is devoted to this:

No. 24: 6.6%	No. 35: 3.7%
No. 26: 2.2%	No. 37: 3.8%
No. 27: 6.1%	No. 38: 2%
No. 28: 1.5%	No. 40: 3%
No. 30: 4.1%	No. 42: 1.7
No. 31: 4%	No. 43: 11.1%
No. 34: 4.3%	

1: Marty Senegal MS37

795

[For a discussion of Muridism, a sect of Islam, its beliefs and influence see category 116, pp. 1-146.]

[14 cont.]

2. Circle of Baol (Diourbel)

W *795 162 S 795 162

The circle of Baol is at the present time the area par excellence of Muridism, the area where, owing to favorable circumstances, it has developed widely since 1887. It includes today 33,000 persons affiliated with the sect (cf. Appendix No. 5), that is to say, two-fifths of the Moslems [15] and one-fifth of the total population of the circle. The adepts are not distributed evenly throughout the circle. Nearly all of them being of the Ouolof race, they are found especially in the region to the north of the Thiès-Kayes railroad. They also travel in small groups along the railroad. The cantons with the most Murids are those of Guéoul, Thièpe, Diette-Salao, and La.

W *795

Special note will be made of the centers of 1) Diourbel, 2) Moaké-Darou-Touba, 3) Gaouane, 4) Bambey and environs.

W 793

Diourbel. Of very special interest at the present day as far as the Muridism of Amadou Bamba is concerned, owing to the presence of the Grand Master of the confession in this railroad stop.

The Sérigne -- about 60 years old -- lives in a compound in the same town. His establishment, to this day, is quite curtailed. This state of affairs, which he has prolonged, was evidently a clear indication of his intention to show everyone that his stay there was only temporary.

At the moment things seem to be changing. Since his last promises to the local administration, he has had erected, under the direction of his disciple Ibra Fal, a large and spacious house on a large plot of ground next to the town. He wishes to prove by this gesture, as he has pointed out, that his submission to French authority is unqualified and that his settlement at Diourbel is to be regarded by all as permanent. For the same purpose he has had two of his four wives, who up to now lived at Touba with the rest of his family, come to Diourbel.

Amadou Bamba teaches about 50 pupils at Diourbel itself.

[25 cont.]

W *795 Penda Lo and his disciples for practicing charlatanism, swindles, breach of trust, and various disturbances have cooled the zealots to a considerable extent. In this residence at the present time W [793] there are said to be six marabouts followed by 40 talibés. Of these six marabouts, two are attached directly to Amadou Bamba, one is connected to him through his brother, Amadou Mbaké, and the others through his lieutenants.

W [793] The number of sérignes and talibés in the circle of Sine-Saloum is 281. Counting three or four women and children per man, one obtains a total figure of about a thousand persons affiliated with S [795] the sect of Amadou Bamba, which would represent 1.3 per cent [162] of the Moslems and 0.5 per cent of the total population of the circle.

ooo The following are attached:

Appendix No. 7. Circle of Sine-Saloum:

Enumeration by residence and canton of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Appendix No. 8. Circle of Sine-Saloum:

List by residence and canton of the principal Murid marabouts, their origin, their residence, their spiritual father, and the number of their talibés.

Appendix No. 9.

Letter from Amadou Bamba, dated 9 February 1913, disowning the marabout-agitator, Assane Touré.

4. Circle of Thies

W *795 The Murid confession, which since 1910 has very sharply drawn to Thiés not only the attention of the local administration, but even that of the European traders in the railroad stops, [26] seems today to be on the wane in this circle.

W 793 871 [29 cont.]

Amadou Khodja Guèye, mediocre scholars, offer Koranic teaching and some elements of grammar to about 75 young talibés from 6 to 15 years old. After this age, Ibra Fal no doubt believes that professional apprenticeship is much more beneficial to them, and out of this commendable sentiment he sends them into commerce or to work in the fields.

These students are lodged in a dozen huts, with 4 to 12 in each one. They have the most diverse arrangements for sleeping: European beds, sofas, mattresses, pallets, mats, or low beds [bas-flancs] of reeds or poles.

W 361 [346] W [782]

Darou Baïre, in its central quarter, also contains two mosques, that is to say, two reed enclosures with small central pavillons, one of which is roofed with corrugated iron. One of these mosques is for daily prayers, the other for prayers on Fridays and feast days.

[30] Directly alongside are found the sheik's living quarters, a hut made of planks and adorned with furnishings of various sorts, then a few fruit trees, and finally a small hut serving as his private place of worship.

The main entrance to the quarter is blocked by the well-stocked store, made of planks, of a disciple-trader. This compels one to walk through the store in order to enter the village of the sheik. This grocer's entrance has symbolic value.

W 793

The influence of Sheik Ibra Fal is felt outside the circle of Thiès at all the stops of the railroad from Cayor to Louga.

S SF 795 W *795

One matter which is particularly deserving of note is the possible spread of Muridism into the territory of the Sérène race, less as Amadou Bamba's particular sect than as an Islamic confession. Heretofore the Sérère have resisted any radiation of Islam into their territory because of their attachment to their traditional beliefs. The Murid sheik, however, knows how to work himself in; he knows how to adapt Islamic doctrine to the needs of the moment. He permits the neophyte to preserve in full his own way of life, particularly his drunkenness, provided that he make the Murid act of faith. Once enrolled, the

1: Marty--25 G-4,5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS30
Serer FA32

S
Sr
795
W
*795

[30 cont.]

new "brother" finally succumbs to the influences around him and, after entrusting to the sheik his immortal interests, finally places into his hands the direction of his material life as well. This is the first breach made by Islam in the fetishistic block.

Let us hasten to add that it is very small because, as has already been mentioned, of the two residences of Thiès established in Sérère territory, one, that of the Petite Côte, has only a handful of Murids, while the other, that of Fissel, contains a strong Murid group only in the canton of Diobas. [31] This group consists almost entirely of a vanguard of Ouolof immigrants from Baol. There are only 200 Muridized Sérère, among whom there is but one important personnage.

W
*795
S
162
795

The total number of Murids in the circle[1] seems to be 5,080, which represents one-fifth of the number of Moslems and one-seventeenth of the total population of the circle.

000

The following are attached:

Appendix No. 10. Circle of Thiès:
Genealogy of the Fal family (Sheik Ibra Fal).

Appendix No. 11. Circle of Thiès:
Enumeration by residence and canton of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Appendix No. 12. Circle of Thiès:
List by residence of the principal Murid marabouts, their origin, their residence, their spiritual father, and the number of their talibés.

5. Circle of Cayor (Tivaouane)

W
*795

The circle of Cayor (Tivaouane) constitutes, along with Baol (Diourbel) and the canton of Diobas (Thiès, Residence of Fissel), the center par excellence of the Muridism of Amadou Bamba.

At the present time, the circle is very nearly Islamized in its entirety. This Islamization was effected some 50 years ago

[1] [i.e., Circle of Thies --Analyst]

[31 cont.]

W *795 through the preachings of marabouts who came from Toucouleur
W territory via Diambour. These persons, whose names still live
[793] in the memories of scholars, [32] are: Mokhtar Doumbé, teacher of Momar Antasali (the latter being the father and teacher of Amadou Bamba);

Mamaka Kane, from his village of Sine Lèye Kane, and Semba Cor, from Tivaouane, spread Islam in Saniakhor;

Aboulaye Si, apostle of the Mboul.

It was especially the influence of Ma Ba, elimane of Saloum, that was decisive, however. His fiery preaching and his calls to holy war drew many natives to him. The triumph was complete on the day when the damel Lat Dior sought the support of Islam for the sake of his cause. His conversion was followed by that of his subjects, whom he commanded, like all Black rulers, to embrace his religion.

W At the present day the circle is divided between Tidiania and
[798] Qadria, and the adepts of these two Moslem religious orders regard each other more as mutual heretics than as co-religionists
W belonging to two orthodox brotherhoods.
793 The Tidiania are subject to Si El-Hadj Malik, a marabout well disposed towards our influence.

The Qadria, in small numbers, are attached to Sheik Sidia (brotherhood of the Qadria-Lessidia), to Sheik Saad Bouh (brotherhood of Qadria-Fadelia), to a very influential local marabout, Sheik Bou Kounta, who resides at Keur Bou Kounta, six kilometers from Tivaouane, but in major part especially to the Qadri Muridism of Amadou Bamba.

W The circle of Cayor seems to merit special attention as far as
*795 Islam is concerned, first of all, because of the number of Moslems,
S 134,000 out of 140,000 inhabitants, or 27/28ths of the total popu-
●795 lation, but especially because of the budding efflorescence of
[162] Muridisms which await only a favorable occasion in order to develop to the same extent as that of Amadou Bamba, and also because of the nature of the religious sentiments of these newly
W Islamized people. It [33] would seem that in this Cayor area,
[668] which was the center of the stubborn resistance of the Ouolof race

[33 cont.]

W *795 668 to our domination, the natives became converted to Islam merely in order to find a basis for passive resistance on different grounds. S *795 The most loyal among them, the Tidiania of El-Hadj Mali or the Qadria of Sheik Bou Kounta, remain neutral; the indomitable ones hasten to join the Muridism of Amadou Bamba, because this religious leader, friend and marabout of the former damels and obviously aspiring to succeed them, has been set up as a kind of representative of the sentiment for the former independence.

S 795 The approaching loss of Sheik Bou Kounta will raise the problem of spiritual succession and a declassing of members. It W *795 would be well to watch this brotherhood from now on and to have a very clear political course. It seemingly would not be advantageous if the Qadria Murids of Bou Kounta, upon his death, were to augment the number of the Qadria Murids of Amadou Bamba.

S [162] The number of the Bamba Murids in the circle[1] is about 28,000 out of 134,000 Moslems and 140,000 inhabitants, which represents one-fifth of the total population, and obviously one-fifth of the Islamized population.

W *795 Province of Saniakhor. The principal Murid villages are: 793 Maummou, near Piré; Ngouï and Médina in the canton of Mbar. Médina is under the spiritual leadership of an aged and influential marabout: Mabèye Bèye. This sheik, the son of a sérigne who was formerly influential himself, Ibra Bèye, and of a Lebbou mother, joined the Bamba brotherhood some six years ago. He had formerly met Amadou Bamba in the entourage of Lat Dior and Semba Laobé, where he was a marabout. He is a rich farmer who has brought together 200 or 300 disciples and followers in the Mekhé area. A friend of Ibra Fal, he maintains close relations with this sheik.

[34] Keur Momar Ovarka, the village of the sérigne Momar Ouarka Khan. The latter gathers about 60 talibés around him, half of whom follow his Koranic teachings.

[1] [i.e., circle of Cayor -- Analyst]

[36 cont.]

6. Circle of Louga

W *795 S 795 [162] The circle of Louga is now completely Islamized. Four peoples, Ouolof, Peul, Toucouleur, and Moors, share its territory. Each of these peoples, in conformity with sociological laws, understands the doctrine and prescriptions of the Prophet according to the peculiar spirit of its race, and adapts them to its traditional institutions, but all claim to be Moslems in the religious realm.

Up to the end of 1911, the circle, or more specifically the province of Diolof, was an ardent seat of Muridism. The reason for this, however, was factitious. It was simply the presence of Amadou Bamba at Thiéène which provoked this unusual unrest.

When the Master left (January 1912), the disciples followed him. No more pilgrims were seen, and it can be stated that the influence acquired over the local populations was practically null. W [793] Today in the entire circle one could hardly point out 300 Murid sérignes and talibés, who represent a thousand persons affiliated with the brotherhood of Amadou Bamba. If it is noted S [162] that the circle contains 106,000 inhabitants, or [37] 106,000 Moslems (cf. Appendix No. 15), it will be seen that the proportion of the Murids is 1/106 of the Moslem and total population of the circle.

W 793 Only a few of the marabouts merit special mention in each of the five provinces which comprise the circle.

Province of Diolof. The province of Diolof is headed by a remarkably intelligent and energetic chief, Bouna N'diaye, who understands perfectly how to obtain the allegiance of all his subjects, no matter what their Islamic confession may be. The most important sérigne in this province is Khali N'diaye of Ouolof origin, who has a hundred talibés-workers at N'diayène W [871] and dispenses Koranic teaching to a dozen students.

Province of North Diambour [Diambour septentrional]. North Diambour is no longer of much interest. There are about

W [38 cont.]
793 brother is a source of worry to Amadou Bamba, who nevertheless shows him great partiality and gives him large sums of money, which are soon spent. This Murid of fancy, however, this Sheik Thioro, is still not content. He puts on airs, flirts with the businessmen and traders of Senegal, and offers his services to the administration. All this bustling in a vacuum is quite harmless, for no one takes Sheik Thioro seriously.

W
*795 Provinces of N'guick-Mérina and Gandiolais. As one draws away from the Murid crescent which borders the Ferlo on the west, southwest, and south, [39] Amadou Bamba's influence vanishes. Thus, the provinces of N'guick-Mérina and Gandiolais are almost
W
[793] free of it. There is said to be a total of 80 sérignes and talibés in these two provinces, which represents a maximum of 250 persons under the spiritual authority of Amadou Bamba. No personality merits special mention.

ooo The appendices attached are:

Appendix No. 15. Circle of Louga:
Enumeration by province of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Appendix No. 16. Circle of Louga:
List by province of the principal Murid marabouts, their origin, their residence, their spiritual father, and the number of their talibés.

7. Dakar and Saint-Louis

W
*795
369 For the sake of completeness, the small number of Murids
S living in Dakar and Saint-Louis should be pointed out. There
● 795 are about 140 in Dakar and 130 in Saint-Louis.
369
[62] These Murids are not even inhabitants of the city, but im-
[66] migrants from Baol, Cayor, and Diambour; Dakar, indeed, is too

W *795 369 S ●795 369 [166] W [463] S W [166] W 793

[39 cont.]
busy a city to lend itself to religious propaganda, and Saint-Louis is too enlightened a Moslem center to accept the doctrinal fancies of the Murids.

They are there as laborers, usually without their families, sent by their sheik to earn money. They work as porters on the quays and especially as makers and sellers of mats for the use of the natives. [40] In Dakar, they also work as water vendors in the Black quarters, and in Saint-Louis as vendors of firewood or of fodder for the many cows fed in the city.

When winter draws near, most of these talibés return to their country of origin to engage in the tasks of preparing the land and of sowing.

In general they are under the spiritual authority of Sheik Ibra Fal. He himself goes to Dakar. He is represented in Saint-Louis by Amadou Guèye.

Sheik Ibra Fal owns several compounds and various buildings in both Dakar and Saint-Louis.

Sheik Anta owns a handsome house in Dakar, in the Rue Raffenel, purchased for 28,000 francs from a native and now rented to a Moroccan trader named Madani El-Qtiri.

Conclusion

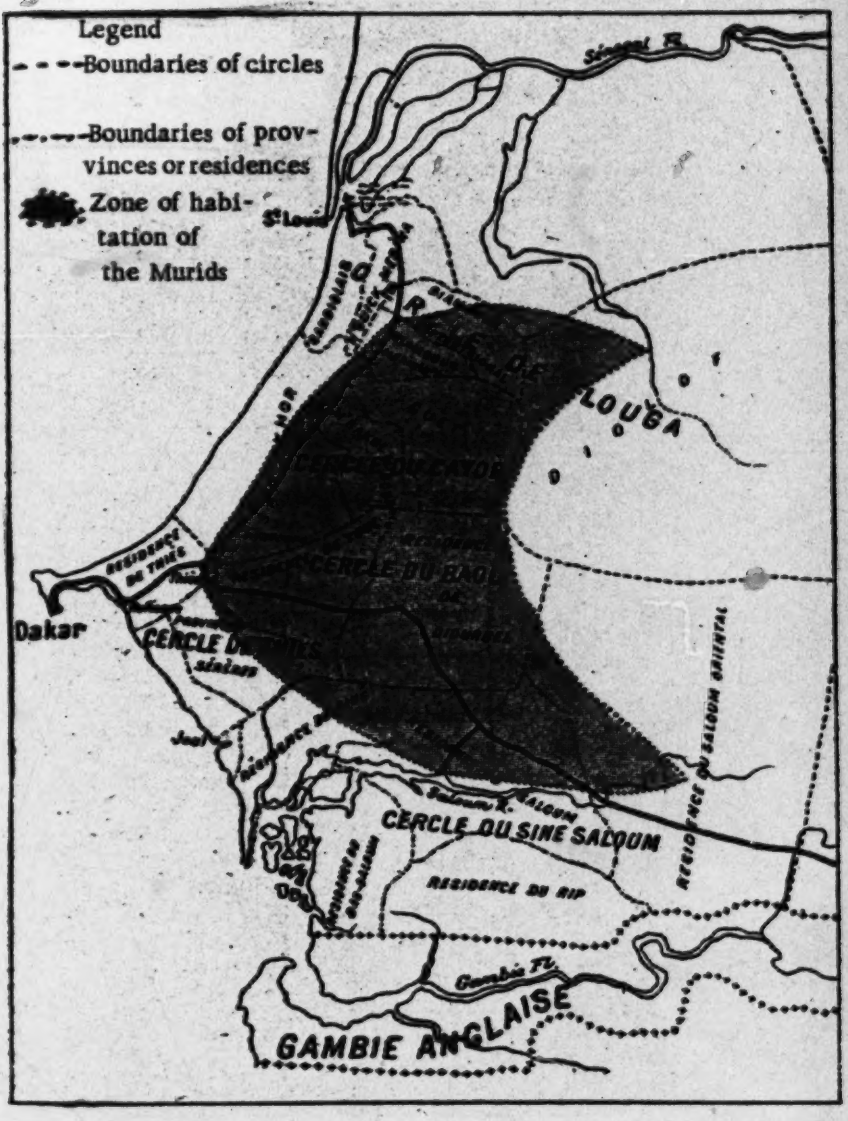
In this study of the cadres and the faithful of the Murid order, there ought to be included, aside from Amadou Bamba and the principal lieutenants already mentioned, a large number of local marabouts who have not all been taught by Amadou Bamba, but who, some of them possibly out of personal conviction, others out of self-interest and in order to keep their believers who were drawn to the new movement, have joined the order of the Sérigne and have become his vicars. To these should be added the chiefs of villages or factions, notables in quest of authority or prestige, clever traders who skillfully manage their commercial affairs and their spiritual interests.

1: Marty--123 G-4,5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

W
S
102
795
S
631

/143/

Appendix No. 1



Geographical schema of the Murid confession.

1: Marty--124 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

/144/

SW 495 S 162

Appendix No. 2

General enumeration by circles of all the Murids of Amadou Bamba.

Circle of Baol	33,000
Circle of Sine Saloum	1,000
Circle of Thiès	5,080
Circle of Cayor	28,000
Circle of Louga	1,000
Dakar	140
Saint-Louis	150
Total	68,350

W 601 793

Appendix No. 3

Genealogy of the M'baké family.

- Mballa. Mbaké.
  - Diara Bousso.
    - Momar Diara.
      - Mohammed.
      - Amadou Bousso.
      - Sheik Abd El-Qader
      - Mohammed Lamine.
    - Amadou Bamba.
      - Mohammed Mostafa.
      - Mohammed Fadel.
      - Mohammed Lamine.
      - Mohammed Bachir.
  - Momar. Fatia Diop
    - Ibra Fati
      - Ibrahim.
      - Mohammed El-Habib.
  - Antasali.
    - Sheik Anta.
      - Mohammed Mostafa.
      - Ibrahim.
      - Sérigne.
  - Anta N'Diaye.
    - Amadou Mbaké. Niang.
      - Amadou.
  - Thioro Diop.
    - Sheik Tioro.
      - Mohammed.
    - Mballa Mbaké
      - Mohammed.
  - Hafsa Diahhaté.
    - Sheik Hafsa.
      - Fati Benta (daughter)
  - Issa Dièye.
    - Masemba.
      - Mohammed.
  - Ibra Mbaké.
    - Amor M'baké.

1: Marty--125 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

W
601
793

/145/

Appendix No. 4
Genealogy of the Bousso Family.

Sérigne Mohammed Bousso.	M'baké Bousso (Wife: Kadia, half sister of Amadou Bamba).	Amadou.
		Alioune.
	(Wife: Sheik El-Hadj Bousso Rokiata, full sister of Amadou Bamba.)	Momar Bousso.
		Bou Baker.

Appendix No. 5
Circle of Baol (Diourbel.)
Enumeration by cantons of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

S
162
795
W
795

Names or cantons	Number of Murids	Number of Islamized	Number of Total Population	Races that Inhabit the Canton
Diack	785		15,980	Sérère.
Fandène	1,513		11,117	Ouolof
Guéoul	9,528		16,441	--
Dondolle	378		13,492	Sérère
Pègue	1,768		12,918	Ouolof
Thiépe	4,097		14,929	--
Ndadène	861		9,551	Sérère
Kontor	809		3,438	Peul
Diette Salao	6,142		12,185	Ouolof
Ngoye	760		13,507	Sérère
La	5,645		16,221	Ouolof and Peul
Mbayar-Bidiar	633		26,051	Sérère
Total	32,919	86,000	161,830	

1: Marty--128 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS30

/148/

S
162
795
W
795

Appendix No. 7
Circle of Sine-Saloum
Enumeration by residences and canton of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

		Murids Sérignes[1]	Murids Talibés[1]	Islamized[2]	Total population
Residence of Saloum. Cantons of:	Kaolack				
	Laghem	4	36		
	Kahone	4	9		
	Nguer	1	4		
	Diokoul				
	Goudiaye	5	5		
	Total	14	54	18,193	42,668
Residence of Sine Cantons of:	Diakhao	2	18		
	Dioine	6	0		
	Diouroup Djilas	0	0		
	Songhaï	0	0		
	Maroutte	11	91		
	Gayokèime	2	11		
	Total	21	120	12,697	86,616
		0	0		
Residence of Lower Saloum	Nimbato				
	Djilor	0	0		
	Total			15,419	19,508
Residence of Rip	Oualo-Kayemor	2	0		
	Saback-Rip	1	5		
	Niom-Rip	2	16		
	Total	5	21	19,301	20,850

[1] [i.e., one followed by disciples--Analyst]
[2] [i.e., disciples--Analyst]

1: Marty--129 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

/148 cont./

S
162
795
W
795

(Appendix No. 7 cont.)

		Murids Sérignes	Murids Talibés	Islamilized	Total population
Residence of East Saloum	Ndoukoumane-Pakalla	4	18		
	Koungheul	2	22		
	Total	6	40	10,742	13,284
General Total		281		76,352	182,926

/149/

S
W
793

Appendix No. 8
Circle of Sine-Saloum
List by residences and cantons of the principal Murid marabouts, their origins, their residences, their spiritual fathers, and the number of their talibés. 1

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	No. of Talibés
Residence of Saloum (Kaolack).				
Canton of Kaolack-Laghem.				
Tamsir Moussa Paté	Ouolof.	Pakatia.	Amadou Bamba.	11
Omar Diouf	"	Mbadiou.	Tamsir Moussa.	
Babakar N'Diaye	"	Mbouma.	Amadou Bamba.	4
Massakho Sakho	"	Tahoua.	Ibra Fati.	21
Canton of Kahone.				
Amadou Cissé.	"	Bill.	Amadou Fadiame.	7

1 [i.e. disciples --Analyst]

1: Marty--134 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS30

/153/

Appendix No. 11

Circle of Thiès

Enumeration by residences and cantons of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

S
167
795
W
795

Residences and Cantons	Number of Murids	Number of Islamized	Total of the General Population	Observations
Residence of Thiès:				
Canton of Thiès	490	3,120	5,400	K. Ibra Fal.
" of Thor-Diander.	10	5,230	10,030	Darou.
Residence of the Sérère provinces:				
Canton of M'Badane Sadsal	30	540	12,120	Sassal.
Canton of Sandoc Diaganiao	"	920	8,540	
Canton of Sao Dimack	"	410	9,260	
Canton of the Diebas	4,300	5,580	13,850	Khaban Tassette.
Residence of the Petite Côte				
Canton of Nianing	50	4,410	7,200	Thiombologe.
Canton of Joal-N'Gohé	200	2,200	5,350	Thiadiaye.
		3,900	11,300	
Totals	5,080	26,400	83,050	

1: Marty--136 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S
W
793

/154 cont./

(Appendix No. 12 cont.)

Names	Origins	Residences	Number of Talibés	Observations
Manik Diop.	Ouolof.	Malamsone.		
Momar Touré.	"	Tassette.	20	at Touré.
Abdou N'Doye.	"	"	20	at N'Doyène.
Sheik Madiop.	"	"	30	at Keur Madiop.
Sérigne Momar Senne	"	Pout.	10	
Laman Malik.	Sérère.	Pognom.		newly converted.
Residence of the Petite Côte (Nianing).				
Alioune Sal.	Ouolof.	Guélor.	50	imprisoned in 1910 for disturbances.

/155/

Appendix No. 13
Circle of Cayor
Enumeration by provinces of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

S
162
[795]
W
[795]

Provinces	Number of Murids	Number of Islamized	Total Population
Saniakhor.	6,000		
Mbakhol-Mboul.	10,000		
Guet.	12,000		
Total	28,000	133,400	139,150

Note. - The circle of Cayor contains 5,750 inhabitants who are not Islamized.

This number is made up of: about 5,000 Sérère, scattered in the cantons of N'Doute and M'Bar in the province of Saniakhor; 500 Laobé, scattered in the province of Guet; 200 Akou, in the railroad stops; and 50 Mandiago, distributed throughout the circle.

1: Marty--142 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS39
Wolof MS30

/160/

S
162
795
W
795

Appendix No. 15
Circle of Louga
Enumeration of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Provinces	Total Number of Murids	Moslems	General Total	Observations
Djolof.	300	36,895	36,895	
North Diambour	300	32,800	32,800	
South Diambour	150	14,678	14,678	
N'Guick Merina	150	14,582	14,582	
Gandiolais.	100	7,073	7,073	
	1,000	106,028	106,028	

/161/

S
W
793

Appendix No. 16
Circle of Louga
List by provinces of the principal Murid marabouts, their origins, their residence, their spiritual fathers, and the number of their talibés.

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Province of Diolof:				
Abdou Kamara.	Ouolof.	Kamara.	Amadou Bamba	2
Alioun M'Baye.	"	Nboundiane.	"	2
Modo Sankhe.	"	Tiankhé.	"	2
Khali N'Diaye.	"	N'Diayène.	"	110
Diadé N'Dao.	"	Iagne Sagata.	"	8
Baba Fati M'Baye.	"	MbaTène.	"	6
Alle Khari.	"	"	"	5

2: Bourlon MS37 Senegal MS37

795

[For a discussion of Muridism, its leaders and influence see category 116, pp. 1-27.]

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

cent of the population. Thus, the number of Europeans in intermediate or subordinate posts has substantially increased and the range of competitive situations, instead of growing less is being regularly extended. This affects not only the new elite, but a large segment of the old 'administrative bourgeoisie', and even, to some extent, the workers and lower supervisory grades in industry. And so, while—in theory—opportunities for reaching the highest ranks and simultaneously entering the European group (a consequence foreseen by assimilationist ideology) have increased with the development of education, in reality a radical change in the whole social structure has multiplied the causes of conflict. New factors have cropped up abruptly: further assimilation is gainsaid, Europeans and Africans become more and more sensitive to the realities of race, etc. Obviously, the political consequences of such conflicts are considerable.

I have mentioned cases in which a rift occurred between the elites and the masses, in the early years, at any rate, of the 'colonial elite'. This fact needs some further explanation, while the question of the relations between the 'educated' and the 'traditional' categories calls for re-examination on a wider basis. The stereotyped patterns maintained by the European administration underline the points of divergence. The administration has besides had a tendency—and not only in Senegal—to underestimate the influence of modernist elites and to depreciate their impact upon the population as a whole. True, important tensions can be observed, and some antagonism developed between the citizens (those of the 'four communes'), from whom the major part of the 'colonial élite' came, and the subjects in the other parts of the territory; but such tensions virtually disappeared with the legal changes introduced immediately after the war, a fact which is proof enough how superficial the points of divergence were. The 'educated' classes, moreover, sought to reap all possible profit from the power they acquired in their administrative functions, or in their role of intermediary between producers and the big commercial companies; and that attitude naturally set up a great many local conflicts. Sometimes they sought compensation for their inferior standing in the traditional framework by asserting themselves in the exercise of their new functions. As we have already shown, however, the population as a whole recognized the prestige of the new intellectual elite. True, their prestige did not necessarily displace the traditional prestige, but the two can coexist, a circumstance which stands out most clearly in rural districts. So, even if the 'educated' African has difficulty in fitting into the traditional system or even the family group, even if he is often a maladjusted element, he is rarely the fish out of water whom so many colonial observers considered him. All the elements of the population are still continually in touch.[1] There are two basic reasons for this. First, the range of family relationships is still a very wide one and they themselves are still effective; they maintain their hold on the 'educated' African even when he has left his birthplace. Secondly, religion—chiefly Islam in Senegal—and above all, membership of a sect, which is practically hereditary, continue to be important. The fact that tension between elites and masses led to nothing but quite limited and temporary breaks explains why the recent and entirely conscious effort to retie loose bonds was carried through with comparative ease. It was the new elite that, with political aims in view, inspired this effort. Usually too far removed from the

1. The vitality of social or religious associations is significant in this respect.

/183 cont./

871 On the other hand, the backwardness of the girls, which was particularly marked among the Wolof and the Toucouleur, disappears almost completely among the Wolof of the districts, whereas one Toucouleur girl out of four in the districts still does not go to school.

191 In all respects one observes a radical change which
871 distinguishes the generations: the one of the present parents is, in the majority, illiterate and knows only a little French. The situation is reversed with the rising generation, thanks to the effort toward educational equipment. This upset will be even more noticeable in the female population, for in 20 years more than half the mothers of families living in Pikine will have been to school, while at present one finds scarcely any.

V. Religion

771 A final factor should be studied because of its considera-
795 ble cultural influence; that of religion. In Pikine the vast
162 majority of inhabitants are Moslems, so that, in addition to membership in a religious confession properly speaking, we have differentiated membership in a definite Islamic sect. This leads to five different categories within Islam: two of these are sects of wide geographic scope, the Tidjanes and the Khadres, one is peculiar to the Senegal, Muridism, and one is encountered above all in the region of Cape Verde, the Layens; finally, some individuals, while calling themselves Moslems, declare that they do not belong to any sect.

795 Here (p.43) is the table of the various sects or re-
162 ligious confessions into which the inhabitants of Pikine are divided, first in absolute figures and then in percentages.

It suffices to underline the points that these tables clearly bring to light. First, the numerical preponderance of the Tidjanes over the assemblage of the other confessions.

/183 cont./

995 162 In itself alone, the sect accounts for more than half of the population. It is only among the Sérère that Muridism predominates; in all the other ethnic groups it is either non-existant or occupies second place, as among the Wolof.

In the second place, although Tidjanism predominates among the Wolof /184/ /Tables 18 and 19 appear here/ and by a large majority among the Toucouleur, the Peul, and the Sarakolé (1), the Khadres are the ones who are preponderant

1. We have separated the Sarakolé from the Toucouleur because there is a slight difference of religious behavior between them.

in the other groups.

Finally, Pikine is not a city in which the Christian element holds an important place. Unquestionably it is difficult to judge by starting from such a limited sample of Catholics. Nevertheless, the percentage obtained corresponds to that which Father Martin found last year: 2.36% instead of 2%. The Christian minority /185/ is represented above all by the Sérère and Casamançais element. We note simply that this percentage is slightly higher in the districts than in the quarters: 13.7% instead of 0.9%.

The table of the distribution of the heads of households -- comprised of women this time -- by ethnic group and religion offers a useful point of comparison. /Table 20 appears here./

Let us compare the average percentage of this table with that of the preceding one: we see that the proportion of Tidjanes and of Khadres decreases as one passes from the total population to the category of heads of households, while this proportion increases in the case of the Murids. This phenomenon indicates simply that the Tidjane and Khadre homes are relatively more numerous than the Murid homes, as is confirmed by the following table where we give the average number of individuals by homes, according to religious affiliation: /Table 21 appears here./

[Text continues on P. 46--Analyst]

095
162

Table 20

Religion \ Ethnic Group	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Tidjanes	48.2	27	74.5	78.6	7.1	22.2	11.4	47.4
Khadres	3.6	13.5	11.2	14.3	85.8	74.1	54.3	16.9
Murids	45.3	43.3	10.1	--	--	--	5.7	29.7
Layens	2.3	--	2.1	--	--	--	--	1.6
Without sect	0.3	5.4	2.1	7.1	7.1	--	--	1.6
Catholics	0.3	10.8	--	--	--	3.7	28.6	2.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

/185 cont./

795
162

Table 21

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect.	Cath.
Average number of individuals per home	5.86	5.27	4.29	3.33	3.88	4.25

Let us note that this remark applies to the Wolof, for the difference of percentage in the case of the Sérère or the Toucouleur is too slight to enable one to draw any valid indications from it.

/186/ Let us now compare the religious affiliation of the districts and the quarters. We have the following table, always in percentages, for the male heads of families within each of these two categories. /Table 22 appears here./

Table 22

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect	Cath.	Total
% Quarters	46.6	16	32.3	1.6	1.6	1.9	100
% Districts	54.8	19	7.1	2.4	2.4	14.3	100

Thus one observes two opposite movements: on the one hand, the percentage of all the sects increases as one passes from the quarters to the districts; on the other, this percentage decreases in the case of the Murids who are relatively and absolutely much more numerous in the quarters than in the districts. On the basis of this one could comment on the incompatability of Muridism and durable construction. Rather than launching ourselves on risky interpretations, let us content ourselves with observing the fact and noting that it runs in the same direction as the following observation obtained from the respective percentages of the literates and illiterates

795
162
191
871

/186 cont./
of each sect. /Table 23 appears here./

795
162
191
871

Table 23

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect	Cath.	Av.
Literate	22	8.5	10.3	22.2	11.2	50	21.5
Illiterate	78	91.5	89.7	77.8	88.8	50	78.5
Total	100						100

The number of Moslems declared as without sect is too small to give any valid information. The small number of literates among the Khadres comes from the Moors, and their proportion doubles if one does not take the latter into consideration. Hence there remain only the Murids, among whom the proportion of literates does not come to half /187/ of the average percentage: 10.3 instead of 21.5. If one cannot say that Muridism specifically encourages illiteracy, neither can one say that it develops a taste and desire for learning among its adepts; the foregoing fact would tend rather to show that it plays the role of a curb, voluntary or involuntary, in the same measure that illiteracy constitutes a force of inertia to be conquered and that education, on the contrary, perpetuates itself. In any case, the intellectual elite of the Pikine population prefers to join the other sects. [571]

VI. Habitat and Family

128 After having presented the social framework of the whole society of Pikine, we shall conclude this quick study by showing first the material factors that condition its mode of existence, and then a certain number of general considerations concerning the structure of the urban family.

/82 cont./

35 heat heavily laden with the most diverse odors, they play
[517] cards or checkers. There is no question in such crowded
[524] quarters of removing all the household rubbish and used water.
[364] It is frequent in the course of walks within this zone to run into piles of refuse or to cross several ditches full of stagnant, dirty, and malodorous water. Sometimes at a bend in a street one is surprised to discover some straw huts in the middle of a spacious courtyard (Plate XI A).

361 The quarters of the south, newly divided into lots, re-
351 mind one of that of North Diakhao with its embryos of streets intersecting at a right angle, /83/ its huts arranged in a loose order inside each square and huddled in the shade of mango trees.

Each concession of Médina, in distinct geometric forms, marked off by tapades of millet stalks, is of a meticulous neatness that contrasts with the other quarters of the city.
● [795] This strict order, this rigid arrangement where all imagination is banished, is a reflection of the peculiar character of the Moslem Murid sect that occupies it.

361 The Cité Pillot, finally, built for the higher operatives and the specialized workers of the Dakar-Niger, to the south of the Bamako railroad, gives the appearance of a series of buildings that resemble those of barracks. The arrangement
[342] of the new constructions is that of small houses with twin apartments.

369 Thus, each of the European-type quarters, like the native quarters, possesses some particular trait or even its own individuality, which seems to correspond to a definite social structure: milieu of merchants, millieu of officials, milieu of artisans, of laborers, of cultivators.

At the same time, each stage of its evolution has stamped this or that part of the city with its original imprint, which makes it possible to follow quite easily the successive periods of its expansion.

S
SR
24
[244]

/7 cont./

by the Mandingue and settled in Siné-Saloum. They are above all millet farmers; on the average they cultivate a hectare of this cereal to 70 acres of groundnuts. The groundnut, having entered the agricultural cycle quite recently, has contributed to the formation of a ground of specialized sectors. Around the village, surrounding it, are located the fields of small millet, cotton, and manioc. Beyond this pombod, under the Faidherbia, the ground is divided into three areas /soles/ corresponding to a system of triennial rotation, small millet, groundnuts, and fallowing, where, after cultivation, the animals graze and manure the soil for the next cultivation. Each family has its shares in each /8/ /Fig. 1 appears here/ area.

SR
[423]

The separation between these three large sectors of the ground is maintained by living hedges or barriers of cut thorns. In Sérère country a permanent ground is delineated, and land ownership stands out. The peasant takes care of managing the land and only wants a little money for the groundnuts, a secondary crop.

S
244

3) "Speculative" or "extractive" cultivation. In contrast to the Sérère example, this is a type of cultivation where the cultivator, often occasional, is attracted solely by the immediate profit that groundnuts may bring. It is practiced by the group of Murids on the one hand, and, on the other, by the navétanes /seasonal workers/.

S
795

/9/ Muridism (3) is a Moslem movement founded by Sheik

S
[113]

3. Pelissier, P. "L'arachide au Sénégal, rationalisation et modernisation de la culture," Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, Vol. IV, 1951, No. 13, pp. 80-85.

Amadou Bamba, who died in 1927. The brotherhood has many adepts, especially in Siné-Saloum near the Ouoloff. For the Murids, Islam is a religion based on renouncement. Agricultural work becomes a holy thing if it is done for the benefit of the pious man who prays. The adepts of Muridism, or talibés, thus

[TEXT continues on P.7--Analyst]

/9 cont./

795 have a moral obligation to deliver the products of their labor to the marabouts. With a remarkable ardor for clearing, these
244 Murids have improved new lands and have thus made a "groundnut front" progressing toward the east, especially on both sides
311 of the Dakar-Niger railroad. This cultivation, however, pre-
795 sents grave dangers, because the Murids essentially concern themselves with groundnuts at the expense of millet; they use the cleared lands in the average proportion of 60% of the area for groundnuts and only 40% for millet. Crop rotation and fallowing are all too rarely respected, and the lands put under cultivation are all the more unstable since the groundnut front now abuts on the zone of the lateritic cuirasses of the east, ushering in the Sudan.

244 The navétanes (4) are the seasonal workers who come
427
[464]
[167]
[113]

4. Fouquet, J., La traite des arachides dans le pays de Kaolack et ses conséquences économiques, sociales et juridiques /The trade of groundnuts in the region of Kaolack and its economic, social, and legal consequences/. Law thesis, Montpellier, 1951, 262 pp.

from the Sudan in particular and, up to 1958, from the north of Guinea. They cultivate the groundnut for the benefit of
[466] the employer, or diatigui, according to the clauses of a ver-
[465] bal contract. The employer furnishes the cleared ground, the seed, lodgings, and food. The navétane prepares the land, sows, weeds, and gathers the harvest. Actually, he devotes scarcely three to four half-days per week in work for the benefit of the diatigui. He utilizes the rest of his time for clearing and cultivating for himself. This labor is very costly for the employer, who is often obliged to borrow at prohibitive rates in order to feed the navétane. Moreover, this system presents grave dangers, because the temporary immigrant, clearing and cultivating land for which he feels no attachment,

/10 cont./

244
654

2. Experiences with mechanized cultivation. The experiences with mechanized cultivation proceeded from the arrangements of the law of 30 April 1946 on the first plan for "social and economic development of the oversea territories."

a) The first experience was that of the "bloc de l'arachide /bloc of the groundnut/." In 1947 the "Bloc de l'arachide" was created at Boulel, 21 kilometers north of Kaffrine, in the region of new lands. It had at its disposal 15,000 hectares of bush in a single holding and was endowed with powerful equipment. A labor force of 360 Murids, directed by 160 technicians, proceeded with the clearing, which in 1954 reached about 3,000 hectares. The aims of the enterprise are multiple. It is a matter of: 1. testing the equipment to be used in the preparation of the soil plowing, seeding, weeding, and harvesting; 2. initiating the Murid [795] labor force in the handling of mechanical machines; 3. procuring contrivances for certain jobs, such as decortication for the sowing, deherbaging before the harvest; 4. instituting methods of cultivation that can give the highest yields while protecting the soil.

The practical results have been rather mediocre. The expenses are very high, and amortization of the equipment is scarcely possible. Moreover, the Murid colonists have [795] adapted themselves poorly. In 1953 the latter were eliminated, and in 1955 the Bloc became the "Secteur expérimental de modernisation agricole" (S.E.M.A.) /Experimental Section for Agricultural Modernization/. Its activities were henceforth to be divided /11/ into three sections: a management section which supervises the clearing; an experimental section determining the most suitable techniques of cultivation and instructing the labor force; a section of exploitation, which applies the results of experimentation. The S.E.M.A. "admitted" 155 families for its work. It furnishes the lands prepared by machine, assures certain methods, loans food and seed without interest. Those admitted must take care of the complementary

/11 cont./

244 tasks by hand; they promise to respect the rotations prescribed
654 by the experimental section.

b) The experience of the C. G. O. T. in Casamance began in 1948. Within the framework of the first plan, the Compagnie générale des oléagineux tropicaux /General Company of Tropical Oily Substances/ acquired vast areas of land in the region of Séfa, upstream from Sedhiou. Powerful equipment permitted this society of mixed economy to clear 4,000 hectares of woodland. At great expense the company
[177] recruited some European technicians and local labor receiving wages higher than the average. The experience of total mechanization met very grave difficulties: clearing woodland is very ticklish, because carapaces are found at a shallow depth, the equipment wears out very quickly, and the administrative
[433] expenses are very high; and then, when yields of 2,000 kilograms of groundnuts per hectare are anticipated, only 1,200 are obtained. The company had to modify its policy. The lands were divided among the "colonists," who promised to respect a millet or rice-groundnut rotation. The company cultivated the rice mechanically and kept the harvest. It proceeded to the more difficult tasks in connection with the groundnuts and collected in exchange 450 kilograms of shells per hectare thus cultivated. The millet went to the colonists.

• 795 c) The Murid chiefs of the region of Djourbel also had
244 an experience with mechanization. In fact some of them, enriched by the "gifts" from the faithful, acquired equipment and in the new lands undertook mechanized cultivation of the groundnut in imitation of the example of Boulel. This system, without considering the dangers of the deterioration of the soil, seems dangerous from the social point of view, because it may strengthen the hold of the marabouts on the faithful, who become ordinary laborers.

244 In fact the experiences with mechanized cultivation have been dismissed because of a check on how much one could anticipate a generalized use of machinery. Nevertheless,
[654] in sum, these modest attempts have not been as catastrophic

/99 cont./

S 162 Population. As we have just seen in this brief historical account, the principal native races occupying the region are: the Sérère, the Socé or Mandingue, the Toucouleur, and the Peuhl.

The population is distributed as follows:

Ouoloff	105,000	inhabitants
Sérère	85,000	"
Mandingue or Socé	50,000	"
Peuhl	10,000	"
Foreigners and miscellaneous	15,000	"
Total	280,000	inhabitants

S [161] In 15 years, the population, which in 1913 numbered 180,000 natives, increased by more than a third. This result is due, not only to the birth rate, but also and above all to the immigrants from neighboring countries (Upper Gambia, Sudan, Guinea, Casamance), who are attracted by the economic development of the region.

S 771 Religion. Fetishism is losing ground to the benefit of Islamism. This religion is predominant at present. Only the SR [771] Sérère still preserves his ancestral customs, but he is attracted to the religion of Islam. Three Moslem sects are represented: the Tidjania, the Kadria, and the Murids.

S [795] Muridism, a new religious sect which has as prophet the venerated marabout, the late Serigne Bamba, has its great mosque at N'Diourbel in Baol.

/100/ The Moslem populations are the Ouoloff, the Toucouleur, and a part of the Socé.

SR [771] The fetishism of the Sérère is a naturistic cult.

SR 105 [611] The customs are derived from the matriarchy. It is a regime of castes. Paternal authority is preserved intact in the family, with, however, respect for the mother and certain prerogatives of the maternal line, notably in the matter of succession. The captive, formerly, was treated gently by his

/13 cont./

346 These minarets have been finished since 1956, and one can climb to their summits, from where one discovers the panorama of Touba and the surrounding plain.

346 778 From the mosque there is direct access to the tomb of Amadou Bamba, which is in a mausoleum built into the north-east corner of the building beside the great prayer room. The tomb proper (covered by velvet hangings embroidered with Koranic sayings stitched into arabesques) is in the middle of the mausoleum; it is surrounded by wrought-iron grillwork which keeps visitors at a distance, while at the same time allowing many of them to contemplate the saint's tomb. The ground all around the tomb is covered with fine, sifted sand, replaced continually to keep it clean.

The tomb of the first caliph, Amadou Moustapha, is located outside the mosque on the east façade several meters from the wall. The mausoleum resembles a little bungalow; one enters it directly from the outside, without going through the mosque. Here, too, the tomb is hidden behind embroidered hangings.

[782] These places are redolent of an atmosphere of contemplation. The air is heavy with the perfume of the incense burned constantly before the tombs.

*795 796 At Touba, the great Moslem religious celebrations are particularly prominent. Thus the faithful come from quite far away (when they can) in order to celebrate at Touba rather than elsewhere the Corytée, the Tabaski, or the Gamou (1).

1. These three celebrations correspond respectively to the Aid el Fitr, the Aid el Kebir, and the Mouloud of Islamic tradition.

[788] But the great celebration of Touba, the specifically Murid solemnity /14/ which every good talibé tries to attend every year if possible, is the Magal.

/14 cont./

*795 The first Magal took place October 19, 1928, at the
●796 initiative of Amadou Moustapha and on the occasion of the
788 anniversary of the death of Amadou Bamba.

Since Falilou M'Backé, the second caliph, took over the leadership of the brotherhood, the Magal has changed in date and meaning. It now commemorates Amadou Bamba's return from exile, his prophetic vision, and his permanent establishment at Diourbel. Thus the second caliph linked his action directly to that of the Founder by giving back to the Magal its original meaning, desired as early as 1912 by Amadou Bamba himself when he instituted, with an identical signification, what was then called the second Tabaski.

Since 1928 this manifestation has not ceased to grow in importance, and today more than 200,000 pilgrims go to Touba each year on this occasion.

The pilgrimage lasts three days, although some fanatics often remain for five days, sometimes eight.

The high point is the second day; the last is called the "official day," because then the caliph speaks in public to the pilgrims, before the representatives of authority whom he has invited.

A week before this "official day," the first pilgrims begin
[484] to arrive at Touba; their number increases rapidly and progressively as the opening date for the pilgrimage proper approaches.

484 During these days the pilgrims arrive in the holy city by
494 every means: on foot or by cart for the nearest ones; by train,
788 truck, and taxi for those farther away. Whatever vehicle is used, it is always overloaded: eight or ten ride in a sightseeing car; 90 (and even a few more) in a truck which should carry only 50 persons (this is a matter of four- to five-ton trucks, not covered, on which the travelers crowd together, standing up and pressed against one another between the railings, like canned fish). The trains, too, are jammed, and there are as many
[497] pilgrims on the roofs and bumpers of the cars as inside.

Traffic is thick, but in spite of the conditions, there are few accidents, at least serious accidents, considering the great

/424 cont. /

Table XIII (cont.)

*511
427
651
467

No.	Occupation	Income	In % in proportion to income: Taxes	Rent	Syndidal Assessment
30	Weigher	24,000	1.6	--	0.1
31	Carpenter	25,000	1.3	--	0.1
32	Cultivator	25,000	0.7	--	--
33	Chauffeur	25,000	2.5	4	0.1
34	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	1.4	6	0.09
35	Staff employee D.N.	27,000	1.6	3.7	0.09
36	Private accountant	34,000	1.4	--	--
37	Truck-gardener	36,000	1.4	--	--
38	Jeweler	50,000	0.4	4	--
39	Teacher	51,000	1.1	--	--
40	Staffworker D.N.	55,000	1.1	--	0.09
41	Head employee D.N.	55,500	1.4	1.8	--
42	Chief worker	56,000	0.9	--	--
43	Doctor	81,000	3.2	--	0.2

*511 /425 cont. / 9,300 francs; No. 1, 8,000 francs. From No. 11 to No. 23, we exceed 15,000 francs only once (19).

These two groups nearly correspond, on the one hand, to the group of monthly incomes from 5,000 to 10,000 francs and, on the other hand, to the group from 10,000 to 15,000 francs. For the latter, the maximum to be devoted to clothing would thus be equal to a month's income. The figure may seem reasonable, but the proportion is very great for budgets systematically having a deficit. It is true that many do not

[291]
[292]
[796]

/425 cont./

*511 reach it, by ignoring the tradition that one should have new
291 clothing for the celebration of Tabaski. Some expenses seem
[292] slightly exaggerated. The head of family No. 11, who dresses
[796] very modestly himself, each year presents a sumptuous new gown to his wife, who moreover demands it, although she can rarely wear it. The 8,000 francs for No. 1, on the contrary, are justified by the size of his restricted family: seven persons.

Nevertheless it is surely possible to reduce these expenses.
[183] But opinion requires that one have new clothing to show at times, and it is difficult to pass unnoticed in an African city of average size.

*511 After this threshold of 15,000 francs of monthly income, we encounter figures for impressive expenses. No. 27 devotes as much as 48,000 francs to his clothing. No. 30, 65,000 francs, the same as No. 36. From No. 34 on, all exceed 40,000 francs per year. For some, that may be justified by the size of the family; No. 36 has 15 persons under his care, for whom practically all of this is necessary. The restricted family alone of No. 40 contains 15 persons; that of No. 42, 11. For the others we could only verify the facts, leaving to the psychologists and sociologists the task of explaining them; No. 34 earns 25,000 francs per month and devotes 65,000 francs to the clothing of four persons, 22.5% of his income. This budget nevertheless has a surplus, but only of 3.7%, in the midst of a series where they are much greater. We now have the explanation for it.

/426/ We have grouped under the rubric "Equipment" (Table XIV) dissimilar elements which have the common character of being of some utility and, if not purchased once and for all, at least not needing to be renewed for a rather long period, for example, furniture, kitchen equipment, bedding, etc. ... The sums that are devoted to them are generally of little importance. The purchase of a Madagascar stove or of some glasses, however, is a heavy burden on an income below 10,000 francs. These things are generally not purchased on
[452] credit.

[352] The piece of furniture that we found most often in our

/426 cont./

*511 352 lists is the bed (1). In nearly all of the African lodgings we

1. The 13.3% of the cultivator, No. 32, arose from the purchase of a cart and a horse.

find at least a bed, but there is rarely one for everyone. And [369] to sleep in a bed has become the best proof that one can give of his acclimatization to the city.

If the income is higher, one may be able to buy more important pieces of furniture. Then, in the order of their urgency, the armchairs, the rugs, and then the tables and wardrobes appear.

*511 Then we come to the rubric "Exceptional Expenses," those for which no absolute necessity is felt. Moreover they are rarer at the top of the table, only three, and then they multiply (Table XIV).

[405] The first thing that we find here is the watch or the alarm [301] clock, closely followed by the jewelry of the wife or wives. [493] There follow, but only in the highest incomes, the bicycle, [207] or, depending on the possibilities, the bicycle with a motor [301] on it or the motorcycle, then the battery radio. There is nothing very original in all this, and, except perhaps for the importance given to the jewelry of the women, we would find similar pretensions among European families having equivalent incomes.

*511 In the last table (Table XV)[1] we have grouped a series of 794 expenses that have a common origin, the religion of the fami- [771] lies investigated, all Moslems except one. Two Moslem holidays are involved, Tabaski and Korité, religious assessments, /427/ /Table XIV appears here/ /428/ offerings to the marabouts, and, finally, expenses arising from sending children to the Koranic school.

*511 For Tabaski, each family slaughters a sheep. There
796

1 [See cat 116, pp 69-71. ANALYST]

/427 cont./ Table XIV (cont.)

*511

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Clothing	Equipment	Exceptional Expenses
30	Wolof	Weigher	24,000	22.5	1.0	--
31	Wolof	Carpenter	25,000	5.0	1.0	--
32	Wolof	Cultivator	25,000	2.6	13.3	--
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25,000	9.3	5.0	--
34	Wolof	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	16.0	8.7	0.6
35	Wolof	Managerial employee	27,000	9.2	3.7	2.6
36	Wolof	Private accountant	34,000	15.9	0.4	1.9
37	Wolof	Truck-gardener	36,000	9.2	1.3	3.4
38	Wolof	Jeweler	50,000	9.5	4.1	4.2
39	Sarakolé	Teacher	51,000	11.4	2.0	--
40	Wolof	Chief worker	55,000	12.1	2.2	--
41	Sarakolé	Head employee	55,500	9.0	5.2	--
42	Bambara	Chief worker	56,000	13.2	8.1	15.0
43	Wolof	Doctor	81,000	6.1	1.0	3.0

/428 cont./

*511 would have to be truly exceptional circumstances for this rule
• 796 to be derogated. A sheep is worth 1,500 to 3,000 francs. And,
[435] of course, it is not interdicted to kill several of them. The
[262] mutton must be accompanied by various dishes, also as copious
[426] as possible.[1] All of this adds up to large outlays and often indebtedness for several months. The percentages in proportion to the monthly incomes are low, but it is in one month that all these expenses occur, and also many devoted to clothing. It is difficult not to go into debt.

[1] [for the Moslem holiday - Tabaski - ANALYST]

/428 cont./

*511 For Korité, although meals more copious than usual
●796 are often provided, nevertheless the essential thing is the alms
[262] in millet or money that one gives to the poor through the
[735] marabout.

For these two celebrations, the percentages stated are not noticeably higher at the top of the table than in the lower part. If, for the first incomes, the family heads are often obliged to do more than their means allow, each seems to adapt himself subsequently to his possibilities (1).

1. For No. 43, the information given concerns the celebrations for Christmas and the first of January.

*511 The religious assessments are less numerous than the
794 syndical assessments, but harder to bear. They exist in only three cases above No. 20, but represent 2% of the incomes, and 0.8%. They again noticeably increase in the lower part of the table. As for the gifts to the marabouts, they are perhaps more frequent than we have shown. Many families must have wanted to conceal them. Added to the payment for the
[875] teacher at the Koranic school (10 francs per week), these religious obligations end up by noticeably increasing the deficits that already existed at the start.

*511 Just as certain products are encountered in only a few
871 families in the case of the routine expenses, we are also going to find here some of another order, but often more important.

There is first the cost of sending the children to school; 13 families send their children to school, public or private, and the outlays made for this can be evaluated as follows:

/429/ /Table XV appears here/ /430/

No. 8: 0.8%	No. 17: 1.8%
No. 10: 0.5%	No. 20: 0.5%
No. 16: 0.5%	No. 28: 0.4%

[Text continues on p. 72]

4: Mersadier--69 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

/429/
*511
794
796

Table XV

No.	Annual Income	% in proportion to income: 1 Tabaski	2 Korité	3 Asses.	4 Offerings	5 Koran School	Total 1 and 2	Total 3-4-5	General Total
1	69,600	1.4	0.8	--	--	--	2.2	--	2.2
2	73,200	3.1	0.4	2	--	--	3.5	2	5.5
3	78,000	4.1	1.0	--	--	--	5.1	--	5.1
4	80,000	1.8	0.3	--	--	--	2.1	--	2.1
5	80,940	5.6	0.8	--	--	0.5	6.4	0.5	6.9
6	84,000	1.1	0.6	--	2.3	1.1	1.7	3.4	5.1
7	84,000	2.9	2.1	--	3.3	--	5.0	3.3	8.3
8	88,200	3.9	0.7	--	--	--	4.6	--	4.6
9	90,000	3.6	2.0	--	5.0	--	5.6	5.0	10.6
10	97,000	2.1	1.5	--	3.0	0.4	3.6	3.4	7.0
11	107,280	1.8	0.4	0.8	0.9	--	2.2	1.7	3.9
12	108,000	2.0	0.9	--	--	0.4	2.0	0.4	3.3
13	117,000	3.4	0.1	--	--	--	3.5	--	3.5
14	120,000	2.5	0.5	--	1.2	--	3.0	1.2	4.2
15	120,000	3.1	2.0	--	--	--	5.1	--	5.1
16	128,000	2.3	--	--	--	--	2.3	--	2.3

*571 794 796

429 cont./

Table XV (cont.)

		% in proportion to income							
No.	Annual Income	1 Tabaski	2 Korité	3 Asses.	4 Offerings	5 Koran School	Total 1 and 2	Total 3 - 4 - 5	General Total
17	129.000	2.3	0.6	--	--	--	2.9	--	2.9
18	132.000	3.0	0.7	--	--	--	3.7	--	3.7
19	143.000	2.0	0.5	2.0	3.4	--	2.5	5.4	7.9
20	144.000	1.7	0.6	--	--	--	2.3	--	2.3
21	156.000	2.8	1.5	0.1	0.2	1.9	4.3	3.2	7.5
22	168.000	1.8	0.4	0.7	--	--	2.2	0.7	2.9
23	180.000	4.1	2.3	0.5	2.7	1.7	6.4	4.9	11.3
24	180.000	1.6	1.3	--	--	1.3	2.9	1.3	3.2
25	187.560	1.7	0.5	0.3	--	--	2.2	0.3	2.5
26	189.600	2.1	0.6	0.7	1.3	--	2.7	3.8	8.5
27	194.000	2.3	1.0	--	--	0.4	3.3	0.4	3.7
28	264.000	1.3	0.3	0.9	--	--	1.6	0.9	2.5
29	264.000	1.5	--	0.9	--	--	1.5	0.9	2.4
30	288.000	1.7	0.9	--	--	0.3	2.6	0.3	2.9
31	300.000	1.0	0.3	0.3	--	--	1.9	0.4	1.7
32	300.000	1.5	0.5	1.2	1.6	0.1	2.0	2.9	4.9

4:Mersadier --71 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

*511 794 796

/429 cont./

Table XV (cont.)

		% in proportion to income							
No.	Annual Income	1 Ta-baski	2 Ko-rité	3 Asses.	4 Offer-ings	5 Koran School	Total 1 and 2	Total 3-4-5	General Total
33	300,000	1.6	0.4	-	-	-	2.0	-	2.0
34	310,000	5.1	0.4	1.1	-	-	5.5	1.1	6.6
35	324,000	5.5	0.4	-	-	-	5.9	-	5.3
36	408,000	2.9	0.7	0.8	0.9	-	3.6	1.7	5.3
37	432,000	3.2	0.5	0.8	0.9	-	3.7	1.7	5.4
38	600,000	3.3	0.5	0.6	-	0.2	3.8	0.8	4.6
39	612,000	1.6	0.8	-	-	-	2.4	-	2.4
40	660,000	1.5	0.4	1.0	0.6	1.0	1.9	2.6	4.5
41	666,000	1.5	0.4	0.6	-	-	1.9	0.6	2.5
42	678,000	2.2	0.5	-	1.4	1.0	2.7	2.4	5.1
43	972,000	1.6	-	-	-	-	1.6	-	1.6

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 563 369 not to let the same discriminations and prejudices such as exist in other colonies be introduced among them.' At the same time the metropolitan Government was asking whether Africans would make suitable corporals and under-officers. Furthermore Schmaltz, whilst advocating a system of economic exploitation that seemed to be entirely to the advantage of France, maintained that the Senegalese were not merely to be auxiliaries and that they would be encouraged by fixed prices for their crops to produce more and become 'civilised' by their contact with Europe.

648 567 641 So far France had made no definition of the position of non-French inhabitants of her colonies. Even though France by the decree of 16 Pluviose Year II (1792) had abolished slavery and declared that 'all men, without distinction of colour, domiciled in French colonies, are French citizens, and enjoy all the rights assured by the Constitution', and even though the slave trade had been outlawed in 1818, until 1833 freed slaves had uncertain status in law, and domestic slaves still existed in large numbers. A royal ordinance of that year proclaimed that 'Any person born free or having legally acquired his liberty enjoys in the French colonies: (1) civil rights; (2) political rights under conditions prescribed by law'. But only in 1848 was the status of *captif* or domestic slave abolished, though the majority of *captifs* continued to serve with their former masters. Naturally this law only affected inhabitants of St. Louis and Gorée and the other French posts like Dagana and Richard-Toll.

648 641 818 799 The most important result of these two laws was to give about 12,000 Africans, mostly illiterate, the full rights of French citizens. Of these less than a thousand had been converted to Christianity by their French, mulatto or Christian African masters. Educational facilities, which would have to accompany any effective conversion of illiterates into full scale French citizens were still rudimentary. But it must be remembered that in France, at the time, the electorate was suddenly increased from 200,000 to

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 colonies other than Martinique, Guadeloupe and Réunion and at the same time they were subjected to rule by direct decree of the Emperor.

[167] It was under the Second Empire that the first great period of French colonial expansion in black Africa took place. It was during that regime that Faidherbe, who was to Senegal what Lugard was to Nigeria, first embarked on his African conquests. Faidherbe himself embodied this dichotomy in French colonial policy: an authoritarian agent of an authoritarian regime, he was often found introducing reforms and innovations that conformed with the most liberal application of an assimilationist policy.

[643] 360 [162] [563] [872] [797] [361] Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in 1854. At the time St. Louis, according to Abbé Boilaut in his *Esquisses sénégalaises* was a city of 12,336 inhabitants with only 177 Europeans. There were two primary schools run by Catholic missionaries. A full scale administration had succeeded in imposing on a town otherwise consisting mainly of single storey houses, a governor's palace, a 'very elegant Palace of Justice', a large naval hospital, a fine church and an army barracks.

648 643 From his base at St. Louis, Faidherbe, in a series of brilliant campaigns, notably against the powerful emir of Trarza and the Muslim reformist and Toucouleur leader, El Hadj Omar, was to lay the foundations of France's West African empire. To do this he organised the now famous *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, since Europeans did not stand up well to the climate and the prevalent diseases. By conquest or by treaty he brought most of modern Senegal and much of 643 Soudan (Mali) under French rule. He installed an efficient military administration, and even published an official [004] newspaper the *Moniteur du Sénégal*. Altogether Faidherbe was a remarkable man. He was a firm believer in the equality of races, and did much to increase the educational facilities of the colony. He established a school for the sons [871] of chiefs, and lay schools for Muslims, who objected to [797] attending the mission schools. Whilst Faidherbe wanted to

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

encourage the evangelisation of the population, he was sufficiently knowledgeable about the country and its people to realise that it would be impossible to win converts from among the Muslims who formed the majority in Senegal. Scholarships for primary education in St. Louis, and secondary education in France were awarded under his auspices to promising students. Small technical schools were established at Dakar. And he even opened a museum at St. Louis.

He tried to equip the colony with some of the benefits of a modern economy. He established the Bank of Senegal, laid out St. Louis afresh as befitted a capital city, and under his influence Pinet-Laprade founded the new port of Dakar. He promoted the export of the ground-nut crop, becoming increasingly valuable to the colony's revenue which rose from 12 million francs in 1848 to 37 million in 1869, and proved a profitable substitute for human merchandise. He made valuable and detailed studies of the local people. Like Lugard he seemed to be able to think of every aspect of administration at the same time. The historian G. Hardy wrote of him: 'He touched on everything, and always with good results.' But as J. Richard-Molard commented, 'He was the first great Frenchman to realise the wish of Barth. But he did it as an officer of the Empire, endowed with an abominable character and a sense of authority which bordered on vice. He was proconsul of an authoritarian Empire.'

One decision vital for the future of the Senegal was made during the Faidherbian regime: this was the final abandonment of any ideals of European colonisation. It came at a time when the French were settling Algeria, and was not altogether altruistic, as the ministerial instructions of 1859 showed:

> Nothing similar to Algeria could be undertaken in Senegal. The climate is against it. The land should therefore be left to the natives, at least as a general rule. It is by their hands that it should be cultivated and if our rule is to be extended over all the territory

/73 cont./

175 369 499 133 The surveys for the future course of this railway revealed that the shortest route would have to follow the Atlantic coast, but since this is bordered by dunes it would necessitate some important construction work. The passage across the slope of Thiès was also a serious obstacle, but the "Ravin des Voleurs" made access to the plateau possible; the line would thus follow the valley which cuts the brow of the hill, then the depression which follows the plateau to the east, and would pass in front of the military fort established at its extremity.

175 369 [361] The fortune of Thiès was made: as early as 1885, the date of the opening of the railroad, the merchants of Rufisque set up branches there; a plan for dividing the future city into lots was outlined. This plan, unfortunately, foresaw the development of the city only north of the line, along the trail connecting Thiès with Rufisque and Dakar. A Catholic [797] mission was established in the vicinity, and in 1893 the first civil administrator occupied the new residence built near the Faidherbe redoubt.

175 369 439 [496] [492] The groundnut policy developed successfully; 20,000 tons of groundnuts were shipped by rail from the Thiès station in 1890 (3). Commerce, however, was not established in

3. Convoys of camels competed with the railway up to 1910 and transported their cargo to the port of Rufisque. Thiès was the last stop before reaching the quays of embarkation 50 kilometers away.

[366] [441] permanent fashion in the escale: only during the period of trading (from November to May) did the European employees sent by the firms of Rufisque live in the city and buy groundnuts, millet, cotton ... at their branches; from May to November they returned to Rufisque, and most of the shops in Thiès were closed, the city seemingly dead.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 175 S W 175 648 W [635]

after severe fighting, and in 1863 Fouta and Toro were definitely annexed by the French.

Cayor. The state of Cayor extended from Cape Verde northward along the coast nearly to St. Louis, and at the end of the eighteenth century it had obtained independence of the Ouolofs. Goree had been taken by the French from the Dutch in 1677, and by treaties of 1764 and 1765 the Damel of Cayor had ceded the tip of the Cape Verde peninsula in full sovereignty to France. He had further agreed to restrain his subjects from pillaging the cargoes of wrecks and from imprisoning their crews. In return he was to receive an annual subsidy of 180 bars, one-third in iron and the remainder in merchandise.

These treaties, however, had never been implemented. In 1825 Governor Roger considered them dead, and advised Frenchmen who wished to acquire land in the peninsula to make their own arrangements with the native authorities. At the same time, Roger made a fresh convention regarding wrecks, which was no more observed than the earlier treaties. In 1832 land was purchased for a cemetery on the mainland and in 1846 a mission of the Society of the Sacred Heart, which received a government subsidy until 1906, was established at Dakar.

S W [997] S [162] W [439]

The population of Goree, some 5,000 persons, needed wood, water, building materials, and fresh provisions, which they could only purchase at extortionate prices on the mainland. All efforts to conclude agreements with the chiefs on these matters failed, and wreckers' profits were not to be diminished by scraps of paper. Security was needed for the projected railway from St. Louis and it was desirable to give the priests protection. In 1857, therefore, the French Government authorized the construction of a fort on the mainland. Birahima, the reigning Damel of Cayor, at first acquiesced in this occupation, largely because his authority over the Lebous who inhabited the peninsula had long been but nominal. The post was used by Faidherbe for a base for his operations in 1859. In that year, after the battle of Fatik (18 May), the tribesmen of Sine, Saloum, and Baol submitted to French authority, and posts were created at Joal and Kaolack. Trouble arose under the Damel's successor, Makodou, who refused to recognize Birahima's agreement to allow a French road and telegraph line from St. Louis to Goree to be run through Cayor. A French column from St. Louis under Faidherbe met an expedition under Pinet-Laprade from Goree and occupied Makodou's capital, Mekhé, on 12 January 1861. On 1 February he accepted

S [712] S [712]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

to the Federal Government. In 1904, however, when the distinct Federal budget was instituted, custom duties were lost to the various colonies. The General Council of Senegal protested vigorously. Its spokesmen said that the Federal Government had taken away 78 per cent. of the colony's revenue and only assumed 39 per cent. of its expenditure. So strongly did the Council feel on the question that it impugned the validity of the federal financial arrangements before the Council of State at Paris. This latter body, as was to be expected, confirmed them in 1908, but the Senegalese have never fully accepted the new system. In 1929, for example, it was stated that Senegal was contributing half the customs revenue of French West Africa, though containing only one-tenth of its population. Moreover, despite its democratic Colonial Council, the colony has no more direct influence in federal affairs than Mauritania. Even to-day protests are still heard periodically against the financial system of the Federation and its alleged encroachments on the sphere of the Colonial Government.

648 652 [651] [651]

Christianity

The first definite record of a Christian mission is that of the French Capuchins, who sailed from Dieppe in 1635. They divided into two parties: one, under Pères Alexis and Bernardin, landed at Rufisque, where they were entertained by Portuguese Christians. During their stay they baptized 27 natives. The other party landed at St. Louis, where there was not yet a permanent French settlement, and met with misfortune. Some of them died, and the survivors joined their brothers at Rufisque. The Protestant Dutch made life impossible for them, and the whole party returned to France. Though from time to time priests of the Society of the Holy Spirit (founded in 1726 to train missionaries for the French colonies) visited Senegal, no serious missionary effort seems to have been made till after the Peace of Paris, when the first Prefect Apostolic was appointed to St. Louis.

797

The first nuns to work in Senegal were of the community of St. Joseph of Cluny. These were sent out in 1819 to St. Louis at the request of the Governor to undertake nursing and education. The community established two schools in St. Louis and one in Goree in 1826.

[891]

In 1846 the first mission was founded at Dakar, which the same year became the seat of the Vicar Apostolic of the Two Guineas. These missionaries belonged to the Society of the Sacred Heart

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 797 with which the Society of the Holy Spirit was united in 1848. About the same time a house of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception (the Blue Sisters) was established at Dakar, which has been the Roman Catholic metropolis of French West Africa ever since.

In 1906, on the separation of Church and State in France, the government subsidies to the Roman Catholic missions were withdrawn. In 1930 the Roman Catholics in Senegal had 67 European priests, sisters, and lay workers aided by 175 native catechists and teachers. Professing Roman Catholics numbered 22,300. A magnificent cathedral, the work of many years, was consecrated at Dakar in 1936.

S [162] S [368]

The only Protestant mission in Senegal is that of the Société des Missions Évangéliques de Paris, which began work in the colony in 1863. Its adherents number about a hundred.

S [162]

8. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION AND INLAND TOWNS

Distribution of Population

S 161 *Senegal*

Senegal is the third most densely populated colony, with an average of 21·58 persons per square mile and a total population in 1937 of 1,666,374. The distribution, however, varies greatly within the colony itself. The regions of Fouta and Ferlo are almost uninhabitable, while the provinces of Baol, Sine-Saloum, and Thiès have more than 50 persons per square mile. The coastal provinces of Bignona and Ziguinchor, south of the Gambia, are equally closely settled. The left bank of the Senegal, roughly from Bakel to Podor, supports a fairly dense agricultural population.

S [311] [361]

Growth has been steady, the figures for 1921, 1926, and 1931 being 1,225,523, 1,318,287, and 1,584,273 respectively. There is no doubt that the colony is capable of supporting many more inhabitants than it does at present.

S 162 563 W [162] [701]

Natives. More than 580,000 Ouolofs live in Senegal. These are among the most energetic and intelligent peoples of the Federation, and they provide the bulk of the famous Senegalese Tirailleurs. There are about 250,000 each of Sérères, Mandingos, and Fulani, and 150,000 Toucouleur. Broadly speaking, the Ouolofs live north and east of Dakar, the Sérères south-east thereof, the Toucouleur

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

36 towns as Boutilimit and Aleg. There is also a track that runs south-
[491] south-westwards to Yang-Yang. For half the year there is a bus
[494] service twice a week to St. Louis in one direction and to Kidira in the other. 1/1

[131] TAMBACOUNDA (13° 45′; 13° 39′ W.). Altitude, 148 feet. Population,
[162] *c.* 4,000. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Hotel. Garage.

On a slight eminence above a marshy tributary of the Sandougou,
[491] Tambacounda is of considerable importance as a route centre. It
[496] is not only a road junction but also the most southerly point in Senegal of the Dakar–Niger railway. Near the town is a sisal
[248] plantation.

The hotel is open only from December to May.

By rail Tambacounda is 285 miles from Dakar, 111 miles from
[496] Kidira, and 170½ miles from Kayes. One intercolonial road runs
[491] westwards to Kaolack (188 miles), Thiès (295 miles), and Dakar (339 miles); another north-eastwards to Nayes (121 miles) and Kayes (176 miles); and a third southwards to Diabougou (25 miles) and ultimately to Labé (288 miles). Before the war Tambacounda was
[509] connected to Dakar and Bamako by a weekly air service operated by Air France.

[131] THIÈS (14° 49′; 16° 52′ W.). Altitude, 207 feet. Population, 15,451.
[162] Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Regional School.
[197] Roman Catholic mission. Power station. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops. Cinemas. Daily market.

Since the opening of the railway in 1885 Thiès has grown from a collection of native huts to a large town. The railway workshops
[498] employ many hundreds of men, and the market handles considerable
[438] quantities of ground-nuts. The town has been built on a slope that declines gently east and north-east to a small stream. The old Fort Faidherbe is still standing, and there is a big Roman Catholic church.

Communications. Thiès is a railway junction, being 43½ miles
[496] from Dakar, 119½ miles from St. Louis, and 352½ miles from Kidira.
[491] It is also a meeting-place of intercolonial roads. One of these comes from Dakar (44 miles) and goes on to St. Louis (124 miles), while the other branches east to Kaolack (107 miles), Nayes (416 miles), and Kayes (471 miles). There are several minor roads, notably one going
[494] south to M'Bour. Along this road there is a regular bus service, with two buses each weekday in either direction.

1/1 [From The Town of Podor-- Analyst]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS37

647 656 *Produce Inspection.* Produce inspection is entrusted to a board [illegible] the Chambers of Commerce, but the Government [illegible] control by exercising a veto on all important appointments to its staff. The Board's inspectorate has very wide powers of inspection over produce, whether destined for local consumption or for export. No produce to which inspection applies can be sent out [439] of the colony without a certificate of purity.

For this inspection a special tax of 5 francs per ton on ground-nuts [651] and palm kernels, and 20 francs per ton on rubber, is imposed on produce intended for export.

456 654 *Native Provident Societies.* There are 14 Native Provident Societies. Bignona and Ziguinchor have combined, but otherwise there is one to each province. In 1937 they had 1,200,000 members, [647] whose annual subscriptions varied from 2·50 francs to 5·00 francs each, and their expenses were some 25,000,000 francs. They supplied over 44,000 tons of ground-nut seeds to their members.

In earlier days the Sine-Saloum society imported stallions from [232] the Argentine for the breeding of mules, and in 1932 the societies devoted nearly 2[illegible],000 francs to the purchase of motor vehicles. In cattle-breeding districts they supply breeding stock and improve water-supply and pasturage. By 1933 it was estimated that the societies had sunk over 1,200 wells, while the society of Thiès had [312] constructed a barrage for irrigation purposes.

In addition to strictly agricultural activities, the Senegal societies [426] help their members by advances of cash, which are made not only to meet failure of crops, but also in cases of individual accident or illness.

Mining

656 316 At the end of 1937 the following permits were in force:

Personal licences		4
The Occupation System		
Exclusive licences	10	
Mining licences	32	
Concessions	16	
		58
Total		62

Education

871 1197 The first attempts to educate the natives of French West Africa were made in Sénegal, and they were also remarkable for being instituted, not by missionaries, but by the Crown. Colonel Schmaltz

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

took with him a lay schoolmaster, who opened a school for boys at St. Louis in 1817. Its pupils varied in number from 60 to 100, and it continued under state and lay control until 1841. In that year its management was handed over to Roman Catholic priests, while the Government undertook to maintain the school and to pay for its equipment and the salaries of its teachers. 871 797

Girls' education dates from 1826, when the Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny founded schools at St. Louis and Goree.

By 1854 there were four schools in Senegal. They all belonged to Roman Catholic missions supported by government grants, and they counted only 590 pupils on their rolls. There were difficulties regarding the admission of Moslems to these schools and, as Islam was the prevailing faith, the spread of education was hindered. In 1857 Faidherbe opened a Moslem School at St. Louis, and until 1903 this remained the only lay primary school in Senegal. By 1898 there were 9 primary schools in the four communes and about 30 in the protectorate. These were staffed by interpreters and non-commissioned officers, and their existence was spasmodic. At that time elementary education throughout French West Africa was mainly in the hands of the missions, and, so far as the Government took any interest in it at all, it was organized by local regulations in each colony. The Governor-General's order of 24 November 1903 set up a uniform system of state-controlled education throughout the Federation. 872 [797] [648]

In 1938 Senegal and Dakar had 132 European teachers and 337 native in Government schools and 48 teachers in recognized private schools. Pupils were arranged as follows: 875

871

	Schools	Boys	Girls	Total pupils
Government Schools				
Primary				
Village schools	72	5,946	241	6,187
Regional schools	16	4,590	432	5,022
Urban schools	10	3,392	752	4,144
Higher Primary	2	158	14	172
Technical	4	146	0	146
	104	14,232	1,439	15,671
Private Schools				
Primary	13	1,164	293	1,457
Totals	117	15,396	1,732	17,128

There were also 2,295 Moslem schools giving rudimentary instruction to 16,190 pupils.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

874 In 1927 apprentice courses in woodwork and metalwork were started in St. Louis and Kaolack by the Public Works Department for selected schoolboys between the ages of 13 and 16 years.

871 There is a number of educational institutions in Dakar of a higher grade than primary. These are the responsibility of the Federal Government and have been described in Volume I.

Health

743 Senegal is divided into thirteen medical districts, each of which is intended to be under the supervision of a European medical officer. There are 17 medical stations, each under a native auxiliary. There are also 16 maternity centres and 117 posts visited once a week by a medical officer.

In 1937 Senegal and Dakar had 3 major hospitals and 34 minor hospitals and dispensaries. These provided 394 beds for European patients and 1,805 for native. There were 80 European medical officers, 31 native auxiliaries, 30 midwives, 124 male nurses, and 21 female nurses.

[744] In addition there were four travelling parties (*groupes sanitaires mobiles*). One of these specialized in fighting sleeping-sickness in the Casamance Territory, and the other three were concerned with more general sanitary and prophylactic measures.

The Pasteur Institute at Dakar, a federal concern, is justly famous. [797] Some medical work is done by missionaries. Unofficial committees of the Croix-Rouge are concerned with infant welfare at Dakar, Diourbel, St. Louis, and Tivaouane.

[652] In 1937 Senegal voted 12,000,000 francs for medical services and Dakar 11,000,000 francs.

10. PORTS

36 [131] [162] [489] [743] [712] [648] [654] [697]

ST. LOUIS (16° 01′; 16° 30′ W.). Population, 30,586, including 1,231 Europeans. Colonial capital of Senegal and of Mauritania. Full Commune. Headquarters of the province of Bas Sénégal. Custom-house. Law courts. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital and dispensary. Army headquarters and barracks. Police headquarters. Belgian Consulate. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Lycée Faidherbe. École des Fils des Chefs et des Interprètes. Higher Primary and Technical Schools. Protestant and Roman Catholic missions. Bank of West Africa. Power station. Prison. Hotels. Garages. Race-course. Botanical gardens. Experimental plantation. Daily market.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37 Dakar

History

175 361 [197] Until the middle of the nineteenth century Dakar was a Lebou village. In 1846, however, a Roman Catholic convent was built there, and eleven years later the village and the Cape Verde peninsula were officially occupied. In 1858 the French Government signed a contract with the Messageries Impériales (now the Messageries Maritimes) whereby ships sailing between Bordeaux and Rio de Janeiro would call at Dakar. The company acquired 7½ acres of land near Dakar point, and in 1863 a small jetty was built. This was the beginning of the port. In 1864 a lighthouse was constructed near [502] Cape Verde and three years later two others, respectively at Almadi [496] point and at Cape Manuel. In 1885 the railway to St. Louis was opened. It was not, however, until 1898 that the idea was conceived [712] of making Dakar a big naval base, and by 1910 it was capable of accommodating vessels of all types. Further improvements have [504] since been effected, and to-day the dry dock is big enough to take a battleship.

The Town

361 Dakar has grown so as to cover the southern part of the Cape Verde peninsula; but the port is on the east side of the town. On the south-west are the cliffs of Madeleines bay and on the south-east those of Bernard bay. Dakar point marks the northern end of the latter. North of the port is Bel Air point, the southern limit of Hann bay.

The medina or native town, which contains nearly half the population, is to the north-west of the main town. The intercolonial road [491] enters the latter from the north and is continued as the Avenue Gambetta and the Avenue Maginot to an open space where stands [368] the Roman Catholic cathedral. East of the cathedral is the Residence of the Governor-General (Vol. I, Plate 58), magnificently situated on the top of the cliffs overlooking Bernard bay. Farther south are the British Consulate, the Pasteur Institute, the botanical gardens, and, [943] almost at Cape Manuel, the isolation hospital. The buildings of the army headquarters are near Dakar point. West of them are the port offices, the telephone exchange, the principal market, the Mairie (Plate 117), and the law courts. The town contains innumerable shops and offices and many clubs, cafés, hotels, and other amenities of modern civilization.

/375 cont./

369 Diakhaté, for example).

621 Sometimes the discord between religious heads be-
[798] longing to different sects provoked the separation in fact of the two opposite camps (Keur-Mamour).

Up to here the presence of the city acted only indirectly in stimulating /376/ the swelling or the splitting up of the village and the temporary or definitive emigration of some elements. It may also have more direct effects on the agglomerations.

369 During the last three decades, through the establish-
[498] ment of the great repair workshops /ateliers de réparation/ of the Dakar-Niger, Thiès has been in the process of becoming
[712] an industrial city; in a parallel way the military bases are becoming larger at the expense of the neighboring rural territories.

369 Even before this last war, the None village of Tiali,
423 located one kilometer from the city, was the first to be de-
[712] prived of about a third of its land by the establishment of the camp of military aviation. In 1947 plans to extend this same base brought about the complete evacuation of Thiès-none which was established south of the railroad, in the vicinity of Sapko. Almost all of these fields were relinquished to the military authorities. Finally, in 1953, execution of the plan for the urbanization of the city obliged the inhabitants of Wango to rebuild their huts in the quarter of Greater Thiès. Part of these lands have been relinquished to the municipality.

369 The land shrinks, the population grows; in order to subsist, a part of the rural population is obliged to go to work in the city.

[361] But before studying this question of the changing of the rural worker into an urban worker, we shall see whether the presence of the city has an influence on the plan of the village and especially on the settlement pattern.

[9 cont.]

787 805 Time: Certain hours are favorable for the birth of dreams -- especially those when silence is deepest, that is to say, from midnight to early morning and the hour of the siesta (when it is customary to have one).

Among all the months of the year, the month of Nisân (April) is the most propitious, according to a universal belief.

787 788 [779] Texts to quote: In order to evoke a favorable dream, it is recommended that, before lying down, one quote verses from the Koran, which differ greatly according to the method used; those of the first holy book, the Fâtiha, are most preferred for this practice. The Souratou el Ikhâssi ("qhoul houe Allahou ahadoun" = There is only one God) is most frequently used, and one must say it seven times.

There are others (for example, "Astâgh firou Allah!" = May God forgive me!) which one must say 100 times.

[776] The nine names of God (El Djabar = The Almighty, El Moukatabir = The Proud One, El Amad = The Eternal One, El Bâtin = The Hidden One, El Kâdir = The Mighty One, El Madjid = The Illustrious One, El Bourkhân = The Miracle, El Mouktadir = The One for Whom Anything Is Possible, El Rahman = The Merciful) must be repeated 21 times before sleeping.

Various practices: In order to promote favorable dreams, as well as to drive away bad dreams, one observes various rules which differ only in details.

[783] Thus, to execute the practice of listikhâra, one must make his ablutions (following a rigorously prescribed order) and then [782] his evening prayer. During each rakaa (1), one must say eleven

1. Phase of the prayer which involves: 1 standing position; 1 bowing position, the hands on the knees; 2 prostrate positions, the forehead against the ground; 1 seated position.

times (or more, according to the method followed) the verses of Fâtiha and other quotations from the Koran.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

given here. They are not exempt from inconsistency, they are intertwined with each other. The only point at which all these ideologies concur is that they one and all are the expression of an intense reaction against colonialism—and obviously against the policy of assimilation—and serve as a basis for a growing nationalism.

The reaction against assimilation took the form of a denial of the basic assertion that Africans were a people without history or culture and that they were fortunate to have been taken under the guiding wing of France. The French administrator who declared 'We are the modern Romans. We have civilised these people, and built them roads', was the prime object of their attack. To counter this patronising French attitude Senegalese intellectuals looked into their past to discover an African civilisation which they could show had also played its part in the development of man. They rejected the common nineteenth-century European interpretation of African history which showed a people engaged in interminable internecine and debilitating warfare, who had not discovered the wheel, who lived under appalling conditions of disease and climate, and they substituted their own interpretation of Africa, which was closer to Jean-Jacques Rousseau's picture of the Noble Savage untainted by the evils of modern society. In a few cases they took the somewhat defeatist attitude of Césaire, shouting 'Hurrah for those who invented nothing'. But the more typical reinterpretation, was that of Cheikh Anta Diop, who gives an extreme idealisation of African history. His works—*L'Afrique noire pré-coloniale*, *Nations nègres et cultures* and *L'unité culturelle de l'Afrique noire*—have come under heavy criticism from European scholars. But a critical evaluation is not intended here. What is important is that a Senegalese, of undoubted scholastic attainment, had reinterpreted the history not only of his country but of the continent as a whole, so that it could be put on equal terms with that of Europe. Thus he asserts in *Apports et perspectives culturels de l'Afrique* (*Présence Africaine*) that

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Pharaonic Egypt was a Negro civilisation. Since the West acknowledges its debt to Egyptian civilisation, it was also indebted to Negro peoples for its present cultural attainments. '. . . the Egyptian achievement was essentially a Negro one and . . . all Africans without exception can draw from it the same moral benefits that the West does with regard to Graeco-Latin civilisation.' Elsewhere he asserts in *Nations nègres et culture* (1955), 'Intellectuals should study the past not merely for pleasure but to learn lessons from it.' A notable strand in Diop's return to the past is not merely to assert the traditional dignity of the Senegalese, but of all Africans, even though his work shows inevitably a pro-Senegalese bias when he states that the ancient Egyptians spoke a language that was basically Wolof.

The second major string in the bow of reaction to assimilation was the assertion of the original unity of Africans, a unity that had only been broken up by the colonialists. Diop's *L'unité culturelle de l'Afrique noire* is an attempt to prove the fundamental unity of black Africa, for obviously a united Africa would represent a more potent cultural force, and consequently political force, in the face of Europe than one divided into a host of petty states and tribes. Pan-Africanism, on the cultural level, was largely the work of such writers as Diop and Senghor. Its political aspects, not surprisingly, were to be taken up by the more politically conscious English-speaking Africans like Nnamdi Azikiwe and Kwame Nkrumah.

But the most important thesis of all was that of the African personality. And for this Senghor, now President of the Republic of Senegal, was largely responsible. It is all very well for a people to prove that they have a history when others say they have not. But the most important thing, as far as Senghor and other Senegalese intellectuals saw it, was to prove the uniqueness of the African contribution not only to the past but to the present. Thus Senghor asserted that the African had a certain outlook on life that others had not. The essence of the African

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

most irreducible of paradoxes. Colonisation is always measured in terms of gain for the coloniser. 668 648

Between colonialist and colonial there is room only for forced labour, intimidation, pressure, police, theft, rape, obligatory farming, scorn, mistrust, arrogance, self-conceit, deceit, suppressed élites and debased masses.

No human relationship but a relationship based on domination and submission which transform the coloniser into a pawn, an adjutant, a warder, a flogger and the native into an instrument of production.

The resentment of assimilation is the same. But the interpretation is a Marxist one and the remedies subsequently offered by Majhemout Diop were non-African in origin. His *Contribution to the Study of Political Problems in Black Africa* is almost entirely Marxist in inspiration and the source matter, abundantly evident from the footnotes, is the work of Stalin, Lenin, Engels and Marx, none of whom had any first-hand knowledge of economic conditions in Africa. Another Senegalese, of very distinguished academic reputation, who uses Marxist techniques in his studies of African problems, is Ly Abdoulaye, an economic historian who nevertheless is much more inclined to take into account African circumstances in the application of Marxist theories. Indeed Ly is at great pains to avoid Marxist terminology even when employing Marxist ideas. There are in fact few Senegalese intellectuals who are not in some sense Marxist socialists. But more especially they are devotees of what they call African socialism. [814]

In the search for identity that followed the application of assimilationist policy, the first tendency was to rehabilitate African culture. Naturally political rehabilitation was one of the most important goals for politicians like Senghor. But when he broke with the *S.F.I.O.* in 1948, he gave as one of his reasons that French socialism, like Communism, after all, 'did not understand our problems, and wanted to solve them with a plan devised by and for Europe'. His proposed alternative of 'African socialism' was at the time 668 [665]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 565 582 S [595] caste from his own tribe. The extent to which caste matters is brought out by the case of a young Catholic girl from a devout family who, rather than marry a fellow Catholic out of caste, in the end became the polygamous wife of a Muslim of the same caste. Within any ethnic group in Senegal marriage out of caste is extremely rare.

S 565 W [565] S [533] [814] The caste system is not vicious in any real sense. For the privileges of a high caste entail many obligations. Thus a noble Wolof family will be obliged to feed and pay frequent sums of money to its family griots (minstrels, praise-singers and family historians) and if they fail to do this the griot is able to shame them publicly as a poor or mean family, something a Wolof would avoid at all costs. Likewise the S [463] [326] artisan castes have a monopoly in their respective trades, since it would be impossible for a noble or free man to undertake the work of a jeweller or smith. Nevertheless in Senegalese society the term 'bijoutier' or 'tisserand' has slight contempt attached to it. The only caste to suffer S [561] socially in any way is of course that designated slave, because of the implications of such a status. In social investigations amongst the factory workers of Dakar, M. André Hauser found very few indeed who would admit to being of slave caste.

At present it is certainly a disadvantage to belong to any of the inferior castes, and though one hears of a few cases of open clashes between castes, in the present state of affairs it is certain that a number of young men resent this classification of people into superior and inferior groups and it is very much less important to them than to the older generation.

S 565 764 578 Early in 1961 *Agence Presse Sénégalaise* reported 'bloody clashes between griots and non-griots at Diack'. These ended with several dead and a number of wounded and started as a result of the refusal of non-griots to accept the burial of griots in their burial ground. The Minister of the S [641] Interior himself went to settle the dispute and gathered the whole population to tell them that his Government gave

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS 30

Arnold was critical of these Colons, for in British West Africa there is no such class. Indeed he seemed almost to resent their presence, though he has no dislike of Europeans. His opinion is shared by a number of Africans who come into competition with whites for jobs.

'In Lagos the counter girls are African. Why shouldn't they be here?' Arnold argued.

On the other hand in Lagos service and shopping facilities are infinitely inferior to those of Dakar. Another thing that struck Arnold was the absence of Africans from the main cafés and hotels. Surely this indicated a subtle colour bar, he argued. However, I had the answer to this from an African whom I invited to have a drink in a café with me. He declined, because as a Muslim it would not do for him to be seen in a café by any of his friends or relations. If they did see him there would be terrible trouble.

The Jollofs, Dakar's main tribe, are proud of their race and not over-keen on mixing with whites. Nevertheless relations between African and European in Dakar are extremely cordial. France is still aware of the debt that she owes the Senegalese troops for their part in the last war. There is, moreover, none of the patronizing attitude in the French approach to the African. If anything, as many French complain, the Jollof is the one who does the patronizing.

We went from the Hotel de Fleurs to some rooms in IFAN, the Institut Français D'Afrique Noire, which were lent us by its Director, Professor Theodore Monod, whom I had met on my last visit to Dakar. Professor Monod is one of the most impressive men I have ever met. He received us both in his large, book-lined office without looking up from his work. We both fumbled and fidgeted nervously studying the pictures on the wall, many of which were religious paintings or texts from the Bible. When I was beginning to feel acutely embarrassed, he looked up from his work revealing a gaunt, hollow face with deep-set piercing eyes, half obscured behind the glass of his horn-rimmed spectacles. I informed him that we had met some two years before, and that I should be grateful for his help on my journey. He looked at me vaguely, smiled, and then suddenly seemed to come into contact with the world we inhabited, and promised to arrange for letters

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

123 of introduction to be sent to the Directors of his Institute in all the towns we should be visiting. We talked for a moment at human level, then a glance at his papers, a distant look in his eyes, indicated it was time for us to leave.

815 Monod is an established expert on the following subjects: geology; geography: physical, climatic, regional and human; archaeology; history; marine biology; ethnography; botany; zoology; pre-history; and languages. He has over 400 publications to his name and has published two best-sellers in France. He went down in the bathyscope with Professor Piccard and with Captain Houot. His real love is the Sahara Desert. He must know it better than any other man alive. His first journey into the unknown wastes of the Sahara was in 1923, and by 1930 he had travelled its length and breadth from Algiers to Timbuktu, from Mauretania to Lake Chad. Friends called the gaunt young man, who rode off into the desert wastes alone with a camel, 'Monod le Fou'. Today he is known more respectfully as 'Monod le Saharien'. In the winter of 1954 he completed a phenomenal trek across the desert over a distance never before dared by another white man. With four camels, two Arabs, and a strict daily ration of half a litre of wine, Monod, aged 52, covered 900 kilometres in 47 days.

Theodore Monod has probably done as much as any European to give dignity to the culture and traditions of the tribes of West Africa, and to preserve these traditions for their future inheritors when the steamroller of Western civilization threatens to obliterate them. The Institut Français D'Afrique Noire, which he directs, has a federal museum in Dakar and a [217] network of museums and research centres throughout French Black Africa. It employs scholars in every field of knowledge concerning Africa, and most important of all, it gives African scholars an opportunity to make research into their own customs, traditions and history.

123 Monsieur Pierre Cros, of the Press Section of the Federal 204 Information Services, who was to help us as much as anyone in [659] our travels in West Africa, received us in his small office on the ninth floor of the vast Federal Administration building. What impressed me most about the Federal Information Services was their very considerable knowledge of British West Africa. Fortnightly they published a resumé of the local press of Nigeria,

/436 cont./

291 1 wore 1 Fancy boubou
+ 1 loincloth

/437/

4 women from 20 to 30 years old:

1 wore 1 voile boubou + 1 Fancy loincloth
1 -- 1 dress + 1 loincloth
2 -- 1 dress

4 young girls:

2 wore 1 taille-basse + loincloth
2 -- 1 dress

Corresponding to this evolution of style, there is an evolution in the choice patterns of printed materials and of the quality of these materials.

When it is a matter of a dress, one sees affirmed more and more the abandonment of large patterns of one or 1.20 X 1.20 meters, and, on the contrary, a choice of simple lines, of flowers, leaves, birds, heightened by a harmony of warm but not gaudy colors.

Similarly, the light cotton fabrics (Citec) are more and more in demand.

B. Method of the Tests.

121 1) General remarks.

"Among the objects that determine positive or negative feelings, one particular category consists of those about which it is said that they are 'beautiful' or 'ugly,' that is to say, of those that do or do not satisfy the aesthetic tendencies." (P. Jampolsky.)

We have asked ourselves, following Mr. Jampolsky, to what extent this "projection" can occasion the application of a personality test.

The apparatus utilized was only meant to furnish, by
125 way of correction, a more complete method.
822 It included:

-- a sheet of straight, broken, and curved lines and of rough sketches of figures in black on white.

/437 cont./

125
822

-- a sheet of simple figures in black on white.

-- 13 colors painted in gouache on cardboards.

Fifty-two women and young girls were subjected to this test. Since they have all been identified among the 4,772 individuals mentioned in the first part of this article, it seemed to us interesting to give here the results of this experiment as far as the color tests are concerned.

/438/ a) Table V

Ethnic Groups Represented by Age

Ages	Wolof (A)	Lebou (B)	Sérèr (C)	Mandjiak (D)	Toucoul. (E)	Peul + Foula (F)	Sarakhulé (G)	Malinké (H)	Sosé (I)	Mandingue (J)	Susu (K)	Totals
14 (1)	1										1	3
15 (2)	4				1				1	1	2	9
16 (3)	6			1				1			1	9
17 (4)	4	1										5
18 (5)								1			1	2
19 (6)	3				1		1					5
20 (7)	4				2							6
21 (8)	1										1	2
22 (9)	1				1							2
25 (12)	2											2
27 (14)	1											1
30 (17)			1		1							2
35 (22)	1											1
36 (23)						1						1
41 (28)								1				1
49 (36)								1				1
	28	1	1	1	6	2	1	4	1	1	6	52

b) Tests used:

/438 cont./

125
822

Description.

Presented on cardboards of 7 centimeters by 9 centimeters, colored on one side with gouache.

C1 = violet, C2 = indigo, C3 = blue (royal)
C4 = green (Veronese), C5 = yellow (bright gold),
C6 = orange, C7 = red.
C8 = black, C9 = white
C10 = dead leaf, C11 = chocolate
C12 = yellow ochre, C13 = brick red.

/Table VI appears here on an unnumbered page./

/439/ Process

-- The first 7. Questions: a) which are the two colors that you prefer? b) which is the color that you like the least?

-- Add C8 + C9 to the first. The same two questions.

-- It is then asked that two colors be matched (the most beautiful combination possible). Take 1.

-- To the first 9 colors add: C10, C11, C12, C13. Same questions as above.

-- Make a new combination out of the 13 colors: Take 2.

-- With the elements of these 2 combinations make a final combination considered "the best."

It is obvious that this question is not asked when Take 1 = Take 2.

822 3) Results.

a) Simple choice. Rough balance color by color -- out of 52 individuals, each giving six replies in favor (+) and

/Between pp. 438 and 439./

●822

Table VI. Color Test Results by Ethnic Group and Ages

Colors	A1	F1	K1	A2	E2	I2	J2	K2	A3	D3	H3	K3	A4	B4	H5	K5	A6	E6
C1	1	1	1	4		2			5			1	3	0	1	2	4	2
C2	00	000	0	000				00	0000		000		0	1	0	00	1 000	
C3		3	1 0	3		2	1	3	5	1	2	1	3	1	1	0	1	1
C4	0		1	4	1	00	2		6 0			1	1	1			1 0	
C5	1		0	2 0	1		0		000	1		0	2 0000	0			1 00	1
C6				00000	00	0		3	0000000	1 0			1 000000	1			0	00
C7			1	1			2	2	2 00		2		3		3	2	1 0	0
C8	2			3 0	1		0		7	0	1	0	5	0			1	1
C9	1	2	1	1	1		1	0000	3	1		1	2	1	00		2	
C10				2	0	1		2	4	1		1	2		1		3	1
C11	1					1			2	0			1	1		1	1	
C12				00	1		0		0	1		0	0				0	
C13			1	4	1			2	2		1	1	1			1	2	
	9	9	9	36	9	9	9	18	54	9	9	9	36	9	9	9	27	96

Legend = C1, C2, ... C13 = colors as defined on p. 438 above. The capital letters = ethnic groups; the figures coupled with the capital letters = ages (cf. Table V).

/left half of Table VI/

/Between pp. 438 and 439./

822

Table VI (cont.)

H5	K5	A6	E6	G6	A7	E7	A8	K8	A9	E9	A12	A14	C17	E17	A22	F23	H28	H36	Totals	
1	2	4	2	1	4 0	1	2	1		1	3				0	1		0	+ 42	— 4
0	00	1 000		0	1 0000	000			000	1	000000	00		0	1		000	0	+ 5	— 49
1	0	1	1	1	5	2 0					1	2	3	1	2		3		+ 49	— 3
		1 0		0	1 0	4	1	1		0	3		3	0		00	2	1	+ 34	— 11
		1 00	1		3	0	000	000	3					1		0	1	1	+ 18	— 22
		0	00	1	000	1			2	00	2	0	000	0				1	+ 13	— 35
3	1	1 0	0		2 0	2		1				1		1	00	1			+ 27	— 7
		1	1	1	1			1		1	1	1		2	1	1		1	+ 22	— 5
00		2			2 00		1			1		1				1			+ 23	— 8
1		3	1	1	3	1	1	1		1	2				1	1		1	+ 31	— 1
	1	1		0	1					1				1	1			1	+ 13	— 2
		0		1		0												0	+ 3	— 9
	1	2			1	1		1	1			1				1			+ 22	— 0
9	9	27	9	9	36	18	9	9	9	9	18	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	+312	—156

1

/right half of Table VI/

1 [these four columns duplicate those found on p. 13 - ANALYST]

/439 cont./

822 three replies against (-), making a total of 312 + and 156 -, one obtains the following results:

Table VII

Blue	+	49	Indigo	-	49
Violet	+	42	Orange	-	35
Green	+	34	Yellow	-	22
Black	+	32	Green	-	11
Dead leaf	+	31	Yellow ocher	-	9
Red	+	27	White	-	8
White	+	23	Red	-	7
Brick red	+	22	Black	-	5
Yellow	+	18	Violet	-	4
Chocolate	+	13	Blue	-	3
Orange	+	13	Chocolate	-	2
Indigo	+	5	Dead leaf	-	1
Yellow ocher	+	3	Brick red	-	0

Taking into account the replies -- we are adopting the following classification (brick red is in 5th place):

/440/

Blue	+49-3 = 46 (1)	Indigo	-49+5 = -44
Violet	+42-4 = 38 (2)	Orange	-35+13 = -22
Dead leaf	+31-1 = 30 (3)	Yellow	-22+18 = -4
Black	+32-5 = 27 (4)	Yellow ochre	-9+3 = -6
Brick red	+22-0 = 22 (5)		
Green	+34-11 = 23 (6)		
Red	+27-7 = 20 (7)		
White	+23-8 = 15 (8)		
Chocolate	+13-2 = 11 (9)		

It should be noted:

-- the + choices shown (6 colors = 60.23%);

-- the concentration of the - choices (3 colors = 67.94%);

/440 cont./

822

-- a single color has no — (brick red);

-- 3 controversial colors: yellow, yellow ochre, and orange -- family of "coppers" --

Yellow ocher	+ 3 - 9 =	
Yellow	+ 18 - 22 =	+ 34 = 66
Orange	+ 13 - 35 =	

-- the 3 shades of the family of maroons: dead leaf, chocolate, and red brick are relatively prized:

all together + 31 + 13 + 22 = 66 (21.15%).

b) Simple choice. Replies in detail.

If one studies the replies in detail, one finds:

a) a single subject has concentrated her choice: + on 2 colors

b) 4 subjects have concentrated their choice: + on 3 —

11	—	showed	+ on 4 —
17	—	—	+ on 5 —
19	—	—	+ on 6 —

c) 13 subjects have concentrated their — choice on 1 single color.

c) Replies in detail according to ethnic groups and ages:

The number of subjects is too small to permit one to draw serious conclusions. Only the Wolof group is represented by 28 persons, 53.8%, but divided into 11 ages; 6 Toucouleur into 5 ages, and 6 Susu into 5 ages.

The same is to be noted for the ages, of which those best represented, 15 years old (9 subjects) and 16 years old (9 subjects), are not the most significant.

The result shows more + choices even /441/ here. The same is true in the group 20 years old (6 subjects), 17 years old (5), 19 years old (5). The only Sérère woman 30 years old concentrated her + choice on two colors, green and blue, and her — choice on orange.

d) Complex choice (construction).

This is a matter of combinations that the subject is called upon to make. These combinations, selections of two colors, are made after the indication of + and —.

They are made = from among the first 9 colors.

from among these 9 + 4 = 13.

/441/

822 Results:

Blue and white	22
Violet and white.....	12
Black and white.....	12
Red and black	8
Red and white.....	6

It is necessary to note immediately the presence of white in 56 combinations, namely, 35.8% of the total.

According to ages, the proportions remain identical with those of the final table.

The same is true of the classification according to ethnic groups.

Out of 52 subjects, 9 have repeated 3 times the same combination of 2 colors, 26 have done it 2 times.

[291] Out of these 35 subjects (10 married women and 25 young girls), 25 wore clothes for display of which the dominant notes conformed to the preference expressed at the time of the test.

III. Perspectives.

291 "Color is a more emotional and primitive variable than form, [it] marks the peculiar and significant tendencies in each sex and develops from before adolescence." (P. Jampolsky.)

It would seem, then, more than the design of the motif and the cut of the garment, to be the essential cause of the variability of individual choice in the matter of fashion.

The 1,000 motifs or so (including the variants of the same pattern) put out last year on the Dakar market by the /442/ importers of printed fabrics have brought into play more than 60 different colors, which seems to confirm the preceding point of view.

121 How to determine the ecological and cultural influences in the matter of the individual choice of color with both an aesthetic and useful aim? This presupposes a preliminary definition and delimitation of this milieu, which is the object of a study in progress. /Figs. 1-3 appear here on unnumbered pages./

/38/

Maize (Zea mays L.): Succeeds well when sown at the beginning of the winter season. The native species sown under these conditions is very beautiful and gives large yellow ears, very well filled out. The Africans eat fresh roasted corn, and, when it is hard, they make couscous of it. The infusion prepared with the fruit is emollient and diuretic. The styles or stigmas of maize are famous as diuretics and cure several ailments of the urinary tract (cystitis, gravel, dysuria, etc.); the young kernels, when cooked, constitute an excellent vegetable and replace peas; the flour gives a beer and an alcoholic extract. The husks of the ears serve to make quite springy mattresses. 243 262 757 [273] [513]

II. -- Useful Gramineae

(not being subject to any cultivation)

Bamboo. -- Grows in the wild state in the Ravin des Voleurs /Ravine of Thieves/ near Thiès. The native species is rather small. Stakes, frames, masts of dugouts, huts, and fences, but especially clinting (constructions of bamboo filled in with lime) are made of it. The young shoots are said to be edible, and the sweet sap is supposed to be an agreeable drink. In Casamance a small species of bamboo grows in shady places; pipestems are made of it. 824 [313] [342] [262] [272] [276]

Begnefala (Andropogon shirensis). -- A tall gramineous plant with a penetrating aromatic odor. It is used in African medicine and the old colonials used it with success at the time of the great epidemic of yellow fever at Dakar in 1927. For fevers, one pounds the floral heads mixed with lemon or vinegar and energetically rubs the body with this mixture. [757]

Hada (Imperata cylindrica). -- A gramineous plant with a very hard leaf and whitish ear, which is used for covering the roofs of huts. [342]

Hat (Andropogon gayanus). -- Tall grass whose stem is used in making fences around huts. [351]

Haham or cram-cram (Cenchrus biflorus). -- Its seeds fasten themselves to clothing and are very disagreeable. Is gathered and [262]

/38 cont./

eaten as couscous in the south of the Sahara.

Some Gramineae give very fine hay, but one must hurry to harvest them before the dryness is well established, for then the Gramineae quickly lose their leaves and become not very nourishing. Besides, these hays are worth far less than those of Europe, even comparing plants of the same species with each other. Finally, the best local hay is still groundnut straw.

824 [262] [231]

J. B. Faur.
(Dakar.)

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

'Oh yes, our sister company in Abidjan has sent a young African to train in a large brewery in France.' 274 463

'What is your labour like?'

'Not so good. They don't seem to have much interest in their work.'

I remembered my discussion with Babacar Saye, Mayor of St. Louis, who told me that though he was a Socialist, he believed that at the present time capitalism had an essential role in the country. 'If we are to improve the conditions of the proletariat capitalism is a necessity, but this improvement cannot be speeded up except to the extent that the profit from capital is used towards the satisfying of the indispensable needs of the workers. Therefore it is necessary that the worker feels that he is complementary to the capitalist—it is up to the capitalist to make him understand this.' 829

To me this seems one of the most important factors in the industrialization of West Africa. The African from the tribal background is essentially an individual with a distinct position in his tribal group or village. Though he appreciates the money he earns in industry, psychologically he does not like being treated as a mere cog in a machine, losing his identity. If he could be given some indication that he is as indispensable to the firm as the manager, he would work hard. As Mr. C. O. Van der Plas, the United Nations Official in the Gambia, once observed: 'It is curious that the African running his own little enterprise works literally like a black, and takes on enormous responsibilities.' Yet if he is taken on as a cog in a vast machine, he becomes slack and Europeans call him the most inefficient and expensive labour in the world. It seems to me that a lot depends on the relations between the worker and the managerial staff. 461

Two years before I had visited a large shoe factory in neighbouring Rufisque with Mr. David Pearson, the British Consul responsible for liaison between British and French territories in West Africa. The factory was sited on the outskirts of the town opposite a huge cement works which belched forth pastel smoke at an angry sky. We entered a courtyard where hides of every colour were lying in the sun to dry. A Czech employee of the firm, which has its origins in Czechoslovakia, met us and led us into a gloomy shed where flabby hides, a hideous grey green in 295 282 [339]

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 275 733 After the great Magal de Touba[1] our town inherited bands of homeless among whom were notorious criminals.

S 369 674 Alcoholism was not the only form of moral decadence in a city like Dakar. Actually crimes of violence, robbing and murder were almost unknown. There were rarely any reference to them in the papers, and a police officer assured me that this was true. However, one read frequently of crimes of passion, such as a man stabbing his friend to death in the course of a quarrel.

S 369 548 There was, I was told, an enormous amount of prostitution in Dakar. I was shown one of the city's more notorious brothels in Rebeusse suburb, a rambling shack that had been raided more than once by police. On the whole prostitution is not organized S [563] because of legal difficulties. A number of prostitutes were white women, who receive patronage mainly from Lebanese and Syrians. I was told of one who went around the Médina in a small car, serving the local population.

W S 369 838 548 On the other hand homosexuality had a much freer rein, being prevalent amongst Africans, Mauretanians and Europeans alike. In Place Prôtet, the main square of Dakar, young African boys, more often than not Jollofs, could be seen waiting to be picked up. Under the Code Napoleon it is, of course, legal, and in theory presents no problem, though many people are worried by its spread in the city.

Of course, to many of these boys with no work, it is one way of making money. But amongst the Jollofs it seems to be more deeply rooted. Contact with Frenchmen in St. Louis, who often preferred black boys to black mistresses and contact with the Mauretanians may provide an explanation.

Today one can even see Jollof men dressed in women's clothes. I once met one in a small bar outside Dakar. He was obviously pathetically feminine. The Jollof must be used to this since they even have a word for them—Gor-Digen. The elders and faithful Muslims condemn men for this, but it is typical of African tolerance that they are left very much alone by the rest of the people.

W 589 One reason for the growing tendency of Jollof men to remain bachelors to an age much older than is usual in Africa, if not for their homosexuality, is the character of the Jollof women.

[1] Celebration of Birth of Prophet.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

called 'Les Ballets Sereres du Sine Saloum,' a group of dancers who had won the Territorial Cup in 1957.

The theatre was packed. I was sitting next to an ample Jollof matron, a small child strapped to her back, its tiny nose buried in the pink muslin of her dress. Another child sat on her knee, beturbanned and clothed just like its mother. From the woman's forehead dangled three shining American dollars. Unfortunately a similar Jollof woman sat immediately in front of me, her black horsehair wig and tall tulle turban almost totally obscuring my view. A strong scent of 'Bint El Sudan' manufactured in East London perfumed the room as the curtains rose to the first dance, 'Love and its Caprices', which was to be the theme of the evening. The variations, the programme told me, were to include '*Allo M'Bissine*'—'My fiancée has beaten me because a boy who loves me told me "Hello M'Bissine" ', and later '*Khodia Kha Lola*'—'Why do you cry Khodia? Only the Gods understand what a tear says'. Ending with an initiation dance of future circumcision candidates. One of the most memorable dances was a solo by a woman with a baby strapped to her back, its head swaying backwards and forwards like a punch ball. The child uttered not a murmur as its mother danced into a frenzy, singing at the top of her voice, and in the background a corps of drums beat an hysterical rhythm. It was an entertaining evening, with a beautiful dance of a slight youth, his black-brown body shining sleekly in the glow of the footlights, contrasting with the powdered copper of his lissom partner, a girl of singular beauty with entrancing opalescent eyes.

After the performance there was a cast party to which Faye, the young secretary of the theatre, invited me. The dancers, various guests, European and African, drank bottles of Coca-Cola and orange squash. Amongst them was Ka Abdou Anta.

He was a handsome young man, but he dragged continuously at a cigarette and his teeth were discoloured with nicotine. His jacket, once well cut, was misshapen by papers stuffed into the pockets. My first meeting with Ka had been two years before but we had not been introduced. He was rehearsing a scene from his play *La Fille des Dieux*, which he was producing for the Théâtre du Palais. It was highly symbolic: a somewhat uneasy compromise between tribal metaphysics and the classical French

/415 cont./

*511 Most of them are very close to the average. There is thus a
263 kind of uniformity in the consumption of sugar, and it is probably that here, too, we are in the presence of an upper limit.

/416/ The portion of the income devoted to sugar is thus going to vary according to the size of the income and the composition of the unit of consumption. The maximum noted is 10% for No. 4, the minimum 0.3 for No. 43 (1.2 for No. 42).

*511 The same uniformity does not exist for sweetened condensed
272 milk. Its use is spreading more and more, but all the same
[177] there are ten families who do not consume it at all.

The average consumption was established, for one man, at 589 grams per month for the 43 families, at 767 if one eliminates those that do not consume any.

Fourteen families out of 33 are above this average, only four of whom are in the top of the table. And, as in the case of vegetables, these 24 families are precisely the least numerous. The largest theoretical composition of the unit of consumption among these 24 families is that of No. 38, 10.5. But this is for an income of 50,000 francs per month. The next maximum is 8.6 for No. 29. Here, too, the size of the unit of consumption is essential.

Twenty-seven families utilize fresh milk besides or to supplement the condensed milk. Only two did not consume either one. But this consumption of fresh milk is quite limited; the average, solely for the utilizers, is 1.1 liters. It is habitual in only one case, No. 42, where a liter is bought every day. Moreover there is no periodicity anywhere. Fresh milk is therefore not used systematically for only breakfast. It is preferably
[264] utilized for the rice mush that many families like to eat in the
[855] afternoon. It is then reserved for women and children. This is the only point where we found a special diet for children, except from time to time when a mango or guava is bought solely for them.

Fresh milk costs more proportionally than condensed milk:
[435] 40 francs a liter as against 40 francs for a case of 400 grams of Nestlé milk.

/36 cont./

There is one single case of a ménage having practically no relations with the rest of the compound, that of a Sarakolé family (compound F). 369x 621 571 563

/37/ c) The extreme cases of mutual aid, on the contrary, are only noticed among families that are related or at least of the same ethnic group. Thus, in the compounds I, N, D, one finds an unemployed man, married and father of a family, temporarily taken care of by his cousins (compound I) or by his neighbors who are related to him only in the broadest possible sense of the term (compounds D and N).

d) The play community of the children is encountered everywhere within the compounds, the ethnic differences not at all intervening. This and other elements, such as the life in the courtyards, the daily encounters at the water places, cause the women ultimately to have many more personal contacts than the men. The only case of a woman living relatively isolated is that of the Sarakolé woman already mentioned. [857]

2. The picture is a little different when one passes to the larger framework of the block. It is moreover divided longitudinally, the relations clearly being more frequent among the compounds which face on the same street. It is necessary, however, to add the shadings.

a) The play groups of the children are still larger, and neither the ethnic group nor other differential elements seem to play a role in their formation, but only proximity and individual affinities. [857]

b) As far as the women are concerned, the contacts that we noted above, conversations at the water place, etc., concern practically the whole block. On the other hand, visits and possible mutual aid occur almost exclusively among relatives, relatives by marriage, and women of the same ethnic group.

c) We have examined, for the men, the composition of groups of friends. In most cases, the majority of friends were dispersed throughout the town, these friends being either of the same ethnic group, of the same work group, or members of the same association -- these factors can all be combined, or [572]

/21 cont./

793 of Cheikh, supporting the S. F. I. O., having gone so far as
*795 to throw stones into the "carré" of the Caliph-general. Cheikh
[666] had to restrain the socialist ardor of his talibés, who had gone too far. Such actions risk alienating from him the brotherhood /22/ and even the Administration, but he needs both in order to continue to carry on his policy.

His residence in Touba is located near the mosque, but on the opposite side from that of the Caliph-general. On the day of the Magal he tries to assemble there the greatest possible number of talibés in order to show his influence.

The cultivation of groundnuts is for him, too, an important source of revenue. His principal plantations are located at Taïf in the subdivision of Gossas, not far from the limits of that of M'Backé.

The other members of the M'Backé family have less influence on the life of the brotherhood. Nevertheless, they hold positions on the Murid Administrative Council, and they are settled around Touba and M'Backé.

[871] M'Backé Bousso heads an important Koranic school at Darou-Salam, just beside M'Backé. Abdoulaye M'Backé has settled at Boulel-Mody, at the extremity of the former valley of the
[312] Sine where, thanks to the permanent waterholes that exist at certain places in this dried-up thalweg, he has created rice-
[241] fields and orchards which complement his groundnut plantations, in the midst of which he lives. Modest and self-effacing in appearance, this M'Backé is in reality very rich and very influential, for he has as talibés principally salaried workers and city employees who send him a tithe from their salaries or their income.

Following the example of the direct descendants and collateral relatives of Amadou Bamba, his distant relatives, his allies, the descendants of his first collaborators have made themselves "Great Murid Marabouts." Spiritual and temporal leaders at the same time, instructing their disciples in the doctrine of the founder, and above all having them till the soil for them, these Sérignes have created in Baol and in adjacent

S /382 cont./
SR agricultural, 27% work wholly at Thiès, and 31% divide
162 their activity between the city and the country, depending
369 on the season and the labor market.

S Thus, the decrease in the cultivable area has brought
SR about a decrease in the number of cultivators. But the None
241 is above all a man of the soil, a peasant. Even as a laborer, he will not give up his bit of land which will give him a harvest. Each evening upon his return from work, he will take up his iler (1) and go to cultivate his lougan of millet

S
SR
[412]

1. Hilaire or iler: implement par excellence of the Senegalese cultivator, made up of a metal blade in the shape of a heart fixed to a long handle.

S or groundnuts. And if he has an occupation that suits him in
SR the city and in addition personally owns good land? He will
241 hire the services of a navétane (2) to whom he will relinquish
369
427

2. Seasonal agricultural worker.

a portion of his land and to whom he will grant some free time for his personal crops. This navétane will work his fields, and, through this procedure, he will be able to sell or amass a considerable harvest at the end of the year.

S An examination of the occupation of temporary or
SR permanent workers shows an important number of laborers,
162 19, of masons, 12, and a more modest number of boys
463 /domestic workers/ and shopkeepers, 8, out of a total of 71 workers. These results corroborate those given in the human study of the escale of Thiès.

S In spite of a relatively close urban neighborhood, the
SR number of inhabitants understanding French is very modest:
162 only 33 understand our language; 15 children out of a hundred
191 go to the nearby French school. These results may appear
[871] deceptive if one considers that all the conditions of the milieu seem favorable for closer contact with the European element.

/384 cont./

S 563 162 166 this problem.

At Keur-Issa-Bambara, out of 37 individuals born in the Sudan, 20 are over 40 years of age. At Karamoko, 28 are natives of the Sudan, but 18 have reached 40 years of age. Out of 65 individuals of Sudanese origin, only 27 are young elements. Over half of those classed under the rubric "emigrant" were aged persons, some of whom perhaps assisted in the creation of the village in Senegal.

These few figures are an index of the mediocrity of the present immigration of the Sudanese to the region of Thiès. The unions and the displacements of families or of familial elements seem to occur now between relatively close villages.

S 162 463 369 An examination of the division of activities at Diakhaté and at Keur-Issa-Bambara will permit to some extent "gauging" their index of urbanization.

W [162] [463] [369] At Diakhaté, 20% of the economically active male population work /385/ at Thiès, 60% have remained agriculturalists, and the remainder, 20%, is composed of workers of mixed activities, half-rural, half-urban. Keur-Issa-Bambara shows only a very low percentage of workers in mixed activities: 60% are rural; more than 30% work in the city (one sees that this latter figure is slightly higher than that for the None villages, 27%).

S [498] The workshops of the Dakar-Niger employ a considerable number of permanent or temporary workers from these two villages. These two localities in fact furnish 19 permanent city workers, 15 of whom are employed on the Dakar-Niger; among the four temporary workers from Keur-Issa-Bambara, three have worked in this enterprise. In addition, Diakhaté furnishes temporarily for the city: four tailors, one mason, and one carpenter.

W [463]

S 162 [191] [871] Let us add that a minority of natives, despite the contacts that they can have with Europeans, understand our language, a little less than 5%. The number of children who go to the European school is almost null, scarcely 1%.

S 369 After this quick study of some types of villages in the vicinity

/428 cont./

*511 796 [262] [735] For Korité, although meals more copious than usual are often provided, nevertheless the essential thing is the alms in millet or money that one gives to the poor through the marabout.

For these two celebrations, the percentages stated are not noticeably higher at the top of the table than in the lower part. If, for the first incomes, the family heads are often obliged to do more than their means allow, each seems to adapt himself subsequently to his possibilities (1).

1. For No. 43, the information given concerns the celebrations for Christmas and the first of January.

*511 794 The religious assessments are less numerous than the syndical assessments, but harder to bear. They exist in only three cases above No. 20, but represent 2% of the incomes, and 0.8%. They again noticeably increase in the lower part of the table. As for the gifts to the marabouts, they are perhaps more frequent than we have shown. Many families must have wanted to conceal them. Added to the payment for the [875] teacher at the Koranic school (10 francs per week), these religious obligations end up by noticeably increasing the deficits that already existed at the start.

*511 871 Just as certain products are encountered in only a few families in the case of the routine expenses, we are also going to find here some of another order, but often more important.

There is first the cost of sending the children to school; 13 families send their children to school, public or private, and the outlays made for this can be evaluated as follows:

/429/ /Table XV appears here/ /430/

No. 8: 0.8%	No. 17: 1.8%
No. 10: 0.5%	No. 20: 0.5%
No. 1[illegible]: 0.5%	No. 28: 0.4%

[Text continues on p. 72]

/430 cont./

*511 871

No. 31: 0.5%	No. 41: 4.4%
No. 38: 0.5%	No. 42: 0.5%
No. 39: 0.6%	No. 43: 5.6%
No. 40: 2.4%	

These percentages do not decrease. The explanation is to be seen in the fact that only families with high incomes send all of their children to school, and that, on the other hand, they often prefer, even Moslems, to send them to Catholic school.

*511 794 In three cases the family heads pointed out to us that in one year they were faced with the expenses occasioned by a baptism (which also requires a sheep). For No. 19 the cost represented 11.5% of the income, but only 6.3% and 3.4% for Nos. 26 and 31.

*511 593 602 But the heaviest familial obligation for many is the necessity of sending sums of money to their relatives who are in difficulties. For example, No. 3 sent to a brother a sum representing 2.5% of his income; No. 11, at two times, 4.4%; No. 24, 0.9%. Finally, No. 43 sends 8.2% of his income each month to his family and to that of his wife.

*511 595 Another familial obligation, this one desired: Nos. 18, 35, 38, 40, and 41 actually have two or three households, because they preferred not having all of their wives live together, a whim that comes to, respectively, 18.1%, 6.1%, 10%, 10.6% of their incomes. (The budget of No. 18 has a deficit of 15%.)

*511 357 Thirteen families employ one or several domestic workers. Moreover, all of them are located below the central income. Here is the portion of their budget that is devoted to this:

No. 24: 6.6%	No. 35: 3.7%
No. 26: 2.2%	No. 37: 3.8%
No. 27: 6.1%	No. 38: 2%
No. 28: 1.5%	No. 40: 3%
No. 30: 4.1%	No. 42: 1.7
No. 31: 4%	No. 43: 11.1%
No. 34: 4.3%	

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 641 privileges of French citizens; Dahomey, 121; Upper Volta, 17; Niger, 9. As late as 1936 out of a total population of fifteen million in French West Africa there were only 2,136 French citizens, with the exception of the citizens [633] of the Four Towns or *Quatre Communes* of Senegal. Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff in their book *French West Africa* have suggested that this was because at that time 'the advantages conferred by naturalisation obviously did not compensate in the eyes of the great majority of Africans for acceptance of French law in regard to marriage and inheritance, and for the general shaping of their lives according to the European pattern'. This was only half the 648 truth. Just as important a factor was the sparseness of facilities for education, the keystone to a successful assimilationist policy. As late as 1947 only 1.3 per cent of children of school age in Guinea were actually attending [871] school. In Soudan the figure was higher at 5 per cent, Dahomey 10 per cent and Senegal 12.4 per cent.

In each case Senegal is the exception. Senegal sent a deputy to the French Assembly as early as 1848. Her first indigenous deputy, Blaise Diagne, elected in 1914, became Under Secretary of State for the Colonies on several occasions before his death in 1934. But the other territories of French black Africa did not elect deputies until 1946, though they sent representatives to the Constituent Congress 648 in 1945. In 1848 the privileges of French citizenship were 641 granted to all Senegalese living in the Colony, though they were allowed to retain their private law in matters of land, [671] inheritance, marriage and divorce. It was only in 1946 with the passing of the *loi Lamine Guèye* that the privileges of citizenship were granted to Africans other than those who obtained naturalisation, which involved accepting French 648 private law. In Senegal, the towns of St. Louis and Gorée [633] were created *communes de pleine exercice* or full scale municipal [646] councils in 1872 and seven years later a General Council on the lines of those operating in the French departments was established.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 colonies other than Martinique, Guadeloupe and Réunion and at the same time they were subjected to rule by direct decree of the Emperor.

[167] It was under the Second Empire that the first great period of French colonial expansion in black Africa took place. It was during that regime that Faidherbe, who was to Senegal what Lugard was to Nigeria, first embarked on his African conquests. Faidherbe himself embodied this dichotomy in French colonial policy: an authoritarian agent of an authoritarian regime, he was often found introducing reforms and innovations that conformed with the most liberal application of an assimilationist policy.

[643] 360 [162] [563] [877] [797] [361] Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in 1854. At the time St. Louis, according to Abbé Boilaut in his *Esquisses sénégalaises* was a city of 12,336 inhabitants with only 177 Europeans. There were two primary schools run by Catholic missionaries. A full scale administration had succeeded in imposing on a town otherwise consisting mainly of single storey houses, a governor's palace, a 'very elegant Palace of Justice', a large naval hospital, a fine church and an army barracks.

648 643 From his base at St. Louis, Faidherbe, in a series of brilliant campaigns, notably against the powerful emir of Trarza and the Muslim reformist and Toucouleur leader, El Hadj Omar, was to lay the foundations of France's West African empire. To do this he organised the now famous *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, since Europeans did not stand up well to the climate and the prevalent diseases. By conquest or by treaty he brought most of modern Senegal and much of Soudan (Mali) under French rule. He installed an efficient 643 military administration, and even published an official [204] newspaper the *Moniteur du Sénégal*. Altogether Faidherbe was a remarkable man. He was a firm believer in the equality of races, and did much to increase the educational facilities of the colony. He established a school for the sons [871] of chiefs, and lay schools for Muslims, who objected to [797] attending the mission schools. Whilst Faidherbe wanted to

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

encourage the evangelisation of the population, he[1] was sufficiently knowledgeable about the country and its people to realise that it would be impossible to win converts from among the Muslims who formed the majority in Senegal. Scholarships for primary education in St. Louis, and secondary education in France were awarded under his auspices to promising students. Small technical schools were established at Dakar. And he even opened a museum at St. Louis.

He tried to equip the colony with some of the benefits of a modern economy. He established the Bank of Senegal, laid out St. Louis afresh as befitted a capital city, and under his influence Pinet-Laprade founded the new port of Dakar. He promoted the export of the ground-nut crop, becoming increasingly valuable to the colony's revenue which rose from 12 million francs in 1848 to 37 million in 1869, and proved a profitable substitute for human merchandise. He made valuable and detailed studies of the local people. Like Lugard he seemed to be able to think of every aspect of administration at the same time. The historian G. Hardy wrote of him: 'He touched on everything, and always with good results.' But as J. Richard-Molard commented, 'He was the first great Frenchman to realise the wish of Barth. But he did it as an officer of the Empire, endowed with an abominable character and a sense of authority which bordered on vice. He was proconsul of an authoritarian Empire.'

One decision vital for the future of the Senegal was made during the Faidherbian regime: this was the final abandonment of any ideals of European colonisation. It came at a time when the French were settling Algeria, and was not altogether altruistic, as the ministerial instructions of 1859 showed:

> Nothing similar to Algeria could be undertaken in Senegal. The climate is against it. The land should therefore be left to the natives, at least as a general rule. It is by their hands that it should be cultivated and if our rule is to be extended over all the territory

[1] [i.e., Faidherbe, who became Governor in 1854--Gwalysz]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

till the end of the nineteenth century, neglected the Protectorate and seemed to think that the only parts of the country that mattered were the four communes. Naturally their official business with the Protectorate was limited, but they did control the three main ports of the country through which the products of the interior passed to France. The councillors, too, restricted education largely to the communes, where on the whole it reached a satisfactory level. They even sent students on scholarships to France, but unfortunately too few of these returned to Senegal to use their newly acquired talents. It was not until the establishment of the Government-General of French West Africa in 1905 that educational facilities were extended to the Protectorate in any great measure.

The increase in education amongst citizens of African origin meant that by the turn of the nineteenth century they were less willing to accept European domination in the communes and the General Council. The assertion of their rights is one of the main factors behind the attempts of the administration to deprive the indigenous Senegalese of their position as *citoyens*. Actually the Administration was batting on a good wicket. Technically a French citizen was one who accepted French rights and duties without qualification. In the case of the Africans in Senegal they had been allowed to retain their own *statut personnel*, that is private law, with reference to civil disputes, matrimony, divorce, inheritance and land. But this seemed to conflict openly with the definition of a French citizen. It seemed wrong that a man should exercise the rights of a French citizen and not accept the consequent obligations. Many Frenchmen felt it quite illogical that an African with four wives could yet be a citizen. And indeed in later years the main obstacle to granting citizenship to other colonial peoples was to be the question of retention of the *statut personnel*. Thus many of the attempts by the French to deprive the Senegalese citizens of their rights were the result of quite genuine objections to the illogicality of their position. Faidherbe,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

However the younger generation of Senegalese were beginning to question the moral right of assimilation. These critics were the educated élite, by-products of an educational policy of which Governor-General Chaudié had written in 1897: 'The school is the surest means of action by which a civilising nation can transmit its ideas to people who are still primitive and by which it can raise them gradually to its own standards. In a word the school is the supreme element of progress. It is also the most effective tool of propaganda for the French language that the Government can use.'

Ousmane Socé Diop, in *Karim*, a remarkable study of the sort of young Senegalese most affected by French assimilation, published in 1935, shows not only how effective this policy was in those early days, but also points to the awakening of the Senegalese to the values of their own traditional society.

On certain evenings in Dakar, Karim and his young friends would talk not only of love but of their political and social ideas:

> The teacher was there, reasonable, but capable at moments of behaving foolishly, such as over the beautiful eyes of a Senegalese girl. He was a 'progressive', a partisan of a plan of evolution with its basis in the fundamental characteristics of his people.
>
> The graduate, a know-all, spoke of 'cleaning-up Senegalese traditions and of bringing about an immediate and thorough Europeanisation.
>
> The doctor, a Catholic, adopted Western civilisation without question. Nevertheless, his atavistic temperament remained one with that of his own people.
>
> Abdou was born a Muslim and an oriental and had been educated at a French school. His mind had been nurtured on European ideas and logic. His heart had been formed within the curious framework of the *Khalam*, of French poetry and European music. He was a person of contrasts. He could dance to the tam-tam as well as do the tango, he liked Negro music and black girls, but also dreamed of Deauville, of Paris and of some film-starlet, a blonde blue-eyed Venus.

Later Karim is sent out to a small town in the 'bush' where he has to help with the collection of the ground-nut

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

crop. Struck by the simple, uncomplicated ways of the bush compared with that of Dakar, Rufisque and St. Louis he reflects: 'The teacher and above all the graduate who spoke so often of immediate and complete Europeanisation, should be here to see for themselves.' 648 571 369

Ousmane Socé Diop has pin-pointed perfectly the growing conflict in the minds of the educated Senegalese at this time and the ever increasing gap between the peoples of the *Quatre Communes* and the *sujets* of the bush.

Furthermore the Senegalese student in Paris was beginning to question the rights of colonialism in general and the honesty of France's assimilationist policy in particular. He was hardly encouraged by the pronouncements of a leading politician during the twenties and thirties like Albert Sarraut who wrote in *La mise en valeur de nos colonies* that the colonies had a threefold purpose of serving France. First the numbers of France's overseas peoples increased her population from 40 million to 100 million, thus giving her a greater manpower than Germany. Secondly they could make a financial contribution to France. Thirdly they could supply her with the raw materials she needed. France's civilising mission, whilst important, was conceived of by Sarraut as a by-product of these functions. (Quoted in L. P. Mair, *Native Policies in Africa.*)

As we have seen, assimilationist professions were rarely matched by the facts. And indeed in other parts of French West Africa education was limited. But in Senegal France made a major effort in education, so that by 1940 there had already been formed a substantial African élite, particularly in comparison to the country's population. 571 871 648

By 1938 18,000 boys and 1,500 girls, taught by 132 European and 337 African teachers were at school; even so, a very low percentage of the population of school age actually attended school. Nevertheless this was considerably higher than that of any other French African territory. Children were educated according to French methods with few concessions made to local factors. The aim was not

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

571
871
648
[813]

only to civilise them but to make them aware of 'France's achievements' in Africa. Thus, as Lucy Mair has pointed out, history was taught so as to justify French occupation of West Africa. Several important *lycées* and secondary schools were founded. The *Lycée Faidherbe* and the *Lycée Van Vollenhoven* were to provide the basis of the modern élite whilst the *Ecole Normale William Ponty* educated many of the present leaders of French-speaking Africa. It was this new generation of educated young men, produced in the late twenties and thirties, that was first to question the virtues of an assimilationist policy both on the political and moral plane.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 The conference decided that the political future of the colonies should lie with France and ruled out all ideas of eventual independence. They did, however, insist that the colonies should be represented at the constituent Assembly that would draw up the constitution for the Fourth Republic at the end of the war. But they did not consider that the wider representation of Africans in metropolitan institutions would be as beneficial to the African colonies as the establishment of a Federal Assembly for France and its empire. These two suggestions were in tune with traditional integrationist and assimilationist thought, but in addition the delegates made certain proposals that implied considerable administrative and political decentralisation. They asked that assemblies should be set up for each territory, but on the understanding that they should work in close relation to the proposed Federal Assembly and that if possible the franchise should be as wide as practicable for Africans. They also laid down the principle of the dual college, so that Europeans could have effective representation. The administrators of the 'Republic one and Indivisible' were thereby advocating a considerable degree of administrative decentralisation, which in retrospect can be seen as vital to the subsequent achievement of independence by the various states of French black Africa. It was probably fortunate that the conference was one of administrators and not of politicians for their cogent arguments against the inefficiency of the pre-war, highly centralised empire were accepted eventually as directed towards the achievement of a more efficient working of the empire rather than as an attempt to break it up as they certainly might have been had such criticisms come from African politicians. On the other hand the conference made it explicit that decentralisation did not imply independence. All possibility of autonomy outside the French bloc was excluded.

641 648 871 The conference was highly assimilationist in its recommendations for individuals particularly as regards political

[i.e., Brazzaville Conference, 1944--Analyst]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

and juridical rights. The old signs of inequality, the *indigénat* and the hated corvée were to be withdrawn, the latter after a period of five years. Education was to remain exclusively French, though Eboué put in a plea for the recognition of the values of traditional society. The problems of granting French citizenship to Africans without prejudicing their *statut personnel* was to be solved within the framework of the proposed Federal Parliament for France and her overseas territories. Africans would thus have citizenship of this larger Federation rather than of France itself and would not therefore have to give up their *statut personnel*. The new principle was first applied in March 1944. French citizenship was extended to a number of Muslims in Algeria who were allowed to retain their *statut personnel*, on the same terms as the *originaires* of Senegal had been. Finally the conference proposed a large scale development programme for the overseas territories.

In the Constituent Assembly which was to deliberate on the constitution of the Fourth Republic, sixty-four seats were given to overseas deputies, a fair number going to Africans. Two socialists from Senegal, Lamine Guèye and his lieutenant Léopold Sédar Senghor, the first African to become a *professeur agrégé* of the Sorbonne, played a leading role in the debates of the new constitution, attacking remnants of Vichy racialism amongst colonial officials, decrying the ban on freedom of meeting and association, and above all denouncing the corvée and *indigénat*. The first Constituent Assembly of 1945, liberal in outlook, was deeply concerned as to how the Republic could remain one and indivisible and yet accord any degree of autonomy to the overseas territories. This was settled by proposing that the overseas territorial assemblies be thought of as equivalent to the *conseils* of the metropolitan department just as that of Senegal had been. The colonies, instead of forming a federation with France as proposed at the Brazzaville Conference, were to participate in a French Union much more integrationist in character and within

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

leaders had to work so ardently and patiently many decades later. Where it has often seemed to be the policy of European powers to divide and rule, here the French positively encouraged the creation of a Senegalese identity. Faidherbe created the *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, whereas Lugard called his force the Hausa Constabulary. For many years, Senegal has had a romantic and sentimental place in the eyes of the French, and the *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, who in fact enjoyed the services of recruits from all over West Africa, are known by most Frenchmen for their services to France in both world wars. This concept of national as distinct from tribal identity in the *Quatre Communes* also influenced the educated élite from the Protectorate who were determined to participate in the privileges of the *originaires*.

A policy of assimilation that has the aim of eradicating the African past and the creation of 'black Frenchmen', when applied thoroughly, did in fact help to eliminate tribal differences and create a new common culture. In particular, education, which grouped children of different ethnic groups side by side, made no concession to local circumstances. They were taught about 'our ancestors the Gauls' and in the best schools standards were the same as those in France. Instruction was in French from the very first years, and the school uniform was in European style. They were thus given a common meeting ground from the earliest age, with almost no concessions made to their own ethnic differences. Large numbers of Senegalese have been to France for their education ever since the days of Faidherbe, and in France they found themselves automatically dubbed as Senegalese, for few Frenchmen had time for the niceties of tribal distinctions.

It is not surprising, then, that particularly among young men many friendships were made outside the tribe. Indeed today in Dakar it would be rare to find a young man with primary education who could not count many friends from outside his own ethnic group. Marriage presented different problems. For if the young man had overcome sensitivities

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

433 668 reaching economic development plan. Mamadou Dia has described the plan as the 'décollage' or taking-off point of the country's development. The plan is the expression of the African socialism of which Senghor and Dia have so long dreamed. It has two important points. Relatively little emphasis is placed on industrialisation, and fundamental to the development of the country are [494] 'rural animation' and co-operatives through which the people will be made aware of the great future that could be theirs if only they co-operate in the realisation of this plan. Already 80 per cent of peasant farmers are organised in co-operatives.

Senegal's economy is based today on the export of its ground-nut crop of just under 800,000 tons a year. This has been produced to the detriment of subsistence crops, with the absurd result that Senegal, a basically agricultural country, is importing foodstuffs to the tune of £15 million a year. Furthermore there has been a great disparity in the economic and social development of the towns in com- [369] parison with the bush. Thus whilst Dakar is one of the most modern and prosperous towns in West Africa, the Vallée du Fleuve is abysmally poor and Casamance hitherto neglected. Thus the emphasis is on rural development; the [871] extension of educational facilities to a population only 30 per cent of whose children go to school; then the increase in medical facilities; the supply of water to villages without it; and in particular the opening-up of hitherto neglected regions by improved communications, which includes the [491] tarring of over 1,000 miles of roads and improvement of 600 miles of dirt road. But above all the emphasis is on the increase of home food crops and the widening of the variety of foodstuffs available to the peasants. It is estimated that if the plan works out, then the global index of production, taken as 100 in 1959, will be up to 137 in 1964. New industries such as the phosphate works at Taiba, an oil refinery, chemical factories and textile printing works will provide 10,000 new jobs, and thus absorb some of the unemployed

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

school leavers who characterise every West African town from Dakar to Douala, and whose numbers will increase in future under the new plan, since by 1964-65 it is hoped over 50 per cent of children of school age will be at primary school.

The whole plan is to cost £135 million, much of the money to be drawn from abroad, and much from private sources. As can be seen from the table below the emphasis is on social improvement rather than the creation of great gesture industries.

	Percentages	
	Of public investments	*Of total investments*
Infrastructure	33·9	18·75
Agriculture	18·0	13·4
Commerce and Industry ..	7·0	44·4
Education	12·2	6·7
Health	5·3	2·9
Housing	7·2	10·9
Administrative	5·5	3·0

It is a socialist plan at heart. The state will be taking over large sectors of the economy. Already the state trading organisation for the marketing of ground-nuts with the aid of local co-operatives has taken over the marketing of over a quarter of the crop from private commerce. But it is doing this in direct competition with them, to ensure that the organisation is commercially viable. Senghor believes 'Where private capitalism comes into peaceful competition with socialism, the latter must, I feel sure, emerge triumphant . . .'

On the other hand Senegal is not trying to discourage private enterprise, for, as can be seen from the above table, it accounts for much of the capital for the plan. Indeed, particularly favourable concessions are made to it. What

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

standing in the modern context does not often completely redeem a traditional inferiority. The latter obviously does not prevent accession to such rank, but it does prevent a man from reaping the full benefit of the prestige which it confers. We shall have to revert to the ambiguity which thus characterizes individual situations, because it is an important aspect of the problem of the modernist elites. The old political organizations have either been destroyed or considerably weakened, though the prestige of the aristocratic families who hold the chefferies or are closely connected with them has not completely disappeared. But an important change has occurred: the power and influence of the traditional political chiefs has to a large extent been transferred to the khalifas of the great Islamic sects;[3] the latter represent today the principal force capable of resisting the modernist elite, and the one with which the latter and the political movements identified with it must to some extent come to terms.[3]

The changes due to the new economic conditions resulting from the colonial period can be discerned at several levels. The rural economy has been radically transformed—progressive abandonment of subsistence farming in favour of a single cash crop throughout a large part of the territory.[3] In contrast with regions where a plantation economy has developed, the average farmer's income has remained extremely low. Consequently, what has elsewhere been termed a 'rural bourgeoisie' has not emerged, and the most favoured economic categories coincide, by and large, with the upper strata of the traditional or semi-traditional type (heads of sects),[4] or with those artificially created on the same model by the colonial administration. Again, the group to which the name 'commercial bourgeoisie' has been given is still too small to have much influence;[5] almost all African traders are small shopkeepers and make no appreciable impact on the affairs of the community as a whole. The most significant changes are found at another level: urbanization and industrialization. Senegal is the most highly urbanized territory of French West Africa; about a quarter of the population live in the big towns and the administrative and trading centres. A very large wage-earning class with a steadily growing nucleus of stable labour has developed.[6] A workers' elite has appeared, and intensive trade union activity in the big towns has brought this class into touch with the educated elite (the administrative bourgeoisie, etc.).

This educated elite deserves special attention; in Senegal more than elsewhere, it represents the dominant element among the modernist elites. The educational policy was definitely conceived and organized at the beginning of the colonial period in the context of a policy and a ideology of assimilation. The educational curriculum introduced in the French establishments in Senegal at the beginning of the nineteenth century was essentially foreign to the tradition and culture of the autochthonous societies. Thus, in a recent paper, the author made much of the point that 'it was not a factor making for integration of the individual in his group, but rather—at any rate in the first historical phase—one making for a break. The adaptation of the curriculum and even of teaching methods

1. Their functions are hereditary.
2. Cf. below, remarks on the political parties of the traditional type.
3. In this case, groundnuts.
4. The economic role of the Mouride brotherhood is particularly important: colonization of new lands, experiments in mechanization, etc.
5. The middle-man trade is practically monopolized by the Lebanese colony; in the town of Dakar alone there are more than 5,000 Lebanese.
6. The region of Dakar alone has more than 30,000 wage earners in the private sector.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

to the African social environment was scarcely taken into consideration. The fact that the African languages were, and still are, totally excluded, even in the lowest school classes, brings out this tendency quite clearly, whatever the jutification that may have been offered on practical grounds. The original policy has of course been relaxed in certain points; the principle of adjusting the French educational system to local conditions has been accepted—the adaptations being concerned however more with the physical than with the social and human framework. But the basic tendency remains.'

However, the schools could reach—and still reach—only a fraction of the population. And so the training of an 'elite' came soon to be regarded as a necessary first stage in the process of assimilation. The two ideas emerge closely intertwined in Faidherbe's famous declaration of 1860: 'Everyone can reach the same goal when he satisfies the conditions required of all of you alike, conditions which we are today putting within your reach. You see young men from the Christian families of Saint-Louis, who after a good start in the mission schools, go and continue their studies in a secondary school in France, come back fit for filling the highest positions in the colony. That road is open to you all alike. We are ready to facilitate access to the liberal professions for every child who shows exceptional talent at school. . . .' As a matter of fact, those, as yet few in number, who at the start of the colonial period received instruction on Western lines were supposed to be the answer to immediate, limited needs. The main object was to train interpreters, lower grade civil servants, clerks, etc., as the indispensable auxiliaries in the establishment of a colonial administrative and commercial system. Their role was a humble one, but they shared in the prestige of the European group and also, to some extent, in its privileged economic position. The notion of an elite rapidly acquired a wider and hazier signification; it came to cover all those who were thought to serve as a link between the colonizers, the bearers of civilization, and the untaught masses who were destined gradually to acquire it. In fact, the eager adoption of European values, and the acceptance of assimilationist policies characteristic of the period up to the last war, accentuated the trend towards a rift between the indigenous elite and the masses who still adhered to their traditional cultural and social systems.[1] A point deserving emphasis is the considerable attraction exerted by the centres of assimilation, notably the 'four communes',[2] the natives of which very soon received French citizenship, and in which education developed much more rapidly than elsewhere.[3] These events in the recent history of Senegal explain why prestige in modern times was focused on the 'intellectual' elite,[4] and why the latter made a considerable impact on that colony sooner than they did on the other French West African territories.

Intensive investigations have been made in the principal urban centres of Senegal[5] to ascertain the aspirations of the various population classes and the models they adopt. They cover adults as well as children. More summary samplings taken in rural surroundings show that there is less difference in this matter between the city and the country than might have been supposed.

1. Firm links subsisted, however, as will be seen later on.
2. Dakar, Gorée, Saint-Louis, Rufisque.
3. Multiplication of primary schools, introduction of secondary education, etc.
4. Taken in a very broad sense; for a long time, the mass type of this new intellectual elite was the *sortiti* (the holder of the primary school certificate).
5. By the sociology section of the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

This is a significant fact; high prestige, more or less definitely acknowledged by the whole population, crystallizes around professions, functions or situations which are considered to be 'intellectual'—implying in fact a minimum of Western-type learning. Prestige on economic grounds seems to be definitely on the decline.[1] At Dakar, Thiès and Saint-Louis du Sénégal, adults were questioned about the trade or occupation they would like their children to take up. A vast majority of the socio-vocational categories (unskilled and skilled workers, traders, clerks, civil servants, etc.) from which the population sample under study was taken gave the same answer. Between 65 and 80 per cent mentioned an intellectual profession. Those most frequently cited were teaching (primary or secondary school teacher) and the liberal professions (lawyer, doctor, etc.); the technological professions (engineer etc.) were much more rarely specified.[2] One of the commonest answers was that vague but highly significant term, 'civil servant'. The fact is that the trend of education in the period before 1945 helped to establish a very close link between education and a job in the administration; this is still the case, despite the changes effected in the last few years. Similar attitudes are found in the results of surveys among children in the primary schools at Dakar. Among those who replied specifically[3]—about three-quarters of the children questioned—more than 80 per cent expressed a preference for an occupation considered to be intellectual, irrespective of their father's occupation; next came certain manual trades, with commerce far behind. The choice of an unspecified administrative job was less frequent than among the adults. It follows that the view generally taken about education—including primary education—viz. that it will lead almost inevitably to an intellectual occupation,[4] however modest, remains very stable; but it is less and less in keeping with the realities of the situation.

A brief study of the facts in the development of the educational system will allow us to make a first evaluation of the system. The crude school rate rose rapidly from 1946 to 1953 and has since continued to rise pretty regularly (16 per cent in 1953, 18 per cent in 1954, about 20 per cent in 1955). Senegal's early advance in this respect explains why the increase is less steep there than in most of the other French West African territories.[5] True, the school rate is still relatively low (and a fairly large proportion of the children do not complete even the primary course and will probably soon lose such learning as they have acquired), but a plateau was reached several years ago: primary education turns out many more pupils than the 'administrative bourgeoisie'—characteristic of the colonial period—or its equivalent in private enterprise can absorb. Formerly, the surplus of the educated population could be absorbed by the manual trades or by migration to other territories. But this second door is gradually closing now that these other territories are catching up in education. Moreover, the slow pace of economic expansion precludes any big increase in the number of openings for technical workers or in the supervisory grades in industry.[6] This is the justification for the talk about the educational over-

1. Material security (e.g. that enjoyed by civil servants) seems to be desired more often than actual wealth.
2. They are only beginning to acquire some prestige; the number of students choosing this branch has risen considerably in recent years.
3. Children from 10 to 14, in the 'intermediate' classes.
4. A job in the bureaucracy was for years the standard aim.
5. The school rate in the Ivory Coast almost trebled between 1946 and 1955.
6. Limited, but chronic unemployment, already exists in Dakar.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

571 equipment of Senegal in relation to the existing employment market. These
178 facts must, however, be considered from another angle. The real problems
are those of the true integration of education into a developing social environ-
• 871 ment, its adaptation to various local situations, and the adjustments which
must be made in the Senegalese people's conception of education. These
problems look, of course, more acute in the big towns, particularly in the
former 'centres of assimilation',[1] which have often reached a relatively high
school rate (sometimes more than 50 per cent); in many rural districts the
[369] critical phase is still a long way off. Recent changes in the position are marked
by another important feature to which I shall revert at greater length: the
difference in the distribution of the school population classified according
to the various kinds of education. The past 10 years have been marked by the
development of secondary and technical education, and the introduction of
local higher education. At the beginning of 1955, pupils and students were
distributed approximately as follows among the different types of education:
87 per cent in primary schools, 9 per cent in secondary schools, 2 per cent in
vocational training schools, 2 per cent in higher education and its various
equivalents.[2] At the same time education in French West Africa ceased to
be an almost isolated system providing degrees and diplomas which were not
recognized in metropolitan France and qualified their holders only for sub-
ordinate positions in most occupations.[3] The intellectual elite is becoming
steadily more diversified. Its ideals are being noticeably modified; some of
its prestige values are being revised; the masses are beginning to change their
idea of what they mean by the elite. This is a transitional stage, with its own
special tensions.

178 At this stage in the development of education—the outstanding fact in
571 which is that, particularly in the urban primary schools, the demand exceeds
369 the supply[4]—the signs are already fairly evident of a trend towards less mobility
in the social scale. The prospects of reaching the ranks conferring most prestige
[871] differ in the towns and the rural zones, for the reasons already indicated.
They are also tending to be less evenly distributed among the various sections
of the urban population as the latter becomes more diversified. It is not,
however, a case of the urban population breaking up into closed or nearly
closed groups; none of the discernible social categories are of this character,
nor can they be in any way likened to social classes.[5] In particular, relations
based on kinship in the widest sense of the term continue to play a fundamental
[602] role, and maintain in being close ties among all the individuals composing
the family group. Severance of these relations occurs only in extreme cases.
Nevertheless, a trend towards the crystallization of social categories does
appear, through the mere accumulation of circumstances.[6] The problem has
been studied in a recent work the principal points of which I will venture to
[963] recall.[7] A survey of the urban district of Dakar—confirmed by later research
in other cities—showed certain significant differences in the social origins of

1. The 'four communes' mentioned above.
2. Including young people studying in France.
3. Even in teaching, medicine, etc.
4. In Dakar it became necessary to establish part-time classes to meet an over-rapid increase in demand.
5. Cf. P. Mercier, 'Aspects de la Stratification Sociale dans l'Ouest Africain' (Aspects of social stratification in West Africa), *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, XVII, 1954.
6. Studied, e.g. by G. Balandier, in *Sociologie des Brazzavilles Noires* (Sociology of the coloured population of Brazzaville), Paris, 1955.
7. Cf. P. Mercier, op. cit.

/179 cont./

121 the ethnic group, the two principal criteria of miscegenation.
125 But, at the beginning of the investigation, besides the primary
871 distinction between illiterates and literates, we thought that we could distinguish two groups within this last category. In fact, the literate group is too small, the educational status too limited -- among the family heads of the sample none had had any secondary studies -- for one to be able to retain this subdivision. Therefore all those who had had a minimum of schooling, from the second year elementary course up to C.E.P., with an occasional C.A.P., have been considered literate.

191 /180/ Nevertheless, by combining schooling and the
871 knowledge of French, we have been able to group the family
125 heads of the sample into three categories. The first is made up of the illiterates who do not understand French, except for a few words; the second is made up of those who have a "summary" knowledge of the language, and in this case it is obviously a matter of a partly subjective criterion which depends on the judgment of the investigator. Actually, the decisive test was the following: those for whom the interview of the second investigation was conducted in French and who only rarely appealed to the interpreter were regarded as having a summary knowledge of French. There are very few cases where the conclusion obtained by the application of this test did not confirm the previous judgment of the investigator.

The third category, finally, includes the "literates" in the sense in which we have defined them above.

The following table represents the grouping, in percentages, of these three categories within each ethnic group; furthermore, the districts have been separated from the quarters, and the last line gives the average for the whole of Pikine. /Table 14 appears here./

871 Three principal facts stand out clearly from a reading
191 of this table:

/181/

1) The small number of literates: a little more than one out of five family heads have received a beginning of

[text continues on p. 37--Analyst]

191 871

Table 14

Ethnic Group		W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Quarters	Il.	45.7	9.1	31.6	20	21.4	37.5	31.5	43.3
	S.	33	27.3	50	60	78.6	50	50	39.5
	L.	21.3	63.6	18.4	20	0	12.5	18.7	17.2
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Districts	Il.	17.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.9
	S.	23.6	0	50	50	--	20	0	28.5
	L.	64.7	100	50	50	--	80	100	66.6
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
General average	Il.	43.8	56	27.28	9.1	78.6	28.5	28.5	40
	S.	32.8	24	50	77	21.4	43	45.8	38.5
	L.	23.4	20	22.72	13.9	0	28.5	25.7	21.5
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: Il. = illiterates; S. = summary knowledge of French.

/181 cont./

191 academic training.

871 2) The great difference between the districts and the other quarters: the percentage of literates in the districts is almost four times the corresponding percentage in the quarters.

191 3) The very special situation of the Moors: they seem
871 distinctly refractory with regard to modern education and do not
563 show any more evidence of an aptitude or a very urgent desire for the study of French. This trait is characteristic of the originality of the Moorish community. It is not merely a sign, however, but is also a factor, and, as such, it contributes strongly to the withdrawal of this community and to its cultural isolation in the midst of the nascent urban civilization. The Moor has managed to integrate himself in the city -- it would be more accurate to say thrust himself into the city -- without changing his habits of life very much and by keeping intact the compact homogeneity of the group.

191 It is likewise necessary to note another tendency, although less obvious than the preceding ones: the Wolof and Sérère family heads who do not speak French are superior in number to those who speak it; this proportion is, on the contrary, reversed in the other ethnic groups. One must probably seek the cause of this variation in the fact that Pikine is a city close to the Wolof regions and that Wolof is the lingua franca there. The Toucouleur, Bambara, Soussou /Susu/, or Mossi come from much farther away, they have often "labored" in several places before ending up in Dakar, and this experience has not failed to give them some rudiments of French acquired in the course of their previous migrations.

191 The evaluation of the preceding results, no longer ac-
871 cording to ethnic group but according to age class, gives other indications which at the same time indirectly confirm the above remark. /Table 15 appears here./

/182/ The percentage of literates in proportion to the whole of an age class decreases in proportion to the increase in age. There are proportionately six times more young

/182 cont. /

Table 15

191
871

Age Class	20-30	30-50	50 +
Illiterate	38.7	34.1	60.2
Summary knowledge	6.5	41.9	30.6
Literate	54.8	24	9.2
Total	100	100	100

people than old who have received a beginning of academic training. Besides, the young people from 20 to 30 years old have either been to school or do not know French because they have not had occasion to learn it outside of school. Thus the generations show a distinct difference, and this can only become more pronounced as an examination of the actual number of pupils enrolled shows.

871
162

Here is first the table of the attendance ratio; it refers to children from seven to 14 years old, divided by ethnic groups and sex. /Table 16 appears here. /

A comparison with the results of the same inquiry, conducted the preceding year, despite the possible variations of the sampling, indicates distinct progress for the girls, from 62.5% to 82.6% for the boys, and an average of from 45.3 to 63.9. Nevertheless, a great effort must still be made, especially on the part of the female population, since one girl out of two still does not go to school. Let us now distinguish the attendance ratios in the districts and in the quarters. /Table 17 appears here. /

/183/ The difference is great between the school behavior of the districts and that of the quarters. First the total: almost all of the children in the districts go to school, nine out of ten, while this proportion drops to three out of five in the quarters.

10: Thoré--39 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30
Serer FA32
Fulani MS11
Peul
5
SU
SR
F
162
811

/182/

Table 16 [1]

Ethnic Groups	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Total
Girls	32.65	88.6	46.9	50	100	75	61.54	47.32
Boys	92.5	64.7	79.16	66.6	44.4	72.2	75.86	82.6
Girls + boys	52.58	75	56.16	55.5	68.7	73.5	69	63.9

[1] /school attendance ratio of children 7-14 years old in the city of Pikine. See cat. 116 pp 38 and 41 for explanation — AN/

10: Thoré--40 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37
WOLOF MS30
SERER FA37
Fulani MS11
Peul
SU
SR
F
1627
8011

/182/

Table 17 [1]

Ethnic Groups	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Total
Q	25.75	71.74	39	50	100	66.6	58.33	40.69
Girls								
D	93.33	100	75	--	--	100	100	89.13
Q	91.66	63.5	76.2	50	44.44	75	76.9	81.2
Boys								
D	100	100	100	100	--	100	66.6	96.9
Q	60.1	66.6	51.6	50	68.7	71.4	68	60
Total G. + B								
D	99	100	81.8	100	--	100	80	91

[1] /school attendance ratio of children 7-14 years old in the city of Pikine — by districts and quarters — see cat. 116 pp 38 and 41 for explanation — AN/

/183 cont./

871 On the other hand, the backwardness of the girls, which was particularly marked among the Wolof and the Toucouleur, disappears almost completely among the Wolof of the districts, whereas one Toucouleur girl out of four in the districts still does not go to school.

191 871 In all respects one observes a radical change which distinguishes the generations: the one of the present parents is, in the majority, illiterate and knows only a little French. The situation is reversed with the rising generation, thanks to the effort toward educational equipment. This upset will be even more noticeable in the female population, for in 20 years more than half the mothers of families living in Pikine will have been to school, while at present one finds scarcely any.

V. Religion

771 795 162 A final factor should be studied because of its considerable cultural influence: that of religion. In Pikine the vast majority of inhabitants are Moslems, so that, in addition to membership in a religious confession properly speaking, we have differentiated membership in a definite Islamic sect. This leads to five different categories within Islam: two of these are sects of wide geographic scope, the Tidjanes and the Khadres, one is peculiar to the Senegal, Muridism, and one is encountered above all in the region of Cape Verde, the Layens; finally, some individuals, while calling themselves Moslems, declare that they do not belong to any sect.

795 162 Here (p.43) is the table of the various sects or religious confessions into which the inhabitants of Pikine are divided, first in absolute figures and then in percentages.

It suffices to underline the points that these tables clearly bring to light. First, the numerical preponderance of the Tidjanes over the assemblage of the other confessions.

/185 cont./

795
162

Table 21

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect.	Cath.
Average number of individuals per home	5.86	5.27	4.29	3.33	3.88	4.25

Let us note that this remark applies to the Wolof, for the difference of percentage in the case of the Sérère or the Toucouleur is too slight to enable one to draw any valid indications from it.

/186/ Let us now compare the religious affiliation of the districts and the quarters. We have the following table, always in percentages, for the male heads of families within each of these two categories. /Table 22 appears here./

Table 22

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect	Cath.	Total
% Quarters	46.6	16	32.3	1.6	1.6	1.9	100
% Districts	54.8	19	7.1	2.4	2.4	14.3	100

Thus one observes two opposite movements: on the one hand, the percentage of all the sects increases as one passes from the quarters to the districts; on the other, this percentage decreases in the case of the Murids who are relatively and absolutely much more numerous in the quarters than in the districts. On the basis of this one could comment on the incompatability of Muridism and durable construction. Rather than launching ourselves on risky interpretations, let us content ourselves with observing the fact and noting that it runs in the same direction as the following observation obtained from the respective percentages of the literates and illiterates

795
162
191
871

/186 cont./
of each sect. /Table 23 appears here./

795
162
191
871

Table 23

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect	Cath.	Av.
Literate	22	8.5	10.3	22.2	11.2	50	21.5
Illiterate	78	91.5	89.7	77.8	88.8	50	78.5
Total	100						100

The number of Moslems declared as without sect is too small to give any valid information. The small number of literates among the Khadres comes from the Moors, and their proportion doubles if one does not take the latter into consideration. Hence there remain only the Murids, among whom the proportion of literates does not come to half /187/ of the average percentage: 10.3 instead of 21.5. If one cannot say that Muridism specifically encourages illiteracy, neither can one say that it develops a taste and desire for learning among its adepts; the foregoing fact would tend rather to show that it plays the role of a curb, voluntary or involuntary, in the same measure that illiteracy constitutes a force of inertia to be conquered and that education, on the contrary, perpetuates itself. In any case, the intellectual elite of the Pikine population prefers to join the other sects.

[571]

VI. Habitat and Family

128

After having presented the social framework of the whole society of Pikine, we shall conclude this quick study by showing first the material factors that condition its mode of existence, and then a certain number of general considerations concerning the structure of the urban family.

/24 cont./

369x

b) These simplified data call for some commentary. 592
What is the significance of the sometimes important differences 565
that we affirm between the situations that prevail in the dif- 594
ferent strata?

The high proportion, among the farmers, of households that coincide with the restricted family -- a proportion clearly higher than the average -- is explained by the fact that we [241]
are dealing more with market-gardeners than with farmers of the traditional type (as are found in the suburban villages). In any case, the problem has not been studied for a sufficient number of cases for us to draw definitive conclusions here.

/25/ Besides this category, for which we lack certain explanatory factors, only two others noticeably exceed the average established for the whole population: on the one hand, the superior employees and functionaries; on the other hand, members of the teaching profession, doctors, etc. The impor- [177]
tant factor here is the degree of Westernization (1). [871]

1. The only categories whose members have all been to the French school.

It is only on this level that we have ascertained facts not only on the topological dispersion of the group of relatives, but also on the very clear loosening of the obligations flowing from kinship ties. Let us add that in reality the number of restricted families is much more important. In the majority of house- [357]
holds which include one person in addition to the restricted family, this person is a domestic lodging with the family (who is sometimes a distant relative). The change in structure is therefore clearer than it would seem in view of the raw figures.

c) This first general view shows, as in other domains -- 369x
we shall see this soon for the structure of even the restricted 565
family -- that the characteristics of the socio-occupational

/88 cont./

871 Education has developed in a remarkable fashion; each year more than 2,000 school children attend the public and private schools. The number of young pupils also has increased steadily, but only for the past dozen years. The modern college, because of its inadequate size, refuses numerous requests for admission every year. In spite of the annual opening of new classes, it can be estimated that only one child out of three of school age attends school.

369
563

4. The Social Structure of the City

1. The Whites.

In 1955 we are far from the heroic epoch when Thiès was considered an unhealthy place and when the mortality was very high. The arrival of the first European families at the beginning of this century could be considered an important event. It marked the possibility of permanently implanting a white colony in the escale.

The climate has been made more bearable by the many improvements in comfort that have created a propitious atmosphere for the establishment of family life. [162] In 1953 there were almost 1,200 women out of 2,700 Whites.

369
563
573

The European population is divided into a certain number of "milieus": army, operatives of the Dakar-Niger, officials, merchants. Contact between any of these assemblages is very loose: with few exceptions the relations between individuals belonging to different groups are not very frequent; there is visiting only among people of the same background. The transfer of personnel, which is repeated every two years, has the result that the time of residence is not ordinarily long enough for a newcomer to break away from his milieu. A certain apathy and a lack of curiosity limit these human contacts with neighboring groupings.

The armed forces, and Dakar-Niger, because of the very conception of their internal organization, live in isolation. Each of them has its co-operative, its club, its

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

to the Federal Government. In 1904, however, when the distinct Federal budget was instituted, custom duties were lost to the various colonies. The General Council of Senegal protested vigorously. Its spokesmen said that the Federal Government had taken away 78 per cent. of the colony's revenue and only assumed 39 per cent. of its expenditure. So strongly did the Council feel on the question that it impugned the validity of the federal financial arrangements before the Council of State at Paris. This latter body, as was to be expected, confirmed them in 1908, but the Senegalese have never fully accepted the new system. In 1929, for example, it was stated that Senegal was contributing half the customs revenue of French West Africa, though containing only one-tenth of its population. Moreover, despite its democratic Colonial Council, the colony has no more direct influence in federal affairs than Mauritania. Even to-day protests are still heard periodically against the financial system of the Federation and its alleged encroachments on the sphere of the Colonial Government. 648 652 [651] [651]

Christianity

The first definite record of a Christian mission is that of the French Capuchins, who sailed from Dieppe in 1635. They divided into two parties: one, under Pères Alexis and Bernardin, landed at Rufisque, where they were entertained by Portuguese Christians. During their stay they baptized 27 natives. The other party landed at St. Louis, where there was not yet a permanent French settlement, and met with misfortune. Some of them died, and the survivors joined their brothers at Rufisque. The Protestant Dutch made life impossible for them, and the whole party returned to France. Though from time to time priests of the Society of the Holy Spirit (founded in 1726 to train missionaries for the French colonies) visited Senegal, no serious missionary effort seems to have been made till after the Peace of Paris, when the first Prefect Apostolic was appointed to St. Louis. 797

The first nuns to work in Senegal were of the community of St. Joseph of Cluny. These were sent out in 1819 to St. Louis at the request of the Governor to undertake nursing and education. The community established two schools in St. Louis and one in Goree in 1826. [871]

In 1846 the first mission was founded at Dakar, which the same year became the seat of the Vicar Apostolic of the Two Guineas. These missionaries belonged to the Society of the Sacred Heart

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

36 [131] [162] BIGNONA (12° 49′; 16° 16′ W.). Altitude, *c.* 60 feet. Population, 1,611. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Military post. Emergency landing-ground. Garage.

Bignona stands on the left bank of a small and marshy tributary of the Casamance. Canoes carry a certain amount of merchandise, as also do lorries. The principal items of trade are ground-nuts, palm kernels, wax, rice, and fruit. Most of the native inhabitants are Dioulas. [438] [162]

Colonial roads lead south to the Casamance opposite Ziguinchor (16 miles), east to Sedhiou (58 miles) and Kolda (120 miles), and north-west to Diouloulou (35 miles) and the frontier of the Gambia (46 miles). There are also several minor roads and tracks. [491]

[131] [162] DAGANA (16° 27′; 15° 34′ W.). Altitude, 13 feet. Population, *c.* 3,500. District headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Race-course.

Dagana is on the left bank of the Senegal, and its chief economic function is as a market for Mauritanian gum. This is shipped down river to St. Louis, 116 miles away. There is also connexion upstream to Podor (61 miles), Bakel (403 miles), and Kayes (487 miles). [439] [487]

By colonial road Dagana is 86 miles from St. Louis and 332 miles from Kidira. It is on the bus service (p. 474) between these two places. Southwards another colonial road leads across sparsely inhabited country to Dahra (89 miles) and Diourbel (162 miles). From the opposite bank of the Senegal a track goes to Mederdra, some 30 miles distant. [491] [494]

[131] [162] DIOURBEL (14° 39′; 16° 10′ W.). Altitude, 39 feet. Population, 15,442. Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Police headquarters. Emergency landing-ground. Power station. Hotel. Garage. Daily market.

This flourishing town lies across the little Sine river in the middle of a well-cultivated shallow valley. To the north the ground rises somewhat. Diourbel owes its prosperity to ground-nuts, and 100,000 tons of them pass through the town every year. There are several factories for the shelling of the nuts and for the expression of their oil. Besides this, Diourbel is the headquarters of the province of Baol and a route centre. Its inhabitants are mainly Moslems, who have a large and important mosque. There is also a special school for sons of chiefs. [438] [258] [162] [87]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

Courts of Law

692 The Court of Assize sits at Dakar, and the Tribunals of First Instance sit at Dakar, Kaolack, and St. Louis. There is a Magistrate's Court at Ziguinchor, and there are Moslem Courts at Dakar, Rufisque, and St. Louis. In each province and full commune there are the usual native courts, and the Colonial Court of Appeal for Senegal sits at St. Louis. There is a separate one for the District of Dakar.

In addition to the local courts, the West African Court of Appeal and the Supreme Native Court of Appeal are both held at Dakar.

Native Organization

631 177 All the old chiefdoms and kingdoms have now disappeared. On the other hand, owing to their representation on the Colonial Council, chiefs in Senegal to-day exercise greater influence than in other colonies. They are appointed and paid by the Government, and they can usually be relied on to supply an official majority. In 1925 they induced the Government to raise their salaries, which now range from 7,600 francs to 36,500 francs per annum. The chiefs are divided into no less than twelve grades. Most of them have been educated at the École des Fils des Chefs et des Interprêtes at St. Louis. [871]

Land Tenure

423 By 31 December 1937 provisional concessions had been granted over an area of 12 square miles and concessions over 15 square miles. By the same date there had been granted under the immatriculation system 9,630 certificates of title, covering 177 square miles. Under the process of Confirmation of Native Land Rights, 40 certificates had been granted, covering 3½ square miles. These figures are very small for the size and population of the colony.

Labour

466 [646] The Colonial Council is responsible for the fact that forced labour has been redeemable by every person since 1921. This reform did not become universal in the Federation till several years later. In 1930 a resolution of the same council compelled owners of motor vehicles to lend them for work under the same system.

In 1935 there were 408,000 persons on the forced labour rolls, 1,415,000 man-days were worked, and 561,300 francs were paid in

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

647 656 *Produce Inspection.* Produce inspection is entrusted to a board nominated by the Chambers of Commerce, but the Government keeps a tight control by exercising a veto on all important appointments to its staff. The Board's inspectorate has very wide powers of inspection over produce, whether destined for local consumption or for export. No produce to which inspection applies can be sent out [439] of the colony without a certificate of purity.

For this inspection a special tax of 5 francs per ton on ground-nuts [651] and palm kernels, and 20 francs per ton on rubber, is imposed on produce intended for export.

456 654 *Native Provident Societies.* There are 14 Native Provident Societies. Bignona and Ziguinchor have combined, but otherwise there is one to each province. In 1937 they had 1,200,000 members, [647] whose annual subscriptions varied from 2·50 francs to 5·00 francs each, and their expenses were some 25,000,000 francs. They supplied over 44,000 tons of ground-nut seeds to their members.

In earlier days the Sine-Saloum society imported stallions from [232] the Argentine for the breeding of mules, and in 1932 the societies devoted nearly 250,000 francs to the purchase of motor vehicles. In cattle-breeding districts they supply breeding stock and improve water-supply and pasturage. By 1933 it was estimated that the societies had sunk over 1,200 wells, while the society of Thiès had [312] constructed a barrage for irrigation purposes.

In addition to strictly agricultural activities, the Senegal societies [926] help their members by advances of cash, which are made not only to meet failure of crops, but also in cases of individual accident or illness.

Mining

656 316 At the end of 1937 the following permits were in force:

Personal licences		4
The Occupation System		
Exclusive licences	10	
Mining licences	32	
Concessions	16	
	—	58
Total		62

Education

871 1997 The first attempts to educate the natives of French West Africa were made in Senegal, and they were also remarkable for being instituted, not by missionaries, but by the Crown. Colonel Schmaltz

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

took with him a lay schoolmaster, who opened a school for boys at St. Louis in 1817. Its pupils varied in number from 60 to 100, and it continued under state and lay control until 1841. In that year its management was handed over to Roman Catholic priests, while the Government undertook to maintain the school and to pay for its equipment and the salaries of its teachers. 871 797

Girls' education dates from 1826, when the Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny founded schools at St. Louis and Goree.

By 1854 there were four schools in Senegal. They all belonged to Roman Catholic missions supported by government grants, and they counted only 590 pupils on their rolls. There were difficulties regarding the admission of Moslems to these schools and, as Islam was the prevailing faith, the spread of education was hindered. In 1857 Faidherbe opened a Moslem School at St. Louis, and until 1903 this remained the only lay primary school in Senegal. By 1898 there were 9 primary schools in the four communes and about 30 in the protectorate. These were staffed by interpreters and non-commissioned officers, and their existence was spasmodic. At that time elementary education throughout French West Africa was mainly in the hands of the missions, and, so far as the Government took any interest in it at all, it was organized by local regulations in each colony. The Governor-General's order of 24 November 1903 set up a uniform system of state-controlled education throughout the Federation. 872 [797] [648]

In 1938 Senegal and Dakar had 132 European teachers and 337 native in Government schools and 48 teachers in recognized private schools. Pupils were arranged as follows: 875

	Schools	Boys	Girls	Total pupils
Government Schools				
Primary				
Village schools	72	5,946	241	6,187
Regional schools	16	4,590	432	5,022
Urban schools	10	3,392	752	4,144
Higher Primary	2	158	14	172
Technical	4	146	0	146
	104	14,232	1,439	15,671
Private Schools				
Primary	13	1,164	293	1,457
Totals	117	15,396	1,732	17,128

871

There were also 2,295 Moslem schools giving rudimentary instruction to 16,190 pupils.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

874 In 1927 apprentice courses in woodwork and metalwork were started in St. Louis and Kaolack by the Public Works Department for selected schoolboys between the ages of 13 and 16 years.

871 There is a number of educational institutions in Dakar of a higher grade than primary. These are the responsibility of the Federal Government and have been described in Volume I.

Health

743 Senegal is divided into thirteen medical districts, each of which is intended to be under the supervision of a European medical officer. There are 17 medical stations, each under a native auxiliary. There are also 16 maternity centres and 117 posts visited once a week by a medical officer.

In 1937 Senegal and Dakar had 3 major hospitals and 34 minor hospitals and dispensaries. These provided 394 beds for European patients and 1,805 for native. There were 80 European medical officers, 31 native auxiliaries, 30 midwives, 124 male nurses, and 21 female nurses.

[744] In addition there were four travelling parties (*groupes sanitaires mobiles*). One of these specialized in fighting sleeping-sickness in the Casamance Territory, and the other three were concerned with more general sanitary and prophylactic measures.

The Pasteur Institute at Dakar, a federal concern, is justly famous. [797] Some medical work is done by missionaries. Unofficial committees of the Croix-Rouge are concerned with infant welfare at Dakar, Diourbel, St. Louis, and Tivaouane.

[658] In 1937 Senegal voted 12,000,000 francs for medical services and Dakar 11,000,000 francs.

10. PORTS

36 [131] [162] [489] [743] [712] [648] [654] [697]

ST. LOUIS (16° 01′; 16° 30′ W.). Population, 30,586, including 1,231 Europeans. Colonial capital of Senegal and of Mauritania. Full Commune. Headquarters of the province of Bas Sénégal. Custom-house. Law courts. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital and dispensary. Army headquarters and barracks. Police headquarters. Belgian Consulate. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Lycée Faidherbe. École des Fils des Chefs et des Interprètes. Higher Primary and Technical Schools. Protestant and Roman Catholic missions. Bank of West Africa. Power station. Prison. Hotels. Garages. Race-course. Botanical gardens. Experimental plantation. Daily market.

/103 cont./

633 instance, a customs office, and a telegraph, telephone, and
[647] post office. The various administrative services are represented
there[1] (public works, treasury, medical aid, education, agri-
culture, veterinary medicine, etc.).

433 Financial situation. Taxes. The circle of Sine-Saloum
is constantly increasing in importance because of its size,
population, and economic resources.

[496] Because of its exceptional location, the railway from
[491] the Sudan crosses it over a distance of 190 kilometers. Seven
[505] stations mark it out. Its railroad network and its system of
highways and canals permit it to drain to Kaolack and
[439] Foundiougne all of the products of the soil. Thus, the total
commerce for 1927 (imports and exports combined) amounted
651 to 350 million francs for the circle. The customs duties col-
lected for the benefit of the general budget of French West
Africa reached 13 million francs. The taxes from the tax
rolls (personal taxes, patents, licenses, etc.) have risen to
25 million francs, whereas they did not exceed the figure of
4,300,000 francs in 1923. The advance is thus remarkable.

Native personal taxes alone in 1927 provided 3,768,355
francs, whereas in 1921 they brought in only 2,791,000 francs.

Taxes on livestock went from 270,000 francs in 1921 to
425,000 francs in 1927.

● 871 /104/ Education. Instruction is given to the children
[875] by French and native teachers. There is a regional school
[872] with 500 pupils at Kaolack. Primary schools are operating
at Fatick, Foundiougne, Sokone, Gossas, Kaffrine, and
Nioro. In all, 1,200 children receive instruction; only an
elite goes to school. A need for the creation of new centers
of education is felt, especially at Birkelane, Koungheul,
Gandiaye, Niakhar, and Tataguine. Nevertheless, although
instruction in French is given only in our schools, the natives
also receive some rudiments of instruction in the Koranic
schools. The latter are quite numerous.

1 [in KAOLACK - ANALYST]

/125 cont./

443 Markets. Fairs. Daily markets have been established in the mixed communes of Kaolack, Foundiougne, Fatick, and Gossas, as well as in the important centers such as Guinguinéo, Birkelane, Kaffrine, Koungheul, Nioro, Saboya, Sokone, and Gandiaye. Those of the mixed communes and important ports are much frequented and have a good trade.

In addition, cattle markets have been held monthly at Kaolack since 1924.

543 Fairs have been instituted in order to familiarize the public with the principal products of the region. A first Fair-Exposition was held at Kaolack in June 1925; it was a great success. It had been organized with the co-operation of the administration and commerce. This happy attempt was renewed in April 1926 with the same success. The governor-general, M. Carde, was present at these two fine manifestations of the economic life of a region in full development.

453 /126/ Banks. The dependable index of the development of commercial transactions is given to us by the banking groups which have been established at Kaolack.

The Banque de l'Afrique Occidentale Française opened a branch in the chief town of the circle in 1927. Moreover, other credit establishments had preceded it. An agency of the Banque française d'Afrique was opened in 1924. The Banque Commerciale africaine followed in 1925.

871 Education. It is necessary to educate the native if we want him later to be our collaborator in the work of colonization. We are realizing this duty by the public schooling which is given at Kaolack in a regional school attended by nearly 500 children; a home economics school is attached to it. Primary schools where the number of pupils is very great are in operation at Fatick, Foundiougne, Gossas, Kaffrine, Nioro, and Sokone.

874 461 It is also necessary to develop vocational education because we lack good workers. We are going to be in want of artisans if we do not remedy a situation which had already appeared in this region several years ago. Unfortunately, the

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648 colonies other than Martinique, Guadeloupe and Réunion and at the same time they were subjected to rule by direct decree of the Emperor.

[167] It was under the Second Empire that the first great period of French colonial expansion in black Africa took place. It was during that regime that Faidherbe, who was to Senegal what Lugard was to Nigeria, first embarked on his African conquests. Faidherbe himself embodied this dichotomy in French colonial policy: an authoritarian agent of an authoritarian regime, he was often found introducing reforms and innovations that conformed with the most liberal application of an assimilationist policy.

[643] 360 [162] [563] [872] [797] [361] Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in 1854. At the time St. Louis, according to Abbé Boilaut in his *Esquisses sénégalaises* was a city of 12,336 inhabitants with only 177 Europeans. There were two primary schools run by Catholic missionaries. A full scale administration had succeeded in imposing on a town otherwise consisting mainly of single storey houses, a governor's palace, a 'very elegant Palace of Justice', a large naval hospital, a fine church and an army barracks.

648 643 From his base at St. Louis, Faidherbe, in a series of brilliant campaigns, notably against the powerful emir of Trarza and the Muslim reformist and Toucouleur leader, El Hadj Omar, was to lay the foundations of France's West African empire. To do this he organised the now famous *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, since Europeans did not stand up well to the climate and the prevalent diseases. By conquest or by treaty he brought most of modern Senegal and much of 643 Soudan (Mali) under French rule. He installed an efficient military administration, and even published an official [604] newspaper the *Moniteur du Sénégal*. Altogether Faidherbe was a remarkable man. He was a firm believer in the equality of races, and did much to increase the educational [871] facilities of the colony. He established a school for the sons of chiefs, and lay schools for Muslims, who objected to [797] attending the mission schools. Whilst Faidherbe wanted to

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

took with him a lay schoolmaster, who opened a school for boys at St. Louis in 1817. Its pupils varied in number from 60 to 100, and it continued under state and lay control until 1841. In that year its management was handed over to Roman Catholic priests, while the Government undertook to maintain the school and to pay for its equipment and the salaries of its teachers. 871 797

Girls' education dates from 1826, when the Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny founded schools at St. Louis and Goree.

By 1854 there were four schools in Senegal. They all belonged to Roman Catholic missions supported by government grants, and they counted only 590 pupils on their rolls. There were difficulties regarding the admission of Moslems to these schools and, as Islam was the prevailing faith, the spread of education was hindered. In 1857 Faidherbe opened a Moslem School at St. Louis, and until 1903 this remained the only lay primary school in Senegal. By 1898 there were 9 primary schools in the four communes and about 30 in the protectorate. These were staffed by interpreters and non-commissioned officers, and their existence was spasmodic. At that time elementary education throughout French West Africa was mainly in the hands of the missions, and, so far as the Government took any interest in it at all, it was organized by local regulations in each colony. The Governor-General's order of 24 November 1903 set up a uniform system of state-controlled education throughout the Federation. 872 [797] [648]

In 1938 Senegal and Dakar had 132 European teachers and 337 native in Government schools and 48 teachers in recognized private schools. Pupils were arranged as follows: 875

	Schools	Boys	Girls	Total pupils
Government Schools				
Primary				
Village schools	72	5,946	241	6,187
Regional schools	16	4,590	432	5,022
Urban schools	10	3,392	752	4,144
Higher Primary	2	158	14	172
Technical	4	146	0	146
	104	14,232	1,439	15,671
Private Schools				
Primary	13	1,164	293	1,457
Totals	117	15,396	1,732	17,128

871

There were also 2,295 Moslem schools giving rudimentary instruction to 16,190 pupils.

/103 cont./

633 instance, a customs office, and a telegraph, telephone, and
[447] post office. The various administrative services are represented
there (public works, treasury, medical aid, education, agri-
culture, veterinary medicine, etc.).

439 Financial situation. Taxes. The circle of Sine-Saloum
is constantly increasing in importance because of its size,
population, and economic resources.

[496] Because of its exceptional location, the railway from
[49] the Sudan crosses it over a distance of 190 kilometers. Seven
[505] stations mark it out. Its railroad network and its system of
highways and canals permit it to drain to Kaolack and
[439] Foundiougne all of the products of the soil. Thus, the total
commerce for 1927 (imports and exports combined) amounted
651 to 350 million francs for the circle. The customs duties col-
lected for the benefit of the general budget of French West
Africa reached 13 million francs. The taxes from the tax
rolls (personal taxes, patents, licenses, etc.) have risen to
25 million francs, whereas they did not exceed the figure of
4,300,000 francs in 1923. The advance is thus remarkable.

Native personal taxes alone in 1927 provided 3,768,355
francs, whereas in 1921 they brought in only 2,791,000 francs.

Taxes on livestock went from 270,000 francs in 1921 to
425,000 francs in 1927.

871 /104/ Education. Instruction is given to the children
[875] by French and native teachers. There is a regional school
[872] with 500 pupils at Kaolack. Primary schools are operating
at Fatick, Foundiougne, Sokone, Gossas, Kaffrine, and
Nioro. In all, 1,200 children receive instruction; only an
elite goes to school. A need for the creation of new centers
of education is felt, especially at Birkelane, Koungheul,
Gandiaye, Niakhar, and Tataguine. Nevertheless, although
instruction in French is given only in our schools, the natives
also receive some rudiments of instruction in the Koranic
schools. The latter are quite numerous.

[in KAOLACK - ANALYST]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

571
871
648
[873]

only to civilise them but to make them aware of 'France's achievements' in Africa. Thus, as Lucy Mair has pointed out, history was taught so as to justify French occupation of West Africa. Several important *lycées* and secondary schools were founded. The *Lycée Faidherbe* and the *Lycée Van Vollenhoven* were to provide the basis of the modern élite whilst the *Ecole Normale William Ponty* educated many of the present leaders of French-speaking Africa. It was this new generation of educated young men, produced in the late twenties and thirties, that was first to question the virtues of an assimilationist policy both on the political and moral plane.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 formed as a result of the *loi cadre* reforms, are typical of the
[645] Frenchmen who have identified themselves with the country of their sojourn. Indeed such was the devotion of Peytavin to his party's cause that he was retained as Minister of Finance even after independence and opted for Senegalese nationality, a step that Bonifay found himself unable to take. These were men of high education—Bonifay, a well known lawyer, and Peytavin a veterinary surgeon. There were many others like them, not only applying such principles in the political field, but in the administration and commerce, who helped to dispel from the African what would otherwise have been a dominant impression of an isolationist and sometimes racist French community.

[369] It would be foolish to paint too idealised a picture of
[571] race relations in Dakar. Many Europeans, particularly the *petit blanc*, openly admit to holding the African in contempt. But these are usually Europeans of little economic or political consequence and since independence their opinions have obviously carried negligible weight with the Senegalese.

Furthermore most Europeans in Dakar and the other main towns of Senegal, whatever their prejudices, send their children to local schools, where perforce they mix on terms of equality with Africans. The same is true of
[873] Dakar University which has a large number of French students, the majority of whom are girls whose parents are working in Dakar. Their brothers try if possible to go to French universities. Though friendships tend to be
[572] within the same racial group, there is a considerable number of inter-racial friendships.

563 The main point of conflict would appear to the casual
369 visitor to be the economic domination of private enterprise
463 and the more important subaltern jobs by Europeans.
472 But before analysing any tensions that have arisen from this, it is essential to point to some special features of Senegalese society. In Senegal, by contrast with Nigeria, Ghana and Ivory Coast, there is no entrepreneurial class of

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

the individuals questioned; and these differences are likely to become sharper—45 per cent were farmers' sons, but considerable variations appeared according to the socio-vocational category. The proportion of unskilled workers was 80 per cent; it was only 42 per cent for skilled workers and craftsmen; still lower (33 per cent) for civil servants and subordinate office employees (the widest category of the 'administrative bourgeoisie' characteristic of the colonial period), 28 per cent for senior clerks and civil servants;[1] for members of the liberal professions in the widest sense[2] it was no more than 21 per cent. These last three categories taken as a whole represent the 'intellectual professions', according to the meaning still ascribed by the great majority of Senegalese to that phrase. Of those who had a father already in one of these professions, three-quarters were engaged in the same work. The same process of stabilization can, however, be observed, though less clearly, among specialized workers; of those whose father was a worker, nearly two-thirds still belonged to the same class; most of the others had been absorbed into the 'administrative bourgeoisie'. These, moreover, are the two chief categories,[3] from which there has emerged a new type of elite which really began to grow in size only after the last war.

Important changes in outlook, not only in Senegal, but in the whole of French West Africa, have accompanied this most recent historical phase. From the elite of the strictly colonial type as defined above there has begun to emerge—and even to take on separate existence—a new intellectual elite, still a relatively small group.[4] This elite, which might be termed that of the liberal professions—this time in the strict sense of the phrase—having a distinctly higher level of education and more definite professional competence, is able to lay claim to a quantity of posts until now almost exclusively held by Europeans. The category was not completely non-existent during the pre-war period; it developed earlier in Senegal than in the other French West African territories as a result of Senegal's possession of an embryonic system of secondary education.[5] Being numerically weak, this elite had an opportunity of associating, to a certain extent, with the European population, a fact which manifestly lessened its prospects of playing an active role and assuming the leadership of the African masses. Furthermore, it continued to follow the policy of assimilation and was the only element in the 'colonial elite' which succeeded in achieving it. It could find only a limited field of action in the political life of the 'four communes'. It consisted mainly of lawyers, a few members of the teaching profession and doctors and even a few administrators. It doubtless set an example for a colonial elite of a far inferior grade from which it was not entirely cut off; it showed them the road to be taken by the seeker after modern knowledge. Prestige of the kind hitherto enjoyed only by Europeans was transferred to them and was thus seen to be no longer out of reach and so engendered ideas of power—a share, even if limited, of political and administrative powers—and wealth, or material security, at the lowest. This role continued to develop after the war, though with a rather abrupt change of direction.

1. [illegible] holding posts of responsibility, regardless of their educational level.
2. Doctors, teachers, auditors, etc.
3. The elite, especially.
4. Only a few hundred individuals, including members of the 'colonial elite' who were latterly given fresh opportunities for completing their studies and reaching a higher status.
5. Lycées at Saint-Louis, later at Dakar.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 Metropolis. Until recently the African élite has always come from
[571] St. Louis. It is a sort of spiritual centre of Black Africa. It had the
[873] first school—Lycée Faidherbe. And in 1866 it was given the first Hotel de Ville of the French Union. It is the cradle of the French Union. It would be a tragedy if it died.'

369 To such men as these it seems scandalous that St. Louis with
175 its great history and traditions should give way to a parvenue like Dakar. Of all West African cities St. Louis is the one with the most illustrious and fascinating history. It was called St. Louis after the great French King, Louis XIII, in the middle of the seventeenth century. However, in the following century it began to expand into a town whose inhabitants were a distinct race, comparable
[563] to the Creoles of Sierra Leone. White and black intermarried to form a group known as the St. Louisians. During the eighteenth
[591] and nineteenth centuries these were the great families of the
[554] Senegal, though today they are losing importance. Names like Carpot, Descanet, Deves, Guillabert and Crespin are still remembered with respect in St. Louis.

[162] By the end of the eighteenth century the town had more than 7,000 inhabitants and in 1778 a mayor, who had to be chosen
[633] from the local population, was charged with the maintenance of good relations between the people and the Governor. In 1833
[641] all inhabitants of St. Louis were given the status of French citizens.

Perhaps the most important date for St. Louis and for West Africa was 1854, when General Faidherbe was appointed Governor. Today his mark is still firmly on St. Louis. The
[361] ordered layout of the city and its streets were his work. The large
[491] bridge connecting the island on which St. Louis stands to the mainland is named after him. The city's most important and famous school is the Lycée Faidherbe. And even now one can listen to old folk sitting on the benches of the park, in which his statue stands, telling tales of the great General, who had fought against the famous Toucouleur chief, El Hadj Omar and brought Senegal, Soudan and Mauretania into the French orbit. Perhaps some of these old people are his own descendants, for he is reputed to have been a prolific father.

[162] By 1878 St. Louis had grown to a city of 16,000 inhabitants, and despite the rapid expansion of Dakar and Rufisque farther down the coast, there was little to worry about the future.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

Their grounding in French culture is superb. It is evident in their writing and in the exacting logic of their minds which sometimes, as so often with the French, can lead them to points of profound illogicality. We have nothing comparable in British West Africa. The creative output of these French Africans, good or bad, literary or scientific, is immense, especially if one considers that the whole of French West Africa has a population just equal to that of Northern Nigeria. Some of their leaders, like Léopold Sédar Senghor, stand on intellectual pedestals in France at the foot of which even Jean Paul Sartre sometimes worships. The reasons for this aspect of the revolution are not altogether difficult to discover. The French have, as opposed to the British, always been assimilationists. 'La France entend conduire les peuples dont elle a la charge.' French culture was fed to these young men and their success today is a tribute to the success of the French 'civilizing mission'. The other important factor is that French intellectuals have on the whole been negrophiles, and African art and culture has long enjoyed a vogue in France.

Today French Africans have a striking confidence in their intellectual prowess that one rarely remarks in the British West African equivalent. They know French culture like Frenchmen, but, in the words of M. Alioune Diop, the editor of *Présence Africaine*, 'It is necessary that we black men affirm that we alone can interpret our own culture.' And this interpretation seems largely to involve a return to the past such as Cheick Anta Diop, a much respected Senegalese writer, has advocated. In a sense Ka is involved in this return, this new movement. For him and his fellows the burning question becomes: Will this new generation of intellects ever derive anything from such a return? Or indeed are they in any better position to grasp the essentials of their traditional culture than the French negrophiles who first made them aware of the values of their own art.

An African professor at the University of Dakar, Monsieur Alassane N'Daw, remarked in an article 'Un Africain devant la Culture Française' published in the journal *L'Education Africaine*, that when he held a discussion with his philosophy class on Malraux's views on Negro art there was 'no enthusiasm, nor even any particular interest, but rather general scepticism'. One of his pupils confessed that when he visited the museum at Abomey in

/388 cont./

369 Pl. XXIV appear here on unnumbered pages/. /389/ /Fig. 5
361 appears here./

3. Greater Dakar. Of all the sectors of the Dakar agglomeration, Greater Dakar is certainly the one that presents the sharpest contrasts. The quarter of the "Gueule-Tapée" resembles the old Médina, while Fass and "Usine Biscuit" /Biscuit Factory/ remind one of Colobane, but aside from these there stand some modern quarters that are quite varied in appearance, contrasting strongly with the "Médinas," the "Colobanes," and the irregular quarters that surround them. It is in this sector of Greater Dakar [873] that the University is found, raising its majestic buildings on the edge of the sea. It is flanked on the north by the rich quarter of Fann-Résidence where the residences of ministers and members of their cabinets, directors of houses of commerce, and high officials are grouped; to the south military villas and the allotment of Fann Hock separate it from the Gueule-Tapée. Point E, Zone A, Zone B, /390/ the Cité des Douanes /customs/, and that of the Port de Commerce are officials' quarters, while Bopp, formerly a swamp, has in recent years become a pretty little quarter, all the houses of which were built by officials [452] with the aid of the Crédit du Sénégal /Local Association of Senegal/. The S.I.C.A.P. which extend along the route des Puits /Roads of the Wells/ (Karacks, Baobabs, Liberté I, Liberté II, Liberté III, etc.) are pleasant lots intended to facilitate for Africans the acquisition of property (Fig. 5).

Finally, the quarter of Derklé forms, in several groupings of houses, a residence for petty African officials, another one for the African employees of private enterprises, and finally a quarter called the "Castors," the houses of which have been built by their associated and grouped owners with the aid of the public authorities.

Greater Dakar is the most extensive and the heaviest popu- [162] lated sector in the Dakar agglomeration. It includes more than [563] 73,000 inhabitants, among whom is numbered one-sixth of the non-African population.

[Text continues bottom of P. 31--Analyst]

/389/

102
361
363
873
712

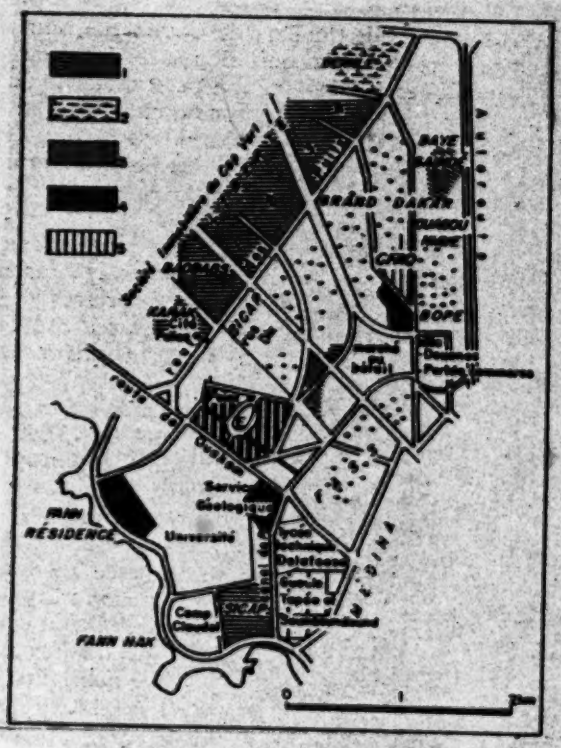


Fig. 5. Greater Dakar. -- 1. Officials' quarter; 2. Derklé; 3. H. L. M.; 4. houses of officials; 5. loan grouping.

/390 cont./

361
369

4. The suburbs. The suburbs of Dakar are composed of 13 villages, of which those closest to Dakar, Ouakam, N'Gor, Yoff, Hann, Thiaroye, and M'Bao resemble Colobane. The others remain typical traditional villages. Only Dagoudane-Pikime escapes either category. Created ex nihilo less than ten years ago to serve as an outlet for the irregulars of Dakar who were to be found there, driven back as urbanism progressed, [162] it already has the appearance of a little city with its 10,000 inhabitants.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

463 fact a family concern where it is considered more economical
563 to employ the daughter of the family in menial work than a Senegalese. To counter this the Senegalese Government has studiously avoided any open declaration on the undesirability of this situation, but by a series of discriminatory
[651] taxes hopes to make the position of the marginal *petit blanc* untenable. In this way it is hoped that European employment will be reduced by half within the next four years. Thus whilst the European population of Senegal was given
[162] as 46,500 in 1956, about 40,000 in 1960, the Government hopes to have it reduced to about 30,000 by 1965.

[655] One of the ways in which the Government is attempting to overcome the twin problem of European domination of
[471] commerce and the lack of private indigenous capital, is the establishment of state trading companies and co-operatives to compete in the marketing of ground-nuts and other basic Senegalese products. Also in order to reduce Senegal's dependence on expatriate technicians and minor
[874] functionaries it is expanding technical education and spending considerable sums on the training of Africans overseas. In the initial stages this will only remove those Europeans who were doing jobs that can easily be taken over by Senegalese once they have received basic training. There is no reason to suppose that the European Community will diminish by much more than the numbers cited above envisaged by the planners, since the anticipated expansion of the Senegalese economy under the four-year plan should be able to absorb the marginal cases who might otherwise have been forced to return to France. Nor indeed is it the intention of the Senegalese to get rid of the Europeans for the sake of getting rid of them, since the Government still maintains that the two groups can co-exist to their mutual benefit but that it must prevent the seeds of racial tension from germinating.

563 There is of course amongst the young and particularly among students some difference of opinion over this matter.
[208] Not all of them hold such liberal views, particularly

S /86 cont./
498 manufacturing cost would be high if they were smelted
S in Senegal, are bought on the outside.
498 Originally the repair work, the machining of loco-
463 motive parts or of rolling stock, necessitated only the
563 presence of good mechanics. But putting into service more powerful engines that no longer run on charcoal but on fuel oil requires /87/ precise inspection and minute repairs made by experienced specialists. Most of them are still Europeans, but already some Africans have the technical training required for this delicate work.

S The enterprise, however, has only a small percentage
[162] of Whites: out of 2,500 railway workers there were only 140 Europeans in 1953. And most of them worked in the offices (one European to eight natives); in the workshops this proportion reached only one to 40. While most of the metropolitan specialists are taken from the staffs of the S.N.C.F., the African specialists are recruited from among the students
S [874] coming from the technical schools of Terrasson-de-Fougères in Bamako or William-Ponty in Dakar and from among the former mechanics of the arsenals of the national marine. They constitute the supervisory staffs in the different shops.

The ordinary workers, founders, hammermen, carpenters ...., have generally been trained in the very workshops of the Dakar-Niger where they work for a number of years. Finally, the non-specialized work is done by newcomers from the bush.

S An investigation carried out in 1952 on a quarter of
498 the total number (834) enables one to learn the ethnic
563 composition of all the workshops. One can note a pre-
W eminence of the number of Wolof (301); the Peul and
498 Toucouleur /Tukolor/ number 189; the Bambara come
162 third with 115 individuals. It is necessary to add 39
463 Sarakolé, 40 Khassonké /Kassonke/, and 79 workers belonging to different groups. This list gives an idea of the important mingling of individuals that make up this industrial center. One observes, nevertheless, that the

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

874 In 1927 apprentice courses in woodwork and metalwork were started in St. Louis and Kaolack by the Public Works Department for selected schoolboys between the ages of 13 and 16 years.

871 There is a number of educational institutions in Dakar of a higher grade than primary. These are the responsibility of the Federal Government and have been described in Volume I.

Health

743 Senegal is divided into thirteen medical districts, each of which is intended to be under the supervision of a European medical officer. There are 17 medical stations, each under a native auxiliary. There are also 16 maternity centres and 117 posts visited once a week by a medical officer.

In 1937 Senegal and Dakar had 3 major hospitals and 34 minor hospitals and dispensaries. These provided 394 beds for European patients and 1,805 for native. There were 80 European medical officers, 31 native auxiliaries, 30 midwives, 124 male nurses, and 21 female nurses.

[744] In addition there were four travelling parties (*groupes sanitaires mobiles*). One of these specialized in fighting sleeping-sickness in the Casamance Territory, and the other three were concerned with more general sanitary and prophylactic measures.

The Pasteur Institute at Dakar, a federal concern, is justly famous. [797] Some medical work is done by missionaries. Unofficial committees of the Croix-Rouge are concerned with infant welfare at Dakar, Diourbel, St. Louis, and Tivaouane.

[652] In 1937 Senegal voted 12,000,000 francs for medical services and Dakar 11,000,000 francs.

10. PORTS

36 St. Louis (16° 01′; 16° 30′ W.). Population, 30,586, including [131] 1,231 Europeans. Colonial capital of Senegal and of Mauritania. [162] Full Commune. Headquarters of the province of Bas Sénégal. [489] Custom-house. Law courts. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital [743] and dispensary. Army headquarters and barracks. Police head- [717] quarters. Belgian Consulate. Meteorological station. Landing- [648] ground. Wireless station. Lycée Faidherbe. École des Fils des [654] Chefs et des Interprètes. Higher Primary and Technical Schools. Protestant and Roman Catholic missions. Bank of West Africa. [697] Power station. Prison. Hotels. Garages. Race-course. Botanical gardens. Experimental plantation. Daily market.

/125 cont./

443 Markets. Fairs. Daily markets have been established in the mixed communes of Kaolack, Foundiougne, Fatick, and Gossas, as well as in the important centers such as Guinguinéo, Birkelane, Kaffrine, Koungheul, Nioro, Saboya, Sokone, and Gandiaye. Those of the mixed communes and important ports are much frequented and have a good trade.

In addition, cattle markets have been held monthly at Kaolack since 1924.

543 Fairs have been instituted in order to familiarize the public with the principal products of the region. A first Fair-Exposition was held at Kaolack in June 1925; it was a great success. It had been organized with the co-operation of the administration and commerce. This happy attempt was renewed in April 1926 with the same success. The governor-general, M. Carde, was present at these two fine manifestations of the economic life of a region in full development.

453 /126/ Banks. The dependable index of the development of commercial transactions is given to us by the banking groups which have been established at Kaolack.

The Banque de l'Afrique Occidentale Française opened a branch in the chief town of the circle in 1927. Moreover, other credit establishments had preceded it. An agency of the Banque française d'Afrique was opened in 1924. The Banque Commerciale africaine followed in 1925.

871 Education. It is necessary to educate the native if we want him later to be our collaborator in the work of colonization. We are realizing this duty by the public schooling which is given at Kaolack in a regional school attended by nearly 500 children; a home economics school is attached to it. Primary schools where the number of pupils is very great are in operation at Fatick, Foundiougne, Gossas, Kaffrine, Nioro, and Sokone.

874 It is also necessary to develop vocational education be-
461 cause we lack good workers. We are going to be in want of artisans if we do not remedy a situation which had already appeared in this region several years ago. Unfortunately, the

/126 cont./

874 461 young people are inclined to seek our courses which prepare them for officialdom. The elite wishes to be instructed doctorally. It disdains manual trades. It is this state of mind that must be changed. Craftmanship is dying out. The governor of Senegal, under the over-all supervision of the governor-general, has understood this. The vocational courses in the capital of the colony, Saint-Louis, have been revised and improved. Agricultural schools have been established. More must be done. It is necessary to add a vocational workshop to each regional school and even to some of the primary schools. The child should become familiar -- before leaving school -- with the handling of the hammer, the chisel, and the plane; he should know how to use a shovel, spade, and rake. All of these skills should be lifted up out of disrepute, which has no reason for existing. Manual work must be put on an equal footing with intellectual work. We need good workers even more than good writers.

/127/ It is the duty of the administration to prepare the younger generation for the task that awaits them.

654 474 244 Agricultural mutuality. The Société de Prevoyance. Within this order of ideas, and in order to develop a spirit of mutuality and a sense of foresight among the natives, the administration has created, like Algeria, native welfare and mutual loan societies. A society of this type has been operating in Sine-Saloum for many years. Its founding goes back to 1907. Its beginnings were modest. At first it brought together 718 cultivators. By 1910, the number of members of the society reached the figure of 1,567. This was still very few. The idea had borne fruit, however. The administration soon brought in the majority and then the totality of the cultivators.

[652] In July 1907, at its founding, the governor of Senegal put at the disposal of the administrator of the circle the sum of 20,000 francs in order to promote this effort for mutuality.

Thanks to this advance, 99,700 kilograms of groundnut seed was loaned to the 718 first adherents, who returned them in kind after the harvest with an interest of 30%.

/428 cont./

*511 For Korité, although meals more copious than usual
796 are often provided, nevertheless the essential thing is the alms
[262] in millet or money that one gives to the poor through the
marabout.
[735] For these two celebrations, the percentages stated are not noticeably higher at the top of the table than in the lower part. If, for the first incomes, the family heads are often obliged to do more than their means allow, each seems to adapt himself subsequently to his possibilities (1).

1. For No. 43, the information given concerns the celebrations for Christmas and the first of January.

*511 The religious assessments are less numerous than the
794 syndical assessments, but harder to bear. They exist in only three cases above No. 20, but represent 2% of the incomes, and 0.8%. They again noticeably increase in the lower part of the table. As for the gifts to the marabouts, they are perhaps more frequent than we have shown. Many families must have wanted to conceal them. Added to the payment for the
[875] teacher at the Koranic school (10 francs per week), these religious obligations end up by noticeably increasing the deficits that already existed at the start.

*511 Just as certain products are encountered in only a few
871 families in the case of the routine expenses, we are also going to find here some of another order, but often more important.

There is first the cost of sending the children to school; 13 families send their children to school, public or private, and the outlays made for this can be evaluated as follows:

/429/ /Table XV appears here/ /430/

No. 8: 0.8%	No. 17: 1.8%
No. 10: 0.5%	No. 20: 0.5%
No. 16: 0.5%	No. 28: 0.4%

[Text continues on p.72]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

took with him a lay schoolmaster, who opened a school for boys at St. Louis in 1817. Its pupils varied in number from 60 to 100, and it continued under state and lay control until 1841. In that year its management was handed over to Roman Catholic priests, while the Government undertook to maintain the school and to pay for its equipment and the salaries of its teachers. 871 797

Girls' education dates from 1826, when the Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny founded schools at St. Louis and Goree.

By 1854 there were four schools in Senegal. They all belonged to Roman Catholic missions supported by government grants, and they counted only 590 pupils on their rolls. There were difficulties regarding the admission of Moslems to these schools and, as Islam was the prevailing faith, the spread of education was hindered. In 1857 Faidherbe opened a Moslem School at St. Louis, and until 1903 this remained the only lay primary school in Senegal. By 1898 there were 9 primary schools in the four communes and about 30 in the protectorate. These were staffed by interpreters and non-commissioned officers, and their existence was spasmodic. At that time elementary education throughout French West Africa was mainly in the hands of the missions, and, so far as the Government took any interest in it at all, it was organized by local regulations in each colony. The Governor-General's order of 24 November 1903 set up a uniform system of state-controlled education throughout the Federation. 872 [797] [648]

In 1938 Senegal and Dakar had 132 European teachers and 337 native in Government schools and 48 teachers in recognized private schools. Pupils were arranged as follows: 875

	Schools	Boys	Girls	Total pupils
Government Schools				
Primary				
Village schools	72	5,946	241	6,187
Regional schools	16	4,590	432	5,022
Urban schools	10	3,392	752	4,144
Higher Primary	2	158	14	172
Technical	4	146	0	146
	104	14,232	1,439	15,671
Private Schools				
Primary	13	1,164	293	1,457
Totals	117	15,396	1,732	17,128

871

There were also 2,295 Moslem schools giving rudimentary instruction to 16,190 pupils.

/103 cont./

633 instance, a customs office, and a telegraph, telephone, and
[447] post office. The various administrative services are represented
there (public works, treasury, medical aid, education, agri-
culture, veterinary medicine, etc.).

433 Financial situation. Taxes. The circle of Sine-Saloum
is constantly increasing in importance because of its size,
population, and economic resources.

[496] Because of its exceptional location, the railway from
[49] the Sudan crosses it over a distance of 190 kilometers. Seven
[505] stations mark it out. Its railroad network and its system of
highways and canals permit it to drain to Kaolack and
[439] Foundiougne all of the products of the soil. Thus, the total
commerce for 1927 (imports and exports combined) amounted
651 to 350 million francs for the circle. The customs duties col-
lected for the benefit of the general budget of French West
Africa reached 13 million francs. The taxes from the tax
rolls (personal taxes, patents, licenses, etc.) have risen to
25 million francs, whereas they did not exceed the figure of
4,300,000 francs in 1923. The advance is thus remarkable.

Native personal taxes alone in 1927 provided 3,768,355
francs, whereas in 1921 they brought in only 2,791,000 francs.

Taxes on livestock went from 270,000 francs in 1921 to
425,000 francs in 1927.

871 /104/ Education. Instruction is given to the children
[875] by French and native teachers. There is a regional school
[872] with 500 pupils at Kaolack. Primary schools are operating
at Fatick, Foundiougne, Sokone, Gossas, Kaffrine, and
Nioro. In all, 1,200 children receive instruction; only an
elite goes to school. A need for the creation of new centers
of education is felt, especially at Birkelane, Koungheul,
Gandiaye, Niakhar, and Tataguine. Nevertheless, although
instruction in French is given only in our schools, the natives
also receive some rudiments of instruction in the Koranic
schools. The latter are quite numerous.

1 [in KAOLACK - ANALYST]

/160 cont./

162 361 2) One often hears figures on the order of 40,000 or 50,000 advanced for the total population of Pikine. It seems that there may be a distinct exaggeration there and that the reason for it is the following: a good many parcels are unoccupied, as they are bare or built up but uninhabited. Out of a sample of 287 parcels, 65 were unoccupied, making 22.6%. One comes across bare lands in all the quarters but the phenomenon is particularly noticeable in one of the first quarters of Pikine, namely, Maka-Kolobane, and naturally in the new subdivisions which are adjacent to Thiaroye-Gare. Here it is normal, elsewhere it is less so, and one may ask 162 423 whether a certain number of owners, although already possessing a residence in Dakar, have not obtained the right to certain parcels in spite of the administration. Be that as it may, it has been impossible for me to investigate this fur- [123] ther since the subject is taboo and the mere fact of mentioning it at one time or another has resulted in serious prejudices against carrying out the investigation.

162 3) This figure confirms the one obtained in the investigation conducted in the previous year during the same period by Father Martin, which gave a little more than 22,000 persons. An increase of 6,000 individuals in one year, taking into account the lots divided up in the course of the year or the buildings finished by the Office de l'Habitat in the districts, is nothing extraordinary.

[361] 4) With its 30,000 inhabitants Pikine is to be classed in the first rank of the agglomerations of the suburbs of Dakar, far ahead of the traditional villages of Cambérène, Thiaroye, and others, and the size of its population gives it a place apart; it is no longer a village, but a city.

Let us now examine the structure according to age and ethnic group. The following table shows the division of men and women into their age classes and according to ethnic groups; the pyramid that follows recapitulates the total results.

162 882 The age pyramid makes two phenomena apparent. On the one hand, there is the indentation of the class from 15 to 19 years of age. This gap is characteristic of all the cities of Africa. It probably has two principal causes: first, an

/160 cont./

162 erroneous estimate of the age /161/ /Table 1 appears here/
882 /162/ of young people, which is of a psycho-sociological order. The adolescents are either very much children, and one then gives them less than 15 years -- or they are already considered adults, thus more than 20 years old. /Diagrams appear here./ Without commenting on this error, let us nevertheless note that this fact is correlative to a global situation in which youth is difficult to recognize as such in the society, and where passage from childhood to adulthood is accomplished without the transition of adolescence.

162 /163/ The other cause is of an objective order: Pikine
[166] is a city composed largely of migrants coming from their villages, as we shall see farther on, and the most favorable age for rural migration is between 20 and 30.

The other phenomenon clearly perceptible on the pyramid is the successive bulge of each of the two sides of the pyramid; in the city the old women are proportionately less numerous than the men of the same age. Despite the possibility of errors of estimation on the part of the persons concerned, the subjective impressions of an investigator confirm this fact: in Pikine one finds fewer old women than old men.

The percentage of persons more than 60 years old is, moreover, low: only 3%. The population as a whole is very young. It is calculated that 53.6% are less than 20 years old, which leaves 43.4% adults.

Another remarkable fact is a slight imbalance of the sex ratio in favor of women: 47.5% men as against 52.3% women. We observe an inverse structure in Dakar: the census of 1955 shows that the percentage of women increases as one goes from the center to the periphery. Ouakam, Yof, Cambérène, Thiaroye, Yembeul, and Mbao, like Pikine, have a female population larger than the male population. Only the first are old villages, and this fact is not surprising. On the contrary, the building of Pikine is of very recent date and it is a matter of a city. Let us note, finally, that in the districts the sex ratio is slightly higher than in the rest of the quarters: 54% women as against 46% men, and then again one finds 52.3% and 47.7%. We shall see later whether